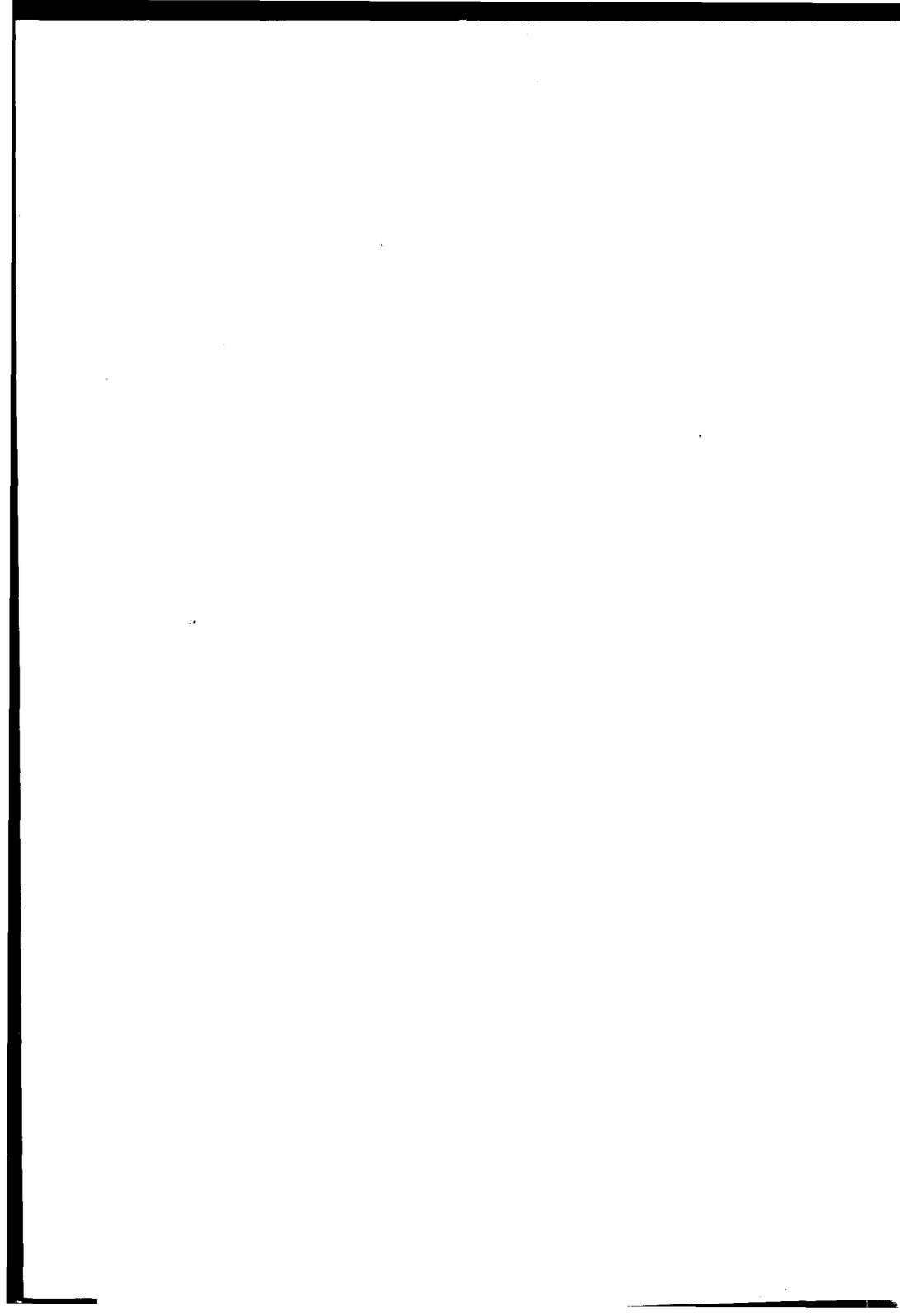


Language and Speech
in Synchrony and
Diachrony



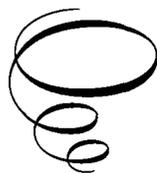
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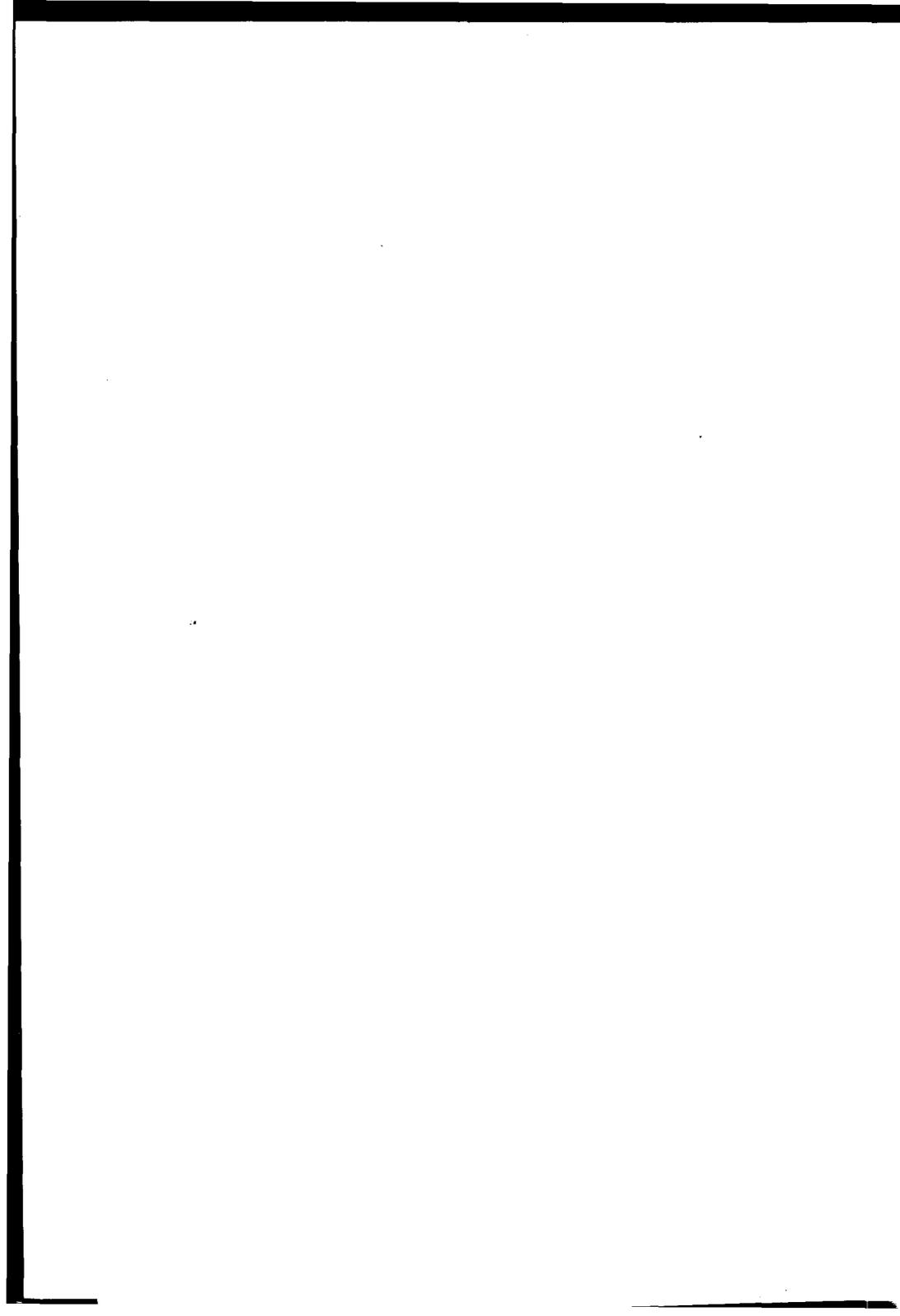
*Papers from an International
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Edited by

Galina T. Polenova
and Tatiana G. Klikushina

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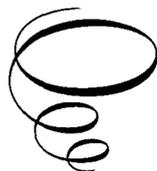
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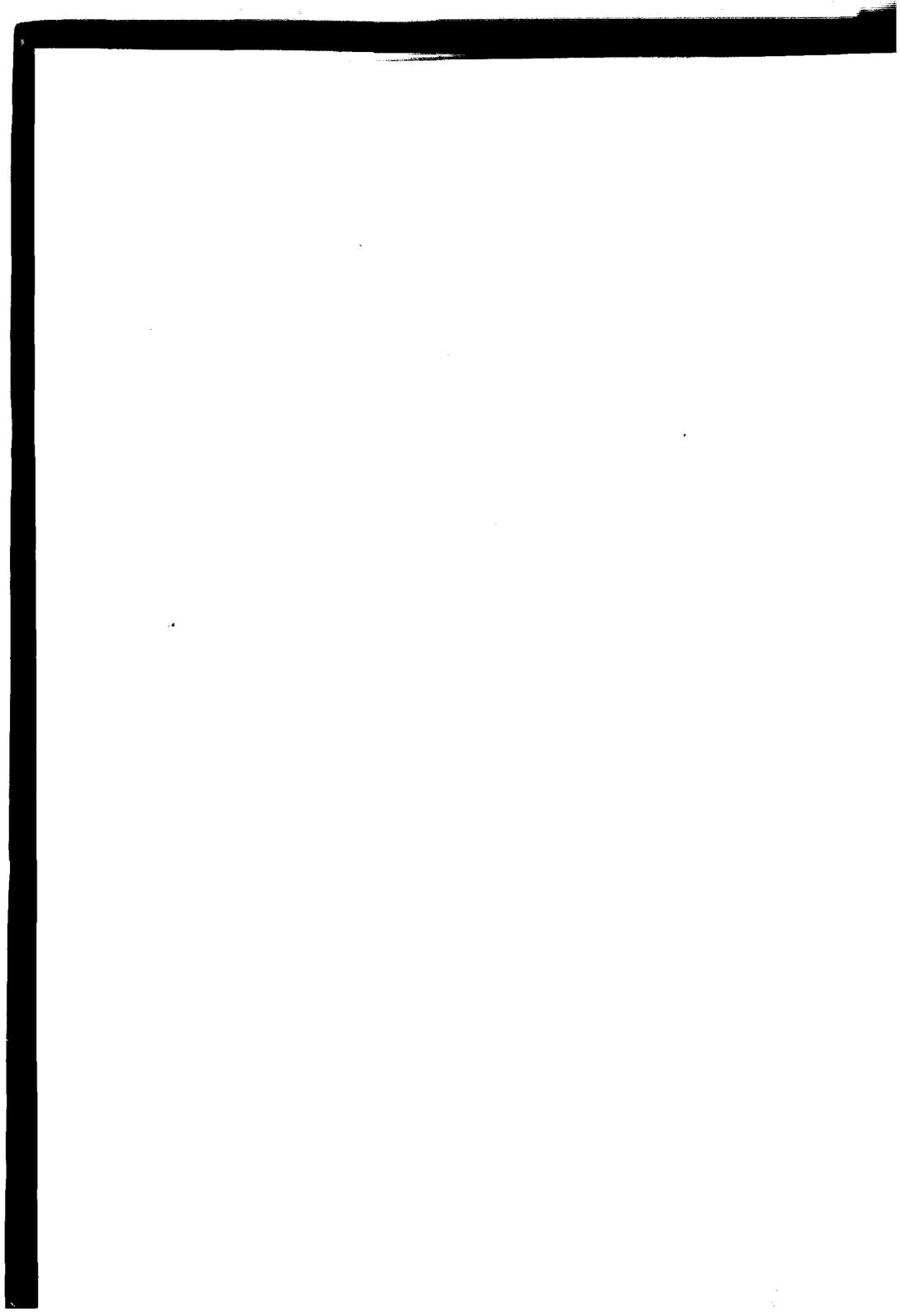
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INTRODUCTION

This collection contains papers on key problems in theoretical and applied linguistics, pragmalinguistics, cognitive science, lexicology, text studies, discourse, cross-cultural communication and translation, speech in the anthropocentric paradigm and language teaching methods. These papers present the results of research carried out by scientists from different countries.

The article of G.T. Polenova is devoted to the problem of the origin of categories: the mode of action, aspect and tense. Using Yeniseian (Ket) material, the author describes the formation of these grammatical categories, originating from the category of states (in the syncretism of the parts of speech), through their development as means of expressing the opposition of action/state (verb/name). It is proved here that the categories of tense and aspect relate back to the binary opposition of modes of action. She concludes that the formal expression of the verbal opposition present/past tense relates back to the oppositions of state/action, active/inactive, durative/momentary and perfective/imperfective.

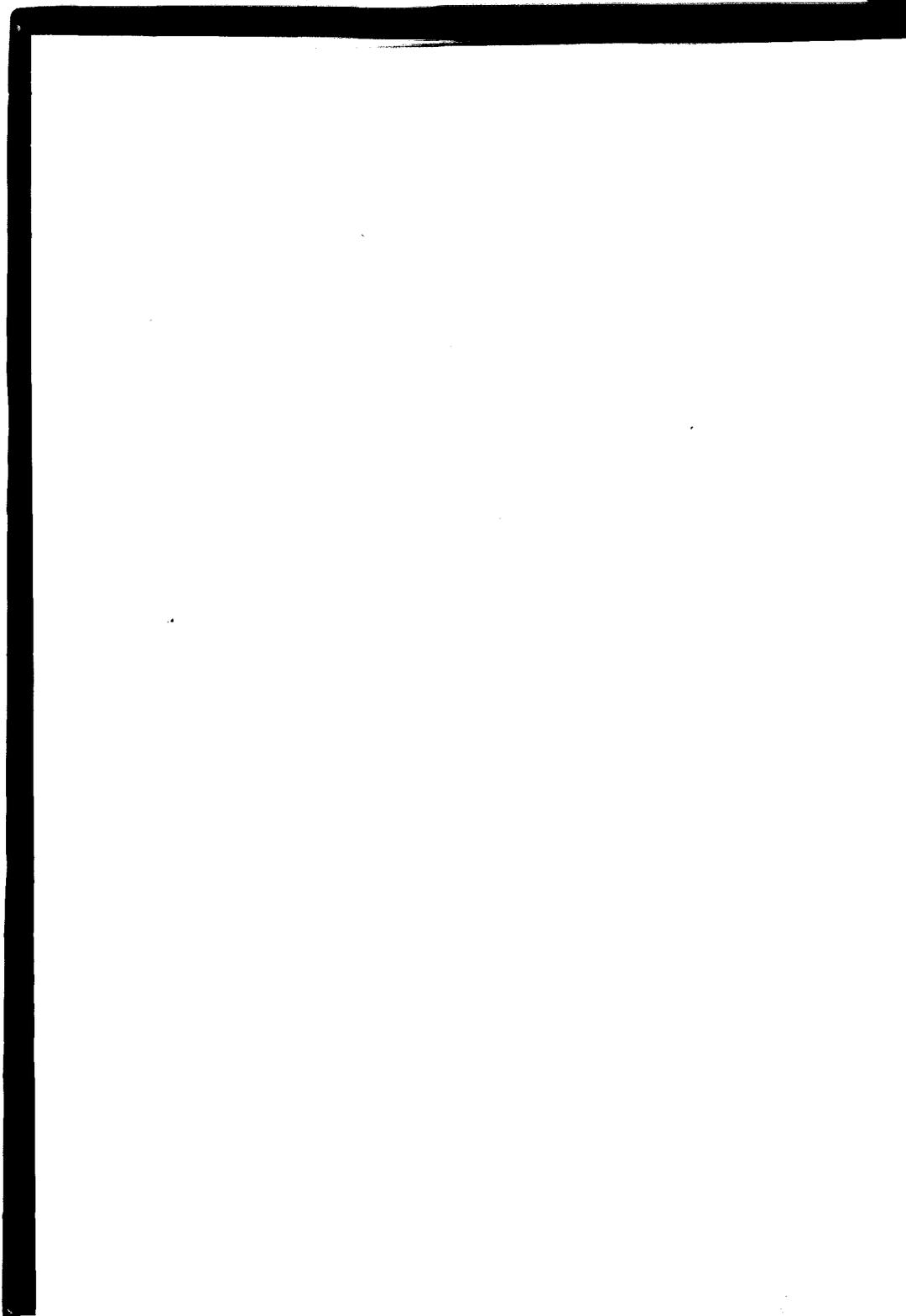
The evolution of case categories is studied by L.V. Burenko and is based on the present state of the sole survivor of the Yeniseian languages—the Ket language—along with additional analysis of the Jug and the Kott languages presented in the work of other researchers. Some conclusions, connected to the genesis of case categories, are made. The meaning of first case affixes is hypothesized.

I.G. Pavlenko describes the evolution of concept metaphor in the development of polysemy in English motion verbs.

I.V. Tabachenko analyzes mechanisms in the development of modificational and mutational prefix word formation types in the history of the Russian language that have not yet been the object of diachronical study.

A.A. Kalinina's article deals with grammatical research into the 'emotional coloring' of functional types of sentences: exclamatory sentences are considered as an 'emotionally noted' (marked) option of the narrative, interrogative or imperative.

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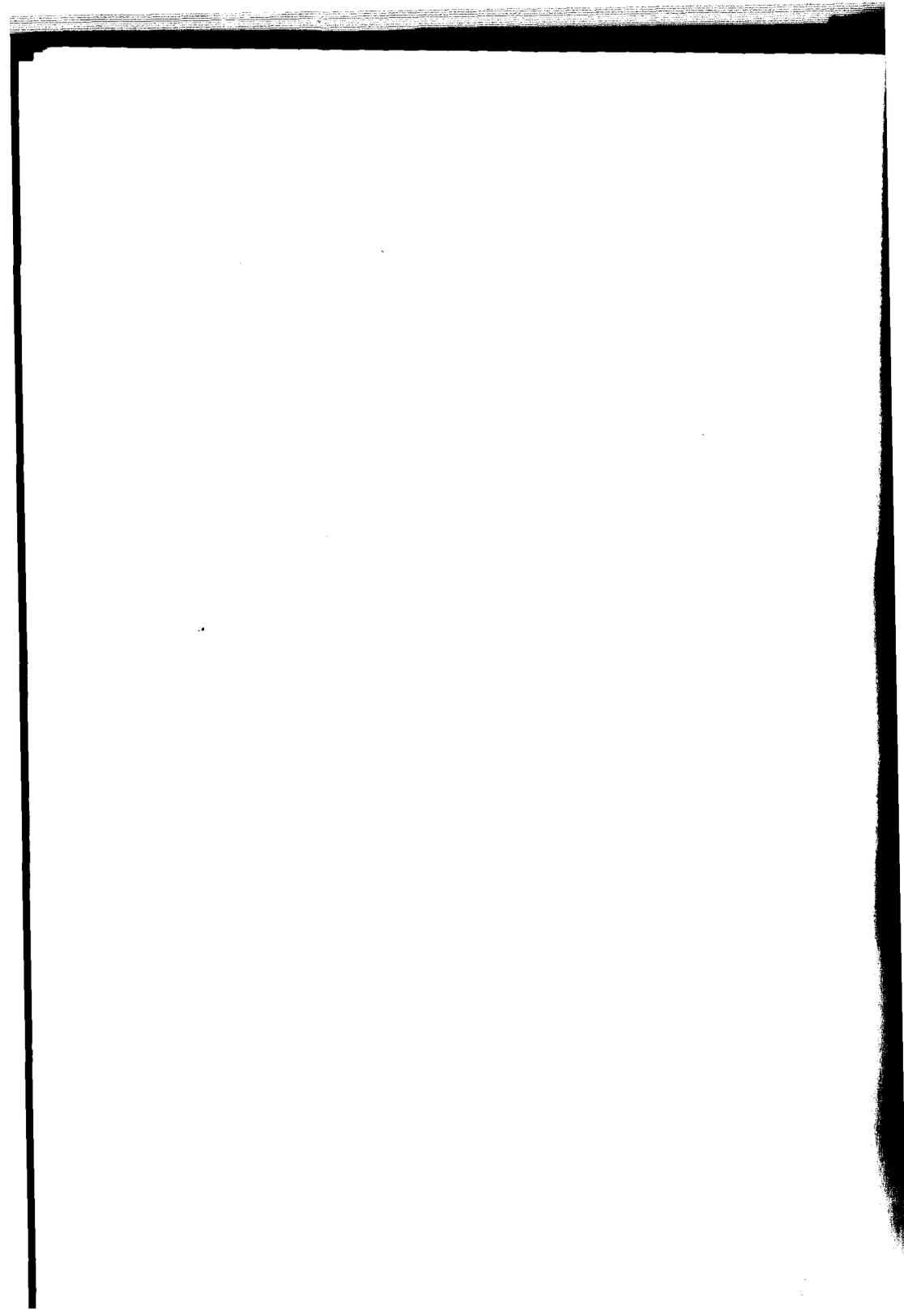
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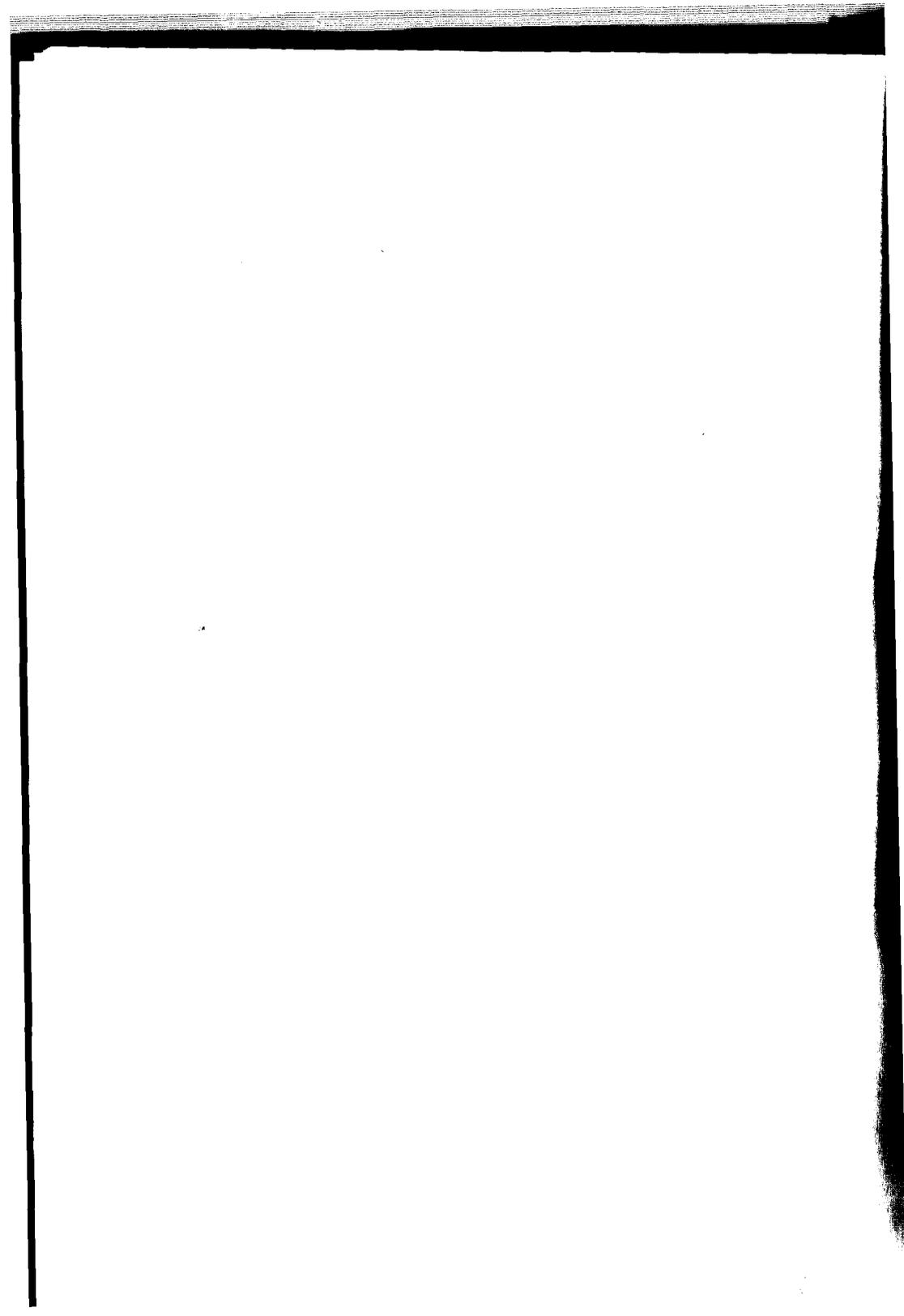
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The article of E.V. Marinova concerns the study of foreign words used in speech, in their function as analytical, or unchanged, borrowings, and the peculiarities of their assimilation and functioning in modern Russian.

Sh.K. Nurbaeva studies homonymic-polysemantic relations and their explanation in Modern English unilingual dictionaries, mainly focusing on monosemantic homonyms as part of the blockbuilding process.

The authors M.V. Pimenova and T.V. Levina discuss the approach to syncretism in P.V. Chesnokov's works: he considered the phenomenon to be a combination of signs in one unit of various qualitatively different categories and also as indicating the existence of diachronic/synchronic and static/dynamic syncretism.

G.S. Plotnikova investigates syntactical synonymy as a complex many-sided phenomenon in which lexical, morphological and syntactical aspects are interlaced. The focus of the author is the situation reflected in the sentence, the fragment of reality and its semantic model where two or more models organized by similarly named components with differences in expression can express one and the same type of meaning.

F.Sh. Ruzikulov discusses the importance of the intonation process in the derivational development of speech morphology and speech syntax where the word acquires features in speech that are not present in the system of the language.

The article of E.V. Faleyeva deals with some morphological features of the substantive and verbal phraseological unit in dictionary and textual comparison.

A.M. Bushuy devotes his chapter to theoretical and applied aspects of translation that differ in certain specifications in light of inter-lingual equivalency.

H. Werner devotes his article to the question of whether the Xiongnu spoke the Yeniseian language and to the collapse of the Xiongnu Empire.

I.I. Karaseni devotes his chapter to the study of Biblical lexemes in the book *Thus spake Zarathustra* by Nietzsche. The author investigates lexemes and phrases of The Bible and their stylistic characteristics both in the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries. He analyzes and compares biblical fragments in Nietzsche's book, their interpretation into Russian by Rynceovich and by Antonovskiy and the Bible itself. He assumes that there are different variants of *Thus spake Zarathustra* in translation because interpreters have different opinions about this book's genre.

V.P. Ovcharenko's paper analyzes the necessity of acquiring cross-cultural communication skills for engineering students. Special attention is paid to the experience of foreign scientists and the scope for cross-cultural competence formation in teaching students. The paper suggests some practical ways to enable larger numbers of engineering students to take the first step towards global competency.

The article of Yu.V. Privalova reviews the formation of the cultural-language personality of the translator in the process of modern education. The results of theoretical analysis of concepts such as the language personality and cultural-language personality of the translator are presented. The components of the cross-cultural constituent of translation competence, essential for resolving cultural tasks in translation, are examined.

E.A. Sidelnik discusses the role and impact of cross-cultural communication in the process of professional and language socialization in engineering students.

B.G. Soldatov pays special attention to the translation process. The author stresses that this involves the interaction not only between two languages, but between two cultures as well. Therefore, translation should be regarded as a type of inter-cultural communication.

N.V. Soldatova points out that the implementation of a competence-based approach in professional education contributes to the achievement of its main goal—to prepare a qualified specialist of appropriate level and profile who is competitive in the labour market, capable of mastering his profession, competent in related areas, capable of working effectively in his field, ready for professional growth and social and professional mobility.

I.S. Avezova discusses the issue of Russian borrowings in Tajik. The author aims to find out how deeply Russian words have entered the Tajik language and to gather and give information about different sorts of Russian borrowings. She seeks to show how much Russian influences Tajik and to try and foretell whether Russian and Tajik will combine. The methods of the author's works included questionnaires, interviews and analysis of magazines and TV programs.

M.G. Akhanova touches upon the questions of the inter-dependence of the category of class and the category of definiteness/indefiniteness in the main Yeniseian interrogative and indefinite pronouns. An attempt is made to analyze latent methods used to express the invariant meaning of the category of definiteness/indefiniteness through the category of class.

I.A. Bakro analyzes the novel *In den Zeiten des abnehmenden Lichts* by Eugen Ruge. The author pays special attention to the translation of Russian realia (mainly borrowings) in the novel into German, thus studying the dialogue of two cultures.

The article of E.E. Deberdeeva examines the comprehension process as a necessary component of thinking activity that is specifically representative of Russian and English culture. In analyzing the comparative characteristics of cognitive metaphor as a means of disclosure

through thinking mechanisms, the example of comprehension verbs in Russian and English is given.

T.G. Klikushina studies contemporary problems in the sphere of military terminology, both in Russian and English. The vocabulary of special terminology, and especially military terminology, is constantly enlarged by new military terms that appear due to the development of new military technology and technical know-how. The main idea of this article is connected to the study of names of new military technology and thematic groups of military terms.

N.V. Nozdrina investigates monosyllables and disyllables with the initial labial sound in Indo-European languages.

T.A. Bushuy shows that the pragmatic peculiarities of communicative units bear socially meaningful information (communicative content). The main idea is that this issue can be resolved through a communicative approach to language.

A.L. Golovanevsky and L.A. Sleptsova state that language and thinking remains an important issue, the investigation of which has seen contributions from many Russian linguists, including P.V. Chesnokov. The authors of this article make an attempt to take a fresh look at the thesis of the original and profound interpreter of Tyutchev's poetry, B.M. Kozyrev. Their analysis of the semantic role of poetic keywords, epistolary and public works testifies that Tyutchev thought in Russian in political terms as well.

O.V. Kravets, in her paper, examines issues concerning the interrelation between logical and semantic forms of thinking and ontological and gnoseological stratifications. Applying methods of linguistic analysis, the author examines comparative structures in functional-semantic fields in English. This research lays the foundation for further studies of the structure of the functional-semantic field of comparativeness.

A.I. Lyzlov studies the evaluative features constituting an important part of the plane of content of proverbs and sayings. These features are examined comparatively on the basis of three languages: English, German and Russian, which have created a rich stock of proverbial expressions throughout the history of their development. The evaluative potential of paremiological units in the three languages is studied using the conceptual image of 'death'—considered to be one of the cornerstones of human consciousness. Death is objectified in proverbs, not only directly, but also figuratively, by means of metaphor and personification. It also shows that the proverbs under consideration are able to express both universal truths and ideas that have a specific national character.

In their paper, G.G. Matveeva and I.A. Zyubina, analyze the creation of speech portraits by public prosecutor's—this work is devoted to the description of personal human expression from experimental pragmalinguistic results.

Ye.A. Murashova investigates pragmatic meaning—a relatively young direction in the scientific paradigm. Traditionally the attention of scholars has been drawn to a substantially broader concept: the concept of meaning (a word, a linguistic statement, etc.). Considering that pragmatic meaning is a kind of concept concerning the type-concept 'meaning,' we find it useful to move from the traditional approach to the investigation of the meaning to the modern investigation of pragmatic meaning.

A.D. Saidova performs synchronic analysis of gerundial substantive types, including: tuning, tiling, rigging, rating, northing, mounting, moulding, loosening, icing, holding, furling, dressing, coping, bridging, bleeding among others, and shows that the semantic structure of gerundial substantives often has marked terminological lexical-semantic variants.

T.D. Sidorova studies extremist discourse. An attempt is made to bring to light the author's intentions that conflict with traditional cultural attitudes. The study uses methods drawing on the communication discourse knowledge paradigm. The interaction of discourse and its underlying concept of 'verbal extremism' are taken into account.

O.V. Tikhonova's paper focuses on studying the prose texts of Germany's greatest Romantic poet, Heinrich Heine; his poetic language demonstrates the features of Romanticism in general. Some prose passages, often overlooked by researchers, including the poet's diary entries, notes and drafts, have been analyzed. The topics found in these texts typify H. Heine's works. They are: the revolutionary and the bourgeois, art and literature, German identity, religious patterns, love and marriage and culture problems.

A.V. Faleyeva describes the features of colloquial phraseology in American English.

L.F. Birr-Tsurkan and K.K. Abelianova analyze online job advertisements in German and Russian as a specifically applicable type of text. The main focus is on the structural components of adverts, the role of company logos and slogans in the text and on vocabulary choices for particular structural elements.

S.V. Ionova examines the standards of secondary texts that are actively studied today and do not sit comfortably in the usual genres of fiction. The material in this article aims to illustrate that text derivatives in our speech practice are varied as well as not being obvious. Remakes influence readers, spectators, scientists, politicians, schoolchildren and customers.

The developing facilities of electronic communication make their use increasingly possible.

E.Ye. Kotsova, in her article, deals with the professional vocabulary of Arkhangelsk health care workers in terms of sources of formation and semantic derivation. The main source of replenishment of professional medical slang words is through the lexical-semantic method of derivation. The lexicon of this social dialect is dominated by expressive professional slang words.

O.G. Melnik shows that text cohesion can be provided by different means. This study looks at deictic elements as an important part of connectedness. The basic characteristics of deixis in general, and text deixis in particular, are given. This analysis is based on empirical data from a passage of journalistic literature. A comparison of discourse deixis and deixis proper is given.

A.N. Minka devotes her article to the description of the text forming functions of phraseological units (set phrases) with the component 'colour' in English. Special attention is given to some problems of stylistic usage and the structural and semantic modifications of phraseological units in the text. Phraseological units with the colour component are capable of carrying out a number of stylistic aims connected to the organization of the text and its separate parts. Functioning in the text, phraseological units of this kind provide a nominative function, forming a united system of description.

Ye.V. Mislivets analyzes the vocabulary of the Shapoval's argot speakers in Novy Ropsk village revealing a large number of lexico-thematic groups and embracing a wide sphere of objects and notions that were closely related to the daily life of master-hands. Socio-historical factors (the disappearance of trade, industrialization and historical events such as wars, collectivization and the process of reformation at the end of the twentieth century) has led to the the communicative sphere of usage of this language being confined solely to family communication; its conspiratorial function is seldom used nowadays.

The paper of E.V. Polyakova deals with problems of idiomatic variability as a phenomenon of word play. It touches upon the issue of the cognitive and psycholinguistic characteristics of idiomatic transformation in discourse. Occasional transformations of the form and meaning of idioms are referred to as the realization of idiomatic creativity.

L.K. Salnaya considers teaching scientific discourse as an important part of university education. The peculiarities of scientific discourse are presented and its objectives and genres are distinguished. It is suggested, that the skills of effective scientific communication should be intentionally

formed during the course of study. Methods and forms of teaching English for Professional and Scientific Communication are proposed.

N.G. Shchitova in her article shows through analysis of precedent phenomena in the speech communication of participants on the reality show Dom-2 that the heroes of the project use allusions, advertising slogans, quotations from popular songs, feature films and TV series, as well as literal and modified reproduction of precedent names and sayings. Modern youth seek to express their individuality, intelligence, creativity, self-expression and life experience with the help of particular units, verbal texts, transformed quotes and proverbs.

This edition is dedicated to linguists, philologists, tutors, postgraduates, advanced students at institutions of higher education and other readers interested in the problems of linguistics and language teaching methods.

PART I:

**LANGUAGE AND ITS GRAMMATICAL
CATEGORIES IN THE DIACHRONIC ASPECT**

TENSE AND ASPECT IN KET IN THE DIACHRONIC ASPECT

GALINA POLENOVA
(RUSSIA)

1. Introduction

In the 18th century there were many Yeniseian languages: Assan, Arin, Pumpokol, Kott, Ket and Yug. By the 19th century the first three had died out. By the end of the 19th century Kott had died out, and over the 20th century Yug also died out. Now, only the Ket language, spoken by about 700 people, remains. The Ket language, as with the rest of the Yeniseian languages, is unwritten. It has an archaic system that goes as far back as the Paleolithic era (see Polenova 2011). The distinctive features of its grammatical structure are: the combination of elements of internal flexion with agglutinative affixes and numerous traces of noun classes penetrating the entire system of the noun and verb; relics of the features of the active language system; a lack of morphological parts of speech etc.

We use the terms as accepted in the methodology of content typology. By content typology we mean a typological study where the formal aspect of language is seen in a close connection to the content expressed by those forms (Klimov 1983). According to this theory there are a number of diachronically arranged stages of the adaptation degree to transfer the subject-object relationship: class, active, ergative/possessive and nominative/accusative types. All these systems are represented in material on the Yeniseian languages and in Ket.

The class system is characterized by the distribution of nominal vocabulary in content-characterized groups, as well as the relevant class affixes in the verbal morphology and from the set of those affixes to the binary opposition of animate and inanimate.

The active structure of the language involves the orientation of its surface characteristics onto its unique deep structure—the semantic determinant of the language opposes not the actual subjective and objective relations, but the relations which exist in extra-linguistic reality,

between the active and inactive actants. The substantives oppose the active and inactive classes while the verbs express the following oppositions: active/stative; action/state. The language is characterized by syncretism of the noun and the verb.

We assumed the presence of a set of particles in Ket with the index of the original class with a spatial meaning (Polenova 1987): these were the original root-word demonstrative deixes. These words had the structure *CV* or *VC* in metathesis. The consonants represented the class denotatum and the vowel gave an idea of the remoteness of this denotatum: *-i-* 'the nearest, small, insignificant,' *-u-* 'middle (the sphere of an interlocutor),' *-a-* 'distant, big, and important' (Zhivova-Polenova 1978).

The formants serving both for word building and formation of nouns and verbs represent two-phoneme-elements in the Ket language:

Table 1 : Names of the Primary Particles in Ket

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>bi-bu-ba/bo,</i> | <i>ib-ub-ab/ob</i> |
| <i>di-du-da/*do</i> | <i>id-ud-ad/*od</i> |
| <i>ti-tu-ta/*to</i> | |
| <i>gi-gu-ga/*go</i> | |
| <i>ji-ju-ja/jo</i> | <i>ij-uj-aj/oj</i> |
| <i>ɲi-ɲu-ɲa/ɲo</i> | <i>*iɲ-*uɲ-aɲ/oɲ</i> |
| <i>ki-ku-ka/*ko</i> | |
| <i>l'i-*l'u-l'a/*l'a/l'o</i> | <i>il'-ul'-al'/ol'</i> |
| <i>ni-*nu-na/no</i> | <i>in-*un-an/on</i> |
| <i>s'i-*s'u-s'a/*s'o</i> | <i>is'-us'-as'/*os'</i> |
| <i>mi-*mu-ma/*mo</i> | <i>*im-*um-am/om</i> |

One-phoneme-characters include: *i-u-a/o* (vocalic); *b, g, k, d, t, m, p, ɲ, s', j, n, l', r', q/ɣ* (consonantal). All elements that are not marked with an asterisk we have found in the Ket language, either as independent words or as grammatical markers. Cf.:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>Ad</i> 'I' | <i>ab</i> 'my' |
| <i>u</i> 'you' | <i>k</i> 'yours' |
| <i>bu</i> 'he, she' | <i>bu-da</i> |
| | GEN.SG.M 'his' |
| | <i>bu-di</i> (GEN.SG.F) 'her' |
| | |
| <i>at</i> 'we' | <i>at-na</i> (GEN.PL) 'our' |
| <i>ək</i> 'you.PL' | <i>ək-ŋa</i> (GEN.PL) 'your' |
| <i>a-na?</i> 'who?' (a person) | <i>an-da?</i> (GEN.SG.M) 'whose?' |
| <i>as?</i> 'what?' | <i>bi-l'a?</i> 'how?' |
| <i>ki</i> 'this' | <i>tu</i> 'that' (near) |
| <i>qa</i> 'that' (far away) | |

T.M. Nikolayeva called primary particles "the bricks from which all words of the communicative fund are created" (Nikolayeva 2000: 37).

We carried out a diachronic analysis of the aspectual and temporal parameters in the modern Ket language. We considered only simple verbs with the base at the end of the word, which, together with the root nouns and adjectives, go back to the most ancient stratum of vocabulary. In semantic terms they are the verbs that are listed in the analysis of G.A. Klimov's active language system (Klimov 1977). The first group we refer to is class order where there are no parts of speech but only the primary deictic particles form some sememes (see Polenova 2012).

Using Yeniseian (in the first instance, Ket) material, we intend to describe the development of grammatical categories of tense and aspect from the original category of state (by syncretism of speech parts) through the development of means to express the opposition action/state (verb/noun). We base our conclusions not only on results presented in the works of ketologists, but also on material from our own expeditions to Ket settlements in 1974 (Madujka, Kurejka), 1981 (Kellog) and 1989 (Baklanikha). Our primary informants were: E.A. Serkova (born in 1890), N.E. Serkova (born in 1920), G.Kh. Baldina (born in 1934), V.F. Maxunov (born in 1927), S.A. Tyganov (born in 1930), A.P. Serkova (born in 1904), N.P. Serkova (born in 1936), T.M. Korotkikh (born in 1931), Yu.S. Dibikov (born in 1936), E.F. Lambina (born in 1924) and A.Ya. Kusamina (born in 1915).

2. On past syncretism of the Yeniseian noun and verb

At the synchronic level, the verb in Ket is morphologically opposed to other parts of speech. The original syncretism of the Yeniseian noun and verb is reflected in many features in Ket and these can be considered as relics of the era preceding the differentiation between verb and noun (Polenova 2011). Cf.:

- (2) a. *tud* *oʒon* *kajket* *uska* *d-im-bes'*
 DEM ATTR NOM ADV PRED
 this gone hunter back 3SG-PST-STEM
 'this hunter, who went hunting, has come back'

- b. *tud* *kajket* *oʒon*
 DEM hunter PRED
 'this hunter had gone' *Oʒon* is a finite verb form which means 'he went/walked' and therefore must be glossed: $o^6-k^5-o^4-(n)^2-(t)n^0/3M^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0$ (Vajda 2007)

The same word *oʒon* performs different functions depending on the order of words. Let us examine an example, recorded from our informant T.M. Korotkikh in Kellog in 1981:

- (3) *itel'-am* *ket itel'-am*
 STEM-PRED person STEM-PRED
 'a knowing person knows'

The use of finite verb forms in prenominal relative clauses like the one with *oʒon* is a rather rare typological feature.

The Ket examples hereafter are based on the author's expeditions to the settlements of Ket speakers on the banks of the rivers Kureika 1979, Yelogui 1981 and Baklanikha 1989. In the words of M.M. Gukhman:

"Before the registration of the verb there was not, strictly speaking, the noun in our understanding of the word, i.e. a separate part of speech with distinct characteristics pointing to grammatical categories, but one and the same unit of speech acted with the function first of the future noun, then with the function of the future verb"¹

¹ Gukhman, M.M. O stadijalnosti v razvitii stroya indoyevropejskikh yazykov (About stadijality in the development of Indo-European system). In *Izvestiya AN SSSR, Otdeleniye Leningradskogo instituta yazykoznaniya*, 2. 101–114. Leningrad: Akademiya nauk SSSR, 103

A number of writers have acknowledged the absence of a clear distinction between the verb and noun in Ket, including: B.A. Uspensky (Uspensky 1964), A.P. Dulzon (Dulzon 1968), E.I. Belimov (Belimov 1972) and G.K. Werner (Werner 1974; Werner 1997). The question of syncretism of the noun and the verb was closely examined in a previous paper (Zhivova-Polenova 1979).

The genetic unity of grammatical indicators of the noun and the verb is sufficiently demonstrated by comparing them in Ket (see tables numbers 1, 2). The subject-object-verb indicators in the Ket language were for the first time divided into classes (groups) *B* and *D* by Karl Bouda according to the formants of the 1st person singular (Bouda 1957).

The tables below illustrate the almost complete identity of nominal and verbal morphemes. The genitive indicators of personal pronouns, possessive name prefixes and the verbal indicators of group *B* coincide in the first and the second person singular (see table 1).

Table 1. Indicators of the genitive case, of personal pronouns, possessive noun prefixes and the verbal indicators of group *B* in the singular

| Person | genitive of the personal pronoun | Possessive prefixes | The verb indicators of group B | | | |
|--------|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | | | 1st row | 2nd row | 3rd row | 4th row |
| 1st | * <i>a-ba</i> | <i>b-</i> | <i>ba-</i> | <i>ba-</i> | <i>bo-</i> | <i>bo-</i> |
| 2nd | * <i>u-ku</i> | <i>k-</i> | <i>ku-</i> | <i>ku-</i> | <i>ku-</i> | <i>ku-</i> |
| 3rd M | <i>bu-d-a</i> | <i>da-</i> | <i>-a-</i> | <i>bu-</i> | <i>bu-</i> | <i>-o-</i> |
| F | <i>bu-d-i</i> | <i>d (t)-</i> | <i>-i-</i> | <i>bu-</i> | <i>bu-</i> | <i>-u-</i> |
| N | - | <i>d (t)-</i> | <i>-i/ø-</i> | <i>ø</i> | <i>ø</i> | <i>-u-</i> |

Table 2. Predicative indicators of the noun and the personal verbal indicators of group *D* in the singular

| Person | Predicative indicators | Verbal indicators of group D |
|--------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1st | <i>-di</i> | <i>di-/d-/t-</i> |
| 2nd | <i>-ku (-gu)</i> | <i>ku-/k-</i> |
| 3rd M | <i>-du</i> | <i>du-/ t-</i> |
| 3rd F | <i>-da</i> | <i>də-/da-</i> |
| 3rd N | <i>-em/ -am</i> | <i>də-/da-</i> |

Cf.

- (4) a. *ba qi:m* 'my wife'
b-op 'my father'
k-op 'your father'
uk se:l 'your deer'
ba-yissal
 'I shall spend the night'
ku-t-uj 'you-see'
ku-yissal 'you-spend the night'
- b. *at* *qus'-kej-di*
 I chum-LOC-PRED.1SG
 'I am in the chum'
at *axta-di*
 I good-PRED.1SG
 'I'm good'
at *di-jak*
 I SBJ.1SG-to go
 'I'm going'

The suffix *-em/-am* is a predicative indicator first of all of the adjectives in congruency with the subject of the inanimate class. The Ket language, however, has a number of words that are functional verbs with the same suffix. Cf.:

- (5) a. *at itpedam >it-ba-d-am* *s'es 'tod-am*
 I STEM-SBJ.1SG-SBJ.1SG-PRED river shallow-PRED
 'I know' 'the river is shallow'
- b. *aks'* *baŋt u:s'-am*
 what 1.SG.DAT to have-PRED.3SG
 'What have I?'
- c. *ad tet'-n-am* *bu s'el*
 I husband-PST-PRED 3Sg bad
 'I'm married' *to:-l-am*
bu t-gym-n-am STEM-PST-PRED
 3SG SBJ.3SG.M.-woman-PST-PRED 'he, she (could) bad see'
 'He had married/he is married'
 (Baklanikha 1989).

3. Action verbs and statal verbs

According to the analysis of Y.S. Stepanov, the predicates of existence, state (possession) and simple states, such as: *me freezes*; *I have ...*, *I'm cold*, *It pains me*, *It sleeps me* express the category 'state' (Stepanov 1981). The Yeniseian material confirms that the category of the predicative appeared before differentiation between the noun and the verb.

In the Yeniseian proto-language, according to G.K. Werner, there were two series of personal pronouns, denoting respectively the subject of

action and the subject of state (Werner 1977). In today's Ket language the aspect of state is expressed in the verb form for the class of the animate with the affixes *di-du**, and for the class of the inanimate with the affix -*bi-*:

| | | | |
|-----|------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| (6) | <i>du-tɒl'</i> | <i>qus'</i> | <i>ha-bi-ta</i> |
| | SBJ.3SG.M-STEM | chum | STEM-SBJ.3SG _{inanimate} |
| | 'he is freezing' | 'chum stands' | |

Indicators of the series *di-du* completely coincide with the predicate noun indexes, the only difference being that the noun locates them as a suffix and the verb as a prefix. They are used only in word forms of the present tense.

We argue that the division of verbs into verbs of action and verbs of state is a more advanced stage in the development of language; it was preceded by a single category of state that was expressed by deictic particles—the position and direction indicators with the structure *CV* vs. *VC*. In the Ket language, this period is witnessed in the features of predicative indicators. Here we see a transitional phase from the former period of class predication syncretising parts of speech to the development of the verbal copula and then to the personal marker of the subject. The native ligament (copula) was a combination of any consonant (*x*)—a class indicator—with a deixis (vowel): *xi/xə-xu-xa/xo*, as well as in metathesis: *ix/ex-ux-ax/ox*. It was a forerunner of the category “mode of action” (Polenova 2002: 56).

4. The concepts of the mode of action and the aspect

One should distinguish between the concepts of “mode of action” (Aktionsart) and “aspect.” The modern approach to aspect considers it a grammatical category and the mode of action, a semantic one. In language, certain modes of action can receive a formal expression and then one can speak of “characterized” modes of action in contrast to “not characterized” and “inconsistently characterized modes” (Maslov 1965: 71).

Despite attempts to distinguish between categories of aspect and mode of action, in descriptive grammars of different languages a confusion of these two concepts is always found. In our opinion, both of these categories must be used: the former means the traditional understanding of aspect, i.e. perfective/imperfective, terminative/durative (a qualitative characteristic of action), and the latter (mode of action) means the degree

of duration and the multiplicity of the action (quantitatively). A.A. Potebnya has done the same with the Slavic verb.

The category of mode of action is presented in the Ket language as a momentary, iterative, inchoative, ingressive and terminative mode of action, according to E.A. Kreynovich (Kreynovich 1968). The Synthetic forms of the mode of action (iterative, momentary) are formed by affixes, the analytical forms (inchoative, ingressive and terminative) by auxiliary verbs. The markers for non-contrary modes of action may be combined in one and the same word form.

The category of mode of action is genetically linked to number. This fact allows us to conclude that the formation of the categories of number and mode of action in the Yeniseian languages were simultaneous, with the suppletive forms for momentary and iterative modes of action of such verbs as 'to give,' 'to take,' 'to put,' 'to spend the day,' 'to poke,' 'to lift,' 'to cut,' 'to chop' etc., being the most ancient. Cf.:

- (7) a. *ad* *bi-γ-oq*
 I OBJ_{inanimate}-2SG.OBJ_{animate}-STEM.PFV
 'I'll give you'
d-es-ad-daq
 3SG.A-STEM₁-1OBJ_{animate}-STEM₂PFV
 'He'll lay me down'
- a) b) *b. ku-n'-b-o*
 2SG.OBJ_{animate}-PST-OBJ_{inanimate}STEM_{iterative}
 'I gave you it'
- c) d) *d-ad-da*
 A-me-lay downIPFV
 'He lays me down'

The most advanced stage in the development process of the category of mode of action (single, iterative) is the alternation of the suffixes *-k/-q:-γ*. This alternation, in fact, morphologically expresses the category under consideration and relates back to the class indicator of singularity/plurality. Cf.:

- (8) a. *qoq* *en'-ba-s'-oq*
 'one' memory-1SG.A-PRS/FUT-to fly awayPFV
 'I'll forget'
- b. *doγ* *ad en-bi-s'-oγ*
 'three' I memory-3SG.OBJ_{inanimate}-PRS-awayIPFV/iterative
 'I am forgetting'

Aspect is understood as a grammatical category, indicating the character of the action, its relation to factors such as the limit of the action, result, duration and frequency, etc.; M.N. Vall and I.A. Kanakin ignore the tense category of the Ket verb and use only the categories of aspect and mood (Vall & Kanakin 1988).

5. The categories of aspect and tense in the Ket language

If we take into consideration the fact that the category of tense is formed on the basis of the category of aspect, the Yeniseian languages show a state where the line between the two is quite unsteady.

In a language, such as Ket, with a well-developed category of tense, there are a lot of very definite formatives in each form. Cf.:

| Present-Future Tense | | | Past Tense | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|------------|------|-----|
| Ø | -s- | -a- | -l- | -o- | ol' |
| | | | -n- | -on- | |

(Kreynovich 1968¹: 14).

Analyzing the markers of the past tense that are present also in the verb forms of the imperative mood, E.A. Kreynovich came to the conclusion, that these are indicators of termination of action (perfect), but not of tense (Kreynovich 1968¹). Cf.:

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| (9) <i>bok-s-it</i> | 'I'll light the fire' |
| fire-PRS/FU-STEM/PRF | |
| <i>boy-na</i> | 'I lit the fire' |
| fire-PST/PRED | |
| <i>boy-na!</i> | 'Kindle the fire!' |
| fire-PFV/MOOD | |

There is reason to think that, in the initial stages of the verb's formation, a post-positive deictic particle (see above) carried information about the mode of action with the help of a class-indicator (consonant), and with a deixis (vowel), analyzing the actuality of this action for the speaker. According to R.S. Gayer:

"-*n*- expresses terminative actions involving the short-term and activity of the actor (action verbs); -*l*- is associated with imperfectivity, processing and inactivity of the actor (verbs of state)."²

The aspect-tense marker -*n*- is taken only by such forms of the verb, indicating the transition to a new quality, a new state, such as:

- | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------|
| (10) | <i>di:-ja-γo</i> | 'I'm dying' |
| | SBJ.1SG-PRS-STEM | |
| | <i>di:-n-o</i> | 'I'm dead' |
| | SBJ.1SG-PST-STEM | |

Interestingly, the question word 'what?' in Ket has two forms: one with the indicator -*j*- and one with -*n*-. Cf.:

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (11) | a. | <i>u</i> | <i>aj</i> | <i>ku:-j-vit?</i> |
| | | 2SG | WHAT | SBJ.2SG-PRS-STEM |
| | | 'What are you doing?' | | |
| | | <i>d-aya-s'-a</i> | | |
| | | 1SG-wood-PRS-STEM | | |
| | | 'I chop wood' | | |
| | b. | <i>an'</i> | <i>ku-n'-da?</i> | |
| | | WHAT | SBJ.2SG-PST-STEM | |
| | | 'What did happen to you?' | | |
| | | <i>di-tʌʌ'</i> | | |
| | | SBJ.1SG-cold | | |
| | | 'I am freezing' | | |

The following type of aspect formant -*s*- is interpreted differently in the ketological literature. In our opinion, the opposition -*s*-/*j*- expresses, respectively, the iterative and momentary modes of action at the diachronic level, cf. the verbs:

- | | | | |
|------|----|------------------------|--------------------------|
| (12) | a. | <i>ha-s'a</i> | <i>ha-l'a</i> |
| | | STEM-PRS/PRED | STEM-PST/PRED |
| | | 'I cut' | 'I have cut' |
| | b. | <i>ka-ja</i> | <i>ko-na</i> |
| | | STEM-PRS/PRED | STEM-PST/PRED |
| | | 'I'll cut (momentary)' | 'I have cut (momentary)' |

²Gayer, R.S. *Struktura i modeli prostykh glagolov ketskogo yazyka* (Structure and models of simple verbs in the Ket language), 64.

The marker *-s'*- conveys an idea of durative action relevant to the speaker. It is opposed by the marker *-l'*-, expressing a durative irrelevant to the speaker's state. The marker *-j*- conveys the idea of a quick, momentary action that is relevant to the speaker. The marker *-j*- corresponds to the indicator of a fact *-n-* (cf. the binomial aspect division in Proto-Afro-Asian: *imperfective:perfective* or *durative:punctual* (Dyakonov 1972)).

Thus, in the Yeniseian languages, *-j/-n'(-n-)/-t-* are reconstructed as markers of the terminative aspect in the momentary mode of action, and *-s'(-s-)/-l'(-l-)* as the markers of the imperfective aspect in the iterative mode of action. We admit that the morpheme *-j-* is not frequent enough to be considered for meaningful contrast at the synchronic level. The marker *-s-* in the present does not often correspond to the marker *-l-* in regular verb forms.

The essence of the grammatical tense is the interdependence of the verb with the moment of speech. The performance of the action may precede the moment of speech, accompany it or take place in the time following it. Accordingly, all forms of the indicative mood are divided into three groups: the forms of the past, present and future tense. Tense is a deictic category, being at the same time the property of a sentence and of an utterance. The aspect is not deictic in contrast to the category of tense in that it does not correlate with the time of the utterance (Lyons 1978).

According to Y.S. Stepanov, the time of the utterance is the class of 'now.' In its coordinates it is 'I—here—now.' The class 'now' is defined as a class of words and indicators that expresses the time of the speaking subject who defines himself as 'I.' This tense is always the actual present; in this series there are no other tenses (Stepanov 1981).

The present opposes, above all, the past tense, even though it is already irrelevant to the speaker, but the real, which occurred in the experience of the speaker, as opposed to the illusory future. In this paper, we start from the opposition of present/past and will try to trace the origin of this opposition as the most ancient in the verbal system.

According to A. Meillet, the verb stems of the Parent Indo-European language do not represent "proper time," but "a development of activities," "the action itself" and "completed action" (Meillet 2009: 212), i.e., they express the category of aspect but not that of tense.

In the Yeniseian languages, particularly in Ket and Yug, the categories of aspect and tense are so intertwined that some ketologists completely deny the existence of the category of tense leaving only the category of aspect (see Vall & Kanakin 1988). E. Vajda identifies a single token marker of 'tense-mood-aspect' (Vajda 2001).

6. Analysis of tense indicators in the Ket verb

The verb 'to say,' following another's speech (commentative). This verb has neither the category of tense, nor that of aspect:

(13) The verb 'to say':

a. 1st pers.

ni-ma

1SG.SBJ-PRED

'I say'

at bis 'ep-daŋa

I brother-DAT.SGN

ni-ma

say

n'an

bread

'ka-s'-n-am

STEM-PRS-PRF-

PRED

'I say to my brother: 'Take bread (buy)''.

b. 2nd pers.

2SG.SBJ-PRED

ku-ma 'you say'

3rd pers.(he)

ba-da

3SG.SBJ.M-PRED 'he says'

qaj d-aniŋ-il'-vet,

bu

ba-da:

elk 3SG.A-thoughts-PST-to

do, 3SG.A_{animate}

says

ket at d-a-ŋaj

man I 3SG.A-3SG.OBJ_{animate}-STEM

'Elk thought, says (said), 'I killed the man''

c. 3rd pers. (she) *ma-na*

3SG.SBJ.F-PRED

'Bu ma-na:

'bil'da

ton'

3SGM/F SBJ.3.SG.F-PRED.3SG.F

everything

so

d-bi-li-bet'

SBJ3SG_{animate}-OBJ.3SG_{inanimate}-PST-to do

'She says: 'Everything I have so done.'

d. Imperative:

qan' gu-ma!

Let 2SG.SBJ-PRED

'Tell me!' (Literally 'Let you say!')

(14) The Verb 'to cut' (momentary):

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Present | Past |
| <i>k-a-ja</i> | <i>k-o-na</i> |
| STEM-OBJ.3M.SG-PRS/PRED | STEM-OBJ.3M.SG-PST/PRED |
| 'he'll cut him' | 'he has cut him' |
| <i>k-i-ja</i> | <i>k-it-na</i> |
| STEM-OBJ.3F.SG-PRS/PRED | STEM-OBJ.3F.SG-PST/PRED |
| 'he'll cut her' | 'he has cut her' |
| <i>k-a-ba</i> | <i>k-o-m-na</i> |
| STEM-SBJ.3M.SG-PRS/PRED | STEM-SBJ.3M.SG-OBJ.3SG _{inanimate} -PST/PRED |
| 'he'll cut it' | 'he has cut it' |

Cf.

| | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>Ad</i> | <i>s'ɛŋa</i> | <i>qoj-da</i> |
| | I (you, he, she) | liver | bear-GEN.M.SG |
| | <i>k-a-ba</i> | | |
| | STEM-SBJ.3M.SG-PRS/PRED | | |
| | 'I'll cut the bear liver out'. | | |

The opposition of present/past is expressed by the alternation of *-j-:-n-* and *-θ-:-n-*.

(15) The verb 'to cut' (durative):

- a. *ha-s'a*
STEM-PRS/PRED
'I (you, he, she) am (are, is) cutting, sawing, cutting (hair)'
ha-l'a
STEM-PST/PRED
'cut (hair), sawed, cut (I, you, he, she)'
- b. Imperative:
ha-l'a!
STEM-MOOD/PRED 'saw! cut! cut (hair)!

The imperative form is homonymous to the past tense form. Conf. examples of A.J. Kusamina (our informant, born in 1915):

- c. *ad don'as'* *da:n'* *ha-s'a!*
I knifeCOM grass STEM-MODE/PRS/PRED/
ha-l'a
STEM-MODE/PST/PRED
'I am cutting the grass with a knife/have been cutting'

(16) The verb 'to eat (vi)':

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>s'i</i> | <i>s'i-l'a</i> |
| STEM/PRS | STEM-PST/MODE/PRED |
| 'I eat, you eat, he eats', | 'I, you, he ate' |
| but: <i>da-s'ij(a)</i> | |
| 'she eats' | |
| Imperative: | <i>s'i-l'a!</i> |
| | STEM-PST/MOOD/PRED |
| | 'eat!' |

Cf.

- a. *at* *si-ja* *kakt-as'*
 1SG eat-PRES.SG/PRED spoon-INS
 'I eat with a spoon'
- b. *en'* *'at* *s'i-l'a*
 now 1SG eat-PST/PRED
 'Now I have eaten'
- c. *tip* *tas'ka* *bi-l'a*
 dog cup OBJ.3SG_{inanimate}-PST/PRED
 'The dog licked the cup'

The grammatical formation of noun and verb takes place at the beginning of the active system. The verb stems receive subject indicators and mode of action indicators. The latest works on Ket grammar, like Vajda 2004, 2007, 2010, Vajda & Zinn 2004 and Georg 2007, give an idea of the rules in modern Ket, that is, a language of nominative-accusative formation, while omitting archaic phenomena of language and the forms preserved in particular dialects in conditions of social isolation, especially those Kets from the village of Kureyka on the shores of Lake Munday. These people still lived in tents (*čums*) during our expedition of 1974.

The above mentioned authors argue the impossibility of omitting the subject indicator of the 3rd person feminine *da-* in verbal forms. We consider this indicator to be a relict of the class formation of language from the period when there were no marked gender distinctions. This was an epoch of matriarchy. The particle *da-* served as the first means of subjective verbal form formalization without any differentiation of the subject gender and relates to impersonal constructions in which *da-* expresses an indefinite subject that causes an action, (cf.: *ab qa da-kajnam* 1POSS speech (word) SBJ.3SG-took 'I was taken the speech away'; *da-s'ul'ej-bo-k-s'-a* SBJ.3SG-red-OBJ.1SG-CAUS-ITER/PRES-STEM 'I blush (against my will).' Cf. German: *Es roetet mich*).

(17) The verb 'to lie down, to lie':

a. **Iterative**

Present

di-t-a-d-da

1SG.SBJ-STEM-PRS-OBJ/REFL-STEM

'I lie, lie down'

k-t-a:-g-da

2SBJ.SG-STEM-OBJ/REFL-STEM

'you lie, lie down'

Past

t-ol'-di:-da

STEM-PST-1SG.SBJ-STEM

'I lay, lay down'

t-ol'-gi-da

STEM-PST-2SG.SBJ-STEM

'you lay, lay down'

t-ol'-a-da

STEM-PST

'he lay, lay down'

Imperative:

*t-al'-gu-da!*STEM₁-PRS/PST/MOOD-2SG.SBJ-STEM

'lie down!'

b. **Terminative***t-a-di-t*

STEM-PRS-1SG.SBJ-PFV

'I lie down (to sleep)'

t-a-u-t

STEM-PRS-2SG.SBJ-PFV

'you go to bed'

t-a-ja-t

STEM-PRS-3SG.M/F-PFV

'he/she goes to bed'

Imperative:

t-ol'-di:-t

STEM-PST-1SG.SBJ-PFV

'I went to bed'

t-ol'-gu-t

STEM-PST-2SG.SBJ-PFV

'you went to bed'

t-ol'-a-t

STEM-PST-3SG.SBJ.M/F-PFV

'he/she went to bed'

t-al'-gu-t!

MOOD-2SG.SBJ-PFV

'Lie down! Sleep!'

The following forms of the past tense of this verb were registered in the Yug language. Let us compare the subject markers of the predicate adjective and those of the verb.

c. *t-o:r(>l)-it-di*

STEM-PST-RES-1SG.SBJ/PRED

'I was asleep'

t-o:r-it-ku

STEM-PST-RES-2SG.SBJ/PRED

'you were asleep'

at axta-di

I good-1SG.SBJ/PRED

'I am good'

u axta-ku

you good-2SG.SBJ/PRED

'you are good'

t-o:r-it-du
STEM-PST-RES-3SG.M.SBJ/PRED
'he was asleep'

t-o:r-it-da
STEM-PST-RES-3SG.F.SBJ/PRED
'she was asleep'

bu axta-du
he/she good-3SG.M.SBJ/PRED
'he is good'

bu axta-da
he/she good-3SG.F.PRED
'she is good'

This example shows that the first verb grammatical formation was carried out in the forms of the past tense. We consider the imperative to be the very first form of the verb; see the coincidence of the forms in the past and in the imperative in ex. (16).

(18) The verb 'to eat (vt)'

di-b-a
1SG.SBJ-OBJ_{inanimate}-STEM
'I am eating it'

ku-b-a
'you are eating it'
2SG.SBJ-OBJ_{inanimate}-STEM

du-b-a
3SG.M.SBJ-OBJ_{inanimate}-STEM
'he is eating it'

da-b-a
3SG.F.SBJ-OBJ_{inanimate}-STEM
'she is eating it'

Imperative:

d-bi-l' (<*bi-l'-a*)
1/3SG.SBJ-OBJ_{inanimate}-PST-(STEM)

'I was eating it'
u-bi-l'
2SG.SBJ-OBJ_{inanimate}-PST

'you were eating it'
d-bi-l'
3M/1SG.SBJ-OBJ_{inanimate}-PST

'he was eating it'
da-bi-l'
3SG.F.SBJ-OBJ_{inanimate}-PST

'she was eating it'
i-l' 'Eat!'
STEM-MOOD/MODE

Cf.

a. *tip at du-b-a*
dog bone 3SG.M.SBJ-OBJ_{inanimate}-STEM
'The dog is eating a bone'

b. *hissej ban bok da-b-a*
forest fire 3SG.F.SBJ-OBJ_{inanimate}-STEM
'The forest is burning' (literally: 'the fire is eating the forest')

(19) The verb 'to get wet, to wet':

d-ul'-s'a
SBJ_{animate}-water-PRED
'I am getting wet'

k-ul'-s'a
2SG.SBJ-water-PRED
'you are getting wet'

d-u:l'-na
SBJ-water-PRED
'I have got wet'

k-ul'-na
2SG.SBJ-water-PRED
'you have got wet'

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>ul'-ba</i> | <i>ul'-im-na</i> |
| water-PRED _{inanimate} | water-SBJ _{inanimate} -PRED |
| 'it is getting wet' | 'it has got wet' |
| Imperative: | <i>ul'-na!</i> |
| | water-MOOD/PRED |
| | 'Get wet!' |

Thus, this group includes verbs, whose word form structures are difficult to explain in terms of the synchronous state of Ket and Yug. The first verb (13), the commentative, probably goes back to the class order of the language according to the scheme of G.A. Klimov (see Klimov 1977). The second components in the structure of the verb *ni-ma* (13) are primary deictic particles of a broader plan, consisting of a class indicator (consonant) and a deixis (vowel), with the value here of predicative indicators: *-ma*, *-da*, *-na*. The verb in question, without the category of tense, has no special imperative form. The imperative is expressed by the form *gu-ma*, identical to the form of the 2nd person singular *ku-ma* (*g* < *k*).

The variants of other class-predicative indicators give the other verbs of the first group. Thus, the verb 'to cut,' (14) and (15), have the predicative affixes in the present *-ja*, *-s'a*, and the past *-na*, *-l'a*.

This last suffix marks the past tense of the verb 'to eat' (16) too.

The verb 'to lie down, to lie' in (17) a) has the predicative index *da* in the form of action as a stem. The forms of state in (17) b) have person indicators: 1st person *-di-*, 2nd person *-u-*, *-gu-*; 3rd person *-ja*, *-a-*. The personal affixes take the final (right) position in the Yug state forms of the past tense (17) c): 1st person *-di*; 2nd person *-ku*; 3rd person *-du* (m); *-da* (f). In the present forms the same indicators already take the marginal left position, as seen in (17) a) and (18).

The verb 'to become wet, to wet' (19) has the predicative ending *-s'a*, *-ba*, *-na*. In general, in the group of verbs considered, the class predicative indicators: *-ma*, *-da*, *-na*, *-ja*, *-s'a*, *-l'a*, *-am*, *-aj*, *-ba* and the personal predicative affixes: *-di*, *-ku*, *-du* (m) *-da* (f), can be distinguished.

We give here the intransitive verbs with subject indicators in group D, dating back to the primary verbal forms (active system). These are verbs that have no category of person in the past.

(20) The verb 'to look':

Present

di-γ-a-do

SBJ.1SG-STEM-PRS-STEM

'I look'

ku-γ-a-do

2SG.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM

'you look'

du-γ-a-do

3SG.M.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM

'he looks'

da-γ-a-do

3SG.F.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM

'she looks'

di-γ-a-du:-n

1SG/PL.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM-PL

'we look'

ku-γ-a-du:-n

2SG/PL-STEM-PRS-STEM-PL

'you look'

du-γ-a-du:-n

3PL.M/F-STEM-PRS-STEM-PL

'they look'

Past

k-ol'-do

STEM-PST-STEM

'I, you, he looked'

da-k-ol'-do

'she looked'

k-ol'-du-n

STEM-PST-STEM-PL

'we, you, they looked'

(21) The verb 'to see':

di-tuj

SBJ.1SG-STEM

'I see'

ku-tuj

2SG.SBJ-STEM

'you see'

du-tuj

3SG.M.SBJ-STEM

'he sees'

da-tuj

3SG.F.SBJ-STEM

'she sees'

Imperative:

t-ol'-uj

STEM-PST-STEM

'I, you, he saw'

da-t-ol'-uj

3SG.F.SBJ-STEM-PST-STEM

'she saw'

t-al'-aŋ!

STEM-MOOD-STEM

'See!'

Cf.

- a. *en' at s'el' di-tuy*
now I bad SBJ.1SG-STEM
'I see bad now';
- b. *am da-tuy t-hun' s'uyatn*
mother 3SG.F-see 3POSS.SG-daughter to go back
'The mother sees her daughter coming home'

(22) The verb 'to sleep':

di-t-a-yut

1SG.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM.RES

'I sleep'

ku-t-a-yut

2SG.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM/RES

'you sleep'

du-t-a-yut

3SG.M.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM/RES

'he sleeps'

da-t-a-yut

3SG.F.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM/RES

'she sleeps'

*t-a-b-yut*STEM-PRS-SBJ_{inanimate}-STEM.RES.SG

'it has been laid'

di-t-damin

1SG/PL.SBJ-STEM-STEM.RES.PL

'we sleep'

*ku-t-damin*2SG/PL.SBJ-SBJ_{inanimate}-STEM.RES.PL

'you sleep'

du-t-damin

3PL.M/F.SBJ-STEM.RES.PL

'they sleep'

*t-a-b-damin*STEM-PRS-SBJ_{inanimate}

'these (things) have been laid'

Imperative

t-ol'-yut

STEM-PST-STEM/RES

'I, you, he slept'

da-t-ol'-yut

SG.F.SBJ-STEM-PST-STEM/RES

'she slept'

*t-o-bi-l'-yut*STEM₁-PST-SBJ_{inanimate}-PST-STEM₂-RES.SG

'it had been laid'

t-ol'-damin

STEM-PST-STEM.RES.PL

'we, you, they slept'

*t-o-bi-l'-damin*STEM-PST-SBJ_{inanimate}-PST-STEM.RES.PL

'these (things) had been laid'

t-al'-yut!

STEM-MOOD-STEM.RES.SG

'Get down!'

Cf.

- a. *bek* (< russ. *vek*) *du-t-a-γut*
 always 3SG.M.SBJ.STEM-PRS-STEM.RES.SG
 'He always sleeps'
- b. *tam aks'* *t-a-b-γut*
 somewhat STEM-PRS-3SG.SBJ_{inanimate}-STEM.RES.SG
 'Something is lying'
- uj-ga hin'a dɫ' du-t-a-γut*
 cradle-LOC little child 3SG.M.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM.RES.SG
 'A little baby is lying' in the cradle'

(23) The verb 'to wake up':

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Present | Past |
| <i>sit-ti</i> > <i>sit-di</i> | no form |
| STEM-PRED.1SG | |
| 'I wake up' | |
| <i>sit-ku</i> | no form |
| STEM-PRED.2SG. | |
| 'you wake up' | |
| <i>sit-a-ja</i> | <i>sit-o-na</i> |
| STEM-3SG.M.SBJ-PRED.3SG.M | STEM-3SG.M.SBJ-PRED.PST |
| 'he wakes up' | 'he woke up' |
| <i>sit-ja</i> | <i>sit-di-t-na</i> |
| STEM-PRED.3SG.PRS.F | STEM-SBJ.3SG.F-REFL-PST |
| 'she wakes up' | 'she woke up' |
| <i>sit-daj-a</i> | <i>sit-daj-na</i> |
| STEM-PRED.1PL-PRS | STEM-PRED.1PL-PST |
| 'we wake up' | 'we woke up' |
| <i>sit-kaj-a</i> | <i>sit-kaj-na</i> |
| STEM-PRED.2PL-PRS | STEM-2PL.PRED-PST |
| 'you wake up' | 'you woke up' |
| <i>sit-aj-a</i> | <i>sit-aj-na</i> |
| STEM-3PL.PRED | STEM-3PL.PRED-PST |
| 'they wake up' | 'they woke up' |

The verbs above are defective when compared to other verbal formations. The absence of markers for persons 1, 2 and 3M.SG in the past tense in (20), (21), (22) and (23) suggests that this is not a tense form but the form of the state of the agent in the past. A thorough analysis of this verb can be found in Vajda and Zinn 2004. The authors confirm the absence of past forms for the 1st and 2nd person singular (Vajda & Zinn 2004).

The women's personal form was submitted as a verb at first. Obviously this was the end of the class order and the beginning of the active one, when the leading role of women in the clan had not yet been lost.

The verb 'to wake up' (23), like the Yug verb 'to lie' (17c), has the personal data not on the left but on the right. That is, these are not subject verbal markers, but class-personal predicative formants alternated in existing past tense forms with other ones: the third person singular *-a-ja:-o-na* (masculine class); *-ja:-na* (feminine class). The tense plan is presented by the alternation of the deixes *-a:-o-* in the 3rd person singular masculine (active) class. This alternation is the first manifestation of the category of tense. During this period subject plural affixes also appear, first in post-position, and then in preposition.

The formants *-il-* and *-in-* in the past tense demonstrate the expression of aspect. The latter expresses the irreversibility of the state, a limit, and *-il-* marks duration and infinity. Cf:

(24) The verb 'to cry':

| | |
|--|--|
| Present | Past |
| <i>di-dan</i> | <i>d-il'-dan</i> |
| SBJ.1SG/PL-STEM | SBJ.1/3SG-PST-STEM |
| 'I cry' | |
| | 'I cried' |
| <i>ku-dan</i> | <i>k-il'-dan</i> |
| 2SG.SBJ-STEM | SBJ.2SG-PST-STEM |
| 'you cry' | |
| | 'you cried' |
| <i>du-dan</i> | <i>d-il'-dan</i> |
| SBJ.3SG.M-STEM | 3SG.SBJ.M-PST-STEM |
| 'he cries' | |
| | 'he cried' |
| <i>da-dan</i> | <i>il'-dan</i> |
| SBJ.3SG.F | PST-STEM |
| 'she cries' | 'she cried' |
| <i>di-dan-dan</i> | <i>dan-dan</i> |
| SBJ.1PL _{old} -SBJ.1PL _{new} -STEM | SBJ.1PL _{new} -STEM |
| 'we cry' | 'we cried' |
| <i>ku-yan-dan</i> | <i>k-il'-gan-dan</i> |
| SBJ.2PL _{old} -SBJ.2PL _{new} -STEM | SBJ.2PL _{old} -PST-SBJ.2PL _{new} -STEM |
| 'you (Pl.) cry' | 'you (Pl.) cried' |

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>du-jan-dan</i> | <i>d-il'-an-dan</i> |
| SBJ.3PL _{animate.old} -SBJ.3PL _{animate.new} -STEM | SBJ.3PL _{animate.old} -PST-SBJ.3PL _{animate.new} -STEM |
| 'they cry' | 'they cried' |

The index *il'* expresses a durative, not relevant to the speaker's state.

(25) The verb 'to fly':

| | |
|--|---|
| Present | Past |
| <i>di-dog</i> | <i>d-in'-dog</i> |
| SBJ.1SG-STEM | SBJ _{animate} -PST-STEM |
| 'I fly' | 'I arrived (flying)' |
| <i>ku-dog</i> | <i>k-in'-dog</i> |
| SBJ.2SG-STEM | SBJ.2SG-PST-STEM |
| 'you fly' | |
| | 'you came' |
| <i>du-dog</i> | <i>d-in'-dog</i> |
| SBJ.3SG.M-STEM | SBJ _{animate} -PAST-STEM |
| 'he flies' | 'he came (flying)' |
| <i>da-dog</i> | <i>da-in'-dog</i> |
| SBJ.3SG.F-STEM | SBJ.3SG.F-PST-STEM |
| 'she flies' | 'she came (flying)' |
| <i>di-dan-dog-ŋ</i> | <i>d-in'-dan-dog-ŋ</i> |
| SBJ.1SG/PL _{old} -SBJ.1PL _{new} -STEM-PL | SBJ _{animate} -PST-SBJ.1PL _{new} -STEM-PL |
| 'we fly' | 'we came' |
| <i>ku-gan-dog-ŋ</i> | <i>d-in'-gan-dog-ŋ</i> |
| SBJ.2SG/PL _{old} -SBJ.2PL _{new} -STEM-PL | SBJ-PST-SBJ.2PL _{new} -STEM-PL |
| PL | 'you came' |
| 'you fly' | |
| <i>du-jan-dog-ŋ</i> | <i>d-in'-an-dog-ŋ</i> |
| SBJ _{animate} .3PL-SBJ.3PL _{new} | A-PST-SBJ.3PL-STEM-PL |
| 'they fly' | 'they arrived' |

The marker *in'* expresses a terminative action.

7. Conclusion

Structural analysis of the simple verbs in the given verb groups has shown that their word forms preserve traces of a pre-nominative state in the Yeniseian languages.

The suppletive verbs are considered to be the oldest group; this is justified typologically. The suppletive verbs 'to say' (commentative) (13), 'to cut' (momentary) (14), 'to cut' (durative or iterative) (15), 'to eat' (16) and (18), 'to know' and others in (5), 'to sleep,' 'to lie' (17) and 'to wet' (19) have no tense category. Their predicative markers are a combination of a deixis with the class indicator, pointing to the mode of the action performed and to the relevance/irrelevance of this action for the speaker, i.e. alternation of: *-ja-:na-*, *-s'a-:l'a-*, *-s'a-:na-*, *-bo-:no*, *-ba-:na-*.

The verb 'to eat' (16) alternates \emptyset :*l'a*. The verb 'to awake' (23) has *di* in the present tense in the 1st person, the suffix, *-ku*, in the 2nd person and *-ja* in the 3rd person. In the past tense the 1st and the 2nd person is not expressed completely and in the 3rd person *-na* is a predicate indicator. This verb is probably a relic of the transitional state from the class structure to the class-personal one. One may consider it as a stage in becoming a verb as a part of speech in its separation from the noun. The category of tense is still missing. The form of the past tense is only a manifestation of the state category, cf. the Yug verb 'to lie' (17c) in the past.

Importantly, A. Castrén identified the preterital affixes *-la(lo)*, *na(no)* and *ra(ro, ru)* for the Kott verb (Castrén 1858). Taking into consideration the past syncretism of the Yeniseian noun and verb (see Polenova 2012), the words of A. Chikobava on the Georgian verb seem to be quite true for the Yeniseian languages in that the 'verbal' comes from the noun; the development of a static verb form constructs the oldest 'verbal' formation and this form is closest to the noun (Chikobava 1967):

(26)

| | Ket |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>bu don' kaj-n'-am</i> | <i>abaŋa taj-am</i> |
| he knife PST-PRED | I.DAT cold-PRED |
| 'he took the knife' | 'I am cold' |
| <i>d-u:l'-na</i> | <i>ki-na</i> (this-PRED.PL) 'these' |
| A-water-PRED.PST | <i>tu-na</i> (this/that-PRED.PL) 'these/those' |
| 'I got wet' | <i>qa-na</i> (that-PRED.PL) 'those/there' |

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>de-s'i*</i> (STEM-PRED.PRS) 'I cry' | <i>bo²l-s'i</i> (STEM-PRED) 'thick' |
| <i>sit-di</i> (STEM-PRED.1SG) 'I wake up' | <i>qa-di</i> (STEM-PRED.1SG) 'I am big' |
| Yug | |
| <i>to:-di-t-da</i> STEM:3SG.SBJ.F-SBJ.F-PRED.SG.F 'she was lying' | <i>sujat ug-da</i> dress long-PRED _{inanimate} 'The dress is long' |
| <i>qa-n'a</i> that-PRED.PL 'there is a fish there' | <i>u:-s'a i:s'</i> STEM-PRED fish <i>oya-s'a</i> STEM-PRED 'the former' |

The verbs, formed by this type of predicate noun, are undoubtedly the oldest. While the verb 'to say' (commentative) (13) is a relic of a class order, the other verbs of this type represent the different stages of active formation. The early period of this language structure was characterized by the presence of two forms of one and the same verb: a form of action and a form of state. In the Ket language this is reflected in two series of personal markers: Group **B** and Group **D**.

The next step was the specialization of the predicative formants *-la* and *-na-* for the expression of state category not relevant to the speaker: *-la* meant a process state and *-na-* a state as a fact, (cf. (14), (15) and (23)).

From these examples it is clear that the class index *-s'* expressed the idea of a durative, relevant to the speaker's action. It was opposed by the class-marker *-l'*, expressing a durative irrelevant to the speaker's state. The formant *-j-* expressed the idea of a quick action that is relevant to the speaker. The formant *-j-* correlated with the marker *-n-* for a terminative action.

The deixis of the 3rd person, *-a-* and *-on'*, in the forms of state has changed to *-o-*, which has also given two series: the active *-a* and the inactive *-o-*.

The second phase can be called the 'verbalization' period of predicative word forms with the expression of activity/inactivity and actions/states by marking the personal indicators in preposition: the

*The marker *-s'i'* (*s'a/s'*) can be reconstructed as one of the original particles of deixis of the class language type (according to content-oriented typology) that date back to the syncretism of speech parts. They further acted as word and form building elements of both the verb and the noun. The consonant *-s-* dates back to the animate class marker, while the vowel was the deixis marking the degree of distance from the speaker: *i*—the nearest, *u*—visible, *a*—the farthest: **s'i'*—**s'u*—**s'a*, **is'*—**us'*—**as'* (cf. Gnezdilova 2012).

markers of group **B** form active verbs (action verbs), and those of group **D**—inactive verbs (verbs of state). Cf. the verb ‘to see’ in Ket:

| (27) B | D |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>di-γ-a-do</i> | <i>ba-η-s-uyo</i> |
| 1SG.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM | 1SG.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM |
| ‘I look’ | ‘I look’ |
| <i>ku-γ-a-do</i> | <i>ku-η-s-uyo</i> |
| 2SG.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM | 2SG.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM |
| ‘you look’ | ‘you look’ |
| <i>du-γ-a-do</i> | <i>bu-η-s-uyo</i> |
| 3SG.SBJ.M-STEM-PRS-STEM | 3SG.SBJ.M-STEM-PRS-STEM |
| ‘he looks’ | ‘he looks’ |
| <i>da-γ-a-do</i> | <i>da-bu-η-s-uyo</i> |
| 3SG.SBJ.F-STEM-PRS-STEM | 3SG.SBJ.F-3SG.SBJ.M/F-STEM-PRS-STEM |
| ‘she looks’ | ‘she looks’ |

Some stative verbs in the Ket and Yug languages trace the relic category of state—cf. the verbs ‘to sleep’ and ‘to rest’ (22). The forms for the past tense of these verbs reflect a process whereby the stative verbs outlived their time, rejecting a nominal predication and obtaining a verbal one.

On the right hand side, the word form receives the marker for the mode of action and the aspect respectively: momentary/iterative; terminative/durative. So, in the verb ‘to lie down’ (17b) *tadit* ‘I go to bed,’ the final *-t* expresses this termination. In the Ket language it is a suffix and in Yug (17c) it is an infix.

The movement of *-l’-* and *-n-* inwards into a verbal word changed their meaning. They began to express, respectively, the aorist and perfect, that is, *-l’-* a durative action or state, and *-n-*, the result of an action. Similarly, A.N. Savchenko describes the evolution of the tense category in the Indo-European language:

“The ancient inflexional endings of the Indo-European verb expressed not only the person but also the action-state, so that there were two paradigms. From the endings of one paradigm there developed subsequently the endings of the present, and the aorist from another—those of the perfect and of the middle voice.”³

³ Savchenko, A.N. *Sravnitel'naya grammatika indoyevropeyskikh yazykov*, 362

In verbs with the markers of Group *D*, there has long existed a distinction between the aorist and the perfect, i.e. between the markers *-l'*- and *-n-*, respectively.

A number of verbs reflect the transition from the categories 'action/state' to the categories 'present/aorist': 'perfect' In the past tense they have full personal affixes (prefixes), coinciding with the personal markers of a predicate noun. The infixes *-l-* and *-n-* retain their original meanings, 'prolonged state' and 'a momentary action,' respectively (cf. 'to cut' momentary (14)).

Statal verbs (the affixes of group *D*) received subject-object data, at first only in the present. The perfect had a form without a subject.

The features of the nominative typology of verbs of motion is as follows: the verb 'to go' (28), as the durative inchoative, is a good example of the primary indicators of the category of tense in the former active verbs: *-a-* as the present/future tense and *-o-* as the past. Cf.:

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (28) <i>bo-γ-a-t'n</i> | <i>bo-γ-o-n</i> |
| 1SG.SBJ-STEM-PRS-STEM | 1SG.SBJ-STEM-PST-STEM |
| 'I'll go, I go' | 'I went, I was walking' |

The verbs with alternating *-a- -j-:-o- -l'-*, from the point of view of the current state, express the category of tense twice.

At the end of the active period, the verbal word forms expressed the oppositions present:perfect or present:aorist and later in the category of tense with the indicators *a:o*, the opposition present:past was formed.

Thus, the formal expression of the verbal binary opposition present/past relates back to the oppositions action/state, active/inactive action, durative/momentary and perfective/imperfective.

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ON THE QUESTION OF THE ORIGIN OF CASE CATEGORIES

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Introduction

Conducting research aimed at identifying the origins of case categories in language, we discovered that such categories as 'space' and 'time' are expressed in all the languages we considered, regardless of their type or location. But the most remarkable outcome of the present research was the fact that the categories of 'space' and 'time' are closely connected to case categories. O.G. Melnik mentions that:

"Space and time as two fundamental ontological categories act as something that was created first and the life of a person goes within the scope of these categories."¹

According to H.P. Blok 'linguistic locality' is a diachronic phenomenon which refers back to the earliest phase of development in human speech.² He also points out that, from the diachronic point of view, 'locality' must be one of the predecessors of systematic grammar and coins the new term 'pregrammatical stage' to describe this. Moreover, he mentions that there is no language in the world without any marking of locality, at the very least in a fossilized form.³

¹ Melnik 2013: 17

² Blok 1963: 266

³ Blok 1963: 300, 302

Means of expressing space and locality in the Yeniseian languages

The present article is devoted to the genesis of case categories in the Yeniseian languages, which have a number of peculiarities.

First of all, they retain connections to ancient languages that are thousands of years old and date back to the Stone Age.⁴ Despite the fact that the sole survivor of the Yeniseian languages—the Ket language—belongs to the nominative type, according to G.A. Klimov, we can clearly see features inherent in the ancient stages of the development of language, including class and active types.⁵

The second peculiarity of the Yeniseian languages is as follows: they developed in isolation and have not been assigned to any language family recognized today. However, they display typological similarities with a great number of other languages belonging to various areas and types. Accepting the existence of common laws governing language development, we consider that the external comparison of language artefacts can help to diachronically analyze the origin of case categories in language.

The fact that the Yeniseian languages are unwritten is another source of constant interest to scientists in these languages and, in our opinion, allows the researcher to interpret the features of the language unconventionally.

As the diachronic aspect is of special interest in the present research, we will put forward a hypothesis on the origin of the case system, after having analyzed the various ways of expressing locality in modern Ket.

Eleven cases are traditionally marked out in the Ket language, seven of them expressing locality: the indefinite case or *casus indefinitus*, the instrumental-comitative, the locative, the prosecutive, the dative (directional), the adessive and the ablative. Now we shall study the functions of each case.

The indefinite case or *casus indefinitus* can express either a) the location in which an action takes place—*palatka thijga tAŋat dujbinan*⁶ ‘a furnace was put inside a tent’—or b) the direction of an action—*Atn dAŋatn is'qot s'ikden* ‘four of us are going fishing.’

⁴ Polenova 2002: 5

⁵ Klimov 1977

⁶ The examples in this paper are taken from the following works: Dulson 1964, 1966, 1968; Wall 1970; Ketskie folklorniye i bitovie teksti 2001; Werner 1971: 141-154

The instrumental-comitative case expresses the location of something which in some extension coincides with the motion of a body along it or resting on it—*s'u kot'ka bo'k banas dAbə* 'on the way home there will be a fire **on the ground**.'

Only inanimate objects can take the form of the locative. This case can express either the location of an object or the place of a destination: *dkAigexa dkonnega:n*, 'he sat **at his head**,' *sugej dɔnad'i tsagaɔrget*, 'one day he came **home** and said...'

The prosecutive emphasizes: a) an object, along which the action is directed—*sur'n'ixa sesbes ɔŋɔ^h:ndee^h:d'ou* 'they went sable hunting **along the river** Surniha'; b) an object, through which something or somebody penetrates—*tude kanbes' tos'e es'eyo:nen* 'they got upward **through that slit**'; c) an object, inside which the action is directed—*ba²n u l'bes' hite hoqtebiltet* 'the duck dived down **into the water**'; e) the ends or limits of the extension of some action—*o:kste qo:vunu batpil'bes'qoma* 'she cut a **knee-long** stick.'

The dative case with directional meaning expresses: a) a place or object, in the direction or on the surface of which the action is directed—*ɔŋɔ^h:nde de²diŋ* 'they went **to the lake**'; b) the location of something or some action—*ke²t bɔ²ydiŋa dakat a'yojon* 'the man began burning **in the fire**.'

The ablative points to: a) a place or an object which is regarded as a departure point—*da:n' butobi:in ul'kochtadiŋal'* 'grass is taken **out of water**'; b) an object from the surface of which the action originates—*bus' kil'etdiŋal' koma dul'tomdak* 'he unfastened his spear **from his side**'; c) an object from inside of which the action originates—*difu²n dabuɕarout urdiŋa:r* 'her daughter emerged **out of the water**.'

The reason that another locative case in the Ket language is here differentiated—the adessive (which is in fact the locative-personal case)—is that its formants can be used with both animate and inanimate objects. It can express: a) a location where the action takes place or a person at whose house the action takes place—*kastediŋta s'en'gej isko:l'getin* 'на **нашимъем озере** они рыбачили'; b) the direction of the movement: *ɔstiŋan bal'nadant di:emesn* 'the Ket people came **up to Bal'na**.'

Analysis of the language shows that case forms in Ket can express various shades of spatial orientation. However, case affixes conveying only 'shades of spatial orientation' seem to be too formalized. They are multifunctional; to express spatial concepts more precisely something more is needed. There are many post-positional constructions in the Ket language which supplement the case system and specify the special relations expressed by the case forms.

The post-positions are usually nouns in some of the case forms. The function post-positions play is shown in nouns such as: *bal'*, *inbal'* 'interval, gap, space'; *hi* 'stomach, inside'; *his*, 'the lower edge'; *qa:te*, 'edge'; *go*, 'mouth'; *kup*, *kop*, 'edge, lip, end' etc. In his fundamental work devoted to Ket, A.P. Dulson gives a list of 29 post-positions.⁷

Some of the nouns now only exist in the language in a single case form and are used as post-positions: *hitiya/hitka* (locative) 'under'; *itil'ga/itl'ga* (locative) 'next to, near'; *il'bes* (prosecutive) 'near' etc.; *pak aqne inbal'ge* (locative) 'among the trees.'

