

САНКТ-ПЕТЕРБУРГСКИЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ

# СИНЕРГИЯ ЯЗЫКОВ И КУЛЬТУР 2023

## МЕЖДИСЦИПЛИНАРНЫЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

*Сборник статей*



ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО САНКТ-ПЕТЕРБУРГСКОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА

УДК 80; 81; 378  
ББК 81 (81.1; 81.2; 81.21)  
С38

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*Рекомендовано к публикации Научной комиссией  
в области изучения иностранных языков  
Санкт-Петербургского государственного университета*

**Синергия языков и культур 2023: междисциплинарные  
С38 исследования: сборник статей / под ред. С. Ю. Рубцовой  
(отв. ред.). — СПб.: Изд-во С.-Петерб. ун-та, 2024. — 432 с.  
<https://doi.org/10.21638/2782-1943.2023>**

В сборнике представлены последние разработки ученых России и зарубежных стран в исследовании актуальных лингвистических процессов, современной методики преподавания языка и перевода, рассмотрен широкий спектр актуальных вопросов изучения роли перевода в условиях глобализации, широкого информационного обмена, взаимодействия языков и культур. Сборник является отражением позиций современных лингвистов на развитие традиционных проблем языка и межъязыковой коммуникации, звучание которых приобретает сегодня новые тона и оттенки.

Материалы сборника будут полезны всем исследователям в области лингвистики, перевода, межкультурной коммуникации, лингводидактики и методики преподавания иностранных языков для специальных целей, а также всем интересующимся современными тенденциями в этих областях.

УДК 80; 81; 378  
ББК 81 (81.1; 81.2; 81.21)

**Synergy of Languages & Cultures 2023: Interdisciplinary Studies**

Svetlana Rubtsova, Oksana Akay, Elena Bugreeva, Ivan Grigoriev, Elena Rokhlina (eds).

The collection of articles *The Synergy of Languages and Cultures: Interdisciplinary Studies* is a peer-reviewed scholarly publication. The collection includes papers from Russia, China, Kazakhstan, France, and Japan. The collection reflects the position of modern linguists on the development of traditional problems of language and cross-cultural communication, the role of translation in the context of globalization, extensive information exchange, and the interaction of languages and cultures.

The collection may also attract the attention of researchers in intercultural communication, language methodology, particularly the methods of teaching foreign languages for special purposes, and of a wider audience interested in modern trends in these areas.

## CONTENTS

<b>Abakumova O. B., Satchivi R. J. B.</b> PHENOMENON OF HAPPINESS IN PROVERBIAL REPRESENTATION (Based on the data of Russian, English and African proverbs) .....	5
<b>Abramova E. V.</b> IMPLEMENTING EXPLICIT PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES IN AMERICAN POPULAR SCIENCE LITERATURE .....	19
<b>Akay O. M., Rezunenko I. V.</b> CONCEPT OF MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORY OF GENDER BASED ON THE THEORY OF LACUNARITY .....	32
<b>Azkenova Zh. K.</b> CULTURAL UNITS OF TRANSLATION AND TECHNIQUES FOR CREATING A WORLD VIEW .....	40
<b>Boborykina T. A., Kadochnikov D. V., Taylor J. A.</b> “EUGENE ONEGIN”, ECONOMICS, AND ADAM SMITH’S “THEORY OF MORAL SENTIMENTS” .....	54
<b>Baiturina U. K., Essentemirova A. M.</b> “IMAGINARY WORLD” AS AN OBJECT OF SCIENTIFIC REFLEXION .....	66
<b>Bugreeva E. A., Grigoriev I. V.</b> THE PRODUCT APPROACH TO CREATING ONLINE COURSES AT UNIVERSITY .....	78
<b>Golubtsova M. A., Kalugina T. N.</b> INTERFERENCE OF THE TRANSLATOR’S NATIVE LEGAL CULTURE IN HIS/HER CHOICE OF LANGUAGE AND TERMINOLOGY .....	88
<b>Gribova N. N., Schetnev S. I.</b> EXPANDING INDIVIDUAL MENTAL LEXICON WITH THE AID OF AI ALPACA LANGUAGE MODEL IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING .....	100
<b>Grigoriev I. V., Rubtsova S. Yu.</b> THE CONTRASTIVE RHETORIC OF ENGAGEMENT MARKERS IN L1 AND L2 APPLIED LINGUISTICS RESEARCH PAPERS .....	120
<b>Grishaeva E. B.</b> THE PLACE AND ROLE OF ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF AUSTRALIA IN THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY DEVELOPMENT .....	135
<b>Donina O. V., Olefir N. A.</b> HOW TO USE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS AND TEXT MINING METHODS TO ANALYZE POLITICAL TALK SHOWS .....	146
<b>Edeleva J. A., Meshcheryakova A. A., Chateau-Smith C.</b> TOWARDS A GRADIENT SCALE TO DETERMINE COGNATE STATUS OF WORDS IN BILINGUAL NATURAL READING .....	155
<b>Idrissova E. T.</b> SYMBOL STRUCTURE AND ALLEGORY AS OBJECTS OF ETHNO-TRANSLATION .....	164
<b>Ilgova D. A.</b> THE VISUAL STRUCTURE OF THE OLD IRISH POEM “CROS CHRÍST” .....	174
<b>Kolomeitseva T. S.</b> ADVANTAGES AND LIMITATIONS OF APPLYING ALICE VOICE ASSISTANT IN TEACHING RUSSIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE .....	184
<b>Latysheva S. I.</b> MACHINE TRANSLATION AS A MOTIVATION FACTOR AND TESTING TOOL IN THE PROCESS OF TEACHING PHILOLOGY STUDENTS .....	195

<b>Neudachina L. V., Dobrova T. E., Rubtsova S. Yu.</b>	
TRANSLATION TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE POLITICAL MEDIA DISCOURSE .....	207
<b>Olizko N. S., Finogeeva A. A.</b>	
UNIVERSITY MEDIA SPACE AS A MEANS OF AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA .....	216
<b>Razumovskaya V. A.</b>	
ETHNIC TRANSLATION AS A NEW DIRECTION OF ETHNO-CULTURAL ACTIVITY: TASKS AND CHALLENGES.....	229
<b>Ryabova M. Yu.</b>	
ANTIOPHOGRAPHY AS A GAME MODE OF VIRTUAL COMMUNICATION... 244	
<b>Shurlina O. V.</b>	
WEBSITE TRANSLATION AND LOCALISATION: MYTHS AND REALITY .....	253
<b>Shustrova E. V., Koptyaeva N. N.</b>	
EXPLORING CRIMINAL METAPHOR IN MASS MEDIA DISCOURSE: SEMANTICS, SEMIOTICS AND POLYCODE COMPETENCE .....	262
<b>Silanteva V. G.</b>	
THE CONCEPT OF BOYHOOD IN NORTH-AMERICAN MASS FICTION OF LATE 19 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY.....	278
<b>Smerdova C. A.</b>	
DIDACTIC PROSPECTS OF NON-REFERENTIAL USE OF NAMES IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING .....	293
<b>Sotnikova E. S.</b>	
PUBLIC ADVERTISING DISCOURSE SEMANTICS.....	301
<b>Stepanov E. S.</b>	
LEXICAL AND SEMANTIC CONSTRAINS AND AFFORDANCES OF SMELL NOMINATION AND DESCRIPTION IN RUSSIAN AND GERMAN LANGUAGES IN PERFUME DISCOURSE.....	313
<b>Svetlova O. Y., Sysolyatina O. N.</b>	
THE VALUE OF THE LEXICAL BACKGROUND IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE LEARNING .....	325
<b>Tretyakova T. P., Yakovleva M. S.</b>	
COGNITIVE AND DISCURSIVE GROUNDS FOR IDENTIFYING CHARMS AS ONE OF THE TYPES OF OLD ENGLISH MEDICAL TEXT .....	335
<b>Tsatsura E. A.</b>	
CONCEPT “WOMAN” IN THE 21 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY NEOLIBERAL ANGLO-AMERICAN DISCOURSE .....	345
<b>Tsytsarkina N. N., Kuznetsov D. A.</b>	
“CONFLICT INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS” FRAMES IN CONFLICT DISCOURSE OF FANTASY GENRE .....	363
<b>Udinskaya A. G.</b>	
PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN ENGLISH FICTION: GRAMMAR, STYLISTICS, PRAGMATICS.....	375
<b>Urazayeva K. B.</b>	
CULTURAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITY: NATIONAL SELF-IDENTITY AND TRANSLATION STRATEGIES.....	385
<b>Yerik G.</b>	
STATISTICAL ANALYSIS AND WAYS TO ACHIEVE TRANSLATION AUTHENTICITY (Kazakh translation of A. Pushkin’s fairy tale).....	395
<b>Zhang Tianyuan, Shanarina M. A.</b>	
TRANSLATION OF SLANG ELEMENTS IN THE NOVEL “FOOD BLOCK” BY A. IVANOV FROM RUSSIAN INTO CHINESE .....	409
Contributors.....	425

**PHENOMENON OF HAPPINESS IN  
PROVERBIAL REPRESENTATION****(Based on the data of Russian,  
English and African proverbs)**

The paper covers the problems of integral approach to revelation and description of proverbial concept of happiness in Russian, English and African (Benin) linguocultures. Two types of proverbial concept are discussed and presented. The first type is seen as collective linguo-cultural phenomenon, unit of conceptual system of certain culture, comprising ontological, acseological, modal and functional features and realised in the series of proverbial utterances of this thematic group; the second proverbial concept is mostly individual, connected with the subjective idea and intention the speaker has in the concrete speech act. The conceptual analysis is made in the first case by means of apparatus of role and reference grammar, extended by frame analysis and thematic role of qualitative; and in the second case the unit is analysed by proverb's actualisation model that combines cognition-discourse and communicative-pragmatic approach to proverb's sense in context. The results show both universal and national specific features of linguo-cultural world view of native speakers in question though taken together they represent complimentary vision of idea of human happiness. This bi-directional approach has been tested on the proverbs of thematic group "Truth" on the data of five European languages (Abakumova 2013) and on the thematic group "Happiness" based on English, Russian and Japanese proverbs (Sulitsa 2020, Abakumova 2021, Abakumova, Sulitsa 2022). This time the new material is African proverbs.

*Keywords:* proverbs, happiness, proverbial concept, Russian, English, African languages (Benin)

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имени И. С. Тургенева**ФЕНОМЕН СЧАСТЬЯ****В ПАРЕМИОЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ РЕПРЕЗЕНТАЦИИ****(На материале русских, английских и африканских пословиц)**

В данной статье рассмотрены проблемы выявления и описания пословичного концепта Счастье в русской, английской и африканской (Бенин) лингвокультурах. Представлены два типа пословичных концептов. Первый тип определяется как коллективный лингвокультурный феномен, единица концептуальной системы определенной лингвокультуры, и включает онтологические, аксиологические, модальные и функцио-

нальные концептуальные признаки, реализуется и проявляется в серии пословичных высказываний данной тематической группы; второй тип имеет индивидуальную природу, связан с субъективным пониманием и интенцией говорящего в конкретном акте речи. Концептуальный анализ в первом случае проводится с использованием аппарата референциально-ролевой грамматики, расширенного фреймовым анализом и понятием «квалитатив»; а во втором случае пословица анализируется с помощью модели актуализации смысла пословицы в дискурсе (КДМ), которая объединяет когнитивно-дискурсивный и коммуникативно-прагматический подходы к описанию пословицы в контексте употребления. Результаты исследования показывают универсальное и национально-специфическое в картине мира носителей конкретного языка, а взятые вместе пословицы демонстрируют общечеловеческое понимание этого явления. Такой двунаправленный подход был опробован на материале пяти европейских языков (русского, английского, чешского, французского, испанского) тематической группы «Правда» (Абакумова 2013), а позже и на материале тематической группы Счастье в английской, русской и японской лингвокультурах (Сулица 2020). В данной статье методика применяется для сопоставительного анализа пословиц о счастье в русском, английском и африканских языках Бенина.

*Ключевые слова:* пословицы, счастье, пословичный концепт, русский язык, английский язык, африканские языки Бенина

## Introduction

Proverb as a linguistic term at present still has many definitions and no one is wholly accepted. Thus, the problem of linguistic status still exists. Let us have a look at least at some of the approaches and definitions the researchers give. A. V. Kunin ranks them among phraseological units and adds them to communicative phrases, aphoristically concise in rhythmic form with edifying sense [Kunin 1996]. V. N. Teliya defines proverbs as “mighty source of interpretation as they represent the everyday culture language, formed through centuries and passed by tradition from generation to generation, where all categories and regulations of the people’s ethnic philosophy are reflected in the form of maxims” [Teliya 1996, p. 241].

In the foreign paremiology the most famous is definition given by W. Mieder: “Proverb is a short popular saying, containing wisdom, truth, morals and traditional views in metaphoric, fixed, easily remembered form that are passed from generation to generation [Mieder 2004, p. 5]. Professor J. Mbity, specialist of African proverbs, considers them as “secret codes of information and knowledge, weapon used by parts of society like the oppressed, the underprivileged and those segregated on account of age, gender, handicap, level of education, material disadvantage, nationality, race, religion, or sex orientation [Benin Proverbs 2015, p. 16].

According to V.M. Mokienko, proverb is “a complete figurative or non-figurative saying with edifying sense, characterized by rhythmic and phonetic arrangement” [Mokienko 2010, p. 12].

We will keep to our definition of proverb as the most complex language sign of hybrid nature, a closed predicative structure, communicative phraseological unit with textual characteristics and special pragmatic functions, edifying sense and mostly figuratively motivated, that serves as indirect speech act in the context of its usage [Abakumova 2013].

Another problem touched upon here is definition of concept. Despite the fact that the term “concept” is firmly established in present day language science, it still does not have a universal definition. The study of concepts was carried out by such famous linguists as N. D. Arutyunova, E. S. Kubryakova, V. N. Teliya, V. N. Karasik etc. There are several linguistic schools, where they have different definitions of concept. The reason is that the phenomenon has a complex, multidimensional structure, which includes, in addition to the conceptual basis, a socio-psycho-cultural component, that is not only thought, but also experienced by the native speakers, covering associations, emotions, evaluations, images, connotations they possess in a particular culture.

E. S. Kubryakova defines the concept as “an operational content unit of memory of the mental lexicon, the conceptual system and language of the brain, entire picture of the world reflected in the human psyche” [Kubryakova et al 1996, p.90]. In her opinion, the concept is the result of collision between the meaning of the word and the personal and folk experience, that is the concept is a mediator between words and reality.

According to V. N. Teliya, a concept is “a product of human thought and an ideal phenomenon, thus inherent in human consciousness in general, and not just linguistic. Concepts are not created by researchers, but are reconstructed through their linguistic expression and extralinguistic knowledge” [Teliya 1996, p. 27].

Concepts represent the world in human consciousness by constructing the system of concepts, and the language signs encode its contents in words. Consequently, it is possible to define concept as mental entity that mostly has universal nature. But researchers in the field of linguoculturology use the term “linguocultural concept” which is supposed to reveal cultural constituent of the concept and its national specifics. Karasik has the following definition of a concept as a category of linguoculturology: a concept is a multidimensional semantic formation in which the value, figurative and conceptual aspects are distinguished [Karasik 2002, p. 129]. He points to three main directions in human perception of the world by means of language: conceptualization as “the process of singling out and fixation in the picture of

the world the significant fragments of subjective and objective reality in the form of contents quantum, units that possess notional, imagery and value components; categorization as a regulation of representations, bringing out and fixation of their types in the human consciousness; and symbolization as emotionally marked interpretation of valuable images, that determine cultural dominants of the world view [Karasik 2023, p. 17–18].

Aiming at reconstruction of proverbial picture of the world that reflects the interpretation of the world in proverbs, the notion of proverbial concept is used.

## Methods and materials

We single out two types of proverbial concepts that are revealed on the data of proverbs in different linguocultures.

The first type is defined as concept-stereotype that conveys culturally determined value named by the abstract noun in question. In this case it is a complex mental entity, configuration of significant features (ontological, axiological, modal, functional etc.) that are revealed through the analysis of thematic roles (qualitatives of different kinds) performed by the noun in proverbial sayings and utterances, representing typical situations (frames). The values are also decoded by means of symbols, images and metaphors used in the surface structure of the proverb, contributing to implication of cultural codes [Abakumova 2013, p. 60; Abakumova, Sulitsa 2022, p. 116]. This type of proverbial concept is reconstructed by means of role and reference grammar, extended by frame analysis and the thematic role of qualitative.

The second type of proverbial concept has mostly individual nature. It is connected with the subjective idea of the speaker, his interpretation of the communicative situation, his intention and assessment of the referential situation which he/she wants to share or enforce on the listener following his/her communicative strategy [Abakumova 2013, p. 60; Abakumova, Sulitsa 2022, p. 116]. This type of concept is brought out by means of proverb's actualization model (CDM), that combines cognition-discourse and communicative-pragmatic approaches to proverb-in-use analysis [Abakumova 2013, p. 60; Abakumova, Sulitsa 2022, p. 116].

The research was carried out on the data of Russian, English and African (Benin) proverbs of happiness.

The methods are the following: phraseological/proverbial identification, conceptual analysis, thematic/semantic roles analysis, comparative/contrastive analysis, cognition-discourse and communicative-pragmatic modelling.



## Analysis and discussion

In the opinion of linguists who made researches in the field of the concept of happiness, the difficulties are determined by the influence of at least three factors:

1) Happiness can appear as a process (of being somewhere or with someone significant) or as a result (of receiving something important or desirable);

2) Happiness may be determined by outer or inner factors;

3) Happiness may come as a result of possessing material or spiritual values [Vorkachev 2002, p. 9].

Let us consider some conceptual features of Happiness phenomenon as revealed through analysis of proverbs semantics and pragmatics in English, Russian and African (Benin) proverbs fixated in the following dictionaries of proverbs: “The Penguin Dictionary of Proverbs” by R. Fergusson and J. Law [DP 2000], “Popular Wisdom. Russian Proverbs” by Mokienko V.M., Nikitina T.G. [PW 2011], “Benin Proverbs. Practical Ethical Wisdom from African Proverbs” by Angele Kolouche Biao, Aurelien Atidegla [BP 2015] etc.

### 1. Ontological conceptual features of proverbial concept Happiness

#### 1.1. Qualitative of sources

English: *Content is happiness — qualitative of content; Children and fools have merry lives — qualitative of joy and merry life; Laughter is a hiccup of a fool — qualitative of low claims and foolishness; Laughter makes good blood, Laugh and grow fat — qualitative of laughter and relax; All happiness is in the mind — qualitative of inner content and self-contain; Happy is he who chastens himself — qualitative of inner content, reserve and self-control; happy is the country that has no history — qualitative of absence of negative memories [PDP, 2000]; Happy is he, who is happy in his children; Happy is that child whose father goes to the devil; Happy is she who marries a son of a dead mother [PD, 2000] — family content ironical qualitative.*

Russian: *Где счастье, там и радость — qualitative of joy [PW, 2011]; Глупому счастье, а умному Бог даёт — qualitative of luck and supernatural; Кому счастье служит, тот ни о чем не тужит; Кому везет, у того и бык доится; Кому есть талант, тот будет атаман; Лежень лежит, а счастье бежит — qualitative of luck, fate [PW, 2011]. Лад и согласие — первое счастье, С милым рай и в шалаше — qualitative of mutual love [PW, 2011] — qualitative of inner and outer content.*

African (Benin): *Dee n hari suu tɔ ni hininyo, alwala tɛ ka tunu* (Dendi) (lit.) If water is not enough for you to take a bath, you'd better do ablution ("Learn to be satisfied with what you have") [BP, 2015]. — *qualitative of inner content and low claims*. *Ibukun oluwa ni n la ni laifi laalaa kun-un* (Yoruba) (lit) It is the grace, the blessing of God that saves without much effort, pain and difficulty. ("Without the benediction of God all our efforts are in vain" — *qualitative of luck, of supernatural(outer) forces*.

## 1.2. Qualitative of value

English [PD 2000]: *Better be happy than wise* — *qualitative of high value*; *Laugh, and the world laughs with you; weep, and you weep alone* — *qualitative of importance of happy looks*; *Laughter is the best medicine* — *qualitative of good health*; *Mirth is the sugar of life* — *qualitative of food pleasure*; *A merry heart goes all the way* — *qualitative of vigour and stability*; *A blither heart has a blooming visage* — *qualitative of good looks*.

Russian [PW, 2011]: *Правда — хорошо, а счастье лучше* — *qualitative of highest value*; *He родись красивой, а родись счастливой* — *qualitative of luck, of happy marriage*; *He наше счастье, чтоб найти, а наше, чтоб потерять* — *qualitative of low value*; *Наше счастье — на мосту с чашкой* — *qualitative of poverty, lack of money*; *He тот счастлив, кто богат, а тот, кто доволен собой* — *qualitative of inner content*; *Красота обманет, а счастье — нет* — *qualitative of good luck*; *Первое счастье — с малюго кусочка сыту быть* — *qualitative of well being*; *Счастье — веинее ведро* — *qualitative of instability*; *Счастье без ума — дырявая сума* — *qualitative of intellect*; *Счастье дороже денег* — *qualitative of luck, of spiritual values*; *Счастье дороже ума* — *qualitative of highest value*; *Счастье дороже богатства* — *qualitative of immaterial value*; *Счастлив тот, кто без порока живет* — *qualitative of moral value*; *Счастье ума прибавляет, а несчастье последний отнимает* — *qualitative of inspiration and creativity*; *Счастье как и стекло: легко разбивается* — *qualitative of frailty*; *Счастье на коне, а несчастье под конем* — *qualitative of victory and success*;

African (Benin): *Turo waaru, sɔndara* (Bariba). (lit) The gain of only one is a failure ("Wealth should be shared") — *qualitative of social justice and well-being*; *Kammɛ nze fɔ suu fei zuu* (Dendi) (lit) One hand cannot take the «okra» sauce alone Explanation: "Unity makes strength" — *qualitative of collective, unity*; *dɛrifɛnyo toosu no n'ma duu ka kpei hannɪ Nyamaayo* (Dendi) (lit) Partridges meet before going to eat the millet. Explanation: "Always agree together before going to the front. Unity is might" [BP, 2015] — *qualitative of collective might*.

### 1.3. Qualitative of duality, ephemerality, interrelation of happiness and unhappiness

English [PD, 2000]: *Joy and sorrow are next door neighbours* — qualitative of interrelation of happiness and unhappiness; *The mirth of the world dureth but a while* — qualitative of short-lived, ephemerality; *God send you joy, for sorrow will come fast enough* — qualitative of short-lived, ephemerality; *No joy without annoy* — qualitative of ephemerality; *If you sing before breakfast, you will cry before night* — qualitative of ephemerality.

Russian [PW, 2011]: *Счастье с несчастьем близко живут* — qualitative of interrelation; *Счастье что вешинее ведро: ненадежно* — qualitative of instability; *Счастье с несчастьем двор об двор живут* — qualitative of interrelation, interconnection; *Счастье что волк: обманет и в лес уйдет* — qualitative of deception; *Счастье что солнышко: и улыбнется, и скроется* — qualitative of fraud, deception, instability; *Счастье шапкой не словишь и в руки не возьмешь* — qualitative of freedom, independence; *Счастье — конь: не взнуздаешь* — quality of independence, wild, free nature; *Счастье многих обманывает* — qualitative of deception, ephemerality; *Кто горя не видел, тот и счастья не знавал* — qualitative of negative experience and comparison.

African [BP, 2015]: *Oju ti o ribi ti ko fo, o feri ireni* (Yoruba) (lit) “The eye that experienced misfortune, and has not gone blind, will hopefully experience happiness” — qualitative of duality, of comparison; *Amè Ké Krò Agbé Bada Kró a, Eyé Djénasi Agbé Gñuin!* (Mina) “We can only know happiness if we have known misfortune. Only those who were unhappy sincerely appreciate happiness, it is said to those who do not appreciate good moments, that is, you will understand that you were happy only when this happiness passes. (Sebastien Ekanhoui) — qualitative of duality, of negative experience and comparison.

### 1.4. Qualitative of pleasure from the process of experiencing happiness

English [PDP, 2000]: *We should publish our joys and conceal our griefs* — qualitative of happy looks; *Possessed of happiness, don't exhaust it* — qualitative of moderation; *He that talks much of his happiness, summons grief* — qualitative of caution; *It is merry in hall when beards wag all* — qualitative of gossiping.

Russian [PW, 2011]: *Счастлив не тот, кто счастьем обладает, счастлив лишь тот, кто счастья ожидает* — qualitative of expectancy; *Не лови счастье неводом, а лови делом сделанным* — qualitative

of labour and efforts awarded; *Сильному/смелому счастье помогает* — qualitative of bravery; *Счастье — вольная птичка: где захотела, там и села* — qualitative of freedom; *Со счастьем на клад набредешь, а без счастья и грибы не найдешь* — qualitative of luck.

African (Benin): *Agbé Gñuin a, Emondji Yiyi é bégñi!* (Mina) *Happiness is not a destination, it's a journey* — qualitative of pleasure and duration. This proverb reminds us that happiness is a continuous process, not a goal to be achieved. It is said to those who are chasing happiness, not realizing that happiness is built gradually (Sebastien Ekanhoui).

### 1.5. Qualitative of pleasure from the well-deserved high result

African (Benin): *A ba erin labata ko mọ iyi eran, a ba efon labata ko mọ iyi oḃe* (Yoruba) (lit) “He who does know the elephant only in the sauce does not know its value, he who only knows the buffalo in the sauce, doesn’t even taste the value of the sauce. Explanation: “To win without risk is to triumph without glory”. [BP, 2015]. *Счастье на коне, а несчастье под конем* — qualitative of success. *Счастье — не кобыла: не запряжешь, не заночкаешь* — qualitative of necessary skills and efforts.

### 1.6. Qualitative of pleasure from the efforts awarded

English: *Seek and you shall find. One cannot fry eggs without breaking them. Nothing ventured, nothing gained. Busy hands are happy hands. Every man is an architect of his own happiness.* [PDP, 2000]. *He is happy that knoweth not himself to be otherwise* — qualitative of happy ignorance; *Happy is he that chastens himself* — qualitative of self-conscious control and education.

Russian [PW2011]: *Каждый человек — кузнец своего счастья* — qualitative of active participation; *Каждый человек сам творец своего счастья и своего несчастья* — qualitative of creativity; *Учение и труд все перетрут* — qualitative of education and labour; *Без труда не выловишь и рыбку из пруда* — qualitative of efforts awarded.

African (Benin): *Вэс faari weenu ka ŋta biicire* (Dendi) *Sow under the sun and eat in the shade.* Explanation: “Effort is always rewarded” [BP 2015] — qualitative of labour. *À n kperun tim kí a ku wunæn gbáan nṣṣ mææri* (Bariba) *If you want honey from a stone, do not fear the blade of your ax.* Explanation: *Nothing worthwhile can be obtained easily* — qualitative of efforts awarded. *Wì u ku ra tii wí, bisi wíira ta ra nùn go* (Bariba). *He who does not criticize himself, dies from the critics of others* — qualitative of self-control and constant self-education.

## 2. Axiological features

### 2.1. *Qualitative of trust and belief in God and the supernatural forces as outer source for happiness*

Russian: *Каким счастьем Господь наделил, тем и владеть буду* — qualitative of luck, belonging to supernatural outer forces;

*Ibukun oluwa ni n la ni laifi laalaa kun-un* — (“Without the benediction of God all our efforts are in vain”) — qualitative of blessing

In the three cultures the system of values includes religious values and the moral and ethical norms must be followed and highly estimated.

### 2.2. *Qualitative of gratitude*

African (Benin): *Eni ti a se ni ore tiko dupe, bi oloṣa ko ni lẹru lo ni.*

In African culture of Benin situations where people do not express gratitude are evaluated extremely negatively. To become happy in the cultures of collective type one should express gratitude to people for their help, otherwise the situation will be considered similar to theft.

### 2.3. *Qualitative of modesty*

English: *Possessed of happiness, don't exhaust it* — qualitative of moderation; *Mirth without measure is madness* — qualitative of moderation.

Russian: *Несчастливым бывает, кто много желает, Малое счастье лучше большого, Отличное — враг хорошего* — qualitative of low claims/ of modesty.

African (Benin): *Ileke pọ lọja ki şango to yan mọkele* — There are a variety of beads in the market, yet Shango (a divinity) chose Monkele (a cheaper variety of beads) — qualitative of low claims.

In collective cultures like Russian or Benin it has always been ethically good to be modest and not to have very high claims, but in the highly individualistic English culture the social rules make people aspire for modesty though in fact they are not [Fox 2004].

### 2.4. *Qualitative of labour*

Russian: *Счастье и труд рядом идут- qualitative of efforts awarded; Всяк своего счастья кузнец -qualitative of professional skills; Счастье у каждого под мозолями лежит* — qualitative of labour.

African (Benin): *Взрọ faari weenu ka ọta biicire* (The efforts are always awarded), *À n kperun tim kí a ku wunæn gbáan nọọ mǎẹri* (Nothing comes easy) — qualitative of labour/efforts awarded.

English: *Everyone is the architect of his own happiness* — qualitative of efforts awarded.

In all the cultures efforts for better life are highly estimated.

### **2.5. Qualitative of kindness and generosity**

African (Benin): *Turo waaru, sɔndara* (“Wealth should be shared”) — qualitative of sharing

English: *True happiness consists in making happy* — qualitative of generosity.

Russian: *Горе на двоих — полгоря, радость на двоих — две радости* — qualitative of sharing

Generosity and the desire to share material goods one possesses are assessed positively in all cultures.

### **2.6. Qualitative of abstinence, following moral values**

African (Benin): *Aṣeṣe berẹ oṣi, bi ọmọ olowo ni a ri* (Yoruba) lit. The beginning of depravity and deprivation gives the illusion of good life. One should refrain from vicious relationships and lead a decent lifestyle. A person’s vicious behavior is assessed negatively.

## **3. Modal conceptual features (deontic norms of social behavior fixed in the semantics of proverbs)**

Various everyday situations are described and socially approved norms of ethical behavior are recommended:

### **3.1. One should not wish/do harm to others**

ex: *Odo ti o ba gbe igi ni ubulubu, ko ni fi ara rere ṣan* (Yoruba). A stream / river carrying a tree trunk against the current will not flow well. Explanation: In seeking to do harm to others, you can hurt yourself indirectly [BP, 2015]. Ср. рус. *Не рой другому яму, сам в нее попадешь*

### **3.2. You should always express gratitude for good done or help provided**

ex: *Eni ti a ṣe ni ore tiko dupe, bi ọlọṣa ko ni lẹru lọ ni* (Yoruba). Always be grateful to your benefactor. [BP, 2015].

### **3.3. You shouldn’t demand the best for yourself. You need to be modest**

Пример: *Ileke rọ lọja ki ṣango to yan tọkele* (Yoruba). *Счастье до поры не вредит, а со временем скоро сгубит* — qualitative of excess. *Всякому свое счастье — в чужое не заведешь* — qualitative of luck/fate.

**3.4. You should not make decisions based on emotions, you should try to be objective**

ex: *Asunkun roṣo, ile lo n tu (Yoruba)*. He who cries while complaining, causes discord in a family

Explanation: “Basing oneself on emotions to judge facts, one might not be objective and thereby create discord, enmity between men” [BP, 2015].

**3.5. You should learn to overcome obstacles**

ex: *kɔɔmma kpɛ suu mɔnnɔ a kɔɔma (Dendi)*. A hunchback cannot help but accept his hump.

Explanation: Learn to bear difficulties. [BP, 2015]. *Счастье зови, а горе терпи* — qualitative of patience. We should publish our joys and conceal our griefs — qualitative of happy looks.

**3.6. You shouldn't want more than you need, too much doesn't always bring happiness**

ex: *Aṣeṣe bẹrẹ oṣi, bi ọmọ olowo ni a ri (Yoruba)*. One can sink into depravity and destitution, fault of moderation in our lifestyle. [BP, 2015]. *Счастье до поры не вредит, а со временем скоро сгубит* — qualitative of excess.

**3.7. You always need to fight for your happiness**

ex: *À n kperun tim kí a ku wunæn gbáan nòò mææri (Bariba)*. Nothing worthwhile can be obtained easily; Nothing ventured, nothing gained [BP, 2015]. *Смелому счастье помогает* — qualitative of bravery. *Стойким счастье помогает* — qualitative of firmness.

**3.8. You should try to help those who need help**

*Человек в беде всегда поддержки ждёт. Горе на двоих — полгоря, радость на двоих — две радости* — qualitative of sharing. *True happiness consists in making happy* — qualitative of generosity.

**4. Functional characteristics**

Proverbs of this group can perform different functions in the context they are used in; in the non-actualized mode they possess constative, cognitive, expressive and some other functions, but in actualized regime almost all of them acquire a regulatory function (explicit or implicit), since

they contain recommendations in the form of social norms of ethical or utilitarian behavior, which once again confirms the nature of proverbs as indirect speech acts.

## 5. Proverb in context

Let us consider the use of proverb in a newspaper text and analyze its usage by means of cognition-discourse model (CDM). The proverb under review is “*You can’t make an omelet without breaking the eggs*”, which is defined in Cambridge Dictionary as “it is hard to achieve something important without causing unpleasant effects”. The proverb is used in the newspaper in the transformed way as it is contaminated with the phraseological unit “*to break the bank*” (“get out of budget”) but is still recognizable in the heading: ***You can’t make an omelet without breaking the bank***

The newspaper article says:

*The most important meal of the day has become one of the most expensive — as prices for normal breakfast items such as eggs, butter, milk, coffee and bacon have soared a combined 24 % over the cost last year, according to new government data.*

**Communicative** constituent shows that the author has chosen socially oriented strategy aiming to attract as much attention to his article as possible and make impact on the audience.

**Constative (cognitive)** constituent demonstrates proverbial scenario based on imposition of three types of frames: imaginary, generalized and situational:

Imagery frame: making omelet.

Generalized frame: logical thematic model 1 by Permiakov: if the thing has one feature it will have another one (if a person makes omelet, he is supposed to break eggs).

Situational frame: the rise in prices for the normal breakfast that forces citizens to break their banks.

**Expressive** constituent: epistemic modality, negative evaluation of the situation, explicit constative speech act, but in fact indirect regulation to pay more than usual for the ordinary morning meal.

**Regulative** constituent: the readers infer the message of the article where in the transformed form of the proverb the news are conveyed and they are again forced to economize their budget.



## Results and conclusion

Our analysis of English, Russian, and African (Benin) proverbs on happiness revealed that the proverbial concept shares similar conceptual features, with some exceptions in the field of axiological features reflecting deontic norms of social interaction. Russian and African proverbs often emphasise the importance of external factors, such as luck, fate, and God, in achieving happiness. These proverbs reflect the values of collectivist cultures. Benin proverbs, in particular, promote ethical standards for social behaviour. English proverbs mainly focus on internal sources of happiness and are part of the English proverbial worldview. The norms they recommend are mostly associated with individualistic cultures, where utilitarian deontic norms are prevalent. The three proverbial funds represent the complex idea of human happiness, using different metaphors that represent national symbols and linguistic codes.

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## IMPLEMENTING EXPLICIT PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES IN AMERICAN POPULAR SCIENCE LITERATURE

The article examines the communicative tactics of direct persuasion in American popular science literature, based on a linguopragmatic analysis of the international journal 'Popular Science' from 2010 to 2023. Although many studies have been conducted on communicative explicit influence, Russian linguistics has yet to describe the mechanisms of direct persuasion in American popular science discourse. This research is therefore scientifically novel. It avoids biased language and filler words, and maintains a clear and logical structure with causal connections between statements. Technical term abbreviations are explained when first used, and subject-specific vocabulary is used when it conveys meaning more precisely than non-technical terms. Quotes are clearly marked and consistent citation and footnote styles are used. The empirical material comprises 75 popular science articles from the journal. The text adheres to conventional structure, clear and objective language, formal register, precise word choice, and grammatical correctness. The text does not introduce any new content beyond the original source text. The linguopragmatic analysis revealed various communicative tactics and strategies of persuasive discourse aimed at the reader's consciousness. The purpose of this work is to identify and describe the linguopragmatic mechanisms of persuasion in popular science literature, specifically the representation of direct persuasive tactics used by the sender. The research methods were determined by the set goals and included linguistic observation and description, contextual analysis, and the method of continuous sampling. The linguopragmatic analysis conducted led to the following conclusions: the use of strategies and tactics of direct persuasion in popular scientific discourse is an effective tool for directly influencing the receiver's consciousness. The study identified several tactics for directly influencing the receiver, including reporting information, appealing to the receiver's background knowledge, deploying information, and providing argumentative justification. The results of the linguopragmatic analysis suggest that these tactics have significant persuasive potential as universal means of communicative influence on the receiver's consciousness.

*Keywords:* speech influence, communication strategy, communication tactics, persuasion, popular science literature

## РЕАЛИЗАЦИЯ ЭКСПЛИЦИТНЫХ СТРАТЕГИЙ УБЕЖДЕНИЯ В АМЕРИКАНСКОЙ НАУЧНО-ПОПУЛЯРНОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЕ

В статье рассматриваются коммуникативные стратегии и тактики эксплицитного (прямого) убеждения в американской научно-популярной литературе на основе лингвопрагматического анализа международного журнала “Popular Science” за период 2010–2023 гг. Несмотря на наличие большого количества исследований, посвященных коммуникативному эксплицитному воздействию, в отечественном языкознании еще не были описаны механизмы скрытого убеждения на примере американского научно-популярного дискурса, что, в свою очередь, обуславливает научную новизну данного исследования. Эмпирическую базу исследования составляют 75 научно-популярных статей данного журнала. Лингвопрагматический анализ позволил обнаружить широкий спектр коммуникативных тактик и стратегий персуазиваного дискурса, направленных на сознание адресата. Цель работы заключается в выявлении и описании лингвопрагматического механизма убеждения как особого речевого воздействия на широкий круг читателей научно-популярной литературы, обнаружения специфики репрезентации коммуникативного влияния прямых убеждающих тактик, применяемых адресантом. Поставленные цели определили методы исследования: лингвистическое наблюдение и описание, контекстуальный анализ, метод сплошной выборки. Проведенный лингвопрагматический анализ позволил прийти к следующим выводам: реализация стратегий и тактик прямого убеждения в научно-популярном дискурсе является эффективным инструментом открытого речевого воздействия на сознание адресата. В результате исследования было выявлено несколько тактик прямого воздействия, а именно: информирование, “круг своих” или прямая генерализация, апелляция к фоновым знаниям, информационное развертывание и аргументированное обоснование. Кроме этого, результаты лингвопрагматического анализа позволили прийти к выводу, что данные тактики обладают большим персуазивным потенциалом как универсальные способы коммуникативного воздействия на сознание адресата.

*Ключевые слова:* речевое воздействие, коммуникативная стратегия, коммуникативная тактика, убеждение, научно-популярная литература

### Introduction

In recent years, one of the priority directions in the development of public policy in the social and scientific sphere is scientific popularization. One of the ways to disseminate scientific findings from a narrow circle of specialists to a mass audience is mediatization, which is a link between pub-

lic and academia. Thus, emphasizing the role of media discourse to attract experts from “different extra-media spheres”, M. P. Kozharnovich states that “the media sphere is becoming an inclusive communicative space, opening up opportunities for broad socio-media interaction” [Kozharnovich, 2021, p. 422]. At the same time, global changes that have occurred in recent decades determine new rules of interaction between authoritative research scientists and society. First of all, these rules are expressed in the fact that social circles are no longer limited to the framework of exclusively scientific audience, but equally interested in obtaining up-to-date information about scientific breakthroughs of researchers in particular area [Nichols, Petzold, 2021]. In view of the above, the dissemination of scientific knowledge is a necessary and integral part of the life of any society. At the same time, the process of popularization of science is directly related to a certain set of mechanisms that contribute to the successful dissemination of scientific discoveries and findings. One of such mechanisms is cognitive-linguistic-psychological perception of scientific information. The effectiveness of perception and cognition of scientific texts by a non-specialist reader (who is not an expert in the field) is directly conditioned by a set of communicative strategies and tactics of persuasion, the purpose of which is the verbal impact on the recipient’s consciousness. Understanding the mechanisms of persuasion, the principles of their use and structure contributes to the correct perception, critical attitude and cognitive analysis of scientific information on the part of the reader. Today, when we are witnessing the collapse of the unipolar world, principle of persuasion is of particular importance. Persuasiveness can be presented both implicitly (using hidden mechanisms of influence on the individual’s consciousness) and explicitly (using the techniques of so-called “true-honest argumentation”). In this research we consider the implementation of direct persuasion represented by a wide repertoire of tactics of explicit influence: reporting information, “circle of one’s own” or direct generalization, appealing to background knowledge, deployment of information and argumentative justification. Let us consider the implementation of these tactics on the material of popular science American magazine “Popular Science”. As an example, we will use media texts of different thematic orientation to show the universality of these communicative techniques.

## **Methods and materials**

In the sphere of intercultural communication, the speech strategy of persuasion, as one of the broadest in classical rhetoric, acts as one of the most important socially significant speech functions. The study of strate-

gies and tactics of speech influence in popular science discourse, as an element of intercultural communication, is an urgent task both for linguists and a wide range of readers of popular science texts. The basis of the methodological base was the works devoted to the problems of using communicative strategies and tactics of speech influence in mass-media discourse [Shesterina 2004, Klushina 2008, Golodnov 2011, Golubev et al. 2022]. This study is a corpus-assisted qualitative analysis of a sample of 75 articles gathered from the online site of the international popular science magazine “*Popular Science*” between April 2010 and November 2023. The research corpus includes articles from the sections of physics, archaeology, biology, and space studies. The choice of this magazine is due, on the one hand, to its credibility and popularity among a wide range of readers, and on the other hand, to the accessibility and unlimited targeting of the target audience of this media resource. A popular science news article as an object of analysis was chosen due to the specifics of its small-format genre: information content, compactness and accessibility for understanding by most readers. The object of the study determined the choice of methods, in particular: contextual linguopragmatic analysis, taking into account the content-semantic space of popular scientific texts and their linguocultural context, descriptive method, implying the consistent isolation of the essence the object being studied — the persuasion tactic — using the techniques of structural and content observation, generalization, interpretation and classification, component analysis. interpretation of dictionary definitions. The analysis of the material consisted of several stages. At the initial stage, articles of the “Science” section were selected from the news content using a continuous sampling method. The second stage consisted of a linguistic analysis of the text and the identification of a set of techniques that form a specific tactic of explicit persuasion. At the final stage, the features of the implementation of techniques of specific tactics of explicit persuasion were traced.

## Results and discussion

Communicative persuasion, considered within the framework of the theory of speech influence, is the subject of many works both among domestic and foreign researchers [Pratkanis, Aronson 2002; Issers 2008; Sternin 2012]. However, despite a significant number of studies, there are still unresolved issues in the study of the category of persuasion that require particular attention from the point of linguopragmatics. Therefore, the study and systematization of mechanisms for constructing persuasive discourse, linguistic means aimed at persuading the recipient in the truth

of the sender's statements, as well as the study of communicative-pragmatic strategies and tactics of persuasion in popular scientific discourse determine the relevance of the study.

The category of persuasion is one of the constructs of pragmatic principles of popular science written text. The fundamental aim of popular science literature is to disseminate scientific knowledge by familiarizing a wide range of non-specialists with the findings of science by means of specific communicative actions that evoke interest and readers' true empathy. Certain ways of speech influence, which traditionally include persuasion, suggestion and inducement, help to achieve the priority goal of science popular literature. True- honest persuasion is opposed to manipulation — verbal influence, which is based on the hidden (implicit) nature of influence on the recipient. Persuasion implies certain processes in changing the receiver's initial attitudes in order for the latter to accept the sender's point of view. The mechanisms of persuasive speech influence were developed by American socio psychologists R. Petty and J. Cacioppo in 1986 and were called Elaboration Likelihood Model ("ELM"). This model distinguishes two routes to persuasion: central (explicit) and peripheral (implicit) [Petty, Cacioppo 1986]. In explicit persuasion, the recipient consciously analyzes the value components of the received information and subjects it to critical analysis as much as possible. The effectiveness of this type of persuasion will depend on many factors (the order of the arguments presented, the "mindset" of the audience, conscious attitude to information, interest, etc.), but the most effective, in our opinion, is the ability of the sender to present strong arguments that can change the initial opinion of the receiver. In the view of the above, under explicit communicative persuasion in popular science discourse we will understand the process of "honest" (direct) speech impact on the recipient's consciousness through appealing to his/her critical thinking in order to change his/her initial attitudes. This impact can be realized through the use of a certain set of communicative tactics aimed at openly persuading the receiver. Popular science literature is designed primarily to interest and fascinate the reader, so the author's ability to present convincing arguments plays, in our opinion, a crucial role in solving the communicative task of persuading the audience and largely depends on the sender's skill. If successfully applied, central persuasive strategies and tactics can be an essential component of science popularization. Following O. S. Issers, under communicative strategy we understand "a set of speech actions aimed at achieving a communicative goal" [Issers, 2008, p. 54].

Communicative strategy is formed by a set of tactics aimed at solving a particular task. In science literature there is still no consensus on

the understanding of communicative tactics. Thus, M.Y. Konovalenko defines speech tactics “as the choice of speech act at a certain stage of communication” [Konovalenko, 2012, p. 60], I.V. Trufanova emphasizes the functional-pragmatic content of the concept: “Tactics is designed to ensure the implementation of the chosen communicative strategy and deployment of the selected genre. From the point of view of the speech stream segmentation, deployment of speech genre, it is a speech action, i.e. its minimal unit. From the point of view of its role as a means of implementing communicative strategy, it is a technique of speech behavior and it may receive other terminological designations, different from the names of speech acts, the names of speech tactics — in this case are the names of “speech acts” or the names of clichés through which this tactic is implemented” [Trufanova, 2001, p. 60]. However, it seems to us that the most successful definition was offered by A.P. Skovorodnikov, who identifies communicative tactics as: “a specific speech action (speech act or a set of several speech acts) corresponding to a particular stage in the realization of speech strategy and aimed at solving a private communicative task of this stage” [Skovorodnikov, 2004, p. 6]. Below is an attempt to show the realization of these communicative tactics used for the purpose of explicit persuasion on the basis of experimental material and the results of linguo-pragmatic analysis.

## Reporting information

One of the main strategies of speech influence is the strategy for reporting, which is directly related to the homonymic language function [Vinogradov, 1963, p. 8]. The aim of this strategy is communicating reliable information to the recipient. However, the methods of presenting information depend on the sender’s purpose. In our case — the recipient’s explicit belief. Since popular science style is a subtype of pure scientific style, it is characterized by linguistic means that are typical of scientific texts: reporting news, citing facts and statistics:

*A tiny glimmer spotted amid seagrass by a diver off the Italian coast **has yielded one of the largest historical treasure troves in over a decade.** According to a November 4 announcement by Italy’s culture ministry, an archeological recovery team has recovered somewhere between **30,000 and 50,000 near-pristine ancient coins** from the Mediterranean Sea dating back to the fourth century Roman empire. [Popular Science, November 7, 2023];*

*What **the data actually says** is that it appears the number of unemployed people nationwide **decreased by 270,000**—but with a margin of er-*



ror, as defined by the confidence interval, of **plus or minus 263,000**. [Popular Science, November 3, 2018]

The given examples show that reporting is not supported by emotional and evaluative language means; the author offers information for conscious perception, avoiding manipulative persuasion.

### “Circle of one’s own” or direct generalization

For successful persuasive influence it is essential to generalize the sender and the receiver, when the latter has a deep feeling of involvement in the scientific discovery and being inside a narrow circle of experts. The feeling of belonging to the “circle of one’s own” sets the reader up for a conscious perception of the scientific information and contributes to the process of persuasion in the reliability of the text. belonging to the circle of researchers. This effect can be achieved by using the passive in verb tenses:

*The findings **are described** in a study published November 1 in the open-access journal PLOS ONE.* [Popular Science, November 1, 2023];

*This “plus or minus error” **is defined** by something statisticians call a confidence interval.* [Popular Science, November 3, 2018];

*In the first two phases, the skeletons **were found** to be mostly complete and unaltered.* [Popular Science, November 22, 2023]

In addition to the use of grammatical means aimed at achieving a persuasive effect, the sender resorts to communicative techniques at the lexical level, represented by the use of abbreviations and special terms:

*Along with its still-in-construction sibling, the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor (**ITER**) in Europe, the projects are intended solely to demonstrate scalable fusion’s feasibility ... Earlier this year, the National Ignition Facility (**NIF**) at Northern California’s Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory *achuumyv* a net energy gain for the second time using what’s the inertial confinement fusion method... The tokamak—an acronym of the Russian-language designation of “**toroidal chamber** with magnetic coils”— has led researchers’ push towards achieving the “Holy Grail” of sustainable green energy production for decades. [Popular Science, December 4, 2023].*

The use of scientific terminology and abbreviations used in specialized literature in different fields of science also “works” to persuade the receiver to believe or do something.

Thus, the successful use of generalization techniques can increase the effectiveness of persuasion of the receiver and achieve successful communication.

## Reference to background knowledge of the receiver

Equally important in the persuasion process is reference to the recipient's background knowledge. Following Ter-Minasova, we identify background knowledge as "knowledge of realities and culture that the speaker and the listener mutually possess" [Ter-Minasova, 2000, p. 85]. Since popular literature is primarily aimed at educating a wide audience, it is very important for the author to understand what his/her reader knows. It is the receiver's previous experience, on the one hand, and the sender's knowledge of this experience, on the other, determines an adequate understanding of the text. The receiver's "knowledge bank" is one of the priority prerequisites for successful interaction with the receiver of the message. A persuasive effect on the reader is achieved through the use of metatextual markers, indicating the presence in the minds of the receivers of the necessary knowledge in a specific subject area to understand the proposed scientific information. It is important to note that when referring to background knowledge, the sender does not set the task of revealing a particular concept, term or deciphering an abbreviation as it is assumed that the reader is already competent in the scientific issue being discussed:

*Announced on Monday, the new facility will be located on the CSU Foothills Campus, and is set to feature at least three, **multi-petawatt laser systems** designed to advance research in "clean fusion energy, microelectronics, optics and photonics, materials science, medical imaging, and high energy density science."* [Popular Science, September 19, 2023].

In this example, the author of the article assumes that the reader already has an idea about *multi-petawatt laser systems*, therefore, the text has already created a necessary and sufficient condition for the success of the speech act, and hence for convincing the receiver in the truth of the message. Let's look at another example:

*LCLS-II's record-shattering abilities hinge upon a state-of-the-art superconducting accelerator that uses 37 **cryogenic modules** to cool its environment down to an astonishing -456 F; that's even colder than the vacuum of outer space, and only a few degrees' shy of absolute zero.* [Popular Science, September 19, 2023].

Here we can see that persuasion is realized through the contamination of special terms, the meaning of which is not revealed by the author, because it is assumed that they are already in the reader's "information fund".

## Deployment of information

In contrast to reporting information and referring to background knowledge, deployment of information can be expressed in a set of communicative moves aimed at explaining exemplification, concretization or commenting on information. By applying this tactic, the sender aims to levelize the receiver's presuppositions in a particular scientific field. The use of information deployment is necessary if the author has reason to believe that the reader may not have the necessary competencies to critically cognize the message being presented. The linguistic indicators in this case will be metatextual markers of generalization, clarification, paraphrase, exemplification: *generally, such as, to be precise, to put it in another way, for example*:

*In nature, patterns of chemical interactions between two different substances are believed to govern the designs our eyes see — **for example**, a zebra's stripes.* [Popular Science, September 27, 2023];

*Once the core is formed, the planet can gravitationally pull in the solid dust, as well as surrounding gas **such as** hydrogen and helium.* [Popular Science, December 7, 2023]

So, in order to be sure that the reader of any sophistication (from schoolchildren to specialists) will understand and critically comprehend the proposed message, authors have to resort to this tactic quite often, because it can provide the most equal presuppositions of sender and receiver:

*By the middle of the century, physicists realized that protons and neutrons are actually combinations of even tinier particles, called quarks. **To be precise**, protons and neutrons both contain three quarks each: a configuration type that physicists call baryons. For that reason, protons, neutrons, and the matter they form—**the stuff of our daily lives**—are often called “baryonic matter.”* [Popular Science, September 25, 2023]

In this example, the author introduces new information in three stages: first, by naming the particles “quarks”, then by specifying the composition of protons and neutrons, introducing a new term “baryons”, and finally by describing the concept of “baryonic matter” in simple words. This sequential stringing information simplifies the understanding of the message for the unwary reader and, therefore, contributes to easier comprehension. Thus, by means of information deployment tactics, sender achieves an increase in the level of competence of receiver and directly influences his/her consciousness in order to persuade him in the truth of the presented scientific text.

## Argumentative justification

Justification is the main component of the persuasion process. It is based on relative persuasiveness, which sender achieves by providing sufficient grounds, convincing arguments, strong reasons in support of his/her thesis. For effective persuasion, the author can turn to a wide range of tools aimed at arguing this or that scientific theory, hypothesis or concept. Our observations allowed us to identify the following grammatical tools: conjunctions introducing adverb clauses of cause and effect (*as, because, so that, therefore, therefore, hence, due to etc.*):

*The fate of a rocky asteroid is uncertain, **because** its next orbit could bring it too close to Jupiter, whose gravitational pull could push it in a completely different direction.* [Popular Science, January 24, 2023];

*A recent study of retracted papers by Arturo Casadevall, Ferric Fang and R. Grant Steen has uncovered that 67 percent article retractions — papers that the journal or researchers, or both, disavow — are **due to** scientific misconduct.* [Popular Science, October 4, 2012]

At the lexical level, argumentative justification was represented through the use of lexemes *result, target, means* and their derivatives, as well as synonymous lexemes and their derivatives (*effect, consequence, purpose, to lead to, to bring about, as a result of*):

***The result is** essentially a giant ball of neutrons—and protons that absorb electrons, becoming neutrons in the process—and it's very, very dense.* [Popular Science, September 25, 2023];

*Certain odors might have such a strong effect as to actually change the body's metabolism and **lead to** an early grave.* [Popular Science, April 22, 2010<https://www.popsci.com/science/article/2010-04/blocked-sense-smell-leads-longer-lives-fruit-flies/>].

Thus, the tactic of argumentative justification, as the leading construct of persuasion, can be presented at different linguistic levels, which indicates its universality in the process of providing arguments in support of the thesis of a sender. At the same time, the receiver, critically analyzing weighty arguments, can more willingly perceive the proposed scientific information and be convinced of its reliability.

## Conclusion

Identification of strategies and tactics of direct, explicit persuasive influence, especially in such important areas of life as science, becomes one of the most urgent needs for modern researcher. Popular science literature, as one of the communication forms between science and society, is a universal

channel for relaying scientific discoveries to a wide audience and an effective tool for building trust in science. Construction of persuasive discourse by using persuasive tactics contributes to the assertion of the truth and significance of scientific achievements in a wide mass-media circle of readers.

The conducted analysis of communicative techniques of direct speech influence allowed to reveal a set of tactics aimed at direct persuasion of the receiver. In addition, these tactics allow to strengthen the verbal impact on the reader and bring to him/her information through the analysis and critical perception of the latter. The variety of communicative techniques used by sender helps to build a persuasive discourse and cause trust to the scientific message on the part of the recipient. Thus, the strategy of reporting information, as one of the leading ones in the arsenal of direct persuasion, strengthens the argumentative impact on the reader's attitude to the subject of the message through the information presenting, which is not accompanied by manipulative linguistic means: the author offers information for conscious perception and critical understanding. The other strategy "circle of one's own" services the sense of belonging of the receiver to a selected circle of specialists and can also set him/her up for analytical perception of the scientific message, which, in its turn, contributes to the successful process of persuasion. The next strategy — reference to the background knowledge of a sender is significant for the effective achievement of persuasion, because it determines the set of communicative techniques used by the author. The sender's knowledge of the receiver's level of awareness in this or that scientific field determines the success of the latter's persuasion. The use of the strategy of Deployment of information is obligatory when the author has every reason to assume that his/her reader is not prepared for rational understanding of scientific information, therefore, the first — is obliged to provide an appropriate way of presenting the material using various communicative techniques, in particular: explanation, commenting, exemplification, etc. Equally important, and perhaps the most important, is argumentative justification. This tactic consists in presenting convincing arguments, critically analyzing which, the receiver is able to change his/her initial point of view and be convinced of the truth of the proposed scientific information.

Thus, the above mentioned communicative tactics and strategies have a great potential of explicit verbal influence and can contribute to changing the initial attitudes of a wide audience of popular science literature.

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## CONCEPT OF MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORY OF GENDER BASED ON THE THEORY OF LACUNARITY

It is productive to analyze the feminine generic correlates of animate masculine names as intra-linguistic grammatical lacunae. The study of these forms in the paradigm of lacunarity theory allows us to focus on their linguistic and pragmatic characteristics. The gender of nouns in traditional grammar is not accepted to be classified into categories whose functioning is determined by communicative parameters. Moreover, even in communicatively oriented grammatical descriptions, gender is qualified solely on formal syntactic grounds, since for inanimate nouns, obligatory formal agreement on gender ensures grammatical correctness of the utterance. Gender, of course, participates in the structuring of the text as a parameter of cohesion, since anaphoric relations are inseparable from grammatical semantics (nominative or syntactic elements of the content of the antecedent noun). The identity of gender (as well as number) is the minimum condition for the coreference of a name and a pronoun. However, the gender role of the category is by no means limited to ensuring the coherence of the text.

*Keywords:* grammar, category of gender, lacunarity, elimination, semantics, pragmatic features

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## КОНЦЕПЦИЯ МОРФОЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ КАТЕГОРИИ РОДА, ОСНОВАННАЯ НА ТЕОРИИ ЛАКУНАРНОСТИ

Женские родовые корреляты одушевленных имен мужского рода продуктивно анализировать как интраязыковые грамматические лакуны. Исследование этих форм в парадигме теории лакунарности позволяет сосредоточить внимание на их лингвопрагматических характеристиках. Род существительных в традиционной грамматике не принято относить к категориям, функционирование которых обусловлено коммуникативными параметрами. Более того: и в коммуникативно ориентированных грамматических описаниях род квалифицируется исключительно на формально-



синтаксических основаниях, поскольку для неодушевленных существительных облигатное формальное согласование по роду обеспечивает грамматическую правильность высказывания. Род, конечно, участвует в структурировании текста в качестве параметра когезии, поскольку анафорические отношения неотделимы от грамматической семантики (номинативного или синтаксического элементов содержания антецедента-существительного). Тожество рода (и числа) является минимальным условием кореферентности имени и местоимения. Однако обеспечением связности текста роль категории рода отнюдь не исчерпывается.

*Ключевые слова:* грамматика, категория рода, лакунарность, элиминация, семантика, прагматические особенности

## Introduction

Language tends to accumulate information about how words were used at different stages of their “life cycle”, that is why the language is called “a warehouse of visionary fragments of different eras.” Naturally, most of the language forms reflect the long-term, mythological thinking that developed in the first 35,000 years of the existence of human language.

In the Indo-European proto-language, two generic systems are reconstructed: the juxtaposition of “animate — inanimate” genera and the juxtaposition of “male– female — neutral” genera. These two systems belong to different epochs (the second is later), they are heterogeneous. Subsequently, the “animate” genus was transformed into masculine and feminine, and the ancient “inanimate” genus received the meaning of the neuter genus. The “secondary” and derivative of the feminine gender in this new gender system is manifested in the semantic content of the generic correlates that make up the privative opposition with the unmarked masculine gender: the masculine gender conveys the entire subject class (generic concept), and not only the masculine gender, while the grammatical feminine gender in such opposition indicates exclusively the feminine gender. It is precisely this circumstance that determines the generic lacunarity — the absence (at least in the usage) of paired feminine names [Mahonina, 2006].

Modern European languages that have retained the genus category differ in the volume of this category (the existing grammatical knowledge that makes up this category). In French, Italian and Spanish, the gender category is represented by two classes: masculine and feminine nouns. However, in those languages that have lost the neuter gender, it is often possible to talk about its relict “remnants” [Belyaeva, Brusenskaya, 2021].

## Materials and methods

The methodological basis of the work is the theory of intercultural communication and the linguocultural concept of grammar, which asserts the conditionality of grammatical units, including social (cultural-historical) factors.

The following methods were used to achieve the set goal and solve the outlined tasks:

- comparative-typological method used to detect and investigate interlingual correspondences (similarities and differences of equivalent categories in different languages).
- traditional inductive-deductive method;
- contextual analysis (and the “broad context of the situation” was also taken into account);
- systemic-functional method with elements of transformation and substitution.

The empirical material was various text fragments demonstrating cognitive, pragmatic, linguocultural parameters of lacunas and their elimination. The material used is mainly Russian and English language facts extracted from topical sources

## Results and discussion

Languages differ in priority means of forming generic correlates of anthroponyms. In Spanish, the “ideal” distribution scheme is considered to be the a -o model: hermano — hermana ‘brat-sestra’, enfermero — enfermera ‘sanitar-sanitarka’, cajero — cajera ‘kassir-kassirsha’; in Italian, a significant part of personal nouns denoting female persons is formed by adding endings -and to the base: suoceri — suocera ‘father-in-law-mother-in-law’, scolaro — scolara ‘schoolboy — schoolgirl’, commess — commessa ‘salesman — saleswoman’; and in French, a large number of equivalent pairs are formed using the suffixation: directeur — directrice ‘director — headmistress’, poete — poetesse ‘poet — poetess’, vendeur — vendeuse ‘salesman — saleswoman’. In Spanish, French and Italian, there are nouns that are not correlative in gender, and do not form special feminine designations: Spanish: artista — ‘artist, -ka’, cliente — ‘client, ka’, patriota — ‘patriot, -ka’; Italian: cantante — ‘singer — singer’, pianist — ‘pianist, -ka’, ginnasta — ‘gymnast, -ka’; French: touriste — ‘tourist, -ka’, secetaire — ‘secretary (male and female)’, pianist — ‘pianist, -ka’. In Russian, a secretary, a poet, an artist, but not an artist, a gymnast, a tourist, a pianist can be applicable to women.

It is known that grammar explores the laws by which our thoughts take on a material, linguistic shell. If E. Sepir associated the presence of genera with the “dogmas of the unconscious”, with archaic concepts that are supported in modern languages by the inertia of grammatical form” [Sepir, 1993: 77–78], then A. A. Potebnya noted that “grammatical gender belongs to the number of common anthropomorphic concepts (anthropomorphic categories) that serve to dismember, bring into the order and assimilation of the entire content of thought” [Potebnya, 1993: 61]. As convincingly shown in the works of A. A. Potebnya, masculine and feminine forms are never systematically empty, they retain their categorical meaning even if they characterize inanimate nouns, which is perfectly visible when using such words poetically (that is, when personifying or comparing). Moreover, the genus is semantically significant in animate nouns — in anthroponyms and zoonyms.

Two types of gender gaps are distinguished in the work [Makhonina, 2003]. Gender gaps of the first type are observed in the case of the existence of two correlative units in the background language, while in the compared language there is one lexeme denoting a person of only one gender. So, in English there is a scout lexeme, which corresponds to the scout loan in Russian. However, the existing lexeme *brownie* (a girl scout of younger age, i.e., 8–11 years old) in English has no correspondences in the Russian language, which indicates a gender lacuna of the first type.

Gender lacunae of the second type are cases when there is only one name of a person in the background language, the generic correlate is absent or non-normative (and this indicates an intra-linguistic lacunarity in this language), and the complete absence of the designation of the corresponding persons of both sexes in the compared language. For example, in English there is the *dowager* lexeme — ‘an elderly lady with aristocratic manners’. There is no correlative nomination for males. Consequently, there is an intra-linguistic gap in the English language as well. And in Russian there is no corresponding name for either women or men. Thus, this concept is completely lacunary for the Russian language and we can talk about a gender lacuna of the second type [Makhonina, 2003].

Languages with a developed gender category differ significantly in terms of the ability to form correlative suffix pairs denoting persons by profession. Thus, in the Czech language, there is a high word-formation standardization: generic correlates (moreover, they are not marked either stylistically or emotionally) are formed regularly. The absence of a female (or male) correlate is due only to extralinguistic factors — the presence of exclusively male or exclusively female spheres of activity. It’s different in Russian. Although there are almost more female doctors than men,

there are no trends towards the formation of a neutral (standard) correlate of the feminine gender. In other Slavic languages — Ukrainian, Polish and Bulgarian, although there is no such maximum standardization as in Czech, however, female correlates are formed much more regularly than in Russian. The same trend is observed in Western European languages: for example, in German, for five hundred names of professions, there are only two dozen words that do not have female correlates [Akay, Trofimova, 2023]. The “special” position of the Russian language is explained by a number of factors: affixes of “femininity” convey a special meaning — “wife by husband”, and this meaning is quite relevant; affixes of “femininity” coincide with anthroponyms and animalisms (doctor rabbit), which do not contribute to the transformation of female anthroponyms into standard (neutral and normative) designations of women by profession.

Naturally, languages have different gender associations associated with the category of genus of faunonyms and inanimate nouns. For French children, mice, frogs and owls are “girls”, and rats, toads and owls are “boys”, notes A. M. Shakhmaikin [Shakhmaikin, 1996: 23], referring to the close correlation of gender representations and grammatical gender. Cf.: New York — chameleon. The wide smile on his face is easily replaced by a contemptuous grimace. New York is relaxingly serene and deadly. He is lavishly generous and painfully stingy (P. Dovatov “Craft”). Cf. also known since the time of Gogol are associations such as Moscow is a homebody, bakes pancakes, and St. Petersburg is a dandy, etc.

A typified stylistic device was the comparison of the grammatical gender of an inanimate noun and the gender characteristics of a person, cf. the title of the article and the lead: The word “power” is feminine. Valentina Matvienko: “I have never been discounted for being a woman,” as well as a fragment of the text (interview with the Chairman of the Federation Council Valentina Matvienko):

*“You have repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that there are few women in power in Russia. Maybe quotas should be introduced in the leadership of parties and government structures? After all, the word “power” is feminine.”*

*“You are right, the word “power” is feminine, but for centuries her face has been predominantly male. Women at the head of state, government, and politics were an exception”.*

The title of A. N. Tolstoy’s story “The Viper” is not least dictated by the grammatical gender of the epicene. The title is metaphorical, and the metaphorical transfer corresponds to the main direction in the development of semantics of most languages — the transfer of the name from animal to

human. For the first time, this key word for understanding the entire text appears in the second chapter of the story in the speech of squadron commander Yemelyanov and actualizes viability (“survivability”) heroines:

*“I must tell you,” he repeated for cheerfulness, “you are tenacious, Olga Vyacheslavovna, like a viper...”*

In the following narrative, other meanings are associated with the word viper:

*Few people recognized her as a woman, she was very powerful and evil, like a viper.*

The case when she furiously hit the “brother” with the butt of a revolver in the nose, everyone “discouraged even thinking about the “viper”. In peaceful life, A. N. Tolstoy writes, reckless courage, her viper anger, was not needed.

Thus, the title of the story does not just indicate the main character, but — implicitly — means her whole life, which would be impossible without relying on the grammatical feminine gender, which, in interaction with lexical semantics, provides the whole complex of figurative representations [Laskova, 2001]. Naturally, it is possible to convey the corresponding set of meanings in a “generic” language in many ways, but the grammatical (morphological) nuance will be irretrievably lost. Metaphorical zoomorphic designations serving the anthroposphere in languages that have a developed genus category are most often used based on generic characteristics.

The category of the genus of personal names turns out to be highly informative in diachrony: for example, the coincidence of the genus of a noun with the gender of the person it designates makes it possible to identify the status and role positions of men and women in the life of society. An appeal, for example, to the Old English period shows that all key positions (managerial and political functions, the function of protecting the state, etc.) were occupied by men, and this is reflected in the developed system of masculine nominations denoting rulers of different ranks and warriors [Akay 2021]. Masculine nouns reflect the attachment of the post of priest and senior positions in the hierarchical structure of the church organization to men, as well as the occupation of qualified professional activities. Thus, already in the language of the Old English period, the function of generic differences in personal nouns is not limited to the designation of the biological sex of a person, but consists in determining the place of representatives of different sexes in the life of society [Pylaikina V. P., 2003: 91]. Interestingly, the names of persons by profession can be associatively associated mainly with either male or female persons: signs of

the masculine gender are consistently attributed to words like killer, robber, attacker, fighter, stabber, rapist, assassin, gang, hood, although these words did not have an explicit relation to the masculine gender by grammatical or lexical indications.

For European languages that have a grammatical gender category, gender asymmetry is typical, which manifests itself in the privative generic opposition of animate nouns (the masculine gender is used to denote a class in general and is an unmarked member of the opposition, whereas the feminine gender specifically indicates the feminine gender). Lacunarity (the absence of paired correlates of the feminine gender) persists when it is important to give an idea of the class as a whole and there is no need to overcome the standard, averaging, depersonalization (a polyclinic requires a pediatrician, a company requires a sales manager). Naturally, an informal feminine name can be formed from each such name, as a rule, an intentional one.

## Conclusion

The grammatical norm is plural in nature, since it reflects diachrony, and therefore makes the coexistence of traditional and new forms a reality. Therefore, grammatical derivation (in synchrony) may, in fact, reflect the lost norm of previous epochs. The validity of the study of linguistic deviativity lies in the fact that it reflects the fundamental intentionality of language. The developed national language has the potential not only to implement its systemic patterns, but also to generate various kinds of violations of systemic linguistic norms, which, however, do not lead to the destruction of the system, but reveal the creative and adaptive potential of the language system.

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## CULTURAL UNITS OF TRANSLATION AND TECHNIQUES FOR CREATING A WORLD VIEW\*

The article is devoted to the peculiarities of the embodiment of the world picture in Russian translations of zhyrau poetry (poets of the Middle Ages) and the role of cultural and functional dominants in them. Thus, the research subject of the world picture is examined from the perspectives of reflection (G. Bogin) and pan-determinism (C. Todorov). This approach facilitates the establishment of a connection between the cultural elements of the source text, the translation strategy employed, and the methods used to convey them in the translated text. The description of cultural units as a way of creating a national picture of the world allows us to study the mechanism of the impact of the poet's spoken word on the addressee. The aim of the work is to consider culturonyms as units of artistic translation of Kaztugan Zhyrau and Dospambet Zhyrau poetry and their role in the embodiment of reflexion and pan-determinism. The work also involved considering the rhetorical statuses and modalities of Zhyrau's statements, establishing connections between them, analyzing the genre synthesis (elements of anacreontic with military and lyrical-romantic poetics), and studying the functions of artistic tropes. To achieve the goal, non-rhetorical (discourse) and hermeneutic approaches were utilized, along with the method of comparative analysis. These approaches and methods in the study of cultural units of translation in Zhyrau poetry, in the aspect of reflection and pan-determinism, allow us to see the unity of Kazakh culture as a way of creating a world-view. The article presents a classification of rhetorical modalities of Zhyrau's statements, functions of lyrical narrative, and symbol types. The text describes the structure of symbolism as a correlation between the signified and signifier, expressed and implied, and types of associative connections, as well as poetic syntax. It also substantiates the main regularities in the complexity of translating cultural units, images of time and space in the national picture of the world.

*Keywords:* zhyrau poetry, culturonyms, authenticity of translation, national-cultural identity, reflexion, pan-determinism

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\* The paper is contributed as part of the project "Scientific concept of Kazakh rhetoric: ideal of rhetoric, identity, argumentation and speech practice".



## КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ ЕДИНИЦЫ ПЕРЕВОДА И ПРИЕМЫ СОЗДАНИЯ КАРТИНЫ МИРА\*

Статья посвящена особенностям воплощения картины мира в русских переводах поэзии жырау (поэтов Средневековья) и роли в них культурно-функциональных доминант. Так, картина мира как предмет исследования рассмотрена с позиций рефлексии (Г. Богин) и пандетерминизма (Ц. Тодоров), что способствует установлению связи между культурными единицами оригинала как объектом перевода, выбором стратегии перевода и способами их передачи в переводе. Описание культурных единиц как способа создания национальной картины мира позволяет изучить механизм воздействия устного слова поэта на адресата. Целью работы является рассмотрение культуронимов как единиц художественного перевода поэзии Казтугана жырау и Доспамбета жырау и их роли в воплощении рефлексии и пандетерминизма. Достижение цели потребовало рассмотрения риторических статусов, риторических модальностей высказываний жырау, установление связи между ними, анализа жанрового синтеза — элементов анакреонтики с воинской и лирико-романтической поэтикой, изучения функций художественных тропов. В работе использованы неориторический (дискурсный), герменевтический подходы, а также метод сравнительно-сопоставительного анализа. Данные подходы и методы при изучении культурных единиц перевода в поэзии жырау в аспекте рефлексии и пандетерминизма позволяют увидеть единство казахской культуры как способ создания картины мира. В статье приведены классификация риторических модальностей высказываний жырау, функций лирического нарратива, видов символа. Описана структура символики как корреляция *означаемого и означающего, высказанного и подразумеваемого*, типы ассоциативной связи, поэтический синтаксис. Обоснованы основные закономерности в сложности перевода культурных единиц, обменов времени и пространства в национальной картине мира.

*Ключевые слова:* поэзия жырау, культуронимы, аутентичность перевода, национально-культурная идентичность, рефлексия, пандетерминизм

### Introduction

The study of the national-cultural specifics by zhyrau poetry is an interesting object in creating a world view and the impact of original culture on choosing translation strategy, and ways of transmitting the cultural units of the original in translation. The song poetry of the XVI–XVII centuries by Kaztugan and Dospambet zhyrau reflects the historical events

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\* Статья подготовлена в рамках проекта «Научная концепция казахской риторики: идеал риторики, личность, аргументация и речевая практика».

from establishment of the Kazakh Khanate, as well as philosophical and patriotic themes were the principle of selection for analysis.

The poetic texts by zhyrau act as a historical document and as a monument of the culture of Kazakh folk. Paying attention to the techniques of creating a worldview and their influence selecting cultural units in translating assists to form ideas about the national character, history, mentality and world view of a particular nation in the literary heritage of a particular culture.

The hermeneutic interpretation of value representations in zhyrau poetry by the reflection and pan-determinism aspects carried out permits to see the cultural units of translation and techniques of creating worldview. The hermeneutic approach based on considering reflection (Bogin, 2001) enables describing worldview and rhetorical statuses in the aspect by pan-determinism (Todorov, 2010). Examples from hermeneutic interpretation of reflection and pan-determinism in poetry by Kaztugan and Dospambet zhyrau contribute to investigate cultural units/culturonims of translation and techniques of creating worldview.

The novelty of the work lies in the generalization of the techniques of worldview creation in zhyrau poetry from the positions of hermeneutics and pan-determinism, tools of rhetorical analysis. The article aims to classify cultural names as units of artistic translation from hermeneutic and pan-deterministic perspectives to develop translation strategies and achieve authenticity from original to translation. The tasks of the study include the systematization of the rhetorical status of the utterances, the classification of the rhetorical modes, the correlation between the rhetorical status of the utterances and the rhetorical modes, the analysis of the genre synthesis-anacreontic with military and lyric-romantic poetry, the study of the function of the tropic.

## Methods and materials

According to Mezhkova, “the study of the literary text as the source of culture, an expression of the national character and psyche of the particular people is increasingly drawing the attention of representatives of modern humanities to the text as the unit of culture” [Mezhkova, 2014, p. 106]. Indeed, fictional works are very interesting from the perspective of studying national and cultural specifics of a literary text. Such a view is fruitful for studying Kazakh rhetoric in terms of cultural memory and reconstruction of national world view, as well as cultural information in a literary text. Also relevant is the researcher’s thinking about the role of artistic works in dialoguing cultures, sources of national character and national identity. These factors become particularly apparent when translat-

ing and interpreting a work of art in another culture. Translating helps to understand the national linguistic, literary, and artistic attitudes of the society which created the original. This is where the role of linguistic culture in translation comes into play. It becomes possible to establish archiving and generating functions of zhyrau texts related to cultural information.

Razumovskaya's ideas about the ways of presenting cultural information, when it is about cultural experiences, national and cultural semantics, or information about the most important incidents, people, customs, beliefs, daily life, which are connected with the life of the national and cultural community, are of methodical value for the topic of the paper. "Cultural information in literary texts is heterogeneous in nature, since it is represented by internal ("own" cultural information of original language) and external ("foreign" cultural information described by original language) varieties" [Razumovskaya, 2016, p. 111].

Cultural entities are a complex phenomenon, the complexity and diversity of which are particularly evident in the process of communication between representatives of different cultures. However, many factors should be considered when translating a fictional text.

The author uses the term "kulturonym" proposed by V. Kabakchi to designate cultural units. Culturonyms fulfill a very important function in a fictional text, they carry information about all significant features of the life of a country and its people (geographical location, natural conditions, character of the social structure, cultural traditions, etc.). The cultural and national coloring of the work is a very necessary component of it, which contributes to the correct perception of the characters and actions of the characters, the author's idea, the description of life in a certain period of time. According to the definition by the scientist, culturalonyms are the words that are assigned to the specific elements of a culture (Kabakci, 1998, p. 16). Culturalonyms include linguistic signs referring to material and spiritual objects and images. That which relates to material culture, traditions and rites also relates to the values, ideals and worldviews of man [Vezhbitskaya, 1999, p. 264]. Culturonyms are nationally determined and culturally conditioned language units [Privalova, 2005, p. 120]. A special difficulty for the translator are culturonyms appearing in a fictional text, since a special kind of communication takes place between the reader and the writer, where the participants of this communication are separated by time and space [Sereda, 2020, p. 173].

The presence of culturonyms in a fictional text poses a difficult task for translators, as the translating language is not always capable of translating a word or phrase combination that has a unique or rare meaning without loss.

The worldview in the culture of the translated language gives rise to new literary images. They consider the function of cultural units of translation as the “encounter” of the national identity of the original and the translation. Distinguishing cultural units-cultural names [Razumovskaya, 2016, p. 110] raises the question of the carriers of cultural memory of literary translation, about which the translator decides to translate” [Razumovskaya, 2018, p. 48].

The description of the Kazakh national conceptual sphere in terms of the influence of the original culture on the choice of translation strategy and ways of transmitting cultural units of the original in translation raises questions of reflection [Bogin, 2001] and pan-determinism [Todorov, 2010] as factors of effectiveness of communication between poet and recipient.

Analyzing rhetorical techniques in which metaphor plays a role refers to the works of ancient philosophers and rhetoricians Aristotle, Quintilian, Cicero, etc. In foreign studies, metaphor as a rhetorical trope is the subject of studies by J. Dubois, J.-M. Klinkinberg, F. Mange, F. Peer, A. Trignon, F. Edelin.

The works of Kazakh scientists, devoted to the national image of the Kazakh world and to the problem of translating zhyrau poetry, are of great importance for the topic. These are the works of Ch. Valikhanov, M. Auezov, M. Magauin, E. Tursunov, A. Zhaksylykov, K. Zhanabaev, Y. Bekturov.

Ch. Valikhanov wrote on the Zhyrau, the masters of the word of the Middle Ages: “... the improvisers who lived in different times perpetuated in the memory of the people the remarkable events of their time... together with customs, proverbs, sayings, and their code of people’s rights, forming a complete picture of the past historical and spiritual life of the people...” [Valikhanov, 1984, p. 404–05]. Having occupied a worthy place in the history of Kazakh culture, zhyrau poetry preserved the spiritual and moral values of the ancestors and became a means of transmitting Kazakh philosophy from generation to generation. It became the pinnacle of the verbal art of the nomadic Kazakhs, a testimony to the high level of development of Kazakh literature of its time. According to the researcher Zh. Bekturov, “observations on the semantics of the oral individual poetic culture of the Kazakh people make it possible to reveal the former lexical and figurative richness of Kazakh poetry, to reveal the stylistic and genre functions of traditional artistic forms, to deepen the understanding of the poetic traditions and canons of the Kazakh people” [Bekturov, 1989, p. 44]. It is known that the first translated poems date back to the second half of the 19th century. K. Zhanabaev writes in the works of Ch. Ch. Va-

likhanov and G. N. Potanin [Zhanabaev, 2007, p. 81] about what is known about the publication of the works of Shalkiiz in 1885, Asan Kaigy and other zhyrau. The researcher notes that the interest in the work of zhyrau increased again in the 60–70s of the XX century due to the active activity of modern Kazakh poets and writers who popularized the work of heroic singers. At that time large anthologies of Kazakh poetry were published, the first collections of literary translations appeared, in which famous Russian poets took part: Vs. Rozhdestvensky, Vl. Tsybin, M. Botvinnik. Modern scholars — translators of zhyrau poetry into Russian are M. Magauin, E. Tursunov, B. Kairbekov, K. Zhanabaev, A. Kodar, M. Uali. The Russian poet V. Rozhdestvensky and the Bulgarian poet and writer A. Zvezdinov are known as translators of Zhyrau's works.

The most promising works for our research are those that focus on textual analysis in the translation of Kazakh poems, considering the extratextual and extralinguistic parameters, the genre, which imposes the conditions of the source text on the translator, and also forces the translator to choose the means and the cultural context of the translated text. In this case, it is necessary to refer to the work of K. Zhanabayeva et al. "The system of poetry of the Kazakh poets' works in the XV–XVIII centuries, and the problems of its reconstruction in translation into Russian" where she discusses adjustments and difficulties of translation, "the rhythm of the poem, the main element of the system of poetry has been distorted, and as a result the emotional background of the work has changed" [Zhanabayeva, 2007, p. 108]. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the spirit and rhythm of the steppe people were preserved. The scholar also writes about translating strategy and authenticity: "It is necessary to discover the organic connection of all structural and semantic elements and levels, first of all, with the rhythms, intonations, the syntactic construction of the language, its sound regime, to catch the historical and genetic developmental connections of structures from simple to complex, from various elements of the system of poetry to the system of poetry itself as a holistic aesthetic expression" [Zhanabaev, 2015, p. 296].

Worthy of note is the work on the role of ethnolinguistics in the study of identity through the prism of ideology. Thus, Zhaksylykov states: "Translating zhyrau poetry requires not only serious pre-translation analysis, but also a kind of historical and cultural research to identify significant realities, concepts, markers, symbols, all subject images semantically related to their epoch, ethnic culture, mentality of a past society" [Zhaksylykov, 2017, p. 314]. About the importance of reconstruction of poetic semantics and poetic parameters K. Zhanabaev writes. The primary and the most important methodological task of the translator is the reconstruc-

tion of the rhythmic-melodic, intonation and syntactic systems, the size of which in the Turkic original of the seven-syllable poems, the quite obvious preponderance of which in the poetry of all zhyrau is a clear evidence of its antiquity and form” [Zhanabaev, 2007, p. 152].

The use of such approaches as non-rhetorical (discursive), hermeneutic, as well as the method of comparative analysis, allows us to formulate the hypothesis of the article and confirm its validity.

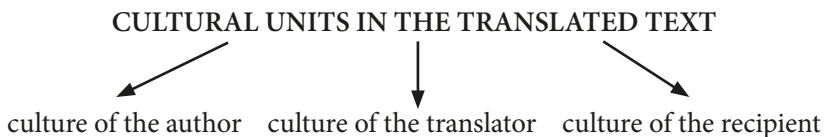
## Results

This article substantiates the hypothesis that the cultural units of translation are reflection and pan-determinism. It takes the problems of translating Zhyrau poetry as an example. The article demonstrates their role in forming a rhetorical modality and creating a worldview using the texts of Kaztugan and Dospambet zhyrau.

## Discussion

One of the ways to develop the mentioned topic is the concept of multiple dialogics of a translated literary text, mainly due to the intercultural context. In this respect, the problem of translating cultural names gains a special role. The authenticity of the respective vocabulary and its adaptation to the Kazakh context are necessary to present the reader in the original text with a translation of the whole world of the respective people. Difficulties in the translation of cultural names consist in the absence of an equivalent in the translated language due to the lack of an object (referent) designated by reality in the native speakers of this language. In addition, it is necessary to convey the color (connotation) of reality along with its semantics — its national and historical coloration. Choice of cultural units to be translated depends on relationship between cultures of source, target and receiver.

Translation makes it possible to consider the work of literature as the result of communication between the author, the translator and the reader. Identifying cultural names from the standpoint of reflection and pan-determinism characterizes the ways in which this relationship manifests. The view of cultural units in the translated text is reflected in the scheme.



Interpretation of the text as a cultural phenomenon: the culture of the author, the culture of the translator, and the cultural world view of the recipient — creates the conditions for studying the world view of Kaztugan and Dospambet zhyrau from the point of view of reflection in a hermeneutic perspective (G. Bogin) — in the synthesis of understanding, re-expression and interpretation. On the example of the songs of the Kaztugan “Alań da alań, alań jurt” (The earth, the indigenous earth) and of the Dospambet “Qoǵaly kólder, kom sýlar” (Kuga’s covered lakes, quiet waters) and the footnotes in Russian compiled by K. Urazayeva and E. Idrisova, let’s turn to the identification of cultural units of translation.

The theme of the homeland in Kaztugan’s song “Alań da alań, alań jurt” (Earth, native earth around) is based on the parallelism of two images. On the one hand, the first two lines of the song create a static image: Alań da alań, alań jurt, / Earth, native earth around, (1), Aqala ordam qońǵan jurt, / Earth where the white yurt is my home, (2). On the other hand, repeating the sound of ‘alań’ increases fear and sadness. The translation of the words “alań”, “jurt” is a lexical transformation. The value of the earth — ‘plain’, ‘becoming’, ‘pasture’, ‘jurma’, ‘house’ — is created with the help of images of nature and the nomads, which create the chronotope of the Homeland and the vast expanse. The rhyme “jurt” repeats 9 times. Each time a new value is created. Thus, in the first line “jurt” has the meaning of “land”, in the twelfth line — “nomad”, in the remaining lines — “house” as well. The word becomes symbolic, syntactic parallelism becomes a rhetorical means of influencing. In the quatrain about the family tree:

*Atamyz bizdiń bu Súinish / Earth, where ded my Suyunish (3)*  
*Kúieý bolyp bar barǵan jurt, / Family joys here comprehended, (4)*  
*Anamyz bizdiń Boztýǵan, / Earth where my mother Boztugan, (5)*  
*Kelinshek bolyp túsken jurt, / She became a bride, (6)*

The main value of the Kazakh people, which are part of the era by zhyrau, is presented on Earth, the genus, the relatives (genealogy).

The picture of children and youth: *Qarǵadai mynaý (7) became a little like a voronenok (also: small growth was born on Light (7) — does not spoil.* The lyric hero is a warrior: *Qaraǵaidan sadaq býdyryp, (11) / The land where the pine bow and arrow (9),*

*Qylshanymdy sary jún oqqa tolyty, (12) / The feathers in the quiver are bright yellow (10).*

Zhyrau is represented by the beauty and divinity of the earth: rivers, lakes, camels, sheep, horses, fish, using rhetorical attributes: epithets (the white house, yellow feathers), seduction, and exaggeration (*calf — size, Lamb — as yagnenok, taidai — as draw, sheep — as Baran*).

*Bottashygy buzaýdaı, / With a calf the size of grass-bottashyk, (23)*  
*Boz sazany toqtydaı, / The carp is huge, like a one-year-old ram, (24)*  
*Balygy taidai tyýlaýan, / As foals frolic, there was a fish playing, (25)*  
*Baqasy qoidai shyýlaýan. / The frog, like a sheep, screamed in fright. (26)*

The use of anaphora in the song was caused by the image of the Homeland in compositional and national terms. Due to the structure and phonetics of the original language, the transmission of the sound symbolism is a difficult task for the translator.

According to Zhanabayev, the main idea of the song “Qoǵaly kólder, kom sýlar” is “You should not regret if you lived and died as a hero” (Zhanabayev, 2007, p. 100). Zhyrau remembers his past life, does not regret his life (he was a warrior, defeated nomads on riverbanks, rode a horse, embraced girls, drank kumys. The hero enjoyed all earthly pleasures. The singer tells about history and tragedy, how enemies attack his army from both sides, arrows penetrate his body, how to die in the Sary-Arka herb. Zhyrau, singing about his past life, describes his ardent love for his native land, the land of his upbringing, in connection with the future of future generations. Dospambet Zhyrau puts the spirit of patriotism above all else, describing with great love the parental settlement, which often took part in bloody battles. He glorifies talent and hospitality, a noble tradition that goes back to the ancestors.

The sevenfold repetition of the verb “okinbes” (do not be sorry) is part of the genre formation, text style, emphasizing the combative, heroic, lyrical and romantic image. It becomes a way of creating and destroying thoughts in the reader. It becomes a method of influencing the reader’s consciousness through sound symbolism. Assonance and epithets express the deception of silence and immobility in nature:

*Qoǵaly kólder, qom sýlar, / Kuga overgrown lakes, quiet waters, (1)*  
*Qonystar qonǵan ókinbes, / Who chose them for nomadism, will not regret, (2)*

and is disturbed by the movement of a warrior on horseback:

*Arystandai eki butyn alshatyp, (3) Arǵymaq mingen ókinbes (4) /*  
*Those who choose chain mail as clothing do not regret it (3, 4).*

Next, the author uses the metaphor *buzdaı* (like *Taurus*), which is not in the translation. Allegory creates an illusion, the deceptiveness of peace and silence. The theme of deception, *illusory thoughts* (the joy of life *Arýlar qushqan ókinbes* (8), / *Who is intoxicated with the fragrance of women in his arms, does not regret, (4) the enemy for the batyr Eki arystap jaý shapsa, (13) / If the enemy jumps from both sides, (9)) leads to farewell to the Homeland. A large*



variety of comparisons was accurately reproduced by the translator, but the rhythm of the verse is broken, there is a mismatch of lines:

*Oq qylqandai shanshylsa, (14) / And the arrow will get stuck with a fish bone, (10)*

*Qan jýsandaı egilse, (15) / Like a wormwood, the steppe will be flooded with blood, (11)*

*Aqqan sýdaı tógilse (16) / Crushing like a waterfall, (12)*

The results of the analysis of the songs of Khaztugan and Dospambeti from the standpoint of reflexivity, pan-determinism as cultural units, and the object of translation can be found in the table below. Table 1 characterizes the reflection in hermeneutic understanding: the world view in process and the trinity: understanding, re-expressing and interpreting, and can serve as a basis for creating accurate translations.

*Table 1. Reflection in the poetry by Kaztugan and Dospambet zhyrau*

Nº	Song name	Understanding	Re-expression	Interpretation
1	“Alań da alań, alań jurı” (Earth, native earth around) Kaztugan Zhyrau	The beauty and wealth of the native earth, the connection of generations	The spirit of patriotism	Tragic farewell to the Homeland
2	“Qoǵaly kólder, kom sýlar” (Kuga overgrown lakes, quiet waters) Dospambet Zhyrau	Description of the nomadic landscape, love for the Homeland, glorification of the heroism of heroes	Spirit of patriotism	Tragic farewell to the Homeland

*Table 2. Analysis of three symbol levels*

Nº	Song name	Symbol structure (Ts. Todorov)		
		Lexical level	Semantic level	Contextual level
1	“Alań da alań, alań jurı” (Earth, native earth around) Kaztugan Zhyrau	Earth, water, camels, wildlife, space	Loss of the whole as the world	Abundance and wealth of the native earth
2	“Qoǵaly kólder, kom sýlar” (Kuga overgrown lakes, quiet waters) Dospambet Zhyrau	Horses, beauties, koumiss, enemy, blood, steppe	Lyric-heroic patriotism	Nomadic life war

The world view in the songs of Zhyrau is based on pan-determinism (Ts. Todorov). It requires an analysis of the structure of the symbol in the unity of three levels of meaning — lexical, grammatical and contextual. The structure of the symbol as the basis of pan-determinism is reflected in the table below.

Two of Zhyrau's lyrical works are united by the concept of homeland, love for it, farewell to it. Table 3 shows examples of cultural units in Russian translation, containing information about major events, personalities, traditions, everyday realities of Kazakh life. Table 3 also contributes to the understanding of the ways of transmitting cultural units of translation, reflecting reflection and pan-determinism as techniques as tools for creating a world view.

*Table 3. Cultural units of translation and techniques for creating worldview in the poetry by Kaztugan and Dospambet zhyrau*

№	Song name	Cultural units	Techniques for creating world view
1	“Alañ da alań, alań jurť” (Earth, native earth around) Kaztugan Zhyrau	Yurt, nomad, Suyunysh, Boztugan, Kaztugan, horse, grass-bottashyk, Yedil	Epithets, comparisons, hyperboles, metaphors, anaphora, sound symbolism
2	“Qoǵaly kólder, kom sýlar” (Kuga overgrown lakes, quiet waters) Dospambet Zhyrau	Nomad, kumys, holiday, Sary-Arka, horse, worm-wood, betege	Epithets, metaphors, anaphora, allegory, sound symbolism

The Zhyrau style is characterized by the use of tropes and figures of speech, such as epithets, analogies, metaphorical expressions, authorial neologisms, repetitive expressions, proper nouns, and toponyms. It is also such figures of poetic syntax as anaphora, repetitions, rhetorical turns, parallelism, repetitions: anaphora, antithesis. Active use of poetic syntax, allegory illustrates rhetorical statuses through Zhyrau's statements and rhetorical modalities of knowledge, comprehension, persuasion. Concepts of homeland, aesthetics of heroism, steppe hedonism, Epicurean motifs determine the synthesis of Anacreonian, military and lyric-romantic poetics. Hence the lyrical narrative, playing with direct and indirect meanings.

As Zhaksylykov points out: “The animals and birds represented in the poetry of Zhyrau are also in a certain scale of values of signs, some of them have status, as they are included in the higher system of symbols, for example, a horse, a falcon, a swan, a wolf, a camel, etc., that is, these

are images that have significance in the totem cult of the ancient Turks. The semantics of these symbolic figures are very clear once and for all, there is no question, there is no reconsideration, much less desecration. This is a kind of clear value principle of zhyrau poetry” [Zhaksylykov, 2017, p. 312]. According to the scientist: “The homeland is symbolized by space, the thrice repeated “Alan” is an artistic polysemy that reveals the ambiguity of the image, a rich hierarchy of meanings. Biographical signs: Suyunish’s grandfather, Boztugan’s mother, the poet’s autobiographical appearance — “I, Kaztugan” — all represent the national world view through the artistic synthesis of the lyrical self and the people” [Urazayeva, 2010, p. 263].

The peculiarity of Kazakh rhetoric, including the rhetoric by Zhyrau, is the fixing norms of world view: to disperse nomads, to embrace women, to drink kumis, to fight the enemy, which is transmitted in the forms of verbs of the present tense. The value of world view concepts in correlating the metasystem as present / future leads to creating a predictive world view by the poet. The technique of allegory is widely used by Zhyrau. Images: thickets of kuga, a crow with a star, drops of koumiss — reproduce the subsystem (speech and hearing) as the basis of the rhetorical ideal of the Kazakh people. The song ends by saying that the Creator knows where we’re going to die.

Cultural units of translation function as a moment of “encounter” of national identities of original and translation by transferring equivalence of original. The semantic and artistic load is taken over by the cultural units / cultural names as an instrument of the rhetorical influence of the poet on the addressee. The national identity of poetic semantics is embodied in the illocutionary influence as a cultural unit of translation. Cultural units of translation include techniques of rhetorical argumentation. The ability of illocutionary influence to make another person its own allows us to study the armory of cultural units of translation intact. The analysis of the structure of symbolism reveals a special role in the lyrics by Zhyrau of the visual impact through the creation of the illusion of an artistically visible space. Analyzing the symbolism from the perspective of the signified/signifier, expressed/implicit, restoring the types of associative connection, contributes to creating an idea of the grammar of the text in a semiotic understanding.

## Conclusion

The analysis of Zhyrau songs due to standpoint of reflection and pan-determinism as techniques for creating a world view reveals their role in creating accurate translations of the works by Kaztugan Zhyrau and Do-

spambet Zhyrau. Translating cultural names does not only mean searching for the most authentic translation. It is also important to consider the type of reader, since the translator assumes the responsibility of representing the culture of the translated work through the text to recipients with a different language world view. The translator should consider the variety of cultural units, means of expression, stylistic techniques, including the functions of lyric narrative, structures and varieties of symbols, the relationship between the signified and the signifier, expressed and implied, and the reproduction of types of associative communication. Moreover, translation system of cultural units is revealed in the peculiarities of poetic syntax, the aesthetics steppe resident's heroism, Epicurean motifs creating genre strategies of Anacreontics, military and lyric-romantic poetics.

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## **“EUGENE ONEGIN”, ECONOMICS, AND ADAM SMITH’S “THEORY OF MORAL SENTIMENTS”**

Adam Smith’s system of moral philosophy is now out of fashion. Nowhere is that clearer than in economics. Today’s economists revere Smith’s “Wealth of Nations”, but they often neglect his “Theory of Moral Sentiments”. Economics needs reform, however. Everyone admits it. One possible reform could be a re-consideration of the economic role of moral philosophy. This essay argues that economists could use Alexander Pushkin’s great poem “Eugene Onegin” as a model for revisiting Smith’s moral philosophy, and to bring Smith’s “Moral Sentiments” back into fashion. Economists could thus bring the discussion of moral philosophy back into economics. Smith influenced Pushkin, and we begin this essay with a restatement of the facts about that influence. These facts come from Michael Alekseev. We next recount the argument about moral philosophy, which Smith made in his book on moral sentiments, and we claim to see Smith’s moral philosophy in Pushkin’s great poem “Eugene Onegin”. However, and this is the main point of this paper, Smith’s moral philosophy needs revision. People today seldom find it timely or persuasive. That means that economists tend now not to read Smith’s book on moral sentiments carefully — so they, wrongly, find in “Wealth of Nations” another argument entirely. They think the book is about an unrestrained and natural liberty for selfishness. Smith would not have wished his name to be associated with any such argument because he thought greed was ugly and immoral. Pushkin’s “Onegin” contained a revision of Smith’s moral philosophy, we believe. To support his view, we offer Boris Eifman’s brilliant contemporary ballet “Eugene Onegin” as a model for further commentary on this problem. That ballet shows “The Theory of Moral Sentiments” — even literally — in action. Economists should read “Onegin”, and they could use the poem to update both economics and Smith’s moral philosophy.

*Keywords:* Alekseev, Freud, greed, liberty, moral sentiments, Nietzsche, Pushkin, Onegin, Adam Smith

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### **«ЕВГЕНИЙ ОНЕГИН», ЭКОНОМИКА И «ТЕОРИЯ НРАВСТВЕННЫХ ЧУВСТВ» АДАМА СМИТА**

Система моральной философии Адама Смита сейчас вышла из моды. Нигде это не проявляется так ясно, как в экономике. Современные эконо-

мисты почитают «Богатство народов» Смита, но часто пренебрегают его «Теорией нравственных чувств». Однако экономическая теория нуждается в реформировании — все это признают. Одним из возможных направлений реформ мог бы стать пересмотр экономической роли моральной философии. В этой статье утверждается, что экономисты могли бы использовать великий роман в стихах Александра Сергеевича Пушкина «Евгений Онегин» в качестве модели для возвращения к моральной философии Смита, возрождая внимание к «Нравственным чувствам» Смита. Таким образом, можно было бы вернуть обсуждение моральной философии в сферу экономики. Смит оказал влияние на Пушкина, и мы начинаем эту статью с обобщения фактов об этом влиянии, упомянутых в работах Михаила Алексева. Далее мы обращаемся к аргументу о моральной философии, который Смит привел в своей книге о нравственных чувствах, и утверждаем, что видим моральную философию Смита в великом романе Пушкина. Однако, и это главный момент данной статьи, моральная философия Смита нуждается в пересмотре. Сегодня люди редко находят ее своевременной или убедительной. Это означает, что экономисты теперь склонны невнимательно читать книгу Смита о нравственных чувствах — поэтому они ошибочно находят и в «Богатстве народов» совершенно другой аргумент, думая, что это книга о безудержной и естественной свободе для эгоизма. Смит не хотел бы, чтобы его имя ассоциировалось с каким-либо подобным аргументом, потому что он считал жадность уродливой и аморальной. Мы полагаем, что «Онегин» Пушкина подразумевал пересмотр моральной философии Смита. Чтобы поддержать его точку зрения, мы обращаемся к блестящему современному балету Бориса Эйфмана «Евгений Онегин» в качестве образца для дальнейших комментариев по этому вопросу. Этот балет показывает теорию нравственных чувств — даже в буквальном смысле — в действии. Экономистам следует перечитать «Онегина», поскольку они могли бы использовать это произведение для обновления как экономической теории, так и моральной философии Смита.

*Ключевые слова:* Алексеев, Фрейд, жадность, свобода, нравственные чувства, Ницше, Пушкин, Онегин, Адам Смит

## Introduction

Alexander Pushkin's "Eugene Onegin" has long been a subject of research and discussion among scholars, because of not only its literary aspects, its fable and its wealth of details, describing Russian society of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but also because of the social, moral and philosophical ideas, that the author puts forward. According for instance to [Sintsov, 2015], the novel's first chapter can be read as an exposition of Pushkin's philosophical system — it describes Eugene's bringing up and the kind of education he obtains, his relationships with the society, his aspirations and attitudes, his character, which is often seen as a representation of his

entire generation's mindset (See also [Gershenson, 1997; Kibalnik, 1998]. Onegin, like most people, is a product of the society, his worldview was shaped by the society and initially he seems to be fitting perfectly into that society. However, as the novel progresses, we see that something goes wrong; Eugene's acting in accordance with the predominant social pressures comes into conflict with his inner self. His personal drama exposes fundamental society-wide moral issues.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the hypothesized influence of Adam Smith's moral philosophy on the author of "Eugene Onegin". Pushkin's familiarity with works by Smith and his mention of Smith in the novel is a common knowledge. He might have read about Adam Smith in the book on political economy by Henri Storch [Storch, 1852]. It seems to be taken for granted by most commentators that Alexander Pushkin refers to Smith's economic views — more specifically to the *Wealth of Nations*. It may be true with respect to the specific lines in the novel, mentioning the reasons of nations growing rich and the importance of simple product vs gold, but Smith's influence on Pushkin might have been more profound. Alexander Pushkin was also probably the one who took up not only Adam Smith's political economy but also his moral philosophy, which resonates with the philosophy of the novel *Eugene Onegin*.

The rest of the paper begins with a discussion of English philosophers that immediately preceded Smith, and whom Smith argued with in proposing his own theory of *Moral Sentiments*. Then, after an exposition of Smith's ethical ideas, which (as it is known now) were already familiar to his 18<sup>th</sup>-century Russian readers, we look at the parallels between Adam Smith's theory of moral philosophy and Alexander Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*.

## Methods and materials

The argumentation in this paper is based upon works by Adam Smith and Alexander Pushkin, as well as on the previous findings by scholars who had studied connections between the ideas of Smith and those of Pushkin earlier. Nearly a century ago, Michael P. Alekseev, a Soviet scholar, published a brilliant essay on Adam Smith's Russian readers of the 18<sup>th</sup> century [Alekseev, 1982]. He related facts as follows. In 1761, at the instigation of the curator of Moscow University, the Russian government, which was in St Petersburg, allowed two young men to study at the University of Glasgow in Scotland. They were Semyon Efimovich Desnitsky (1740–1789) and Ivan Andreevich Tretyakov (1735–1776). They studied law and philosophy at Glasgow with Adam Smith. He was then the author of "The Theory of Moral Sentiments", published in 1759, and not yet of



“The Wealth of Nations”, published in 1776. After these two young men studied with Smith, they duly returned to St Petersburg with their Scottish diplomas, and here they established and made fashionable the study of Adam Smith. Some authors claim that Desnitsky’s political and ethical ideas, based on Smith’s writings, could have influenced Catherine the Great’s Instruction (“Nakaz”) (see for instance [Brown, 1974]). It is known from his own words that Desnitsky planned to translate into Russian and publish Smith’s Theory of Moral Sentiments, although for whatever reason he never actually did. While Smith’s first Russian-language edition was indeed The Wealth of Nations, his other works and views, and most notably his “Theory of Moral Snetiments”, were certainly known to educated Russians before Russian translations appeared (see [Artemyeva, 2002]).

## Results and discussion

### *Pre-Smith English philosophers on selfishness and liberty*

“The Theory of Moral Sentiments” set out Smith’s theory of moral philosophy. He thought this was his best book. Smith taught moral philosophy, of course. He refuted the moral philosophy of Thomas Hobbes and Bernard de Mandeville who, writing before Smith, said that men and women were selfish. The argument went like this. Liberty was the absence of restraint. This definition is the crucial point here. Note it well. No other definition of liberty will make clear the point of these various writings, neither those of Smith nor those of Pushkin. Liberty was the absence of restraint. “The Oxford English Dictionary” gave the example of a bird in a cage. The cage was the restraint. Remove the cage, and the bird is at liberty. However, the bird still experienced natural restraints. It could not fly to the moon. It could not live forever. Natural liberty was the absence of all restraint save that of nature. Natural restraint was not enough to secure civil society, which also required civil and moral restraints in addition to natural restraints. The usual example was murder. Men and women had in nature the capacity to kill one another. Civil society was therefore possible only if they surrendered our capacity for murder and if they accepted restraints upon them by the sovereign. Civil society therefore required civil restraints which were imposed by the sovereign, and civil restraints might be taxes imposed for instance by the sovereign. Civil society also required moral restraints, which were the ones people imposed upon themselves. Moral restraints could be either voluntary or involuntary. Some people imposed involuntary restraints upon themselves. For example, an alcoholic might lock up liquor so it was not accessible. He or she would then be sober only because drink was not to

be had. In addition, someone who was not an alcoholic had an involuntary mental moral restraint against drunkenness.

Hobbes posed selfishness as a challenge for moral philosophers. The third earl of Shaftesbury took up the challenge, and he made a novel theory of restraint. To understand Shaftesbury, you have to know that he wrote after a generation of war and suffering. The earl was from a famous family. His grandfather was the first earl of Shaftesbury, the leader of a faction during the Civil War of the middle 17th century, now called the War of the Three Kingdoms. The first earl was a moderate in the war against King Charles I, and when the revolutionaries executed the king, the first earl stood aside. He remained out of politics during the interregnum when Oliver Cromwell was lord protector. King Charles II came to the throne at the restoration in 1660, and the first earl returned to politics, but he was averse to the king's brother, the future King James II, who was then duke of York. The first earl tried to exclude James from the crown. The first earl was then out of favor of course with Charles II and his brother James. The first earl did not live to see it, but, when James II became king, the first earl's colleagues drove James from the realm. The parliament installed Queen Mary II and King William III as successors of James. Restored to favor, the third earl became a philosopher. The Shaftesbury family later produced an eighth earl of Shaftesbury who was a very famous and effective humanitarian and reformer in the 19th century. The eighth earl devoted his life to the abolition of child labor. Children should be in school, he thought, and not at work in mines or factories, and so they were after his parliamentary legislation at his instigation. Please take a moment to consider who these people were. Perhaps they are unknown to you. First, it is well to remember that these dead people were once real and living beings like ourselves. The first earl of Shaftesbury was the friend and lifelong patron of John Locke, the English philosopher. John Locke was once as famous in the English-speaking world as Pushkin became in Russia. Consider therefore that you might visit the State Hermitage Museum to see there the portrait of John Locke by Sir Godfrey Kneller, a painter who was created a baronet by King George I. This is a famous picture of Locke. Maybe it is the best one in existence. We are lucky to have it on hand here for our inspection. Second, the first earl made Locke his personal physician, and thereafter Locke remained a member of the household. The first earl was at that time one of the most powerful politicians in England so Locke became involved in high politics and began to write political philosophy. Locke also acted as tutor to the first earl of Shaftesbury's grandson, the future third earl, whose recollection we can quote. He was a young boy when he became Locke's pupil. The third earl recollected Locke's initial meeting with the first earl,

retelling that event as his grandfather had told it to him. The meeting went as follows. "The occasion of it was thus: my grandfather had been ill for a great while after a fall, by which his breast was so bruised that in time it came to an impost humation within, and appeared by a swelling under his stomach. Mr. Locke was at that time a Student in Physic at Oxford, and my grandfather, taking a journey that way to drink the waters (having Mr. Bennet in the coach with him), he had this young physician presented to him, who though he had never practiced physic, yet appeared to my grandfather to be such a genius that he valued him above all his other physicians, the great men in practice of those times." [Cranston, 1957, p. 95].

As for this young student, later the third earl of Shaftesbury, England in all its long history produced only two major schools of European moral philosophy. One was that of the theologian Pelagius who was a contemporary and an opponent of St Augustine of Hippo. Pelagius and Augustine lived, flourished, and disputed circa 400 AD. The other major school of English moral philosophy was the one which the young pupil produced when he grew up to become the third earl of Shaftesbury. He was a major English moral philosopher. Locke taught the boy the doctrine of Thomas Hobbes. That was where it all began. Hobbes held that instinct impelled men and women to preserve their own lives because, in the state of nature, people had an unrestrained natural liberty including the liberty to kill one another and to steal one another's property. In nature, human lives were, in the famous phrase, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. What of moral restraint? Locke explained also to his pupil that Hobbes held to the ancient Stoic view that there was nothing in the mind that was not first in the senses. Metaphysics was that branch of philosophy, which consisted of claims of being, and epistemology was the branch, which dealt with proofs. Hobbes thought that we should accept metaphysical claims as proven only if we had collaboration for them in our sense experience. Locke explained however that this also meant that we had no sure and certain standard by which to judge whether our actions were right or wrong. Dependent for all its knowledge on prior sense experience, the human mind was a black box. Sense data came in, and impulse to action went out, with nothing in between. Prior sense experience entirely determined our actions. For this reason, it was not possible for Hobbes to account for moral responsibility by appeal to any transcendent standard. Our will was always as the greater apparent good was. We had no other knowledge of moral law. Hence, Hobbes made moral law to depend on a social contract. For this doctrine, many people accused Hobbes of atheism. Locke liked the idea of a social contract, but he resorted to a fudge with regard to epistemology and moral law. We do depend mostly on sense experience

for our proofs, he said to his young pupil, but he also said that the state of nature had a law of nature to govern it, and reason was that law. Reason gave us the ability to escape absolute determination by our prior experience, and it allowed us to grasp the essential truths of Christian morality.

Our reason was the ground of our moral responsibility, therefore. The more the young pupil listened to Locke — or the more we ourselves now read Locke — the less persuasive Locke seemed or seems. Locke's great fame in moral philosophy arose because he wrote good English prose and because his Christian Bible commentaries were once his most widely read books, but his moral philosophy was nonsense. As James Madison, author of the US Constitution, wrote in his famous tenth "*Federalist*" paper: "As long as the connection subsists between [a man's] reason and his self-love, his opinions and his passions will have a reciprocal influence on each other; and the former will be objects to which the latter will attach themselves." [<https://billofrightsinstitute.org/primary-sources/federalist-no-10> accessed June 28, 2023].

This sounds like Madison was echoing the third earl of Shaftesbury, but maybe the New England divine Jonathan Edwards — and not Shaftesbury — was the decisive influence on Madison's moral philosophy. No matter. The criticism of Locke's moral philosophy would be the same in either case (see also [Taylor, 2001]).

### *Adam Smith's contribution to the moral philosophy*

Shaftesbury did not himself use the word "utilitarian" to name his new school of thought, but Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill inherited Shaftesbury's philosophy, and they were members of his school, and they did use that word. At the risk of being *avant la lettre*, as the French say, we call the third earl of Shaftesbury an early utilitarian. In that same sense, Adam Smith and Smith's teacher Francis Hutcheson were also early utilitarians although they never used that word themselves either.

By this utilitarian system of moral philosophy, pity was a moral restraint on selfishness. This was the third earl of Shaftesbury's solution for the challenge posed by Hobbes. Yes, Shaftesbury said, we have nothing in the mind which was not first in the senses, but we do have instincts, emotions, what Madison called passions, and what Adam Smith called sentiments. These influenced our actions. Emotions or sentiments can therefore be the bases of moral agency. Pity is such an emotion or sentiment, and pity is especially suitable as the basis of moral agency. It is the prime moral sentiment. Here were Smith's first words in his "Theory of Moral Sentiments". "How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are

evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it. Of this kind is pity or compassion, the emotion which we feel for the misery of others, when we either see it, or are made to conceive it in a very lively manner. That we often derive sorrow from the sorrow of others, is a matter of fact too obvious to require any instances to prove it; for this sentiment, like all the other original passions of human nature, is by no means confined to the virtuous and humane, though they perhaps may feel it with the most exquisite sensibility. The greatest ruffian, the most hardened violator of the laws of society, is not altogether without it.” [Smith, 2005, p. 2].

However selfish we are, said Smith as he thus began his book on moral sentiments, yet all of us have pity to some degree. Those whose actions are most controlled by pity are those who act best from a moral point of view. Adam Smith studied this same system of moral philosophy at Glasgow University where Francis Hutcheson was Smith’s teacher, and Smith retained all his life this system of moral philosophy which he learned from Hutcheson. Smith became in his own turn a professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow. He was in that job when the two young Russian men visited him. Smith later became tutor to a Scottish duke, and then still later Smith became lord rector of the University of Glasgow. Meanwhile Smith received pensions, one from the duke and another one from the government at the behest of the duke, and Smith also received other honors and rewards. He had a glittering career with these great rewards and recognition. How did Smith’s moral philosophy relate to economics? Remember that Smith taught moral philosophy. The word “economics” did not yet then have its current sense. “Economics” was then still what it was for the Athenian soldier Xenophon and all the ancient Greeks. It meant the management of a household. Smith’s young Russian students studied law and moral philosophy, not economics. Nevertheless, Smith applied his moral philosophy to what we now think of as economics. He condemned greed. Following Mandeville, Smith in “The Theory of Moral Sentiments” extended this system of moral philosophy to explain how natural restraints could lead a selfish landowner to make a just and morally right distribution of food. Smith said that when natural restraints acted with this efficiency, then they substituted for moral restraints, and in this case also civil restraints were not necessary. Smith argued that the wealthy consume no more than the poor. Despite their natural selfishness and greed, their sole aim is their own convenience. They employ thousands of people, but the produce of their improvements is shared with the poor. They are guided by an unseen force to distribute the necessities of

life almost equally, as if the earth had been divided into equal portions for all its inhabitants. In doing so, they unintentionally promote the interests of society and provide a means for the growth of the population. When Providence allotted the earth to a small number of powerful owners, it did not forget or abandon those who appeared to have been left out of the distribution. These individuals also enjoy the benefits of what society produces. In terms of true happiness, they are no less fortunate than those who may appear to be of higher status. When it comes to physical comfort and mental peace, all levels of society are nearly equal. Even a beggar, basking in the sun by the side of the road, possesses a security that kings are fighting for.” [Smith, 2005, p. 165].

*Parallels between Smith’s “Theory of Moral Sentiments” and  
Pushkin’s “Eugene Onegin”*

Here we come to the main point of this paper. Smith’s moral philosophy was part of the long development of utilitarianism. It was famous. It was important. Many people thought the philosophy of Hobbes was behind the empiricism of the Royal Society. People thought empiricism led to atheism. They therefore thought political economy was tainted by atheism. Smith was jubilant because he thought he had reconciled political economy with a moral philosophy which was compatible with Christianity. However, Smith’s moral philosophy no longer persuades people today. It seems obsolete to us. That is why Pushkin appears in this paper. Pushkin shows economists a model for making Smith’s moral philosophy relevant today. It can even be relevant to economics.

Pushkin cited Smith by name in “Eugene Onegin”. Most people assume that the citation refers to “Wealth of Nations”. That brings us to the concluding point of this paper. “Wealth of Nations” overshadows “The Theory of Moral Sentiments” these days. It does so in part because people do not read the latter, and, if they do read it, they do not find its arguments persuasive. The questions here now are two in number. First, how to read Smith’s moral philosophy so that we see its importance in its own time? And, second, how to amend Smith’s moral philosophy so that it is more persuasive to us in our own time? We need to amend Smith’s moral philosophy if we are to adapt Smith’s invisible hand theory to our own uses. Did Pushkin bear in mind Smith’s moral philosophy when working on “Eugene Onegin”? If so then the poem would be partly about the absence of pity. See for yourself. In the first section of the poem, Onegin himself was a man simply without pity. He did not pity Tatiana when she was a shy young woman who fell in love with him. He did not pity his best

friend Lensky whom he shot in a duel. So far, the morality of the “Onegin” poem was pure Smith. However, Pushkin made his own amendment to Smith’s moral theories. When travel abroad, guilt, and suffering deepened Onegin, he began to feel pity. He was still imperfect in his pity, however. Onegin still withheld pity from his social equals even while he extended pity to persons whom he considered his inferiors. In sum, Pushkin’s Onegin was a man of conflicting emotions, no doubt, and Pushkin had gone beyond “The Theory of Moral Sentiments”. You see these complications in the brilliant contemporary ballet adaptation of “Onegin” by Boris Eifman. The ballet presented Onegin first as a man without pity and then as a man whom suffering had changed and who had come into conflict with himself. Onegin (in the first part of the poem) read Adam Smith, and evidently it is not by chance that Pushkin states this in the opening pages, adding ironically that he encrusted a deep economy by which he was capable of judging the causes of the wealth of nations. Here was the original passage [Pushkin, 1957, p. 12]:

“Зато читал Адама Смита,  
И был глубокой эконоом,  
То есть, умел судить о том,  
Как государство богатеет”

And we see how his reading affects him. In the beginning, Eugene probably borrowed only the rational part of the philosophy, but later (in the second part of the poem), by the end of the story, it seems like Smith’s “Theory of Moral Sentiments” left a certain aftertaste in Onegin’s soul, and finally he discovered love. And so it was also with Tatiana — her reading of French and English romantic and sentimental novels was the background of her immediate impulse of falling in love with Onegin. All this we may trace in the very text by Pushkin, and it becomes visible in the choreographic text by Eifman. «Onegin, having gone through a painful emotional ordeal, is now able to love. As it turns out, all of his wanderings around the world were wanderings in the dark corners of the soul, looking into which he reappraised much about his past and about himself. Eifman did not see Pushkin’s characters as static but rather dynamic and in spiritual development. In his production, Onegin goes through not a lesser but a much greater transformation than Tatiana. What is more, the vector of its development is directed toward spiritual growth» [Boborykina, 2014, p. 176].

“Eugene Onegin” could therefore be an important book for economists. Pushkin needed to deepen and to improve Smith’s theory of moral sentiments, as it gives a more profound reading of Smith. So do econo-

mists. Few economists today are interested in Smith's theories of moral philosophy. They do not regard pity as the basis of moral action. They have no interest either in utilitarian theories of morality in general such as those of Jeremy Bentham or J.S. Mill. Educated people today read Sigmund Freud on psychology and Friedrich Nietzsche, not Adam Smith, on moral philosophy. Freud told us that irrational impulses rule over human reason. Nietzsche said that moral rules in society are made by those who have power, and then those who suffer may develop such a powerful resentment that it can overthrow the powerful. Nietzsche gave the example of the children of Israel in the Bible. Resentment of the pharaoh of Egypt made the children of Israel able to break away from bondage in Egypt and to find freedom in Canaan. We can cite Joseph Schumpeter for instance to have contributed to this general dismissive view of Adam Smith in economics. Schumpeter said that Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" was neither brilliant nor original. Instead it reflected economic notions which were commonplace and even banal when "Wealth of Nations" was written. Schumpeter did not even bother to read "Theory of Moral Sentiments". He dismissed it as a stale rehash of medieval scholastic notions of natural law [Taylor, 2019].

Capitalist or post-capitalist western society is now in economic crisis. It is also awash in greed. The crisis and the greed are connected, and economists should think more about the connection. For that reason, economists should read Pushkin. They might also visit the Eifman ballet, and they should puzzle over the knife when they see it at the end of the ballet. The knife is in the hand of the General — and it symbolizes a boomerang — the knife by which Onegin kills Lensky in Tatiana's phantasmagorical dream in the 5<sup>th</sup> chapter of the poem. While sleeping, Tatiana sees how "Eugene quite suddenly snatches up a long knife, Lensky is defeated, the shadows grow thicker, the unbearable cry is heard..." [Pushkin, 1957, p. 108]:

“...вдруг Евгений  
Хватает длинный нож, и вмиг  
Повержен Ленский; страшно тени  
Сгустились; нестерпимый крик  
Раздался...”

In the poem, the knife scene, which foreshadows the deadly duel of the two friends, appears only in Tatiana's dream, but in the ballet, the dream and reality are one. Thus, in the end of the ballet Onegin is punished for the lack of pity which he displayed in the first part. The symbolic dreamlike knife now reappears "cutting off" Onegin from his happiness.



This “return message” is a materialized metaphor of Onegin’s punishment for his lack of pity in his crime (though being an “affair of honor”) — the killing of Lensky.

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Adam Smith was a great moral philosopher. Alexander Pushkin was a great poet. Boris Eifman is a brilliant artist whose ballets accurately reflect the troubles and disputes of our age. Economists could profit from all of them. Specifically, economists who write post-capitalist economic analysis should not mistake Adam Smith to have been a proponent of a natural and unrestrained liberty for greed. This was never Smith’s position or intention. “Moral Sentiments” was his favorite among his books. At the end of his life, he burned his notes for other projects, and he concentrated on revising “Moral Sentiments”.

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## “IMAGINARY WORLD” AS AN OBJECT OF SCIENTIFIC REFLEXION\*

The article deals with the systematisation of trends focused around the category of “imaginary world”. The productivity of its study is due to the possibility of its application as a linguistic and cultural unit of translation in the development of the scientific concept of Kazakh rhetoric and the creation of new translations of works of Kazakh literature reflecting the formation and originality of the national rhetorical tradition. The new approach to the study of identity based on the creation of the worldview in the aspect of the “imaginary world” brings forth the review and the generalisation of philosophical, ethnolinguistic, anthropological and cultural studies. The interpretation of the category “imaginary world” as a factor of national consciousness allows us to describe the ways of cognition and perception of the world from the positions of ethnic translation, psycholinguistics, and anthropology. A study of perception as a “special imaginative power” with a real cognitive value, consideration of the “imaginary world” as a source of spirituality for the author and the listener illuminates the nature of influence and perception by activating the consciousness of the addressee with the help of symbols, archetypes and allegories. The reasons for the multiplicity of explanations and interpretations of the worldview in zhryau literature and legends about biys are explained in the article. The description of the behaviour and worldview of the man of the Middle Ages as a concept of the rhetorical ideal emphasises the role of imaginative perception and imaginative consciousness as a source of formation of the linguistic personality of the author and the addressee of the text. The way of objectifying the reality such as the law of creating and functioning of the “imaginary world” enables considering the mystical poetics in zhryau poetry and the peculiarities of Sufism manifestation. The analysis of scientific trends contributes to the understanding of the semantic, stylistic and pragmatic impact on the listener through the “imaginary world”. The development of the category the “imaginary world” as a cultural unit of translation and a tool of national identity justifies the attention to the ideas of ethnolinguistics and anthropocentrism. The relevance of the research is conditioned by the extrapolation of “being on the string” as the basis of the worldview to the content and structure of the rhetorical ideal.

*Keywords:* “imaginary world”, psycholinguistic translation, cultural and national identity, rhetorical ideal

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\* Written within the framework of the project “Scientific concept of Kazakh rhetoric: rhetorical ideal, identity, argumentation and speech practice”.

«ВООБРАЖАЕМЫЙ МИР»  
КАК ОБЪЕКТ НАУЧНОЙ РЕФЛЕКСИИ\*

Статья посвящена систематизации тенденций, сфокусированных вокруг категории «воображаемый мир». Плодотворность ее изучения обусловлена возможностью применения ее как лингвистической и культурной единицы перевода при разработке научной концепции казахской риторики и создании новых переводов произведений казахской литературы, отражающих становление и своеобразие национальной риторической традиции. Новый подход к изучению идентичности на основе создания картины мира в аспекте «воображаемого мира» делает актуальным обзор и обобщение философских, этнолингвистических, антропологических и культурологических работ. Трактовка категории «воображаемый мир» как фактора национального сознания позволяет описать способы познания и восприятия мира с позиций этноперевода, психолингвистики, антропологии. Исследование восприятия как «особой имагинативной силы», обладающей реальной когнитивной ценностью. Рассмотрение «воображаемого мира» как источника духовности автора и его слушателя проливает свет на природу воздействия и восприятия посредством активизации сознания адресата посредством символики, архетипов и аллегорий. В статье объясняются причины множественности толкования и интерпретаций картины мира в литературе жырау и легендах о биях. Описание мироповедения и мировоззрения человека средних веков как концепция риторического идеала выделяет роль имагинативного восприятия и имагинативного сознания как источник формирования языковой личности автора и адресата текста. Способы объективации реальности как закон создания и функционирования «воображаемого мира» позволяет рассмотреть поэтику мистического в поэзии жырау и особенности проявления суфизма. Анализ научных тенденций способствует пониманию смыслового, стилистического и прагматического воздействия на слушателя посредством «воображаемого мира». Разработка категории «воображаемый мир» в качестве культурной единицы перевода и инструмента национальной идентичности объясняет внимание к идеям этнолингвистики, антропоцентризма. Перспективность исследования обусловлена трансляцией «бытия в подвешенности» как основы картины мира на содержание и структуру риторического идеала.

*Ключевые слова:* «воображаемый мир», психолингвистический перевод, культурная и национальная идентичность, риторический идеал

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\* Статья подготовлена в рамках проекта «Научная концепция казахской риторики: идеал риторики, личность, аргументация и речевая практика».

## Introduction

The study of cultural and national identity in Kazakh rhetoric requires the development of methodological foundations, including those related to the categories of national consciousness. The application of the category “imaginary world” as a constant of philosophical and artistic consciousness contributes to the study of the worldview in literature. The latter refers to the origins of Kazakh rhetoric, in medieval zhyrau poetry and legends about biys<sup>3</sup> as a model of steppe justice. The creation of a scientific concept of Kazakh rhetoric implies new translations of zhyrau poetry and legends about biys. The formation of cultural and national identity and its crisis are caused not only by social and cultural processes and the dynamics of genre forms in literature, but mainly by the peculiarities of the perception of the world by zhyrau, biys, and their retelling to the listener. The impact and communication with the addressee of the text characterise the features of speech culture, the tools of rhetorical and argumental discourse. The influence in semantic, stylistic and pragmatic registers isolates the role of the “imaginary world” (as having its own reality parameters) in creating the picture of reality for the listener. The existing translations of zhyrau poetry and legends about biys do not pose sufficient understanding of the complexity of creating the worldview in Kazakh culture. Despite the fact that the translators are not only bilinguals, but also specialists famous for their works in the field of philosophy, cultural and literary studies, the translations are still at the level of simple transfer of colour and sound symbols. The allegorical character as a genre strategy of Kazakh zhyrau and biys is not perceptible in terms of the “imaginary world”, which fills the original works with special reflection and pan-determinism. Meanwhile, the understanding of the “imaginary world” as a complete phenomenon that erases the boundary between the physical and spiritual world, the world of consciousness of the poet and the biy explains the specificity of Kazakh identity. The creation of new translations in order to popularise the cultural and spiritual heritage of the Kazakh people on the basis of the study of scientific experience and the use of these results for both the scientific concept of Kazakh rhetoric and its description with new translations of zhyrau and legends about biys, contributes to the solution of topical problems in the national identity sphere. In this regards, the literature review and systematisation of current research trends for the concept of Kazakh rhetoric and new translations undertaken in this article draws attention to the significance of

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<sup>3</sup> Rulers in Kazakh.

philosophical, ethnolinguistic, anthropological and cultural studies. The topicality of this approach is underpinned by the understanding and creation in translations of the national, ethno-cultural context for analysing and reconstructing the worldview. The above-mentioned acuteness of the theme, understood in this aspect, has determined the aim of this article. It is to reason out the category “imaginary world of the hero” as a factor of the national consciousness, a tool for creating the worldview and a cultural unit of translation.

The objectives of the article are to summarise the scientific points of view on the “imaginary world” as a category of philosophical and creative consciousness, to substantiate the connection of the category “Mundus Imaginalis” with the ways of creating the worldview and its influence on the solution of translation tasks, in particular, to identify ethnolinguistic factors of translation in order to achieve the authenticity of the translation to the original.

The object of consideration are the works of H. Corbin and the followers of his ideas, including the Krasnoyarsk school of culture studies. The subject of study is the category “imaginary world” as a concept of national consciousness, a technique of creating the worldview and a cultural unit of translation. The novelty of the work lies in the identification of up-to-date ways of applying the category “imaginary world” to the concept of Kazakh rhetoric and of creating new translations of Kazakh literature. In the process of the research there was developed the hypothesis that a new study of identity is provided for by the use of the category “imaginary world” as a tool of the world cognition and perception. Generalisation of the tools of imagination, which have real cognitive value, explaining the specificity of space and time, spiritual practices and symbolism as the apparatus of creating the worldview and the methods of influence, allows us to develop a scientific concept of Kazakh rhetoric and create the new translations of poetry and legends about biys.

The presented materials from the fields of philosophy of consciousness, cultural studies, and anthropology show the important role of the category “imaginary world” as an object of ethno-translation and its role as a cultural unit of translation. Methods and approaches of psycholinguistics, anthropology: comparative-historical, hermeneutic, and epistemological, used by the scientists, contribute to the creation of the new translations of the works of Kazakh literature with a distinct rhetorical paradigm.

## Methods and material

The French philosopher and cultural critic Henry Corbin based on his study of Arabic and Persian religious texts introduced the term “Mundus Imaginalis” (Imaginary World). The term means recognising a special reality or level of essence that lies between the material and spiritual worlds, it is where the physical world and the spiritual world meet and interact. Mundus Imaginalis is a key element for understanding of mystical experience and spiritual development. In the “World of Imagination” (Mundus Imaginalis) [Corbin, 2013], Corbin analyses the role of imagination in cognition and perception of the world.

The description of the traditional cosmology of Islamic theosophists in the aspect of different Universes, spaces between them and intermediate worlds “on the other side of the mountain Kaf” led the scientist to the experience of systematisation of worlds in this tradition. The worlds’ system appears as a triad defining the triple development of man, from this world to his reincarnations or resurrection in the other worlds. The first world is the sensual world, the world of phenomena (molk), which includes both the terrestrial world (governed by the human souls) and the stellar universe (governed by the Souls of the spheres); the second is the supersensual world of the Soul or Angelic Souls (Malakût), which contains the mystical cities mentioned above and which begins “on the convex surface of the Ninth Sphere”; the third is the universe of the pure Archangelic Intelligences. For the scientist, the comparability of the three worlds with the three organs of cognition is obvious: sense, imagination and intellect, which in turn correspond to the triad: body, soul, and spirit. Implying the boundary between the two worlds, the empirical world and the world of the abstract intellect, the researcher designates the world between the two marked. It is “a world that simultaneously separates and connects them, a world equally ontologically real, which our authors designate as ‘alam al-mithal’, the world of the image, mundus imaginalis” [Epstein, 2010]. Pointing out that this world needs a special faculty of perception, or a “special imaginative power” with a real cognitive value, Corbin warns against identifying this world with imagination, or “fantasy”, which is “merely imaginary”. Herein is a serious terminological problem, the solution to which is this scholar’s understanding of “area outside of areas, place outside of places, outside of where (Nâ-Kojâ-Abâd)” [Corbin, 2013, 91].

Appealing to the Sohrawardi School, Corbin mentions a modus of being traditionally labelled Imaginalia, i.e. corresponding to the reality of the intermediate world. Emphasising that forms and images in the Mundus Imaginalis exist differently from empirical objects in the physical

world, the philosopher observes that they cannot exist in a purely speculative world, since they possess extension and dimension, an “immaterial” materiality comparable to the corporeal world, and, in fact, their own “corporeality” and spatiality. In other words, they are real, they exist.

Thus, the productivity of Corbin’s ideas is due to the study of the role of imagination in the knowledge and perception of the world, the connection between cosmology and the organs of cognition, and the investigation of the psychology of perception as a “special imaginative force” with a real cognitive value. Consideration of the “imaginary world” in the context of the parameters of its reality, the parameters of space and time pose a serious methodological problem aimed at studying the listener’s perception of the world through the prism of images delegated to him by the author (speaker). The process of translating the speaker’s consciousness to the listener’s perception and the formation of the listener’s spirituality as the basis of the world picture and identity is methodologically determinant for understanding the rhetorical tools of influence.

The scholar’s idea of the role of symbols, archetypes and images as means of accessing the depths of consciousness and spirituality became a source for the subsequent development of the philosophy of knowledge and culture studies. Therefore, the members of the “Eranos” circle, which, in addition to Henry Corbin, included scientists who were engaged in the study of the “imagination”, Maria-Louise von Franz, Joseph Campbell and Herbert Reed influenced the new understanding of the worldview.

The achievements of symbolic psychoanthropology are necessary for creating the concept of Kazakh rhetoric and describing its tools. For researcher Maria Pia Rosati, the study of philosophy, analytical psychology, cultural anthropology, deep sociology, and religious traditions has become a way to understand the human path in the process of learning about oneself, the meaning of life and what lies beyond it, the role of man in the space, etc. Rosati explored the relationship between the Imagination and the symbol. The scholar’s treatment of the symbol as the only way “to say what cannot be expressed and understood in any other way and what is at a level of consciousness different from that of rational perception” [Rosati, 2004, p. 26] explains the scholar’s belief that the symbol cannot be interpreted once and for all. On the contrary, “it must be decoded again and again, like a musical score that constantly demands a new performance” [Ibid, p. 27]. Hence the establishment of the essence of the symbol as *átopon*, a mysterious code. This idea is essential in the evolution of the interpretation of the Kazakh medieval symbol over time. The experience of analysing translations of Kazakh *zhyrau* poetry and legends about *biys*, despite the consistent reproduction of symbolism, archetypes and al-

legories, leaves a feeling of “modernizing” of the medieval experience and consciousness / thinking of biys from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. This kind of catching up to the consciousness and thinking of the twentieth century man is obviously explained by the need for a deeper study of the structure of the world perception of medieval man, when the imaginary world and the symbol were independent and unmatched parts of the worldview. The reality contained in archetypes and symbols, the “imaginary world”, serves as a source of multiple interpretations and the inevitability of new and not always identical interpretations of the text.

The consideration of the Eranos circle by the Russian scholar M. A. Kolesnik [Kolesnik, 2016] from the perspective of the theory of imagination in the context of psychoanalysis, religious studies, comparative mythology and art history seems significant for the project on Kazakh rhetoric. For example, the Circle’s ideas about the universal character of archaic social institutions, primarily myth, religious signs and symbols, and appeal to the sociology of imagination actualise thoughts about universal social imaginary worlds that influence irrational mass social actions that violate rational social structures. For example, the traditional for Kazakh justice protection of the institution of the family, the rituals of oath, punishment, etc. draw the line between the ideal of social behaviour and the conflict of values.

A. I. Burykin extensively relied on the ideas of the French philosopher Henry Corbin, especially in the context of analysing shamanic practices [Burykin, 2003]. The combination of approaches and methods of philosophy and ethnology allowed the scientist to trace the typology of shamanism in different cultures. Burykin also takes advantage of to the category of “imaginary world” when analysing shamanism in order to understand how imagination and symbols play a crucial role in mythology and rituals. The view of shamanism as a “bridge” between worlds is an illustration of Corbin’s idea of the “imaginary world” as an intermediate space. Thus, the researcher’s conclusion about shamanism as a means of communication between the visible and invisible, material and spiritual contributed to the understanding of shamanic practices as a way of communication between the shaman and the spiritual forces. The study of archetypal images in shamanism is also a reference to the ideas of the French philosopher. Thus, it is known that Corbin emphasised archetypes and symbols, which also became a key element of Burykin’s research. The Russian scholar showed how cultural specifics influence the interpretation of shamanic practices. A. I. Burykin’s work is of value to the project on Kazakh rhetoric due to studying ancient spiritual practices in the context of philosophy and symbolism.



The materials from the fields of philosophy of consciousness, cultural studies, and anthropology show the important role of the category the “imaginary world” as an object of ethnic translation and its role as a cultural unit of translation. The methods and approaches of psycholinguistics and anthropology used by scientists: comparative-historical, hermeneutic, and epistemological, help the creation of new translations of the Kazakh literature with a pronounced rhetorical paradigm.

## Results and discussion

The application of the category “imaginary world” as a phenomenon of philosophical and artistic consciousness brings in the study of the worldview in literature and the development of new approaches to the study of identity. To create the concept of Kazakh rhetoric, it is important to create new translations of works that illustrate the specifics of the Kazakh rhetorical tradition, namely the techniques of influence and communication with the addressee of the text, the features of speech culture, and argumentation techniques.

The worldview perceived through the prism of the “imaginary world” displays the characteristics of Utopia. Corbin’s identification of the reasons that make a person Utopian has led the scientist to take external conditions as a factor in the formation of worldview. These are religious beliefs, cultural characteristics and social contexts. Analysis of the various manifestations of the soul became for Corbin a key tool in understanding the origin and meaning of utopian visions. The scholar has shown the interaction of imagination with myths, symbols, images, and the creation in this way of a *Mundus Imaginalis* space where reality and metaphysics are intertwined. The utopian picture of the world is the result of a person’s inner spiritual search in case of the Kazakh rhetoric of the poet-zhyrau and *biy*. Miracles, initiation processes, mystical, allegorical origins foster the connection of imagination with spirituality and the creation of utopian visions in culture and religious tradition.

Having analysed the various manifestations of the soul, Corbin was able to find answers to the questions: What are the external conditions that make a person Utopian? How and why does this kind of revelation occur? By analysing the symbols of spiritual culture, the mountain Kaf, the drop of balsam exuded into the palm by the Sun, the scholar explores the relationship between the external, visible, exoteric (Greek *ta exo*, Arabic *zahir*) and the internal, invisible, esoteric (Greek *ta eso*, Arabic *batin*), or between the natural world and the spiritual world. This approach al-

lowed the researcher to describe the formula of the “agnostic reflex” of Western man, characterised by the separation of thinking and being.

The findings of Corbin create prerequisites for the study of the cultural and national identity of the Kazakh people. Attention to the scholar’s ideas about the connection of *Mundus Imaginalis* with the theory of imaginative knowledge and imaginative function give the room for the study of ways of spiritual imaginative transfer, such as spatialisation. The posing of the problem of penetration into the *Mundus Imaginalis* explains Corbin’s use of the concept of the “eighth climate” as a synonym for the term “imaginary world”. It concerns spiritual imagination and, for example, spatialization, i.e. the ability of the imagination to give spatiality to space.

Corbin’s generalising idea of the metaphysical necessity of the existence of an intermediate world explains the cognitive function of imagination. The following characteristics of the “imaginary world” were highlighted by the scientist: the ontological level is higher than the world of the senses and lower than the purely intelligible world, it is more immaterial than the world of the senses and less immaterial than the intelligible world. These characteristics are productive for the scientific project on Kazakh rhetoric by describing the behaviour and worldview of the man of the Middle Ages. What Corbin calls the connection between the pure spirit and the material body and what establishes the modus of being, or “being on a string”, allows us to describe the worldview of the Kazakh people based on the correlation of the institutions of everyday life and ethical values as the basis of the rhetorical ideal. Another fruitful idea for the development of the concept of Kazakh rhetoric, aimed at the study of the rhetorical ideal, consequently, the creation of the new translations, is the issue of active imagination, which the scientist defines as “mirror par excellence, epiphanic place of images of the archetypal world” [Kazhigaliev, Umarova, 2021].

The awareness of the independence of the soul from the physical body in thinking, of its independence from it both in imaginative power and in its imaginative activity, gives the scientist evidence that the soul can perceive by means of its essence and its ability concrete things, and it is the soul which created the very form of the concrete existence of these things. The scholar’s conclusion about the ontological inseparability of consciousness and its objects creates prerequisites for analysing the “imaginary world” as a category of national and communicative consciousness. The study on the example of Kazakh rhetorical ideal of the concept in question gets a new perspective: the consideration of spiritual Imagination as a cognitive force, an organ of true cognition shows that imaginative percep-

tion and imaginative consciousness play their role, have cognitive value in their own world, the world that is *Mundus Imaginalis*. For example, in Muslim visionary miracle stories, the world of mystical cities is such that there time becomes reversible and space, being an external aspect of the inner state, is created by the will.

Defining sensual and intellectual cognition, the scientist tells about a special order that keeps the Imagination from wandering and staggering. The significance of imagination, its ability to be the cause of the events of objectivity of the imaginal world contains the prerequisites for the study of the ways of creating an “imaginary world” by the poet-zhyrau or biy, the influence of the linguistic personality of the orator, rhetorician. Their operation with the certain symbolic emblems as a source of mental images can be considered as the way of objectification of the reality.

Rosati’s point of view on the relationship between *átopon* and Henry Corbin’s *Mundus Imaginalis* is also of interest. The scholar notes that *átopon* refers to a concept present in Plato and Plotinus: “that which is devoid of place”, the “place-without-place” of the Persian mystics, the Land of Hurcalia, the eighth climate belonging to spiritual geography, where “spirits incarnate and bodies are spiritualized”, as Henry Corbin, writes in “The Spiritual Body and the Celestial Earth”. This approach is advantageous for studying the nature of the mystical in the poetry of Shalkiyiz zhyrau in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when we have the opportunity to analyse the “imaginary world” through the prism of Kazakh symbols, which significantly clarifies the idea of the Sufi origins of his worldview and world image.

The study of the “imaginary world” in the context of the Kazakh people’s value concepts and worldview makes it possible to identify the following topical approaches to the study of identity, to create a concept of Kazakh rhetoric and to develop recommendations for creating the new translations of zhyrau and legends about biys.

1. Systematisation of the ways of introduction of folk ethical and spiritual values in the imaginary world, which reveals its role as a constant of national consciousness.

2. The role of the imaginary world in the creation of national rhetoric is to describe the ideas, images and symbols that have shaped oratorical traditions and the expression of national character. “Imaginary world” in this regard is interpreted as a source of formation of rhetorical strategies.

3. The application of the philosophy of the “imaginary world” allows us to consider the evolution of Kazakh rhetoric in the context of changes in the perception and interpretation of values.

4. The study of the “imaginary world” in the context of Kazakh rhetoric stresses the importance of symbols and myths as cultural values, a means of communication and the creation of a common cultural context.

To sum up, the study of the “imaginary world” in the context of philosophical and creative quests contributes to the understanding of Kazakh rhetoric as the art of persuasive communication.

During analysing the scientific literature devoted to the category “imaginary world”, the hypothesis about the connection of new approaches to the consideration of identity with the category “imaginary world” was confirmed. Understanding the worldview in the speaker’s mind and its perception by the listener help to reveal the techniques of activating the imagination and explain the range of influence on the text’s addressee. Therefore, when creating new translations, it is imperative to synthesise the techniques of semantic, stylistic and pragmatic influence on the listener, including with the category “imaginary world”.

## Conclusion

The fruitfulness of the above research for the project on Kazakh rhetoric and the creation of new translations of zhyrau poetry and legends about biys is determined by introducing the value concepts of the Kazakh people into the space of the “imaginary world”, which has a special objectivity, reality and dimension. From the perspective of ethnolinguistics, anthropocentrism and national identity, there is an opportunity to study the cultural units of translation, with the “imaginary world” in the role of the cultural unit. There are different prospects of application of the category “imaginary world” for the development of the concept of Kazakh rhetoric, analysis of existing translations and creation of the new translations of the Kazakh literature. They can personify the techniques of influence on the listener, effective communication of the author with the addressee in the aspect of the concept under consideration. Firstly, it is an opportunity to explore the metaphysical world in zhyrau poetry and legends of steppe biys. Such a task is connected with the generalisation of the ways of embodiment of “being on a string” as the basis of the worldview. When translating into the world languages ideas of the court rituals in the practice of Kazakh biys, the significance of the category “imaginary world” is determined by the reconstruction of the social behaviour ideal and the conflict of values as the essence of the identity crisis. The importance of using the results of modern psychoanthropology to create new translations of zhyrau poetry and legends about biys is due to the connection between imagination and symbol. This technique of creating the worldview is confirmed

by the images of spiritual geography in the songs of Shalkiyiz zhyrau and the mystical poetics. Analysing the “imaginary world” through the prism of Kazakh symbols contributes to conveying the Sufi origins of Shalkiyiz zhyrau’s poetry.

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## THE PRODUCT APPROACH TO CREATING ONLINE COURSES AT UNIVERSITY

The article considers integration of traditional approaches to creating online courses at university and instruments and techniques used in EdTech. The author regards the product approach as a flexible iterative development in a dynamically changing environment based on business and customer requests. The author shows that some tools of the product approach can be used for creating online courses at university. The main objectives of this research are: to outline the key features and advantages and disadvantages of the product approach compared to other approaches; to compare the product approach in EdTech and the traditional approach in universities; to survey university instructors responsible for developing educational products about whether they apply some of the tools of the product approach; and to develop recommendations on how to use some of the tools to improve educational products in universities. This study uses research methods such as observation, comparative analysis, surveying, and modelling. The author's observation caused the undertaken research; a comparative analysis showed the differences in approaches used in universities and EdTech; a survey proved the necessity of implementation of elements of the product approach to university practices; and modelling helped develop a set of recommendations for educators. The results of the research could be interesting for educators responsible for creating educational products and student studying instructional design and digital didactics.

*Keywords:* educational product, the product approach, online course, target audience, feedback

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## ПРОДУКТОВЫЙ ПОДХОД К СОЗДАНИЮ ОНЛАЙН-КУРСОВ В УНИВЕРСИТЕТЕ

В статье рассматриваются возможные пути интеграции некоторых инструментов индустрии EdTech в традиционные подходы к созданию университетских онлайн-курсов. Продуктовый подход в данном исследовании понимается как гибкая итеративная разработка в динамически меняющихся условиях на основе запросов бизнеса и клиента. Автор показывает, что элементы продуктового подхода могут эффективно использоваться при создании курсов в современном университете. Основные задачи исследования: описать преимущества и ограничения продуктового подхода в высшей школе, выполнить сопоставительный

анализ продуктового и традиционного подходов к созданию онлайн-курсов, а также показать способы применения некоторых элементов продуктового подхода к созданию курсов в университете. В ходе исследования использовались такие методы исследования, как наблюдение, сопоставительный анализ, опрос и моделирование. Наблюдения автора выявили проблематику данного исследования, сопоставительный анализ показал различия в подходах к созданию курсов в университете и EdTech, а метод моделирования показал возможность применения некоторых элементов продуктового подхода в университетской практике. Автор предлагает некоторые пути применения элементов продуктового подхода в университете: серия рекомендаций, представленных в статье, может сделать процесс создания онлайн-курсов в университете более эффективным. Результаты исследования могут быть интересны преподавателям, создающим образовательные продукты и студентам, изучающим педагогический дизайн и цифровую дидактику.