However, even if there are some other forms of the same post-position in the language, they do not form any case paradigm and are considered by the speaker as separate indeclinable forms. The lexical meaning of the former stem has merged with the grammatical meaning of the case affix creating, as a result, the grammatical meaning of the post-position.⁸

Amongst others we must single out the post-positions conveying three different degrees of remoteness:

1) *kal'ge* (*ka*+affix of ablative *-l'*+affix of locative-temp. *-ge*) *itl'ge* (*it*+*l'*+*ge*) 'near, at.' These post-positions indicate the nearest distance from the object—*ti:p dutoyot oks'da kal'ge* 'the dog is lying **at** the tree'; *ad dikken oks'd itl'ge* 'I'm standing **at** the tree.'

2) *il'ge* (*i*+*l'*+*ge*) also points outwards to a position **near** something, but slightly further away: *ap hipde il'ge sas'te* 'I'm sitting **near** my son.'

3) *utes'il'ge* (*utes'i*+*l'*+*ge*) means 'not far from' and shows that something is not very far from, but is not very near to, some object—*imbatsk ellok dutes'il banijem*, 'Imbatsk is situated **not far from** Kellog.' These examples with post-positions were taken from the work of W. Sherer who conducted a special survey of Ket post-positions and presented his results in several papers.⁹

Apart from post-positions, so called 'syntactic nouns' in the role of post-positions and post-positional adverbs must be marked out in Ket.

According to N.K. Dmitriev, 'syntactic nouns' are nouns that:

"have a dual function: the first is direct, which means that a noun is used in compliance with its basic material meaning, and the second is syntactic which means that a noun is used in a different, more abstract meaning expressing various shades of space relations."¹⁰

⁷Dulson 1968: 563-567

⁸Avrorin 1961: 229

⁹Sherer 1979: 103-108; Sherer 1983.

¹⁰Dmitriev 1948: 238

This statement fully conforms to the facts of Ket. The following Ket nouns can be referred to as the 'syntactic' ones: *ham* (*hammem*), 'top, summit, crown', *hus*', 'lower end, hem' (usually of clothing); *hij*, 'stomach'; *qat*'(e), 'edge'; *qo*, 'mouth'; *kəqte*, 'inside, stomach'; *qop*, 'top, summit'; *kup*, 'end, beak, lip'; *qi*, 'middle'; *ol*', 'cover, shell, capsule, bottle, vessel'; *int*, 'lower part, bottom' (of a building).

When these nouns are used in the forms of any case which expresses locality, they can play the part of post-positions. The function they perform is to add and specify the meaning of the spatial relations that the cases convey. As these syntactic nouns usually mean a certain part of some object or space, this peculiarity influences the meaning of the syntactic noun in combination with the preceding words. For example, when the word *kəqte* 'the inside, stomach,' with an affix of one of the cases expressing locality, is used with another word in a sentence, the combination will denote whether the action is directed inwards or outwards to the object or space.

The main difference between syntactic nouns and post-positions and case forms is that each syntactic noun or post-position conveys only one meaning.

W. Sherer also distinguished some adverbs which can act as post-positions: *hite* (-*te* adessive affix) 'down, underneath'; *kəyə* (-*yə* locative affix) 'to that side'; *kupka* (-*ka* locative affix) 'in front, ahead, before'; *onje* 'behind'; *teka* (-*kə* locative affix) 'athwart, crosswise'; *tos'a* 'upward'; *Al'gebas*'(-*as*' comitative affix) 'around, all round.'

In combination with nouns or pronouns they can convey spatial relations such as the position under some surface and the direction of an action onto some surface or from under the object: *ad dil'tet as'l'inin dlhidije* (-*dije* dative affix) 'I hid **under** a boat'; *ad kajnem l'amd hitdijal'* (-*dijal'* affix of ablative) *bal'tij'* 'I pulled the box **from under** the table.' They can also be used to denote pointing at an object in front of which the action takes place—*ət kupka* (-*ka* locative affix) *bok ayovet* 'a fire is seen in front of us' and pointing at an object around which action takes place—*qu's' Al'gebas'* (-*as*' affix of the comitative) *ta:jya* 'he is walking round the tent' etc.

Those features mentioned above depict the present state of the Ket language:

- 1) There are various ways to convey locality in Ket, including post-positions, syntactic nouns and adverbs, but it is impossible to clearly differentiate them. W. Sherer did not suggest any distinct

- criteria in his work, giving only separate lists of adverbs that act as post-positions;
- 2) Most of the adverbs and post-positions are found in the form of the locative;
 - 3) Looking at the syntactic level does not clarify the situation as both post-positions and adverbs follow the noun and specify this level;
 - 4) There are still some difficulties in differentiating between parts of speech in Ket pointing to the comparatively recent existence of syncretism between parts of speech.¹¹

For these many reasons, the present state of Ket draws the attention of scientists. One can see the coexistence of language forms that signify different degrees of abstraction, including:

- a) Syntactic nouns, used as 'qualifiers' of other nouns, the meanings of which have gradually become more abstract;
- b) Post-positional adverbs which are 'petrified case forms' (this term coined by N. N. Kazanskii);
- c) Post-positions which are not solo members of a sentence but follow a noun (which is usually in the genitive form) in a sentence and have no formative or inflective means;
- d) Cases expressing location.

Traditionally case affixes correlate with the meaning of a content word and outside this word they have no meaning. Things are different in the Yeniseian languages. First of all, case affixes in Ket can be used not only with separate nouns but also with combinations of nouns—*oks' A:n dayte o:nan* 'there are many branches **on the tree**' instead of *oks'dayte A:n o:nan* (*-dayte* is the affix of the adessive). Secondly, all case morphemes can be detached from nominal stems and used distantly or can even be attached to finite forms of verbs serving as a conjunction in subordinate clauses—*buŋ oŋo:nden diyal' ko:okn biminan* 'nine days have passed **since** they went away.'

In other words, research into the sole survivor of the Yeniseian languages—the Ket language—allows researchers to witness the development of grammatical case categories: where case affixes act as post-positions. The movement to a greater degree of abstraction is also shown in the following—*qi:nna kit de'ŋ bat kŋpinaŋ pitomnikdiŋa* 'moose meat people give away to the farm,' where the word *pitomnik* 'the farm,'

¹¹Polenova 2011: 31, 41-44

is a recent Russian borrowing and the formal dative affix *-diŋa* attaches to it.

Some diachronic facts

Let us consider the forms of the case affixes. A.P. Dulson pointed out that the "Dative, Ablative, Adessive and Benefactive can be viewed as derived from the form of the Possessive case."¹²

G.K. Werner, who has devoted a great number of fundamental works to the study of the Yeniseian languages (the Kott, the Jug and the Ket languages), particularly their grammatical and phonological system, developed A.P. Dulson's ideas and represented the affixes of the cases listed above as a combination of the genitive (or 'possessive case' in A.P. Dulson's terms) affix and 'formalized units' rising from post-positions.¹³ As an example, we can represent the affix of the dative *-daŋa/-diŋa*, as a sum of the genitive affix *-dal-di* + *ŋa/iŋa*—the component arising from a post-position—jug. *ab i:ŋ bə:s'e* 'I'm not here'; *uk i:ŋ bə:s'e* 'you are not here'; *dai:ŋ < buda i:ŋ bə:s'e* 'he is not here'; *di:ŋ < budi i:ŋ bə:s'e* 'she is not here,' etc.¹⁴

Out of eight cases expressing spatial relations three—the dative, ablative and adessive—can be viewed as innovations because they were formed from the genitive. The genitive itself does not convey any spatial relationship but plays a key role in the development of case categories in the Yeniseian languages. This is why this case has become the subject of our research.

Now we shall study four other cases expressing spatial relations: the indefinite or casus indefinitus, the instrumental-comitative, the locative and the prosecutive.

The locative meaning of the instrumental-comitative, which has evolved from the meaning of 'simultaneousness,' we consider to have arisen at a comparatively later date. In his study of another (extinct) Yeniseian language, Kott, M.A. Castren highlights the use of the instructive with the affix *-ô* and the comitative *-oš/-aš*. Additionally, in his Kott dictionary he mentions post-positional *-oš*, meaning 'with the help of.'¹⁵ We are inclined to believe, however, that the initial meaning

¹²Dulson 1968: 70

¹³Werner 1988: 85

¹⁴Werner 1988: 84-85

¹⁵Castren 1858: 119

of this case was instrumental, which may be considered to be the oldest one.

The locative is formed with the affix *-ka/-ya* in the Ket language and *-kej/-yej* in the Jug language where it is attached to the form of the indefinite case. We believe that the best argument to explain this feature is that they refer back to cases of older formation and the 'stiff' forms of adverbs mentioned above. The same affixes also form parts of post-positions and syntactic nouns.

This point of view is supported by the findings of M.A. Castren who presumed the initial existence of two languages in the Yeniseian language group and locative affixes with *-gei/-kei* in the Jug language and *-kä/-gä* in the Ket language and the ablative with the post-position *ér* in the Jug language and *äl* in the Ket language. He also assumed that other case affixes "originally belonged to enclitic particles."¹⁶

According to G.K. Werner, there were three cases in the old Yeniseian language which expressed locality. One of them is the locative with the affix **ke* (locative 1), as we have mentioned previously. Apart from this there was the locative with the affix **l* (locative 2). Its existence is proven by the features of the Kott language recorded in M.A. Castren's famous work. Here are some of the examples from Kott: *eča:l* 'up, above, overhead, upwardly' (from *e:š* 'sky'); *ha:nal* 'below, beneath, down, underneath' (from **ha:n* 'lower part, bottom'); *ujal* 'headwaters' (or **uj* 'upper reaches (of a river)'); *l'i:gal* 'in the lower reaches (of a river)' (**l'i:g/l'i:k* 'the lower reaches'); *i:tal* 'below, beneath, under' etc. The traces of locative 2 are found in the 'stiff' forms of some post-positions and adverbs in the Ket and Jug languages. In Ket, this can be seen in: *hitil* 'below, beneath, lower'; *qotil* 'in front of, foreground'; *tos'il* 'up, above, overhead.' Whereas in Jug, we find: *igil* 'near, beside, next'; *itil* 'at, next to'; *fil* 'down, below, beneath.'¹⁷

Locative 3 has the affix *-bes* and featured common locative semantics. In Ket and Jug there is a case with the affix *-bes* which is called the prosecutive. Apart from its locative meaning, this form was used to compare things. Here are some examples from Kott: *alšipbaš* 'like a dog' (*alšip* 'dog'); *hatpaš* 'like fire' (*hat* 'fire'). For Jug, examples include *surbes/surbeš* 'red (adj.)' (from *sur* 'blood,' literally 'like blood'); in Ket we find *ul'bes* 'liquid (adj.)' (from *ul* 'water,' literally 'like water').¹⁸

The existence of the three locative cases in the old Yeniseian language is shown in the examples above. The analysis of their forms shows that

¹⁶Castrén 1858: 25

¹⁷Werner 1988: 87; Werner 2003: 53-54

¹⁸Werner 1988: 87-88

they all developed from the indefinite case which also has some peculiar features.

Firstly, the indefinite case is an initial, base form of a noun, from which other cases are formed, including the genitive.

Secondly, the indefinite case not only plays the function of the subject, but also the function of the object. The characteristic of having no special formant to differentiate subject and object is common for many other languages, such as Yukagir, Ossetic and Azerbaijani.

Thirdly, the indefinite case is multifunctional. Apart from its main functions of subject, object and attribute, it can also be used to express some adverbial meanings, including the locative. For example: in Jug we see *beja* (subject) *gəχən* 'the wind started to blow'; while in Ket *Atn dAḡatn is'got* (the direction of movement) *s'ikdeŋ* 'four of us are going fishing.' Furthermore, in Jug we have *dijak tatəŋ s'ε's'oks' ka:joro* (*s'ε's'* 'larch'—attribute + *oks'* 'tree'—object) 'I'm going to cut some larch tree' and *uk fu'nfaɟ χəχat* (modus operandi) *χədiŋagen* 'your daughter and I shall die from hunger' etc.

All the facts listed corroborate the special status of the indefinite case in the Yeniseian languages. We also assume that during the period of case category formation the indefinite case played a very important role.

In addition, the facts enable us to assert that in the early stage of the development of case categories in the Yeniseian languages there was a dichotomy between the indefinite case and the genitive with an affix.

The facts that confirm this hypothesis are as follows:

1) All cases attested to in the Yeniseian languages break down into two groups: a) cases formed on the basis of the indefinite case, and b) cases formed on the basis of the genitive.

2) There are instances of interchange between the genitive and the indefinite case and the substitution of the genitive by a combination of the indefinite case with the possessive form of another noun.

3) More often than with the affixes of other cases, the genitive affix can be used separately from the word and it can become a prefix with possessive meaning.¹⁹

It is important to find out what meaning the first marked case form conveyed. Nouns and the 3rd person pronouns 'he' and 'she' (*buda/bud(i)*) have the same genitive affixes *-da/-d(i)* and can be easily extracted in the agglutinating Jug and Ket languages. This fact allows the conclusion that the affixes *-da/-d(i)* were first added to the form of the

¹⁹ Toporov & Tsivian 1968: 243-244; Polenova 2012: 34

indefinite case to differentiate nouns of the active and the inactive class.²⁰

The word combination *obda hyr* might have been *ob*, *da* and *hyr* or 'father's son,' where the literal translation was 'father-his-son,' and where *da* is the 3rd person personal pronoun.²¹ To compare, it must be emphasized that when acting in the function of an attribute, the nouns of the inactive class did not add an affix (there are also cases of the simple adjoining of two nouns to convey possession in the Yeniseian languages). In other words, only the nouns of the active class added the affixes *-da/-d(i)*, later identified as genitive affixes. This hypothesis seems to be reasonable enough as only active nouns can feature the idea of possession, that is, only a living object can be a possessor.

To have a more complete idea of the genesis of case categories in the Yeniseian languages we will consider the nature of the affixes *-da/-di*. According to G.T. Polenova, there were no grammatical categories and no parts of speech in the early stage of Ket language development, but it featured a great number of deictic particles. Some of the particles became demonstrative pronouns and later, as a result of grammaticalization, turned into affixes for various grammatical categories.²² T.M. Nikolaeva called these particles "ancient units ... the bricks from which all the words of the communicative fund are formed."²³

Conclusion

In our opinion, the process of the evolution of case categories in the language was as follows. In the 'pregrammatical stage' there existed only one form of a noun (the indefinite case in the modern Yeniseian languages; it remains the most multifunctional case). The relationship between words was only expressed by word order, tone, stress or intonation. A very important role was played by the deictic particles: they were added to unmarked polysemantic base-words in order to specify some meaning when base-words could not satisfy the communicative needs of the people speaking the language. We think that the first marked form was utilized to specify location: the particle *-a* was used to mark the action within the speaker's area, thus concerning the speaker; particle *-i* moved the action to the 'not-I' area. Furthermore, in

²⁰Werner 1974: 43-44.

²¹Toporov & Tsvivan 1968: 244.

²²Polenova 2002: 20-21; Polenova 2012: C. 34.

²³Nikolaeva 2000: 37.

the process of abstraction, the meaning of location evolved into the idea of possession.

So, the first marked form, which we call the genitive, initially had a diffused function and at first showed the relationship between the speaker and action.

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THE EVOLUTION OF CONCEPT METAPHOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLYSEMY IN ENGLISH MOTION VERBS

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The achievements of linguistics at the end of the twentieth century offer a chance to look at language from the point of view of its part in humanity's cognitive activities. Cognitivism has developed into a new branch of linguistics. It studies how the world is perceived in people's everyday activities. V.A. Maslova warns that information comes to a person through different channels; for cognitive linguistics only that part of the information which is reflected in language forms is relevant (Maslova 2005). In other words, cognitive linguistics treats language as an instrument of self-expression and meaning becomes the main object of research. One should also bear in mind that in cognitive linguistics the connection of language and thinking is explained through a notional (concept) apparatus; the semantic content of language units is described in the same terms that characterize thinking (Krongauz 2005).

A metaphor is a universal cognitive means for learning and understanding complex things through simple ones. A metaphor reveals ways of thinking. Any semantic change is based on the comparison of two domains of knowledge: the cognitive structure of the source domain and the cognitive structure of the target domain (Lakoff & Johnson 2004). In contrast to the traditional view, cognitive linguistics considers the main function of metaphor as explaining one kind of experience on the basis of another one. The existence of isolated characteristics of similarity and the creation of similar but new features are supposed. This means that metaphors are connected with thinking and activities; they are not only limited to language.

Before starting research on the development of polysemy in English motion verbs on the basis of conventional (concept) metaphors, it is necessary to point out two things. Firstly, a metaphor is treated as a mechanism matching the impressions of different movements and

preserving a semantic dual-polarity and an image element. The interaction of two psychic phenomena takes place at the cognitive level. The cognitive roots of the image contribute to the interpretation of the movement at the lexical-semantic level. Secondly, conventional metaphors enter the dictionary as the second or third item or so, highlighting the widespread use of motion verbs in similar situations. These verbs are used in their indirect and developed meaning.

Motion verbs go far back in the history of mankind and language development; it is natural for them to be a source for images. While observing the world, a person identifies his own movements with the movements of the things around. For example, *to dance, move along in rhythmical steps* (the cognitive structure of the source domain) is compared to a similar movement, that of *to move in a lively way, quickly, up and down* (the cognitive structure of the target domain), leading to *the leaves were dancing in the wind*. Such a united vision of two pictures reveals, in the semantics of the image word, two aspects or plans, one of which is connected to the nominative meaning of the word and the other to the associations aroused by it (Pesina 2011).

Conventional metaphors are based on the comparison of the ordinary, usual movements of people and animals with similar movements of objects in their surroundings:

Amble—(of a horse) “move along without hurrying, lifting the two feet on one side together,” (of a person) “ride or walk at an easy pace” (Hornby 1982: 26);

Launch—“set a ship afloat: set in motion”; “get started, make a start on” (Hornby 1982: 476).

*Tom didn't need his help, of course, and Archer knew it. But he **ambled** over because there was nowhere to go* (Richards 1999: 61).

There is no doubt that here it is aimless hanging around which is pointed to, rather than longitudinal movement. The concept metaphor can easily be transformed by a verb in its nominative meaning:

*He took a deep breath and **launched** into the story of the night's events—He **started** the story* (Richards 1999: 90).

By examining etymological dictionaries one can follow the development of new meanings of words on the basis of concept metaphors:

OE *creopan* 'move forward with the body prone and close to the ground' in the XVI c. develops a new meaning 'grow along the ground, the wall and close to the ground' (OCD): *Ivy had crept over the ruined castle walls.*

Metaphorization, here, is based on the image of the body prone to the ground while creeping. Compare the verbs *creep* and *crawl*: the latter appeared in the English language in the fourteenth century and developed a new meaning *to move slowly* as shown in *our train crawled over the damaged bridge*. Pesina objects to the idea that during metaphorization the metaphoric meaning substitutes the initial one. On the contrary, two states are preserved in the mind at the same time—they are combined (Pesina 2011).

Another example of this process is found in the motion verb *dive*, with its roots in the Old English *dyfan/to dart out of sight*, together with the meaning *go head first into water*. After submarines appeared, it developed the meaning *go under water*. Motion verbs denoting motion in certain surroundings can develop a meaning of motion in other surroundings. The cognitive structure of the source domain 'quickly plunging into water' is compared to the cognitive structure of the target domain 'quickly getting down or disappearing' as shown by *the aircraft dived steeply* and *the rabbit dived into its hole*.

Originally borrowed from Latin into Old English *circul* was not widely used. But the third declension Latin loan word *circulare* (fourteenth century) was assimilated into the language and was used to make cognitive metaphors in its semantic reference to 'circular movement' that was then transferred to many different contexts:

The aircraft circled over the landing field. Drake circled the globe (sailed the globe).

The semantic load of the motion verb enriches the described scene with lots of detail. It adds to the location of the object and to its surroundings:

She circled her desk to gaze at the city stretching toward the bay (Richards 1999: 15).

It is evident, that if the desk can be walked around then it is not standing by the window and the room is big enough to circle the desk; we should not have learned as much if sub-basic or super basic verbs, such as *move*, *go* or *come up* had been used (Pavlenko 2009).

The Romance word **arripart* entered Old French as *ariver* meaning *come to land*, but this obsolete meaning was used mainly in the thirteenth

century. Later, the verb developed the meaning *come to the end of a journey*. The source domain of both verbs is 'the distance covered, on arrival,' as in *at last the day arrived*. This can also be expressed by the verb to *come*. In Middle English *come/arrive* were widely used as synonyms, because both English and French were state languages. In modern usage they differentiate colloquial and literary layers. It is evident that *to be born*, as in *her baby arrived yesterday*, has developed antonymically to the euphemistic *pass away* or *leave* with the meaning of *to die*.

Desert, from the Old French *forsake, abandon* (fifteenth century) preserves the borrowed meaning *leave somebody* with the implied motion concept. It also developed a new meaning, that of *run away from*, as in *a soldier who deserted his post in time of war was punished severely*.

Course, from the Old French *course*, (Latin *cursus*) meaning *chase* or *hunt*, together with a narrower meaning of *chase (esp. hares) with dogs* developed the meaning *move quickly, run* on the basis of the mutual similarity of moving in a particular manner through certain surroundings. For example: *the blood coursed through his veins; tears coursed down her cheeks*.

The primordial meaning *promote, forward* of the verb *advance*, from the Middle English *ava(u)ncen* (Latin *abante* (*ab* 'off, away + *ante* 'before)), is referenced in the dictionary as a secondary meaning, after *go/move forward*. The primary meaning of the verb 'off from a local position' is especially conspicuous when used with objects, as in *stock market prices continue to advance*.

In the above mentioned examples, concept metaphors are not perceived as figures of speech while speaking. Our observation is confirmed by L. Novikov who points out that lexical units possess steadiness while fulfilling communicative functions, and mobility by adjusting to new needs (Novikov 1982). The lexical unit changes gradually and partially as it adjusts to a new situation.

The above analysis proves that motion verbs represent a source of concept metaphors; motion verbs reflect the centuries-old practices of humanity. The basis of polysemy in motion verbs is the net of relations, covering the lexical-semantic variants of these verbs. The lexical-semantic variants reflect various kinds of movement associated in the minds of people with some mutual characteristics of their environment. The reflection of the motion concept in conventional metaphors contributes to language economy.

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MODIFICATION AND MUTATION IN THE HISTORY OF THE INNER-VERBAL PREFIXATION OF RUSSIAN POSITIONAL VERBS

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The study of the history of inner-verbal prefixation is relevant to understanding historical word formation in the Russian language and its cognitive aspect. Description of the deep layers of denotation structure and their dynamics helps us to develop new knowledge about verbal semantics connected to the structure of denotation situations and also about the profound mechanisms of the prefixal word formation of the verb. Recently, the types of secondary verbal nomination have more and more often become the objects of study in connection with close study of the verb as a peculiar nominative unit where denotation is performed according to a polysituational model. Their diachronic study, and especially the study of mutational types of word formation, has just begun. The history of the prefixal derivatives of the statal positional verbs is of great interest, such as *стоять*—*stoyat'*/'to stand; *сидеть*—*sidet'*/'to sit; *лежать*—*lezhat'*/'to lie, because they have no 'natural' limiting point in time (terminative) and resultativeness. They also have great potential for referring to the occurrence of 'unplanned' resultativeness and objectivity.

This article deals with analysis of the mechanisms of development of modificational and mutational prefix word formation types in the history of the Russian language. This has not yet been the object of diachronic study.

The history of Russian verb prefixation traces three types of derivational model: spatial, modificational (phase and temporal) and mutational.

The oldest are the spatial models. In the Proto-Slavic language spatial prefixes could combine not only with verbs of motion, but with other stative stems, including positional ones, because they had not yet obtained the meanings of terminativeness and resultativeness. Once prefixes gained this semantic capability, the contradiction between the terminativeness and

resultativeness of the spatial prefix, and a stable stem, occurred. This led to the disappearance of these models, though some of their relics (positional verbs with spatial prefixes) still exist. These are the exceptional verbs of imperfective aspect:

отстоять от города—otstoyat' ot goroda/smth. Is distant from the town; восседать—vossedat'/sit solemnly; возлежать на чем-либо—vozlezhat' na chem.-libo/to recline on smth.

Some verbs, and their derivatives, remained only in their secondary meanings of the word that developed from the given spatial one: *обстоять/obstoyat'—be, stand, get on; надлежать/nadlezhat'—have to, be to be, ought; подлежать/podlezhat'—to be subject to, be to be; предстоять/predstoyat'—lie ahead, be in store; пристойный/pristoiniy в decent, proper; прилежный/prilezhniy—diligent, industrious; прилежание/prilezhanie—diligence, industry.*

In written records of the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries positional verbs with spatial prefixes are much more prevalent. These are the derivatives of positional verbs with the following prefixes that had spatial meaning or trace them in the history of Russian:

в-в, воз/вз-voz; vz, до- do; за- za; на- na; над- nad; об- ob; от- ot; по- po; под- pod; при- pri; противо- protivno; прѣд- pried; раз- raz; с-/со- s/so; у- u влeжати—vlezhati; достояти—dostoyati; застояти—zastoyati; залежати—zalezhati; настояти—nastoyati, насѣдѣти—nasiedieti; належати—nalezhati; надстояти—nadstoyati, надлежати—ndlezhati; обстояти—obstoyati, обсеѣдѣти—obsiedieti, облежати—oblezhati; пристояти—pristoyati, присѣдѣти—prisiedieti, прилежати—prilezhati и др. (For more detailed information see Tabachenko 2010).

Inner-verbal spatial prefixation of positional verbs can be examined within the framework of the modificational model.

The main problem consists in the differentiation of modification and mutation as types of secondary nomination in the sphere of the prefixal inner-verbal word formation types. At the heart of their differentiation lies the semantic relationship between the productive and the derivative verb: the 'semantic distance' between them.

The main principles of derivational onomasiology were developed by the Czech linguist M. Dokulil. As quoted in E.V. Petrukhina, according to him:

"modification is a derivative nomination under which to the contents of the given notion an additional feature that enriches it is added and as a result a

more specific notion of the same object or phenomenon is created... Mutation is not a more precise definition of the old notion, but a creation of a new one on the basis of the first one. This is a nomination of a new phenomenon on the basis of its relation to the initial one..."¹

The unequivocal principles of the differentiation of modificational and mutational derivation act as different approaches to the semantic problem highlighted above in an inability to measure the degree of semantic augmentation in prefixal derivatives and also the criteria of "the differentiation of the specified (modified) verbal meaning created on the basis of the initial notional nomination of a new action of the word formation of the mutational meaning" (Petrukina 2000: 110).

M. Dokulil considers inner-verbal derivation almost entirely within the frames of the modificational onomasiological category. The same point of view is reflected in *Russian Grammar* (1980), and in the works of I.S. Ulukhanova, E.S. Kubryakovoi and E.A. Zemskoi.

There is another point of view concerning types of inner-verbal prefixation. In *Russian Grammar*, published in Prague in 1979, in the realm of inner-verbal prefixal word formation, not only modification (in the sphere of means of verbal action), but mutation is distinguished. The author of the units about mutational and modification word formation types within the frames of verbal action, Z. Skoumalova, specifies that mutational prefixal verbal word formation includes all those word formation types and single verbs that do not belong to the modificational one. For the differentiation of modificational and mutational traces of prefixal meanings, Z. Skoumalova uses a combination of semantic and syntactical criteria:

"Initial stems are subjected to mutational changes when: 1) this changes their intentional (lexico-syntactical) structure, compare *рыть землю/ryt' zemliu*—*зарыть клад в землю/zaryt' klad v zemliu*; *варить воду/varit' vodu*—*выварить соль из воды/vyvarit' sol' iz vody*; 2) the semantic shift takes place in the initial meaning and the result is not the predetermined meaning of the derivative stem in the strict sense of the word, compare *жать траву/zhat' travu*—*выжать траву/vyzhat' travu* (=выжженная/vyzhinaya, удалить/udalit") (...) Mutational meanings of prefixes can be generalized into the formula: 'doing smth., finish the action changing its inner orientation' (with the help of an action to place smth.

¹ Petrukina, E.V. 2000. *Aspektual'nye kategorii glagola v russkom yazyke v sopostavlenii s cheshskim, slovatskim, pol'skim i bolgarskim yazykami*.—M.: Izd-vo MGU, 110s.

somewhere, remove, connect, separate, spend, acquire, fill up, empty, increase, decrease and so on): the meaning of the prefix is expressed by the auxiliary verb reflecting the specific change of the object or the subject of an action."²

L.A. Varaksin acknowledges the role both modification and mutation in prefixal inner-verbal word formation and terms the prefixes that form mutational derivatives, prefix-qualifiers (Varaksin 1996).

The authors of *Grammar of the contemporary Polish language* (1998) combine modificational and mutational formants into a semantic type that is opposed to transpositional formants, on the one hand, and 'aspectual' formants, on the other. They assign derivatives in which the semantics of the stem have been cleared out and specified by its formants to the modificational class. For example: *przeschnąć* подсохнуть—немного высохнуть/podsohnut—nemnogo vysohnut. Belonging to the class of mutational types are derivatives in which formants insert new meaning. For example, denominative verbs and prefixal verbals of the type that include the identity of the subjects of the main and additional propositional structures, such as *wyplakać coś* выплакать что-л.—'to sob out, to weep, to cry a lot, to cry oneself out' (Gramatyka 1998).

E.V. Petrukhina, drawing on Russian and a number of Slavic languages that choose mutational and modification word formation types of prefixal verbs, developed more precise criteria for their differentiation in terms of their modification/non-modification of logical valences and their resultative perspective of action. The existence of changes in these characteristics in the received derivative indicates mutation, while its absence results in modification:

"if innerverbal derivation touches on and changes the resultative perspective of the initial verb and its logical, and respectively, semantic valences, then as a result of word building processes the nomination of new action occurs and the derivation itself appears to be the mutation, for example: *перекричать (кого-либо)*—to shout down, *отсидеть (ногу)*—to have pins and needles in (one's foot), *прогулять (лекцию)*—to skip (lessons)."³

As a result of word building mutation, "a complicated nomination is created not only naming the new situation but expressing connections

² *Russkaya grammatika*. 1979. Praha: Academia. Vol.1. 243-244s.

³ Petrukhina, E.V. 2000. *Aspektual'nye kategorii glagola v russkom yazyke v vopostavlennii s cheshskim, slovatskim, pol'skim i bolgarskim yazykami*.—M.: Izd-vo MGU. 114s.

between it and the initial action that, in most of the cases, results in either its cause (*проспать остановку*—to oversleep, to miss smth. (stop/station) by sleeping, *выслужить повышение*—to seek/buck/earn a promotion) or mode of achievement...⁴

N.B. Lebedeva, analyzing polysituational verbs, does not dwell on the description of modificational and mutational types of derivation. On the basis of her analysis of the types of situatemes of prefixal verbs, one can come to the following conclusions: 1) the mutational formation of words representing the animate subject in some spheres (physical, physiological, psychological, mental and social) leads to the formation of a new situation as a kernel; 2) there is an additional (hidden, implicative) proposition in the structure of mutational verbal derivatives: those associated with the principal derivative alongside those connected to it by different types of relationships. For example, in the situateme of the verb *проспать* (*поезд*)—to miss (by oversleeping one's train departure time) it is the proposition *ждать* (*поезда*)—to wait (for the train)/to await connected with the subjective realization of one's goal (Lebedeva 2010) that shows the importance of taking into consideration a resultative and goal-setting perspective in the definition of the mutational derivation type.

We follow the second point of view and the basic principle that in the mutational type of derivation the prefixal verb names a quite different verbal situation as a kernel that is connected, not with the initial stem (marked situation), but with another class of verbal nominations. For example: *получить, глаголы, выпросить, выиграть*—‘to get/to receive’ (verbs to cajole smth. out of smb./to beg/to win); *пропустить, проспать, прогулять*—‘to miss’ (to oversleep/to miss smth. by sleeping/to skip); *растратить, пропить, проиграть*—‘to fiddle away/to skittle away’ (to drink away, to gamble away).

As this kernel situation comes into communicative focus, it is lexicalized—it is the one particular element (comprising the core of the situateme) that is included in the meaning of the verbal lexeme.

Once all prefixes in the Proto-Slavic language acquired a limiting point in meaning and resultativeness, the prefixal positional verbs, as the core of the stative verbs, being ontologically atelic and non-productive, in combination with the prefixes, could realize polysituative and ‘external’ resultativeness limitation by some time limit as a definite result (Bondarko 2001). The limiting point in meaning and resultativeness of the prefixes,

⁴ Petrukhina, E.V. 2000. *Aspektual'nye kategorii glagola v russkom yazyke v сопоставлении с cheshskim, slovatskim, pol'skim i bolgarskim yazykami*. M.: Izd-vo MGU. 114s.

on the one hand, became one of the sources of aspect category formation, and on the other hand, could be transferred:

1) onto the time axis and the qualitative and evaluative character of the action proceeding in terms of the formation of the means of action within the framework of the modification model: *постоять немного*—to stand, wait for some time; *простоять всю ночь*—to keep standing all night long; *отстоять вахту*—to take, have, stand one's watch, rotation shift;

2) onto the related situations of the situation, i.e. the polysituational complex (a term coined by N.B. Lebedeva) marked by the verbal prefixal derivative of a mutational type: *отстоять ноги, воду*—to stand (on one's feet) as long as smth. lasts, to settle water; *отлежать бок*—to have pins and needles in one's side; *отсидеть ногу*—to have pins and needles in one's foot; *належать пролежни*—to develop bed-sores; *мухи засидели зеркало*—fly-blown mirror. In the mutational derivation type, the verbal stem actualizes the physical 'level' of the subject (its location in space), but the prefixal derivative names a new situation, the source of resultativeness which is in adjacent layers of physiological, psychological, mental and social character.

Let us analyze the peculiar features of the above mentioned types of derivation through the example of the homonymous prefixal formations of the verb *стояти/stoyati* and the prefix *до-/do-*.

1. Modificational spatial type

The verb *достояти/dostoyati*, as the realization of the old, Proto-Slavic type, was used in the spatial meaning 'to rise above some limit touching smth./to touch smth.' In both the Ancient Russian and Old Russian periods: *яви(с) образъ ... кр(с)та. Стояше свѣтомъ сия на нѣ си. Зрящимъ всѣмъ лю(д)мъ. Превыше стго голгофы распротерся. Идѣ же г(с)ъ на(ш) ис(с) хс(с)ъ распяся и достоя. Дост-ья. Горы елѣоньскыя. Иде же свѣтлостию луча. Сл-ниця. Сияния съкры. Пр 1383, 61а-б. (SIDrYaXI-XIVvv., 3: 73)/yavi(s) obraz'...kr(s)ta. Stoyashe svietom' siyaya na nbsi. Zryaschim' vsiem' liu(d)m'. prevyshe stgo golgofy rasprostera. Idie zhe g(s)' na(sh) is(s) hs(s)s' raspyasya I dostoya. Do styya. Gory elieon'skyya. Ide zhe svietlostiyu lucha. Slnts'ya siyaniya s'kry. Пр 1383, 61а-б. (SIDrYa XI-XIV vv., 3: 73); *Идыи же Алекъсандръ дивляшеся различнымъ горамъ кристалоноснѣи земли, достоящимъ нб-снѣмъ облакомъ. Александрия, 91. XV в.~XII в. (SIRYa XI-XVII vv., 4: 339)/ idyi zhe Alek'sandr' divlyashesya razlichnym' goram' krystalonosniei zemli, dostoyaschim' nbsnym' oblakom' Aleksandriya, XV~XII centuries**

(SIRYa XI–XVII vv., 4: 339) *Горы, достоящие облакомъ/Gory, dostoyaschie oblakom*—the mountains that touch the clouds with their peaks. Originally the verb *достояму/dostoyati*, was used in similar constructions as *стояму/stoyati* to denote the vertical spatial position/location of an object (with fixation at the top point), the prefix *до-/do-* marked the verb spatially showing the limit of the location.

Later modificational phase and temporal, mutational meanings of the prefixes developed, not on the basis of spatial semantics, but crystallized deep within the resultativeness. This was due to semantic ‘contamination’ from an all-inclusive context and from the stem of the verb with the possible influence of genetic and prototypical meanings of the prefixes. These word formation types appeared at the end of the Old Russian period.

2. Modificational phase and temporal type

In stative and positional verbs, in particular, those denoting action that does not spread anywhere (keeps under) and only extends temporally, in contradiction to verbs of motion, the temporal meaning of the prefix *до-/do-* appeared, not as a result of the metaphorical transposition of spatial meaning, but in the process of specialization of the accomplished and resultative semantics. In verbs, including ontologically atelic verbs and object-free verbs that lack initial resultativeness in the process of actualization of the duration phase, i.e. the aspect of prolonging time, the meaning of resultativeness that the prefix possesses is shifted onto the axis of actions in motion: the dots on the time axis can be viewed as temporal limit stops *достоять до вечера/to stand, to hold on till the evening*, and temporal segments can serve as objects *достоять последние пять минут/to stand, to hold on the last five minutes*. The genetic and prototypical meaning of the prefix *до-/do-* ‘to reach the limit’ interacts with the resultative meaning, forming definite aspectual shades, at first, only in context, but later, transformed into separate means of verbal action: both terminative and limiting, *долежать до утра—lie until the morning, stay in bed until the morning*; *допилить—to saw smth. up to the very end*; final and completive, *доедать/доесть суп—to eat up/to finish eating one’s soup*; *долежать последние минуты—to stay in bed until it’s time to get up finally/to enjoy one’s staying in bed till it’s really time to get up*; completive and partitive, *досыпать муки—to add some flour, дополучить—to receive in addition*.

One can speak of the origin of the temporal meaning of the verb *достояти/dostoyati* on the basis of its earliest recorded example: *Яже капища донынѣ достоять. /Yazhe kapischa donynie dostoyat'*.⁵

This is not, however, the contemporary modificational meaning of verbs with a perfective aspect: *стоять до определенного предела, срока*—'to stand up to a definite limit/end, period/fixed time,' *достоял до ночи/dostoyal do nochi*—*smb. stood/held on till the night*. In terms of context, the adverb *доньне/donyne*—*hitherto/to this day*, in particular, shows that the verb is used in the present tense: *капища и доньне стоят/kapischa i donyne stoyat* 'heathen/pagan temples remain to this day' and the prefix *до-/do-* copies the prefix of the adverb.

The usage of the verb *достояти/dostoyati* in a final and completive meaning is mentioned in the Old Russian period:

А которой наймит дворной пойдет прочь отъ государя не достоявъ своего урока, ино ему найму взятии по счету. Псков. Суд. Гр., 10. XVI в.~XV в. (SIRYa XI-XVII vv., 4: 339)/*A kotoroi naimyt dvornoj poidet' proch' ot' gosudarya ne dostoyav' svoego uroka, ino emu naimu vzyati po schetu.* Pskov.sud.gr. 10. XVI~Xv centuries.

The imperfective *достаивати/dostaivati* appears in texts of the first half of the seventeenth century in a somewhat contracted meaning *достаивать* какое-л. *Время на определенном участке боевых действий*—'to hold on for some time in the definite area of operations.'

The verb *достоять/dostoyat'*—*to stand up till some moment/to hold on*, in the meaning *стоять до определенного предела срока*—'to stand up to a definite limit/end, period/fixed time,' is only mentioned in dictionaries of the nineteenth century: *достаивать/достоять—dostaivat'/dostoyat'* *стоять до назначенного времени*—'to stand/hold on till the appointed time': *Достаивать на часахъ.* (Slov. Akad. 1847, 1: 361, 362)/*Dostaivat' na chasah'*—*smb. stands on guard*. The final and completive meaning (*достаивать/достоять последние минуты/dostaivat'/dostoyat' poslednie minuty*—*to stand, to hold on for the last few minutes*) of this verb is only singled out in dictionaries of contemporary Russian language (SSRLYa 3: 1035).

⁵ Хрон. И. Малалы, VI, 12. XV в.~XIII в. /Chronicles I. Malaly, VI, 12. XV~XIII centuries (SIRYa XI-XVII vv., 4: 339).

3. Mutational type

The origin of the mutational meaning of the verb *достоять/dostoyati* in one of its earliest usages in an accomplished and resultative meaning, is found in the Ipat'yevskaya Chronicle: (1151): *Ипоча... молвити: Се, брат<ь>е, стоимы сде. Чего достоимы сде? Ипат. Лет., 425. (SIRYaXI-XVIIvv., 4: 339)/Ипоча... molviti: Se, brat'e, stoimy sde. Chego dostoimy sde? Ipat.chr., 425. This derivative can be examined within the framework of mutational word formation as one of the explicators of nomination *добыть, получить/dobyt', poluchit'*—'to manage to get/to get.' In this case, in the prefix *до-/do-*, a common idea of 'accomplishment' is combined with resultativeness (in the context—'anti-resultativeness'—a rhetorical question points to a greater likelihood of an inability to obtain what is necessary in this place as a result). The result of an action comes to the foreground and not at its end—its accomplishment—that is why one can speak, in this example, about the lack of a temporal (complete and limiting) component in the meaning of the prefix. Moreover, the result can be conceived in expectation in terms of the goal of the subject which he/she gets: "intransitive, i.e. object-free, verbs have their implicit focus on some part of the subject: psychological, mental, physiological, social, or on the complex of these components that become the patient of the process performed by the subject" (Lebedeva 2010: 167).*

This meaning of resultativeness/anti-resultativeness of the verb *достоять/dostoyat'* in contemporary Russian is treated as a consequence: *стоянием доводить себя до каких-л. Последствий*—'to work oneself into some consequences (after-effects)' (SSRLYa 3: 1035). The meaning of *добиться чего-л., достигнуть какой-л. цели в результате интенсивного или длительного действия, названного мотивирующим словом*—'to reach smth., to achieve/gain/attain one's object/end as a result of some intensive or prolonged action,' is more characteristic of a derivative of another mutational word formation type with a confixum, *до-...-ся/до-...-tsa*, that developed later as avresult of of prefixal formation: *достояться/dostoyat'sa*—*to stand, to hold on till one can hardly stand on one's feet*; *додуматься/dodumat'sa*—*put two and two together, hit upon the idea of, get a point*; *дождаться/dozhdat'sa*—*wait till/until, end by*.

To sum up, three types of inner-verbal prefixal derivation reflect the definite stages of its development. The oldest are the spatial prefixal formations in which only the physical features of the subject are actualized: a material body located in space. Homonymous with the spatial, are the prefixal positional verbs that were formed within the

framework of mutational and modificational word formation types. The modificational phase and temporal word formation types actualize the process of duration: the shift of action and its actants on the axis of time into coordinates of time occurs. Mutational word formation types are based on the activity of the subject; on its representation in the spatial temporal, animate, psychological, mental and social spheres.

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PART II:

**GRAMMAR AND OTHER
SUBSYSTEMS OF THE LANGUAGE**

INTERROGATIVE EXCLAMATIONS

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In grammatical research, the emotional coloring of a sentence is connected to functional types of sentences: exclamatory sentences are considered to be an 'emotionally noted' (marked) option for narrative, interrogative or imperative sentences (Lekant 2004).

Interrogative exclamatory sentences occupy a special place in the system of emotive statements owing to the specifics of the emotionally-estimated content inherent in this type of construction. This specification lies in the predisposition of interrogative structures to express negative emotional, modal and, in general, subjectively-estimated content. An emotionally rich question is full of negative emotions; the emphasis of a question is inseparably linked to its emphasis on negation.

The expression of negative emotionally-estimated content makes so-called emotionally-negative questions (symbols) problematic. These are interrogative statements painted with strong negative emotion and representing an actively negative relation between the speaker and the hearer or to the the reality surrounding him. For example:

И как не досмотрел? и как ты не дослышал? (And how didn't you look through? And how didn't you hear?) (A. Griboyedov);

Не вытерпел Тарас и закричал: Как?.. Своих?.. Своих, чертов сын, своих бьешь?.. (Taras didn't bear and cried: How?..Ours?..You, the devil's son, you beat ours?..) (N. Gogol);

Как с вашим сердцем и умом Быть чувства мелкого рабом? (How can you, with your heart and mind, be a slave of small feelings?) (A. Pushkin);

И я подумала: ну вот действительно дура, идиотка, куда ты лезешь? Зачем открываешь свое сердце человеку, который этого не принимает? Зачем?.. (And I thought: there now, really a silly woman, the idiot, what are you getting in? Why are you opening the heart to the person who doesn't accept it? What for? (World of news. 2014. № 18).

In informal dialogical conversation, the remark-question stereotype expressing the negative reaction of a speaker to an event or what has been told to them by an interlocutor, are actively used. They are:

Что ты делаешь?! (What are you doing?); Как ты мог?! (How could you?!); Что это такое?! (What is it?!); Кого ты слушаешь?! (Whom do you listen to?!); Что Вы себе позволяете?! (What do you allow yourself?!).

Emotionally-negative questions are mostly typified by a 'question-exclamation' structure. Unlike other kinds of emotionally painted questions, the emotive component in the semantics of these statements has the status of obligation and the emotional self-expression of the speaker is one of his actual tasks. The peculiarities of punctuation in these constructions testify to this: quite often at the end of interrogative exclamations there is no question mark, rather an exclamation point is used. For example:

Что ты наделал! (What did you do!); Как тебе не стыдно! (Isn't it a shame!); Чацкий. С кем был! Куда меня закинула судьба! Все просят! все кланут! Мучителей толпа ... (Chatsky. Who I was with! Where was I thrown by destiny! All banish me! All curse! The crowd of the torturers ...) (A. Griboyedov).

Emotionally-negative questions are means of expressing a wide range of negative emotions ranging from unpleasant surprise to rage, including the heat of passion, as with *Что-о-о?! (Wha-a-at?!); Как?! (How?!),* falling thereby under the category of 'the indignant question.' They contain a reproach to the person undertaking an action and point to the absolute unacceptability of unfolding events.

It is possible to add sentences formed by the adverb particle 'as,' with the lexically expressed meaning of impossibility (inadmissibility), to the number of constructions to which these semantic characteristics are peculiar, i.e. constructions of this kind: *Как ты можешь/смеешь?! (How can/dare you?!); Как ты (он) мог/смел (посмел)?! (How could/dared (dared) you (he)?!).*

For example:

Как ни се, ни то? Как вы смеете назвать его ни тем, ни сем, да еще и черт знает чем? я вас под арест (How is it half-and-half? How dare you call him half-and-half, moreover, the devil knows what? I'll arrest you. (N. Gogol);

Как ты можешь смотреть на Неву, Как ты смеешь всходить на мосты? (How can you look at the Neva, How dare you climb the bridges?) (A. Akhmatova).

The typological features of interrogative emphasis, inseparable from the emphasis on negation, are most notable against the background of 'question-like exclamations'—these are narrative exclamatory sentences using the structure of a pronominal or non-pronominal question and specializing in the expression of positive emotionally-estimated content.

For example:

Какие перушки, какой носок! (What feathers, what a nose!) (I. Krylov);

Ужасен он в окрестной мгле! Какая дума на челе! Какая сила в нем сокрыта! А в сем коне какой огонь! (How awful he is in a neighboring haze! What thought there are on a forehead! What force is hidden in him! And what fire there is in this horse!) (A. Pushkin);

Тишина, ах, какая стоит тишина! Ах, ка́кая большая стоит тишина! (The silence, ah, what silence! Ah, what great silence there is!) (M. Aliger);

Старик шел и, спотыкаясь о травы, повторял: Какой аромат, граждaне, какой упоительный аромат! (The old man went and, stumbling against the herbs, repeated: "What aromas, citizens, what delightful aromas!") (K. Paustovsky);

Алик. А музыка ка́кая! Музыка! Я с ума схожу! ... (Alik. And what music! Music! I am going crazy! ...) (R. Ibragimbekov).

L. Tenyer has noted that:

"In many languages the ways of expressing an exclamation and a question are more or less similar ... An exclamation ... in many languages is expressed by the same marker as a question. *What a dear child!*"¹

In narrative 'exclamations,' having the external form of a question and connected to them by their unity of origin, an interrogative value is completely lost:

"If to imagine a certain 'questions scale,' on one of its poles there will be the use of IS [interrogative sentences] in a prototypical question situation, and on the other—the use of question-like sentences in the situation which has lost any common ground with prototypical questions at the synchronous level. For the Russian language this pole is presented by exclamatory sentences with interrogative pronouns of the type **Ка́ким**

¹ Tenjer, L. Osnovy strukturnogo sintaksisa, 230

вином нас угощали! (What wine were we treated with!) Or Что за прелесть эта Соня! (How nice this Sonya is!).²

Unlike 'question-like exclamations,' emotionally-negative questions, to a certain extent, keep their interrogative illocution. Being exclamatory sentences, question-exclamations allow the replacement of a question mark at the end of a sentence with an exclamation point, but at the same time they do not stop being questions and this is confirmed by the possibility of their return transformation to interrogative sentences by the simple replacement of a punctuation mark. For example:

Что ты, батюшка?—сказала работница, которая в это время разувала его—что ты это городишь? Перекрестись! Созывать мертвых на новоселие! Экая страсть! ("What, father?—the worker who was taking off his shoes at this time said—what are you saying? Cross yourself! To invite the dead to the housewarming party! What passion!") (A. Pushkin);

Созывать мертвых на новоселие!→Созывать мертвых на новоселие?(?!) (*To invite the dead to the housewarming party!→To invite the dead to the housewarming party?(?!)*); *Так продать, продать веру, продать своих!* (*To sell in such a way, to sell your belief to sell ours!*) (N. Gogol) and *Так продать, продать веру, продать своих?(?!)* (*To sell in such a way, to sell your belief, to sell ours?(?!)*).

Narrative-exclamatory sentences, which prototypically do not have an interrogative meaning, do not allow for the possibility of interrogative formation. For example:

Что за уха! Да как жирна! (What nice fish soup! How fat it is!) (I. Krylov);

Как он язвительно злословил! Какие сети им готовил! (How venomously he scalded! What nets he was preparing for them!) (A. Pushkin);

Как хороши, как свежи были розы В моем саду! (How good, how fresh the roses in my garden were!) (I. Myatlev);

София. Как быстры ночи! (Sofia. How fast the nights are!) (A. Griboyedov);

Какой же я дурак! (What a fool I am!), etc.

The features of punctuation formation are closely connected to the positivity/negativity of the connotative meanings of a statement; only negatively-estimated constructions are characterized by the structural

² Kobozeva, I.M. O pervichnyh i vtorichnyh funkcijah voprositelnyh predlozhenij,

reversibility expressed in the possibility of their formation by means of a question mark or an exclamation mark, and also their combination. Positively-estimated constructions are structurally and functionally irreversible statements.

The associativity of interrogative structures with the area of negative connotations is also shown in the fact that narrative exclamations, which do not have a lexical estimation, function as positively-estimated statements; statement questions, identical in structure and lexical content, realize negatively-estimated meaning, as in the following:

Какой он учитель! (*What a teacher he is!*) (assessment 'good')—*Какой он учитель?!* (*What a teacher he is?!*) (assessment 'bad');

Какой он актер! (*What an actor he is!*) ('a remarkable actor')—*Какой он актер?!* (*What an actor he is?!*) ('a bad actor,' 'not an actor at all');

Какой успех! (*What success!*) ('outstanding success')—*Какой успех?!* (*What success?!*) ('there is no success').

Putting a question mark or an exclamation mark at the end of a sentence has an central impact on whether to read a statement in a positive or negative sense. For example:

Где я была! (*Where I was!*); *Кого я вчера встретила!* (*Whom I met yesterday!*);

Кого я сегодня видела! (*Whom I have seen today!*); *Смотрите, кто пришел!* (*Look, who came!*) (the name of a feature film);

В газетах увидел сообщение, что в декабре—юбилейный концерт, посвященный 85-летию известного поэта Андрея Дементьева. И какой! В Государственном Кремлевском дворце съездов... И вот через полгода—еще один. И где и как—«При поддержке правительства Москвы!» (*In newspapers I saw the ad that in December there would be the jubilee concert devoted to the 85th anniversary of a famous poet, Andrey Dementiev. And what a concert! In the Kremlin Palace of Congresses ... And here in half a year there is one more. Both where and how—“With the assistance of the government of Moscow!”*) (Tomorrow. 2013. № 50). Cf. the indignant questions: *Кого ты слушаешь?!* (*Who do you listen to?!*) (negative qualification);

Миллиарды потрачены. Где результатам? (*Billions are spent. Where is the result?*) (in the title of the article—*Where are the results?!*) (The Arguments of the week. 2013. № 48).

The positively or negatively-estimated meaning of emphatic constructions “with an explicit object of the assessment and with an implicit assessment” is the first type of expressive with *what kind of*, according to the classification of E.M. Wolf (Wolf 2014: 183) and is

defined by the context of the use of a syntactic construction. So, statements such as *Какая женщина!* (*What kind of woman!*); *Что за жизнь!* (*What life it is!*) and others in the conditions of a context are capable of realizing estimated meanings—both with a + sign and a – sign. However, positively-estimated meaning in narrative-exclamatory sentences, which do not contain an estimated lexicon, is more natural than qualification with an – sign. As such:

“It’s a fact that in such estimates ... ; the sign is, as a rule, focused on a plus part of the scale (that probably is connected with the generally positive nature of the norm and with the fact that structures of such a kind sooner assume the positive emotions of a speaker).”³

Signs and qualities are not the subject of a negative assessment in emphatic question, but actions. Similarly, the structure of narrative-exclamatory sentences points to the existence of a high degree of a positive or negative sign, with any sign of an emotional assessment.

For example: *Что за прелесть!* (*What a charm!*)—*Что за глупость!*—(*What nonsense!*); *До чего мне хорошо!* (*How nice I feel!*)—*До чего мне плохо!*—(*How bad I feel!*); *Какая радость!* (*What pleasure!*)—*Какая грусть!*—(*What grief!*).

In sentences such as, *Какая грусть! Конец аллеи опять с утра исчез в пыли ...* (*What grief! The end of the alley has disappeared in dust again since morning...*) (A. Fet);

...Но боже мой! Какая скука полуживого забавлять! ... (*But my God! What boredom it is to amuse the half-dead!*) (A. Pushkin);

Какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба! (*What muck this your jellyed fish is!*) (from a film)—all connote negative emotionally-estimated information.

Nevertheless, narrative-exclamatory sentences, irrespective of the sign of a stated assessment, are means of expressing emotional assertions (and in this sense emotional statements). Interrogative exclamations unambiguously represent the negative—not accepting an attitude to the situation which has become the object of an assessment. In this there is the manifestation of an asymmetry in the relations between anti-members of semantic opposition: ‘emotional affirmation/emotional negation’ against the oppositional ‘narrative exclamation/interrogative exclamation.’

It is also important to note that the positively or negatively-estimated value of a narrative exclamatory sentence is expressed according to the lexical semantics of the predicate lexemes generating the positive or

³Volf, E.M. *Funkcionalnaja semantika ocenki*, 184

negative semantics of an assessment. For example: *Какая красота!* (*What beauty!*)—*Какая задость!*—(*What muck!*). Furthermore:

“The negative assessment is more often expressed explicitly; cf.: *Какой актер!* (*What an actor he is!*) and *Какой отвратительный актер!* (*What a disgusting actor!*).”⁴

In an interrogative-exclamatory sentence, the negative assessment is expressed by means of the syntactic structure itself. Direct (explicit), lexical designation of emotions only takes place in narrative sentences. Thus, negative assessment is only expressed in interrogative-exclamatory sentences of the kind considered and only in an implicit manner (the very possibility of lexicalization of the emotion and the assessment is excluded).

The comparison of these constructions also allows us to find such a distinction as an actual emotional relation in narrative-exclamatory sentences and the modal-emotional attitude towards the object of an assessment in interrogative-exclamatory sentences. The situation *P* (rarer non-*P*), presented in a question, is given in the light of the negative and modal in its base relation to this situation with the speaker. The one who asks lets us know that the event actually taking place does not correspond to his imagination as to how ‘it should be’ and characterizes this situation as inadmissible.

In narrative-exclamatory sentences the elements of assertion and emotional self-expression are combined; they have the aim of impacting upon the emotional sphere of the interlocutor. The standard meaning of emotionally-negative questions is that of an emotional protest: an expression of disagreement with the actions of this or that person; a demonstration of the ‘negative-not accepting’ attitude to a fact that has been made a subject of the statement. Emphatic narrative sentences estimate this or that situation from varied positions; in them either a positive (positively-accepting) or a passive-negative attitude towards the object at issue is shown. In a negatively-estimated message-exclamation about a situation, if it is negatively estimated by the subject of the speech and does not cause emotionally charged protest on his part, the speaker shows no aspiration to change this situation in the necessary way, i.e. in general he accepts it as it is—as objective reality. Being the means of expressing a positive (positive-accepting) or a passive-negative relationship with a subject on display and assessment, emphatic messages are characterized as incapable of expressing actively-negative (negatively-

⁴Volf, E.M. *Funkcionalnaja semantika ocenki*, 184

not-accepting) relations about the facts that are the object of emotional response.

The expression of the emotionally-estimated negative and of the modal content is a prerogative of an interrogative sentence: the emphasis of a question is organically combined with the emphasis on negation. The structure of a question, and the semantics of questions lost in this way, by no means completely promotes the display of the negative modally-estimated attitude to the subject of the statement on the part of a speaker. The expression of a question is transformed into the force of a negative expression and assists in the expression of negation.

Conclusion

The question as to the type of semantics involved becomes compatible only with the area of negatively-estimated meanings—with negative connotations. The question-exclamation is a means of expressing negative emphasis, while positive emphasis corresponds to the area of narrative meanings.

The meanings of 'narration/question' and 'affirmation/negation' are located in different planes from the point of view of grammatical theory.⁵ However the concepts of 'narrative—interrogative' and 'positive—negative' are unexpectedly crossed in the sphere of connotative meanings of a statement within the oppositional structure of 'narrative—exclamatory/interrogative—exclamatory sentences.'

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⁵See Tenjer, L. *Osnovy strukturnogo sintaksisa*, 206-207

ANALYTICAL ADJECTIVES OF FOREIGN ORIGIN: THE PECULIARITIES OF ASSIMILATION AND FUNCTIONING IN MODERN RUSSIAN

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In the study of new processes taking place in modern Russian, there is a question that still remains of current interest. It concerns foreign words used in speech in the function of analytical, or unchanged, borrowings. Following M.V. Panov, we view the analytical, or unchanged adjective, as a language unit which denotes a non-processual quality and in post- and preposition (in any spelling variant, including fused spelling) performs an attributive function in relation to a noun. Examples: *гала-концерт* (cf. *торжественный, праздничный*), *картофельфри* (cf. *жареный*) and *онлайн аптека/аптека онлайн* (cf. *онлайновая*, i.e. providing services via the Internet).

The class of analytical adjectives is actively enriched by newly borrowed units. In one of his articles, L.P. Krysin provides a considerably long list (160 words) of analytical adjectives of foreign origin, many of which—*евро-, комби-, космо-, фито-, техно-, шоу-, эко-*—entered Russian in the contemporary period (Krysin 2001). By way of comparison, *Russkaya Grammatika* (1980) contains a list of seventy unchanged adjectives (assigned to a zero-adjectival declension).

The growth in the number of analytical adjectives has been observed in other languages as well (Ananieva 2001; Kochová 2005; Martincová 2005; Mravinacová 2005), resulting in the growth of a number of unchanged international adjectives (e.g. *видео, кибер-, этно-, демо-, промо-, эко-*). However, the boundaries of the object denoted by the term 'analytical adjective' remain blurred in linguistics. The same units, for example, *авто-, аэро-, вибро-, зоо-, теле-, фото-, электро-, энерго-, лесо-, микро-, нео-*, are assigned to the group of analytical adjectives in some works (Panov 1960; RYaSO; Golanova 1998; Krysin 2001; Zemskaya 2004). Other authors assign them to affixoids or semi-affixes (Lopatin 1987; RYa; Nemchenko 1994). Quite often the language units

traditionally regarded as prefixes are also included in this class of adjectives. For example, *гипер-, ультра-, экстра-, пост-, вице-, экс-* (Roschina 2004), *псевдо-* (Krysin 2001). The element *гидро-* is treated ambiguously by different researchers: it is assigned as either an analytical adjective (L.P. Krysin), as a prefix (V.N. Nemchenko) or as a prefixoid (V.V. Lopatin). In Russian philology there is no agreement as to whether the first component in borrowed words like *конференц-зал* (German *Konferenz-saal*) and *яхт-клуб* (English *yacht-club*), can be regarded as analytical adjectives. From the point of view of synchrony, such words in Russian represent split, motivated structures (cf. *конференция, зал, яхта, клуб*) with attributive relations between the components.

In explanatory dictionaries, according to the established lexicographical tradition, the majority of such units are defined as the first part of compound words. Such a definition withdraws the question about what exactly this 'part' represents—an independent word (unchanged adjective) or a morpheme of this or that type. The question remains open. Its solution, as many researchers state, is hampered by the absence of a uniform spelling for elements in preposition. For example, compound words with the first part *бизнес* can be hyphenated, *бизнес-план*, split, *бизнесцентр*, or spelt as one word, *бизнесспециализация* (on the variability of spelling of words with this element see Kostomarov 1999). Cases of spelling some elements as one word create doubt as to whether they belong to the class of analytical adjectives, i.e. as separate words. In the opinion of the Czech researcher I. Mravinatsova:

"The status of such units ... can be identified as a) an independent unchanged adjective; b) an independent morpheme; c) a lexical element within a borrowed composite word."¹

Additionally, some of these elements can look like nouns in spelling, *бизнес-план, рок-концерт*, which makes it difficult to determine the boundaries of this phenomenon.

In our research we primarily deal with foreign words in the contemporary period (the end of twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century), that originally entered Russian with an attributive function. As has been mentioned above, we assign such words to the class of analytical adjectives, although we are fully aware of the fact that theoretical debates on this point are not yet resolved. Classification of the attributive components which coincide with nouns can be found in the works of Beninyi (2007), Marinova (2008) and Gorbov (2010).

¹Mravinacová, J. Přejmání cizíchlexémů, 199-200.

Let us consider the foreign lexical units which function in Russian **only as analytical adjectives** (here we expand and assign the meaning of the chemistry term—analyte—in the sense of a constituent analytical component). They are adjectives of foreign origin without grammatical forms. Unlike grammatically arranged adjectives, analytical adjectives do not take an adjectival suffix (cf. *ментальный, глобальный*) or enter the inflexion system. For example, this group includes the word *фри* 'fried in a big amount of fat to the point of becoming brown' (from French frit 'fried') (TSIS). According to our observation, this word is used only in combination with nouns (both in post- and preposition), and is not used as a substantive (although such usage is possible). For example: *картофельфри, картошкафри, шарикифри, судакафри, Лето-фри* (a dish), *кальмары-фри, лук фри, креветкифри, говядинафри, пирожкифри, фри-выпечка* and *фри-меню* (in these examples we have preserved the spelling of words as they appeared in our sources—different menus). Another example of a proper analyte is the adjective *лимитед/Лимитед/LTD*, which has the meaning 'with limited liability, i.e. within the limits of joint-stock or shareholder capital' (from the English *limited*) (NSIS): *Банк Лимитед, ОООЛимитед, компания Лимитед, салон Лимитед, фирма Лимитед* and *Балаган Лимитед* (a playful name of a music group). This adjective, as well as the next example *user-friendly*, is of narrow and specific usage. The Anglicism is already fixed in *Tolkoviy slovar russkogo yazyka nachala XXI veka* (Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian language at the beginning of the XXI century). Here is an example of its usage in the press: *Современная техника должна быть user-friendly* (Вещь 'Vesch' magazine 2003 №3). Terms relating to Internet communication comprise many variants with Cyrillic script, such as: *юзер-френдлиинтерфейс* and *юзерфрендлиинтерфейс*.

For speakers, analytical adjectives may be **unmotivated** units, i.e. their morphemic structure may not correspond to any words in Russian. For example, the words given above, as well as *топ-* (*топ-модель, топ-салон*), *фито-* (*фито-бар, фито-зал*) and *тревел* (*тревел-чеки, тревел-грант*). Analytical adjectives may, on the contrary, be **motivated**. Motivated analytical adjectives are often perceived as clipped variants of words already extant in the language—adjectives having changeable forms. For example:

арома- (cf. *ароматический*), *ароматилинг, ароматерапия*;
граф- (cf. *графический*), *граф-файл(ы)*;
демо- (cf. *демонстрационный*), *демоверсия, демосцена*
 'computerart';

евро- (cf. *европейский*), *евроальянс*, *европарламент*, *еврочек*, *евровалюта*, *евродоллары*, *евро-комплект*, *еврорынок*;
кибер- (cf. *кибернетический*), *кибер-спорт*, *киберспортсмен*, *киберпространство*, *кибертерроризм*;
комби- (cf. *комбинированный*), *комби-гардероб*, *комби-корм*;
космо- (cf. *космический*), *космоэнергетика*;
поп- (cf. *популярный*), *поп-арт*, *поп-газета*, *поп-звезда*, *поп-искусство*, *поп-культура*, *поп-лексикон*, *поп-мейнстрим*, *поп-музыка*, *поп-миюзикл*, *поп-певец*, *поп-сцена*, *поп-фестиваль*;
симфо- (cf. *симфонический*), *симфо-рок*;
эко- (cf. *экологический*), *экокатастрофа*, *экомилиция*, *экосистема*, *экотуризм*, *экоцентр*;
этно- (cf. *этнический*), *этно-группа*, *этно-джаз*, *этно-музыка*.
принт-шоп 'copyshop';
промо- (cf. *промоушен*), *промоакция/промо-акция*, *промо-действие*; *скан-* (cf. *сканер*), *сканэпиляция*;
стрип- (cf. *стриптиз*), *стрип-бар*;
шейп- (cf. *шейпинг*) located in an unlimited number of nouns (Panov 1960; Panov 1971).

In explanation:

"As soon as a part of a word becomes semantically stable in combination with any unit of this type, it ceases being a part of a word. This is how many analytical adjectives appear."²

According to our observations, the majority of motivated analytes have a **regular** character, i.e. they are used in combination with more than one noun (see the examples given above). Some regular foreign analytes are of **high frequency**, for example the word *евро-*: *евроальянс*, *евроаптека*, *европарламент*, *еврочек*, *евровалюта*, *евродоллары*, *евро-комплект*, *еврорынок*, *евроремонт*, *еврочистка*, *евроокна*, *евросеть*, *европосуда* and *евроэпиляция*. The group of high-frequency analytes also includes such units as *авто-*, *вело-*, *нарко-*, *спец-*, *теле-*, *фото-*, the active functioning of which has been registered previously (RYa-XX).

Unmotivated analytical adjectives, on the contrary, present **unique** units, i.e. they are used in combination with only one noun. Here are some examples: *бридж-* 'performing the role of a mediator, intermediary,' *бридж-банк* 'intermediary bank,' (from the English *bridge-bank*); *бейн-*

² Panov, M.V. Ob analiticheskikh prilagatelnyh v sovremennom russkom yazyke, 1972.

'intellectual, intelligent,' *брейн-ринг*, (from the English *brain and ring*); *бриф*- 'small, compact,' *брифкейс*; *реалити*- 'showing relationships between real people,' *реалити-шоу*; *ток*- 'conversational,' *ток-шоу*; *хард*- 'hard,' *хард-рок*.

According to M.V. Panov on the 'free collocation' of analytical adjectives, it is probably premature to assign such unique units to this type of word. However, the boundary between regular and unique foreign qualifiers is very flexible. The point is that the unique character of the analyte may be a temporary feature. For example, for a long time the adjective *фри* was only used in combination with the noun *картофель* (or its colloquial variant *картошка*), yet in the twenty-first century the word's collocation has been considerably widened (see the examples above). The word *блиц*- 'short' (from German *blitz* 'flash-like'), which, according to L.P. Krysin, was a rare word in the second half of the twentieth century, has now become more widely used.

See the following combinations with this word functioning in modern language: *блицанализ* (NSIS), *блиц-визит*, *блицвикторина/блиц-викторина*, *блиц-встреча*, *блицинтервью/блиц-интервью* (NSIS), *блицкурс/блиц-курс*, *блицоперация/блиц-операция* (NSIS), *блиц-опрос/блицопрос* (NSIS), *блицрецензия/блиц-рецензия* and *блиц-турнир*. The component *нейл*-, (from the English 'nail') originally occurred only in the word-combination *нейл-дизайн*. Later, such units as *нейл-арт*—*Нейл-арт* (*дизайнотей*) *день ото дня популярнее ...Нейл-арт*, *упражнение для самых продвинутых мастеров маникюра* (Салонкрасоты 'SalonKrasoty' magazine 2006, №6), *нейл-салон* and *нейл-мастер* appeared. The word *нано*- became more frequently used at the beginning of the twenty-first century (originally it was found only in the combination *нано-технологии*), in *нано-индустрия*, *нано-материалы*, *нано-роботы* and other 'nanosty'—a term coined by M. Epstein—*нанокрем* and *нанокефир*. There has been an increase in the frequency of the word *смарт*-, which was initially used only in the combination *смарт-карта* 'a plastic bank, payment, credit card with a built-in microprocessor, chip' from the English *smart-card*, cf. *smart* 'sharp, quick' (NSIS) and in modern naming units: *смарт-телефон*, *смарт-паркинги*, *смарт-продукт*, *смарт-технология* and *смарт-доска*.

In the period 1970-80, the analytical adjective *инстант* 'quickly dissolved' was only used in combination with one noun—*кофеинстант*, moreover, the word was of rare usage: this meaning was, and still is, more often rendered in the original Russian compound adjective *быстрорастворимый* (*кофе*). At the turn of the twenty-first century, the

collocations of the word *инстант* have widened considerably; the adjective 'tore away' from its customary noun *кофе* and new combinations appeared—the names of types of food industry products, such as: *инстант-порошки*, *инстант-рамэн* 'ramen' (a fast-cooked Japanese dish), *инстант-каша* and *инстант-смеси*.

An important aspect in the functioning of analytical adjectives is their passive participation in the derivation processes. The great majority of analytical adjectives are used in Russian speech only in the function of determiners: in other words, proper analytes are **unproductive**; they do not have derivatives, unlike foreign nouns, which, with rare exception, gradually become derivational bases for new word-building patterns. This fact can be explained both by the semantic peculiarities of analytical adjectives (the semantics of relative attribute), and by the peculiarities of their structure (for example, the final vowel at the end of the word stem). In our material, taken from the Electronic Collection of Russian Newspapers (a project of the Laboratory of General and Computer Lexicology and Lexicography at Moscow State University, named after M.V. Lomonosov), and proved further by the data-bank of the electronic search system Integrum, we only found two analytical adjectives having derivatives: *инстант* → *инстантный* (*инстантные чаи*, *инстантные смеси*, *инстантные каши*, and so on) and *премиум* 'premium, of the highest quality' → *премиумный* 'the same meaning' (*премиумный автомобиль*).

The rest of the proper analytes (altogether, about one hundred units) do not have any correlative changeable adjectives from the same root. The absence of such correlates notably distinguishes these units from analytical adjectives (coinciding homonymously with a noun)—the latter in most cases have a correlative adjective from the same root: *файл-сервер*—*файловый сервер*, *лазер-диск*—*лазерный диск*, *штрих-код*—*штриховой код* and *холдинг-компания*—*холдинговая компания* (for further details see Marinova 2008).

From a grammatical point of view, an important feature of analytical adjectives is the ability of some lexical units to function as nouns (usually after the first period of adaptation). For example, nouns which were frequently used at the turn of the twenty-first century, such as *видео*, *аудио*, *вин(ы)*, *арт*, *реал* and *прайс*, originated from adjectives (*видео-*, *аудио-*, *вин-*, *арт-*, *реал-*, *прайс-*). In comparison: *смотреть видео* ← *видеофильм*; *слушать аудио* ← *аудиозапись*; *места для вин* ← *вин-места*; *компьютерный арт* ← *арт-директор*; *посмотреть по прайсу* ← *прайс-лист*.

When an analytical adjective becomes a noun, it receives a system of inflexions in cases where it ends with a consonant or remains an undeclinable word if it ends with a vowel (*видео*). The adjective loses the

meaning of a permanent characteristic and acquires the meaning of an object in the broad sense of the word. New nouns assume the category of gender and the category of animateness/inanimateness. Furthermore, the syntactical functions of substantives become more varied.

The necessary condition for the appearance of a noun homonymous to an analytical adjective is a **high frequency** of the adjective. Thus, for example, the analyte *арт-* is used in modern Russian in combination with approximately 30 nouns: *арт-байер, арт-бизнес, арт-галерея, арт-группа, арт-дизайн, арт-дилер, арт-директор, арт-кафе, арт-клуб, арт-практика, арт-процесс, арт-рок (NSIS), арт-рынок* 'market relations in the sphere of arts' (AL), *арт-салон, арт-смотреть, арт-сообщество, арт-сцена, арт-тусовка, арт-хроника* and *арт-шоу (NSIS)*. The word *веб-* is of frequent usage (from the English *Web* 'World Wide Web'): *веб-адрес, веб-обозреватель, веб-приложение, веб-сервер, веб-дизайн, веб-интерфейс, веб-каталог, веб-кафе, веб-конференция, веб-мастер, веб-сайт, веб-страница* and *веб-технология, веб-узел*.

It is also used in Russian texts (and is fixed in dictionaries of contemporary language) as a noun (*услугивебаи* т.п.). The foreign (international) units *видео, аудио* are characterized by frequent usage. In specialized literature, it has already been stated more than once that these units began to function as nouns only after they 'gave birth' to numerous derivatives, such as *аудиоальбом, аудиоплата, аудиотекст, аудиотехника, аудиокнига; видеобум, видеодомофон, видеозапись, видеозаставка* and *видеолюбитель*. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the nouns *реал* 'reality' and *вирт* 'virtual communication' came to be used, first in oral, then in written language (mainly in the construction *в + Prepositional case*).

For example:

Встретимся в реале; Кстати, в реале Бобруйск—воплне симпатичный город, жители которого, правда, обижаются на интернетчиков—и потому создали в Интернете свое сообщество в защиту Бобруйска (Знамя 'Зnamya' 15.05.2007);

В «вирте» он не только властелин своего мира, но и мститель, который может оторвать голову противнику (Business-Class 'Perm' 06.03.2006);

Я ежедневно вижу, как грань между жизнью реальной и жизнью в вирте становится все более призрачной, я знаю людей, хороших моих знакомых—и даже близких, у которых периодически теряются приоритеты—реальные простые дела откладываются или перестают делаться вовсе ради виртуальных собеседников, друзей, любимых (Вечерние Челны 'Vechernie Chelny' 20.12.2006).

The appearance of these nouns in speech was promoted by the popularity of the analytical adjectives *реал-*, *вирт-*, as in: *реал-радио* 'radio broadcasting via the global network' (from the English *real-radio*), *реал-политик*; *вирт-блага*, *вирт-жители*, *вирт-катастрофа*, *вирт-конфликт*, *вирт-личности*, *вирт-потребитель*, *вирт-пресса*, *вирт-преступность*, *вирт-развлечения*, *вирт-сервис-прокат* and *вирт-боккэй* (NRL).

Apparently, when a foreign word-analyte is popular and frequently used, it 'breaks away' from a series of one-model combinations. The meaning of the 'released' noun and the meaning of the analytical adjective do not coincide—compare, for instance, *вип* (noun) 'a very important person' and *вип-* (adjective) 'intended for very important persons'; *виде о* (noun) 'a branch of culture that deals with the storage and reproduction of visual information' (AL) and *видео* (adjective) 'related to visual information'; *фарм* (noun) 'pharmacy' and *фарм-* (adjective) 'pharmaceutical, related to pharmacy' (see: *фармпрепараты*, *фармхимия*, *фармсинтез*, *фармрынок*, *фармвестник*).

However, in some cases we come across units which are used in speech in the function of analytical adjectives in combination with only one noun, i.e. they do not have 'mass character.' For example: *прайс-лист*, *кавер-версия*, *кэш-память* (comp.) 'computer memory meant for storing intermediate results' (a semi-calque from the English *cache memory*), *флоппи-диск* (comp.) 'floppy disk.' It appears that we can regard such cases as units where the second component of the borrowed word combination has been **clipped** and the first element has become an alternative name for the same object. In this way, parallel denominations of one and the same referent appear: *прайс-лист—прайс*, *кавер-версия—кавер*, *кэш-память—кэш*, *флоппи-диск—флоппи*, *мультфильм—мульт*, *пин-код—пин*, *эхо-конференция—эхо* 'mail conference at FIDO' (AL; SZA). Such words are treated in explanatory dictionaries in the following manner: *компакт* 'the same as compact-disk' (NSIS). In other words, the meaning of the noun is identical to the meaning of the whole word combination. This peculiarity distinguishes clipping from 'forming' a noun by means of its breaking away from a range of one-model analyte-combinations, when the meaning of the noun does not coincide with the meaning of either of these combinations; cf. *вип* (noun) *ивип-залы*, *вип-места*, *вип-знакомства*, *вип-услуги*, *вип-парковка*, *вип-сауна*, *вип-сервис*, *вип-сцена* and *вип-мероприятия*.

Finally, there is one more possible way that a substantive coinciding in form with a frequent analytical adjective can appear in Russian. Such a noun can be of later borrowing compared to the analyte (for example, *арт*,

вeб—cf. English *art*, *Web*). In this case the noun enters the Russian language after the path has been prepared by a homonymous analytical adjective which has been previously fixed in Russian.

The following trend can be identified: if the analytical adjective is a **polyfunctional** word and can be used in Russian speech as a noun, it can itself become a derivational base for a new word (generally in uncodified language spheres). For example: *вин*—*виновский* (colloquial), *видео*—*видук* (colloquial) and *вeб*—*вебовский* (*адрес*). A polyfunctional analytical adjective is potentially productive in the sphere of derivation as well (for more details on polyfunctionality see Marinova 2014).

Thus, analytical adjectives of foreign origin may be motivated or unmotivated, regular or irregular, productive or unproductive and, finally, polyfunctional. Moreover, these characteristics may be connected to each other and change with time.

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CORRELATION OF MONO-SEMANTIC HOMONYMS IN THE BLOCKBUILDING PROCESS (ON MATERIAL IN ENGLISH)

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It has been suggested that the “systemic phenomena of a definite historical period should be the subject of dictionary codification” (Bushuy 2009: 27). Homonymic-polysemantic relations and their explanation in Modern English unilingual dictionaries are of interest here.

As such, it becomes possible to widen the existing view about the inter-dependence of polysemy and homonymy based on the theory of “semantic forms of cognition” (Chesnokov 2011:38).

Homonymic-polysemantic nest-building is built into unilingual dictionaries on the following parameters:

- 1) A homonymous pair is/considered to be the basis of the whole construction of the homonymic-polysemantic nest (or block) in the dictionary;
- 2) The formation of models of homonymous pairs;
- 3) The individual polysemantic capacity of homonyms is displayed in correlated pairs;
- 4) The nest-building productivity of homonymous pairs according to different models is described.

According to data from the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 2009* (OALD 2009), the most productive models are those formed by the following blocks: noun/verb (416), noun/noun (209), verb/noun (160), adjective/verb (55), noun/adjective (34) and verb/verb (30). Less productive ones include: noun/noun/noun (24), noun/noun/verb (17), verb/noun/noun (16), noun/verb/verb (11), verb/adjective (8), adjective/adjective (7), past participle/adjective (7), noun/past tense (6), verb/noun/verb (5), past tense/noun (5), noun/noun/noun/noun (4), verb/verb/noun (3), past tense/noun/noun (3), past tense/adjective (3),

adverbial particle/preposition (3), modal verb/past tense (3), verb/noun/adjective (2), modal verb/noun (2), adverbial particle/preposition/noun (2), indefinite determiner/indefinite pronoun/indefinite adverb (2), indefinite determiner, indefinite pronoun/adverb (2). The rest of the models are represented as single cases: noun/noun/noun/noun/noun (1), noun/adverb (1), interjection/verb (1), interjection/noun/noun (1), interjection/interjection (1).

Updated English unilingual dictionaries show the search for objective criteria of both the registration of homonyms in the dictionary and the differentiation of homonymy from polysemy. As a rule, polysemy is considered to be the source for homonymy.

Relying on definition data from competent dictionaries, it becomes quite possible to work out all the principles for defining homogeneous homonyms—*independent words with different semantic structures—based on the disclosure of 1) their combination with thematically different words, and 2) individual models of their typical realization.*

Blocks of homonymic-polysemantic nests, where homonym 1 (H1) and homonym 1 (H2) are correlated by the relation of monosemy/monosemy, may reveal a number of peculiarities. The content and bulk of the semantic-functional characteristics of monosemantic H1 and H2 are quite different due to their text formational meanings.

Thus, while the main dictionary meaning of monosemantic H1 suggests wide usage, monosemantic H2 may add some kind of functional character to the given meaning. Compare:

Colon1... *n* lower part of the large intestine//

Colon2... *n* punctuation mark (:) used in writing and printing to show that what follows is an example, list or summary of what precedes it, or a contrasting idea (OALD 2009: 223).

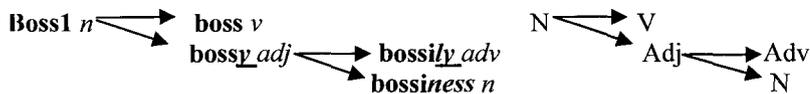
Ling1... *n* (U) type of heather//

Ling2... *n* sea-fish of N. Europe used (usu. salted) for food (OALD 2009: 726).

According to the OALD (2009), this block, containing both monosemantic components, reveals that the derivational development of the first component H1 is of much greater number as compared to all other blocks, where the first component is also monosemantic. The process of further derivation is represented in homonymic-polysemantic nests of the following 14 homonyms: beetle1, boob1, boss1, clink1, distemper1, gaff1, gobl1, hue1, plonk1, reef1, rick1, sage1, sledge1 and sloth1.

Here, the meaning of H1 differs from H2 by the derivational shift N→V, reflecting verbalization of the N-component, which is characteristic of the other 10 homonyms1: **beetle1** *n*→**beetle** *v*, **boob1** *n*→**boob** *v*, **clink1** *n*→**clink** *v*, **distemper1** *n*→**distemper** *v*, **gaff1** *n*→**gaff** *v*, **gob1** *n*→**gob** *v*, **reef1** *n*→**reef** *v*, **rick1** *n*→**rick** *v*, **sledge1** *n*→**sledge** *v*.

The homonym **boss1**, besides forming a verb also has a derivative of the adjective, compare:



Adjectivization, i.e. the formation of adjectives, can be observed in such homonyms as **sloth1**, **hue1**, **sage1**: **hue1** *n*→**hued** *adj*, **sage1** *n*→**sage** *adj*, **sloth1** *n*→**slothful** *adj*. Here the following is notable:



The case of adverbialization (forming adverbs) is present in a single case in the homonym **plonk1**: **plonk1** *n*→**plonk** *adv*: N → Adv.

Homonymous pairs with both derivationally active components, H1 and H2, display verbalization /and adjectivization. Compare: **crank1** *n*→**crank** *v*, **crank2** *n*→**cranky** *adj*. It should be noted that the derivative **cranky**, from a monosemantic homonym, becomes polysemantic. Compare:

Crank2 *n* ...

- **Cranky** *adj* (-ier, -iest) (*infml derog*) **1** strange; eccentric: *a cranky person, idea*. **2** (of machines, etc) unreliable; shaky; unsteady: *a rattling, cranky old engine*. **3** (US) bad-tempered (OALD 2009: 277).

In the following homonyms, derivation occurs only in H2, **lighter2** and **lute2**: **lighter2** *n*→**lighterage** *n*, **lute2** *n*→**lute** *v*, where the derivative of **lighter2** has two meanings. Compare:

Lighter2 ... *n* ...

- **Lighterage** ... *n* (U) **(a)** transport of goods by lighter. **(b)** charge for this (OALD 2009: 723).

In the above mentioned homonymous blocks, consisting of two monosemantic components, we can observe 14 cases of zero derivation: **gaff1** *n*→**gaff** *v*, **plonk1** *n*→**plonk** *adv*, **lute2** *n*→**lute** *v*.

The following suffixes engage the suffixational derivations: **-ly**: **boss1**→**bossy**→**bossily**, **sage1**→**sage****ly**, **sloth1**→**slothful**→**slothfully**; **-y**: **boss1**→**bossy**, **crank2**→**cranky**; **-ness**: **boss1**→**bossy**→**bossiness**, **sloth1**→**slothful**→**slothfulness**; **-d**: **hue1**→**hued**; **-age**: **lighter2** *n*→**lighterage**; **-ful**: **sloth1**→**slothful**.

Homonymous polysemantic blocks formed through monosemantic/monosemantic noun word-formation are observed in the homonyms **crank1**, **gob2**, **lawn1**, **lighter2**, **poker1**, **2**, **reef1**, **roe2**, **sage2**, **sash2** and **shanty1**. These compound words are nouns written as a solid word, with a hyphen or separately. Compare: **crank1**→**crankshaft**, **gob2**→**gob-stopper**, **lawn1**→**lawn-mower**, **lawn tennis**, **lighter2**→**lighterman**, **poker1**→**poker-work**, **poker2**→**poker-face**, **poker-faced**, **reef1**→**reef-knot**, **roe2**→**roebuck**, **sage2**→**sage-brush**, **sash2**→**sash-cord**, **sash-window** and **shanty1**→**shanty town**.

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THE PHENOMENON OF SYNCRETISM IN P.V. CHESNOKOV'S WORKS

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This report discusses the approach to the phenomenon of syncretism in P.V. Chesnokov's work. Chesnokov considers the phenomenon to be a combination of signs in one unit of various qualitative categories and that it indicates the existence of diachronic/synchronic and static/dynamic syncretism.

It should be noted that one of the major linguistic problems in which Professor Pyotr Veniaminovich Chesnokov was interested was the phenomenon of syncretism in the Russian language, by which he meant:

"... the combination in one unit of the signs of categories which are in opposition, qualitatively different from each other and opposed to one another, often not compatible."¹

P. V. Chesnokov points to the existence of diachronic and synchronic syncretism at all levels of the language, distinguishing static and dynamic syncretism (Chesnokov 1992; 1996; 2000; 2001; 2001a; 2005; 2007; 2011).

We will consider the manifestation of traditional singled-out (static) syncretism at the lexico-semantic language level (see also Pimenova 2011).

P.V. Chesnokov, in relation to these syncretic constructions, points out that:

"... words and expressions that have a figurative meaning, which still contain a figurative origin based on the correlation of the direct and figurative meanings, in which the direct meaning serves as a background

¹ Chesnokov, P.V. Dinamicheskiy sinkretizm i tekst, 14-15

for the figurative meaning, for example, metaphors such as *bear* (to denote a clumsy person) or *birch* (to name a graceful, slender girl)²

It should be noted that figurative meanings with 'live' imagery are associated with two denotata—nominal/named and, assimilated to it, real/kept in mind (Savitsky 2006) and two significata indicating concrete/abstract objects and/or their properties. Metaphorical meanings are perceived by the speaker/listener as 'binary' against the background of direct (symmetrical) meanings (associated with one specific denotatum and one significatum). In explanatory dictionaries they are fixed with the help of the mark fig. (figurative). For example, *кремень* (*flint*)—(fig.) 'about a hard-hearted person,' *орел* (*eagle*)—(fig.) 'about a proud, courageous, strong person,' *змеиная улыбка* (*snake smile*)—(fig.) 'insidious' and *горький* (*bitter*)—(fig.) 'sorrowful' (Ozhegov 1978). These syncretic meanings can be represented on a conventional scale of linguistic figurativeness (Sklyarevskaya 2004). This is in contrast to meanings with zero figurativeness—abstract vocabulary such as, *интеграл* (*integral*), *синус* (*sine*), *косинус* (*cosine*), *анализ* (*analysis*), *синтез* (*synthesis*) and *валентность* (*valency*)—and also to the meanings of nominative (or genetic) metaphor with 'lifeless' language imagery in which the replacement of one cognitive meaning by another takes place: *белок глаза* (*a white of the eye*), *лапка станины* (*the foot of the mountain*) and *червиевое изображение* (*the worm-eaten image*).

Moreover, as P.V. Chesnokov notes, syncretic constructions are represented by **symbols**:

"... with a metaphoric basis like *лиса* (*fox*) as a symbol of a sly, cunning person."³

Word symbols express an unarticulated meaning, which presupposes two significata and denotata, one of which is concrete and the other either abstract or concrete. For example: *роза* (*rose*)—'love,' *голубь* (*pigeon*)—'peace,' *якорь* (*anchor*)—'hope,' *троица* (*Trinity*)—'a triune deity,' *лилия* (*lily*), *ласточка* (*swallow*)—'Virgin,' *солнце* (*sun*)—'light, heat, life,' *луна* (*moon*)—'next world,' *черный цвет* (*black colour*)—'grief, mourning,' *белый цвет* (*white colour*)—'joy, holiday.'

² Chesnokov, P.V. О статическом и динамическом синкретизме речевого построения, 18

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Continuing P.V. Chesnokov's research, it is necessary to refer '**live**' **metonymic transference** to syncretic constructions which suggests that

"...the restoration of another participant of the situation connected with this relation of contiguity. The classic example of such metonymy is when the name of the container means what is contained: ... *стаканы пенились и шипели беспрестанно* (*glasses were foaming and hissing incessantly* (Pushkin 'A Shot')."⁴

As a rule, similar meanings are not fixed in dictionaries. They are connected to two denotata—a "nominative denotatum indicates the real, it is its sign" (Savitsky 2005: 113)—and two significata. For example, *выпил три стакана* (*drank three glasses*), *читал Пушкина, фарфор и бронза на столе* "*porcelain and bronze are on the table*" (A. Pushkin).

These syncretic, as well as metaphoric, meanings are revealed against the backdrop of, firstly, direct (symmetric) meanings possessing one concrete denotatum and significatum, and secondly, depicted in the dictionary's 'trite' metonymy, which has "a double conceptualization" (Paducheva 2004: 162). For example, (action—a scene of action) *стоянка* (the process of staying)—*остановка* (stop) (the train *stops* for three minutes), 'a place where a stop is' (*стоянка такси*) (parking for a taxi); (expressing a quality, a state—causing them) *радостный* (*joyful*)—"to be filled with joy" (*радостное настроение, joyful mood*), 'causing joy' (*радостное событие, a joyful event*).

In addition, syncretic constructions must include meanings expressed by **word-concepts**. It should be mentioned that P.V. Chesnokov was one of the first linguists in Russia who began to study this complex phenomenon, having defined the concept as "a unit of thought, the thought" (Chesnokov 1967: 37). Generalizing the definition proposed by researchers (for more details see Pimenova 2011), we consider the concept to be a unit at an emic/abstract level (comparable to a phoneme, a lexeme or a morpheme), which is represented at the ethical/concrete level with the help of a significatum, lexical meaning or the inner form of the word. Word-concepts, in our opinion, express unarticulated syncretic meanings connected to two (or more) significata and two (or more) abstract denotata: (*душа* (*soul*), *дух* (*spirit*), *вера* (*faith*), *надежда* (*hope*), *любовь* (*love*), *красота* (*beauty*), *хлеб* (*bread*), *слово* (*word*), *совесть* (*conscience*), *правда* (*truth*), *истина* (*truth*), *долг* (*duty*), *обязанность* (*obligation*), *удаль* (*boldness*), *тоска* (*melancholy*), *свобода* (*freedom*), *воля* (*will*), *добро* (*good*), *зло* (*evil*), *судьба* (*destiny*), *вечность* (*eternity*),

⁴ Paducheva, E.V. Dinamicheskije modeli v semantike leksiki, 160

for the figurative meaning, for example, metaphors such as *bear* (to denote a clumsy person) or *birch* (to name a graceful, slender girl)²

It should be noted that figurative meanings with 'live' imagery are associated with two denotata—nominal/named and, assimilated to it, real/kept in mind (Savitsky 2006) and two significata indicating concrete/abstract objects and/or their properties. Metaphorical meanings are perceived by the speaker/listener as 'binary' against the background of direct (symmetrical) meanings (associated with one specific denotatum and one significatum). In explanatory dictionaries they are fixed with the help of the mark *fig.* (figurative). For example, *кремень* (*flint*)—(fig.) 'about a hard-hearted person,' *орел* (*eagle*)—(fig.) 'about a proud, courageous, strong person,' *змеиная улыбка* (*snake smile*)—(fig.) 'insidious' and *горький* (*bitter*)—(fig.) 'sorrowful' (Ozhegov 1978). These syncretic meanings can be represented on a conventional scale of linguistic figurativeness (Sklyarevskaya 2004). This is in contrast to meanings with zero figurativeness—abstract vocabulary such as, *интеграл* (*integral*), *синус* (*sine*), *косинус* (*cosine*), *анализ* (*analysis*), *синтез* (*synthesis*) and *валентность* (*valency*)—and also to the meanings of nominative (or genetic) metaphor with 'lifeless' language imagery in which the replacement of one cognitive meaning by another takes place: *белок глаза* (*a white of the eye*), *лапка станины* (*the foot of the mountain*) and *червивое изображение* (*the worm-eaten image*).