*Ключевые слова:* образовательный продукт, продуктовый подход, онлайн-курс, целевая аудитория, обратная связь

## Introduction

Nowadays, many people choose to learn on online platforms rather than in universities to gain new knowledge or skills especially in marketing, programming, or data science. Online learning is provided by the recently emerged EdTech (education technology) market. There is an intense competition between online platforms and universities that also offer multiple online courses. In 2023, regardless this competition, some leading universities and EdTech companies united in the Commonwealth of Online Higher Education aimed at developing the online higher education market. This forms a trend to integration of university educational system and EdTech.

In 2023, Tinkoff Credit Broker surveyed over 1 million Russians about their preferences in online learning. The survey shows that 38% of surveyed Russians choose online courses developed by state universities and training centers; 35% of respondents buy courses from universal online schools; 29% of respondents use courses from bloggers and industry experts; and 27% of respondents take courses on specialized online schools. People use online courses offered by universities and training centers for upskilling (76%); bloggers' online courses are used for personal development (62%); and courses from universal online schools are taken for reskilling (57%).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Research by Tinkoff Credit Broker URL: <https://www.tinkoff.ru/about/news/29112023-research-by-tinkoff-credit-broker-in-2023-russians-buy-online-courses-in-installments-twice-as-often/> (accessed 24.12.2023)

EdTech and universities create online courses using completely different approaches to their development. In most cases, EdTech uses the product approaches and universities use the waterfall approach. Besides, universities are often focused on the available resources and possible solution, and are bound with state educational standards. It is of note that EdTech considers teaching as a service to sell but universities do not, although they also offer to buy training. This is, probably, another reason for different approaches to creating educational products. However, as M. Greenberg points out, universities are indeed businesses, and if they are to compete in the ever-growing competitive online higher education market, they need to take a hard look at their culture and practices. This must occur at all levels, and most importantly, in the instructional realm, where semesters are no longer 16 weeks, faculty are no longer the only “experts,” and the classroom is no longer time and place-bound [Greenberg, 2004].

First, it makes sense to define the key terms. In business, a *product* is often defined as an offer that covers the tasks, pains, and needs of the target audience (TA). A product is the value that stands behind it.<sup>2</sup> An *educational product* is educational content or a technological solution.<sup>3</sup>

In business, *the product approach* is the process of creating business ideas that the target audience needs and will be able to solve incoming tasks. The essence of the product approach is to combine the business’s vision with the customers’ desire. According to the research conducted by SberUniversity, 72% of their subscribers on Telegram think that the product approach is applicable to developing training of any kind; 12% answered that the product approach cannot be applied to university and school education; and 5% of respondents believe that this approach is only applicable to commercial courses [EduTech No. 2 [53], 2023, p. 4].

Why does a modern university may need the product approach? *The hypothesis* of this study is: some tools of the product approach can be effectively used in academic education to turn educational programs and courses into products that are coordinated with representatives of the relevant industries and are in demand in the domestic and foreign educational markets. The goal of this research is to show the tools of the product approach that can be applied to creating online courses in universities. The objectives of this research are: 1) to outline the key features,

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<sup>2</sup> Vadim Anan'ev What is the product approach? December 2020. Admitad. URL: <https://admitad.pro/ru/blog/chto-takoe-produktoviy-podhod> (accessed 24.12.2023)

<sup>3</sup> The product approach to learning: where to apply it and why. TrainingSpace. URL: <https://www.trainingspace.online/blog/produktoviyj-podkhod-v-obuchenii-gde-ego-primenyat-i-zachem> (accessed 24.12.2023)



advantages and disadvantages of the product approach compared to other approaches; 2) to compare using the product approach in Ed Tech and universities; 3) to survey university instructors who are responsible for developing educational products (and often act as SMEs, instructional designers, and methodologists) about whether they apply some of the tools of the product approach; 4) to develop recommendations on how to use some of the tools to improve educational products in universities.

This study uses research methods such as observation, comparative analysis, surveying, and modelling. The author's observation caused the undertaken research; a comparative analysis showed the differences in approaches used in universities and EdTech; a survey proved the necessity of implementation of elements of the product approach to university practices; and modelling helped develop a set of recommendations for educators.

### *The product approach: definition and the key features*

The product approach is regarded differently in different domains such as IT, where it comes from, or marketing. We found the following definition from SberUniversity as the most applicable for this research. *The product approach* is a flexible iterative development in a dynamically changing environment based on business and customer requests. This approach distinguishes hypothesis testing and experiments to meet the target audience's request more accurately [EduTech No. 2 [53], 2023, p.8]. The key features of the product approach are: 1) it is client/human-oriented; 2) a product should represent a value; 3) a product is developed based on data; 4) the development takes place iteratively; 5) feedback is crucial; 6) the product is created by a product team.

It makes sense to compare the traditional waterfall approach and the product approach. Within the waterfall approach, the customer comes with a ready-made technical task, and the main goal of the project team is to act strictly according to the specified time frame and budget. The main risk of the waterfall approach is that you will create a product that fully complies with the technical task, but it may not meet the interests of the TA and/or the realities of the market.

At the same time, the product approach is focused on creating a valuable product for users with flexible time frame and budget as well as iterative development, testing hypotheses and a quick launch of a Minimum Viable Product (MVP). It is also important that the product approach implies developing metrics and getting feedback from the users to change and improve a product through its development. The main idea is adaptability and

agility of the product team and all the processes. The product approach is needed when 1) there are no clearly defined requirements, but there is room for experiment; 2) it is necessary to see the first results quickly; 3) the product is used for complex and/or innovative learning environment (hybrid, augmented or virtual reality); 4) the product is planned to be promoted and scaled in the future [EduTech No. 2 [53], 2023, p. 10].

The advantages of the product approach include creating relevant programs and courses that are interesting to the TA, which makes training more effective; the ability to use advanced technologies; continuous feedback and the possibility of product improvement; the educational product is easy to scale. At the same time, there are some limitations of the product approach if used in universities: the whole process is resource and time-consuming; university instructors are not always ready to reject their idea of a course even if their research shows its inconsistency; there is no product team (or it is incomplete, or lacking agility); universities, especially classical ones, are often too rigid to launch innovations quickly (although this is changing now); educational standards mainly determine the educational content; this approach requires new competencies in the faculty.

## Research

This research includes a comparative analysis of what the main stages of the product approach and the traditional approach in universities. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 1.

Thus, we consider some stages of the product approach as tools university instructors can use when creating online courses: TA research; market research (analysis of similar products); needs analysis; customer development; minimum viable product (MVP); iterative program design; job market fit; diagnostic tests and metrics; refactoring; feedback. The table shows that many of the tools (stages) are skipped or ignored. There are reasons for that.

Universities often faces lack of recourses for market and TA research and hypothesis testing. Another reason is that TA is seemed to be determined by default. According to the research of SberUniversity, although 44 % of respondents consider needs analysis as the most important stage of product development, 35 % skips this stage more often than the others for the same reasons. [EduTech No. 2 [53], 2023, p. 4].

According to the survey of 32 university instructors conducted within this research, 60 % of respondents study the needs, values, and problems of their TA and 70 % of respondents analyse similar courses; 90 % consider a value behind the course.

*Table 1. The stages of the product approach and the traditional approach in universities*

The product approach	The approach used at university
<b>1. Research</b>	
Target audience (TA) research: needs, learning styles, cognitive characteristics, problems, barriers, and solvency (in case the course is not free)	<i>No/By default</i> For the author, it is hard to give up his/her idea. (But what if the TA does not need your product?)
Market research Analysing similar products	<i>No/The instructor is a market for him/herself</i> Educational standards determine the content
<b>2. Needs analysis</b>	
Customer Development (custdev) Defining goals and needs (why?) What problem are we solving? Prioritization How will we measure the learning outcome?	<i>Not always</i> The product is free if it is a compulsory discipline for university students.
<b>3. Generating ideas</b>	Yes
<b>4. Developing product hypotheses</b> Testing hypotheses	<i>No/Intuitively</i>
Designing a program Preparing the content	Yes Lecturer/Instructor = SME
<b>5. Minimum Viable Product (MVP) and testing hypotheses</b> Idea -> implementation -> feedback -> analysis-> Idea 1.....	<i>No</i>
Testing the demand	<i>No</i>
Making a decision about the launch	<i>No</i>
<b>6. Implementation</b> Setup (technical preparations) Building a product team	<i>Not always</i> No product teams
Technical preparations and content arrangement	Lecturer/Instructor = SME Rarely, a team
Job Market Fit	<i>No/ So far, rarely</i>
Advertising campaign	<i>No</i>

The product approach	The approach used at university
Placement of the product on an educational platform	Yes
Launching the first thread of learners	Yes Beta testing
7. Feedback	Not always
8. Refactoring — revision of the course Metrics -> analytics -> iterative program design	No
Product promotion/sale	<i>Not always</i>

Interestingly, 90 % of respondents know how they will assess the learning outcomes, although only 65 % answered that they develop assessment rubrics beforehand. As for metrics, 45 % do not know what it means, 25 % always develop metrics for their courses, and 20 % never do this. These results are relevant for all educational products including online courses.

This survey also showed that 65 % of respondents offer diagnostic tests before their courses. 55 % of respondents never call for feedback from their learners.

Few online course developers apply refactoring to update their course. Shalin Hai-Jew highlights a variety of factors that can impede or preclude substantive updates in course content. Among them a lack of dedicated resources (budget, time, expertise); a lack of political will at the administrative level; inertia on the part of those who first developed the curriculum; and a protectionist attitude toward the existing course on the part of the course developers [Hai-Jew, 2010].

## Discussion

The following set of recommendations could be useful for educators responsible for creating online-courses.

1. Conduct TA research, their needs, and learning styles before developing a course. This will help educators appeal the TA interests and desires. Learning styles differ in different generations. Millennials, for example, prefer digital tools (mobile apps, videos), collaboration and peer-to-peer learning, and personalized learning at their own pace, interactive learning, and case studies. Zoomers prefer tech-savvy approach to learning (social media, video conferencing, online learning modules, artificial

intelligence (AI), artificial reality (AR), and virtual reality (VR)), interactive learning (gamification, simulations), hands-on activities, peer-to-peer mentoring and coaching, and on-demand learning. Thus, it is important to understand that traditional lecturing may not work out in a group of Zoomers, and gamification may not be interesting for senior learners (Baby Boomers) in corporate training.

2. Conduct market research and analyse similar courses. This will help understand the value of your own educational product. This is also helpful to reject your idea if there is a better product or, vice versa, if a similar course is not on demand.

3. Develop diagnostic tests for each of the modules or the whole course. This will help you prove the value of your course: if diagnostic tests show many gaps in your potential learners' knowledge and skills, the course could be valuable for them and will motivate students to take the course.

4. Develop metrics for your online course. They usually include enrollment rate, completion rate, satisfaction rate, learning outcomes, and sales revenue (if this course is commercial). Metrics should be specific, measurable, and available to track them over time.

5. If possible, launch a minimum viable product (MVP) and apply iterative design by testing multiple hypotheses.

6. Use customer development to enhance and improve the course (if possible) or the following course you will create.

7. Job Market Fit (JMF) research will show how relevant this job/profession in Russia and the world, and what skills and tasks it implies. In addition, JMF helps adapt existing courses to keep up with changing market demands. This is especially important for another key trend in education to engage potential employers to educating and assessing university graduates.

8. If possible, keep refactoring your course or recreate it, because learners, especially new generations are rather sensitive to how up to date a course is. Moreover, many industries, such as IT, media, or marketing, are changing dramatically every day.

9. Provide feedback and use feedback from your learners to improve the course. Unfortunately, it is often impossible to provide live feedback and support on online learning platforms, although this is one of the key criteria to choose a platform for online learning for 58% of Russians.<sup>4</sup> The

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<sup>4</sup> Research by Tinkoff Credit Broker URL: <https://www.tinkoff.ru/about/news/29112023-research-by-tinkoff-credit-broker-in-2023-russians-buy-online-courses-in-installments-twice-as-often/> (accessed 24.12.2023)

“four pillars” of supporting student success are often the intangibles that educators might take for granted when providing fully online courses. These pillars include online-friendly academic supports [Coonin et al., 2011; Huwiler, 2015], assistance with navigating technology [Lee, 2010], health and well-being facilities [Anderson, 2008], and a sense of belongingness, or community [Kumar and Heathcock, 2014] [Cit. ex. Roddy et al., 2017].

10. Promote your course in publications, at conferences, on social networks and channels, and within outreach projects before and after the launch. This will help to sell the product (if it is commercial) and/or raise an educator’s brand awareness in the educational community.

## Conclusion

In education, the essence of the product approach is to produce an educational product valuable for the learner. To develop a successful online course and sell it, educators need to communicate with learners and understand their needs and learning styles. The product approach in education helps calculate educational results and collect data more efficiently. The product approach maintains dynamics within a course: based on data-driven learning and metrics a course is constantly improving and getting updated.

A comparative analysis of using the product approach in EdTech and universities revealed gaps between the two approaches, although there are objective reasons for that. However, even if all stages of the product approach are impossible to apply at university, some of the tools can be successfully combined with the traditional approach. A survey of university instructors showed they use these tools (often intuitively) when developing educational products.

A set of recommendations on how to use the tools to improve educational products in universities could be helpful for the faculty engaged in creating online course and student studying instructional design and production and marketing of educational products.

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## **INTERFERENCE OF THE TRANSLATOR'S NATIVE LEGAL CULTURE IN HIS/HER CHOICE OF LANGUAGE AND TERMINOLOGY**

International lawyers, and legal translators, have a regular need of reference to the translated versions of statutes, cases, and other sources of law. Translations of such texts must meet the highest standards of professional quality due to serious legal risks arising from an error or even a deficiency in translation. Professional opinion as to the quality of translation is formed on the basis of field-proven and time honoured accuracy and legal safety, as well as such important criteria as syntactic consistency, lexical and, specifically, terminological justification, and the practical expediency of the text as such. The Russian statutory law, in particular, the Russian Civil Code, exists in several translations made by different specialists and groups of specialists — lawyers as well as translators. Comparative analysis of these translations reveals significant differences in respect of the said criteria. The report investigates the possible grounds of these differences, notably, the extent to which the legal system and the underlying cultural and linguistic background that formed the translator's understanding of the objective, predetermined the translator's decisions.

*Keywords:* legal translation, translation error, adequacy of translation, linguistic background, legal culture

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## **ПРИНАДЛЕЖНОСТЬ ЮРИДИЧЕСКОГО ПЕРЕВОДЧИКА К ОПРЕДЕЛЕННОЙ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ И ПРАВОВОЙ КУЛЬТУРЕ КАК ФАКТОР ЕГО ПЕРЕВОДЧЕСКОГО ПОВЕДЕНИЯ**

Работа юриста, занятого в сфере трансграничных сделок, и деятельность юридического переводчика требуют постоянного обращения к переводам источников правовой информации. Такие переводы должны соответствовать высочайшим критериям качества из-за юридических рисков, связанных с переводческой ошибкой или даже неточностью. Мнение профессионального сообщества относительно качества перевода основывается на подтвержденной многолетней практикой точности и юридической безопасности переводов, а также на таких важных критериях, как синтаксическая структурированность текста, лексическая и, в частности, терминологическая целесообразность, удобство работы с текстом. Переводы российского законодательства, в частности,



Гражданского кодекса, предпринимались неоднократно разными специалистами и коллективами специалистов — юристов и переводчиков. Сравнительный анализ текстов этих переводов выявляет существенные различия по указанным выше критериям. В предлагаемом докладе исследуется вопрос о возможных причинах этих различий, а именно, в какой мере правовая система и соответствующая языковая культура, послужившая основой формирования переводческой задачи, повлияла на результат работы переводчика.

*Ключевые слова:* юридический перевод, переводческая ошибка, переводческие соответствия, языковая культура, правовая культура

## Introduction

Interpretation and construction of legislative texts forms a substantial part of the work of both a practicing lawyer and a legal translator. What makes this work necessary, is the well-known ambiguity of legal texts, the statutory texts being, perhaps, most notoriously so. Where the lawmaker sometimes intentionally leaves some of the text vague so that it will leave room for broad interpretation in court, the practicing lawyer may fail to notice the fact; so may the translator, but when he does, he must make informed professional decisions. The motives of such decisions will to a great extent be predicated by the translator's own natural and professional background.

The conventional view on legal translation and problems routinely associated with it, has been to define it as the rendering of legal texts from the source language into the target language [Cao, 2007], or to describe its purpose as the production of a text communicatively equivalent to the original [Borichevskaya, 2019, 16]. A more accurate understanding of legal translation as an act of communication in the mechanism of law [Šarčević, 1997], focuses on the receiver of the translation product.

Roman Jakobson described the function of legal texts as a combination of a declaration of intent and a statement of information. [Jakobson, 1978] The intended audience of a legislative text is a native speaker of the language in which it is drafted, although there are exceptions. When a translation of such a text is attempted, its aim is not confined to informing the user about the legal regime in a particular jurisdiction. It is no longer acceptable to ignore the personality of the legal translator and confine the legal translation to “an important medium for communicating legal culture of different countries” [Chunxu, 2021, p.6]. The translator becomes involved in a particular communication: a transaction (real or potential) or a court procedure where the translation will be relied upon. The translator will need to know the purpose of the translation, the situation of

communication of which the translation will become a part. Therefore, the art of translation ceases to be limited to a mere analysis of the original text, but goes beyond to embrace the extralinguistic circumstances determining the translation decisions. Nord Christiane speaks of the “translation brief” that has become an indispensable part of the client-translator relations, directing the translator toward the purpose of the translation and the circumstances where it will be used. [Nord, 2006, p. 31]. The requirement to keep in mind the reality in which the translation is commissioned and performed, in other words, the extralinguistic analysis, has long been accepted in all spheres of translation. [Tofer, 2000].

Yet, the factors affecting the process of translation, specifically, the attention to the personal characteristic of the translator, his or her natural or professional affiliation and attribution to a particular cultural and professional community, have not been studied equally broadly. The text of the translation thus becomes a distinguished act of communication between the translator as a cultural personality and a potential user of the text.

## **Methods and materials**

The Civil Code of the Russian Federation provided invaluable material for a comparative analysis, as it has been translated into English several times, and as of now exists in three published translations, as well as in numerous digital versions available online on such professional legal resources as ‘Consultant’ and ‘Garant’, to name just two. This article uses only the three translations that were reduced to publication on paper, because the authorship of these translations is clearly and expressly stated on the book cover and thus attributable to particular specialists, who have made themselves responsible for the product of their professional contribution. Translation is itself an integral part of comparative studies, and legal translation in particular have been regarded as in fact being the true basis of comparative law.

## **Discussion**

At various times, three translations were performed: by Christopher Osakwe, by William Butler, and by Peter Maggs and Alexei Zhiltsov in co-authorship.

Christopher Osakwe is a well-known American lawyer and professor of comparative law, with a strong background in the Soviet and Russian law and the Russian language (graduated from Moscow State University in 1970).

William E. Butler is a distinguished lawyer and professor of international and comparative law, whose contribution in the fields of research, consulting, education, theory and practice of legal translation is well-established worldwide. He has authored and edited translations into English of a vast corpus of statutory material from the Soviet time up to the present date.

Peter B. Maggs is a graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Law School, as well as a post-graduate of the Leningrad University Faculty of Law, holder of the Carney Chair in Law at the University of Illinois; a leading American expert in the law of the Russian Federation, as well as in the legal systems of former Soviet Republics. He served as a consultant on numerous law reform projects in Russia.

Alexei Zhiltsov is graduate of Moscow State Institute for International Relations, a recognized specialist in the international private and comparative law; he participated in the drafting of Part Three of the Civil Code of the Russian Federation.

Undoubtedly, all these professionals who worked on the translation of the Russian Civil Code into English are experts of great international renown. And yet, they produced texts that differ in style, syntax, and, most especially, in the choice of terms. Any user of these translations, therefore, will be liable to make informed decisions as to which of the three texts best serves the purpose of such usage. In other words, what gave rise to a particular choice of a word or phrase, a syntactic pattern, or style.

To illustrate how differently the legislator's intent may be interpreted in the process of translation, we have selected Articles 864–866, § 2, Chapter 46 of the Second Part of the Civil Code, “Settlements by Payment Orders” (“Расчеты платежными поручениями”).

The original text of the Articles runs as follows:

“Статья 864. Условия **исполнения** банком платежного поручения

3. Поручение плательщика **исполняется** банком при наличии средств на счете плательщика, если иное не предусмотрено договором между плательщиком и банком. Поручения **исполняются** банком с соблюдением очередности списания денежных средств со счета (статья 855).

Статья 865. **Исполнение** поручения

3. Банк обязан незамедлительно информировать плательщика по его требованию об **исполнении** поручения. Порядок оформления и требования к содержанию извещения об **исполнении** поручения предусматриваются законом, установленными в соответствии с ним банковскими правилами или соглашением сторон.

Статья 866. Ответственность за **неисполнение** или ненадлежащее **исполнение** поручения

1. В случае **неисполнения** или ненадлежащего **исполнения** поручения клиента банк несет ответственность по основаниям и в размере, которые предусмотрены главой 25 настоящего Кодекса.» [Butler, Civil Code, 2001, p.560–561]

Christopher Osakwe’s translation contains the following text:

“Article 864. Conditions of **Execution** of a Payment Order by a Bank

3. The order of the payer shall be effectuated by the bank in the event of availability of funds on the account of the payer, unless otherwise provided by the contract between the payer and the bank. The orders shall be **executed** by the bank in compliance with the order for debiting monetary funds from the account.

Article 865. **Execution** of an Order

3. The bank is obligated to immediately inform the payer at his request of the **execution** of the payment order. The procedure for formalizing and requirements applicable to the content of notice of **execution** of the payment order shall be established by law, by bank regulations established in conformity with the law or by agreement between the parties.

Article 866. Liability for Failure to **Execute** or **Improper Execution** of an Order

1. In the event of the failure to **execute** or of improper **execution** of the customer’s order the bank shall be liable on the grounds and in the amount provided by Chapter 25 of this Code.” [Osakwe, 2000, p. 600–601]

In William Butler’s version one finds the following interpretation:

“Article 864. Conditions of **Performance** by Bank of Payment Order

3. The order of the payer shall be **performed** by the bank when there are means in the account of the payer unless provided otherwise by the contract between the payer and the bank. Orders shall be **performed** by the bank in compliance with the priority of withdrawal of monetary means from the account (Article 855).

Article 865. **Performance** of Order

3. The bank shall be obliged immediately to inform the payer at his demand about the **performance** of the order. The procedure for the formalization and requirements for the content of the notice concerning **performance** of the order shall be provided for by a law, banking rules established in accordance therewith, or agreement by the parties.

Article 866. Responsibility for Failure to **Perform** or Improper **Performance** of Order

1. In the event of the failure to perform or the improper performance of the order of the client the bank shall bear responsibility on the grounds

and in the amounts which have been provided for by Chapter 25 of the present Code.” [Butler, Civil Code, 2001, p. 560–561]

Lastly, the translation performed by Peter Maggs and Alexei Zhiltsov offers a third version:

“Article 864. Conditions for *Execution* by the Bank of a Payment Order.

3. The payment order shall be *executed* by the bank only in case of presence of funds on the account of the payor, unless otherwise provided by the contract between the payor and the bank. Orders shall be *executed* by the bank with observance of the priority of withdrawal of monetary funds from the account (Article 855)

Article 865. *Execution* of an Order

3. The bank has the duty to immediately inform the payor on his demand of the *performance* of the order. The procedure for formalizing and the requirements for the content of the notification on the *performance* of an order shall be established by a statute, by bank rules established in accordance with it, or by the agreement of the parties.

Article 866. Liability for *Nonperformance* or Improper *Performance* of an Order

1. In case of *nonperformance* or improper *performance* of a client’s order, the bank shall bear liability on the basis and in the amounts provided by Chapter 25 of the present Code.” [Maggs Zhiltsov, 2003, p. 553–554] (*Italics added.*)

What strikes one as particularly odd is that Maggs and Zhiltsov chose to use two English terms in various articles of the Code where one term is used in the Russian original: ‘execution’ and ‘performance’ for «исполнение». In other words, one of the fundamental principles of translation for professional purposes, that of unification in terminology, was disregarded. Why did these authors attempt such a risk? Or, was there any risk at all? And what were the grounds for the other translators’ choices, which, as one can clearly see, happened to be most interestingly different?

One should start by consulting Black’s Law Dictionary for the meanings of the terms in question. The Dictionary defines ‘execution’ as 1. The act of carrying out or putting into effect (as a court order) <execution of the court’s decree>. 2. Validation of a written instrument, such as a contract or will, by fulfilling necessary requirements <delivery of the goods completed the contract’s execution>. 3. Judicial enforcement of a money judgment ... 4. A court order directing a sheriff ... to enforce and judgment ... 5. Criminal law. The carrying out of a death sentence. [Black’s, 2000, p.467]

The term ‘performance’ is defined as 1. The successful completion of a contractual duty, usu. Resulting in the performer’s release from any

past of future liability; EXECUTION (2). — Also termed *full performance* [ibid., p. 929].

The term “performance”, therefore, will emphasize the existence or formation of contractual relations between the customer who presents the payment order, and the bank who, in case of acceptance, is contractually bound to perform its obligations to the customer. The term “execution”, on the other hand, will shift the legal focus to the fact that, acting on the customer’s instruction, the financial institution created an internal instrument so that it may carry out its duties to the customer. The instruction itself, therefore, has already been considered, approved and accepted.

Let us now look into the meaning of the articles of the Civil Code as it emerges from the three interpretations.

Christopher Osakwe’s translation suggests the following construction. The bank will execute (read: create, make out) a payment order if there are sufficient funds in the customer’s account. The bank will write out its own payment order in response to the customer’s order to debit the customer’s account, unless there is a specific understanding between the customer and the bank obligating the bank to transfer the required funds notwithstanding the fact of whether the customer has the necessary amount in its account. The moment the bank creates such an order, the bank shall inform the customer of the fact. The bank shall be liable to the customer for failure to write out a payment order or for any irregularities in the document.

William Butler’s text will be understood in the following way. As soon as the bank makes sure on due inspection of the customer’s account that the funds may freely be transferred, the bank shall perform its obligations to the customer by debiting the customer’s account accordingly, unless special circumstances provided in the customer agreements require that the bank should act otherwise. The bank shall inform the customer the moment the funds are transferred from the customer’s account in accordance with the customer’s order. Should the bank fail to transfer the funds or err in the process, the bank shall be liable to the customer.

The translation performed by Maggs and Zhiltsov provides the reader with a third version. Here, the bank is obligated to write out a payment order only if there are sufficient funds in the customer’s account, and any such order shall be written out only after the performance of earlier similar orders. Should the customer wish to be informed of the proper transfer of funds from his account in accordance with his instruction, the bank shall notify him of the fact. On acceptance, the bank is obligated to transfer the funds and shall be liable for any improprieties connected with the transaction.

Of the three translations, William Butler's version makes no mention of any inner payment order that the bank writes out to effect the transfer of funds. This translation concentrates entirely on the bank-customer relations, and the payment order is clearly the document presented by the customer and containing instruction to the bank related to the transfer of funds. Christopher Osakwe and Maggs/Zhiltsov, on the other hand, regard the payment order as a different paper — a document drafted (“executed”) by the bank ordering itself to perform the transfer. This inference requires another look into the legal sources, because the discrepancy seems to be further based on the difference in meaning ascribed to the term “payment order” in the banking procedures of different countries.

There is no statutory definition of the payment order in Russia, but one can turn to the internal regulations of several major Russian banks.

“Payment order: a document containing your instruction to the bank to transfer money from your account to the account of an individual, a company, or into the national budget”<sup>1</sup>

“Item payable, ordering the bank to transfer a sum certain from the client's account to the contracting party's account”<sup>2</sup>.

These definitions correspond to William Butler's interpretation of Articles 864–866 of the Code. His credo as a legal translator and a legal comparativist has always been to tread carefully through a legislative text so that the risk of “redressing the terminology of one legal system into the costume of another” [Butler, 2001, p.VIII] should be avoided as nearly as possible. Effectively this means that professor Butler based his interpretation of the articles in question on the definitions found in the Russian banking regulations; therefore, it will not be too farfetched to assume that he interpreted the rest of the articles along the same lines. If a payment order is a client's instruction to a bank to make a money transfer, then, logically enough, “исполнение” should be interpreted as the “performance” by the bank of this instruction.

Professor Butler's version of the Russian Civil Code follows this principle accurately: his choice of terminology follows the principle that a descriptive term with a broad meaning will be preferable to a more specific term in cases when the specificity of the Russian law may otherwise be disrupted, and a user of the translated text of the Code may be misled into thinking that the Russian law can be understood and applied in the

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<sup>1</sup> [https://www.sberbank.ru/ru/s\\_m\\_business/pro\\_business/chto-takoe-platezhnoe-poruchenie#:~:text=translated by M. Golubtsova.](https://www.sberbank.ru/ru/s_m_business/pro_business/chto-takoe-platezhnoe-poruchenie#:~:text=translated by M. Golubtsova.)

<sup>2</sup> <https://alfabank.ru/help/articles/sme/start/chto-takoe-platezhnoe-poruchenie/translated by M. Golubtsova.>

same way as the English or the American law. (Another example of this approach is the choice of the term “society” for “общество” because the term “company” could have imported an English legal construction.)

The next source to consult will be the Uniform Commercial Code, the American source containing regulations of bank deposit operations. It provides this definition:

“Payment order” — means an instruction of a sender to a receiving bank, transmitted orally, electronically, or in writing, to pay, to cause another bank to pay, a fixed or determinable amount of money to a beneficiary ...” [Uniform Commercial Code, p.135].

“A payment order is “executed” by the receiving bank when it issues a payment order intended to carry out the payment order received by the bank.” [ibid. p. 144].

It can be followed, that, under the UCC, the term “payment order” describes both a customer’s instruction to the bank to pay money and a bank’s document executed in order to perform such payment. In the text of UCC, the term “execution” clearly means “writing out” — for example, it emphasizes that “the execution date” and “the payment date” (payment will constitute the performance of the bank’s obligation) must be distinguished. [ibid. p. 137].

Interestingly, the Russian banking practices know a similar use of the term “платежное поручение”; thus, Statute of the Bank of Russia dd. 24 September 2020 N 732-П “On the Payment System of the Bank of Russia”, Art. 4, provides that “the credit organization involved in the exchange ... shall execute a payment order to the total sum with the schedule.”<sup>3</sup> — thus describing a requirement for the paying bank to make its own internal document ordering itself to effectuate the payment in accordance with the customer’s instructions.

The analysis of the text of the UCC allows an inference that it purported to regulate the procedure and practices of financial institutions, not their relationships with their customers (other banks including). Article 4A “Funds Transfer” contains the rules of payment transactions, specifically, various requirements applied to the making, transmitting, amending, rejecting, etc. of payment orders by the banks. Hence the term “execution” is used in the UCC more than frequently. The fact that Christopher Osakwe chose “execution” as a counterpart to “исполнение”, can only mean that he relied heavily on his professional background as an American lawyer and used UCC as a source for the language and termi-

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<sup>3</sup> GARANT legal database. <https://base.garant.ru/74898078/1b93c134b90c6071b4dc3f495464b753/>



nology. As a result, his English version of the Russian Civil Code acquired certain qualities of the American legal language, and to a visible extent became capable of similar construction. The procedures described in Articles 864–866 of the Civil Code are now limited to the banking operations required in pursuance of the bank's business.

Finally, the translation by Maggs and Zhiltsov reveals a highly interpretative approach. It might even be suggested that they took into account the double meaning of the Russian word “исполнение”, which may be used to denote a completion of some task (“performance”) or a material accomplishment, a making out of an object (“execution”). Speculations apart, the determination of the co-authors to look into the legislator's intent is obvious. As far as the choice of language and terminology is concerned, the authors took regard of both the Russian legal sources and the American usage of terminology; the fact that the use of the term “execution” might alert an American lawyer's professional memory to the text of the UCC is irrelevant for the authors.

## Results and conclusion

Our comparative analysis of the three translations of the Russian Civil Code into English, based on three sample articles of the Code, allowed us to trace the grounds of the marked variations in the choice of language and, hence, in the resulting meaning of the text. The purpose of the article was not to decide on the quality or render judgment concerning the reliability of a particular translation, nor to speculate on the merits of the authors as legal translators. This article proceeds from the assumption that all four authors who performed the translation are highly qualified and experienced. It was of particular practical importance to understand what insights guided an author or a group of authors when they placed their choice on a particular term and selected one phrase against another. This article provided material to show the vital importance of the cultural background of a translator: the translation performed by Christopher Osakwe demonstrates how a reliance on his American education and professional experience led him in his work to produce a text that the Russian lawyers and legal translators aptly call an “americanized version of the Russian Civil Code.” Whether Osakwe intended such an effect or it arrived as a natural consequence of the author's background, is immaterial and lies outside of our research.

The same pattern has been observed in the case of professor Butler's translation — namely, a particular national law as a source of meanings and implications of the original text of the Code. Only this time, the

choice was made deliberately and intentionally in favour of the Russian law to the extent excluding any possibility that a term or a provision could be construed outside the framework of the Russian law. This very sound principle of professor Butler's is well known among the professional community who regard his translations as, perhaps, too "russified" but, at any rate, devoid of risk.

The third translation appeared as a product of cooperation of a Russian lawyer and his American colleague, and represents a shared view on what the Russian legislators could have meant when they drafted the Civil Code. The text is a representation of this consolidated legal thinking and provides interesting material for analysis for both lawyers and scholars (in both fields of law and translation).

By way of obiter, this article blueprinted the problem of dealing with ambiguities in the original text. Christopher Osakwe and professor Butler, regardless of whether they considered the text of the Code as ambiguous, chose to beg the issue. Maggs and Zhiltsov, on the other hand, attacked the language of the code and offered their own solution. Such decisions will always remain with the translator.

The awareness of extralinguistic factors as the affiliation of the translator with a particular cultural and legal community have been raised again as one of the decisive factors both for the users of any product of legal translation and for the students who are just entering the professional career.

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## EXPANDING INDIVIDUAL MENTAL LEXICON WITH THE AID OF AI ALPACA LANGUAGE MODEL IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

This paper reviews the pedagogical problem of vocabulary expansion and spontaneous speech extension in a foreign language from the perspective of the psycholinguistic approaches to the study of word meaning using the tools of neurolinguistic models. The aim of the research is to draw up guidelines for the purpose of overcoming potential difficulties in the formation of foreign language learners' individual lexicon in the framework of associative, parametric, feature-based and situational approaches to the study of word meaning in psycholinguistics with the aid of the Alpaca language model. In the course of the research, the Alpaca language model was tested. It was used to develop strategies and tasks that aim to expand the mental lexicon and are designed to develop language ability and language competence through linguistic awareness. The language model has shown a good level of adaptability to both search and text generation queries and tasks for foreign language learners by proficiency levels with the possibility to customize assignments according to the most productive channel of information perception. Currently, the functionality of the model enables teachers to resolve the issue of creating multi-level educational content for foreign language learners. The research findings show that higher-order tasks such as creating types of assignments for different perception channels, compiling miniassociative dictionaries or associograms, generating mind maps, working with word meanings and collocations, building frame structures to represent knowledge in the analysis of speech situations, representation of concepts using lexemes, etc., require some "machine learning" with the help of a teacher who always controls the language situation modelling and constructs the learning process in terms of FLT methodology.

*Keywords:* individual mental lexicon, neuro-linguistic models, verbal ways of knowledge representation, approaches to the study of word meaning in psycholinguistics

## РАСШИРЕНИЕ ИНДИВИДУАЛЬНОГО МЕНТАЛЬНОГО ЛЕКСИКОНА С ПОМОЩЬЮ ЯЗЫКОВОЙ МОДЕЛИ AI ALPACA В ПРОЦЕССЕ ОБУЧЕНИЯ ИНОСТРАННОМУ ЯЗЫКУ

В настоящей статье рассматривается педагогическая проблема расширения лексического запаса и развертывания спонтанной речи на иностранном языке в аспекте психолингвистических подходов к изучению значения слова и с помощью инструментария нейролингвистических моделей. Цель исследования разработать рекомендации для снятия трудностей, возникающих при формировании индивидуального лексикона у изучающих иностранный язык в рамках ассоциативного, параметрического, признакового и ситуационного подходов к изучению значения слова в психолингвистике с помощью языковой модели Alpaca. В процессе исследования протестирована языковая модель Alpaca, используемая для разработки стратегий и заданий, направленных на расширение ментального лексикона и призванных формировать через языковое сознание языковую способность и языковую компетенцию. Языковая модель показала хороший уровень адаптивности к запросам, как поискового характера, так и направленных на генерацию текстов и заданий для изучающих иностранный язык по уровням владения, с возможностью настроить задание согласно наиболее продуктивному каналу восприятия информации. В настоящий момент функционал модели Alpaca позволяет преподавателям решать проблему создания обучающего контента для разных уровней изучения иностранного языка. Результаты исследования показывают, что задачи более высокого порядка, такие как: создание типов заданий под разные каналы восприятия, составление мини-ассоциативных словарей или ассоциограмм, генерация интеллектуальных карт, работа со значением слова и его сочетаемостью, построение фрейм-структур для представления знаний при анализе речевых ситуаций, репрезентация концепта с помощью лексем и т. п. требуют некоторого «машинного обучения» языковой модели с помощью преподавателя, который всегда контролирует моделирование языковой среды и методически правильно выстраивает процесс обучения.

*Ключевые слова:* индивидуальный ментальный лексикон, нейролингвистические модели, вербальные способы представления знаний, подходы к изучению значения слова в психолингвистике

### Introduction

One of the tasks of modern psycholinguistics is the study of a person's individual lexicon. An individual's internal lexicon has both universal characteristics and individual idiosyncratic ones. Understanding the pro-

cesses of how it is organized and objectified in language helps to solve the problem of vocabulary expansion and speech spontaneity of an individual who learns L2 or L3 as a foreign language.

Task-based psycholinguistics treats the concept of human lexicon as a functional-dynamic system, a means of access to the dataset of an individual formed by means of cognitive and communicative activities.

The main aspect here is the cognition of how words are represented in and retrieved from the mind and brain as well as the interest in the word meaning as an individual's asset, a complex network of mental representations and associations for which it serves as the code (Zalevskaya, 2007).

Associative, parametric, feature-based and situational approaches to the study of word meaning bring us closer to understanding of what methods of psycholinguistics can be applied to get an insight into the processes of vocabulary formation. Associative experiments in intercultural studies have shown the specific features of interaction between languages, specific images of native speakers' consciousness and various manifestations of associative meaning functioning. The findings of the studies dedicated to the role of language proficiency level in associative building of L2 learners' lexical knowledge have shown that differences in the organization of lexical knowledge between native speakers and learners of a second foreign language are quantitative rather than qualitative in nature: "the associative patterning of L2 learners' lexical knowledge, especially the way it affects the quantitative and the qualitative patterns of meaning connections. Results suggest that differences in the organization of lexical knowledge between L2 speakers and native speakers are quantitative rather than qualitative" (Zareva, 2007). However, the underlying cognitive structure may not be universal to all languages, which complicates their study.

The parametric approach to word meaning explores the psychological structure of word meaning through which the semantic norm is derived. Its relativity was emphasized by Peter Gärdenfors, in whose opinion word semantics develops as individual communicative (primarily speech) acts interact with already existing and established meanings. In the author's view, there is no clear line between pragmatics and semantics, and semantics can be considered as "conventionalized pragmatics" (Nagornaya, 2015). It is only in conversations that agreement on the word meaning is often reached (Douven, Elqayam, Gärdenfors, Mirabile, 2021). Our mind organizes the information it receives into patterns that can be modeled geometrically or topologically, specifically, into conceptual spaces. It is the presence of such "well-formed" meaning structures that makes communication more effective.

The idea of describing meaning through semantic features is realized in the feature-based approach to words. Semantic memory is organized by

categories that include a set of features and their configurations. Features can be organized into mental constructs, patterns, scripts and scenarios. Features play a decisive role in the formation of the meaning structure and its functioning (Chenki, 2002).

The situational approach considers the content of meaning (meanings function in certain relationships) and its inclusion in some structure of knowledge representation. These are higher-order mental models that integrate information from all sensory systems and general knowledge about the world (Johnson-Laird, Shafir, 1993).

The above approaches to word meaning reveal the possibilities of deeper research into cognitive processes on the part of psychology and linguistics proper, as well as the organization of the mental lexicon, which would let us find some solutions for its expansion in the process of learning foreign languages and national cultures.

Undoubtedly, mastering a foreign language is of great importance for the formation of a linguistic personality and its cognitive potential, which is reflected onto the mental lexicon, representation of worldviews (own and foreign) through the prism of a foreign language, value-based attitudes to the culture of the country of the target language, awareness of one's own new opportunities and one's own niche in life.

However, learning a foreign language is closely connected with the cognitive processes of perception and reproduction of information, generation and comprehension of speech, so the difficulties experienced by some foreign language learners may be difficult to define. Thus, it is worth proceeding from the individualized approach to defining difficulties and understanding the processes that cause it (Potebnya, 2023).

## **Methods and materials**

The aim of this research is to study what may be the obstacles to vocabulary expansion and spontaneous speech extension in a foreign language for L2 learners, and to draw up some guidelines to avoid difficulties in the above approaches to the study of word meaning in psycholinguistics using AI language models.

To carry out the analysis of this research the qualitative research method was adapted. In the process of applying the qualitative method this research was done in a systematic way to present reliable evidence using the Alpaca language model to develop strategies and tasks aimed at expanding the mental lexicon and designed to develop language ability and language competence through linguistic consciousness.

Table 1. Types of tasks based on the approaches to the word meaning

Type of tasks	Generalized characteristics of tasks	Description of tasks in terms of the approaches to the word meaning
Tasks according to the type of intelligence.	The way of presenting and working with information in accordance with the prevailing channel of perception: musical-rhythmic, spatial-visual, verbal-linguistic, logical-mathematical, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal, intrapersonal, naturalistic and existential.	Understanding productive ways of information assimilation by learners.  Diverse channels (sources) of associations in the assimilation of information.
Compilation of mini associative dictionaries/ associograms (Mind Maps, Concept Maps, Intellectual Maps).	Data visualization using mind maps.	Establishing associative connections.
Completing speech utterances.	The study of the direct, figurative and contextual meaning of the word, compatibility of lexemes, as well as synonymic and antonymic rows.	Finding differences between meanings
Building a frame structure of knowledge in the analysis of speech situations.	Performing a communicative task in accordance with the frame structure.	Organization of lexical knowledge, characterization of a set of meaning features.
Tasks aimed at creating a foreign language environment for learners.	Using Smart Education technologies (using the target vocabulary in different situations through practical activities).	Immersion in the natural language environment.
Tasks aimed at overcoming the “boundaries” of language proficiency	Modeling of a language environment with the leading role of a student who is unable to overcome her or his “boundaries”	Understanding the semantic norms.
Tasks aimed at studying cultural concepts, interlanguage comparisons, providing identification of universal trends and idioethnic features of their implementation.	Representation of the concept using lexemes.	Conducting an associative experiment.  Understanding the content of the word meaning.



In the course of this research, it was determined that L2 learners' lack of awareness of how the thought-and-speech process is organized (the relationship between language and thinking), that a word may hide much more than just a direct and figurative meaning, how thoughts are objectified in language and how multichannel perception can influence the thought-and-speech process, significantly affects the language teaching process (Vlavatskaya, 2013). The main difficulties (at the level of interaction of the language-thought-speech trinity) arising in the process of learning a foreign language are relevant to understanding the following:

- semantic content and structural-grammatical organization of an utterance;
- multidirectional associations/associative fields (syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations in the lexis which are studied within the framework of combinatory linguistics that explores the linear relations of language units and their combinatory potential);
- the filling of frame-structures for representing knowledge (the new approach by M. Minsky to solving the problem of knowledge representation in artificial intelligence systems which is based on the system of frames, i.e. special data-structures for conceptual representation of stereotypical situations within the general context of knowledge about the world) (Minsky, 1979);
- understanding of direct, figurative, additional meanings as well as the contextual word meaning;
- the idea of what idiosyncrastic features of speech are, ranking of lexis in accordance with functional styles;
- usage of lexico-grammatical chunks (idioms, collocations, proverbs, sayings, grammatical patterns, discourse markers) and syntactic structures in spontaneous speech and objectification of cultural concepts;
- interpretation of a speech situation through the code (vocabulary and grammatical structures) of the native language;
- psycho-physiological characteristics of an individual, including those related to the perception of information without use of verbal channels and, in this regard, arising difficulties in its transmission (according to the theory of multiple intelligence by Howard Gardner) (Gardner, 2007).

The following table presents types of tasks based on the approaches to the study of word meaning that were inputted to the Alpaca language model to get it started with its learning process.

Currently, popular approaches to the study of foreign languages (the Theory of multiple Intelligence, Bloom's Taxonomy (Shukran, Nor Fari-dah, 2017), the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) and Scaffolding (Margolis, 2020), Schema and Constructivism (Derry, 1996), Behaviorism (Laeli, 2020), Spiral Curriculum (Harden & Stamper, 1999) are aimed at expanding vocabulary, but they indirectly address the issue of building the internal lexicon, since it belongs to the sphere of an individual's mental activity. Devising strategies and tasks aimed at expanding the mental lexicon and designed to develop language ability and language competence through linguistic consciousness (Vygotsky, 2021).

## Findings and discussion

In the context of the methodology of teaching foreign languages and cultures, there are some recommended methods and approaches that are correlated with the difficulties of foreign language learning and geared towards vocabulary expansion:

1. Foreign language teachers need to take on board four different channels of perception and learners' own preferences (audial, visual, digital and kinesthetic). Additionally, in accordance with H. Gardner's theory of multiple intelligence, there has recently been a tendency to determine the predominant type of intelligence and design foreign language lessons in such a way that the process of information assimilation runs through the learner's most productive channels of perception, while functioning of other channels is also monitored in order to increase their productivity.

2. The associative method presents new words visually through their connections with other mostly already-known words, which enables us to significantly speed up the memorization process. At the same time, associations can be different: phonetic, figurative, situational, rhymed, as well as mental (mind maps) and conceptual (concept maps). This method is especially useful for creating learners' basic vocabulary, but may not be sufficient for more advanced communication.

3. One of the effective strategies is to give learners contextual cues. When coming across a new word, they should guess its meaning from the context and a teacher can give them a hint. This can be done by using synonyms or antonyms, word formation, or even the tone and mood of the text.

Another useful strategy is to use visual aids. It is useful for learners to see pictures, diagrams or videos illustrating the meanings of new words. For example, a teacher can show an image of a "cathedral" when teaching vocabulary related to religion or culture. Teachers can ask learners

to make flashcards with new words and their meanings, which they can review and revise at leisure.

To expand vocabulary, all kinds of games can be used. For example, a teacher can organize a game in which learners have to match words with their definitions or synonyms. All these ways help them to better remember the word and its meaning.

4. Frame-like structures are pre-defined phrases or sentences that learners can memorize and use in various communicative situations. Such structures contribute to spontaneous speech production, since they serve as a basis for expressing ideas or opinions impromptu as well as help to expand vocabulary and use it correctly in certain contexts.

However, frame structures should be used in combination with other teaching methods and teachers should ensure that learners do not just memorize them, but use them autonomously in their own meaningful contexts.

5. One of the main advantages of smart educational technologies is the ability to create more engaging and interactive lessons, track learners' progress and identify problematic areas for further support, which enables teachers to adapt the learning process to the needs of individual learners and significantly improve their learning outcomes.

For instance, interactive whiteboards can display multimedia content such as videos, images and audio recordings, which make the lesson more interesting and dynamic, as well as increase learners' motivation and involvement in the learning process. Nowadays many useful language applications can be found in the mobile phone.

However, it is important to use modern technologies in combination with traditional teaching methods and ensure their responsible and ethical use. Technologies are a supporting factor of language education, but the strategic organization of the lesson and its logical course should be clearly thought out and monitored by the teacher.

6. Moving on in mastering a foreign language learners tend to face certain "boundaries" that make it difficult for them to further improve their level of language proficiency. Such limitations include limited vocabularies, difficulties in understanding native speakers, problems with grammar and syntax.

To overstep such boundaries and reach a new level, it is extremely important to create a foreign language environment and more often take learners of higher levels out of their comfort zone. Language environment modeling requires learners' pro-active attitude and their willingness to take responsibility for their own performance and achievements. It is necessary to motivate them to focus on expanding their own vocabulary

through extensive reading, writing and speaking. It is advisable to make them read books, magazines, journals in the original and authentic texts to their interest and taste, as well as watch movies, TV shows, listen to radio or podcasts, participate in online forums in the target language, write down new vocabulary in context in their vocabulary notebooks and then use it in conversations and discussions with their teacher, speaking partners in their group or native speakers.

To improve grammar and syntax, it makes sense to set learners written exercises and tasks, for example, presenting individual projects, journaling/blogging, writing essays or even short stories using the target vocabulary (Sharandin, 2017).

It is also very important to set achievable goals and regularly monitor learners' progress through ongoing monitoring. All this helps to motivate and encourage them on the way to mastering a foreign language.

7. Learning a foreign language in the comparative perspective through the lens of the native language does not lose its relevance. A comparative analysis of idioms or fixed expressions of a foreign language with a native one can serve as a good basis for learning a language through comparisons (e.g. similar associations). For example, the English expression "to kill two birds with one stone" has a somewhat different equivalent in the Russian language where they say "to kill two hares with one shot/bullet".

It is very useful to analyze cultural customs and traditions in different countries. For instance, learners can compare Christmas celebration in different countries, which can lead to further discussions about values, historical and cultural factors, etc.

It is also advisable to invite learners to explore the idioethnic features of cultural concepts and study how they are manifested in specific communities or regions. A case in point, the concept of hospitality is differently perceived in different cultures. By studying variations of this kind, learners will be able to better understand cultural differences and similarities as well as their manifestation in the target language.

Basically, assignments aimed at studying cultural concepts and cross-linguistic comparisons will help learners enrich their view of the world, acquire culture-specific vocabulary and will contribute to understanding different cultures.

The use of the language model for the purpose of expanding the mental lexicon is justified by the introduction of new digital approaches to learning.

The process of association and organization of the lexicon by the language model is not similar to the human one. The neuro-linguistic network model is able to predict each subsequent missing word in the flow of

constructed and organized speech. It collects metadata from all available information sources, including language corpora, grammars, dictionaries, anything that can be obtained from available sources or anything that the model developer deems necessary to include there. So, this is the most complete and accurate source of information taking into account the redundancy of speech, language translation and formalization. It would be an ideal teacher, but the language models are imperfect and are still in the process of being fine-tuned and retrained. Also, AI has difficulty in expressing natural human emotions.

AI models write texts from a variety of subject areas in a matter of seconds, often demonstrating a very high level. The successive release of GPT-4 has shown that they are evolving rapidly promising to radically transform many areas of life in the near future (Rezaev, Tregubova, 2023).

The Alpaca language model, trained on the basis of the LLaMA model, coped with some tests more successfully than ChatGPT. LLaMA is a collection of fundamental language models with a number of parameters from 7B to 65B. Trained on trillions of tokens, LLaMA models have shown that it is possible to train the most advanced models using only publicly available datasets without resorting to the use of proprietary and inaccessible models (Touvron, Lavril, Izacard, Martinet, Lachaux, Lacroix, Rozière, Goyal, Hambro, Azhar, Rodriguez, Joulin, Grave, Lample, 2023).

Language models reveal a flexible ability to learn, adapt to the subject area with the ability to adjust skills after verification by users. Currently, using the functionality of the Alpaca model with its database enables teachers to generate texts and tasks for certain queries that can be used for foreign language learners. Higher-order tasks, such as creating types of tasks for different channels of perception, compiling mini-associative dictionaries or sociograms, generating mind maps, working with the word meanings and collocations, building frame structures when analyzing speech situations, tasks for creating a “language environment” and overcoming “boundaries in language learning”, representation of the concept with the help of lexemes, etc., require additional skills from the language model. Therefore, it is the teacher who should act as a reliable controller who would run the language environment modeling and design the learning process correctly in methodological terms.

Below there will be presented the results of the work with assignments on the topic “The basic concepts of the UK culture”, generated with the aid of the Alpaca language model. All the tasks focus on testing receptive and productive speech skills in order to clear up language difficulties and expand individual vocabulary.

Thus, the objective of preparing assignments for different channels of perception based on the theory of multiple intelligence, where intelligence acts as the computational ability of the brain, becomes more complicated due to designing of different tasks on one and the same topic for the particular channels of perception, and the wordings of requests for such tasks will have to be made by the teacher (Pahrozi, 2022).

The concept of cognitive style in cognitive science is like the idea of categorization of multiple intelligences proposed by Gardner, since both consider the abilities of everyone who has an aptitude for logical sequence or creativity, for example, thus influencing the learning process (De Freitas, 2023).

The request to the language model for tasks by intelligence types outputs detailed specifications, i.e. descriptions of each type and suggestions for resources with already-designed exercises (Table 1). In this respect, the model can be used to create a list of questions for learners with different perception channels (Table 2), as well as generate tasks on the target topic, tests, microtexts and macrottexts by language proficiency levels. It is necessary to set quantitative and qualitative parameters in your queries. In this case, the request was made for the B2 level of foreign language proficiency (Common European Framework of Reference: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR)) (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment, 2001). The more accurate the query, the more realistic it is for the model to solve the problem and tweak its work (Table 3).

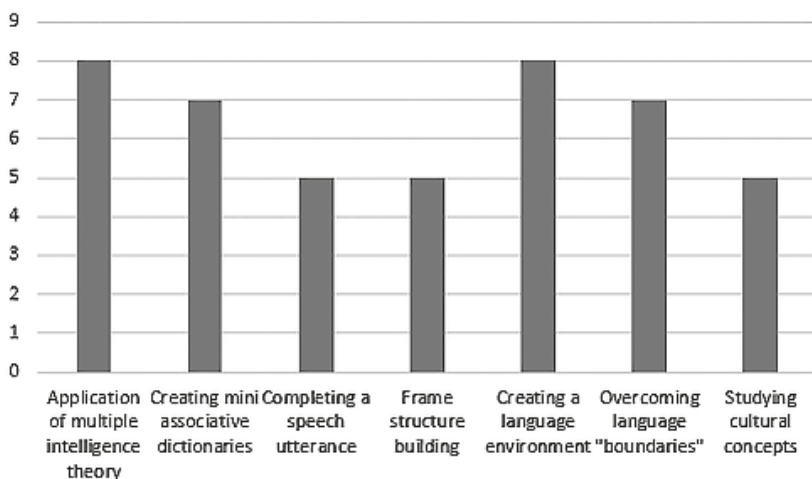
The model copes with tasks of compiling mini associative dictionaries/associograms (Mind Maps, Concept Maps) only in the text version offering a link to data visualization.

The task set for the model to complete a speech utterance is not productive. It is possible for it to generate only a complete sentence, since Alpaca is specially designed for modeling constructed and organized speech. Therefore, it will generate grammatically and stylistically correct sentences on a given topic, which can be changed to meet the requirements of the task.

Difficulties arise with the following set of tasks:

- building a frame structure when analyzing speech situations;
- tasks with a focus on studying cultural concepts and interlanguage comparisons to ensure identification of universal trends and idioethnic features of their manifestation;

It's because the model was not trained to do the logical analysis of speech situations that can be organized into language structures as special



*Fig. 1.* Evaluation of the Alpaca language model performance.

“underpinnings” for constructing an extended utterance. Highlighting the most significant “key phrases” in the text (which the model is certainly capable of) is not a frame structure for building knowledge. Organization of the semantic framework of the utterance requires certain operations involving complex “human-type” associations and highlights of the most important cliches/patterns in the structure and the language of extended utterances. The framework analysis helps in devising thematic maps, scenarios, scripts for monologues or dialogues and gives an understanding not just of the word meaning but of the concept which is aligned with its sensory image. In order to understand cultural concepts, it is also necessary to conduct an in-depth language analysis. But the model outputs culture-related concepts or generalized representations, whereas cultural concepts are mental constructs that include, among other things, culture-related concepts with a more capacious content (Epstein, 2022).

As for the tasks aimed at creating a language environment for the learner, the model itself is essentially such a “language environment”. It is able to fully replace the interlocutor, answer questions, perform search tasks and tasks for generating information materials (for example, create the most interesting news based on the collected information). It can be used in storytelling with pre-set parameters (write a story using the required list of words). The model is able to make an English lesson plan as requested and provide learning materials (in the form of links to relevant resources).

The tasks aimed at overcoming the boundaries of language proficiency should be individualized in nature, where it is necessary to study the capabilities and needs of a particular learner, understand the “problems” they face in the process of learning a language and select the tasks geared towards “overcoming their boundaries” taking into account the type of the most productive channels of perception and the features of universal learning activities (learners’ abilities to successfully take in new knowledge on their own, develop skills and competencies, including autonomous organization of this process). Learners’ individual perceptions and associations play an important role here (Uspensky, 2012), therefore, their direct interaction with language models should become the subject of research.

The direct evaluation of the language model performance by foreign language teachers with regards to the above queries is shown in Fig. 1.

The mental lexicon expansion is a process that requires the teacher and the learner to maximize all the opportunities to gain access to the most significant sphere of the language and to build background knowledge of culturally-objectified information as well as to develop the most effective ways of its assimilation and accumulation in the linguistic consciousness and to form an understanding of more capacious concepts of the target language culture and their linguistic embodiment.

AI-type associations can facilitate this process. Language models generate textual information, check data, construct utterances according to given cliches and generate tasks of different types, i.e. they are able to produce different approaches to processing textual information, which is important in foreign language teaching at advanced levels. The teacher only needs to guide their “machine learning”, submit direct and logically correct queries and methodically process these requests competently for a foreign language lesson.

## Conclusion

There has been a recent surge in the use of powerful language models in AI research with the emergence of transformer neural networks (Vaswani, Shazeer, Parmar, Uszkoreit, Jones, Gomez, Kaiser, Polosukhin, 2017) and lots of usage options have been put on offer. The results of the work with the Alpaca language model have shown that the model did not always cope with the initially set task at the zero-learning stage, but with repeated attempts it completed it after all, albeit with obvious errors in some cases. As a result of repeated attempts with fewer solutions, Alpaca was able to achieve success. In addition to asking the model a question, we can guide the model through a chain of reasoning (Wei, Wang,



Schuurmans, Bosma, Ichter, Xia, Chi, Le, Zhou, 2023). Since the model can self-learn, the teacher needs to collect its performance indicators, think through options for queries, task-setting and possible solutions. As recent studies have shown, the issue of AI usage in higher education is becoming more and more relevant. There are now areas identified to be studied for the purpose of using AI in the educational process as well as its features for introduction into the system of teaching university students. Therefore, the study of the possibilities of language models for meeting the specific needs of foreign language teachers and learners will be of great interest (Hong, 2023; Baskara & Mukarto, 2023).

The objectives of this research involved the study of the difficulties associated with the expansion of the mental lexicon of foreign language learners and the possibilities of the Alpaca language model, which can help the teacher and the learner in solving this problem.

The language model has shown a good level of adaptability to queries, both of search nature and of generating texts and tasks for foreign language learners by proficiency levels, with the ability to customize such tasks according to the most productive channel of information perception. Thus, we can talk about creation of educational content using technologies, and, therefore, there is a need for methodology that would enable teachers to combine traditional forms and methods of teaching integrated with innovative approaches.

Looking forward, self-learning language models will easily enter into everyday educational technologies and will keep improving to meet the challenges of this field. From the perspective of new approaches to the study of foreign languages and cultures, it is a “language tool” with a large generative potential with which it is already possible to create learning content, model the educational (language) environment, motivate students to learn a foreign language, master new technologies (to train models) for educational purposes.

It is the ability to make complex associations that is the future of language models development, but even at this point in time, demonstrating a high level of adaptation to a certain field of application and having the ability to self-learn at zero start, the Alpaca model shows measurable results in achieving these objectives.

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# Appendix 1

Table 1. Prompt responses on stock model

PROMPT	RESPONSE
> Could you study all the information about multiple intelligence by Gardner?	<p>► Yes, absolutely. Multiple intelligence refers to the idea that people have different types of intelligences and can demonstrate knowledge in various ways. Developed by psychologist Howard Gardener, this theory suggests there are eight forms of intelligent behavior — linguistic, logical-mathematical, spatial, interpersonal, intrapersonal, naturalistic, musical, visual/spatial, verbal/languages, and logical reasoning. Each type is unique but can all be expressed in a variety of ways such as problem solving or communication skills.</p>
> Lets return to Multiple Intelligence by Gardner. Find for me tasks for every type of intelligence, please	<p>► Visual-spatial intelligence (also known as visual spatial perception or VSP): This is the ability to perceive and interpret information from one's environment through sight. Examples include recognizing patterns in objects such as faces recognition, reading maps, understanding diagrams etc.</p> <p>Verbal/Linguistic Intelligence: The capacity for using words effectively; this includes writing, speaking, comprehending literature or other verbal communication. This type of intelligence is often associated with logical thinking and problem solving. Examples include creating stories, poems, debates etc.</p> <p>Logical-mathematical intelligences (also known as Numeracy): The capacity to think logically; this includes understanding abstract concepts such as numbers or equations. It also involves the ability of reasoning deductively in order to solve problems and puzzles. Examples include solving maths questions, logical deduction etc.</p> <p>Interpersonal/Social Intelligence: This is the capability for recognizing emotions from others; this includes understanding body language as well as empathy towards other people's feelings or situations. It also involves being able to communicate and collaborate with different types of individuals in order to solve problems together. Examples include having good manners, forming relationships etc.</p> <p>Intrapersonal/Self-Awareness Intelligence: This is the capacity for understanding one's own emotions; this includes recognizing how you feel inside as well as being able to control your feelings or reactions in certain situations. It also involves knowing yourself and having a good self image, which helps with decision making. Examples include reflecting on personal experiences etc.</p>

## Appendix 2

Table 2

PROMPT	RESPONSE
<p>&gt; Create a list of questions of British cultural concepts for logical-mathematical kind of intelligence, please</p>	<p>► 1. What is the history behind the traditional English tea ceremony?            2. How did the tradition of afternoon tea originate in Britain?            3. Describe some popular British culinary dishes such as fish and chips or shepherd's pie.            4. Name three famous landmarks located in London, England.            5. What is a typical day like for an English person?            6. How does the British healthcare system compare to other countries around the world?            7. Describe some of Britain's most iconic cultural exports such as Shakespeare or The Beatles.</p>
<p>&gt; Create a list of questions of British cultural concepts for intrapersonal kind of intelligence, please</p>	<p>► 1. What are the main characteristics and values associated with traditional British culture?            2. How has Britain's political system evolved over time in terms of its democracy and monarchy?            3. In what ways does modern British society reflect a diverse range of cultural influences from around the world?            4. What are some key elements that define contemporary British identity, such as language or religion?            5. How has Britain's economy changed over time in terms of its industrial and financial strength compared to other countries?            6. In what ways does traditional British cuisine reflect a mix of international flavours and ingredients?            7. What are some key elements that have shaped modern British art, such as the Pre-Raphaelite movement or Pop Art?            8. How has Britain's education system evolved over time in terms of its structure, funding and quality of teaching?            9. In what ways does traditional British literature reflect a mix of international influences from William Shakespeare to J.K. Rowling?            10. What are some key elements that have shaped modern British politics such as the Labour Party or Brexit?</p>
<p>&gt; Create a list of questions of British cultural concepts for musical kind of intelligence</p>	<p>► Questions related to British Cultural Concepts and Musical Intelligence include but are not limited to:            1. What is the history behind traditional British folk music, such as that found in the works of composers like Ralph Vaughan Williams?            2. How did classical musicians from Britain, such as Elgar or Holst, contribute to the development and evolution of musical styles over time?</p>

PROMPT	RESPONSE
> Create a list of questions of British cultural concepts for musical kind of intelligence	<p>3. In what ways does modern popular music from Britain, including genres like rock 'n' roll and grunge, reflect cultural trends in that country?</p> <p>4. How did British composers use traditional folk melodies as a source for new classical works during the Romantic period of musical history?</p> <p>5. What are some examples of iconic British music festivals such as Glastonbury or Reading Festival and how have they shaped popular culture over time?</p> <p>6. How did Britain's rich musical heritage influence modern genres like jazz, soul, reggae and dubstep?</p>

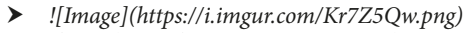
### Appendix 3

Table 3

PROMPT	RESPONSE
> Create a task on topic British cultural concepts for musical kind of intelligence, please	<p>► Task: Research the concept of "musical whistle-stop tour" in Britain. This is an educational activity where participants travel to various locations across England and Scotland learning about traditional music styles from local musicians as they go along. Discuss how this type of cultural exchange can be beneficial for both hosts, guests and their respective communities.</p>
> Create a task on topic British cultural concepts for interpersonal kind of intelligence, please	<p>► Task: Research the concept of "British tea culture" which is based around traditional English afternoon teas with sandwiches, scones and pastries. Explore how this type of social gathering can be beneficial in building relationships between people from different backgrounds.</p> <p>8. How has Britain's education system evolved over time in terms of its structure, funding and quality of teaching?</p> <p>9. In what ways does traditional British literature reflect a mix of international influences from William Shakespeare to J. K. Rowling?</p> <p>10. What are some key elements that have shaped modern British politics such as the Labour Party or Brexit?</p>
> Create a task on topic British cultural concepts for verbal kind of intelligence, please	<p>► Task: Research the concept of "British tea culture" which is based around traditional English afternoon teas with sandwiches, scones and pastries. Explore how this type of social gathering can be beneficial in building relationships between people from different backgrounds.</p>

## Appendix 3

Table 4

PROMPT	RESPONSE
> Create Concept Map for topic Main concepts of British culture	<p>► Main concepts of British Culture include the following ideas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Respect for tradition and heritage, with a strong sense of patriotism towards Britain's past;</li> <li>— A love of fair play and sportsmanship;</li> <li>— An appreciation for good manners and courtesy;</li> <li>— Strong emphasis on community values and loyalty to one's neighbors.</li> </ul>
> Create mind map for topic The culture of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	<p>►  (https://i.imgur.com/Kr7Z5Qw.png)</p> <p>The Culture of Great Britain &amp; Northern Ireland includes many aspects such as language, food, music, art, literature, sports etc. The two main cultures in the UK are British and Irish culture which have both had a great influence on each other over time due to their close proximity. Both countries share similarities when it comes to cuisine, traditions &amp; folklore but there is also distinct differences between them such as language or sports preferences.</p> <p><b>British Culture:</b> British culture has been heavily influenced by its history and the presence of other cultures living in Britain over time like Anglo-Saxons, Celts etc., which have all contributed to modern day British values &amp; traditions. Popular foods include fish 'n' chips or Sunday roast dinners with friends/family; traditional sports such as cricket are also very popular and the national language is English although there are many regional dialects too.</p> <p><b>Irish Culture:</b> Irish culture has been heavily influenced by its history of being a Gaelic nation, which can be seen in their love for music &amp; storytelling or traditional sports such as hurling/GAA football; food like soda bread is also popular and the national language is Irish although there are many regional dialects too.</p> <p><b>Sports:</b> British people have an affinity with sport — whether it's watching, playing or even betting on them! Popular team sports include Football (or Soccer) &amp; Rugby Union but other individual sports such as cricket and golf also enjoy a large following in the UK; horse racing is another popular pastime.</p> <p><b>Literature:</b> British literature has been hugely influential over time, from William Shakespeare to J. K. Rowling — there's something for everyone! Popular authors include Charles Dickens &amp; Jane Austen who have written some of their most famous works</p>
> Create Intellectual Map for topic Main Concepts of British culture, please	<p>► The main concepts of British Culture include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— The Monarchy and Royal Family</li> <li>— History &amp; Tradition</li> <li>— Social Classes</li> <li>— Celtic Cultural Influences</li> <li>— Education System</li> <li>— Political Structure</li> </ul>

**All authors have read and approved the final manuscript.**

**Conflicts of Interest: the authors have no conflict of interest to declare.**

## THE CONTRASTIVE RHETORIC OF ENGAGEMENT MARKERS IN L1 AND L2 APPLIED LINGUISTICS RESEARCH PAPERS

The academic community in Russia, like any academic community, is under constant pressure to publish the results of their research. Exploring cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary variations in academic texts of different genres is essential to overcome potential academic language challenges. The study examines the extent to which academics' use of rhetorical devices from different lingua-cultural origins can hinder the publication process. We also looked for particular cultural models that might hinder the process of adapting national writing styles to globally recognised standards. Specifically, the paper looks at scholarly norms as demonstrated through the use of metadiscursive markers of engagement. Following Hyland's taxonomy, we identify the interactive and interactional domain, the latter consisting of attitude markers, hedges, boosters, self-mentions, and engagement markers. First, engagement markers deal with the need to satisfy the reader's expectations of inclusivity. Second, engagement markers engage the reader in a debate through reader asides and references. The second function seems to be more concerned with rhetorical positioning of the audience and acknowledging the reader's role as a critic and potential negator of claims. The first step for our research was to construct a corpus of 38 research papers. The results of the comparative analysis indicated that Russian applied linguistics papers written in English use fewer engagement signals than English L1 publications and the higher levels of interpretivism are not to be expected in Russian academic writing traditions. Further research is needed to examine the academic writing styles of texts from different cultural and disciplinary backgrounds.

*Keywords:* engagement markers, metadiscourse, cross-discipline research, cross-cultural research, appeals to shared knowledge

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## КОНТРАСТИВНАЯ РИТОРИКА МАРКЕРОВ ВОВЛЕЧЕННОСТИ В НАУЧНЫХ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯХ ПО ПРИКЛАДНОЙ ЛИНГВИСТИКЕ, НАПИСАННЫХ НОСИТЕЛЯМИ АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА И ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЯМИ, ДЛЯ КОТОРЫХ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ НЕ ЯВЛЯЕТСЯ РОДНЫМ

Академическое сообщество в России, как и любое другое научное сообщество, в силу характера своей деятельности, сталкивается с необходимостью постоянно публиковать результаты своих исследований.



Изучение кросс-культурных и кросс-дисциплинарных вариаций в академических текстах разных жанров необходимо для преодоления потенциальных проблем с академическим языком, возникающих при публикации на английском языке. В статье рассматривается вопрос о том, насколько использование учеными риторических средств, имеющих различное лингвокультурное происхождение, может препятствовать принятию исследования к публикации. Кроме того, в статье рассматриваются культурно-ориентированные модели, которые могут препятствовать процессу адаптации национальных стилей академического письма к международным стандартам. Рассмотрение указанных проблем происходит на примере использования метадискурсивных маркеров вовлеченности (*engagement markers*) в англоязычных и научных текстах, написанных носителями и не носителями английского языка. Следуя таксономии, предложенной британским лингвистом К. Хайлендом, мы выделяем интерактивные (*interactive*) маркеры, посредством которых автор обращается к ожиданиям адресата по поводу организации дискурса и интеракционные (*interactional*), с помощью которых автор занимает позицию по отношению к своей аудитории. Маркеры вовлеченности — один из типов интеракционных маркеров, к которым также относятся маркеры отношения, хеджирования, бустеры и авторские самоупоминания. Маркеры вовлеченности, во-первых, связаны с необходимостью соответствовать ожиданиям читателя быть включенным в исследовательский дискурс. Во-вторых, маркеры вовлеченности с помощью отступлений и отсылок предугадывают возможную дискуссию с потенциальным читателем. Вторая функция, по-видимому, в большей степени связана с риторическим позиционированием аудитории и признанием роли читателя как критика научной работы. Для проведения исследования был создан корпус из 40 научных статей. Результаты сравнительного анализа показали, что в российских работах по прикладной лингвистике, написанных на английском языке, используется меньше маркеров вовлеченности, чем в англоязычных публикациях, и в российских традициях академического письма не следует ожидать более высокий уровень интерпретативизма. Тем не менее, для более точного понимания стилей и жанров академических текстов, созданных представителями из разных культурных и дисциплинарных контекстов необходимы дальнейшие исследования.

*Ключевые слова:* маркеры вовлеченности, метадискурс, кросс-культурные исследования, кросс-дисциплинарные исследования, обращение к общему знанию

## Background and literature review

As the members of Academia continually need to publish the results of their research, there is a need to either improve the language of their research either to the level of native speakers of English or to the level that is satisfactory to the academic community that might regard academic conventions presented by a researcher a possible cultural option for a lingua-

cultural community. In any case, there still exist intuitively understandable differences in academic conventions in L1 and L2 academic texts that could prevent novice researchers from achieving academic success. One of the aspects of academic discourse which has not yet been sufficiently researched to raise awareness of students in academic language courses is metadiscursive characteristics of academic texts. Although there is a lot of research in both theoretical and contrastive studies, metadiscursive characteristics of academic texts produced by L2 Russian academics are yet a very rare subject of research. Moreover, according to Highland the domain of metadiscourse characteristics may be considered as another aspect of language teaching.

Comprehensive metadiscourse theory initiated by K. Hyland in *Metadiscourse: Exploring Interaction in Writing* (2005) produced myriads of research in cross-linguistic as well as cross-cultural domains. Dozens of languages and fields of study were analyzed to find metadiscursive differences and similarities, thus, enhancing the theory of interaction between the producer of an academic text and the reader thereof. According to Hyland metadiscourse markers can be grouped into two dimensions: interactive and interactional each containing five more subcategories. The table below recalls two dimensions of Hyland's classification.

Category	Function	Examples
<b>Interactive</b>	<b>Help guide readers through the text</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Transitions	express relations between main clauses	<i>in addition; but; thus; and</i>
Frame markers	refer to discourse acts, sequences or stages	<i>Finally; to conclude; my purpose is</i>
Endophoric markers	refer to information in other parts of the text	<i>noted above; see Fig; in section 2</i>
Evidentials	refer to information from other texts	<i>according to X; Z states</i>
Code glosses	elaborate propositional meanings	<i>namely; e.g.; such as; in other words</i>
<b>Interactional</b>	<b>Involve readers in the text</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Hedges	withhold commitment and open dialogue	<i>might; perhaps; possible; about</i>
Boosters	emphasise certainty or close dialogue	<i>in fact; definitely; it is clear that</i>
Attitude markers	express writer's attitude to proposition	<i>unfortunately; I agree; surprisingly</i>
Self-mentions	explicit reference to author(s)	<i>I; we; my; me; our</i>
Engagement markers	explicitly build relationship with reader	<i>consider; note; you can see that</i>

The main idea underlying this is that the researcher not only feels obliged to guide and interact with the reader but also, he offers his stance, evaluation, and engagement with the propositional aspects of the text. Let us recall the contradictory opinion in the argumentative essay by Swale (2019), who generally accepts in general the notions of stance and engagement (Swales, 2019, p.77) but is not sure whether the improvement of the logic and coherence of academic research can be explained by the author's aim to enhance his reader's approval. However, the author acknowledges the presence not only of propositional content but also of other language mechanisms that indicate stance, engagement, and other metadiscourse markers (Swales, 2019, p.77).

### **Engagement as a part of the interactional domain.**

Engagement as a component of metadiscursive pattern generally refers to the understanding by the author of the presence of the “reader-in-the-text” (Thompson, 2001). The reader is understood as a discourse participant and as an actor who is to be guided and advised through the text (Hyland, 2005, p. 176). To a greater extent, the presence of a reader in the text is regarded as a part of social interaction which is judged not only as a crucial aspect of academic language but rather — as a part of academic literacy (Jiang & Ma, 2018, 15). Some linguists emphasise that engagement markers are crucial for academic writers in the process of their negotiation with the readers to acknowledge their research (Yuvayapan, n.d. 1659). Another important role of engagement in academic text is to neutralise its face-threatening function. It helps readers to foresee criticism and accept alternative views expressed by the writer.

### **Engagement and stance**

Engagement is often studied with the category of stance which together form the interactional dimension of metadiscourse. For Hyland, stance and engagement are two constituent parts of the writer-reader interrelationship: stance is writer-oriented, while engagement concerns the reader-oriented part (Hyland, 2005). Stance, according to Hyland, can be represented or sub-grouped as attitudinal dimension, including hedges, boosters, attitude markers and self-mention, though self-mentions are also included in engagement markers. From a broader point of view engagement and stance have always been accounted for as an important part of the language of academic research and have been described using different terms: evaluation, epistemic modality, attitude, appraisal, stance and

metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005, p.174). Moreover, some researchers suggest that stance and engagement should be considered together to better understand the structure of academic texts. To be credible, authors have to appeal to the value system, which in turn evaluates both propositions and the audience (Hyland, 2005, p. 175). In this binary system, the stance is an imposition of the writer's personal authority on their reasoning or disguising his involvement. Recently, however, there has been a tendency for the authors not to separate the research on stance and engagement markers (e.g. Fu, 2012) register, genre, and disciplinary proposition.

### Persuasiveness

Underlying this is a widely acknowledged idea of the persuasiveness of academic text. The idea is that the researcher should not present only facts but should also consider the ideas shared by the discipline community and those which are anticipated by their readers. Taking a broader look, the engagement was considered as a part of an evaluation process which is further subdivided into three interrelated domains called “attitude,” “engagement,” and “graduation.” Engagement ‘deals with the play of voices surrounding opinions in debate as well as the sourcing of attitudes’ (Martin, 35). The degree of persuasiveness may be a separate topic for research as in Yang (2021) *Engaging readers across participants: A cross-interactant analysis of metadiscourse in letters of advice during the COVID-19 pandemic*. The author analysed letters of advice from governments and hospitals from the perspective of different engagement styles. In other words, the author discusses different styles of persuasiveness extending the metadiscourse theory from academic to crisis communication.

### Authorial persona

Additionally, Hyland regards the process of establishing connections and affiliations with the academic community as the ‘creation of an authorial persona’ (Hyland, 2005, 191). This persona represents the personality of an author and reflects ‘confidence, experience, and ideological preference’ (ibid.). Others speak about authorial identity which is explicitly detected in the employment of self-mentions (Shen and Tao, 2021, 6). Once the term was offered and approved by the academic community, the analysis of the development of authorial identity and its development started. This is exemplified by Hyland's analysis of authorial repositioning in “*We must conclude that...*”: *A diachronic study of academic engagement* (2016), where he found that the authorial persona is changing over time in soft and hard sciences.

## Contrastive studies of engagement

Naturally, research in the field of engagement markers includes a comparative analysis of intercultural variations and comparative analysis across different disciplines in the use of engagement markers in international and national English journals. It is quite common for the research to deal with differences across disciplines and various linguacultural backgrounds (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2021). The paper researches engagement in English-medium research articles across “two disciplines, linguistics and economics, and two linguacultural backgrounds, Anglophone and Czech” (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2021, 18). The results suggest that there exists significant cross-discipline variation which is explained by different epistemology, methods and conventions established in a specific discipline. The results also showed that although in general representatives of different linguocultural backgrounds possess the same repertoire of engagement markers they differ in their preferences (Lafuente-Millán, 2014), for example, analyses the use of engagement markers in business management research articles. He assumes that as the language of publication, a national culture or audience size may also influence greatly the use of engagement resources. It was found that the ‘rhetorical styles and interpersonal tactics’ of Spanish writers have their own peculiar features. Moreover, it was found that texts written by Spanish researchers for international journals differ in rhetorical styles and interpersonal tactics from the texts that they publish in local journals (Lafuente-Millán, 2014, 219).

Rarely, do we find a comparison of academic research of different authors when each of them is an L2 English speaker. Assassi T. and Merghmi K. (2023) compared Saudi and Algerian abstracts and found that the use of engagement markers was way lower than the benchmark although other metadiscourse markers were closer to the benchmark. Studying engagement markers separately or as a part of a metadiscursive approach targets not only academic discourse. Chen and Li (2023), for example, investigated how interactional metadiscourse and particularly self-mentions and engagement markers are distributed in news commentaries in China Daily and The New York Times, finding huge differences in the intensity and the level of interaction with the reader. Farghal and Kalakh (2019) outlined a translational perspective for the study of metadiscourse characteristics of Persian discourse. They showed, in the examples of English-Arabic translation of presidential debates, the necessity to understand metadiscourse of different genres in order to not ‘miscommunicate the messages in terms of phatic and persuasive functions’ (Farghal, Kalakh, 2019, 103).

We find few studies that take a cross-cultural approach that compare research papers written in different languages. Mur-Dueñas (2011), for example, compares 12 research articles in business management ‘written in English by scholars based at North American institutions and published in international journals, and another 12 written in Spanish by Spanish scholars and published in national journals.’ In particular, the author found that Spanish scholars are more inclined to attract their readers’ communal understandings. The author emphasises that ‘A slightly higher number of engagement markers per 10,000 words is found in the Spanish sub-corpus than in the English sub-corpus’ (Mur-Dueñas, 3074). Thus, the authors showed that different cultural academic communities display different approach to their community conventions. We found a similar investigation in Khatibi and Esfandiari (2021). Authors researched into the use of engagement markers in Persian and English pointing out that respect for the disciplinary community does not allow the use of imperatives, and these characteristics remain intact when Persian researchers publish in international journals.

### Other studies

Pedagogical application is now considered an inseparable part of academic research. Following the mainstream research in genre pedagogy Shahriari and Shadloo (2019) analyzed engagement markers in argumentative essays written in Persian and the relationship between the quality of the research and the use of engagement markers. The authors proposed ‘to design rubrics for various sub-registers of academic writing by taking into account each register and sub-registers key elements’ (Shahriari and Shadloo, 106). Other authors (e.g.: Abdollahzadeh, 2011) also emphasise that the research into the role of metadiscourse markers requires their analysis across different rhetorical parts. Often like in Yin and Parkinson (2021) *A critical review of literature: The case of the news and views genre* authors concentrate on the pedagogical implications of their studies showing the dominant features of reviewed genres in terms of their rhetorical structure and lexico-grammatical organization. They have also demonstrated how metatiscursive markers are distributed in corresponding moves. However, such kinds of research are quite rare.

Rare can we find investigation into oral academic discourse. A successful example here is Xu (2022) *Differences between novice and experienced academics in their engagement with audience members in conference Q&A sessions*. The research analyses rhetorical differences in Q&A responses to different presenters at Conference Q&A sessions and provides advice on how to better engage audience.

## The aim of reader's engagement

After Hyland and Jiang (2016) we accept two functions of engagement. The first addresses the requirement to adequately meet reader's expectations of inclusiveness. This has to foster the feeling of belonging to a certain discipline community. Readers are addressed here as participants. This function is performed by reader pronouns (you, your, inclusive we) and interjections (by the way, you may notice).

The second function appears to have more to do with placing the audience rhetorically, acknowledging the reader's function as a critic and potential negater of claims, by involving the reader in a dispute through reader asides and references. This allows us to anticipate and react to potential criticisms. The second function is executed by questions, directives, and references to shared knowledge (Hyland, 2005). In principle these functions allow us to summarise most of the previous definitions.

In Hyland's interpersonal model of MD (2005) there are various kinds of engagement markers. They are: appeals to shared knowledge, reader pronouns, questions, directives, and personal asides. Each of them is illustrated below with examples from the corpus and involves numerous implicit ways of affiliating with readers (Hyland, 2019). According to Hyland (2019, 182), reader pronouns are arguably the most direct means of introducing readers to a discussion and the easiest way for a writer to recognize a reader is to use *you* and *your*. Also, authors can directly address readers with personal asides (Hyland, 2019, 183), which are brief interruptions of a discussion to provide a commentary. Directives give the reader instructions on how to act or perceive the world in a way that the writer has decided upon. According to Hyland (2019, 184), appeals to common knowledge aim to place readers within the boundaries of disciplinary understanding.

Summarising previous research, we found that a cross-cultural approach to the study of engagement markers, put aside general investigation on the interpersonal model of MD, is predominant. This is mostly due to its practical significance for the researchers from the countries where L2 English academic writers significantly outnumber L1 academic writers. Specifically, the practical significance arises from the support for novice researchers on how to write and what exactly rhetorical conventions of different disciplines are. To date, we do not see a clear picture of what are weak points of Russian L1 academic writers, although even a cursory look at some research papers reveals that English and Russian rhetorical conventions diverge. To find features of the Russian authorial persona in the use of EM we ask the following research question:

RQ1: Are there cross-cultural differences in the use of engagement markers in applied linguistics research papers in international and national journals published in English?

## Method and data

In line with the main goal of our research the corpus totalling 38 research papers was compiled. The corpus has two parts with ten papers being selected for each: journals representing international applied linguistics research papers published in English and journals representing local applied linguistics research papers published in English. We used AntConc version 4.2.0, a corpus analysis toolkit (Anthony, 2019). First, we calculated all occurrences of each item of engagement markers. In general, we expected the authors to have a comparable command of English. For each of these two groups, we selected one journal from which we chose approximately fifteen papers at random for each corpus to be amounted to approximately 160,000 tokens. We then searched each of the papers for the items in Hyland's (2005) list of engagement markers presented in Ken Hyland & Feng (Kevin) Jiang's "*We must conclude that...*": *A diachronic study of academic engagement*. Although we used the list of EM approved and adopted by different researchers, it should be noted that metadiscourse is essentially an open category and we expect that the list may be updated as new research emerges.

## Results

Results have shown that English L1 papers used more engagement markers than Russian applied linguistics papers written in English. Applied linguistics is known to have a more interpretative character of disciplinary conventions as it was shown in previous research (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2021) that compared linguistics and economics. This difference could be explained by the differences in the targeted audience who share the same conventions: methods and understanding of publication context. Comparing papers in applied linguistics demonstrated that Russian academic communities do not expect a higher level of interpretability.

### Particular results. Reader mentions

Reader mentions, indicators of shared knowledge and asides underline that the reader is regarded 'as a fellow disciplinary member' (Jiang, Ma, 4). Thus, the writer appeals to the reader and causes a feeling of com-



monality, which assumes that the writer and the reader share similar values and a sense of agreement. The Russian model shows that Russian writers tend to be very fuzzy, and do not show lower degree of formality with the second person forms *you/your*. In other words, Russian writers show a distance between the reader and the writer. This is exemplified by not using *you/your* in the Russian corpus (only one example: example 4) which contrasts sharply with the English corpus (27 tokens of *you* and 78 tokens of *your* — examples 1, 2, 3).

- (1) *You take a random sample of words from the corpus with replacement and, then, you count the occurrences of give and given in them ...* [4-e]
- (2) *What contributions does your study make to current practices?* [1-e]
- (3) *You take a random sample of words from the corpus with replacement and, then, you count the occurrences of give and given in them ...* [4-e]
- (4) *When considered in terms of the broader categories of authorship; reviewers; publication practices; and data, images and plagiarism, we have a better sense of the type of issues that challenge editors.* [13-r]

The *reader* (examples 5, 6) is found in both corpora with the Russian corpus demonstrating twice as many occurrences as the English corpus. The personal pronoun *we* is used by English L1 writers six times more often.

	EC	RC		EC	RC
<i>your</i>	27	0	<i>the reader</i>	6	3
<i>you</i>	78	1	<i>we</i>	458	77
<i>one's</i>	10	0	<i>our</i>	181	22
<i>one</i>	5	9	<i>us</i>	53	24

The indefinite pronoun *one* shows similar use in both the Russian and the English corpora which is partly explained by the similarity of constructions. We use it to make generalisations and not refer to a specific person in particular. Although only *one* is used in the function of generic personal pronoun. Among all possible collocations with *one* Russian L2 writers prefer the construction *one can* (example 7), while *one might assume*, and *one might prefer* examples are quite negligible compared to English L1 papers.

- (5) *The reader should note that while in 1a and 1b we have focused on the way the members of the networks are connected with each other,* [6-e]
- (6) *The references section provides the reader with a list of all the consulted reference where in a list of 7.374 is included.* [9]

- (7) *From the lexical units, used by the author to describe Id of the main character, the most frequent, as we have observed, one can differentiate the adjectives with the meaning of high degree. [3-r]*

### Appeals to shared knowledge

Similarly to reader mentions, appeals to shared knowledge are the most important tool to form the academic discourse. We understand that offering readers your research options could be a serious risk to their good will. However, it could be done in the form of shared identity and solidarity. This, in turn, is pursued by sharing the objectives and disciplinary conventions. Appeals to shared knowledge can serve as a marker of ‘unproblematic boundaries of disciplinary understandings’ (Hyland, 2001, p. 566). As Dontcheva-Navratilova (2021) showed, appeals to shared knowledge in linguistics are statistically more frequent than, for example, in economics, which relies more on mathematical and statistical methods.

	EC	RC		EC	RC
apparently	2	4	obviously	0	2
as a rule	0	4	of course	0	1
common	52	41	prevailing	0	0
commonly	15	7	prevalent	0	3
conventional	27	29	traditional	41	21
conventionally	1	1	traditionally	6	4
established	2	12	typical	15	38
Familiar	13	13	typically	20	38
normally	0	2	usual	4	1
obvious	0	2	routinely	1	0

Surprisingly, when comparing appeals to shared knowledge, we see that the Russian and the English corpus show a general similarity in the extent and quantity of the words from the list. The most striking difference is the use of the adjective *traditional* (example 7) which predominate in the English corpus and the adjective *typical* (example 8), and the adverb *typically* (example 9) which predominate in the Russian corpus.

- (7) *Al-Hoorie and Hiver (2020) and Hiver et al. (2022) have argued for a transdisciplinary approach to methodology that transcends traditional disciplinary practices... [19-e]*

- (8) *As a rule, such strings of errors are triggered by a word, pronunciation of which is not typical for the phonetic system of the language.* [19-r]
- (9) *During the decades prior to this period construction with preposition to seemed to be the only means of objectivizing this typical situation...* [25-r]

## Directives

Following Hyland, most researchers understand directives as the rhetorical mechanism that urges the reader to perform certain actions (La-fuente-Millán, 2014). Hyland (2002) distinguished three types of actions or behaviors: textual, physical, and cognitive. Whilst textual acts direct readers to another text or to another area of the text, physical acts either contain suggestions on how to think about the research technique or a real-world action. Lastly, by guiding readers along a certain cognitive path or teaching them how to understand information in a particular way, directives can assist readers in performing cognitive acts. In “*We must conclude that...*”: *A diachronic study of academic engagement* Hyland and Jiang (2016) presented comprehensive list of directives: add, analyse, assess, classify, consult, demonstrate, develop, estimate, go, increase, integrate, mark, must, observe, picture, refer, remove, set, suppose, turn, consider, let, notice, recall, should, have to, it is important, allow, apply, calculate, compare, contrast, determine, employ, evaluate, have to, input, let us, measure, need to, order, prepare, regard, see, should, state, use, find, assume, remember, let, ought to, must. We compared only statistically significant results:

	EC	RC		EC	RC
add	7	3	allow	18	4
analyse	1	0	compare	15	0
demonstrate	4	0	see	146	130
must	40	17	evaluate	5	6
consider	32	38	enable us	2	2
imagine	4	0	need to	41	4
Have to	12	3	should	124	62
it is important	18	3	remember	0	1
ought to	4	0	let us	5	7
it is necessary	1	4	choose	4	2

Numerically, modal structures with should, have to, need to, etc. (example 10) outnumber cognitive directives (compare, consider, imagine)

in both corpora, with the Russian corpus demonstrating manyfold differences. *Need to* is used ten times more often in the English corpus than in Russian, *ought to* — is used four times more frequently, *must* — twice, and *it is important* (example 11) — six times.

- (10) *As such, cross-loadings should be accepted and indeed expected when conceptually related factors are included in the measurement model...* [17-e]

Similarly, quite a big difference could be found in the distribution of modals and structures with a predicative adjective (*it is essential, it is important*: example 11) throughout the text.

- (11) *It is important to emphasize that the structural bifactor CFA was not included but only the ESEM solution was retained for the reasons discussed in the previous section.* [17-e]

This shows that Russian authors tend to avoid possibly face-threatening strategies by not expressing the researcher’s judgment on the importance of something.

### *Personal asides*

Personal asides are understood as direct comments to the text that are often inserted between parenthesis. The results showed two main asides in the English corpus: *i.e.* (see example 12) and *although* (see example 13).

- (12) *The popularity of this index was facilitated by two factors: ease of calculations successful automation) and its match to the academic age of the reader (i.e., the number of years of formal schooling).* [20-r]
- (13) *For example, the complexity of Mathematics texts for the 2nd and the 3d grades is supposed to be different, although linguistic differences between them are few and minor.* [20-r]

	EC	RC
although	12	1
i.e.	170	39
incidentally	1	0
By the way	0	0

We can see that the difference in their use in Russian and English corpora is significant with *i.e.* outnumbering their occurrence in English corpus four times and *although* as a personal aside shows only one occurrence in the Russian corpus. Personal asides are the least frequent class of engagement markers.

## Conclusion and discussion

Currently, we can see the break-in of local academic conventions weakening. This is largely because members of Academia gain more awareness of English academic norms and additional training that can be received in the classes of academic English or English for research purposes. However, our knowledge about the norms of rhetoric structures as well as of the meta-discourse to be used by L2 speakers is still incomplete. Understanding the differences in the use of engagement comes directly from the research. For this reason, there is a need for further research to examine the academic styles of the texts that come from different backgrounds. Underlying these conventions are perhaps Russian writing conventions which motivate the author to use a more indifferent style to assert the persuasiveness of an authorial position. This may contrast with genre expectations of highly rated journals indexed in prestigious databases which follow to the greatest extent the Anglo-Saxon tradition. The results of the research are valid for preparing classes in writing-in-the-disciplines for two reasons: first, they make it possible to explain general characteristics of academic texts and secondly, they allow to show the specificity of a discipline that is pursued by a student.

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## THE PLACE AND ROLE OF ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF AUSTRALIA IN THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY DEVELOPMENT

The article features Aboriginal languages of Australia through a wider sociocultural issues and sociopolitical events from a diachronical perspective. Although there is a growing literature on multiculturalism and multilingualism in contemporary Australia, there are few studies on indigenous languages and their social functions throughout a rather short history of Australia as a young state in the South Pacific region. This study identifies the aim to focus on multi-component and heterogeneous character of national language policy and planning of Australia and to translate it into a set of objectives: to reflect a social and functional differentiation of indigenous languages; to reveal a controversial social attitude of white Australian population towards local languages and cultures which tailored in their extermination. The paper adds to existing research through a description of a number of issues related to attitudes of institutionalized bodies towards Aboriginal languages and cultures and their political decisions in the frames of the national language policy development by the end of 1980s. Linguistic and historical overviews on indigenous peoples, having been collected and presented by enthusiasts: linguists, topographers, clergymen and police officers in 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries, cemented a sociocultural profile of Australian identity and charted the evolution of attitudes towards Aboriginals and their languages. Along the broad continuum, the research literature shows a link not only between language and culture but also between language and identity. National Language policy in Australia was adopted in 1987. Indigenous languages were placed among other groups of languages forming a rich palette. Unique ethnic profile of the Australian society as well as its linguistic diversity created traumatic controversies in the field of the Australian nation self-identification and ambiguous attitude to indigenous languages and cultures. The paper also investigates factors that had led to extermination and a complete death of the majority of Aboriginal languages. Currently, sociologists of language and political circles support language vitality and indigenous cultures. They maintain bilingual educational programs at schools, publishing primers and glossaries, legends and fairy tales. TV and radio broadcasting services support the feeling of being proud to be able to speak native indigenous languages in every day interactions, and promote their further use as a major means of in-family communication.

*Keywords:* identity, polyethnic and multicultural society, ecology of language, indigenous languages, language policy

## МЕСТО И РОЛЬ ЯЗЫКОВ КОРЕННОГО НАСЕЛЕНИЯ АВСТРАЛИИ В ПРОЦЕССЕ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ ЯЗЫКОВОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ

Статья посвящена диахроническому рассмотрению роли и места языков коренного населения Австралии сквозь призму социокультурных факторов и политических процессов. Целью исследования является выявить многосоставный и гетерогенный характер формирования национальной языковой политики Австралии. На фоне политических решений институциональных структур отразить социальную и функциональную дифференциацию языков коренного населения; показать противоречивое общественное отношение со стороны белого населения к индигенным языкам и культурам, которое выразилось в ущемлении прав коренных народов и доведении их до истребления, что способствовало дальнейшему исчезновению аборигенных языков. В 1987 г. федеральным правительством Австралии были утверждены основные принципы языковой политики, одна из ключевых позиций была закреплена за языками коренного (аборигенного) населения. Уникальный этнический состав австралийского общества и языковое разнообразие породили болезненные противоречия в сфере самоопределения австралийской нации и неоднозначное отношение к функциональному статусу языков коренного населения. В настоящий период времени социологи языка и политические круги выступают за сохранение языков и культур. Эти меры включают: поддержание двуязычных образовательных программ в школах; выпуск печатной продукции: букварей, словарей, легенд и сказок, создание теле и радиoproграмм, а главное — культивирование чувства гордости за свой родной язык. Язык выступает символом идентичности народа. В связи с этим необходимо расширять возможности для использования коренных языков в повседневной коммуникации, а также способствовать их использованию в качестве языков внутрисемейного общения. Современные лингвисты используют богатый материал о языках аборигенов, собранный миссионерами и священнослужителями, топографами и полицейскими в 19–20 вв. Энтузиасты занимались полевыми исследованиями, создавали грамматические описания языков и составляли словники. В настоящее время правительство и общественность уделяет внимание сохранению языкового и культурного наследия аборигенного населения. Языки представляют собой составную часть интегрированной системы коммуникации и символизма. Экологическая перспектива учит рационально осознавать угрозу общему достоянию — языку. Именно поэтому социальные идеологии придают форму и устанавливают рамки языковой политики в полиэтническом и мультикультурном обществе, гарантируя при этом коренному населению право принятия решений по всем вопросам функционирования родных языков и поддержания их витальности на всех уровнях.

*Ключевые слова:* идентичность, полиэтническое и мультикультурное общество, экология языка, языки коренного населения, языковая политика



## Introduction

### *Aboriginal people and their languages*

Australia traces back 40 000 years, and possibly as long as 65 000 years. Presumably, it might have taken 10 000 years for Aboriginal people to spread out over the vast island continent [Rickard, 2017, p. 4]. By the time when Captain Cook arrived at Sydney Cove in 1788, “it is thought that there might have been a total Aboriginal population of about 750 000 [Rickard, 2017, p. 5]. There were approximately 700 Aboriginal groups or tribes [Dixon; Moore; Ramson; Thomas, 2006, p. 2]. Every tribe lived on its own territory, had the particular political system, spoke its own language and created legends, myths and fairy tales. They did not have any single chieftain. The community rarely came together, usually for ceremonial purposes. They all were equal, cooperating in their everyday life maintaining their folk and ritual traditions. Depending on age, sex or kinship relations, they had their own obligations for purposes of daily hunting, foraging and important social and ritual functions. Mountain ranges or strips of barren country were a natural barrier of their territories.

Each tribe received its name by the language it spoke. Tribes used to speak one of the 250 Australian indigenous languages. Some of them used for communication neighboring dialects spoken over adjoining tribes. These might be spoken by as few as 100 people, or as many as 1500 [Rickard, 2017, p. 5].

Archaeologists argue that Aborigines settled on habitable locations of the continent. In the south-east there were villages of stone dwellings, close to lakes and rivers where there was good fishing with elaborate systems of weirs, channels and nets. There is a theory of a so called an “equilibrium situation” when the number of languages would have been constant. Due to trade and close links between groups, Aborigines were mostly multilingual: languages borrowed words, their meanings and grammar constructions from other languages creating a kind of a lingua franca which was not their native tongue.

The interesting point is: the Australian Aborigines’ language family tree does not have links with any other language family trees. It means that indigenous Australian population, that are called “Australian bushmen” are separated from other ethnic groups. They created one of the ancient cultures in the world.

### *A steady loss of Aboriginal languages*

There has been a loss of Aboriginal languages for more than two hundred years of white colonization of Australia [Dixon; Moore; Ramson; Thomas, 2006, p. 4]. The decline is explained by a number of factors. The

colonial policy made indigenous people dependent on brutal requirement of white governing bodies. There was a long period of the policy of “whitening” in Australia. Since 1886, children have been enforced to assimilation in cases of mix marriages. Namely, from 1909 until 1969 they were separated from their parents and placed in boys’ and girls’ dormitories. Their parents were not allowed even to write letters to their children. Their native tongues were forbidden, only English was allowed, that was considered to be the only means of survival and rescuing in the world of the white adults. Authority bodies provided a harsh language policy: church services, books and all media were exclusively in English.

Young children were provided with primary education. Apparently, it was enough for working physically: manual works were spread in the farms.

It is known that the easiest way to kill a language is to kill its native speakers. Australian and Tasmanian Aboriginals were caught by white population. They were poisoned and they ran to deserts and died there from hunger and thirst. In some settlements there were a true massacres or hunting. There were no more locations where authentic languages were spread. A bright example shows the language Yeeman which has been used by the population located nearby Taroom in the South-East of Queensland. The only thing which left after 1857 is the name of the settlement.

By the 20-th century, Aboriginal people could be ignored, their very existence almost expunged from the national consciousness of white Australians. The Constitution laid down that they should not be counted at the census as members of the Australian population. It was still widely assumed that as a race the Aboriginal people were dying out, but by the 1930s there was the beginning of changing attitude towards Aboriginal people and their cultures, expressed by anthropologists and church missionaries. Namely, the anthropologist A. P. Elkin, the former Anglican priest, pioneered an understanding of Aboriginal religion. Since then, “a pro-Aboriginal lobby, operating through the Association for the Protection of Native Races, began to be heard. In 1939 the Commonwealth Government, which controlled the Northern Territory but had no direct responsibility for Aboriginal people in the States, adopted a more enlightened and informed policy, recognizing Aboriginal rights, though still seeing them in an assimilationist context” [Rickard, 2017, pp. 179–180].

In 1938 when Australia celebrated its sesquicentenary some Aboriginal people had declared a Day of Mourning. They used this occasion for expressing a solemn protest which signaled Aboriginal people intention to speak for themselves.

On the other hand, some languages are still alive. Local communities use them in everyday life. Children have learnt them since their younger years. However, sociolinguists always put emphasis on the language endangerment. In such conditions one should take measures and save endangered languages from their extinct. There is a list of urgent measures that government should take in order to save indigenous languages and cultures. They include: maintaining bilingual educational programs at schools, publishing primers, dictionaries, legends and tales, radio and TV programs broadcasting, and what is very important — to promote proud feelings for the native language. It is also necessary to widen opportunities for language use in everyday communication and as a language of family communication.

### *Languages learning*

On his arrival in Sydney Cove, Governor Phillip had a description of a so called “New Holland language”, which was created by Sir Joseph Banks 18 years earlier. It was collected at the Endeavour River, two thousand miles north of Sydney [Dixon; Moore; Ramson; Thomas, 2006, p. 5]. Banks, unfortunately, thought that it was a single language that must be spoken over the whole territory. Upon reaching the targeted territory, Phillip was astonished that local Aborigines could not understand words from Bank’s list of words.

In 1849 the explorer George Grey discovered similarities of sound and structure of words, and later he recognized the recurrence of the same word with the same meaning in different languages which were in use in different parts of Australia. His finding evidenced that “the word for ‘water’ at Adelaide was *kauw-ee*, and at Perth *gab-by*, but the people a dozen miles from Perth had *ko-win*, a word very similar to that used at Adelaide” [Dixon; Moore; Ramson; Thomas, 2006, p. 6].

The period from 1875 until 1910 exhibited a period of a true interest for Aboriginal culture and languages. In 1878, R. Brough Smith, the Melbourne meteorologist and public servant published two-volume research “The Aborigines of Victoria”. In 1879, the missionary George Taplin included 43 vocabularies and other information in the “The Folklore, Manners, Customs and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines”. Clergyman John Mathew had 50 vocabularies from all over the continent in his book on the origin of the Aboriginal race “Eaglehawk and Crow”. Edward M. Curr, one of the first settlers in the northern Victoria, created a 4-volume work “The Australian Race”, including 250 vocabularies from all over the continent collected by policemen, miners, station owners and other professionals. In the period between 1897 and 1917, the Sydney

surveyor R. H. Mathews published more than 180 research papers in Australian and overseas journals on the social organisation, kinship systems, and languages of Aborigines in New South Wales, Victoria, and southern Queensland. He published grammatical descriptions and glossaries as well [Dixon; Moore; Ramson; Thomas, 2006, p. 6].

It is worth mentioning that modern linguists address to the first grammatical information that had been recorded by R. H. Mathews. He was not a professional linguist, and his works, therefore, were not perfect. Unfortunately, the researcher could not use a proper phonetic alphabet. He wrote down Aboriginal words in terms of English sounds.

Between 1920 and 1960 there were no successful accomplishments on indigenous languages of Australia. Little work was done in this direction. But due to fieldwork conducted by Arthur Capell, a lecturer at Sydney University, researchers received grammatical descriptions of Australian languages that he had studied in Arnhem Land and at Kimberly.

Departments of Linguistics firstly appeared in Australia by the end of 1960s. Students were involved into fieldwork and researches. They prepared dictionaries, grammars, and collections of narratives. At the same time, the Summer Institute of Linguistics has been conducting diverse activities in Australia, including missionary work and translation of the Bible into Australian languages. Members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics tried to study indigenous languages thoroughly and produce detailed descriptions.

Unfortunately, in the history of Australian linguistics there were sad periods. It is sufficed to mention the total annihilation of languages of Tasmania. At the very beginning of the 19-th century, there were 8 languages in Tasmania, but they were lost due to their speakers' extermination. Moreover, there is no evidence of possible determination whether the languages of Tasmania were related to those of the mainland.

## **Research methods**

We use in this paper sociocultural approaches grounded on anthropology and sociology of language. Researches of this type seldom use experimental methods. As a rule, sociolinguistic researches mostly speculate on an ecological perspective of language use and a relevant culture development because they are aimed to investigate changes in the learnt processes over a protracted period of time in a specifically induced context.

As far as our research has got a longitudinal character (we examine Aboriginal languages and cultures in a historical perspective), it is accompanied by a number of sociopolitical contexts and other extralin-

guistic factors. Due to this, our sociocultural research is developmental and depends on our opportunity to examine and “create linkage between macro-level phenomena and micro-level practices”, i. e., “analyze policy documents and media reports” [Surtee; Duff, 2022, p. 60]. “Findings from sociocultural studies are often reported as case studies to provide sufficient contextualization and depth. Cases in sociocultural research are interpretative — they focus on a phenomenon as it occurs in a specific context” [Surtee; Duff, 2022, p. 61].

## Results and discussion

### *Language policy in Australia*

Australia has formulated and approved basic principles of a National Policy on Languages in 1987. Despite the dramatic period of its birth, the policy was discussed from multiple perspectives and proven as the successful one. National Language Information and Research Centre (NLIRC) was set up to coordinate the volume and the research content as well as allocate financial resources when conducting language planning activities.

The NPL's focus included realization its four major principles, which reflect those of all policy documents of the 1980s:

- “English for all;
- Support for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island languages;
- A language other than English for all;
- Equitable and widespread language services” [Ozolins, 1993, p. 250].

Local population, linguists, lawyers, members of non-governmental organisations put emphasis on to the fact that indigenous Australians should take part in all stages of the language policy implementation. According to Alex Barlow from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, “no decisions of any kind in relation to their language should be made without the absolute certainty that Aboriginal people are supporting these decisions and that in fact, those are the decisions that Aboriginal people themselves want made in relation to their languages” [Ozolins, 1993, pp. 226–227].

The bilingual education issue was one of the major ones. The original idea was born due to different agencies' initiatives. The Department of Education, Schools Commission, the Northern Territory government as well as indigenous members and linguists supported and approved bilingual programs.

Reports from residential areas of indigenous population testified facts on maintenance programs, which had not lived up to this description, and which remain on the transitional stage. This circumstance urged

Aboriginal groups to set up their own schools without any governmental or church assistance, as in the Aranda school at Yipirinya, called a 'two-way school' with full Aboriginal control over a curriculum for maintenance bilingual education [Ozolins, 1993, p. 227].

Unfortunately, bilingual programs were rare and required substantial resources in terms of financial costs and infrastructure. The Northern Territory government report evidenced that bilingual education was difficult to implement in a few language groups and communities. The report argued that there would have included more than at least 100 school children before bilingual programs reached success.

Bilingual programs, aimed at educating Aboriginal students, could not be implemented by halves. Poor job in this sphere would have tailored chaos and confusion. Successful and decent job required cooperative putting efforts of different specialists: authors and programs developers, linguists and secretaries, the Senate Committee's calculation of the governmental expenditures of money on indigenous languages that should have been included into bilingual programs.

Another important aspect is paying attention to languages' presence in the media. It was not a secret that broadcasting in native languages of Aboriginal population slowly expanded through the Northern Territory of Australia via satellite technology.

Since 1967, Aboriginal communities have reached equality with white population of Australia. Their social status has become higher. Many indigenous Australian tribes have assimilated and moved to big cities. Simultaneously, the government maintained demographic programs aimed at increasing birth rate and preservation of the Aboriginal cultural heritage. In 2007 Aboriginals received their TV channel, but due to a big number of indigenous languages, broadcasting has been in English.

Aboriginal languages which are still in use at home and in everyday life are at risk of dying out. "There should be taken particular steps to assist their speakers to retain them in an English-dominated world. These include the establishment and proper management of bilingual education programs in schools; the production of primers, dictionaries, written versions of traditional legends, videos, and radio programs; and, above all, the development of a feeling of pride in the languages" [Dixon; Moore; Ramson; Thomas, 2006, p. 5].

Indigenous population of Australia are nowadays professionally involved into tourist and hospitality business. Excursions to reservations had traditionally been very popular. Aboriginals sing songs, show ritual activities, and make souvenirs — tools for hunting, knit cloth, produce wicker furniture and diverse home staff.

The contemporary sociology of language argues that it is possible to discuss the role of language in the society using key aspects which are based on the ecological perspective. Languages are the integral part of the communicative and symbolic systems that were created by homo sapiens. According to L. Williams, “Ecological perspective teaches us to rationally realise the danger to our common wealth — our language” [Williams, 1991, p.63]. That is why indigenous population should be guaranteed the right to make decisions on their mother tongues’ social functions and their maintenance at all levels.

The first edition of the Australian National Dictionary (1988) included some 10 000 Australian words and meanings. The influx of lexical units from Aboriginal languages and Aboriginal culture testifies significant changes in Australian society. It correlates to the development of Aboriginal political and cultural activism [Moore, 2008, p.201]. As the researcher puts emphasis, the earliest of the terms is *land rights*, which is recorded in 1964. Others are: *Aboriginal flag* (1972); *Aboriginal embassy* (a political protest outside Old Parliament House in Canberra drawing attention to land rights) (1972); *land council* (1973); *outstation movement* (1976) (to describe Aboriginal groups of northern and central Australia moving away from metropolitan cities to their traditional countries); *native title* (1986); *stolen generation* (1982); *dreamtime* and *dreaming* (they came to Australian English from the Arrernte word *altyerre*. *Dreaming track* or *dreaming path* (2003) is also called a *song line* (1980) which means describing the path followed by a dreamtime being (1987) [Moore, 2008, p. 202]. As B. Moore argues, there have been move to return to indigenous place names. For example: the replacement of Ayers Rock by Uluru.

### *Translation issues*

There is a big gap in meaning of some lexical units in a standardized Australian English and in an Aboriginal English. Let us take as an example the word “*Sorry*”. It takes a central place in Australian debates which relate to culture and language. One of the recommendations issued by National Inquiry on separation of Aboriginal children and islanders of the Torres strait population (these groups were named *the stolen population*) was to set up a *National Sorry Day*. It was recommended to celebrate this day in memory on a forcible seizure of children from their families and consequences which is next to impossible to survive. For the first time a *Sorry day* was celebrated on 26-th of May 1998. For white population this day features the reason to say ‘sorry’ for what has happened to Aboriginal people in the past. “*Being sorry*” means “making an apology” and “expressing profound regret”.

In Aboriginal English “*sorry*” is closer in its meaning to a standard English “sorrowful” and is associated with grief and mourning. “Sorry business” is a ceremony connected to death; “a sorry camp” means “a mourning camp”; “a sorry cut” (an incision) means a ritual mourning. Thus, a Sorry Day in Aboriginal English means a sorrowful day, one more day for morning [Moore, 2008, p. 191].

As it turned to be clear, there is a polemic in Australia about a colonial period. This process is viewed and constantly assessed as a controversial one. None can give a definite and clearly crystal answer whether it was good or bad, beneficial or not for indigenous people. Nowadays it is easy to get acquainted with a big number of books and read a lot of opinions about hardships of Aboriginal people since their continent has been colonised. According to Claire G. Coleman, a Noongar woman, a writer of essays, poetry and art criticism, “The colony started, technically, on the 26 January 1788, when Governor Phillip landed with the first fleet and raised the British flag. <...> That was the moment when the dispossession and land theft, slavery and genocide began, the great all-consuming shame in Australia’s psyche” [Coleman, 2021, p. 69]. Unpacking the history of Australia’s colonisation, she argues it as an undeniable fact to be a disaster for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

## Conclusion

It goes without saying that there are a lot of clichés and appeals to find “new pathways into the past through studies of transnational history and the history of the emotions” and finally achieve effective reconciliation [Rickard, 2017, p. xii].

“For the Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders the earth had always been there. Myths interpreted the shape and appearance of the world they knew and inhabited. Rocks, trees, waterholes, animals, birds were integrated through myth and ritual into a spiritual universe of extraordinary richness. Spirit beings, the physical detail of the Aboriginal world gave meaning to the land and to life” [Rickard, 2017, p. 3]. The Aboriginal concept of *Dreaming* is connected with myths. Dreaming paths determine the pattern of Aboriginal life, for the Dreaming is a relationship between people, their land, and languages.

According to a deep understanding of the language policy and planning issues expressed by a renowned authority in these spheres, “its aim is a policy coherence and acceptability, rather than a rationalist blueprint... The ability to place language issues in a complex yet realistic policy context ensures that it may be possible to promote multilingualism as a value



in itself” [Ozolins, 1993, p. 261]. Taking into account a controversial nature of the Australian policy on languages, and its dramatic history of Australia, it is necessary to remind that “it’s time for some of the burden of disproving white lies be shifted from the shoulders of Indigenous people and on to white people; it’s time for settlers to clean up their own mess” [Coleman, 2021, p. 159].

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## HOW TO USE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS AND TEXT MINING METHODS TO ANALYZE POLITICAL TALK SHOWS

The article presents a linguistic analysis of the socio-political talk show 'Time will Tell'. The significance of this work is attributed to the scarcity of similar research and the growing prominence of political talk shows on television over the past year. As material for the analysis, we used the scripts of the broadcasts (which are in the public domain), obtained through automatic transcription of videos from YouTube and after manual editing of these texts, which was necessary due to the disadvantages of the automated process: the lack of punctuation marks and the marking of the replicas belonging to one or another speaker. From the archive of the programme 'Time will Tell', we selected 14 days of the year 2022. The main criterion for selection was the number of releases published each day. The typical number is 3 or 2 releases per day, but the programme was released 4 to 6 times over 14 days. In total, 64 hours of the TV programme were processed and scripts were obtained. In the research we used corpus methods as well as quantitative methods of linguistic analysis. As a result, we obtained a general list of words consisting of 242,560 word usages, which were analysed using different text mining methods. The 100 most frequent lexical items were classified into semantic groups and analysed quantitatively. We conducted sentiment analysis and topic modeling of these lemmas. In addition, we identified lexical innovations found in the talk show hosts' speech, which are not present in the Multimedia subcorpus of the Russian National Corpus, and analysed their bi- and trigrams.

*Keywords:* socio-political talk shows, quantitative analysis, text mining, sentiment analysis, topic modeling, N-grams

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## КАК ИСПОЛЬЗОВАТЬ КОЛИЧЕСТВЕННЫЙ АНАЛИЗ И МЕТОДЫ TEXT MINING ДЛЯ АНАЛИЗА ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ТОК-ШОУ

В статье приводится лингвистический анализ общественно-политического ток-шоу «Время покажет». Актуальность работы заключается в недостатке похожих исследований в отечественном научном пространстве, а также увеличением времени, которое занимали ток-шоу политической направленности в программной сетке телевизионного эфира за прошедший год. В качестве материала анализа использовались скрипты выпусков, находящиеся в открытом доступе. Скрипты были получен-

ные при помощи автоматической транскрибации видео с видеохостинга YouTube и последующим ручным редактированием полученного текста, которое было необходимо в связи с недостатками автоматизированного процесса: отсутствием знаков препинания и разметки реплик, принадлежащих тому или иному говорящему. Из архива передачи «Время покажет» было отобрано 14 эфирных дней 2022 года. Основным критерием для отбора послужило количество выпусков, которые выходят каждый день. Типичным количеством является 3 или 2 выпуска в день, однако 14 дней программа выходила от 4 до 6 раз. Всего было обработано 64 часа хронометража телепрограммы и получены описанным выше образом скрипты. В исследовании использовались корпусные, а также количественные методы лингвистического анализа. В результате был получен общий список слов, состоящий из 242 560 словоупотреблений, которые были проанализированы при помощи различных методов интеллектуального анализа текста. 100 наиболее частотных лексических единиц были распределены на семантические группы и количественно проанализированы. Также при работе с этими леммами был проведен анализ тональности и тематическое моделирование. Кроме того, нами были выявлены встречающиеся в речи ведущих ток-шоу лексические новации, отсутствующие в Мультимедийном корпусе Национального корпуса русского языка, и проведено изучение их би- и триграмм.

*Ключевые слова:* общественно-политические ток-шоу, количественный анализ, интеллектуальный анализ текста, анализ тональности, тематическое моделирование, N-граммы

## Introduction

Such a genre of TV shows as talk shows appeared on domestic screens relatively recently — in the 90s of the last century — and has not left them since [Grabelnikov, Gegelova, 2018]. Talk shows are a significant part of modern popular culture and have a list of characteristic features [Gulenko, 2016]. This issue has been studied by researchers in the field of mass media and communication [Chekunova, 2022]. According to M. V. Lysyakova and E. Jukman, the primary social function of talk shows and television in general is to disseminate and reinforce social models that are accepted in society at its current stage of development [Lysyakova, Jukman, 2020]. The emergence of a 'subgenre' of socio-political talk shows in Russia in the mid-90s is linked to the democratic changes that occurred [Kozlova, Bondarev, 2011]. The structure and concept of politically-oriented programmes were adopted from the West. As a result, these programmes underwent a process of adaptation to cater to the interests of domestic viewers, taking into account their mentality, traditions, and general attitude towards the media [Dolgova, Peripechina, Tikhonova, 2021].

The aim of this work is to conduct a linguistic analysis of such talk shows. The study was prompted by the significant increase in the time devoted to socio-political talk shows on television broadcast networks in 2022. Another reason for the study was the lack of quantitative linguistic analysis of Russian socio-political talk shows in the academic space.

## Methods and materials

The analysis material used was the scripts of the ‘Time will Tell’ program releases.

‘Time will Tell’ is a socio-political talk show that has been airing on Channel One since its first edition on September 15, 2014. According to the Mediascope research portal, it was among the top three leaders in the rating of TV shows in the ‘socio-political programs’ genre during the period under study. The program airs on weekdays in the afternoon and evening. Its airtime has increased since the end of February, with almost daily releases until the beginning of April, occupying almost the entire broadcast network of Channel One.

Fourteen days from the archive of the talk show ‘Time will Tell’ were selected based on the number of issues published each day. The program has been released 4 to 6 times for 14 days, with the typical number of issues being 3 or 2. The scripts for these releases were obtained through automatic transcription of videos from YouTube and manual editing of the resulting text. This was necessary due to the shortcomings of the automated process, which took 124 hours to edit.

Additionally, 64 hours of the TV program were processed and scripts were extracted in the same manner, facilitating the analysis.

The practical work can be divided into two main stages: text mining and quantitative analysis of the corpus of texts, and identification and analysis of lexical innovations.

## Results

The talk show scripts were analyzed using the PolyAnalyst program developed by Megaputer Intelligence, an analytical system for data and text mining. It is important to note that the analysis was conducted objectively, without any subjective evaluations. The program conducted a sentiment analysis, identifying 250 emotionally charged lemmas and determining their sentiment as positive, negative, or neutral. The program conducted a sentiment analysis, identifying 250 emotionally charged lemmas and determining their sentiment as positive, negative, or neu-

tral. For instance, lemmas such as *Украина, боец, война, провокация, националист* were identified as having a negative sentiment. The lemmas *победитель, аргумент, доброта, мотивация, освобождение* have a positive sentiment, and the lemmas *житель, объект, сигнал* have a neutral sentiment. To visually represent the results, a pie chart was created (Fig. 1). Negatively colored lemmas make up 60% of the total number of emotionally colored lemmas, while positively colored lemmas make up 37%, and neutrally colored lemmas make up 3%.

Using the PolyAnalyst program, we obtained a list of 4,015 key phrases and words. From this list, we compiled a word cloud of the most significant terms (Fig. 2).

Such keywords include those that denote military actions and objects (for example, *военный самолет, театр военных действий, оружие*), as well as words and phrases related to politics (for example, *государство, холодная война, власть*).

In addition, using PolyAnalyst, another list of key lemmas was obtained, which differs from the previously mentioned one and consists of 9544 lemmas. We selected the 100 most significant lemmas, which amounted to 40,759 word usages. The given lemmas were manually sorted into 11 semantic groups. A bar chart was created to display the number of words in each group (Fig. 3).

The largest group, consisting of 10,267 word usages, is ‘geographical objects’, which includes proper names of countries and cities. The next largest group is ‘military actions.’ This group consists of 7,729 usages, mostly nouns related to army and war, e.g. *оружие, войско, военнослужащий, бой* and *обстрел*. This group is 1.3 times smaller than the largest group.

The semantic groups “politics”, consisting of political terms (such as *министерство, гражданин, президент, государство, режим, федерация*), and “events and processes”, consisting of nouns such as *действие, случай, процесс, событие* are practically the same in number and differ by only 8 words. The group “politics” includes 6 134 word uses, and the group “events and processes” — 6126 words. The smallest group “results and outcomes” consists of 189 words. This group is 54 times smaller than the “geographical objects” group.

Additionally, we performed a sentiment analysis on 100 key lemmas using D.I. Kulagin’s publicly available sentiment dictionary developed within the ‘KartaSlov’ project. We clarified the emotional-evaluative charge and polarity tag (positive, neutral, or negative) of each lemma [Kulagin, 2021]. A graph was constructed based on the obtained data, displaying the emotional-evaluative charge of frequency lemmas on the horizontal axis and the number of their word usage on the vertical axis (Fig. 4).

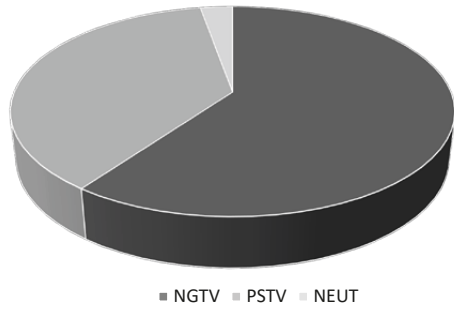


Fig. 1. Pie chart of the sentiment analysis of the scripts

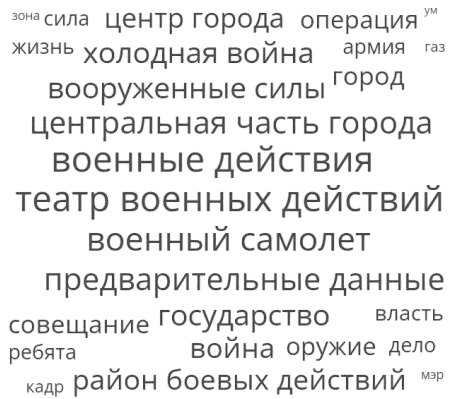


Fig. 2. Keyword phrases Word Cloud

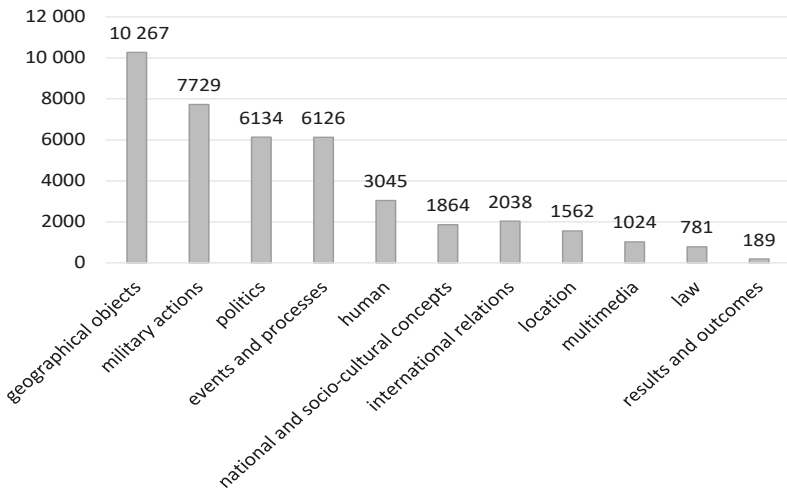


Fig. 3. The number of word forms of the 100 most significant lemmas distributed by semantic groups

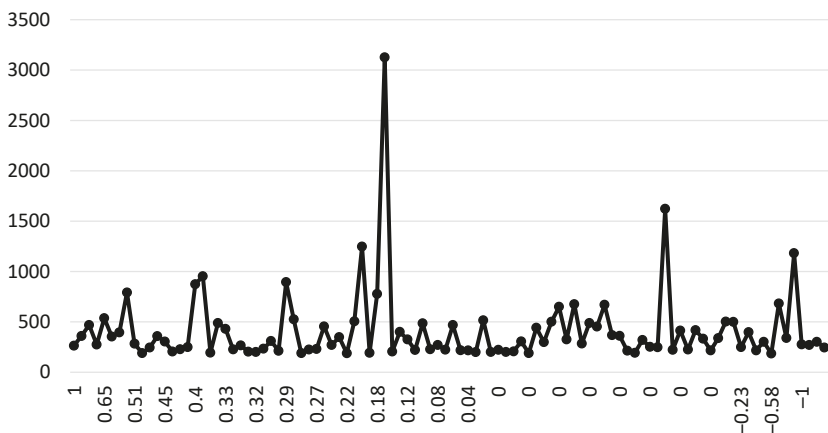


Fig. 4. Emotional and evaluative charge of each of the key lemmas and their polarity tag

Words belonging to the semantic group ‘human’ (e.g. *друг, ребята, дитя*) and nouns such as *безопасность, сила, помощь, жизнь* mainly possess the positive polarity tag. These lemmas include 3,443 word forms, which is 8% of the total number of word uses of the 100 most key lemmas. The semantic group ‘military actions’, which includes words such as *оружие, удар, война, бой, обстрел*, as well as the lemmas *нацист, националист, санкция*, has a negative polarity tag and accounts for 10% (4,000 usages) of the total number of words. The largest group of words, accounting for 82% (33,316 word forms), has a neutral polarity tag. The semantic groups ‘geographical objects’, ‘politics’, ‘multimedia’, and ‘events and processes’ are characterized by a neutral polarity.

Then topic modeling was conducted, for which the TopicModelling-Tool service was used, as well as subsequent visualization of topics using the Tableau Public tool (Fig. 5). The issues for all 14 days of the talk show under study include a topic consisting of the words *говорить, Украина* and *понимать*, within which the participants of the program discussed issues related to Ukraine. The third issue on March 1 was the most diverse, containing all 10 topics. All but one of the 62 issues contain a topic with keywords *Мариуполь, город* and *житель*. In the last 8 issues, a new significant topic has emerged with keywords *нужный, значить* and *действительный*. [Donina, Olefir, 2023].

The study’s final stage involved searching for and analysing lexical innovations. To achieve this, lemmas not found in the Multimedia Russian Corpus (MURKO), which is part of the Russian National Corpus, were manually selected from the previously obtained list of words.

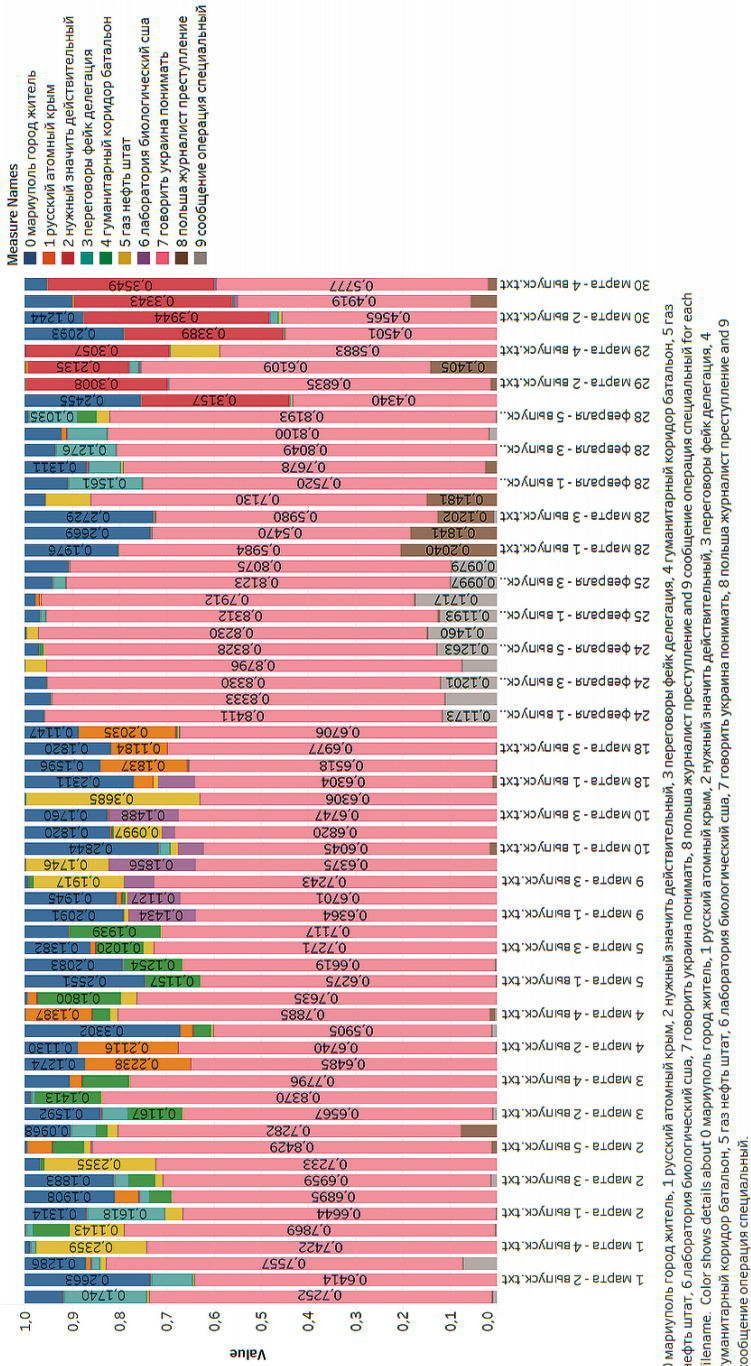


Fig. 5. Visualization of the topics of the thematic modeling

0 Мариуполь город житель, 1 русский атомный край, 2 нужный значить действительный, 3 переговоры фейк делегация, 4 гуманитарный коридор батальон, 5 газ нефть штат, 6 лаборатория биологический ша, 7 говорить украина понимать, 8 польша журналист преступление and 9 сообщение операция специальный for each file name. Color shows details about 0 Мариуполь город житель, 1 русский атомный край, 2 нужный значить действительный, 3 переговоры фейк делегация, 4 гуманитарный коридор батальон, 5 газ нефть штат, 6 лаборатория биологический ша, 7 говорить украина понимать, 8 польша журналист преступление and 9 сообщение операция специальный.



This list contained 242,560 word usages. Such lemmas include: *азовец*, *всушник*, *бандеровщина*, *евромайдан*, *украонацист*, *украонацистский*, *укрофашист* [Donina, Olefir, 2023].

The lemmas *украонацист* and *украонацистский* each occur once in our corpus, which is 0.0004% of the total number of words. The use of lemmas *евромайдан* and *укрофашист* is 0.0008%, they occur 2 times. The lemma *бандеровщина* occurs 11 times in our corpus, which is equal to 0.005% in percentage terms. The most frequently occurring words are *азовец* and *всушник*, which occur 34 times and 25 times, respectively. The usage of the lemma *всушник* is 0.0103%, and the lemma *азовец* is 0.014%.

Using bigrams and trigrams, we analysed the immediate context of each of the seven chosen lexical units. The lemma *укрофашист* appears in trigrams with verbs that, according to D.I. Kulagin's tonality dictionary, have a negative polarity tag: *укрофашисты пытаются запугать* and *укрофашисты пытаются уничтожить*. Bigrams with words *украонацист* and *украонацистский* have a neutral polarity tag: *украонацистские войска*, *украонацисты делают*. The lemma *евромайдан* is used in a neutral context with the words *был* and *участник*.

The bigrams of *бандеровщина* include verbs with the semantic meaning of 'being' in 27.3% of word occurrences, verbs with the semantic meaning of 'deliverance' in 27.3%, and bigrams that explain the meaning of the analyzed lexical unit in 27.3%. 18.2% of bigrams are combinations with the nouns *зерно* and *путь*.

The lemma *всушник* forms bigrams, of which 20% are demonstrative pronouns and 16% are verbs of speech activity. Additionally, 16% of bigrams and trigrams include verbs with negative polarity tags such as *уничтожать*, *издеваться*, *взрывать*, *наносить удар*. 20% of bigrams contain the lemma *нацист*. 8% of bigrams include words with the semantic meaning of separation, and 8% include verbs of displacement. Finally, 12% of bigrams consist of the lemma *солдат*, while 4% consist of the nouns *дом* and *щит*.

The lemma *азовец* has the verb *сталкивать* in 8.8% of its trigrams and the noun *преступление* in another 8.8%. The bigrams of this lemma consist of 23.5% demonstrative pronouns and 8.8% verbs indicating distance from the object. Additionally, 5.9% of bigrams contain the noun *база*.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the socio-political talk show 'Time will Tell' has several lexicological features. It uses a significant number of words associated with modern states, which are predominantly neutral in polarity. In addition,

each episode of the programme during the period studied contains verbs of positive polarity related to intellectual activity. The keywords and phrases used reflect the specific events discussed by the talk show hosts and invited guests. They are related to political terms, military actions, and geographical objects, and are mostly neutral in polarity. The text describes how new lexical units are formed in language due to the events taking place in the world. These units are not frequent, accounting for less than 0.1%. The immediate environment of these lexical innovations consists mainly of verbs with negative polarity, nouns, and demonstrative pronouns.

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## TOWARDS A GRADIENT SCALE TO DETERMINE COGNATE STATUS OF WORDS IN BILINGUAL NATURAL READING

Reading is a complex cognitive process that includes the integration of information at different levels. For visual word recognition, factors such as word frequency and contextual predictability play a pivotal role in reading efficiency. Bilingual lexical processing is even more complex due to cross-linguistic similarities and differences. Cognates are of particular interest for the study of visual word recognition. Words can vary in terms of orthographic and semantic overlaps even in languages that share the same writing system. Word recognition becomes more complicated in cases where writing systems are completely different. The Cyrillic script is used for the Russian language, but the English language uses the Latin alphabet. In the current study, we present a gradient scale to determine word similarity across languages. After obtaining permission from the corpus builders, we analysed all 1762 words in the written corpus of English texts developed for reading in eye-tracking studies. We identified letters and letter combinations with orthographic overlap, calculated their number, and classified cognates. The score that each word received on the gradient scale can be used in statistical models to account for cross-linguistic variance in the eye-movement patterns of L2 readers. In this contribution, we discuss some of the challenges that emerged for specific words, such as phonological dissimilarity between overlapping letters, and differences in the morphological structure and contextual embedding of cognates.

*Keywords:* cognates, bilingualism, reading, visual word recognition, English as an additional language

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## **К ВОПРОСУ О РАЗРАБОТКЕ ГРАДИЕНТНОЙ ШКАЛЫ ДЛЯ ОЦЕНКИ МЕЖЪЯЗЫКОВОЙ СХОЖЕСТИ СЛОВ ПРИ ЧТЕНИИ НА ИНОСТРАННОМ ЯЗЫКЕ**

Чтение представляет собой сложный когнитивный процесс, включающий в себя обработку информации на разных уровнях восприятия. При зрительном распознавании слов в процессе естественного чтения определяющую роль играют частотность слов и их контекстная предсказуемость. Обработка слов при билингвизме — еще более сложный процесс ввиду сходств и различий между системами языков, поэтому особый интерес для изучения зрительной обработки слов представляют когнаты. Даже в языках, для записи которых используется одна и та же система письменности, слова могут отличаться по наличию или отсутствию в них орфографических и семантических наложений. В случае же, когда системы письма совершенно различаются (например, кириллический алфавит для русского языка и латинский алфавит для английского), анализ единиц языка становится еще более комплексным. Настоящее исследование было выполнено для создания градиентной шкалы межъязыковой схожести слов. С разрешения авторов были проанализированы слова из англоязычного корпуса текстов (1762 единицы), применявшихся в окулографических исследованиях чтения, выделены и подсчитаны все буквы и буквосочетания, являющиеся орфографически идентичными, а также выделены когнаты, которые были классифицированы в соответствии с несколькими параметрами. Количественные показатели для отдельных слов в соответствии со шкалой могут быть использованы в статистических моделях для анализа глазодвигательной активности при чтении на иностранном языке. В этой статье мы обозначаем возникшие в ходе анализа и классификации трудности, такие как фонологические различия между идентичными графемами, различия в морфологической структуре и контекстном использовании когнатов.

*Ключевые слова:* когнаты, многоязычие, чтение, распознавание слов, английский как дополнительный язык

### **Introduction**

Reading is a complex cognitive process that includes the integration of information at different levels, which requires general cognitive, as well

as specific linguistic, skills and subskills. Though approaches to modeling reading behaviour differ (e.g., dual-route models vs. connectionist models), there is agreement about the hierarchical character of the mental structures and processes underlying reading. Sub-lexical skills comprising phonological and orthographic processes (Nassaji, 2014) are essential for accurate and efficient word recognition, and thus for the acquisition of reading skills (Perfetti & Hart, 2001; Coltheart, 2006). Individual alphabetic symbols have to be visually recognized, phonologically recoded, and then synthesized to form meaningful linguistic units such as morphemes or words. Word-level discriminative abilities are subject to factors such as word frequency (Kuperman et al., 2023) and pronounceability (Lee et al., 2022). A recent study (Kuperman et al., 2023) examining word length and frequency effects on text reading in 13 languages based on eye-tracking data demonstrates that word frequency seems to affect participants' eye movements in a similar way after overall differences between languages have been taken into account (Kuperman et al., 2023). Word pronounceability has also been studied using event-related potentials. Studies of word processing in deaf and hearing adults show that phonologically mediated word processing is organised differently from word processing with tighter orthography-to-semantics connections (Lee et al., 2022). At sentence and discourse levels, the contextual predictability of a lexical item plays a pivotal role in determining reading efficiency. Experimental studies of natural reading identify higher skipping rates for items that are more predictable from previous context, compared to less predictable items. Thus, higher-order and lower-order processes appear to interplay and mutually influence each other during online processing. Alexeeva & Dobrego (2021) compared how quickly participants could identify single characters in different linear positions when the stimulus was a word, a pronounceable pseudoword, or a random array of symbols. While there was only a moderate advantage for words compared to pronounceable non-words, participants were significantly delayed when recognising characters in a random array of symbols.

There is substantial empirical evidence that the efficiency of higher- and lower-order processes is moderated by various reader-related factors, such as linguistic status (L1, L2, Ln), general reading experience, and level of formal instruction (Kyröläinen & Kuperman, 2021). For experienced L1 readers who learn a foreign language in adulthood, L2 reading involves more than one language and is therefore affected by cross-linguistic similarities and differences, at the level of language systems in general, and two or more colliding writing systems in particular (Koda, 2005). These differences and similarities are instantiated in the alphabetic symbols them-

selves in relation to combination frequency and correspondence to phonemic units. Semantic parameters also play a role and are of particular interest to inform models of bilingual lexical access and processing. Though bilingual lexical access is generally considered to be non-selective, there is less consistency in terms of the grain size at which this non-selectivity applies. Selected models (e.g., BIA+ as in Dijkstra & Van Heuven, 2002) assume that the nature of non-selectivity is purely lexical. The activation of the non-target language emerges at the lexical level via a word's phonological and/or orthographic representation. Iakovleva and co-workers (2015) confirmed the presence of language non-selective lexical access in visual word recognition by different-script-bilinguals and demonstrated that cross-linguistic effects depend not only on the degree of overlap in scripts, but also on the exact characteristics of the target words involved. A further group of models suggests the emergence of non-selectivity as early as the sub-lexical level. In a visual world paradigm, Marian & Spivey (2003) investigated whether lexical processing of the target item is as likely to be influenced by within-language (i.e., items that have some phono-orthographic overlap within one language, such as “shark” and “shovel”) as it is by between-language competitors (i.e., items that have some phono-orthographic overlap across languages, such as English “shark” and Russian “sharik”). Advanced L2 learners of English with Russian as L1 allocated approximately the same proportions of fixations towards either competitor type, even though they did not necessarily share any semantic overlap with the target.

While facilitated word identification is assumed to emerge immediately from the semantic overlap between items, such items might differ in their degree of phono-orthographic similarity. Items with a high degree of formal overlap might activate two different meanings in different languages. Non-selectivity applied at the lexical or sub-lexical level will lead to different predictions regarding facilitative effects in word identification. Under the lexical non-selectivity approach, a facilitative effect can be expected for items that have a similar meaning and a high degree of phono-orthographic overlap. Pure phono-orthographic overlap will not necessarily bring about greater processing efficiency at the lexical level. Sub-lexical non-selectivity would predict that partial phono-orthographic overlap alone can lead to lexical activation.

Selected learner-specific factors such as language dominance and target language proficiency may determine processing efficiency at the level of individual words and in more elaborate contexts. Language-specific properties and patterns interact with the learner's knowledge and awareness of them as well as with the learner's ability to put such knowledge to

work in real time. During natural reading, the lexical activation integrity of the bilingual lexicon might provoke greater interference from the non-active language at the orthographic level as language proficiency increases. With increasing levels of proficiency in L2 learners, word decoding skills might be less influenced by orthographic information, leading to more elaborate strategies at sentence and text level. Increasing language proficiency and more diversified vocabulary knowledge might also contribute to the development of greater sensitivity to within-word orthographic patterns with a specific phonemic correspondence in the target language.

While the various factors that might affect real-time processing are easy to control for and manipulate at the level of word recognition, artificial adjustments in authentic texts might be disruptive in natural reading investigations. A gradient scale is needed to estimate word similarity across different languages by taking into account both formal and semantic overlaps and contextual integration. We describe existing metrics that have been employed to estimate the cognate status of lexical items. We then provide a working version of a gradient scale to estimate the cross-linguistic similarity of selected lexical items. A step-by-step estimation procedure will be illustrated by examples from text stimuli that have previously been used in natural reading experiments. We conclude by discussing the limitations of the proposed coding scheme as well as future directions and possible applications in cognitive research.

## Methods and material

A number of techniques have been employed to quantify the cognate status of lexical items. Methods range from lists made from researchers' judgements of phono-orthographic overlap and participant survey ratings to more theoretically grounded metrics such as Van Orden's orthographic similarity number (Van Orden, 1987) or Weber's graphic similarity number (Weber, 1970). One popular metric to determine cognate status is the Levenshtein distance (Levenshtein, 1966), which refers to the number of transformations (additions, deletions, and/or substitutions) required from the source form in one language to the target form in the other (Carrasco-Ortiz et al., 2019). This metric has also been used to calculate letter combination frequency (Balling, 2012). The validity of these metrics has been tested only for languages that share the same script (e.g., English and Spanish), which therefore display no phono-orthographic inconsistencies across languages (Fahey & Tasseva-Kurktchieva, 2021).

## A gradient scale to determine the cognate status

English uses the Latin script, comprising 26 alphabetic symbols whereas Russian uses the Cyrillic script comprising 33 alphabetic symbols. As can be seen from Table 1, some of these symbols overlap in shape, but may or may not have identical phonemic correspondence in the two languages.

Table 1. Examples of Phonemic Correspondence in Russian and English

	Russian (examples)	English (examples)
“unique” letters	Ф Э Л	—
identical phonemic correspondence	К к /k/	К k /k/
non-identical phonemic correspondence	В в /v/ Р р /r/	В b /b/ Р p /p/
Other cases: font, writing style, format	(И) и /i/ <b>BUT</b> u	(U) u /u/ <b>BUT</b> U

Many Russian-English translation equivalents are in part composed of shared letters that can potentially activate both Russian and English word candidates (Iakovleva et al., 2015). The degree of formal overlap can be especially high when there is an overlap in hand-written symbol shapes. For example, a printed Russian letter ‘и’ does not look like any letter in the English alphabet, but the shape of its hand-written equivalent ‘u’ coincides perfectly with the English hand-written character (Iakovleva et al., 2015). Capital letters can overlap across the two languages, while the degree of formal overlap between lower-case characters is less evident.

To measure word similarity status between English and Russian, we used the text corpus of Liversedge and co-authors (2016), with the permission of the authors. These text stimuli were previously used to study native speakers’ natural reading behaviour. The text corpus for English contained 1762 words, with an average of 14.68 words per sentence and 5.63 letters per word. In the original paper, Liversedge and co-workers (2016) suggested an approach to create parallel text versions for different languages that are maximally comparable in terms of syntax and lexical items by editing machine translations until they are stable. We used this approach to create comparable text versions for L1 Russian. In Russian, syntagmatic relations between the words in a sentence are primarily conveyed by inflectional endings, but not with the help of prepositions as in English. Russian sentences generally contain fewer words, but the



Table 2. Character combination frequencies in English and Russian

RUS		ENG	
Eac	3748	eac	2395043
Eta	161815	ema	3718163
exc	6566	exc	598704
exe	2513	exe	322986
exp	6957	exp	1731960

words are on average longer than in English texts. The Russian text corpus contained 1676 words, with an average of 11.72 words per sentence and 6.1 letters per word.