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закон (*law*), беззаконие (*lawlessness*), страх (*fear*), жизнь (*life*) and смерть (*death*) (Stepanov 1997).

We believe that one more type of syncretic construction is represented in connotative meanings (which are also called connotations, additions or additional meanings, thus implicitly indicating their syncretism) pointing to, among the types/components of connotative meaning, evaluation, expressivity, emotiveness, figurativeness and stylistic meaning (Alefirenko 2005). We understand connotation here in a narrow sense, including in this notion the expression of an emotive/rational and a meliorative/pejorative relation of the speaker to the subject of the message. We exclude from it expressivity/intensity (as the expression of the meaning 'very much,' i.e. as the manifestation of a quantitative not a qualitative relation, which is, in our opinion, included in the cognitive meaning), and also functional and stylistic characteristics relating to the sociolinguistic sphere, not to the semasiological one, and in most cases accompanying a pragmatic meaning.

Syncretic amalgams are presented in unarticulated cognitive-pragmatic meanings which are singled out by the character of their communicative function, connected with one denotatum but two versatile significata: the cognitive (logical) and the pragmatic (expressing the emotive/rational and/or meliorative/pejorative relation of the speaker to the subject of the message). For example: *даровитый* (*gifted*)—'possessing talent, gift + it is good'; *доподлинный* (*authentic*)—'exact, true + it is good'; *дранный* (*torn*)—'worn out, torn + it is bad'; *тащиться* (*to trudge*)—'to move slowly and badly + it is bad'; *худышка* (*a thin person*)—'emaciated, a sickly child, woman + it is bad.'

These (and similar) syncretic lexical meanings are revealed against the background of purely descriptive meanings (connected with one cognitive significatum), which in word-terms (in lexicology—polysemy, monosemy, homonymy, disemy and enantiosemy) and lexical units, express direct meaning, as with *артишок* (*artichoke*), *арфа* (*harp*), *верстак* (*joiner's bench*), *верхом* (*on horseback*), *гичка* (*gig*), *закашлять* (*to begin to cough*) and *исходный* (*initial*). These are placed in comparison to purely pragmatic meanings (connected with one pragmatic significatum), as possessed by the interjections *ай-ай-ай* (*ah-ah-ah*), *ба* (*hullo, well*), *ну и ну* (*come, come*), *ой* (*oh*), *ох* (*oh, oh*), *увы* (*alas*), *фи* (*fie, pah*) and *фу* (*ugh*), and emotional-evaluative words, such as *восхитительный* (*delightful*), *отлично* (*perfectly*), *превосходный* (*superb*), *прекрасно* (*splendid*), *прелестный* (*lovely*), *чудесный* (*wonderful*), *отвратительно* (*disgustingly*), *скверный* (*nasty*), *ужасный* (*horrible*) and *такой-сякой* (*so-and-so*).

We believe that syncretic constructions also include the meaning of **hyperonyms**, which can indicate: firstly, 'kinds of objects/beings'—птица (*bird*), животное (*animal*), насекомое (*insect*), растение (*plant*), дерево (*tree*) and цветок (*flower*); secondly, 'objects of various kinds' мебель (*furniture*), посуда (*dishes*), одежда (*clothes*) and обувь (*footwear*) (Wezhbitckaya 1996). The meanings of hyperonyms are associated with one significatum but with a few or many denotata (an unarticulated quantity of concrete denotata). This is manifested in a number of cases through the lexicographical method of interpreting the meaning of hyperonyms through hyponyms. For example: мебель (*furniture*)—предметы комнатной обстановки (*room decor objects*) столы (*tables*), стулья (*chairs*), диваны (*sofas*) and насекомое (*insect*)—маленькое беспозвоночное членистоногое животное (*small invertebrate arthropoda*) муха (*fly*), пчела (*bee*), муравей (*ant*), клоп (*bug*).

In P.V. Chesnokov's opinion, among syncretic constructions there are also "phraseological units with a live internal form—**phraseological unities** in which the figurativeness of phraseological meaning is based on simultaneous awareness of their direct meaning тянуть ляжку (*to drudge*), без царя в голове (*to be silly*)" (Chesnokov 2001: 18). For example: белая ворона (*a black sheep*)—'a person who is extremely different from the people surrounding him'; курам на смех (*to make a cat laugh*)—'extremely senseless, silly, absurd'; мелко плавать (*to be shallow brained*)—'to lack skills, knowledge, experience, etc.'; на лбу написано (*it is written all oversomebody's face*)—'immediately seen, clear, noticeable'; наломать дров (*to commit follies*)—'to make gross mistakes, to make a lot of blunders'; плыть по течению (*to go with the stream*)—'to act, to do as the circumstances compel' (FSRYa 1987).

Summarizing P.V. Chesnokov's views on the phenomenon of syncretism in the Russian language, it should be noted that at the lexical-semantic level, syncretic constructions form a special category, which we propose to call **syncretsemy** (from the Greek συγκρητισμός—'combination, unification, connection' and σημα—'sign, signal'). The proposed term was formed by analogy with the names of the main lexico-semantic categories: σήμα and πολύς—'many' (polysemy); μόνος—'one, the only' (monosemy—'univocity'); δύο—'two' (disemy); εύρος—'width' (evrisemy—'broad meaning'); εναντίος—'opposite' (enantiosemy 'opposition of meanings').

Syncretsemy, as a lexico-semantic category, combines lexical units, whose common characteristic is a 'qualitative' differential feature (indicating the quality of a signified/signifier), revealed at the syntagmatic

level; the existence of a syncretic (unarticulated) signified or a syncretic (unarticulated) signifier. This qualitative differential feature is what distinguishes syncretism from the well-known lexico-semantic categories—**polysemy** (and its variants—**disemy** and **evrisemy**) and **monosemy**, which is singled out and distinguished on the basis of a 'quantitative' differential feature and reveals itself at the paradigmatic level with a number of meanings (several/two/many signified and one signifier). **Polysemy** and **homonymy**, **phraseological unit** and **free word-combination** are singled out and distinguished at an epigrammatic level. The presence of an associative and cognitive connection between a signified belonging to a polysemantic unit and a stable lexico-grammatical connection between a signifier belonging to a phraseological unit is opposed to its rupture/absence from homonyms and the components of free word combinations.

In conclusion, it should be noted that further study of static and dynamic syncretism will better reveal the "semantic basis of any text" (Chesnokov 2011: 518), a topic that Professor Peter Veniaminovich Chesnokov wrote about more than once in his work.

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THE SYNONYMY OF COMPLEX AND SIMPLE SENTENCES ACCORDING TO THE SEMANTIC FORMS OF THINKING THEORY

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Syntactical synonymy is a complex many-sided phenomenon in which lexical, morphological and syntactical aspects are interlaced. The common principle of synonymy is an absence of complete parallelism between content and expression. It is supposed that similarity belongs to content while difference belongs to expression. In consequence of such an understanding of the equivalence of syntactical synonyms, their comparison is often used to describe the formal organizational differences between sentences. Every structural difference highlights a difference in meaning. The difference in meaning between synonymic constructions justifies their existence in language, otherwise they are rendered surplus to requirements. The choice is made by the speaker—conscious or unconscious—and is defined by difference.

As A.V. Bondarko writes:

“The speaker can express one and the same meaning content by different means which are different from the meaning invariant interpretation point of view: *We studied the question ...*, *The question was studied by us ...*, *The subject of our study was the question ... etc*” (Bondarko 1978: 24).

The target of attention is the situation reflected in the sentence: the fragment of reality and its semantic model. This can be characterized as two or more models organized by components of the same name with a difference in expression and expressing one and the same type of meaning, such that:

“Type sentence meaning is a generalized meaning result (semantic structure) of the subject and predicate components and their predicative entailing” (Zolotova, Onipenko & Sidorova 1999: 104).

Series of sentences, different in structure but reproducing one and the same type of situation, may be recognized as synonymic in lexical-syntactic or situational aspects. In sentences of different in structure, such as *he builds houses; houses are built by him; the building of houses by him*, one and the same type of content is reflected. This is a relation between the subject, the action and the object to which the action is directed. In a situational approach:

“a sentence is not only predicative but a nominative figure as it reflects with its ideal side a definite objective situation while its material side means ‘this’ situation” (Zolotova 1973: 18).

If synonymic constructions belong to different layers of language, as for example, complex and simple sentences, it is common to speak of iso-functionalism. Displaying the unity of content and, at the same time, expressing development is typical of iso-functionalism. Yu Yu. Ledenyov writes that:

“...Syntactical isofunctionalism is a phenomenon of the invariant typified linguistic syntactic structural transformation and adaptation process to real communicative conditions by any form of the correlation between the author and addressee” (Ledenyev 2001: 4-5).

The focus of this article is to define syntactic synonymy by which sentences describing one and the same situation, built using different models while keeping the semantic identity of lexical morphemes, can be recognized as syntactic synonyms. For example: *when the sun rose, we went to the forest; after sunrise we went to the forest*. These synonyms should be defined as concrete syntactic synonyms. Different syntactic constructions are identified by their meaning type, i.e. by their reflection of the type of situation they gain the status of syntactic synonyms. The sentences, *the postman delivers newspapers* and *newspapers are delivered by the postman* are concrete syntactical synonyms, as their semantics reflect one and the same concrete situation. Sentences like *newspapers are delivered by the postman* and *the teacher corrects exercise-books* should be considered as models of syntactical synonyms. They are united only by the type of situation reflected in the correlation between the subject and object by means of action by concrete subjects, objects and actional difference. This means that a concrete syntactic synonyms should be considered to be a model with a common meaning reflecting one and the same type of concrete situation.

According to T.D. Korelskaya, synonymic transformations describing one construction as another helps to solve a major issue in semantics—the description of sentence meaning. Describing sentence meaning is impossible without a description of the meaning of the syntactic constructions within them. Synonymy is used as the means to describe meaning in syntactic constructions. These synonymic transformations may be presented as complex syntactic constructions interpreted simply in their having one and the same sense. An important criteria of two or more constructions belonging to the class of syntactic synonyms is their ability to transform. The interchangeability and transformational ability of syntactic constructions provides an important index of their synonymy.

Yu.Yu. Ledenev, speaking of transformation, suggests that:

“invariant models are able to be realized in formations which are equivalent in their structures and semantics. As a result there will be a speech formation connected to the invariant by the laws of transformation ...” (Ledenev 2001: 23).

A common semantic factor uniting the series of syntactic structures is sentence type meaning: the common semantics of the class of sentences with similar or different structures that reflect the same type of situation repeating, in an infinite series of sentences, the same or different concrete content. G. A. Zolotova writes that:

“...Type sentence meaning is the common meaning of a great number of sentences representing the given model, and at the same time it is the common meaning of some synonymic models linking equivalent but different formation components. E.g., the type meaning of the ‘subject and its quality’ is expressed in a series of sentences, representing the same model: The employee is zealous; His face is expressive; He is self-confident etc. This meaning is expressed by a series of synonymic models with predicatives that correlate, but differently shape components with the meaning of subject and its quality: The employee differs in zeal; Zeal differs in the employee; Zeal is typical of the employee” (Zolotova, Onipenko & Sidorova 1999: 25-26).

The aim of this article is to study some types of complex and simple sentences in their situational aspect and take into consideration their forms of expression. The identity of such constructions can be defined by their objective content and differences in their material structures and the forms of thinking which correspond to each structure.

In P.V. Chesnokov's studies of language and thinking, the inter-relationship that shows that logical forms of thinking are common to all mankind is that of accumulated private forms of thinking—semantic forms of thinking. Semantic forms of thinking are national in their nature and are connected to the specific character of a language grammar system. Also, they "may coincide in different languages and differ at different stages of a language's historical development" (Chesnokov 1992: 20).

According to P.V. Chesnokov, every grammar form coincides with a definite semantic form. Semantic forms are not generated by the needs of cognition and do not engage theories of knowledge and logic. As such, semantic forms of thinking are opposed to logical forms of thinking. Both logical and semantic forms of thinking, however, exist in a unity as two sides of one process of thought organization. Logic acts as a universal means of thought formation: common structures of thinking units (concept, notion, judgment, question, motive, i.e. logema, its variety and logic chains) are always realized more often in private and as part of a national culture. The thought structure is closely connected to the peculiarities of the grammar system of concrete language and the grammar structure of language units—words, word combinations and sentences—in semantic forms of thinking (Chesnokov 1992). Conceptual views of the world are similar in different people, and nationally located images of the world are simply a different 'colouring' of these images.

In this article, the synonymy of compound and simple sentences is studied through concrete syntactic constructions, taking into account their concrete objective content identity. This means that concrete syntactic synonyms are the embodiment of the model of syntactic synonymy.

When analyzing the synonymy of complex and simple sentences it is necessary to take into account semantic forms of thinking which are characterized according to twelve parameters (Chesnokov 2002).

The synonymy of complex and simple sentences may be possible if the subject that is expressed by a verb or an adjective in a subordinate clause corresponds to an abstract noun that is the object of a deliberative verb that is lexically identical to the verb to which the subordinate clause is related. The object in the simple sentence corresponds to the subject of the subordinate clause. For example, in the complex sentence *Peter informed that the group was sent to London*, the simple sentence *Peter informed them about the group being sent to London* is synonymic. If the subject of the subordinate clause is expressed by a personal pronoun in the simple sentence, the attribute expressed by a possessive pronoun corresponds to it, e.g. *he will prove that she is not guilty—he will prove her innocence*.

The verbal predicate in the subordinate clause corresponds to the verbal noun in the same case-form that demands a verbal subject in the simple sentence, e.g. *Peter informed them about the group being sent to London.*

If there is a direct object when there is no subject in a subordinate clause, then in a simple sentence the object in the oblique case has the meaning of an object directed by an abstract noun corresponding to the transitive verb in the role of the predicate of the subordinate clause. As such: *the master ordered him to deliver the wood—the master ordered the delivery of the wood.*

If there is both a subject and a direct object in a subordinate clause, then in a simple sentence two objects—one with the meaning of the subject and the other with the meaning of the object—correspond to them. For example: *he informed that the postman delivered the newspapers—he informed him about the delivery of the newspapers by the postman.*

Semantic differences in the analyzed synonymic sentences can be observed only in the definite semantic forms of the thought parameters expressed.

1. The system of relations between thought components

In a complex sentence there is a two level system of relations between the thought components: parts of the sentence both in the main and subordinate clauses are directly correlated to the content. The content of the subordinate clause is only correlated to the key content component in the main clause, e.g., *he → will prove → that she → is not guilty*

In a simple sentence there is a one level system of relations between the thought components as all parts of the sentence are in a direct relationship to the content:

He → will prove → innocence → her

2. The direction of relations between thought components.

In the subordinate clause of a complex sentence, the relationship is directed from the concept of the subject to the concept of indication and in the synonymic simple sentence, from the concept of indication to the concept of its owner. In the sentence *he will prove that she is not guilty* there is a relation of the person (she) to the indication of innocence. The question directed from the subject to the predicate is evidence of this

(which is it?). In the synonymic simple sentence *he will prove her innocence* there is a relation of the indication of innocence to the person—the owner of the indication. This is confirmed by the direction of the question from the noun *innocence* to the attribute *her* (*whose innocence?*).

3. Proper relations between thought components

The questions above show that in a subordinate clause, possession of the subject indication is expressed, while in a simple sentence, possession of the indication by its owner (subject) is expressed.

4. The character of content scope

As the relation of the subject content to the predicate content in the subordinate clause is expressed by the morphological form of the word acting as the predicate, the idea of the relationship between the subject (owner of the indication) and the indication flows together with the concept of the indication, the content of which is enriched. In a simple sentence, the idea of the relationship between the owner of the indication and the indication itself, disclosed in the form of the morphological indicator (*her*), flows together with the concept of the subject that is enriched (*her innocence* means *innocence belonging to her*).

The preceding analysis confirms the supposition that synonymous simple and complex sentences possessing the same type of meaning differ, not only in syntactic structure, but also in semantic forms of thinking. For the analysis of synonymy in simple and complex sentences, four semantic forms of thinking parameters (invented by P.V. Chesnokov) are relevant.

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INTONATION AS THE CHANGEABLE FACTOR IN SYNTACTIC UTTERANCES

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The consciousness of the human mind always interacts with the external situation as the element of practice. Therefore, language signs, engaging with the human mind correlate to an external situation. This, in its turn, influences the meaning of words and leads to transformations in the structure of sentences (Chesnokov 1961). The study of the basic means of text organization is of paramount importance, without which “any interpretation of the structure at the logical-grammatical level of the sentence would be incomplete” (Bushuy 2005: 34).

Another powerful sign free factor is intonation, which reflects the characteristics of a word. Syntactic intonation (intonation of the simple sentence, subordinate clause and detached secondary parts etc.) is generally considered to be included in the grammatical system of the language (Crystal 2009). One can agree with this. Intonation expressing the attitude of a person to the subject of speech and the intonation of emotional and volitional purposes presents a complete speech phenomenon. Since they are not signs they should not be included in the language system: they do not have conventional signs but they function in speech as a natural feature of the person. They are not adopted from others and are not memorized as other language signs are, but are used by a person and are accepted by others as a natural modulation of voice, directly influencing the emotions (Goldman-Eisler 2011). To a large extent, then, intonation is the most important factor in emotional speech.

For instance, the predicate can be detached from the subject and become a secondary part of the sentence. In such cases, each member of the sentence forms independent syntagma with a rising tone, excluding the last syntagma which has a falling tone:

My → ' aunt/with her ' hands be → ' hind her/' walked ' up and '
down the ↓ ' room //.

His ' upper → ' lip/under the ' white mouse → ' tache/' puffed ↑
in and ↓ ' out// (C.P. Snow, Time of Hope).

Intonation stipulates the syntagmatic execution of applications:

' Great ' people of ↓ ' yours,/' kings and → ' queens/bu' ffoons
and ' grave am' bassadors/' played their ↑ stately → ' farce/for ↓ '
centuries/in ↓ Holyrood// (S. Butler, The Way of All Flesh).

The applications here are grouped by 'two in one' syntagma with the help of 'and': 1) kings and queens, and 2) buffoons and grave ambassadors. However, the intonation makes this parallel construction redundant and brings it into one syntagma.

Compare the intonational expression in the following syntaxemes:

→ John,/the ' famous → was ' once ' dining in ↑ company with a '
few friends // ↑ .

' Dr. ' John → ' Brown,/the ' famous ' biblical → ' scholar,/was
fa' miliar with ' both the ↑ ups and ' downs of ↓ life// (G.K. Chesterton,
The Flying Inn).

The same is seen in the repetition of the object in the following sentence:

He ' felt in his ↓ ' pocket/and was ' glad to ' find his ↑ latch-key
and his ↓ ' money for with ' these → two/a ' man co' mmands the ↓ '
world// (G.K. Chesterton, The Flying Inn).

The main part of the context stress falls at the end of the second syntagma. The intonational expression of the following context, however, shows little relativity of the repeated members in separate isolated syntagmas:

I ' saw an ' tique/' Westminster,/and the ' green ' Temple ↓
Gardens/with the ↓ ' sun upon them// (J.Galsworthy, Beyond).

Accordingly, the intonational and repeated predicative member forms separate syntagma in the following example:

He is the ' jolliest of com → ' panions/and the ' steadiest of ↓ ' friends,/and perhaps the ' most genuine ' book-lover in ↓ ' London// (G. Greene, *The Quiet American*).

Intonation is used to emphasize a logical connection or the isolation of compound sentences in an utterance. A falling intonation is used here to emphasize the important fragments of the utterance:

The ' fire had been a ' llowed to go ↓ ' out and/the ' room was/very ↓ ' cold//.

I ' haven't ' time to ↓ ' do it, /so I'll ' leave it till ↓ to ' morrow// (W.S. Maugham, *Rain*).

The rising tone, however, is more typical of hypotaxis. This shows a close inter-connection between syntagmas. When the logical connection is weaker, the falling tone becomes more heavily actualized:

' Tom ' followed ' Maggie ' up → ' stairs/into her ' mother's ↓ ' room/and ' saw her ' go at → ' once/to a → ' drawer/from ' which she ↑ took → ' out/a ' large ' pair of ↓ ' scissors //.

I ' afterwards → ' found/that he generally → ' acted/which his ' strong → ' voice/as Mr. ' Creakle's interpreter to the ↓ ' boys// (P. Abraham's, *The Path of Thunder*).

In the first context, the two syntagmas form a complete sentence:

Tom followed Maggie upstairs,/into her mother's room//
Intonationally it acts as an introductory part of the utterance.

The impact of the speech affects the formation of the melody of the utterance with the structure of hypotaxis and also the choice of the position of the principal and subordinate clauses. Here we see a falling-rising melody in hypotaxis with the principal clause at the beginning of the sentence:

' Theobald was ' nothing ↓ /if he was ' not ↓ ,logical// (S. Butler, *The Way of All Flesh*).

An example of the rising-falling melody in hypotaxis with the inverse sequence of the positions of the principal and subordinate clauses follows:

The adjuration was rather unnecessary ↑ ; the probability being, that ' if Mr. Pickwick had de' clined to ' keep himself ' up for ' anybody ' else's ↓ sake/it would have oc' curred to him/that he ' might as well ' do so for his ' own// (Ch. Dickens, *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*).

The importance of the intonation process for the derivational development of speech morphology and syntax is clearly seen. Here the word acquires features in speech which are not present in the system of the language.

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PHRASEOLOGY IN GRAMMATICOGRAPHY (ON MATERIAL IN ENGLISH)

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This article deals with some morphological features of the substantive and verbal phraseological unit in dictionary and textual comparison.

Until recently, the study of vocabulary and grammar had been weakly correlated with each other. Since the 1970s, the concept of grammar lexicalization, which is inseparable from language in linguistics, has appeared. The idea is offered through the prism of language and the rules and categories are described as having explicit lexical constraints; they are directly dependent on these restrictions and have a fully revealed connection to the vocabulary of grammar. The basis for this representation is closely linked to dictionary analysis.

This postulates linguistic thinking about modernity, including, the necessity of grammatical meaning, the functional separation of the grammatical system, its actual functioning, the idea of integral description of languages, the semantization of the language system, the idea of interaction between layers and systematic description of communicative grammar (Chesnokov 2011).

Qualitative changes associated with grammatical thinking, the revised boundaries between grammatical and other mechanisms of language, between grammar and vocabulary, and between grammar and lexicography, have resulted in the appearance of a new branch of linguistic science, that of grammaticography (the description of grammatical phenomena using material from different vocabularies).

Focusing on grammar then vocabulary and vocabulary then grammar is a way of developing a more complete description of literary language. It reflects the language system and serves as a basis for further study. One of the objectives of improving these types of descriptions is the need for more consistency. A word is a part of the lexical relations (synonyms, antonyms, lexical sphere), as well as a part of a grammatical relationship.

Lexical and grammatical meanings act as two sides of the same sign—the word. This can appear neither purely lexically nor grammatically.

An integrated approach to the description of language does not always pay attention to the existence of similarity between lexical and grammatical phenomena and the presence of a deep isomorphism between the two main components of language (Keenan 2012).

In the grammar of the selected language, the classes of words described suggest, firstly, the practical and theoretical significance of the classification of language vocabulary, secondly, that the language has a number of common features inherent to the grammatical system, and as a result of this, thirdly, the common grammar of a problem (not only grammatical) which can and should be addressed in different language material.

In the dictionary, phraseological codification suggests issues of inventory, ordering and interpreting idiomatic units (PhU) in semantic and grammatical plans, as well as the establishment of stable boundaries. In the general theory of phraseography it is important to recognize reception, serial correlation, disclosure, codification and usage by lexicographically benchmarking comparisons on learned or assimilated PhUs (their forms and variants) and the diversity of PhUs derived from the most authoritative sources over a historical period. At the present stage of development, phraseography notes the existence of different principles in the dictionary representation of phraseology. Major issues of theory and practice in modern phraseography center on the following: the structure of the entry in the explanatory dictionary (ED) and the supply system of semantic, stylistic, grammatical, etymological and other interpretations described by phraseology. In other words, the various national schools are one of the main sources for lexical and phraseological richness in language. Therefore, these should be considered to be the guiding sources on lexicology, grammar and phraseology (Burchfield 2011).

The linguistic nature of PhUs may be disclosed in sufficient completeness on the counterpoint of its figurative, semantic, functional, stylistic, grammatical derivation and specificity. The level approach to the complex interpretation of phraseology suggests focusing on separate sides of the PhU, garnering theoretically and practically important explanatory grammatical information from dictionaries. On this point, A.M. Bushuy, in particular, has noted the following:

“PhU codification dictionaries give complex grammatical information itself. This includes the internal grammatical properties of PhU, which are inherent components of PhU, and the external grammatical properties in the PhU’s contextual connections. For example, in the dictionary,

information can be regularly observed: of case, prepositional or prepositional-case management described in a PhU and PhU compatibility with typical contexts that allows us to visually track the content in PhU in context."¹

However, in English lexicography, the study of phraseological morphology clearly calls for greater attention. The morphological properties of PhUs may be disclosed by studying the components of PhUs. Compare, for example, such PhUs in modern English as: *a square peg in a round hole* (*square pegs in round holes, square pegs in a round hole*), 'a man in the wrong place'; *the augean stable* (*or stables*), 'a place figuratively contaminated with filth'; *cakes and ale*, 'fun'; *give and take*, 'mutual concessions'; *new wine in old bottles* (*new wine into old wineskins*), 'new content in an old format.'

It is clear that the morphological features of the components of a PhU differ from the morphological properties indicative of these same words in the common language system. Word components in a PhU are indicative of generalized-categorical values for phrase-forms. Thus, in some cases, an objectively substantive PhU has set grammatical features on its pivotal component: *the hook without the bait*, 'anything, devoid of the most basic, the most essential'; *evil eye*, 'malevolent gaze'; *Jack Horner*, 'a smug boy.' Similarly, in a substantively-coordinative PhU a generic subject character is displayed in the grammatical features of its constituent components: *the haves and have-nots*; *ins and outs*. The grammatical meaning of objectivity is determinable (in the process of speech operations). In PhUs which have a rod-component: *enough and to spare*, 'more than enough'; *give and take*, 'mutual concession, exchange of views'; *cold without*, 'drink, diluted with cold water'; *high and low*, 'people of all ranks'; *ail and all*, 'object of love and adoration, deciding factor.' Specific morphological features are seen in different verbal PhUs often revealing exclusive variability in the verbal component of their phrase-forms. The verbal PhU *to show the white feather*, meaning 'chicken, lost heart,' varies widely in its verbal component:

"Oh, my dear fellow, do not worry. I have been frightened too often myself to blame anyone who shows the white feather" (Maugham 2006: 44);

"Hely Clinker, who was in his regiment, said that he not only cheated at cards, but showed the white feather" (Thackeray 2005: 117);

¹ Bushuy, A. M. Osnovi frazeografirovaniya yazika, 77

“‘I have lost everything, sir;’ Pen groaned out; ‘my honour’s gone; I’m ruined irretrievably; I cannot go back to Oxbridge.’ ‘Lost your honour?’ Screamed out the Major. ‘Heaven alive! You do not mean to say you have shown the white feather?’” (Thackeray 2005: 188);

“Never before in the history of the service had a ranger shown the white feather” (Henry 2011: 77);

“There were caricatures of all three generals showing the white feathers ...” (Aldington 2002: 53);

“Peter had not intended anything quite so serious as that, but Guffey was so business-like, and took it all so much as a matter of course, that Peter was afraid to show the white feather” (Sinclair 2000: 89).

However, even here there is a tendency towards stabilization in clichéd phrase-forms preserving the stability of expressive imagery. This often contributes to the permanence of a morphological paradigm for many verbal components that remain susceptible to contextual transformability.

Thus, the PhU *it stands to reason*, ‘needless to say, completely obvious, common sense dictates,’ in principle does not preclude its use as if it stood to reason. However, the latest dictionaries still adhere to the traditional phrase-form: “If you say ‘it stands to reason’ you mean that it is obvious that something is true or likely to happen; a fairly informal expression. For example, “If they keep doing that, it stands to reason that the police are going to get suspicious ... It must have been him that did it— it stands to reason” (CCD 2012: 1420).

This view is fully confirmed by the textual data.

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PART III:
CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION
AND TRANSLATION

INTERLINGUAL EQUIVALENCE OF PHRASEOLOGY

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Theoretical and applied aspects of translation differ on certain specifications in the light of inter-lingual equivalency. Focusing on translating phraseological units (PU) is a means of achieving maximum inter-lingual accuracy. This, first of all, refers to the reproduction of the content, stylistic characteristics, structural and formal peculiarities and its imaginary-idiomatic basis, etc., to demonstrate the most significant contexts of usage which formulate the content of PUs. Dictionaries constructed from this perspective (see the list of dictionaries in the attached literature), seek to identify the peculiarities of PUs in relation to the lexical-phraseological system of the source language. The informative value of the dictionary is not only in the wide exposition of similar qualities between examined languages, but also by its logical attention to essential facts about the differences and diversity in phraseological objects of study. This can be explained as follows:

“besides logical forms of thinking, born by the process of cognition and because of this natural peculiarity to humanity, there are also pure structural forms of thinking connected to the characteristics of particular languages, and consequently, national in quality, which can coincide in various languages, and vice versa, be completely different when making up identical content in one and the same language” (Chesnokov 1984: 3).

The search for variants of phraseological units in contrastive dictionaries can be highlighted by the nature of a certain phraseological unit, the degree of closeness in the contrasted languages and the type and purpose of the lexicographic or phraseographic source. Thus, when describing closely related languages it is possible to find pairs of phraseological units that can be equivalent in semantic-stylistic, grammatical-structural and functional features. The following pairs of phraseological parallels can stand as examples of such cases: Byelorussian—Russian, бегма бегчы—бегом бежать (run fast); свету (белая) не бачыць—света (белого) не

видеть; у вочы не бачыць—в глаза не видеть; рабіць белае чорным—делать белое чёрным. Some of the fragments of contrasted phraseological units in different languages (for example, in closely related languages) have a high degree of correspondence: PUs coincide in semantic-imaginary and structural terms. Some phraseological expressions in the Czech—Polish languages that can exemplify this point and have the unique nuclear component бельмо are given below:

BĚLMO//bielmo—mít bělmo na očích—mieć bielmo na oczach být zaslepen; spadlo mu bělmo s očí—spadło mu bielmo z oczu úplně prohlédl; strhnout (sejmout) někomu bělmo s očí—zerwać (zdjąć) komus bielmo z oczu ukázat pravý stav věci.

At the same time, corresponding PUs from closely related languages display diversity in the choice of some components, despite being related semantically or thematically. For example, the following PUs in Byelorussian and Russian have parallel units that differ in a numeric component: бачыць на тры сажні пад зямлёю—видеть на два аршина под землёй.

These diversities are added to the PUs of one of the contrasted languages as a variant. Accounting for this makes it possible to achieve a greater degree of accuracy when reproducing a translated text. Such component mobility can be observed in the Slovak PU *v Adamovom* or *v Evinom rúchu* 'completely naked' when compared to the German equivalent PU *im Adamskostüm*. This same large degree of mobility is peculiar to the target language in the following Russian—Ukrainian parallel: кануть в вечность (в прошлое)—канути (піти) увічність (у небуття).

The above mentioned discrepancies are expanded when interpreting those PUs whose foundational imagery is characterized by the presence of a nationally coloured element. In such cases a large variety of lexical-phraseological equivalents and their set variants can be used. For example, in the target language: Russian коломенская верста, с коломенскую версту, meaning 'as tall as a beanpole'—Ukrainian /як/ чугуївська (мальована, пирятинська) верста (верства); здоровань, -ня, здоровило; белорус. кішкі ў галаве—Rus. мякина в голове, пустая башка; голова трухой набита, meaning 'an empty head.' In the same manner, when translating PUs used in lower language styles one can use a wider variety of equivalents: Rus. не все дома у кого 'not all members of smb's family are at home' or 'to have bats in one's belfry'—Ukr. не всі дома у кого, не сповна розуму хто, клепки (глузду, тямки) не хватає (бракує) у кого (кому) (немає у кого)/вголові/. The meaningful capacity of PUs in the

source language presupposes finding synonymic PUs in the target language that may also have the capacity for variant interchangeability in some component: Byelorussian—Russian адысці унябыт—кануть в небытие (в вечность), отойти в прошлое 'to pass into oblivion.'

It seems that if we approach the meaningful structure of PUs as a system in hierarchic composition, which is more or less complex, it will be reasonable to identify and interpret separately their essential informative quanta (semantic, grammatical, stylistic, functional and etymological). Equivalency, first of all, must come from each bilingual parallel with minimum extant coincidence and identical, analogous and informative quanta. They may be used as a complex structure when the corresponding choice of PUs from the source and target languages is characterized by the unity of their semantic, imaginary, structural-syntactic, stylistic and functional peculiarities. Then comes the interpretation of non-corresponding quanta (discrepancies can be semantic, stylistic and more). Special attention should be paid to show the image construction which acts as the idiomatic basis for PUs. This can be achieved by a word for word retelling of the content of PUs or by a more descriptive method. Therefore, dictionary equivalents of PUs from various languages, close in meaning but different from the point of view of imagery used, are not always satisfactory. Compare the Russian equivalent of the Byelorussian proverb: Багаты Мацей: поўна хата дзяцей—у богатога телята, а у бедного ребята. In such cases it is important to give a direct meaning of the phrase. For example, the English PU, *born in a barn*, means not only badly-behaved, but has its literal meaning as a person 'born in a barn.' The same word for word translation method can be used in a better known, and widely used English PU, *to be as poor as Job*, as follows—быть бедным как Иов+быть бедным как церковная мышь.

If units from two contrasted languages do not have enough correspondence in content, their semantic adequacy will be incomplete. Compare: German *jm Geldpumpen* 'to lend smb money' and French *pomperdel'argent à qn* 'to borrow money from smb.'

The most difficult work is done by a lexicographer when seeking a contrastive phraseological equivalency of material unrelated in the languages. A good example of the difficulties involved is that of Russian—Arabic translation. The most complicated part is the translation of verbal phraseological units.

For example, the Russian PU *втирать очки* 'to pull the wool over somebody's eyes' is often interpreted in Arabic as *dahala a'layhi bisan'ai latafatin* 'to enter smb's room with false politeness' and *dahika alayhi ('alā 'aklihi)* 'to laugh at smb.' These do not achieve the essence of the

Russian phrasal image in the proverb meaning 'to deceive somebody by showing something in a wrong, but comfortable for oneself, light.' This meaning can be rendered by an Arabic PU *zarra r-ramada fi l-'uyuni* 'to throw dust into somebody's eyes.'

The lexicographer comes across inaccuracy while finding semantic equivalency in the PUs of other classes too.

Here, the Russian nominative PU *сбоку припёка* which means 'unnecessary, unwanted, not having direct relation to anybody or anything,' can serve as an example. It can be rendered into Arabic as *lā hunā va lā hunāka* 'neither here nor there.' However, a more accurate translation would be: *shay'un zā'idun* 'unnecessary thing.'

The translation of the nominative PU *не бог весть какой* as *la vazna lahu* 'it doesn't carry weight' and '*ala kaddihi* 'the same size' is incomplete; a more accurate translation would be *ā shay'a garība fīhi* 'there is nothing particular' or *laysa fīhi mā yajzibu 'l-ihitimāma* 'there isn't anything attractive.'

Searching for the closest equivalent while compiling a foreign-arabic dictionary needs to continue. For example:

- a) The Russian PU *ни к селу ни к городу* is quite close in meaning to such Arabic expressions as *lāisa fī makānihi* or *lāisa fī mahallihi*, with the general meaning of 'unsuitable'; equally, the expression *min gayri munāsabatin* 'above any bit' remains too remote from the original Russian PU.
- b) The Russian PU with interjection *так и быть* is closer to the Arabic expression *falinakun kazālika* 'let it be this way' than to *mā bi 'l-yadi hīlatun* 'not having slyness in the hands.'

The same difficulties arise when searching for Russian-Arabic equivalents of paremiological units (proverbs constitute a type of PU).

Thus, if we translate the PU *За двумя зайцами погонишься, ни одного не поймаешь* as *sāhibu bālaīni kazzābun* 'owner of two ideas/liar,' the explanation will be insufficient; a closer translation of this Russian PU would be the expression *man zahaba varā'a arnabayni fakada kilayhimā* 'he who goes after two hares, loses both.'

From the above mentioned comments on finding appropriate Arabic equivalents to foreign phraseological and paremiological units, the following can be generalized:

- .1) Descriptive translations are an explanatory means of engaging with original set-word expressions with figurative (or non-motivated)

phraseological forms. It is important to find equivalents to proverbs and phraseological units. Compare such examples as дело мастера боится—*a 'ti 'l-kausa bariha* 'give the bow to its maker'; there is not enough phraseological equivalence here, and, as such, a better version would be *kullu 'ukdatin va lahā hallān* 'to each knot there is someone who can untie it.'

- 2) Thorough comparative analysis of foreign-Arabic phraseological material should be directed towards achieving close similarity. Compare such Russian-Arabic parallels as:

Плясать под дудку—*āma 'alā 'aumihī* 'swim after somebody,' *mashā fū rikābihī* 'follow somebody obediently' which appears equivalent to *rakasa 'alā mizmārihi* 'to dance to smb.'s fiddle';

Смотреть сквозь пальцы—*gadda 'n-nazara 'an* 'do not pay attention to,' a more desirable equivalent would be *ashāha 'n-nazara 'anhu* 'to turn one's gaze away from somebody';

- 3) There are also cases of absolutely non-equivalent PUs where it is reasonable to choose from a variety of options. For example, встать с левой ноги—*lam yanam jāyīdan* 'not have enough sleep' and *nahada min an-naumi va huva mutava 'iku 'l-mizāji* 'he woke up in a bad mood.'

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ZUR FRAGE NACH DER ABLÖSUNG DER XIONGNU-WELT

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Nach der in der Turkologie verbreiteten Ansicht ist die alttürkische Welt ein direktes ethno-kulturelles und sprachliches Erbe der vorangegangenen Xiongnu-Welt. So wird z.B. in Baskakov (1981: 94-97, 110-113) folgende Periodisierung der frühen Geschichte der turksprachigen Welt unterschieden: 1. Die altaische Epoche, die sich nicht genau datieren lässt und als Epoche der Herausbildung und Konso-lidierung der turksprachigen Stämme definiert wird. 2. Die Xiongnu-Epoche (3. Jh. v. Chr.–5. Jh. n. Chr.) von Maoduns Xiongnu-Reich bis zu Attilas Hunnenreich. 3. Die alttürkische Epoche (6.-9. Jh.). Bei dieser Darstellung handelt es sich eigentlich immer nur um den Übergang der politisch-militärischen Hegemonie von einem turksprachigen Stammesverband zu einem anderen, wobei eine sehr wichtige epochale Wende umgangen wird, und zwar die Ablösung der ethno-kulturellen und sprachlichen Welt der Dingling, Xiongnu und Hunnen paläosibirischen (jenissejischen) Typs durch die alttürkische Welt altaischen Typs. Hier kommt man also wieder zur Frage der Fragen in Vovin 2000 und 2003: *Did the Xiongnu speak a Yeniseian Language?*

Um diese Frage zu beantworten, muss man vor allem über die mögliche Identität der Dingling mit den Jenissejern und über die Rolle der Dingling-Jenissejer in der Ethnogenese des Xiongnu—sowie des Hunnenvolkes ins klare kommen, und von besonderem Interesse scheinen in dieser Hinsicht die Ergebnisse der entsprechenden russischen Forschung zu sein. Schon in Aristov (1897) findet sich die These über die Abstammung der Jenissejer von den Dingling, die man auch bei späteren Autoren wie Vainshtein (1951), Nikolaev (1962) und Bartold (1963:476) trifft. Zunächst wende man sich aber dem Problem des Dingling-Volkes in den historiographischen Quellen zu.

Nach Grumm-Grzhimajlo (1909) sollte man die Dingling zu den europäischen *Di-* oder *Dili-*Stämmen zählen, deren Nachkommen in der

zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jhs. n. Chr. aus Nordchina in die Steppen nördlich von der Gobi-Wüste umsiedelten und später unter dem Namen *Tiele* (*Tele*) bekannt waren. Man sollte also nach dieser Hypothese unter den Di-, Dili- und Dingling-Stämmen ein und dasselbe Volk verstehen. Dabei stützt sich Grumm-Grzhimajlo auf einen Hinweis in der «Weishu»-Quelle, wo es dazu auch noch heißt, dass diese Stämme nach ihrer Umsiedlung in die Steppen als *Gaoche* (*Gaogüy*), wörtl. «hohe Fuhrwerke», oder *Gaoche-Dingling* bekannt waren und dass sie eine Sprache wie das Xiongnu sprachen, die sich «nur ein wenig von der Xiongnu-Sprache unterschied». Dagegen heißt es aber in der «Weilüe»-Quelle, dass die Nachkommen der Di-Stämme in ihrer Umwelt unter sich ihre Di-Sprache, also kein Xiongnu sprachen. Und hier heißt es auch, dass unter den Nomaden Nordchinas die Xiongnu-Sprache nur von dem Tselu-Volk gesprochen wurde, an dessen Ethnogenese die Dingling-Stämme beteiligt waren (offensichtlich sind in diesem Fall jene Dingling-Stämme gemeint, die einst von den Xiongnu nach Nanshan in Nordchina entführt wurden, siehe dazu Chavannes 1905: 522-526; Bernshtam 1951: 60). So lässt sich schließen, dass die Dingling ihrer Herkunft nach mit den Di- oder Dili-Stämmen nichts zu tun haben; man sollte sie nach den historiographischen Angaben als ein einheimisches Volk Südsibiriens und der Nordmongolei betrachten, ein Volk von Jägern, Fischern und Sammlern (Gumiljov 1998/1: 324; vgl. auch Okladnikov u.a.(Hrsg.)1968/I: 266).

Was zeugt aber von der Abstammung der Jenissejer von den Dingling? Hier sollte man vielleicht in erster Linie den Namen *Ding-ling* beachten.

Mit diesem Namen bezeichneten die chinesischen Geschichtsschreiber nicht nur das einheimische Volk Südsibiriens und der Nordmongolei, sondern auch das Sajangebirge, und der geographische Name war der ursprüngliche; er lässt sich m. E. (Werner 2014: 22-23) folgendermaßen etymologisieren: *ding*—ein Ethnonym < jenis. **d'e'ng* (ket. *de'ng*, jug. *d'e'ng*, kot. *çeäng*) «Menschen», «Leute», «Volk» + *-ling* < chin. (Standard Mandarin) *ling* «mountain range» (Sedlaček 2008: 242), wörtlich also «Gebirge (Bergkette) der Ding (des Ding-Volkes)», wobei der jenissejische Gattungsname **d'e'ng* als Ethnonym *Ding* umgedeutet wurde. Später wurde der geographische Name auch als Bezeichnung der einheimischen Bevölkerung des entsprechenden Gebietes gebraucht.

Das Siedlungsgebiet der Dingling in Südsibirien und der Nordmongolei vom Stromgebiet der Selenga im Osten bis zum Stromgebiet des Irtytsch im Westen ist ein weiterer Hinweis auf die Verbindung der Dingling mit den Jenissejern, denn dieses Gebiet ist eigentlich das Ausgangsgebiet der Jenissejer, ihre Urheimat (Dul'zon 1962; 1969). Das bezeugen die zahlreichen alten Hydronyme jenissejischer Herkunft auf diesem

Territorium und die durch den jensejischen Wortschatz dargestellte Protokultur, eine aneignende Kultur von Jägern, Fischern und Sammlern, die wie für die Protojensejer (Werner 2006; 2007) als auch für das Dingling-Volk kennzeichnend war. Zu beachten sind auch die durch den rekonstruierten jensejischen Wortschatz bekannten Naturbedingungen, die für dieses geographische Gebiet kennzeichnend sind (Werner 2006).

Seltsamerweise haben die Dingling, obwohl sie in den Quellen ab dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. oft erwähnt werden, keine eindeutige, einheitliche konkrete Dingling-Spur auf ihrem Siedlungsgebiet hinterlassen und können auch mit keiner archäologischen Kultur dieser Region eindeutig identifiziert werden, während ein Volk, und zwar die Jenissejer, aus demselben Siedlungsgebiet, das kein einziges Mal in den Quellen erwähnt wurde, dagegen hier seine zahlreichen Hydronyme hinterließ. Allein diese Tatsache lässt an und für sich die Frage aufwerfen, ob nicht eben dieses Volk, das hier seine Hydronyme hinterließ, das entsprechende Gebiet unter dem Namen *Dingling* bewohnte (s. Werner 2014: 168-169).

Es gibt in den Quellen keinen einzigen Hinweis auf den anthropologischen Typ der Dingling, und Grumm-Grzhimajlos mutmaßliche Gleichsetzung der Dingling mit den europäischen Di-Stämmen bleibt, wie gezeigt, zweifelhaft. Geht man aber von der ethnischen Identität der Dingling mit den Jenissejern aus, so könnte man die Dingling offensichtlich genauso wie die jensejischen Keten nach Gochman zum südsibirischen anthropologischen Typ rechnen, d.h. «zu Mongoliden mit einem etwas abgeschwächten Maß der gesamten mongoliden Züge und einer Reihe von spezifischen Besonderheiten» (Gochman 1982: 78).

Die Abstammung der Jenissejer von dem Dingling-Volk, bzw. ihre Gleichsetzung, setzt ein gemeinsames sprachlich-kulturelles Milieu als Urquelle für beide Völker voraus, die bei Berücksichtigung des jensejischen Sprachtyps als paläosibirisch, nicht altaisch, verstanden werden kann. Dieses Erkenntnis kann ihrerseits die mögliche Verbindung des Jenissejischen (bzw. des Dingling-Jenissejischen) mit den Sprachen der Xiongnu und der Hunnen erklären, wenn sich auf Grund historiographischer und vielleicht auch der vorhandenen linguistischen Angaben eine Verbindung der Dingling (bzw. der Dingling-Jenissejer) mit den Xiongnu und der Xiongnu mit den Hunnen postulieren lässt.

Nach Ligeti (1950) und Pulleyblank (1962) werden die Xiongnu immer wieder in Verbindung mit den Jenissejern gebracht, und da sich die Herkunft und Geschichte der Xiongnu, wie in Gumiljov (1960) vermutet, aufs engste mit den Dingling verbinden lässt, kann die dingling-jensejische Hypothese womöglich auch zur Klärung der xiongnu-jensejischen Beziehungen beitragen. Hier stellt sich vor allem die Frage

danach, ob die Dingling tatsächlich an der Ethnogenese der Xiongnu beteiligt sein konnten.

Nach der traditionellen Vorstellung will man die Herkunft der Xiongnu mit den Di- und Rong-Stämmen verbinden und stützt sich auf Wang Guowei, nach dessen Theorie die Xiongnu seit jeher unter verschiedenen Namen bekannt waren: In der Zeit zwischen der Shang- und Zhou-Dynastien trugen sie die Namen *Guifang* und *Xunyu*, zur Zeit der Zhou-Dynastie *Xianyun*, zur Zeit der Frühlings- und Herbstannalen *Rong* und danach *Di*. Ab der Zeit der Streitenden Reiche nannte man sie *Hu* oder *Xiongnu* (s. dazu Taskin 1968: 165-166 unter Berufung auf Wang Guowei 1959, Bd. 2, Kap. 13, S. 583). Nach Gumiljovs Auffassung ist besonders die weit verbreitete Gleichsetzung der Proto-Xiongnu mit den Rong- und Di-Stämmen umstritten; nach seiner Meinung gehörten nur die Xianyun- und Xunyu-Stämme zu den Vorfahren der Xiongnu. Sie unterschieden sich von den Rong- und Di-Stämmen, an welche sie nach der «Jin Shu»-Quelle im Westen grenzten (Bernshtam 1951: 219). Eben mit den Xianyun- und Xunyu-Stämmen vermischten sich die mit *Shun Wei*, dem Sohn des letzten Herrschers der Xia-Dynastie, geflüchteten chinesischen Familien, und so entstand das erste ethnische Substratum der Proto-Xiongnu, welches in der nächsten Epoche die Sandwüste Gobi überquerte und auf die einheimische Dingling-Bevölkerung der Nordmongolei und Südsibiriens traf. Hier fand auf den Ebenen der Chalcha nach Gumiljovs Mutmaßung eine neue ethnische Mischung statt, infolge der die historischen Xiongnu entstanden (Gumiljov 1960: 15). Dabei betont er auch, dass diese erstmalige Wanderung über die Gobi-Wüste in Kibitkas, wodurch Südsibirien entdeckt wurde, schon an und für sich eine große Leistung der Proto-Xiongnu war.

Eigentlich geht Gumiljov im Falle der letzteren ethnischen Mischung von einer langwierigen Symbiose zwischen den zugewanderten Südländern und der einheimischen Dingling-Bevölkerung aus, und eben infolge dieser Symbiose entstand nach seiner Auffassung das historische Xiongnu-Volk, das einerseits die geistige Kultur, den kriegerischen Geist, den Wagemut und die Standhaftigkeit der Dingling und andererseits die Widerstandskraft, Beharrlichkeit und die Tendenz zur Organisation der aus Nordchina eingewanderten Xianyun- und Xunyu-Stämme geerbt hatte (Gumiljov 1998/1: 42-47). Man kann davon ausgehen, dass die Dingling-Spur in der Ethnogenese der Xiongnu gewaltig sein musste, denn sonst wäre das neuentstandene Volk nach den Strapazen der Reise über die Gobi-Wüste kaum zu jener Hegemonierolle emporgestiegen, die ihm in der Geschichte Zentralasiens beschieden war. Höchst-wahrscheinlich hat dabei durch den Einfluss der Dingling-Kultur auch die Dingling-Sprache

die Oberhand gewonnen (jedenfalls beachte man die Bemerkung in der «Weishu»-Quelle, dass die Dingling eine Sprache wie das Xiongnu sprachen, die sich «nur ein wenig von der Xiongnu-Sprache unterschied», auch wenn nicht ganz klar ist, um welche Dingling es sich in diesem Fall handelt). Gumiljov folgt in dieser Frage der in der Turkologie verbreiteten Meinung von der Turksprachigkeit der Xiongnu.

Man kann aber auch davon ausgehen, dass das infolge der Symbiose entstandene Xiongnu-Volk nicht nur die Sprache, sondern auch bestimmte Züge der geistigen Kultur der Dingling geerbt hatte. Hier sei vor allem auf die Glaubensvorstellungen der Xiongnu hinzuweisen, die auf dem Tengrismus basieren, einem Kult des personifizierten Himmels (des himmlischen Hauptgottes). Aufs engste verbunden damit war das Jahresfest der Xiongnu während des fünften Mondes nach dem chinesischen Kalender, als man Opfer dem Himmel (dem himmlischen Hauptgott), der Mutter Erde und anderen Geistern brachte und die Gedenkstätten der Vorfahren besuchte. Diese Glaubensvorstellungen konnten nicht von den Proto-Xiongnu (den Xianyun- und Xunyu-Stämmen) aus Nordchina gebracht werden, sie konnten nach Gumiljov nur von den Dingling oder den Yuezhi übernommen worden sein, und bei Berücksichtigung der dauerhaften Dingling-Xiongnu-Symbiose kann es sich höchstwahrscheinlich eher um eine Dingling-Quelle handeln (s. dazu Werner 2007: 53-59).

Aber auch bei dem starken Einfluss der Dingling-Kultur auf die Xiongnu, incl. der Dingling-Sprache, die bei dem neuentstandenen Volk die Oberhand gewann, blieben die Dingling und die Xiongnu in historischer Perspektive zwei unterschiedliche Völker mit verschiedener Lebensweise, verschiedener wirtschaftlicher Tätigkeit und verschiedener politischer Rolle: Während die Xiongnu ein riesiges Steppenimperium gründeten und im Laufe von Jahrhunderten über weite Gebiete Zentralasiens herrschten, blieben die einheimischen Dingling ein Volk von Fischern, Jägern und Sammlern, das den Xiongnu unterstellt war, auch wenn es immer wieder versuchte, sich von der Macht der Xiongnu zu befreien.

Durch Gumiljovs Ethnogenese der Xiongnu hat man es im Grunde bei Berücksichtigung der Gleichsetzung der Dingling mit den Jenissejern mit einem für die Dingling-Jenissejer und die Xiongnu gemeinsamen ethnolinguistischen Milieu zu tun, einem Milieu paläosibirischen (jenissejischen) Typs. Aus dieser Sicht waren die Versuche von Ligeti (1950) und Pulleyblank (1962) bis zu Vovin (2000; 2003), auf Grund der sehr beschränkten Materialien xiongnu-jenissejische Wortparallelen festzustellen, von besonderer Bedeutung. Von Interesse sind auch in

diesem Zusammenhang die Bemühungen seit Vovin (2007), einige zentralasiatische Titel auf Grund der Jenissej-Sprachen zu etymologisieren, wobei man offensichtlich von einer ursprünglichen Xiongnu-Quelle ausgehen kann. Es handelt sich vor allem um die zentralasiatische Titulatur unbekannter Herkunft, die sich aus den altaischen Sprachen nicht etymologisieren lässt (s. Doerfer 1963-1975, Bde I-IV). Auch Ramstedts Versuch, manche dieser Titel auf Grund chinesischer und koreanischer Daten zu erklären (Ramstedt 1951) wurden von Doerfer mit ausführlicher Begründung abgelehnt. Um so interessanter sind die Etymologien jener Titel, die sich auf Grund der Jenissej-Sprachen etymologisieren lassen, z.B. *xagan/qagan* «Großkhan», «Kaiser» < jenis. **qä* (ket. *qä/qe'*, jug. *xe'*) «groß» + **qan* (ket. *qan*, jug. *xan*) «Khan» (Vovin 2007); *qan xan* < jenis. **qan* (ket. *qan*, jug. *xan*) «Khan», «Fürst» < jenis. **qä* (ket. *qä/qe'*, jug. *xe'*) «groß» + jenis. **an* (ket. *an*) «Seele», «Geist» oder vielleicht auch «Person» (Werner 2014: 108); *qapqan* «Großkhan», «Kaiser», «Herrscher» < jenis. **qap/*qep* (ket. *qip*, jug. *xep*) «ältester Verwandter väterlicherseits», «Großvater» + **qan* (ket. *qan*, jug. *xan*) «Khan» u.a. (Werner 2014: 111).

Nach Doerfer (1967, Bd. III: 141-179) sind diese Titel in den türkischen Sprachen als Entlehnungen aus der Xianbei-Sprache zu betrachten; die Frage ist aber, aus welcher Quelle die Titel überhaupt stammen, auch in der Xianbei-Sprache. In Bang (1925: 248f.) heißt es, dass die Titel Lehnwörter «aus einer früheren Kultur» sind, und durch den Ausdruck «aus einer früheren Kultur» lässt der Autor also zu, dass sie schon in der Xianbei-Sprache Entlehnungen aus einer früheren Quelle waren, und in Frage kann in diesem Fall, wie schon bemerkt, nur eine *Xiongnu*-Quelle kommen.

Über die Xiongnu-Sprache gibt es in den Quellen nur die Bemerkung, dass die Xiongnu «eine seltsame Sprache sprachen». Vielleicht ist diese Bemerkung ein indirekter Hinweis darauf, dass diese Sprache weder zum chinesischen noch zum altaischen Typ gerechnet werden konnte. Um dieser Frage näher zu kommen, sollte man auf Maoduns Feldzug gegen die Donghu-Stämme im 3. Jh. v. Chr. zurückkommen. Bekanntlich wurden die Donghu in diesem Feldzug besiegt und nach Osten verdrängt. Diese Donghu-Stämme gelten als Vorläufer der Wuhuan und der Xianbei, und eben bei den letzteren wurde die älteste Quelle der Turksprachigkeit entdeckt: Es stellte sich nach Rörich (2004: 343) heraus, dass das entdeckte kurzgefasste xianbei-chinesische Wörterbuch ein türkisch-chinesisches war. Es handelt sich also um die älteste glaubwürdige Quelle der Turksprachigkeit, wobei eine frühere Spur nur unter den Donghu zu vermuten wäre. Dahin kommt übrigens auch die älteste Ebene in der

Chronologie der frühen Turksprachigkeit in Anna Dybo (2004), eine Ebene, die aus der zweiten Hälfte des letzten Jahrhunderts vor der Zeitwende datiert. Fraglich bleibt nur der Versuch der Autorin, diese wie die zwei nächsten Ebenen ihrer Chronologie mit bestimmten Ereignissen der Xiongnu-Geschichte zu verbinden, was sich gar nicht verbinden lässt. Denn es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass die von den Xiongnu besiegten und nach Osten verdrängten Donghu, vor allem die vermutlichen turksprachigen Donghu, auf die Xiongnu-Welt solch einen starken Einfluss ausgeübt hätten, dass die Xiongnu sogar turksprachig wurden. Also ist davon auszugehen, dass die Xiongnu einerseits und die Donghu andererseits ursprünglich zwei unterschiedliche ethno-linguistische Welten darstellten, und die erste durch die zweite erst allmählich in der Zeit ihrer Nachkommen bis zum 6. Jh. n. Chr. abgelöst wurde. Die Ablösung der Xiongnu-Welt konnte erst mit dem Verlust der Hegemonierolle der Xiongnu beginnen, als diese Rolle zuerst die Xianbei und danach ihre Nachfolger, die Tabgatsch und die Ruanruan, übernahmen.

Schon um 50 v. Chr. kam es durch Rivalität und Machtkampf zwischen Zhizhi und seinem jüngeren Bruder Huhanye so gut wie zu einer Spaltung der Xiongnu. Die endgültige Spaltung in nördliche und südliche Xiongnu kam aber erst um 48 n. Chr., als acht südliche Geschlechter nach China gingen. Nun gerieten die nördlichen Xiongnu unter immer stärkeren Druck von allen Seiten, und ab 92 n. Chr. begannen einige Gruppen von ihnen durch die Dsungarische Pforte nach Westen abzuwandern. In der Zeit des Tanshihuai (156-181) wurden schon alle Xiongnu-Gebiete von den Xianbei erobert, wobei ein Teil der Xiongnu-Bevölkerung im Xianbei-Reich blieb und in den Quellen als Xianbei-Xiongnu erwähnt wurde und die anderen nördlichen Xiongnu vor den siegreichen Xianbei über das Tarbagatai-Gebirge nach Westsibirien flohen. Von besonderem Interesse ist das weitere Schicksal eben dieser nördlichen Xiongnu, da sie voraussichtlich mit der Ethnogenese der Hunnen zu tun haben.

Also gab es keine Xiongnu-Quelle der Turksprachigkeit, es gab aber dafür eine Xianbei-Quelle, und die lässt sich durch historiographische und sprachliche Angaben (z.B. das erwähnte xianbei-chinesische Wörterbuch) bezeugen. Die Verbreitung der Turksprachigkeit setzte sich demnächst in den Reichen der Tabgatsch und Ruanruan fort. Was die weitere Differenzierung im turksprachigen Raum anbetrifft, so ist sie mit der Entstehung des ersten (551) und zweiten (682) türkischen Khaghanats, seiner Ablösung durch das uigurische (745) und des letzteren durch das kirgisische (840) verbunden. Anna Dybo verbindet mit diesen Ereignissen die weitere Aufteilung der oghusischen Gruppe, während die oghurische

Turk-sprachigkeit nach dem Niedergang des Ruanruan-Reiches mit den Awaren nach Europa kam.

Von den unterschiedlichen Versionen der Herkunft der Hunnen geht die ältere und meist verbreitete auf Guignes 1756 zurück und verbindet die europäischen Hunnen mit den Xiongnu Zentralasiens. Besonders starke Unterstützung fand diese Version bei den russischen Forschern (Inostrancev 1926; Gumiljov 1960; Artamonov 1962). Aus bestimmten Gründen wurde sie aber auch von vielen Forschern abgelehnt (s. insbesondere Maenchen-Helfen 1945: 222-243). Die Zweifel an der Xiongnu-Version kann man verstehen, insbesondere, wenn man an die chronologische Lücke von wenigstens zwei Jahrhunderten zwischen dem Ende der Xiongnu-Epoche und dem Vorstoß der Hunnen in Osteuropa denkt. Es kann sich in diesem Fall natürlich um keine direkte Kontinuitätslinie zwischen ihnen handeln, was aber eine Verbindung zwischen den zwei Welten nicht völlig ausschließt. Trotz der chronologischen Lücke konnten sich etliche Züge ihrer eigenen Kultur bewahren, wovon z.B. der hunnische Reflexbogen als ein Element der zentralasiatischen Kultur, die aus der Xiongnu-Welt stammenden hunnischen Bronzekessel oder einige Arten von Pfeilspitzen zeugen (s. dazu Zaseckaja 1998/2: 374-378). Bewahrt hat sich bei den Hunnen auch der alte Reisewagen, die Xiongnu-Kibitka, und ihre Kriegführungstaktik, die sich in Europa genauso gut bewährte wie einst bei den Xiongnu in Zentralasien (Artamonov 1962: 44; Gumiljov 1998/1: 248).

Die nach Westen abgewanderten nördlichen Xiongnu fanden Zuflucht bei der einheimischen Bevölkerung Westsibiriens und schöpften neue Kraft in Symbiose mit dieser Bevölkerung. Wie die Xiongnu-Welt einst durch eine Symbiose der Proto-Xiongnu mit der einheimischen Dingling-Bevölkerung Südsibiriens und der Nordmongolei entstand, so konnte diesmal auch das Hunnenvolk durch eine langwierige 200-jährige Symbiose der nördlichen Xiongnu mit der einheimischen Bevölkerung Westsibiriens, ihres Ausgangsgebietes, entstanden sein. Die Frage ist nur, um welche einheimische Bevölkerung es sich in diesem Fall handeln kann. Man wollte darunter schon immer westsibirische Ugrier verstehen, obwohl es in den ersten Jahrhunderten n. Chr. in Westsibirien noch keine ugrische Bevölkerung gab. Aus den historiographischen Quellen wissen wir aber, dass sich zu jener Zeit z.B. im Stromgebiet des Irtysch die Wohnsitze der westlichen Dingling befanden (Hajdu 1953: 94 unter Berufung auf de Groot 1921/I: 221 und Chavannes 1905: 559). Eigentlich handelt es sich um die westlichen Jenissejer (Dingling-Jenissejer), was eindeutig die zahlreichen alten Hydronyme Westsibiriens zwischen dem Ural und dem Stromgebiet des Jenissej bezeugen. Eben dieses einst

zahlreiche, mobile einheimische Volk, das sich allmählich, nachdem es seine Kraft verbraucht hatte, zerstreute und in anderen Völkern, die ihm historisch folgten, auflöste, hinterließ bemerkbare Spuren in geographischen Namen, in denkwürdigen Ereignissen der Vergangenheit sowie in Sprachen und Kulturen der ihm gefolgt späteren Völker. Und eben durch die erwähnte 200-jährige Symbiose der nördlichen Xiongnu mit dieser einheimischen jennissejischen Bevölkerung Westsibiriens entstand das neue Nomadenvolk, das sich am Rande der Waldsteppe über den Südural nach Westen bewegte und in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jhs. oder schon früher in Osteuropa unter dem Namen der Hunnen bekannt wurde. Ihnen folgten in den 50er Jahren des 5. Jhs. aus denselben Gebieten Westsibiriens die Sabiren, die durch ihre Ähnlichkeit mit den Hunnen auch als Hunnen-Sabiren bekannt waren.

Ein anderer Teil der nördlichen Xiongnu blieb nach der Abwanderung nach Westen im Tarbagatai-Gebirge zurück, gründete später im Siebenstromland das Fürstentum Yueban (Yüe-pan), das sich bis zum 5. Jh. hielt und unter starken Einfluss Sogdiens geriet (Gumiljov 1998/1: 240). Womöglich wurde vielleicht eben dieser Xiongnu-Zweig unter dem Namen der «weißen» oder «iranischen» Hunnen bekannt, und eben bei diesem Zweig ist nicht auszuschließen, dass sich der Hunnenname hier größtenteils als Prestige- und Übertragungsname verbreitete (s. Stickler 2007: 24-26).

Was die Sprache der Hunnen anbetrifft, so sollte man die erwähnte mögliche Ethnogenese dieses Volkes berücksichtigen, d. h. die 200-jährige Symbiose der zugewanderten nördlichen Xiongnu mit der einheimischen Bevölkerung Westsibiriens, die in ihrer Hauptmasse nach dem Charakter der hier verbreiteten alten Hydronyme jennissejischen (dingling-jennissejischen) Ursprungs war und verschiedene jennissejische Dialekte sprach. Ob sich eine Art Xiongnu oder ein westjennissejischer Dialekt als Gemeinsprache oder Sprache der Elite in der hunnischen Horde behaupten konnte, bleibt offen, aber in jedem Fall konnte es sich beim neu entstandenen hunnischen Volk um keine altaische oder uralische Sprache handeln, sondern eher um eine paläosibirische jennissejischen Typs.

Nach einer anderen Version gingen die Hunnen auf einen Xianbei-Stamm zurück, waren ein Volk türkischer Abstammung und bewegten sich aus Zentralasien auf der Südroute über Mittelasien (Sogdien) nach Europa (Altheim 1969: 21-27). Entsprechend wird behauptet, dass die ausschlaggebende Komponente der Hunnen türkisch gewesen war und dass sie sogar eine altaische Sprache sprachen, die mit dem Alttürkischen verbunden oder vielleicht identisch war. Derartige Behauptungen sind in Doerfer (1973) mit überzeugender Argumentation abgelehnt. Außerdem

kann man sich kaum vorstellen, dass die wilde hunnische Horde, ein Volk aus den Randbereichen der Ökumene, wie es von Ammianus Marcellinus beschrieben wurde, tatsächlich über Mittelasien nach Europa kam, über ein Kulturzentrum jener Zeit, das eine große Rolle im wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Leben der damaligen Welt spielte und den Handel auf Karawanenwegen in der Hand hatte. Allerdings findet sich in Ammians Darstellung der Hunnen keine Spur von jener «Bereicherung durch das kultivierte Mittelasien», worauf in Bernshtam (1951: 117) hingewiesen wird. Auf diesen Unterschied zwischen den mittelasiatischen «weißen Hunnen» und den «anderen Hunnen» wies auch der spätantike Autor Prokop hin (s. dazu Stickler 2007: 28).

In der Zeit der europäischen Hunnen bis in die 60er Jahre des 5. Jhs. und in posthunnischer Zeit bis zur Invasion der Awaren (557) und der Türk (558) wurde in Europa kaum eine Turksprache gesprochen. Erst nach dem Zerfall des Ruanruan-Reiches kam die oghurische Turksprachigkeit, wie schon erwähnt, im 6. Jh. mit den Awaren nach Europa (s. Haarmann 2002), wurde auf die bulgarischen Stämme der posthunnischen Zeit verbreitet und hielt sich weiterhin, unterstützt durch den Einfluss Großbulgariens und des Awarischen Khaghanats.

Man vermutet aber auch, dass die Turksprachigkeit mit den sogenannten «gurischen Stämmen» schon im 5. Jh. nach Europa kam (Gadzhieva 1990: 527), worunter wahrscheinlich die erzwungene Migration der Saraguren, Onoguren und Oguren unter dem Druck der Sabiren gemeint ist. Es soll in den Quellen einen Hinweis darauf geben, dass ein Teil der Tele-Stämme, auf welche die Uiguren zurückgehen, Anfang des 5. Jhs. in die Steppen Kasachstans und vielleicht auch bis nach Osteuropa vorgedrungen und der Macht der Ruanruan entkommen waren, und vermutlich will man eben diese Migration mit den «gurischen Stämmen» verbinden. Die Frage ist nur, ob sie turksprachig waren, denn nach der «Weilüe»-Quelle, wie bereits erwähnt, war ihre herkömmliche Sprache die *Di*-Sprache (eine Art Iranisch ?), und turksprachig wurden die Tele-Stämme erst im Reich der Ruanruan. Bekannt ist auch, dass von diesen «gurischen Stämmen» im Jahr 463 eine Gesandtschaft in Konstantinopel eintraf. In posthunnischer Zeit lassen sie sich mit den Kutriguren zwischen dem Don und Dnepr und den Utiguren zwischen dem Don und dem Kuban identifizieren, und ab dem 6. Jh. werden sie in der Regel nur noch unter dem Namen *Bulgaren* erwähnt.

Die Protobulgaren werden zum ersten Mal in den Quellen im 4. Jh. erwähnt. Die Angaben über die ethnische Zusammensetzung der Bulgaren des 6. Jhs. sind widersprüchlich und umstritten. Man geht davon aus, dass an ihrer Ethnogenese verschiedene Stämme beteiligt waren, wobei aber

nachdrücklich auf die Onoguren, Utiguren und Kutriguren hingewiesen wird. Von vornherein will man sie als ein turkssprachiges Volk betrachten, obwohl sich ihre Turksprachigkeit eindeutig erst mit dem Ereigniss von 560 verbinden lässt, als die Utiguren und gleich danach die Kutriguren von den Awaren unterworfen wurden. D. h., dass sie erst unter der Macht der Awaren turkssprachig wurden und dass ihre Turk-sprachigkeit kaum mit den Hunnen des 4-5. Jhs. oder den «gurischen Stämmen» im 5. Jh. verbunden werden kann.

Der Versuch, den «gurischen Stämmen» die Turksprachigkeit zuzuschreiben, basiert auf dem Gleichklang des Elements *-gur* in den Ethnonymen *Saragur*, *Onogur*, *Ogur* mit dem ethno-linguistischen differenzierenden türkischen Terminus *oghur/oghuz* mit der Lautentsprechung *-r-:-z-*, wodurch sich die westtürkischen (bulgarischen) Sprachen von den anderen Turksprachen unterscheiden. Auf Grund dieser Lautentsprechung geht man davon aus, dass sich das Ethnonym *Onogur* mit der möglichen osttürkischen Wortverbindung *on oguz* «die zehn Oguz (Stämme?)» zusammenstellen lässt, da in den türkischen Inschriften solche Bezeichnungen wie *tokuz oguz*, *üçoguz*, *säkiz oguz* auftauchen (s. Scharlipp 2011: 75-76). Der Gleichklang könnte auch reiner Zufall sein. Auf jeden Fall ließe sich die Turksprachigkeit der Protobulgaren in vorawarischer Zeit nur durch Belege mit eindeutiger türkischer Etymologie aus jener Zeit bestätigen, die es aber nicht gibt.

Fassen wir zusammen:

1. Auf Grund historiographischer Daten lässt sich vermuten, dass man im Falle der Dingling und der Jenissejer von einer einheitlichen ursprünglichen ethno-kulturellen und sprachlichen Welt paläosibirischen (jenissejischen) Typs ausgehen kann (Werner 2004: 9), von einem Milieu, das auch als Urquelle der na-dene-indianischen Migration betrachtet werden kann (zum aktuellen Forschungsstand des Problems s. *The Dene-Yeniseian Connection—Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska*, New Series, vol. 5, 1-2, 2010, herausgegeben von James Kari und Ben A. Potter).
2. Die historischen Xiongnu entstanden durch eine langwierige Symbiose der aus Nordchina stammenden Proto-Xiongnu (Xianyun- und Xunyu-Stämme) mit der einheimischen Bevölkerung Südsibiriens und der Nordmongolei, wobei die Sprache der einheimischen Bevölkerung und mehrere Züge der einheimischen Kultur die Oberhand gewannen.
3. Die Hunnen sind im 2-4. Jh. n. Chr. durch eine Symbiose der nördlichen Xiongnu mit der westsibirischen dingling-jenissejischen

Bevölkerung entstanden. In ihrer Hauptmasse sprachen sie höchstwahrscheinlich verschiedene jennissejische Dialekte, obwohl sich bei der Elite auch ein Xiongnu behaupten konnte. Aber in beiden Fällen konnte es sich bei den hunnischen Kernstämmen um keine altaische oder uralische, sondern um eine paläosibirische Sprache jennissejischen Typs handeln.

4. Die epochale Ablösung der Xiongnu- und Hunnen-Welt durch die alttürkische im 2-6. Jh. n. Chr. war nicht nur eine Ablösung der politisch-militärischen Hegemonie der Xiongnu und Hunnen (vom Reiche des Maodun und Laoshang bis zum Reiche Attilas), sondern auch eine Ablösung der ethnisch-kulturellen und sprachlichen Welt der Dingling, Xiongnu und Hunnen paläosibirischen (jennissejischen) Typs durch die alttürkische Welt altaischen Typs.

Von Interesse sind im Lichte der dingling-jennissejischen Hypothese die jennissejisch-indogermanischen Sprachparallelen, Wortgleichungen und ähnliche typologische Züge. Sollten die entsprechenden Wortparallelen (Werner 2010: 119-138) korrekt sein, so könnte es sich um eine uralte jennissejisch-indogermanische Kontaktzone handeln, die sich zwischen dem Uralgebirge und dem Stromgebiet des Jenissej lokalisieren lässt. Was aber die ähnlichen Züge in der Typologie, insbesondere die der aktivischen Typologie, in den Sprachen Eurasiens und Amerikas betrifft (s. Klimov 1977, Gamkrelidze/Ivanov 1984, Lehmann 2002, Werner 2004), so warten die dazu zusammengetragenen Materialien immer noch auf ihre gründliche Auswertung.

Die obengebrachten Ausführungen lassen sich leider nicht immer eindeutig durch die sehr beschränkten historiographischen und sprachlichen Daten bezeugen. Man sieht sich aber wenigstens in einigen Fragen durch die jüngsten Erkenntnisse auf dem Gebiet der Humangenetik bestätigt. So steht durch die jüngsten Erkenntnisse auf diesem Gebiet, und zwar durch die Verbreitung der Haplogruppe Q des Y-Chromosoms, fest, dass z.B. dieser Haplotyp bis zu 90-95% unter den Ketten am Jenissej und bis zu 90-100% unter den Indianern Amerikas verbreitet ist. Er ist auch überraschend bis zu 65-70% unter den Selkuppen verbreitet, wo man aber in der Ethnogenese der Bevölkerung ein bedeutendes ethno-kulturelles ketisches Substratum vermutet (vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang die relative Chronologie in der Besiedelung des Stromgebietes des Ob in Dul'zon 1961: 370). Unter anderen Völkern Eurasiens ist dieser Haplotyp im geringeren Maße verbreitet, interessant ist aber, dass man diese Verbreitung mit dem xiongnu-hunnischen Phänomen verbinden will.

Wie in Vajda (2010) noch einmal gezeigt, kommt es auch bei der postulierenden dene-jenssejischen Urverwandtschaft auf sprachliche, kulturelle und humangenetische Identitäten an, d. h. auf gemeinsames sprachliches, kulturelles und humangenetisches Erbe im Sinne von Johanson 2003, und je nach dem Charakter der historischen Migration der entsprechenden Protoethnien können die Zusammenhänge zwischen diesen Arten von Erbe unterschiedlich sein. Da sich im Laufe der Migration Divergenz- und Konvergenzprozesse grundsätzlich voneinander unterscheiden (s. dazu Merpert 1978), müssen sie auch unterschiedliche Auswirkung auf diese Zusammenhänge haben. Bei divergierender Migration ohne „fremde ethnische Beimischung“ können archaische Überreste des sprachlichen, kulturellen und humangenetischen Erbes einander sogar bei weitgehender sprachlicher und kultureller Veränderung irgendwie ergänzen, während es im Falle intensiver historischer Konvergenz eher unmöglich ist.

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BIBLE LEXEMES IN DIFFERENT
RUSSIAN TRANSLATIONS OF 'THUS SPAKE
ZARATHUSTRA' BY NIETZSCHE
AND THE GENRE PROBLEM

ILIA KARASENI
(RUSSIA)

There are many discussions between philologists about so called «untranslatable texts». The list of these kinds of texts sometimes changes but almost all philologists and translators admit that books like «The Divine Comedy» by Dante Alighieri, «Faust» by Goethe and «Thus spake Zarathustra» by Nietzsche diminish their original beauty, formative qualities, specific style and the spirit of the book after translation into another language. It is a paradox that «untranslatable texts» have more translations than «translatable texts». The fact that it is difficult or almost impossible to translate such special texts is an attractive challenge for translators and linguists. «The Divine Comedy», whole and in part, has been translated into Russian by 13 interpreters; there are 10 whole Russian translations of «Faust». An older text has more translations than a younger one. There are just three Russian translations of «Thus spake Zarathustra» today; in this article we investigate two of the most popular of them. Due to its relative youth, we consider that there will be more Russian translations of «Thus spake Zarathustra» in the future.

Analyzing Russian editions of Nietzsche's books and scientific works dedicated to him, Sineokaya considers that over the past 20 years the popularity of Nietzsche's books has been increasing. The quantity of articles and research on Nietzsche has increased too (Sineokaya 2001).

There are many biblical allusions in «Thus spake Zarathustra». We seek to analyze the lexical and stylistic features of biblical lexemes in «Thus spake Zarathustra» in Russian translations by Y.M. Antonovskiy (Nietzsche 2008) and V.V. Rinkevich (Nietzsche 1990). For objective investigation of biblical lexemes of «Zarathustra» we compare them in parallel to sections in the initial German text by Nietzsche (Nietzsche

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2004) and in The Holy Bible itself (Bible 2001). Both interpreters have their own attitude to biblical lexemes and this attitude influences the specific features of each translation of «Zarathustra». The translation performs the reader's opinion about the philosophy of Nietzsche and the biblical text.

Let us look at some sections with biblical lexemes.

"Zu segnen, was er nicht zusammen fügen" (German text)

"... благословлять то, чего он не соединял" (to bless those things that he didn't connect) (translated by Y.M. Antonovskiy)

"... благословляющий то, чего не соединял он" (blessing those things that he didn't connect) (translated by V.V. Rinkevich)

"Итак, что Бог сочетал, то человек да не разлучает" (Therefore what God has joined together, let no one separate) (Matthew 19: 6)

The German verb «zusammenfügen»—соединять, сочетать, объединять (to connect, to unite) is translated by both interpreters as «соединять» (to connect). Nietzsche, however, applies the word «сочетать» (to join) to The Bible verse. Neither of these lexemes has any stylistic marks in the dictionaries of Dal (2003) and Ojegovoff (2007); in the dictionary of Evgenyeva these words are marked as absolute synonyms. In spite of different lexical frames in each fragment of the text we see that these words are doublets and that they are the same in stylistic and semantic content. These lexemes are stylistically the same because of the prefix «со»; without this prefix a lexeme like «един» (single, one) becomes like an Old Church Slavonic word and the modern reader feels the influence of the church and spiritual style on the text. In this part of the text both interpreters keep the meaning and the style of Nietzsche's biblical term and both translators make references to The Bible. Rinkevich in this part shows his free and liberal approach to the text with an inversion, «не соединил он» (no, didn't connect he), that makes this fragment lyrical.

Let us investigate the next fragment in which both translators transmit the biblical spirit of the text using different specifics of lexica, stylistics and punctuation.

"... welcher von sichzuegte «Ich-bin die Wahrheit»" (German text)

"... который свидетельствовал о себе: «Я-истина»" (... which testified about himself: «I am the truth») (translated by Y. M. Antonovskiy)

“... и свидетельствовал о себе так: «**Я есмь истина**»” (and testified about himself this way: «*I am the truth*») (translated by Rinkevich)

“Иисус сказал ему: **Я есмь путь и истина и жизнь**” (Jesus said to him: *I am the way and the truth and the life*) (The Bible, John 14: 6)

In this fragment we see two different approaches to the stylistics of the Russian verb «быть» (to be). Rinkevich uses the Old Church Slavonic word (Fasmer 2003) and cites the Gospel; Antonovskiy uses a hyphen and it makes this piece both laconic and accurate, in keeping with his style. In spite of the different attitudes of the translators to biblical lexemes, both of them recognize their importance in Nietzsche’s work. They have converted the German noun «die Wahrheit» (правда, истина, истинность) (truth, verity) into the Russian noun «истина» (truth), that is biblical in context, but not to «правда» (truth); neither «истина» nor «правда» have any stylistic marks (Ojegov 2007; Dal 2003) and this renders them stylistically equal.

In our research we analyzed 19 sections of text and found 6 fragments of both interpretations (like the examples above) in **full accordance** with the Bible and with the original German text. We did not analyze those pieces where differences between the translation of the biblical lexemes (punctuation, inversion, pronouns) made no difference to stylistic perception. Two of the examples above clearly show that Rinkevich and Antonovskiy are in agreement. Most of the fragments examined proved that each translator has his own approach to the interpretation of biblical lexemes.

To explore the example of **partial accordance** of the Russian translations with the Bible and the original text, we analyze the following fragment. This type of partial accordance is the most frequent. This occurs in 10 out of 19 fragments analyzed.

“**Die Kindlein lässtest du zu dir kommen**” (German text)

“**Детей допускаешь ты к себе**” (You let children to come to you) (translated by Antonovskiy)

“**И детям не возбраняешь ты приходить к тебе...**” (And you don’t rebuke children to come to you) (translated by Rinkevich)

“...ученики же **возбраняли** им. Но Иисус сказал: **пустите детей** и не препятствуйте им **приходить** ко Мне...” (But the disciples rebuked them. Jesus said: *Let the children come to me and do not hinder them...*) (The Bible, Matthew 19: 13, 14).

Antonovskiy uses a stylistically neutral (Ojegoff 2007; Dal 2003) lexeme, «допускать» (to let), which accords to the German verb «lässest» and to the similarly rooted word «пускать». These words are present in the Russian Synodal Bible. Although there is no translation for this word in Rinkevich's interpretation, he uses a biblical word, «возбранять», (rebuke) as well. It is significant that Rinkevich uses a stylistically Old Church Slavonic word. There is a prefix «воз» (Fasmer 2003) which makes this fragment feel both literary and solemn. Therefore, the modern reader will perceive the word «возбранять» (rebuke) as archaic (Ojegoff 2007). The word «допускать» (to let) and the phrase «не возбранять приходитъ» (don't rebuke their coming) are contextual synonyms; both of them are connected by Nietzsche's biblical allusion. In this fragment V.V. Rinkevich uses one more verb, «приходить» (to come), which persists in both the German text and the Gospel of Mathew. But Antonovskiy does not use this verb. Rinkevich's fragment is both longer and closer to the Bible verse in comparison to Antonovskiy's. Neither translator entirely mimics the biblical text and Nietzsche's text.

There is one more type of biblical lexeme used.

“... so schäme dich nicht, von ihr zu *stammeln*” (German text)

“... не стыдись *говорить лепеча*” (don't be ashamed to speak babbling)
(translated by Antonovskiy)

“... не стыдись *говорить невнятно*” (don't be ashamed to speak indistinctly) (translated by Rinkevich)

“Я *тяжело говорю и косноязычен*” (I am slow of speech and tongue)
(Exodus 4: 10)

This fragment is a good example of different interpretations of the biblical and the original text by each translator. The lexemes «лепетать» (to babble) and «говорить невнятно» (to speak indistinctly) are not synonyms (Evgenyeva 1975). Rinkevich uses the word combination «говорить невнятно» (to speak indistinctly) which is a synonym for the biblical word «косноязычен» (to be slow of tongue) (Evgenyeva 1975). Antonovskiy, however, translates the German word «stammeln» directly and remains close to the original German text. We can see the use of contextual synonyms in this fragment: «говорить лепеча» (to speak babbling)—«говорить невнятно» (to speak indistinctly) and «тяжело говорить» (to be slow of speech)—«быть косноязычным» (to be slow of tongue). The fragments we have analyzed above are an example of **full non-concordance** between both translations; between the text of The

Bible and the original text. These types of biblical lexemes are rarest in translations of «Thus spake Zarathustra»; there are 3 out of 19 fragments of this type.

Conclusion

To conclude, we feel that it is worth saying that it is an intention of both translators to make biblical lexemes and phrases recognizable for their readers and this is why the translated fragments fully and partly accord with each other. Each translator has his own way of achieving this concordance. Rinkevich in his translation of biblical lexemes is closer to the original German text by Nietzsche, whereas Antonovskiy likes to reference the biblical fragment itself.

In our opinion, the variation of biblical lexemes in the translations of «Thus spake Zarathustra» is because each of the translators has his own opinion as to the text's genre. Traditional philology suggests that «Thus spake Zarathustra» by F. Nietzsche is a philosophical novel. Y.M. Antonovskiy translates «Zarathustra» as a philosophical tract or as a piece of research. As such, the main features of his translation are accuracy of meaning with laconic and strict phrasing.

At the same time, V.V. Rinkevich considers «Thus spake Zarathustra» to be a poetic text and a philosophical poem. That is why he seeks to transmit the sense, the rhythm and the metaphors of biblical style to his readers.

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THE ROLE OF CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN EDUCATING ENGINEERS

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In 2005 Thomas Friedman published *The World is Flat: a brief history of the twenty-first century*. This book very quickly became a worldwide bestseller. It has attracted the attention of economists, politics, businessmen and philosophers. Thomas Friedman maintains that we have entered a new third stage of globalization starting in the year 2000 and characterized by the equal ability of all the world market's participants to achieve success. The term 'flat world' symbolizes equal conditions for all entrepreneurs, small groups of people and companies, regardless of their size. As basic criteria for success Friedman regards good education, persistence, ingenuity and access to the world communication system as important.

Innovation turns the world into a single field of production, making every creative individual a rival for entry into a productive conglomeration, regardless of his place of residence.

Nevertheless, Friedman points out that the half of all the Earth's population cannot use the advantages offered by this process of 'flattening' for various reasons. One of them is the inability to enter the global system. The author also mentions inferiority complexes, self-distrust and fear of failure.

We think that the above mentioned reasons for the inability of the majority to access the global economic system can also be connected to insufficiently developed preparedness for cross-cultural communication and a lack of cross-cultural competence. Students themselves, in many cases, realize the importance of knowing a foreign language and the necessity of preparedness for cross-cultural communication. The results of their preparation in universities make us think about what the correct choices to be made by students should be considering that they will study, live and work in a world at the third stage of globalization.

L.G. Jusupova in her research offers the following:

“The majority of students (up to 81,4%) consider preparedness for cross-cultural communication to be the leading characteristic of a modern specialist. They mark that language competence gives them the ability to communicate with foreign specialists and allows them be aware of modern scientific achievements in their professional sphere. At the same time the majority of students (up to 65,8%) estimate their preparedness for cross-cultural communication as rather low. As a reason for such a state of affairs, students consider dissatisfaction with the way in which the education process is organized. So, 35,9% students answered that they are not satisfied with the work on development of preparedness for cross-cultural communication. 24,9% mentioned that the existing organization of the study process can only partly promote their development of preparedness for cross-cultural communication. And only 39,2% are satisfied with the process of their preparation for cross-cultural communication in university.

33% students do not want foreigners to immigrate to Russia, 27% don't want to marry a foreigner, 17% don't want to live next door to a foreigner, 10% won't even let foreigners come to Russia as tourists and 13% don't have any desire to work with them. The degree of students' empathy in the process of cross-cultural communication has shown the high level of their uncertainty, indeterminacy and anxiety, which students experience when communicating with representatives of other cultures (67%).

The lowest marks were connected to their abilities to understand when talking to a person who belongs to another culture (18%); feel oneself confident when communicating with representatives of another nation (21%); controlling oneself when talking to representative of another culture (20%). Students feel different while talking to representatives of other nationalities. They experience: nervousness and anxiety - 61%; trying to avoid communication and not make contact with people of another nationality - 54%. The high degree of anxiety and nervousness in the process of communication with representatives of another culture indicates their absence of openness, trust, tolerance, emotional stability and empathy. This means that the emotional component of students' cross-cultural communication is not developed enough.”¹

Having analyzed the facts given, we can come to the conclusion that the majority of our specialists are not prepared for fruitful work and successful competitiveness in the modern world market. It is fair to say that people face this problem all over the world, even in English speaking countries. This fact was confirmed by H. Yu's research conducted in 2012 at Kansas University. According to Yu's research American students

¹ Yusupova, L.G. Razvitie gotovnosti studentov neyazykovyih napravleniy vuza k mezhdunarodnoy kommunikatsii, 2012

realize the importance of cross-cultural communication, but the majority of them are not prepared for it (Yu 2012).

As far back as 1993, T. Barker and N. Matveeva mentioned the importance of including cross-cultural communication in courses of professional technical study (Barker and Matveeva 2006). In 1997, D. Andrews published his textbook *Technical Communication in Global Society*; this became one of the first manuals on communicating with colleagues from other nations for students of technical specialties.

Examining the problem for students of technical specialties, we wish to mention the works of G. Downey and colleagues (Downey et. al. 2006). The authors suggest encouraging the development of global competence in students, paying less attention to the cultural values of different peoples and more to the solution of engineering tasks with the help of cross-cultural communication. The team of authors pays attention to the fact that education programs in previous generations were made in such a way that students were taught to find cultural similarities while not attending to differences in the outlooks of different nations. This can lead to an inability to distinguish the reasons underlying problems and can therefore be a barrier to finding solutions.

The research maintains that working with representatives of other cultures often means working with a person who may define and understand a problem differently.

We can suggest that there is one more obstacle in the way of successful cross-cultural communication. This is the fact that nowadays the major part of professional communication takes place virtually. Communication by means of electronic devices often makes dialogue between colleagues, who speak the same language and were brought up in the same cultural traditions more difficult.

We shall seek to examine ways in which solutions to the controversies between existing and desirable systems for student preparation are offered in research.

M. Paretti and her colleagues analyzed two different ways in which engineering students undertook the study of cross-cultural communication:

1. Imitation of cross-cultural communication in a lecture room, working with textbooks, listening to lectures, studying cross-cultural communication materials alongside the materials of their technical discipline.
2. Real collaboration with foreign students via virtual interaction while working on joint projects.

The results of experimental study showed that students taught according to the first approach possess broad theoretical cross-cultural communication competence, are aware of its components, realize the importance of international communication competence for modern engineers and are aware of the difficulties that can be caused during communication with colleagues of other cultures. At the same time students felt themselves hesitating when thinking about real cross-cultural communication and had doubts about putting their theoretical knowledge into practice.

Students in the second group did not quite realize the importance of cross-cultural communication: communication difficulties were one of a rather large range of problems that students faced during their project work. Students saw the reasons for discrepancies which arose during their project work as related to insufficient actual knowledge about their foreign colleagues and their incomprehension of assigned tasks, but not at all in terms of cultural differences.

The research suggests that students' team work with foreign colleagues cannot always be considered effective if they are not suitably prepared for cross-cultural communication beforehand. At the same time, solid theoretical preparedness at its best can be an excellent start for cross-cultural communication and teamwork (Paretti et. al. 2006).

G. Downey and colleagues offer the following ways of assisting students in the development of cross-cultural competence:

1. Foreign education (studying abroad);
2. Participation in international projects;
3. Working in another country;
4. Researching foreign travel;
5. Integrating cross-cultural communication courses into existing educational programs.

Scientists consider foreign education (studying abroad) to be the most effective method for developing competence. This is not surprising as students not only enter into a foreign community, as can be done during the trip, but into a foreign professional community as well (Downey et. al. 2006).

Conclusion

In the modern era, we think that major methodological goals should consist of making training in cross-cultural competence available to as

many students as possible, helping their preparedness for cross-cultural communication in the professional sphere and developing confidence in their competitiveness. We believe that the use of a combination of different methods, as offered to foreign colleagues, can help us reach that goal. We consider the study of cross-cultural communication to be especially effective for future engineers and for those involved in practical, interdisciplinary, international projects.

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THE CULTURAL-LANGUAGE PERSONALITY OF THE TRANSLATOR

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Currently, there is an urgent need to find ways to improve the effectiveness of training in the language education system. Fundamental, systemic changes in the educational activities of universities to ensure that students not only focus on their future professional activity, but also on life in modern society with its extreme competition, struggles for jobs and professional success, are required. Competence-based orientation in the educational process, focusing on development of the ability to extract and analyze information, make informed decisions and achieve goals, aims to tackle this problem.