Word similarity was estimated for every word in each of the two corpora. We first calculated the number of alphabetic symbols in the words and identified those that are graphically similar in Russian and English, e.g., ‘а’, ‘е’, ‘Т’, ‘Н’. Each identical symbol received one point. In the next step, the number of overlapping combinations was calculated: in the word ‘sheep’, there is one overlapping combination (eep); in the word ‘American’, there are two (Ame and can). A sequence of symbols was considered to be a separate combination if a given symbol and its neighbours were graphically similar in Russian and English. Each character combination received one point. We also evaluated combination frequency in English and Russian (Table 2). No points were added or subtracted for character combinations with frequency counts that were not balanced between the two languages. Nevertheless, combination frequency needs to be taken into account since this factor might affect participants’ familiarity with character combinations in different languages.

We also identified lexical items that could be considered partial or full cognates from the point of view of semantics (Table 3).

Table 3. Cognates, partial and full

<b>I</b>		
jargon, slang word in Russian	full cognates	people, old, peace
	partial cognates	support, tool, teamwork
neutral words, terms	full cognates	millennium, summit, protein
	partial cognates	objectives, natural, results
<b>II</b>		
<b>context related</b>		
not context related		

Cognate status was based on orthographical, phonological, and morphemic similarities (e.g., cultural — культурный, focus — фокус, protein — протеин, skin — скин, people — пипл). Full cognates are words that were adopted into both English and Russian from other languages, mostly from Latin. Stylistically, they belong to the general vocabulary of both languages. Partial cognates are characterised by two significant properties: they denote concepts and entities borrowed into Russian from English or other European languages; they are used in word forms and encountered in contexts that deviate from English usage. Partial cognates formally contain a borrowed element but denote a phenomenon from a different thematic domain. For example, the word 'team' in the text corpora was originally used in the context of playing football (Football can bridge social, cultural and religious divides. It enhances personal development and growth, teaches us teamwork and fair play, builds self-esteem and opens doors to new opportunities.). However, its Russian cognate is mostly used in the domain of management and IT, e.g., «тим-лид», «тим-билдинг» (team-leader, team-building). As previously mentioned, such cognates are mostly treated as jargon or slang words, because they are commonly used by a specific group of people with a specific professional affiliation.

### **Limitations and further directions**

During data analysis and preparation, several challenges emerged, which can be classified into two groups: those concerning phonology, and those concerning semantics, context, and morphology. It is problematic to investigate the influence of phonological cognate status on the activation and processing of words in the target language, as the phonology of English and of Russian are significantly different. The following questions are still under investigation:

- Is it necessary to count and analyse phonological inconsistencies for every symbol or for each combination?
- How does the influence of neighbouring phonemes affect word processing?
- How does phonological correspondence across languages affect word processing?
- How does similarity between phonemes in English and in Russian affect word processing?
- How do register-specific differences affect word processing?

By resolving these questions, it should be possible to achieve better understanding of the patterns of cross-linguistic similarities and differences in bilingual reading.

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## SYMBOL STRUCTURE AND ALLEGORY AS OBJECTS OF ETHNO-TRANSLATION\*

This study analyses the visual structure of the Old Irish poem ‘Cros Chrí’<sup>1</sup>, believed to have been written in the 10th century, and is an example of a *lorica* — a Christian hymn for a believer’s protection. The objective is to construct a visual structure for an Old Irish poem, specifically ‘Cros Chrí’, which can be used to analyse other Old Irish poems. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to demonstrate through intermediate analysis that the visual structure of the poem ‘Cros Chrí’ unfolds at multiple levels simultaneously. These levels include verbal (word-level analysis), aural (analysis of auditory techniques expressed visually in the text, such as Old Irish alliteration with external expression), and material (analysis of the text’s location in the manuscript). The text discusses various factors that can influence the interpretation of a poem, including drawings, marginal glosses, comments, and the font used. It also mentions synesthetic associations and how a reader-viewer may interpret the poem. The research findings indicate that the poem’s visual structure, including grammatical and graphic parallelism, as well as the use of anaphors, epiphoras, and circle forms, contribute to the formation of a coherent image of both the individual and the world, moving from the specific to the general. Furthermore, the poem symbolically represents the cross as a talisman, which can manifest in both tangible and intangible forms. This study provides a new perspective on the interpretation of Old Irish poetic texts by utilising medieval manuscripts and constructing a multilevel visual structure of a poem.

*Keywords:* reflexivity, rhetorical argumentation, worldview, accurate translations, Asan Kaigy

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## СТРУКТУРА СИМВОЛА И АЛЛЕГОРИЯ КАК ОБЪЕКТЫ ЭТНОПЕРЕВОДА\*\*

Статья посвящена герменевтическому толкованию символа и аллегории как объектов этноперевода. Объектом перевода стала поэзия казахского поэта средневековья Асана Кайгы. Актуальность заявленной темы обусловлена функцией символа и аллегории как риторической аргументации. Рассмотрение их как культурных единиц перевода создает предпо-

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\* Written within the framework of the project “Scientific concept of Kazakh rhetoric: rhetorical ideal, identity, argumentation and speech practice”.

\*\* Подготовлено в рамках проекта «Научная концепция казахской риторики: риторический идеал, личность, аргументация и речевая практика».

сылки для понимания своеобразия казахской риторики и приемов создания картины мира. Выявление сложностей перевода символа и аллегории в поэзии жырау показано на примере структуры символа и связи между разными уровнями символизации в триединстве понимания – перевыражения — интерпретации. Отсюда основные принципы выработки рекомендаций по созданию точных переводов лирики Асана Кайгы. Это передача системы мифических образов, символов, утопической картины мира. Это воспроизведение идей о мире, природе и человеке, народе и эпохе. Это проблема воспроизведения смысловых микроконцептов. Приведенная классификация трех групп символов в соотношении с риторическими статусами высказывания также представляет собой объект перевода для передачи исторических и культурных смыслов, характеризующих как стиль поэта, так и специфику казахской риторики.

*Ключевые слова:* казахская риторика, Асан Кайгы, картина мира, идентичность, рефлексия

## Introduction

Kazakh rhetoric goes up to zhyrau poetry and legal practice of biys. The formation of Kazakh rhetoric in zhyrau poetry dates to the 15<sup>th</sup> — 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Revealing the world picture in through symbol and allegory in zhyrau poetry helps to generalize the uniqueness of Kazakh rhetoric and the study of their identity. In this sense, the translation of symbol and allegory as cultural units becomes a tool for creating accurate representations of the Middle Ages Kazakh poetry in Russian and other languages.

Symbols and allegory in zhyrau poetry are explained by the ways of expressing the poet's philosophical, religious and meditative ideas. Zhyrau emphasizes the scale of the world panorama it recreates, rather than focuses on a single/specific event or fact. Symbol and allegory act as an indicator pointing at the context's significance, which is not simply received, but needs to be comprehended and interpreted in a certain way.

In this article, a hermeneutic approach to symbols and allegory in the poetry songs of Asan Kaigy (15<sup>th</sup> century) is more likely to reveal the nature and function of rhetorical argumentation. Zhyrau poetry is peculiar for the techniques of influence, which yet have not become the subject of study in the aspect of symbol and allegory as the genre indicators. Meanwhile, three issues –the difficulties in translating allegory and symbols in zhyrau poetry into Russian — deserve attention: hermeneutic interpretation of the symbol and allegory as an object of ethno-translation, the role of symbol in the Kazakh rhetorical tradition and the world picture, and the place of symbol and allegory in Asan Kaigy's songs as a rhetorical argumentation technique.

By analyzing allegory as a rhetorical figure (Ts. Todorov), one actualises the correlation of lexical and contextual meanings of the symbol as a source of reflection and rhetorical modalities in compliance with the world pictures — precedent, occidental, imperative. This article examines the structure of symbol and allegory, interconnects different levels of symbolization in *understanding* — *re-expression* — *interpretation* to draw up some recommendations for accurate translations. This aim requires solving the following tasks: 1) to systematize semantic micro-concepts; 2) to analyze the mechanism of allegory generation as the equivalence of literal and implicit meanings; 3) to identify these equivalence levels, or correlation of double meanings; 4) to classify symbols in Asan Kaigy's poetry.

### Methods and material

The theoretical review on the research topic indicates the prospects of studying allegory and symbol in the aspect of the ability of material things, events, and images to express the ideal content.

Symbols and universal concepts-symbols have attracted the researchers in the framework of many approaches and interpretations. Philosophers were prone to consider the symbol as a thing, which unites phenomenon and its essence. E. Cassirer defined the symbol as a sensual manifestation of the ideal, and designated it as any perception of reality with the help of various signs [Cassirer, 1990, 37]. A. F. Losev emphasized the anthropological-social character of symbolism. A number of scholars, e.g. V. P. Toporov, explored symbols both in mythopoetic aspect and in literary studies [Toporov, 1995]. Symbol is such an ambivalent phenomenon, “one end of which “appears” in the world of things, and the other “drowns” in the reality of consciousness” [Mamardashvili & Pyatigorsky, 1997, 26].

The representation of abstract concepts and generalizations in allegory focuses the research attention revealed through the following trends. O. V. Voronushkina considers allegory “as a conceptually structured linguistic phenomenon, which allows us to establish semantic micro concepts included in the explicit and implicit spheres of allegorical utterance” [Voronushkina, 2016]. Identifying micro-concepts of double meanings makes it possible to study the mechanism of allegory generation, which relies on literal and hidden meanings equivalence. Its typology causes a conflict when defining symbols and allegory. Thus, allegory is an incomplete equivalence, while in symbols it is an absolute one, in other words, equality.

As A. F. Losev points out, allegorism is always “a fundamental imbalance between the signified and the signifier. In allegory the image is always greater than the idea” [Losev, 1965, 64]. Here is why the idea of the “inner” is identified with the expressed meaning of the “external”. While it is much typical for allegory, symbol has the very fact of the “inner” identified with the very fact of the “external”. Thus, the scientist highlights a material, real equivalence.

Methodologically, the current article is guided by the works that include the basic hermeneutic, semiotic, and non-rhetorical approaches to revealing the structure of symbol and allegory. In this sense, the work has greatly been influenced by the ideas of G. Bogin, a Russian hermeneutic scholar, concerning the trinity of reflection. He distinguished between reflection as a form of knowledge about the world, as reformulation of different approaches to the same phenomenon, and as interpretation: “Reflection is impossible without misunderstanding” [Bogin, 2001].

The ideas of Ts. Todorov on pan-determinism and symbols’ structure are also important. By investigating allegorical and literal meaning opposition the scientist defines allegory as a rhetorical figure [Todorov, 1999, 52–66]. Todorov justified the idea of allegory because of the meaning it produces: “Firstly, allegory presupposes at least two meanings for the same words; there is an idea sometimes, that the primary meaning must be erased, sometimes — that both meanings must coexist. Secondly, the double meaning is explicitly indicated in the work itself, it does not arise when interpreting (freely or not) the work by a reader” [Todorov, 1999, 56]. Thus, Todorov’s principle of determinism on a boundary between matter and spirit gives an opportunity to consider allegory as a rhetorical figure — on the correlation of symbol’s lexical and contextual meanings. On the other hand, V. Tyupa’s communicative rhetoric ideas allow us to reveal the connection between reflection and types of rhetorical modalities correlating with world pictures — precedent, occasional, imperative [Todorov, 2010, 118]. His thoughts materialized in the utterance’s rhetorical statuses classification, such as knowledge, understanding, opinion, and belief, and their corresponding world pictures — precedent, occasional, and imperative [Tyupa, 2009].

Zhyrau poetry is a traditional repository of people’s cultural information and memory. Ethno-translation research reveals a fruitfulness of approaches which study cultural memory. V. Razumovskaya, in her studies of ethno-texts belonging to the cultures of indigenous peoples of Siberia, analyses several changes taking place in the contemporary translation studies. The idea that “... ethno-texts are traditional repositories of cultural information and memory of unique ethnic groups, some of which are

significantly influenced by unification, which often leads to the levelling of their cultural and linguistic peculiarities” [Razumovskaya, 2021, 44] brings us to consider allegory and symbol as the tools of cultural memory storage and ethno-translation units. In this respect, the statement of M. O. Auezov, who urged translators to “a maximum representation of the original form and content, artistic associations and stylistic features”, remains relevant [Sultanbekov, 1992, 30].

To date, Russian translations of zhyrau have two directions, i.e. the ones by Vs. Rozhdestvensky, V. Tsybin, S. Botvinnik, the Russian poets of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century; and by O. Zhanaidarov, A. Kodar, B. Kairbekov, K. Bakbergenov, K. Zhanabaev, the Kazakh poets who wrote in Russian. The review on Russian versions shows an interesting picture, which confirms the need for recommendations on rebuilding symbols and allegory relying on philosophical and aesthetic ideas of the Kazakh people. This requires analyzing the structure of symbol and allegory as techniques of creating the world picture, tools of rhetorical argumentation and an identity factor.

## Results

The hypothesis of this article is to provide evidence that the nature of symbols and allegory are techniques of creating the world picture, tools of rhetorical argumentation and a factor of identity. This assumption is confirmed through the analysis of Asan Kaigy’s poetry.

## Discussion

One of the brightest representatives of zhyrau poetry was Asan Kaigy. His works were mainly dedicated to the unity of clans and tribes that formed the Kazakh Khanate, promoting the state and increasing its military power. M. Auezov wrote about a wise counsellor and ideological inspirer of the first Kazakh khans Zhanibek and Kerey, a poet and storyteller, Asan Kaigy: “some parts of his critical messages, which have survived, form a clear view and knowledge about his time” [Auezov, 1959, 245]. B. Kenzhebaev also emphasized: “The works of Asan Kaigy vividly illustrate the life of his tribesmen, convey the beliefs and intentions of the Kazakh people” [Magauin, 2006, 38].

Mythical images, symbols and attributes determined Asan Kaigy’s poetry as a philosophical utopia of nomads. Existential and utopian ideas, reflections on the nature and society, people, epoch, time, past and pres-



ent, displayed in the images of the Zher Uyik (a promised land), reflect an importance of allegory in creating the worldview.

To understand allegory as a conceptually structured linguistic phenomenon one should systematize semantic micro-concepts. The mechanism of allegory generation as the equivalence of literal and hidden meanings makes it possible to reveal its levels, or the correlation of double meanings.

In terms of linguoculturological studies, the world picture is often considered as a set of knowledge captured in linguistic form. In this sense, the symbol becomes a defining tool for creating a linguistic picture of the world. Asan Kaigy's parable "Kyrynda kiik zhaylaghan, Suynda balyk oinaghan" (*Saigas grazing on the hills, / Fish splashing in the water*) is built on parallelisms and symbols from the natural world (e.g. the image of water — river or sea). Zhyrau interprets the water as the thickness of existence. In the Turkic mythopoetic tradition, it is a symbol of the lower world, an abode of chthonic forces threatening the middle world and people's peaceful life. As the shamanic mythology says, water is the world where dead souls dwell, and hence the nomad's fear of water (Ch. Valikhanov, *Shamanism among the Kyrgyz*). Thus, water is a part of Asan Kaigy's idealistic reality, and it associates with the legend of a blessed promised land — Zher Uyik. The line: "Ebelek otka semirgen..." (*"The grass got fat from the fire"*) has also a positive, but hidden symbolic characteristic, because *ebelek* is a kind of *tipchak*, a very tasty and healthy grass, nutritious for the horses.

Speech's symbolism is always more important than the direct meaning. It allows not only to reveal the differences between sign and symbol. Two parallel worlds — two rivers Zhaiyk and Yedil — are allusions to the double-worlds, wild nature, which create a few oppositions (gold / silver), (winter / summer).

Comparing allegory and symbol, we find different levels of equivalence: in allegory, it is incomplete equivalence, and in symbol — an absolute one, in other words, equality. This approach of correlating the double meanings enables defining the parameters that can help to identify these linguistic figures. In Asan Kaigy's *tolgau* "Kolde zhyrgen konyr kaz..." (*The grey goose living (swimming) in the lake...*) several symbols and allegories need to be comprehended and interpreted in a certain way. Here, a figurative-lexical parallelism "Kölde zhyrgen kqonýr kaz, / Kõr kadirin ne bilsin?" (*"The grey goose living (swimming) in the lake / How can it understand the beauty of the hill?"*) and "Korda zhyrgen duadak, / Su kadirin ne bilsin?" (*"The bustard living on the hill, / How can it understand the beauty of water?"*) carry neither positive nor negative eval-

uation, but through such artistic comparing zhyrau forms the idea that everything in this world has its place. This wise tolgau contains a deep meaning of the rules of nomadic behavior of Khan, Sultan, Zhyrau, Biy, and Akyn. Thus, one can see a set of values understood both in the daily life and in the whole mankind, as well. Moreover, in tolgau, there is a principle of anthropomorphic thinking, namely the idea of two worlds — nature and human life, on which the allegory is based: “Koship-konyp zhyrmegen, / Zher kadirin ne bilsin?” (“Those who have never been a nomad, / They do not know the value of the land!”). The correlation of the three components of reflection (understanding, re-expression, interpretation) shows that there is no clear boundary between physical and social worlds of the human life. The poet preaches the values of external and internal, physical, and metaphysical, and speaks of the ability to notice and feel the beauty of the world, the fullness of being.

Conditionally, all symbols in Asan Kaigy’s songs of can be grouped into 1) symbolic images related to the nature (animals, birds, plants); 2) symbols related to the social and public life; 3) images and symbols related to abstract concepts, religious, and philosophical ideas.

Symbolic images associated with natural phenomena play a leading role in the parables of Asan Kaigy. An example is “*Bul zamanda not garip? Ak kalaly boz garip*” (*What is unhappiness in this life? (Ashy) waddle, resembling a white city, is unhappiness*), which has a line “*Aidyn-shalkar kol garip*” (“*The wide lake is unhappy*”). *Kol* (lake) is a traditional image of the Kazakh folklore. The lake, however beautiful it may be, is unhappy and neglected if there are no geese and ducks on it. In the poetic line, this image is accompanied by both intensifying pictorial epithets *aydyn*, *shalkar* (*wide, spread out*) and expressive epithet-metaphor *garip* (*unhappy*). *Bel* (*hill*) also has a symbolic meaning of deprivation, homelessness, and emptiness: “*Betegeli bel garip...*” (“*Covered with tipchakom...*”). (“*The hill covered with tipchak...*”). The image of the hill, described by the epithet “*unfortunate*”, represents the extreme degree of *deprivation, orphanhood, inferiority*.

In this parable, the natural world is the key to the semiotics of images, which formulate worldly truths and solve social problems. While, in the introduction, there are mainly symbolic images connected with the phenomena of nature, further on, all the figurative symbolism relates to the phenomena of social and public life of people, for example: “*Munda kunda kenes kylmadyn...*” (“*And here you did not get advice*”).

When Asan addresses to Az-Zhanibek “*Ay, Khan Iyem, men aitpasam, bilmeydyn, Aitkanyma kōnbeysyn*” (*Hey, Khan, if I don’t give you a hint, you won’t know*) — a genre of dialogue-discussion, which justifies

participation of zhyrau in the political life of the country, symbols related to the social life prevail. Zhyrau appeals to the Khan's customs and ancestral precepts, which were violated by the addressee: "*Katyn aldyn karadan, / Ayrlydyn khandyk zhoradan, / El ustaytyn ul tapas, / Arylar ata muradan!*" ("You married a girl from the common, / You violated the customs of the Khans, / Will she give a birth to a son capable of ruling the nation, / Who has lost the heritage of his ancestors?").

Another parallelism of the images of the natural and social worlds is observed in the following fragment of the same parable: "*Kuladyн kustyn kuly edi, / Tyshkan zhep zhunin tuledi*" ("*Kuladyн (is considered) a servant of birds, a mongrel, / Eating a mouse, grows feathers*"), where the mongrel bird *kuladyн* (*harrier*) correlates with the images of enemies ready to fall on the earth, and the killing of a noble swan will turn into retribution for all enemies. In this *tolgau*, the harrier bird is a symbolic negative image and characterizes a treacherous and dangerous person, a low-minded slave. As an image, *kuladyн* acts in an opposition to the white swan — *akku*, which resembles the khan's rule. The swan is the oldest archetypal symbol and traditional image in the Kazakh culture, to which not only heroic singers, but also other *akyns* and *zhyrau* appeal.

In another line, "*Suda zhurgen ak shortan/ Karagai basyn shalmay ma?*" ("*The white pike from the water/ won't it bite the top of the pine tree?*") — a deep symbolic subtext, an appeal to the mythological and religious basis is revealed. The image of fish playing in the water can be interpreted as a symbol of abundance, prosperity, and happy life. This is Asan Kaigy's dream to transform his native steppe into a land of abundance and prosperity — the promised land of Zher Uyik — where there is "neither winter nor heat, where birds nest on the backs of sheep".

The researchers have interpreted these images as a principle of meritocracy. Thus, a Kazakh scholar sees in the image of pine tree's top the rule of chosen men. The image of the white pike personifies perfidy, unpredictability of the nomad's doom, and the coming evil. The pine tree is a traditional symbol of Kazakh nomadism, the world tree, which creates the lower (roots), middle (trunk and branches) and upper (crown, top) worlds. However, the image of the white pike is contrasted with the pine tree — a symbol of the eternal unity of the khan's power and nomadism. The comprehension of roots, trunk, and leaves as "Roots — the people, the basis, the past, on which the whole nomadic society is based; trunk — *biys*, the legislative power, on which the whole nomadic system is based, as well as development processes (branches)" [2014]. The Khan, the Khan's rule — *zhyrau*, *sultans* — symbolizes the top, and the leaves on all structures of the world tree are human destinies.

Another parable of Asan “Kuyrygy zhok, zhaly zhok, kulan kaitip kun korer?” (*Without tail and mane, how can a kulan live?*) is also interesting. The images and symbols here relate to abstract concepts, religious and philosophical notions. This song shows a direct correspondence between the rhetorical statuses and the components of reflection, which became the author’s object of study in published works [Baiturina, 2022]. The correlation gave a way for the classification of symbols in Asan’s poetry: 1) images related to the nature; 2) images related to the social life; 3) abstract images.

According to V. Tyupa’s systematization of rhetorical statuses such as knowledge, understanding, opinion, persuasion, and their corresponding world pictures — precedent, occasional, imperative — such a world picture becomes possible. The modality of understanding is conditioned by the precedent picture of the world, which is created by the images of nature.

For example in “*Kuyrygy zhok, zhaly zhok, kulan kaitip kun korer?*” (*Without tail and mane, how can a kulan live?*), the modality of re-expression lies in the fact that the idea is transferred, a sign of condemnation to death, imperfect existence. The same idea is embodied in the image in “*Ayagy zhok, koly zhok, zhylan kaitip kun korer?*” (*Without legs and arms, how can a snake live?*). Thus, the physical world embodies the conflict, the split in the precedent world picture, and its catastrophic nature. In the human life, it is formulated in simple human concepts and ideas. Everything in the natural world is interdependent, as well as in the human world. In the world of nature, there is a constant struggle for life. Struggle and movement are indicators of life and the meaning of human existence.

## Conclusion

Therefore, zhyrau songs play an important role in the cultural tradition of the Kazakh people. They convey important historical and cultural meanings. Zhyrau songs have a rich mythological and symbolic basis, connected with the ritual culture of nomadic tribes. The historical, religious, and cultural peculiarities of the Kazakh people, which determined the linguistic models of comprehension, mythological images that are used to convey them, describe the modern face of ethno-translation studies, bringing to the force the issues of cultural and national identity.

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## THE VISUAL STRUCTURE OF THE OLD IRISH POEM “CROS CHRÍST”

The present study is devoted to the analysis of the visual structure of the Old Irish poem “Cros Chríst”, which was presumably written in the X century and is an example of *lorica* (a Christian hymn for a believer’s protection). The aim of the study is to build a visual structure of an Old Irish poem, the case of “Cros Chríst”, with the opportunity to use this structure to analyze other Old Irish poems. In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to prove by the intermediate analysis that the visual structure of the poem “Cros Chríst” unfolds at several levels simultaneously: verbal (the word-level analysis), audial (the analysis of auditory techniques expressed visually in the text, for example, the Old Irish alliteration that has an external expression), material (the analysis of the text location in the manuscript: drawings, marginal glosses, comments and the influence of the font on the text’s interpretation), synesthetic (intersensory associations, the interpretation of the poem by a reader-viewer). As the result of the conducted research, it was discovered that the visual structure of the poem (grammatical and graphic parallelism), as well as the visual techniques (the use of anaphors, epiphoras, circle forms, etc.) make it possible to form a consistent image of a person and the world (from the particular to the general). In addition, the poem forms a symbolic image of the cross as a talisman, which can have both material and immaterial embodiments. This study allows for taking a fresh look at the ability to interpret an Old Irish poetic text by referring to medieval manuscripts and constructing a multilevel visual structure of a poem.

*Keywords:* Old Irish poetry, visual structure, levels of visibility, manuscript, intermediality

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### ВИЗУАЛЬНАЯ СТРУКТУРА ДРЕВНЕИРЛАНДСКОГО СТИХОТВОРЕНИЯ «CROS CHRÍST»

Настоящее исследование посвящено анализу визуальной структуры древнеирландского стихотворения «Cros Chríst», которое написано предположительно в X в. и представляет собой образец *лорики* (христианского гимна для защиты верующего). Целью исследования является построение визуальной структуры древнеирландского стихотворения на примере «Cros Chríst», с возможностью использования данной структуры для анализа других древнеирландских стихотворений. Для достижения поставленной цели необходимо с помощью интермедialного

анализа подтвердить, что визуальная структура стихотворения «Cros Christ» разворачивается сразу на нескольких уровнях: вербальном (анализ на уровне слов), аудиальном (анализ аудиальных приемов, выраженных в тексте визуально, например, древнеирландская аллитерация, которая имеет внешнее выражение), материальном (анализ расположения текста в манускрипте (рисунки, маргинальные глоссы, комментарии и влияние начертания текста на его интерпретацию), синестетическом (межчувственная ассоциация, интерпретация стихотворения читателем-зрителем). В результате проведенного исследования было выявлено, что визуальная структура стихотворения (грамматический и графический параллелизм), а также визуальные приемы (использование анафор, эпифор, закольцованной формы и др.) позволяют сформировать последовательный образ человека и мира (от частного — к общему). Помимо этого, стихотворение формирует символический образ креста как оберега, который может иметь как материальное, так и нематериальное воплощение. Настоящее исследование позволяет по-новому взглянуть на возможности интерпретации древнеирландского поэтического текста с помощью обращения к средневековым манускриптам и построение многоуровневой визуальной структуры стихотворения.

*Ключевые слова:* древнеирландская поэзия, визуальная структура, уровни визуальности, манускрипт, интермедийность

## Introduction

The Old Irish poem “Cros Christ” [Murphy, 1956, pp. 32–34], presumably written in the X century, is an example of *lorica* (from Lat. “*lorica*” — armor for protection) is a “poetic protective text” [Mikhailova, 2022, p. 51] aimed at protecting a believer from evil forces. The poem has been preserved in two manuscripts: MS. Laud Misc. 615 (the first half of the XVI century) and MS 23 G 4 (the first half of the XVIII century). The present study suggests analyzing the poem “Cros Christ” at various levels of *visuality* (verbal, auditory, material, *synesthetic*) and thereby forming the visual structure of this poem.

## Method

The study of the visual structure of the text implies immersion in its multilevel intermediate structure. The introduction to the scientific study of the *intermediality* concept belongs to A. A. Hansen-Löwe [Hansen-Löwe, 2016], who used the concept of *intermediality* to analyze various *semiotic* types of interconnections within a text. In this case, the medium and the media are considered not as mass media or communication channels, but as a complex system of *semiotic* codes that interact within a cultural text.

## Results and discussion

If one considers the poem “Cros Chríst” as a linguovisual narrative, then the construction of its visual structure can begin with the verbal level of visibility, which consists in the direct verbal description of visible or invisible objects in the structure of the poetic text, as well as in the visual expressiveness techniques that are expressed verbally.

1. «Cros Chríst» tarsin n-gnúis-se, tarsin g-clúais fon cóir-se. «Cros Chríst» tarsin súil-se. «Cros Chríst» tarsin sróin-se.	1. Christ's cross over this face, and thus over my ear. Christ's cross over this eye. Christ's cross over this nose.
2. «Cros Chríst» tarsin m-bél-sa. «Cros Chríst» tarsin cráes-sa. «Cros Chríst» tarsin cúl-sa. «Cros Chríst» tarsin táeb-sa.	2. Christ's cross over this mouth. Christ's cross over this throat. Christ's cross over the back of this head. Christ's cross over this side.
..... «Cros Chríst» tarsin n-gnúis-se. [Murphy, 1956, pp. 32–34]	..... Christ's cross over this face. [Murphy, 1956, pp. 32–34]

By the example of the first two quatrains of the poem “Cros Chríst”, it is already possible to observe the beginning of the verbal level of visibility’s development that will continue throughout the poem. First of all, attention is drawn to the “domestication of space” [Kalygin, 1997, pp. 140–146], which the author creates by naming and enumeration, thus a chaotic, alien (invisible) space turns into their own, ordered (visible) and is endowed with new sacred properties. The author firstly forms the body space by naming via listing the body parts from top to bottom, thereby enclosing each part of the body and the whole body under the protection of the divine cross. And then the author names the surrounding space from heaven to earth, forming his own world that also must be protected.

8. Cros Chríst súas fri fithnim. Cros Chríst síis fri talmain. Ní thí olc ná urbaid dom chorp ná dom anmain. [Murphy, 1956, pp. 32–34]	8. Christ's cross up to broad (?) Heaven. Christ's cross down to earth. Let no evil or hurt come to my body or my soul. [Murphy, 1956, pp. 32–34]
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An equally interesting visual technique at the verbal level is the use of anaphoras and epiphoras throughout the poem, thereby setting a certain rhythm and forming a visual structure. This can be observed especially clearly by the example of how the second quatrain is constructed, where



the lines are repeated almost completely, with the exception of semantic defining words. Each line begins with mentioning the cross “Cros Chríst” and ends with using the emphatic particle “sa”, which is intended to indicate the amplification by pointing to the object — “over THIS mouth / over THIS throat / over the back of THIS head”. Thus, using the example of the emphatic particles’ use, we see an additional visual indication of expression.

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 2. «Cros Chríst» tarsin m-bél-sa. | 2. <i>Christ’s cross over this mouth.</i>         |
| «Cros Chríst» tarsin cráes-sa.    | <i>Christ’s cross over this throat.</i>           |
| «Cros Chríst» tarsin cúl-sa.      | <i>Christ’s cross over the back of this head.</i> |
| «Cros Chríst» tarsin táeb-sa.     | <i>Christ’s cross over this side.</i>             |
| [Murphy, 1956, pp. 32–34]         | [Murphy, 1956, pp. 32–34]                         |

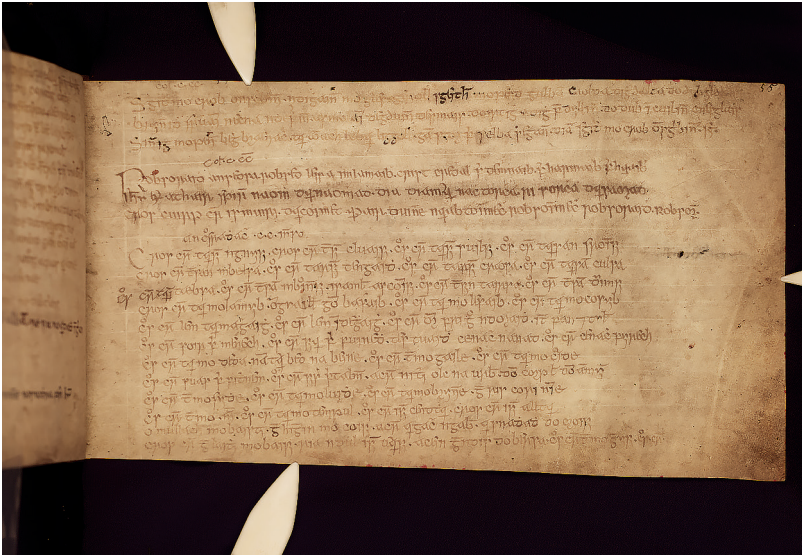
The poem ends with another visual device, which is expressed verbally and was commonly used in ancient Irish poetry, *dúnad* (literally “conclusion”), that is picking up the first line of the poem in its final line [Sukhachev, 2007, p. 92]. The formation of such a looped, completed form also has a symbolic meaning of security, being inside a closed space under the protection of the divine forces.

The visual structure of the poetic text continues to develop not only at the verbal, but also at the auditory level of visuality, which consists in the visible features of the text’s expression that also have a sound expression.

- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 10. «Cros Chríst» tar mo muintir. | 10. <i>Christ’s cross over my community.</i> |
| «Cros Chríst» tar mo thempal.     | <i>Christ’s cross over my church.</i>        |
| «Cros Chríst» isin altar.         | <i>Christ’s cross in the next world;</i>     |
| «Cros Chríst» isin chentar.       | <i>Christ’s cross in this.</i>               |
| [Murphy, 1956, pp. 32–34]         | [Murphy, 1956, pp. 32–34]                    |

In the above quatrain, special attention is brought to the use of alliteration, which in the Old Irish language has a visual expression since it involves the alternation of initial consonants. In this case, alliteration is not only an auditory aspect, but also a visual one. For example, the letters “c”, “m” and “t” in the Old Irish language can form different sounds depending on the position, but it is important for the author to show the alternation of “c”, “m” and “t” visually.

In terms of the sound’s influence on the creation of a poetic work, T. M. Nikolaeva poses a question, does the poet, being in a special “pre-creative” agitated state, hear his own sounds (like tinnitus or hum) as external [Nikolaeva, 2022, p.370]? If this is the case and we consider the rhythmic structure of the poem precisely as a certain revelation that in-



Pic. 1. MS Laud Misc. 615, p.55. “Cros Christ”

spires the poet to create a poem, then we can assume that the auditory aspect (the author’s hearing of certain poetic music) played an important role in writing this poem.

No less important is the analysis of the material level of visibility, which is expressed in the peculiarities of the poetic text’s construction in the manuscript (the location of the text, its outline, letters, drawings, marginal glosses, etc.).

In picture 1, you can see the outline and location of the poem “Cros Christ” in the MS Laud Misc. 615. When analyzing the image, attention is immediately drawn to the clear line-by-line writing of the poem, which forms not only a visual, but also a rhythmic structure, immediately making it clear to the reader that there is a poetic text in front of them. Moreover, a clear repetitive spelling of the lines may suggest the same monotonous reading of the poem, similar to saying a prayer, which also confirms the protective meaning of the lorica. Such graphic and grammatical parallelism builds a clear visual construction of the poem as a whole.

The synesthetic level of visibility would be the most unusual in the visual structure of the poem, which is expressed in the ability of interpretation of the text by a reader-viewer. In modern media culture, there is even a special term for the simultaneous two-level perception of the text “to view-read”, which implies not just the convergence of verblality and



*Рис. 2.* I. V. Kondakov. Triad of media recipients / media mediums  
 reader — viewer — listener / view-reader — sound-reader — sound-viewer

visuality, but their unprecedented interpenetration into each other [Kondakov, 2016, p. 517].

If we expand the number of perception levels even more (as mentioned above) and add the third level, auditory, we will be able to consider not only the multilevel visual structure of the text, but also the multilevel structure of the recipient (pic. 2). The abovementioned can be represented as a triad of media recipients (reader — viewer — listener) through which another triad “shines through” and is being built over it, “media mediums” that is a kind of communicative “nodes” of the artistic synthesis (view-reader — sound-reader — sound-viewer) [Kondakov, 2020, p. 158].

The recipient’s ability to perceive a text at different levels significantly expands the abilities of interpreting it. For example, the poem “Cros Christ” forms a symbolic image of the cross as a talisman, which can have both a material (a cross, movements at the moment of being overshadowed by a cross, etc.) and an immaterial embodiment (uttering a poem as a prayer, etc.).

The image of a cross is not only widespread in poetic texts within manuscripts, but it also finds other material embodiments. One of the most ancient examples is the Ruthwell Cross (pic. 3 [Hewison, 1914, p. 64]) that dates back to approximately the VIII century and is a stone Old English crucifix from Ruthwell, which at that time was part of Northumbria. The text carved on the Ruthwel Cross is considered the oldest surviving example of English poetry with a part of this text written in runes and being a religious poem called “The Dream of the Rood”. The name itself refers to the visual images that the poem describes on behalf of the cross itself: these are the visions of the Christ’s crucifixion and a description of what happened to the cross:

*I trembled as the warrior embraced me.  
But still I dared not bend down to the earth,  
Fall to the ground. Upright I had to stand.  
A rood I was raised up; and I held high  
The noble King, the Lord of heaven above.*  
[Gurova, 2015, pp. 15–19]



Pic. 3 Ruthwell Cross

Going beyond the exclusively ecclesiastical purpose, the image of the cross in poetry undergoes various changes and passes through centuries. In terms of the visually, figurative poetic interpretations of the image of the cross, which we can observe in different epochs and different linguistic cultures, are particularly interesting. The most striking examples are the poem “The Cross” [Unknown author] written in English (pic. 4), the authorship of which is supposedly attributed to an unknown medieval monk, as well as the poem written in German by K. R. Greiffenberg “Über den gekreuzigten Jesus” [Greiffenberg] (pic. 5), published in 1662.

THE CROSS.

Blest they who seek,  
While in their youth,  
With spirit meek,  
The way of truth.  
To them the Sacred Scriptures now display,  
Christ as the only true and living way:  
His precious blood on Calvary was given  
To make them heirs of endless bliss in heaven.  
And e'en on earth the child of God can trace  
The glorious blessings of his Saviour's face.

For them He bore  
His Father's frown,  
For them He wore  
The thorny crown;  
Nailed to the cross,  
Endured its pain,  
That his life's loss  
Might be their gain.  
Then haste to choose  
That better part—  
Nor dare refuse  
The Lord your heart,  
Lest He declare,—  
“I know you not;”  
And deep despair  
Shall be your lot.

Now look to Jesus who on Calvary died,  
And trust on Him alone who there was crucified.

Pic. 4. Unknown author.  
“The Cross”

Über den gekreuzigten  
JESU.

Sieht der König König häng/  
und uns all mit Blut bespreng.  
Seine Wunden seyn die Wunden/  
drauß all unser Heil gerunnen.

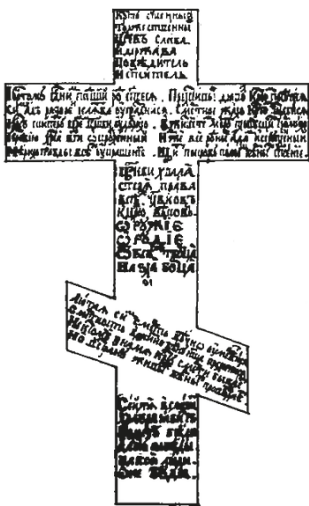
Sehe/ Er strecket seine Hand aus / uns alle zu umfassen/  
bet am sein todtschweißes Drey uns zu veruchen/ zu verwaschen.  
Da er neigt sein heiliges Haupt/ uns begierig mit zu küßten.  
Seine Seiten und Schürden/ sind auf unser Heil geschnitten.

Seiner Seiten offen - leben /  
macht sein gnädiges Herz uns sehr/  
wacht wir schauen mit dem Seiten/  
sehen wir uns selbst darinnen/  
So viel Entzetz/ so viel Wundt/  
als an seinen Leib gefunden /  
so viel Sieg- und Segens-Quellen  
wolt Er unsrer Seel besellen.  
zwischen Himmel und der Erden  
wolt Er aufgeschperrt werden:  
daß Er Güt und uns vergliche,  
uns zu stärken / Er verliche:  
Ja sein Sterben/ hat das Leben  
mit und aller Welt gegeben.  
Jesu Christ! dein Tod und Schmerzet  
ist und schweb mir stets im Herzen!

Pic. 5. K. R. Greiffenberg.  
“Über den gekreuzigten Jesus”

It is worth noting that both of these poems, which have the image and the form of a cross in their visual basis, in direct verbal expression shift away from the description of the cross and its protective functions, turning more to God and Jesus for support and protection. Thus, the protective function of lorica is preserved, but the suffering of Christ that he experienced in order to grant life and protection to humanity is placed in the center of the plot.

The union of the cross's image as a shield and the image of Christ on the cross can be found in Simeon Polotsky's figurative poem "The Cross" (pic. 6 [Duganov, 1988, p. 37] and pic. 7 [Polotsky, 1953, p. 113]), written in 1665, where the cross also serves as the protection to preserve a person and the world since Christ was crucified on it.



Pic. 6. S. Polotsky. "The Cross"

Крест пречестный цркви слава,  
 На нем упрн наша глава  
 Христос господа, всѣх спаситель,  
 Кровою се искупитель.  
 2 Хитый дѣло  
 се вѣсело  
 совершити,  
 должен быти  
 крестъ чтенъ  
 10 и любленъ.  
 И от него вся дѣла начинати в распитию на нем вину уповати.  
 Он бо обаче тѣхъ благословити, иже крестъ на се тѣхъ возлагаютъ.  
 12 В началѣ дѣла се и конецъ заручити, якоже в дѣлахъ оныхъ благоубрѣдетъ.  
 Крестъ на домова нѣтъ отъ бога данъ и на вся, иже гонятъ хрестяныи.  
 Сми врагъ Голгардскій побѣдѣе, 10 и мало смерти грѣхъ в конецъ сотресе.  
 Сей царемъ ибрымъ в бракъ позоваетъ,  
 нечестныи враги истребаетъ,  
 Он православнымъ състѣмъ защищенъ,  
 гонителемъ же в водахъ топаненъ.  
 Его хѣбъ зная 12 вѣрѣхъ половлю,  
 его ти снамъ, царю намъ, желаю.  
 Да ти те вѣданы, яко Константинъ, чтенъ оубо престоудомъ снмъ.  
 Да будетъ ти крестъ, яко столъ огненъ 10 в ношѣхъ, и во дни — облакъ обогненъ.  
 Щетъ тѣмъ злодемъ, страхъ же враждующимъ,  
 на хрестяныи со нечестъ владущимъ.  
 Сми Христосъ врага своя побѣдила есть, крестъ на побѣду и тебѣ вручѣла есть, да хрестяныи 12 отъ зарваръ спасены,  
 сми в снахъ его много лѣтъ живешы.

Pic. 7. Polotsky. "The Cross"

Thus, it can be concluded that at the kinesthetic level of visually, a continuous interpretation of one and the same image may occur. In the case of the poem "Cros Christ", one can observe how the image of the cross for protection is transformed into other visual and semantic forms in other linguistic cultures, expanding the interrelationships and meanings.

As an additional observation, it can be added that all the abovementioned poems that have the visual form of a cross, have a clear rhythmic pattern when read, are divided into stanzas and use rhymes. In this case, the content and form complement each other and are perceived by the recipient in equal importance.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be observed that the visual structure of the Old Irish poem “Cros Chríst” unfolds at several levels simultaneously:

- verbal (analysis at the level of words, descriptions of objects and feelings, the formation of a visible image);
- audial (analysis of auditory techniques expressed visually in the text, for example, Old Irish alliteration, which has an external expression);
- material (analysis of the text’s location in the manuscript (drawings, marginal glosses, comments) and the influence of the text’s outline on its interpretation).
- synesthetic (inter-sensory association, interpretation of a poem by a reader-viewer).

During the intermedial analysis of this poem, it was found that the visual structure of the poem (grammatical and graphic parallelism), as well as visual techniques (the use of anaphoras, epiphoras, looped forms, etc.) make it possible to form a consistent image of a person and the world (from the particular to the general through naming individual parts of the body to drive the formation of a person as a whole, as well as through naming surrounding places for the formation of a whole world).

Thus, the opportunity to construct the visual structure of the poem “Cros Chríst” at different levels allows it to be considered as a creolized text, the texture of which consists of two or more inhomogeneous parts, a verbal language (speech) and a non-verbal one (belonging to other sign systems than a natural language) [Sorokin, Tarasov, 1998, pp. 180–186]. This enables an assumption that the “iconic turn” [Bachmann-Medik, 2017, pp. 394–455], which took place in the twentieth century and presupposes thinking with images creating a new approach to the research of the culture’s visual perception, has roots that go deep into antiquity. In this regard, by the example of Old Irish poetic texts, we can already observe the construction of a complex visual structure and the importance of visual aspect when creating a text.

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## ADVANTAGES AND LIMITATIONS OF APPLYING ALICE VOICE ASSISTANT IN TEACHING RUSSIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

The article observes the possibilities for implementing elements of programmed learning in teaching Russian as a foreign language by using Alice voice assistant. Working with Alice voice assistant can become a part of a homework for migrant children in order to integrate them into the educational process according to a teacher's communication scenario: Alice recognizes the student's answer and, depending on what answer he gave, pronounces certain further instructions. The elements of the grammar-translation method can be manually programmed. Programming Alice for the needs of the teacher — the creation of a so-called "skills" — is a continuation of the traditions of the Soviet school of programmed learning. The use of Alice voice assistant makes it possible to saturate homework with communicative situations, as well as spur interest in learning in the classroom and in extracurricular activities. The concept of post-digital is viewed as a resource for successful mastering of educational programs. Linguodidactic potential of Alice voice assistant is discussed. The author's methodological suggestions are proposed. It is promising and practically feasible to individually adjust Alice to the methodological tasks of any teacher.

*Keywords:* Alice voice assistant, voice assistants, Russian as a foreign language, programmed learning

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### ПРЕИМУЩЕСТВА И ОГРАНИЧЕНИЯ ИСПОЛЬЗОВАНИЯ ГОЛОСОВОГО ПОМОЩНИКА «АЛИСА» В ПРЕПОДАВАНИИ РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКА КАК ИНОСТРАННОГО

В статье рассматриваются возможности реализации элементов программированного обучения в преподавании русского языка как иностранного с помощью голосового помощника «Алиса». Предлагается интегрировать инофонов — детей мигрантов в образовательный процесс с помощью домашнего задания с использованием голосового помощника «Алиса» в соответствии с коммуникативным сценарием, написанным учителем: Алиса распознает ответ ученика и, в зависимости от того, какой ответ он дал, произносит определенные дальнейшие инструкции. Элементы грамматического метода могут быть запрограммированы вручную. Программирование Алисы для нужд учителя — создание так



называемых «навыков» Алисы — является продолжением традиций советской школы программированного обучения. Использование голосового помощника «Алиса» позволяет насыщать домашние задания коммуникативными ситуациями, а также усиливать интерес инофонов к изучению русского как иностранного и к использованию ими русского языка во внеклассных мероприятиях. Концепция постцифровых технологий рассматривается как ресурс для успешного освоения образовательных программ. Обсуждается лингводидактический потенциал голосового помощника «Алиса». Предлагаются методические рекомендации автора. Представляется перспективным и практически осуществимым индивидуально адаптировать Алису к методическим задачам любого преподавателя.

*Ключевые слова:* голосовой помощник Алиса, голосовые помощники, РКИ, русский как иностранный, программированные методы обучения

## Introduction

In recent years the contingent of students has changed towards an increase in children for whom Russian is a foreign language in schools of different regions of Russia. It is not uncommon for native speakers of Russian language to be in the same class with foreign speakers who use it at elementary level, and such a situation may arise when mastering general education programs, and not only in elementary school. Therefore, a Russian language teacher is forced to look for ways to help migrant children facilitate the learning process, integrate them into the educational process, and find mutual understanding with their parents. The practice of communicating in Russian may be completely absent in the home environment of foreign speakers, which means that communicative situations are limited by the time students stay at school.

At the same time their Russian-speaking classmates have their own peculiarities of communicating in their native language. The abundance of Anglicisms in the slang of teenagers marks their belonging to the categories of “friend or foe”. To understand slang for a child means to join the team. On the one hand, migrant children need to master the norms of the Russian literary language in order to study, and on the other hand, communication with classmates does not give them knowledge that is fully applicable in an official classroom setting.

A solution can be found in the use of Alice voice assistant from the company Yandex, a technical tool that is gaining popularity throughout Russia. Alice is considered to be a foreign language to be “native speakers of Russian language” by the authors in the field of pedagogy of Russian as a foreign language [Al-Kaysi, Arkhangelskaya, Rudenko-Morgun 2019,

p.240] (and it communicates without slangisms). If we consider that now Alice has become part of the search engine on desktop computers and laptops, and not only in Yandex stations, then working with it becomes even more accessible. It is enough for migrant children to have a laptop or tablet with a Yandex search engine installed, and they will already be able to get experience communicating with this voice assistant. And their classmates, native speakers of Russian, can also find in Alice an interlocutor who observes cultural norms of communication, has humor, which is quite valuable in the experience of communicating in their native language.

## Method

For about a decade now, the concept of post-digital has occupied a firm place in humanitarian knowledge [Alexenberg 2011]. It describes the situation in which each of our contemporaries finds himself: we live in an era when the presence of digital technologies and gadgets is implied by default [Schubert, A. (2021)].

For an educator, it means that a student or learner has a phone with various installed programs both in class and when preparing homework. These can be dictionaries, translators, collections of ready homework assignments for textbooks and, of course, he/she has the opportunity to find a question of interest in the Internet at any time. Internet resources and applications are part of the information environment of any modern person. The concept of post-digital makes it possible, on the one hand, to accept it as a given, and on the other hand, to see it as a resource for successful mastering of educational programs.

For a teacher this means a decrease in the effectiveness of tasks that are part of the grammar-translation method. Translation tasks from one language to another can be done electronically, either at home or in class, and this will not bring any increase in knowledge. This is especially true for teaching in a classroom with a large number of pupils or students, and less critical for individual lessons not conducted via the Internet.

In the post-digital era, a communicative approach aimed at creating communication situations and mastering the language in concrete life tasks has more educational potential than elements of the grammar-translation method. At the same time, if we use the popular Alice voice assistant, we can use elements of the grammar-translation method: we can manually program Alice using programmed learning methods.

Over the last five years, many articles have been published about voice assistants and their didactic potential for teaching Russian as a foreign language in Russia. They single out Yandex's voice assistant as the

most suitable product [Al-Kaysi, Arkhangelskaya, Rudenko-Morgun 2019, p.240]. First of all, methodological recommendations for working with Alice are devoted to work with phonetics, with intonation [Al-Kaysi, Arkhangelskaya, Rudenko-Morgun 2019], practicing the pronunciation of speech samples [Chafonova, Ratnikov 2019]. In some tasks there is an indication: “It is not necessary to read and understand Alice’s answers” [Al-Kaysi, Arkhangelskaya, Rudenko-Morgun 2019, p.242]

In the literature there are already proposals to create their own additions to the work of Alice with the help of programming (Alice’s skills — a special term denoting new patterns of its functioning, which can be created manually for personal use, as well as with the possibility of general access to them for all users) [Ratnikova, Ratnikov 2022]. Programmed learning technologies were developed as early as in the Soviet Union in the 1960s [Bakhtiyarova, Shchukin, 1988]. They were not developed in the later USSR. However, programming skills are much more accessible today than in those days when computers occupied whole rooms. Especially when one considers the fact that it is possible to program Alice’s skills on one’s own, one could say that working with Alice in this way is a continuation of the traditions of this school.

In the works about the use of Alice at the lessons of Russian as a foreign language, there is an aspiration to include the voice assistant in the learning process as an object of cognition in order to increase interest in the lessons (even a certain portrait of Alice is created and discussed [Al-Kaysi, Arkhangelskaya, Rudenko-Morgun, 2019]). In this approach, Alice is no longer just a phonetic or language simulator. Using the conceptual apparatus of cognitive science, we can say that a new frame is applied here: methodologists suggest that learners approach the voice assistant as a part of a communicative situation. Acquisition of communication skills by voice assistants is not only useful for performing specific everyday activities, but it is also a mastering of Russian as a foreign language in a communicative approach.

The purpose of this study is to discuss how Alice can be used as an aid to a teacher who needs to equalize the level of Russian language proficiency in classes recruited with the presence of migrant children, or to help teachers work with foreign speakers at the lessons of Russian as a foreign language.

### **Linguodidactic potential of Alice voice assistant**

Students of all ages today use search engines, learn from childhood to formulate queries to search engines, as well as to voice assistants, espe-

cially Alice. Thus, students are in communication not only with people, but also with search engines (Alice imitates communicative situations), asking them questions on various topics, as well as addressing them with requests (reduce the sound, turn on the light, and so on). Incorporating Alice voice assistant into the lesson of Russian as a foreign language will contribute to the development of students' communicative competence, because by addressing Alice, one can immediately gain experience in solving everyday tasks for her.

If a question to Alice is illiterate in terms of the rules of Russian language, the voice assistant will reply that the answer cannot be found (or the request cannot be fulfilled). Therefore, linguistic competence will be developed here, first of all (moreover, students can ask Alice clarifying questions about language theory). In the process of communicating with Alice there is also an opportunity to make up for insufficient knowledge of Russian as a foreign language, so we can also talk about the work on strategic competence, because thanks to it the development of communicative and speech competence is going on (here we will not enter into a discussion whether strategic competence is similar to compensatory competence, because the argumentation from both sides is already well enough researched [Tsvetkova, Makeeva 2022]).

Applied to the use of Alice voice assistant, the formation of skills of ecological communication and non-violence to achieve their goals within the lesson lies entirely on the teacher. Therefore, the role of the teacher of Russian as a foreign language in mastering the voice assistant is key for the students to acquire intercultural competence in working with this modern tool. It is possible for the teacher to apply ethical elements of programmed teaching methods: to learn the vocabulary necessary for polite and cultural communication in Russian. It is possible to practice thanking Alice, in composing polite questions (for example, "*Спасибо, Алиса*" ("Thank you, Alice"), "*Большое спасибо, Алиса*" ("Many thanks, Alice"), "*Алиса, скажи, пожалуйста...*" ("Alice, tell me please..."). Regardless of what Alice answers, cycles of polite questions and thank yous can be programmed. Control over the execution of the cycle in this case lies with the teacher.

Work with voice assistants should reflect the following principles:

- Consciousness (students should understand the meaning of the questions formulated and the answers received from Alice);
- Communication (situations of communication with Alice are created), the principle of taking into account individual-psychological features of students (as communication with Alice is an individual process for everyone);

- Functionality (vocabulary is practiced in grammatical constructions of questions), situational and thematic presentation of teaching material (there is an opportunity to ask questions to Alice within the framework of one or another topic in the curriculum, or illustrating the topics of the curriculum for Russian as a foreign language);
- Taking into account the learner's native language (Alice can give answers to linguistic questions. For example, you can create situations from the sphere of comparing two languages and ask Alice the meaning of words in one or another language).  
It is difficult to embody the principles of:
- Systematicity (Alice's answers are more like non-adapted speech. Therefore, Alice's answer may be unpredictable in some way);
- Visualization (when working with Alice, the auditory channel of perception is used);
- Concentrism (it is difficult to predict Alice's answers verbatim, so it seems difficult to work with the help of Alice on vocabulary and grammatical turns, and then on phonetics within one lesson cycle, especially according to programmed teaching methods).

The use of voice assistants, including Alice, in the context of the communicative approach has advantages and limitations in terms of linguodidactics. The text should adhere to conventional academic structure and formatting, with clear and concise language and precise word choice. Further exploration of this topic is promising for teaching ethics in the formation of intercultural competence and for the methodology of teaching Russian as a foreign language. It is important to maintain a balanced perspective and avoid biased language. The content of the improved text must remain as close as possible to the source text, without introducing new aspects.

The question of whether intercultural competence can be developed through the integration of voice assistants in the teaching of Russian as a foreign language is worthy of investigation.

On the one hand, today the formation of intercultural competence is a common goal for linguodidactics, and the teacher naturally has an understanding that the development of this competence is one of the main things in language teaching. And here it is necessary to pay a little attention to intercultural competence due to its correlation with communicative competence.

Thus, the textbook which is used today in foreign language departments of Russian universities [Galskova, Gez, 2005], characterizes intercultural competence as a priority, from this it follows in this manual the

special importance not only of foreign language teaching methodology, but also of linguodidactics.

In our opinion, the textbook by Galskova and Gez makes a successful attempt to smooth out the opposition between communicative and intercultural competence, which can be found in the literature, by diving into the history and methods of linguodidactics. For Galskova and Gez, the intercultural paradigm is a new ontology of modern language education, which is reflected in linguodidactics, and intercultural competence is an indicator of the formation of a secondary linguistic personality.

It can be suggested that by modern means of linguodidactics we can try to smooth out the contradiction between the primacy of achieving one's goals, which is important for communicative competence, by strengthening the ecology of communication and the non-violence of achieving these goals through the possession of intercultural competence. For this purpose, according to Russian etiquette, the polite communication in Russian language can be studied with the help of Alice voice assistant using elements of programmed methods. It should also be noted that Alice can respond with a certain establishment of boundaries in response to uncultured demands.

## Results and suggestions

The easiest way to connect Alice to the learning process is to give homework involving the use of Alice. As a control, you can ask to record a video or audio about the dialogue with Alice during the homework.

Russian language classes should be divided into two types: those aimed at improving general communication skills for foreign speakers and at mastering Russian language program together with classmates in the general education program (as well as in Russian as a foreign language).

Homework to improve general communication skills involves the teacher developing a scenario for communicating with Alice, including greetings, query formulations, and farewells (for example, such scenarios may include phrases from the student that need to be pronounced clearly and then listen to the answer: *"Привет, Алиса!"* ("Hi, Alice!"), *"Как дела, Алиса?"* ("How are you, Alice?"), *"Алиса, сегодня будет снег?"* ("Alice, is it going to snow today?"), *"Алиса, когда будет играть Спартак?"* ("Alice, when will Spartacus play?"), etc., *"Пока, Алиса!"* ("Bye, Alice!")). The communicative situation in this case will allow you to gain communication experience, perhaps with a lower degree of anxiety than communicating with classmates and teachers, since the robot can be asked many times. The goal is to pronounce the words correctly and be understood by

Alice, as well as try to understand her answer. Note also that Alice She is able to maintain a dialogue truly indefinitely.

Homework assignments for students to master Russian language program, on the one hand, may take the form of a communication scenario, during which the student asks Alice some specific question relevant to the course of the school educational process (for example, *“Алиса, какие глаголы движения ты знаешь?”* (“Alice, what verbs of movement do you know?”), *“Алиса, как правильно: “пойти в школу” или “пойти на школу”?”* (“Alice, what is the correct way of saying: “go to school” or “go in school”?”), *“Алиса, чем отличаются глаголы совершенного вида от глаголов несовершенного вида?”* (“Alice, what is the difference between perfect verbs and imperfect verbs?”) etc.) , then listens and writes down the answer by hand. You can also ask students to make audio or video recordings of such conversations for monitoring.

Moreover, for such homework today it is even possible to program Alice for the needs of the teacher — the creation of a so-called “skill”. Technically, this is quite simple, and the huge number of skills in all subjects of the school course in the Alice library is evidence of this, you do not even need to be well versed in programming languages, since there are intuitive methodological recommendations. So, a “technically savvy” Russian language teacher can create a skill for homework for any topic of the school course according to the following principle: Alice recognizes the student’s answer and, depending on what answer he gave, pronounces certain further instructions (for example, Alice can conduct a survey on the topic “verbs of movement” according to the following scenario. So, first Alice asks the question: *“Алиса, скажи, пожалуйста, какой вариант правильный, “пойти в театр” или “пойти на театр”?”* (“Alice, what is the correct way of saying: “go to the theatre” or “go in the theatre”?”) If the student answers correctly, then Alice says, *“Это правильно, молодец. Следующий вопрос...”* (“That’s right, well done. The next question is...”). If the student makes a mistake, Alice says, *“К сожалению, это неправильно. Правильный ответ: “Пойти в театр”* (“Unfortunately, this is wrong. The correct answer is: “Go to the theater”).

Such tasks with the creation of Alice’s skills seem to us to be direct heirs of technologies for programmed teaching of Russian language [Bakhtiyarova, Shchukin 1988], which developed in the USSR, but did not receive their development due to lack of technical equipment in the second half of the XX century. However, now that Alice is available to almost every student, the scale of development of elements of programmed learning is truly limitless. This is especially interesting from the point of view that today students learn to make chatbots in Telegram or Alice’s

skills in computer science lessons according to many programs, which means that for them such tasks will be perceived as something natural and understandable, as well as modern, interesting and valuable. Russian-speaking students can be involved in the creation of such new skills for Alice aimed at honing Russian language program, which can become part of the project activities necessary for today's reporting on Russian Federal State Educational Standard.

If there is enough time and technical equipment available, Alice can be used in the classroom as well as in extra-curricular activities according to the principles described above. If it is not possible to bring a voice assistant to the lesson, a 'Game of Alice' can be organized. This involves simulating communicative situations with Alice without gadgets. One student will be responsible for Alice, and another for her interlocutor. The course will cover preparing and simulating search queries, as well as Alice's responses. The topics covered will include potential questions for Alice and her corresponding answers, followed by enacting the appropriate scene.

It is worth noting that in the future it is also possible to use such a function of Alice, such as, for example, turning on and off electricity or turning on the "blue color" of lighting, etc. Of course, this is not possible in an average school, but you can discuss with students that if you connect Alice to the Smart Home system then you can, for example, tell her: "Алиса, включи свет. Алиса, свет фиолетовый" — and there will be purple light lighting in the room. This can also be played out in educational scenes in the classroom, when a student in the role of Alice, for example, will show purple paper, simulating the inclusion of such lighting. In any case, the opportunity to show in practice that Alice it is capable of executing commands, it is still available: you can ask it to turn on music, up to a specific song. This can also become part of the imitation play "The Game of Alice".

Thus, with Alice's help, the communicative approach to teaching Russian as a foreign language acquires more space for implementation. It is even possible to create Alice's skills on any educational topic. This is especially true for classes where native Russian speakers and foreign speakers study together (for foreign speakers, you can create Alice's skills for additional homework so that they can practice more at home). Communicating with Alice, foreign speakers will gain additional experience of communicating in the Russian literary language, gain more communicative practice and self-confidence.

It is important to note that there are limitations to the availability of technical capabilities in schools, and teachers may not have enough time to write skills for all topics. Additionally, methodological developments



should be in accordance with the Russian Federal State Educational Standard.

The topic of students' possession of modern technologies and technical means is sensitive to social differentiation and bullying. It is important to avoid drawing attention to the fact that one student may not have access to a laptop or smartphone, and therefore may not have completed their homework using Alice.

Before introducing Alice into teaching, it is necessary to discuss its use with parents and conduct a survey on the capabilities of each family to perform such homework. Teachers should explain that Alice is a voice assistant that speaks Russian and is considered a 'native speaker' by methodologists. This gives Alice an advantage over other voice assistants. It is important to avoid any suspicion of advertising Yandex products. Additionally, it is crucial to advise parents to set an age limit on the search engine before using Alice. This will prevent children from accessing inappropriate content. The same principle should be applied when introducing Alice in Russian lessons and extracurricular activities.

The teacher's use of the latest technologies is intended to enhance interest in learning and foster communication among teachers, students, and parents, without creating further divisions. The language used in communication will be Russian.

## Conclusion

Schoolchildren and university students, as the subjects of the learning process, can choose to be more involved in the classroom, to prepare intensively and to continue learning Russian as a foreign language throughout their lives. To facilitate this, it is promising to use voice assistants in the educator's work. The involvement of such technical means can be implemented not only as speech simulators but also as objects of cognition in a communicative situation.

Manually programming Alice voice assistant involves following the teacher's plan, considering individual student characteristics, and working with groups. There are promising prospects for implementing programmed teaching methods, including supporting the study of educational topics such as language competence, including grammar tasks. The experience gained in the Soviet Union in the 1960s may be useful in this context. The development of Alice's skills for teaching Russian could continue the traditions of the Soviet school.

Communication with Alice involves interacting with a machine in a highly humanized manner. The voice assistant engages in communication

in a way that is anthropologically comparable during speech interactions. The use of voice assistants, including Alice, in the context of the communicative approach has advantages and limitations for linguodidactics. Exploring this topic could be promising for teaching ethics and developing intercultural competence. Programmed learning elements, through the inclusion of Alice, a voice assistant, allow the gradual presentation of learning material, adapting to the pace of the students and their speed of mastering the material.

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## **MACHINE TRANSLATION AS A MOTIVATION FACTOR AND TESTING TOOL IN THE PROCESS OF TEACHING PHILOLOGY STUDENTS**

The article explores the evolving attitude of language teachers towards machine translation (MT) in foreign language education. In response to the improved quality and increased implementation of MT in practical settings, educators are shifting from outright prohibition to integrating it as a motivational and educational tool. The suggested approach involves three key steps. Firstly, students are shown the general weaknesses of MT and specific challenges related to language pairs. Secondly, students are trained to identify potential translation errors independently. Lastly, students are encouraged to continually enhance their language skills to compete effectively with MT. The study emphasizes incorporating MT-generated examples into exams to assess students' true translation skills while preventing unauthorized MT use. It argues that such a method simultaneously evaluates students and avoids biased claims. Additionally, the article delves into the current state of MT research, citing works by various researchers globally. It highlights the surge in studies post-2016 due to significant advancements in MT program development. The main goal of the article is to analyze the use of MT not just as a practical translation tool but as a means to enhance students' motivation in philology. The prerequisites for effective use of MT in the learning process are discussed, emphasizing the importance of teaching students to use it judiciously. Examples from Japanese to Russian illustrate potential pitfalls in MT, emphasizing the need for first master the basics of the target language for successful use. The article concludes with an example of analyzing MT errors in a scientific book for children. It suggests that despite MT's progress, educators should guide students to approach translation thoughtfully. The study proposes that, when used judiciously, MT can aid language learning, providing opportunities for grammar practice, serving as a tutor, and encouraging deeper study of related disciplines.

*Keywords:* machine translation, motivation, testing, education, language teaching

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### **МАШИННЫЙ ПЕРЕВОД КАК ФАКТОР МОТИВАЦИИ И ИНСТРУМЕНТ ТЕСТИРОВАНИЯ В ПРОЦЕССЕ ОБУЧЕНИЯ СТУДЕНТОВ-ФИЛОЛОГОВ**

В статье исследуется меняющееся отношение преподавателей иностранных языков к машинному переводу (МП) в обучении иностранным

языкам. В ответ на повышение качества и более широкое внедрение МП на практике педагоги переходят от прямого запрета к его использованию в качестве мотивационного образовательного инструмента. Предлагаемый подход включает в себя три ключевых этапа. Во-первых, студентам демонстрируются общие слабые стороны МП и конкретные проблемы, связанные с языковыми парами. Во-вторых, студентов обучают самостоятельно выявлять потенциальные ошибки перевода. Наконец, студентам предлагается постоянно совершенствовать свои языковые навыки, чтобы эффективно конкурировать с МП. В исследовании подчеркивается важность включения примеров, сгенерированных с помощью МП, в экзамены для оценки истинных навыков перевода студентов, предотвращая при этом несанкционированное использование МП. Утверждается, что такой метод одновременно дает возможность оценить уровень знаний студентов и позволяет избежать предвзятости. Кроме того, в статье рассматривается текущее состояние исследований МП, цитируются работы различных исследователей по всему миру. В ней подчеркивается резкое увеличение количества исследований после 2016 года в связи со значительными достижениями в разработке программ МП. Основная цель статьи — проанализировать использование МП не только как практического инструмента перевода, но и как средства повышения мотивации студентов филологических факультетов. Обсуждаются предпосылки эффективного использования МП в учебном процессе, подчеркивается важность обучения студентов его разумному использованию. Примеры перевода с японского на русский иллюстрируют потенциальные подводные камни в использовании МП, подчеркивая необходимость глубокого понимания языка. В статье утверждается, что, хотя МП может сэкономить время, переводчик должен сначала овладеть основами языка перевода для успешного использования. Статья завершается примером анализа ошибок МП в научной книге для детей. Это говорит о том, что, несмотря на прогресс МП, преподаватели должны научить студентов вдумчиво подходить к переводу. В исследовании предполагается, что при разумном использовании МП может помочь в изучении языка, предоставляя возможности для грамматической практики, выступая в качестве инструмента для упражнений и поощряя более глубокое изучение смежных дисциплин.

*Ключевые слова:* машинный перевод, мотивация, тестирование, образование, преподавание языка

## **Changing attitudes towards machine translation in the process of teaching a foreign language**

Today, against the background of great success in improving the quality of machine translation and its increasingly active implementation in the practical sphere, teachers are forced to change their attitude to it and move from categorically prohibiting its use and even punishing students

for its use, for example, when doing homework or testing, to introducing it into their teaching practice as a tool to increase the motivation of students and the effectiveness of the educational process.

To implement this task, it is necessary, firstly, to demonstrate to students the weaknesses of machine translation in general and in relation to a specific pair of languages in particular, secondly, to teach students to find possible errors in translation themselves, and thirdly, to encourage students to constantly expand their horizons and improve their knowledge of the language as the only one the right way to compete with machine translation.

Finally, during testing, it seems advisable to prepare exam assignments more and more often using examples made with the help of machine translation, which will simultaneously reveal the true translation skills of the student and avoid problems associated with unauthorized use of machine translation during testing, as well as possible claims on the part of students regarding a biased attitude towards them from the outside teacher.

## **The current state of research in the field of machine translation**

The topic of machine translation using neural networks has rightfully become one of the main research topics in the field of translation theory and practice. Among the works written on this topic, the collective research of Russian scientists E. Y. Kartseva, T. D. Margaryan, G. G. Gurova “The development of machine translation and its place in professional intercultural communication” [Kartseva et al, 2018], the master’s thesis “Comparative analysis of the results of machine translation by Y. M. Khudyakova [Khugyakova, 2021], the work of Belarusian scientists V. V. Voronovich “Machine translation” [Voronovich, 2017] and S. A. Loseva “Translation and artificial intelligence: problems and ways of development” [Loseva, 2022], Chinese researcher Liu Luxing “The influence of artificial intelligence on the work of a translator in modern society” [Liu Luxing, 2023], as well as numerous works by leading foreign researchers in English. The number of studies on this topic increased dramatically in the second half of the second decade, which was due to the sharp jump in the quality of machine translation that occurred a few years earlier due to the huge leap forward made by developers of machine translation programs at the beginning of this century, and especially when in 2014–2016 these theoretical developments were put into practice and have become available to a wide range of online users.

At the same time, the place of the problem of the place of machine translation in the process of teaching a foreign language requires deeper study, and teaching methods that take into account the possibilities of machine translation require careful development.

### **The purpose of the study**

This study is an attempt to analyze not so much the practical use of certain translation tools, but rather the issues of using MT in order to increase the motivation of philology students and turn it from a “secret enemy” of the teacher into his reliable and legitimate assistant in the learning process.

### **Prerequisites for the effective use of MT in the learning process**

Modern students, most of whom have mastered various MT programs and their functions from school, tend to apply and test them from the very first days and in relation to the language that they are just beginning to master. So, the overwhelming number of first-year students of Japanese universities tend to resort to his help when writing to a native-speaking teacher, trying to express their thoughts in Russian. In the last few years, this phenomenon has become so widespread from isolated cases that it is not possible to fight it, but if you try to use it, you can achieve a very significant positive effect.

### **Assessment of students' communication attempts with the help of MT**

Firstly, by allowing students to use MT, it is possible to encourage the creation of messages in the language being studied that does not require much time from them, and, having got used to communicating with a native speaker teacher in the language being studied, the student is psychologically more likely to speak the language of the teacher and in person. This is especially important if the training takes place outside the language environment. This will help to remove the so-called “psychological barrier”.

Secondly, ideally, the teacher can correct obvious mistakes in the sent text, which will not be so offensive for students, since mistakes are made as if by artificial intelligence, and a purposeful student can successfully “learn from these “alien” mistakes.

And, finally, thirdly, if the translation is performed flawlessly and fits the situation as accurately as possible, this will allow the student to replen-

ish his lexical stock with new units, to assimilate contextually successful expressions.

Of the negative aspects of this method of communication with the teacher, it is possible to single out, of course, the student's attitude to the deliberate refusal to use the already existing, albeit small knowledge, but to choose the "easy way". This, of course, can develop into a rather unpleasant habit when a student at an advanced stage will not even try to rephrase a statement and convey a thought, using the grammatical and lexical means available in his arsenal, but will completely rely on machine translation.

Precisely because of the danger of such a negative habit, it is necessary from the first days of learning a foreign language by students to develop not only communication skills, but also the ability to adequately transform this or that information from one language system to another by understanding the basic laws of this transformation by studying both the general principles of translation and their features in relation to a particular pair languages, and moreover to a specific target language.

Unfortunately, with the widespread use of the communicative method of teaching in recent years, various quite effective methods of "immersion" in the language being studied and sometimes strict requirements for the teacher to completely abandon the use of the native language of the trainees, the role of teaching students translation skills is unfairly belittled. And sometimes there is a situation when students, like bilingual children, are not able to correlate well-known expressions in each of the individual languages with each other. Many students, especially when interpreting at senior courses, cannot rephrase a statement, but vainly try to remember the equivalent of each individual word and, desperate, resort to electronic dictionaries, which often lead them down the wrong path. The necessity to teach students the ways of using different tools, as well as to show them the limitations of such tools is stressed in the work by V.M Nechaeva [Nechaeva, 2016, p.51]

In order to prevent the development of this addiction among students, it is advisable that, on the one hand, the teacher has a set of blanks of such "vivid illustrations" of the discrepancy between the literal translation and the meaning of the translated statement, and on the other, it is necessary to demonstrate to students the imperfection and the likelihood of serious errors in machine translation by concrete examples.

The amazing achievements in recent years in the field of improving the quality of machine translation have essentially led to the merging of these two tasks: that is, difficult-to-translate moments in author's translation remain the same in machine translation, and sometimes are only

aggravated by the external “gloss” of machine translation. Thus, the task is, as it were, twofold: the search for “imaginary friends of the translator”, “translation of the untranslatable” by involving a wide range of knowledge in various fields, along with the education of the ability to carefully edit texts made using machine translation, remains relevant.

The most vulnerable, from the point of view of adequate transfer of meaning, both in author’s and machine translation from Japanese into Russian, are currently several areas, but the need for a thoughtful attitude and a certain understanding of the socio-cultural context is most clearly demonstrated by the example of translating elementary concepts related to time, which is quite natural due to the different ideas about the seasons and the rhythm of life during the day, characteristic of different peoples with their distinctive national way of life. To achieve successful translation the student must fully understand the concept described in the original language and to choose the best way to relate this concept in the target language [Sdobnikov, 2006, p.228]. Therefore just an “unsuccessful” or “erroneous” translation of such commonly used concepts related to the concept of time can become the most convincing illustration for students. Let’s turn to the following examples:

- (1) 夏になったらやります。Translated, the phrase sounds like “I’ll do it in the summer.”, however, it requires a mandatory explanation that, in the Japanese view, summer does not begin on the first of June, but from about the third decade of July, after the end of the rainy season, and the timing may vary from year to year. Therefore, it would be more correct to translate into Japanese “I will do it after the end of the rainy season”, which, as it were, remains outside the scope of translation and is simply implied.

At the same time, no one in Russia would think of September as a summer month. In Russia, September is autumn, and in Japan, it is customary to talk about the first signs of autumn only in October. And for the exhausting heat in September, there is a special hard-to-translate concept of “remaining heat”, that is, “hot summer days at the end of the season”.

By the way, in this regard, it is difficult to convey not only the actual translation of the phrase, but also the emotions behind it. If the Russians are characterized by a feeling of sadness and longing for the rapidly passing summer, involuntary anxiety in connection with the upcoming harsh and long winter, then for the Japanese, most of September is a time of impatient waiting for the end of the exhausting heat and anticipation of a pleasant sunny and moderately warm autumn season.



- (2) The problem of translating the phrases referring to the time of the day between Russian and English languages is explored by L. S. Bakhudarov [Bakhudarov, 2007, p.88–90]. The attitude to time during the day in Japan and Russia also varies, and in this regard, the Japanese phrase “Please come at night” in machine translation will sound like “Please come at night”, which in fact does not correspond at all to its meaning, which consists in a request to come in the evening. To achieve the desired meaning in Russian, it is necessary to use another lexical unit in Japanese. However, in modern Japanese it has become little used.
- (3) The Japanese phrase has no less twofold meaning: The most accurate translation of it will sound like: “Come after lunch.” However, it should be borne in mind that in Japan lunch usually starts at 12:00, so the exact meaning of this phrase should be conveyed as come after an hour, in no case after three, as it would be perceived in Russia. At the same time, machine translation suggests translating it as “Please come in the afternoon.”, which is an erroneous substitution of the Japanese phrase 午後に来て下さい。 and the machine translation of which into Russian is quite adequate.
- (4) 4. The meaning of the following elementary phrase may also be transmitted by mistake: お昼に来て下さい。 Usually it means: “Come at lunchtime” or “come in the afternoon”, and machine translation gives the following interpretation: “Please come and have lunch” or “Come at noon.”
- (5) One of the variants of the machine translation of the phrase is also completely inadequate. It sounds like “Sorry I was late at night.” At best, we can find a literal translation that sounds like: “Sorry to bother you so late at night.” At the same time, this phrase on duty in Japan is usually used when making a phone call around nine o’clock in the evening. With such a translation into Russian, it will rather sound like a mockery and cause at least slight bewilderment. An experienced translator, depending on the specific time on the clock, may prefer to replace it with a more streamlined phrase: “Sorry for disturbing you at such an untimely hour.”
- (6) The refusal to take into account the socio-cultural background, as well as the etiquette adopted in a particular society, can also be illustrated by the example of the translation of the Japanese phrase. In Russian, it is usually translated as: “I’m going to go soon.” (Machine translation gives a somewhat official version of “I’m going to leave.”) Uttered at a party, this phrase assumes, from the point of view of the mentality of a Russian-speaking person, a polite remark from the interlocutor: “Well, what are you! It’s still early — sit still.” However, in Japanese, it has rather the meaning of “Well,

I'm off," that is, the speaker is really leaving. Russians very often, relying on the meaning they put into the Russian vague concept of "soon", pronounce it, absolutely not planning to leave immediately, wondering later why such a reaction from the owners followed. Meanwhile, the hosts, perceiving this as an already decided action on the part of the speaker, just immediately begin to escort him to the door and say goodbye, tactfully avoiding intrusive questions and suggestions to sit for a while longer.

- (7) Without thoughtful consideration to the meaning of the utterance is impossible to transfer the following sentence: 夏から冬の間桜の花が咲くことはありません。The machine version of the translation sounds like: "Cherries do not bloom between summer and winter", being in fact quite close to the literal translation of this phrase. However, taking into account the grammar and thinking about the meaning, we must translate this phrase as follows: "It does not happen that sakura blooms during the period that lasts from the beginning of summer to the end of winter." In the sense it is clear that the period of time indicated in machine translation when sakura does not bloom, as "the period between summer and winter (that is, in the fall — S. I.)" "devoid of any common sense.

Such simple examples taken from our everyday life, which do not require deep knowledge in the field of vocabulary and grammar of the language being studied, are designed from the first steps to inspire students with the idea that machine translation is not a panacea, in most cases it multiplies mistakes that can be made by a novice translator, and therefore, for further successful use machine translation, which saves a lot of time, the translator must first of all deeply study the basics of the target foreign language, acquire a certain vocabulary, and to study in detail those most vulnerable places when translating this particular language into a specific target language.

At the same time, this brings to the fore in the work of those who are engaged in both practical translation activities and teaching translation, the task of successfully searching, analyzing and systematizing possible errors in texts that sometimes look very smoothly stated. To do this, it is very important not only to know the most advanced and most advanced machine translation programs suitable for a specific pair of languages, but it is also very important to understand what you should first pay attention to when checking and editing machine translation, which, for all the apparent naturalness and harmony of the text, can be a very cruel "catch".

## **Example of machine translation analysis in order to identify possible typical errors**

It is difficult to identify common typical errors in machine translation, and therefore there is not much study done in this field [Namekata, 2016, p.142]. In order to identify possible typical errors encountered in machine translation from Japanese into Russian, a popular science illustrated book for older children was selected, bearing the name “Teapot” (or the erroneous name “Pot” in one of the variants of the MT). Why did you choose this particular book? The fact is that:

Scientific and technical vocabulary allows you to demonstrate the strengths of MT in the most vivid way.

The fact that the text itself is adapted and designed for a teenage audience also made it possible to hope for a successful MT, since it is well known that MT copes poorly with complex sentences in its structure. In any case, the text needs to be simplified and divided into short phrases that are simple in structure. The scientific subject matter of the text limited its emotional coloring, which was also supposed to be the key to a successful translation.

And, finally, the subjective factor was that the translation into German and English was carried out in parallel by the staff of the relevant departments, which made it possible to further conduct a comparative analysis, trying to find out the reasons for the mistakes made in machine translation

In general, speaking about the most obvious distortions in the translation from Japanese to Russian, it is necessary to point out the following typical errors rooted in the peculiarities of the structure of Japanese sentences, namely, in the frequent absence of clearly expressed sentence members, in particular the subject, and the general vagueness of the utterance. For the same reason, pronouns are rarely used in Japanese, there is no gender category, there is almost no plural category, and the line between the present and future tense is very vague.

## **Conclusions based on text analysis performed using machine translation using Yandex Translate**

When analyzing the quality of machine translation we relied on the criteria stipulated in the book by K. Mitsufuji: (a) is translation correct, (b) is translation comprehensive, (c) are all the details taken into account in translation [Mitsufuji, 2016, p.26–27].

The text was translated using complex vocabulary in the shortest possible time. In general, the content is transmitted. In a text containing 688 words, 124 words were inaccurately translated, that is, about 18 percent of the text. This created a certain discomfort when reading, but if desired, for an educated native speaker, the main idea was conveyed. Most of the gross violations are related to the structure of the sentence. Half of the mistakes are lexical, that is, an erroneous choice of a word that prevents the creation of an adequate image and prevents the correct understanding of the meaning. A lot of mistakes are connected with the incorrect use of pronouns. There was only one mistake in using uppercase and lowercase letters at the beginning of a sentence.

Errors in the use of punctuation marks are insignificant.

## Discussion

Speaking about the effect of the experiment, from the point of view of its educational process, we have to admit that although the analysis of mistakes made in machine translation became a convincing illustration for students of the need for a thoughtful attitude to translation, identifying the errors themselves in the text translated into Russian turned out to be beyond the power, even for fourth-year students who had been on an internship. The analysis of the errors highlighted by the teacher aroused the students' undoubted interest and desire to study this topic independently as part of the work on the diploma project, but with Japanese as the target language. It can be assumed that such an experiment will encourage students to abandon the use of machine translation and to be more thoughtful about the translation process itself.

And, finally, in conditions when the teacher is forced to conduct translation exams remotely, and he does not have the opportunity to personally verify the impeccable observance of student ethics by the examinees, as well as if the teacher needs to rank students in a sufficiently large group, while completely eliminating the subjective factor in evaluating their translation, the use of texts made with the help of machine translation, which obviously contains errors, in order to identify students' ability to notice them, it may turn out to be a very successful solution to the task facing the teacher.

## Prospects for using machine translation

Russian and Japanese translation programs based on achievements in the field of artificial intelligence, with Russian as the target language,

have made a huge leap forward in recent years, which makes it possible to successfully use them to increase the motivation of novice students, as well as a teaching tool. At the initial stage, they can help in learning the grammar of the Russian language. For second- and third-year students, machine translation into their native language can be a kind of “free tutor” for translation, since machine translation is already much more advanced than the average work of students at this stage of training when translating socio-political texts into their native language. Experience shows that if a student uses machine translation only to check a self-translated text, it can give very good results in improving the translation skills of this student. And at an advanced stage, machine translation can serve to educate text editing skills. Machine-translated texts can also perform an important task of encouraging students to study more deeply related disciplines and the socio-cultural background of the country of the language being studied. In addition, educational materials obtained with the help of machine translation can be successfully used in testing and attestation of students.

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## TRANSLATION TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE POLITICAL MEDIA DISCOURSE

The article presents the result of a comparative analysis of translation transformations in political news texts from English-language media and their translations into Russian. Theoretical issues related to the interpretation of media discourse, news discourse, and news political discourse are outlined. The text is understood as an important component of newspaper discourse. The article is focused on the structural and linguistic features of the news text, describing common types of translation transformations of political news texts in general. As a result of the translation transformations comparative analysis the most common translation techniques typical for political news texts are revealed, namely: transcription and transliteration, grammatical substitutions, lexico-semantic substitutions and complex lexico-semantic transformations.

*Keywords:* political media discourse, news text, translation transformations, substitutions

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## ПЕРЕВОДЧЕСКИЕ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИИ В НОВОСТНОМ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОМ ДИСКУРСЕ

В статье представлен результат сравнительного анализа переводческих трансформаций в новостных текстах политического характера из англоязычных СМИ и их переводов. Обозначены теоретические вопросы, связанные с интерпретацией медиадискурса, новостного дискурса, новостного политического дискурса. Текст обозначен как важная составляющая газетного дискурса. В статье также представлены структурные и языковые особенности новостного текста, описаны распространенные виды трансформаций перевода новостных текстов политического характера, приведены примеры. В результате сравнительного анализа переводческих трансформаций установлено, что наиболее распространенными приемам перевода являются: транскрипция и транслитерация, грамматические замены, лексико-семантические замены и комплексные лексико-семантические трансформации.

*Ключевые слова:* медиадискурс, новостной текст, переводческие трансформации, замены

## Introduction

Nowadays the studies in the media discourse sphere are relevant due to the fact that mass media are not just disseminate information, but also influence social conscience as well as shape a certain worldview of society in order to manage and control its activities. News discourse is the most widespread and perceived type of discourse, as it develops public opinions concerning current events including political ones. The political news discourse is a multifaceted formation, a complex sign with communicative, informational and manipulative functions. Although the texts of news discourse are characterized by standardization and stability of the internal structure, due to globalization of the world information space, some elements of colloquial style, emotionally evaluative and expressive vocabulary, and euphemisms are increasingly found in it. All these elements of political news texts while translated from English into Russian require not only understanding, but also new ways to achieve adequacy and equivalence in the translation. A literal translation can lead not only to misunderstanding of the article by readers, but also to their disorientation in the space of current political events.

Translators use various translation models, as well as translation transformations, which aimed at conveying the meaning of the original language text in the target language, however they may change the emotions of the message. The objective of this study is to analyze the translation transformations used in the process of translating English-language political news articles into Russian and to present the result of a comparative analysis of translation transformations in order to identify the most frequent patterns.

The relevance of this study lies in the fact that translation in the field of political media discourse is a very time-consuming process, since it requires translator's comprehensive knowledge and awareness of current political issues. The translators' work may be successful only if they take into account the differences in the worldviews of different languages and cultures representatives, which, in turn, will contribute to improving mutual understanding between countries and peoples. The research material consists of news reports, political articles from English-language media for 2019–2022 and their translations, posted on the InoSMI and Project Syndicate website, containing various examples of translation transformations.

The discursive method, comparative and statistical ones were used in the research process.

The theoretical basis of the research is the works of specialists in the field of discourse theory and media discourse, namely T. Van Dijk,



Arutyunova N.D., Dobrosklonskaya T.G, etc.; authors of political news discourse theories, namely Z.K. Temirgazina and N.A. Goncharova; author the translation theories, namely: L.S. Barkhudarov, V.N. Komissarov, Ya.I. Retsker, A.V. Fedorov.

## Results

First of all, we should consider the concepts of discourse, media discourse, news discourse, news political discourse. Currently, there are different approaches to the concept of discourse in linguistics, and, accordingly, different interpretations of this concept. In this study, the communicative approach is a priority, i. e. discourse is considered as a communicative phenomenon that includes, besides the text itself, extralinguistic factors necessary for its understanding. In other words, the discourse is not limited to the text, it takes into account knowledge of the world of the event participants, ideas about the participants themselves, their opinions, attitudes, time and place of dissemination and perception of information. As N.D. Arutyunova notes, discourse is “speech immersed in life” [Arutyunova, 1998, pp. 136–137].

It is well known that the concept of media discourse is derived from the concept of discourse. First of all, it should be noted that all issues related to the language of the media have been considered within the framework of a relatively new field of linguistics, it is media linguistics which studies the language functioning in the field of mass communication. When considering the concept of media discourse or media discourse within the framework of media linguistics, there is also a variety of approaches. Following Dobrosklonskaya T.G. we adhere to an integrated approach to this concept, in which media discourse is understood as “a functionally conditioned type of discourse, which is a set of speech practices and products of speech activity in the field of mass communication in all the richness and complexity of their interaction” [Dobrosklonskaya, 2016, p.17].

The most important component of the media discourse is the news discourse. It includes texts “functioning in the field of news broadcasting, taken in unity of all linguistic and extralinguistic characteristics associated with their production, distribution and perception” [Dobrosklonskaya, 2016, *ibid.*]. Accordingly, the news political discourse includes political news texts, taking into account their linguistic and extralinguistic specific features including a channel for the dissemination of information, in our case through electronic media, as well as the perception of the information perceived by the readers.

According to N. A. Goncharova, a political news text is a “complex functional and pragmatic substance with communicative, semiotic, informational and instrumental aspects” [Goncharova, 2013, p.102]. The author emphasizes that all texts of political news discourse, both in Russian and in English, have a standard structure with the following parameters: when (the event occurred), what (happened), where (happened), who (participants in the event), quantity (statistical data). If the article is analytical in nature and the event receives its further development in it, then such parameters as causes, development, and prospects are added [Goncharova, 2013, p.103].

As far as the language of political news discourse is concerned, English news texts are characterized by a number of distinctive parameters reproduced in a ready-made form and repeated many times during the analysis of the event. These are a large number of verbal phrases, a wide prevalence of passive forms and constructions, a large number of lexical compounds or complex words, a large number of syntactic compounds that consist of two or three components [Dobrosklonskaya, 2006, pp.25–26]. It is primarily due to the information dissemination channel, namely the Internet. Since this type of broadcast requires journalists to distribute news reports promptly, the news texts are rather clichéd. Besides, traditional techniques such as the use of precedent texts, quotations, and phraseological units are used. At the same time, the political news texts analyzed in the study are characterized by the use of emotional vocabulary, euphemisms, and colloquial vocabulary. Thus, the combination of standard methods of presenting information, along with modern ones, contributes to the implementation of such functions as attracting attention, influencing, and forming of readers’ political worldviews. Russian translation All the features of political news texts mentioned above require adequate and equivalent translation transformations used in accordance with the Russian language system, as well as taking into account the socio-cultural realities of the country.

There are quite a lot of techniques of translation transformations, as well as ways to classify them. In our study, V. N. Komissarov’s classification of translation transformations is used to analyze the material. He identifies the following translation transformations: 1. Transcription; 2. Transliteration; 3. Calquing; 4. Lexical and semantic substitutions: a) Concretization; b) Generalization; c) Modulation; 5. Grammatical transformations: a) Syntactic assimilation (literal translation); b) Grammatical substitutions: substitutions of forms of a word, substitutions of parts speech, replacement of sentence members, replacement of sentence type; c) Sentence division; d) Combining sentences; 6. Complex lexical and grammatical transforma-

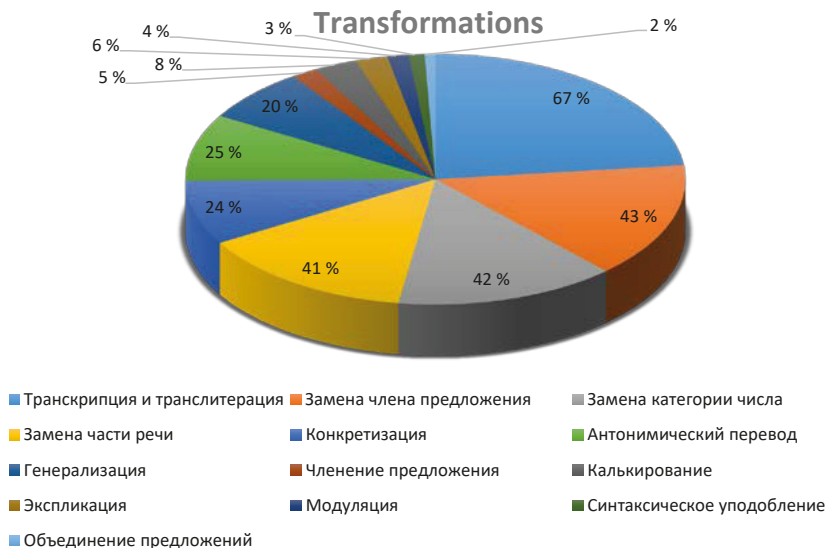


Fig. 1. Transformations

tions: a) Antonymic translation; b) Explication (descriptive translation); c) Compensation; 7. Translation techniques: a) Relocation; b) Addition; c) Omission [Komissarov, 1990, pp. 172–186].

Analysis of the material includes lexical and grammatical transformations, as well as complex lexical and grammatical transformations. Technical transformations are also analyzed, but not taken into account in the calculation.

As the diagram shows, lexical transformations (concretization — 67%, generalization — 20%; modulation — 2%) are most often used when translating political news reports. Transcription and transliteration (24%) are usually used in media news texts when translating proper names, international terms of Greek or Latin origin.

One of the most common techniques are grammatical substitutions, namely the replacement of a sentence member, the category of a noun number, and the replacement of a part of speech.

Here is an example:

“Confirmation of Xi’s third five-year term as leader of the Communist Party of China (CPC) was never in doubt, *nor was his selection of loyalists to surround him at the top in the seven-member Standing Committee of the Politburo*” (Xi’s Conflict-Prone China, 2022).

“Не было сомнений, что Си будет утверждён на третий пяти-летний срок в качестве руководителя Компартии, и *что он окружит*

*себя на вершине власти — в Постоянном комитете Политбюро, состоящем из семи членов, — отборными лоялистами” (Конфликтный Китай Си Цзиньпина, 2022).*

In this example, the translator uses several techniques. First, it replaces the noun “selection” with the adjective “отборные” in the Russian translation, thereby changing the nature of the connection of words in the sentence. Secondly, due to the replacement of the noun, the technique of displacement is used. It should also be noted that this emotional adjective placed at the end of the sentence in translation changes the stylistic coloring of the message. Thirdly, the translator uses the technique of adding “at the top” — “at the top of power” when translating.

Here is one more example:

*“Much of the current battle over climate change reflects a fundamental clash in people’s understanding of the relationship between nature and social and political order” (The G7’s Energy Awakening, 2022).*

*“В значительной мере нынешние острые споры по поводу изменения климата объясняются фундаментальным столкновением того, как люди понимают связь между природой и социально-политическим порядком” (Энергетическое пробуждение “Большой Семерки”, 2022).*

In this example, several techniques are also used. The translator replaces the category of the noun “battle” with the plural “споры”, then replaces the part of speech, i. e. “understanding” with the verb “понимают”, changes the category of the voice to the passive “объясняются”, and also uses the technique of adding “острые споры”.

The next quite frequently used technique in translating political news texts is lexico-semantic substitution, namely concretization, i. e. replacing a word or phrase with a broader meaning in English with a word and a phrase with a narrower meaning in the Russian language, e.g.:

*“The C. C. P. hid the virus from the rest of the world for over a month; prevented virus samples from reaching researchers” (Leaving the WHO..., 2020).*

*“Коммунистическая партия Китая скрывала информацию о вспышке этого заболевания более месяца, мешала ученым получить доступ к образцам вируса” (Разрыв отношений с ВОЗ..., 2020).*

The word “virus” is used to refer to both the causative agent of the disease itself and the disease caused by this virus. When translating this word into Russian, the translator contextually specified it, specifying the stage of the spread of the disease, namely its “вспышку”.

The method of generalization is opposite to concretization. This method implies replacing the particular with the general, replacing the concept in English with a broader concept in Russian, e. g.:

“Many *presidential scholars*, including the late R. Gordon Hoxie (who served as president of the Center for the Study of the Presidency for more than two decades) believe that Khrushchev’s bold move to install nuclear missiles in Cuba a year later stemmed from ...” (China’s Warning..., 2022).

“Многие историки, включая покойного Гордона Хокси (R. Gordon Hoxie), который был руководителем Центра изучения президентства на протяжении двух десятилетий считают, что смелое решение Хрущева развернуть ядерные ракеты на Кубе годом позже стало результатом того, что...” (Предостережение Китая..., 2022).

In this example, “presidential scholars” is translated as “historians”, which is broader in meaning compared to the term of the original. In this context, the translator turns to generalization, since the paragraph of the article is devoted to the assessments of American historians of relations between the USA and the USSR in the 60s, in particular, the opinion of historian Michael Beschloss is mentioned — “historian Michael Beschloss notes”. In this regard, the translator decides not to deviate from the historical theme and uses the term “историки”.

An interesting and no less common method of political news texts translating is a complex lexical and grammatical transformation, namely antonymic translation. This technique involves replacing the affirmative form in the original text with the negative form in the translation one or vice versa, e. g.:

“The United States, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates, three of the world’s great energy producers, along with our friends and allies, are committed to ensuring that *global oil markets remain adequately supplied*” (Statement by the Press Secretary, 2019).

“США, Саудовская Аравия и Объединенные Арабские Эмираты — три крупных нефтедобывающих страны — вместе с нашими друзьями и союзниками готовы гарантировать, что на глобальных нефтяных рынках не возникнет дефицита поставок” (The Diplomat (США)..., 2019).

In this example, the translator uses the technique of antonymic transformation for the phrase “remain adequately supplied” replacing it with “на глобальных рынках не возникнет дефицита поставок”.

Besides, conducting the analysis we registered such a technique as calquing, i. e. the translation of the lexical unit of the original by replacing its component parts with their lexical correspondences in the Russian

language. It is used in the translation of compound proper names, neologisms, some idioms, metaphors, and terms, e.g.:

“The United Kingdom’s *green agenda* nominally remains in place with no new gasoline- or diesel-powered cars to be licensed from 2030...” (The State..., 2022).

“Зеленая повестка Соединенного Королевства номинально остается в силе, поскольку с 2030 года не будут лицензироваться новые автомобили с бензиновым или дизельным двигателем...” (Государство..., 2022).

In this example, the phrase “green agenda” is translated into Russian by its lexical correspondence “зеленая повестка”, which means in both languages a discussion of environmental issues and, given the general context of communication, energy supplies and energy consumption.

Thus, being an integral part of the news discourse, the text assumes situational and socio-cultural context, as well as the background knowledge and worldviews of the participants of the event, their attitudes, time, place and channel of dissemination and perception of the information. In order to translate this text, to make it adequate and equivalent to the original, the translator needs to transform it with the structures of the translation language, taking into account the extralinguistic characteristics transmitted by the units of the language that the news discourse contains. Adequate translation, i. e. equivalent to the original, is achieved through lexical, grammatical, lexico-semantic and stylistic substitutions. As a result of a comparative analysis of translation transformations in political news articles from English-language media and their translations into Russian, it is revealed that translators most often use such translation techniques as transcription and transliteration, grammatical substitutions (category of number, part of speech, sentence member), lexico-semantic substitutions (concretion, typification, generalization), and complex lexical and semantic transformations (antonymic translation). As a rule, all the transformations listed above are accompanied by technical techniques (moving, adding, omitting). The choice of the appropriate replacement in translation is determined by the context and the communicative situation itself. To summarize, it should be noted that using various kinds of transformations, the translator strives to adapt the source text not only to the norms of the Russian language, but also to socio-cultural norms.

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## UNIVERSITY MEDIA SPACE AS A MEANS OF AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA

University media discourse can be a powerful tool for agitation and propaganda, as it has the ability to disseminate information on a large scale. This study aims to examine the linguistic features of university media content, specifically in relation to concepts, values, and their transmission in modern digital society. The article analyses the content of social networks used by Chelyabinsk State University to identify the pragmatic potential of linguistic units that act as means of agitation and propaganda. The analysis focusses on both thematic and linguo-pragmatic aspects. The VKontakte group and the Chelyabinsk State University Telegram channel provide news on the latest scientific achievements, cultural events, sports victories, and other important events at the university. The focus is on education, skill development, professional competence, value formation among students, and the development of their civic position. The ChelSU Media Centre facilitates the exchange of opinions and feedback between the university administration and students. This contributes to the creation of an open and trusting atmosphere at the university, allowing students to feel heard. This approach forms the basis for a positive attitude towards the university and its activities among students and the general public. The use of linguistic (lexical, grammatical, and stylistic) means, as well as communicative strategies, is employed in university media discourse to influence the audience and persuade them to adopt a particular idea or action. The study findings suggest that the discourse of university media is a powerful tool for the influence of information by means of agitation and propaganda, capable of significantly shaping the worldview of the younger generation.

*Keywords:* university media discourse, university media space, pragmalinguistic means of agitation, pragmalinguistic means of propaganda, ChelSU VKontakte group, ChelSU Telegram channel

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## МЕДИАПРОСТРАНСТВО ВУЗА КАК СРЕДСТВО АГИТАЦИИ И ПРОПАГАНДЫ

Университетский медиадискурс является продуктивным средством агитации и пропаганды, поскольку соответствует всем критериям источника массового распространения информации. Необходимость изучения языковых особенностей медиаконтента вуза, содержащего информацию о понятиях, ценностях и ценностных отношениях в современном цифровом обществе и способах ее передачи, составляет актуальность дан-



ного исследования. В статье представлен анализ контента университетских социальных сетей с целью выявления прагматического потенциала языковых единиц, которые выступают средствами агитации и пропаганды. Особое внимание уделяется тематическому и лингвопрагматическому анализу социальных сетей Челябинского государственного университета. В группе ВКонтакте и Телеграм-канале ЧелГУ представлены новости о последних научных достижениях, культурных мероприятиях, спортивных победах и других важных событиях, которые происходят в университете. Большое внимание уделяется важности образования, развитию навыков и профессиональных компетенций, а также формированию ценностных ориентиров у студентов и развитию их гражданской позиции. Медиапространство ЧелГУ предоставляет возможность для обмена мнениями и обратной связи между администрацией вуза и студентами, что способствует созданию открытой и доверительной атмосферы в университете, а также позволяет студентам чувствовать себя услышанными. Подобный подход выступает основой формирования положительного отношения к университету и его деятельности как у студентов, так и у широкой общественности. Прагмалингвистические средства агитации и пропаганды, употребляемые в университетском медиадискурсе, включают использование языковых (лексических, грамматических, стилистических) средств и коммуникативных стратегий воздействия на аудиторию с целью убеждения в определенной идее или действии. Результаты исследования свидетельствуют о том, что университетский медиадискурс выступает мощным механизмом информационного воздействия посредством агитации и пропаганды и способен оказывать значительное влияние на мировосприятие молодого поколения.

*Ключевые слова:* университетский медиадискурс, медиапространство вуза, прагмалингвистические средства агитации, прагмалингвистические средства пропаганды, группа ВКонтакте ЧелГУ, Телеграм-канал ЧелГУ

## Introduction

University media discourse provides information to university teachers and students, applicants and their parents, as well as the general public interested in higher education [Kirillova, 2010]. It serves as an effective means of communication, possessing all the necessary criteria of a source of mass dissemination of information. It is important to study the linguistic features of university media content as it is an integral part of a modern university's information policy. Chelyabinsk State University is a prime example of successful use of university media space to form a positive image of the institution. ChelSU's social media presence, including its VKontakte group and Telegram channel, provides updates on scientific achievements, conferences, cultural events, and sports victories, as well as other

significant events happening at the university. The materials emphasize the importance of education, skill development, and professional competences, as well as active participation in public life, which contribute to the formation of students' values and civic positions. ChelSU's media space provides a platform for dialogue and feedback between the university administration and students. The university's social networks offer students the chance to ask questions, express their opinions and suggestions, and receive responses from the administration. This approach helps to foster an open and trusting atmosphere within the university, enabling students to feel valued and heard. It also cultivates a positive attitude towards the university and its activities among students and the wider community. The analysis of linguistic means of agitation and propaganda enables the identification of methods for shaping public opinion and creating a specific atmosphere. This is achieved through the study of lexical, grammatical, and stylistic elements, as well as communicative strategies that influence the audience to adopt a particular idea or take action.

## Methods and materials

The university media space plays “an important role in shaping students' worldview” [Dunas, 2020, p. 2]. University media discourse is a set of all media resources used by the university to communicate with students and the outside world — the official website of the university, social networks, e-mails, printed publications, etc. This article examines the media presence of Chelyabinsk State University, focusing on the official VKontakte group (<https://vk.com/csu76>) and Telegram channel (<http://t.me/csu76>).

The study employs scientific methods, including the mediallyinguistic method, the method of content analysis, and the method of pragmalinguistic analysis. The mediallyinguistic method identifies the peculiarities of interaction between verbal and non-verbal (media) series. The method of content analysis transforms information of media spaces into quantitative indicators based on statistical counting of verbal and non-verbal text units. The method of pragmalinguistic analysis helps establish the communicative intention of the media text author.

Statistical counting is used to identify a list of relevant topics, followed by keyword analysis of articles on the same topic. Hash tags are used to search and group messages by topic. The most relevant topics in the media space of Chelyabinsk State University are represented by the following hash tags: #ChelSU, #ChelSU Rector, #SergeyTaskaev, #ChelSU Science, #ChelSUSports, #Rosmolodezh.

## Results

One of the primary objectives of the university's media space is to cultivate a favorable image of the institution. Chelyabinsk State University utilizes its media resources to positively influence the students, encouraging them to take pride in their university and fostering their creativity. Simultaneously, the university aims to attract students' attention and motivate them to participate in various university activities through targeted promotion. In the traditional sense, "agitation (or agitatio, meaning inducement to action) involves interpersonal or intragroup communication" [Bresler, Galiullina, 2020, p. 66]. Propaganda is a systematic and organized effort to influence the mass consciousness of students in order to shape specific views, beliefs, and perceptions.

Campaigning fulfills the following functions within the media space of the university:

1. Informing students about important changes in the academic process, rules and regulations of the university.
2. Providing a link between students and university administration to resolve issues and concerns related to student life.
3. Promotion of study programs, scientific achievements and projects of students.
4. Supporting cultural life and organizing student events.
5. Dissemination of moral and ethical values, formation of civic position.
6. Drawing attention to the problems of society and their solution, formation of social activity.
7. Creating an atmosphere of debate and discussion, encouraging students to be active and express themselves.

The functions of campaigning are evident in the material presented on the ChelSU official VKontakte page. The profile header contains the following information about the university:

*Chelyabinsk State University  
The first university in the South Urals  
Welcome to the ChelSU atmosphere!  
It's customary:  
Be inspired by successes.  
Listening to the experts.  
Discuss constructively.  
Feeling and thinking.*

Pragmalinguistic analysis allows us to establish:

1. Context and purpose: The purpose of this welcome message to the visitors of the university VKontakte page is to attract attention and create a positive impression of ChelSU.
2. Lexical and stylistic design: vocabulary is accessible to a wide audience, emphasizing positive aspects and values. The phrase “The first university in the South Urals” establishes the identity of the university and emphasizes that ChelSU is the first university in the region. It creates an image of a university with a rich history and traditions, evokes associations with high quality education, prestige and leadership, and attracts the attention of potential students and the academic community.
3. Mentioning values: “The university’s activities are described through a list of verbs that reflect its cultural values” [Pitina, 2016, p. 58]. The phrases “be inspired by successes”, “listen to experts”, “discuss constructively”, and “feel and think” highlight the significance of active participation in the educational process, promoting critical thinking and personal growth.
4. Creating an atmosphere: this text creates an atmosphere of friendliness and openness. The exclamatory sentence “Welcome to the atmosphere of ChelSU!” invites visitors of the VKontakte group to feel part of the community and immerse themselves in the unique atmosphere of the university.

Pragmalinguistic campaigning involves using communicative strategies to influence the audience [Formanovskaya, 2007]. The strategy of persuasion is one of the most common methods of agitation, which involves using authoritative sources, statistics, or third-party studies to confirm statements and convince the audience of the validity of the expressed position. Consider a post in the VKontakte group dedicated to the environmental condition of the Miass River. The main building of ChelSU is located on the embankment of the river (refer to Fig. 1).

This post comprises two affirmative sentences, hash tags, and expert comments. The comments are presented as cards that include a photo of the expert against the symbol of Chelyabinsk State University, the expert’s name, surname, and position, and an attributed quote that clarifies the post’s topic. The first sentence contains a link to the account of A. L. Teksler, the governor of the Chelyabinsk region, and his indirect quote that emphasizes the importance of cleaning up the Miass River. Mentioning Alexei Teksler’s name adds authority to the statement and may increase audience trust and interest. The second sentence refers to the Department of Ecology page on ChelSU’s website and notes the university’s scientific research on the river’s condition. This sentence highlights the significance

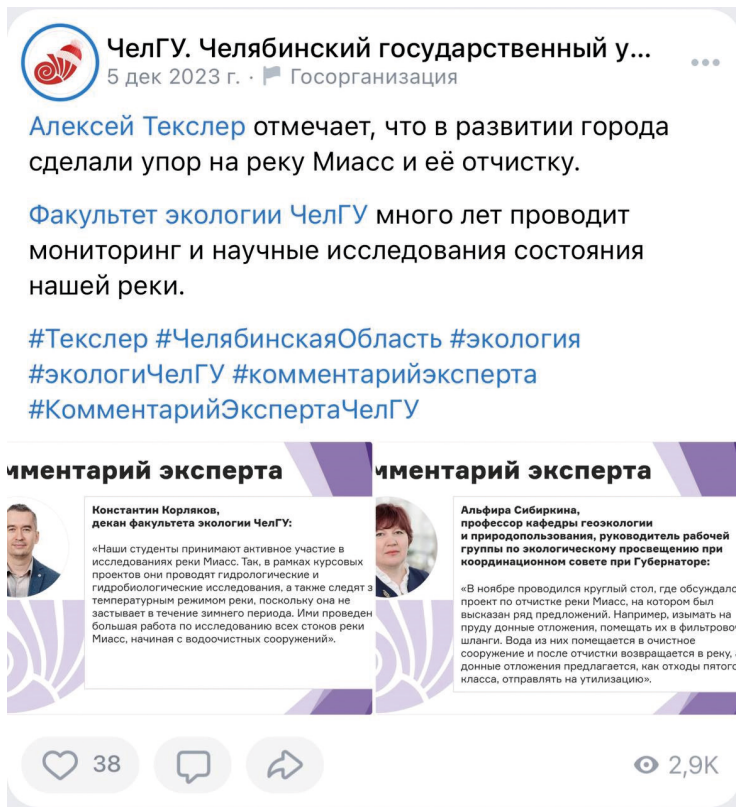


Fig. 1. Post in Chelyabinsk State University VK with experts' comments

of environmental issues and showcases the efforts of the Department of Ecology at ChelSU in addressing and studying these problems in the region. The purpose is to establish credibility and generate interest in the research and expertise of the ChelSU Department of Ecology. The inclusion of hash tags, such as #Texler, #Chelyabinsk Oblast, #ecology, #ecologyChelSU, #expert commentary, and #ChelSU Expert Commentary, can help to draw the attention of individuals interested in the topic and facilitate the discovery of the message on social media. Thus, citing authoritative sources implements a campaigning strategy of persuasion by highlighting the city's issues and promoting scientific achievements. This creates an emotional attachment and interest in the audience.

The use of pragmalinguistic techniques to agitate includes rhetorical questions that aim to strengthen the argument or cast doubt on the opponent's position. The ChelSU Telegram channel employs rhetorical ques-

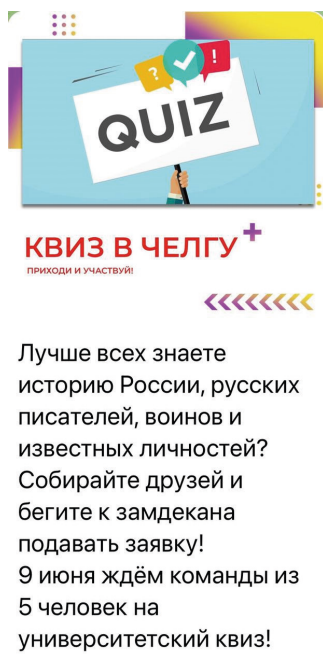
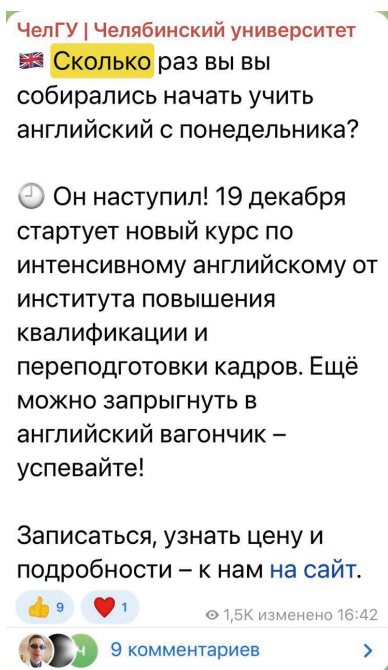


Fig. 2. Rhetorical questions in ChelSU Telegram channel

tions to perform various campaigning functions, including popularizing educational programs (e.g. “How many times were you going to learn English from Monday?”), supporting cultural life, and organizing student events (e.g. “Do you know the history of Russia, Russian writers, soldiers, and famous personalities?”) (refer to Fig. 2). These questions are used to engage the audience and encourage participation.

The VKontakte group of ChelSU serves not only as an informative platform but also as a means of communication through comments and likes. Students can ask questions, express their opinions and suggestions, and receive answers from the university administration under each post. The activity in Fig. 2 shows 10 likes and 9 comments. This fosters a friendly and supportive atmosphere, allowing students to feel heard and forming a trusting attitude towards the university and its activities.

The use of emotionally charged vocabulary can elicit an emotional response from the audience and influence the younger generation’s beliefs and actions. In a post on the ChelSU Telegram channel, adjectives such as “warm”, “sandy”, and “bright” are used to create a positive image associated with pleasant memories of the beach. However, the use of antithesis,

ЧелГУ | Челябинский университет

Идти по теплому песочному  
бережку под ярким  
сентябрьским солнцем и не  
запинаться о  
разнокалиберный мусор...  
Звучит круто, правда?

Ты можешь в этом помочь!

Если тебя заботит экология  
Челябинска, ждем 3  
сентября в 10.00 у плотины  
«Коммунар». Будем вместе  
поддерживать чистоту на  
пляже!

[https://vk.com/  
wall-58022838\\_4542](https://vk.com/wall-58022838_4542)

VK

Управление воспитательной  
работы ЧелГУ

Привет, дорогой студент!

Fig. 3. Use of emotional language in the ChelSU Telegram channel



ЧелГУ. Челябинский государственный универ...  
30 ноя 2023 г. · Госорганизация

Сборная команда ЧелГУ признана лидером соревнований по компьютерному спорту, которые были организованы в рамках Универсиады образовательных организаций высшего образования Челябинской области 2023-2024 учебного года. Наши студенты оказались лучшими в дисциплине «Тактический трёхмерный бой», вид программы – Counter-Strike 2.

Вот наши герои:

Евгений Зайцев, капитан команды, **экономический факультет**,

Александр Римашевский, **факультет лингвистики и перевода**,

Григорий Праздничных, **институт информационных технологий**,

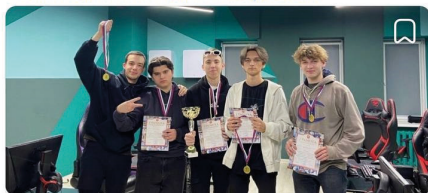
Данил Шакиров, **математический факультет**,

Никита Шишляников, **математический факультет**.

#ЧелГУ #спортЧелГУ #киберспортЧелГУ

#киберспорт #CounterStrike #экономЧелГУ

#ФЛиПЧелГУ #ИИТЧелГУ #матфакЧелГУ



Новости - Сборная ЧелГУ стала Чемпионом  
областной Универсиады...

Fig. 4. Personalization in Chelyabinsk State University VK

such as “warm shore — multi-calibre rubbish”, can be seen as manipulative. Personal address “You can help!” and the invitation to join the beach clean-up campaign highlight the role of individuals in preserving the environment and promote a sense of responsibility. Action verbs such as “go”, “hesitate”, “wait”, “support”, and “help” encourage active participation and involvement from the audience. The imperative sentence “Keep the beach clean together!” emphasizes the importance of the action and motivates the audience. This helps to create an emotional attachment to the cause (refer to Fig. 3).

Personalization can be an effective means of campaigning. The use of personal experience, success stories or examples from life can convince the audience of the correctness of the position expressed. In this case, a post from the ChelSU VKontakte group dedicated to the victory of the ChelSU team in a computer sport competition is used as an example (refer to Fig. 4).

Popularizing students' achievements and encouraging activity in extracurricular activities helps to attract the attention of potential applicants. Mentioning the recognition of the ChelSU team as the leader of the competition helps to establish the university's identity as a leading institution in the field of computer sports, which may attract potential applicants. The competition's organization as part of the Universiade of Higher Education Organizations of the Chelyabinsk Region 2023–2024 academic year highlights the event's importance and relevance. This can attract the attention of potential applicants, students, and computer sports specialists alike. Using hash tags such as #ChelSU, #sportsChelSU, #cybersportsChelSU, #cybersports, #CounterStrike, #economicsChelSU, #FLiChelSU, #IITChelSU, #matfacChelSU can attract the attention of the audience interested in the topic and make it easier to find the message on social networks. Emotional attachment is created by listing the names of heroes — representatives of different faculties — and using a non-verbal component, such as a photo of the winners. The unification of representatives from various faculties in the pursuit of university victory is a source of pride and admiration. Establishing an identity, creating an emotional connection, indicating significance and relevance, as well as using hash tags and non-verbal components help to attract attention and arouse interest in the audience.

The functions of propaganda are distinct from those of campaigning that aims at attracting the attention of the younger generation and motivating them to participate in various university activities:

1. Identity building: Outreach initiatives contribute to the development of a cohesive university image and promote a sense of community among students.
2. Promotion of the university: advocacy can help to maintain the image of the university, attract new students, and present the benefits of studying at the institution.
3. Dissemination of values and ideals: propaganda in university media discourse can serve as a means of disseminating and promoting certain values and ideals held by the university.
4. Supporting research work: outreach helps popularize the research conducted by the university and ensures that the results of this research are disseminated.
5. Attracting public attention: advocacy in university media discourse can draw public attention to university-related activities and events and help build long-term partnerships and relationships.

Consider a post promoting scientific research conducted at Chelyabinsk State University (refer to Fig. 5).



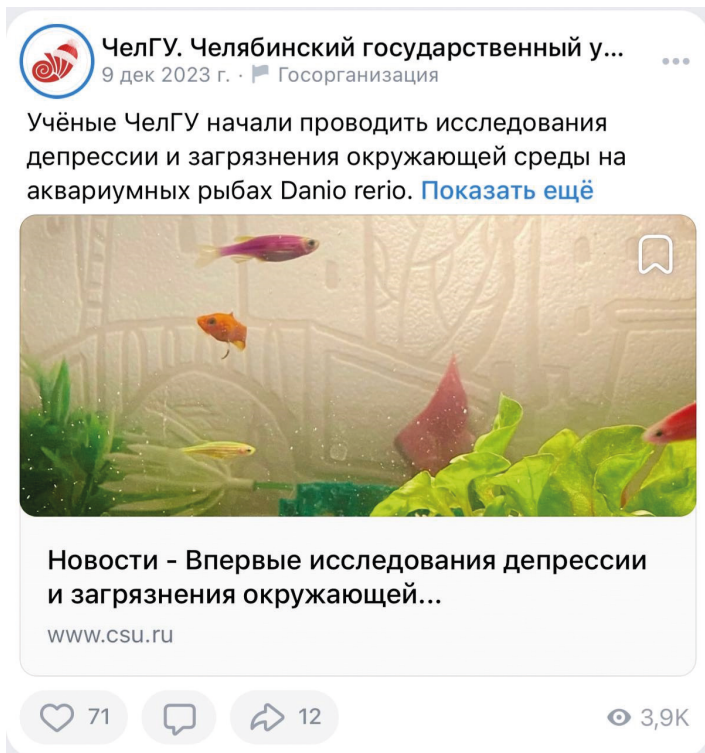


Fig. 5. Propaganda of research work in the Chelyabinsk State University VK

Pragmalinguistic analysis of a propaganda text discussing the research of ChelSU scientists on depression and environmental pollution in the aquarium fish *Danio rerio* establishes the university as a leading scientific center. This generates trust and interest among a wide audience. The relevance of the environmental research conducted attracts the attention of specialists in the field of ecology and medicine. The project's interdisciplinary nature, carried out by teams from ChelSU's Faculty of Fundamental Medicine and Department of Ecology, enhances the university's reputation and appeals to prospective applicants with an interest in fields such as biomedicine and neuropsychology. Emphasizing the significance of the research for the Chelyabinsk region, this biological model is being applied for the first time in the area. This can serve as a basis for creating long-term partnerships and links with environmental and medical organizations in Chelyabinsk. The promotion of scientific research conducted at Chelyabinsk State University helps to maintain the university's image, attract new students, and draw public attention to its activities.



Почему вузы вынуждены не отчислять двоечников, как ЕГЭ ухудшает качество подготовки абитуриентов и что делается в Челябинской области для преодоления кризиса в системе высшего образования? Эти и другие вопросы и ответы на них – в [авторской колонке нашего ректора Сергея Таскаева на сайте «Полит74»](#).

🕒 927 12:37

Fig. 6. Propaganda of positive image of the university in Chelyabinsk State University VK

Propaganda can also be employed through emotional manipulation and offering alternative options. During the admission campaign, universities actively compete for the attention of applicants and use various techniques to attract the attention of applicants and their parents in the media space (refer to Fig. 6).

S. V. Taskaev, the Rector of Chelyabinsk State University, promotes a positive image of the university by drawing attention to problems in the system of higher education and presenting the author's column as an answer to these problems. The post begins with a series of provocative questions, including “Why are universities not allowed to expel high achievers?”, “How does the USE worsen the quality of entrants’ training?”, and “What is being done in the Chelyabinsk region to overcome the crisis in the higher education system?”. These questions aim to engage the audience and highlight the significance of the content. The audience can be divided into two groups: those who support the USE (Unified State Exam)

and those who are against it. The alternative perspective aims to portray a progressive university that meets modern challenges. The post includes a non-verbal element in the form of a photo of the Rector of ChelSU. The photo depicts the Rector with an unperturbed expression, confidently defending his position. The purpose of the photo is to emphasize the firmness of the Rector's opinion and his readiness to defend the interests of the university. The link to the author's column on the Polit74 website can attract a wide audience, facilitate access to information, establish the identity of the university, and create trust in the material presented.

The university media space as a means of agitation and propaganda is characterized by the following features:

1. Purpose: The main purpose of campaigning is to elicit an emotional response or to gain support for a particular idea or action among a student audience. Campaigning seeks to influence the emotions and feelings of young people to elicit a positive reaction to a proposed idea. Propaganda has a broader purpose — to form a certain worldview or belief, to change public opinion and to create a positive attitude towards the university.

2. Conscientiousness: Campaigning is usually done openly and explicitly. Propaganda, on the other hand, may be covert and use various manipulation techniques to persuade the audience. Propaganda authors often use linguistic devices such as questioning and impersonal constructions, making it difficult to determine what exactly constitutes propaganda.

3. Methods: Campaigning often uses emotional impact and persuasive arguments based on the personality and emotional needs of the audience. Campaign speeches and texts use epithets, metaphors and figurative expressions. Propaganda more often uses conscious mechanisms of manipulation and control, such as one-sided information, hidden and ideologically coloured messages.

4. Audience: Campaign speeches and texts appeal to a wide university audience. The aim of campaigning is to persuade as many people as possible quickly and effectively. Propaganda can be more targeted and directed at specific groups of people. Propaganda texts may use specialized terminology.

5. Social influence: Campaigning is usually limited to a time or event and its impact can be short-term. In contrast to campaigning, propaganda focuses on long-term impact and seeks to convince an audience of a particular idea or establish certain values and beliefs. Propaganda uses various methods and techniques such as repetition, manipulation of information, emotional appeal and image-making in order to shape and reinforce certain attitudes and beliefs in the audience.

In general, pragmalinguistic means of agitation and propaganda are used to create the effect of persuasion and enthusiasm of the audience, emphasizing attention, emotional presentation of information and establishing contact with the audience to create a positive image of the university.

## Discussion

Agitation and propaganda within university media focus on fostering students' connection to the institution, creating opportunities for emotional engagement with university life, and cultivating a positive image of the university. The effectiveness of propaganda and agitation techniques may vary depending on the communication goals, context, and audience.

The media space of ChelSU is an effective tool for influencing the younger generation through agitation and propaganda. ChelSU's social media platforms aim to foster students' interest in education and enhance their skills for active participation in public life. This is achieved by promoting values and ideals, creating a positive image of the university, and facilitating dialogue and feedback. It is crucial to note that the university bears the responsibility of ensuring the accuracy and objectivity of the information presented. In addition, it is crucial to develop students' skills in critically evaluating the information they receive.

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## ETHNIC TRANSLATION AS A NEW DIRECTION OF ETHNO-CULTURAL ACTIVITY: TASKS AND CHALLENGES

The growing interest in regional topics determines the emergence of new directions in the study of indigenous languages and cultures in today's multicultural and multilingual world. The object of this study is the changes taking place within the paradigms of Translation Studies which reflect the recent turns in humanities. The main prerequisites and theoretical bases for distinguishing ethnic translation as a separate type of translation activity have been pointed out and a preliminary classification of actors capable of performing ethnic translation is proposed. In the context of the required competencies, a number of specific categories of ethnic translators are considered. The main units of ethnic translation include the cultural information and memory represented in ethnic texts. Special attention is paid to the languages of indigenous small-numbered ethnic groups of modern Siberia, which received written form in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Ethnic translation faces social, research, educational, and cultural tasks, and it can serve as an effective tool for forming and preserving cultural identity. Ethnic translation acts as a vital tool for the preservation and revitalisation of endangered indigenous languages. The descriptive and prescriptive approaches to the material under study, as well as the accumulated experience of translating Siberian ethnic texts into Russian and foreign languages, dictate the need to create a separate section of Translation Studies, Ethnic Translation Studies, which necessitates its inclusion in the educational programmes of translator training and retraining.

*Keywords:* indigenous small-numbered peoples, Siberia, ethnic text, cultural code, ethnic translator types, natural bilingualism, linguistic and cultural mediation

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### ЭТНОПЕРЕВОД КАК НЕОНАПРАВЛЕНИЕ ЭТНОКУЛЬТУРНОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ: ЗАДАЧИ И ВЫЗОВЫ

Растущий интерес к региональной тематике определяет появление новых направлений в изучении языков и культур коренных народов современного мультикультурного и полилингвального мира. Объектом данного исследования стали изменения, происходящие в парадигмах переводоведения и являющиеся отражением наблюдаемых в гуманитарии-

стике поворотов. Указываются основные предпосылки и теоретические основы выделения этноперевода в отдельный вид переводческой деятельности и предлагается предварительная классификация субъектов, способных выполнять этноперевод. В контексте требуемых компетенций рассматривается ряд категорий этнопереводчиков. К основным единицам этноперевода отнесены культурная информация и память, представленные в этнотекстах. Отдельное внимание уделено языкам коренных малочисленных этносов современной Сибири, получившим письменную форму в XIX–XX веках. Перед этнопереводом стоят социальные, исследовательские, образовательные и культурные задачи, а также он может служить эффективным инструментом формирования и сохранения культурной идентичности. Этноперевод демонстрирует герменевтическую природу, что сближает его с «филологическим» переводом. Этноперевод также является важным инструментом сохранения и ревитализации языков коренных народов, находящихся под угрозой исчезновения. Дескриптивный и прескриптивный подходы к исследуемому материалу, а также накопленный опыт перевода на русский и иностранные языки сибирских этнотекстов, диктует необходимость создания отдельного раздела переводоведения — этнопереводоведения, что диктует необходимость его включения в образовательные программы подготовки и переподготовки переводчиков.

*Ключевые слова:* коренные малочисленные народы, Сибирь, этнотекст, культурный код, типы этнопереводчика, естественный билингвизм, языковое и культурное посредничество

## Introduction

Ethnic translation, which has recently become increasingly relevant and of great interest to researchers from various fields of humanities, is closely related to all aspects of indigenous languages in the cultural spaces of the world, and the extent to which they have been studied varies in different scientific paradigms. Despite the traditionally recognised unresolved problems associated with the cover of indigenous languages in the various fields of their speakers' activities (everyday use, cultural, educational and scientific), indigenous languages continue to be used to varying degrees as a means of communication in schools, hospitals, courts, literature and the arts. The most complicated problems are related to the functioning of the languages of small-numbered indigenous peoples. The active use of indigenous languages depends primarily on such indisputably important factors as the number of speakers, existence of state programmes aimed at their preserving, inclusion in programmes at various levels of education, creation of educational literature, fiction, and scientific research. The linguistic diversity of the indigenous peoples of Siberia has lately become a

regular study object. One of the questions that researchers are looking for an answer to is whether it is possible to translate ethno-cultural content into another language.

## **Research methods and materials**

the methodological basis of the study consists of the works of Russian and foreign scholars devoted to the problems of socio-cultural dynamics, ethnology and various fields of ethnic sciences, as well as literary studies, folklore studies, epic studies, discourse theory and evidently Translation Studies. The interpretation of the material was based on a hermeneutic approach. The study analyses the experience of translating ethnic texts of indigenous cultures in the Siberian region, which determined the main research methods — descriptive and prescriptive ones, as well as the method of observation and scientific literature review.

## **Discussion**

### *In Search of Ethnic Translators*

At present, it is certainly too early to distinguish ethnic translation as a separate and definitively formed area of professional activity, and an ethnic translator as an independent profession. For instance, in the Professional standard “Specialist in the field of translation” (04.015), the validity of which is approved by the Ministry of Labour of the Russian Federation for the period from 2021 to 2027, ethnic translation is not explicated in the functional map of professional activities [Professional standards]. Though it should be noted that when describing labour functions for the types of translation listed in these blocks, the sections “Required Knowledge” include the languages of the indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation and (or) languages of small nations along with native and foreign languages, which are traditionally enlisted in the descriptions of translation activities. Since this paper focuses primarily on the languages of small-numbered indigenous peoples of Siberia in the context of ethnic translation, the inclusion of such languages in the professional standard should be recognised as an indisputable progress in the official recognition of this area of translation activity.

The history of ethnic texts translation in Russia allows us to identify the following presumable categories of actors who traditionally perform ethnic translation activities:

- (1) a professional translator who knows an indigenous language of a particular ethnos<sup>1</sup> (a person with natural or acquired bilingualism), who has undergone special training in translation technologies in the field of his/her ethnic language or an ethnic language he/she has mastered as part of an educational programme of professional training or in a self-study way;
- (2) a professional translator who knows an ethnic language (a person with natural or acquired bilingualism) but has no special translation training in the field of his/her ethnic language or an ethnic language he/she has mastered within the framework of a professional training educational programme or in a self-study way;
- (3) a professional translator who does not know an ethnic language, but who co-operates with a native speaker of a given ethnic language (a natural bilingual, researcher, writer, journalist, etc.);
- (4) a scholar who refers to ethnic texts in his/her research, but who does not know an ethnic language and who resorts in his/her research to the help of natural bilinguals/polylinguals being members of a particular ethnos;
- (5) a scholar who turns to ethnic texts in his/her research, who does not speak a given ethnic linguistic language, but who has basic translation competencies developed for the language(s) presented in the framework of the educational programme he/she has mastered (educational bilingualism) or in a self-study way;
- (6) a scholar who has mastered a given ethnic language independently in the course of his/her research activities or as part of an educational programme and who creates translations of ethnic texts independently or together with native speakers of an ethnic language with natural bilinguals/polylinguals;
- (7) a specialist who knows the language of a given ethnos at the level of a mother tongue and uses it as a bilingual or polylingual, as well as one who has mastered the ethnic language in educational institutions of various levels or in a self-study way, and who works at various levels of education in institutions where the ethnic language is taught or members of the ethnos are educated;
- (8) a representative of a given ethnos interested in their own language and culture, who speaks their ethnic language (a subject with natural bilingualism) and actively uses it.

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<sup>1</sup> Later on, the term “ethnic language” will be used.



### *Ethnic Translators and Their Competences*

The categories of potential ethnic translators reveal clear differences in the set of competencies that enable ethnic translation. Let us turn to some of the categories listed above. For example, professional ethnic translators are represented in categories 1–3. The full set of mandatory competencies of a professional ethnic translator consists of competencies of general and ethno-specific translation; general linguistic, ethno-linguistic, and cultural profiles, which complement each other. This set of competencies can be demonstrated in full only by a professional translator from category 1, because he/she is proficient in an ethnic language and has undergone specialised training in translation technologies in the field of that ethnic language. Such an interpreter may acquire the ethnic language by birth (natural bilingualism case) or learn it through training or self-training (acquired bilingualism case). It should be noted, however, that situations when a native speaker receives professional translation education or a professional translator learns an ethnic language are very rare due to the small number of translation programmes involving indigenous languages.

The outstanding Russian ethnographer, ethnoculturalist and linguist V. G. Bogoraz is a vivid example of a scientist who used ethnic translation as a tool for linguistic and cultural description of the material under study. When recording Chukchi and Eskimo texts, the scientist used different algorithms to create secondary texts in the target language, which was conditioned by the level of his mastery of ethnic languages at the stages of his scientific activity, which allows us to consider the scientist as a representative of categories 4 and 6, as evidenced by the researchers of his activity. “The recording and translation of Chukchi texts took place as follows. Under the dictation of his translator and other storytellers he first wrote down a passage of text, ‘then made an approximate translation, subjected each word to a detailed grammatical analysis, clarifying the relationship of words and at the same time honing the translation accuracy’. He worked in this way for a year and a half until he had completely mastered the basics of the Chukchi language. The scientist recorded 48 Chukchi texts using a word-for-word translation, 96 retellings in Russian only and 24 retellings recorded in co-operation with an interpreter” [Osipova, 2021, p. 374]. When recording Eskimo texts Bogoraz “first compiled a Russian phrasebook and then translated it into Eskimo. The Eskimo translator Akankau, who spoke both Chukchi and Russian, helped him in this. Having mastered the Eskimo language, later the scientist immediately wrote down the text dictated to him in Latin transcription, making an interlinear trans-

lation and later processing it literary” [Ibid, p. 374]. Thus, Bogoraz both called on the aid of a bilingual translator, a native speaker of the ethnic language and ethnic culture, and himself acted as an ethnic translator of the recorded and studied ethnic materials.

The abovementioned categories of subjects (1, 2, 7, 8) with natural bilingualism represent an important focus group for the training of potential ethnic translators, since for them translation /mediation is considered an innate ability. Nevertheless, the competencies that a bilingual uses when communicating with members of an “alien” culture will undoubtedly differ from the set of competencies of a professional translator. It is undeniable that a natural bilingual who has no specialised translation training is able to perform “everyday” translation in a number of situations where it is not possible to invite a professional interpreter. A good example of a case in which a natural bilingual can be involved in translation is an emergency situation occurring in the Arctic [Razumovskaya, Bartashova, 2016].

Thus, in the context of the problems under consideration, the training of translators who know the languages of the peoples of Russia/Siberia and are able to provide oral or written translation from ethnic languages into Russian or foreign languages and vice versa becomes relevant. In our study, we are primarily concentrating on the ethnic languages of the small-numbered indigenous peoples of Siberia, which belong to the Tungus-Manchurian, Finno-Ugric, Samoyedic, Turkic, Paleo-Asiatic and Sino-Tibetan language families. These languages are spoken by the indigenous population living in the vast territories: Sakha (Yakutia), Buryatia, Tyva, Khakassia, Altai, Kamchatka, etc. There shall be admitted once again that translators who speak the indigenous languages of the abovementioned regions are very rare on the translation services market. Only a few programmes are known to exist in the following universities: Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia (Institute of the Peoples of the North), Ammosov North-Eastern Federal University (Institute of Languages and Culture of the Peoples of the North-East of the Russian Federation), Buryat State University named after Dorzhi Banzarov (Institute of History and Philology, Higher School of the Buryat Language and Literature) and the Perm State National University (Faculty of Philology).

### *Ethnic Translation Turn in Modern Humanities: What Should Be Done?*

The obvious need for translation personnel with ethnic competencies has determined the ethnic turn in modern Translation Studies and, accordingly, the translation swing in the fields of ethnic sciences in humani-

ties. The scientific and practical conference held in Yakutsk in 2019 addressed the topical issues of the theory, practice and didactics of translation in the sphere of business communication, as well as the problem of translating artistic and folklore texts created in indigenous languages. The conference theme highlighted the fields directly related to the issues of domestic translation and translation of ethnic texts, namely functional stylistics, terminology and lexicography. The conference resulted in the following important conclusion: the training of intra-state translators should occupy a remarkable position in the educational space similar to the traditional training of foreign language translators. A. A. Vasilieva stated that the notion of translation in Translation Studies discourse is predominantly associated with foreign languages, which entails retraining of graduates (both philologists and translators) aimed at forming their ethnic translation competencies [Vasilieva, 2019].

Many other conference reports were devoted to the problems of language interaction in the multinational and multilingual Russia. I. S. Alekseeva dwells on the mediating role of the Russian language in translation process and expresses the opinion that at the moment multilingualism in the Russia is poorly provided with channels of re-expression, i.e., translation. In particular the researcher considers the situation with national literatures (first of all, the literatures of small ethnic groups) and related issues of translation of fiction, noting that “1) national literatures are undercultivated, do not boast sufficient literary tradition or are deprived of nourishment; 2) their life is autonomous, as if in a parallel world, behind ‘the Chinese wall’ of the depleting language (meanwhile it is well known that a language cannot live in isolation); 3) the practice of communication through translation in these cultures is not developed, the traditions of translation are absent in these cultures” [Alexeeva, 2019, p. 9]. Nevertheless, based on the accumulated valuable experience in the implementation of translation projects of ethnic fiction texts, the originals of which were created in the languages of indigenous peoples, and taking advantage of theoretical understanding of the project results, I. S. Alekseeva proposes two interactive models based on translation: the model of supporting the languages of Russia through translation into Russian and the model of foreign-language description of Russian cultures, which, following V. V. Kabakchi, can be defined as an interlinguocultural model [Alexeeva, 2021]. The comprehensive model of support for indigenous languages and cultures “Roots anchor the crown”, the basis of which is translation into Russian, was developed and tested at the Russian Academy of Education by I. S. Alekseeva’s team and can be applied to preserve the languages and cultures of Russia. The model assumes cooperation of translators and au-

thors from the regions and aims to create a stable self-developing system of translation from an indigenous language into Russian; to advance a mechanism for training translation personnel and, as a result, to improve the situation with the languages of the peoples of Russia. The following proposals for a state plan to create a system of ethnic translators training should be recognised as indisputably valuable: providing equal access for all peoples of Russia to information about where and how to learn to translate from/to their languages; developing models of foreign-language description of each culture; creating as much variety as possible of permanent and advanced training places for translators from/to the languages of the peoples of Russia and writers who work with such languages.

The year 2022 was declared the Year of Folk Art and Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Peoples of Russia, which gave an impetus to further research into the languages of the country's indigenous minorities from the perspective of new developments in humanities and the shared world and Russian experience in the study of such languages. One of the aspects of ethno-linguistic studies is translation, which reveals obvious differences from the "classical" translation aspect due to the nature of translation objects, which are ethnic texts, and translation languages. There is no doubt that the actively discussed thesis about the necessity of translation from/to the languages of the peoples of Russia should have the status similar to that of translation from/to foreign languages. But while the situation with translation into foreign languages in Russia is not homogeneous due to the volume of translations from and into multiple foreign languages, which depends on economic, cultural and scientific contacts, as well as on the traditions of translation activity, the situation in the sphere of translation from/to the languages of the peoples of Russia is more complicated and, undoubtedly, unsatisfactory.

We can distinguish a group of languages of the peoples of Russia, which are actively used by a significant number of speakers (and therefore are not in danger of extinction), have an established writing system and literary tradition, and are taught at various levels of education. The Tatar and Yakut languages rightly belong to this group. The second group includes the recently put into writing languages of indigenous minorities, some of which are in evident danger of extinction. But at the same time, it can be said that in the presence of different practical translation experience (the above-mentioned Tatar and Yakut languages are also the "richest" in translation experience, although there are also problems of different nature in their respect: the abandonment of the state programme for the translation of national literature that took place in the USSR; the absence of an established, functioning system and developed educational

standards for the training of professional translators in such languages). Practically all the languages of the peoples of modern Russia (and especially of minorities) have not been considered and described from the position of translation theory, as such a direction has never been the subject of large-scale scientific research [Galimullina et al., 2022].

The critical problems of translation activities as regards the indigenous languages include the tasks of written and oral mediation and translations of folklore and author's texts from ethnic languages into Russian and foreign languages and vice versa. The difficulties faced by the translator in this case are caused by the scarce study of the theoretical basis of translation from/to the languages of the peoples of Russia, the lack of national dictionaries and special linguistic literature, the undeveloped regulatory framework, the lack of a generally accepted literary standard for a number of languages, the presence of dialects, the existence of several variants of the alphabet or the lack of approved orthographic norms for various indigenous languages [Savinov, 2023].

### *Ethnic and Machine Translation*

Nonetheless, in the context of Ethnic Translation Studies, which is only in its infancy, there are already known examples of creating machine translation models and programmes for indigenous languages. At the same time, the created models and programmes also show apparent differences from the practice of creating similar programmes for major languages traditionally used in NLP and machine translation research. The difficulties in creating programmes and models in this case are due to the lack of data on such languages, their linguistic diversity and the insufficient number of available translations. Researchers working on machine translation programmes for indigenous languages define them as low-resource languages and believe that most models and methods developed for high-resource languages do not work for low-resource languages. Yet, perfecting machine translation systems for low-resource languages is an active area of experimental research and is characterised by numerous approaches aimed at improving the performance of machine translation systems. Interesting results were obtained by the developers of machine translation programmes for eleven indigenous languages of Mesoamerica and South America (for translation from Spanish). The bilingual and multilingual models were found to be quite effective for three of the eleven languages [Tonja et al., 2023]. In Canada, where more than 70 indigenous languages are spoken, an ethnic language translation service called “Languages in Motion” has been created [Indigenous Translation Services]. The project is supported by certified bilingual ethnic translators, profes-

sional interpreters who provide services via audio and video conferencing. It is possible to translate via a mobile application, as well as simultaneous interpretation and conference translation.

Russia is also known for developing online translation programmes for indigenous peoples. These activities are in line with the plan of activities to be implemented within the framework of the global Decade of Indigenous Languages (2022–2032). To name a few, in 2021, it was reported about the creation of a model for filling an electronic dictionary-glossary for the languages of 19 indigenous peoples of the Arctic zone (102,000 people), which will become the basis for the creation and filling of an online translator based on the existing voice translator [Experts Create...]. In 2022, Yakutia developed the world's first robotic voice translator platform from Russian to Evenki based on artificial intelligence. The mobile application AYANA based on this platform translates from Russian into Evenki, pronounces words, can have a conversation with the user, as well as show pictures and tell Evenki fairy tales (fairy tales are also presented on the portal for those learning the Evenki language). In the future, it is planned to add pronunciation and accent correction functions. By the end of 2022, 17,454 words in the Evenki-Russian language pair had been uploaded to the mobile application's database. Already in 2023, the project has been scaled up and five translators for the Nenets, Nganasan, Enets, Dolgan and Evenki languages appeared, similar to the above application. The project founder N. Aprosimov believes that since the Evenki language is no longer used for everyday communication and is not passed on to the younger generation of Evenks, in order to preserve and revive the Evenki language it is necessary to digitise the available information on the language and culture of the ethnos, to create conditions for its mobility, accessibility and ease of use. According to the project developers, the mobile application (working online and offline) can be used not only for everyday communication, but also for educational purposes (by teachers in nomadic clan communities and rural schools to improve the quality of education and students' knowledge of the Evenki language and culture). The Yakut project implies a transition from traditional and even conservative methods of language preservation to innovative ones [Five New Translators ...].

### *What is further?*

The historiography of translations of ethnic texts of small indigenous peoples of Siberia (mainly living in the Krasnoyarsk Krai and Yakutia) allowed us to formulate a number of preliminary theoretical positions (prolegomena) of Ethnic Translation Studies [Razumovskaya, 2021a; 2021b],

as well as to outline the directions of creating methodology and didactics of ethnic translation. The theoretical basis of ethnic translation studies is absorbed the ideas proposed earlier. For example, A. Berman's translation views are of great interest from the methodological point of view. The French translation theorist believed that to talk about translation always means to talk about the relationship between "one's own" and "someone else's" [Berman, 1984]. That is why translation becomes not only the creation of a secondary text in which the information of the original is preserved, but also the reflection of the "alien" traces of the original in the translation. And this is why every translation becomes an experience of the foreign, since the researcher's comprehension of translation is made through the notion of the "alien": "Translation, by its very nature, is animated by the desire to reveal the Alien precisely as Alien to its own linguistic space... The ethical, poetic and philosophical aim of translation is to reveal pure novelty in the own language, preserving this apparent novelty. And even, in Goethe's words, to instill in it a new novelty, because the effect of this novelty in their own linguistic atmosphere has already been erased" [Berman, 1999, p.75-76]. In the situation of ethnic translation, one should speak about the traces of "alien" culture contained in the original text and preserved in the translation. Following Berman's ideas about translation as a test by the alien and using the concepts of "far" and "near" anthropology proposed and massively used by sociologists and anthropologists in France [Augè, 1997], let us define ethno-cultural information, containing an ethno-cultural code and packaged in an ethnic text, as culturally "alien", but at the same time "close" (in terms of localisation) information for representatives of other ethnic groups living in Siberia in direct proximity to indigenous ethnic groups. In the context of the concept of "near anthropology", it should be specified that, with regard to the languages of the indigenous ethnic groups of Siberia, ethnic translation in most cases involves the "meeting" of ethnic languages with the Russian language, which then fulfils the role of an intermediary language when translating Siberian ethnic texts into foreign languages. Comprehension of the issues of ethnic text translation along with a large-scale analysis of the existing material may result in the emergence of the theory of ethnic translation, which will be a response to the ethnic fad observed in modern humanities.