Mastery of these competencies during the training of translators happens through the process of forming a language personality. According to Yu. Karaulov, a language personality is a personality expressed in a particular language and reflecting a world-view through that language: this defines the process of perception and understanding (Karaulov 1987). Its formation occurs:

“... as covering a culturological distance as a result of inclusion, transmission of another culture through yourself, your mind and your world view.”¹

Y.N. Karaulov proposes a three-level model of language personality:

- Verbal-semantic level, assuming normal natural language proficiency of the speaker, i.e. general lexical proficiency;
- Thesaurus level, covering the intellectual sphere of personality in which the image of the world or a system of knowledge about the

¹ Khaleeva, I.I. Training of translator as a “secondary language personality,” 227

world is imprinted, including ideas and concepts, and adding up to a world view reflecting personal values;

- Motivational level, constituting a pragmatic structure of personality (i.e. goals, motivation, interests, purposes) and leading to a conversion from estimation of speech activity to understanding real activity in the world (Karaulov 1987: 5).

I.I. Khaleeva extends the thesaurus sphere and subdivides it into two related but largely autonomous constructs:

- Thesaurus-I (dating back to the associative-verbal system of language and forming a linguistic view of the world);
- Thesaurus-II (system of presuppositions and implications of the language personality which forms its conceptual or global picture of the world).

In so doing, the aim is to introduce the concept of a secondary language personality. This allows a person:

“... to establish the fundamental congruence of level organization of the language personality to the stages of training for understanding the textual activity of this person as a representative of a certain lingual society or a conglomerate of the lingual society.”²

Here, we follow the terminology of V.P. Furmanova and consider the cultural-language personality of the translator, as:

“... it is culture in its various manifestations that contributes to the formation of personality.”³

Following V.P. Furmanova, in determining the content of the concept of cultural-language personality, we start from a notion of the subject as a bearer of a particular structure, belonging to a particular linguo-cultural community united with the continuity of culture in a unity of its forms and coherence of a cultural and linguistic consciousness (Furmanova 1994).

Being a product of culture, cultural-language personality is inseparable from society and ethnicity; it depends on the transmission of tradition, that is, the experience of previous generations. It has ethnic, social and cultural

² Khaleeva, I.I. Training of translator as a “secondary language personality,” 69

³ Passow, E.I., Kouzovlev V.P., Korostelev V.S. The purpose of learning a foreign language at the present stage of development of society, 31

impact and ethnic, social and cultural status and cultural consciousness and intelligence are represented in it, as well as the ability to operate with abstract symbols and experiences.

A cultural-language personality is an integrative and holistic quality of the subject. It has a specific ethnic and socio-cultural status and specific language and cultural information supply. These are represented as thesauri and competent use indicates the level of language and cultural knowledge of the user (Furmanova 1994). According to V.P. Furmanova, there are the three levels of language proficiency:

- communicative and adequate (lowest);
- professional and adequate;
- artistic and adequate (highest).

The artistic level of proficiency suggests the ability to competently interpret and transpose a text from a foreign language culture, as well as to create new texts. Based on the fact that the translator is faced not only with the interpretation of texts, but also with the picture of reality modelled in a foreign language, we consider achievement of the artistic level of proficiency as necessary for translators.

Levels of culture proficiency:

- regulatory and adaptive (lowest);
- social and adaptive;
- creative (highest).

The creative level of cultural proficiency is the leading one for translators in its regard for the subject as creator, artist and author of the products of material and intellectual culture; a translator plays all these roles while constructing a translated text.

To sum up, it is possible to say that the structure of the cultural-language personality of the interpreter consists of the following levels:

- artistic and adequate level of language proficiency;
- creative level of culture proficiency.

The purpose of teaching translation should be the attainment of a cultural-language personality of the student-translator at the artistic and creative levels. This offers the capacity to deal competently with a wide range of language and cultural phenomena and their translations and transformations.

The cultural-language personality of the student should appear self-developed, emotionally mature, intellectual and cognitively competent, capable of solving previously unforeseen cultural-based problems in translation, and self-defining or creating unique tools for searching, processing and the practical application of information. This should include proficiency in:

- background knowledge of the subject matter of communication and the elements of the basic foreign language world-view that relate to the subject of communication;
- linguistic knowledge about the types of linguistic correspondence gaps in a cultural space and methods for their elimination;
- skills of recognition and dis-objectification of the cultural-terminological content relying on background knowledge;
- understanding of speech habits and using correspondences in the field of cross-cultural communication;
- eliminating the gaps in cultural distance by taking into account the ethnic and cultural features of the communicants.

Therefore, a translator's cultural-language personality must have sufficient dynamism to allow the modification of ideas about their own culture and the culture the text belongs to, in order to bridge the cultural-linguistic gap and implement a process of mediation in creating a fully-fledged translation.

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CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION AS A PART OF THE PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF ENGINEERING STUDENTS

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Foreign language study at higher educational institutions has a great impact on the education and development of a professional personality. By studying foreign languages students acquire the skills to use the foreign language, not only as means of communication, but also as a means of professional formation, self-development, professional socialization and adaptation.

The basis of professional socialization is verbal communication: the socialization of any personality results from integration of the person into society by assimilating its social norms and values. Language, (especially a foreign one, is one of the paths to integration. Edward Sapir¹ claimed language to be the greatest driver of human socialization and a symbolical key to behavior. As such, language education can provide a basis for the self-development and intellectual growth of a personality and an indicator of readiness for productive activity in society.

Verbal communication can be considered to be the basis of professional socialization. Communicative competence gives any person a chance to develop fruitfully in their professional and social fields. The ability to carry on dialogues and achieve successful communication is an important component of the professional qualities needed in various fields of activity. The modern expert has to be able to quickly adapt to the changing parameters of the information space, possess the ability to apply language purposefully and effectively and communicate competently.

The German scientist Wilhelm von Humboldt stated:

“that every language presents an original world outlook. As a separate sound stands between an item and a person, so language is kind of

¹ Sapir, E. *Izbrannyye trudy po yazyikoznaniyu i kulturologii*. 2002

mediator between the person and surrounding nature, influencing it from within and from without. And each language makes a circle round the people to whom it belongs, and a person is allowed to leave only to enter the circle of another language."²

Learning a foreign language offers the chance to acquire knowledge in an educational and social system, but it is also a means to develop self-knowledge, self-expression and self-realization in society. The process of updating an individual's professional language system is a part of his or her socialization.

In the system of higher vocational education it is possible to identify two levels of language socialization. The first level is devoted to mastering language in the context of general language. The second level is dedicated to conceptual knowledge (mastering words, the terminological system, category devices, professional aspects of language in a scientific context and narrow professional language training) and directed at the acquisition of professional language and professional communicative competence.

At the first level of language socialization in higher education institutions, linguistic personality is developed not just by studying foreign languages, but also by acquiring social and cultural experience from native speakers. Thanks to the acquisition of cross-cultural competence, language socialization of a personality takes place more fully. We consider such a personality as a stable system of socially significant features that characterize the individual as a member of a certain society.

Following Yu.N. Karaulov, we regard the *linguistic personality* as:

"a multilayered and multicomponent set of language abilities, skills and readiness to implement speech acts of different degree of complexity."³

Yu.N. Karaulov allocates three levels of language structure to the language personality: verbal/semantic, cognitive and pragmatic.

Therefore, the structure of the language personality can be presented in the form of a hierarchical model (fig. 1) where transition to the following level is possible only after successful ingestion of material at the previous level.

² Humboldt, V. *Izbrannyye trudyi po yazykoznaniyu*. 1984, 37

³ Karaulov, Yu.N. *Russkiy yazyk i yazykovaya lichnost*. 2003, 229

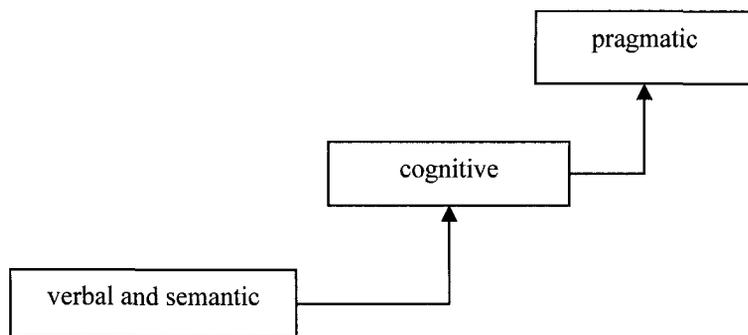


Fig. 1. The structure of the linguistic personality according to Yu.N. Karaulov

The use of a culturological approach in foreign language training in higher education institutions promotes both a more successful and effective transition from one level to another, and also the development of professional foreign-language competence in future experts and their professional socialization.

Applying a culturological approach to the problems of verbal communication has certain advantages: it allows for the connection of speech activity to other types and forms of human activity and helps to develop an understanding of the importance and variety of language functions in human lives and societies. At the same time, it is obvious that the relationship between culture and verbal communication is a difficult and complicated one.

V.N. Komissarov⁴ notes that language, as a means of verbal communication, is the most important part of any culture, and all peculiarities of its structure and function can be considered to be a manifestation of the relevant linguistic community. However, it is necessary to consider the difficult relationship between language and other elements of a culture. The visual environment, spiritual life and the behavior of people are realized in cognitive structures which are in turn realized and restructured into linguistic categories and forms. The formation and development of cognitive and, especially, linguistic structures is influenced not only by external factors (other cultural elements) but by intrinsic laws that determine the existence of cognitive and language systems as a coherent unit. Therefore, such systems are

⁴ Komissarov, V.N. *Teoriya perevoda (lingvisticheskie aspekty)*.

considered not only as components of a uniform culture, but also as essential independent components.

During verbal communication, participants attribute a certain sense to speech statements and interpret their language contents on the basis of background knowledge. Each participant in communication has his or her own volume of background knowledge, including the general background knowledge of a language community, which makes a uniform cognitive environment possible and facilitates successful communication. The volume and contents of the cognitive environment are an important part of an ethnic culture.

The following stage of verbal communication (its participants' ability to draw logical conclusions and to realize the possibility of implication and association) is also caused by culture. The capacity for inference is, undoubtedly, universal, but concrete conclusions are always connected to the existence of certain elements of a culture and the background knowledge of communicators. The conclusion drawn about social status from the message "he has got two Mercedes" assumes that the interlocutors know the importance of possessing a car in general, and a car of this brand in particular.

The influence of verbal factors on the opportunity and implementation of verbal communication is obvious. It is not, however, always clear which of these factors belongs to a particular culture and which factors are common across several cultures. This distinction is especially important when studying cross-cultural communication.

In the inter-relation and inter-dependence of the modern world, cultures are no longer isolated from each other and constantly interact. Representatives of one culture face the other culture at home and abroad and receive relevant information from a variety of sources. Translations provide a widely available resource in the modern world. Translations make texts available that have been created within other cultures and reflect their peculiarities. Acquaintance with another culture is one of the major social functions of translation. Presenting the originality and variety of cultural values, customs and traditions, translations promote mutual understanding and mutual respect, enriching the culture of both peoples and making a significant contribution to the development of language, literature, science and technology.

Traditionally, researchers have paid attention to a number of factors that cause translation problems, centring on the divergence in language structures, 'language pictures of the world' and in the objects and phenomena described. The first two types have sometimes received culturological analysis, but it seems more obvious that the cultural

conditionality of objects and phenomena, specific to people, often designated by the rather uncertain term 'realities' form the main part of so-called 'non-equivalent vocabulary.' Attention is paid to separate elements of culture, whereas culturally specific situations and the ways in which they are represented in communicative acts, are considerably less well studied. When two cultures interact, translation problems will have different degrees of complexity. This depends, largely, on the presence or absence of identical elements in these cultures.

Culturological problems of translation are mainly caused by national realities (classes of objects which exist in one culture and may be absent in another) and artifacts which are alien or obscure to the members of other cultures. However, these problems are surmountable in the course of communication by equation of equivalent elements in the source language and through the various means of explaining a foreign culture's artifacts (firstly, through lexical transformation) where there is no direct equivalency.

Cross-cultural communication competence is one of the primary means to overcoming culturological communication problems between members of different cultures. As has already been noted, in the system of higher education, language acquisition in the context of cross-cultural communication takes place at the first level of language socialization.⁵ The second level of conceptual knowledge is aimed at acquisition of professional language and communicative competence.

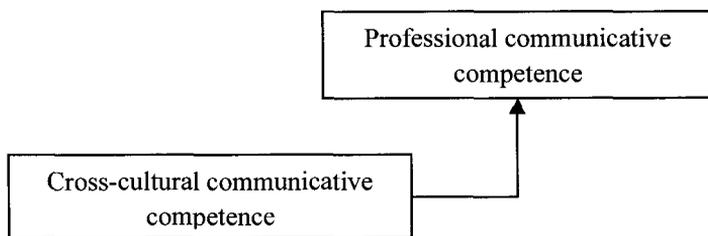


Fig. 2. The Structure of Language Socialization of Engineering Students

The aim of the first level of language socialization is to train verbal communication in a foreign language, taking into account not only

⁵ Sidelnik, E.A. Yazykovaya professionalnaya sotsializatsiya studentov tekhnicheskogo vuza.

standard rules of word formation, grammar and pronunciation, but also the norms of social differentiation and variability particular to a language community. This is difficult to achieve outside of the context of cross-cultural communication.

The target of the second level of language socialization is to form a professional linguistic personality; this is a product of experience, and usually, a long time in the making. It develops from mastering professional foreign-language communicative competence. During professional language training students acquire modern foreign language professional terms and engage with the socializing role of a foreign language.

Conclusion

To summarize, we can say that the social institution of education provides an important stage in developing perception, assimilation and understanding of the professional lexicon by students. Such institutions should take on the responsibility for the development of a professional language personality in future specialists.

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CURRENT ISSUES IN LANGUAGE
AND LINGUISTICS:
TRANSLATION AND INTER-CULTURAL
COMMUNICATION

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The notion of translation as a form of inter-cultural communication stems from understanding language as a component of culture: a single socio-cultural formation. Translations from one language into another have been used for a long time, but no one can accurately say when the first translation was made. It is logical to assume that the first act of translation occurred when the act of communication between people speaking different languages was performed by means of a mediator language. It should be noted that methodological treatment of translation was very contradictory prior to the emergence of linguistic translation theory in the 1930s. Some people treated translation as a hobby or favorite pastime, for others it was a service obligation and for certain groups of people translation was impossible on religious grounds. Through translation people speaking different languages could communicate in multi-ethnic states and translation provided inter-lingual and inter-cultural communication and facilitated the spread of various scientific theories and religions.

Russian and foreign scholars have emphasized the special role of translation in the development of culture, science, economics, literature and language communication.

The problem of speech decoding for the implementation of communication emerged at that period in the history of civilization when people started dividing into groups using different languages according to geographical, historical and cultural assumptions. Since different people have developed commercial, military, political, economic, cultural and scientific relations with each other throughout human history, translation is one of the oldest forms of rational human activity. From ancient times

translation has performed the function of inter-linguistic and inter-cultural communication, including between the states and territories of multi-national states. Ancient Carthage, ancient Egypt, the states of ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, the states of Central Asia, India and Persia may serve as examples of states that had multi-lingual tribes and nationalities. The more multi-national the state was, the more honorable the position occupied by the translator was. Thus, in ancient Carthage the caste of interpreters enjoyed esteem and respect; their logo was a bright and elegant parrot whose multi-colored plumage pointed out which languages the translator had mastered (Valeeva 2006).

The emergence of writing was one of the most important milestones in the development of translation. First, it gave a powerful impetus for the cross-cultural exchange of values and achievements in various spheres of human activity, and second, a new kind of translation practice emerged, namely, written translation, which has taken place since that moment alongside oral translation (interpretation). Since then, both oral statements and written texts have been translated.

The twentieth and twenty-first centuries have witnessed a boom in translation in science and technology. More than 70% of translators and interpreters work in this area. The largest volume of translations covers business correspondence, contracts, consumer texts, information texts (instructions, brochures, etc.), scientific texts, technical documents and technical descriptions.

The human tendency to generalize everything happening in the world and the accumulation of huge experience in the process of translation practice has encouraged translators to synthesize existing knowledge and create translation theory.

The modern theory of translation, as a field of research, emerged in the mid-twentieth century. The impetus for its emergence and development was as a result of the considerable expansion of translation practices to meet basic needs. The Second World War and subsequent political events and changes led to the entry of new peoples and new national languages into the field of international communication. As a result, the army of translators is growing and the number of languages regularly being translated to and from is increasing.

The number of comparative, contrastive studies carried out by means of translation and for the purposes of interpretation is also increasing. These studies have led to the development of separate translation theories for certain pairs of language. Theoretical investigations have resulted in the formation of a conceptual apparatus for translation theory and in the development of an understanding of the main issues in translation theory.

The central concept of translation theory is the notion of 'translation.' The content of this concept has changed over the centuries and today it is considered from many different points of view. It should be borne in mind that the notion of 'translation' has a lot of meanings. Firstly, this notion refers to translation as a kind of intellectual activity, i.e. as a process. Secondly, translation is viewed as the result of this process, i.e. as a product of a translator's activity.

Serving as a means of communication between people of different nationalities, translation is a means to inter-linguistic and inter-cultural communication. According to A.D. Schweitzer:

"translation can be defined as one-way and two-phase process of interlinguistic and intercultural communication, in the course of which a new text (meta-text) is created on the basis of a primary text subjected to targeted ('translation') analysis, and the new text substitutes the primary one in a different language and cultural environment ..."¹

This process is characterized by its purpose of transmitting the communicative impact of the primary text, partially modified by the differences between the two languages, two cultures and two communicative situations (Schweitzer 2008).

Translation involves a kind of linguistic mediation. Other kinds of linguistic mediation include reviewing, rendering, retelling and making resumés. They differ in the volume and form of the information being transmitted. Translation differs from exposition, narration and other forms of text reproduction in its process of restoring the unity of content and form of the original. In his book, *Fundamentals of General Translation Theory*, A. Fyodorov writes that successful combination of translation theory and practice is possible only on a broad philological basis. The basis for A. Fyodorov's linguistic translation theory is the establishment of certain regularities through comparing features of vocabulary, grammar and the stylistic use of language in French, German, English and Russian, alongside analysis of translation practice. The most important part of A. V. Fyodorov's translation theory is his functional principle for establishing these correspondences: "to translate means to express, truly and completely, by means of one language content that has already been expressed previously by means of another language in an explicit and complete form" (Fyodorov 2006: 75).

It is necessary to distinguish between so-called educational translation and professional translation. Educational translation involves the

¹ Schweitzer, A.D. Teorija perevoda: status, problem, aspekty, 75

interpretation of a foreign language text with the aim of understanding it and, in the process, of learning a foreign language. This is a method which offers the opportunity to understand the basics of a foreign language, the methods and techniques of translation and to deepen knowledge of the language.

Professional translation is a special language activity aimed at the reconstruction of the original content in another language. This activity requires special training and skills, and assumes exceptional knowledge of the foreign language, the mother tongue, the native and the foreign culture.

Views on the concept of 'culture' have changed in recent years. Previously, the word 'culture' implied the total sum of a society's material and spiritual achievements, at present, however, this word covers all the historical, social and psychological particularities of human activity. In the modern era, translation has become the object of cultural background studies and the new concept of culture has left its mark on these. Such cultural research, however, does not oppose that of linguistic study. Currently, many linguistic issues are placed in the category of cultural ones and viewed as the product of differences between cultures and ethnic groups.

One of the main factors when considering translation is an understanding that communication involves the interaction of individuals. These actors appear as subjects of culture and representatives of certain linguistic, social and cultural communities. Translation, as a type of mediation, is not only a means to inter-lingual, but also a means to inter-cultural communication. Considering translation as inter-cultural communication means understanding language as a component of culture and as a socio-cultural phenomenon. Additionally, culture is seen here as the total sum of a socio-ethnic group's material and spiritual achievements, including its multi-faceted historical, social and psychological characteristics, traditions, attitudes, values, institutions, behaviour, lifestyle and living conditions—in short, everything concerning the life and consciousness of its members, including their language. In this understanding, language is treated as a single socio-cultural phenomenon, reflecting the peculiarities of its generative ethnos as a carrier of certain cultural characteristics that distinguish it from other cultures.

In the translation process, it is not just a matter of two languages, but two cultures interacting as well. The identification of what is common, international, universal, private, specific and national is fundamental to the study of inter-cultural communication phenomena. The origins of human and national specificity are detected in the study of the "conceptual and linguistic picture of the world society" (Valeeva 2006: 89).

The existence of commonality in human nature is due to the fact that despite people speaking different languages, in the main, their thinking processes remain similar. This is due to the physical nature of man, the functions of the brain and of the higher nervous system. The uniformity and objectivity of the world, in which all nations live, promotes a sense of human community. The national languages of the many peoples living in this world are different ways of assimilating and expressing the same reality. This assimilation is built on similar principles of human thought and results in adequate comprehension of the real world. The logic of the human mind, objectively reflecting the outer world, is the same for all people, regardless of the language they speak. The external conditions of life and material reality form a picture of the world in the human mind and help determine people's consciousness and behavior. The picture of the world reflected in human consciousness is secondary to the objective existence of the original material world. This image is a linguistically defined picture of the world. Language is here understood as a form of mastering an external, uniform and objective world.

In the process of world-image formation, language is a form of expressing the conceptual (thinking-abstract) content produced by a person. Fundamentally, language correlates to the objective world and differences in ethnic groups' national, conceptual and linguistic patterns stem from the different experiences of people in their perception of one and the same world. No matter how peculiar in structure separate language models are, in essence, all of them constitute a reflection of the surrounding world in human consciousness (Savushkina 2013: 8).

At the same time, the specific external conditions of a distinct ethnic group's existence (geographical, physiological and anthropological features including culture and tradition) form specific qualities and sets of concepts defining the national and linguistic picture of the world on a conceptual basis. Today, it goes without saying that languages reflect reality in different, asymmetrical ways. Asymmetry is most clearly displayed when languages in the translation process come into contact with each other: when a fragment of one linguistic reality is described through the frame of another. Researchers have come to the conclusion that different languages articulate reality differently, describing the same phenomena and items in different ways and paying attention to their different characteristics. Thus, the semantics of any word reflects the vision of the world according to a native language speaker. Nomination is based upon categories which may be significantly diverse in different languages. In Russian, for example, the word *ochki*, originates from *ochi* meaning 'eyes' in English, whereas the basis of the English word *glasses*

is 'glass,' the material from which they are made. In contrast, the French word *lunettes* comes from the word for 'moon,' referencing the characteristic of the round moon. In another example, the Russian word *raduga*, means 'a colored arc,' while its English equivalent *rainbow* means 'rain arc' or 'after rain.' Its French equivalent *arc-en-ciel* means 'arc in the sky.' Thus, these terms share a common feature, 'arc,' in all three languages. However, the connotations and characteristics of this 'arc' are different in the way they are defined in the term: in Russian it is defined by an attribute—'colorful'; in English it is defined in terms of 'rain'—also an attribute; and in French it is defined by the adverbial modifier of place—'in the sky.' Thus, we are confronted with the fact that even that part of a language picture of the world displaying external similarity, i.e. appearing symmetrical, is, in fact, non-equivalent in different languages. This non-equivalence reflects the opposition of the general and the particular in human cognitive activity and at different levels of abstraction. This is due to the fact that each ethnic group has its own view of the world and of what constitutes common cultural phenomena (material, spiritual, organizational and behavioral). Here we mean that elements present in one culture may be absent from another one, and also that the treatment of similar objects may not coincide in different cultures. These objects can cause all kinds of associations, i.e. they are associated with people's cultural experience in different ways. For example, for those living in the south, snow may be an exotic and rare natural phenomenon, sometimes frightening and irritating, especially when traffic in the cities becomes unbearable due to snow fall. At the same time, snow is a symbol of Christmas. For people living in the middle zone and in the far north, snow is a common and expected phenomenon.

The thinking processes of representatives of different societies are alike from a logical point of view; however, the consciousness of different ethnic groups does not imply any unity in terms of the emotional and graphical representation of reality at the level of analogical assessment and experience. Representatives of different linguistic and cultural societies experience and appreciate reality in different ways resulting in a uniqueness of outlook. The language picture of the world contains a layer of words, phrases and statements used to represent emotionally-shaped reality, with connotations (emotional, evaluative, stylistic colouring) and motivated by the national-cultural context. For example: *beat baklushi* (Russian)—*twiddle one's thumbs* (English)—*se tourner les pouces* (French). The transfer of emotive, stylistic and expressive aspects in the process of translation may be as important as the transfer of subject-logical content. The words 'sun' and 'moon' in their connotative meanings are

used to express positive characteristics and qualities in various cultures. The peoples of the north associate the sun with the source of life, rebirth and joy, and this is reflected, for example, in referring to a person as 'my sun.' The peoples of tropical countries apply similar connotations to the word 'moon' (Valeeva 2006).

Being objective systems, on the one hand, and the product of a nation's emotional and spiritual creativity, on the other, languages fix the features of people's outlook. Fundamentally vital images are recorded in the language over the course of its historical development and transmitted to subsequent generations in verbalized form. The external material conditions of the ethnic group's existence can change over time, however, the peculiarities of national mentality transmitted by language continue their reproduction in subsequent generations. In other words, a language offers its speakers a complete form of assessment and perception, and begins to perform the function, implemented at the initial stage of the ethnic group's existence by the external environment, of modeling the verbal and non-verbal behavior of people as subjects of a culture.

The originality of national language pictures of the world and the multiplicity of cultures is not an obstacle to mutual understanding in the translation process. One of the most important and crucial practical pieces of evidence of logical and language system compatibility in their cognitive essence, is the irrefutable fact of peoples' mutual understanding on the basis of translation from one language into another. Language barriers have never been an insurmountable obstacle to dialogue between people at different stages of social development in human history (for example, in the period of great geographical discoveries). However, inter-cultural communication happens adequately and successfully only when the participants in communication, being the carriers of different cultures and languages, are aware of the fact that each of them is the 'other' and reflexively perceives their alternate 'foreignness.' Acquainting people with other cultures is one of the most important social functions of translation. Addressing the issues of inter-cultural communication and translation, it should be remembered that a major role is played by the translator in these processes, i.e. a person speaking one or several foreign languages who promotes cross-cultural communication. To ensure inter-cultural communication, the translator of today should be not only bilingual, but also bi-cultural:

"A bilingual translator is a kind of 'double' language personality. He perceives foreign language text activity from the foreign language culture society's point of view. And then, in the process of translation, a transition

is performed and he goes on to the native language and socio-cultural codes (in their indissoluble unity)" (Savushkina 2013: 12).

The peculiarity of bilingual translation consists, firstly, in its asymmetric character. As a rule, the translator's dominant features are born of his native language and culture. This dominant language and culture subordinate other features which the translator addresses in the process of translation. The meanings inherent in the speech of a foreign language and the facts of another culture are perceived through the prism of the dominant language and dominant culture. Secondly, both languages are present in the speech act and operate simultaneously in the process of translation. The translator constantly has to overcome linguistic and cultural interference.

In the analysis of the process of learning foreign languages, cross-language communication and translation, practical works by Russian and foreign scholars have shown that languages influence each other and this influence can result in transfer, borrowing and convergence.

Linguistic interference should be understood as the interaction of two (or more) languages. This influence can be both positive and negative, and is expressed as a deviation from the norm (usage) in one language under the influence of the other (in the case of negative interference) and in the acquisition, development and strengthening of skills in one language under the influence of another (in the case of positive interference). In a more common sense, linguistic interference should be understood as the intervention of elements of one linguistic system into the other, which can be both constructive and destructive. There are several types of interference: phonetic, grammatical (morphology, syntax, punctuation and spelling), lexical, semantic and stylistic. In the practice of an inexperienced translator, interference may occur at virtually all levels.

Due to the fact that translation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and implies working with texts of different styles and genres, there are different ways of classifying oral and written translation errors. An error is usually defined as something done wrong; an unintentional deviation from the norm, a breaking of the rules or a violation of requirements. Therefore, in order to understand the essence of translation error it is necessary to answer the question as to what a correct translation is and which problems are solved through error-free translation. Translation, in general, is defined as the transmission of textual content in one language to that of another language. This definition is focused on one of the main requirements of translation, i.e. to transfer the content-meaning of the original. Violation of this requirement is undoubtedly an error. Translation is commonly understood as the sum of semantic and structural elements fixed by the

recipient and forming the sense of a text. This is not limited by the meanings implemented in the text, but represents a global holistic textual understanding based on a wealth of background knowledge, beliefs about the state of affairs in the real world, knowledge of the field in question and the peculiarities of the communicative situation. Thus, most authors understand an error as an unreasonable deviation from the requirements of normative equivalence (i.e. conformity of the translated content to that of the original), as a measure of translation discrepancy and a measure of misleading the reader (Kommissarov 2002). This is the most traditional, and at the same time, narrow approach to understanding translation errors.

For modern methodological purposes, a broader concept of translation error is used in assessing the quality of a translation. It acknowledges violations in the transmission of the source language content and errors related to the adaptation of the content to new linguo-ethnic conditions. In other words, we can speak of errors of expression. These can be divided into forced violations (provoked by the original), and unforced violations of the translation language's norms and usage. Expression errors are defined as errors in the transmission of the source content, distortions, inaccuracies and ambiguities. Errors associated with the adaptation of content to new linguo-ethnic conditions are classified into lexical, grammatical, stylistic, orthographic and punctuation errors (Kunilovskaya 2008).

It seems appropriate to mention another classification of errors based on the degree of substantive and conceptual inconsistency. According to D. Bouzadzi:

“Substantive consistency is understood as the correspondence of semantic ties and language unit relations in speech communication to the relations of objects and phenomena in reality. Conceptual consistency is a reflection of the logical thought structure and development in the semantic relationships of language elements in speech.”²

The most widespread cause of substantive inconsistency is the translator's unwillingness or inability to match the meaning of the text being created with that of the original. Conceptual inconsistency occurs when the author does not think to what extent the language tools chosen suit the translation task or to what extent the translation is logically non-contradictory. A typical conceptual inconsistency in the translation process is the distortion of the structure influenced by the word order in the source

² Bouzadzi, D.M. “Ostraneniye” v aspekte sopostavitel'noj stilistiki i yego peredacha v perevode, 15.

text. Many conceptual inconsistencies come about through incorrect word use. If a translator ignores the surrounding words a conflict may occur between mutually acceptable statements from the point of view of form and content. Common mistakes in conceptual logic are associated with an inability to take into account differences in the syntactic structure of different languages. For example:

He started back and fell against the railings, trembling as he looked up—
Взглянув наверх, он отпрянул и, весь дрожа, прислонился к ограде/Он отпрянул и прислонился к ограде, дрожа всем телом, после того, как взглянул наверх.

Conclusion

Assuming that a language is a reflection of a particular country's culture, we arrive at the conclusion that the translation process is an interaction not only between two languages, but between two cultures as well. Therefore, translation should be regarded as a type of inter-cultural communication. Ignoring the characteristics of the source text and the difficulty in translating between cultures is a major cause of translation errors. Traditional types of translation errors are found in literalisms and taking stylistic liberties. More modern classifications of translation errors pose a division into semantic errors, errors of understanding and language errors. Semantic errors include distortions, inaccuracies and ambiguities, while language errors include lexical, grammatical, stylistic, spelling and punctuation errors. Moreover, the translation text can be described in logical terms as containing or not containing logical errors of a substantive or conceptual type.

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TOWARDS LINGUISTIC PROFICIENCY: INTER-CULTURAL COMPETENCE

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Modernization of the professional and higher education system is associated with the task of implementing new educational standards and using the quality of teaching results as a leading indicator. These are referred to as competencies. According to Western experts, education results, expressed in the language of competencies, contribute to the expansion of academic and professional recognition, the compatibility of diplomas and qualifications, improve conditions of mobility and the comparability of qualification requirements in a unified educational space.

Choosing a competence-based approach as the primary mechanism for the modernization of Russian universities is suggested by its numerous advantages over a knowledge-oriented teaching model. Firstly, a competence-based approach grants an opportunity to effectively form cultural and professional competence in addition to the knowledge, abilities and skills of future specialists. Another advantage of a competence-based approach is its focus on the results of education over the process. For these purposes, educational programs and training courses need to contain clear and comparable parameters, describing what students will know, be able to perform and the abilities that they will possess once they graduate from the university.

Another advantage of a competence-based approach is that priority is given, in the educational process, to the formation of student skills in applying received knowledge to different professional and life situations. In such an approach, role-plays, projects, research and information technology acquire particular importance in the learning and teaching of students. Finally, in contrast to a knowledge-oriented model, within the framework of a competence-based approach considerable attention is paid to the formation of a student's interdisciplinary and universal competencies that have particular value in today's globalized and information-rich world (Suprunova 2013).

These competencies include: the ability to be a success, to communicate with other people and to carry out professional activities while taking into account the cultural diversity of national and global communities. There are a number of definitions of competence (as a socially defined goal) in pedagogic science. Being competent (as a result of competency development) can be defined in terms of multicultural competence, cross-cultural competence, ethno-cultural competence and inter-cultural competence.

Inter-cultural competence is a complex concept comprised of the following components: thinking, attitudes, knowledge and skills—relating both to the native and target language culture.

Peculiar to the thinking process are the following components: understanding the relationship between language, thought, and culture; cognizing the interface of the native and target language culture; understanding the equivalence and diversity of cultures and cultural meanings; a critical view of one's own culture and the culture being studied. Relations include: openness, curiosity, a willingness to abandon prejudice and an acceptance of other cultures. Relevant knowledge consists of the following components: knowledge of the language; knowledge of facts about the native and examined culture; knowledge of the rules of social and personal interaction; knowledge of para-linguistic means of communication; knowledge of the cultural values inherent in the native culture and the culture being studied. Skills include: the capacity to interpret cultural facts; being able to correlate events in the native and target culture; the ability to extract and assimilate new knowledge about a culture; being able to apply this knowledge in practical communication; a capacity for critical cultural evaluation. Where a person has developed these components in combination, we can talk of them in terms of having developed inter-cultural competence (Kuznetsova & Kuznetsova 2013).

An inter-culturally competent personality possesses the following qualities: the ability to see relationships between different cultures (both internally and externally); the ability to mediate and interpret between cultures; a critical and analytical understanding of one's own and other cultures; awareness of one's own view of the world and the fact that one's thinking is culturally determined rather than being purely natural.

To achieve the goal of students developing inter-cultural competence, it is necessary to solve a set of tasks. The first task is to develop a student's understanding of the basis of inter-cultural competence and its role in the inter-cultural communication process. Students should have an idea of the component structure of inter-cultural competence and the role of acquired knowledge and skills in enhancing the effectiveness of their communication with members of other cultures. The second task involves

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These competencies include: the ability to be a success, to communicate with other people and to carry out professional activities while taking into account the cultural diversity of national and global communities. There are a number of definitions of competence (as a socially defined goal) in pedagogic science. Being competent (as a result of competency development) can be defined in terms of multicultural competence, cross-cultural competence, ethno-cultural competence and inter-cultural competence.

Inter-cultural competence is a complex concept comprised of the following components: thinking, attitudes, knowledge and skills—relating both to the native and target language culture.

Peculiar to the thinking process are the following components: understanding the relationship between language, thought, and culture; cognizing the interface of the native and target language culture; understanding the equivalence and diversity of cultures and cultural meanings; a critical view of one's own culture and the culture being studied. Relations include: openness, curiosity, a willingness to abandon prejudice and an acceptance of other cultures. Relevant knowledge consists of the following components: knowledge of the language; knowledge of facts about the native and examined culture; knowledge of the rules of social and personal interaction; knowledge of para-linguistic means of communication; knowledge of the cultural values inherent in the native culture and the culture being studied. Skills include: the capacity to interpret cultural facts; being able to correlate events in the native and target culture; the ability to extract and assimilate new knowledge about a culture; being able to apply this knowledge in practical communication; a capacity for critical cultural evaluation. Where a person has developed these components in combination, we can talk of them in terms of having developed inter-cultural competence (Kuznetsova & Kuznetsova 2013).

An inter-culturally competent personality possesses the following qualities: the ability to see relationships between different cultures (both internally and externally); the ability to mediate and interpret between cultures; a critical and analytical understanding of one's own and other cultures; awareness of one's own view of the world and the fact that one's thinking is culturally determined rather than being purely natural.

To achieve the goal of students developing inter-cultural competence, it is necessary to solve a set of tasks. The first task is to develop a student's understanding of the basis of inter-cultural competence and its role in the inter-cultural communication process. Students should have an idea of the component structure of inter-cultural competence and the role of acquired knowledge and skills in enhancing the effectiveness of their communication with members of other cultures. The second task involves

introducing the concept of culture to students, including: cultural characteristics and boundaries, types of cultures, the kinds of mutual relationships between cultures, communication types and functions, modern communication problems and ways of resolving them.

This knowledge will help students to understand relationships between representatives of different cultures and foresee the potential for cultural conflict the better to avoid such situations in the course of inter-cultural communication. The third task implies development of a student's inter-cultural communication skills. These skills include: recognizing and interpreting the phenomena of other cultures; comparing the facts and events of one's own culture and other cultures and finding similarities and differences between them; conducting inter-cultural dialogue and mediating inter-cultural contact; analyzing and resolving various inter-cultural conflict situations; considering culture from the perspective of values, customs and traditions. The fourth and final task is to encourage the development of a positive and open attitude to other cultural communities and their representatives, with such attributes as openness, interest, tolerance, empathy, willingness to abandon stereotypes and willingness to revise one's own attitudes and values.

The solution to the above tasks should be carried out through the implementation of systematic principles. About a hundred learning principles have been developed in foreign language teaching methodology in light of new research directions. A few of the most important principles have been highlighted within this study, namely the principles of cultural dialogue, cultural invariance, cultural opposition, cultural reflection and the principle of problem based learning.

The principle of cultural dialogue has been considered by many researchers, including Apalkov (2008), Safonova (2001), Sysoev (2006) and Kramsch (1999). The principle of cultural dialogue focuses on the use of contrastive-comparative study of cultures and civilizations in the context of their direct and indirect interaction. This involves orientation on the development of qualities such as cultural integrity and the willingness to communicate in a foreign cultural environment. The application of the above principle also implies contrastive and comparative study of cultures and civilizations in the context of their direct and indirect historical and cultural interaction.

The problem of developing bilingual culture in future specialists by means of studying a foreign language is both important and under-studied. We have undertaken experimental work with students of the Russian Customs Academy (Rostov branch) and identified the most effective methods and tools to help improve this situation.

When learning a foreign language, it is necessary to compare the different linguistic realities of the foreign and native culture with the goal of developing professional communicative tolerance. To this end, one should use authentic written, audio and filmic texts, and culturally significant historical works, including fairy tales, legends and poems.

According to the basic principles of the cross-cultural approach, when working on any topic in this field it is important to identify key values (both universal and culturally specific) that allow for consideration of standards of conduct in different communicative situations. This develops the communication skills and communicative control of the student. When explaining and analyzing complex linguistic and cultural phenomena, it is useful to engage with proverbs and idioms that reflect the specificities of expression in each language and the cultural characteristics of a country and its people.

In a communicative approach to teaching and learning, it is necessary to consider a student's native language in combination with the foreign one. General role-plays, business role-plays, analysis of the disciplines studied, dialogical communication that incorporates elements of analysis, comparison, evaluation and reflection all constitute important parts of learning in this case.

From the point of view of a competence-based approach, it is important to use training methods and tools like: informal chatting and discussion, in the native and foreign language, on real-world problems and issues raised through the use of authentic texts and audio-visual material; meetings with target language native speakers; essays on problems relevant to learners relating to cultures and their subcultures, the variety of views on different cultures and common human values and values specific to different people—activities that develop reflection, self-analysis and self-assessment skills are of paramount importance (Sleptsova 2013).

To accelerate the formation of bilingual culture among future specialists, relevant and stimulating topics should be chosen that include the potential for cultural comparison. For example, a productive topic may be 'Traditional English dishes,' and involve comparison of typical English and Russian cuisine in terms of everyday and special holiday fare. Such an activity can be used creatively by offering students the opportunity to get acquainted with traditional English dishes, both in theory and in practice, through discussing and trying out different recipes, as well as describing and discussing the dishes cooked.

Training should be based around the principles of cultural correspondence, subjectivity and reflexivity. Combining this topic with the practical activity of cooking and sampling specific dishes of the national

cuisine provides a vivid accompaniment to the material studied. Thus, students can immerse themselves in another people's culture while remaining representatives of their own culture and traditions. Students can also expand their target vocabulary through the names of new dishes and products. The special lexical speech units and recipe texts develop knowledge of grammar constructions different to those used in literary texts and help develop presentation and dialogic skills. This contributes to the development of inter-cultural communicative competence, which is a primary factor in the development of personal bilingual culture.

Working on a topic such as 'Education' involves studying the higher education system, which is impossible without an understanding and perception of the target foreign language's culture. It is necessary to explain to students complex issues associated with the education system of the UK, and the students, in their turn, are required to compare and analyze the educational systems of the UK and Russia in terms of similarities and differences. Such a task offers students the opportunity to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the two education systems and to imagine an optimal variant or combination of these systems.

The most effective means of implementing the above principles are, in our view, using film in a foreign language on the topic, essays and meetings with native speakers (teachers or senior years students can act in the role of native speakers in the process of teaching in artificial conditions). The linguistic content of other topics can be transformed through an emphasis on cultural elements, allowing students both to see, and to feel, similarities and differences between native and foreign language cultures. A significant emphasis should be placed on differences in addressing people during the communication process, such as typical British modes of addressing different people in different situations (Sleptsova 2013).

The reflexivity principle can actively be applied when studying topics like 'Personal character and appearance' where special attention should be paid to a person's typical character, habits and mental peculiarities. Detailed analysis identifying similarities and differences has also been carried out when studying topics such as, 'Housing in Russia and the United Kingdom,' 'Traditions around the celebration of special events and gift giving,' 'Student life,' 'How do you spend your free time?,' 'Reading books,' 'Hobbies' and 'My dream profession.'

The task of a specialist working with a foreign language is to understand, to feel and to accept the transmission of another culture through its language. Therefore, from their first year onwards, students should learn to understand and to accept the cultures of other people,

learning to embody the principle of tolerance concerning foreign language native speakers and their culture and be able to compare the traditional and cultural characteristics of two peoples based on their cultural correspondences. Students can develop these skills through reading authentic texts and watching videos in foreign languages, selected by the teacher with regard to their educational value, significance and from the point of view of universal values and norms.

When working with students, it is necessary to consider the main stages of personal bilingual cultural development: the elementary, intermediate and creative. Training material and content should be selected that gradually increases in difficulty and complexity.

At the elementary stage, it is recommended that exercises aimed at the formation of a student's communicative tolerance and control are selected. The tasks may include: working on vocabulary material enabling students to identify differences in the lexical expression of the same phenomena and concepts in the two languages, and hence differences in the culture of the two nationalities; the selection of lexical equivalents in two languages; the development of thematic vocabulary fields.

At the intermediate stage, it is necessary to select tasks that promote the development of self-assessment and inter-cultural communicative competence. For example, interpretation tasks containing various proverbs that require an analysis of textual commentary or adding one's own commentary based on life situations or reasoning to the topic being studied.

At the creative stage, the most suitable exercises are ones aimed at improving the above mentioned components of bilingual culture and developing student skills in performing these tasks creatively, including the independent seeking out of relevant material. These may be tasks aimed at explaining the symbolic meanings of different objects, events and characters in texts; at comparing the same phenomena presented differently in various texts; at highlighting the main issues of interpreting texts; at dramatizing dialogues, requiring a creative approach and knowledge of the communicative norms in the target language in different linguistic situations; at analyzing the author's relationship to the events or characters in a text, taking into account the context in which it was written.

Thus, a complex combination of methods and tools, reliant on key culture-based approaches and the principles of foreign language teaching, taking into account the level of a student's previous study, can help develop bilingual and cultural competency at university level (Sleptsova 2013)..

The principle of cultural variability is aimed at students learning different culture variants. This principle allows one to trace the similarities and differences between the native language and the target language culture, contributing to the expansion of a socio-cultural space beyond the native country's political borders.

The cultural opposition principle has been proposed within the frame of research by V.G. Apalkov. The author draws attention to the fact that the study of any phenomenon at the intersection of cultures, i.e. at the level of what is termed cultural conflict, enables one to better understand and realize the essential characteristics of cultures more clearly. In the present context, cultural conflict is understood as the difference between the knowledge, values and systemic norms of members of different cultural groups (Apalkov 2008).

The foundation of theory surrounding problem-based learning has been laid by V.V. Safonova, who believes that, based on their intellectual potential and communicative level at each specific stage of education, students should solve a series of progressively more complicated culture-based study problems. Over the course of this process, students learn to grasp different methods of cultural interpretation, enhancing ideas of specific differences in cultures, but also developing an understanding of global commonalities (Safonova 2001).

The above mentioned basic principles should be supplemented by embedding cultural reflexivity in the theory and methodology of foreign language. Reflexivity involves a process of constant individual internal dialogue, leading to better understanding of oneself and one's cultural role. By engaging in cultural reflection, the learner will be able to realize oneself as a cultural-historical subject and the subject of a cultural dialogue within a system of multi-group affiliation (Sysoev 2006).

From the structural point of view, teaching inter-cultural competence focuses on three components: knowledge, skills and attitudes. The 'knowledge' component includes information about: cultural types, types of relationships between cultures, cultural boundaries and characteristics; communication, its types, functions, conflicts and methods of conflict resolution; the modern world, prospects for its development, international processes and international cooperation, globalization and problems of the modern world (nationalism, racism and terrorism). The 'skills' component implies universal skills of communication between members of different cultural communities, regardless of their culture and the language they speak. These skills include the ability: to recognize and interpret the phenomena of other cultures; to compare the cultural artifacts of one's own culture and other cultures, identifying both similarities and differences

between them; to engage in inter-cultural dialogue and mediate inter-cultural contact; to analyze cross-cultural situations, identify inter-cultural conflicts and prevent or resolve them; to consider culture from the point of view of one's own value system, customs and traditions. The 'attitudes' component includes such qualities as tolerance, empathy towards members of other cultures and self-reflection.

Analysis of today's Russian education system indicates that the formation of inter-cultural competence is not reflected sufficiently in foreign language teaching. This has led to the creation of a new interactive teaching model in accordance with the principles of inter-cultural competence.

This training, being a compilation of general cultural and cross-cultural methodologies, has been developed as an educational model for the formation of inter-cultural competence. This method of training, unlike other teaching methods, such as traditional modes of education and cultural orientation, combines both informational and active aspects. In addition, this training method develops the ability to: listen to the interlocutor; be confident in dealing with other people; speak in public; build an effective model of relations with communication partners; prevent and resolve conflicts effectively; address habits and manners that interfere with communication. This evaluation is based on the fact that teaching interaction with members of other cultures includes two principal tasks, namely, acquainting students with inter-cultural differences through the targeted reproduction of specific situations and preparing students to apply the knowledge they have acquired in different situations.

This bipartite methodology is suggested by the need to develop a solid theoretical understanding in students, alongside a specialized skill set. As student competence is regarded as the basis for successful inter-cultural relationship building, it should be emphasized that a set of basic cross-cultural competencies designed to teach students to manage cultural and business relationships effectively provides the most appropriate theoretical basis for the development of training.

The foundation of this training rests on the basic concept of 'corporate culture,' i.e. a certain system of values concerning specific parameters affecting the course of business activities in a specific culture.

The following seven cultural parameters should be highlighted in creating a training model: power and distance (hierarchy—egalitarianism); attitude to staff (individualism—collectivism); communication style (high context—low context); relationships between partners (business oriented—relationship oriented); time orientation (polychronism—monochronism); avoidance of uncertainty (fear—predisposition); motivation level and

competitiveness (low—high). These parameters are chosen to maximize coverage of the content of other cultural variables, as well as by the fact that inter-cultural conflicts most often occur within the framework of their own specificity.

In accordance with the specifics of training and the aforementioned principles (dialogue between cultures and civilizations, cultural diversity, cultural opposition, problems of socio-cultural knowledge and cultural reflection), a training model consisting of three compulsory modules has been developed.

The first training module is aimed at increasing a participant's awareness and understanding: of their membership of various cultural, ethnic and religious groups; of their own culture, its roots and origins; of diversity within their own ethno-cultural groups; of ethno-centrism; and developing the desire of participants to realize their own roots and origins.

The purpose of the second module is: to highlight stereotypes and prejudice against other cultures and peoples; to increase awareness of negative feelings and reactions that occur in the collision between cultures; to develop the concept of global cultural diversity; to develop the desire to change one's own negative stereotypes and prejudices; to encourage interest in learning about other cultures, traditions and customs. The third module is focused on: developing inter-cultural competence through the acquisition of knowledge about traditions, customs and business conduct in other cultures; developing sensitivity and social attention in situations of interaction with members of other cultural groups; explaining the essence of cultural parameters and developing adaptation skills. The third module also includes a class in non-verbal communication and acquaintance with business protocol in different cultural contexts.

The final stage is divided into sections in accordance with the cultural parameters mentioned. Each part is aimed at developing a student's knowledge and skills with regard to a given topic. The final part of the training is focused on comprehensive practice of role-plays, business role-plays and evaluation of the topics studied.

As can be seen, training is an integral part of teaching inter-cultural communication to students and is an important component in developing inter-cultural literacy and competence.

Conclusion

The implementation of a competence-based approach in professional education contributes to the achievement of the primary goal—to prepare a

qualified specialist of appropriate level and profile, competitive in the labour market, able to master his profession, competent in related areas, capable of working effectively in his field, ready for permanent professional growth and social and professional mobility. A competence-based approach corresponds to the following priorities in education: learning, self-determination, self realization, socialization and personal development. This approach makes it possible to transition from education focused primarily on the reproduction of knowledge to education focused on the application of relevant knowledge. This shifts the emphasis onto inter-disciplinary integration of the educational process, a subsequent focus on activities in a variety of professional and life situations and the formation of competencies based on cultural reality.

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PART IV:

**PROBLEMS OF LINGUISTICS
AND DIACHRONIC TYPOLOGY**

THE INFLUENCE OF RUSSIAN ON TAJIK

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The Tajik language, like most others, has never existed entirely in isolation. Tajik has gone through many periods in which large numbers of words from other languages have been borrowed. More than half of the vocabulary of Tajik consists of borrowings. Tajikistan is situated at the crossroads of several major Asian civilizations—the Chinese, Indian, Persian, Russian and Turkish—and has been influenced by all of them. In tracing the origins of loan-words, it can be said with certainty that Perso-Arabic is the primary source. That has not always been the case. The vocabulary of Persian and Tajik have diverged because Tajik has borrowed so many terms from Russian, especially political, cultural and technical terms, and because Persian borrowed more from western European languages. Additionally, words taken from neighboring Turkic languages (Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh) were the earliest words adopted by Tajik. However, if the frequency of the use of words is considered, words from Arabic and Uzbek make up the vast majority. Besides the two main sources of borrowings (Perso-Arabic and Uzbek) there are also borrowings from a lot of other languages.

Taking into consideration the fact that Tajik has been heavily influenced by Russian for about one hundred years, one may expect to find a lot of Russian borrowings in Tajik. In this paper we shall speak about borrowings from Russian—a language that belongs to the Slavonic family. The aims of our work are to find out how deeply Russian words have entered the Tajik language and to gather and present information about the different sorts of Russian borrowings in Tajik. Additionally, we wish to show how much Russian influences Tajik and to try and predict whether Russian and Tajik will combine. Methodologically, we used questionnaires and interviews and analyzed magazines and TV programs.

Tajik, of course, has a long history of words borrowed from Russian. Loan-words have entered the language since the fourteenth century. Until the late nineteenth century, however, the main linguistic influences on Tajik had been Arabic and the Turkic languages. Then, Tajikistan started

to develop diplomatic and cultural ties with Russia. There were constant contacts between Russia and Tajikistan and they borrowed words from one language into the other. Early Russian borrowings are mainly words connected to trade relations, such as: *rubl* 'rouble,' *copeyka* 'penny' and *pud* 'pood' (a Slavic unit of weight); words relating to nature, such as: *taiga* 'tayga' (boreal forest or snow-forest—a biome characterized by coniferous forest consisting mostly of pine, spruce and larch), *tundra* 'tundra' (tundra is a type of biome where tree growth is hindered by low temperatures and short growing seasons) and *step* 'Steppe' (a high-plateaued region of montane and temperate grass and shrubland). There is also a large group of Russian borrowings which entered Tajik through Russian literature, including: *muzhik* 'muzhik, moujik' (archaic—Russian peasant/yokel), *batrak* 'hired man,' *krepostnoy* 'serf, bondsman,' *duma* 'duma, council,' *zemstvo* 'Zemstvo' (local government in pre-revolutionary Russia), *volost* 'Volost' (archaic—region, area, district) and *ukaz* 'ukase' (Imperial edict). Words formed in Russian with Latin roots also entered Tajik, including: *nigilist* 'nihilist,' *intelligentsiya* 'intelligentsia' and *dekabrist* 'Decembrist.' They became widely used by Tajik native speakers despite being much fewer in number than borrowings from other languages (Persian, Arabic, Uzbek and Kyrgyz).

This article explores the question of the influence of Russian on conversational and literary Tajik. Russian words borrowed during the Soviet period are discussed. I shall now present some commonly used loan-words in Tajik.

It is known that the main reasons for borrowings entering a language include: contact between peoples, the need to name new objects and phenomena and changing linguistic fashion; when a borrowed word is used to replace a descriptive phrase—*kant'selyariya* (Russian) 'office, chancellery' instead of *šū'bai korguzorii idora* (Tajik) 'department of clerical duties, office'; when it is necessary to specify a concept in greater detail, for example, to denote a special kind of bread (*khleb*)—*bulochka* 'roll, bun,' *bublik* 'bagel' and *baton* 'long loaf/baguette.' Properly used, loan-words add richness and flavor to a language.

When the area of present-day Tajikistan was a Soviet Republic, the Tajik language was strongly influenced by Russian and evolved significantly:

"The role of the Russian language in the Tajik SSR has largely been determined by the multi-ethnic character of the population. In the history of Russian-Tajik sociolinguistic interaction, one should highlight four periods: 1) since the accession of Central Asia to Russia before the October Revolution; 2) from 1917 until the Second World War; 3) from 1941 to

1990; 4) with the collapse of the USSR until the present day. These periods show the periodization of the history of Russian influence on Tajik."¹

Throughout the twentieth century, the borrowing trend continued with new words borrowed into Tajik whenever there was a need to fill a gap in the lexicon. After the Russian revolution in 1917, Russian became the most common source of borrowings into Tajik. Many new words appeared in Russian connected with the new political system and culture, and many of these entered Tajik, such as: *komsomol* (R), 'Komsomol' (youth wing of the Communist Party); *collectivizat'siya* (T) 'collectivization'; *voenniy kitel'* (R)—*kiteli harbī* (T) 'military uniform'; *dukhtur* 'doctor'; *faeton* (R)—*foytun* (T) 'phaeton' (small carriage); *stant'siya* (R)—*istansa* (T) 'station'; *pud* (R.)—*put* (T) 'pood'; *sazhen'* (R)—*sazhin* (T) 'sajene' (fishing net, unit of measurement); *polit'siya* (R)—*palitsiya* (T) 'police'; *bank* (R)—*bonk* (T) 'bank'; *gazeta* (R)—*gazit* (T) 'newspaper'; *udarnik* (R)—*udarnik* (T) 'shock worker' (an honored worker and sometimes alternated with shock worker in translation, *zardor* (T)).

Borrowings from Russian increased over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nowadays, the idea of languages mixing is widely discussed in linguistic circles. New languages are born, some die out and others combine elements from each other. It should be noted that a number of Tajik linguists have undertaken research on various aspects dealing with the lexical stock of the language, in particular, research on Russian loan-words in Tajik. Different aspects of borrowings have been investigated in the work of linguists, such as M.N. Kasimova, Kh. Majidov, S. Nazarzoda, D. Saymiddinov, S. Sulaymonov, T. Berdiyeva, M. Sulton, M. Muhammadiyev, H. Talbakova, M. Rahmoni, S. Hoshimov, S. Kalandarova, A. Salomova and M. Nasrulloeva.

As was mentioned previously, the quantity of Russian loan-words increased greatly in the nineteenth century, which can be attributed to growing interest in Russia and all things Russian. For instance, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Russian borrowings included such words as: *bol'shevik* 'Bolshevik'; *men'shevik* 'Menshevik'; *kolkhoz* 'collective farm'; *zavkhoz* 'steward, supply manager'; *sovkhoz* 'state farm'; *dzhentel'men* 'gentleman'; *masštab* 'scope'; *demografiya* 'demography'; *atlas* 'atlas'; *respublika* 'republic.' Some of these words have classical roots, such as certain geological terms. There were also loan-words denoting objects used in everyday life: *smena* (*smenai duyum*) 'shift' (swing shift); *sadik* 'kindergarden'; *forma* 'form'; *fabrika* 'factory';

¹ Isayeva, Z.G., Isayev M.I. Vzaimodeyastviye russkogo yazika s yazikami iranskikh narodov SNG, 2

zavod 'plant'; *yasli* 'day nursery'; *kacheli* 'swing.' Although the Tajik language originally used a modified Arabic script, drastic changes to the written Tajik language were implemented during the Soviet Era. In 1929, Tajikistan was established as the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic and incorporated into the USSR.

In the 1930s, the Soviet government established a mandatory Latin-language alphabet, forcing Tajiks to drop the Arabic script and learn the new Latin script. Switching to the Cyrillic alphabet in 1939 made Tajik more prone to russianization. The Tajik language script was changed yet again in the 1940s when the Soviet government introduced a modified Cyrillic script (the same script used in Russian). Most loans were taken into Tajik in the 20th century and their distribution is shown below. Vocabulary reflecting the socio-political life of Russia was borrowed at the beginning of the twentieth century. The terms of Soviet political, economic, scientific and cultural life were learned by native speakers of Tajik: *komissar* 'commissar, commissioner'; *sovet* 'Soviet'; *marksizm* 'Marxism'; *revolyut'sioner* 'revolutionary'; *leninism* 'Leninism'; *partiya* 'The Party'; *komsomol* 'The Komsomol'; *komsomolet's* 'member of the Komsomol, Young Communist Leaguer'; *nigilist* 'nihilist'; *subbotnik* *Subbotnik* (from the Russian word *subbota*/Saturday, is a day of unpaid labor, usually on a Saturday); *pioner* 'pioneer'; *spetsmen* 'athlete.'

Furthermore:

"There is another rise in the process of borrowing and enhancing foreign language vocabulary (from the end of the 20s and early 30s through to the 50s and 60s). In our opinion, the abundant influx and usage of these borrowings should not be considered a negative phenomenon, primarily because they testify to the openness of the lexical system, which in turn is a sign of its vitality. Language will reject excess words at later stages of evolution. The remaining words were able to adapt and be included in the system of relationships. Such language units enrich Tajik."²

As was noted previously, Tajik assimilated a huge number of Russian words of the Soviet time. Borrowings from Russian in this period included vocabulary related to: a) socio-political, historical and cultural life—*bukvar* 'ABC book, primer,' *Michurinet's* 'Michurinist,' *aktiv* 'active,' *s'ezd* 'Congress,' *sekretar* 'secretary,' *roman* 'novel,' *aktyor* 'actor,' *rol* 'role,' *kino* 'film, cinema, movie' and *советы* 'soviets'; b) household—*scavorodka* 'pan,' *samovar* 'samovar' (a metal container traditionally used

² Shukurov, G.Kh. Transformatsiya tadjhikskogo literaturnogo yazika v period nezavisimosti (po materialam gazetanyo leksiki), 7

to heat and boil water in Russia, Central Asia, eastern European, Kashmir and the Middle-East), *plita* 'stove, cooker,' *zvanok* 'ring,' *zachyot* 'test,' *poyezd* 'train,' *vokzal* 'station,' *kassa* 'cashier's office, cashier's desk,' *armiya* 'army,' *abzat*'s 'paragraph' and *ekzamen* 'exam.' War in the Soviet Union also enriched the lexicon:

"Further significant expansion of Russisms in Tajik occurred in the years of the Great Patriotic War and, in particular, is associated with the forced evacuation of industrial enterprises, universities, civilians—mostly women and children to the republics of Central Asia from the European part of the USSR. In that period of history, new buildings were built by representatives of different nationalities. The main working language of the workers was Russian. Previously learned and newly borrowed words and terms (Russisms, internationalisms), associated in particular with the scientific-technical sphere entered the Tajik Republic."³

It can be seen that Tajik vocabulary has been enriched by terms related to the era of Soviet scientific-technical development. The following list contains Russian vocabulary from this period: *sputnik* 'satellite,' *lazer* 'laser,' *disk* 'disk,' *komp'yuter* 'computer,' *lyotchik* 'pilot, aviator,' *plan* 'plan,' *tehnika* 'technics, technique,' *kosmos* 'space, cosmos,' *kosmonavt* 'cosmonaut, spaceman, astronaut,' *lampa* 'lamp' and *progress* 'progress.' Some of these have specifically Tajik variants used by native speakers: *kayhon* 'space, cosmos,' *kayhonnavaard* 'cosmonaut, spaceman, astronaut,' *charog* 'lamp' and *taraqqiyot* 'progress.'

As we noted, besides the two main sources for borrowings (Perso-Arabic and Uzbek), there are also borrowings from a number of other languages. A large group of borrowings in Tajik are Russian-international words. For example: a) medical terminology—*plomba* 'tooth filling,' *operat'siya* 'operation,' *registratura* 'registry, record department, registration office,' *gips* 'gypsum,' *stat'sionar* 'hospital,' *terapevt* 'therapist,' *autizm* 'autism,' *immunitet* 'immune system' and *dekret* 'decree'; b) the names of the months—*sentyabr* 'September' and *oktyabr* 'October'; c) the names of educational subjects—*khimiya* 'chemistry,' *algebra* 'algebra,' *geografiya* 'geography' and *fizika* 'physics'; d) the names of the planets—*Mars* 'Mars,' *Venera* 'Venus' and *Saturn* 'Saturn'; e) instruments, equipment, devices and transport—*spidometr* 'speedometer,' *karkas* 'frame,' *rama* 'frame,' *otvertka* 'screwdriver,' *tonometr* 'tonometer,' *antenna* 'antenna,' *kabel* 'cable' and *garazh* 'garage.'

³ Isayeva, Z.G., Isayev M.I. Vzaimodeystviye russkogo yazika s yazikami iranskikh narodov SNG, 4

Many Russian-international borrowings related to education are widely used. Words and terms related to the pedagogy, science and education of the Soviet period include: *formula* 'formula,' *zoologiya* 'zoology,' *ekzamen* 'exam, examination,' *sessiya* 'session,' *reakt'siya* 'reaction,' *tezis* 'thesis,' *matematika* 'mathematics,' *abzats* 'paragraph,' *diktant* 'dictation, consultation, tutorial, advice,' *ideya* 'idea,' *karta* 'map,' *atlas* 'atlas,' *globus* 'globe' and *avtor* 'author. Thematically, we can divide the words into groups related to: a) way of life/household—*mikser* 'mixer, blender,' *bantik*, *bant* 'bow,' *aurshlag* 'colander, strainer,' *karniz* 'cornice,' *lift* 'lift,' *жалюзи* 'blinds,' *šifer* 'shale, slate,' *dzhemper*, *jempir* 'sweater,' *pal'to*, *palto* '(over)coat, topcoat,' and *fotoapparat* 'camera'; b) sport—*futbol* 'football,' *stadion* 'stadium,' *taym* 'time,' *khokkey* 'hockey,' *šayba* 'puck' and *match* 'match'; c) popular culture—*repetitsiya* 'rehearsal,' *kontsert* 'concert,' *balet* 'balet,' *antract* 'intermission,' *aktyor* 'actor,' *prem'er* 'premiere,' *klub* 'club,' *kino*, *film* 'film,' *teatr* 'theatre' and *plakat* 'poster'; d) professions—*inzhener* 'engineer,' *lyotchik* 'pilot,' *sekretar* 'secretary,' *advokat*, *advakat* 'attorney,' *assistant* 'assistant,' *revizor* 'auditor,' *redactor* 'editor' and *bukhgalter* 'accountant.' As such:

"Tajik was enriched with neologisms, and more specifically, new Russian-internationalism vocabulary. Most of these were nouns and adjectives (including professional jargon and scientific terms, special vocabulary, and so on) and proper names (names of dishes, items, etc).⁴

The present article also focuses on those internationalisms that have lost their specifically Russian features. Many European internationalisms originate from Latin and Greek. Russian served as their vehicle of transmission. In the early twentieth century, revolutionary vocabulary was imported from Russian and entered the everyday language of ordinary Tajiks: words like *marksizm* 'Marxism,' *revolutsiya* 'revolution,' *demonstratsiya* 'demonstration' and *nat'sionalizm* 'nationalism' came from Russian, but have their origins in Latin and Greek.

There are also a number of Russian borrowings that have their source in other Slavonic languages. The word *pochta* 'post office, post, basket' comes from Russian, where it is most probably a loan-word from the Polish *poczta* (earlier *poszta*). A careful analysis shows that only a few Russian loan-words in Tajik are forms of alternate Slavonic origin: *povidlo*

⁴ Turakhodzhaeva, R. *Leksicheskiye novoobrazovaniya russko-internatsiona'nogo proiskhozhdeniya v tadjikskom yazike (po materialam gazetii Hakikati Uzbekiston*" za 1950-1975 gg.), 5

'jam' (*powidla* in Polish), *tarelka* 'plate' (*talerz* in Polish) and *kolgotki, kalgotka* 'trousers, pants' (*kalhoty*, from the Czech).

There have been both necessary and unnecessary borrowings over the past 70 years. For example, concepts related to scientific and technical progress filled important gaps in the language. It should be noted that borrowings from Russian and other languages related, primarily, to terminology, were usually adapted phonetically into Tajik. Specifically Russian internationalisms, rather than Russian serving solely as a vehicle of transmission, are mostly related to Soviet terminology. For example: *kolkhoz* 'collective farm,' *sot'sializm* 'socialism,' *raykom* 'district committee,' *bolševik* 'Soviet Revolutionary Communists' and *komsomol* 'The Komsomol.'

Our study shows that borrowings in Tajik often undergo a narrowing of meaning. Words may be polysemantic in Russian but upon entry into Tajik some words have only one meaning or usage. Some examples from Russian follow. For example, the English word *killer* has many meanings: 'a person or animal that kills, esp. habitually; (as a modifier) e.g. *a killer shark*; (units) something, esp. a task or activity, that is particularly taxing or exhausting; (slang) something or someone having a formidable impact, devastating effect, etc., *murderer*, someone who causes the death of a person or animal, slayer.' In Russian, however, the word *killer* refers solely to a 'murderer.'

Consider the words *safe*, *printer* and *speaker* (English). These words entered Tajik through Russian. In English, these words are polysemantic: *safe* 'harmless, secure, sure'; *printer* 'one that prints, especially one whose occupation is printing; someone whose occupation is printing; a device that prints text or graphics on paper; a person or business engaged in printing; a machine or device that prints; (computing) an output device for printing results on paper'; *speaker* 'orator, lector, one who speaks, a spokesman; one who delivers a public speech; often the presiding officer of a legislative assembly; a loudspeaker.'

Here I will show how the meaning of these words in Tajik has narrowed: *safe* → 'lock box'; *printer* → '(computing) an output device for printing results on paper'; *speaker* → 'the Speaker (of the House of Representatives).' Narrowing of the semantic value of a loan-word occurs at the time of entry into the new language and expands the vocabulary of the language by adding more detailed terminology. A significant number of these words were borrowed into Tajik from Russian. We can give some more examples here. The word *putyovka* has many meanings: '(direct meaning) voucher, waybill, motor waybill, bill of parcels, travel order, route card, train list, permit, driver's trip ticket; (figurative) *putyovka* v

zhizn' start in life.' This word is used in Tajik as a specific tourism term for a permit in a sanatorium or holiday camp. The Russian word *sputnik* is also polysemantic: '(direct meaning) a companion; *vesyoliy sputnik* a cheerful companion; *sputnik zhizni* companion; (figurative meaning) about one's husband; accompanying something, appearing together with something, e.g. *ulibka -sputnik khorošego nastroyeniya* a smile is the companion of a good mood; a celestial body revolving around a planet (in Russian—*Luna -sputnik zemli, kosmicheskiy apparat* the Moon is earth's satellite, spacecraft).' The loan-word *sputnik* in Tajik has only one meaning, that of 'Soviet spacecraft.'

Sometimes, a narrowing of meaning occurs, not at the time of borrowing, but in the process of words being assimilated into the language from which it is then borrowed. For instance, the word *štraf* entered Russian in the eighteenth century from the German word *strafe*, with broader semantics denoting the concept of 'punishment.' It was used in contexts ranging from the death penalty to monetary penalties and various ecclesiastical punishments. In modern Russian, this word has a narrow semantic scope and refers to a monetary penalty as punishment. A similar meaning of *štraf* occurs in Tajik. A number of words can serve as examples of this type of semantic narrowing. The Russian word *goršok* has several meanings including: a) a rounded vessel of baked clay for cooking, storage of liquid and solids, the bowler hat; b) an earthen vessel for flowers, a planter; c) a receptacle for urine, stool, night vase, chamber pot, *nochnoy goršok* potty; d) (archaic) a vessel with flammable substances inside with military uses. In Tajik, the word *garšok* 'pot' is used to mean 'a vessel for urine, feces' and sometimes 'an earthen vessel for flowers.' The word *glazok* in Russian is the diminutive of *glaz* 'eye' (suggestive of crafty, cunning eyes): a small round hole in something (for supervision, monitoring, review); a small dimple with buds on the surface of a potato; a pigment spot in the coloration of insects, birds or plants in a fabric pattern. In Tajik, this word is used only in the meaning of 'a small round hole in something (for supervision, monitoring and review)' as in *glazoki dar* 'the peephole in a door.' To provide a final example, in Tajik the loan-word *costyum* 'costume, suit of clothes' is used in the form *castum* and only has the meaning of 'jacket.'

There are also words that have adopted almost all of their meanings. Here the Russian word *kleyonka* 'rubber sheet' can provide a good example. A rubber sheet can have many uses, such as household needs (tablecloth), printing, clothing, in the furniture industry and medical purposes. In Tajik, this word is used as *kliyonka* meaning the same as the Russian 'oilcloth for dining, for a table or for child-rearing purposes.'

Such an oilcloth has many uses for Tajik people, for example, the phrase *tez-tez kliyonkaro parto nomu choy biyor* with the literal meaning 'fast bed sheet and bring bread and tea'—a Tajik native speaker would understand to refer to a 'dining oilcloth.' The expression *kliyonkaro biyoru tai po parto* with the literal meaning of 'bring the blanket (baby) and put (throw) feet' refers to 'baby blanket' (nappy changing mat). Here is an example of the use of this word in the meaning of 'oilcloth for plant beds, hot-houses': *havo khunik šuda istodaast, kliyonkaro pušondan darkor*, literally, 'the weather becomes cold, it is necessary with an oilcloth cover.' There are two word combinations *plyonka baroi parnik* and *kliyonka baroi parnik*, 'oilcloth for plant beds,' in Tajik. The second one, *kliyonka baroi parnik*, is more common than the first—Tajikistan has a well developed greenhouse industry with widespread cultivation of lemons, herbs and vegetables.

Sometimes a change in grammatical class or the transition from one part of speech to another, takes place. For instance, the Russian noun *fason*, which has the meaning of 'style, fashion'; in Tajik, however, it is used as an adjective with the meaning of 'elegant, dandyish.' Examples include, *fason budan* '(of shape/cut) to be smart, to be fashionable' and *fason šudan* 'dress up, be a dandy.'

The adoption of Russian language words into Tajik has usually happened orally and many loan-words have undergone changes. A number of those borrowings have been subjected to changes according to the phonetic, grammatical and lexical rules of Tajik.

Analysis of linguistic data shows that such words have undergone the following changes:

a) Replacement of one vowel by another

a by o: *mašina* (R)—*mošin* (T) machine (E)

e by ʌ: *marmelad*—*marmalot* fruit candy; *velosiped*—*valasified* bicycle; *neft*—*naft, neft* 'oil'

e by f: *zharkoe*—*zharkof* roast (meat)

e by i: *šofyor*—*šofir* driver; *dzhemper*—*jempir* pullover, jumper

i by e: *kholodilnik*—*khaladelnik* refrigerator

o by ʌ: *vodoprovod*—*vadaprovod* waterpipe, running water; *polotentse*—*palatentse* towel; *šokolad*—*šakalot* chocolate; *scovoroda*—*scavarotka* a pan; *tonometr*—*tanometr* tonometr; *advokat*—*advakat* attorney

o by u: *podryad*—*puadrat* contract; *Rossiya*—*Rusiya* Russia

o by ʏ: *kartoshka*—*karti'shka* (*katishka*) potato

oye by i: *obruchal'noye kol'tso*—*abruchal'ni* wedding ring

oe by *ik*: *morozhenoye*—*morozhnik* ice-cream; *pirozhenoye*—*pirozhnik* cake

iya by *a*: *stant'siya*—*stanza* station; *reperit'siya*—*repetitsa* rehearsal

iye by *ī*: *vospaleniye*—*vaspalenī* inflammation

ya by *a*: *podryad*—*puadrat* contract

ya by *t*: *avariya*—*avarit* crash, accident

i by *ī*: *kedi'*—*ketī* gym-shoes, sneakers

iy by *ī*: *salyoniy* (salted (tomato, cucumber))—*salonī* salted

yu by *u*: *tyur'ma*—*turma* prison, jail; *bryuki*—*buruk* pants, trousers; *tryumo*—*trumo* mirror (cheval-glass, pier-glass); *kasrtyulya*—*kastrul*, *kastrul'ka* pan

B (soft sign) by *t*: *remen'*—*rement* belt

u by *v*: *tualet*—*tvalet* toilet

y by *k*: *rabochiy*—*rabochik* worker.

b) Replacement of unstressed reduced vowels by 'ы'

fartuk—*fartык* chantlate (a piece of wood at the end of a rafter);

zontik—*zontык* umbrella; *lampochka*—*lampычка* lamp; *tormoz*—*tormыз* brake.

The Russian vowel *o* is pronounced as *a* in Tajik:

tomat—*tamat* tomato paste; *kholodil'nik*—*khaladel'nik* refrigerator; *pozor*—*pazor* disgrace, shame; *obed*—*abed* dinner; *zolotoy*—*zalatoy* toffee; *zvonok*—*zvanok* bell, ring; *molotok*—*malatok* hammer, mallet; *potolok*—*patalok* ceiling; *shokolad*—*shakalot* chocolate; *marmelad*—*marmalot* fruit candy; *golubt'si*—*galubt'si* stuffed cabbage leaves

We can also see that the vowel *a* is replaced by *o* in Tajik:

bank—*bonk* bank; *mašina*—*mošin* machine.

c) Replacement of a consonant by another vowel

u (t's) by *s*: *t'sitoplazma*—*sitoplazma* cytoplasm; *t'sitrusovi'y*—*citrusī* citron.

"Replacement of 'ts' by 's' (until the end of the XX century, the letter 'ts' was used in the Tajik alphabet, this letter was pronounced as 's'). Latterly, the letters 't's' and 'sh' were replaced by 's', 'ts' and 'sh' in some words, names and proper names."⁵

⁵ Ofaridayev, N. Korbardi varianthoi gunoguni toponomiyai iktibosi dar zaboni muosiri tojikī, 147

Words containing *t's* have been attested to for a long time in Tajik lexicography. However, more recent dictionaries present alternative forms, with an initial fricative instead of an affricate. These variants are also attested to in modern texts. The Tajik language is written in a modified form of Cyrillic developed in 1940. Towards the end of the twentieth century interest in Russian vocabulary decreased. After independence, the four letters of the script were changed slightly: *ц* (pronounced *t'se*); *ы* (pronounced as a strong *i*); *ш* (pronounced *tsha*); the soft sign *ь*, identified by *'* were removed. Based on this revision, Tajik phonetics has also changed significantly. Interestingly, members of the older generation still pronounce the now-omitted letters, whereas the younger generation has a marked tendency to leave them out. Consider the following examples of the pronunciation of *ц* (*t's*): *milit'siya*—*milit'siya* police; *modernizat'siya*—*modernizat'siya* modernization; *sot'sialist*—*sot'sialist* socialist; *dissertat'siya*—*dissertat'siya* dissertation; *attestat'siya*—*attestat'siya* attestation; *stat'sionarni'y*—*sat'sionari* stationary.

d) *Softness of consonants is lost*

kasrtyulya—*kastrul*, *kastrul'ka* pan; *pryanik*—*praynik* spice cake; *pel'meni*—*pelmen*, *pel'meny* a Siberian dish of small dumplings filled with seasoned minced meat and served boiled, fried or in a soup; *rul'*—*rul* steering wheel; *rubl'*—*rubl* rouble; *lodi'r'*—*lodir* idler, loafer, slacker; *kreml'*—*kreml* the Kremlin; *shpil'ka*—*spilka* hairpin, spike heel; *neft'*—*neft*, *naft* oil; *klyuch*—*kuluch* key; *nachal'nik*—*nachalnik* chief, head, commander; *šifon'yer*—*šifoner* a wardrobe; *varenye*—*varenī* jam, confiture; *Yel'tsin*—*Elt'sin* Yeltsin.

e) *Substitution of voiced consonants*

b by *f*: *khleb*—*khlef*, *khalif* bread

b by *p*: *botinki*—*patinka* dress boot

d by *t*: *bidon*—*biton* can, churn; *šokolad*—*šakalot* chocolate; *puđ*—*put pood* (measurement of weight); *scovoroda*—*scavarotka* a pan; *kedi'*—*ketī* gym-shoes, sneakers

k by *g*: *potolok*—*patalog* ceiling

p by *f*: *velosiped*—*valasifed* bicycle

zh by *sh*: *kruzhka*—*kuruška* (sometimes *kruška*) mug.

f) *Omission of vowels or consonants*

i) Vowels omitted at the end of words:

fanera—*faner* veneer; kukuruza—*kukuruz* corn; antenna—*antenn* antenna; pokti'valo—*pakri'val* coverlet, bedspread; odehyalo—*adeyal* blanket; kasrtyulya—*kastrul*, *kastrul'ka* pan; prosti'nya—*prosti'n* (bed) sheet; zamoček—*zamochka* zipper;

ii) Consonants omitted in the middle of words:

kartoshka—*katishka* (*karti'shka*) potato; Rossiya—*Rusiya* Russiag) *Addition of vowels and consonants*i) Vowels: otpusk—*otpuska* vacation; zamoček—*zamochka* zipper; stul—*ustal* chair; bryuki—*byruk* trousers, pants; khleb—*khaliif* (*khlef*) bread; kruzhenka—*kuruška* (sometimes *kruška*) mug; stakan—*istakon* glass (the word *stakan* 'glass' has three variants, *stakon*, *istakon* and *stakan*, used by native speakers in daily conversation: the word *stakan* is given in modern Tajik-Russian dictionaries).ii) Consonants: šorti'—*šortik* shorts; kran—*kranf* tap, crane.iii) Mixed type changes: zamoček—*zamochka* zipper; brigadir—*bi'rgad* foreman, overman; zheludok—*zheludka* stomach.

Names of countries, cities, scholars and activists are used in the Russian version: Япония, Корея, Индонезия, Америка, Бразилия, Грузия, Хитой (Китай), Аристотель and Гиппократ. For example, the names of countries, *Japoniya* and *Khitoi* (*Kitay*), have been borrowed from Russian for the country names of *Japan* and *China*. The tendency to substitute forms borrowed from or via Russian with Persianisms has been noticed for some time. This de-russianisation of internationalisms is part of a wider phenomenon: for example, native speakers tend to use country names like *Jopon* and *Chin* these days. Other forms are simply falling out of use as their designated meaning becomes obsolete:

“We can see Russian and Persian variants of toponyms in different sources or even in the same place (the source) where both are used. For instance: Libiya—*Libiyo*, Koreya—*Kiriyo*, Indoneziya—*Indoneziyo*, Braziliya—*Brazil* etc. Nowadays, toponyms of other countries are Persianised: Turkiyo (*Turtsiya*) /Turkey/, Šonkhoy /Šankhay/, Landan /London/, Avrupo (Evropa)/Europe/ etc. There are also traditional Tajik-Persian variants:

Majoriston (Hungary), *Lahiston* (Poland), *Olmon* (Germany), *Gurjiston* (Georgia), *Tiflis* (Tbilisi)."⁶

It is, however, difficult to determine any particular direction in the development of the Tajik language nearly a quarter of a century after declaring independence. Instead, we can talk of a number of tendencies; the present article focuses on one of these. We will see that some of the internationalisms that had previously been borrowed into Tajik from Russian have acquired new variants since independence.

A number of Russian words have entered Tajik in their original form without any modification: *reys* 'flight, trip,' *lampa*, *lampochka* 'lamp,' *tort* 'pie, fancy cake,' *limonad* 'lemonade,' *kino* 'film, movie,' *koridor* 'corridor,' *šarf* 'scarf,' *svet* 'light, electricity, electric light,' *aktyor* 'actor,' *krem* 'cream,' *kant'selyariya* 'office,' *zavuch* 'head,' *kepka* 'cap,' *kvartira* 'flat,' *rektor* 'rector,' *kvartirant* 'lodger,' *bank* 'bank' and *tank* 'tank.' Loan-words from Russian are written in accordance with their original spelling in Tajik. Some newer sources, however, use another form for some internationalisms, such as *bonk* for bank and *tonk* for tank. Many of these internationalisms have been transmitted into Tajik from Russian. Linguistic analysis shows that words ending with consonants are less vulnerable to change. However, there are words used that have the same form and the same meaning as in Russian but differ in stress. As the Russian linguist Ozhegov notes:

"Russian vowels are pronounced differently depending on whether they are stressed or un-stressed. Unlike in some languages, Russian has no strict rules for stress position. Stress may fall on any syllable of a word—from first to last (compare with French where the stress almost always falls on the last syllable). In many words, because of the complex historical conditions of the development of the Russian accent, there are variations in the emphasis of words and their individual forms."⁷

Stress in Tajik is almost completely predictable. It generally falls on the ultimate syllable. Consider the examples: *partá* 'school desk,' *lampá*, *lampochká* 'lamp,' *doská* 'blackboard,' *sumká* 'bag,' *lineyká* 'ruler' and

⁶Ofaridayev, N. Korbardi varianthoi gunoguni toponomiyai iktibosī dar zaboni muosiri tojikī, 150

⁷Ozhegov, S.I. & Shvedova, N.Yu. *Tolkoviy slovar' russkogo yazika*. Rossiyskaya akademiya nauk. Institut russkogo yazikadova.4-ye izd/ dopolneniye. Moskva, 1999: 9

tarelkâ 'plate.' In Russian, stress in these words falls on the first syllable, while in Tajik word stress normally falls on the final syllable.

As was mentioned above, the intensity of borrowing increased over the twentieth century. There are many words and phrases borrowed from Russian language books by literal, word-for-word or root-for-root translation (Table 1). We can find semantic, phraseological, syntactic and morphological calques that have entered Tajik in this way.

Table 1. Words and phrases borrowed from Russian into Tajik.

| Russian | Tajik | Literal | Meaning |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| Samolyotostroeniye | <i>samolyotzosī</i> | aircraft construction | aircraft construction |
| Lyotchik -ispitatel' | <i>lyotchiki ozmoyanda</i> | test-pilot | test-pilot |
| Lyotchik-kosmonavt | <i>lyotchik kayhonnnavard</i> | pilot-cosmonaut | space pilot, pilot-cosmonaut |
| Electriceskaya lampa | <i>lampai barkī</i> | electric lamp | electric lamp |
| Bol'shoie spasibo | <i>rahmati kalon</i> | big thank | thank you very much |
| Goluboy ekran | <i>oinai nilgun</i> | blue screen | TV |
| Shtat uchrezhdeniya | <i>shtati idora</i> | institute staff | institute staff |
| Stengazeta | <i>gazetai devorī</i> | wall newspaper | wall newspaper |
| Shol'naya forma | <i>formai maktabī</i> | school uniform | school uniform |
| Kontrol'naya rabota | <i>kori kontrolī</i> | control, check work | test |
| Zvonit' | <i>zvanok zadan</i> | to ring, call | to ring, call |
| Pozvonit' | <i>telefon kardan</i> | to call | to call |
| Militseysliy post | <i>posgohi milit'siya</i> | police post | police post |
| Pyatiletniy plan (pyatiletka) | <i>plani panjsola</i> | five-year plan | five-year plan |
| Sovetskiy | <i>sovetī</i> | of Soviet | Soviet |
| Komsomol'skiy | <i>komsomolī</i> | of komsomol | of komsomol |

The Tajik suffix *ī* forms relative adjectives in modern Tajik. In the case of groups of related lexemes, normally only the basic form (usually a noun) was borrowed and the remaining forms have been created from this.

Loan-words are frequently blended with Tajik words or other loan-words to make a new word. For example: *lizha* (R) 'ski'—*lizharonī* (T) 'skiing.' The whole phrase is, in its turn, a calque of these forms. Such words have been added to the terminological system and used as exotic words. These units are used to describe national characteristics. Interestingly, many of these loan-words are used to describe particular characteristics or qualities of the country from which they were taken. Russian words linked to music and food and words reflecting art and fashion have contributed expressions associated with science, medicine and mountain sports. Words from Russian cover the whole spectrum of language. As the Tajik language developed, many loan-words were adopted for the sake of convenience or style. Russian has given Tajik culturally-specific words such as: *balalaika*, *vodka*, *soviet*, *tsar*, *borsch* 'beetroot and cabbage soup,' *pel'meni/pelmeni* 'Siberian meat-filled dumplings,' *pioner* 'Young Pioneer,' *batrak* 'laborer,' *krepostnoy* 'bondman, serf,' *kvas* 'Kvass—a Russian alcoholic drink,' *mors* 'a fruit drink,' *golubtsi* (*galubtsi*) 'stuffed cabbage leaves,' *okroshká* (*akroshká*) 'a cold soup of Russian origin,' *kolbasá* (*kalbasá*) 'wurst, sausage,' *ryazhenka* (*ryazhinká*) 'boiled fermented milk,' *pryanik* (*praynik*) 'spice-cake' and *kompot* (*kampot*) 'compote.'

Exotic words of Russian origin form new derivations on the basis of which Tajik word-formation models actively form nouns and adjectives. For example: *feodal* 'feudal lord'/*feodaliyat* 'feudality'; *kapitalist* 'capitalist'/*kapitalistī* 'capitalist'; *dvoryanin* 'nobleman'/*dvoryanī* 'of noble family, of the nobility'; *krepostnoy* 'serf'/*krepostnoī* 'serfdom.' One can emphasize the importance of exotic words for historical and geographical descriptions where they converge with native terms, as well as their role in translated literature to describe realities alien to a Tajik native speaker. Many well-known Russian words (*kvas*, *mors*, *galubtsi*, *kampot*, *kalbasa*) do not lose their national flavor; even after a long period of adaptation and establishment, they do not cease to relate to someone else's reality.

Borrowings have the ability to form new words and are used in the process of word-formation in modern Tajik: *futbol* → *futbolboz* 'footballer,' *samolyot* (plane) → *samolyotron* 'aviator, pilot' → *samolyotronī* 'piloting'; *metr* 'metre' → *shashmetra* 'six-meter'; *voleybol* 'volleyball' → *voleybolbozdukhtaron* 'volleyball player'; *kolkhoz* → *kolkhozchī* 'collective farmer'; *televizor* → *televiziōnī* 'television'; *kontrol* → *-kontrolī* (*kori kontrolī* control, check work, test) 'test.' Moreover, in some cases the final word-formational morpheme of the Russian form is rejected in favour of forming new derivations based on an

abstract stem, e.g. *kolkhozī* 'of collective-farm.' In this case, the Russian adjective *kolkhoznij* has been reduced to the pseudo-stem *kolkhoz* to which the Tajik adjectival suffix *ī* has been added.

In this paper a number of different word formation processes have been explained. Borrowings are actively involved in the formation of both words and phrases. The Tajik language allows several types of combination of different word classes. In many cases, loan-words are used in combinations. Consider the following examples that combine both Russian and Tajik words. These can be further divided into groups according to the type of combination involved:

I. Combination of Russian (R) and Tajik (T) nouns:

A. Noun (R) + Noun (T)

lyotchik kayhonnvard 'pilot-cosmonaut, space pilot,' *veterani mehnat* 'veteran laborer,' *kafedrai zabon va adabiyoti rus* 'department of Russian language and literature' and *partai sinf* 'school desk.' A connective izofat particle, similar to the English particle 'of' is used. As a genitive construction, such a formation looks much like an Arabic *idāfa* phrase with the first noun in the nominative case and the second in the genitive case. Similarly to derivational rules, compounding rules may differ in productivity. In Tajik, the N + N rule/pattern is extremely productive regularly creating novel compounds. Russian nouns also combine with Tajik nouns through preposition and post-position, e.g. *bilet* 'ticket' → *biletbaroi bachaho* 'tickets for children.'

B. Noun (R) + Noun (R)

Aktyori kino 'film actor,' *ruli mošin* 'auto-rudder,' *zamochkai kurtka* 'lock jackets,' *progresi tekhniki* 'technological advance, technical progress,' *plitai elektriki* 'electric oven,' *lampochkai elektriki* 'electric (light) bulb' (a newer usage of the phrase is *charoġi elektriki barġi* 'electric (light) bulb'). A number of Russian nouns are used in combination with the izofat particle *i*.

II. Combination of nouns with adjectives in Russian and Tajik:

Noun (R) + Adjective (T)

The following compounds provide examples of adjective + noun collocations in Tajik and Russian.

A. Noun + Adjective/qualitative/

Noun (R) + Adjective/qualitative/ (T)

Dokladi tayor 'the finished report,' *artisti bomahorat* 'talented singer,' *raskladuškai kalon* 'large fold out bed.' Russian nouns and qualitative Tajik adjectives are also combined.

B. Noun + Adjective/descriptive and relational/

1) Noun (R) + Adjective/descriptive and relational/ (T)

Ligai Oli 'major league,' *sudi Oli* 'supreme court,' *programmai davlati* 'government program,' *instituti davlati* 'state institute,' *ustavi harbī* 'articles of war,' *kompoti (kampoti) sebī* 'apple compote,' *mošinkai (mašinkai) libosšūi* 'washing machine,' *fakulteti šarqšinosi* 'faculty of Oriental studies' (we can see in more recent sources the noun variants *fakulta*, *fakultet* for 'faculty'). Russian nouns can be combined with Tajik adjectives using the izofat particle *i*.

1) Noun (T) + Adjective/descriptive and relational/ (R)

Barnomai televizionī 'television program,' *kori kontrolī* 'test,' *hukūqi krepostnoī* 'serfdom,' *davlati sovetī* 'The Soviet State.'

In this group a number of examples where a Tajik adjective has been derived from a Russian noun are found, e.g. *televizor* 'TV'—*televizionī*; *kontrol* 'control, check'—*kontrolī*; *krepostnoy* 'serf'—*krepostnoī*; *sovet* 'soviet'—*sovetī*.

III. Combination of Russian nouns and Tajik verbs

Noun (R) + Verb (T)

Obed → *abed kardan* 'have dinner,' *prichyoska kardan* 'to set one's hair,' *kraska kardan* 'to color,' *doklad navistan* 'to write a report,' *marka chaspondan* 'to affix a stamp,' *tok zadan* 'to shock,' *gripp šudan* 'to come down with (the) flu,' *rak šudan* 'to develop cancer,' *ves doštan* 'be influential, carry weight,' *zakaz kardan* 'order, reserve, place an order,'

povorot → pavarot kardan 'turn, bend,' sadik raftan 'go to kindergarten,' pechat → pechat mondan 'to set the seal,' pechat → pechat kardan 'typing' (the Russian word *pechat* 'also means 'print' or 'typing' in Tajik). Tajik verbs and Russian nouns combine very often: this type of construction is a very productive device in Tajik. Elements like šudan 'become,' budan 'be,' kardan 'do,' dodan 'give,' khordan 'eat' and zadan 'hit' can be added to make verbs, as in the phrase otdikh kardan (T) meaning 'to rest, relax, take a break.' Historically these have been two highly productive methods of forming verbs. Consider the following: pozor → pazor šudan 'disgrace,' tanets (tantsevat) (R) → tan(t)s kardan (T) 'to dance.' The verbs are formed through the combination of a Russian loan and a Tajik verbal element.

IV. Combination of Russian adjectives and Tajik verbs

Adjective (R) + Verb (T):

Dovol'niy → davolniiy budan 'to be satisfied with smth., to be pleased with oneself,' zhadniiy → zhadnišudan 'be greedy.' Russian adjectives and Tajik verbs do not combine often. In contrast, the A + V rule/pattern is unproductive and limited to a few lexical items.

V. Combination of Russian infinitives and Tajik verbs

Infinitive (R) + Verb (T):

Zhdai → zhdai kardan 'to wait,' vstrachat → vstrechat kardan 'to meet,' naktivat → naktivat kardan 'to lay (the table),' povtoryat → povtoryat kardan 'to repeat,' revnovat → revnovat kardan 'be jealous (of),' organizovat → organizovat kardan 'organize,' → lomat'sya → lomatsa kardan '(figurative) wriggle, shirk, not to agree to a request.' Russian verbs are highly productive in Tajik and Russian infinitives are often used as nouns in Tajik. There are a relatively small number of simple verbs that act as the verbal elements of compound verbs. Additionally, these simple verbs are all 'pure' Tajik verbs. The most frequently occurring include Tajik auxiliary verbs: šudan 'become,' kardan 'do,' dodan 'give,' khordan 'eat' and zadan 'hit.' In Russian, the basic dictionary form of a verb, the infinitive, is a single word, with a characteristic inflective ending such as the soft sign Б: zhdai 'wait,' vstrechat 'meet' and povtoryat 'repeat.' The softness of consonants at the end of the Russian infinitive disappears when borrowings enter Tajik.

We can distinguish between loan-words used colloquially and those used in written Tajik. The above loan-words are treated as Tajik words and they can be used in meaningful combination with other Tajik words. Such combinations are found in spoken Tajik. In literary language, the following combinations (especially from the mid-twentieth century) are often met: *kori kontroli* 'test, examination,' *ideyai asar (hikoya, roman)* 'the idea of the book (story, tale, novel, romance),' *ba ZAGS raftan* 'to go to the Registry office,' *insitut dokhil šudan* 'enter the institute,' *dar uchilische khondan* 'to study in college,' *zachyot suporidan* 'to pass a test' and *pochta raftan* 'go to the post office.'

Transformation of grammatical number also occurs in borrowed words. For example, the Russian borrowings *semechki*, *tapochki*, *bryuki*, *krossovki*, *shlyopki*, *botinki*, *lizhi*, *bosonozhki*, *kolgotki* and *teni* are all plurals. In general, in their Russian original, these words are perceived as singular. In Tajik, these words are in the singular—*semichka*, *tapuška* (*tapichka*), *buruk*, *krassovka*, *šlyopka*, *botinka* (*patinka*), *lizha*, *bosonoška*, *kalgotka* and *ten*.

A large number of abbreviations have come into Tajik from Russian. These are now widespread in speech and have also become commonplace in the socio-political and scientific-technical fields. Loan-words are often abbreviated, either on or after entry into the language. Often this involves backclipping where the last part of a word is omitted: *comdiv (komandir divizii)* → *comdiv (komandiri diviziya)* 'divisional commander.' Blending is also common with the combining of abbreviated words to produce new terms. We can see shortened forms of words, phrase or names in the following examples: *kolkhoz (kollektivnoye khozyaystvo)* 'collective farm,' *gorono (gorodskoy otdel narodnogo obrazovaniya)* 'department of municipal education,' *leskhaz (lesnoye khozyaystvo)* 'forest management,' *kozhzhavod (kozhnii zavod)* 'leather factory' and acronyms like *GTS (Gorodskaya telefonnaya stant'siya)* 'city central office' and *ZhKKh (Zhilishno-kommunal'noye khozyaystvo)* 'housing and community services.'

Native speakers often use abbreviations: *VAKK (Visshaya Attestat'sionnaya Kvalifikat'sionnaya Komissiya)* 'Highest Qualification Attestation Commission,' *BAM (Baykalo-Amurskaya magistral')* 'The Baikal-Amur Highway,' *ZAGS (Zapis' aktov grazhdanskogo sostoyaniya)* 'civil registry,' *VLKSM (Vsesoyuzniy leninskiy kommunisticheskii soyuz molodyozhi)* 'All-Group Leninist-Communist Youth Union,' *KPSS (Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Sovetskogo Soyuz)* 'Communist Party of the Soviet Union,' *GES (Gidroelektrostantsiya)* 'hydropower station,' *GAI (Gosavtoispekt'siya)* 'state traffic inspectorate,' *SIZO (Sledstvenniy*

izolyator) 'jail' and *OBKhSS (Otdel po bor'be s Kšišeniyami sot'sialisticheskoy sobstvennosti)* 'The Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property). Complex abbreviated words formed by combining syllables or parts of words include: *Tajikpotrebsoyuz* 'Tajik Consumer Union,' *medpunkt* 'medical center, first-aid post,' *sel'po (sel'sloye potrebitel'skoye obšestvo)* 'Rural Consumer Society,' *raypo (rayyonnoye potrebitel'skoye obšestvo)* 'District Consumer Society,' *sovkhoz (sovetskoye khozyaystvo)* 'state farm,' *raykom (rayonniy komitet)* 'district committee' and *ribkhoz (ribovodcheskoye khozyaystvo)* 'fish farm.' Both Russian variants and Tajik translation of borrowings are used by native speakers. New types of words and phrases that have appeared in Tajik through Russian influence include a number of types: 1) combinations (combining the initial letters of words) like *KP (Kommunisticheskaya Partiya)* → *PK (Partiyai Kommunisti)* 'The Communist Party'; 2) complex abbreviated words formed by combining syllables or parts of words such as *Tojikmatlubot* → *Tadjikpotrebsoyuz (Tadjikskiy potrebitel'skiy soyuz)* 'Tajik Consumer Union'; 3) combination of letter names and words, such as *RSS Tojikiston (Respublikai Sovetii Sot'sialisti Tojikiston)* 'Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic'; 4) word combinations translated from Russian like *raykom (rayonniy komitet)* (R) → *komiteti rayonī* (T) 'district committee,' *hamshirai šavkat* → *medsestra* (R) (*meditsinskaya sestra*) 'staff nurse (medical sister)' and *komiteti partiyavi* → *partkom* (R) 'party committee.' Phrases of this kind are used in two forms with both a Russian and a Tajik version.⁸

All complex mixed words and compound words are entirely consistent with the standard derivational rules of literary Tajik:

"The words that entered Tajik from Russian and began to observe the rules of the Tajik language and, as the researchers note, stopped differing from other Tajik words, phrases and expressions have become widely used in everyday speech and literature over time."⁹

The words of the Soviet period are still used in informal conversation. Nowadays, we can find Russian borrowings in Tajikistani mass media. Many words are attested to in modern Tajik-Russian, Tajik-English and English-Tajik dictionaries including: *matros* 'sailor, seaman,' *tufli* 'shoes,' *lizha* 'ski,' *pomidor* 'tomato,' *kolgotki* 'tights, panty-hose,' *pivo* 'beer,'

⁸Avezova, B.S. Russko-internatsional'niye slova i slovosochetaniya v tadjikskom yazike, 82

⁹Sharopov, N.A. Puti razvitiya leksikidzhikskogo literaturnogo yazika, 6

piesa (p'esa) 'play, piece,' *kazarma* 'casern(e),' *duškhona* 'shower room, shower-baths,' *pochtakhona* 'post office,' *lizharonī* 'skiing,' *lyotchiki ozmoyanda* 'test-pilot,' *lyotchik kayhonnvard* 'pilot-cosmonaut,' *unvoni maršali* 'Marshal,' *marka chaspondan* 'to attach a stamp,' *surokhii dandonro plomba kardan* 'to fill a cavity (in a tooth)' and *dar turnik mašk kardan* 'to train on a horizontal bar.'

The interest of the Tajik people in the history, culture and science of Russia remains strong. News programs, documentaries, game, quiz and sports shows, even dramas, add more and more foreign words and phrases to the Tajik language. Tajikistani newspapers, published in Tajik, include text in Russian. For example, if the average newspaper consists of 16 pages, two to three pages will be in Russian. Advertising in periodicals is often in Russian. The customs and cultural life, literature, art and history of the Russian people can be seen in a high proportion of media output. Native speakers of Tajik are quite at home in spoken and literary Russian. In this regard, there is a great demand for movies, programs, news media and web portals in Russian. Programs and movies in Russian gather large audiences.

Since the late 1980s, an effort has been made to replace loan-words with native equivalents, using either old terms that had fallen out of use or newly coined terminology. We can find borrowings from Russian and their Tajik synonyms used widely in newspapers and magazines published in Tajik: *kofe* (R)—*qahva*, *kofe* 'coffee,' *varen'e* (R)—*varenī*, *murabbo* 'jam, confiture' and *košelyok* (R)—*qabchuk*, *kashelok* 'purse.' These words can often be used alongside each other in the same text: we can use the Tajik word *musobika* along with the Russian word *championship*: *musobikai jahonī—championati jahon* 'world championship.' Consider these further examples of usage including both borrowed terms and their Tajik synonym (in brackets): *Ba onho sayru sayohat (turizm), gimnastikai ozod va šinovarī dar havzhoi obaš garm beštar mufid ast* '(literally) more useful for them is a trip (tourism), free gymnastics and swimming in the warm pools. For them it would be good (useful) to go on a trip, do free gymnastics and swim in the warm pool'; *rustaniho khususiyati baland bardoštani immuniteti (masuniyati badan) insonro dorand* '(literally) herbs have the feature of improving the immune system (immunity of the body). Herbs have special properties that improve the immune system.'

Many loan-words and their Tajik synonyms are given in modern Tajik dictionaries: *matros* (R)—*malloh* (T) 'sailor, seaman,' *kazarma* (R)—*sarbozkhona* (T) 'casement,' *aviatziya* (R)—*havopaymoī* (T) 'aviation, aircraft, air force,' *turist* (R)—*sayoh* (T) 'tourist,' *lampa* (R)—*charoğ* (T) 'lamp,' *komandir* (R)—*qumandun* (T) 'commander,' *lizha* (R)—*lezak* (T)

'ski,' *komanda* (R)—*dasta* (T) 'team, brigade,' *štab* (R)—*sitod* (T) 'headquarters' and *štat* (R)—*iyolat* (T) 'state, staff.'

Conclusion

Russian is still widely spoken in Tajikistan: when members of different ethnic groups wish to interact with each other, such as Tajiks and Uzbeks, as many non-Tajik residents of Tajikistan do not have a solid grasp of the Tajik language. The Russian language is still an important language, not only in Tajikistan, but across Central Asia. Due to the influence of Russian and neighboring Turkic languages, Tajik has incorporated a large number of Russian and Turkic loan-words. It would be next to impossible to calculate the number and catalogue the origin of all loan-words used in Tajik. Some words have been part of the Tajik vocabulary for so long that they are now considered to be Tajik words. Others, which may be in vogue now, will soon disappear and be replaced by still other short-lived expressions. At any rate, a decade or so ago, researchers decided that a significant percentage of currently popular Tajik vocabulary consists of loan-words. That percentage is still growing with many such words and phrases used in daily conversation. Tajik speakers have adopted loan-words from other languages. Of course, the adoption of a loan-word is not just a matter of necessity, but rather follows the dictates of fashion or expediency. There are a number of different word combinations with Russian borrowings and internationalisms that make up collocations. Three word combinations tend to be used together by native speakers of Tajik. Some idioms are used more often than others and can be very important for a Tajik speaker.

Most modern loan-words in Tajik come from Russian as a result of its relationship to Tajikistan within the Soviet Union. Russian words are found everywhere: in the media, in the names of shops and in science and technology. Native speakers of Tajik do not even realize that many words and phrases are borrowed, in particular, from the Russian language. This demonstrates that Russisms are not alien borrowings and are firmly entrenched in the Tajik.

Considering how borrowings have penetrated Tajik from Russian since before the Great October Socialist Revolution, we can conclude that the nature of borrowing is very diverse. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 brought a new and more powerful stream of Persian words into the Tajik language, most notably in the areas of computing, trade and business. The use of Tajik is increasing, but Russian is still widespread. A look at the history of language contact between Russia and Tajikistan

shows that borrowing is not a new phenomenon and has occurred in significant stages over the centuries. There is every reason to believe that Tajik will remain the vibrant, evolving language it has always been.

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ON THE QUESTION OF THE INTER-
DEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE CATEGORY
OF CLASS AND THE CATEGORY
OF DEFINITENESS/INDEFINITENESS
(IN THE YENISEIANAN LANGUAGES)

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The category of animate/inanimate (in the wider category of class), alongside the category of definiteness/indefiniteness, highlights some fundamental problems of linguistics, philosophy and logic. Comparing different grammatical categories expressed in terms of linguo-cultural language modeling, the categories that make up the ethno-cultural specifics of a language and those which can be attributed as nation-specific can be distinguished.

Some manifestations of the category of definiteness/indefiniteness, as seen through the prism of the expression of the category of class, were identified in research. Linguistic material on the interrogative pronouns (IP) 'who?' and 'what?' of numerous languages and language groups, but primarily the Yenisei languages, were used to analyze the origin and development of the language category of class (Ahanova 2012).

The category of definiteness/indefiniteness in linguistics has historically only been allocated to those languages that have a special grammatical marker (the article) for the detection of the definiteness/indefiniteness of a noun. In these article languages, the speaker informs the listener as to whether the noun is a definite or indefinite object. For example, in some languages, such as English, German, French and others, articles are correlated with the semantic meaning of definiteness/indefiniteness (Eng. *the-a*; Ger. *der-ein*; Fr. *le, la, un, une*). The presence of these indicators in language and speech allows an individual to identify any substantive word as already known, having a certain specific value or to mark different degrees of its abstractness, uncertainty and ambiguity.

Naturally, the lack of articles in many other languages has led researchers to conclude that the category of definiteness/indefiniteness exists only in article languages and primarily relates to the category of the noun.

In modern linguistics despite the presence of works on the functioning of the category of definiteness/indefiniteness in non-article languages (P. Adamts, T. Nikolaeva, I. Revzina, A. Shmeleva), many questions on this phenomenon remain undecided.

At the lexical level of the Yenisei languages, class differentiation is manifested in a special compatibility between pronouns, adjectives and other items of vocabulary and nouns. Thus, each class of the name corresponds to the IP: Ket *bes'a/bes's'a* 'who?' (feminine form), *bits'e/bis's'e* 'who?' (masculine class), *as'a* 'what?' (inanimate class); Yug *anejt/aneit* 'who?' (masculine class), *aseda/asera* 'who?' (feminine form), *assa* 'what?' (inanimate class); Ket *ana* 'who?' (the person), *akus'aks'* 'what?' (of things); Cott *ašix* 'who?', *šina/šena* 'what?.'

For example, our informant (Zoya V. Maksunova) was asked: 'What is that growing (there)?' The proposed answers included: 1) the birch grows; 2) the forest grows; 3) the berry grows. The Informant translated this as follows: *aks'* (inanimate class) *kasen abatij?* 1) *us dajatelj;* 2) *hiscej d'aq dajatelj;* 3) *tulat oblitij.* We can see that the question is asked using the IP of the 'inanimate'—it was *unknown* and would be discussed further. According to the answer, it is clear that 'the birch' and 'the forest' were classified as being part of the 'animate class' and expressed by the indicator *da* in the verb. 'The berry' was assigned to the 'inanimate class' and was expressed by the indicator *b* in the verb. W. Chafe says that the basic meaning of the opposition between definiteness/indefiniteness in English is the opposition of known/unknown. In constructing a message, the speaker takes into account if the object of the speech is known/unknown to the listener, according to his prior knowledge (Chafe 2009). It can be argued that the known/unknown object of speech is an invariant value of the category of definiteness/indefiniteness in article languages. This is also true for non-article languages (Sabitova 2012).

Let us consider some further examples: 'What have you lost?'—1) lost the fish; 2) lost the squirrel; 3) lost the road; *uk aks' qones'ulget* (inanimate class)?—1) *is' qones'agolbet* (animate class, m.g.); 2) *s'aq qones'ugolbet* (animate class, f.g.); 3) *kul'ta qones'ugolbet* (inanimate class).

In the Yeniseian languages, the pronouns 'who?' (Ket) *ana* and (Cott) *ašix* are commonly used. These pronouns indicate unidentified, unallocated and uncertain 'person' for an unknown number of persons.

The pronoun *ana* 'who?' has the Yuket phonetic variants: *anä*, *anə*, *ane* and *anät*. This also includes the Yug form *anejt*, keeping in mind that the last form lexically expresses the masculine when the declination has only one row of case affixes in the «*d*» group (where the case affixes have the initial consonant «*d*»). Yuket distinguishes between the masculine and feminine forms in the genitive and addressive cases. Obviously, in the past, all cases of the group «*d*» distinguished the male and female gender and over time there was an alignment of the case forms by male indicators; although, in Yug, where *anejt* is already considered to be a question about a man, this pronoun often has the original case of the indicator—*diŋi:r* (f.cl.). Here we give the paradigm of the declension of these pronouns in the singular:

| | | |
|-------------|--|--|
| | Yuket. <i>ana</i> , <i>anät</i> | Yuket. <i>anejt</i> |
| Gen. | <i>ana-da</i> , <i>ana-ra</i> , <i>an-di</i> <i>ana-daŋa</i> , <i>ane-raŋ</i> <i>ana-daŋta</i> , <i>ana-raŋt</i> , <i>anädaŋtä</i> <i>anä-daŋal'</i> , <i>anä-raŋal'</i> , <i>anä-daŋi:l'</i> | <i>anejd-da</i> <i>anejd-daŋ</i> |
| Add. | <i>anä-dat</i> , <i>anä-dit</i> , <i>anä-rat</i> not fixed <i>anä-as'</i> , <i>anä-ras</i> not fixed | <i>anejd-diŋi:r</i> <i>anejd-data</i> <i>anejd-fa:j/fa:s</i> <i>anejd-fan</i> |

Compare the usage of the IP: Ket *ana u: s' ana-as' ki: nus'* 'who did you come with?'; *tudə ana* 'who is this?'; *u anadaŋt kuyinsa:l'* 'with whom did you sleep'; Yug *anet takoi* 'who is it?'; Yug *anaddaŋ* (m.cl.) *ksagao: rgüt'* 'who did you say?'; *anaraŋ* (m.cl.) *kos's'ivet* 'to whom will you give?'; Ket *ana bən 'lobadavet, tuda bən'si: j* 'who does not work shall not eat' (in the last example, the pronoun *ana* is used in a relative sense). As these examples demonstrate, the Ket IP *ana* and Yug IP *anet* are used in a question about a man in general, *an unknown man* for the questioner, so they do not distinguish between the male and female classes. In this situation, in the IP 'who?' there is the significance of uncertainty, insufficiency and the significance of the necessity to infill the content. 'Who?' means 'one who is unknown' and at the same time it is necessary to know his/her distinguishing features and gender. Ilich-Svitych noted that the most common means of expressing indefiniteness in Old Russian were the pronouns *кто* and *что*, dating back to the Indo-

European pronouns **k^o*- and **kⁱ*-. In the Indo-European proto-language, the first pronoun was used to refer to an animate object, the second—to the inanimate class (Ilich-Svitych 1976).

The pronoun 'who?', in the meaning of 'who's that?', has two gender forms: Ket *bis's'e* (masculine)/*be:s'e* (feminine); Yug *aneit/asera* respectively. For example:

"*a bu biše itelem, čto komčuj haj kune kapkan bugbuγos* 'And **who** knew that the wolverine will blow the trap again'" (YAKNS 2003: 186); "«*gima, kil'ij arγul 'anat siyativet?*» The Grandma (the bear), your scraps with bones **who** would gnaw them?" (Kreinovich 1969: 99); "(22) *elat tet'ka dejskogda:n* (23) *ba:tiγ s'ajaro:nen*. (24) *ela dela:tiγna it'ka tam bis'e re ka:l'etn*. (25) *bataγ s'uyut buγsuyon, tibe:ss'i s'uj di:n da:sta kapsoyot*. (26) *ba:m man'a baro: as'es' gattu ket di:na*. (22) The door opened to the side. (23) Old men drink tea. (24) At the top of the door poles **someone** leaned against. (25) The old people were watching there: '**Who** stood there leaning against?' (26) The old woman says: 'Old man, some woolly woman is standing'" (Dulzon 1969: 167).

The relationship of the category of class to the category of definiteness/indefiniteness in Yug displays interesting features. The IP *aneit* 'who?' (m.sing.) expresses an element of certainty and *asera* 'who?' (f.sing.)—complete uncertainty: *anejt donad'i?* 'Who came?' (related to people certain and known), *asera daonad'i?* 'Who came?' (related to uncertain and unknown people).

Consider one more interesting example in Yug: "*asera i: n 'danimatet, tuda uk dil', aneit bən 'i: n' urgaj danimatet, tuda ab dil'*, 'Who dive long, it will be your child, (a) who dive not long, it will be my child'" (Werner 1971: 151). In this story, the witch knows in advance that her daughter will dive for a long time and is represented by the pronoun *asera* (f.cl.), and the son of the woman (whom the witch wanted to take), will not dive for a long time, and is designated by the pronoun *aneit* (m.cl.). For the reader, thanks to the pronouns used with their gender markers, the outcome of the situation becomes certain.

These examples give a different illustration to the questions above with the pronouns Ket *ana* and Yug *anet*. In this case, there is a clear distinction between a question about an unknown man and an unidentified woman, with the respective pronouns Ket *bis's'e/bes'a* and Yug *aneit/asera*, i.e. we can assume that the speaker knows or guesses the gender of the man, about whom he asks and wishes to clarify the presence of the men or women in a given situation.

Consider some more examples demonstrating the inter-dependence of the category of class with the category of definiteness/indefiniteness in the

IP of other Paleoasiatic languages. In Chukchi, the IP *meyin?*, 'who?' refers to the class of 'person,' and *renut?* 'who? what?,' to the class of 'non-person.' If the question relates to a definite, named pet animal, whose nickname is known to the participants of the speech act, the IP *meyin* belonging to the class of 'person' will be used.

The IP of the Nivkh language are often accompanied by the interrogative particles *-ца, -чы*, expressing the meaning of indefiniteness and *-апа, -ама*, having a meaning of definiteness. For example: *Тайдчы жүүд?* 'Who came?' (we heard that someone had entered the canopy of the rough-legged buzzard, but it is unknown who entered); *Тайдара жүүд?* 'Who came?' (we heard that someone had entered, but it is known that the certain person who is waiting for the arrival entered) (Kreinovich 1979). These examples give reason to say that the basic IP 'who?' and 'what?' in some languages of this group are characterized by the category of definiteness/indefiniteness. For example: *Корыак йыныны?* 'what?' (s.f. non-person or person who is not a certain specified person), *мэки?* 'who?' (s.f. a person who is certain, specific, a specified person); *Алыт тәһһа?* 'what?' (non-person or uncertain person), *муһа?* 'who?' (certain person).

We can observe the same typological phenomenon in Turkic languages, where the IP 'what?,' primarily replacing nouns of the category of 'non-person,' can replace nouns of the category 'person' when for the questioner the nature of the subject of interest remains unclear, i.e. in this case we can talk of the inter-dependence of the category person/non-person with the category of definiteness/indefiniteness.

The most vivid expression of the category of definiteness/indefiniteness in non-article languages is found in their use of the indefinite pronouns. Both in Russian and other languages, the Yeniseian indefinite pronouns, and the corresponding interrogative pronouns, are equipped with an indefinite particle. The indefinite particles in the Yeniseian languages are *tam, kud (kod)* and *n'imät*. The first two particles are always in front of a base IP and *n'imät* after it. Compare: *tam ana* 'someone,' *kud ana* 'somebody' and *an'a n'imät* 'somebody.'

In the meaning of 'someone' and 'somebody' in the Ket language, the following combinations: *tam an'a/tam anet, tam bits'e* (about a man), *tam bes'a* (about a woman), *tam bil'ans'an'* (about many people); in the Yug language: *tam asera* (for a woman), *tam aneit* (for aman), *tam asejn* (if there are many people) are used. For example: Ket *tam an'a qus' tama kaut* 'someone went into the tent'; *hisiya tam bits'e de:s'* 'in the forest someone (male) screams'; *tam bits'e avaya donarij* 'someone (a man) came up to me'; *il'ga elat his'ka tam bes'a dana:md'i* 'Outside the door, on the edge (lit. 'on the tail') someone (female) touches'; *baro', tam bes'a*

oytā kutul' ejvate 'the old man, somebody (a woman) whistles behind'; *tam bes'a dā·bil'* 'someone (a woman) sings'; Yug *tam aneit donad'i* 'someone (a man) came'; *kidagej tam asera dAadaχ* 'here someone (a woman) lives.' These examples demonstrate that, the category of class, expressed through indefinite pronouns, the degree of uncertainty is leveled: the unknown person is maintained, but gender certainty appears.

This same process can be observed in the use of indefinite pronouns in the meaning of 'someone,': this is expressed in the Yeniseian languages by the combination of the indefinite particles *kud*, in the preposition, *n'ebut* (M. A. Castren), *nimyt* (G. T. Polenova) and *n'imät* (G. K. Werner) in the post-position with the IP 'who?'; Ket this is *kud ana, bes'a n'imät, bits'e n'imät, ana n'imät*. For example, in Ket: *bes'a n'imät kit'kit* 'someone (woman), give it'; *bits'e n'imät dal' kes'tam* 'someone (man), take it' (in the last example, we see the distant reference of the case of the ablative-*dal'* separated from the IP).

The reduction in the degree of uncertainty due to differences in the gender is found in the form of the pronouns indicating indeterminate identity and transmitting the meaning of 'someone,' 'somebody' and 'someone else.' These pronouns are also formed from the genitive case of the IP 'who?' and 'what?' with the help of particles. Compare: in Ket *tam anda as'lij* 'someone's boat'; *tam anari obas' bu daskant'* 'he speaks to someone's (of a woman) father'; *bis's e nimyt obdañ kit'kit* 'give it to someone's father.' In the last example there is no indicator of the genitive case in the indefinite pronouns. Apparently, in the presence of the particle *nimyt*, standing always in the post-position, the basis of the original case of the IP is not changed.

Thus, in the Yeniseian languages the absence of special tools for the expression of the category of definiteness/indefiniteness is compensated for by the rich system of pronouns. These reflect, by their forms, the opposition animate/inanimate, and at the same time have special markers opposing the male class to the female class, and the inflectional forms Ket *ana*/Yug *anet*, expressing the opposition man/non-man. In the pronouns 'who?' and 'what?' through manifestation of the category of class, the latent expression of the category of definiteness/indefiniteness occurs.

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LEHNWÖRTER AUS DEM RUSSISCHEN IN DER DEUTSCHEN SPRACHE DER GEGENWART

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Entlehnung als unabdingbarer Bestandteil des Funktionsprozesses und der historischen Veränderung einer Sprache wird als eine der Hauptquellen der Erweiterung des Wortbestandes betrachtet. (Stepanowa, Tschernyschewa, 1962: 69). Zurzeit gilt Englisch als "Mode", als Sprache des internationalen Umgangs. Eine Aktivierung des Anlehnprozesses von englischen Lexemen in die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart wird durch soziale, politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Gründe bedingt (Rosen, 2000: 11). Den Problemen der Lehnwörter aus dem Englischen in die deutsche Sprache werden Arbeiten folgender Wissenschaftler gewidmet: E.W. Rosen, W.A. Sweginzewa, W.M. Alpatowa, T.A. Amirowa (Maslowa, 2001: 14).

Der Gebrauch von Lehnwörtern aus dem Russischen in der deutschen Sprache der Gegenwart ist keine häufige Erscheinung. Wir haben versucht, russische Lehnwörter in der deutschen Sprache vom Standpunkt der interkulturellen Kommunikation zu betrachten. Als Untersuchungsmaterial diente der Roman von Eugen Ruge. «In Zeiten des abnehmenden Lichts». Eugen Ruge ist ein moderner deutscher Schriftsteller, Übersetzer aus dem Russischen ins Deutsche. 2011 wurde der Roman «In den Zeiten des abnehmenden Lichts» mit dem Alfred-Döblin-Literaturpreis ausgezeichnet.

Eugen Ruge wurde 1954 in der Siedlung Soswa, Gebiet Swerdlowsk geboren, und zwei Jahre später siedelten seine Eltern aus der UdSSR in die DDR um. Eugens Vater war deutscher Gefangener in einem sibirischen Lager. Seine Mutter war Russin aus der Siedlung Soswa im Uralgebiet, wo sich das Gefangenenlager befand. Eugen Ruge wuchs in der DDR auf und wurde in einer zweisprachigen Familie erzogen. Die Geschichte der Familie des Autors diente als Grundlage für den Roman «In Zeiten des abnehmenden Lichts». Fragmentarisch erzählt der Autor die Geschichte vier Generationen einer ostdeutschen Familie, die den Zeitraum von 50

Jahren umfasst, die Periode zwischen den 50er Jahren und bis zum Jahr 2001. Im Roman werden historische Ereignisse in Deutschland vor dem Machtantritt Hitlers, in der DDR und in der Sowjetunion in Bezug auf die Chronik einer Familie beleuchtet. Aber das Jubiläum des Familienoberhauptes Wilhelm Powileit am 1. Oktober 1989, d.h. einige Wochen vor dem Fall der Berliner Mauer, wird in Einzelheiten vom Standpunkt jeder der 6 handelnden Personen dargestellt.

Im Roman gelang es dem Autor die Wechselbeziehung und Verflechtung der deutschen und russischen Kulturen in einer Familie zu zeigen sowie deren Einfluss auf das Kind, auf seine Erziehung, seine Ansichten und Weltanschauung. Das Thema der russisch-deutschen Kulturbeziehungen wird auch am Beispiel der Beziehungen innerhalb der Familie Umnitzer behandelt. Die Aufnahme von russischen Lehnwörtern durch den Autor in den Text des Romans verleiht dem Werk eine besondere Realitätsnähe und ethnographische Spezifik.

Wir analysieren einige Lehnbeispiele aus dem Russischen in die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart.

Irinas Mutter Nadjeshda Iwanowna, bejährt, zieht von einer Siedlung im Ural nach Berlin zu ihrer ausgesiedelten Tochter und ist natürlich der deutschen Sprache nicht mächtig. Mit ihrer Gestalt geht die russische ländliche Kultur in den Roman ein. Im Zusammenhang mit den russischen Heldinnen Nadjeshda Iwanowna und Irina gebraucht der Autor solche Lehnwörter zum Thema «Essen» wie *Pelmeni*, *Prostokwascha*, *Ogurzy*, *Malossol*, *Kascha*: *Außerdem wollte sie noch Pelmeni kochen—wenn Sascha schon mal zum Mittagessen kam* (Ruge: 59). Der Autor macht darauf aufmerksam, dass die Mutter für ihren Sohn ausschließlich Pelmeni, traditionelles Uralgericht, kocht.

Im nächsten Beispiel sehen wir, dass das russische Lehnwort **Prostokwascha** Bestandteil einer Wortverbindung ist, großgeschrieben und nicht die deutsche, sondern die russische Kultur darstellt, denn in der deutschen Kultur gibt es kein solches Sauer Milchprodukt: *Dafür Eskimo-Eis. Und Prostokwascha mit Zucker* (Ruge: 89).

Die russischen Lehnwörter in die deutsche Sprache zum Thema «Essen» gebraucht der Autor, um die Bestrebung der russischsprachigen Helden zu betonen, die Verbundenheit der Generationen nicht zu verlieren. Obwohl die Hauptheldinnen des Romans das Uralgebiet verlassen hatten, erhielten sie in dem neuen Wohnort ihre Vorlieben im Essen aufrecht und versuchen die ihrer ethnischen Gemeinschaft eigene Traditionen an die nächste Generation zu überliefern.

Die aus dem Russischen entlehnten Gattungsnamen und Eigennamen dienen dem Autor nicht nur als Mittel zur Bezeichnung von handelnden

Personen sondern auch als Mittel zum Markieren der Zugehörigkeit Figur zur russischen Kultur. Zum Ausdruck der Liebe seitens der Mutter, Irina Umnitzer, ihrem Sohn gegenüber nennt sie ihn Synok, sowie bei den Verkleinerungs- und Zärtlichkeitsformen des Vornamens Alexander, die im Russischen üblich sind: *Saschenka*, *Saschka*, wobei diese in die Aussage «integriert» sind, in der deutschen Sprache formuliert: *Synok, du bist schon zu Hause...Du bist hungrig, ich weiß* (Ruge: 92). *Nein, Saschenka, so viel Zeit haben wir nicht* (Ruge: 89). *Saschka! Komm sofort!* (Ruge: 92).

Die Liebe der Großmutter zu ihrem einzigen Enkel findet ihren Ausdruck in folgenden Lexemen: *Lapotschka*, *Maltschik-Paltschik*: *Er (Kurt) wollte auch nicht, dass Mama hörte, wie Omi Sascha Lapotschka sagte* (Ruge: 112). So urteilt Alexanders Vater Kurt. Er ist damit nicht einverstanden, dass die russische Oma den Enkel bei den Verkleinerungs- und Zärtlichkeitsnamen nennt, sagt Nadjeshda Iwanowna. Für Oma Nadja war Alexander immer ein kleiner Junge, den sie sehr liebte. All die Peraphrasendes Vornamens sind in Alexanders Gedächtnis geblieben. Charlotte, die Großmutter vaterseits, nennt den Enkel immer **Alexander** und ist kategorisch dagegen, dass er so angesprochen wird, wie es in der russischen Kultur üblich ist.

Im Roman werden folgende Varianten der Eigennamen gebraucht: *Irotschka*, *Irischa*, *Ira*, *Nadjeshda Iwanowna*, *Baba Nadja*. Bei den Verkleinerungs- und Zärtlichkeitsformen des Namens nennt Kurt seine geliebte Frau Irina. Er hat längere Zeit in der Sowjetunion gelebt, spricht Russisch, ihm sind nicht nur einige Varianten dieses Vornamens gut bekannt, er versteht diese auch in entsprechenden Situationen zu gebrauchen: *Irotschka, wandte Kurt ein* (Ruge: 54). *Irischa! Komm zu mir! Bitte* (Ruge: 61).

In der Autorensprache wird die bejahrte Figur namens Nadjeshda Iwanowna entsprechend der russischen Kultur mit dem Vornamen und Vatersnamen bezeichnet. Der Vatersname ist in der deutschsprachigen Kultur nicht vorhanden und löst in der Regel Erstaunen aus: *Nadjeshda Iwanowna erhob sich langsam, schlurfte zurück in ihr Zimmer* (Ruge:75). Es sei erwähnt, dass im Verzeichnis der handelnden Personen am Ende des Romans der Mädchenname von Irina Umnitzer Petrowna ist. (*IrinaUmnitzer, geborene Petrowna*). Selbstverständlich konnte Irinas Name nicht *Petrowna* sein. Aber sogar im Bewusstseins des bilinguistischen Alexanders ist der Mädchenname der Mutter nicht erhalten geblieben. Für den Enkel Alexander ist Nadjeshda Iwanowna einfach **Oma Nadja**, was für die Bezeichnung eines Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses dieses Typs in der

russischen Kultur gekennzeichnet ist: *Mama, wann fahren wir denn zu Baba Nadja?* (Ruge: 121).

Die analysierten Gebrauchsbeispiele der aus dem Russischen entlehnten Eigennamen zeigen die Beziehungen innerhalb einer Familie, die Beziehungen zwischen den Generationen und Kulturen sowie das Verhalten des Autors den Figuren des Romans gegenüber.

Der Gebrauch von aus dem Russischen entlehnten toponymischen Bezeichnungen schaffen lokale ethnographische Spezifik und Erinnerungplan der Figuren: *Und da sind Sie nach Slawa. Na ja, erst wollte Marfa nicht hin, nach Slawa, da waren ja die Sowjetischen. - Aber in Grischkin Nagar waren doch auch die Sowjetischen, haben Sie gerade erzählt* (Ruge, 2011: 150).

Die Zusammenwirkung der Kulturen innerhalb einer Familie wird der Zusammenwirkung der Kulturen auf offizieller Ebene gegenübergestellt.

Wilhelm, ein Vertreter der Parteinomenklatura, kennt die russische Sprache nicht, dies erschwert ihm den Umgang mit Nadjeshda Iwanowna. Er versucht aber den Eindruck zu erwecken, er interessiere sich für die russische Kultur, indem er einzelne russische Wörter gebraucht, deren Bedeutung er auf seine eigene Art und Weise versteht. Die Demonstration von «Freundschaft» und «Interesse» für die russischen Traditionen löst einen komischen Effekt aus.

So hat Nadjeshda Iwanowna aus dem Gespräch zwischen Kurt mit Charlotte in der deutschen Sprache verstanden, dass Wilhelm mit steigendem Alter eine lange Leitung bekommen hatte und dass es mit ihm nicht alles in Ordnung ist. Zu seinem 90-jährigen Jubiläum bringt sie ihm ein Geschenk mit: ein 3 l großes Glas eingelegter Gurken, selbst gemacht. Wilhelm dankt Nadjeshda Iwanowna und spricht das ihm bekannte russische Wort «Garoch» aus. Baba Nadja beeilt sich ihm mitzuteilen, dass es sich nicht um Erbsen sondern um Gurken handelt. Wilhelm überlegt angespannt, erinnert sich an seine Studienjahre in Moskau, und ihm fällt ein einziges russisches Wort ein—«Garoch», d.h. «Danke». Auf solche Weise dankt er Nadjeshda Iwanowna für das Geschenk: *Wilhelms Blick hellte sich auf, er sah Nadjeshda Iwanowna an und sagte dann, mit Blick auf die Gurken: Garoch! Aber es waren keine Erbsen. Es sind Gurken, erklärte Nadjeshda Iwanowna: Ogurzy! Garoch, sagte Wilhelm. Ogurzy, sagte Nadjeshda Iwanowna.* (Ruge: 153).

Auf Wilhelms Jubiläumsparty singt Nadjeshda Iwanowna das allgemein bekannte Lied «Es war mal eine Oma, die einen kleinen Ziegenbock hatte», das sie ihrem Enkel in seiner Kindheit gesungen hatte. Alle Gäste umjubeln Nadjeshda Iwanowna, Vertreterin des großen russischen Volkes. In jedem Refrain klingt die Zeile «wot kak, wot kak»,

mit dem russischen Lexem «Wodka» gleichlautend. Der Gleichklang, die kommunikative Situation, klischeehafte Vorstellung über die russischen Ess- und Trinkkultur führen dazu, dass die deutschsprachigen Vertreter des politischen Establishments, die gekommen sind, Wilhelm Powileit zum Jubiläum zu gratulieren, beginnen mitzusingen «Wodka, Wodka»: *Wot kak, wot kak—hört nur, hört nur!—begann, glaubten die Leute zu verstehen, dass es sich um ein russischen Sauflied handelte, und brüllten im Chor: Wodka, Wodka!* (Ruge: 344). Der Gleichklang schafft einen komischen Effekt, außerhalb dessen man die Störung in der interkulturellen Kommunikation infolge des oberflächlichen Kenntnisses der russischen Kultur deuten kann.

Den Figuren, die im Roman die russische Kultur vertreten, fehlen Kenntnis und Verständnis der deutschen Kultur oder es handelt sich dabei von einer Ablehnung, Abstoßung, einen Wunsch im Rahmen der deutschen Kultur entsprechend seiner eigenen Kultur zu bleiben. Dem Autor wie auch seinem Protagonisten sind die beiden Kulturen gut bekannt; er kann die Vertreter der beiden Kulturen gut verstehen. All das gibt dem Leser die Möglichkeit die Situationen des unmittelbaren Umgangs der Vertreter der unterschiedlichen Kulturen selbst zu erleben und sich mit verschiedenen interkulturellen Situationen klarzuwerden.

Auf solche Weise ist es Eugen Ruge gelungen, einen seiner Struktur nach einmaligen Roman zu schreiben, in dem sich die Geschichte der Familie und der Geschichte der Gesellschaft im letzten Jahrhundert miteinander verbunden sind und einen Komplex der russisch-sowjetisch-deutschen Kulturbeziehungen zu schaffen, der soziale Erfahrungen, kulturelle Normen und Traditionen der russischen und deutschen Kulturen wiedergibt. Die Lehnwörter aus dem Russischen dienen im Roman zur Wiedergabe der ethnischen Kontakte und fördern das Eindringen in die innere Welt der Figuren, geben dem Autor die Möglichkeit sein Verhalten zu den Ereignissen auszudrücken.

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CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR AS A MEANS OF DISCLOSURE THROUGH THINKING MECHANISMS (COMPREHENSION VERBS IN THE RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES)

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Recent investigation and analysis shows that the phenomenon of comprehension remains of interest to modern linguistics: comprehension is a basic concept in human communication and all linguistic processes are regarded in the light of the meaning and sense that are conceptualized by comprehension through human cognition.

Thinking is one of the most important and complicated systems of a person's inner world. It includes knowledge, comprehension, belief, opinion and memory as its components. Lexis used to describe this and other thinking elements is exceedingly varied and often metaphorical: complex concepts, reflecting various aspects of the functioning of the human intellect, are manifested through language, with the help of simpler physical notions.¹

Being a very important mechanism in the creation of a conceptual world picture, metaphor does not only reflect the metaphorical perception of reality, but also forms it. The study of metaphorical transformations in various spheres makes it possible to penetrate into human thinking structures and realize how we see the world around us.

Various linguistic directions have been suggested in understanding the essence of metaphor including its functions, techniques of study, types, models and terms for designation.

The descriptive terms applied by linguists reflect the traditions of various scientific schools, directions and accents. These approaches include the strictly linguistic, all-philological and psychological or

¹ Deberdeeva, E.E. Kontseptualnaya metafora kak sredstvo raskrytiya mehanizmov ponimaniya v russkoy y angliyskoy lingvokulturah, 37

cognitive: 'metaphorical archetype' (Panchenko & Smirnov 1976; Yung 1987); 'conceptual metaphor,' 'basic metaphor' (Lakoff & Johnson 1990); 'mental model' (Johnson-Laird 1983); 'metaphorical model' (Baranov & Karaulov 1991); 'paradigm of images' (Pavlovich 1995); 'model of regular policemy' (Shmelev 1973; Aprecyan 1974; Chudinov 1988); 'metaphorical field' (Sklyarevskaya 1993).

In the linguistic science of the twenty-first century, the idea of conceptual metaphor as a tool of learning and explaining reality has come to be especially significant.

Within the confines of cognitive approaches, regularities of categorization and conceptualization of reality in human thinking are investigated in light of the subjectivity of world perception, a 'naïve' world decomposition, as language is not self-reliant and can not be described objectively without regard to cognitive processes:

The proper thinking process starts with the socially determined partition of the speech intention content into a row of abstractions and with the application of formally logical and semantic forms of contents, with the help of linguistic devices."²

Here, understanding is considered in relation to the mechanisms and tools that demonstrate the importance of linguistic and non-linguistic factors in communicative interaction and bring to light the peculiarities of the resultant conceptualization of intellectual activity.

For this reason, in much research cognitive linguistic metaphor is considered to be human thinking as a manifestation of human capabilities. Metaphors are built-in to the conceptual system of human thinking; they are special schemes by means of which people think and act.

In this article we make an attempt to describe that part of the linguistic world picture and present comprehension as the essential constituent of mental activity in the Russian and English *linguo-cultures*.

To achieve this we analyzed comprehension verbs in both Russian and English. Verbs of understanding have not yet received systematic description at the lexical-semantic, semantic-syntactical and pragmatic levels. The real problem of comprehension has become the object of serious attention in psychology, philosophy, hermeneutics, linguistics and other sciences.

In the communicative sphere, which is semiotic, comprehension correlates both with value and with sense (the ability to decode the perceived language form at the level of 'sense'). It can also be seen in

² Chesnokov, P.V. *Echshyoroedinstveyazykaymyshleniya*, 82

terms of a heuristic understanding, as a product and, at the same time, a precondition of the generation of new meanings. In the communicative sphere, comprehension is the ability to adequately identify perceived informational content.

Outside the communicative sphere, understanding is considered to be the assimilation of the semantic and conceptual substance of the world.

In the field of semiotics, there is a relationship between substantive language (at its various levels) and the world of significant values. This methodology is connected to structuralism and is a synchronic version of Hegel's phenomenology, which generally has a diachronic character.

From the point of view of hermeneutic understanding, we consider the process of another person's thoughts, feelings, motivations, intentions and empathy in the interpreter's consciousness; their objectivation in his behavior, actions and the products of his intellectual culture.³

Various spheres of understanding (the communicative sphere and the sphere of non-verbal perception) receive inadequate and unequal interpretation in the scientific literature. In linguistics, understanding is regarded most often as a part of the communicative sphere, including the understanding of verbal forms: communication is established between the author and the reader or listener.

In this research, we consider understanding in the broad sense of 'knowledge acquisition.' This includes comprehension, assimilation, understanding, inspiration and enlightenment. As such, understanding is presented as a factual mental predicate. Therefore, it is separate from *opinion*, as a putative predicate, and from *sensing*, which belongs to the sphere of emotions. In reality, *understanding*, *opinion* and *sensing* often approach each other and intertwine. In spite of the fact that understanding is transferred in each language in varied ways, it appears that only some deep representations offer rich opportunities for word formation; the birth of metaphors and the formation of new idioms connected to the idea of understanding provide the cornerstone of this lexical layer.

Firstly, comprehension involves a person and their surrounding reality. Different views on the relationship between the person and the truth generate various comprehension metaphors. We consider the most important to include such ideas as *movement* and *attainment*. In addition, description of comprehension always contains indications on whose initiative it occurs: whether it is caused by the activity of the subject, that is the person who comprehends, or the content of comprehension, that is

³ Statsenko, V. I. Funktsionalno-komunikativny potentsial glagolov ponimaniya y utochneniya v ruskom y angliyskom yazykah: pragmaticheskiy aspekt, 7

the truth. For example: *to solve* the subject (solving assumes intense cognitive activity preceding the moment of comprehension itself) is active; *to dawn (on/upon)* the focus is on the content (something can suddenly dawn on a person without any personal action).

Taking into account everything mentioned above, we will try to list possible judgments on the comprehension situation, corresponding metaphors and the lexical units of Russian and English that express them. Comparison of the Russian and English lexicon helps to reveal similarities and distinctions in the world-pictures of different language speakers.

Though cognitive activity often has no external manifestations it can sometimes be seen in the movement of the body. A person's thought never stops and a person is always 'on the path to knowledge.' Depending on, whether the subject or the content is active, the situation of comprehension can be considered either as the movement of a person to truth, or, on the contrary, as the movement of truth to a person.

Let us consider comprehension as the process of a person's movement to truth. The brain activity involved can be considered as a (forward) movement to truth, cf. *to go (to come) to comprehension*. The resultant comprehension is thought of as the achievement of a purpose, cf. *to reach, find, comprehend*, coll. *донереть, догнать, въехать*; English: *come (to something)* 'to come (to understanding),' *get next (to an idea)* 'to understand, catch, lit. to come nearer,' *reach* 'comprehend,' *bottom* 'to penetrate, understand, lit. to concern a bottom,' *fathom* 'get, reach to depth.'

Comprehension has to overcome barriers on the way to truth, cf. *проникнуть, раскутить*; English *penetrate, pierce*. Within the metaphor 'thinking is movement,' comprehension is like arriving at a destination and the person who does not comprehend or is mistaken appears to be like a lost traveler (cf. *теряться/вдогадках непонимать, заблуждение неверное суждение*). Thus, meeting the truth can be unexpected, cf. *напасть (на решение), наткнуться, натолкнуться (на разгадку)* English—*tumble face, be on (to smth.), nick (it), hit the nail, guess*.

Such a use includes a group of lexemes which are the cornerstone of the metaphor 'comprehension is a blow.' This arises in the development of an idea of movement: a person unexpectedly meets the truth on the way to it, and this sudden comprehension appears like a blow. Cf. *усечь/просечь*, English *hit* 'to attack, lit. to strike,' 'to understand suddenly, lit. to strike,' 'burst, lit. to jerk, to comprehend,' *twig* 'lit. to pull.'

Let us consider the situation when comprehension is like the movement of truth to a person. Cf. *дойти, доехать (до кого-л.); прийти в голову <на ум>, найти (на кого-л.), наитие*; English 'enter one's mind' 'occur,' *go in* lit. 'enter,' *get through* 'to reach (someone),' *occur*

'occur,' *come (in) upon* 'come to mind,' *come (to somebody)* "to sink,' *come* <*get, go, hit, strike*> *home to smb., rush into one's mind* 'dawn,' *to cross (one's mind)* 'to occur,' *penetrate* 'get,' *be borne in (on somebody)* 'to become clear, lit. to be pressed,' *sink in* 'to sink, lit. to plunge.'

In this case a blow metaphor can also occur: sudden truth 'knocks down,' cf. it struck <pushed, knocked, pierced> him; English *hunch* 'intuition, lit. the push,' *on a hunch* 'intuitively,' *to play one's hunch* 'work instinctively,' *to shoot* 'to come suddenly to mind, lit. to shoot, strike,' 'to dawn on smiie,' *to strike* 'to come to mind, lit. to strike,' *break, on burst (upon somebody)* 'to dawn, lit. to burst,' *click* 'to reach, hit the nail, lit. to be hooked.'

Comprehension can be considered by language, not only as a movement to truth, but also as its attainment. Historically, it is formed as in the Russian verb *понимать* (cf. with the same root *иметь, взимать, поимать, принимать*) and the verbs *охватить, схватить, хватить, усвоить, вынестиго*. In English these relate to *have* 'to acquire, understand, lit. to have,' *take* 'understand, lit. to take,' *get* 'understand, lit. to get,' *grasp, grip* 'grab, capture by mind,' *compass* 'capture,' *comprehend, apprehend* 'understand' (from Latin *prehendere* 'be enough, take control'), *acquire*, 'understand lit. to seize,' *conceive* 'comprehend, understand' (from Latin *concipere* 'accept, absorb'), *perceive* 'comprehend, understand' (from Latin *percipere* 'cover, seize'), *absorb* 'understand, lit. to absorb,' *take in* 'accept, acquire.'

The truth can move not only to the person, but also away from him (departure/escape) and then it is necessary to chase and catch it. The following uses are based on this idea: *уловить, ловитьналету, поиматьмысль*. In English *catch*, coll. 'catch on,' *seize* 'grasp.'

The initiative in 'finding' can proceed not only from the person, but also from the truth, cf. *охватить, обуть* (омысли). In English *grip* (*someone's mind*).

The preceding analysis suggests that the phenomenon of comprehension testifies to the uniqueness of human consciousness—its psycholinguistic essence. The human conceptual system is metaphorical in and of itself: it finds reflection both in language and in the process of thinking.

This article has shown that the means of describing comprehension of this or that aspect of surrounding reality through language, in Russian and English verbs, are based on rather accurate and simple principles which are a part of a naïve world picture. The study of these principles, especially in relation to the description of cognitive and other human activity, can help to model human thinking processes.

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CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS IN THE SPHERE
OF MILITARY TERMINOLOGY:
THE PLACE OF THEMATIC GROUPS
OF MILITARY TERMS IN THE LEXICAL SYSTEM
OF LANGUAGE

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In view of the development of scientific and technical knowledge, the invention of new sophisticated, special and forbidden weapons and, consequently, with the advent and increase of special vocabulary and its profound research, the study of military terminology has acquired new meaning. Indeed, nowadays mass media highlights not only political events but military conflicts too. As a result, military terminology keeps coming up not only in the conversations of politicians, military men and diplomats, but in those of common people as well.

Terminology deals with the study of special vocabulary from the point of view of its typology, origin, form and content (meaning), functioning, usage, regulation and formation. It is a well known fact that terminology is the study of terms and their use. Terms are words, compound words and multi-word expressions that in specific contexts have specific meanings—these may deviate from the meanings the same words have in other contexts and in everyday language. Terminology is a discipline that studies, among other things, the development of such terms and their inter-relationships within a specialized domain. Terminology differs from lexicography, as it involves the study of concepts, conceptual systems and their labels (*terms*), whereas lexicography studies words and their meanings.

Terminology is a discipline that systematically studies the 'labelling or designation of concepts' particular to one or more subject fields or domains of human activity. It does this through the research and analysis of terms in context for the purpose of documenting and promoting

consistent usage. Terminology can be limited to one or more languages (for example, 'multilingual terminology' and 'bilingual terminology') or may have an interdisciplinary focus on the use of terms in different fields.

The discipline of terminology consists primarily of the following aspects:

- analyzing the concepts and concept structures used in a field or domain of activity;
- identifying the terms assigned to the concepts;
- in the case of bilingual or multilingual terminology, establishing correspondences between terms in various languages;
- compiling the terminology, on paper or in databases;
- managing terminology databases;
- creating new terms, as required.

A distinction is made between two types of terminology work:

1. ad hoc work on terminology, which deals with a single term or a limited number of terms;
2. systematic collection of terminology, which deals with all the terms in a specific subject field or domain of activity, often by creating a structured ontology of the terms within that domain and their inter-relationships.

Ad hoc terminology is prevalent in the translation profession, where a translation for a specific term (or group of terms) is required quickly to solve a particular translation problem.

A *terminologist* intends to hone categorical organization by improving the accuracy and content of its terminology. Technical industries and standardization institutes compile their own glossaries. This provides the consistency needed in various areas—fields and branches, movements and specialties—to work with core terminology and to then offer material for the discipline's traditional and doctrinal literature.

Terminology is also important in boundary-crossing problems, such as in language translation and social epistemology. Terminology helps to build bridges and to extend one area into another. Translators research the terminology of the languages they translate. Terminology is taught alongside translation in universities and translation schools. Large translation departments and translation bureaus have a *Terminology* section.

Terminological theories include the general theory of terminology, socio-terminology, the communicative theory of terminology, socio-cognitive terminology and frame-based terminology.

Nowadays, in the sphere of terminological science, there exist a number of independent branches of research study. One can single out: theoretical terminology that studies the principles of development and usage of special vocabulary; applied terminology that elaborates practical principles and recommendations to eliminate and correct the deficiencies of terms and terminologies, their description, evaluation, editing, sequencing, term-formation, translation and usage; the general theory of terminology that deals with the common features, problems and processes that occur in special vocabulary; applied-research terminology that studies special vocabulary and notions of separate branches of knowledge in specific languages; typological terminology which deals with comparative study of the peculiarities of separate terminologies and aims to establish common features of terminologies and the peculiarities of separate terminologies due to the characteristics represented in them by different fields of knowledge; comparative terminology which draws analogy between the common features and peculiarities of special vocabulary in different languages; semasiological terminology which embraces a wide range of issues connected to the study of the meaning of special lexemes, semantic changes and various semantic phenomena such as polysemy, homonymy, synonymy, antonymy and hyponymy; onomasiological terminology which has to do with the structural forms of special lexemes, the processes involved in naming special notions and the choosing of optimal forms of nomination; historical terminology which studies the history of terminologies to uncover the tendencies of their establishment and development and offers recommendations as to their ordering. At present, on the basis of this research field, a new independent linguistic discipline known as anthropological linguistics has developed; functional terminology is connected to the study of modern functions of terms in different texts and situations in professional communication, the training of specialists and also the peculiarities of the usage of terms in speech and computer systems. In the 1990s a new independent area of research—cognitive terminology—emerged. The term 'cognitive terminology' was mentioned for the first time in the work *Historical systematized dictionary of terminology terms* written by S.V. Grinev-Grinevich in 1998 (Grinev-Grinevich 1998). Later, the term obtained wide circulation in the works of V.F. Novodranova (Novodranova 2005), V.M. Leichik (Leichik 2007; 2009) and E.I. Golovanova (Golovanova 2011). The main problem addressed in cognitive terminology is that of the inter-relation between

terminological systems and the structures of special knowledge that follow them. If earlier studies in the sphere of terminology did not go beyond the analysis of the term and the system of notions it reflected, a cognitive approach opened terminological study up to massive inter-disciplinary research programmes in order to study terms and terminological systems in a broader cultural context. According to S.V. Grinev-Grinevich, cognitive terminology is among the most promising branches of terminological studies. He has stated its importance as “not only for the study of the peculiarities of scientific cognition development ..., but for the study of the ways of human culture and civilization development in general” (Grinev-Grinevich 2000:33).

As a result of the development and specialization of terminological studies, some of the branches of terminological science—such as typological terminological science, semasiological terminological science, terminological derivatology, comparative terminological science, terminography, functional terminological science, cognitive terminological science, historical terminological science and some other branches of terminological science—have acquired the status of independent scientific disciplines.

Terminology today tends to both describe and explain facts and phenomena connected to the poly-paradigmality of scientific knowledge. Transcension of the strictly structured system of notions allows the terminologist to objectively seek out existing correlations between common and abstract, logical knowledge, and between naïve and scientific pictures of the world.

Thus, following the ideas of V.M. Leichik, we concede that cognitive terminology is not a separate branch of study, but a natural stage in the development of this inter-disciplinary science. A cognitive approach to terminology allows the scientist to analyze the appearance and evolution of special knowledge in the broader context of civilization, revealing the reasons and mechanisms of dynamic processes in the sphere of professional nomination while taking into consideration the changing cognitive and communicative needs of people. This approach helps to form a more complete and multi-faceted idea of the term, because it takes into account: the prototypical categorization realized in the naïve picture of the world and the actualization of the term as a sign of the notion of ‘intellectual maturity’ in the sphere of special communication (Leichik 2007).

It is evident that every branch of terminology faces its own problems, but among the most important, and common to all of them, are:

- the problem of formation and development of terminologies;
- the problem of terminological systems formation and comparative assessment of terminological systems and terminologies;
- the problem of formation of individual terminological methods;
- the problem of theoretical terminology.

In this article, we will try to focus only on some problems of military terminology. Among the most widely discussed problems are:

- the peculiarities of the military terminology system;
- the classification of military terms;
- the classification of military terms according to parts of speech;
- the classification of military terms according to certain features (similarity of form, similarity of function, similarity of both form and function, similarity of structure and word-formation on the basis of an associative transfer of meaning) (Chebotareva 2012);
- the classification of military acronyms and abbreviations;
- structure and word-formation classifications of military terms;
- the principles of systematization of special vocabulary (in military terminology) (Klikushina 2007);
- the origin of military terms (borrowings, internationalisms, neologisms);
- military terms or special vocabulary;
- military terminology (jargon terms, professionalisms, slang);
- nomens (nomenclature units);
- professional argotisms (Skvortsov 1972), professional jargon terms (Gladkaya 1977);
- preterms and quasiterms (Leichik 1981);
- terminoids (Hayutin 1972);
- prototerms (Grinev-Grinevich 1990);
- terminonyms (Tatarinov 1996);
- pseudoterms (Grinev-Grinevich 2008; Leichik 2009);
- stylistic aspects of military terms (Klikushina 2001; 2006);
- migration from one terminological system to another;
- terminological problems of military text translation;
- the compiling of dictionaries of military terms.

Terminological research started more than seventy years ago and is still one of the most studied fields in linguistics. The main types of special lexical units, such as proper terms, nomens, terminoids, prototerms,

preterms and quasiterms, etc. have all been singled out and studied. We shall only focus on some of them here.

A nomen, or a nomenclature unit, is the name of a single notion or a certain unit of mass production (Kandelaki 1970). It serves as a specifier and is correlated as a superordinate concept with a generic one (Zenkova, 1991; Egorshina 1995; Perevozova 2004) and shows the specific character of the given object. Thus, nomenclature includes a special layer, i.e. the system of conventional signs and symbols, e.g. 152mm D-1 (152mm Field howitzer D-1). So, some terms, including military ones, use nomens to distinguish them from other (military) objects.

Terminoids, or jargon terms, are special lexical units which are used to name phenomena that are absolutely new and whose concepts are not interpreted in a mono-semantic way (Hayutin 1972). For example, zink—ammunition box, HR, cargo 200 (coffin containing the dead body of a serviceman transported to the burial place); cheerful—MiG-21, for its short approach time; Fish Heads—the Royal Navy; vegetables—acoustic or magnetic mines; Mad Max—homemade armour, usually installed by the crew of a vehicle.

Prototerms are special lexemes that appeared and were used in prescientific times (Grinev-Grinevich 1990).

Preterms are a special group of lexemes that are represented by special lexical units to name new scientific notions. They are represented by a vast descriptive pattern (Leichik 1981). For example, an all-helicopter assault with the help of a rope from a hovering helicopter is now known by the term 'rapelling' (borrowed from the mountaineering lexicon and denoting descent of a mountain with the help of a rope).

Another widely debated problem is the differentiation of the terms 'special vocabulary' and 'term.' The *Dictionary of Standard Russian Language* states: "the term is a word or combination of words in which a strictly definite philosophical, scientific, technical, etc. notion or concept is fixed" (DSRL 1991: 431). According to F.P. Sorokoletov:

"the term is an element of a terminological system that denotes a concept and its place in the system among other concepts: the term represents a word or a word combination used by people of one speciality or profession as a means of communication, that is why the sphere of its usage is narrower than the sphere of usage of non-special words" (2009: 174).

A term is a word or a word combination in a special sphere of usage denoting a notion/concept and having a specific definition. The basic criteria of an 'ideal' term include: monosemy, congruity of its literal meaning with its actual meaning, linguistic correctness, systematicity and

derivativeness. T.V. Zhrebilo in the *Dictionary of Linguistic Terms* gives the following definition of 'special vocabulary': "special vocabulary is a corpus of words and word combinations denoting concepts of a special area of knowledge or activity: 1) terms; 2) professionalisms (professional jargonisms)" (Zhrebilo 2011: 6). Thus the notion 'special vocabulary' is wider than the notion 'term' and includes professionalisms. Special vocabulary is a unified sub-system designated within the framework of the lexico-semantic system of a language. On this basis, the names of weapons are interpreted as one of the classes distinguished in a body of special vocabulary.

Still, there is no definite understanding of what 'military terminology' is and what aspects it touches upon; moreover, there is no definite definition of the notion 'military term.'

Military terminology refers to the discrete category of terms and language of military organizations and personnel, distinguished by its usage in military doctrine and serving to depoliticize, dehumanize or otherwise abstract discussion about its operations from actual description thereof.

The operational pressure for uniform understanding of military terminology has developed since the early twentieth century with the importance of joint operations between different services (army, navy, air force) of the same country. International alliances and operations, including peacekeeping, have added additional complexity. For example, the NATO alliance now maintains a large dictionary of common terms for use by its member countries. Development work is also taking place between NATO and Russia on common terminology for extended air defence, in English, French and Russian.

Some claim military terms serve to depoliticize, dehumanize or render abstract discussion of military operations. As with 'legal terminology' and 'political terminology,' military terms are known for their oblique tendency to incorporate technical language. In many cases, this reflects a need to be precise. It can also reflect a perceived need for operational security, giving away no more information than is needed. It can also serve to disguise or distort meaning, as with double-speak: 'kinetic activity' as a buzzword for combat, in use since the inception of the War on Terror, has been criticized as a don't-ask-don't-tell policy for murder.

Military terminology is part and parcel of the texts devoted to the military sphere. Military terminology serves to name the concepts and phenomena of military science. The constant development of military science, weapons and military equipment has resulted in the appearance of new military terms. Thorough investigation in the sphere of military

terminology has been performed by many linguists: F.P. Sorokoletov (1970), L.F. Parparov (1978), G.M. Ekonomov (1989), L.N. Zenkova (1991), I.G. Matyushin (1996), N.V. Egorshina (1995), D.A. Maslov (2002) and T.G. Klikushina (2007).

L.F. Parparov gives the following definition of military terminology: "it is a corpus of terms denoting different concepts of the military sphere and different aids and appliances necessary for army life, study and combat activity" (Parparov 1978: 1177). According to this definition, terms dealing with the functioning of the military industry form a part of the terminological system. Military terms are necessary to name the phenomena, processes and items of warfare.

D.A. Maslov singles out the following characteristics of military terminology:

1. Correlation of military and terminological units with the concepts of military science and military arts;
2. Functioning in the military sphere;
3. Fixedness of the term with the concept in military documentation;
4. Regulation of definitions.

According to these characteristics, military terminology serves to name concepts in the military sphere and such terms are correlated to their given concepts. Furthermore, terms have special definitions that are fixed and regularized (Maslov 2002).

Among general characteristics of military terminology we can name:

1. Hierarchical systematicity;
2. Monosemy;
3. Terminology being comprised from the lexicon of the national language;
4. Stylistic neutrality.

Research over the past few years devoted to the sphere of military terminology is of great interest. In the work of A.G. Ryabov, semantic and functional aspects of the terms are studied, the structure of term-metaphors and term-metonymies in English military terminology is disclosed, basic models in shifts in meaning are defined in the terminology under analysis and models of metaphorical and metonymical shifts in meaning in the analyzed terminological system are given and represented graphically (Ryabov 2010). V.V. Chebotareva has analysed the terminological layer of English military vocabulary as a micro-system of inter-connected and

inter-dependent elements unifying a diversity of different branches of knowledge. Military terminology is viewed in terms of its development under the influence of social processes and phenomena and new terms are analyzed from the point of view of their conformance to the requirements of current standardization (Chebotareva 2012).

In talking about new research in the sphere of military terminology we wish to draw attention to the appearance of a great number of military terms with unusual names in both Russian and English. We have decided to pay the most attention to the names of artillery weapons and naval armaments. According to military specialists and historians nothing is known about the origin of weapon names. Some military historians state that this naming tendency has existed since ancient times. For example, the American 155mm self-propelled howitzer M109A7, formerly known as the M109A6 Paladin—is possibly named after the title of the twelve peers of Charlemagne's court, of whom the Count Palatine was the chief, or a knight renowned for heroism and chivalry; the M982 Excalibur (previously the XM982) is a 155 mm extended range guided artillery shell developed by Raytheon Missile Systems and BAE Systems AB—perhaps the shell resembles King Arthur's magic sword or has similar functions; the Self Propelled 17pdr, Valentine, Mk I, Archer was a British self-propelled anti-tank gun of the Second World War based on the Valentine infantry tank chassis fitted with an Ordnance QF 17 pounder gun—most probably it is named after a person who shoots with bow and arrow, or because its barrel looks like an arrow. Nowadays, the Archer is also a Swedish next-generation self-propelled howitzer. The Archer also fires Excalibur precision guided extended range projectiles with a maximum range of 60 km. We follow the point of view of Yuriy Knutov, a military historian, who states that in most of cases these kinds of names are given associatively with an element of folksy humour about them. For example, the Peter the Great cannon called 'shutikha' (a spitdevil cannon that fired a projectile of stewed turnip) and a bullet 'Privet!' (Hello!) (Military Secret 2015; 2016). He also mentions that modern Russian weapons bear the names of flowers because, on the one hand, they look nice, on the other hand, people rename them according to their specifications—rate and range of fire and damaging effect, for example, the 2S5 *Giatsint-S* (Russian—2С5 «Гиацинт-С»; English—hyacinth) is a Soviet/Russian 152 mm self-propelled gun. Some military men have named it 'Genocide' for its destructive capabilities; this name is based on the interplay of letters. The German S-mine (*Schrapnellmine*, *Springmine* or *Splittermine* in German), also known in the USA as the 'Bouncing Betty' and in Russia as a 'Frog,' is the best-known version of a class of mines known as bounding

mines. Such nicknames were given by association with the weapon's operational algorithm, i.e. when triggered, these mines launch into the air and then detonate at about 0.9 meters (3 ft) above the ground. The explosion projects a lethal spray of shrapnel in all directions (Vokrug Sveta 2016).

In analyzing military terms, especially those of artillery weapons and naval armaments, we decided to unify them into thematic groups. In understanding what a thematic group is, we adhere to the definition given in *Slovar' lingvisticheskikh terminov*: "It is a group of words that includes: 1) words of one and the same part of speech of the identical subject area; 2) words of other parts of speech necessary to disclose this or another theme. For example, a group of words denoting indoor furniture, plants in the garden, autumn marks, etc." In other words, "a thematic group is a corpus of words of different parts of speech according to their inter-linking with one theme on the basis of extra-linguistic parameters." (*Terminy i ponyatiya: Metody issledovaniya i analiza teksta*).

The singling out of a lexico-thematic group is based on the 'systematicity of ambient reality' that "shows up in different groups of words unified into lexico-thematic groups on the basis of the identity of realia they denote according to similarity, contiguity, purpose, arrangement, function, etc." (*Leksicheskaya sistema yazyka i mesto tematicheskoi gruppy v nei*). F.P. Filin, analyzing the two concepts 'lexico-thematic group' and 'lexico-semantic group,' differentiates them by stating that "lexical elements with similar comparable meanings" form the basis of a lexico-semantic group. According to this theory, synonyms, antonyms and other word groups that are related to one another by the similarity of semantic relations belong to lexico-semantic groups. The: "corpus of words based not on lexico-semantic relations, but on the basis of classification of the objects and real phenomena as they are" belongs to a thematic group (*Leksicheskaya sistema yazyka i mesto tematicheskoi gruppy v nei*).

Many linguists consider that there is no complete, impenetrable border line between lexico-thematic and lexico-semantic groups of words. Specification of thematic groups logically, inevitably and consecutively leads to lexico-semantic groups of words. D.N. Shmelev has suggested that "groups of words distinguished on the basis of objective/presentive and logical unanimity in many cases are characterized by common linguistic signs. In other words, a lot of thematic groups turn out on closer examination to be lexico-semantic ones" (*Leksicheskaya sistema yazyka i mesto tematicheskoi gruppy v nei*).

As such, thematic groups are the combinations of lexemes denoting definite object domains. Singling out these groups is based on extralinguistic criteria and that is why the terms of series in question have no common semantic markers. F.P. Filin correctly denotes 'neutral' or 'zero' connections between words belonging to thematic groups (Leksicheskaya sistema yazyka i mesto tematicheskoi gruppy v nei).

On this basis, we have singled out the following thematic groups of military terms:

1. **Names of flowers and trees:** samohodnaya gaubitsa 2S1 'Gvozdika'/self-propelled howitzer 2S1 Carnation, samohodnaya gaubitsa 2S3 'Akatsiya'/self-propelled howitzer 2S3 Acacia, samohodniy minomet 2S4 'Tyulpan'(often spelled as Tulpan)/self-propelled mortar 2S4 Tulip, dal'noboinaya samohodnaya pushka 2S5 'Giatsint-S'/152 mm self-propelled gun 2S5 Hyacinth-S, dal'noboinaya samohodnaya pushka 2S7 'Pion'/self-propelled gun 2S7 Peony, PTRK 'Khrizantema-S'/9P157-2 Chrysanthemum-S anti-tank missile system or tank destroyer (AT-15 Springer), 82 mm avtomaticheskii minomet 2B9 'Vasilek'/an automatic 82 mm gun-mortar 2B9 Vasilek (Cornflower), sistema aktivnoi provodnoi ohrany 'Kaktus'/stationary remote-controlled mine protective and defensive system Cactus, RT-2PM2 Topol-M/GM system White poplar-M (SS-27 'Sickle B');
2. **People:** M109A6 Paladin Self Propelled Howitzer, Archer tank, Sergeant missile, Patriot Missile Air Defense System, HMS Prince of Wales (R09), protivotankovaya raketa 9M14M 'Malyutka'/wire-guided anti-tank missile (ATGM) system 9M14 Malyutka ('Little one,' AT-3 Sagger), protivotankovaya raketa 'Metis-M' s nochnym pritselom 'Mulat'/9K115-2Metis-M anti-tank missile system with 1PBN86-VI thermal sight 'Mulatto' (AT-13Saxhorn-2), granata dlya podstvol'nogo granatomiota 7P24 'Podkidysh'/grenade for under barrel grenade launcher 7P24 the Foundling;
3. **Proper names:** tank M1 Abrams (named after general C. Abrams), Cromwell tank, US Little John rocket, The XM551 General Sheridan, Colt.45 automatic pistol, Long Tom, Gatling gun, the Armstrong Gun (designed by Sir William Armstrong), HMS Queen Elizabeth (R08), RSZO BM-13-16 'Katyusha'/Katyusha multiple rocket launcher BM-13-16 (some soldiers consider that this got its nickname from the tent cloth that covered the weapon and resembled a woman's skirt. Initially, concerns for secrecy kept the military designation from being known by the soldiers who

operated them. They were called by code names such as Kostikov guns (after the head of the RNII, the Reaction-Engine Scientific Research Institute), and finally classed as Guards Mortars. The name BM-13 was only allowed into secret documents in 1942 and remained classified until after the war. Because they were marked with the letter K (for Voronezh Komintern Factory), Red Army troops adopted a nickname from Mikhail Isakovsky's popular wartime song, 'Katyusha,' about a girl longing for her absent beloved who has gone away on military service. Katyusha is the Russian equivalent of Katie, an endearing diminutive form of the name Katherine: Yekaterina →Katya →Katyusha. German troops coined the nickname Stalin's organ (German—Stalinorgel), after Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, prompted by the visual resemblance of the launch array to a church organ and the sound of the weapon's rocket motors), tank T-90 'Vladimir' (after the name of the chief design engineer—V.I. Potkin), 44-stvol'naya batareya Nartova/44-barreled Nartov's mortar battery, sovetskaya takticheskaya atomnaya bomba 8U49 'Natasha'/Soviet tactical atomic bomb 8U49 'Natasha,' 2S9'Nona'—Novoe Orudie Nazemnoi Artillerii/2S9 NONA (Newest Ordnance of Ground Artillery) is an extremely light-weight self-propelled and air-droppable 120 mm mortar;

4. **Mythology:** 17 pounder Self-Propelled Achilles, rocket Sea Dragon, The Goliath tracked mine, Trident II Missile, P-8A Poseidon, ZRK 'Antei-2500'/S-300VM 'Antey-2500' (NATO reporting name SA-23 Gladiator/Giant) anti-ballistic missile system;
5. **Objects or things:** MGM-51 Shillelagh (baton, black-jack), Rapier FSC Air Defense System, Corkscrew tank, GP-30 'Obuvka'/40-mm under-barreled grenade-gun 'Footwear,' T-72B 'Rogatka'/tank T-72B 'Slingshot,' BM podderzhki tankov 'Ramka'/tank support combat vehicle 'Terminator'/Frame,' rotniy minomet 2B14 'Podnos'/2B14 mortar 'Tray,' samohodnoe orudie 2A3'Kondensator'/2a3 self-propelled howitzer 'Condenser,' 122-mm reaktivniy snaryad 9M22K s kassetnoi BCH 'Ukrashenie'/122-mm rocket missile 9M22K with a cluster-weapon dispenser 'Decoration,' PZRK 'Igla'/man-portable infrared homing surface-to-air missile 'Grouse'/Needle' (9K338 Igla-S, with NATO reporting name SA-24 Grinch), PZRK 9K32 'Strela-2'/9K32 Strela-2 ('Arrow'; NATO reporting name SA-7 Grail) is a man-portable, shoulder-fired, low-altitude surface-to-air missile system;

6. **Fete:** RK beregovoi oborony 'Bal'/coastal missile system 'Ball'/SSC-6 Sennight;
7. **Professions:** The FV102 Striker, the anti-tank guided missile carrier, mezhkontinental'naya ballisticheskaya raketa 'Kur'er'/intercontinental ballistic missile 'Courier'/SS-X-26, sredstvo zaschity radiolokatsionnykh stantsiy 'Gazetchik-E'/means of protection of radar stations 'Newsmen/Paragapher-E,' 30-mm aviatsionnaya avtomaticheskaya pushka 9A-4071 'Balerinka'/30-mm automatic cannon 9A-4071 'Ballet dancer/ballerina,' avtonomniy kompleksirovanniy vtorichniy radiolokator UVD I gosopoznavaniya 'Styuardessa'/ATC and governmental identification self-governing interconnected secondary radar 'Stewardess';
8. **Musical instruments:** atomnaya podlodka proekta 705 'Lira'/a class of hunter-killer nuclear-powered submarines Navy Project 705 'Lyre'/Alfa;
9. **Food, party:** sistema upravleniya artilleriyskim ognem 'Kapustnik'/gunfire control system 'Skit' (Cabbage pie);
10. **Transport vehicle:** minomet 2S12 'Sani'/heavy mortar system 2S12 'Sleigh';
11. **Abstract concepts:** konteinernaya sistema upravleniya raketami 'Fantasmagoriya'/containerized rocket control system 'Phantasmagoria'; bronezhilet 'Vizit'/bulletproof vest 'Visit,' granatomet-lopata 'Variant'/spade mortar 'Variant,' bronezhilet 'Gzhel'/bulletproof vest 'Gzhel';
12. **Fairy-tale characters:** USS Phoenix (CL-46), 30-stvol'niy samohodniy ognemet TOS-1 'Buratino'/Heavy Flamethrower System 'Pinocchio'/30-barrel (original system, Ob.634 or TOS-1M) or 24-barrel (Ob.634B or TOS-1A) multiple rocket launcher system and thermobaric weapon 'Pinocchio' mounted on a T-72 tank chassis, maskirovochnye kostyummy 'Kikimora,' 'Leshiy'/camouflage suits 'Female hobgoblin,' 'Sylvan'/Ghillie suit (the term *ghillie* references Ghillie Dhu, derived from *gille*, the Scottish Gaelic for 'servant' or 'lad.' In English, this term was especially used to refer to those assisting in deer hunting, deer stalking or fly fishing expeditions in the Scottish Highlands. The Australian Army sniper's outfits are nicknamed 'yowies,' named for their resemblance to the Yowie, a mythical hominid similar to the Yeti and Bigfoot which is said to live in the Australian wilderness);

13. **Emotionally coloured evaluative group:** Avenger Low Level Air Defence System, DDG-51 Destroyer, mezhkontinental'naya ballisticheskaya raketa RT-23 UTTH 'Molodets'/ICBM RT-23 'Attaboy!'/SS-24 Scalpel, radiopelengatsionniy meteorologicheskii kompleks RPMK-1 'Ulybka'/direction-finding meteorological equipment system RPMK-1 'Smile,' termobaricheskaya GCH 9M216 'Volnenie'/thermobaric warhead 9M216 'Excitement,' 240-mm reaktivniy snaryad MS-24 s khimicheskoi BCH 'Laska'/240-mm rocket missile MS-24 with a chemical warhead 'Kindness,' UAZ-3150 'Shalun'/UAZ-3150 'Naughty kid,' korabel'naya RLS MR-352 'Pozitiv'/shipboard radio detection and ranging MR-352 'Positive,' 23-mm rezinovaya pulya 'Privet'/23-mm rubber bullet 'Hello!,' pehotnaya lopata 'Azart'/infantry spade 'Excitement,' svetozvukoshumovaya granata mnogokratnogo deistviya 'Ekstaz'/reusable flash-acoustic-bang device 'Ecstasy';
14. **The animal world:** UH-1H Huey Cobra helicopter, the Falcon, Sikorsky UH-60 Black Hawk helicopter (may be named after a Native American tribe), F-22 Raptor, USS Bluefish Diesel-Electric Attack Submarine, USS Hornet (CV-12), 140-mm reaktivniy snaryad M-14S/radiostantsiya voennoi razvedki 4TUD/raketa-mishen' RM-207A-U 'Belka'/140-mm rocket missile M-14S/radio station of Military Intelligence 4TUD/target missile RM-207A-U 'Squirrel,' mnogotselevoi mishenniy raketniy kompleks 96M6M 'Kaban'/multipurpose target GM system 96M6M 'Wild Boar,' 64-mm reaktivnaya protivotankovaya granata RPG-18 'Mukha'/64-mm short-range, disposable light anti-tank rocket launcher RPG-18 'Mukha'/'Fly,' 533-mm samonavodyaschayasya torpedo SET-65 'Enot'/533-mm self-guided torpedo SET-65 'Raccoon,' mobil'niy robototekhnicheskii kompleks MRK-2 'Kuznechik'/mobile robotic system MRK-2 'Grasshopper,' besshumniy avtomatno-granatometniy kompleks 6S1 'Kanareika'/noiseless automatic grenade launcher system 6S1 'Canary,' avtomaticheskii granatomet TKB-0134 'Kozlik'/automatic grenade launcher TKB-0134 'Young Goat,' nazemniy vozimiy DV-SV radiopriemnik R-880M 'Krevetka'/land-mobile DW/SW radio receiver R-880M 'Shrimp,' radiolokatsionniy pritsel'niy kompleks N001VP dlya modifikatsiy Su-27 'Panda'/radar targeting system N001VP for modifications Su-27(Flanker) 'Panda,' 324-mm aviatsionnaya protivolodochnaya torpedo 'Kolibri'/324-mm aviation anti-submarine torpedo/air-to-sub-surface missile 'Colibri,' kompleks artilleriiskoy razvedki i

- upravleniya ognem 1L219 'Zoopark'/artillery reconnaissance and fire control system 1L219 'Zoo';
15. **Health:** Bronetransporter BTR-80A 'Buinost'/APC-80A 'Raving,' tyazhelaya TRS stantsiya R-410M 'Diagnoz'/heavy TRS station R-410M 'Diagnosis,' spetsial'naya meditsinskaya mashina dlya vozdušno-desantnykh voisk BMM-1D 'Travmatism'/Armoured ambulance for airborne forces BMM-1D 'Traumatism,' programmno-tehnicheskiy kompleks 65s941 'Tonus'/I&C complex 65s941 'Tonus';
 16. **Element:** Starstreak is a close-range anti-air guided-weapon system, Swing fire British wire-guided anti-tank missile, RSZO 'Uragan'/self-propelled multiple rocket launcher system 'Hurricane,' RSZO 'Grad'/truck-mounted 122 mm multiple rocket launcher 'Hail,' RSZO 'Smerch'/heavy multiple rocket launcher 'Whirlwind,' RSZO 'Tornado'/universal multiple rocket launcher 'Tornado,' TOS-1M 'Solntsepek'/heavy flamethrower system TOS-1M 'Blaze of the sun,' granatomet MRG-1 'Ogonek'/grenade launcher MRG-1 'Flicker';
 17. **Rivers:** USS Missouri (BB-63), ZPRK 'Tunguska-M1'/tracked self-propelled anti-aircraft weapon 'Tunguska-M1'/SA-19 'Grison,' ZSU 23-4 'Shilka'/self-propelled, radar guided anti-aircraft weapon system 'Shilka,' ZRK S-125 'Neva'/surface-to-air missile system 'Neva'/SA-3 Goa, ZRK SA-75 'Dvina'/high-altitude air defence system SA-75 'Dvina'/SA-2 Guideline, ZRK S-200A 'Angara'/medium-to-high altitude surface-to-air missile (SAM) system S-200A 'Angara'/SA-5 Gammon.

To sum up, we can draw the conclusion that military terminology is still of great interest to linguists and is not yet thoroughly studied. Of all the types of weapons investigated, we only managed to single out the names of artillery weapons, naval armaments and a few terms of airborne weapons. We have not yet come across research devoted to the profound study of 'cold weapons.' Though in this article we have highlighted a few of the problems in the study of military terminology, we think that the appearance of new weapons will result in the appearance of new military terms and hence new ways of their study in the process of solving contemporary problems. Interestingly, the names of weapons can be subdivided not only according to the above-mentioned thematic groups, but according to the following established traditions also: 1) letter/type of modification—'Vega'—S-200V, 'Dubna'—S-200D; 2) names of contests that are held for R&D—'Sudya,' 'Grach'; 3) according to abbreviation

and by proceeding with the logic of a weapons series; 4) by association; 5) using military humour; 6) in honour of the inventor of the weapon; 7) according to operative performance or quality specifications. More than that, we assume that the figurativeness and imagery of the Russian names of weapons is more powerful and prominent than the foreign ones. We propose that this is connected to the historical peculiarities of language development, mentality and the imaginative or conceptual thinking of the people involved.

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MONOSYLLABLES AND DISYLLABLES WITH THE INITIAL LABIAL SOUND IN INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

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In the history of linguistics, the question of the genesis of language is one of the oldest ones. Formulated in the period of pre-scientific knowledge, it has been developed in the writings of many philosophers, linguists and even economists, from the Stoics to the Epicureans; G. Leibniz, J.J. Rousseau, A. Smith and K. Bücher have all developed hypotheses on the genesis of language. However, there is no unified scientific theory that can confirm or dispel these various hypotheses. The opposition between the social contract theory and the onomatopoeic theory is reflected, in an early form, in the Platonic dialogue *Cratylus*. In this dialogue, Socrates settles the dispute in a certain way: he attributes the freedom of nomination to native speakers, but limits it by the qualitative characteristics of things and sounds of speech:

“In the first place, the letter ρ appears to me to be the general instrument expressing all motions ... as he (the giver of names) observed that the tongue was most agitated and least at rest in the pronunciation of this letter. ... And there is another class of letters, φ , ψ , σ and ς , of which the pronunciation is accompanied by great expenditure of breath; these are used in the imitation of such notions as shivering, seething, to be shaken, shock, and are always introduced by the giver of names when he wants to imitate what is windy. He seems to have thought that the closing and pressure of the tongue in the utterance of δ and τ was expressive of binding and resting in place: he further observed the liquid movement of λ , in the pronunciation of which the tongue slips, and in this he found the expression of smoothing ... The ν he observed to be sounded from within, and therefore to have a notion of inwardness; ... α he assigned to the expression of size, and η of length, because they are great letters: \circ was the sign of roundness. Thus did the legislator, reducing all things into letters

and syllables, and impressing on them names and signs, and out of them by imitation compounding other signs."¹

M. Lomonosov has also talked of the semantic significance of phones. In *A Brief Guide for Oratory*, he notes:

"Hard *κ, n, m* and soft *δ, z, δ* have a dull sound and there is neither sweetness nor power in them, unless the other consonants are not in charge of them, and therefore they can only be used for the representation of actions, that sounds lazy and hollow (horses' hooves, calls of some animals etc.). Hard *c, φ, x, y, u, u* and melting *p* have sonorous and rapid pronunciation, so they can contribute to a better representation of things and actions that are strong, great, loud, terrible and magnificent. Soft *ж, з* and melting *в, л, м,* and *н* have tender pronunciation, and therefore they are suitable for the representation of gentle and soft things and actions."²

Despite the fact that the idea of the semantic significance of the phoneme was shared by some scholars and thinkers, it was not widespread in science because it was subjective and contemplative in nature and was not supported by objective empirical data.

By the end of the twentieth century, the basis of methodology and research had been extended through the integration of achievements made in different branches of science, allowing for a return to the problem of the origin and evolution of language. Increased interest in this problem has been connected both to the success of related disciplines (such as psycholinguistics and evolutionary linguistics) and with developments in the natural sciences. At the intersection of phonetics, semantics and lexicology a new branch of linguistics—phonosemantics—was formed. At the root of this trend was Charles Osgood. In Russia, work by S. Voronin and A. Zhuravlev is also squarely in this trend.

As S. Voronin has noted, the purpose of phonosemantics, in its most general form, is the study of the sound-symbol language system, and more specifically:

"The study of sound symbolism as an essential, repetitive and relatively stable non-arbitrary phonetically motivated link between phonemes, words, and the characteristic of denotation, underlying the process of naming."³

¹ Jowett, B. *Cratylus*, 372-373

² Lomonosov, M. *Kratkoe rukovodstvo k krasnorechiiu*, 242

³ Voronin, S. *Osnovyfonosemantiki*, 21-22

A. Zhuravlev has suggested that each phone corresponds to a certain subconscious meaning. He has also noted that sometimes not just separate phones but also graphemes have their own meaning. Graphical images influence the perception of sounds: graphemes form typical images of sounds in the mind and fix them with the help of graphical symbols. Under the pressure of graphemes, the human mind perceives the sounds of speech in ways other than through the ear. For example, in Russian the graphemes *e*, *ě*, *ю*, *я* are used to signify the sound combinations *je*, *jo*, *ju* and *ja*. As the mind of a native speaker (in this case Russian) was used to identify each combination with one letter, it perceived not two separate physical sounds *j* and *u*, but one 'phonographical image' (Zhuravlev 1991: 10-11).

Based on the semantic differential technique of Charles Osgood, A. Zhuravlev composed 23 scales, formed with pairs of antonymous adjectives (good—bad, large—small, joyful—sad etc.) and undertook research to determine the semantic meaning of phones and phonographical images in some families (Indo-European, Austroasiatic). Based on the semantic significance of sound, Zhuravlev's classification is similar to the traditional classification based on physical characteristics of sounds. The author came to the conclusion that the phonetic significance of speech sounds, based on their physical characteristics, is organic and primordial in some aspects. Therefore, it is possible to find a match for each scale among these characteristics. For example, *u* is 'hot' because it is soft and voiceless, and *p* is 'cold' because it is hard and sonorous (Zhuravlev 1991).

Phonemes of other languages (Lithuanian, Polish, Bulgarian, Moldovan, German and Vietnamese) mostly occupied similar positions on these scales. The author locates the reason for differences in perception of some sounds in the peculiarities of the phonetic structure of the languages. The development of the languages (especially changes in their phonetic system) led to alterations in their primary general significance. Moreover, for each language, these changes were specific (Zhuravlev 1991).

In this research we examine monosyllables and disyllables with the initial labial and nasal sounds (*b*)/(*bh*), (*p*), (*w*)/(*u*), (*f*)/(*dh*), (*m*), (*n*) in Indo-European languages.

Using the method of continuous sampling we have selected 946 lexical units from Indo-European vocabulary. From the point of view of their semantic meaning, these lexical units refer to the layer of vernacular words, as they are used for the nomination of a man, parts of the body, human relations, food, objects and phenomena of the world, and the actions associated with them. According to A. Mikhalev's theory of phonosemantic fields, the diversity of sound and non-sound manifestations

can be summarized into three main groups: buccal (oral) activity, manual activity and the sphere of the external sounding world (Mihaliiov 1995). Based on this theory, we have sub-divided the Indo-European lexical units into the three above-mentioned groups:

Buccal activity:

«Tongue-tied» Slav. *bьlbь, *bolbolь, *bьlbь; Lat. *Babulus*; Old-Gr.; *bambáinō*, *bambálō/umbálein; Balt. *balb-ē-, *blab-ē-; Ancient-Ind. *Balbalākar*; PIE *balb-, *balbal-;

«Speaking another language, stranger» Lat. *Baburrus*; Old-Gr. *bárbaro-s*; Ancient-Ind. *barbara-*; PIE *barbar-;

«To chatter» Germ. *plad-Vr-ōn-; Lat. *Blaterāre*; PIE *blat-;

«Mouth» Slav. *blg bьrna*; Arm. *Beran*; Balt. *buŕn-â f., *puŕn-(a)-; Celt. *Bern*; PIE *bhern-;

«To suck» Germ. *tull-ōn-; Old-Gr. *bdállō*, *bdálsi-s*, *bdélla*; PIE *bdel-;

«To eat, to drink» Old-Gr. *phagēn*; Ancient-Ind. *bhaktá-*, *bhaksati*, *bhaksá-*; PIE *bhag-;

«To blow» Germ. *blē-ja-, *blē-s-a-, *bla-(d)r-ō-, *blā-dr-iōn-; Celt. *bolad*, *boladh*, *baladh*; Lat. *Flēmina*; Old-Gr. *phl(ē)nai*; Balt. *bul-a m., *bul-â f; PIE *bhAl-, *bhlē-;

«Gullet, windpipe» Germ. *barkēn- m; Lat. *Frūmen*; Old-Gr. *Pháriuks*; PIE *bharug(‘)-, *bhrūg(‘)-;

«To say» Slav. *bájātī, *bájō, *bāsнь, *bālъjь; Germ. *bō-n-ī(n-) f., *ba-nn-a- vb., *ba-nn-a- m.; Lat. *for* (*Gramm.*), *fārī*, *fātus sum*, *fācundus*, -a, *fātum*, -ī n.; Old-Gr. *phāmi*, *pháskō*; Ancient-Ind. *sa-bhā f.*; Arm. *Ban*; PIE *bhā-;

«To break, to bite» Germ. *bīt-a-, *bait-ia-; Lat. *findō*, -ere, *fidī*, *fissum*; Ancient-Ind. *bhinátti*, *bhinná-*; PIE *bheid-;

«Food» Germ. *mat-i- c.; Celt. *maisse*, *mess*;

«To suck (milk), to suckle» Slav. *dojb, *dojŭti, *dētĕ, *dētĭ, pl. *dētĭ; Germ. *dajj-á-, *dēj-a- vb., *di-l, *di-m; Celt. *dīnu, dīth*; Lat. *fēlāre (fellāre), filius, fēlĭx, fetus-djaøe, dele*; Balt. *dē-, *dei-n-iā, *dē-l-a-; Old-Gr. *thēsthaj*; Ancient-Ind. *dháyati, dhénā*; Avest. *daēnu-*; Pers. *Dadan*; Arm. *diem* ' , *sm-di, da(i)*; PIE *dhēy-;

«To say, to tell» Slav. *vetjb; Germ. *wax-n-ia-, *wáx-a-/*wag-á-; Celt. *Fūaimm*; Lat. *vōx, vōcis*; Old-Gr. *épos, wepos*; Tokh. *wak, wek*; Ancient-Ind. *vakti, vívakti, vácas- vác-*; Avest. *vačah, vāx-s*; Arm. *Gočem*; PIE *wekʷ- (*Gr w-*).