Ethnic translation is expanding its traditional applications and penetrating into new areas. An interesting case is the use of ethnic translation to create versions of legal texts in ethnic languages. In Latin America there is a need to translate legal texts from the European languages into the majority of the indigenous languages. Peru's 2011 "Indigenous Lan-

guages Law” was translated from Spanish into the country’s five Indian languages. The translators of the document were indigenous Peruvians with specialised training in translation. Of undeniable importance and value for the development of ethnic translation are the self-reported descriptions of the translators’ discourse and behaviour. In this case, there was favoured an approach based on the perceptions of bilingual translators (located “in-country”) of their role and the rationales behind their translation decisions [De Pedro Recoy et al., 2018]. This application of ethnic translation can be compared to the translation of the Bible into the indigenous languages.

Dolgan ethnic texts and their existence in the contemporary cultural space of Russia and beyond can be a convincing illustration of the cultural possibilities of ethnic translation. The Dolgan language belongs to the Yakut subgroup of the Uigur-Oguz group of Turkic languages of the Altai language community. The language is spoken by the Dolgans, the indigenous inhabitants of the Taimyrsky Dolgano-Nenets Municipal District of the Krasnoyarsk Krai, as well as by a group of aborigines of the Anabarsky National (Dolgano-Evenki) Municipal Ulus of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), who consider themselves Dolgans. Taking into account the region where they live, the Dolgans are thought to be the northernmost Turkic people. The process of formation of the Dolgans as a new ethnos and their ethnic language took place in Taymyr in the course of mutual influence of different groups of Evenks, Yakuts, Russians and their cultures and languages. The consolidation of local groups of northern peoples was facilitated by the same way of life, geographical location, type of northern economy, which eventually influenced the emergence and functioning of the Dolgan language in everyday life and other social spheres [Petrov, Razumovskaya, 2022]. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Dolgan language became the main language of communication between these ethnic groups, but even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century it remains inadequately studied. One of the reasons is the fact that it was only in the late 1970s that the Dolgan alphabet was created on the basis of the Cyrillic alphabet, and in 1984 the first alphabet for Dolgan schools appeared. The founder of Dolgan fiction was E. E. Aksyonova (Ogdo Aksyonova), who created her works in Russian and Dolgan language and used ethnic translation in her works. Aksyonova’s poems were translated into Russian by V. E. Kravets and have been repeatedly republished in various cities of Russia. The complete collection of Ogdo Aksyonova’s works was published by the University of Tokyo (Japan) in three languages: Dolgan, Russian and Japanese. Such trilingualism of texts provides the Dolgans, both those who speak and those who do not speak the Dolgan language, as well as representatives of other



cultures of modern Russia and the whole world, with access to a unique cultural phenomenon, fiction created in a language which has recently been put in writing and which contains cultural information and memory of a small ethnic group living in the far north of Siberia. At the same time, we should make a short digression: when for “alien” ethnic groups ethnic translation becomes a “key” to getting acquainted with and learning about a culture alien to them, for Dolgans who do not speak their native language, Russian translations provide them with access to “their” own culture, being a valuable and necessary material for reflection, actualising their own cultural information and memory, and contributing to the formation and preservation of their cultural identity. Aksyonova’s texts in the Dolgan language and their translations (primarily into Russian), as well as primary and secondary published texts of Dolgan fairy tales and legends, poetic and prose texts of other authors writing in the Dolgan language, are used in the compilation of textbooks, teaching aids, textbooks for Dolgan schools, as well as in classes and events held in folk art and culture institutions in the places where the Dolgans and other peoples of Siberia live. Such ethnic texts are appreciated material for science, education, culture and help maintain cultural identity.

## Conclusion

Recently, there has been seen a noticeable trend that ethnic translation, which emerged in the frontier of modern humanities, is gaining new spheres of application and acquiring the status of a socially significant ethno-cultural activity. As a type of mediation, ethnic translation enables interaction between ethnic groups of Russia and the world, broadcasting cultural information and memory of unique indigenous ethnic groups. At the same time, ethnic translation is also regarded as an effective tool for preserving rare languages and cultures and revitalising endangered and disappearing languages. Ethnic translation is intended to diversify modern Translation Studies by identifying neo-objects of translation and solving new topical problems facing translation, as well as to preserve multilingualism and multiculturalism in the regions of the world and Russia, meanwhile solving scientific, cultural, practical, educational and social problems. While for scientists ethnic translation is an important means for analysing ethnic texts, which are the most important objects of the humanities, and while educators use ethnic translation for didactic and methodological purposes in the educational process, for the representatives of small indigenous ethnic groups ethnic translation is able to actualise cultural information and memory that is meaningful to them, to em-

phaise “their” own cultural information and memory, playing a crucial role in the formation and preservation of cultural identity.

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## ANTIORTHOGRAPHY AS A GAME MODE OF VIRTUAL COMMUNICATION

The article discusses the problem of virtual or digital (electronic) communication, which is a type of natural communication carried out with the help of various technical tools and resources. The development of virtual communication had a significant impact on the modern language functioning, especially in a written form, which is reflected in the emergence of such terms as the language of the Internet, cyberlanguage, network language, computerspeak, usertalk, Cyberdeutsch, Websprache, etc. The purpose of the study is to identify and describe the characteristics of the language of virtual communication, i.e. characterize the phenomenon of antiorthography (cacography) based on a game mode, or the phenomenon of language play. The term "language play" means a conscious deviation in the use of language units from certain language norms and rules in order to create a stylistic, comic, playing effect. As the result of the study, it was found that the phenomenon of antiorthography is based on a deliberate distortion of the word spelling as a conscious act on the part of the communicant so as to add the playing mode to the utterance. Graphic and spelling derivations in RuNet have received various names: novograph, preved-style, orpho-art. Antiorthography as a fact of Internet interpersonal communication was represented by such forms, as the language of kaschenites, the language of padonoks, the olbanskij language, etc. The novelty of this study is based on the hypothesis that antiorthography as a deliberate break of spelling rules is just a game with illiteracy (at least at this stage in the development of network communication). The obtained study results allow us to assume that the phenomenon of antiorthography includes: 1) the use of symbols of other systems in addition to Russian letters as well as characters of different codes, 2) transliteration of Russian texts with the symbols of Latin alphabet, 3) a consistent rejection of the use of iotized letters, 4) violation of punctuation rules, 5) the use of abbreviations, 6) simplification of spelling.

*Keywords:* virtual communication, language play, antiorthography, language norm, errative, discourse

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### АНТИОРФОГРАФИЯ КАК ИГРОВОЙ МОДУС ВИРТУАЛЬНОЙ КОММУНИКАЦИИ

В статье рассматривается проблема виртуальной или цифровой (электронной) коммуникации, которая как вид естественной коммуникации, осуществляется с помощью различных технических инструментов

и ресурсов. Развитие виртуальной коммуникации оказало существенное влияние на функционирование современного языка, особенно в его письменной форме, что отразилось в появлении таких терминов, как *язык Интернета*, *киберязык*, *сетез*, *computerspeak*, *cyberlanguage*, *usertalk*, *Cyberdeutsch*, *Websprache* и т. д. Цель исследования заключается в выявлении и описании характерных особенностей языка виртуальной коммуникации, а именно, в изучении явления антиорфографии (*casography*), как отражении игрового модуса, или явления языковой игры. Под языковой игрой мы понимаем сознательное отклонение в использовании тех или иных языковых единиц от определенных языковых норм и правил с целью создания стилистического, комического, игрового эффекта. В результате исследования было установлено, что явление антиорфографии основано на намеренном искажении в написании слова как результате сознательного действия со стороны коммуниканта для придания сказанному модуса игры. Графико-орфографические деривации в Рунете получили различные наименования: *новограф*, *превед-стайл*, *орфо-арт*. Антиорфография как факт межличностной коммуникации в Интернете представлена такими формами, как язык кашенитов, язык падонков, олбанский язык и др. Новизна подхода данного исследования состоит в том, что на материале исследования можно предположить, что антиорфография это сознательное разрушение правил правописания, или игра в неграмотность (по крайней мере, на данном этапе развития сетевой коммуникации). Полученные результаты позволяют сделать выводы, что явление антиорфографии основывается на: 1) использовании кроме букв русского языка знаков других систем и символов, 2) транслитерации русского текста при помощи латиницы, 3) последовательном отказе от использования йотированных букв и др., 4) нарушении правил пунктуации, 5) использовании сокращений, 6) упрощении правописания.

*Ключевые слова:* электронная коммуникация, антиорфография, норма языка, языковая игра, эрратив, дискурс

## Introduction

Virtual or digital (electronic) communication is a type of natural communication by means of which everyday interpersonal communication is carried out in various forms and genres, using various technical tools and resources.

Virtual communication is the result of the development of social communications, when information in oral (physiological) or written (virtual) forms is translated into an electronic one. The latter differs from a traditional oral or written communication in that the form of its existence is a network text, or the so-called hypertext. Hypertext is the text that operates in an electronic space in conditions of a multiple fragmented

discourse. It exists in a variety of formats such as websites, comments, blogs, messengers, SMS, email, etc.

The development of virtual communication has a significant impact on the modern language functioning, either Russian or other languages, especially in a written form, which is reflected in the emergence of such terms as Internet language, cyberlanguage, network language, computer-speak, cyberlanguage, usertalk, Cyberdeutsch, Websprache, etc. [Ivanov 2003; Litnevskaya 2011; Dedova 2022]. At the same time, the peculiarity of the Internet language is manifested not only in shifting stylistic boundaries, deliberate illiteracy, violation of multiple grammar rules of various levels, etc. One of the characteristic features of the language of virtual communication noted by various authors is the phenomenon of antiorthography (cacography), which is based on the game mode, i.e. the phenomenon of a language play.

By a language play we mean a deliberate deviation in the use of certain language units from existing grammar norms and rules in order to create a certain stylistic, comic, playing effect. As D. Crystall noted the language play is when people manipulate with the language as a source of enjoyment, either for ourselves or for the benefit of others. The term 'manipulate' is used literally: "we take some linguistic feature — such as a word, a phrase, a sentence, a part of a word, a group of sounds, a series of letters — and make it do things it does not normally do. We are, in effect, bending and breaking the rules of the language." [Crystal 1998, p.1]. People can practice various forms of language play, if not puns, then puzzles or panel games, poetry. "Ludic language exists in hundreds of different genres and adds enjoyment to our daily lives in many routine ways" [Ibid., p. 6].

The phenomenon of antiorthography is based on intentional distortion of a word spelling as a result of a conscious act of the speaker to gain a game mode. Graphic and orthographic derivations in RuNet received various names: novograph, preved-style, ortho-art, etc. G. Ch. Guseinov proposed to call these conscious errors as a form of language game *erratives* (Lat. *errare* meaning *mistake*). According to the author, Internet erratives appear as a result of a deliberate grave distortion of the standard word spelling with its subsequent micro-group canonization [Guseinov 2017]. The fashion for such sociolects is born and dies quite quickly and, as a rule, does not have significant consequences. Thus, the English "abbreviation" language did not exist for long, which was popular, including the RuNet, at the dawn of the Internet (RTFM, ASAP, etc.). Anti-spelling as a large-scale phenomenon characterizing Internet interpersonal communication was preceded by such sociolects limited in their distribution

as kaschenites language, the language of padonoks, the olbans language [Krongauz 2013], etc. The popularity of these games with the rules of Russian spelling at a certain stage of the RuNet life can be explained as the embodiment of the opposition between the meaningful and the meaningless, on which the sense of comic and ludic behaviour is based [Freud 2007]. Anti-spelling, as a deliberate violation of the rules of Russian orthography in the background of the standard spelling system is, as a rule, a game with illiteracy aiming to create a certain pragmatic, mainly ludic, effect. The purpose of this study is to describe the linguistic mechanisms underlying the manifestation of anti-spelling in the discourse of digital communication and explain the pragmatic functionality of this phenomenon in modern Russian and English.

## Methods and materials

The research material includes texts taken from the digital space of the Internet, SMS messages and blogs, modern electronic dictionaries and reference books. The research methods used here were: the method of linguistic description, contextual analysis, discourse analysis, theoretical generalization and comparison.

## Discussion

In theoretical literature, examples of languages, or rather sociolects, based on the principles of violation of spelling norms have been earlier researched and described [cf. Krongauz 2013]. For example, the so-called olban language, or padonkaff language. This example of the language appeared in RuNet in the early 2000s. This language represents the style of using the Russian language with phonetically almost correct spelling (with some exceptions like *«медвед»*, etc.), or when the spelling was deliberately incorrect (errative) with frequent use of non-standard lexis and certain clichés characteristic of slang. It is most often used in writing comments on blog texts, in chats and web forums. This slang has given rise to many stereotype expressions and Internet memes, in particular, such memes *«превед»*, *«низачот»* and *«убейся апстену»* associated with it. The main feature of padonkaff style is a deliberate violation of spelling norms of the Russian language while maintaining the graphic principles of reading. Words can be spelled in the following ways: 1) using “а” instead of unstressed “о” and vice versa: *аффтар* (author), *када* (when), *каммент* (comment); 2) interchange of unstressed *и*, *е* and *я*: *криатифф* (creative), *песатель* (writer); 3) *цц* or *ц* instead of *тс*, *тъс*, *дс*: *Аццкий Сотона* (the

Hell's Devil) an expression of admiration; *пацтулом* (under a chair); 4) *жы* and *шы*, *чя* and *ця* instead of *жи*, *ши*, *ча*, *ща*: *шышки* (cone); *нешы исчо* (write again); 5) *щ* instead of *сч* and vice versa; 6) *йа*, *йо*, *йу* instead of initial *я*, *ё*, *ю*: *йа* (I), *йад* (poison); 7) interchange of voiceless and voiced at the end of a word or before the voiceless: *кратифф* (creative), *пазитифф* (positive) and etc.

It is also common to merge words together without a space (*ржунимагу*; *пацтулом*, *фтемү*, *многобукаф*). In other words, this is the “anti-norm” based on a consistent rejection of the existing normative spelling, that is, in order to be able to write in the “padonkaff” jargon, one actually need to know the existing norms. In addition, the padonkaff language includes a specific vocabulary, when common literary words are assigned special meanings or uses (i.e. jargon in the proper sense of the word). Thus, the the word *падонак* (padonak) itself means a representative of the domestic net subculture, as well as the expressions: *жжоиш* (impress), *аффтар* (author), *вытей иаду* (die), *аццки* (terrible), etc.

The question that worries the linguists is an attempt to explain these phenomena in the Internet language, and, in particular, whether the phenomenon of anti-spelling, or more broadly, anti-literacy, is a manifestation of real reduced literacy of Internet users, or there are some other patterns and processes in the language of virtual communications. According to M. A. Krongauz, there are several opinions on this issue. The first one is that Internet spelling comes down to phonetic writing, that is, “they write as they hear.” The second opinion is that the writer’s task is to make all possible spelling errors, that is, to give the statement a certain playful effect. The third opinion explains anti-spelling as a pure illiteracy that reigns in the Internet, and which has a chaotic character [Krongauz 2019]. In our opinion, despite the fact that all three points of view have their confirmation, it is the gaming mode of communication that is the most popular in the modern linguistic and cultural environment today.

## Results

As T. Devlin rightly notes, today there is a trend in the English language that can be characterized as a deliberate violation of spelling which is called cacography [Devlin 2023]. The meaning of this word is the sum of *kakos* (Greek “bad”) and *graphe* (Greek “writing”). Now anyone can write anything and send it to everyone with Internet access. Everyone writes so much that there is no time to proofread every text and tweet, and typos became a part of life. To save time, people often write *your* instead of *you are*. At the same time, there are often cases when spelling errors



are made intentionally, people seem to play with grammar, for example, instead of *dogs* (plural), the form *doges* is used, *g* disappears at the end of *-ing* forms of verbs. Thus, deliberate typos are becoming the new fashionable form of online communication. Anti-spelling in the English language is not a new phenomenon. Back in the 19-th century, American humorist Josh Billings was famous for his essays entitled “Female Eddikashun” (the distorted spelling *Female Education*) and “A Lekture Tew Yung Men Only” (the distorted spelling *A lecture to young men only*)<sup>1</sup>. According to the author, the purpose of such deliberately erroneous writing was to ridicule poorly educated people. However, the way anti-spelling is used today is significantly different.

It should be noted that the phenomenon of anti-spelling is characteristic primarily of such digital environment as Twitter. There is a special term for this phenomenon — *The Weird Language*<sup>2</sup>, i.e. the language predominantly used on Twitter in order to impart comedy and/or create a humorous effect and the absurdity of the dialogue. It is assumed that this language is absurd, and in its own elliptical way, has the biggest influences on comedy today. The example of Twitter’s absurdist language can be the following: *\*Cracks Diet Pepsi\* Ahh... Refreshing Diet Peppi \*Slowly Sips, Then Gulps, The Diet Pappo\*\* Ahh, Diet Parpo. Thanks to The Papor-Colla Corp. — Jackson (@tree\_bro)*<sup>3</sup>, where the comic effect arises as the result of word playing with the spelling: *Pepsi* → *Peppi* \*S (diapers) → *Pappo* \*\* A (Emmanuel Addoquaye Pappoa, born 3 March 1981 in Accra is a former Ghanaian professional footballer) → *Papor-Colla* (unexpected).

Misspellings are especially popular in youth slang, for example, “*thicc*” is spelled instead of “*thick*” and “*boi*” instead of “*boy*”. Such writing serves as a kind of signal that the reader should not take what is written seriously, which can also be highlighted by the punctuation of the statement, for example: *u need 2 put out statement that u r not dead...*<sup>4</sup>

There is a lack of capital letters in the spelling of words, double consonants, and an apostrophe, for example: *i hate drama. i hate fake ass bitches.*

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<sup>1</sup> Billing, Josh. Josh Billing, His Sayins. Salzwasser Verlag GmbH, 2022. 229 p. Available at: <https://books.google.ru/books?id=2CJfEAAAQBAJ&pg=PA25-IA2&dq=josh+billings+%E2%80%9CFemale+Eddikashun%E2%80%9D&source=bl&ots=4hKZL3CC9g&sig=ACfU3U1hHE> (accessed 29.10.2023)

<sup>2</sup> The Weird Language. Available at: <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/jwherrman/weird-twitter-the-oral-history> (accessed 29.10.2023)

<sup>3</sup> Available at: <https://www.babbel.com/en/magazine/cacography> (accessed 29.10.2023)

<sup>4</sup> Available at: <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/jwherrman/weird-twitter-the-oral-history> (accessed 28.10.2023)



**Serious;  
YSK — you should know<sup>7</sup>.**

The very name of the resource “*Reddit*” is a wordplay: “read it,” that is, “read this on Reddit,” which confirms the thesis that the language game mechanism is the leading factor in virtual communication.

## Conclusion

Thus, it can be assumed that language play as a mode of modern virtual communication is actualized in various forms and genres of social networks and online platforms, due to which the language starts playing with complex facets and meanings. “In a word or sentence, new shades of meaning suddenly appear that cause deep associations, give rise to complex meaning...” [Crystal 1998, p. 4]. Playing on the edges of the language reveals new possibilities for conveying thoughts and feelings, which is facilitated, among other things, by a deliberate violation of the usual in the language, for example, by the violation of spelling rules.

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## WEBSITE TRANSLATION AND LOCALISATION: MYTHS AND REALITY

This paper deals with the issue of translating the textual content of a website into the language of the target user in the context of localisation. In translation studies, there is still no complete understanding of what localisation is, although the concept itself is often mentioned in academic works. The emphasis is on the multi-dimensional nature of the localisation process, which includes translation. The method used was to compare the textual content of the original and localised versions of the ASOS and Pull&Bear online store websites. The results obtained can be of theoretical importance for the further development of translation issues to be solved during the localisation project. From an applied point of view, they can be useful for translation didactics: they can make it possible to harmonise the knowledge of novice localisation translators in the field of translation theory and avoid mistakes when solving translation tasks.

*Keywords:* translation, localisation, website, globalisation, glocalisation

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## ПЕРЕВОД И ЛОКАЛИЗАЦИЯ ВЕБ-САЙТА: МИФЫ И РЕАЛЬНОСТЬ

В настоящей работе рассматриваются вопросы перевода текстового содержимого веб-сайта на язык целевого пользователя в рамках локализации. В переводоведении до сих пор нет полного понимания того, что такое локализация несмотря на то, что само понятие часто упоминается в научных работах. Акцент делается на многоаспектном характере процесса локализации, предполагающем и перевод. Используется метод сопоставительного анализа текстового содержимого оригинальной и локализованных версий веб-сайтов интернет-магазинов ASOS и Pull&Bear. Полученные результаты могут иметь теоретическое значение при дальнейшей разработке вопросов перевода, решаемых в рамках локализационного проекта. В прикладном аспекте они могут оказаться полезными для дидактики перевода: они могут позволить гармонизировать знания начинающих переводчиков-локализаторов в области теории перевода и избежать ошибок при решении практических переводческих задач.

*Ключевые слова:* перевод, локализация, веб-сайт, глобализация, глокализация

## Introduction

In the 21st century, technological advances have given businesses the ability to succeed in foreign markets using a variety of online resources. The website presents the company's technological progress and compliance with time requirements. The site's textual content is translated into the target language with a focus on localisation. This practice became relevant in the field of translation studies approximately thirty years ago, yet certain aspects of it remain misunderstood. We aim to dispel three common myths associated with localisation and translation.

## Methods and materials

The research material was ASOS and Pull&Bear online store websites in English, Italian and Russian. ASOS is a multi-brand online store for fashionable youth clothing and accessories. Pull&Bear is a brand that sells its own products through online and physical stores. The total volume of material analysed is 2190 pages. For the comparative analysis, we converted the textual content of the websites listed above into Microsoft Word docx documents. One page consists of approximately 1800 characters with spaces. The examples were selected using a random sampling method.

## Results and discussion

**Myth #1:** Localisation = Translation.

**Reality:** Localisation  $\neq$  Translation.

The localisation industry, which deals with the globalisation of business, emerged in the 1980s because of the need to translate the textual content of software and related technical documentation. To gain access to the global market, it was important for IT companies to localise their software products. Today, localisation is used not only by software developers, but also by automotive companies, law firms, manufacturing companies, financial institutions and many other producers of goods and services. However, software localisation is still the main source of revenue for most localisation service providers. Software companies spend huge amounts of money on localising their products. A localised software product is undoubtedly an advertisement, both for the product itself and for the company. In addition, a successful software product can be successful all over the world if the possibility of multi-language support is built in at the design stage. Finally, some countries, such as France, have laws that only allow localised versions of software to be distributed.

Many different definitions for localisation are used in the translation industry. For example, according to Miguel A. Jiménez-Crespo, the term is based on the concept of “locale”, which implies the linguistic and socio-cultural characteristics of a particular region [Jiménez-Crespo, 2013; Jiménez-Crespo, 2020]. We define localisation as follows: localisation involves taking a product and making it linguistically and culturally appropriate to the target locale (country/region and language) where it will be used and sold [Esselink, 2000, p. 3].

It is important to define some related terms including internationalization and globalisation. Bert Esselink defines internationalisation as the process of generalizing a product so that it can handle multiple languages and cultural conventions without the need for re-design [Esselink, 2000, p. 2]. Internationalisation takes place at the level of product design development, but it is not limited to software. Online help, documentation and websites also need to be internationalised. Internationalisation takes place at the initial stage of product development and technical writers “write for translation”.

Globalisation addresses the business issues associated with taking a product globally. In the globalisation of high-tech products this involves integrating localisation throughout a company, after proper internationalisation and product design, as well as marketing, sales, and support in the world market [Esselink, 2000, p. 4]. In the case of web sites, internationalisation, translation and adapting the content to target markets is referred to as website globalisation.

The difference between website translation and localisation can be defined as follows: website translation is only one of the activities in website localisation. In addition to translation, website localisation includes many other tasks such as software engineering and quality assurance (Fig. 1).

**Internationalisation**

Website → Website Design → Website Development → Website Testing,  
Quality Assurance

**Localisation**


Local Website Marketing ← Local Website Testing, ← Website Localisation  
Quality Assurance




Fig. 1. Website Globalisation

Traditionally, website localisation involves the following components: graphical user interface components, online help, and documentation. Graphical user interface translation refers to such components as dialog boxes, menus, and error or status messages. Online help is the largest translation component of website localisation. Online help systems typically contain an overview of the product, procedures, dialog box descriptions, and reference information. Help information focuses on task-based topics. Documentation translation includes Installation Guide, Getting Started Guide, Online manuals, and Collateral materials. It is important to preserve all layout, typographic conventions, and styles from the source text, unless instructed otherwise [Esselink, 2000].

Here is an example of user interface localisation. When localising ASOS and Pull&Bear websites for users in Russia and Italy, the focus of attention is on the adaptation of the interface used to navigate the user through the resource. We can see the basic elements such as section names, tabs, links, and some pop-up windows are familiar to the user. They are presented in the form of minimalist icons that take up a minimum of space on the page and contain a succinct visual message. The icons display a specific textual content [Shurlina, Frolov, 2022]:

Little Man Icon   
 English “My account”  
 Italian “Il mio account”  
 Russian «Личный кабинет»

Shoppingcart Icon   
 English “Shoppingcart”  
 Italian “Carrello”  
 Russian «Корзина»

Heart Icon   
 English “Wishlist”  
 Italian “Lista dei desideri”  
 Russian «Избранное»

Stripe Icon   
 English “Menu”  
 Italian “Menu”  
 Russian «Меню»



To sum up, translation is one of the activities in website localisation project. Localisation involves website adaptation to the target locale where it will be used and sold. Localisation includes: a) translating textual information from the source language to the target language; b) adapting non-textual information to reflect the cultural characteristics of the target country.

**Myth #2:** Website localisation is done into English because English is a global language.

**Reality:** Website localisation is done into the language of the potential user.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the concept of a global society has become increasingly popular in the world scientific community. In fact, today it is impossible to talk about the isolation of processes taking place in different regions of the world. Fundamental changes in the economic and social structure of society, scientific and technological achievements, and the creation of a global information space are leading to the formation of a new type of human civilisation — global.

Changes are also taking place in language. English claims to be a global language. In his book, *English as a Global Language*, David Crystal argues that English has a great chance of becoming a global language for the following reasons:

1. It is the native language of most people in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and some Caribbean countries.
2. It is an official language in over 70 countries around the world.
3. It is taught as a first foreign language in schools in more than 100 countries, including Russia [Crystal, 2018].

V. Kabakchi also notes the special role of English as a means of intercultural communication. He rightly believes that the second half of the 20th century saw the emergence of a situation of global bilingualism. In this situation communication can be carried out in two languages, one of which is the individual's native language and the other is English [Kabakchi, 2021]. It becomes the norm to speak English alongside one's native language. At the same time, the speaker does not have to adhere to the linguistic and cultural norms of native English speakers, as communication often takes place outside English-speaking countries. English has become a *lingua franca*, an intermediary language used to communicate all over the world.

The globalisation of the English language is also evidenced by the emergence of variants of English. Let us consider the scheme of the spread of English around the world, which is based on the theory of three con-

centric circles — inner, outer and expanding. According to Braj Kachru, who proposed this scheme, the inner circle is formed by countries where English is the native language of the citizens. In the outer circle, English is spoken as a second language, and in the expanding circle, English is spoken as a foreign language. At the same time, according to B. Kachru, the boundaries between these circles are not constant and the influence of English in the world is increasing [Kachru, 2015].

However, at the end of the 20th century, researchers began to talk about the dangers associated with the possibility of English becoming a global language. For example, D. Crystal points out the following risks of the widespread use of English:

1. The likelihood of the emergence of a group of people — the linguistic elite — for whom English is a native language.
2. The disappearance of the need to learn other foreign languages.
3. The disappearance of smaller languages, and possibly all the other languages of the world [Crystal, 2018].

In our view, English cannot replace national languages. Developed countries will strive to speak their national languages. Since the late 20th century, there has been a trend for greater linguistic diversity on the Internet. Countries with economies capable of supporting the use of a national language on the Internet will promote the creation of localised websites for consumers.

**Myth #3:** Website localisation is not necessary.

**Reality:** Website localisation is necessary.

Some companies believe the myth to be true. As a result, they fail in the international market, ruin their reputation, and lose customers. When a company goes global, website localisation is essential.

Website globalisation ensures a company's success by opening international markets, whereas website localisation emphasises the specificity and relevance of a particular market. The aim is to adapt the product or service so that it looks as if it has been created specifically for the local market of a particular region, enabling the company to communicate effectively with foreign consumers and users.

Global enterprises often provide information on their website in a number of languages, enabling visitors to choose the required language from the opening page. They usually not only require the company and product, or service information translated, but also their product catalogue, e-commerce, and support pages. Here is an example of ASOS home page, where we can see a pop-up message for shoppers in the search bar:



The message is as follows: Search for items, brands and inspiration. The literal translation into Russian is as follows: “Поиск вещей, брендов и вдохновения”. But it does not convey the full message because the concepts it is composed of have multiple contextual meanings. When combined, they take on new shades of meaning. The original message is a good representation of the company’s philosophy to the consumer. It suggests that the store has a wide range of clothing items and accessories. It works with a variety of brands and labels, and customers can find something new for themselves and show their “creative” side with the help of modern fashion. If we translate the message literally into Russian, the result will not be successful. The translation distorts or loses meaning, leading to consumer misunderstanding of the message. It is almost impossible to find a construction in the target language that reflects the idea. For this reason, the search bar in the Italian and Russian versions contains verbs that have the same basic meaning and can be used universally: “Cerca” and “Искать” [Shurlina, Frolov, 2022].

By allowing consumers to experience a product in their native language, which is inextricably linked to the culture and peculiarities of the target region, website localisation solves several problems that are key to entering global markets:

- ✓ It creates a community of potential consumers of a product or service in a particular region who speak the same language and share the same culture.
- ✓ It establishes communication between the company and the target consumer.
- ✓ The brand becomes available and known on the international market.
- ✓ The brand acquires a product form suitable for the target audience in the region [Jiménez-Crespo, 2013].

The potential of using a website to promote a company, products and services is extremely high, as technology is constantly evolving and new ways of communicating with the target audience are emerging. Creating a website in the target language ensures effective use of market segmentation strategies, active work with different customer groups, differentiation and positioning of goods and services.

Website localization gives companies the opportunity to influence target users and choose the most appropriate way to communicate with them. The main tasks solved by creating a website in the target user's language are considered to be brand promotion, increasing audience loyalty and awareness, and increasing website traffic [Sandrini, Dejica, Hansen, 2016].

By using the website in their own language, users gain access to goods and services available in key markets. Developed countries, in turn, gain the ability to purchase goods and services in countries that previously had no access to their markets. In the changing world of glocalisation, any company is global if it becomes local in the markets in which it operates.

## Conclusion

The following conclusions can be drawn from the comparative analysis of the original site and its localised versions:

Translation is one of the activities in website localisation project. Localisation is the process of adapting a website to the target locale where it will be used and sold. Localisation involves translating textual information from the source language to the target language and adapting non-textual information to reflect the cultural characteristics of the target country.

Website localisation is done into the language of the potential user. Developed countries will strive to speak their national languages. Countries with economies capable of supporting the use of a national language on the Internet will promote the creation of localised websites for consumers.

Website localisation is necessary. By using the site in their own language, users gain access to goods and services available in key markets. Developed countries, in turn, gain the ability to purchase goods and services in countries that previously had no access to their markets. In the changing world of glocalisation, any company is global if it becomes local in the markets in which it operates.

Finally, we would like to emphasise the importance of the high-quality of website localisation which ensures the success of the website in the local market. Translators, software engineers, technical writers, testers involved in the complex process of complete and high-quality website localisation believe that it is better not to localise a website than to localise it poorly because poor-quality website localisation can undermine all their efforts.

The results obtained may be of theoretical importance for the further development of translation problems solved within the framework of a

localisation project. From an applied point of view, they may be useful for the didactics of translation; they may make it possible to harmonise the knowledge of novice localisation translators in the field of translation theory and avoid mistakes when solving translation tasks.

The results obtained may be of theoretical importance for the further development of translation problems solved within the framework of a localisation project. From an applied point of view, they may be useful for the didactics of translation: they may make it possible to harmonise the knowledge of novice localisation translators in the field of translation theory and avoid mistakes when solving translation tasks.

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## **EXPLORING CRIMINAL METAPHOR IN MASS MEDIA DISCOURSE: SEMANTICS, SEMIOTICS AND POLYCODE COMPETENCE**

Linguistic studies of mass media discourse prove that it presents a complex blend of verbal and visual characteristics. To this end, the methodological procedures should also imbibe structural methods combined with cognitive modelling. These forms of text and its analysis tend to be unjustly given less attention in educational process although teaching media literacy has already become a popular trend. The present paper is aimed at investigating the level of students' awareness as far as certain semantic and semiotic elements are concerned, and to show the methodological steps, students can further rely on. As one of the sources, frequent in modern British mass media discourse, we have chosen criminal conceptual metaphor applied to Jeremy Corbyn. Thus, we show both the linguistic analysis procedure and the results of the pedagogical experiment. In our linguistic investigation we applied a combination of cognitive and structural linguistic methods. For teaching purposes, an experimental linguistic database of verbal and polycode texts was formed. The procedure described herein can be applied in various pedagogical cases: for teaching students of linguistics, journalism and mass media communication studies, pedagogics, politics, cross-cultural and linguocultural studies. The results of the analysis contribute to the investigations of political metaphors and broaden our understanding of polycode mass media texts.

*Keywords:* polycode competence, media literacy, polycode text, conceptual metaphor, political caricature, professional training

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## ИЗУЧЕНИЕ МЕТАФОРЫ КРИМИНАЛА В МАССМЕДИЙНОМ ДИСКУРСЕ: СЕМАНТИКА, СЕМИОТИКА, ПОЛИКОДОВАЯ КОМПЕТЕНЦИЯ

Лингвистические исследования по проблемам медиа дискурса свидетельствуют, что он представляет сложную комбинацию языковых и визуальных характеристик. Это обуславливает тезис о том, что при анализе таких типов дискурса следует применять комбинацию методологических решений, включая методы структурной и когнитивной лингвистики. Несмотря на то, что медиаграмотность в последние годы привлекает все больше внимания, этим типам текста, в том числе в силу их комплексного характера, незаслуженно уделяется гораздо меньше времени в образовательном процессе. Наше исследование посвящено выявлению сформированности отдельных аспектов поликодовой компетенции у студентов отделений профилирующей языковой подготовки. В частности, изучалась способность распознавать определенные семантические и семиотические элементы. В качестве одного из источников материала мы использовали концептуальную метафору криминала, достаточно частотную в современном британском медиа дискурсе. В нашем случае она применялась по отношению к Дж. Корбину. Это позволило нам одновременно показать процедуру лингвистического анализа и результаты педагогического эксперимента. Из лингвистических методик мы применяли комбинацию методологических шагов, характерных для методик когнитивной и структурной лингвистики. Для целей педагогического эксперимента мы также сформировали базу традиционных и поликодовых текстов. Результаты, представленные в данном исследовании, будут полезны в практике обучения студентов-филологов, журналистов, специалистов по проблемам межкультурной коммуникации. Отдельные аспекты могут использоваться при проведении исследований по педагогике, политологии, вопросам лингвокультурного знания. Выводы исследования также вносят вклад в изучение политических метафор и поликодовых медиа текстов.

*Ключевые слова:* поликодовая компетенция, монологическое высказывание, профессиональное образование

## Introduction

Due to digitalisation, changes in the consumption of social media content and the dominance of the visual means, there has been a growing interest in studying various types of texts. Qualitative interpretation of media messages requires media literacy as a key skill of a modern person. Therefore, teaching media literacy as a subject was included in the curricula of several educational institutions in Russia and abroad. It usually consists of studying methods of deconstructing news materials of modern media, mastering methods for evaluating news sources, improving technologies for analysing news materials of various media and developing critical thinking skills in relation to modern media products.

There are different approaches to teaching media literacy: a cognitive approach [Bennett, Mcdougall, & Potter, 2020; Feng & Espindola, 2013], a sociocultural approach [Gee, 2015; Fedorov & Levitskaya, 2019; Mcdougall, 2019], teaching media literacy to young learners [Bearne, 2010; Hobbs & Frost, 2003; Piro, 2002; Burn & Durran, 2007] and others. Particular attention is given to teaching news media literacy [Maks, Ashley, & Craft, 2015], which focuses primarily on information literacy, fact checking and recognising the author's bias. As for textual analysis, a pure text-centered approach was opposed to a contextual approach and linguistic research, which may include studying the semiotic structure of media texts, meanings at all semantic levels, authors' intentions, and manipulative potential. However, some researchers make attempts to include studying semiotics and visual competence into media literacy [Gaines, 2010; Griffin, 2008; Refaie, 2009; Ryzhih, 2007; Sahraee, 2018; Swain, 2012; Watt, 2012]. Few of them address the problem of interpreting political polycode media texts [Refaie, 2009; Swain, 2012; Watt, 2012], and little attention has been paid to the methodological aspect.

Polycode, multimodal or creolized texts, which present the hallmark of contemporary mass media, still remain a very problematic object of investigation due to the complexity of their nature. Our attempts to introduce and apply linguistic methods of study to this particular sphere are described elsewhere (Shustrova, 2014; Voroshilova, 2019). In this article we argue that linguocultural, social semantic and semasiological methods can be extremely useful for teaching media literacy and formation of polycode competence, especially in case of political discourse and polycode texts. We also demonstrate how these methods can be applied to caricatures and memes as a type of polycode texts. To this end, we offer an algorithm for recognising and exploring the conceptual metaphor of crime applied towards Jeremy Corbyn, the Labour Party leader (2015–2020), in



British mass media both in verbal texts and polycode texts (caricature and Internet-memes).

## Methods and material

In the present paper we show the procedure of the linguistic analysis and the way it can be applied in teaching media literacy. Using the continuous sampling method, we studied 107,000 texts, both verbal (traditional) and polycode (Internet-memes and caricatures). It allowed us to form the final experimental linguistic database, which includes 2,660 modern British mass media texts. These texts focus on the personality of Jeremy Corbyn, who is the Labour ex-leader. His period of political activity and fame fell upon 2015–2020. The linguistic part of research was conducted on the material of such popular British editions as *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *Telegraph*, *Daily Mail*, *Huffington Post* (UK), *The Independent*, and other mass media sources. We used the following set of general scientific and particular methods: description, generalisation, comparison; cognitive discursive, contextual, definitional and component analysis; method of metaphorical modeling, decoding of different types of text.

The first stage of the study included collecting the contexts in verbal texts. Next the key lexemes were extracted and exposed to semantic component analysis. This included studying dictionary definitions, finding synonyms and etymological information. Then the key semes were listed and classified. We analysed all possible meanings, considered potential semantics, added contextual meanings, and finally drew the conclusions about the pragmatics of each context.

Secondly, the cartoons and memes were selected and classified. Each image was described, and its verbal and graphic components were analysed.

We distinguished the following most common metaphor models: “Corbyn is a precedent character”, “Corbyn is an ill person”, “Corbyn is a warrior”, “Corbyn is an animal”, “Corbyn is an artifact”, “Corbyn is a professional”, “Corbyn is a criminal” and other models. One of the typical conceptual metaphor models used for manipulating reader’s perception is the criminal metaphor model. It finds its expression both by verbal and visual means. The resulting sample included 123 traditional (7 %) and 234 polycode texts (12 % — memes, 14 % — caricatures).

As for learning technologies and classroom activities, we suggest they should follow the same pattern. Students should be exposed to verbal component first to be able to perceive and realise possible twists of meaning. To do this, we first teach semantics at the level of paradigmatics,

then syntagmatics, i.e. introduce the students to a text. Political texts are very convenient for this purpose, because of their clarity, intertextuality, similar patterns (figures of speech, metaphors and language means). Fiction texts, on the contrary, can cause difficulties in analysis, due to the peculiarities of the author's style and the occasional nature of the use of metaphor.

It is on the next stage that students can face the graphic material. They are supposed to find parallels in semantics, establishing potential semes and their pragmatics in a new type of text. In case we want them not only to react to polycode texts but to realise pragmatic effects to the full extent, we should unfold the steps of linguistic analysis, teach certain procedures, and show them the way to arrive at their results of interpretation on both traditional and graphic levels. Therefore, before presenting a polycode text, we suggested teaching (step by step) semiotic components, which, when selecting material, should correlate with previously studied texts. In this process the ability to interpret semantics and semiotics separately and in a complex is of paramount importance.

To prove this, we conducted an experiment, which involved 53 students of the Russian State Vocational Pedagogical University (Ekaterinburg). All respondents study to be teachers of English or interpreters. Thus, both their practical language skills and their cultural awareness are rather well-formed. The experiment was set for the whole term in connection with the theory of translation studies. The group included 15 male students and 38 female students, all of them being in the third academic year and of the age group 21–22. They are academically divided into subgroups. One of them we treated as an experimental subgroup, while the second formed the control one.

At the beginning of the experiment, the students of the experimental subgroup were shown a caricature of Jeremy Corbyn. The initial assignment was to describe what they see and understand. As the result, the group, even though they were further provoked and assisted, demonstrated a very low level of the ability to read this polycode text, let alone recognise basic mental models and cognitive metaphors. As the caricature bore a blend of both verbal and visual semantic components, the next step was connected with the study of dictionary entries for eliciting the key lexemes. As this group has already been taught the principles of structural semantics and components' analysis, they successfully coped with the task. When they received results for semantic research both on paradigmatic and syntagmatic (collocations) level, they were further asked to find certain correlations and interdependencies, which lead them to singling out basic mental models and cognitive metaphors. The next step combined

introduction of linguocultural component on behalf of the tutor, blending of this new information with the students' results and comparison on semantic and semiotic levels. The respondents were repeatedly engaged in this type of activities, which allowed them to drastically enlarge their linguistic and cultural awareness as well as to learn the possible ways of interpretation.

In the course of our experiment, the students successfully applied their expertise while analysing and translating both fiction and polycode texts. At the end of the term the assessment results proved that 100% of students in the experimental group were able to read and analyse multimodal texts of various types, while in the control group the result was unsatisfactory, bordering on only 1–2% of information of the same texts being understood. To control the results, we used Statistic Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS Statistics) [<https://www.ibm.com>].

## Results and discussion

In order to demonstrate the procedure of the linguistic analysis, which we applied for the classroom activities in the experimental subgroup, we will turn to the analysis of the basic mental models and cognitive metaphors “Politics is Crime” and “Politician is Criminal”. Here we offer the most representative contexts from our sample to show the course of the linguistic research.

The criminal metaphor is quite common for political discourse, since the appeal to the source sphere “criminal world” allows political opponents to discredit each other, and the use of the “friend or foe” opposition convinces the recipient to make a choice in favour of “their” political party. Thus, for example, Jeremy Corbyn and his closest supporters can be presented as a tight-knit criminal gang:

*I cannot dispel a suspicion that in the coming struggle Mr Corbyn, or more importantly **the tight-knit** group who help steer his leadership, have cloudy intentions. On Brexit they have a history of triangulating and this week, by steering the question away from no-deal and towards who should be prime minister, they're at it again. Here are two questions to which I fear we cannot be sure of the answer. Do the key little **Corbyn gang** really want a general election right away? And do they really want to stop Britain leaving the European Union?’ [Parris, 2019].*

The key lexeme, by means of which the metaphorical model “Corbyn is a criminal” is realised, is the word *gang*. If we analyse the whole set of dictionary definitions, this lexeme would show such meanings as the most

typical ones: a group or band; an organised group of criminals; a group of youngsters or adolescents who associate closely, often exclusively, for social reasons, especially such a group engaging in delinquent behavior; a group of people with compatible tastes or mutual interests who gather together for social reasons; a group of persons working together; an organised group of people doing manual work; squad; shift; a group of persons associated for some criminal or other antisocial purpose; arranged to work together or simultaneously; a group of identical or related items. The synonyms include the following lexical units: band, bunch, clan, clique, company, crew, organisation, party, ring, squad, syndicate, team, tribe, troop, assemblage, circle, club, cluster, combo, coterie, crowd, herd, horde, knot, lot, outfit, pack, posse, set, shift, troupe, workers, zoo. All these lexemes form the following associative links: alliance, amalgamation, banding together, cahoots, coalition, combination, confederation, conjunction, connection, crew, hookup, incorporation, joining, league, merging, mob, outfit, partnership, relationship, ring, tie-in, rat pack. Using component's analysis, we singled out such key semes: unit, subject, age, social characteristics, purpose, additional characteristics, way of uniting, actions, manner, the number of subjects.

So, the word *gang* is basically used to define a group of people united by common interests, for joint activities, criminal or professional, closely related to each other; gang, mob, crime syndicate; a team (of workers). Taking into consideration the contextual connections (*tight-knit group*, *cloudy intentions*) in this example, we would receive a metaphor for a criminal gang, close-knit, but with vague intentions, which should give the reader a feeling of something sinister, dangerous, illegal, anti-social. At the same time, it is worth paying attention to the fact that gangs often include, first of all, young people. This can be traced both at the level of the dictionary definition and at the contextual level. At the level of contexts, the seme "male" also dominates. This introduces the potential semantics of immaturity, the inability to be fully aware of what is happening, to control one's aggressive actions, adrenaline going off the scale, making it impossible to concentrate and look at things sensibly, from the point of view of experience. The gang consists primarily of people from disadvantaged or marginal social groups who have not seen anything good in their lives, have no education, do not strive for anything other than satisfying their criminal inclinations and addictions. In addition, the gang does not have a large size, which allows us to conclude that the number of Labour party members and their supporters tends to be limited.

It appears that this is an anti-social bunch of predominantly young men, embittered by their failure and lack of education, many of whom are doomed from the very beginning, pursuing criminal goals, often ex-

tremely short-sighted in their desires and actions, which diverge from the attitudes of the majority. In our context, the narrowness of this group is further emphasised by the definition of little (little Corbyn gang). The inability to reasonably assess the situation is defined through the phrase *cloudy intentions*, and the opposition to the majority is present both at the same level of a single word *gang* and at the context level, namely in a rhetorical question with the adverb *really* (*do they really want ...?*). Another example continues this theme as follows:

*‘Tragically, this is not just about one man: Labour is now controlled by this thuggish camarilla while frontbench “moderates” passively enable Corbyn’* [Montefiore, 2019].

Jeremy Corbyn’s inner circle is compared to a gangster group. The dictionary definition of the lexeme *camarilla* gives the following meanings: (*derogatory*) *a small group of people, especially a group of advisers to a ruler or politician, with a shared purpose; a group of unofficial or private advisers to a person of authority, especially a group much given to intrigues and secret plots; cabal; clique*. Synonyms include the following lexical units: *camp, class, clique, club, company, crowd, fraternity, party, ring, school, society, Mafia, assembly, bunch, cabal, clan, companions, comrades, coterie, crew, cronies, crush, gang, insiders, intimates, mob, outfit, posse, set, sorority, in-group*. These synonyms bring forth meanings associated with a criminal group, mafia, clique, gang, and other pariah groups. Thus, the phrase *thuggish camarilla* in the analysed context represents Jeremy Corbyn and his closest supporters in the form of a criminal family, which is in opposition to the values of a democratic society and the rule of law. At the same time, the small number, scantiness of the members of this group, the tendency to conspiracies, and the unofficial or marginal nature are emphasised. For a politician, the same “dependence, puppet nature of actions” is additionally introduced. Unlike *gang*, *camarilla* does not have the semantics of ignorance, masculinity, and youth. Therefore, the pragmatics of thoughtfulness of their criminal plans, proximity to power, influence on political circles, the ability to subjugate quite influential people, of a mixed gender character is already being introduced.

Next, we would suggest the lexeme “thuggish”, which has the following definition: “behaving in a violent way”. The summary of dictionary definitions for the root morpheme “thug” gives the following meanings: *a violent person, especially a criminal (also Thug); historical: A member of an organisation of robbers and assassins in India. Devotees of the goddess Kali, the Thugs waylaid and strangled their victims, usually travelers, in a ritually prescribed manner*. Historically, the word originates from Sanskrit and

refers to the worshippers of the goddess Kali, the thugs, members of the organisation of robbers and murderers in India, who stalked and strangled their victims, mostly travelers, in a special ritual way.

Here is the context where this lexeme is used in relation to the Labour Party:

*‘...cultism has turned Labour into a childish, sycophantic, thuggish and unthinking party’ [Cohen, 2017].*

As can be seen, the epithet “*thuggish*” means not only “criminal, cruel”, but also causes the reader to associate with the organisation of robbers and stranglers, thus creating an extremely negative attitude towards the party and its leader.

Jeremy Corbyn can be also represented as a murderer:

*‘Jeremy Corbyn **killed** the Labour Party. Now we must fight to revive it’ (Hazarika, 2019).*

The definition of the verb *to kill* includes the following meanings: *to deprive of life in any manner; deprive of existence, cause the death of (a person, animal, or other living thing); put an end to or cause the failure or defeat of (something); slay; to destroy completely, especially in large numbers; extinguish; do away with; to destroy or neutralise the active qualities of; to spoil the effect of; to cause (time) to be consumed with seeming rapidity or with a minimum of boredom, especially by engaging in some easy activity or amusement of passing interest; (informal) to overcome completely or with irresistible effect.* Among the synonyms are the lexical units: *assassinate, drown, execute, get, hit, massacre, murder, poison, slaughter, slay, wipe out, annihilate, asphyxiate, crucify, dispatch, dump, electrocute, eradicate, erase, exterminate, extirpate, finish, garrote, guillotine, hang, immolate, liquidate, lynch, neutralise, obliterate, off, sacrifice, smother, snuff, strangle, suffocate, waste, zap, do away with, do in, polish off, put away, put to death, rub out.* The key semes include: impact, object, nature of impact, method, consequences.

Thus, the lexeme *kill* means to deprive of life or existence, to become the cause of death, to weaken the action, to destroy, to liquidate. Given the context, it can be concluded that Jeremy Corbyn, by his actions, led the Labour Party to death. This metaphor is reinforced by another lexeme used in the same article — *bloodbath* (carnage, massacre):

*‘I knew things were going to be bad, but nothing could have prepared me for the scale of the Tory victory and the scale of Labour’s defeat. The result was a **bloodbath**’ [Hazarika, 2019].*

According to the author, the Labour Party suffered a crushing defeat in the elections as a result of the political statements and actions of Jeremy Corbyn in relation to Brexit and anti-Semitism. The leader of the party acts as a killer, because he took its life (the ability to be chosen), and now it needs to be reanimated. In parallel, the author of the article uses the metaphorical model “The Party is a living organism” (*revive, bloodbath*).

Thus, the metaphorical model “Corbyn is a criminal” is realised through the representation of a politician as a murderer, a leader of a gang and a criminal group, a person who violates all possible foundations. These images serve to instill in the reader a sense of fear, anxiety and distrust towards the leader of the opposition. This effect is produced with the help of historical parallels included.

These implications found in traditional texts on the verbal level should be closely investigated by students for them to see the shades of semantics and possible pragmatic effects. After that the group may be exposed to polycode texts of different nature. For that purpose, we suggest the use of such genres as memes and caricatures due to their quick effect, brevity, instant reference to cognitive mechanisms. Thus, both in traditional and polycode texts we observe frequency of criminal cognitive metaphor model. Whereas in traditional texts this model is more or less clear-cut, in polycode texts it tends to undergo the process of blending and as a result it may be transformed and narrowed into the meanings of a trickster, liar, thimblerrigger, maniac, robber of drug dealers. Further on we will demonstrate the most typical examples and show the way of analysis which can be introduced in the teaching process.

The idea of inadequacy, insanity, the embodiment of a nightmare, in this case a socialist one, if J. Corbyn comes to power, is conveyed in a caricature (Fig. 1.1, 1.2). In 2019, the parliamentary elections in the UK fell on Thursday, December 12, and from Friday, December 13, a new “Nightmare on Elm Street” was supposed to begin if the Labour Party won.

The next model represented in various Internet memes is the “Corbyn is a trickster” model, which overlaps with the “Corbyn is a literary character” and “Corbyn is a clown” models. In Fig. 3 Labour leader is depicted with a long, Pinocchio-like nose that was known to grow back when he lied. At the same time, in the verbal part at the top, there is a quote from Corbyn himself about the inadmissibility of propaganda of anti-Semitism in the ranks of the party, introducing a reference to precedent scandals related to anti-Semitic statements made by members of the Labour Party. And at the bottom is the statement “Now all we have to do is redefine anti-Semitism” which is graphically positioned as if it was also of Corbyn’s authorship.



Fig. 1.1. Freddy Krueger Caricature



"NEVER  
STOP  
DREAMING"

- Freddy Krueger

Fig. 1.2. Never Stop Dreaming Caricature



Fig. 3. Corbyn as Pinocchio meme



Fig. 4. The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing meme

Another Internet meme (Fig. 4) introduces a reference to a precedent text –the fable “The Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing” by Aesop, where Jeremy Corbyn, in the image of a wolf, is smoking a cigar and playing cards with a lamb (a voter), obviously cheating. Corbyn’s hands are female, with predatory long nails hinting at a double deception on his part. The text at the bottom reinforces the visual component, and the word “danger” on a red background warns voters against being deceived.

In the upper right corner is another warning: “socialism is legalised theft”. Thus, Jeremy Corbyn is not just a liar, but a dangerous criminal.

This figurative line is continued by an Internet meme depicting Corbyn in a luxury car (Fig. 5). At the same time, the politician is dressed in a women’s fur coat, which again refers us to the image of a “wolf in sheep’s clothing”. The inscription at the top of the picture “You come at the king,





Good luck Chairman Corbyn

*Fig.5. You come at the King meme*

you best not miss” introduces a reference to the precedent film “The Wire”, where this phrase is spoken by a criminal who robs drug dealers.

Here we showed one of the ways of teaching multiliteracy using linguistic analysis for polycode texts. It was demonstrated that conceptual metaphor as a complex cognitive phenomenon can be recognised and investigated by combining different methods and approaches for studying both verbal and graphic components. When teaching, a semantic-semiotic complex should be used, which will show certain attitudes, mental models and practices. Although the students, exposed to reading the political texts, have had some background linguistic experience, they might need some extra linguistic information and preliminary teaching. Moreover, to interpret polycode texts, they need to be shown and taught certain methodological procedures, which would enable them to perceive much more.

## Conclusion

The study shows that caricatures and memes demonstrate a set of characteristics, which allows them to be singled out as a separate subgenre of polycode texts. Caricatures and memes are based upon an intersemiotic game involving both visual and verbal components. In many cases the result of this game arrives as a cognitive conflict that is produced by the clashing of two semiotic systems. Depending on the culture, language, tradition, age and other factors, the elements with the power to produce this conflict would vary.

Our experience shows that students are often unaware and not prepared to understand this information. This results in multimodal illiteracy, which would further on lead to cultural and professional limitations. To overcome this difficulty students should be taught both traditional types

of semantic and structural analysis and exposed to the graphic material, where caricature and meme are convenient sources of information. Thus, the educational process may achieve more stimulating results.

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## THE CONCEPT OF BOYHOOD IN NORTH-AMERICAN MASS FICTION OF LATE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

The article observes stereotypical portrayals of boy characters in three adventure novels of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Being addressed to general public, mass literature genres for adolescents and/or about them, such as adventure novels and romances sought to adhere to popular beliefs and common values. Therefore, a boy character in a book about boys' adventures is likely to align with contemporary societal requirements for a boy. The article suggests that the concept of boyhood in Anglophone culture was initially coined and developed by mass literature. The article aims at revealing morals, conduct, and aspirations of an American boy of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as portrayed in three texts by two popular American writers, namely Richard Jefferies and Thomas Bailey Aldrich. The trilogy *Bevis: the Story of a Boy* (1882) chosen for the present study is an extended text featuring twelve-year-old middle-class boys who play literature inspired role games which involve impersonating historical leaders or mimicking daring explorers. The study employs various methods of textual analysis, as well as structural-syntactic analysis, lexical-semantic analysis, narratological and descriptive methods. The most common strategies in boy character profiling are lexical and syntactical. Modifiers (presently), signposting expressions (again, then), simple verbal predicates (run, sit, go), phrase verbs (pick up, cut off), conjunctions (and, but), infinitival clauses are aimed at creating a highly dynamic narrative representing the restless ever changing nature of boys. The boy in the trilogy *Bevis: the Story of a Boy* is characterized by conflicting desires and mixed feelings. The boy is not an innocent savage; nor is he a ruthless savage. He is undergoing changes which are expected to mold him into a decent man similar to his father.

*Keywords:* the concept of boyhood, the ideal boy, boy protagonists, mass literature, adventure novel, Ausbildungsroman

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### КОНЦЕПТ «МАЛЬЧИК» В СЕВЕРОАМЕРИКАНСКОЙ МАССОВОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЕ КОНЦА XIX ВЕКА

В статье рассматриваются стереотипные изображения мальчиков в трех приключенческих романах Ричарда Джеффриса и Томаса Бейли Олдрича, популярных американских писателей второй половины 19 века начала 20 века. Адресованные широкой аудитории, жанры массовой литера-

туры для подростков и/или о них, такие как приключенческие романы, преимущественно транслируют общепринятые представления и ценности. Таким образом, изображение мальчика в произведении массовой литературы, должно соответствовать современным общественным требованиям, предъявляемым к мальчику на момент их написания. Учитывая, что концепция отрочества в англоязычной культуре получила свое развитие в англоязычных произведениях массовой литературы, целью статьи является раскрытие образа мальчика с его моральными установками, стереотипами поведения и мечтами о будущем в популярных произведениях соответствующего жанра. Трилогия «Бевис: история мальчика» (1882), два первых тома которой были написаны Р. Джеффрисом, а последний — Т.Б. Олдричем, была выбрана для настоящего исследования, поскольку повествование в ней строится почти исключительно вокруг игр и взаимодействий двенадцатилетних мальчиков среднего класса. В исследовании используются различные методы текстологического анализа, а также структурно-синтаксический анализ, лексико-семантический анализ, нарратологический и описательный методы. Исследование показало, что американская массовая литература в большей степени руководствуется дидактическими принципами при создании образа мальчика. Для создания образа мальчика в книге используются лексические и синтаксические приемы. Модификаторы (presently), дискурсивные маркеры (then, again, now), простые глагольные сказуемые (run, sit, go), фразовые глаголы (pick up, cut off), союзы (and, but), инфинитивные конструкции с целевым значением направлены на создание динамичного повествования, отражающего беспокойную, постоянно меняющуюся натуру мальчиков. Главный герой в трилогии «Бевис: история мальчика» характеризуется противоречивыми желаниями и смешанными чувствами. Мальчик не невинный дикарь в духе Руссо, но и не безжалостный дикарь из приключенческих романов. Он претерпевает изменения, которые должны помочь ему стать таким же порядочным мужчиной, как его отец.

*Ключевые слова:* концепция отрочества, идеальный мальчик, мальчик-герой, массовая литература, приключенческий роман, роман о развитии личности

## Introduction

American mass literature of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century is rarely addressed in research papers on children characters. The existing research cites on a limited number of texts which are not restricted to the topic of childhood per se. Meanwhile, certain genres of mass literature, which both feature children and appeal to them, provide a portrayal of a child intimately associated with the contemporary system of beliefs [Cawelty, 1976]. Though seemingly less sophisticated in its poetics, an adventure story about children offers a glimpse of a child's daily struggles back in the day. The for-

mulas, clichés, and stereotypes on how to raise a child and integrate them into society employed by mass literature genres to appease the general public are feeding into conceptual pathways which, in turn, shape the concept of a child transcending the fictional text.

This study chooses to review the concept of a “boy” over a gender neutral concept of a child for both methodological and cultural reasons. Once a child is a protagonist and self-sufficient actor in the story, they assume a multifaceted identity, including gender specific characteristics. In fact, except for few girl protagonists, the majority of child characters in Anglophone literature have been boys. This is even more applicable to mass literature with its action driven plot. A boy is likely to involve in dangerous activities creating a variety of plot twists which help to sustain readers’ interest [Butts, 2005, 337].

Apart from being a driving force of the narrative, a “good” or “right” boy character is indicative of societal norms associated with masculinity in a particular culture. Recent depreciation of masculinity in American culture cited by many public commentators [Hoff, 2000; Morgan, 2006] is blamed on the past “wrongs” of boys’ upbringing [Greig, 2012; Morris, 2012]. The article seeks to investigate into didactical methods employed by Richard Jeffries and Thomas Bailey Aldrich in their adventure stories about the boys. Thus, the study will outline the concept of a “good” boy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as communicated by mass literature.

## Methods and material

The methodology of the present study is based on linguistic approach to textual analysis. Linguistic profiling for boy characters includes analysis of boys’ retorts and author’s remarks in dialogues between boy characters, analysis of nonverbal interactions between the boys, as well as analysis of boys’ descriptions by adult characters. This is aimed at establishing the following linguistic categories associated with boys in the texts: discursive markers, interjections, pejoratives, modifiers, parallelism, synonyms, and repetitions. The combination of structural, syntactic, and lexical methods allows for better understanding of mass literature patterns for individual character portrayals as well as for boy demographic representation in general. Therefore, findings of linguistic analysis can reveal not only the authors’ didactical efforts in crafting an image of a boy, but also cultural biases associated with it.

The reliability of the scientific results is supported by the convincing analysis of the three texts authored by two prominent American writers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Richard Jeffries and Thomas Bailey Aldrich. *Bevis: the*



*Story of a Boy* is a three volume adventure novel about a boy called Bevis who stays on his parents' farm and interacts with the local boys over a short span of several months. Most of the time, the boys are left to each other's company; they impersonate historical and fictional characters, go on voyages and hikes, build ships and shacks, and even fight on a battlefield.

The first three volumes were written by the writer and naturalist Richard Jeffries, who was deemed one of the best children's writers by John Fowles [Fowles, 2004, 84]. The third and last volume was written by Thomas Bailey Aldrich, a writer, poet, and journalist. The latter became world famous for his semi-autobiographical novel *The Story of a Bad Boy* (1870) which is believed to have laid foundation for the "bad boy" genre [Volodarskaya, 2013, 113]. The fact that the book was authored by two different writers, one of which had been engaged with the mass literature genre for boys makes it eligible for the given study. Aldrich was able to maintain the story line and character dynamic created by a different writer, which is indicative of certain literary patterns having been established by the time.

## Discussion

Russian literary criticism has accumulated extensive research into children characters of English fiction. A literary review on the topic has shown that some viable terminology, such as the concept of childhood [Nefedova, 2005; Nenelin, 2006; Stetsenko, 2017], the image of a child [Epshstein, Yukina, 1979; Dianova, 1996; Fedotova, 2003; Vainshtein, 2020], the child archetype [Zavarova, 1994; Shanina, 2014; Zinoveva, 2021], has been coined and successfully employed in text analysis. However, methodology of literary criticism tends to refer to childhood and children as an essential component of certain genre or plot structures, foregoing the implications of fictional childhood portrayals for Anglophone culture in general.

Partly, this could be attributed to the long-standing literary tradition of using children characters for functional purposes [Grunina, Shaklein, 2021]. Boy and girl characters alike are usually reserved to the role of a mediator in the conflicts of adult protagonists [Dianova, 1996]. A child can be an onlooker acting as an insightful observer or impartial narrator. Either way, a child's personality remains sketchy, rendering attempts on the researcher's part to reveal their psychological profile irrelevant. Children characters might also appear in childhood recollections and flashbacks of adult protagonists, being stripped of a child's perspective per se

[Nikolina, 1992]. Therefore, a nominal child character falls into one of the three categories: a mediator with vague personality, an observer lacking in identity, or a distorted version of a grown self.

Apart from its methodological contribution, literary criticism has elaborated on the philosophical evolution of the child concept [Nenelin, 2006, 8; Stetsenko, 2017, 387]. The literature review on the topic has revealed a consistent pattern in ascribing certain ideological viewpoints to child characters depending on the time the book was written. This could be called a 'generational theory' [Ozhiganova, 2015] in child character interpretation, according to which romantic writers and realist writers view a child differently from their modernist or postmodernist counterparts.

Presumably, modernism is based on the Freudian concept of neuroticism in children, according to which childhood is a grim period of trauma accumulation that adversely affects the rest of a person's life. On the other hand, writers of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, regardless of their religious, ethical and aesthetic stance, view childhood as an ideal human condition and the "child's perspective" as truthful and correct, that is, one that humanity as a whole should strive for. Consequently, fictional texts about children written before the 20th century are predominantly considered somewhat Rousseauian with a naïve savage like child offered as a role model.

However, the chronological approach to childhood concept in literature, which dwells on two opposing successive philosophies, seems to be lacking in nuance. The 19<sup>th</sup> century philosophical landscape was dominated by the theory of evolution and progressive historical development, which could not but tarnish the idea of childhood as the human prime. At the same time, the Jungian school of psychoanalysis, which became widespread as early as the 20th century, encouraged a return to the wholesome childlike self [Jung, 1997]. Therefore, the writers of both the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries had a plethora of philosophies to choose from when creating a child character.

The concept of childhood in literature is also defined by the national cultural and historical background. Interestingly, American literature seems to have struggled with the concept of childlikeness as innocence and idyllic state of being [Hurst, 1990, 61; Cawelty, 2004, 112]. Adventure novels about exploration of new territories feature indigenous population which is hardly comparable to childlike innocent savages of Rousseau. On the contrary, indigenous people need to be delivered from their wild state through repentance and conversion facilitated by Puritan pilgrims [King, 2007]. Meanwhile, the New World is celebrated as a younger nation free from the sins of previous generations which crippled the Old World. Thus,

childhood and childlikeness are ambiguous concepts in American interpretation. They might be assessed as lack of self-awareness and control or as a relative sinlessness, therefore, purity.

## Results

The concept of children's ambiguous nature is supported by the texts selected for the study. In the first chapter of the first volume called "Bevis at Work" the main character presents himself as an industrious, persistent boy who is dedicated to his work.

- (1) He **would not consent to put off the work of undoing it for a moment. It must be done directly.** (V. 1, p.1)
- (2) Twice he **hit** his fingers **in his haste**, once **so hard** that he **dropped** the hammer, but he **picked it up again** and **went on** as before, **till** he had loosened the lid all round. (V. 1, p.1)
- (3) He chipped out pieces **very happily for an hour** (V. 1, p.5)
- (4) **Then on again**, thrusting the tow in with the knife, **till he had used it all.** (V. 1, p.8)

The intense abrupt rhythm of the given examples can be attributed to their semantic and prosodic characteristics communicated by adverbs ('again', 'then'), modifiers ('so', 'very', 'all'), cardinal numerals, time phrases ('for a moment', 'for an hour'), phrase verbs ('put off', 'pick up', 'go on'), modal verbs ('would not', 'must'), and other lexemes ('directly', 'haste', 'happily'). These various linguistic elements mark either a quick shift in action or a continuous effort on Bevis' part. The intensity of this episode reveals the passionate attitude Bevis has to building and creating things. Thus, the first characteristic of Bevis the author chooses to disclose to the reader is his creativity.

From the beginning, Bevis is also portrayed as a highly inquisitive boy with a zest for new skills and experiences.

- (5) Bevis, **impatient to see** what was in it, **ran** for the hard chisel and the hammer (V. 1, p1); **went to** the edge to **see** (V. 1, p.3); and then **stooped to see** (V. 1, p.7); he **ran** indoors **to see** (V. 1, p.9).

The verb 'see' is frequently used for Bevis in an infinitival clause accompanied by the verb 'run' expressing the sense of urgency. The collocation 'ran to see' reinforces the idea of exploration and discovery as a priority for a boy. Likewise, this quality defines other boys in the book. Boys' eagerness to be actors rather than passive observers is a recurrent motive

in all three volumes of the story. It is highlighted in the authors' remarks that describe boys' mannerisms.

- (6) He asked **presently** (V.1, p.69) "What river is this?" Bevis called **presently**. (V.1, p.78) "Look," said Mark **presently**. (V.1, p.90) "Listen," said Mark **presently**, putting his hand on Bevis's shoulder, and stopping him. (V.1, p.93) Presently Bevis stooped (V.1, p.97); said Mark **presently** (V.1, p.113; p. 115); said Bevis **presently** (V.1, p.117); he (Jack) pulled up **presently** (V.1, p.134); and moving it about **presently** felt a thistle. (V.2, p.13)

The adverb 'presently' modifies verbs of speech and action. This means that boys seek to engage in effective communication or activity at any moment in time. Therefore, the never failing readiness to involve with the world is a defining characteristic of "right" boyhood in the book. The author regularly stresses that 'what you really want to know is never in a book, and no one can tell you (V.1, p.107).

Paradoxically, an industrious, creative, and inquisitive Bevis can be easily distracted by a random audial or visual input.

- (7) Bevis hit it a fourth time, not at all pleased that the fir would not cut more easily, and then, **fancying he saw** something floating down the stream, **dropped** his hatchet ... (V.1, p.3)
- (8) Bevis took out his knife and **began to cut** a stick to make a toy boat, and then, **throwing it down**, wished he had a canoe. (V.1, p.3-4)
- (9) No. This would not do; Bevis **could not wait long enough; Bevis liked the sunshine and the grass under foot**. (V.1, p.6)
- (10) But though thrown aside like the hammer, **still the idea slumbered in his mind...**(V.1, p.6)

This abrupt change in Bevis is usually marked by a signposting phrase 'and then,' which is set off by commas to highlight the random cause of Bevis' digression. In example (7) Bevis is distracted by visual input; in examples (8) and (10) he is stranded by an intrusive thought; in example (9) he is lured by a more satisfying activity. Thus, the reader learns that despite being resilient to pain and driven by his goals, Bevis can become bored, indulging in daydreaming or sensual pleasure.

Even though Bevis proves inconsistent about his activities, he is hardly ever compared to a savage who is thought to be guided by instincts and impulses. In fact, the word 'savage' is used as rarely as seven times in all the three books.

- (11) Having read that that was the manner of the **savages** in wild countries (V.1, p.4)

- (12) how the **savages** dug out their canoes with flint choppers he could not think (V. 1, p.5)
- (13) “I know,” said Mark, “we must make a fire, and burn the tree: we are **savages**, you know, and that is how they do it.”  
 “How silly you are!” said Bevis. “We are *not* **savages**, and I shall not play at that. We have just discovered this river, and we are going down it on our raft; and if we do not reach some place tonight and build a fort, very likely the **savages** will shoot us. (V. 1, p.29)
- (14) They did not dare to disobey, but Mark darted a **savage** look. (V. 2, p.57)
- (15) “Well, then,” said Mark **savagely**, “you’ve forgotten the anchor.” (V. 2, p.85)

Interestingly, in example (13) Bevis is appalled at the idea that boys might impersonate savages. He stresses to Mark, an assistant boy character, that they are not savages, but rather their antagonists. By contrast, Mark embraces the savage like manner in the second volume when chooses to disobey Bevis or adult characters. In examples (14) and (15) the author indicates that Mark acts and speaks savagely. Thus, Bevis is associated with a pilgrim exploring new lands, adapting to new environments, building forts, whereas Mark might be similar to savages on certain occasions.

The juxtaposition of a boy and a savage is further addressed in episodes of boys being angry.

- (16) So Bevis **pouted**, and picked up a stone, and threw it at the Bailiff, taking good care, however not to hit him. (V. 1, p.17)
- (17) “Stop directly, and hitch the chain on my raft.” “This instant,” said Bevis, **stamping his foot**; “I’m your master.”... “You do it this minute,” said Bevis, hot in the face, “or I’ll *kill* you; but if you’ll do it I’ll give you-sixpence.” (V. 1, p.18)
- (18) “**You are a great story**,” said Bevis, **stamping** so that the **raft shook** and **the ripples rushed** from under it. “I don’t have anything, and you have more than half; and I gave you, and **you are a big story**.”  
 Out he scrambled, and **seizing** Mark by the shoulders, thrust him towards the raft with **such force** that it was with difficulty Mark saved himself from falling into the brook. (V. 1, p.32)
- (19) Mark, who was really in the right, feeling in the wrong (V. 1, p.34)

Examples (16)-(19) reveal certain patterns in Bevis angeriness depending on his counterparty’s status. The first episode (16) demonstrates the boy’s awareness of existing hierarchical structures. In presence of elders, Bevis cannot fully express his frustration; however, when the bailiff

leaves, the boy vents his anger by throwing stones in his direction. The author clarifies that Bevis is reasonable enough to avoid confrontation with a grown man. In fact, the verb 'pout' attributed to Bevis in this episode indicates that he settles into the role of a helpless inferior child next to the authoritative adult.

In example (17) Bevis is mad at an older boy with a lower status. Bevis calls himself the boy's master, unrightfully assuming his father's position. The author hints at Bevis' childish anger by adding expressions 'stamp one's foot' and 'hot in face' to his remarks. First mistaken in his judgment, Bevis quickly retreats with humility and tries to bribe his superior. Thus, examples (16) and (17) teach boys to walk the line.