Manual activity:

«To press, to squeeze» Germ. *prang- Balt. *brañg-t-a-c; Tokh. *prānk-*; PIE *brAngh-;

«Arm, shoulder» Germ. *bōg-u- c., *bōg-is-l-a- n.; Old-Gr. *pākhū-*; Tokh. *poke, poko (pokai)*; Ancient-Ind. *bāhú-*; Avest. *bāzu-*; PIE *bhāg'h-u-;

«To stuff» Celt. *bark-; Lat. *farcio, farsī, farctum, fartim*; Old-Gr. *phrássō, phrátō, phraktós*; Alb. *Bark*; PIE *bhark-/*bhrak-;

«Tocut» Lat. *forceps, cipis, forpex, forfex*; Old-Gr. *pérthaj, pérsi-*; Ancient-Ind. *bardhaka-, bhartsati*; PIE *bherdh-;

«To beat» Germ. *blak-ja-; Lat. *Flagrum*; PIE *bhlag(')-;

«Priest» Lat. *flāmen*; Ancient-Ind. *brahmán-*; PIE *bhlag'h-m-en-;

«To bore» Slav. *dojb, *dētĕ, *dētĭ, *dētĭ; Germ. *bur-ō-; Lat. *Forāre*; Arm. *getna-, erkra-, hoła-bir*; PIE *bhor-;

«To knead, to oil» Slav. *mázātĭ, *mázjō, *māzĭ, *māstĭ, *māslo; Celt. *mag'setriā>maistre, maistir, maeddu, bretmeza; Balt. *mōž-ē-; Old-Gr. *mássō, máttō, maksaj, mémagmaj magis, mázdamádda*; PIE *mag'-;

«To rumple, to press» Slav. *māčĭkātĭ; Lat. *Mactāre*; Balt. *māk- (*māk-ja-); PIE *māk-;

«To be able, to know» Old-Gr. *mākhar*, *mākhos*, *mākhanā*; Balt. **māk-ē-*, *-ī-*, **māk-s-l-a* c., **māk-in-*; PIE **māk-* (-*kh*);

«To weave, to bind» Slav. **nertь* (> *рус. диал. перет, перето*); Balt. **ner-* (**nerja-*), **nar-iñ-*, **nař-s-t-a* c., **niř-* **nar-a-*, *-ia-*; Old-Gr. *lárnaks*, *-akos*, *nárnaks* = *kibōtós*, *lárko-s*; PIE **nerə-*;

«To fasten, to place» Germ. **fānx-a-/fang-á-*, **fang-ō-*, **fang-á-*, **fang-i* c., **fāx-r-a-*, **fag-r-á* adj., **fōg-ōf*, **fōg-ia-*; Celt. **hakni-*; Lat. *pacīscor*, *pactus*; Old-Gr. *pássalo-s*, *páttalo-s*; Ancient-Ind. *Pāśayati*; Avest. *pas-*, *paiti-*, *ava-*, *paxšta-*; PIE **pak'-*;

«To weave» Germ. **wib-a-*, **wab-ja-*; Old-Gr. *hūphājīnō*, *hūphā*, *hūphos* (compare Hebr. *הפאן (hupa)*); Alb. *Veñ*; Hitt. *Hupala-*; Tokh. *wāp-*, *wāp-*; Ancient-Ind. *ubhati*, *umbhati*; Avest. *ubdaēna-*; Old-Pers. *Bāfad*; PIE **webh-*.

The sphere of the external sounding world:

«Strong» Slav. **boljь*, **bolje*; Germ. **pal-a-*; Lat. *Dēbilis*; Celt. *adbaldibeal*, *diblide*, *balc*, *balch*; Old-Gr. *beltiōn*, *béltero-*, *béltisto-*, *béltato-*; Ancient-Ind. *bála-*, *balín-*, *bálīyān*; PIE **bal-/e-*;

«Weakness» Celt. *badus*, *bad*, *badt*, *bada*, *bader*; Ancient-Ind. *Batá*; PIE **bat-*;

«Storm» Slav. **būrjā*; Germ. **bur-ja-*; Lat. *Furō*; PIE **bhAur*, **bhūr-*;

«Father, (elder) brother» Slav. **bār*; Germ. **bō(w)-an-*, **bō-l-an-*; Balt. **ba-t-ia-*, **ba-l-ia-*; PIE **bhā-*, **bhā-t-*;

«Without» Slav. **bez*, **be*; Balt. **be(t)*; PIE **bheg'h*;

«To make a noise» Slav. **brьmētī*, **brьmūtь*; Germ. **brim-ō(n)* **bram-iōf*, **brim-a* vb., **brim-ja* vb., **brum-ja* vb., **brim-is-ōf*; Celt. **brem->brefu*; Old-Gr. *brémō*, *brómo-*, *brontā*; Lat. *fremō*; PIE **bhrem(e)-*, **breme-*;

«Member (of body)» Old-Gr. *Mélos*; Balt. **mel-mō* (*men-es*); Celt. *mal*, *mell*; Tokh. *Mlyuwe*; Ancient-Ind. *márman-*; PIE **mal-/e*;

«*Man*» Slav. *mǫžъ; Germ. *mann-an- m., *mann-, *mann-an-m.; Tokh. mäskit, mäncuške, *mänsu-; Ancient-Ind. mānu-, mānuṣ-, mānuṣa-; Avest. manuš-čīera-; PIE *mAnw-;

«*Mother, nurse, uncle*» Slav. *nänā, *nenā; Germ. Mutter, Amme; Lat. nonnus m., nonna f.; Old-Gr. nēnno-s m., nānna («brother/sister of father/mother»), nānnā («mother's sister»); Celt. Nain; Alb. nane; Ancient-Ind. nanā f.; Pers. nana («mother»); PIE *nan-/*nen-;

«*Fore, the first, etc.*» Slav. *pъrvъ, *perdъ, *prī, *pro, *prokъ, *pročъ(jъ), etc.; Germ. *fir-n-a-, *frō-; Celt. *eri-, *ero-; Balt. *pir-m-a-adj. *prei(-), *pef-n-a-adj. (1), *prī-k; Old-Gr. prōka, prōmo-, pérā(n), prōi; Lat. per, prae, prīvus, procum; Alb. per, pej, pe; Hitt. para, piran; Tokh. ana-pār, ene-pre, pārne, parna, pārwat, parwe; Ancient-Ind. pára-, parāh, párá, pūrva-; Avest. pairi, para-, parō; Pers. pariy, para-; PIE *perā-, *pro-, *prey-, *peram-, *peraw-, *prom-;

«*Honeycomb*» Germ. *wab-ōn-/*wab-an-, *wa(b)-l-ō; Lat. favus, -ī m; PIE *wabh-, *bhaw-;

«*To be strong, powerful, possess*» Slav. *volsī, *voldō, *voldēī, -ějō, *volstb; Germ. *wal-d-a-; Celt. faln-, foln-, gwaladr, *wlati-, flaiith, gwlad, gulat, gulas, gloat, glat `vermögen', *walno-, fān, gwaun, gwon, gueun; Lat. valēre, validus; Old-It. Vale; Balt. *wel-d-ē-(*wel-d-a-), *wal-d-ī-, *wil-d-ē-, *wil-d-; Tokh. wāl, walo, *wālo («king»); PIE *wala-/e-.

Conclusion

Having studied monosyllabic and disyllabic morphemes with the initial labial/nasal sounds (b)/(bh), (p), (w)/(u), (f)/(dh), (m), (n) in Indo-European languages, and after analysis of their internal and external forms, we came to the conclusion that in the words of these structures a relationship between sound and meaning is pronounced. Taking into account the fact that from the psychological point of view, the initial consonant in the word has the greatest significance, we assume that the semantic meaning of these words is largely due to the phonosemantic meaning of the phonemes (b)/(bh), (p), (w)/(u), (f)/(dh), (m), (n). Certainly, this hypothesis requires further verification based on material from other language systems.

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PART V:

PRAGMALINGUISTICS AND SPEECH

WORD AND PRAGMATICS

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Pragmatics covers the semiotic and linguistic areas that “study the functioning of language signs in speech” (Arutyunova 1990: 389). Despite the fact that research in this direction has the tendency to intensify and expand the problem, it still does not have clear contours and does not render the “peculiarities of the conceptual approach to the object under study” fully and systematically (Zolyan 2009: 3).

According to historical tradition, linguistic pragmatics “includes a complex of issues connected with the subject of speech; addressee, and their interrelation in communication, the situation of communication” (Arutyunova 1990: 30). Certain present day terminology pays attention to the variety of aspects to be looked at; this includes, interpreted in the light of pragmatics, such notions as information, competence, reference, presupposition, situation, stylistics, language function and the coordinates of language actualization at different levels.

In the light of this, the pragmatics of the word presents a topic of interest. The category of ‘word pragmatics’ exists despite the habit of referring pragmatics to ‘sentence-text’ categories. Therefore, a definition of words solely by their meaning content in speech needs to be expanded to include the modification of word content on the basis of the socially determined stable semantics general to all language bearers (Eggins 2004).

Let us look through the approaches to identifying signs of pragmaticity in the lexical content of words from different groups according to the following linguo-philosophical generalization:

“Each individual reflects the environment of objects in their consciousness passing it through the prism of personal experience. But the private becomes public when a person comes into contact with other people. And language plays an important role in all forms of correlation with the surrounding world. All the spiritual life of a person is reflected in

language, it is language which collects and passes humanity's experience from generation to generation."¹

When identifying the negative evaluative component in the semantic structure of a word, it is noted that the definition of the word, not its stylistic colouring, demonstrates the presence of such a component (e.g. German *lügen* 'to lie,' *stehlen* 'to steal,') negative evaluation makes up the nuclear and most weighty seme. The greater the number of synonyms a word has the lower on the axiological scale of action and quality of objects it is—the payorative. Synonyms in literary language and general usage are obligatory signs of the payorative; their polyfunctional and historical changeability can also be observed.

If we turn our attention to the interpretation of opposite evaluative components in the semantics of one and the same word, it becomes obvious that an evaluative opposition in the semantics of the designators appears as: 1) the result of the notional shift in the actual meaning which has led to the change in the evaluative component (D + positive → D + super + negative: *ein frommer Eifer* 'silent penetration'); 2) the result of the development of two evaluative oppositional meanings on the basis of one, evaluative neutral meaning (D → D + positive and D + negative: *eine alte Wahrheit* 'old sarcasm'). The evaluatively presupposed oppositions in the meaning of designators exist both at the language level and at the speech level.

Analysis of the process of forming words with a negative expressive-emotional-evaluative connotation from the functional-stylistic aspect makes it possible to notice the presence of morphemes and words in a language that form regularly derivative words with 'critical' meaning—words are created according to typological models with a certain degree of generalization. The meaning of the negative denotational quality is formed and fixed according to the following pattern: 1) it can be inherited from the root (*Feigling* 'coward'); 2) it is created as a result of the metaphorical semantics of the morpheme or its serial component (*Boulevardblatt* 'boulevard newspaper,' *Schmutzliteratur* 'dirty literature'). Derived payoratives that do not connote a negative quality are occasional evaluative speech markers.

On the basis of studies on the stylistic aspects of melioration (covering lexical units with a positive emotional evaluative colouring), we can differentiate two types of meliorative substitutions belonging to the high style: 1) the phenomenon of euphemism—a taboo or vulgarism is substituted by another, identical in axiological terms, but differentiated by

¹ Bushuy, A. Sushchnost yazyka kak problema obshchey lingvistiki, 85

higher stylistic colouring (*Tod* 'death,' *Ableben* 'pass away'); 2) the pure melioration phenomenon—a word neutral both in evaluative and stylistic colouring is substituted by a lexeme belonging to a higher style of prestige and language snobbery. Members of such an opposition can differ in the shade of meaning and distribution.

Lexical pragmatics can be observed by comparing words with different functional-stylistic layers. For example, contrasting colloquial and public styles shows that the colloquial units in newspaper style embody the function of influencing unequivocally. Specification of these nominations appears as a result of the following: public reconceptualization (*die Maulkorbpolitik* 'curb'); word-forming modifications (*das Kriegsgeschwätz* 'military hullabaloo'). Most of the newly formed units have regional geographic points of view. Word formation is the main way of forming such units. Their content always has public markers and colloquially coloured components whose frequency is dependant on its decree of deflecting from norms.

Pragmatic individualization of language units is observed at the inter-level angle. For example, it is found in the expression of inter-personal actions by means of circumlocutory causatives (i.e. causative constructions in which causation is expressed by word combinations and lexical causatives—causatives expressed by one language unit) as semantically and syntactically varied units. Depending on the degree of influence of causation on state or action (starting from uncontrolled mediated causation) causative verbs can be divided into groups: verbs of uncontrolled causation (i.e. cause), direct controlled causation, and mediated controlled causation (such as having a modal meaning). For example: 'I caused her to lose her balance' (by losing my balance and tripping her); 'I made her lose her balance' (by deliberately rushing over and tripping her); 'I had her lose her balance' (by sending John over to trip her).

In general, the pragmatic peculiarities of communicative units bear socially meaningful information (communicative content). This can be solved through a communicative approach to language. The relationship between semantics and structure is composed of: communicatively oriented units "due to their stipulation by the needs of cognitive process, and finally, the needs of human's practical activity" (Chesnokov 1984: 3). The aim of communication is defined within a sphere of human activity where the ontological unity of the language and text is opened up.

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KEYWORDS AS THE EXPRESSION OF THINKING IN TYUTCHEV'S POETIC-EPISTOLARY HERITAGE

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*Tyutchev created his works as a poet only in Russian,
but thought politically only in French.*¹

Language and thinking is an important area, the investigation of which has been contributed to by many Russian linguists, including P.V. Chesnokov. The authors of this article attempt to take a different view of the thesis of that original and profound interpreter of Tyutchev's poetry, B.M. Kozyrev, whose words preface this article. Analysis of the semantic role of poetic keywords, epistolary and public works testifies that Tyutchev thought in Russian in political terms as well.

Let us try to look a little differently at the idea of the correlation of Tyutchev's language and thinking, taking into account the final lines of the author of *Letters about Tyutchev*, an original and deep researcher into his poetry who, in our opinion, expressed many things about this beloved poet:

"I am perfectly aware of both the total fragmentedness of my sketches and a considerable number of internal contradictions, probably as well as a fair share of subjectivity in the constructions presented here ..."²

declared B.M. Kozyrev in his last letter. It is indisputable that a considerable part of Tyutchev's epistolary and public works, in which he

¹ Kozyrev, B.M. *Pisma o Tyutcheve//Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev. Literaturnoe nasledstvo* (Letters about Tyutchev//Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev. Literary Heritage). Volume 97. In two books. Book One.— Moscow: "Science", 1988. P.85.

² *Ibid*, p. 127.

stated his political and philosophical views, is written in French. But here is the question: is this Tyutchev's whim or a forced necessity? A number of reasons forced Tyutchev to resort to French in his epistolary works. For many decades, Russian-French bilingualism determined the condition of the Russian literary language: like Pushkin's Tatyana Larina, many children in noble families spoke and wrote French much better than Russian from their early years. This was the case in many local Russian estates, to say nothing of Tyutchev's daughters who were born in Munich and Turin, where they spent their youth, and were brought up by their mother in German and French. After Tyutchev and his family returned to Russia, they got acquainted both with their homeland and with Russian. Tyutchev wrote letters to his parents in French, too, but in them he mostly mentions his worldly interests, without burdening his parents with discussion of a political or philosophical character. In a letter written in Russian to his beloved aunt N.N. Sheremeteva, dated December 26, 1845, he admits, "*чудовищная лень и глупая непривычка писать по-русски*" (Tyutchev CWL-4 2004: 327). The most important reason for Tyutchev resorting to French while writing his published commentary was his aspirations to explain to the Western community his private and nationwide judgments on the significant historical events of the past, present and future. By the 1840s, when his public works written in French were included in the 3rd volume of *Complete Works and Letters*, these views coincided in many respects, both personally and nationally. The poet wrote to Doctor Gustav Kolb, the editor of The General Newspaper in his letter 'Russia and Germany' in 1844, and said:

*"Я русский, ... русский сердцем и душой, глубоко преданный своему отечеству, пребываю в согласии со своим правительством и, кроме того, целиком независим по занимаемому положению. Стало быть, я попытаюсь здесь выразить русское мнение, но свободное и совершенно бескорыстное."*³

Upon his return from abroad, after a long absence from Russia, Tyutchev says to P.A. Vyazemsky:

*"более всего поражает его отсутствие России в России."*⁴

³ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy i pisma v shesti tomah* (Complete Works and Letters in Six Volumes). Volume 3.– Moscow, 2003. P. 111.

⁴ Ekshut, S. *Tyutchev taynyiy sovetnik i kamerger* (Tyutchev Privy Councilor and Chamberlain).– Moscow, 2003. P. 128.

Russia, and everything connected with it, was at the center of Tyutchev's private and official interests and therefore could not but be reflected in his creative activity: poetry, published commentary and epistolary works. Here, it must be assumed that despite the form of expression of his thoughts, in political terms he thought in Russian as well, especially when he argued against the perverted European ideas of Russian people and Russia. He cannot be put in the same boat as those European politicians who, without knowing Russian to the extent which Tyutchev knew French and German, in their native languages, gave an objective assessment of the political events taking place in Russia. Tyutchev's political thinking was reflected, although in a rather insignificant fashion, in a representative number of political poems written in Russian. After the publication of his political lyrics, many critics, especially Russian's abroad, spoke of them in terms of skepticism. Some of them believed:

“that Fedor Ivanovich never was a literary man, i.e. a professional writer, but in public life ‘he was not a philosopher and a politician’ as B.K. Zaytsev writes, but *first of all a politician*.”⁵

B.M. Kozyrev having been influenced by Tyutchev's original masterpieces, his natural lyrics, emotionally, and therefore subjectively considered that:

“his topical verses represent clumsy loan translations from the French system of thinking into the ‘strange,’ for them, Russian language.”⁶

The outstanding scholars on Tyutchev of the Soviet and Post-Soviet periods fairly reject this one-sided view of Tyutchev's political lyrics as unworthy of his poetic talent. V. Kozhinov, not without reason, claimed that:

“some political poems of his are magnificent,”⁷

⁵ Raslovlev, M. *Politicheskaya muza Tyutcheva//Zarubezhnaya Rossiya i Tyutchev. Tainnik nochi* (Tyutchev's Political Muse//Foreign Russia and Tyutchev. Night's Hiding Place).— M, 2008. P. 265.

⁶ Kozyrev, B.M. *Pisma o Tyutcheve//Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev. Literaturnoe nasledstvo* (Letters about Tyutchev//Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev. Literary Heritage). Volume 97. In two books. Book One.— Moscow: “Science”, 1988. P. 85.

⁷ Kozhinov, V.V. *Posleslovie//Zarubezhnaya Rossiya i Tyutchev. Tainnik nochi. Iz naslediya russkoy emigratsii* (Epilogue//Foreign Russia and Tyutchev. Night's

Including among them: *Наполеон, Неман* and *Ты долго ль будешь за туманом..?*. In one of our articles (Golovanevsky 2007) we identified Tyutchev's political discourse in his poems, alongside those poems mentioned by Kozhinov, in which Tyutchev expresses the ideas of will and freedom. The majority of Tyutchev's political poems, however, did not draw the attention of foreign translators.

Tyutchev's political articles and separate fragments of his epistolary works were periodically accompanied by poetic illustrations which showed their deep internal connection with his poetry. It allowed V. Kozhinov to note in the introductory article to Tyutchev's incomplete treatise *Russia and the West*:

"Tyutchev in a sense remained a poet in the political articles as well and this should be taken into account."⁸

This article attempts to show how Tyutchev's political material intercrosses with his poetic material at the level of their common key word concepts. The value of Tyutchev's text consists in the role words plays in it; the role of each of word is far from being identical. We divided the lexicon of Tyutchev's compositions into: *significant* words, forming complicated and figurative contexts and characterizing the idea of two worlds—man and nature, which cross-cut all his creative works; *occasional* words used, as a rule, in one or two poems written in a particular frame of mind caused by a certain situation. Significant words could only be high-frequency and polysemantic words forming phraseological and precedent-setting contexts. It is clear that the vocabulary of Tyutchev's Russian poetry and that of his French public and epistolary works differ significantly, those parts in common being still more valuable in the aspects of language, philosophy and world outlook. The researchers consider the following to be the key concepts of Tyutchev's historiosophy: 'Christianity,' 'empire,' 'autocracy,' 'church,' 'Orthodoxy,' 'Catholicism,' 'Protestantism,' 'revolution,' 'the Slavic peoples' and 'people.' (Tarasov CWL-3 2003). The majority of lexemes denoting these concepts are presented in Tyutchev's political poems, and those such as 'people' and 'the Slavic peoples' are, according to our

Hiding Place. From the Heritage of the Russian Emigration).— Moscow: "Life and Thought", 2008. P. 373.

⁸ Kozhinov, V.V. *Nezavershennyiy traktat «Rossiya i Zapad»//Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev. Literaturnoe nasledstvo* (Incomplete Treatise "Russia and the West")//Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev. Literary Heritage). Volume 97. In two books. Book One.— Moscow: "Science", 1988. P. 189.

classification, high-frequency (with more than 40 uses) and mid-frequency (with more than 20 uses). Unfortunately, among the concepts which B.N. Tarasov does not explicitly highlight, there are, we believe, concepts which are the most important in Tyutchev's corpus, being at its semantic center. To them, undoubtedly, belong the concepts 'Russian,' 'Russia' and 'Ancient Rus.' All Tyutchev's published commentary, and in many respects his epistolary works and poems, are penetrated, in the words of Pushkin, by русский дух, Там Русью пахнет. For example, let us look at the titles of his commentary: Письмо русского, Россия и Революция and Россия и Запад. From the perspective of a *Russian* thinker, Tyutchev served the national interests of Russia in his work, although his ideas were considerably different to those of liberal Russian emigrés (see a statement of the correspondence between A.I. Turgenev and P.A. Vyazmemy in connection with the emergence of 'Note') (Tarasov CWL-3 2003).

The main circle of keywords common to all Tyutchev's creative works is defined, and a distinctive place among them belongs to the words: *Russian, Russia, Ancient Rus, people and the Slavic peoples*. Below we will consider the peculiarities of usage of these words in different genres of Tyutchev's corpus.

Russian (39). In Tyutchev's poetry, this word is generally used in political poems and, for the first four times, in the poem of 1831 Как дочь родную на закланье... which was "a response to the capture of Warsaw by Russian troops on August 26, 1831 and the anti-Russian campaign launched in this regard in the European press" (Nikolaev 1987: 383). At that time Tyutchev had already developed a Pan-Slavic outlook, the heart of which was the idea of Slavic unity under the auspices of Russia. This unity was impossible to achieve without victims on both sides:

*Не за коран самодержавья
Кровь русская лилась рекой!
Другая мысль, другая вера
У русских билась в груди!
... Славян родные поколенья
Под знамя русское собрать...
Верь слову русского народа:
Твой пепл мы свято сбережем,
И наша общая свобода,
Как феникс, зародится в нем.⁹*

⁹ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie stihotvorenii* (Complete Collection of Poems).—Leningrad, 1987. P. 120.

Let us pay attention to the fact that in his poems Tyutchev uses the word *Russian* in the meaning of 'Belonging to the Russian Nation and Russian People' (Golovanevsky 2009). This meaning became central to his later poetry. It is possible to speak of two main functions of the word in Tyutchev's poetry: 1) to stand against everything non-Russian and, especially, be hostile to Europe; 2) to form set phrases with the component *Russian* in which the noble properties of the *Russian* character are asserted, and at the same time opposed to those who for various reasons pervert this idea of *Russian*. The first function of *Russian* is characteristic of such poems as *Его светлости князю А.А. Суворову*:

*Гуманный внук воинственного деда,
Простите нам, наш симпатичный князь,
Что русского честим мы людоеда,
Мы, русские, Европы не спроясь,¹⁰
"Сын царский умирает в Ницце..."*:

*Кто говорит так: польский поп
Или министр какой из русских?¹¹*

It is also possible to include in this group such texts where he does justice to the properties of the Russian person. A special place in them belongs to the Russian mind. For the first time, Tyutchev writes about this, from Munich to St. Petersburg in July 1836, to his former colleague I.S. Gagarin (all his letters to I.S. Gagarin are written in French).

"Мне приятно воздать честь русскому уму, по самой сущности своей чуждающемуся риторике, этой язвы, или, вернее, этого врожденного изъяна французского ума. Вот отчего Пушкин так высоко стоит над всеми французскими поэтами..."¹²

Later, in a poem devoted to M.V. Lomonosov in 1865, among the merits ascribed to Russia, Tyutchev also named the following:

*...Он, верный русскому уму,
Завоевал нам Просвещение,*

¹⁰ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie stihotvoreniy* (Complete Collection of Poems).—Leningrad, 1987. P. 210.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

¹² Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy i pisma v shesti tomah* (Complete Works and Letters in Six Volumes). Volume 3.—Moscow, 2003. P. 53.

*He нас поработил ему...*¹³

Tyutchev, half in earnest, half in jest calls himself Фельдмаршал русского ума in the poem Когда-то я была майором... This was written in 1861 on behalf of his daughter, Maria, on the occasion of P.A. Vyazemsky's 50th anniversary and in response to his dedication of the poem Любезнейший майор, теперь ты чином мал... to her in 1853 (Tyutchev 1987).

Among set expressions containing the component *Russian* in Tyutchev's poetry, the following are used: *the Russian spirit*—'The role and significance of Russia in the world'; *the Russian star*—'Russia's Mission'; *the Russian banner*—'The banner under which the Russian troops and the supporters of Russia who joined them fought against Napoleon'; *the Russian Parnassus*—'the poet S.E. Raich and the translator of the poem by T. Tasso The Liberated Jerusalem'; *the Russian threshold*—'Russia's Border'; *the Russian word, the Russian sounds*—'the language of the Russian nation.' As we see, the scope of his high opinion of the properties typical of Russians is wide and varied. They cover feats of arms, the Russian language and Russian culture and literature. The Russian language holds a special place here. In the hard days for Russia leading up to the Crimean War, Tyutchev wrote the poem *Теперь тебе не до стихов, О слово русское, родное!*, in which he supports the ideas of a key figure of Czech national rebirth, Václav Ganki, of Russian as the language of international communication for all Slavic peoples:

*...Ты—лучших, будущих времен
Глагол, и жизнь и просвещение!*

Tyutchev appreciated the activity of those writers, journalists, scientists and public figures not belonging to Russia by birth who promoted Russian, Russian culture, science and literature. Included among them was Adam Mickiewicz who gave lectures on Russian literature in France:

*И вдохновенный твой глагол,
Как вестник нового завета,
Весь мир Славянский обошел*¹⁴

¹³ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie stihotvoreniiy* (Complete Collection of Poems).—Leningrad, 1987. P. 218.

The German journalist Wilhelm Wolfson, whose works in German promoted acquaintance of the Western European reader with Russian literature:

*Недаром русские ты с детства помнил звуки
И их сберег в себе сочувствием живым*¹⁵

Karl Augustus Farnagagen von Ense, a veteran of the war with Napoleon and subsequently a translator of Russian literature:

*...Так диво ль, что в память союза святого
За Знаменем Русским и русское Слово
К тебе, как родное к родному, пришло?*¹⁶

And Alexander Fedorovich Gilferding, a famous Slavist ethnographer and collector of the Onega Russian epic:

*Что русским словом столько лет
Вы славно служите России,
Про это знает целый свет,
Не знают немцы лишь родные.*¹⁷

One should take note that over the years Tyutchev began, more and more resolutely in his poems and correspondence, to advocate for Slavs, emphasizing their unity with Russia and, in particular, the role of Russian as the driving force for the future independence of those Slavic peoples separated from Russia. In this regard, Tyutchev's letter to Yakov Fedorovich Golovatsky, a poet, ethnographer, folklore specialist and native of Galicia, which had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire since the end of the eighteenth century, is highly representative. In his professional activity, Golovatsky persistently defended the idea of Russian-Galician unity causing discontent among the Austro-Hungarian authorities and prosecution which ended in the banning of his teaching activity and his *Grammar of Russian*. Tyutchev's letter was a response to his performance at the Slavic congress in May 1867:

¹⁴ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie stihotvoreniy* (Complete Collection of Poems).—Leningrad, 1987. P. 149.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 206.

¹⁶ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie stihotvoreniy* (Complete Collection of Poems).—Leningrad, 1987. P. 149.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 250.

Из всего сказанного и читанного на вчерашнем обеде ничто так заживо не зад"ело русского сердца, как ваше душевное русское слово, почтеннейший Яков Федорович... Да, одно уже это слово, это все выстрадавшее и все пережившее русское слово, есть своего рода трофей."¹⁸

For Tyutchev, three key concepts are indissoluble: *Russia, Russian and the Slavic peoples*. His love of everything Russian was the source of his love of Russia (Ancient Rus) and the Slavs. Tyutchev writes about his love of Russia in his letters and poems. In his letters, Tyutchev repeatedly compares his love of Russia, his fatherland, to love for a woman. Here, Nekrasov's poem, 'Sacred to the Memory of Dobrolyubov,' comes to mind: *Как женщину, он Родину любил*. In a letter pleading with Zhukovsky for a meeting after the loss of his first wife in October, 1838, Tyutchev writes:

*"Вы принесли с собою то, что после нее я более всего любил в мире: отечество и поэзию."*¹⁹

In 1840 in a letter to his parents, Tyutchev writes:

*"Вы знаете мою привязанность к госпоже Крюденер и можете легко себе представить, какую радость мне доставит свидание с нею. После России это моя самая давняя любовь."*²⁰

Tyutchev also connected Russia with the future of his children, after their coming to Russia, once his official business trip abroad was over. Tyutchev's elder daughter Anna, a Catholic, doubting her ability to find her place in Russia without knowing Russian, followed her father's advice, developed a deep feeling for Russia and wholeheartedly accepted the Orthodox faith. This is something her father had hoped for when in 1845 he wrote:

"Льщу себя надеждой, что, с Божьей помощью, ты найдешь в России больше любви, нежели где бы то ни было в другом месте. ...И когда потом ты сама будешь в состоянии постичь все величие этой

¹⁸ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy i pisma v shesti tomah* (Complete Works and Letters in Six Volumes). Volume 6.– Moscow, 2004. P. 228-229.

¹⁹ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy i pisma v shesti tomah* (Complete Works and Letters in Six Volumes). Volume 4.– Moscow, 2004. P. 113.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 144.

страны и все доброе в ее народе, ты будешь горда и счастлива, что родилась русской."²¹

It is clear that in Tyutchev's poems his attitude to Russia is expressed less unambiguously than in the quoted fragments of his early letters. His first poetic lines in which the name *Russia* and *Ancient Rus* are mentioned, are penetrated by the author's love of country. For the first time, the lexemes *Russia* and *Russian* are used in the poem *Как дочь родную на закланье..*, mentioned above. Perhaps, simultaneously, and for the first time here, the poet's tragic love of Russia, Russians and Slavs is represented in the prostrate image of Poland. It is tragic because it is based on mutual sacrifice: *.. Да купим сей ценой кровавой России целость и покой.*

In the integrity of Russia, Tyutchev saw the revival of Poland and of all the Slavic peoples:

*Воспрянь—не Польша, не Россия—
Воспрянь, Славянская семья! ...
Тогда лишь в полном торжестве
В славянской мировой громаде
Строй возжеланный водворится,
Как с Русью Польша помирится.*²²

His hopes for love, peace and the harmony of Poland and Russia turned out to be illusive. In 1867, the poem *Славянам* can be read as a greeting to Slavic guests who had arrived at the Slavic congress to which Poland had not been invited, and calls Poland 'the advanced villain,' and 'Judas' whom the pharisaic Europe *честит лобзанием своим* (Tyutchev 1987). Tyutchev's love of Slavic states (not the peoples) was influenced by their attitude towards Russians and Russia. This love was the expression of his imperialist ideology and was adopted by the members of the Izborsky club, led by its founder, the editor-in-chief of the *Zavtra* newspaper, Alexander Prokhanov.

Tyutchev's poetic attitude to Russia is fixed in the minds of his and our contemporaries by the contents of the well-known aphoristic text of 1866:

*Умом Россию не понять,
Аришином общим не измерить:
У ней особенная стать—
В Россию можно только верить.*²³

²¹ Ibid, p. 324.

²² Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie stihotvorenii* (Complete Collection of Poems).—Leningrad, 1987. P. 164.

I.S. Aksakov wrote that:

"Love of Russia, belief in its future, conviction in its supreme historic mission owned Tyutchev powerfully, persistently, undividedly since his green years to his last breath....For him Russia was the highest interest of life: to it rushed his thoughts on his deathbed."²⁴

Tyutchev's younger daughter, Maria Birileva from Ovstug, writes about this belief in Russia even before the publication of the quatrain. Speaking about the gloomy aspects of life in provincial Russia, she finishes the letter with a question:

"Is it only possible to trust in Russia?"²⁵

This subject of trust in Russia in this or that way is repeatedly found in Tyutchev's epistolary work. In a letter to his daughter, Ekaterina, in 1870 there is the following phrase:

"Пора бы наконец понять, что в России всерьез можно принимать только самое Россию."²⁶

This letter, of December 5 1870, for a reason unknown to us, is not published in *Complete Works and Letters* by F.I. Tyutchev (2003-2004). It is given, however, in the first volume of 'F.I. Tyutchev' of *Literary Heritage* (1988). It enters Tyutchev's poetry in a number of his political poems as well. The poet could not reconcile with the pro-Austro-Hungarian policy promoted by K.V. Nesselrode, and in the invective-filled poem 'K.V. Nesselrode' he predicts defeat in the fight against the predestination of 'Sacred Russia' to *карлику, беспримерному трусу*:

*Не верь в Святую Русь, кто хочет,
Лишь верь она себе самой...
Всемирную судьбу России —
Нет, вам ее не запрудить!*²⁷

²³ Ibid, p. 229.

²⁴ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy i pisma v shesti tomah* (Complete Works and Letters in Six Volumes). Volume 2.— Moscow, 2003. P. 530

²⁵ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy i pisma v shesti tomah* (Complete Works and Letters in Six Volumes). Volume 6.— Moscow, 2004. P. 512.

²⁶ *Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev. Literaturnoe nasledstvo* (Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev. Literary Heritage). Volume 97. In two books. Book One.— Moscow, 1988. P. 475.

²⁷ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie stihotvoreniy* (Complete Collection of Poems).— Leningrad, 1987. P. 163-164.

This poem is written in 1850, i.e. 17 years prior to the aphoristic quatrain, and it testifies that faith in Russia (Ancient Rus), despite the troubles visiting it, did not abandon the poet in his mature years, nor in the last years of his life.

It would probably be helpful to compare the way Tyutchev's key words *Russian*, *Russia* and *Ancient Rus* are used with the way they are used in Pushkin's creative works. According to the *Dictionary of Pushkin's Language* (DPL 1959) and *Tyutchev's Poetic Dictionary* (Golovanevsky 2009), the frequency co-efficient of the lexeme *Russian* (a noun + an adjective in Russian) in Pushkin's works is higher than in Tyutchev's: $\approx 0,029$ against $\approx 0,006$. However, *Russia* in Tyutchev's works has a co-efficient of 0,0025 and in Pushkin's works of 0,0021. It should be mentioned that both Tyutchev and Pushkin use *Russia* in the meaning of the Russian people as well:

Вставай же, Русь!
*О Русь, ужель не слышишь эти звуки...?*²⁸
*Ступайте ж к нам: вас Русь зовет!*²⁹

It goes without saying that the variety in genre of Pushkin's works leads to a wide semantic combinability of the adjective *Russian*, unlike the quite specific and limited combinability of this lexeme in Tyutchev's work where combinations of phraseological type are mainly characteristic: *Russian souls*, *Russian Star*, *Russian Banner*, *Russian people*, *Russian*, *Russian word*, *Russian sounds*, etc. Among free combinations with the lexeme *Russian*, let us pay attention to the combination *Russian tavern*, used by Tyutchev in the epigram on L.N. Tolstoy's story 'Cossacks':

Затею этого рассказа
Определить мы можем так:
То грязный русский наш кабак
*Придвинут к высотам Кавказа.*³⁰

This is the only poetic use in which the adjective *Russian* is combined with a noun of negative semantics. Other combinations with this adjective considerably strengthen the general assessment of *Russian* as something

²⁸ Ibid, p. 157.

²⁹ Pushkin A.S. *Izbrannyye sochineniya* (Selected Works). In two volumes. Volume 1.– Moscow, 1978. P. 226.

³⁰ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie stihotvorenyy* (Complete Collection of Poems).– Leningrad, 1987. P. 209.

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This subject of trust in Russia in this or that way is repeatedly found in Tyutchev's epistolary work. In a letter to his daughter, Ekaterina, in 1870 there is the following phrase:

"Пора бы наконец понять, что в России всерьез можно принимать только самое Россию."²⁶

This letter, of December 5 1870, for a reason unknown to us, is not published in *Complete Works and Letters* by F.I. Tyutchev (2003-2004). It is given, however, in the first volume of 'F.I. Tyutchev' of *Literary Heritage* (1988). It enters Tyutchev's poetry in a number of his political poems as well. The poet could not reconcile with the pro-Austro-Hungarian policy promoted by K.V. Nesselrode, and in the invective-filled poem 'K.V. Nesselrode' he predicts defeat in the fight against the predestination of 'Sacred Russia' to *карлику, беспримерному трусу*:

*Не верь в Святую Русь, кто хочет,
Лишь верь она себе самой...
Всемирную судьбу России—
Нет, вам ее не запрудить!*²⁷

²³ Ibid, p. 229.

²⁴ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy i pisma v shesti tomah* (Complete Works and Letters in Six Volumes). Volume 2.—Moscow, 2003. P. 530

²⁵ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy i pisma v shesti tomah* (Complete Works and Letters in Six Volumes). Volume 6.—Moscow, 2004. P. 512.

²⁶ *Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev. Literaturnoe nasledstvo* (Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev. Literary Heritage). Volume 97. In two books. Book One.—Moscow, 1988. P. 475.

²⁷ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie stihotvoreniy* (Complete Collection of Poems).—Leningrad, 1987. P. 163-164.

This poem is written in 1850, i.e. 17 years prior to the aphoristic quatrain, and it testifies that faith in Russia (Ancient Rus), despite the troubles visiting it, did not abandon the poet in his mature years, nor in the last years of his life.

It would probably be helpful to compare the way Tyutchev's key words *Russian*, *Russia* and *Ancient Rus* are used with the way they are used in Pushkin's creative works. According to the *Dictionary of Pushkin's Language* (DPL 1959) and *Tyutchev's Poetic Dictionary* (Golovanevsky 2009), the frequency co-efficient of the lexeme *Russian* (a noun + an adjective in Russian) in Pushkin's works is higher than in Tyutchev's: $\approx 0,029$ against $\approx 0,006$. However, *Russia* in Tyutchev's works has a co-efficient of 0,0025 and in Pushkin's works of 0,0021. It should be mentioned that both Tyutchev and Pushkin use *Russia* in the meaning of the Russian people as well:

Вставай же, Русь!
*О Русь, ужель не слышишь эти звуки.?*²⁸
*Ступайте ж к нам: вас Русь зовет!*²⁹

It goes without saying that the variety in genre of Pushkin's works leads to a wide semantic combinability of the adjective *Russian*, unlike the quite specific and limited combinability of this lexeme in Tyutchev's work where combinations of phraseological type are mainly characteristic: *Russian souls*, *Russian Star*, *Russian Banner*, *Russian people*, *Russian*, *Russian word*, *Russian sounds*, etc. Among free combinations with the lexeme *Russian*, let us pay attention to the combination *Russian tavern*, used by Tyutchev in the epigram on L.N. Tolstoy's story 'Cossacks':

Затею этого рассказа
Определить мы можем так:
То грязный русский наш кабак
*Придвинут к высотам Кавказа.*³⁰

This is the only poetic use in which the adjective *Russian* is combined with a noun of negative semantics. Other combinations with this adjective considerably strengthen the general assessment of *Russian* as something

²⁸ Ibid, p. 157.

²⁹ Pushkin A.S. *Izbrannyye sochineniya* (Selected Works). In two volumes. Volume 1.— Moscow, 1978. P. 226.

³⁰ Tyutchev, F.I. *Polnoe sobranie stihotvoreniy* (Complete Collection of Poems).— Leningrad, 1987. P. 209.

high, worthy of honor and worship: *Russian tsar, Russian limit, Russian press, Russian hearts and Russian mind.*

In the DPL, the following phrases with the adjective *Russian* are recorded: *Russian people, Russian glory, Russian fleet, Russian meadows, Russian family, Russian prisoner, Russian carrier, Russian god* (Ironical), *Russian cold, Russian winter, Russian melancholy, Russian game, Russian perhaps, Russian vodka* and many others. In his articles, Pushkin repeatedly speaks about Russian verse, Russian expressions and Russian songs.

Pushkin, as well as Tyutchev, in his poems *Клеветникам России* and *Бородинская годовщина* (1831) could not but mention the events connected to the suppression of the Polish revolt by Russian troops and the capture of Warsaw. Thus, the common reason for the writing of Tyutchev's *Как дочь родную на закланье...* and two of Pushkin's poems was the success of the Russian army and the anti-Russian campaign in the European press, particularly the Bavarian press. At that time Tyutchev served as the second secretary of the Russian diplomatic mission in Bavaria while Pushkin threw up his emotional indignation, sated with exclamations and rhetorical questions in honor of the Russian victories against the enemies of Russians and Russia, from St. Petersburg. Despite the incompatibility in stylistics and world outlook in Tyutchev's and Pushkin's poems, they are united by a common patriotic position: pride in the glorious history of Russia and the Russian people as presented in (Tyutchev) and of historical destiny (Pushkin) as the unifier of the Slavs. From here come the common keywords: *Russian, Russia, Slavic peoples* and *enemies* (of *Russia* and the Slavic peoples). Pushkin challenges the latter, reminding the reader of the destiny of those who encroach on Russia's freedom. It is possible to say that Pushkin connected his key ideas, about Russia and everything Russian, with its great past, and Tyutchev—with its future.

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ENGLISH COMPARATIVE STRUCTURES IN THE CONTEXT OF SEMANTIC FORMS OF THINKING

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Human thought is characterized into two types of thinking processes: the logical and the semantic. Logical forms of thinking, which are universal for all languages and cultures, are generated by the needs of the cognition process involved in practical activities of people and are independent of the peculiarities of the grammatical system of any language. Semantic forms of thinking, however, have a particular character and should be considered as national forms of thinking linked to the specifics of the grammatical system of a language.

“The characteristic feature of semantic forms of thinking is their variability at different stages of development of a language and also in different situations of application in the same historical period.”¹

This research deals with the comparative structures of the English language which constitute a functional-semantic field:

“A functional-semantic field is a system of linguistic means at various levels of a given language (morphological, syntactical, word-formational, lexical, and also combined—lexico-syntactical, etc.) united due to the community and interplay of their semantic functions... The term ‘functional-semantic field’ gives prominence to the idea of the grouping (a systematised array) of linguistic means interacting on a semantico-functional basis and their system-structural organization.”²

P.V. Chesnokov describes semantic forms of thinking in the context of twelve key characteristics. We will consider some of them in regard to the

¹ Chesnokov, P.V. Functional-semantic field with gnoseological stratification, 99

² Bondarko, A.V. Functional Grammar. A Field Approach, 21

constituents of the functional-semantic field of comparativeness in the English language.

The first characteristic is the *degree of content fractionability*:

“The existence of this parameter is determined by the fact that while forming a thought, the same content can be structurally fractionalized into a bigger or smaller number of components or not fractionalized at all.”³

The content of comparative structures can be fractionalized into four components. Let us consider the following example:

That is why old things are more beautiful than modern (W.S. Maugham).

With the comparison object—*old things* and the comparison standard—*modern*, the basis for comparison is the semantic meaning of the adjective *beautiful* and the actual comparison is expressed by the comparative form *more*. Therefore, the structure of four components has been presented in the above example.

The second characteristic of semantic forms of thinking is the degree of independence in the reflected contents. Within this parameter, the relation of different parts of the content of the thought to the whole is established. Any cognitive content is a part of the content of the broader thought, as any fact of reality always acts as a fragment of wider pieces of reality:

“The cognitive content can be separate, representing independent units, and dependent, merged together with other content. In this case we deal with discrete and non-discrete reflection of the components of the comparative structure.”⁴

In the following example, the comparison object and comparison standard are expressed in one word (*they*), so we can speak about non-discrete expression of two components of comparison: *They sound alike, look alike and have similar tastes in music.*

³ Chesnokov, P.V. Grammatika russkogo yazyka v svete teorii semanticheskikh form myshleniya, 158

⁴ Kravets, O.V. Micropole skhodstva funkcionalno-semanticheskogo polya comparativnosti v russkom i anglyskom yazykah, 90

“As for the third characteristic of semantic forms of thinking, it can be defined as the distribution of the cumulative content of thought between its components.”⁵

Let us consider the examples: *Brother is older than his sister*; *The lake is similar to the sea*.

In the first example, the basis of comparison and the actual comparison are presented with the comparative adjective *older*, whereas the second example shows the idea of comparison and the comparison standard expressed in the word *the sea*. The comparison standard, *the sea*, has the following presupposition: ‘the sea is a relatively large body of water,’ consequently it can be deduced that comparison of the lake and the sea implies a lake of large size.

Referring to the fourth characteristic of semantic forms of thinking—the coverage of the reflected contents—one should pay attention to the selectivity of the reflection of the contents. This or that objective content can be reflected in a certain component of thought more or less fully, therefore the speaker chooses what content to emphasize. This concerns both discrete and non-discrete reflections of the thought. The component which reflects actual comparison and the basis of comparison is richer in meaning than the unit expressing the actual comparison, apart from the basis for comparison. It is capable of covering the speech situation with a minimum of linguistic means. For instance:

They understand what we say better than we understand them (James Joyce).

Actual comparison and the basis of comparison are expressed in one word form. Whereas in the following example, actual comparison and the basis of comparison are presented discretely, therefore, each of the units which reflect them is poorer in meaning:

He pretended to be much more passionate than he really was (W.S. Maugham).

The common feature of the first four characteristics consists in the interrelation between cogitative units of different levels.

⁵Kravets, O.V. Osobennosti micropolya razlichiya v nemetskom i anglyiskom yazykah, 102

Conclusion

Having analyzed a variety of examples of comparative structures from the point of view of semantic forms of thinking, it is possible to conclude that the functional-semantic field of comparativeness can be determined as a functional-semantic field with ontological and gnoseological stratifications in which the classification of the upper levels is carried on according to the ontological approach, whereas the classification of the lower levels is based on the gnoseological approach.

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THE EVALUATIVE FEATURES OF THE IMAGE
OF DEATH IN PROVERBS AND SAYINGS
(IN THE ENGLISH, GERMAN AND RUSSIAN
LANGUAGES)

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Death is a conceptual phenomenon in human language. A concept is a unit of human cognition, representing an integral, non-segmented reflection of a fact in reality (Chesnokov 1967). The conceptual image of death in naïve mapping may be personified; it is reflected in proverbs and sayings. If there is no possibility of describing this or that phenomenon to the full, figurative metaphoric utterances are considered to be a primary means of nomination used to objectify the given senses. In other words, to overcome this situation, the metaphorization of the senses is used as the mechanism of personification. Research dedicated to metaphor mentions the existence of so-called ontological metaphors; these enable us to understand the different processes and objects of real life by means of the use of terminology intrinsic to human cognition—complicated abstract processes become available to the understanding of the majority of people. According to the theory of G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, a person finds some features characteristic of the human in the non-human (Lakoff & Johnson 2004). The peculiar features of sensory mechanisms and their interaction with human mentality enable a person to compare the incomparable and to commensurate the incommensurable (Arutyunova 1999). Proverbs and sayings are able to express assessment. Assessment is a process of correlating a phenomenon with elements of the evaluative scale 'good—neutral—bad' (Fedulenkova 2013).

The anthropomorphic image of 'death' is used in proverbial expressions to express negative assessment of the fact that the end of human life is inevitable and may be tragic. Units with this meaning may form a separate semantic group. English proverbial expressions point to the fact that people interpret death as an inexorable phenomenon which does not

acknowledge any rules and conventions; death does not celebrate holidays and weekends of the human calendar, e.g. *death keeps no calendar* (EP). (According to the English folklore tradition, death is a masculine character—to name this phenomenon, the pronoun ‘he’ is often used.) He is peremptory and accepts no refusal: *death, when it comes, will have no denial* (ERPD). A man may try to defer the moment of his death, but all these attempts are inevitably doomed to failure. This idea is expressed on the plane of content of several proverbial units in English, e.g. *you can't cheat death* (ERPD). A negative evaluation of a risk-taking person, when his actions are connected with life-threatening hazards is expressed in the unit: *do not dice with death* (ERPD).

Proverbial expressions in German show a considerable degree of similarity in the given semantic group with the above mentioned English expressions. Thus, the German paremiological tradition engages the image of a calendar in the unit—*der Tod hat keinen Kalender* (DS) (*‘death has no calendar’*). German people also think that it is impossible to get the upper hand over death, in other words they admit its power over people. The naïve mapping of the German linguistic tradition also represents death as a homomorphous entity. It may be described as an unwelcome guest: *der Tod kommt ungeladen* (DS) (*‘death comes without invitation’*). At the same time, death is a magical image that has supernatural features. It is impossible to flee from death—*niemand kann dem Tod entlaufen* (DS) (*‘you can't run away from death’*). The unit—*der Tod kommt als ein Dieb und scheidet Leid und Lieb* (DS) (*‘death comes like a thief and takes away both sorrow and love’*) is characterized by a unique figurative base. First of all, negative connotation of this unit is achieved by the use of a stunt simile—death is compared to a thief. Furthermore, this unit stresses that death takes away all a person has in his life, both good and bad.

Death is described by German people as a kind of disease that cannot be healed with the help of a medicinal plant. This idea is reflected in the proverb—*für dem Tod ist kein Kraut gewachsen* (DS) (*‘there is no herb for death’*). It should be noted that in English there exists a proverb with the same image—‘a herb,’ built according to the same syntactic model—a negative construction with the formal subject. In English, this has a different object—the concept of ‘love’—*there is no herb to cure love* (ERPD). Love is compared to death as they, being eternal phenomena, are inevitably, key to life in any person.

The inevitability of death as a remarkable feature in Russian metaphorical mapping is reflected in the content of many proverbs and sayings. They are characterized by the use of different dynamic motifs. With the motif of motion—the search for prey by the hunter—death is

reflected in the units: *смерть придет—езде найдет* (CPSRP) ('death when it comes will find you everywhere'), *смерти искать не надо—сама найдет* (TRPSM) ('death should not be sought; it will find you by itself'). The motif of escape and pursuit is reflected in the phrases: *от смерти не спрячешься* (TRPSM) ('you can't hide from death'), *от смерти не уйдешь* (CPSRP) ('you can't go away from death'). The motif of waiting is found in the unit—*смерть пропуска не ждет* (TRPSM) ('death will not wait for a pass'). When it is necessary to describe a seriously ill person, or one who is to die very soon, English-speaking people use the personified image of death and say that death has come to him—*death knocks at the door* (ERPД).

The semantic group that describes approaching death caused by old age or serious illness is more developed in Russian than in Germanic languages. It is noteworthy that Russian people quite seldom introduce the image of 'death' directly; they use indirect figurative ways to diagnose the condition of a hopeless person. This happens most likely because death is a forbidden topic—a taboo; it must not be named for fear it should come and strike the speaker who dared name it. Russians often describe the outlook of the object of conversation or his behavior, e.g. *едва ноги носят* (TRPSM) ('one can hardly stand on his legs'), *еле-еле душа в теле* (TRPSM) ('his soul is hardly able to stay in his body'). The image of the grave is represented in a number of Russian proverbs with the evaluative figurative meaning of a hopeless person: *стоит у края могилы* (TRPSM) ('he stands by the brink of the grave'), *одной ногой в могиле* (TRPSM) ('with one leg in the grave'). Some funeral traditions are mentioned in proverbs—*осталось обмыть и в гроб положить* (TRPSM) ('the only thing to do is to wash him and place him in a coffin'), *на ладан дышит* (TRPSM) ('he is breathing on incense').

The proverbial units of the English language describing the sphere of death, in many cases, are built on the basis of figurative similes. The transfer of meaning in them is carried out with the help of the anthropomorphic image of 'death.' In a number of set expressions some relevant concepts characteristic of the naïve mapping may be figured out. These are based on the personification of the given phenomenon and represent a traditional understanding of the given image. The figurative component of the meaning of the proverbial expressions given below is used to provide an expressive description of the bad physical condition of a person identified by a number of empirically cleared out signs—a person in a bad state or one that looks unwell. For example, if a person is ill, which is understood by his appearance, he may be described with the help of the set expression—to *feel like death* (ERPД). If we need to specifically

accentuate the appearance of the diseased, it is possible to use the English saying—to *look like a death's head* (WDP). There is one more phrase to be used in the given condition—as *white as death* (ERPD). In the above examples, a figurative simile is used, where a real person is compared to an imaginary character—'death.' According to medieval folklore tradition, 'death' possesses the features that are named in the proverbial utterances above.

As a guide to solving important issues in human life, a proverb summarizes and expresses a judgment of a situation or offers a strategy for behavior (Taylor 1975). One of the most vivid semantic groups, according to their figurative semantic components, is the one that unites proverbial expressions describing the character of 'death,' to be precise, those social attitudes and moral reactions that exist in the community as a reaction to the end of human existence. Many proverbs and sayings carry out a negative assessment of the circumstances of death and use different zoonymic images. In their naïve mapping they have a strongly pronounced evaluative connotation when used to describe a number of typical situations. People subjected to a violent death, especially one that is shameful and/or painful, are described by the proverbial unit—to *die a dog's death* (ERPD). The expression—to *kill smb. like a dog* (ERPD)—has a similar meaning. Beside a slight semantic difference (the former phrase may be used to describe a death by natural causes) the given phrases represent opposite types of description according to the principle of 'agent'—'patient.' The pejorative semantic component of the concept 'death' may be approached by the use of the image 'a rat' in the proverb—to *die like a rat in a hole* (WDP). This proverbial expression is used to describe the death of a lonely and desolate person.

The same is found in the Russian proverbial tradition. In Russian mapping there is a set of units that are used to describe not only a heavy, bad death, but also express an absolutely negative treatment of the deceased person. The Russian proverbs, like the English ones, use the image of a dog for this purpose—*собаке собачья смерть* (TRPSM) ('*let the dog have a dog's death*'). Russian people often use proverbial expressions of this kind in order to realize the pragmatic function of a threat depicting the poor state of a soul in the other world. The phrases given below represent a wish—they are built in the form of imperative constructions: *пусть ему икаетя на том свете* (TRPSM) ('*let him hiccup in the other world*'), *пусть он перевернется в гробу* (CPSRP) ('*let him turn around in the coffin*'). The highest pitch of a negative evaluative attitude towards a deceased person may be reached by using the image of the 'devil,' which, *a priori*, has a negative evaluative meaning.

For example: *пусть на том свете на нем черти воду возят* (TRPSM) ('let devils carry water on him in hell'), *не завидую чертям, которые тебя в аду будут жарить* (TRPSM) ('I shall never envy the devils who will roast you in hell'). These phrases evidently have a clear-cut ironic meaning.

A very important role in the structure of the semantic field of 'death' is represented in the proverbial expressions of the English language describing death as a universal phenomenon, considered to be the end of life of any man, in other words, to be the final act of it and putting an end to all his affairs. This idea is reflected in a number of paremiological units, which testify to its relevance to the representatives of naïve mapping—*death ends all things* (EPSRE). All people are equal in death, being in some sense, a kind of democratizing factor in the existence of the human community. The proverb that reflects this idea is—*death is the great leveler* (EPSRE). In some proverbial expressions a figurative base may be found that reflects some terms of human economic activity—*death pays all debts* (EPSRE). The above proverbial expression has a variant—*death pays all scores* (EPSRE)—which is built with help of the synonym of the word 'debt,' retaining the structure and the content of the phrase under consideration. As a synonym of the two quoted proverbs, another expression may be mentioned—*death squares all accounts* (EPSRE). In the three mentioned phrases, the idea of debt acquires its assessment not only in its direct meaning, describing the mortal debts of unlucky businessmen, but also in its figurative sense of unfulfilled moral duties.

The idea that people, being unequal in many characteristics, find their equality in the face of death is found in the German proverbial tradition as well. It is mentioned in proverbs that there is no way to save oneself from death—*der Tod hebt alles auf* (DS) ('death destroys everyone'). Fortune will not help the rich to achieve a longer life—*der Tod macht alles gleich, er frisst Arm und Reich* (DS) ('death makes all people equal, both the rich and the poor'). At the same time, the German unit—*Tod ist das Ende alle Not* (DS) ('death is the end of all want')—is an ironic attempt to soothe the poor and show them that only death may be their salvation. 'Death' is the way to end the tortures that misery brings them. It is noteworthy that German people have a similar idea to the English concerning the interaction of the concepts of 'death' and 'debt.' The German proverbial unit—*der Tod zahlt alle Schulden* (DS) ('death pays all debts') is a loan phrase from the English phrase above and is connected to a Shakespearian quotation from *The Tempest*.

Russian paremiological expressions also state the equality of all human beings facing death. Some of them are built by means of direct

nomination—*у смерти все равны* (TRPSM) ('*all are equal for death*'). Russian people primarily are inclined to use indirect, figurative ways to describe the idea of the universal character of death, e.g. *все в землю ляжем* (TRPSM) ('*we shall all be laid into the earth*'), *все прахом будем* (CPSRP) ('*we shall all turn into ashes*'). These units relate back to biblical maxims. The first example reveals the image of burial while the second describes the post-mortal metamorphosis of the decaying human body. Here again we meet examples related to the taboo of death. Since the early days, Russian people are afraid of the evil to come and try to use indirect nomination in the given circumstances.

It is quite difficult to find a person who does not think about death and who would not express his or her attitude to it. This idea is the basis for the construction of a separate semantic group of the semantic field with a figurative base constituted on the concept of 'death.' Comprehension of death for a person is a relevant mental action. In many proverbial units it is considered as a notion characterized with a pronounced pejorative evaluation. It was the philosopher Epicurus who noticed that it is not death itself that is so terrible for a living human being but the human activity of thinking about it. This idea has become a proverbial unit from an initial aphorism. In English it is characterized as—*fear of death is worse than death itself* (EP). It is noteworthy that people are able to see something positive in the idea of death under certain circumstances, in other words, death in proverbial mapping may have an ambivalent character. This idea is reflected in the synonymous proverbial expressions: *better a glorious death than a shameful life* (WDP), *better to die standing than live kneeling* (WDP). A person may prefer death to life to avoid a worse evil—life in shame or in disgrace. These ideas appear in many languages and are considered to be universal units in language (Mokienko 2007).

In accordance with the ideas of people engaged in naïve mapping, death at a young age was considered to be a blessing, as in this case a person was sure to avoid the long and painful process of aging and decay, which was a curse both for him, his friends and his relatives. Thus it was considered to be good if people died young and was thought of as a favour from God. This assessment of death is reflected in the proverb—*the good die young* (EP). Human age does not influence a person's attitude to his own death; it remains constantly negative both for young and old. We find this idea in the phrase—*no man is so old, but thinks he may yet live another year* (EPSRE). A fatalistic outlook on death is expressed in the unit—*he that is born to be hanged shall never be drowned* (EPSRE).

The problem of the post-mortal existence of a human soul has always been an object of great interest for all types of people in all ages. The

outlook of representatives of naïve mapping is reflected in proverbs that constitute a separate semantic group. A dead man's body is a symbol of absolute lack of activity. It is noteworthy that death, as opposed to life, is a phenomenon that shows the absence of qualities that characterize a living being. In other words, dead objects have nothing that living beings have. There are some units that say that the death of a person who does you harm is a way to solve a problem. Thus we find the unit—*dead men don't bite* (EP). This expression is considered to be a direct threat against a bitter enemy. The evaluative force of the expression is supported by the meaning of the verb 'to bite.' A milder variant to condemn a person, especially a liar, is to say that *dead men tell no tales* (EP). This expression also states that there are some people who will never stop lying while they live. This phrase maybe used when it is necessary to give a pejorative assessment of a gossip or scandal-monger. The proverbial expression—*there is no work in the grave* (EP)—is quoted in a situation when it is necessary to express a reassurance in supporting an industrious and sometimes poor person. We use this phrase to say that a person should work all his life and death is the only way to liberation from the human condition—to toil.

If official religious dogma is analyzed it is possible to find a definition of life there as well. It is described as something temporal, perishable and corruptible; the life of a human soul, preceding a real life, freed from the fetters of the mortal realm and staying forever in the other world. But from the standpoint of a materialistic outlook, life is the primary incomparable value of every human being and death is the inevitable tragic end to it. Religion is an attempt to free a person's consciousness from the mighty fear of death which has resulted in consideration of death as "an open door which leads to the other world and death as a border state lying between the border of the two worlds" (Bakhtin 1986: 124).

The German speaking tradition shows a great deal of similarity to the English one in its attitude towards the dead. The unit—*die Toten sind verschwiegen* (DS) ('*the dead are silent*')—assures us of the fact that the deceased shall never do any verbal harm and shall not reveal any secrets. The dead, as the Germans say, shall not only do no verbal, but also no practical harm. For example, they cannot go to war against us, e.g. *toter Mann macht keinen Krieg* (DS) ('*the dead make no war*'). Some German proverbs state that those things that are considered valuable for the living have no value for the dead; they do not need food in general and bread in particular—*ist er tot, so isst er nimmer Brot* (DS) ('*he is dead, so he will not eat any bread*'). A universal symbol of value—gold, the source of all pleasures means nothing for the dead—*nach dem Tod gilt das Geld nicht mehr* ('*after death gold has no value*').

One can find many proverbial expressions in German that describe a characteristic social feature—people are forbidden to criticize, blame or curse the dead. For example: *von Toten soll man nicht Übel reden* (DS) ('you must not speak ill of the dead'), *mit den Toten kann man nicht zürnen* (DS) ('you should not be angry with dead'). There is also a rhyming version of these phrases—*man lobt in Tode manchen Mann, die Lob im Leben nie gewann* (DS) ('we praise a lot of men after death who should never be praised when living').

Conclusion

We can conclude that the analyzed proverbial expressions of the three languages—English, German and Russian—are considered to be part of a priceless linguistic heritage the study of which is far from complete. The sphere of proverbial expressions is characterized by its ability to objectify evaluative meanings, both positive and negative. The development of languages is known to be an inter-related and inter-conditioned process which also touches upon the paremiological sphere. As is seen in the examples provided, the semantics of these proverbial units has much in common. Nevertheless, every language has enough intellectual potential to create its own, unique phrases reflecting relevant concepts in the human mind. One such concept is 'death.' This conceptual image forms the figurative base for many proverbial expressions; it is able to reflect both positive and negative evaluative features.

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- EP: *English Proverbs*. Stuttgart, 2003.
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- ERPD: Kunin A.V. *English-Russian Phraseological Dictionary*. Moskva, 1998.
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THE SPEECH PORTRAIT OF A TEXT SENDER: PRAGMALINGUISTIC ASPECT

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The concept of a speech portrait arose in connection with the appearance and formation of a new branch in modern linguistics—pragmalinguistics. Pragmalinguistics is the third strand of semiotics—the science of signs that surround us in our everyday reality. We are interested only in linguistic signs. The pragmatic aspect is represented in the science of language as pragmalinguistics (also known as lingua-pragmatics or linguistic pragmatics).

Pragmalinguistics refers to the direction in linguistics that studies the relations between members of a linguistic community. Such relations are implemented by means of language. Here we will study the linguistic community of public prosecutors. Among a great number of problems that can be solved within the framework of pragmalinguistics, we are interested in what you can say about a person's identity, in particular, about the person of a prosecutor on the basis of his speech. It turns out that on the basis of the analysis of human speech, it is possible to identify his speech portrait and reveal some of his personal qualities, as well as those particular to a certain professional group of public prosecutors. Let us study what personal qualities can be identified, the way in which it can be done and what can be said about the group's characteristics.

Analyzing a person's speech, we practically examine his speech behavior. Certainly, it is possible to study such behavior on the basis of speech acts that can be recorded. The study of communicative speech behavior shows that the main category of speech activity is the category of choice.

Let us consider the category of choice. The psychological mechanism of a sender's selection of linguistic units is quite varied. It may be an intentional, purposeful, motivated and deliberate speech act of choice where clearly designed structural and semantic units, that is word-lexemes and expressions (syntactic units), are chosen. A speech act has a plane of

content which is derived from the language components of its units and a grammatically constructed plane of expression. Any violation of syntactic correctness (cf. 'my yours not understand') generates evaluation of the speaker in the listener's mind on various grounds: education (no education, high school, etc.); occupation (a lawyer, a mathematician, a linguist, etc.); position (assistant, professor, etc.); language (native speaker, non-native).

Objectives of speech communication in this case are clear and defined—the main target here is to be liked by the listener and then to generate the desired reaction. For example, analysis of public prosecutors' speeches has shown that they choose their words thoughtfully and deliberately, building their statements they form an image with which they try to please their addressees and gain supporters. This image is called a 'false image' and a public prosecutor forms it by focusing on the interests and peculiarities of his average listener. Typically for this purpose the sender of a text uses communicative strategies and tactics: these speech tactics are manifested in the choice of illocutions and in the implementation of intentions.

This line of pragmalinguistics is called a functional-illocutionary one. In modern linguistic literature all pragmalinguistic studies are devoted to the study, classification and linguistic representation of illocutions. In this case, the linguistic units at lexical and syntactic language levels are reasonably and deliberately selected. For example, in the famous accusatory speech of the USSR Prosecutor Comrade Vyshinsky during the Bukharin-Trotsky proceedings on the 11th of March 1938, in 1,000 small syntactic groups 123 examples of syntactic-level units were found. Here is how they are distributed in the frequency of their occurrence: anaphora—27.6%; repetition—15.4%; question-answer unity—9.8%; syntactic parallelism—7.3%; polysyndeton—7.3%; asyndeton—6.5%; gradation—5.7%; anadiplosis—5.7%; rhetorical question—4.9%; rhetorical exclamation—3.3%; antithesis—3.3%; ellipsis—2.4%; inversion—0.8% (Zyubina 2013).

It should be noted that Andrey Vyshinsky, the well-known organizer and an active accomplice of Stalin's repressions, was a talented public speaker and a master of persuasion: by deliberately choosing particular statements he ensured an accused person's conviction.

We have examined a motivated, focused and perceivable selection of linguistic units by the author to achieve his goals.

On the other hand, the psychological mechanism for selecting a linguistic unit may be unintentional or habitual, as well as unmotivated, unfocused or automatic, like any other human action. For example, if a

person often produces the same type of action—he always turns off the light leaving his house for instance—then after a while this action becomes habitual and automatic. With frequent mass implementation of a **speech** act, its intention and targeting enters the subconscious and the action becomes unconscious. We can observe the same process when grammatical and textual categories are selected. This choice of grammatical and textual categories in speech communication becomes automatic, habitual and unconscious. Neither the plane of expression nor the planes of grammatical and textual content categories are realized in speech communication. Therefore, these are described as 'implicit' categories of language (S.D. Katsnelson), 'invisible language representations' (Baudouin de Courtenay), 'implicit components of the plane of content' (A.V. Bondarko) and implicit grammatical meanings (B.L. Uorf)—we have named this branch of pragmalinguistics implicit pragmalinguistics.

Text analysis has shown that each author in a particular situation chooses, when creating a definite text, a set of specific speech signals of certain forms of the grammatical category; the particular speech signal of a grammatical category, however, is not interesting from the point of view of its impact. It is possible to talk of the impact only in the manifestation of a *set* of grammatical speech signals. These sets of speech signals indicate the individuality of the author of a text as they reflect his speech experience. This speech experience is gained by the author thanks to his age, education, professional activities, his circle of friends, family and national traditions, social status, etc. Such experience is actualized in the preferred choice of the set of speech signals of a particular grammatical category. Taking into account and registering the pattern of speech signals in the form of tables, presents a fragment of the pragmalinguistic speech portrait of an author. A pragmalinguistic speech portrait gives a picture of the assimilation of a person to speech conditions in his intellectual, volitional, emotional, social and biological evolution.

A pragmalinguistic speech portrait is a speaker's indentifying social 'portrait' (Matveeva 1993). A portrait produced in this way is unique and inherent to one individual; it is like a unique fingerprint and other individual, physiological, social and behavioral sign-signals. Interpretation of a speech portrait leads to the identification of the individual traits of a speaker, and their interpretation—diagnosing his personal traits, such as certain/uncertain, leader/cooperative, etc. In order to study the unconscious speech behavior of a speaker, a series of pragmalinguistic experiments, based on the speech strategies of implicit influence and their planes of actualization, were designed.

The speech behaviour of a speaker is studied with the help of probabilistic-statistical methods, in particular, with the help of a modified content analysis method. In this case, we determine the percentage of certain speech signals indicating the presence of a grammatical category. These percentages are collected in a table. Let us study the speeches of Russian-speaking prosecutors at the beginning of the twenty-first century in trial by jury (Zyubina 2005). The texts were divided into 2,917 MSGs. Now we will study the speech behaviour of public prosecutors based on the data in Table 1.

Table 1 (next page): Speech behaviour of a group of Russian-speaking public prosecutors at the beginning of the twenty-first century in trial by jury

| strategy addressers | participation / nonparticipation of members of communication in a speech event | | | | | | sure / unsure speech behaviour of an author | | | | sender's formation of addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation | | | | | | MSG |
|----------------------------|--|------|-----------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|------|---|------|---------------------|------|--|------|-------------------------------|------|--------------------------------|------|-----|
| | the plane of personal participation | | the plane of social participation | | the plane of object's participation | | certain statement | | uncertain statement | | the plane of positive attitude | | the plane of neutral attitude | | the plane of negative attitude | | |
| | MSG | % | MSG | % | MSG | % | MSG | % | MSG | % | MSG | % | MSG | % | MSG | % | |
| 1. Trukhanov G. V. | 165 | 22.7 | 88 | 12 | 478 | 65.3 | 357 | 48.8 | 374 | 51.2 | 69 | 9.4 | 420 | 57.5 | 242 | 33.1 | 731 |
| 2. Abramov N. V. | 72 | 16.5 | 31 | 7 | 334 | 76.5 | 148 | 33.9 | 289 | 66.1 | 53 | 12.1 | 195 | 44.6 | 189 | 43.3 | 437 |
| 3. Salnikov V. N. | 49 | 13.1 | 12 | 3.2 | 312 | 83.7 | 71 | 19 | 302 | 81 | 32 | 8.6 | 178 | 47.7 | 163 | 43.7 | 373 |
| 4. Romanov V. I. | 49 | 13.2 | 17 | 4.6 | 306 | 82.2 | 132 | 35.5 | 240 | 64.5 | 23 | 6.2 | 223 | 59.9 | 126 | 33.9 | 372 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 5. Mironov A. V. | 50 | 21 | 13 | 2.3 | 253 | 77.7 | 125 | 41.7 | 175 | 58.3 | 33 | 11 | 171 | 57 | 96 | 32 | 300 |
| 6. Kravtsov E. N. | 49 | 16.1 | 23 | 7.6 | 232 | 76.3 | 119 | 39.1 | 185 | 60.9 | 44 | 14.4 | 130 | 42.8 | 130 | 42.8 | 304 |
| 7. Fedorov P. S. | 85 | 21.3 | 17 | 4.2 | 298 | 74.5 | 233 | 58.3 | 167 | 41.7 | 37 | 9.2 | 215 | 53.8 | 148 | 37 | 400 |
| The average speech-portrait | 529 | 18.1 | 195 | 6.7 | 2,193 | 75.2 | 1,185 | 40.6 | 1,732 | 59.4 | 291 | 10 | 1,532 | 52.5 | 1,094 | 37.5 | 2,917 |

**The implicit speech strategy:
“Participation/Non-participation of members
of communication in a speech event”**

The average speech-genre index on the plane of personal participation is 18.1%. A bigger difference is observed in the speeches for the prosecution of Trukhanov (22.7%), Fedorov (21.3%) and Melnikov (20%), indicating that these state prosecutors have a great inclination to independence, dominance and leadership.

The low indexes on the plane of personal participation of Salnikov (13.1%) and Romanov (13.2%) suggest conformity, dependence, shyness and modesty.

Now let us turn to indicators on the plane of social participation. The average speech-genre index here is 6.7%. Above this mark there are the indexes of Truhanov (12%), Kozyr (7.6%) and Abramov (7%). In these speeches for the prosecution, the authors, who tend to actualise the plane of social participation, unconsciously make their passive listener an active participant in communication. In terms of their psychological impact, they are friendly and are able to engage in successful social interaction.

State prosecutors with low indexes on the plane of social participation, by contrast, are formal in contacts with the people around them and even avoid the world. We refer to Melnikov (2.3%) and Salnikov (3.2%) as such people—they are probably not particularly flexible—not only in their speech but also in their everyday behaviour.

**The implicit speech strategy:
“Sure/Unsure speech behaviour of an author”**

The average speech-genre index of the ‘certain statement’ is 40.6%. We see high levels of the ‘certain statement’ in Fedorov’s (58.3%) and Truhanov’s (48.8%) speeches. These people are not afraid to face any fact. They infect listeners with their confidence in the information presented—in everyday life they are likely to be constant in their plans and affections.

Indicators below the average speech-genre index are observed in the speeches of Salnikov (19%) and Abramov (33.9%). This shows that the authors of these speeches avoid responsibility, they do not seek to defend their points of view, are followers of more powerful personalities and do not believe in themselves or their abilities—they are passive.

The implicit speech strategy: "The sender's formation of an addressee's attitude to a speech event by evaluation"

Most often, in this group of public prosecutors, one can see negative attitudes to a speech event in the speeches of Salnikov and Abramov. With an average speech-genre index on the plane of negative attitude to a speech event of 37.5%, their indexes are 43.7% and 43.3% respectively.

In my opinion, the high values of negative attitudes demonstrate that these state prosecutors are full of anxiousness and worry about the future. Salnikov and Abramov are most likely preoccupied by the consequences of their actions, constantly awaiting for all sorts of failures and misfortunes. Therefore, their speech behaviour is also uncertain, and this is proved by the lowest rates of their use of 'certain statements.'

A positive attitude to reality is most common in the speeches for the prosecution of Kozyr (14.4%) and Abramov (12.1%), where the average speech-genre index is 10%. We believe that such people are less pessimistic than their colleagues. They are more cheerful, joyful and energetic. Having a higher positive set than the others, it is easier for them to find common understanding with their listeners. Therefore, we can also talk of Kozyr's and Abramov's positive social life with the highest rates on the plane of social participation.

Thus, one can come to the conclusion that an objective pragmalinguistic analysis gives quite reliable results, suggesting that the speech portraits of representatives of other professional groups can be identified according to this methodology, both synchronically and diachronically.

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PRAGMATISCHE BEDEUTUNG.
HISTORISCHE UND MODERNE
VORAUSSETZUNGEN
ZUR UNTERSUCHUNG

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Die Untersuchung der pragmatischen Bedeutung ist eine relativ junge Richtung in dem wissenschaftlichen Paradigma. Traditionsgemäß war die Aufmerksamkeit der Gelehrten auf das Erlernen eines wesentlich breiteren Begriffes, des Begriffes der Bedeutung (eines Wortes, einer sprachlichen Äußerung usw.) gelenkt. Aus den Erwägungen ausgehend, dass die pragmatische Bedeutung ein Artbegriff im Bezug auf den Gattungsbegriff „Bedeutung“ ist, finden wir zweckdienlich, konsequent von den Traditionen der Untersuchung der Bedeutung zu den modernen Grundlagen der Untersuchung der pragmatischen Bedeutung überzugehen.

Die Untersuchung der Bedeutung ist ein Universalproblem, das schon mehr als zwei Jahrtausende eine Reihe von den humanitären Wissenschaften, darunter Philosophie, Logik, Soziologie, Semantik, Konzeptuelle Linguistik, kognitive Linguistik, Semasiologie, Semiotik, Pragmatik, Psycho-, Sozio- und Pragmalinguistik usw., vereinigt.

Das Problem der Bedeutungsuntersuchung wird von Platon (428/427 v.Chr.–348/347 v.Chr.) in den wissenschaftlichen Umfang eingeführt. Platon stellt als erster in seinem sprachphilosophischen Dialog „Kratylos“ die Frage von der Entstehung der Bedeutung der sprachlichen Äußerung. Die Bedeutung stellt der Philosoph als eine abstrakte Erscheinung dar, die auf die willkürliche Verabredung über die erkennbaren Dinge zurückgeht (Platon, 2001: 384d).

Sokrates (469 v.Chr.–399 v.Chr.) opponiert seinem Schüler mit der Behauptung, dass diese Verabredung keine willkürliche Verabredung ist und dass sowohl die Namen der Dinge als auch seine Bedeutungen eine symbolische Entsprechung der Kenntnisse über die Dinge sind (Platon, 2001: 390d).

Aristoteles (384 v.Chr.–322 v.Chr.) haltet sich an die Idee der konventionellen Verabredung über die Vorstellungen und Begriffe. Die Bedeutung des Wortes zeigt sich, laut Aristoteles, nur im sprachlichen Ausdruck, und nur ausgehend aus dem Inhalt des Ausdrucks kann man ihre Richtigkeit oder Falschheit feststellen (zitiert nach: Austin, 2002: 93).

Stoiker behaupten, dass die Bedeutung ausschließlich in unserem Bewusstsein existiert und dass sie sowohl von der Eigenschaft untrennbar ist, die kennzeichnet sein soll, als auch von dem gezeichneten Ding (zitiert nach: Kutschera, 1975: 45). So führt Chrysispos von Soloi (281/276 v. Chr. In–208/204 v. Chr.), ein griechischer Philosoph, einer der bedeutendsten Vertreter der Stoa, die deutliche Unterscheidung von Objekt, Bedeutung und sprachlicher Bezeichnung hinaus.

Nach John Locke (1632–1704) ist die Bedeutung eine Vorstellung, die sich bei dem Sprechenden mit einem bestimmten sprachlichen Zeichen assoziiert. Dabei unterscheiden sich: die individuelle Bedeutung, die sich unmittelbar auf die persönliche Erfahrung des Sprechenden stützt, und nicht individuelle Bedeutung, die auf die Ideen, die den Menschen mittelbar bekannt sind, zurückgeht. Die nicht individuelle Bedeutung entsteht auf der Basis der konventionellen Vereinbarungen unter mehreren Sprechenden (Locke, 2009: 3–5).

Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914), der amerikanische Philosoph, Logiker, Mathematiker, einer der Begründer von dem Pragmatismus und der Semiotik, erweitert den Bereich der Abhängigkeit der Bedeutung durch den sozialen Zusammenhang. Die Bedeutung des Zeichens sieht er in verschiedenen Variationen seiner Anwendung. Die erschöpfende Bedeutung des Begriffes, nach Peirce, ist für den Forscher in Anbetracht seiner Begrenztheit durch das Endliche unzugänglich. Da der Prozess der Erkenntnis unendlich ist, ist der Prozess der Erkenntnis der Bedeutung auch unendlich (Peirce, 2000).

Der deutsche Logiker, Mathematiker, Philosoph, der Begründer von der Sprachphilosophie, Friedrich Ludwig Gottlob Frege (1848–1925), behauptet, dass die Wortbedeutung kontextuell ist. In diesem Zusammenhang findet er notwendig die Bildung einer wissenschaftlichen Sprache, in der die Bedeutungen von den subjektiven Vorstellungen des Sprechers unabhängig sind. In seiner Arbeit „Über Sinn und Bedeutung“ (Frege, 2008: 25–50) wendet sich Frege an die Identität der Äußerungen. Die Äußerungen können identisch sein, wenn sie eine und dieselbe Bedeutung haben, dem Sinn nach aber verschieden sind. Die Bedeutung bestimmt der Wissenschaftler als einen Gegenstand, der mittels der gegebenen Äußerung bezeichnet werden soll (später in der Sprachphilosophie—Referenz), der Sinn—als den Inhalt der Äußerung (später in der

Sprachphilosophie—Bedeutung) (Frege, 2008: 41). Der Unterscheid der Bedeutung und des Sinnes wird von Friedrich Ludwig Gottlob Frege an dem Beispiel der Wörter „Morgenstern“ und „Abendstern“ veranschaulicht. Die Bedeutung der erwähnten Wörter ist gleich (der Planet Venus), der Sinn ist verschieden („Morgenstern“ bezeichnet den hellsten Himmelskörper in dem morgendlichen Himmel (Phosphorus), „Abendstern“—den hellsten Himmelskörper in dem abendlichen Himmel (Hesperus)) (Frege, 1986: 41-42). Der Sinn ist, nach Frege, intersubjektiv, er befindet sich zwischen der Bedeutung, d.h. dem objektiven Gegenstand, der bezeichnet wird, und der subjektiven Vorstellung von diesem Gegenstand (Frege, 2008: 44).

Ludwig Josef Johann Wittgenstein (1889–1951), ein österreichisch-britischer Philosoph, einer der Begründer der Analytischen Sprachphilosophie, schreibt in seinem „Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus“ (Wittgenstein, 2003) (wie früher G. Frege) über die Notwendigkeit des Schaffens der objektiven Wissenschaftssprache und entwickelt die These, dass die Sprache die funktionale Darstellung der Wirklichkeit ist. Die Bedeutung offenbart sich, laut L. Wittgenstein, nur im Satz, Einzelwörter haben keine Bedeutung. Der Name bezeichnet einen in der objektiven Realität existierenden Gegenstand, dem entsprechend, der Gegenstand ist die Bedeutung des Namen (zitiert nach: Demmerling, Blume, 1998: 109). Später in seinen „Philosophischen Untersuchungen“ distanziert sich der Forscher von der obengenannten Definition der Bedeutung. L. Wittgenstein kommt zu der Feststellung, dass die Bedeutung subjektiv und unbeständig ist, weil die Sprache, die den Gegenstand darstellt ein Instrument ist, das der Mensch dem schon Gegebenen anpasst (Wittgenstein: 114–115). Die Bedeutung kann man nicht durch den Begriff bestimmen, die Bedeutung des Wortes ist sein Gebrauch in der Sprache.

John Langshaw Austin (1911–1960), der englische Philosoph und Linguist, führt die Begriffe der direkten und indirekten Bedeutung ein, während er die Sprechakttheorie entwickelt. Die direkte Bedeutung ist die Information von dem Ereignis, die der Sprecher in den Inhalt der Äußerung hineinlegt. Die indirekte Bedeutung ist die Information, die mit der Sprecher-Intention (Absicht) verbunden ist (Austin, 2002: 93).

Herbert Paul Grice (1913–1988), der englische Philosoph, schreibt darüber, dass ein sprachliches Zeichen nur dann eine Bedeutung hat, wenn der Sprecher es mit der Absicht, eine bestimmte Überzeugung des Adressaten hervorzurufen, aktualisiert (Grice, 1991: 117-138). Der Wissenschaftler sondert (wie John Austin) die Bedeutungen in zwei Gruppen aus. Die Bedeutungen, nach Herbert Grice, können natürlich und nicht-natürlich sein. Die natürlichen betreffen die Tatsachen der Wirklichkeit, die nicht-natürlichen—die Sprecher-Intentionen. Ein

Zeichen bekommt die Bedeutung infolge seines Sprachgebrauchs. Dieser Sprachgebrauch wird durch die Konversationsmaximen (später die Grice'schen Konversationsmaximen genannt): Maxime der Quantität, Maxime der Qualität, Maxime der Relevanz/Relation, Maxime der Modalität, geregelt.

Das Problem der Bedeutung untersucht man traditionsgemäß in der Soziologie, wo die Bedeutung als „soziales Produkt, das durch die sinnbildende Tätigkeit der wechselwirkenden Menschen geschaffen sein kann“ (Blumer, 1969: 4–5). Laut Herbert George Blumer (1900–1987), dem amerikanischen Soziologen, werden die Bedeutungen im Verlauf der Wechselwirkung unter den Menschen als Instrumente für die Richtung und Herausbildung der menschlichen Tätigkeit offenbart, geregelt und modifiziert. Die Veränderung der Bedeutungen ist das Produkt der sozialen Transformation (Blumer, 1969: 5).

Die traditionellen semantischen Untersuchungen haben der Untersuchung des Problems der Bedeutung wesentlich beigetragen, in dem sie ihre verschiedenen Aspekte erläutert haben. So haben J.J. Katz und P.M. Postal in ihrer Arbeit „An Integrated Theorie of Linguistic Descriptions“ (1964) im Sinne der sogenannten Sinnrelationen-Semantik zwischen individuellen, psychischen cognitions und objektiven nicht-psychischen concepts unterschieden (Katz, Postal, 1964: 38). Hier ziehen die beiden Forscher aber nur die Sinnrelationen, die zwischen englischen Wörtern und Ausdrücken bestehen, in Erwägung. Eine umfangreiche Relationstheorie mit der Aufgabe, Sinnbeziehungen zwischen den sprachlichen und außersprachlichen Einheiten zu spezifizieren, bzw. der pragmatischen Komponente größere Beachtung zu schenken, blieb leider aus. Der französische Linguist, einer der Begründer der Semantik, Michel Jules Alfred Breal (1832–1915) hat seinerseits die historische Entwicklung der Wörterbuchbedeutungen dargestellt. Nicht weniger bekannt sind die Werke des deutschen Semantikers, Jost Trier (1894–1970), die den Wortbedeutungen gewidmet sind, die eine Gruppe der mit einem und demselben Bereich der Vorstellungen bezogenen und es ohne Rest zergliedernden Wesen bezeichnen (Trier, 1973). Der sowjetische Wissenschaftler, Solomon Dawidowitsch Kaznelson (1907–1985), erarbeitete die Grundlagen der semantischen Schichtenbildung und den Apparat der Derivationsoperationen im Bedeutungsbereich (Kaznelson, 1972).

Nachdem wir die wichtigsten historischen Ansätze der Bedeutungsdefinition betrachtet haben, heben wir die Dominanzen und Perspektiven der modernen Untersuchungen in diesem Bereich hervor.

Moderne Bedeutungsuntersuchungen werden mit Rücksicht auf die Gesamtlinguistische Tendenz der Reflexion der Definition der Bedeutung und den wichtigsten Prinzipien ihrer Analyse aufgebaut. Das Problem der Bedeutung wird weiter in Rahmen solcher wissenschaftlichen Richtungen wie: Logische Sprachanalyse, Funktionelle Grammatik, Lexikalische Semantik, Sprechakttheorie, Philosophie, Semantik, Kognitive Linguistik, Semasiologie, Pragmalinguistik usw. aktiv entwickelt.

Die Wortbedeutung und das Problem ihrer Typologie (ohne Verbindung mit der Semantik der Wortteile und der Wortbildentypen) wird von der russischen Linguistin, Nina Dawidowna Arutjunowa (1923–*) in Rahmen der von ihr erarbeiteten neuen linguistischen Richtung–Logische Sprachanalyse–erfolgreich untersucht. Entsprechend der Klassifikation von N.D. Arutjunowa gehören alle Bedeutungen zu einer der folgenden Gruppen: identifizierende Bedeutungen (Arutjunowa, 2009: 5–12), funktionelle Bedeutungen (Arutjunowa, 2009: 12–17), Merkmal- und Bewertungsbedeutungen (Arutjunowa, 2009: 17–22), Relationsbedeutungen (Arutjunowa, 2009: 22–27).

Einer der Begründer der Funktionellen Grammatik, der russische Linguist, Alexander Wladimirowitsch Bondarko (1930–*) identifiziert die Wortbedeutung mit dem Inhalt der Einheiten und Kategorien einer konkreten Sprache, der in ihr System eingeschlossen ist und ihre Merkmale reflektiert (der Inhaltsplan der sprachlichen Zeichen) (Bondarko, 1998: 53). Während der funktionellen grammatischen Untersuchung des Bedeutungsproblems wurden eine exakte Abgrenzung und eine folgerichtige Vergleichung verschiedener Inhaltsschichten und Inhaltsaspekte, die mit Hilfe der sprachlichen Mittel im Zusammenhang mit dem Denkinhalt ausgedrückt werden, verwirklicht. Als Ergebnis wurde die Bedeutung dem Sinn gegenübergestellt, d.h. dem Inhalt, der mit keiner Form oder keinem System der gegebenen Sprache verbunden ist, dem Gesamten, das synonymische Äußerungen und die Äußerungen, die bei der Übersetzung von einer Sprache in die andere gegenübergestellt sein könnten, vereinigt (Bondarko 1998: 53). Dabei wurden die Sinne in die system-kategoriale Sinne und Sprechsinne (als Folge der Wechselwirkung des sprachlichen Inhaltes der Äußerung, der kontextuellen, situationsbedingten und enzyklopädischen Information) differenziert (Bondarko, 1998: 57).

Der russische Linguist, Juri Derenkowitsch Apressjan (1930–*), der Leiter der modernen Moskauer Schule der Lexikalischen Semantik, betont die Notwendigkeit der Untersuchung der Wortkonnotationen, einer Art der semantischen Assoziationen, der Merkmale der kennzeichnenden Objekte, die keine unerlässlichen Bedingungen des Wortgebrauchs sind, aber mit

den kennzeichnenden Objekten im Bewusstsein der Sprachträger fest verbunden sind. Die Konnotationen werden in diesem Fall als Elemente der pragmatischen Information betrachtet, da sie in erster Linie nicht die Objekte selbst, sondern das Verhältnis des Sprachträgers zu diesen Objekten darstellen (Apressjan, 1995).

Johne Rogers Searle (1932–*), der moderne amerikanische Philosoph, teilt die Bedeutungen, die Sprechakttheorie entwickelnd, in rein lexikalische und kontextbedingte (intentionelle) und behauptet, dass die letzten auf die konkreten Vereinbarungen stützen, denen der Sprecher folgt. Die Ermittlung und die Interpretation der Bedeutung von dem Adressaten hängen, nach John Searle, von seinen Kenntnissen über die Regeln und Vereinbarungen, die ihm der Sprecher mitteilt (Searle, 2003: 88).

Die polnische Forscherin, Anna Wierzbicka (1938–*), hat die Repräsentation der Bedeutungen mit ihrer gleichzeitigen Deutung verbunden, während sie nach der Entwicklung der Natural Semantik Metasprache strebte (wie früher G. Frege). Die Strukturen des menschlichen Bewusstseins bestimmte A. Wierzbicka durch rund 60 Basisbegriffe oder Konzepte, die in allen Sprachen der Welt vorkommen sollen. Diese Basisbegriffe können, nach A. Wierzbicka, für die Darstellung der Bedeutungen aller anderer Wörter und ihrer Zusammenhänge hinreichend sein (Wierzbicka, 2009).

Der amerikanische Philosoph, Robert B. Brandom (1950–*), der Begründer der Inferenziellen Semantik („Making it Explicit“), hat vorausgesetzt, dass die Bedeutung der Äußerung auf die logischen Verbindungen zurückgeht, die die gegebene Äußerung mit den anderen sprachlichen Äußerungen verbinden. Die Sprache wird dabei als eine soziale Tätigkeit dargestellt, die aus den in der Form der Sprechakte realisierenden Begründungen und den Rechtfertigungen besteht (Brandom, 2000: 152). Robert Brandom weist darauf hin, dass die Äußerungen, die mit keinen anderen Äußerungen durch logische Verbindungen vereinigt sind, keine Bedeutung haben.

In den modernen semantischen Untersuchungen werden epistemische Grundlagen der Bedeutung erarbeitet im Bezug auf die ausgeprägten Theorien und Darstellungssysteme, auf die sich die Deutung stützt. Die Bedeutung wird hier mit dem Wissen gleichgesetzt (sehen Sie, z.B. die Monographie von Andrej Iwanowitsch Botschkarjew, Botschkarjew, 2009: 19). Das verletzt keine gemeinsamen Prinzipien der Problemuntersuchung. Sie werden nur verallgemeinert und durch logische, psychologische, kultur-historische Korrelate der Interpreters bereichert. Perspektivisch und absolut neu im epistemologischen Zielkurs der ähnlichen Untersuchungen

wird die Struktur der Bedeutung bestimmt, in dem bei der Interpretation der Bedeutung die Erkenntnisfunktion, die Begründung der Einigkeit der Bedeutung als der Einigkeit der Mannigfaltigkeit und die Bestimmung auf die anderen sprachlichen Bezeichnungen beabsichtigt werden. Epistemologisch orientiertes Bedeutungsmodell erlaubt die analysierende Bezeichnung in Rahmen der Wechselbeziehungen zwischen den Zeichen, Gegenständen und den sie mittelbarenden Vorstellungen als Erkenntnisfunktion zu bestimmen (Botschkarjew, 2009: 8), auch die Bedeutung im Bezug in die bestimmenden paradigmatischen (kategoriale Bedeutung) und syntagmatischen Verhältnissen (aktuelle Bedeutung) zu teilen (Botschkarjew, 2009: 30).

Die moderne Theorie der Lexikalischen Bedeutung unterscheidet sich in vielem von der Konzeptuellen Linguistik, in dem sie die Bedeutung als ein abstraktes Konzept bestimmt, das eine Reihe der Objekteigenschaften und Verhältnisse dieses Konzeptes zu den anderen abstrakten Konzepten zusammenschließt (Heusinger 2004: 13–14, 17). Dabei wird besonders hervorgehoben, dass die Bedeutung mit der Referenz, mit den Merkmalen des Objekts oder mit dem denkbaren Bild, auf das das Wort als Träger der Bedeutung verweist, nicht identisch ist. Abstrakte Konzepte-Bedeutungen werden von einem lexikalisch-semantischen Standpunkt aus beschrieben, der von dem Wirklichkeitsquerschnitt, in dem sie existieren, unabhängig ist. Genau solcher Ansatz zu der Bedeutungsbeschreibung kann, nach der Idee der Vertreter dieser Richtung, Systemeigenschaften der Bedeutung identifizieren und die Algorithmen ihrer Entwicklung und Funktionierens erlernen lassen.

In der Semasiologie wird die Bedeutung als eine komplizierte Bildung behandelt, die aus hierarchisch verbundenen Sinn-Atomen, bzw. aus den differentialen semantischen Multiplikatoren, besteht (Stepanova, Shramm, 2009: 4).

Neben der Pragmalinguistik schenkt die Poststrukturalistische Theorie der Intertextualität dem Problem der Bedeutungsuntersuchung eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Diese Theorie postuliert die Möglichkeit des Hinaufführens der Bedeutung von einem konkreten kommunizierenden Subjekt (dem Autor oder dem Leser/Hörer des Textes). Die Bedeutung entsteht, laut dieser Theorie, im Laufe der Interpretation, die einerseits mit den Rahmen des Textes begrenzt und andererseits in der Zeit unbegrenzt ist (Kristeva, 1972: 345–375).

Das Problem der Bedeutung wird in den Schriften der Wissenschaftler, die im Rahmen der angewandten Diskursanalyse arbeiten, in Wort, Satz, Text und Diskurs vernetzt. So versucht Eva Lavrie die Bedeutungen der deterministisch gebrauchten Demonstrativa (*dieser, jener* usw.) als

sprachliche Einheiten zu untersuchen, mit denen der Sender dem Empfänger von der Identifizierung des mit der Nominalphrase gemeinten Referenten signalisiert bzw. signalisieren kann (Lavrie, 2007: 277). Dabei wird es auch unterstrichen, dass der Sender dem Empfänger mit dem erwähnten Signalisieren zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt ein gemeinsames Diskursuniversum unterstellt (Lavrie, 2007: 278).

In der modernen Literaturwissenschaft versteht man unter den Bedeutungen gewisse Verbindungsantriebe, die das Neben- und Nacheinander im schöngeistigen Text, bzw. im Gedicht zu einer Folge machen, „die als solche Sinn macht“ (Landwehr, 2006: 247). Der schöngeistige Text erweist sich hier als explizierter Performativ, dessen Interpretation Kenntnisse von Textsorten, Konventionen und Traditionen, Verfügen über Lesestrategien, soziale Positionen und Differenzierungen, Welthierarchien von Leseweisen, Textsorten und Kompetenzen beansprucht (Landwehr, 2006: 233). Als Sprechakt zweckt der Schöngeistige Text darauf ab, dass sein Sinn auch als Lese- und Hörerlebnis/Spracherlebnis gedeutet werden kann, zu dem er vom Anfang an eine Einladung, ein Signalgebot war (Herrmanns, 2006: 284).

In der modernen Pragmatik werden die Bedeutungen der Sprechheiten im engen Zusammenhang mit den Senders-, Empfängers- und Situationscharakteristiken definiert. Als eine wichtige Besonderheit der pragmatischen Bedeutung wird dabei ihre Anhänglichkeit an die Sprechsituation eingebracht. In diesem Fall nähern sich die Pragmalinguisten mit Jens Otto Harry Jespersen (1860–1943), dem dänischen Linguisten, der in seinen wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten die Sprechheiten, deren Bedeutung sich von der Situation abhängig ändert, als „Stifter“ bezeichnet hat (Jespersen, 1958).

Die Liste der Bedeutungsdefinitionen könnte fortgesetzt werden.

Ein breites Spektrum der Ansätze zu der Bedeutungsanalyse in dem klassischen und modernen wissenschaftlichen Paradigma lässt aber bei aller seiner Vielseitigkeit eine Reihe prinzipiell wichtiger Fragen offen, insbesondere die Fragen, die mit dem Wesen, mit der Struktur, mit den sprachlichen Aktualisationsmitteln und den Grundlagen der Entstehung und des Funktionierens verbunden sind. Diese Tatsache kann durch die einzigartigen Eigenschaften des Gegenstandes der Untersuchung erklärt werden, und nämlich durch seine Kompliziertheit, Unverschlossenheit, Unlinearität usw. In diesem Zusammenhang scheint uns die sich zur Zeit aktiv entwickelnde linguapragmatische Strömung, die auf das Untersuchen der komplizierten, unverschlossenen, unlinealen, labilen, subjektiv und konventionell bedingten sprachlichen Erscheinungsformen orientiert ist, für das Untersuchung der Bedeutung und, insbesondere, der pragmatischen

Bedeutung außerordentlich aussichtsreich. Sowohl dieser Faktor, als auch die spruchreife Notwendigkeit der Unifizierung der Termini „pragmatische Bedeutung“ und „pragmatischer Sinn“ macht den angemeldeten Problemzugriff aktuell.

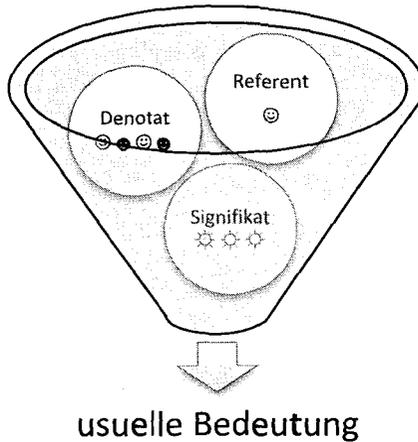
In weiterem Abschnitt unserer Arbeit werden linguapragmatische Ansätze der Bedeutungsdefinition erläutert. Wir erlernen auch die hierarchische Anordnung verschiedener Bedeutungstypen, ihre innere und äußere Strukturen und Eigenschaften.

In der linguistischen Pragmatik (Pragmalinguistik) wird die **Bedeutung** als Information definiert, die durch ein bestimmtes Zeichen im Verlauf der Kommunikation mitgeteilt wird. Die linguistische Pragmatik untersucht die Bedeutungen, die im kommunikativen Strom entstehen und existieren. Dabei werden die Bedeutungen, die von dem Textsender ausgehen, und die Bedeutungen, die von dem Textempfänger wahrgenommen und interpretiert werden, unterscheidet. Die ersten und die zweiten können als usuelle, aktuelle und pragmatische Bedeutungen erscheinen.

Über **dieusuelle Bedeutung** (Wörterbuchbedeutung) spricht man nur dann, wenn der sprachliche Ausdruck außerhalb des Kontextes (z.B., in einen Wörterbuch) existiert. Die usuelle Bedeutung entspricht der objektivierten Deutung, die einen konkreten Gegenstand, eine konkrete Erscheinung, einen konkreten Vorgang, ihre Merkmale, Zusammenwirkungen usw., die in der Wirklichkeit vorhanden sind oder sein können, umfassend darstellt. Ein Beispiel wird hier das Wort „Staatsoberhaupt“ in einem erklärenden Wörterbuch, das als „jmd., der an der Spitze des Staates steht und ihn nach innen und außen repräsentiert“ gedeutet ist (DWDS 2010). „Jmd., der an der Spitze des Staates steht und ihn nach innen und außen repräsentiert“ ist also die usuelle Bedeutung des Wortes „Staatsoberhaupt“.

Die innere Struktur der usuellen Bedeutung bilden drei Elemente: der Referent, das Denotat und das Signifikat. Der Referent stellt ein konkretes Wesen (ein Teil der Wirklichkeit–einen Gegenstand, eine Erscheinung, einen Vorgang, ihre Merkmale, Zusammenwirkungen usw.) dar, das mit Hilfe des Wortes bezeichnet wird. Das Denotat bezeichnet eine Anzahl der Wesen, im Bezug auf die das gegebene Wort aktualisiert sein kann (Krifka, 2007: 20). Das Signifikat ist eine Gesamtheit der Merkmale, die ein einzelnes bezeichnetes Wesen oder eine Gruppe der bezeichneten Wesen vereinigen oder gegenüberstellen und zugleich die möglichen Gegebenheiten und Beispiele des Wortgebrauchs markieren (*Schema 1.*).

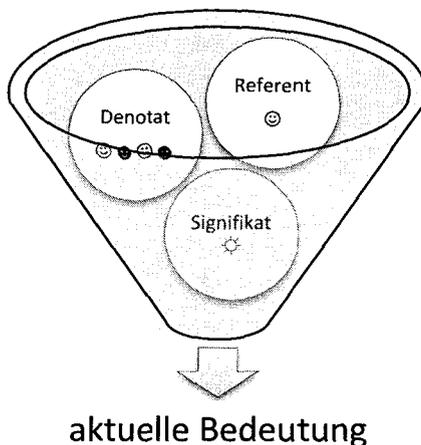
Schema 1. Innere Struktur der usuellen Bedeutung



Innerhalb einer gegebenen Wortreihe existiert **dieaktuelle Bedeutung**. Die aktuelle Bedeutung des Wortes „Staatsoberhaupt“ wird, z.B., durch die Hinzufügung eines einzigen kontextbedingten Wortes „russisches“ dem „Präsidenten“ streben, da das Staatsoberhaupt der Russischen Föderation, das die in der Verfassung garantierten Rechte und Freiheiten des russischen Volkes gewährleistet, seit dem Jahre 1991 Präsident genannt wird. Vervollständigen wir die Kontextreihe durch das nächste Wort „heutiges“, wird die aktuelle Bedeutung des Wortes „Staatsoberhaupt“ konnotativ bedingt als „Wladimir Wladimirowitsch Putin“ erläutert, da gerade Wladimir Wladimirowitsch Putin seit dem 7. Mai 2012 das Staatsoberhaupt der Russischen Föderation ist.

Die innere Struktur der aktuellen Bedeutung (so wie die innere Struktur der usuellen Bedeutung) formen drei Bauelemente: der Referent, das Denotat und das Signifikat. Der Unterschied ist nur in dem Inhalt des Signifikates, das sich mit einem gegebenen Beispiel des Wortgebrauchs einschränkt (*Schema 2*).

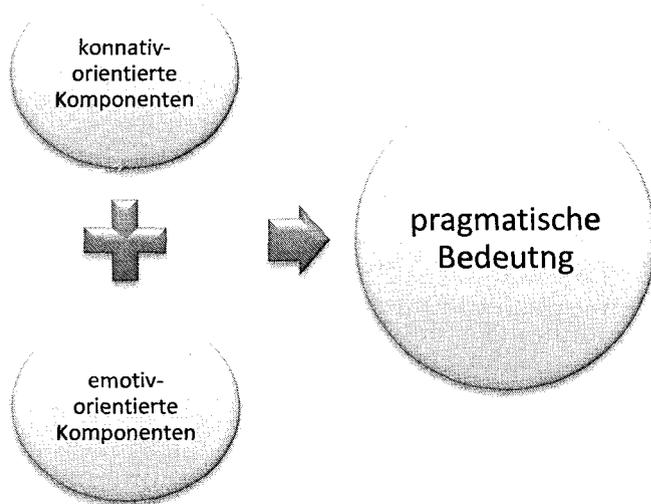
Schema 2. Innere Struktur der aktuellen Bedeutung



Pragmatische Bedeutung erscheint im erweiterten Kontext. Sie geht auf die subjektiven Einschätzungen des Urhebers zurück. Pragmatische Bedeutung ist ein kompliziertes heterogenes Gebilde, das die Einstellung des Senders im Bezug auf die Außenstimuli projiziert und zugleich spezifische Charakteristiken der subjektiven Reaktionen des Senders (als des Trägers bestimmter psychischer und sozialer Eigenschaften) auf die Stimuli widerspiegelt.

Die innere Struktur der pragmatischen Bedeutung gestaltet die Einigkeit der emotiv- und konnativ-orientierten Komponenten. Die emotiv-orientierten Komponenten charakterisieren die Sendersvorstellungen über den potentiellen Empfänger, die konnativ-orientierten Komponenten — Sendersintentionen und Senderspresuppositionen. Stellen wir das auf dem Schema (*Schema 3.*).

Schema 3. Innere Struktur der pragmatischen Bedeutung



Die Komponenten der pragmatischen Bedeutung stützen auf die Eigenschaft der Sprechereinheiten, abgesehen von einander nicht zu existieren und wenigstens potentiell mit den anderen Einheiten verbunden zu sein. Der Zusammenhalt der Sprechereinheiten bildet den sogenannten pragmatischen Hintergrund der Kommunikation.

Der emotiv-orientierte pragmatische Hintergrund kann die Teilnahme/Nichtteilnahme der Kommunikanten in dem Sprecherereignis; das sichere/unsichere Sprechbenehmen des Textsenders; die Bewertung des Sprecherereignisses als real oder nichtreal bezeugen. Der konnativ-orientierte pragmatische Hintergrund kann die Akzentuierung der konkreten Elemente des Textes; die Äußerung des positiven/negativen Verhältnisses zu dem von dem Sender Darstellenden; die Sendersberücksichtigung der pragmatischen Erwartungen des Textempfängers; das Mitteilen des hinreichenden/nichthinreichenden Umfangs der Information dem Textempfänger verweisen.

Vergleichen wir noch einmal die Strukturen der usuellen, aktuellen und pragmatischen Bedeutung. Die usuelle Bedeutung ist eine Invariante, die aktuelle und pragmatische Bedeutungen—die Varianten der Sprechrealisation dieser Invariante in konkreten Verhältnissen.

Die Bedeutung eines Wortes (in der Gesamtheit der usuellen, aktuellen und pragmatischen Bedeutungsarten) ist gleichzeitig ein Modell eines gewissen Denkinhaltes, einer (zu dem gegebenen Zeitpunkt) vollständigen Reflexion der eingestellten Kategorie der Gegenstände, Vorgänge, Erscheinungen, ihrer Eigenschaften usw., d.h. ein Modell des Begriffes.

Unser Vorschlag ist, von der Definition der pragmatischen Bedeutung ausgehend die außersprachlichen Parameter und nämlich die subjektiven und konventionellen Hintergründe der referenziellen Einschätzungen des Urhebers der Äußerung als die wichtigsten Hintergründe der Bedeutungsexistenz zu erforschen.

Die pragmatische Wende in der Sprachwissenschaft der letzten beiden Jahrhunderte mit all ihren neu eingeführten theoretischen Grundlegungen und praxisorientierten Methoden erlaubt uns auf ihrem heutigen Niveau zu den möglichen Lösungen eines wichtigen Problems der Bedeutungsanalyse, und nämlich der Analyse der subjektiven Hintergründe der subjektiven Einschätzungen des Urhebers der Äußerung und somit auch zu der Analyse der pragmatischen Bedeutung, näher zu kommen.

Es gibt heute kaum eine neuere Publikation zur Theorie und Praxis der Bedeutungsanalyse in der die Termini „pragmatisch“, „subjektiv“, „Subjektivität“ nicht auftauchen. Trotzdem bleiben die beiden in der modernen Wissenschaft so wenig eindeutig definiert und in so schiellender Vielfalt verwendet wie kaum ein anderer auch weniger gebräuchlicher Begriff. Dass es eine pragmatische Bedeutung und ihre subjektiven Hintergründe gibt, wird dabei unbeschritten angenommen, doch ihr Inhalt und ihre Eigenschaften bleiben nach wie vor diffus.

In unseren nächsten Arbeiten versuchen wir, die Natur der pragmatischen Bedeutung und ihrer subjektiven Hintergründe zu diskutieren, die entsprechende wissenschaftliche Terminologie zu präzisieren und ihre Verwendung gewissermaßen einzugrenzen.

Zitierte Werke

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ENGLISH TERM-FORMATION THROUGH THE METHOD OF ABBREVIATION

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On developing principles of structural and morphological analysis of the terminological system of a language, A.M. Bushuy concludes:

“Terminology in each particular branch of scientific knowledge is a separate linguistic system formation. One can identify a possible systemic organization from the standpoint of general systems theory. It involves studying a holistic set of interrelated elements that perform a specific function by the method of hierarchical coordination.”¹

In the semantic development of many individual words (e.g. substantives), areas indicative of the diversification of their semantic structure include: 1) specialization, individualization, expansion, contraction, etc. and 2) the original value of the terminologization (Averbuch 2006). Of course, the intensity of these processes will differ between word classes. Therefore, in order to reveal the overall picture of the semantic evolution of a word (or class of words) it is reasonable to analyze specifically given types of lexical units in order to determine their natural tendency to terminologization. Consider the characteristics of such terminologization active in the development of special class values of substantives like the gerundive: 1) the types of terms that are based on gerundive substantives, and 2) the lexical-semantic terminological options developed in the semantic structure of gerundial substantives (Abraham & Kiefer 2009). Terminologization is one of the brightest processes in the development of the semantic structure of gerundive substantives in modern English. This process is closely intertwined with the actions of specialization and objectification, which may offer terminological values (Alekseyenko 2007). Compare these typical contexts:

¹ Bushuy, A. M. Printsipy strukurno-morfologicheskogo analiza terminosistemy yazyka, 162

“There are wildflowers indigenous to the Sydney region which have attained their perfection by natural selection, without the cultivation and culling that produced the rose from the briar” (Chesterton 2010: 160).

“I want you to go into that Hearing with all the evidence, ... all the witnesses you can get ... but no lawyer can do a job for you if your Hearing’s today” (Lindsay 2009: 104).

Here, the terminological meaning of culling (agrc. ‘culling,’ ‘selection’) and hearing (jur. ‘hearing,’ ‘interrogation’) displays specialization of action. Accordingly, gerundial substantives—coating (spec. ‘coating’) and fitting (those. ‘lighting’) actions are the result of objectification in the following contexts:

“Maclehose in 1838 remarked that George Street ... ‘has lately had’ etc. surface covered with a substantial coating of excellent granite ...” (Militz 2007: 120).

... All she could see was ceiling above ... ornamented in the centre where a light fitting glowed. Dust had accumulated on the fitting ...” (Hailey 2008: 41).

The most important function of the term is as an expression of a special concept (Aitchison 2010). Let us consider two points that are significant in the interpretation and terminologization of words. First of all, not all parts of speech are terminologically equal. Basically, the terminological part of speech is substantive. This is facilitated by the fact, that in all European languages verbal nouns are easily formed and there is no need to use the function in verbal terms (Akhmanova 1987). Therefore, we can agree with V.M. Ovcharenko (2006) who defines the term as the auto-semantic noun or its equivalent (a substantive phrase, or abbreviation) used in the speech of science and technology and expressing a special concept. A second important point in the terminologization of a single word is as follows: in scientific and technical texts, in the strict sense, terms are rarely found. They are usually marked, not in absolute terms, but in their terminological lexical-semantic variants. E.I. Chupilina (2007) is right, when she says, that the lexical-semantic variants of general-use words with terminological values should be considered, in addition to the class of absolute terms, on the basis of their characteristic of belonging to appropriate scientific terminology. It is possible to distinguish between the following types of terms: 1) Monosemantic terms: arcing -p.-elc. -overlapping, arc discharge; outcropping -p. -geol. output, uncovered head of layer. It should be noted, that gerundial substantives rarely appear in the function of monosemantic terms. 2) Polysemantic

terms: abrading -p. -spec. 1. Abrasion; 2. Sandblasting the surface; 3. Soil erosion; blanking -p. 1. el. locking (cathode ray tube); 2. Phys. quenching; 3. Tech. stamping (or clearing) of the paper. 3) Terminology lexical-semantic variants of polysemantic common use words: wheeling -p. 1. ride on bike; 2. Turn, rotation; 3. Highways, state roads; 4. Mountain haulage wheelbarrows; tiling - p. 1. Floor tiles (or tiles); 2. 1) Assembling, shingles; 2) architect, flooring tiles; tiled roof.

Synchronic analysis of such gerundial substantives types as tuning, tiling, rigging, rating, northing, mounting, moulding, loosening, icing, holding, furling, dressing, coping, bridging, bleeding and others shows that the semantic structure of gerundial substantives are often marked by terminological lexical-semantic variants.

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THE PRAGMATICS OF THE EXTREMIST DISCOURSE ADDRESSANT

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This analysis is based on different approaches to identifying implicit meanings that actualize the pragmatics of the addressant in extremist discourse. Analysis of intent is a major approach that relies on the identification of the speech intentions of an addressant (author). Moreover, it is the author's intentions that determine additional content. Both the explicit and the implicit objectives of the author refer to the pragmatic content of the text. One should bear in mind that the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations of language signs are realized in a text in a special way and are determined by the author's intention. As such, analysis of extremist discourse, in our opinion, should be of an interpretative character.

Extremist discourse is marked by specific features. The author's axiology, based on the value system of this or that national-socialist group, obtains a singular significance in such discourse. The concept of 'verbal extremism' is basic to discourses that are compatible with different conceptual structures. One can refer to scenarios of verbal persuasion calling for extremist action and provoking hatred and antagonism in the typical conceptual structures of extremist discourse.

Some other specific stylistic dominants also occur in extremist discourse—for instance, the reduction of specified national, social and religious problems. With this objective, the author presents axiological oppositions—friend/foe, good/evil, virtue/vice—uses pejorative nickname nominations, concise verbal forms and the objectification of ideas (watchwords, slogans, abuse). A special communicative intention is realized by means of the communication genres of instruction, advice, threat, direction and the like.

The emotional aspect of discourse is also specific. Aggressive tactics of confrontation, intolerance, the formation of reversed images of national,

religious and ideological stereotypes and disparagement of other national, social and confessional groups are realized in them.

The style of pragmatic dominance in extremist discourse is an aggressive strategy realized with the help of various manipulation techniques applied to the reader, negative communicative attitudes towards ethnic, racial, social and confessional groups and verbal scenarios of bullying, instigation, provocation and so on.

We assume that a text, including a creolized one, that contains some elements of verbal extremism, should be regarded as a communication act between an addressant and an addressee with the purpose of transmitting ideology. Extremist discourse also fulfils the function of an element in a 'communication event' (Usatcheva 2011: 27).

Here we describe our observations on different genres of extremist discourse. Among the dominant genres used by extremist discourse addressants on the Internet are demotivative posters, placards, slogans and sedition etc. On the social networking site 'VKontakte' we found a creolized text on the personal page of a user nicknamed 'SanyagaSokolov' (December 20, 2012). The text is given with a photo of a man who looks like a native Caucasian. His facial expression and spread arms and fists mark his representation as self-confident and aggressive:

"The liberation of killer Mirzayev is a kick in the teeth of the whole Russian nation. Nowadays, the oppression and absolute rightlessness of Russians in the Russian Federation is clear to anybody. By means of this judicial act, the government confirms exclusive privileges of the Caucasians to commit illegal acts in relation to Russians. Meanwhile, Russian school students can get a real term of deprivation for placing a statement against native Caucasians on a social network site. However, Caucasians can deprive a Russian of life with impunity or can simply receive a formal punishment for committing a crime. The oppression of the Russian people is confirmed by the Russian court, the Russophobic rule that underlies the justice system and the whole national policy has received a new vivid confirmation. Yet, though the liberation of Mirzayev is another example of discrimination of Russians, it gives negative publicity to similar events leading to a speedy elimination of the nation-wide system of corruption and violence. The authorities themselves create a revolutionary situation that causes its downfall."¹

The communicative role of the addressant is that of an affective subject while the communicative role of the addressee is as a perceptive subject.

¹ URI:// <http://www.VKontakte>, December 20, 2012

The influential subject realizes his world outlook and demonstrates his take on the facts using different techniques of influence on the addressee.

In the first statement, the addressant gives a negative evaluation of the fact of Mirzayev's liberation. The evaluation is marked with the expression of the speaker's attitude towards the facts being stated. The second statement informs us about Russians being deprived of rights and oppressed in the Russian Federation. This utterance propagates the idea of Russian rights being violated in Russia. The same idea is realized in the following statements of the text through a discursive function. The addressant's assertion that the Russian people have no rights actualizes reasoning in support of the necessity for Russians to fight for their rights.

This scenario of justification has the following model-scheme: a suggestion of the necessity for struggle—an argument and evidence for support of this necessity. By way of such evidence, the addressant describes the case that occurred with Mirzayev. In a presuppositional form, he propagandizes the pre-emptive rights of Russians against other nations. The statement that "*Caucasians can deprive a Russian of life with impunity or can simply receive a formal punishment for committing a crime*" in Russia, realizes a verbal scenario of incitement against the limitation of their rights. The addressant helps to form a disagreeable attitude in the addressee to Caucasians who, in his opinion, enjoy privileged protection from the law. The final statement realizes a verbal scenario of sedition against the acting government and that its overthrow is the aim of the struggle. The addressant shifts the responsibility for the actions of individual members of an ethnic community (Mirzayev) onto a whole national group. This manipulative device is aimed at inciting enmity towards this national group. The primary addressant's intention in communication is not to inform the addressee about this or that event but to affect the addressee's opinion by changing it through his own interpretation of the event.

The same user added an image on January 30, 2014, containing altered photos of some Russian Orthodox Christian Church members and orthodox symbols with the inscription 'orthodox bastards.'

This communicative act of extremist discourse constructs a collage of images from a trailer to Quentin Tarantino's movie 'Inglourious Basterds' and photos of some Orthodox Christian Church members. In addition, he uses certain attributes of the Orthodox Christian Church (an icon with the holy image of Christ, the Virgin Mary, John the Forerunner (also known as 'the Baptist') and contemporary Orthodox Christian Church clothing styles). This collage of images marks the intention of creating disdain for Orthodoxy, the author's rejection of it and negative attitude towards it. An

inscription is found under the image—*In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Watch in Russia since the 10th century.* This actualizes a scenario of disapproval, through sarcasm, of the activities of the Orthodox Christian Church since the time when the Kievan Rus were converted to Christianity.

Overall, mockery of relics (marked in the image) and orthodox traditions (marked at the bottom of the image) is realized in the text. The addressant of the communication event offers a negative evaluation of members of the Orthodox Christian Church and their demeanor, as well as some individual clergymen personified in the depiction of contemporary representatives of Orthodoxy. The inscription on the image itself with regard to Orthodox Christian churchmen—**ORTHODOX BASTERDS**—realizes a language game technique: only the first component ‘inglorious’ is changed in the name of the movie ‘Inglourious Basterds.’ The inscription uses the movie to ascribe the actions of the film’s characters to contemporary Orthodox members. If the movie characters ‘gamely engage in revenge, cheerfully and in good taste,’ then contemporary Orthodox clergymen, in the addressant’s opinion, do the same. The communication event realizes a verbal scenario accusing Orthodox Christian Church members of committing wrongful acts. The addressant ascribes hostile actions and dangerous intentions to the Orthodox Christian Church in relation to others. This is a means of inciting race hatred and religious strife. In M. Osadchy’s opinion it is the actualization of danger that forms antagonism (Osadchy 2013). Here, a verbal scenario is realized suggesting that people professing Orthodoxy are engaged in supporting crime. The nomination—Orthodox basterds—presents a negative-evaluative attitude and a negative image of the Orthodox Church—the word ‘Orthodox’ is placed in a negative context. The word ‘bastard’ is interpreted in dictionaries in different ways, including: “a whoreson, a man with primitive animal instincts, substandard, contemptuous” (Ozhegov & Shvedova 1999); “a scoundrel, scum, degenerate, abuse” (Kveselevitch 2011); “a disgusting, ugly, weak-minded creature, abuse” (Arbatsky 2007). The addressant ascribes to members of the Orthodox Christian Church, in the form of presuppositional assertion, such qualities as breach of moral principles, deficiencies of intellect and depravity. Such a statement helps to create a negative image of Orthodoxy and contribute to a hostile attitude to it—a negative estimation of Orthodoxy. The assertion can be used as justifying the accusation that people professing Orthodoxy engage in abetting the commission of crime. In addition, this is a way of inciting strife amongst different confessions.

The pragmatics of the extremist discourse addresant also depends on the social situation. The peculiarities of the addresant's pragmatics are manifested in public speeches. Let us present our research findings of A. Valov's public speech, the leader of the Right National Democratic Organization in Murmansk. In this communication event, A. Valov fulfils the communicative function of an influential person (orator). His main communicative objective is the opposition of government and nation. He presents an image of the government as a public enemy. Different verbal scenarios are available for this purpose. For instance, an informative scenario about the state of affairs in Russia is presented as: a deep-seated political crisis in the country, lack of democracy, Asiatic-type despotism, and tyranny, government paralysis in the face of urgent social, economic and inter-ethnic problems in the country. In relation to the ruling political party, United Russia, a scenario of negative estimation is made: *they have proved their inefficiency; Russia is falling into chaos because of their silent inactivity*. To heighten the effect produced on listeners (addressees), A. Valov applies techniques of speech demagoguery: his speech abounds in highly expressive words—using words like 'despotism' and 'tyranny'—which contradict the described realia.

The scenario of instigation is also realized:

"A citizen has only two options to choose from: either to fill a vacancy in this corrupted system or to not poke one's nose out of the house dreading to air one's views."²

These alternatives stand for either submission or conformity, contradicting an active life stance. As such, the underlying assumption of submission or conformity (over-compromising) provokes a third variant—combating the ruling power for one's rights. This scenario of abetment enhances the accusation scenario against active government supporters:

"they do not have their own ideological platform, live on the dole, foster feelings of hatred towards the opposition, and provoke a split in society. At the same time, the addresant (orator) realizes a manipulative device of reflexivity: It is sufficient to remember in what regions the party, United Russia, was able to secure a 99% majority and those regions receive the largest financial support..., I dare say, everyone can answer the question about who is the central pillar of the regime today."³

² Hereafter: materials of a criminal trial 1-174 /2014, Murmansk.

³ Materials of a criminal trial 1-174 /2014, Murmansk.

A. Valov resorts to different forms of appeal at the end of his speech. Most often, these are implicit appeals. For instance:

"If legitimacy is not reconstituted then honest citizens have nothing left but to put the so-called presidential elections under boycott."⁴

The repeatedly used expression 'so-called' actualizes the communicative attitude of the addressant: he denies the legitimacy of the elections. The appeal under analysis has an implicit form that is marked with the syntactic construction 'if... then...'—the impelling force of this appeal consists in changing the orientation of the addressant's behavior. The following components of appeal are verbalized: an addressee ('honest citizens'), an image-mode of action (public demonstration protesting against the elections), an action (boycotting) and a target image (presidential elections). The verbal imperative (a verb in the imperative mood) is missing.

The appeal that is made—*Today the forces that make up society must come together in order to prevent the present-day state system from becoming totalitarian and at the same time keep outside forces from dismembering Russia*—is both explicit and implicit, since the verbal imperative is not expressed. The verbal imperative is replaced by a mild form of volition (M.A. Osadchy's term). The appeal's structure may be presented as follows: a target image ('state system,' 'outside forces'); an image of the mode of action presented in the abstract ('to prevent, keep from'); an addressee image ('the forces that make up society'). It may also be noted that the image of the mode of action is poorly expressed since the verbs 'prevent' and 'keep from' imply the following connotations—propaganda, public demonstration, obstruction, combined with violence or the threat of force, etc. These are actions that could 'prevent the present-day state system from becoming totalitarian.' The addressee's image is also presented in the abstract, though, in the speech of the speaker the addressee is objectified in the nominations 'right-wing forces' and 'nationalists.' The appeal contains an implied command: *Now, is the time for action!* This is the dominant intention of the addressant.

Appeals, as well as instigation scenarios, are forms of expression for inciting people to perform, or not perform, a particular act directed against the acting government and the United Russia party, as a social group united by their political beliefs. They also highlight the propaganda of the Right National Democratic Organization ideology: the creation of a right-

⁴ Materials of a criminal trial 1-174 /2014, Murmansk.

wing political party, participation in the State Duma elections and conflict with the authorities in power.

In his speeches, A. Valov often refers to the value concepts of Russian culture. The names of such concepts possess a strong positive coloring and excite reflection in the listeners. This reference to them is a manipulative device to affect the spiritual sphere of the addressee. For instance, A. Valov begins his speech as follows:

“Our own people are the ultimate value on the planet. The struggle for our own nation is the supreme value and everyone’s heavenly duty from birth. Moreover, it is the fight for our own people that is good in the highest meaning of this word.”⁵

Such value paradigms engage the addressee’s attention. In addition, the idea of propaganda and the romanticization of an uncompromising struggle for the ideals of the national movement is realized in a communication act with the main objective of this movement—a national Russian state.

The orator realizes a verbal scenario justifying struggle:

“Now we are at the epoch’s turning point, we are facing the evil that has brought us, Russians, to our knees, which has turned us into political opponents and destroyed our nation. There is only one way for us left—to reverse the degradation of ourselves or to docilely rot in the gutter, so-called Putin’s stability, prepared for us by the contemporary authorities.”⁶

The latter statement contains an implicit incitement to perform actions directed against the present-day government. After all, nobody wishes to *to docilely rot in the gutter*.

The addressant extensively uses metaphorical images as manipulative devices: *international dishwasher*, *television stinks*, *scurrilous little rags burr*, etc. Meanwhile, the ideology of right-wing nationalism is actualized in an implicit form. Thus, the statement *In Russia there is only one opposition—us. We Russian people...* realizes the idea of denying democracy, liberalism, pluralism, i.e. the suppression of alternative opposition. Moreover, this is the road to repression. Implicit ideas have a stronger impact on the spiritual sphere than explicit ones. For instance, the orator proclaims—*creation is our Russian agenda and aim*. Nevertheless, the statement implicitly calls for breaking everything down first:

⁵ Materials of a criminal trial 1-174 /2014, Murmansk.

⁶ Materials of a criminal trial 1-174 /2014, Murmansk.

"You bear and get used to what is happening in present-day Russia—keep on suffering and get used to the idea that your nation will die soon. We already silently walk along the streets named after killers and executioners. We grin and bear it when terrorists are called heroes of Russia. We shamefacedly hide our heads when strangers shoot us in the streets, our authorities make us pay through the nose for a miserable, slave-like existence."⁷

All these statements realize a scenario of justification for changing the situation. Moreover, the orator answers himself as to what is to be done:

"There is only one thing to be done: to tear off the bandage from your blurred eyes and see the light. To commence to fight and act."⁸

In Russian linguo-culture, the verb *прозреть* (*see the light*) realizes a symbolic meaning—'spiritual epiphany.' The orator uses a reflexive technique:

"Striving for victory, what else do we need? Just determination and actions. Done with laziness. The motto—it is no concern of mine—is treason and desertion from the battlefield."⁹

The manipulative devices of speech demagoguery are marked in the use of such words as *treason* and *desertion*. Verbal symbols are also actualizers of the specific character of the pragmatics of the extremist discourse addressant. Thus, A. Valov, for instance, uses the form of address 'brothers-in-arms' and the slogan 'Glory to Russia!' borrowed from Russian fascists of the 1920s–1940s.

Consequently, the pragmatics of the extremist discourse addressant has specific peculiarities associated with the author's axiology, speech strategies, tactics, communicative intentions, value paradigms and implicit techniques of affecting the spiritual sphere of the addressee.

Conclusion

This research has shown the specific character of extremist discourse as an institutional discourse type. It has also defined the aspects that determine the author's axiology and revealed the discrete role of symbolism (aside from the verbal one) in extremist discourse. As long as

⁷ Materials of a criminal trial 1-174 /2014, Murmansk.

⁸ Materials of a criminal trial 1-174 /2014, Murmansk.

⁹ Materials of a criminal trial 1-174 /2014, Murmansk.

extremist discourse belongs to a destructive type of communication, it is especially important to detect the manipulative devices used by the addressant. These findings expand our knowledge about discourse typology and communication types in general. The observations on the specific character of extremist discourse may be useful for forensic practices with regard to cases of verbal extremism.

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“LETZTE GEDICHTE UND GEDANKEN”: THE APHORISTIC STYLE OF HEINRICH HEINE

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(RUSSIA)

This paper is focused on studying the prose texts of Germany's greatest Romantic poet, Heinrich Heine, not often addressed by researchers. As far as Heine's prose is concerned, most attention is traditionally paid to his journalistic reports and literary criticism. His 'personal' prose, including memoirs, diaries, letters, sketches, drafts and 'confessions,' is only used to analyze his major works and to develop the concept of his work as a whole—an approach that seems logical and justified. In our view, this part of Heine's oeuvre represents a separate, independent object for study since, among other things, it allows for a holistic view of the poet's identity, his human qualities, and the philosophical and aesthetic origins of his creativity—this forces both readers and literary scholars to reconsider previous views on well-known and well-established assessments of his work.

We address a very problematic group of texts, referred to in the domestic collegiate collection of Heine's works as *Thoughts, notes, improvisation* (1959). E. Landa, in his review of the publication, mentions a relative unity of these fragments, as well as the hypothetical nature of their association. Adolf Strodtmann, Heine's first biographer, collected and published these texts, preserved in the poet's manuscripts (undated and without any explanations), in 1869 after the poet's death, in a book with a distinctive title—*Heinrich Heine's Last Poems and Thoughts (Letzte Gedichte und Gedanken von Heinrich Heine)*. Despite the heterogeneity of the materials, and likely different dates of their creation, they bear obvious signs of unity and are suggestive of the priorities of Heine's oeuvre in general. Yet, the themes and issues assigned in these texts are typical of the 'pre-March' (1830-1840s) and post-revolutionary (1850s) eras in general, i.e. focused on the revolutionary, the bourgeois, art, literature, German identity, religious models, love, marriage and cultural issues. The key definition of *thoughts* used in the title is not

accidental, since it is Heine's *speculations* on various topics, often in the form of *aphorisms*, that serve as a unifying component.

Aphoristic character—the skill to express one's thoughts briefly, concisely, succinctly and clearly, while filling them with enlightening content and shaping them in such a way that they reflect not only personal but universal wisdom—appears to be an innate feature of his language and style. It manifests itself both in his poetry and prose. The predominance of this quality in such personal, sometimes even intimate, sources as diaries, drafts and letters, proves its significance in determining the poet's view of the world, as well as his identity. The poet's mordacity, that he himself recognized as one of his major traits; the ironic way of thinking and the desire to question every thing and give it a second thought; the tragedy lurking behind satirical passages, are all fully manifested in *Thoughts, notes, improvisation*.

Key points of ideology are clearly highlighted and hot issues to the fore—the revolutionary spirit, the political thought of a society in a ferment of change, democracy and the republic, communism, parliamentarism and materialism:

“Nach den fetten Kühen kommen die mageren, nach den mageren gar kein Fleisch”¹; “Die Kommunisten hegen einen achselzuckenden Widerwillen gegen Patriotismus, Ruhm und Krieg”; “Ich will prophezeien: Ihr werdet einmal im Winter eine Revolution erleben, die wird schrecklicher als alle früheren sein! Wenn das Blut im Schnee rinnt ...”²; “Eine Nation kann nicht regeneriert werden, wenn ihre Regierung keine hohe moralische Kraft zeigt”³; “Das Volk von Paris hat die Welt befreit, und nicht mal ein Trinkgeld dafür angenommen”⁴; “Die Gesellschaft ist immer Republik—die Einzelnen streben immer empor, und die Gesamtheit drängt sie zurück.”⁵

His accuracy, though relentless, is not fuelled by anger, yet he acknowledges that he is no benign soul and always kicks back:

“Ich bin nicht vindikativ, ich möchte gern meine Feinde lieben. Aber ich kann sie nicht lieben, ehe ich mich an ihnen gerächt habe.”⁶

¹ Heine, H. Letzte Gedichte und Gedanken, 236 (here and below in citations spelling and syntax of the original source).

² Ibid., p. 237.

³ Ibid., p. 239.

⁴ Ibid., p. 242.

⁵ Ibid., p. 232.

⁶ Ibid., p. 186.

Undoubtedly, Heine's sarcasm and 'vindictiveness' prevailed during certain periods of his life and in different situations (e.g. in the literary disputes of the 1830-40s, or when at odds with the immigrant community in Paris). Notably, he did not just defend, but attacked as well:

"Ich habe die friedliche Gesinnung. Ja, man muß seinen Feinden verzeihen, aber nicht früher, als bis sie gehenkt worden."⁷

Yet, we think the researcher's voice is dominant in Heine, he is preoccupied with the mysteries of the human mind, nature and the soul. In his notes, there are various characteristics displayed—details of a portrait, psychological sketches, accurate, often ironic comments about professional qualities, both national and epochal. He emphasizes the complexity of the painstaking work of a poet as an analyst:

"Ein Talent können wir nach einer einzigen Manifestation anerkennen—für die Anerkennung eines Charakters bedürfen wir aber eines langen Zeitraums und beständiger Öffentlichkeit."⁸

However, he always strives to typologically detect features and to generalize (aesthetically and philosophically) his observations and discoveries, hence his amazingly bright, sometimes ruthless, but always precise and unusual maxims:

"Wie vernünftige Menschen oft sehr dumm sind, so sind die Dummen manchmal sehr gescheit"; "Die Zeit übt einen mildernden Einfluß auf unsere Gesinnung, durch beständige Beschäftigung mit dem Gegensatz"⁹; "Die Bediente, die keinen Herrn haben, sind darum doch keine freie Menschen—die Dienstbarkeit ist in ihrer Seele."¹⁰

Religion and philosophy, Christianity as a cultural phenomenon and the European element constitute the main themes in Heine's notes. While discussing the different positions of the world's religions, primarily Judaism and Christianity, the poet envisages ideas in historical and cultural context, submits them in a speculative manner and reveals controversial views, sometimes shocking for the reader. However, he

⁷Op. cit., p. 185.

⁸Ibid., p. 257.

⁹Ibid., p. 256-258.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 233.

emphasizes his own unique personal attitude ("Ich liebe sie (die Juden) persönlich"¹¹).

Yet, the Jewish theme is far from being radical, on the contrary, Heine equally criticizes (and is even sarcastic towards) both the concepts and realia of the church:

"Die Juden, wenn sie gut, sind sie besser, wenn sie schlecht, sind sie schlimmer, als die Christen"; "Es sind in Deutschland die Theologen, die dem lieben Gott ein Ende machen—on n'est jamais trahi que par les siens"; "Die römische Kirche stirbt an jener Krankheit, wovon Niemand genest: Erschöpfung durch die Macht der Zeit. ...Doch wird ihre Agonie noch lange dauern. Sie wird uns alle überleben ..."¹²

In general, a complex attitude towards the very idea of the divine, which is particularly characteristic of Heine's life and work in his twilight years, and towards religion, as a special tool for the formation of consciousness, affects his final maxims:

"In dunklen Zeiten wurden die Völker am besten durch die Religion geleitet, wie in stockfinsterner Nacht ein Blinder unser bester Wegweiser ist; er kennt Wege und Stege besser, als ein Schender—Es ist aber thöricht, sobald es Tag ist, noch immer die alten Blinden als Wegweiser zu gebrauchen."¹³

The theme of art and, specifically, literature and theater lie at the center of his written work. The major problem of both the German romanticist's collected writings and his entire oeuvre is the contemporaneity of art: matching aesthetic ideals and poetic skill to the urgency of 'romance' and 'policy.' Heine thought about the future of 'high art,' including that of the 'revolutionary era' and criticized tendentious poetry and political commitment of any creative means. His thoughts on this subject are not just strikingly urgent, but also visionary. On the grounds that, "in einer vorwiegend politischen Zeit wird selten ein reines Kunstwerk entstehen" Heine arrives at the following conclusion:

"Die Demokratie führt das Ende der Literatur herbei: Freiheit und Gleichheit des Stils. Jedem sei es erlaubt, nach Willkür, also so schlecht er wolle, zu schreiben, und doch soll kein Anderer ihn stilistisch überragen

¹¹ Ibid., p. 197.

¹² Ibid., p. 194.

¹³ Ibid., p. 200.

und besser schreiben dürfen"¹⁴; "Demokratischer Haß gegen die Poesie—der Parnaß soll geebnet werden, nivelliert, macadamisiert, und wo einst der müßige Dichter geklettert und die Nachtigallen belauscht, wird bald eine platte Landstrasse sein, eine Eisenbahn, wo der Dampfkessel wiehert und der geschäftigen Gesellschaft vorüber eilt"; "Demokratische Wuth gegen das Besingen der Liebe—Warum die Rose besingen, Aristokrat! Besing die demokratische Kartoffel, die das Volk nährt!"¹⁵

Heine is mainly preoccupied with the type of modern poet and writer who appears to constitute more than just a social and aesthetic phenomenon. Heine speaks about specific writers and poets (German and French), noticing, not only their individual features, but raising them to the level of the national and epochal, creating a kind of literary characterology:

"Clauren ist jetzt in Deutschland so berühmt, daß man in keinem Bordell eingelassen wird, wenn man ihn nicht gelesen hat"; "Auffenberg hab' ich nicht gelesen—ich denke: er ist ungefähr wie Arlincourt, den ich auch nicht gelesen habe"¹⁶; "Mit den Werken Johannes von Müllers geht es wie mit Klopstock—Keiner liest ihn, Jeder spricht mit Respekt von ihm"; "Ruge ist der Philister, welcher sich mal unparteilich im Spiegel betrachtet und gestanden hat, daß der Apoll vom Belvedere doch schöner sei."¹⁷

The latter maxim foregrounds the *problem of reading*, which is also varied in the texts. Heine's characteristically refined irony is revealed in a few remarks on the reader's priorities and own experiences:

"Fräulein ** bemerkt, daß der Anfang der Bücher immer so langweilig, erst in der Mitte amüsiere man sich, man sollte Jemand dafür haben, der für uns die Bücher zu lesen anfängt..."; "Ich las das langweilige Buch, schliefe darüber ein, im Schlafe träumte ich weiter zu lesen, erwachte vor Langweile, und das dreimal."¹⁸

Various aspects of the problem of German identity are presented in the writer's notes. Two approaches characteristic of Heine's method as a whole, the political and social as well as the cultural and spiritual, are reflected in his ideas about Germany, its history and the present-day, art, the Germans and German unity. Of course, his ideas on society, social

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 215.

¹⁵ Op. cit., p. 215.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 211.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 216-218.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 258-259.

classes, and the public consciousness of the Germans become the most striking and, at the same time, controversial:

“Der Deutsche gleicht dem Sklaven, der seinem Herrn gehorcht ohne Fessel, ohne Peitsche, durch das bloße Wort, ja durch einen Blick. Die Knechtschaft ist in ihm selbst, in seiner Seele”; “Die hannövrischen Junker sind Esel, die nur von Pferden sprechen.”¹⁹

However, what becomes most prominent is the perception of Germans and ‘Germanness’ through the prism of creativity and spiritual quality (philosophy, literature, history, language) that, on the one hand, shows romanticist, and on the other hand, all-German cultural and historical priorities. Here, observations on German character highlighted by the problem of emigration and correlation with the French are of particular interest:

“Die Deutschen werden nicht besser in Ausland, wie das exportierte Bier”; “Es scheint die Mission der Deutschen in Paris zu sein, mich vor Heimweh zu bewahren”; “Gefährliche Deutsche! Sie ziehen plötzlich ein Gedicht aus der Tasche, oder beginnen ein Gespräch über Philosophie.”²⁰

Universal generalizations are inherent to Heine. They concern ways of development in German art of the nineteenth century, yet also national qualities in general:

“Die Deutschen arbeiten jetzt an der Ausbildung ihrer Nationalität, kommen aber damit zu spät. Wenn sie dieselbe fertig haben, wird das Nationalitätswesen in der Welt aufgehört haben und sie werden auch ihre Nationalität gleich wieder aufgeben müssen, ohne wie Franzosen oder Britten Nutzen davon gezogen zu haben.”²¹

One of the most interesting aspects of Heine’s characterological research is the theme of men and women’s relationships, marriage and family, in which the poet demonstrates his famously ironic approach:

“Die deutsche Ehe ist keine wahre Ehe. Der Ehemann hat keine Ehefrau, sondern eine Magd, und lebt sein isoliertes Hagestolzleben im Geiste fort, selbst in Kreis der Familie. Ich will darum nicht sagen, dass er der Herr sei, im Gegenteil er ist zuweilen nur der Bediente seiner Magd, und den

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 233.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 247-248.

²¹ Ibid., p. 234.

Servilismus verleugnet er auch im Hause nicht"; "Die deutschen Frauen sind gefährlich wegen ihrer Tagebücher, die der Mann finden kann."²²

These considerations lead to more general conclusions which clearly reveal, not only Heine's talent for mockery, but also as a psychologist:

"Die Musik beim Hochzeitsgeleite erinnert mich immer an die Musik bei in die Schlacht ziehenden Soldaten"; "Jeder, wer heiratet, ist wie der Doge, der sich mit dem Adriatischen Meere vermählt—er weiß nicht, was drin, was er heiratet: Schätze, Perlen, Ungetüme, unbekannte Stürme"; "Wo das Weib aufhört, fängt der schlechte Mann an."²³

Heine's collection of *Thoughts, notes, improvisation* boasts a unique and contrastive style of German romanticism and reveals the essence of his poetic position and human qualities. An aphorism by Stanislaw Lem, a brilliant master of the form who represents a different century, further confirms this idea: "Can an aphorism be considered a decree of punishment? Yes, in relation to its author" (qtd in Dushenko 2001).

Conclusion

This article covers some peculiarities of H. Heine's poetic language, demonstrating the features of Romanticism in general. Some prose passages, often overlooked by researchers, including the poet's diary entries and notes and drafts have been analysed. The topics found in these texts typify all of H. Heine's works. These topics include: the revolutionary, the bourgeois, art, literature, German identity, religious patterns, love, marriage and cultural problems.

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²²Op. cit., p. 254.

²³Ibid., p. 252-254.

FEATURES OF COLLOQUIAL PHRASEOLOGY IN AMERICAN ENGLISH

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Present-day ideas of language as the object of linguistics are based on fundamental peculiarities such as the historically conditioned character of its development, psychic nature, systemic-structural arrangements and the social conditions of emergence and functioning (Chesnokov 1963). All these properties make up the paradigmatic foundation of modern linguistics. An actively developing field of contemporary general and German linguistics is areal linguistics. Here, language is addressed at a systemic-level interpretation of national variants of different languages (e.g. English). They are distinguished by the presence of regional variations, literary norms in vocabulary, phraseology, grammar and phonetics of the original language. Divergent systemic features in phraseological units (PhU), such as colloquialisms in typical American English, engage a kind of "historically socio-psychological reality" (Bushuy 2013: 152). Most PhU-Americanisms are limited by their individual function and only operate within the scope of spoken articles. Compare, for example, 'do the ... act' ('act, to act' (a character's actions determined by the adjective before the act)); 'want ad(s)' ('advertising in a newspaper in the area of supply and demand'); 'hold the bag' ('take the rap for someone,' 'to clear up a mess'); 'set one's bag for smth.' ('snare,' 'try to grab something'); 'fish or cut bait' ('make up one's mind,' 'stop vacillating and decide to act on or disengage from something'); 'give smb. down the banks' ('scold smb,' 'give a scolding to smb.');

'sell smb. a bill of goods' ('foist smb. smth. Unnecessary,' 'cheat, cheat smb.,' 'circle smb. around your finger') (Dillard 2005).

Phraseological colloquialisms are distinguished by their special system. They combine, for example, with verbal PhUs, such as—'to take the contest,' 'to take the cake' and 'to go to bat with' ('compete with anyone,' 'challenge,' 'compete,' etc.) Derivational activity stands out from the variability of the main phrase-forms of PhU-Americanisms. For

example, the PhU—'bad trot' ('bad luck,' 'series of failures')—has the variant derivatives 'tough trot,' 'rough trot,' 'rough run' and 'bad run.' Verbal phrase colloquialisms can be observed with optional components: *repose* to repose/rest/rest on one's laurels; *take* to have/ply/pull/take/tug the labouring oar; to put on/assume airs.

Among verbal PhU variants, there is a group of colloquial PhUs where an Anglicism has been replaced by a partially or completely synonymic Americanism. Compare: *amer.* to get on to the ropes, *brit.* to learn the ropes ('thoroughly learn, find out in detail the circumstances of a case') and *amer.* enough to make a horse laugh, *brit.* enough to make a cat laugh ('scream, fun'). Other PhUs may undergo a change in composition between the British and American versions. For example: *brit.* to be born on the wrong side of the blanket ('to be illegitimate') *amer.* to be born on the wrong side of the tracks ('born into a poor family' (in slums next to the railway tracks)). The peculiarity of the system of colloquial phraseology in American variants (in comparison to the base of the British variant) is shown in their functionality. The synonymous PhU 'to get a fair show' ('use opportunity') and 'to get the breaks' ('use favorable event') are characterized by their belonging to different spheres of use; the PhU 'to get a fair show,' is commonly used in both British and Australian variants), and the PhU 'to get the breaks' is used only in American slang. Compare, for example: "Dynamite would make a good general some day, if he got the breaks Good Generals ran to a certain type, and Dynamite was it" (J. Jones).

American colloquial PhUs display a pre-disposition to semantic diversification through a combination of polysemy and synonymy. The PhU-americanism 'to walk Spanish,' selectively expresses more and synonymous capabilities. For example, if in the first value 'tiptoe (a child who is just beginning to walk while holding the rear of another's clothes)' synonymy is not marked, then the second and third values of the PhU are possible. The second value, 'take, act, caution' is a PhU synonymous with the PhU 'to go easy on something' ('to be tactful in respect of someone'), and the PhU 'to sit on the fence, to sit on the rail' ('remain neutral, sit on the fence (neutral) position'—'stick, expectant of action'; 'waver between two opinions or decision'). The third value is treated as a PhU ('to be forced to leave,' 'being fired') in American English and even has a number of synonyms: 1) 'to get the bounce,' 2) 'to get the axe' ('to be fired'), and 3) 'to get the pink slip' ('to be dismissed, ejected from work'). Compare:

"I could see my mother going in Spaulding's and asking the salesman a million dopy questions and here I was getting the ax again. It made me feel pretty sad" (J. Salinger).

"All 1,300 employees got pink slips to-day" (Craigie 2000: 401).

"You will have to go easy on that subject" (O. Winchester).

"He moved the 'walking Spanish' like the boy in the school-yard" (A. Lincoln).

The above-mentioned phrases show semantic activity in US colloquialisms. For example, the PhU 'to come up to the chalk has' two synonyms to the second value ('rise to the occasion,' 'carry out their duties, their duty'); 'to be in the spotlight' ('to be seen,' 'to be the center of attention'); 'to take the bun' (sl.) ('take first place,' 'get the prize,' 'be the best'). For example:

"The President, in whom he is disappointed for one reason or another does not come up to chalk" (De Vere).

"When young Val left the presence of the last generation he was thinking: 'This is jolly dull! Uncle Soames does take the bun. I wonder what this filly's like?'" (J. Galsworthy).

In recent years, the influence of American English on other variants, particularly British English, has grown. About 150 verbal PhU-Americanisms have been borrowed into British English. Compare the following examples: 'to ride the waves' ('become conceited'); 'to keep one's nose clean' ('not to interfere in other people's business,' 'to be honest'); 'to bang up one's fiddle' ('leave work,' 'resign,' etc.). These American phrase formations update the British base versions, not only in their imagery, but also as special expressions animating everyday conversational speech. They include stylistic and functional shades like: *jocularly*—'join the angels' ('to go to a better world,' 'die'), 'with the bark on' ('uncouth,' 'rude,' 'not sparkling manners'); '(that's) how (or the way) the cookie crumbles' ('such a case,' 'the way things'); *irony*—'carry the banner' ('wander all night without shelter' (on the unemployed)); *scorn*—'(as) independent as a hog on ice' ('impudent,' 'perky, cheeky man'); 'half horse and half alligator' ('nickname of residents in the backwoods of Kentucky'); 'high muck-a-muck' ('swank'), and others (Bailey & Goralach 2003). The main factor in the chargeability of version words in a PhU is their origin and linguistic exploration—a diachronic

process. Contrasting regional marked and general English PhUs, united on the basis of their semantic similarity with extant differences in terms of expression, contributes to the determination of their locality.

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PART VI:

**TEXT, DISCOURSE, SPEECH
IN ANTHROPOCENTRIC PARADIGM**

DEUTSCHE UND RUSSISCHE STELLENANZEIGE ALS TEXTSORTE

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Im Artikel werden Besonderheiten der deutschsprachigen und russischsprachigen Online-Stellenanzeigen als eigenständiger Textsorte analysiert. Im Vordergrund stehen strukturelle Komponenten der Anzeigen, die Rolle von Firmenlogos und Slogans im Text der Anzeigen, lexikalische Besonderheiten einzelner struktureller Komponenten der Anzeigen.

Stellenanzeige (in Russisch „объявление о найме на работу“) stellt eine eigenständige Textsorte dar, die eine Reihe von inter- und extralingualen Besonderheiten aufweist. Sie wird von den meisten Sprachforschern, die sich damit beschäftigt haben, zu den Textsorten gezählt (Ch. Gansel/F. Jürgens (2007), K. Henk (2003), Eva M. Eckkramer/Hildegund M. Eder (2000), L. Ortner (1999, 1992), E. Demey (2002) u.a.). Im Rahmen dieser Forschung wird kein Unterschied zwischen den Bezeichnungen «Stellenanzeige», «Stellenausschreibung», «Stellenannonce» und «Stellenangebot» gemacht, sie werden als Synonyme gebraucht. Es sei dabei erwähnt, dass es in russischer Tradition keine Synonymie solcher Art vorhanden ist, hier verwendet man ausschließlich die Bezeichnung „объявление о найме на работу“. Unter den russischen Sprachforschern wurden die Stellenanzeigen nur selten zum Gegenstand ihrer wissenschaftlichen Interessen. So hat z.B. A.W. Neupokoeva die Stellenanzeigen als Textsorte im Gender-Aspekt betrachtet (Neupokoeva, 2009).

Diesem Artikel zugrunde wurde eine Vergleichsanalyse der deutschen und russischen Stellenanzeigen gelegt. Als Quelle hatten wir die deutschsprachigen Portale www.stellenanzeigen.de, www.jobware.de, www.jobscout24.de und die russischsprachigen www.hh.ru, www.superjob.ru.

Dabei wird davon ausgegangen, dass die Textsorte „Stellenanzeige“ kulturgeprägt ist, weil sie einen hohen Konventionalitätsgrad aufweist und unter dem Einfluss historischer Entwicklung einer Gesellschaft steht. Dementsprechend spielt der interkulturelle Vergleich von Textsorten eine wichtige Rolle in der kontrastiven Textologie. Die Aufgabe dieser Forschung besteht in der Ausgliederung von Komponenten der Stellenanzeige, Berücksichtigung deren Reihenfolge und im Vergleich der deutschen und russischen Texte.

Die Sprachwissenschaftler Eva Martha Eckkrammer und Hildegund Maria Eder sind der Ansicht, dass die Stellenanzeige «sich in obligate und fakultative textkonstituierende Elemente unterteilen lässt, wobei die aus den drei obligaten Elementen bestehende Grundstruktur auf die Formel „Wer sucht wen und auf welche Art“ reduziert werden kann, wobei mit „auf welche Art“ auf die Kontaktaufnahme referiert wird. „Wer“ beinhaltet die Selbstdarstellung des Unternehmens bzw. das jeweilige Firmenprofil, und unter „Wen“ werden die persönlichen und fachlichen Qualifikationen des potenziellen Arbeitnehmers zusammengefasst» (Eckkramer, Eder, 2000: 136). Andrea Ehrenheim bezeichnet obligate und fakultative Elemente als konstitutive und fakultative Informationseinheiten und schreibt den Begriffen dieselbe Bedeutung zu. (Ehrenheim, 2011: 77). Novak Popović hat den Fragenkomplex «Wer sucht wen und zu welchen Bedingungen?» vorgeschlagen, der der einheitlichen Grundstruktur entspricht. Er behauptet, dass nicht nur gewöhnliche Anzeigen die Struktur «sein, suchen, bieten» aufweisen, sondern auch sogenannte «'Mini-Anzeigen', d.h. jene Anzeigen, die aus weniger als 10 Lexemen bestehen» (Popović, 1976: 30).

Die durchgeführte Forschung hat ergeben, dass unter den Online-Stellenanzeigen selten solche mit Minimalstruktur vorkommen. Im Korpus der russischen Stellenanzeigen haben wir keine Exemplare mit drei Komponenten aufgefunden und unter den deutschsprachigen, deren Struktur bei weitem vielfältiger ist, nur eine einzige solcher Art auf dem Portal www.stellenanzeigen.de:

Abb.1

**IT-Administrator/in
oder
TK-System-
Techniker/in
für ITK Support
2nd/3rd Level**

servonic

82140
Olching
Tel. 08142 47990
www.servonic.de/Unternehmen/Jobs

Diese Anzeige enthält drei Komponenten: Position, Kontaktmöglichkeiten und Präsentation des Unternehmens. Dabei besteht die strukturelle Komponente Präsentation nur aus dem Namen der Firma.

In der Regel enthalten die Stellenanzeigen eine größere Zahl von Komponenten. E.M. Eckkramer und H.M. Eder haben folgende Struktur einer Stellenanzeige vorgeschlagen (Eckkramer, Eder, 2000: 136):

Tabelle 1. Struktur einer Stellenanzeige nach E.M. Eckkramer und H.M. Eder

| | |
|--|---|
| Wer | Selbstdarstellung des Unternehmens (z. B. Branche, Tätigkeitsbereich, Position) bzw. Firmenprofil |
| Weshalb/aus der Sicht des Arbeitgebers | Rechtfertigung des Unternehmens für die Einstellung eines neuen Mitarbeiters (z. B. Expansion, neue Tätigkeitsbereiche) |
| Wen/bestehend aus 1-3 Komponenten | berufliche und/oder persönliche Qualifikation des potentiellen Arbeitnehmers (Charakter, Eigenschaften) bzw. Aufgabenbereich, Funktionen etc. |
| Warum/aus der Sicht des Arbeitnehmers | Betriebliche Leistungen (z. B. Weiterbildung, Karriere, Verdienst, Betriebsklima, Fahrzeug) |
| Wie | Art der Kontaktaufnahme (ev. mit Appell zur Kontaktnahme) |

Lorelies Ortner nennt sechs für Stellenangebote relevanten Inhaltsdimensionen:

- Anrede/Aufruf/thematische Einordnung,
- Partnerdarstellung,
- Angebots- bzw. Nachfragehandlung,
- Selbstdarstellung,
- Angabe der (betrieblichen) Leistungen
- Aufforderung zur Bewerbung.¹

Aus unserer Erfahrung schlagen wir eine sechsteilige prototypische Struktur der deutschen Stellenanzeige vor:

1. Organisation
2. Position
3. Aufgabenbereich
4. Anforderungen
5. Leistungsangebot
6. Kontaktaufnahme

Hier ist ein Beispiel von www.stellenanzeigen.de:

¹ Ortner, Lorelies Textkonstitutive Merkmale von Stellenangeboten um 1900. In: Deutsche Sprache 20, H. 1, 1992, S. 13

Abb.2

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>Die BAUSTOLZ GmbH hat es sich um Ziel gesetzt, individuellen und hochwertigen Wohnraum bezahlbar zu machen. Dank eines kon- sequenten Qualitäts- und Kostenmanagements sowie der Konzentration auf das Wesentliche ermöglicht es uns unseren Kunden ein Zuhause in Top-Qualität, mit moderner Architektur und in attraktiver Umgebung zu einem nie zu erwartenden Preis zu schaffen.</p> | <p>Organisation</p>  |
| <p>BAUSTOLZ reiht sich damit nahtlos in das Portfolio der Strenger Firmengruppe ein, die seit über 30 Jahren Wohn- und Lebensträume verwirklicht. Durch eine klare Haltung zu Qualität, Ökologie, Nachhaltigkeit, Architektur und Innovation schafft Strenger Lebensräume, in denen Menschen gerne zu Hause sind.</p> | |
| <p>Zur Verstärkung unseres Teams suchen wir zum nächstmöglichen Zeitpunkt einen</p> | <p>Position</p>  |
| <p>LEITENDER ARCHITEKT (M/W)</p> | |
| <p>Ihre Aufgabe: In unserem innovativen Unternehmen erstreckt sich Ihr Aufgabenbereich von der Grundstücksuntersuchung, über die Baugesucherstellung bis zur Werkplanung. Zudem übernehmen Sie die Leitung unserer Planungsabteilung und tragen aktiv zur Weiterentwicklung unserer Produkte bei.</p> | <p>Aufgabenbereich</p>  |

Ihr Profil:

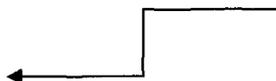
- abgeschlossenes Studium zum Architekten (m/w)
- 3 - 5 Jahre Berufserfahrung im Wohnungsbau
- fundierte CAD-Kenntnisse
- Erfahrung in der Führung von Mitarbeitern
- selbstständige, strukturierte und zielorientierte Arbeitsweise
- sicheres Auftreten, Engagement und Teamfähigkeit

Ihre Chance: Bei uns erwartet Sie eine verantwortungsvolle, abwechslungsreiche Herausforderung in wertschätzender und kollegialer Atmosphäre. Neben einer leistungsgerechten Vergütung in einem angenehmen Arbeitsumfeld bieten wir Ihnen interessante Perspektiven für Ihre Zukunft.

Wir haben Ihr Interesse geweckt? Dann werden Sie Teil unseres Teams!

Wir freuen uns auf Ihre aussagekräftigen Bewerbungsunterlagen an:

BAUSTOLZ • Myliusstr. 15 • c/o Julien Ahrens • 71638 Ludwigsburg oder per E-Mail an kontakt@strenger.de

Anforderungen**Leistungsangebot****Kontaktaufnahme**

In der Regel steht die Komponente Position an der ersten Stelle, indem Anforderungen fast immer dem Aufgabenbereich folgen. Die Komponente Kontaktaufnahme kommt auch meistens zum Schluss. Aber die untersuchten Stellenanzeigen weisen eine bedeutende Variabilität auf, so fehlt die Komponente Leistungsangebot fast in jedem zweiten Text, manchmal wird sogar der Aufgabenbereich nicht dargestellt, was damit erklärt werden kann, dass die Tätigkeiten für einen konkreten Beruf klar sind und aus der Positionsbezeichnung folgen wie «Uhrmacher», «Erzieher oder Sozialpädagoge», «Kinderpfleger», «Zeitungszusteller/-in».

Die russischen Online-Stellenanzeigen sind nicht so mannigfaltig in ihrer Struktur. Sie sind in der Regel als Formulare aufgebaut, die von Arbeitgebern oder beauftragten Personalagenturen ausgefüllt werden. Nur in 14% der analysierten Stellenanzeigen ist die Komponente «Organisation» enthalten. Diese Information ist meist als eine zusätzliche Option, die durch den Mausklick auf den Organisationsnamen im Text der Anzeige aktiviert wird. Die Kontaktdaten sind erst nach der Anmeldung und Eintragung vom eigenen Namen und der E-Mail (so bei www.headhunter.ru) bzw. nach der Herstellung seines Lebenslaufs verfügbar (fakultativ bei www.headhunter.ru, obligatorisch bei www.superjob.ru). Nachdem man seinen Lebenslauf erstellt hat, kann man sich online bewerben („откликнуться на вакансию“). Es ist auch von Interesse, dass die Komponente „Leistungsangebot“ meist nur über Arbeitsbedingungen informiert und seltener durch Angabe von Vorteilen potenzielle Arbeitnehmer anzieht.

Im Hinblick auf diese Besonderheiten kann die Struktur einer typischen russischen Online-Stellenanzeige wie folgt dargestellt werden:

1. Position („Позиция“ oder „Должность“)
2. Aufgabenbereich („Круг обязанностей“)
3. Anforderungen („Требования“)
4. Leistungsangebot („Условия“)

Manchmal wird die Organisation genannt (bei www.headhunter.ru nach der Komponente „Position“ und bei www.superjob.ru gleich am Anfang). Die Kontaktangaben oder der Button zur Online-Bewerbung sind entweder am Ende der Stellenanzeige oder rechts vom Text der Anzeige platziert. Die Stellenanzeigen können auch Elemente enthalten, die von anderen Komponenten der Anzeige abgesondert sind wie Gehalt, Stadt, angeforderte Berufserfahrung, Adresse, Beschäftigungsart. Als Beispiel einer Stellenanzeige mit der „maximalen“ Struktur kann folgende dem Online-Portal www.headhunter.ru entnommene Anzeige dienen:

Abb.3

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Специалист по рекламе | | | ← Position |
| Лазерный Доктор | | | ← Organisationsbezeichnung /Name der Organisation |
| Уровень зарплат до 30 000руб. | Город Санкт-Петербург | Требуемый опыт работы 1-3 года | ← Gehalt,Stadt,Berufserfahrung |
| Обязанности: | | | ← Tätigkeitsbereich |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Планирование рекламного бюджета: выбор оптимальных каналов распространения рекламных сообщений, его аргументированное обоснование, медиапланирование; • Разработка рекламного продукта: креативные концепции, копирайтинг, event маркетинг; • Расчёт эффективности рекламных кампаний; • Основы Интернет маркетинга: контент менеджмент корпоративного сайта, помощь в ведении групп в социальных сетях, блогов; • Общение с англоязычными партнёрами. | | | |
| Требования: | | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Девушка 23-28 лет; • Высшее образование в сфере рекламы (как вариант, связей с общественностью или маркетинга); • Опыт работы специалистом по рекламе от 1 года; • Умение работать с графическими редакторами и наличие портфолио будут Вашим преимуществом; • Высокие коммуникативные навыки; • Грамотная устная и письменная речь; • Свободное владение английским языком; • Стрессоустойчивость, ориентация на результат, трудолюбие. | | | ← Anforderungen |
| Условия работы: | | | ← Leistungsangebot |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Современная частная клиника в самом центре Санкт Петербурга в 3 минутах ходьбы от ст.м. Сенная площадь; • График работы понедельник пятница с 10:00 до 19:00; • Молодой, дружный коллектив; • Достойная и стабильная заработная плата; • Испытательный срок 3 месяца; заработная плата на испытательный срок 25 000 руб., после испытательного – 30 000 руб.; • Оформление по ТК. | | | |
| Адрес | | | ← Adresse |
| Санкт-Петербург, Гороховая, 28 | | | |
| Показать на карте | | | |
| Тип занятости | | | ← Beschäftigungsart |
| Полная занятость, полный день | | | |

Auf Grund der durchgeführten Analyse lässt sich sagen, dass die deutschsprachigen Online-Stellenanzeigen im Vergleich mit russischsprachigen eine vielfältigere Struktur aufweisen, die Variabilität betrifft nicht nur die Anzahl der strukturellen Komponenten, sondern auch

deren Anordnung. Die Russischsprachigen Stellenanzeigen werden nach einem meist vorgegebenen Muster aufgebaut, hier entstehen die Varianten auf Grund der unterschiedlichen Forderungen auf Online-Portalen.

Außerdem sollte man hier auf die Verwendung von Firmenlogos und Slogans in den Stellenanzeigen näher eingehen.

In 72% der deutschsprachigen Stellenanzeigen kommen Firmenlogos vor, die meist am Anfang oder Ende der Anzeige platziert. Einige davon sind mit einem Kommentar versehen, der die Abkürzungen im Firmenlogo entschlüsselt:

- TK für Techniker Krankenkasse,
- MN für Macherey-Nagel GmbH & Co. KG

oder häufiger den Tätigkeitsbereich eines Unternehmens präzisiert:

- Sostmeier—Transport &Logistiks,
- Manz & Partner—Steuerberatungsgesellschaft,
- Enercon—Energie für die Welt; daneben stehen noch Piktogramme für Windmühlen und Wasser, die auf Energiequellen hinweisen

Abb. 4



Einigen Logos folgen Slogans, die später ausführlich behandelt werden:

- Kärcher—makes a difference

Unter den russischen Stellenanzeigen enthalten 50% Firmenlogos, die meisten davon sind dem Online-Stellenmarkt www.headhunter.ru entnommen. Nur in drei der analysierten Anzeigen kommen kommentierte Logos vor, die entweder den Hinweis auf den Wirkungsbereich der Firma oder den Slogan enthalten:

- МЕДЕМ—Международная клиника МЕДЕМ,
- Сбербанк—Всегда рядом,

- TBOETV—Цифровое телевидение

Abb. 5



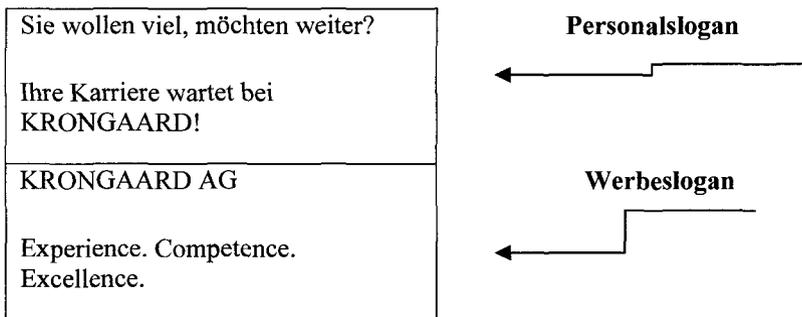
Was die Slogans anbelangt, so werden die vorwiegend im Rahmen der Werbung untersucht, aber allmählich kommen die auch im Zusammenhang mit den Stellenanzeigen in den Blickwinkel der Sprachforscher. So besteht die Hauptfunktion von Slogan darin, dass die Aufmerksamkeit des Lesers erregt wird—so Katrin Henk (Henk, 2003: 65).

Achim Zielke unterscheidet Werbeslogan, Personalslogan und Claim. Der Werbeslogan „bezieht sich auf die (in der Regel) dauerhafte Werbeaussage, die eine Identifikation mit dem Unternehmen bzw. seinem Produkt gewährleisten soll“. Der Personalslogan wird für die Personalanzeigen eines Unternehmens entworfen und kann ausschließlich für diese verwendet werden. Und die Claims sind laut A. Zielke „werbetextliche Erscheinungen ohne Wiederholungscharakter, d. h. sie werden auf die konkrete Stellenanzeige zugeschnitten und sind mit dem Textkorpus semantisch stark verbunden (Zielke, 1991: 85).

Wir nehmen nur eine Unterscheidung zwischen den Werbe- und Personalslogans vor. Im russischen Korpus kommt ein Slogan nur einmal vor—in der Anzeige von Sberbank, in Verbindung mit dem Unternehmenslogo. Und in den deutschen Stellenanzeigen trifft man die Slogans zu 46%. Dabei sind häufiger die Personalslogans, in einigen Fällen sogar mit Werbeslogans kombiniert. Einige Slogans sind dabei in Englisch formuliert, was den internationalen Charakter des Arbeitgebers hervorhebt.

Ein Beispiel vom Portal www.stellenanzeigen.de:

Abb. 6



Wenn man an die sprachliche Gestaltung der Stellenanzeigen denkt, so wird man unvermeidlich mit dem Begriff der Fachsprache konfrontiert. Es herrscht keine Einigkeit unter den Linguisten, die die Stellenanzeigen erforschen, ob man die Sprache der Stellenanzeigen als Fachsprache betrachten sollte. Reiner Arntz bezeichnet zum Beispiel die Stellenanzeige als „Fachtextsorte im weiteren Sinne“ (Arntz, 1992: 113). Novak Popović fand in seiner Untersuchung heraus, dass man rund 90% des Wortschatzes der Standardsprache zuordnen kann. Diese Fachwörter sind aber nach seiner Aussage inhaltlich durchschaubar, weil die Stellenanzeigen öffentlichen Charakter haben und den meisten Lesern verständlich sein müssen (Popović, 1976: 34).

Der Anteil der Fachwörter in den Anzeigen ist unterschiedlich groß und hängt vor allem von der Position und der Branche des Unternehmens ab. Die Termini kommen meistens in der Komponente „Aufgabenbereich“ oder „Anforderungen“ vor und erfüllen die Selektionsfunktion. Dazu dienen auch Anglizismen, die zusammen mit den Fachwörtern den fachsprachlichen Charakter der Stellenanzeigen bestimmen. In der nächsten Tabelle wird dies anhand der Beispiele aus unserem Korpus veranschaulicht:

Tabelle 2. Fachwörter in den Anzeigen

| Fachwörter in den deutschen Stellenanzeigen | Fachwörter in den russischen Stellenanzeigen |
|---|--|
| Platten-Fliesenarbeiten | мониторинг рынка |
| maritimes Altgerätemanagement | списание давальческих материалов |
| Monteurpool | закрытие периодов |
| Offertenerstellung | тегирование |
| Windparkkonzepte | выделение информационных слотов |
| Muttersprachenprinzip | дизайнерский контент |
| separate Produktfolder | потенциальный объект поглощения |
| Schaltpläne | подрядные договора |

Was die Lexik anbetrifft so sind besonders interessant solche Komponenten der Stellenanzeigen wie Selbstdarstellung des Unternehmens und die Anforderungen für den Arbeitnehmer.

Der Arbeitgeber wird zwar nur in 14% der russischen Stellenanzeigen gepriesen, während die deutschen Stellenanzeigen zu 85% diese Komponente aufweisen. Selbstverständlich werden in der Selbstdarstellung des Unternehmens ausschließlich positive Charakteristiken verwendet, außerdem ist die Organisationsbeschreibung typisiert und banal: fast jedes Unternehmen ist die „größte“, „weltweit führende“, „innovative“, „zukunftsorientierte“ Institution, die „namhafte Kunden“ hat und „erstklassige Produkte“ anbietet. Die Selbstdarstellung der russischen Unternehmen wird nach gleichen Regeln aufgebaut: eine „große“, „erfolgreiche“, „sich dynamisch entwickelnde“ Firma („крупная“, „успешная“, „динамично развивающаяся“) „mit einer individuellen Behandlung der Kunden“ („с индивидуальным подходом к каждому клиенту“), die ausschließlich „professionelle Leistungen“ („профессиональные услуги“) anbietet.

Die am häufigsten vorkommenden Adjektive in den russischen und deutschen Stellenanzeigen sind folgende:

Tabelle 3. Adjektive in den Anzeigen

| Deutsche Stellenanzeigen | Russische Stellenanzeigen |
|--------------------------|---|
| führend | <u>крупный/крупнейший</u> (größte) |
| innovativ | <u>успешный</u> (erfolgreich) |
| <u>international</u> | <u>современный</u> (modern) |
| <u>größte</u> | развивающийся (sich entwickelnd/wachsend) |
| <u>erfolgreich</u> | единственный (einzig) |
| <u>modern</u> | эксклюзивный (exklusiv) |
| zukunftsorientiert | надежный (sicher, zuverlässig) |
| mittelständisch | <u>международный</u> (international) |

Von den potenziellen Arbeitnehmern werden meist sowohl berufliche als auch persönliche Qualifikationen verlangt. Nur in 10% der deutschen Stellenanzeigen sind keine beruflichen Anforderungen enthalten und in 15%—keine persönlichen. In den russischen Anzeigen sind im Gegenteil fast immer berufliche Qualifikationen explizit gefordert und nur in 50% die persönlichen, das heißt russische Arbeitgeber legen weniger Wert auf persönlichen Charakter des Bewerbers und sind in erster Linie auf professionelle Kenntnisse und Erfahrungen konzentriert.

Dabei werden in erster Linie folgende Anforderungen zu den Arbeitnehmern gestellt:

Tabelle 4. Anteil der Anforderungen in den Anzeigen

| Deutsche Stellenanzeigen | | Russische Stellenanzeigen | |
|--------------------------|-----|--|-----|
| Berufserfahrung | 69% | Опыт работы (Berufserfahrung) | 69% |
| Abgeschlossenes Studium | 64% | Образование (Ausbildung) | 50% |
| Fachkenntnisse | 54% | Специальные знания (Fachkenntnisse) | 50% |
| Fremdsprachen | 36% | Грамотная русская речь (richtiges, fehlerloses Russisch) | 14% |
| Deutsch | 8% | Знание иностранных языков (Fremdsprachenkenntnisse) | 11% |

Aus der Tabelle wird ersichtlich, dass die gestellten Anforderungen ähnlich sind. Ein größerer Unterschied fällt nur bei der Gewichtung der

Fremdsprachenkenntnisse auf. Und in den russischen Anzeigen werden extra Russischkenntnisse erwähnt, was durch eine große Arbeitsmigration nach Russland aus den ehemaligen Sowjetrepubliken zu erklären ist.

Persönliche Qualifikationen werden öfter in deutschen Stellenangeboten verlangt als in russischen, wovon die folgende Tabelle zeugt:

Tabelle 5. Anteil persönlicher Qualifikationen in den Anzeigen

| Deutsche Stellenanzeigen | | Russische Stellenanzeigen | |
|---|---------|--|---------|
| Teamfähigkeit/Teamorientierung/teamorientiert | 41 % | <u>Коммуникабельность/</u> <u>Коммуникативный</u> (kommunikativ/Kommunikationsfähigkeit) | 19 % |
| <u>kommunikativ/Kommunikationsfähigkeit/</u> <u>kommunikationsstark</u> | 36 % | Активность/активный (Engagiertheit/engagiert/aktiv) | 14 % |
| selbstständig/Selbstständigkeit | 31 % | Стрессоустойчивость (Stressresistenz) | 11 % |
| <u>eigenverantwortlich/verantwortungsvoll/</u> <u>verantwortungsbewusst/Eigenverantwortung</u> | 31 % | Обучаемость (Lernfähigkeit) | 8 % |
| Flexibilität | 21 % | Доброжелательность (Wohlwollen) | 8 % |
| zuverlässig/ Zuverlässigkeit | 21 % | Исполнительность (Zuverlässigkeit/Pünktlichkeit) | 8 % |
| kundenorientiert/Kundenorientierung | 18 % | <u>Ответственность</u> (<u>Verantwortlichkeit</u>) | 8 % |

Russische Stellenanzeigen enthalten unter anderem auch solche Anforderungen, wie: „Регистрация в Санкт-Петербурге и Ленинградской области“ (Anmeldung an einer Sankt Petersburger Adresse oder im Leningrader Gebiet), „Гражданство РФ“ (Russische Staatsangehörigkeit), „Без вредных привычек“ (ohne schädliche Gewohnheiten). In zwei der analysierten russischen Anzeigen geht es um das Aussehen: «опрятный внешний вид», «приятная внешность», in einer Stellenanzeige muss unbedingt ein Foto beigefügt werden. In 28% der russischen Anzeigen wird das Alter der Bewerber angegeben, und 8% der Annoncen beinhaltet Hinweis auf die Geschlechtszugehörigkeit.

Im Zusammenhang mit der Angabe der Geschlechtszugehörigkeit sollte hier erwähnt werden, dass das Allgemeine Gleichbehandlungsgesetz (AGG) im August 2006 verabschiedet war, während in Russland entsprechende Gesetzänderungen erst im Juli 2013 vorgenommen wurden.

Die Sprachwissenschaftler unterscheiden fünf verschiedene Möglichkeiten (manchmal mit verschiedenen Bezeichnungen für dasselbe), um beide Geschlechter gleichberechtigt anzusprechen:

- 1) generisches Maskulinum: Assistent
- 2) Beidnennung/Paarform: Assistentin/Assistent
- 3) Neutralform: Assistenz, Persönlichkeit, Fachkraft etc. (auch durch Abkürzungen wie Dipl. Ing.)
- 4) Allgemeinform: Assistent m/w, (w/m), m|w, oder m/f
- 5) maskuline Form ergänzt durch weibliche Kennzeichnung:
 - mit Klammerschreibung Assistent(in), Assistent(-in)
 - mit Schrägstrich Assistent/in, Assistent/-in
 - mit Binnen-I AssistentIn, ASSISTENTIn
 - mit | in Assistent|in

Im Korpus der analysierten Anzeigen wurden folgende geschlechtergerechte Positionsbezeichnungen aufgefunden:

1. Allgemeinform (63%):
 „Leitender Architekt (m/w)“, „Innendienstmitarbeiter für den Rechtsbereich (m/w)“, „Elektriker(m/w) für den Bereich Service“; „Dozent (w/m) für Englisch und Deutsch“, „Maurer (w/m)“.
2. Maskuline Form ergänzt durch weibliche Kennzeichnung (16%):
 „Zeitungszusteller/-in“, „Metallbauer/in—Konstruktionstechnik bei Landsberg a. Lech“, „Berater(in) Windenergie“.
3. Beidnennung/Paarform(5%):
 „Servicemonteur/Servicemonteurin Kabel- und Gebäudetechnik“, „Steuerberaterin/Steuerberater“.
4. Neutralform (5%):
 „Telefonkraft Heimarbeit/Berlin“, „Aushilfe/400 Euro“.
5. Generisches Maskulinum (1%):
 „Fahrradmechaniker“.

6. Kombinationen verschiedener Varianten (10%);

Die in den russischen Stellenanzeigen vorkommenden Berufsbezeichnungen sind meistens männerorientiert, und das Maskulinum wird dabei als generisch und nicht unbedingt als diskriminierend intendiert. Diese Besonderheit der russischen Sprache lässt sich damit erklären, dass die russischen Suffixe für die Bildung weiblicher Formen wie -ниц- (учитель-учительница), -к- (акушер-акушерка), -щиц- (летчик-летчица), -щиц- (продавец-продащица) im Unterschied zu dem deutschen weiblichen movierenden Suffix-in stilistisch markiert sind. Im Russischen stehen viele Berufsbezeichnungen nur im Maskulinum: врач, инженер, судья, токарь usw.

Auch wenn die Berufsbezeichnung sowohl die männliche als auch die weibliche Form bzw. eine Allgemeinform wurfweist, betrachtet man sie als unnötig, trotz des vor kurzem verabschiedeten Antidiskriminierungsgesetzes.

Dies sind die Hauptunterschiede der deutschsprachigen und russischsprachigen Online-Stellenanzeigen.

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THE SECONDARY TEXT REALITY

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Text derivatives are considered to be a special phenomenon in our life and in linguistics. These are derivative speech works and if some of them aim at retaining as close a connection as possible to the original (i.e. the retelling of a text very close to it, copying from the original text, translating a text from one language into other, imitating and summarizing it), others aim at creative development (interpretation, adaptation, parody and super-text). Their creation is always related to the increase, expansion or transformation of the primary information and form (Ionova 2006).

Modern linguistics is the linguistics of interpretations and the senses; one interprets the term 'sense' as the projection of consciousness onto reality and information about it (Arnold 2004). Derivative forms and secondary variants of language units seem to be modern language processes that extend and absorb units of different volume: from word-formation to lexical semantics; from lexical semantics to structure, communicative syntax, utterances, dialogical units, texts and whole discourses.

A text derivative is the most visible result of a secondary categorizing and conceptualizing of reality; it is an utterance which shapes and which concerns the method of interpreting the social reality reflected in the original source in accordance with the conception of the new author. Text derivation is a form that represents the consciousness of a contemporary human being and reflects the results of his/her processing of multi-form information where communicative practices, based on interpretation, rethinking and secondariness, are actualized.

Among secondary speech works, one can distinguish text-primitives, which seem to be sets of keywords (Saharnyj 1991)—reproductive texts: these are text-copies and recordings under dictation (Golev & Sajkova 2001); they are also represented by a summary and a resume (Novikov 2002). The following forms of texts are subjected to interpretation, changing their primary content, and widely practiced in contemporary speech practice. These include: texts of secondary informativity (Arnold I.V.), text-imitations seeking to maintain the form of the original text

(Verbickaya M.V.), text dissemination of different types (Petrova N.V.) and super-texts and cycles of works (Majdanova L.M.). The above mentioned peculiarities concerning the complicated nature of text derivatives allow us to apply them in various situations and with different aims; they often appear to provide more appropriate and acceptable methods of information transfer compared to the originals. In a number of cases, these secondary texts exist equally with an original as a new form of reproducing the actual content.

The notion of secondariness is axiological in the consciousness of lay persons. This notion is associated with a repeated or inexact application of the original text and correlates with terms including: 'repetition,' 'copying,' 'doublet' and 'imitation/fake.' However, according to Umberto Eco, the problem of both the meaningfulness of the original text and the importance of its copy in the history of mankind has always depended on certain cultural assumptions (Eco 1996). It is known that the secondary semantic variants of words are often actualized in the history of language and they pass to the grade of basic values. Some word-formation derivatives appear more usual for native speakers, being actively used by them. The processing of artistic works on the basis of their genre (Verbickaya 2000; Petrova 2004) has often led to them acquiring the status of independent literary text formations, leading to well-known speech works in the history of world literature.

Derivation in the field of literary texts may be one of the most common secondary phenomena. It is widely accepted by readers and its function is mostly in that of imitation. Imitations are created with the purpose of 'updating' extant speech works or to achieve comic effect. They are characterized by a 'stylistic lack of originality' and by their orientation 'to the subject of speech' and 'to the other person's words' (Verbickaya 2000: 3). The basic genres of texts are considered to be imitations (including stylization), versifications (periphrases) and parodies. For example, the well-known parody by Alexander Ivanov of the Pushkin lines:

*“Один поэт, не шутки ради,
А так—чтоб выдать пару строк—
Решил писать стихи про дядю—
Он лучше выдумать не мог.”¹*

The literary environment is the main source for textotype imitation where the original textotype is exposed to processing, e.g. in the form of an epic poem, ode, tragedy and knight's novel. This phenomenon, in

¹ Ivanov, A. SPushkinymnadrusheskojnoge, 22.

particular, finds its display in burlesque as a genre of the comic and “The accordance creates the background for transformations. The latter pull out on the first plan of a comic text and objectify the author’s evaluation attitude toward the original text (in the case of parody) or textotype (in the case of burlesque)” (Aleksandrova 2013: 5).

This principle is also used successfully for the creation of comic works on the basis of other recognizable genre forms. The genre of spoof is widespread in English and American literature as a parody of both educational and didactic styles, as well as popular scientific styles of text exposition. The ideas of common people concerning history, literature, art and even science have become the objects of such parody. These ideas seem to be formed under the influence of popularized and simplified educational texts (Aleksandrova 2013). The possibilities of the Internet also stimulate the development of genres of secondary speech works. Let us analyze so-called ‘fanfic.’ These are texts created by admirers of the popular standards of fan-art on the basis of original work, using its ideas, plots and protagonists. The word-formation units and graphic variants for labelling speech works of this type testify to the great popularity and distribution of this genre on the Internet: *fan fiction*, *fan-fiction*, *fan-prose*, *fan-literature*, *fan fiction*, *fanfiction*, *fanfik*, *FF*, *fik*. Texts of this type are often focused on: parody, continuation, prehistory, an ‘alternative universe’ of the original, as well as ‘crossovers,’ where the plots of a few works are interlaced and make a new speech product (Biblioteka Fanfikshena: URL). The authors of these books are often literary amateurs. On their own initiative, narrow communities of readers of these new literary works appear and a special informative reality is created. This reality can be summed up in Oscar Wilde’s words: “In former times books were written by writers and readers read these books. Nowadays books are written by readers and nobody reads them.”

The creation of text derivatives can be stipulated, not only through the aesthetic experiments of writers, but also by the aspiration of authors to adjust existing speech standards to the necessities of modern life. This question is foremost in relation to texts with utilitarian purposes (according to the classification by V.G. Admoni). Educational texts, political texts and publications through mass media are often summaries or adaptations of original reports—interpretations—but rarely the complete text original. The appearance of new spheres of human activity extends the domain of the application of speech derivatives. The creation of written variants of verbal speech works is of great importance today: the conversion of speech into text; the written decoding of judicial audio and videotape records; transformation or word for word recording on mass

media websites; the writing up of verbal performances, lectures, training and webinars in teaching practice etc.

In the field of electronic communication various types of secondary reproduction are acquiring relatively stable forms and recognizable nominations: *post*, *repost*, *copyright*, *rewriting* and so on. Modern legislation does not envisage prohibition of printing out or reproduction of speech work if it is used privately by a person who copies it and it is not intended for collective use. The aim of such activity, however, is often the plagiaristic borrowing of whole text fragments and transmission to different communicative spheres. These text fragments are often proffered under the name of a new author without any reference to the real author. Thanks to the development of special techniques for recognizing plagiarism and the toughening up of Russian legislation concerning copyright, indirect forms of text reproduction under an assumed name and text reproduction through rewriting have seen significant development.

Rewriting involves the dis-assimilation of texts by means of their language and stylistic processing with the purpose of creating a unique product from an already extant text. Unlike authorial secondary speech works, rewriting carries no novelty in itself; it is not conceptually new as the created form contains the extant ideas, thoughts and knowledge of the author of the original text.

See the following example:

“Original: Yasha was diligently tracing out every clumsy letter of the name of his beloved with a bulb on the wall of the snow-white house at the height of the sixth floor. From below his heroic exploit was watched by rescuers, moving together with a trampoline, as well as militiamen and his beloved, being green from malice and burning with shame.”²

“Rewritten: The uneven letters of the name of his beloved were traced out by Yasha on the wall of a building white as snow on the level of the sixth floor, and all that was contemplated by rescuers who were ready to catch a brave hero, by militiamen ready to ‘tie’ him, and actually by his lovely girl turning purple with shame and anger.”³

The list of services of ‘specialists’ in the area of rewriting includes a number of operations offered to any interested person on a great number of Internet websites; these services are reduced to advice on how to expound a previously written article, in the most interesting way possible, by changing words while maintaining the sense of the original text.

² Os'mak, A. Dizajnreklamy, URL

³ Ibid.

According to the organizers of such services on the Internet, the difference between rewritten products and authorial texts is that in these reprocessed works the ideas of other authors are used as the instrument for creating a new product. Being meant as a guide for novice rewriters, the above example shows that the content is, in essence, a "stolen text, but it has been stolen so that there is no proof of it." Nevertheless, rewriting is "piracy to some extent" (Os'mak: URL).

Rewriters see benefits in the adaptation of the original:

*"If the author of the original text has philosophized using specialized terminology, when simplifying the text, for the understanding of an ordinary man, you will win over a number of readers due to your lightness in mastering the material."*⁴

The real aim of their action is different—it is the concealment of the secondary processing of text material: *"If you use rough rewriting, then you risk being noticed by search engine robots that go through your resource"* (Ibid).

The creation of text derivatives can also have legally meaningful consequences. In particular, it touches on the writing of texts while stylizing them into other language personalities. See, for example, fragments of a text written by a man on behalf of a female colleague:

*"As a result of my inactivity, my work in places is actually paralyzed as there is nothing real in the reports, only womanish logics ...; I am already 50, I suffer a lot from illness and have many other problems. My private life isn't happy. To sum up: I have repeatedly broken my oath and so I deserve to be deprived of my honorary title."*⁵

This speech displays the unique characteristics of a native speaker and its hidden authorship can be revealed by the the linguistic and psycholinguistic 'tracks' that remain in a simulated text.

The recognition of works showing signs of a lack of initiative in the writing of a text by a declared author, as well as the possible influence of another 'hidden person' in drafting a document is both real and legally meaningful today. 'The traces' of hidden authorship allow us to characterize similar speech works as text derivatives. See the following example of text fragments possibly written at somebody else's bidding:

⁴ Copyright: URL

⁵ Materialy lingvistichekoj sudebnoj `ekspertizy tekstov: iz kartoteki avtora stat'i.

“Concerning the facts of withdrawal, I can explain that the mobile phone ‘Nokia 5300,’ military card and a package made of a synthetic material, with a powdery substance of white color, belong to me. I have used drugs, inhaling them nasally, and afterwards, I have fallen into the corresponding state.”⁶

The lexical units used, for example—*powdery substance of white color, inhaling, drugs, stopping public transport, synthetic, package, a package with drugs, was summoned to explain, during the examination of the apartment* and so on—show that they are clichés of legal discourse reflecting the speech style of agents of law enforcement, who probably ‘hide behind the text’ and influence the processing of the author’s verbal or written story to render the optimal form for a legal document of a particular genre. The sphere of criminal use of text derivatives touches on other areas of appropriated and simulated authorship, and, in this case, these facts may become the subject of court examination.

Conclusion

The standards of secondary texts which are actively examined today do not belong to the usual genres of fiction. The material of our article aims to illustrate that text derivatives in our speech practice are often varied as well as disguised. Remakes cause problems for readers, spectators, scientists, politicians, schoolchildren and customers. According to a well-known Russian author of secondary poetic works, Dmitry Bykov, “we all live inside a remake” (D. Bykov 2011). The growing facility of electronic communication makes their use more and more possible.

Text derivatives seem to be, not only the result of creation of a whole coherent text, but also an utterance concerning the method of interpreting social reality reflected from an original source and according to an author’s new conception. In this connection, it is meaningful for native speakers to possess the ability to create secondary forms of high quality. These forms are necessary and effective forms of exposing the contents of an original text to various spheres of human activity in many situations of verbal and written communication. The ability to recognize forms of text derivation is of no less importance, particularly their harmful variants which are able to exert a manipulative influence on the consciousness of a single human being as well as the collective consciousness of distinct communities.

⁶ Materialy lingvistichekoj sudebnoj `ekspertizy tekstov: iz kartoteki avtora stat’i.

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SEMANTIC DERIVATION AS A SOURCE OF REPLENISHMENT FOR PROFESSIONAL SLANG IN THE MEDICAL COMMUNITY OF ARKHANGELSK

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The development of technical and scientific knowledge has led to more than 90% of the new words appearing in modern languages belonging to vocabulary for special purposes, “therefore research into the state of specialized vocabulary is becoming most important for language development” (Grinyov-Grinevich 2008: 5). This specialized, narrow-use vocabulary is found alongside professional words and word collocations or professionalisms used in different areas of production and engineering.

The lexicon researched here involves professional slang words gathered in a survey of medical doctors and nurses from different health care institutions in Arkhangelsk during 2010–2013 (with more than 180 lexical units of analysis). The objective of this research is to find and analyze semantic professionalisms and specify their place in the nominative-derivational scope of medical professional slang words.

Being a broad, dynamic and rapidly growing layer of vocabulary for special purposes, professional vocabulary has been insufficiently studied, unlike terms and term systems. A complex characteristic of the Russian professional lexicon in its structural-semantic, functional-stylistic and cognitive aspects has been the subject of recent research by E.N. Serdobintseva (Serdobintseva 1990; 2011; 2012). The author specified the ontologicistic characteristics of professional speech that enable it to create a separate sub-system of the national language—professional discourse.

Being two groups of vocabulary for special purposes, professionalisms and terms have much in common, for instance, specialization of meaning and restricted use (Shelov 1984). Terms are understood to be official, statutory names of concepts, whereas professionalisms are referred to as semi-official names for phenomena in this or that specific scientific and

knowledge sector or profession. As distinguished from terms, professionalisms function predominantly in the oral speech of professionals as 'semi-official' words and usually function as stylistically substandard expressive synonym-equivalents of terms—close to jargon and colloquial conversational vocabulary.

In this regard, it seems productive to differentiate between the two groups of professionalisms in order to define their border, including the difference between professionalisms or, to be more precise, between professional jargon (slang words) and another group of restricted professional use—jargonisms. These are objective and subjective professionalisms (Serdobintseva 2011) selected on the basis of nominative-derivational and functional analysis of professional vocabulary.

Nominative or 'objective' professionalisms do not generally contain connotation; they present generic nominations in a professional environment. Nominative professionalisms, especially abbreviations, facilitate professional communication, since the use of professionalisms in speech (that are comprehensible to a group of people united by a common professional activity) contributes to mental processing speed, promotes professional communication productivity and saves time spent on medical paperwork.

The basic group of these medical professionalisms is made up of abbreviations formed on a syntactic basis as a result of lexical summarization of compound term-collocations and contributes to language economy. As a rule, such lexical units stand for the names of illnesses, their symptoms, types of medicines, medical procedures and examinations. For example: USI—ultrasound investigation; ABP—arterial blood pressure; AT—antimicrobial therapy; PVR—pulmonary vascular resistance; GIT—gastrointestinal tract; CA—continuous arrhythmia; RVH—the right ventricle of the heart. The *family* word in such groups is usually a commonly used or a narrow specialized term: *illness*—chronic obstructive lung disease—COLD; *contusion*—brain contusion—BC.

A great number of abbreviations among these nominative professionalisms can easily be explained by a tendency to maximum language compression in oral professional communication between health care workers. This forms a transitional group, referred to both as terms and professionalisms, which confirms the lack of a well-defined boundary between the two groups of vocabulary for special purposes.

Expressive or 'subjective' professionalisms make up the greatest part of professional vocabulary in different scientific and knowledge spheres. They are not tightly bound with jargon and substandard language. They are similar to jargonisms and slangy words in substandard language, often

rough in expression and this makes it possible to denote them as professional jargon or professional slang. M.A. Gratchev divides Russian social dialects into three groups: jargons, argot and conventional-professional languages (Gratchev 1996).

He refers to the slang of professions and occupational jargons: they are incomprehensible to those who are 'not in the know.' Some researchers define professional jargon as peripheral to professional vocabulary. We consider that such nominations form an integral part of the professional medical lexicon.

Expressive professionalisms are non-official, colloquial synonyms of terms that are neutral official naming units. Russian examples include: *ЭКГэшка* (colloquial synonym for ECG, electrocardiogram); *флюшка*, *флюра* (colloquial synonym for fluorography); *мерцалка*, *мерцуха* (colloquial synonym for CA, continuous arrhythmia). Here, one should also mention professionalisms that have no equivalents in terminology but are expressive nominations of particular (including habitual everyday) realia of applied professions and crafts. For instance, the Russian words: *утка*—a bed pan for recumbent patients; *младший научный сотрудник* (junior research worker)—cleaner. In the speech of ambulance men: *голос* (voice)—radio; *мальчик*, *пилот*, *драйвер* (boy, pilot, driver)—ambulance driver; *негр* (negro)—a stranger who helps move a patient into the ambulance; *поле чудес* (field of wonders)—ambulance service area; *поиграть в войнушку* (play a war game)—wake up the neighbors at night by taking a sick person from a flat into an ambulance.

Analysis of the formational sources of the professional lexicon of health care workers has shown that the connection between professionalisms and common lexis occurs at the level of semantic derivation. These subsystems exchange resources: common lexis can become a source for semantic professionalisms as a result of special (professional) meaning development. In particular, 75 professionalisms out of 180 in the speech of health care workers are a product of secondary nomination. At the same time, metaphorical shifts are in the preponderance (67 semantic professionalisms out of 75, i.e. 90%). For the most part, these are substantive metaphors whose semantic models are generally connected to shifts based on the formal resemblance of phenomena according to form. Some thematic groups of the professional vocabulary of health workers consist almost entirely of such professionalisms.

The sizable thematic group of 'Names of patients according to an illness, its syndrome and physiological status' (32 professionalisms out of 180) is dominated by lexemes with an ironic, even cynical, estimation

created with the help of semantic shifts. For example, the Russian words: *валежник* (dead-wood)—an in-patient who stays in hospital for a long time; *головёшка, уголек* (firebrand, coal)—a patient with skin burns; *Люська* (Lucy)—a female patient who is ill with syphilis; *крестоносец* (cross-bearer)—a patient who is ill with syphilis; *лежак* (bed-stone)—a bedridden patient; *лыжник* (skier)—usually an elderly patient who has undergone an operation and moves with some difficulty shuffling his/her feet or leaning on a stick; *Снегурочка, отморозок, подснежник* (snow maiden, snowdrop)—a patient with cold-related injuries, hypothermia; *парашютист, вертолётчик* (parachutist, helicopterist)—a patient who has an injury as a result of falling from a height; *скворечник* (bird box)—a patient after cephalotrypsis. See also the names of medical instruments, appliances and types of devices used for medical treatment including surgical intervention: *клювы, щечки* (beaks)—dental forceps; *бабочка, самолетик* (butterfly, plane)—types of catheters; *вертолёт* (helicopter)—medical apparatus.

Moreover, many nominations are formed on the basis of a facetious paronymous pun (play on words). For example: *спидометр* (speedometer)—an instrument for diagnosing AIDS; *белочка* (bunny)—delirium tremens; *магнолия* (magnolia)—magnesium sulfate; *отбеливатель* (de-colorant)—laxative agent (pharmacy); *крестоносец* (cross-bearer)—a patient who is ill with syphilis (derived from the figurative name of syphilis—‘three crosses’); *Люська* (Lucy)—a female patient who is ill with syphilis (derived from the Latin word *lues* denoting ‘syphilis’); *буксир, ксиуша* (tow, ksiusha)—psychotropic medication (natriumoxybutyricum); *ярёма*—jugular vein; *селезень*—spleen; *утконос*—a student nurse who is in charge of bringing and cleaning the bedpans of bedridden patients.

Verbal metaphors predominate in the thematic group of ‘Medical treatment: medical procedures, manipulation and surgical intervention.’ The basic model of such semantic shifts is a shift in nomination from a particular physical act onto the names of manipulations, procedures and actions of emergency physicians in medicine. For example: *перелить пациента* (overflow (a patient))—insert too much solution intravenously, most commonly using a dropper; *прикалываться (вкалываться)* (pin, stick)—give patients intravenous injections; *загрузить* (charge, download)—inject psychotropic medications; *размочить* (soak)—give diuretic medicines; *завести (больного)* (wind up (a patient))—restore the normal regime of a patient’s heart after failure; *откачать* (resuscitate)—reanimate a patient as a result of some medical manipulation, procedures; *раздыхивать*—do artificial lung ventilation; *стукнуть* (hit)—apply

electric shock therapy; *заморозить* (freeze)—do local anaesthesia, anaesthetize; *прибить* (nail down)—apply general anaesthesia.

Shifts in the models can be seen: child's age—children's hospital department (childhood); part of one's head (ears)—an instrument that is fitted into ears (ears, i.e. phonendoscope); a glass slide for laboratory analysis—its contents (a bit of human tissue, smear) (glasses—1. a sample of tissue taken during an endoscopy or an operation for histological examination and 2. smear (gynecology)), are solitary cases.

Conclusion

We can conclude that metonymic shifts are not numerous (8 out of 75 semantic professionalisms). The most productive semantic model is 'illness, its symptom, type of injury, the diseased organ of a patient, denominating a patient by association with an illness, symptom, injury or diseased organ.' For example: *чепен* (skull)—a patient who has undergone cephalotrypesis; *шейка* (neck)—a patient who has been operated on the glandula thyroidea; *живот (острый живот)* (stomach, acute abdomen)—a patient suffering from inflammation of the appendix or any other abdominal cavity organ deficiency; *почка* (kidney)—a patient who has a kidney disease.

Semantic professionalisms predominating in the expressive zone of professional slang words of health care workers, enable doctors and medical nurses to alleviate tension in stressful working situations, rescuing them "from corporeal and psychic ailments, professional burn out and deformations" (Yeklin 2011: 80). They not only reflect self-irony and health care workers' sense of humor, often close to professional cynicism, but they are also "a means for language segregation, linguistic conspiracy" (Yeklin 2011: 71) and membership of a common professional community.

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DEIXIS AND COHESION

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Introduction

Linguists have always considered connectedness as the most important text category in mediating the development of a theme and providing textual integrity. The problem of text connectedness as the main means of constructing form and meaning has been covered widely both in Russia and abroad (N. Arutyunova, G. Infantova, Z. Turayeva, P. Galperin, T. van Deik, A. Hill, W. Chafe). Connectedness is an essential condition for successful communication: an incoherent text cannot be decoded adequately by its addressee.

Having analysed the classifications developed by M. Halliday, R. Hasan, T. Givon, V. Lukin, T. Milevskaya and E. Selivanova, one can single out different kinds of connectedness: lexical, structural, grammatical, semantic, onomasiological, imaginary, connotative, referential, topical, pragmatic, situational and supra-segmental. The main markers of connectedness include the lexical, syntactical, stylistic, formal and deictic. The last two of these are the subject of our analysis.

T.V. Milevskaya notes:

“Reference is the basis for creating a coherent and integral text. The referent of the coherent text is the model of situational context that was conceived by the addresser as coherent. The condition of discourse coherence is the connectedness of the concepts: the coherent description of the world picture states that the connections between the elements of the mental sphere in the frame structure act as the prototypic and universal representation of a situation.”¹

In order to determine the deictic role in connectedness, one should consider it from the pragmatic point of view. Such an analysis should be

¹ Milevskaya, 2003: 77

based on empirical data. Let us start with the general characteristics of deixis and text deixis in particular.

Foundations of deixis

The term 'deixis' has existed since ancient times, but its distinction as a separate class of language units dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century and is connected to the names of Charles Peirce and Karl Bühler. Since the second half of the last century, deixis has acquired a new actuality by gaining the characteristics of a universal category that can function at all language levels. In linguistics today, a difference of opinion exists with regard to the essence of deixis as a linguistic phenomenon, the quantity of deictic categories and the deictic degree of words (A. Kravchenko, A. Ufimtseva, I. Sternin, J. Lyons, U. Apresyan and O. Melnik). Recently, researchers have turned to the notion of

"text deixis', its referential properties, because the text is pronounced the 'leading unit of communication.'"²

The main point of text referentiality lies in the fact that:

"the speaker correlates expressions in language with extra linguistic objects, which make up one of the most important conditions for text connectedness."³

Deictic expressions cannot be analysed according to the same scheme as other language units because it is difficult to give them a semantic definition and their reference changes depend on the parameters of the communicative situation. The most important distinction was made by K. Bühler (1995). He divided lexis into two fields with a principal differentiation: the naming field and the pointing field (Symbolfeld—Zeigfeld). Despite the fact that the quantity of components in the second field is less than those of the first one, their occurrence, both in oral and written kinds of language, is extremely high. Deictic expressions can only be interpreted in relation to their referential centre. This centre is the speech itself—K. Bühler called it *origo*. Every time the speaker utters something, he creates a new reference centre, which allows identification of the objects in surrounding space in a unique way.

² Kolshansky, 1980

³ Paducheva, 1966: 244

K. Bühler's conception was the turning point in the analysis of deixis. Having connected the functioning of these language units with the speech act, he put forward a pragmatic theory long before detachment of pragmatics into a separate research field. However, this theory also had negative consequences. In cases where deictic expressions were used outside the communicative situation, the theory did not work. Despite the fact that K. Bühler tried to push the boundaries of his conception adding 'imaginary deixis' (Deixis ad Phantasma), he failed to find a common theory that would unite different kinds of deictic expression.

Konrad Ehlich⁴ argues that a common concept of deixis can only be built by means of abstraction from sense perception of the communicative situation. He proposes replacing K. Bühler's conception with a broader concept of 'deictic domain' where the space of the speech act would be just one subtype. K. Ehlich differentiates at least four different domains in which deictic expressions can function:

- 1) Speech domain
- 2) Discourse domain
- 3) Text domain
- 4) Image domain.

These domains are united by the reference system common to both the speaker and addressee. The universality of deixis consists in the fact that one cannot imagine the speech process without deictic units oriented around the speaker and the listener—the utterance can be pronounced without pointing to space and time.

Text deixis is one of the most arguable kinds of deixis. This notion is quite new and is insufficiently explored because in linguistics deixis has mainly been examined through material on natural speech (dialogues). A number of scholars (I. Sternin 1973; E. Paducheva 1974; V. Erich 1982) refer to deixis only in the situation where pointing is oriented around extra linguistic reality and is reflected in the content of the utterance—it is correlated with the meaningful structure of the utterance. Situations where pointing is oriented to the inner organization of a text and provides semantic connectedness to the discourse, unlike deixis proper, are called anaphor and cataphor. The problem consists in the interpretation of sense perception. The most obvious property of the written text is the absence of a visible speaker and audible utterances. This fact does not present sufficient ground for the separation of two kinds of pointing. Nevertheless,

⁴ K. Ehlich, 1989: 37

such separation, according to K. Ehlich,⁵ has a practical meaning: it is more difficult to use deictic expressions in text than in speech where sense perception facilitates pointing to objects.

There is another important item in the notion of deixis: it provides for the effectiveness of the communicative act when the communicants possess a common presuppositional fund ('background knowledge'). The choice of deictic elements is subjective and is determined by the intention of the speech producer. In order to use deixis in text properly, the author should orientate himself on the knowledge domain that is common for both him and his reader. Besides text deixis, other kinds of deixis can be present in the text, including speech deixis that can be represented in the form of reported speech, or imaginary deixis. These cases should be considered as the use of deixis in text, but not as text deixis.

In general, the analysis of work devoted to discourse deixis (also called text deixis or secondary deixis), allows the conclusion that all authors tend to extend the borders of deixis, enabling the direct application of the concept of deixis in text phenomena research. K. Ehlich⁶ notes that the result of such endeavours is much more important than striving to establish the difference between extra- and intra-text referents.

The text content is based on a complicated system of language inter-connections that help to reveal the character of text connectedness. Discourse research is characterised by analysis of two fundamental properties: cohesion and coherence. Coherence is the conceptual and meaningful connectedness of the text. Cohesion is the presence of explicitly expressed language links. Deictic means of cohesion are, first of all, pronouns, particles and modal words. Pronouns occupy a central position among deictic means of text connectedness. L. Mondada⁷ lists the following classification of text deixis markers:

- Demonstratives (*this/that paragraph/chapter/paper*)
- Locatives of place (*here, there, elsewhere, in this chapter*)
- Locatives of direction (*so far, to this point, below, above*)
- Temporal demonstratives and verb tenses (*now, earlier, later, preceding, following, next, last*)
- Special words (*former, latter*).

⁵ K. Ehlich, 1989: 40

⁶ K. Ehlich, 1989

⁷ Mondada, 1996: 572

From this list, one can see that text deixis is mainly expressed by means of language units in common with other kinds of deixis. In our opinion, this proves that text deixis represents a proper kind of deixis.

Let us pass on to the examination of deictic characteristics in journalistic texts. The indication of functional style is of principal importance for our research. M. Galbraith⁸ clearly distinguishes two kinds of text—fiction and narration—and suggests differentiating two axes—narrative and fiction. Fiction is the sphere of narrative deixis connected to the imaginary world. According to the theory of deictic shift, it is assumed that the reader of fiction creates a mental model of the ‘narration world’ and imagines himself placed in this world. The deictic centre of the reader shifts from the situation of the real world into some space in the narration world.

The reader perceives and interprets the narration as being in this deictic centre, which, in its turn, can be shifted while the narration proceeds. The author has the possibility of manipulating the deictic centre of the reader using different narrative perspectives, for example, narration in the first person or inner monologue. In fiction, the centre of communication shifts from the speaker to a third person (the author, the narrator) from whom the narration is directed.

The adverbs—‘here’ and ‘now’—look abnormal in combination with past tense verbs—the same situation would also look contradictory in conversation. This is explained by the fact that the communicative act is related to the communicative situation, which is the basis for the use of tenses, adverbs and other markers that depend on the relative position of the speaker and the addressee. In our case, the narration is non-fiction, consequently the deictic shift concerns only those language units referring to locative and temporal kinds of deixis, but not to personal ones.

As an example, we will examine a passage from the introduction to Julia Cameron’s *The artist’s way*:⁹

“I am writing on a black lacquer Chinese desk that looks west across the Hudson River to America. I am on the far western shore of Manhattan, which is a country unto itself, and the one I am living in right now, working to cantilever musicals from page to stage. Manhattan is where the singers are. Not to mention Broadway. I am here because ‘art’ brought me here. Obedient, I came. (25)

...In my Upper West Side neighbourhood, cellos are as frequent and as

⁸Galbraith, 1995: 25

⁹Cameron, 2002: XIV

ungainly as cows in Iowa. **They** are part of **the** landscape **here**. Writing **ata** typewriter, looking **out across** the lights, **I** too am something Manhattan knows very well. ... **My** apartment is on Riverside Drive. **At this** narrow end of **the** island, Broadway is a scant block **behind my** back as **I** face **west across** the river, inky black **now** as **the** sun sets in colored ribbons above it. **It** is a wide river, not only dark, and **on a** windy day—and **there are many**—**the** water is choppy and white-capped. Cherry-red tugboats, as determined as beetles, push **their** prows **into the** waves, digging **their** way **up and down the** river, pushing long barges with **their** snouts. (40)

Manhattan teems with dreamers. **All** artists dream, and **we** arrive **here** carrying **those** dreams. Not **all of us** are dressed in black, still smoking cigarettes and drinking hard liquor, still living out the tawdry romance of hard knocks **in** tiny walk-up flats filled with hope and roaches **in** neighborhoods so bad that **the** rats have **moved on**. No, just like **the** roaches, **the** artists are **everywhere here**, tenements to penthouses—**my** own building has not only **me** with **my** piano and typewriter but also an opera singer **who** trills in **the** inner canyons like a lark **ascending**. **The** neighborhood waiters are often... actors, and **the** particularly pretty duck-footed neighborhood girls do dance, although **you** wouldn't imagine **their** grace from **their** web-footed walks. (25)

I drank a cup of tea **at** Edgar's Cafe **this afternoon**, **the** cafe named for Edgar Allan Poe, **who** lived **down here** and died farther uptown, **all the** way **in the** Bronx. I've looked **up into** Leonard Bernstein's ground-floor windows **at the** Dakota, and gone a little numb each time **I** **pass the** arched entryway **where** John Lennon was shot. **In this** apartment, **I** am a scant block from Duke Ellington's haunts, and there's a street named after **him** too. Manhattan is a town full of ghosts. Creative powers...course **through its** vertical canyons. (25)

It was **in** Manhattan that **I** first began teaching the Artist's Way. Like **all** artists...**I** experience inspiration. **I** was 'called' to teach and **I** answered **that** call somewhat grudgingly. *What about my art?* **I** wondered. **I** had not yet learned that **we** do tend to practice **what we** preach, that in unblocking **others** **I** would unblock myself, and that, like **all** artists, **I** would thrive more easily with some companionship, with kindred souls making kindred leaps of faith. Called to teach, **I** could not imagine **the** good teaching would bring **to me** and, **through me**, **to others**." (25)

Deictic pronouns, as the main means of reference, have two functions in the text: that of independent indicators and actualisers in combination with different noun groups, collectively creating a united system of multi-channel connections within the text. In subjective narration, one can

observe the greatest quantity of deictic means practically creating a natural speech situation. The passage contains 500 words, 140 of them we have marked as deictic units. This examination shows the explicit means of person-expression, including the personal pronoun of the first person singular and the possessive pronouns, which occur quite regularly, and play an important role in journalistic texts. Other kinds of pronouns—relative, attributive—are represented in smaller quantities. T. Milevskaya¹⁰ argues that:

“while combining the function of determination with the function of replacement of antecedent referent word-forms, the deictic pronouns play the most important role in the speech units’ organization, acting as a means of syntagmatic deixis and forming the connectedness of syntax units in the text.”²⁰⁰

The semantic interpretation of third person pronouns depends on establishing their referential connection to the nouns in preceding sentences—I face west across *the river*, inky black now as the sun sets in colored ribbons above *it*. While performing the function of substitution, constructions with demonstrative pronouns engage reduced means of reference support in order to present this information in new surroundings—*In this apartment, I am a scant block from Duke Ellington’s haunts*. The repeated use of the word combination, *all artists*, points to the typicality of these objects. Such a deictic complex possesses implicit referential meaning and enables us to differentiate denotation from other groups of people who are not inclined to creative activity.

The pointing to temporal and spatial localization of the event in this passage is expressed with the help of the adverbs, *here* and *now*, the verbal forms, *come*, *move*, *ascend* and numerous prepositions of place and direction. The relations of cohesion take place when the interpretation of one or another segment of the text depends on some other segment—preceding or following it. All cases of the use of the adverb, *here*, in this passage are substitutes for the expression *I am on the far western shore of Manhattan*. The reader is urged to correlate the use of the adverbs with this expression in order to reveal their presuppositional dependence. As soon as this dependence is revealed, the relations of cohesion between the segments concerned are established in a cognitive operation.

The use of the article is closely connected to cognitive mechanisms. Besides discrimination of new knowledge—a *black lacquer Chinese desk*—and old—*narrow end of the island*—the author gives additional

¹⁰ Milevskaya, 2003: 197

information that is necessary for the reader to identify the object described—*I pass the arched entryway where John Lennon was shot.*

Conclusion

The use of text deixis differs greatly from the use of deixis in communicative situations. Its use demands cooperation from the reader. In other words, a reader recreates the structures conceived by a writer. This can be done only by referring to common knowledge. Deixis can be considered one of the elements in the creation of text cohesion.¹¹ However, it can also be considered a kind of mediator between cohesion and coherence because of the reference to the common knowledge of the reader and the author. The contribution of text deixis to the creation of text connectedness is complicated and peculiar. In general, if we take into consideration the conditionality of the hypothetical text space, this macrostructure represents the same kind of communication as natural speech.

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¹¹ Halliday and Hasan, 1976

TEXT FORMING FUNCTIONS OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS WITH THE COMPONENT 'COLOUR'

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This article is devoted to description of the text forming functions of phraseological units (set phrases) with the component 'colour' in English. Special attention is given to some problems of stylistic usage and structural and semantic modification of phraseological units in a text. Phraseological units with a colour component are capable of carrying out a number of stylistic functions connected to the organization of a text or its parts. Functioning in a text, phraseological units of this kind carry out a nominative function and form a unified descriptive system:

*I opened the glass-door in the breakfast-room: the shrubbery was quite still: **the black frost** reined, unbroken by sun or breeze, through the grounds (Bronte).*

*"So you see, we are all set for a happy Christmas. **A white Christmas**, too," she added as she looked out of the window. "See? **It is beginning to snow**" (A. Christie).*

As a rule, phraseological units with a colour component take a lead position, joining the structure of written texts, and are used to make situational or static descriptions:

*Andrew Pennington displayed all the conventional reactions of grief and shock. He was, as usual, carefully dressed. He had changed into **a black tie** (A. Christie).*

"Well, really," said the ghost, rather meekly, "what was I to do? It is a very difficult thing to get real blood nowadays, and, as your brother began it all with his Paragon Detergent, I certainly saw no reason why I should not have your paints. As for colour, that is always a matter of taste: the

*Cantervilles have **blue blood**, for instance, **the very bluest in England**; but I know you Americans don't care for things of this kind" (O. Wilde).*

*I don't think Mr. Pennington could do one, do you? He looks so desiccated and dyspeptic - **with no red blood in him**" (A. Christie).*

Static descriptions play an important role in constructing a background by showing the development of events and creating portrait sketches. Bright representations of a person's character, descriptions of appearance and emotional conditions are reached by means of the inclusion of such phraseological units:

*He came out of his **brown study** with a jerk (A. Christie).*

*"But someone else quarrelled with Sir Reuben," continued Poirot in a pensive voice. "Someone else left him that night **white with rage**" (A. Christie).*

*After that we shouted at each other in sheer rage, until I suddenly realized that I was in danger of missing my train to Paris. I had to run for the station, still in a **white heat of fury** (A. Christie).*

In texts, phraseological units with a colour component are used as key details of a portrait and add to the development of the characters; they can act as a means of creating a satirical image for the interpretation of behaviour and speech, serving as a unifying component of the whole text:

*They know nothing, and ten to one believe everything that's said in the witness box, no matter who it is that says it. And of course Archer himself will swear till he's **black in the face** that he did not do it (A. Christie).*

*... she doted on the young man and supplied filet mignon whenever he **had a black eye** (T. Capote).*

*Furthermore, he was accounted a neryv man, a square man, and a **white man** (London).*

*But I paid him back for that myself I boxed his face for him. And he did hurt my arm. **It's black and blue** (London).*

Phraseological units with a colour component are used to describe the appearance of a person and focus the reader's attention on certain elements of the message, establishing semantically relevant relations between

elements of one or more different levels (Arnold 1990). These phraseological units add diversity in the creation of bright images:

My wife meant to come to town today, but she's put it off again, and how is a fellow to dine alone in a room with the looking-glasses covered and nothing but a bottle of Harvey sauce on the side-board? I say, Lawrence, chuck your engagement and take pity on me—it gives me the blue devils to dine alone, and there's nobody but that canting ass Wetherall in the club. (E. Wharton).

Some especially expressive units are constructed comparatively, realizing the emotional and physical conditions of a character:

*I believe he told him he would have to cut down expenses in future; he'd have to reduce his allowance. George was very upset, **got as red as a turkey cock** (A. Christie).*

*"I found her **as white as a sheet** sitting here," said Annie, with a suggestion of tears in her voice (Lawrence).*

*She **was brown as iodine**, her hair was sun-bleached to a ghost-colour, she'd had a wonderful time (T. Capote).*

*The waitress brought our order at this point. The coffee was **as pale as the latest fashionable shade of mink** (A. Christie).*

As can be seen from these examples, phraseological units with a colour component are used as to expressively highlight characteristics of a character's appearance in the organization of separate fragments and the whole text. They provide thematic correlations:

*"Why on earth should Communists want to murder poor grandfather?"
"Well, everyone says that they're at the bottom of everything that goes on. But if it wasn't the Communists, mark my word, it was **the Catholics. The scarlet Woman of Babylon**, that's what they are" (A. Christie).*

The use of the unit in *The scarlet Woman of Babylon* presents itself through duplication of the expression *the Catholics* and simultaneously carries a connotation, showing a negative, scornful attitude in the statement towards the object.

In texts, phraseological units with a colour component specify and explain the semantic meaning of borrowed units and word-combinations, because the language of the recipient cannot always successfully disclose the meaning of a foreign word. As a result of such combinations, the

missing element of the information is filled in. In the following example the English set phrase *a white lie* (*a lie for the sake of social survival*) is used to explain the Italian word-combination *una bugia veniale*:

For their own safety. Una bugia veniale. A white lie. Your job will be to keep the peace (Brown).

We can look at some more cases of foreign phraseological units functioning in texts:

"Madame, I have your permission to hold a little reunion in the salon? It is necessary for every one to attend." Mary smiled sadly. "You know, Monsieur Poirot, that you have carte blanche in every way" (A. Christie).

The above fragment includes a set phrase borrowed from the French language—*carte blanche* (*to give freedom to actions*). There are some cases where a phraseological is created with a colour component borrowed from another language:

Well, the villainous casse-cou was close by, at that very turn; and, if the Faquin of a coachman had not his beasts well in hand or if he chanced to be a little gris—in his cups, that is—the great diligence would, of a dead certainty, meet with some heavy misfortune (Collins).

In the phrase *to be a little gris* (*to be tipsy*) the colour component—*gris* (grey) comes from the French language.

In fiction, the choice of phraseological units is made both for the author's speech and for narration. Individual choice is defined by the speech, theme, plot and genre of the text. As the language analysis of the text shows, the given choice is not only limited by these factors; it is made according to the character's social status, educational level, character and age. The development of political and economic life plays an important role in the creation of set phrases. For example, as a result of the development of a shadow economy the set phrase *black market* appears; in turn, this phrase leads to the occurrence of a considerable quantity of combinations in the textual canvas: *black-market cigarettes, a black market economy, black-market meals, blackmarket butter*, etc. For example:

"Smoke?" Dog dragged a crumpled pack from his pocket and prized out a flattened cigarette. I squinted at the trademark while he lighted it for me with a kitchen match. Yiheyuan filters. Beijing Cigarette Factory. I decided that the Lo Tekes were black marketers (W. Gibson).

*The WOODEN-seated carriage in which he travelled was filled to overflowing by a single enormous family, ranging from a toothless great-grandmother to a month-old baby, going out to spend an afternoon with 'in-laws' in the country, and, as they freely explained to Winston, to get hold of a little **blackmarket butter** (G. Orwell).*

*There was a constant come-and-go of prisoners of every description: drug-peddlers, thieves, bandits, **black-marketeers**, drunks, prostitutes (G. Orwell).*

*He had told them everything he knew about her, her habits, her character, her past life; he had confessed in the most trivial detail everything that had happened at their meetings, all that he had said to her and she to him, their **black-market meals** ... (G. Orwell).*

In the textual space, set phrases with a colour component carry out stylistic functions and creating certain associations in the consciousness of the recipient so as to establish an emotional impact or to attract attention to a particular fragment of speech:

*They went along the corridor which led to Simeon Lee's room. On their left they passed an alcove which contained two marble statues, stalwart nymphs clasping their draperies in an agony of Victorian propriety." They are not what is admired nowadays," admitted Poirot. "But no doubt they cost much money in their time. They look better by night, I think. "Yes, one sees only a white glimmering figure." Poirot murmured: "**All cats are grey in the dark!**" (A. Christie).*

*He had always been of the opinion that the vainest men in creation were actors. He did not exempt Sir Charles Cartwright. This instance of **the pot calling the kettle black** amused him (A. Christie).*

Functioning in the text, these units undergo various structural and semantic transformations including the addition, variation or replacement of components, contamination, etc. In spite of the fact that occasional changes in the structure of the units sometimes make understanding of the text complicated, it is necessary to note their role in the performance of some additional semantic and stylistic actions which enhance the expressive potential of the text as a whole. The repetition of set phrases designates frames that create an emotional strengthening of the whole statement:

*"But you're not now," she said. "You're not that now: a broken-backed snake that's been trodden on. "I do not know what I am. There's **black***

days ahead. "No!" she protested, clinging to him. "Why? Why?" "There's **black days** coming for us all and for everybody," he repeated with a prophetic gloom (Lawrence).

The repetition of the set phrase **black days** is used to strengthen the main theme of the utterance, providing a super phrasal unity and adding semantic completeness.

Set phrases with a colour component help to express a relation of objects and phenomena to the surrounding world and represent basic substantive elements of culture with which it is possible to characterize objects, as well as aesthetic and abstract concepts. For instance, the set phrase **white sale** (*sale of bed and table linen*) is specific to the English language:

Greta said she was meeting Claudia Hardcastle at the station at Market Chadwell and they were going up to London to a white sale. I asked what a white sale was. "Does there really have to be any white in it?" I asked. Greta looked scornful and said that a white sale meant a sale of household linen and blankets and towels and sheets, etc (A. Christie).

Phraseological units like this act as an integral element in the embodiment of textual structure and are used to disclose complex visual images while simultaneously having an emotional impact on the reader:

"Dudley doesn't want the house, it always has been a white elephant" (H. Fast).

I am seeing my lawyer tomorrow as it is necessary that I should make some provision for Mervyn if I should pre-decease him, which is, of course, the natural course of events, though I assure you at the moment I feel in the pink of health (A. Christie).

Text forming functions in this kind of set phrase are seen as a means to addition, strengthening, duplication, explanation and replacement of lexical units in a textual space.

Conclusion

Usage of the examined phraseological units with a colour component is defined by a number of factors, including: a particular world-view, cultural traditions, the individual experiences of the author limited by the epoch he lives in and the particular system of the author's language and conceptualization of the surrounding world. Despite traditional symbolic

meanings, phraseological units with colour components are filled with subjective-symbolic potential, both individual and characteristic of the author's viewpoint. Colour phrases function in texts as a means to modeling emotions and effects corresponding to experiences and proceeding from the perception of real situations. Phraseological units with colour components not only create visual images, but also help form an aesthetic perception of textual space.

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THE SHAPOVAL'S LANGUAGE: THE LEXICO-THEMATIC PARADIGM AND ITS FUNCTIONS

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In historical linguistics, the formation of the Russian literary language has been explored from different perspectives over many years. As regards European linguistics, since the middle of the nineteenth century, the research of language artifacts outside the literary norm, such as argot, jargon, special languages etc., was necessarily included in a general paradigm of issues concerning the development of national language.

V.V. Kolesov offered the following definition of a 'dialect':

"Dialect is colloquial type of language, which is used by a limited number of people related by common land and lively communication with each other; the dialect does not have its own written norm."¹

There are a number of opinions about the social and territorial classification of dialects and not all scientists agree in their point of view. For example, V. M Zhirmunky considered that:

"The traditional classification of dialects into territorial and social types is supposed...any territorial dialectology, according to linguistic reality, must be social dialectology."²

Researchers such as B. A. Serebrennikov and V. A. Avrorin share this opinion. V.D. Bondaletov writes:

"Dialects co-exist with other forms of language, which remain their primary and supporting foundation, and social dialects remain as a

¹ Kolesov, V. V. *Russkaya dialectologiya*, 5

² Zhirmunsky, V. M. *Marksizm i sotsialnaya lingvistika*///Voprosy sotsialnoy lingvistiki, 23

supplement (at times they are required in a professional field, and at other times they are evidently facultative, for example, jargon)."³

Linguistics has classified the social dialect into the following types: 1) professional languages (lexical systems), for example the languages of fishermen, hunters, potters, woodworkers, wool-carders, shoemakers etc.; 2) collective or corporate jargons of pupils, students, sportsmen, soldiers; 3) reference languages (argot, patter) of migrant artificers (otkhodniki) and other social groups which are related to this activity; 4) jargons (argot) of declassed representatives (Bondaletov 1987).

One of the most remarkable groups of social dialects is the group of secret or esoteric languages (reference language). Investigation of the practically unexplored and lexically undeveloped linguistic form of the fulling professional reference language originating in Novy Ropsk village in the Bryansk region of Russia, is of interest to modern linguistics because of the decreasing number of speakers who know this language:

"Secret (esoteric) language—is a conventional and generalized name for special lexical systems, for special language 'codes,' which were used by representatives of certain social groups in the context of socio-historical and economic conditions."⁴

From ethnographic sources it is known that in the past, there were several types of reference language. The secret traders' language was noted in the town of Starodub in the Starodub region; the language of the poor was fixed in Pochep, Novozybkov region (Klimovo Township, Novy Ropsk village).

The Shapoval's language (felt boot (valenki) makers' secret language) of Novy Ropsk is a professional reference language. The originality of this dialect implies that it can still be assigned as a 'living' reference language, but nevertheless, argot speakers are decreasing. The primary factor in language loss lies in the loss of the trade itself.

"The main purpose of reference languages was in speech scrambling; they were created and used not for amusement, but, in suitable moments, to carry on negotiations in the presence of strangers whose inclusion in conversation was unfavourable for one reason or another."⁵

³ Bondaletov, V. D. *Uslovnye yazyki russkikh remeslennikov i torgovtsev*, 69

⁴ Priyomysheva, M. N. *Taynyeuslovyeyazyki v Rossii XIX v.: istotikolingvisticheskiy obekt*, 7

⁵ Bondaletov, V. D. *Uslovyeyazykirusskikhremeslennikovitorgovtsev*, 18

As long ago as the nineteenth century, in Novy Ropsk, the manufacture and sale of felt boots (*valenki*) developed alongside the (travelling) shapoval's trade (the migrant master-hands (*otkhodniki*) produced their goods from the customer's material in other rural settlements and villages, got paid for their work and went away). The second type of trade required a greater degree of utilization of a professional reference language and its realization in an esoteric (conspiratorial) function. The professional reference language expressed not only an esoteric function, but also had an emotional-expressive function, although not widely used in contrast to other social dialects (e. g. the jargon of students and sportsmen, etc.)—that is the main reason for argot communication to appear in colloquial speech.

With capitalist development, the craftsmen were faced with a serious commercial rival—private factories which produced the same goods but of higher quality. It was the beginning of the shapoval's (fulling) trade degradation. This pressure intensified after the First World War and the civil war.

At the end of the twentieth century, the production requirements of this kind of trade sharply decreased due to weather conditions and market saturation with modern high-quality shoes; these factors totally disrupted the shapoval's trade in Novy Ropsk.

This created the prerequisites for a reduction in the importance of the professional reference language, a reduction in its speakers, a stagnation of the word creation process and a progressive decrease in all vocabulary (on average, current speakers know about 50 words).

It should be noted that there is another factor which promoted the reduction of the shapoval's argot—the Chernobyl disaster. Since Novy Ropsk is situated in the Bryansk region, it suffered significant radiation pollution and many inhabitants, including argot speakers, moved to environmentally cleaner regions.

The vocabulary of the esoteric language of Novy Ropsk includes a number of items and notions related to the daily life of migrant hand-workers. It consists of the following lexical-thematic groups:

- 1) *Designation of people and familial relationship*: people—*khirani*; men—*chuz* (*mus*, *lokh*); women—*ryakha* (*rakha*); molly—*zhabakh*; maid—*shikhta*; children—*mikry*; child—*mikryonok*; young lad—*mikets* (*mikrets*); friend—*balba*; foreigner—*lokh*;
- 2) *Names of parts of the body*: head—*glavdyrka*; chest (breast)—*galman* (*galmanki*); eyes—*lepki*; beard—*tropa*; hair—*chavmosya*; tongue—*lemez*;

- 3) *Designation of natural phenomena and landscape features:* water—shuga (tsuga, delka); fire—dulyasnyk; land—atira; frost—sivorka; day—kuden;
- 4) *Designation of animals:* ox—artyukh (yavlyd); cat—manyok (motey); lice—skiburi; cow—alyda; hen—varnachka (varanga); horse—volod (voscot); sheep—merkhlya (mirkotka);
- 5) *Designation of food (beverages and dishes):* food—chalmvka; beetroot soup (borsch)—smorshch (boten); pancakes—mamki (mamusi); vodka—gorda (zhukhlya, gertykha, gadyman); porridge (kasha)—ashokha; milk—galmo (almo); meat—kreso (kresokresinoye, makham); flour—perkha; honey—tumerles (gomerlyas, mylas); butter—svislo, soup—konder.

Inculcated in the speaker's consciousness, the esoteric (conspiratorial) function began to extend to other objects which were not connected to the professional field.

For example, it is possible to mark out several types of words including *designations related to trade:* felt boots (valenki)—artyukhi (shkorni); fuller—antyushnik, (katrushnik, shkornik), comb (chukhmarik); ball of wool—manka; wool—vovla; cow's skin—alyda; sheep's wool—parukha; hemp—kanavka (kadro); shapoval (fuller)—katrushnik (antyukh).

Vocabulary which nominates objects and phenomena also figures in the Shapoval's language. It has several words *denoting actions and states:* to be—korniv; to beat—chukat (kulaty, kopsaty); to take (to steal)—yaperit; to burn—dulyasyty; to give—otgurit (dyakhnyty); klyuzhit (klimaty); to marry—alychitsya; to lead—vandzyrit; to conduct—vandzoryty; to walk—busat; to make—maksat; to speak—govordit (kardovat, terbovat); to go—erchit, poerchit.

There are also words *denoting important characteristics:* poor—kukhtiy; white—pliniy; rich—stodniy; big—shavlyso; foolish—shmurniy; good—trepeliy (klyoviy); young—lamonniy; small—malyek; bad—khusiy (neklyoviy); old—yoriy; warm—dulyasniy; kind—shpinskiy; black—klauverniiy.

In addition, there are also *words and numbers designating measures of weight and money:* one—pbutyrikh (butarikh, sisara); five—povdekana (pentza); six—bukshen (shandra); seven—semzha.

The Shapoval's language does not have its own syntactic words and interjections (though most reference languages do have them). They are 'borrowed' from the national language (or from the dialect) existing in Novy Ropsk. For pronouns, words (nouns) specific to its own argot are used: for example, the word 'balbechkav' in different speech situations

can have the meaning of 'friend' or can be used as the personal pronoun YOU; and the designation of man—'chuz' can be used as the personal pronoun I.

Inflexions and combinations of words take place according to the principal rules of the Russian language. For example: артюх (artyukh), -а (-а), -у (у), -ом (-om), -е (-е), -и (-i)—ан ох; ламонный (lamonny), -ая (-aya), -ое (-oye), -ые (-iye)—young; басать (basat), -ешь (-esh), -ет (-et), -ете (-ete), -ют (-yut)—to cut.

Analysis of the vocabulary of the Shapoval's argot speakers in Novy Ropsk reveals a number of lexico-thematic groups embracing a wide sphere of objects and notions which were closely related to the daily life of the master-hands.

To sum up, socio-historical factors (the disappearance of trade, industrialization, historical events such as wars, collectivization and the process of change at the end of the twentieth century etc.) have led to the communicative sphere of usage of this language being confined solely to family communication; its conspiratorial function is now very seldom used:

"Having lost the principal conspiratorial function, those 'languages' retain the second expressive function. With the loss of the second one, the total and terminal disappearance of a professional reference argot will begin."⁶

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⁶ Bondaletov, V. D. *Uslovyeyazykirusskikhremeslennikovitorgovtsev*, 22

IS IDIOMATIC VARIABILITY THE RESULT OF PLAY ON WORDS OR SYSTEMATIC IDIOMATIC CREATIVITY?

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Introduction

People obtain the ability to express ideas metaphorically as, in a language, there exist signs with transferred meanings that follow “the rules of semantic variability,” based on the application of transferred speech senses to non-transferred signs (Savitskiy 2006: 183). Based on secondary models of semantic combinability, idioms are apt to break any primary rule of semantic combinability (Savitskiy 2006) and their structural and semantic characteristics allow transformations of their form and meaning within the boundaries of their stability. These peculiarities may be viewed from the points of view of idiomatic creativity and play on words.

Objectives

This paper aims to:

- 1) analyze the characteristics of structure and meaning of idioms, influencing their variability, and
- 2) highlight the cognitive-linguistic peculiarities of idiomatic meaning represented through usual and occasional transformations of idiomatic expressions in discourse.

Discussion

The problem of idiomaticity is associated with word-play, synthetic creativity, imagery and uniqueness. The notion of idiomatic creativity is broader than the notion of idiomatic variability. In this paper, I

differentiate between the terms variability of idioms and idiom variation and occasional and traditional variants of idiomatic expressions. Play on words is understood to be the play on idiomatic expression: the use of certain modes of transformation of the formal and semantic sides of idioms in order to engage an emotional impact on the addressee and create an aesthetic effect through linguistic improvisation (Shakhovskiy 2008). Idiomatic creativity is governed by general cognitive processes underlying linguistic and non-linguistic processing. In this sense, the phenomenon of idiomatic creativity reflects the most general cognitive abilities and principles that determine mental processes. In other words, idiomatic creativity mirrors the mental processes that reveal basic knowledge about and abilities of information processing in the brain.

Recent investigations in the field of phraseology have shown a high degree of semantic and formal flexibility in idioms. A cognitive approach to idiomatic creativity uncovers the mental basis for the idiomatic conceptualization of objective reality, singling out both its typicality and peculiarity and showing that the idiomaticity of consciousness and language are based on the ability to structure, construct, use and create conceptual modes of meaning transformation and create imagery.

Idioms are formed by semantic transformation of the literal meaning of free word groups for the denotation of abstract concepts (Cunin 1996) and, in that sense, are semantically and structurally complex constructions that are genuinely creative.

In terms of creativity, idiomatic expressions obtain variability allowing their use for the concrete aim of communication. The degree of idiom variability in discourse depends on the ability of the language user to understand and perceive the inner creativity of the idiom. The inner creativity of an idiom based on conceptual metaphors makes its meaning transparent and analyzable. A cognitive approach to idiomatic semantics defines idioms as complex mental-lingual structures, with varying inner structures connected to types of meaning transformation (Langlotz 2006). The lexical compositeness of idioms offers a basis for explanation of their morpho-syntactic variability.

A cognitive approach helps to delimit systematic and occasional idiomatic variability. In speaking of idiomatic variability, it is necessary to touch upon the problem of stability of idioms, within the boundaries of which, phraseological borders are defined. Idiomatic stability is the kind of invariance peculiar to different aspects of phraseological units, stipulating their recurrence in a given form and their identity under all systematic and occasional transformations (Cunin 1996). This definition underlines the possibility of a systematic transformation that does not lead to the

destruction of the idiom's meaning and structure due to the existence of its stable invariance, which keeps its inherent characteristics unchangeable. Admitting the existence of the invariant also contributes to singling out different degrees of stability: from a maximal degree which allows no systematic transformation to a minimal degree which leads to a dephraseologization of the idiomatic expression. A.V. Cunin points to four main criteria for an idiom's stability, allowing its reproduction in a given form: stability of use (institutionalization); semantic transference of meaning (metaphorization); lexical compositeness; the lack of a general structural-semantic model of a free word group. These markers of stability form the minimal phraseological invariant in form and meaning (Cunin 1996).

Systematic variants of idiomatic expressions are the result of their compositeness; morphological transformations, like changes in the form of the components or changes in the order of idiomatic components, also play their part. They do not bring about any semantic changes and reveal the abilities of usual idiomatic creativity. For example:

To put one's foot in it

'Who's a bigger gambler than you? You gambled and won against Matisak in New Orleans, and you did the same with Tauman in the Caymans. Take it or live what?' Then he wondered if she had meant Parry and paradise, feeling a bit awkward at putting his foot in it.

'Gambling, gambling, and this Mecca for gamblers and people who crave to throw their fortunes, big and small, down the most extravagant 'come on' toilet the world and history has ever seen—that's what I'm talking about.' (Robert W. Walker, *Extreme Instinct*);

To pull smb's leg

As she held the receiver in one hand, she worked a pair of panties beneath the robe and up her legs. She then thought of J. T., who was on the floor above. She dialed his room, telling him to get out, that there was a fire on the seventeenth floor. He thought she was pulling his leg until she screamed, 'Goddamn it, J. T., move!' With that, she slammed down the receiver. (Robert W. Walker, *Extreme Instinct*);

To shoot off one's mouth

She turned to J. T. and muttered, 'Damn it. I ought to've known better than to shoot off my mouth.' Jessica paced in the tight apartment room and reproached herself. (Robert W. Walker, *Extreme Instinct*);

To have one's hands full

'Do you want me out there with you, Jess?' he again asked in a tone making it clear that he was prepared to take a jet the moment he got off the phone, if she so much as hinted her wish for him to do so.

'No, Eriq. I know you've got your hands quite full enough as it is with that awful child molester/killer where you are.' (Robert W. Walker, *Extreme Instinct*);

To grasp at straws

She desperately held on to her calm and resolved to learn more about the Phantom, this creature behind the awful string of fire murders. She recalled the calmness of the actress who'd played her, and grasping at straws, she pretended to be that actress (Robert W. Walker, *Extreme Instinct*).

In these examples, changes in the form of the verb, inclusion of the possessive pronoun and intensifiers of meaning like *quite* and *others*, which employ the possibilities of lexical compositeness, do not violate idiomatic structure and semantic integrity.

Lexical variants, allowing lexical variability of the components of an idiom may also be systematic, in cases where:

- 1) lexemes belong to the same synonymic or thematic group, or in cases when the components are semantically close but not synonymic, with words sharing the same sememe. For example, the idiom *as soft as down* (*silk or velvet*);
- 2) the components are connected to each other by hyponymic relations as in *smell* (*stink*) *to high heaven*;
- 3) components are not connected semantically: *cool* (*kick*) *one's heels*; *closed* (*sealed*) *book*; *bear* (*give, lend*) *a hand*; *bold* (*brave*) *as a lion*; (*as*) *free as a bird* (*as air, as the wind*) etc.

Analyzing different idiom transformations, A.V. Cunin singles out the different types of transformational dependence of the components that do not break the integrity of the idiom, as they are systematic changes of words and word groups in a language (Cunin 1996).

Psycholinguistic and linguistic investigation has shown, that in the mental lexicon, idiomatic expressions obtain the status of linguistic units because their idiomatic meaning becomes perceivable as soon as the listener comes across the key word—the most significant component of an idiom. Moreover, psycholinguistic experiments have proven that idiomatic expressions may be divided into their constituents, influencing their processing and syntactic flexibility and also showing that a number of

idioms obtain a motivated semantic structure. As an independent unit in the cognitive network, an idiom in the mental lexicon can undergo different transformations and processing, both at the level of its components and at the level of its integral meaning. In those cases, when the compositional structure of the expression loses the ability to activate its components, it is referred to as unanalyzable or vague. A. Langlotz considers that the cognitive-linguistic approach to reinterpretation of the compositeness of idioms contributes to understanding why idioms obtain their phrase characteristics despite the fact that they function as autonomous linguistic patterns (Langlotz 2006). The cognitive-linguistic approach to the compositeness of idioms goes hand in hand with the psycholinguistic configuration hypothesis, underlining the importance of the meanings of idiomatic constituents in the activation of idiomatic meaning and their role in its processing.

C. Cacciari & P. Tabossi point out that the integral idiomatic activation set is broader than the sum of its parts—to cognitively unfold this complex configuration it is necessary to recognize and activate the keys. Manifestation of these cognitive processes may be observed in cases of occasional transformation of idioms, such as inclusion, breaking apart, playing on the literal meaning of one of the components of an idiom creating a double actualization of meanings and substitution of one of the components of an idiom. Such occasional transformations reveal modes of word-play in the form and meaning of an idiom.

Inclusion is the process of inserting words, free word groups or other idioms into the idiomatic structure in a given speech act. Occasionally, inserted elements enlarge the structure and lexical composition of the idiom and realize the ability of some components to enter into syntactic relations with different variable elements:

To be under smb's wing (under the wing of smb)

*'You're very diplomatic. I mean to say, is there concern about her expertise? She's relatively young, after all. Geographic move, uprooting. New faces, new staffing, new problems. And up here, she won't be so directly under Bob Garvin's, ah, wing.' (Michael Crichton, *Disclosure*);*

To cloud the waters

'Yet my father's argument, which seemed so lucid to Paul and me, clouded the academic waters. My father hardly lived long enough to brave the teapot tempest he stirred up in the little world of Hypnerotomachia scholarship, but it nearly undid him. Almost all of my father's colleagues rejected the work; Vincent Taft went out of his way to defame it. By then, the arguments in favor of the Venetian Colonna had become so entrenched that, when my father failed to address one or two of them in his brief

appendix, the whole work was discredited' (Ian Caldwell and Dustin Thomason, *The Rule of Four*).

These examples show that in cases of inclusion, the integral idiomatic meaning remains the same, but the function of the idiomatic expression in discourse undergoes some changes—an expressive function is added to its purely nominative function. From the cognitive point of view, this is connected to the concretization of the source domain partially leading to an effect of double actualization of the direct and transferred meanings of an idiom.

Thanks to the compositeness of idioms, an idiomatic expression may occasionally be violated by a word, a free word group or a different graphical means. The components of an idiomatic expression may occasionally change places producing different stylistic effects. The following examples show that such transformations are not incorporated into the structure of the idiom, do not become systematic and do not change the metaphorical image of an idiom:

A little fish in a big pond

'Just some old college records from the bank's personnel office. Academically, Oliver's grades were good, but not great...'

'Little fish, big pond... new level of competition...'

'... but according to his résumé, he was working two different jobs at the time, one of them his own business. He sold T-shirts one semester, set up limo rides another, even had his own moving business at the end of each year. You know the type.' (Brad Meltzer, *The Millionaires*);

To skate on (over) thin ice

It was thin ice here ... Captain Wise? However, seemed to skate over it easily enough (N. Blake, *ERPD*).

Cases where the idiomatic structure is broken off or its components transposed are not met as frequently as those using inclusion.

Another case of the occasional variability of idioms based on the principle of compositeness is that of the substitution of the component or components of an idiom:

To put all eggs in one basket

Charlie kisses the picture of himself. 'Mmmmm, mmmm—this baby's gold...'

'But it ain't foolproof,' Oz warns in full Hoboken accent. 'Like I tell everyone, don't put all your eggs on the ID. It may get you on the plane... and maybe into a motel... but it only gets you so far...' (Brad Meltzer, *The Millionaires*).

The examples above prove that the transformation of idioms in discourse does not violate their fundamental idiomatic properties: stability, semantic integrity and compositeness.

As to their semantic structure, idioms are described as transferred signs, this suggests that in their diachronic development idioms appeared as creative metaphors, metonymies, blends and stereotypes that afterward acquired the characteristics of institutionalized and lexicalized linguistic units.

Different idiomatic expressions reveal different correlations between their idiomatic and literal meanings. Idioms display different semantic configurations which are spread between two poles: a) fully conventionalized but transparent models of semantic shift and b) homonymous models, in which the correlation between the literal and idiomatic meaning is fully worn out.

When we deal with double conceptualization, the literal scene acts as a mental background—a conceptual standard—against which the transferred conceptualization is formed (Langacker 1993). The creation of such complex scenes is actively used in word-play on the literal meaning of the component of an idiom or utilizing the whole literal combination of words and bringing out an effect of double actualization of the idiomatic meaning. This can be seen in the following examples of actualization of fully motivated idioms:

To go the whole hog

Even if he wanted to go the whole hog, there's no hog, only a few strips of bacon (ERPD);

Before you could say Jack Robinson

'I don't want to say Jack Robinson. And I am not going to be ordered out of my kitchen' (ERPD);

To earn one's bread and butter

'One manages to earn one's bread and butter—as usual he could not keep it up, and he winked—and a little piece of cake' (ERPD).

The words *and a little piece of cake* make the meaning of the idiom literal in the idiomatic context and contribute to the creation of humorous effect in the discourse. A.V. Cunin called such a device 'the device of double actualization' (Cunin 1996)—based on playing with the idiomatic and literal meanings of an expression.

According to the cognitive theory of metaphor, the recognition of motivation is launched by the cognitive ability to reconstruct cognitive links of similarity on which the semantic transference is based; the user of

the language can construct correspondences of concept or image between the two meanings. The expression becomes fully motivated when the conceptual representation of the literal scene is constructed. That is why full motivation depends on a grammatically and semantically correct literal meaning. The variability of idioms and their potential ability for transformation may be revealed through analysis of cognitive models leading to the formation of different types of idiomatic transparency.

These types correspond to different idiomatic models activated in natural discourse. These differences in idiomatic transparency switch on different functions and forms of variability: the higher the lexicalization of an idiom, the lower its variability. From the cognitive point of view, the poorer the conceptual structure of an idiom, the more limited is its variable potential. The cognitive function of metaphor implies three macro-functions: the function of conceptualization, the function of concretization and the function of reconceptualization. These functions realize themselves by application of the experiential conceptual units of the source domain onto abstract units of the target domain—metonymies and stereotypes behave in the same way. The literal meaning of an idiom highlights a concrete scene which acts as a model for a conceptually more abstract scenario. Idioms do not only describe but comment on events, processes and people, both positively and negatively. Consequently, idiomatic expressions function as coded cognitive micro-models, making a great number of abstract target scenes more concrete and highly evaluated (Polyakova 2013). The functional variability of idioms depends on the semantic quality of the target scene and the quality of the connection between the literal scene and the target scene.

Play on words involves a kind of a clash between systematic transformations of an idiom with concrete actualization and realization of certain pragmatic aims. In some cases, this play on the variability of idioms may be aimed at changes in its institutionalization; in other cases, at the creation of new senses or concretization of the source scene.

A special case of playing on the form and meaning of idiomatic expressions is marked in cases where shortening of proverbs results in a mental representation of a whole unit. For example:

Birds of a feather flock together

'We had a big outdoor party at the house at Christmastime and invited her. This was when she said again that she was going to interview Claude. She was so nosy, it was unbelievable. She was snooping around everywhere.' Jazzy laughed. *'Inside and out. She was even wandering through our woods, taking pictures. I put glass marbles in Claude's medicine cabinet because I'd heard how meddling people can be at parties. Well, wouldn't*

you know, it was Dorinda who used the bathroom at the end of the hall in the master bedroom. She opened the cabinet, the marbles went rolling, and they broke all over the bathroom floor. I was nearby and got the broom. She claimed she had a headache and was looking for aspirin.'
It sounds like Dorinda and Jazzy were birds of a feather, Regan thought.
'That's when I knew she was trouble,' Jazzy continued (Carol H. Clark, Burned);

Speak (talk) of the Devil and he is sure to appear

'Adso,' William said, 'you will have observed that here the most interesting things happen at night. They die at night, they wander about the scriptorium at night, women are brought at night into the abbey... We have a daytime abbey and a nighttime abbey, and the nighttime one seems, unhappily, the more interesting. So, every person who roams about at night interests us, including, for example, the man you saw last night with the girl. Perhaps the business of the girl does not have anything to do with the poisonings, and perhaps it has. In any case, I have my ideas about last night's man, and he must be one who knows other things about the nocturnal life of this holy place. And, speak of the Devil, here he is, coming this way.' (Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*);

Every cloud has a silver lining

'May be there was a silver lining in all of this misery and desolation. Not likely, but maybe. Arnold Griner knew he had exclusive rights to his own story when this terrible mess was all over. And you know what else? He wouldn't settle for just a TV movie. He was going to try to serialize the whole thing in his column, and then sell it as a prestige project at one of the studios. Hollywood Under Siege? The War Against the Stars? Bad titles. That was the concept, anyway.' (James Patterson, *Mary, Mary*);

The final straw

*The party conference had removed the power of selection of the leaders from Members of Parliament; for many this was the final straw, and several Labour MPs told Jenkins they were ready to defect (Shirley Conran, *Savages*);*

Good fences make good neighbors

*The fact is, Paul has always kept secrets from us. For years he hid the truth about his childhood, the details of his parochial school nightmare. Now he's been hiding the truth about his relationship with Taft. Close as he and I are, there's a certain distance now, a feeling that while we have a lot in common, good fences still make good neighbors. Leonardo wrote that a painter should begin every canvas with a wash of black, because all things in nature are dark except where exposed by the light (Ian Caldwell, *The Rule of Four*);*

Some people cannot see the wood for the trees

'Timing is everything.' Annie knew her pronouncement wasn't on a par with Charlie Chan's observations in the novels by Earl Derr Biggers. Her two favorites were 'The deer should not play with the tiger,' from Charlie Chan Carries On, and 'The man who is about to cross a stream should not revile the crocodile's mother,' from The Black Camel. But she felt a glimmer of excitement. Timing . . . Maybe her subconscious was clicking merrily ahead while she and Max were looking for trees in the forest. Or not seeing the forest for the trees. Whatever . . . 'Timing!' she exclaimed. 'Why did Jeremiah die ~~that~~ particular weekend?' (Carolyn Hart, *Death of the Party*);

The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence (hill)

It didn't take a rocket scientist to figure out that Amanda and Frank were having problems. She hadn't seen much of Frank in recent years, since Amanda usually came alone, and she did recall that he liked his beer a little too much. Then again, Amanda's own father had been awfully fond of his bourbon, and no marriage was entirely blissful. There'd been years when she could barely stand the sight of Harvey, let alone want to stay married to him. If Amanda had asked, Evelyn would have admitted that, and she also would have reminded her daughter in the same breath that the grass isn't always greener on the other side. What the younger generation didn't understand was that the grass was greenest where it's watered, which meant that both Frank and Amanda had to get out their houses if they wanted to make things better. But Amanda hadn't asked (Nicholas Sparks, *The Best of Me*).

The use of such idioms as *the last (final) straw* and *silver lining*, in reduced forms, has become so frequent that, to some extent, they have formed separate nominative-linguistic units and have obtained a significative function and lost some of their expressiveness. The lexicalization of a shortened form of the proverb, *it is the last straw that broke the camel's back*, to its reduced form, *the last (final) straw*, is shown by its use in an attributive function as a composite attribute to the noun *blow*. Revival of the metaphorical image in the proverb, *the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence (hill)*, is achieved by means of its use in a negative form, transferring the abstract meaning of the proverb to a literal plane.

These examples show that representation of the meaning of shortened proverbs is realized on a top down scale according to the prismatic presentation of idiomatic meaning. Word-play on meaning takes place, not as the result of the representation of the literal scene, but as the result of reconstruction of a whole idiomatic expression in a mental lexicon, without knowledge of which the shortened form is not fully actualized.

Other devices of word-play with the form and meaning of proverbs in speech acts involve the inclusion of different words in the structure, play with the syntactic form of the proverb and substitute lexical components of the proverb with other words. For example, the traditional form of the proverb, *when in Rome do as the Romans do*, in the following, undergoes substitution of the components *Rome* and *Romans* for *Madrid* and *madrilos*:

'We want you to join us,' he interrupted. 'We've invited a few friends. We're going to the Jockey Club, it's quite famous.'

'I've heard of it.'

'I'll pick you up around eight-thirty, and take you home for drinks. Dinner won't be until ten, even ten-thirty, I'm afraid. When in Madrid do as the madrilos. See you later, Nicky.'

'I'm looking forward to it, Peter. Bye for now.' (Barbara Taylor Bradford, *Remember*).

Such a substitution does not lead to cognitive changes in the motivation of the expression, but leads to the concretization of the image and makes a rather conventional proverb more emotive, drawing attention to the existence of national and cultural peculiarities and of the concrete place where the characters are at the moment. The representation of idiomatic meaning in the given context unfolds on a top down scale and the word-play is based, not on the collision of the literal and transferred meanings, but on the concretization of the metaphorical meaning of the proverb.

The following example demonstrates such a play on words based on the substitution of the component *leopard* by *people*:

'They're not innocent,' Joey insisted. 'If they were, they wouldn't be running. But for Oliver to leave his happy little comfort zone... there's clearly something else we're not seeing. People don't change their spots without a damn good reason.' (Brad Meltzer, *The Millionaires*).

Commonly, this proverb means that people can not change their character, as a leopard born with spots on its skin can not get rid of them, and so a spoiled person can not change his nature. The proverb implies that though a man is not born spoiled, in the course of his life he can degrade, become dissipated and plunge into sin—to improve him would be as useless as a leopard trying to change the colour of its skin. By contextual substitution of the noun component in its symbolic meaning by the word in its direct meaning, and by the expansion of the proverb, its

meaning acquires additional senses that, under some circumstances, people can change their character.

The inclusion of the component, *still*, in the structure of the proverb *good fences make good neighbors*, plays on the meaning of the proverb and the idea that to keep friendly relations one should not be too nosy and curious about one's friends' affairs. The fence between the houses of the neighbours is not a physical border, but a reminder that good neighbours should not be too intrusive. The component, *still*, implies the idea that privacy remains of value in society.

Syntagmatic transformation of the proverb *One man sows and another reaps*, meaning that one person does all the work while another reaps the benefit of it, may be observed in the following example:

'So what do you think of Monkshill, eh?' he demanded, and did not wait for an answer. 'It is a fine house, is it not? Do you know the architect? Sir John Soane himself, the very man who designed the Bank of England. Mind you, Soane don't come cheap, and didn't come cheap even then, thirty-odd years ago. And no expense was spared in the building. Not that I had to pay for that, sir, not a brass farthing. Reap what others sow: it is a fine motto in life, young man, mark it well: and remember that the man with ready money is king.' (Andrew Taylor, *The American Boy*).

Concretization of the idiomatic meaning of this proverb is revealed in the context that directly points at getting profit without investing any money or doing something to this end, moreover, making such behaviour the motto of life.

A very interesting word-play is observed in the contextual use of the proverb *the proof of the pudding is in the eating*:

Still, the proof was always in the pudding—and right now, the pudding looked like it was about to be sent to London, England. Using the same technology he knew Shep had, he called up Martin Duckworth's account and scanned the column marked Current Activity. The last entry—Balance of Account to C.M.W. Walsh Bank—was still marked Pending. It wasn't going to be long now. Some small irritation, something that suddenly made jungle life intolerable and courage snap. Demoralized, they had all cracked in different ways during that first week of December (Brad Meltzer, *The Millionaires*).

The transformation of the proverb plays on the allusive meaning of the noun component *pudding*, used in the symbolic meaning of 'something valuable, necessary for fulfilling some action.' In this context, it is not

only the variability of idiomatic meaning, but also the play on the literal meaning of the component of the proverb that is actualized.

It is necessary to mention that the inclusion of the component *proverbial* into the structure of proverbs has become so frequent that it loses its playful novelty and gains the feature of conventionality. Nevertheless, even in these cases the top down representation of idiomatic meaning, demanding reconstruction of the whole meaning of the idiom, is realized:

The proverbial bad penny

Neither man had expected to find him alive. They both solemnly shook hands with him.

'I'm happy to see you, Colonel,' said Pembroke-Smythe cheerfully. 'I thought you were buried under the wall.'

'I was for a time.' Levant nodded at Pitt and smiled. 'I see you're still with us, Mr. Pitt.'

'The proverbial bad penny.'

Levant's face took on a saddened look as he saw the pitifully few men of his force that moved forward to surround and greet him. 'They whittled us down somewhat.' (Clive Cussler, *Sahara*).

Though the American idiom *to beat about (around) the bush* is the unmotivated unit, the meaning of which is not deduced from the meaning of its components, the possibility of the inclusion of the component *this* leads to word-play based, not on the whole meaning of the unit, but on the use of the component *bush* in its literal meaning—this decomposes and motivates the idiom:

To beat about the bush

Arthur hoped that by tomorrow the telephone would be back in service. As soon as they'd returned to Paradise Bay, Arthur had tried to phone the Sydney office but the local line was down. They'd been on Paui four days, and during that time the line had been out of action twice! Still, Arthur had done what he'd come to do. Ed had been wrong, the President hadn't procrastinated that morning; he'd briskly said, 'Let us not go beating about this bush, Mr. Graham. Let us conduct our business in the Western way, quick as you like, with speed.' (Shirley Conran, *Savages*).

The play on the motivated idiomatic expression *to put oneself in smb's shoes* is provided by its compositeness, which allows inclusion of a component denoting the size of shoes and creates humorous effect by playing on the fully transferred idiomatic meaning:

*Liana sat on the edge of the double bed and stroked her hand over the bedspread where Matthew had slept. She wasn't superstitious. She didn't believe that people who loved each other could send through time and space. But for a moment she tried to clear her mind and put herself in her son's size-ten shoes (Shirley Conran, *Savages*).*

By means of wordplay on the direct and transferred meanings of the idiom and its component, the peculiarity of the formation of the obscure idiomatic meaning, based on association with *a sitting duck*—'easy game,' is actualized (am. idiom *a sitting duck*—easy game):

*Annie was quite sure that Britt despised Jeremiah Addison. Yet now she recalled him as a great man with utter conviction in her voice. Annie was impressed. If she and Max carried off their roles as well, the investigation should be duck soup. Duck soup sounded rather greasy and not at all appetizing. Why should boiling a duck be synonymous with ease? Annie pictured the limp carcass of a duck in a cauldron that firmly reined in her mind. It was all right to emulate Laurel's thought processes to hone intuitiveness but it should not become a habit (Mary H. Clark, *Where Are You Now*).*

Substitution of the component *nut* for *field* in the fully motivated idiom *a hard (tough) nut to crack* makes the literal scene more concrete in the following context:

*'I'm really delighted for you, Alice,' Ryan said sincerely. 'I have friends in the publishing world and it's a tough field to crack. Little as I know about *Everyone* magazine, I do know it's one of the most successful ones. I see it everywhere.'* (Mary H. Clark, *The Shadow of Your Smile*).

The same can be said about the play on the idiom *to ring a bell* in the following:

Gershwin dropped it on the table, put a dollar beside his milk glass, and walked out. Leaphorn picked up the paper and unfolded it. Three names, each followed by a brief description. The first two, Buddy Baker and George Ironhand, meant nothing to him. He stared at the last one. Everett Jorie. That rang a faint bell (Readers Digest Select Edition VII).

The attribute *faint*, defining the component *bell*, revives the image of the transferred meaning of the idiom.

Conclusion

These examples of transformations of form and meaning in idiomatic expressions show that play on words fulfills expressive and representative functions, and contributes to the creation of humorous effect, revealing a critical attitude to the object. The main reason for the existence of play on words transforming idiomatic expressions is the desire to reflect, express and portray a constantly changing reality by means of a linguistic sign, systematic usage of which is limited. Meaning strives to go beyond the boundaries given by language and that is why sometimes it is expressed in the violation of these rules. Once some of these violations are codified they become rules themselves, but at a higher level of the language system (Savitskiy 2006), where, not just strictly defined meanings, but rules of semantic variability exist (Nikitin 1974).

Transformations in the form of idioms are not semantically neutral; they influence the content of the idiom, making it either more obscure or more concrete. Unlike structural transformations, semantic variations lead to occasional changes in meaning, playing with the semantic potential of an idiom: this involves playing with idiomatic and literal meanings directed towards different referents.

Analysis of occasional transformations in idiomatic expressions, playing with their form and meaning, shows that the basic fundamental features of idioms, such as compositeness, frozenness and the transference of meaning, are not violated but, on the contrary, become more vivid—all these transformations take place within the boundaries of idiomatic stability and the institutionalization of idioms, which are accepted by members of a linguo-cultural community. Deviations in idiomatic motivation include different forms of functioning and the variability of idiomatic expressions: the higher the lexicalization of an idiom, the lower its variability. From the cognitive point of view, we can say that the poorer the conceptual structure of an idiom, the more restricted is its potential for transformations.

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TEACHING FOREIGN SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE TO STUDENTS AT TECHNICAL UNIVERSITIES

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The process of globalization has contributed to the expansion of international scientific contacts and helped define the role of English as the language of international communication. Scientists face the urge to present the results of their scientific research, mainly realized through publication of their research projects, both in their own country and abroad. Modern universities are centres of scientific development and the source of brainpower. However, a lot of scientists, especially beginners, are unaware of speech strategies typical of scientific English speech. This can result in losing the essence of a text in its interpretation. As such, there is a need to teach foreign scientific discourse at technical university level.

The notion of scientific discourse, scientific style, scientific speech and text are considered by R.S. Alikaev, R.A. Budagov, N.V. Danilevskaya, M.N. Kozhina, M.P. Kotiurova and O.D. Mitrophanova. Approaches to teaching written academic discourse are presented in the work of L. Hamp-Lyons, B. Heasley, A. M. Johns, R.R. Jordan, I. Leki, A. Pincas, T. Silva and R. Weissberg.

Communication between members of the scientific community is determined by scientific discourse and this type of discourse implies that all participants in communication are equal in their search for a scientific truth, this is emphasized by the use of 'colleague' as common term of address.

The peculiarity of this discourse is specified by the nature of scientific activity. One of the missions of scientists is the popularization of science and its presentation to all members of society. Besides presenting the results of research, scientists teach young specialists and prepare the next generation of researchers. Therefore, the clients of scientific research can range from people who do not conduct research but study popular scientific literature to students and young scientists who study at universities or laboratories and research institutes (Karasik 2000; Krotkov 2010).

Effective scientific intercourse plays a significant role in the process of young scientists' socialization, the efficiency of their activity and their place in the scientific community. As scientific communication has distinctive features, common extra-linguistic properties of scientific style (seen in the scientific contents of texts, generalization, abstractness of presentation, logicity, precision, the possibility of proving theories, objectivity of statements and factual density) and linguistic features (Kotiurova & Bazhenova 2008), teaching scientific communication should be an important part of specialist science education (Salnaya 2011; Salnaya 2012).

Students at technical university should clearly understand the regular principles of scientific discourse, including: objectivity, scientific concepts, the empirical principles of study, logicity, the methodological basis for research, validation of results, creativity and criticism, as well as strategies determined by:

“the specific objectives of scientific intercourse:

- to identify the problem and distinguish the object of study,
- to analyze the background of the problem,
- to set up a hypothesis and state the aim of the research,
- to substantiate the choice of methods and material of research,
- to design a theoretical model of the subject of investigation,
- to present the results of observation and experiment,
- to comment on and discuss the results of research,
- to give expert judgment on the conducted research,
- to determine the area of practical application of the results,
- to present the results in a form which is comprehensible both for specialists and non-specialists.”¹

Studying the peculiarities of genres of scientific discourse, like articles, reviews, abstracts, monographs, theses and scientific reports, is especially important in teaching scientific communication.

The teaching of scientific discourse at the department of foreign languages of the Southern Federal University is delivered through the course ‘English for Scientific Purposes,’ following the course ‘English for Professional Communication.’

It should be noted that the course involves reading a considerable amount of texts related to the sphere of postgraduates' scientific interests. It is expected that students will analyze and present for discussion about 130–150 thousand symbols of scientific texts on the problem of their

¹ Karasik, V.I. O tipahdiskursa, 5

master's thesis. We believe that it is effective, from the point of view of studying the norms of scientific English speech, to include a system of tasks on the interpretation of scientific information from English into Russian and from Russian into English during this course.

Alongside studying 'English for Scientific Purposes,' a variety of activities are carried out: postgraduates are familiarized with the principles of writing abstracts and articles and they present their reports in English at scientific conferences, including annual student conferences held at the Southern Federal University and abroad. Round-table discussions, mini-conferences and brainstorming sessions are considered to be especially effective forms of study: they allow the creation of situations close to real scientific communication so that postgraduates can practice realizing strategies of scientific discourse.

In general, the process of study can be divided into the following stages: first, after becoming familiarized with the notion of scientific discourse and its genres, postgraduates analyze authentic samples of scientific discourse while reading scientific literature; then they learn to write abstracts and present the material they have read for discussion, after which they create their own scientific texts in English. The final stage of study involves postgraduates taking part in real written and oral scientific communication in English.

Conclusion

Clear understanding of scientific discourse promotes successful communication among members of the scientific community. The specific features of scientific discourse should be intentionally studied by postgraduates. Studying scientific discourse in the course 'English for Scientific Purposes,' as an integral part of the postgraduate syllabus, offers a means to self-development and socialization for postgraduates and young scientists.

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PRECEDENT PHENOMENA IN THE SPEECH COMMUNICATION OF MODERN YOUTH

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The study of precedent phenomena, beginning in the fields of psycholinguistics and inter-cultural communication, is currently being carried out in the field of linguistics by researchers, including G.G. Sergeyev (2003), S.V. Bannikova (2004), A.A. Adzinova (2007) and A.V. Kulazhenko (2011).

Clarifying the notion of culturally significant precedent phenomena, researchers classify them by type: precedent names, precedent statements, precedent situations and precedent texts.

A precedent name in scientific papers is an individual name or one that is associated with a well-known (precedent) text or situation. A precedent or case name emerges as a complex character, an appeal to which in a speech occurs through a set of distinctive features and attributes (Krasnyh 1998). A precedent statement is a reproducible product of speech activity, a complete and self-contained unit, a complex symbol and with the sum of the components generally not equal to its meaning:

“Precedent situation is a ‘certain standard,’ ‘ideal’ situation, which is characterized by a certain set of connotations, the distinctive features of which are included in the cognitive basis ...”¹

Quotations and the ‘words of others,’ references to the source text in ‘one’s own’ text, artwork, etc. all refer to an original text (the source of borrowing), in other words—the precedent text. This term was introduced by Y.N. Karaulov. A precedent text is one that is:

“1) relevant to a particular person in the cognitive and emotional relationship; 2) having a supra-character, i.e. well-known in the

¹ Op. by: Zakharenko, I.V., Krasnykh, V.V., Gudkov, D.B. & Bagaeva, D.V. Precedentnoe vyskazyvanie i precedentnoe imja kaksimvolny precedentnyh fenomenov, 82.

surroundings of the individual, including its predecessors and contemporaries; 3) is accessed repeatedly in the discourse of the linguistic personality.”²

Several researchers have found that the term ‘text’ is interpreted by scientists too widely and the term precedent phenomenon provides a more suitable term for this concept (Zakharenko, Krasnyh, Gudkov & Bagaeva 1997).

According to E.A. Zemskaya, a text may be included in another text unchanged (citation) and transformed (*kvazitsitatsiya*), particularly if it is well-known to a wide circle of people and has the quality of repeatability in different texts (Zemskaya 1996).

Sources of precedent phenomena include: works of classic and contemporary literature, aphorisms, advertising texts and slogans, proverbs, riddles, rhymes, folklore, jokes, films and cartoons, songs and music.

The material for our study was a selective decryption of a video reality show *Dom-2* (episodes: February-March 2006; *Dom-2 Lite* July-August 2012), made by the author of this article (the show began broadcasting on May 11, 2004 (TNT) and continues). We transcribed the oral speech of the heroes of the television project and used fixed graphical material for the study of precedent phenomena in the speech communication of contestants. Analyzing this material, the following data were obtained:

1) Literary works:

a) Folklore (fairy-tale characters): *Аладдин (Aladdin)*, *Снежная королева (the Snow Queen)*, *Иван-дурак (Ivan the Fool)*, *Красная Шапочка (Red Riding Hood)*, *Серый Волк (the Grey Wolf)*.

Ksenia Borodina: *Ты с корзиной, ты сегодня в образе Красной Шапочки? Ищешь своего Серого Волка? (You're with the basket; you're now the image of Little Red Riding Hood? Looking for your Grey Wolf?)*). A Russian national precedent phenomenon is presented in the speech of the participant of the reality show *Dom-2*, Dasha Pynzar: *Венц, это вот дубинушка такая вот. Венц—это просто Венц. Русский Иван-дурак. (Ventz—Dubinushka/Ventz—it's just Ventz. The Russian Ivan the Fool)*.

Good humor, compassion, seeming naïvety and good luck are the hallmarks of acquiring the Russian folklore precedent name Ivan the Fool. In this example, it acquires additional contextual information. The synonym *Dubinushka* highlights characteristics such as: a lack of thought, limitations, obstinacy and stupidity inherent in the second component of

² Karaulov, J.N. *Russkij jazyk i jazykovaja lichnost'*, 216.

the name, and Dasha Pynzar ascribes this to Ventseslav Vengrzhankovskiy to disapprove of his decision to vote against his wife, Katya Tokareva, who had to leave the reality show;

b) Foreign and Russian classical literature (characters and quotations): *Квазимодо (Quasimodo)*, *Том Сойер (Tom Sawyer)*, *Ганнибал (Hannibal (Lecter))*.

Ksenia Sobchak in conversation with the male participants reminds them: *Краткость—сестра таланта (Brevity—the soul of wit)* (From a letter dated April 11, 1889 by Anton Chekhov (1860-1904) to his brother Alexander (<http://dic.academic.ru>));

c) Poetry, works in verse. Another participant of the reality show Dom-2, Dmitry Volzhskiy, paraphrases the first line of a popular romance of from the 1920s, B.A. Prozorovskiy, and the verses of V. Lenski, *Come, I forgive you everything* (as quoted in a modified form in the Russian movie *12 Стул'ев (12 Chairs)*—it is probably known to the young man from this source). In his performance, it reads as follows: *Останься, я все прощу (Stay, I forgive you everything)*.

У лукоморья дуб зеленый (On a Seashore far a Green Oak Towers)—a masterpiece of the great Russian writer A.S. Pushkin (from the poem *Ruslan and Lyudmila*). According to Vika Malysheva, it is her favorite piece.

c) Movies, entertainment and popular quotations from them: *Бумер-2 (Bumer-2)*, *Семейка Аддамс (The Addams Family)*, the TV project *Голод (Hunger)* and the series *Отчаянные домохозяйки (Desperate Housewives)*.

The lines—*Скандалы, интриги, расследования ... (The scandals, intrigue, investigation ...)*—were used by Vitaliy Slavyanskiy in a joking manner to describe events and discussion of the project. It is rendered in the full version as: *Скандалы, интриги, расследования—показать всё, что скрыто (The scandals, intrigue, investigation, show all that is hidden)* and is a famous phrase of Gleb P'janyh, the presenter of the program Maximum (NTV);

Хочешь большой и чистой любви (If you want a great and pure love) (Формула любви (Formula of Love)).

d) Songs and musical styles relevant to members of today's youth are another source of precedent phenomena: *Крылатые качели (Krylatye Kacheli)*, *Приключения Электроника (Prikljuchenija Jelektronika)*,

Голубая луна (Golubaja Luna), Не вешать нос, гардемарины! (Ne veshat' nos, gardemarinny!), рэн (rap) and понса (pop).

The idiosyncrasy of the former participant of the reality-show Dom-2, Alena Vodonaeva, is characterized by frequent use of words from popular songs, feature films and television commercials. Probably, due to the fact that members of modern youth live in a period of dominant mass culture, precedent phenomena occur frequently and are easy to remember.

For example, wondering about the late arrival of one of the participants to the reality show, (both of them were settled in the VIP-cabin), she said: *А почему он пошел помываться? Это как в рекламе, майка сухая и совсем не пахнет (Why did he go to the bathroom? It's like an advertisement: 'The shirt is dry and does not smell')*. In another situation, being in high spirits, she used lines from popular Russian songs. In order to make sense of the reason for the emotional reaction of his companion, Stepan Men'shchikov continues their conversation using a transformed line from an old Cossack song: *Сердечко девичье забилося, тук, тук, тук (Maiden heart beats, tuk tuk, tuk)*. He also uses modern material to cheer up the young people.

e) Performers and musical groups: *Комбинация (Kombinacija), Звери (Zvery)* and *Майки Джексон (Michael Jackson)*. In youth verbalization: *Ну, прям как группа 'Комбинация!' (Well, just as the band 'Kombinacija!')*. A precedent phenomenon, the name of the band 'Kombinacija' is used (the name of a famous group of the 1990s). The girls, leaving the construction site of the Dom-2 project in a hurry, say goodbye to their leader, Roma Tretyakov, with a joke, using lines from a popular song of the band Zvery: *Рома, извини, но мне надо бежать. Дела, пойми, дела, дела. Рома, извини, у меня самолет ... (Roma, I'm sorry, but I have to run ...)*.

f) Mythology: *стрела Амура (the arrow of Cupid), муза (a muse), зомби (a zombie)*. *Muse* is treated in the dictionary as:

"in Greek mythology the daughter of Zeus and Mnemosyne, the goddess—the patroness of science, poetry, and the arts"³

In the speech of participants on the reality show Dom-2, precedent phenomena based on classical mythology are rare, not always used

³ Sovetskij enciklopedicheskij slovar' / Gl. red. A.M. Prohorov, 844.

consciously and primarily associated with the symbols of love and poetry. The precedent phenomenon *zombie* (a mythical archetypal character of modern mass culture) is more obvious. A cheerful mood and ironic tone is found in the following statement by Roma Tretyakov: *А я хочу чтобы сейчас стали все зомби (Now I want you to become zombies).*

g) Language (proverbs, sayings, idioms): *Сила есть—ума не надо (Sila est'—uma ne nado), первый блин комом (pervyj blin kotom), насильно мил не будешь (nasil'no mil ne budesh'), губа не дура (guba ne dura), показать and где раки зимуют (pokazat', gde raki zimujut).* Ksenia Borodina offers an opinion that there is the reasonable prospect of a successful relationship between two project participants: *Надеюсь, что этот блин не будет комом (I hope that this will not be a lumpy pancake).* A phrase with a transformed precedent phenomenon, *worst-first*, acquires a different content and presents a positive attitude—the capacity for a successful union.

h) History and politics. Analysis of the material allowed us to identify the following statements of participants in the reality show *Dom-2: Лучше действовать самым проверенным способом, как говорил великий Ленин, учиться, учиться и учиться (It is better to act the most proven way, as the great Lenin said, learn, learn and learn).* Despite some inaccuracy in the citing of this phrase, it is identified as belonging to a famous historical figure and associated with Lenin's covenants: *Ну, понимаешь, свобода развращает ((Well, you know, freedom corrupts) Freedom also corrupts, and absolute freedom corrupts absolutely (Gertrude Himmelfarb)). Ну, ты не Станиславский, чтоб верить (Well, you're not Stanislavskiy to believe (He верю! I don't believe it!))*—in reference to K.S. Stanislavsky's famous acting technique. In response, Katia Kolisnichenko sees no need to prove anything to her companion about events during her absence or the details of her relationships with other participants of the reality-show.

Conclusion

We can conclude, on the basis of an analysis of precedent phenomena in the speech communication of participants on the reality show *Dom-2*, that the heroes of the project use allusions, advertising slogans, quotations from popular songs, feature films and TV series, as well as literal or modified reproductions of precedent names, sayings, etc. Members of modern youth seek to express their individuality, intelligence, creativity,

self-expression and life experience with the help of particular linguistic units and verbal texts, transformed quotes and proverbs.

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