Example (18) demonstrates Bevis in his power role as he reasons with Mark. Bevis does not refrain from confrontation, but acts forcefully and even violently. Bevis calls Mark 'a big story' in order to undermine his contribution to their venture, which he proceeds to do in all their arguments in the first volume. This phrase communicates the importance of discrimination even for the boys' imaginary world. The author, however, does not sympathize with Bevis' anger towards Mark, indicating that Mark is "really in the right", while Bevis is exerting power unnecessarily.

In the second volume Bevis gradually becomes aware of true reasons for his anger fits only to resort to his habitual sin.

- (20) "I won't be watched," said Bevis **angrily**: he, unconsciously, endeavored to **excuse his selfishness under rage**. (V.2, p.188)
- (21) "**It's a pity,**" he said; "Mark, **I don't like it**: shall we have them?" (V.2, p.189)
- (22) "It's very nasty of them, to watch us," said Mark. "Why should we take them for sails when they watch us?" (V.2, p.189)
- (23) "If Val's watching," said Bevis, as they came up the bank with the rugs, the last part of the load, "**he'll have to be smashed.**" (V.2, p.194)
- (24) "People who spy about ought to be **killed,**" said Mark. (V.2, p.195)

When confronting other boys on an excuse of them watching him, Bevis instantaneously realizes that his key motive is stinginess. He does not want to share the boat he has built by himself. Later, the glimpse into his selfishness makes him uncomfortable and he seeks to resolve the conflict by welcoming boys to the boat. Mark, who doesn't like the idea of sharing either, plays along with Bevis' initial sentiment and drags him into further escalation under pretense of fighting spies. The whole episode ends with the two boys' war-whoops 'kill them' and 'smash them'. Examples (20)-(24) demonstrate Bevis' gradual realization of how readily angered and easily misled he can be when blinded by his selfishness.

Even though Bevis indulged in his angry rhetoric, Mark notices the change in his friend's character by calling him 'soft'.

- (25) You're so soft –  
"Soft! — Well, I like that."  
"No; I don't mean stupid — so easy. (V.2, p.199)

The new 'soft' and 'easy' manner in Bevis is associated with his decreased level of aggression. Mark stresses that being 'soft' does not mean being 'stupid', thus referring to the preconceived association between generosity and failure. The exclamation mark in Bevis' retort indicates that he instantly resents the attribute 'soft' only to accept it as a likable quality shortly after.

The second volume features an example of Mark's sound anger. When Mark tries to escape detention in order to rescue Bevis, he acts violently for the right reason. He bangs the door and smashes the lock, causing harm to his body.

- (26) He **yelled till he was hoarse**, and **hit the door till his fists became numbed**. Then suddenly he sat down quite quiet on the stone steps, and the tears came into his eyes. ..Dashing the tears away, up he jumped, and looked round to see if he could find anything to **burst the door open**...he (like Bevis) was hungry, and **so angry he did not care what he did** (V.2, p.47)
- (27) **With all his might** (V.2, p.49)
- (28) He **hit the lock a tremendous bang** (V.2, p.50)

Examples (26)-(28) demonstrate that anger can be a heroic attribute, which helps Mark to push his limits. Interestingly, Mark's anger is mimicked by the nature itself. When Mark breaks free, he has to fight with the storm to reach to his friend and self-proclaimed leader, Bevis.

- (29) The boat now pitched **furiously**. The **raging** waters rushed (V.2, p.52)

Thus, examples (26) — (29) teach the reader that ruthless nature can be defeated by righteous anger. In similar episodes when violent natural phenomena are chosen for the story's backdrop, the lexemes 'anger' and 'angry' are not applied to forces of nature, which highlights the idea that they are devoid of morality and accountability as opposed to humans. Similarly, animals can be described as enraged, but not angered: 'it (the dog) was raging over them (fleas)' (V.1, 6). Therefore, 'fury' and 'rage' are not viewed as characteristic features of boys' appropriate behavior, but rather as inhuman or animal like.

Other boys in the book do not exercise Bevis' self-awareness or Mark's integrity when being angry. They easily fly into rage when fighting one another.

- (30) They **had hammered** Bevis by sheer dint of knocks down on his knees again... **Bevis could hit no more**; he warded as well as he could, he could not return. (V. 1, p.287)  
Ted Pompey, who had watched this scene for a moment without moving, **smiled grimly** as he saw Bevis could not hit. (V. 1, p.287)
- (31) Ted's chest **heaved with the fury of his blows**; as Ted swung it still **fiercer** (V. 2, p.5)

It is noteworthy that lexemes 'hammer', 'grimly', 'blow', 'fury', and 'fierce' are never attributed to Bevis or Mark, who 'hit', 'stamp their feet', 'shake', and promise to 'kill' one another when angered. By contrast, Ted, Bevis' archenemy, goes as far as to push Bevis off the cliff.

- (32) Ted's face became of a **leadен pallor**, his heart stopped beating; an uncontrollable horror seized upon him...He fled from his own act.  
How many have done that who could have faced the world! (V. 2, p.7)

The description of change in Ted's appearance as he realizes the consequence to his anger fit is somewhat melodramatic and clichéd. Ted goes white in face; his heart stops; horror seizes upon him. The shift in the character's appearance is followed by the author's statement about lack of accountability in people.

Further into the story, the author allows the boys to resolve their conflict on their own terms as he doesn't supply their retorts with remarks.

- (33) "But aren't you angry?" said Ted.  
"Angry — why?"  
"Because I sent you over."  
But you didn't do it purposely."  
"No, *that* I didn't," said Ted, with all his might.  
From that moment they were better friends than had ever been before. (V. 2, p.64)

The dialogue between Bevis and Ted in example (33) demonstrates the transient nature of their intense feelings. Temper tantrums are quickly followed by exiting games which, in turn, lead to new outbursts of anger and violence.

This emotional volatility manifests in the way boys treat animals. The first volume explores Bevis' treatment of his dog. Though being attached to his pet, Bevis likes to discipline it with undue force. In the early days of their friendship, Bevis offers Mark to hit his dog as a courtesy. They go



on to punch, and bang the animal together; the episode lasts for five pages culminating in Bevis throwing the dog into the water. The author emphasizes the pleasure Bevis and Mark experience in that moment by stating that ‘the delicious brook filled their ears with music’ (V.1, p.46).

In the first volume, Bevis’ sympathy towards different creatures proves to be overall selective. He seems to be protective of inferior beings and ruthless to those he deems predators. When the boys find a nest with newly hatched chicks, the young birds’ vulnerability sends Bevis into ‘ecstasy of sentiment’ (V1, p.44) so that he promises to ‘smash’ his dog if he tries to approach them.

This episode refers to boy’s understanding of fair treatment and judgment. The smaller or younger species should be preserved, while their bigger or older counterparties can be hurt and even killed. The same way they prosecute cat when they see it catch and eat a fish alive.

- (34) “What a horrid thing!” said Mark. “She ate the fish alive — cruel wretch! Let’s kill her.”  
“Kill her,” said Bevis. (V.1, p.57)

Example (33) indicates a lack of reason in boys. Their judgment is immediate and the verdict is ultimate. Most importantly, boys fail to see their hypocrisy and double standards. Bevis and Mark believe that hunting for food is a punishable crime for a cat while hunting for fun themselves. The very essence of boys’ characters is contradictory be it animals or humans they associate with. Bevis and Mark alike do not hesitate to make vile threats to an animal or a boy without being threatened by them. They simultaneously want to hurt and to heal their counterparties, which is being consistently reinforced by the author.

- (35) With the usual contradiction of the mind they earnestly set about to deceive their friends, and were equally anxious not to give them any pain. (p.198)

On the contrary, adult characters demonstrate an appropriate response to inappropriate behaviors.

- (36) The authorities were **wroth**, though secretly glad to see him. Nothing was said; **the wrath** was too deep for reproaches. (V.2, p.57)
- (37) At Bevis’s home the authorities were still **more wroth**... (V.2, p.74)  
There was **more wrath** about the battle than any of their previous misdeeds (V.2, p.74)  
But now Bevis and Mark were **in deep disgrace**. (V.2, p.75)  
These tormentors (V.2, p.76)

When adults, especially those in parent roles, are said to feel anger or dissatisfaction with boys, they are compared to biblical characters and even godlike figures. In fact, 'wroth' and 'wrath' are the most common descriptors of Bevis' father in the books. The author labels parents as 'authorities' and calls boys 'these tormentors'. Since only the latter name evokes criticism, they are likely to reflect both the parent and the author's perspective.

Interestingly, the ultimate parents' anger manifests in their silence, as opposed to boys who are quick to threaten and act on it. The only visual representation of anger in a grown character but for a parent could be an attribute 'black'. Adults can 'look blackly' (V.1, p.27) or can be 'black as thunder' (V.2, 68) if they are workers on the farm or servants. Boys themselves can also be black because of anger. This, however, is not applicable to the master or mistress. They are beyond unreasonable savage fury or rage.

Ironically, unjust treatment of others results from boys pursuing justice and fairness. The words 'proper', 'right', 'good' are common in their dialogues. From the second volume on, Bevis is pleased when he acts morally and feels bad when he is in the wrong.

## Conclusion

The study has observed the concept of boyhood and the concept of a boy as presented in the three-volume novel *Bevis: the Story of a Boy*. The article has considered the structural and contextual implications to the texts in view, navigating literature and philosophy landscapes of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Boys' linguistic personalities, as well as their characteristics by the author have been analyzed to establish culturally relevant patterns for boy characters in the chosen book. The literature review on the topic has revealed that the concept of a boy in the late 19<sup>th</sup> American literature is psychologically complex. *The Story of a Boy* supports this concept, featuring ambiguous boy characters. Bevis, the protagonist, represents this ambiguity to a greater extent. He is sympathetic and cruel, giving and selfish, angry and soft, driven and indulgent, persistent and irritable. However bad he might be at times though; the author is certain to emphasize that he never walks the line. Bevis observes hierarchical structures and norms of decency. This reveals the didactical efforts of the writer in communicating societal expectations to boy readers.

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## DIDACTIC PROSPECTS OF NON-REFERENTIAL USE OF NAMES IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

The article is focused on the didactic perspectives of the interpretation of the non-referential use of names in the foreign language learning process, according to the system cognitive approach by G. P. Schedrovitsky. Assuming the fact that foreign language learning is associated with a number of signs which are used non-referentially for an individual (supposing the individual does not know the meaning of the word he / she interprets), the procedure of the interpretation of the non-transparent text looks presumably similar to the foreign language learning. The following comparison will be based on the system cognitive approach to the learning process by G. P. Schedrovitsky. Correspondingly, we suggest considering the foreign language process as interpretation of a non-transparent text. Each word that has an ambiguous meaning to the learner will be analysed in different dimensions (phonetic references to the words that have certain meaning, grammar analysis, etc.) Thus, the learner is supposed to be acquainted to the communicative situation which is common to the particular word. As a result, the semiotic transparency of the text is believed to increase much. The learner will be given a number of derivations, synonyms, antonyms, and the entire discourse related to a certain word or phrase. This is one of the most effective ways to the new social performance for the individual — the foreign language use.

*Keywords:* systematic cognitive approach, probabilistic interpretation, referentially non-transparent text, interpretation filters

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### ДИДАКТИЧЕСКИЕ ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ НЕРЕФЕРЕНЦИАЛЬНОГО ИСПОЛЬЗОВАНИЯ ИМЕН В ИЗУЧЕНИИ ИНОСТРАННЫХ ЯЗЫКОВ

В статье раскрывается дидактический потенциал неререферентного употребления имён в процессе изучения иностранных языков в контексте системомыследеятельностного подхода Г. П. Щедровицкого. Если принять во внимание тот факт, что изучение иностранного языка предполагает наличие в тексте знаков, употреблённых неререферентно для конкретного интерпретатора (мы говорим о ситуации референциальной непрозрачности текста по причине незнания интерпретатором перевода слов, входящих в его состав), становится возможным сопоставление процесса изучения иностранного языка и интерпретации

референциально непрозрачного текста. Мы предлагаем рассматривать ситуацию изучения иностранного языка как акт вероятностной интерпретации референциально непрозрачного текста. Каждая словоформа, не имеющая на момент интерпретации значения для обучающегося, должна подвергаться анализу в нескольких плоскостях (фонетический анализ на наличие сближений с уже известными словоформами; анализ грамматического значения и т. д.) Это предполагает помещение обучающегося в общепринятый для конкретной лексемы акт коммуникации с характерным контекстом употребления, что, в свою очередь, увеличивает референциальную прозрачность семиозиса. Обучающийся, таким образом, получит широкое представление о словоформе, её дериватах, возможных значениях и контекстах их употребления, а также усвоит материал средств и способов новой для него деятельности: владения иностранным языком.

*Ключевые слова:* системомыследеятельностный подход, вероятностная интерпретация, референциально непрозрачный текст, фильтры интерпретации

## Introduction

The authors' neologisms and the texts containing neologisms have always been of exceptional interest to linguists and literary scholars due to the role of neologisms in the individual style of the writer. At the same time, linguists find neologisms highly potential in terms of derivation and semantics. In fact, semiotic analysis of authors' neologisms, or non-referential use of names, has never been in the limelight of linguistic research for a long period of time. Except for the thesis by M. Krajewska [Krajewska, 2003] and several other studies [Handke, 1991; Lem and translators, 2010] one can hardly find neologisms mentioned in semiotic researches.

Nevertheless, the potential of the nonreferential use of names has to be claimed in many fields of knowledge, including pedagogy and foreign language learning. Moreover, the semiotic analysis of the non-referential use of names tends to have wide perspectives in logical-philosophical language analysis, translation, the theory of reference, and the theory of interpretation. In addition, the study of the non-referential use of names may reveal different strategies of the referentially non-transparent texts' interpretation.

The non-referential use of names is believed to refer to objects that exist in the text view of the world only. This process differs from neologisms being a tool for creating fantasy text worlds (L. Carroll, S. Lem, etc.) Meanwhile, author's neologisms are commonly used for conveying the author's view of the real world. Therefore, the expanding of the non-

referential use of names in the text and the lack of terms and proper names lead to the increase of the referential non-transparency of the text. The interpretation of the referentially non-transparent text tends to have a probabilistic potential.

In terms of foreign language learning, an individual may face similar difficulties in interpreting the text, including unknown foreign words and phrases. The semiosis in that case is reckoned to become more and more nontransparent, as the reader finds more and more nonreferential (to him at the moment of interpretation) use of names. The lack of knowledge decreases an opportunity to perceive the text view of the world, according to the author's 'signals' from the text. Therefore, the interpreter's ability to reconstruct the text view of the world is certainly linked to the knowledge of the referents of the signs in the text. As described, the referential non-transparency of the text can be reduced by means of the probabilistic interpretation.

### Methods and material

Probabilistic interpretation is characterised by the filters, such as a phonetic one, grammar-syntactic, and a context one. The essence of this method of interpretation lies in consequent analysis of morphemes, lexemes, grammar meaning, syntactic role of words and phrases, and context. Given the above, the interpreter seeks all the meanings he can find in the text aiming the decrease in the referential non-transparency of the text, and, consequently, the non-transparency of the text view of the world. Having done the probabilistic interpretation of the text, the interpreter then is able to perceive the text view of the world, even though it is a fantasy world which critically differs from the real one. For instance, we read S. Lem's "Solaris": *"Jak długo mógł, posługiwał się po prostu językiem opisu, a kiedy barkło mu słów, radził sobie, stwarzając nowe słowa, często niefortunne, nie przystające do opisywanych zjawisk. Ale w końcu żadne terminy nie oddają tego, co się dzieje na Solaris. Jego „górodrzewy”, jego „długonie”, „grzybiska”, „mimoidy”, „symetriady” i „asymetriady”, „pacierzowce” i „chyże” brzmią szalenie sztucznie, dają jednak jakieś wyobrażenie o Solaris nawet tym, którzy oprócz niewyraźnych fotografii i nader niedoskonałych filmów nic nie widzieli."* [Lem, 2012, p.177] ("He used descriptions, if it was possible, otherwise, having no words to use, he just created new ones, which sometimes sounded awkwardly, and not linked to the phenomena he spoke about. Finally, those coined terms had nothing similar to Solaris, and her features. His 'mountrees', 'longies', 'funghists', 'mimoides', 'symmetriades', and 'assymetriades', 'prayeries', and 'brisks' seem to

be extremely artificial, nevertheless, they somehow help imagine Solaris even those who had never seen anything but blurred photos, and dubious films.”)<sup>1</sup> After having done the probabilistic interpretation of this excerpt, the interpreter is able to comprise all the meanings of the non-referential use of names from the text, and reconstruct the text view of the world where there is a planet named Solaris, and Solaris is covered with the gigantic ocean characterised by a plenty of huge waves of different sophisticated forms which might be seen even from space. The form of each wave may be imagined due to the phonetic references to the words that have certain meaning (‘mount’, ‘tree’, ‘pray’, etc.), grammar analysis of the morphemes, syntactic roles of the author’s neologisms in the sentences, and the context (the plot, set of characters, literary allusions, etc.)

As can be seen, the context of the interpretation of the referentially non-transparent texts may be widened to all the texts that seem to be complicated in terms of perceiving the text view of the world. *Sensu lato* we suggest regarding texts comprising unknown (to the interpreter at the moment of interpretation) foreign lexemes, slang, terms, proper names, etc. as referentially non-transparent texts. Ergo, the probabilistic interpretation is reckoned to become one of the most efficient ways of interpretation, and of foreign language learning, correspondingly.

The aims of the paper are: (1) to determine the probabilistic analysis of the text; (2) to characterize the filters of the probabilistic interpretation; (3) to analyze the systematic cognitive approach to the language learning process; (4) to describe a lesson based on the systematic cognitive approach and the probabilistic interpretation both; (5) to reveal the interrelation between the referential non-transparency of the text and the foreign language learning process.

The material analyzed includes passages with the non-referential use of names that demonstrate the students’ perception of the text including unknown words and phrases.

The probabilistic interpretation demands a focus on the text as a sign referring to the text view of the world. For this reason, cognition, memory, imagination should be clearly explained step by step throughout the interpretation process. Especially, in the learning process, when students need the transparent ‘broadcast’ of the teacher’s cognitive processes to learn ‘how to think’. This idea is the cornerstone of the systematic cognitive approach to the learning process by G. P. Schedrovitsky.

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<sup>1</sup> The translation provided here and then is done by the author of the article (C. Smerdova).



The singular cognitive operation, according to G.P.Schedrovitsky, means the practical dimension of the cognitive process [Schedrovitsky, 1995]. Thus, the main aim of the learning process focuses on the appropriation by the individual the practical performance in the social reproduction sphere. Moreover, the individual learns the practical performance structure, and repeats it by the means of the tools and strategies of working including these tools. Consequently, the difficulty of the task does not guarantee the efficiency of the learning process. Instead the learner should be given a transparent view of the cognitive process that has led a teacher to the solution of the task. Therefore, the teacher's role is to represent all the intricacies of the singular cognitive operations during the solving of the task period.

The connection between the semiotic study of probabilistic interpretation and the systematic cognitive approach to the learning process provides a new way of foreign language learning that consists of consequent stages of semiotic and linguistic analysis of the signs in the text leading to the successful reconstruction of the text view of the world, and the wide knowledge of the foreign language being learnt.

### Semiotic analysis

G.P.Schedrovitsky's approach to the learning process supposes the teacher's role as a 'transmitter' of a practical performance. Accordingly, the foreign language learning process is believed to reflect a teacher's ability to interpret the text by means of the linguistic and semiotic knowledge he has. The more transparent the teacher's explanation of his own cognitive processes performed during the interpretation is, the more effective the student's performance is. Hence, the classwork with the text is supposed to include several stages, each of them provide the analysis of probabilistic filters of interpretation:

- a phonetic filter — helps to find all the references to Latin, Greek, native language, other languages familiar to students;
- a grammar-syntactic filter — provides the information about the meaning of particular morphemes, lexemes, syntactic role of the words / phrases in the text;
- a context filter — plays a critical role in the text view of the world reconstruction, when an interpreter 'builds' the layers of the text world, finds the syntagmatic links reflecting relationships between phenomena in the text world.

To clarify, we demonstrate the systematic cognitive approach to the foreign language learning process with the help of L. Carroll's "Through

the looking-glass, and what Alice found there”: “*Twas brillig, and the slythy toves / Did gyre and gimble in the wabe; / All mimsy were the borogoves, / And the mome raths outgrabe.*” [Carroll, 1871] Looking through the ‘language-glass’, we clearly see that ‘*bryllig*’ is derived from the verb to ‘*bryl*’ or ‘*broil*’, ‘the time of broiling dinner, i.e. the close of the afternoon’; ‘*slythy*’: (compounded of ‘*slimy*’ and ‘*lithe*’) ‘smooth and active’; ‘*tove*’: a species of badger, they had smooth white hair, long hind legs, and short horns like a stag, lived chiefly on cheese; ‘*gyre*’: verb (derived from ‘*gyaour*’ or ‘*giaour*’: ‘a dog’) ‘to scratch like a dog’; ‘*gymble*’: (whence ‘*gimblet*’) to screw out holes in anything; ‘*wabe*’: (derived from the verb to ‘*swab*’ or ‘*soak*’) ‘the side of a hill’ (from it’s being soaked by the rain); ‘*mimsy*’: (whence ‘*mimserable*’ and ‘*miserable*’) ‘unhappy’; ‘*borogove*’: an extinct kind of a parrot, they had no wings, beaks turned up, made their nests under sun-dials and lived on veal; ‘*mome*’: (hence ‘*solemome*’ ‘*solemone*’ and ‘*solemn*’) ‘grave’; ‘*rath*’: a species of land turtle; ‘*outgrabe*’: past tense of the verb to ‘*outgribe*’, ‘*squeaked*’ [Alice, 2022]. Compare with Carroll’s comments: “*It was evening, and the smooth active badgers were scratching and boring holes in the hill side; all unhappy were the parrots, and the grave turtles squeaked out.*” [Ibid.] Having contrasted the author’s comment to his poem, having ‘filtered’ the text via probabilistic filters, the interpreter happens to realise that there are particular rules for:

- pronunciation — ‘*slimy*’ and ‘*lithe*’ are pronounced with /ai/, thus, *slythy* may be pronounced the same;
- derivation — ‘*slythy*’ and ‘*mimsy*’ are adjectives derived by means of the suffix -y-;
- grammar — the type of conjugation of irregular verbs is shown in such forms, as ‘*outgribe*’ / ‘*outgrabe*’.

Moreover, the interpreter can see the language ‘at work’, and, namely, the text view of the world hidden behind the words. If we make an assumption that any kind of information in a foreign language appears as a referentially non-transparent text including non-referential use of names, we may conclude that probabilistic interpretation demonstrates the meanings which were intended to the text but hardly can be seen by a reader. In addition, the students can see that the linguistic analysis includes various cognitive operations, such as, logic, comparison, contrasting, self-regulation, emotional intelligence, etc. Reading becomes similar to a journey full of images from various texts and films, of real world features, of feelings and actions that happen in their everyday life. Students may be introduced to ‘the Universe of senses’ that is hidden behind the lines of the texts. This didactic role of the semiotic analysis of the text appears to have a critical impact in pedagogy.

## Results and discussion

The results clearly show that the probabilistic analysis along with the systematic cognitive approach to the learning process by G. P. Schedrovitsky have certain impact on the efficiency of the foreign language learning process. Especially, the study represents the potential of non-referential use of names as tools for clear and accessible to students demonstration of various linguistic and semiotic processes.

On the contrary, there is a limitation based on the teacher's encounter in interpretation. Furthermore, teachers should have a wide range of reader experience, including knowledge of references between texts in the discourse. However, the curriculum from time to time kerbs teacher research in linguistics and literature, stating particular goals to be achieved in a particular period of time. Furthermore, the state standard demands the achievement of certain educational results that cannot be omitted. There is also a system of inner and outer role of educational results that imposes requirements for the educational establishments. Ultimately, the systematic cognitive approach faces precise limitations of public education which sometimes appear to be hard to overcome. In particular, we also must consider the reluctance of teachers to go above and beyond the curriculum and the student's book due to their busyness and insufficient support from the school administration.

However, the implementation of probabilistic interpretation into the language learning process (either native, or foreign) positively increases the ability of students to understand various linguistic and literary terms and functions. The authors' neologisms are reckoned to be examples of a wide range of lexical and grammar rules. Furthermore, the clear explanation of the cognitive processes performed by the teacher while interpreting the text (or an item of non-referential use of names) trains the logic and critical thinking of the students, along with memory, attention and imagination.

The results of the study may be of interest to language and literature teachers, students of faculties of pedagogy. The study should be validated in the scientific community as an example of the use of complicated theories (the theory of reference, the theory of interpretation) in pedagogy. This research may help teachers demonstrate sophisticated linguistic processes in a more efficient way.

## Conclusion

The didactic potential of non-referential use of names is undoubtedly great. Especially, the nonreferential use of names provides various

opportunities for foreign language teachers. The explanation of linguistic processes based on the probabilistic interpretation of author's neologisms make an alternative way of receiving the sophisticated information about language and literature by the students.

Author's neologisms, or the non-referential use of names, are claimed to be a tool for coining the fantasy text view of the world. The probabilistic interpretation, namely, includes the consequent analysis of the phonetic, morphemic, lexical, syntactic layers of the words / phrases, and the context. After doing the probabilistic analysis, the interpreter is able to decrease the referential nontransparency of the text, including the author's neologisms. Hence, the interpreter has an opportunity to reconstruct the text view of the world, even a fantasy one.

Apparently, the systematic cognitive approach to the learning process by G. P. Schedrovitsky provides teachers with a means of education based on a clear explanation of logical steps, cognitive processes supporting the solving of the task (including the text analysis in different ways). Being taught obvious ways of thinking, having a wide encounter in reading, reflecting on strategies chosen to solve the task, a student gains not knowledge only, but functional literacy, the ability to think critically, the power to interpret any type of text, even with unknown words or signs in it.

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## PUBLIC ADVERTISING DISCOURSE SEMANTICS

The article dwells upon the semantics of public advertising discourse in English, French and Russian cultures. The aim of the study is to bring to light the specifics of the semantic component in advertising and to study the ways of conveying meaning. The study is based on broad linguistic material that includes 1400 public advertising posters and 100 videos in three languages and applies descriptive, comparative and statistical methods, discourse analysis and linguacultural method. The research has shown the main tools of non-verbal and extralinguistic meaning formation in a polycode text, such as colour, graphical images, visual text features, paralinguistic and extralinguistic speech features. It has shown that the meanings of a public advertisement are largely presented in the graphical and sound component. The study is a part of a broader study of linguacultural features of public advertising discourse.

*Keywords:* public advertising, discourse, colour semantics, extralinguistics, linguaculturology, allusions

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### СЕМАНТИКА ДИСКУРСА СОЦИАЛЬНОЙ РЕКЛАМЫ

Данное исследование посвящено семантике дискурса социальной рекламы в англо-, франко- и русскоязычной лингвокультурах. Целью исследования является выявление специфики семантического компонента рекламных материалов и исследование средств передачи смысла. Исследование строится на обширном языковом материале: 1400 постеров и 100 видеороликов социальной тематики на трех языках. В основу исследования легли описательный, сравнительный, статистический и лингвокультурологический методы, а также дискурс-анализ. В ходе исследования выявлены основные инструменты неязыкового и околоязыкового передачи значения в поликодовом тексте: цвет, графическое изображение, визуальные характеристики текста, пара- и экстралингвистические параметры речи. Выявлено, что смыслы социального рекламного сообщения заключены не только в тексте, но и в графическом и звуковом оформлении. Данное исследование является частью более обширного кандидатского исследования лингвокультурных особенностей дискурса социальной рекламы.

*Ключевые слова:* социальная реклама, дискурс, семантика цвета, экстралингвистика, лингвокультурология, аллюзия

## Introduction

Public advertising is an essential part of social life. It can be defined as a polycode phenomenon that combines spoken or written text and graphical materials. The features of public advertising discourse intersect with the features of commercial advertising discourse but possess a number of unique features that are mostly related to the aim and object of advertising — social phenomena rather than products and services. Advertising discourse uses a whole range of techniques to influence the recipients. These include communicative strategies and linguistic creativity on all language levels. However, one of the most important aspects of advertising is the graphical component, which is not just a separate picture but a combination of graphics and text that function together. Typography is used as a means of conveying meaning through the visual image of the text, creating a polycode text.

## Methods and materials

The research is based on 1400 polycode texts of public advertising posters and 100 video advertisements in Russian, English and French. These materials are aimed at broad audience and reflect the current social issues of the cultures. All materials are open-source and have been selected with unselected sampling in google.ru, google.com, google.fr and yandex.ru search engines with such keywords as *social ad*, *social advertisement*, *social advertising*, *publicité sociale (contre)*, *publicité sociale française*, *affiche sociale (contre)*, *социальная реклама*, *российская социальная реклама*. The study is based on descriptive, comparative and statistical methods, discourse analysis and linguacultural method.

## Results and discussion

One of the important features of an advertising text is the connection between its components. In advertising, the components are interdependent, and there can be several types of connection between them. Advertising text semantics differ from the semantics of a regular text as advertisements contain a graphical representation of the information, or a linguavisual complex [Khatmullina, 2009]. The complex consists of the text and the graphical image that can either be in an autosemantic relationship (the text either describes the image or doubles it) or in a sense-semantic relationship (one of the components is dependent on the other) [Panina, 1999]. An example of the first type is a picture in a kids' alphabet book or a visual dictionary.

In case of sinsemantic connection, there are three possible dependency types:

1. The image dominates the text, so that the text conveys meaning but loses it without the image [Nefedova, Sotnikova, 2020, p.20]. An example of this type is a map legend.
2. The image and the text add to each other's meaning. In this case, the text has its own meaning but may be misinterpreted without the image [Nefedova, Sotnikova, 2022]
3. The image contradicts the text. It happens when the two parts are not connected or related [Gorelik, 2012].

The first type of connection is when one component dominates the other. In video advertising, it is usually the graphical part that dominates the text as the main information is transmitted through video. In posters, most images need a verbal explanation because one and the same image can be used with several ideas. Fig.1 represents the situation where the graphical component dominates the verbal. The text (digits) cannot be interpreted in a correct way without the image.



Fig. 1. Public advertisement *Pristegnis (Belt up)*

The opposite situation, where text dominates and images perform a background function, is rare in public advertising discourse and can be seen in advertising whose purpose is to inform. Fig.2 shows an example of public advertisements in which the verbal component without the image is interpreted correctly and the images without the text do not transmit any particular ideas.

The second type of connection is complementarity, when the components add to each other's meaning. In this case, the text without the



Fig. 2. Coronavirus public advertisement



Fig. 3. Public advertisement *Clean up after your dog*

image may be misinterpreted, and the image without the text may not be understood. The text in Fig.3 conveys the right meaning, but the first sentence — *Shit is not a cool brand* — will not be understood without the image. The picture of the sneakers with a dirty part resembling Adidas logo can be interpreted as an implication of the poor quality of the brand.

The third type of connection is contradiction, when the components either convey opposing ideas or are not related at all. No examples of this type have been found during the research in public advertising. It can be assumed that this connection type contradicts the aim of public advertising. A public advertisement is supposed to attract attention and be decoded easily, but if the image and the text contradict each other, it increases the possibility of decoding problems. Nevertheless, this method is observed in commercial advertising. The example in fig.5 shows a car, so a recipient may assume that the advertisement is related to car services.



If they do not have a car, they may not pay attention to this message at all. Yet the product advertised here is an anti-insect spray.

Sometimes content creators use shocking images or slogans for immediate attention attraction. It is also a feature of commercial advertising, and the components convey meaning. Still, shocking advertising can be considered vulgar and inappropriate and be banned. This happened to Nebar night club in Chelyabinsk, where some sex-related slogans and images with double meaning were used.

Semantics is also related to various ways of conveying meaning. In advertising, every aspect is important. The choice of colours, fonts and other details is based on the various connotation of those details.

Colour is one of the most important aspects of the polycode text. It can attract attention to the whole message or its elements, emphasise elements, alter people's emotional state, be a symbol of an abstract concept or create an aesthetic image [Anisimova, 2003, p.1].

In advertising, colour can perform structural, expressive, symbolising, conveying, connection and emphasising functions [Kaftandzhiev, 2005]. It can also be used to attract attention.

Each colour has its own connotations that are either universal or cultural. The core connotations are mostly related to nature and its features. For instance, blue is associated with the sky or the sea [Kudrina, Meshcheryakov, 2011].

The inner periphery mostly contains abstract notions, human personality traits and other concepts that are typically uncovered during psychology sessions. These ideas are similar for wide geographical territories, for example, Europe. For example, black is associated with death, mourning, evil, emptiness, depression and negativity. Red symbolizes love, passion, warmth, energy, aggression. Culturally specific layer reflects historical development of the culture, so the similarities of it in different cultures can be a sign of their common past [Kudrina, Meshcheryakov, 2011].

The analysis of advertisements has shown that the choice of colours is connected to the topic of the messages. Many examples represent a clear scheme of deliberate colour usage. One of best examples is the governmental websites related to coronavirus. The Russian website Stopcoronavirus (стопкоронавирус.рф) uses white, red and blue, which is a patriotic reference to the Russian flag. Blue is used for the main website elements and creates sense of stability and calmness while red emphasizes the most important and negative information, such as death statistics. In the USA, Australia and France, blue colour is used in the same way. The UK government website applies the combination of yellow and black. Black symbolizes negativity and death, and yellow is related to danger and illness. The

combination of these colours comes from nature — bees and wasps — and it is a vivid signal of danger [Nefedova, Sotnikova, 2022, p.24].

Coronavirus advertisements represent opposing tendencies in terms of colour use. While in the UK, the above-mentioned combination of yellow and black was used in most messages, Australia went a different way applying soft shades of blue, yellow and turquoise. It can be related to the way the disease spread. In the UK, there was a sudden outburst which resulted in fast lockdown and aggressive advertising. In Australia, the spread of COVID was slow, so most advertisements aimed at gentle informing and keeping calm in the society. This changed in 2021 and resulted in a change in colour use and communicative strategies.

Black and grey colours are widely used in advertisements about domestic violence. Grey and brown are typical for messages on social issues and the elderly as they both symbolize decay, sadness and calmness. Contrasted colours, such as black and red, are used for different topics: in Russia, it is mostly bad habits and road safety while in English and French discourse this combination is most often seen in advertisements about discrimination and violence.

Pink is used in Russian advertising related to children as it is associated with maternity, gentleness and girls. In Europe, pink is a well-known symbol of campaigns devoted to breast cancer. Pink ribbon is the symbol used by organizations that support anti-cancer programs. It was popular in Russia in 2000s because of the popularity of Avon but can rarely be seen in recent years.

Colour as a semantic element is one of the most common advertising tools. Colour sets the tone of the whole message and can convey meaning without any verbal component.

Another graphical feature that bears meaning in advertising is text itself. Beside reading, any text can be seen as an image, and this is actively applied in advertising. Book or article texts that are made for reading must be 'invisible' and rhythmical — simple form of elements, regular spaces between characters, etc. Advertising texts need to be visually attractive and create an image that a recipient can easily memorise [Korol'kova, 2011, p.17].

Each font has its unique style and connotations. Stroked fonts like Times New Roman are traditional and create a respectable and premium image. They are typical for law and insurance companies and long-existing brands. Slab serif fonts are more energetic and original, yet they still have the same traditional aura, for example, Rockwell or Museo. Sans-serif fonts (without strokes — Arial, Century Gothic, etc) are minimalistic and often used by modern brands. Cursive fonts, such as Lobster or Zap-

fino, that resemble handwriting are the most emotional and romantic but can be difficult to read, so they are mostly used to emphasise single words and short phrases.

Punctuation marks are rare in advertising slogans. The modern Internet culture has changed the way we perceive punctuation. Period is no longer used in messages as it adds seriousness and anger, and more than 80% of Internet users do not use it in daily communication [Grekhova, 2019]. The use of period in advertising is rare and it adds a serious connotation to the message (see Fig.4).

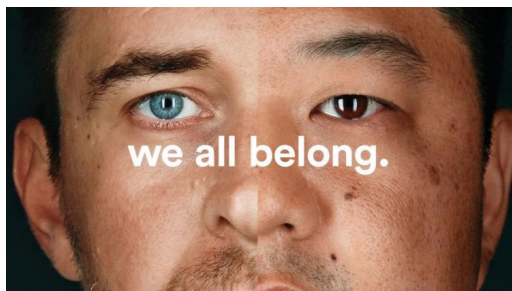


Fig. 4. The use of punctuation in public advertising

Text can be styled for certain purposes. Stylisation can affect single characters or words so that they are perceived as visual images related to the meaning of the message. It creates additional meanings and eliminates the need for a separate image. One of the best examples of this kind is the Russian project *Vsyo ravno?!* (see Fig.5) where the letter T visualises a corkscrew.

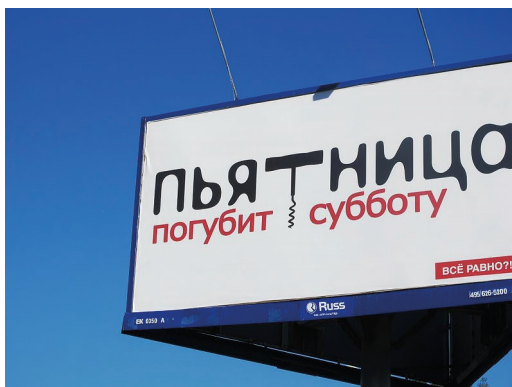


Fig. 5. Russian public advertising about alcohol addiction

The idea of social distance during the COVID pandemic created an opportunity for the use of kerning — distance between symbols. Many brands used this tool in their advertising material to visualise the importance of keeping the distance between people (see Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Audi coronavirus advertisement

Graphical decomposition of text with the help of different fonts, styles or additional graphical elements is used to create double meanings. *Vsyo ravno?!* created an advertisement on how smoking can influence childbirth. The smoke coming from the phrase *Kurenije vyzyvayet besplodie* (smoking leads to infertility), which is coloured black and orange to represent a cigarette, divides the word *Roditeli* (parents) into the question *Rodite li?* (Will you be able to give birth?) (see Fig. 7). This example is a unique combination of the use of graphics, colours and meaning modification based on play-upon-words.

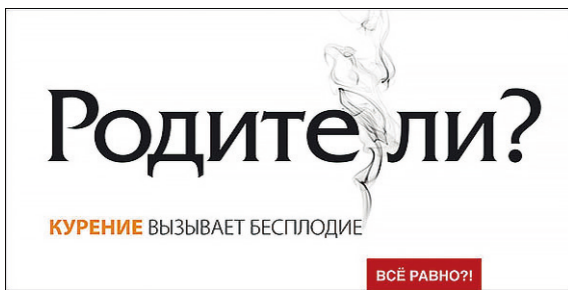


Fig. 7. Russian public advertising on smoking and infertility

Graphical and linguistic allusions also create additional meanings. Allusion is a speech figure in which there is a reference to a side object or situation that is usually well-known in the audience. The main difference

between allusion and reference is that the latter is direct while the former is indirect so that the audience must establish the connection themselves. Allusions refer to precedent cultural phenomena such as literature, people, or situations. One of the COVID advertisements in Moscow subway states: *Brosaniye perchatki mozhет privesti k nepopravimym posledstviyam* (*Throwing a glove can lead to irrevocable consequences*) (Fig.8). The main message is about the need to put used gloves into trash bins, but it also refers to the practice of duels. It was typical to invite a person to a duel by throwing a glove at them. Both the duel and the irresponsibility during the COVID pandemic can lead to death.



Fig. 8. Russian coronavirus advertisement in Moscow subway

Graphical allusions are more difficult to interpret. The poster in Fig.9 shows a rhetorical question *Мама, почему я дебил?* (*Mom, why am I a moron?*). The dark background and the colours used in the question mark are an allusion to an alcoholic drink Jaguar that was popular in Russia in 2000s and has the same colours in its logo design.



Fig. 9. Graphical allusion in Russian public advertising

Video advertising uses the same graphical tools but also applies a number of paralinguistic and extralinguistic vocal features, such as speech speed, masculine or feminine voice, laughter etc., for extra connotations.

Speech speed is a cultural feature. On average, the French speak faster than the English or Americans [Vasilik, 2009]. Such differences can be regional: in Russia, people from Moscow speak slower than those living in Ural. In general, faster speech shows impulsiveness or sureness while slower speech creates the impression of sensibility. Breaking speech rhythm shows anxiety. Extralinguistic features, such as laughter, pauses or gasps, can be used to denote specific emotional states and to evoke certain feelings in recipients [Vasilik, 2009].

Researchers differentiate nine types of non-verbal information that is contained in the way words are pronounced [Psychology of..., 2003]:

1. Emotional: emotions of the speaker related to them, their opponent, and the topic of discussion.
2. Aesthetic: certain voices sound more pleasant than others. Listeners give more credibility to people with pleasant voices, and a voice can be defined as pleasant based on its acoustic features (high or low, clear or muffled, etc.) as well as features taken from other sensory systems (warm or cold, mild or harsh, etc.).
3. Personal: the personal features of one's voice that allows people to recognize their acquaintances.
4. Biophysical: gender, age, height, etc.
5. Social: nationality through accent.
6. Psychological: willpower, temperament, personality type (introverted or extraverted), intelligence, sociability, etc.
7. Spatial: how far and where exactly the speaker is.
8. Medical: health state of the speaker. Voice can indicate illnesses, logopedic issues and general medical and psychological state.
9. Physical barriers: extra noises that are or are not related to the speaker.

Advertising reflects all these types, but emotional and aesthetic information dominates the other types. Emotional information is directly connected to the content of the message. The choice of voice for a video advertisement is thus important, as the speaker has to be able to transmit the necessary emotions. Aesthetically pleasant voice is one of the reasons to watch an advert until the end and to interpret the information correctly. Biophysical and social feature can be important when the advertisement tackles social issues such as discrimination or racism. The *Dream crazier* video advertisement by Nike related to problems of women in sport uses

a woman's voice with distinct American accent. The voice is quite low, so we can assume that the speaker is African American. A video by Russian Federal Rescue Service in Sevastopol is voice by a male speaker with a low and a bit harsh voice that is associated with a strong brutal man — an ideal image of a Rescue Service worker. Russian commercial and public advertisements related to family and kids are mostly voiced by women with gentle intonations. Female voices are good for advising advertisements. Male voices create a sense of formality, submission, and trust.

One of the modern semantic tools in video advertising is storytelling. Many public advertisements show stories of people who suffered from a problem like smoking, disease, or violence. Video narration can be based on speech or have no verbal component at all. One example of such message is a 2-minute film *Je suis donc tu es* by Miley de Poncin about kindness and emotions that does not contain a single word.

Music is widely used in public video advertising. It helps to form emotions and attitudes and performs a narrative function. It intensifies the speech intonations and helps to emphasise the necessary parts. However, the choice of music is not always conscious. In 2016, Russian creative agency *Hungry Boys* that creates commercial and public video advertisements created a series of mocking videos *#HatePiano*, in which they mock the typical music used in Russian and foreign public advertising. They say that the creators of advertisements often use music stocks and choose the same lyrical piano tracks with heart-rending accords.

## Conclusion

The semantics of public advertising is a large sphere for experiments and studies as every component of an advertising text can convey a connotation important to the overall message. The study has shown that every graphical and sound aspect of an advertising text are vital for the perception of the advertising text. The visual/sound form of the text contains culturally specific connotations and allusions that influence the process of memorizing the information and can be interpreted when given a closer and more detailed look.

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**LEXICAL AND SEMANTIC CONSTRAINTS AND  
AFFORDANCES OF SMELL NOMINATION AND  
DESCRIPTION IN RUSSIAN AND GERMAN  
LANGUAGES IN PERFUME DISCOURSE**

This article examines the specificity of nominations and descriptions within the concept of smell. It analyses perfume reviews from the Russian perfume discourse and their translations in German, as presented on the *Fragrantica* website. The study aims to reveal how the concept of smell is expressed in discourse, taking into account lexical-semantic constraints and affordances. The following tasks were performed: analysis of the main features of perfume discourse and the text type 'perfume review'; study of the possibilities and limitations of describing smells; description of the structure and mechanism of the concept of 'smell' in discourse; analysis of the particle characteristics of the odorem corpus and their descriptors; identification of the main groups of vocabulary used in perfume discourse. The study uses critical multimodal discourse analysis to interpret communicative practices and reveal deep meanings and complex structures within multimodal embedding. The concept of smell has several affordances and constraints, including the nomination of denotates resulting in substantives with a limited number and stable lexical composition. As human attention is primarily focused on evaluating smells, the concept of smell is often described using a limited lexicon. There is no unique vocabulary to describe smells, so descriptions are formed through synaesthetic and metaphorical transfer from other sensory areas.

*Keywords:* perfume discourse, perfume review, concept of smell, smell nomination, descriptive component of the concept of smell

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**ЛЕКСИКО-СЕМАНТИЧЕСКИЕ ВОЗМОЖНОСТИ  
И ОГРАНИЧЕНИЯ НОМИНАЦИИ И ОПИСАНИЯ ЗАПАХОВ  
В РУССКОМ И НЕМЕЦКОМ ЯЗЫКАХ  
(НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ ПАРФЮМЕРНЫХ ОБЗОРОВ)**

В фокусе настоящей статьи находится специфика номинации и дескрипции языкового выражения концепта «запах» в контрастивном аспекте на материале парфюмерного дискурса. В качестве материала для исследования использованы парфюмерные обзоры на русском языке и их переводы на немецком, представленные на интернет-портале *Fragrantica*. Целью исследования является раскрытие механизма реализации

концепта «запах» в дискурсе путем установления действующих при этом возможностей и ограничений в лексико-семантическом аспекте. Для достижения поставленной цели были выполнены следующие задачи: проанализированы основные особенности парфюмерного дискурса и типа текста «парфюмерный обзор»; изучены возможности номинации запахов и ограничения их описания; описаны структура и механизм реализации концепта «запах» в дискурсе; проведена частеречная характеристика корпуса одорем и их дескрипторов, а также выделены основные группы лексики, используемые в парфюмерном дискурсе. Исследование базируется на методе критического мультимодального дискурс-анализа, суть которого заключается в интерпретации коммуникативных практик с целью раскрытия глубинных смыслов и изучения комплексных текстовых структур с учетом роли мультимодальных вкраплений. Исследование показало, что при реализации концепта «запах» действует ряд возможностей и ограничений. Возможности проявляются прежде всего при номинации денотата указанного концепта; результатом процесса номинации являются имена существительные, число которых, однако, ограничено, а лексически состав относительно стабилен. Поскольку человека в первую очередь интересует не сам запах, а отношение к нему, то наиболее распространенным воплощением концепта «запах» является описание. Дескрипторы ароматов ограничены в лексико-семантическом плане: для описания запахов отсутствует собственная уникальная лексика, в связи с чем описание производится при помощи синестетического и метафорического переноса из других сенсорных областей.

*Ключевые слова:* парфюмерный дискурс, парфюмерный обзор, концепт «запах», номинация запахов, дескриптивный компонент концепта «запах»

## Introduction

The sense of smell remains one of the least studied external human senses from the point of view of linguistics; it is not without reason that this sense is surrounded by a halo of mystery and enigma, and the linguistic aspect is not an exception. According to various data, a human is able to distinguish from 2000 to one trillion different smells, and the vocabulary for their description is considerably limited in comparison, for example, with taste or touch. In connection with the above, we consider it relevant and timely to conduct a linguistic comprehension of this phenomenon with a focus on those aspects that have not yet received due attention in the scientific literature. Such aspects include, in particular, the specifics of formation and realisation of the odoric code in Russian- and German-language perfume discourse in a comparative perspective, as well as the study of methods and strategies of translation of the lexicon of the semantic field of smell in the Russian-German language pair. In the

present article we will turn to the consideration of what possibilities and limitations for nomination and description of smells are applicable to the perfume discourse of Russia and Germany.

Perfume discourse is a relatively new concept in modern linguistics. The first studies were conducted in the 2010s, when works critically reflecting on this concept began to appear. For example, F.L. Kositskaya uses a broad concept of perfume discourse in French, which implies that discourse is not equal to the simple sum of its components — individual texts, and when analysing the concept, she takes into account, among other things, extralinguistic factors [Kositskaya 2016, p.72]. Elaborating her ideas, we will understand under perfume discourse a separate type of socio-communicative practice, within which the development, production, promotion and evaluation of commercial perfume compositions are carried out.

Kositskaya calls perfumery discourse a hybrid discourse, implying by this notion the fact that often in perfumery discourse one can find other intertwined discourses: art, historical, musical, culinary, etc., as well as other discourses. In addition, this type of discourse is multimodal, i. e., it includes multimedia elements in its texts: photo, audio and/or video.

T.I. Belskaya calls perfume discourse a projective discourse, i. e., a type of discourse that is located on the basic discourse, adopts some of its elements, but has its own peculiarities. [Belskaya 2010, p.7] In our case, perfume discourse is based on media discourse, namely perfume reviews.

As for the ordering of the whole set of manifestations of perfume discourse, the most universal is the classification by speech genres. According to this classification, such genres as announcement, signboard, leaflet, poster, advertising messages, etc. are represented in the advertising perfume discourse. In scientific perfume discourse these are: scientific article, monograph, dissertation, lecture, etc. In the educational perfume discourse these are textbooks and manuals, abstract, thesis. In perfume media discourse there are article, reportage, interview, etc. In perfume internet discourse we distinguish blog, forum, website, etc. In perfume discourse in the sphere of professional communication these genres can be presented by critical review of perfume, description of perfume composition, presentation of perfume or perfumer, etc.

### **Methods and materials: Discourse analysis in application to perfume reviews**

To compile the corpus of research material, we turned to the online portal *Fragrantica*. This service is comprehensive online resource, magazine, and community dedicated to the world of fragrances. The site in-

forms its auditory about the latest perfume releases, renowned fragrances, and new aromatic discoveries. The authors state that “as an independent publication based in the United States, *Fragrantica* is accessible in multiple languages, welcoming fragrance enthusiasts worldwide”. Participants can “contribute their insights, expand their knowledge through the articles, and engage in lively discussions on the forums. [The authors] foster a respectful and inclusive environment where everyone can share their passion for fragrances” [<https://www.fragrantica.com/about-us.phtml>].

An important component of this platform are perfume reviews periodically published by regular columnists. These reviews are of considerable interest from the point of view of linguocultural studies and translation, so it was decided to use them as the material for the study.

The concept of organising the whole textual array on the basis of the types to which individual texts belong has a long tradition. Let us note here that the originator of the study of text typology is B. Sandig, who used criteria of different order to compile her typology [Sandig 1972]. At the present stage of linguistic research, the model of text types is, according to H. Gruber, ‘Bündel von situativen und sprachlichen Merkmalen, welche in ihrer Einheit eine Konvention herausbilden’ [a bundle of situational and linguistic features that form a convention in their unity] [Gruber 2011]. K. A. Filippov understands this term as ‘a form of text in which the communicative intention of the speaker is realised and which is built according to certain rules and norms’ [Filippov 2003].

For the present study, at the first stage of our work we studied ten perfume reviews written by Russian-speaking authors and, respectively, ten translated texts in German. The average length of the review is 2,8 pages. A brief analysis of the structure of perfume reviews indicates the presence of stable compositional communicative blocks, among which we can distinguish introduction, official description of the fragrance, its technical characteristics, personal perception and wearing experience of the reviewer, associative block, conclusion.

Relying on the classifications of text types of the above researchers, a perfume review is, as a rule, a written pre-prepared monologic text. It does not require temporal, spatial, and acoustic contact, its structure may use characteristic formulas of the beginning and end of the text. The narrative in this type of text is mostly in the person of the reviewer or in an impersonal form.

The corpus of linguistic realisations of the concept of smell was compiled based on the method of continuous sampling. The study of perfume discourse in general is based on the ideas of T. A. van Dijk, who developed the method of critical discourse analysis, which considers sociocommu-

nicative and linguocognitive aspects of communicants' interaction [van Dijk 2008, p. 7]. The study of the formation of odoric code, linguistic implementation of the concept of smell and the interaction of visual-graphic elements in perfume reviews is carried out with the help of multimodal discourse analysis, the purpose of which is to 'interpret communicative practices in the aspect of revealing the meanings that elude the analysis of individual aspects of communication' [Zagidullina 2009, p. 184]. At the same time, attention in the process of analysis is also paid to the investigation of the role of non-verbal semiotic elements in text construction [Kress 2010, p. 73].

Below we will present the main conclusions that were made in the process of analysing the possibilities and limitations of nomination and description of smells in Russian- and German-language perfume reviews.

### **How smells can be nominated and described in Russian and German: Results and discussion**

Nomination and description of smells in the perfume discourse are carried out through the implementation of the concept of smell. The realisation of the concept in perfume discourse takes place in the form of odoric code, which is unique for each individual text within the discourse. By its nature, the concept of smell is perceptual, i.e., it is based on sensory perceptions. The concept is based on a notional component, which is overlaid with a linguocultural component. The notional component is represented by the scope and content of the concept of smell, while the linguocultural component includes etymological, figurative, associative, and evaluative levels and can be presented both in diachronic aspect (the history of the development of ideas about smell) and in synchronic aspect (its modern understanding) [Kolupaeva 2009, pp. 11–13].

The notional component is expressed in perfume discourse by nominating odours with the help of appropriate nouns — 'odorem' and 'odoronyms'. In modern studies, these two terms — 'odorem' [Arutyunyan 2017] and 'odoronim' [Kadyrova 2018] — appear in the same meaning for nomination of fragrances. In our opinion, a clear demarcation line should be drawn between them: while 'odorem' can denote any nomination with the help of proper names, in the content of which the categorical-lexical component of the concept of smell is realised, the second term contains in its composition the component 'onym', serving for the nomination of proper names. Thus, to odoronyms we refer the names of specific perfume brands and commercial compositions produced by them.

The describing component of the concept of smell can be implemented in discourse in two ways — depending on the characteristics of the attributed feature of the object. If the description is static, it can be expressed by means of substantives and adjectives. In the case of a dynamic attribute, the description is realised through verbs. In this paper, to characterise the ways of nomination and description of smells, we will proceed from the criterion of parts of speech to which they belong.

Fig. 1 contains information about the distribution of lexical expression of the concept of smell based on the parts of speech classification. A total of 347 lexical units were selected from the corpus of perfume reviews, of which substantives account for 32 per cent, adjectives — 66 per cent, while verbs are represented in the corpus by only two per cent.

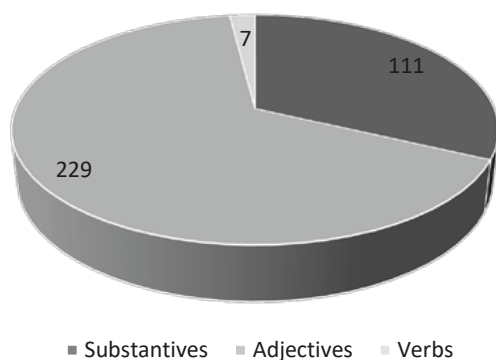


Fig. 1. Lexical classes within the concept of smell

Despite the fact that the class of substantives is inferior to adjectives in terms of frequency of use, it is of primary interest to us for two reasons. Firstly, it is primary within the semantic field of the concept of smell because substantives are directly used to nominate the corresponding denotates of the real world. Secondly, this lexicon is unique for the implementation of the concept of smell, so it is here that the possibilities of nomination and at the same time description of smells are most fully revealed. The main lexical-semantic groups within the class of substantives are presented in Fig. 2.

The group of smell nominations is represented primarily by the lexicon that implements the centre of the lexico-semantic field of the concept of smell and reflects directly the denotates of this concept: *аромат, запах, духи, парфюм* — *Duft, Aroma, Geruch, Parfum* [aroma, smell, fragrance, perfume]; as well as the main components of perfume composition. It

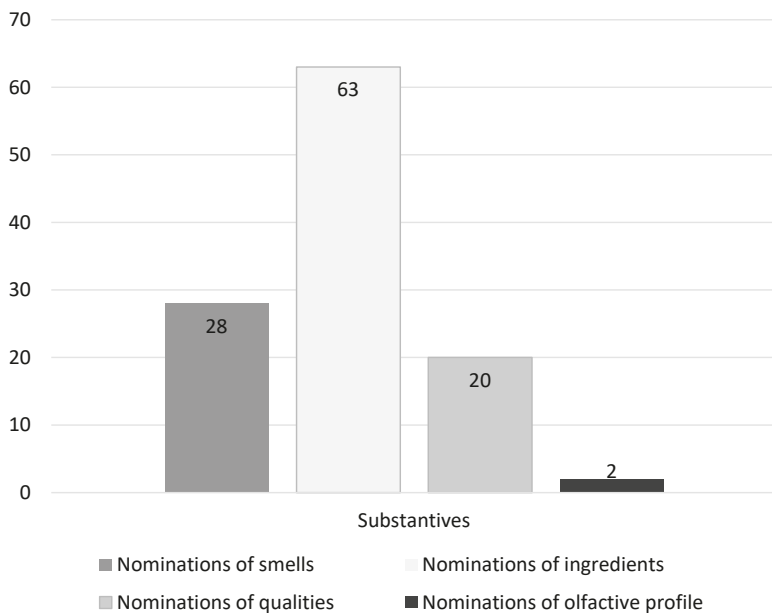


Fig. 2. Lexical-semantic groups of substantives

should be noted that many terms to describe the composition of perfume have been adopted from the sphere of music: individual shades of sound are designated by the term ‘notes’ (*ноты* — *Noten*), which, in turn, are folded into whole perfumery ‘chords’ (*аккорды* — *Akkorde*), forming a complete ‘composition’ (*композиция* — *Komposition*). Fragrances of a similar profile are grouped into perfume families, which are represented in the analysed corpus by the lexemes *фужер* — *Fougère* [fougère], *одеколон* — *Kölnisch Wasser* [cologne].

On the periphery of the field of the concept of smell there are designations of ingredients that make up a perfume composition (e.g., *гелиотропин* — *Heliotropin* [heliotropin], *ваниль* — *Vanille* [vanilla], *розовый перец* — *rosa Pfeffer* [pink pepper]) and qualities inherent in fragrances (e.g., *пудровость* — *Puderigkeit* [powderiness], *сладость* — *Süße* [sweetness], *запах горячего утюга* — *Sauberkeit eines gestärkten Hemdes* [the smell of hot iron]).

Let us proceed further to the class of adjective. It should be noted at once that it is in this class that the greatest limitation of the human vocabulary regarding the description of smells is noticeable. The point is that we do not have a lexicon unique for this class of denotates, with the help of which we could describe smells, in this connection there is an adaptation

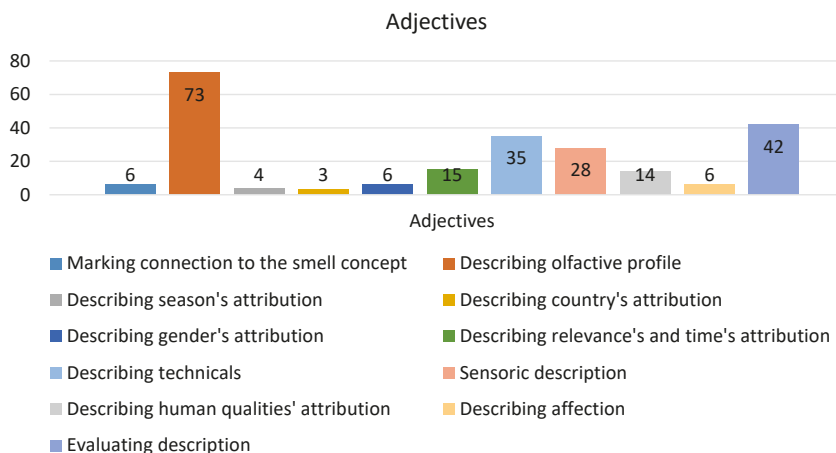


Fig. 3. Lexical-semantic groups of adjectives

of lexical units from other semantic areas. Their distribution is shown in Fig. 3.

As noted above, the concept of smell is most often realised in the form of adjectives. This is due to the fact that people are not primarily interested in smells themselves, but in their attitude to them; thus, the describing component of the concept of smell is realised with the help of adjectives, represented primarily by the evaluative level of the linguocultural component on the basis of the opposition by the criterion 'like or dislike' [Trofimova, Mamtseva 2020, p. 6]. Such 'hedonic valence' goes back to the studies devoted to the impact of smells on human psyche and behaviour [Mayorov 2006, p. 328]. This descriptive category is characterised in the vast majority of examples by its location on the positive pole of the opposition and is expressed with the help of the commonly used evaluative lexicon: *потрясающий* — *beeindruckend* [amazing], *уютный* — *behaglich* [cosy], *великолепный* — *großartig* [magnificent], etc.

A frequent descriptive characteristic of fragrances is also their attribution to one or another olfactory direction, which is part of the content of the concept of smell. Thanks to this attribution, the concept is concretised and fragrances are classified into so-called families and subgroups: *фужерный* — *Fougère-[Duft]* [fougère composition], *альдегидный* — *aldehydisch* [aldehyde composition], *животный* — *animalisch* [animalic composition], *гурманский* — *gourmandig* [gourmand composition], etc. Although this vocabulary could be considered unique to the class of smells, it actually only reveals the direction and compound of the composition and says nothing about what the fragrance actually smells like.



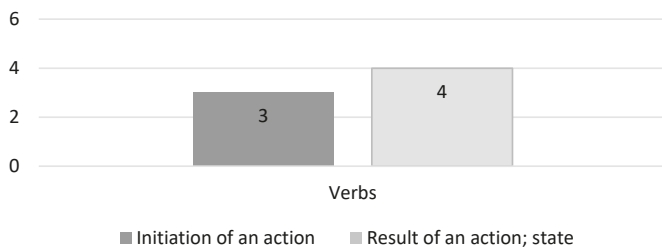


Fig. 4. Lexical-semantic groups of verbs

Attribution based on the technical-sensory characteristic of fragrances is also widely represented. This group is based on synesthetic transfer from other spheres available to human sensory experience. Such characterisation is based on synesthesia, which reproduces the connection of olfaction with other human senses. The vocabulary in this case is borrowed from other areas of human senses [Rindisbacher 2015]. Synesthesia based on the transfer from the sphere of vision and expressing spatial parameters prevail here: volume (*объемный* — *voluminös* [voluminous]), depth (*поверхностный* — *oberflächlich* [superficial]), speed (*медленно текущий* — *langsam fließend* [slowly flowing]), and others. Synesthesias for other senses are also represented in the corpus: touch (*мягкий* — *sanft* [soft], *колючий*– *stechend* [prickly]), taste (*сладкий* — *süß* [sweet]), hearing (*громкий* — *laut* [loud]).

Finally, the class of verb is represented in the reviewed corpus by only few instances of verbs that express either the initiation of an action or its result (see Fig. 4). It is assumed that such a low percentage of verbs' representation in the corpus is related to the specificity of the text type 'perfume review', where the main emphasis is placed on describing one's own perception of the fragrance qualities, i.e., on the static aspect.

The initiating verbs include, in particular, *нюхать*, *вдыхать*, *наносить* [*аромат*] — [*einen Duft*] *riechen*, *einatmen*, *auftragen* [sniff, inhale, apply [fragrance], while the resultative verbs (or verbs of state) include *пахнуть*, *благоухать*, *раскрываться*, *распространяться* — *riechen*, *duften*, *sich entfalten*, *verströmen* [smell, savour, unfold, spread].

We should note that the realisation of the concept of smell in perfume discourse is supported semantically and iconically through the inclusion of multimodal elements in the form of images and videos. Such inclusions help the reader form a visual image and associations connected to a particular fragrance. In Fig. 5, the image of autumn perfume composition created in the official brand communication is supported by the visual design of the review selected by its author:



Fig. 5. Shaping the perfume image in the review  
'Le Mat Menditorosa: скоро осень...'  
[Borisov 2023]

Fig. 6 illustrates the associations that Smoking Hot by Kilian evokes in the reviewer. For her, this scent is associated with apples that her parents used to bake at the cottage.



Fig. 6. Illustration of the olfactory associations of the author of the review  
'Smoking Hot By Kilian: печеные яблоки и отцовские объятия'  
[Prokofeva 2023]

## Study limitations and outlook

As a result of the study, it was found that the concept of smell significantly differs linguistically from other perceptual concepts, as its lexical potencies are significantly limited. First of all, we are talking about the limitations of describing smells due to the limitations of our vocabulary, as a result of which such means as synesthetic and metaphorical transference are used to realise the descriptive component of the concept. The situation is somewhat different with the possibilities of fragrance nomination: here are presented lexemes unique for expressing the concept of smell and forming, as a consequence, its centre. And since the text type 'perfume review' is primarily aimed at describing and conveying impressions of a smell, reviewers often have to resort to the description of perfume through the figurative and associative components of the linguocultural component.

Let us also note that the method of critical discourse analysis used in this article has a number of limitations: discourse analysis focuses on identifying complex meanings and deep textual structures, therefore, it is recommended to use the method of component analysis and descriptive method to study specific linguistic images and associations revealed in perfume reviews.

The next stage involves a comparative analysis of linguistic expressions of the concept of smell in order to identify translation techniques and strategies specific to the considered type of text.

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## THE VALUE OF THE LEXICAL BACKGROUND IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE LEARNING\*

The research is devoted to investigating the ways of the proficiency effectiveness improvement in Russian as a foreign language. As an important component, that determines a high level of language proficiency, it is proposed to consider the lexical background, that is the complex of non-conceptual parts of the sememe. It is noticed that most of the interest is non-equivalent and background vocabulary. Among the lexical background words, with rich cultural and historical layers, seven thematic groups are distinguished. This is the vocabulary that goes back to the Russian folklore, epic, mythology and to Orthodox Christianity. It is associated with the life of the Russian peasantry, the Russian nobility and, subsequently, the Russian intelligentsia. It names Russian nature phenomena, reflects Soviet ideology, names people in different social and time contexts. The vocabulary describing these spheres of linguistic reality is considered from the point of view of its mastering by a foreign student. It is concluded that the effectiveness of learning words which semantics fits into the mentioned spheres increases by using techniques that reveal the lexical background. The emphasis is concentrated on such techniques as seme analysis, historical and cultural comments, visual demonstration, word-formation and morphemic analysis, the analysis of lexical compatibility of a word, the analysis of the abilities to participate in the phraseological units' formation, to produce metaphorical meanings, the analysis of the Russian literature contexts basis. Moreover, it makes sense to apply all the techniques in sequence for each word from the semantic layers. This is the only way the semantics will be revealed and a student will gain the skill of using and understanding a specific lexeme. It is noted that nowadays the described language learning approach is relevant not only for foreign students, but also for Russian students.

*Keywords:* vocabulary, non-equivalent vocabulary, background vocabulary, lexical background, Russian as a foreign language

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\* The research was carried out with the support of the Vladimir Potanin Charitable Foundation.

## ЛЕКСИЧЕСКИЙ ФОН И ЕГО ЗНАЧЕНИЕ В ОСВОЕНИИ РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКА\*

Исследование посвящено изучению путей повышения эффективности овладения русским языком как иностранным. В качестве важного компонента, который обуславливает высокий уровень владения языком, предлагается рассматривать лексический фон, то есть совокупность непонятных долей семемы. Внимание сосредоточено на безэквивалентной и фоновой лексике. Среди слов с лексическим фоном, насыщенным культурными и историческими наслоениями, выделяется 7 тематических групп. Это лексика, восходящая к русскому фольклору, эпосу, мифологии; к Православному христианству; связанная с бытом русского крестьянства, русского дворянства и в последующем — русской интеллигенции; называющая явления русской природы; отражающая советскую идеологию; именующая людей в разных социальных и временных срезах. Лексика, описывающая данные сферы языковой реальности, рассматривается с точки зрения освоения ее иностранным студентом. Делается вывод, что эффективность изучения слов, семантика которых вписывается в перечисленные сферы, повышается при использовании приемов, раскрывающих лексический фон. Делается акцент на таких приемах, как семный анализ, исторические и культурные комментарии, наглядная демонстрация, словообразовательный и морфемный анализ, анализ лексической сочетаемости слова, анализ способности участвовать в образовании фразеологизмов, анализ способности участвовать в продуцировании метафорических значений, анализ фонда контекстов русской литературы. Причем есть смысл относительно каждого слова из рассматриваемых семантических пластов применять все перечисленные приемы один за другим. Только так семантика будет раскрыта максимально полно, и студент получит навык употребления и понимания конкретной лексики. Отмечается, что описанный подход к изучению языка на сегодняшний день актуален не только для иностранных студентов, но и для русскоговорящих учащихся.

*Ключевые слова:* лексика, безэквивалентная лексика, фоновая лексика, лексический фон, русский язык как иностранный

### Introduction

When studying a foreign language, students are faced with the fact that new material concerns not only the expression plan, that is, linguistic categories, but also the content plan, that is, extralinguistic categories.

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\* Исследование выполнено при поддержке Благотворительного фонда Владимира Потанина.

On the one hand, among the realities of a community of people speaking the same language, there are a lot of objects, phenomena, and concepts that are unique to this community. On the other hand, realities common to different cultures are interpreted in each society individually. A deep understanding of the semantics of each language significant lexical layer is possible only if you have certain background knowledge about the culture, way of life, history, and cognitive characteristics of the native people. Thus, when studying Russian as a foreign language, it is important to identify the connection between language and culture at the level of considering the semantics of each separate lexeme.

An important component in learning Russian as a foreign language is the lexical background, that is the entire set of non-conceptual semantic share within the sememe [Vereshchagin, Kostomarov, 1980, p.27]. The theory of lexical background was thoroughly developed by Soviet scientists E. M. Vereshchagin and V. G. Kostomarov. They clearly show that, in general, the lexical background is inherent in almost any word of the language [Vereshchagin, Kostomarov, 1980]. However, there are words with enriched cultural and historical layers of lexical background.

The aim of this article is to identify the problem of lexical background applied research. The goal of the research is to ground the importance of a deep and comprehensive studying of the lexical background, to define the thematic framework of the linguistic material and the sequence of its presentation. This goal is realized in the context of the following specific objectives:

1. to identify the vocabulary thematic groups with a rich lexical background based on the belonging of words to a certain cultural layer of the Russian life;
2. to describe briefly the content of each group;
3. to highlight the specific techniques that can be used to study the lexical background of the vocabulary.

Many scientists have been worked at the description of non-equivalent and background vocabulary, lexical background [Bakirova, 2016; Vakhkhobova, 2012; Gavrischuk, 2019; Gridasova, 2012; Ilyin, 2007; Levanova, 2018; Selezeneva, 2008, etc.]. This topic is very extensive and each study describes only a certain fragment of it. We are interested in the way of mastering culturally significant vocabulary based on the lexical background.

When classifying background vocabulary, researchers usually start from the conceptual meaning of the word. For example, they identify the names of clothing, food, buildings, household items, musical instruments, religious concepts and terms, etc. [Bakirova, 2016, p. 172]. This approach seems to be distant from the subject of consideration, since the lexical

background is what is located outside the boundary of the concept and is not included in it. Thus, we can compare the words *гусли* and *гармонь*, *Масленица* and *Рождество*, *лапти* and *калоши*, united by L. R. Bakirova according to conceptual semes (musical instruments, holidays, shoes). The words in these pairs, having common generic semes, belong to different cultural layers: *гусли* is an instrument from epics, and *гармонь* is still popular in real folk life today; *Масленица* is a pagan holiday, and *Рождество* is Christian; *лапти* are peasant shoes, and *калоши* are shoes that characterize the life of officials and intellectuals.

We believe that in the lexical background research it is necessary to start from the cultural layer that the word describes, since it is precisely this layer that non-conceptual semes usually point to. This approach will allow students to create a holistic understanding of a certain area of reality, the description of which will include the lexemes considered.

## Results and discussion

In culturally significant vocabulary we identified seven thematic groups.

1. The vocabulary related to the Russian folklore, epic and mythology. O. A. Cherepanova notices that “the mythological worldview covers a number of stages in the development of consciousness, at which primitive fetishistic, totemistic, animistic, and magical ideas were formed” [Cherepanova, 1983, p. 7]. It was a dominant worldview until the adoption of Christianity, but even in the next time period the mythological thinking did not stop to exist, but syncretically merged with Christian thinking.

Regarding the specifics of mythological ideas B. A. Rybakov marks: “When old ideas are replaced by new ones, it is not the displacement of the previous ideas that occurs, but the superposition of one on the other. Each era, developing its own ideas, perceives existing ones, so that from ancient eras to the newest one there has come a kind of a “layer-cake”, layers of many periods” [Rybakov, 1874, p. 4]. Thus, in modern language we have an extended vocabulary layer, the internal form of which is based on mythological semantics [Potebnaya, 1960], since “in mythological thinking, the image and the meaning are inseparable inside a word. Only gradually, when the property is separated from the thing, does the mythological image turn into an artistic or linguistic metaphor” [Cherepanova, 1983, p. 11].

O. A. Cherepanova emphasizes that the establishment of logical-linguistic associations leading to the choice of the particular object name and being a motivational feature is not only legitimate, but also necessary [Cherepanova, 1983, p. 11]. Therefore, in this group we consider not



only words obviously associated with pagan culture (кудесник, волхв, тризна), but also many other words with ancient roots. For instance, the word-forming nests with roots — род- (народ, Родина, выродок, урод, родной, родимый, родник, родинка, природа, урожай) and -яр- (яркий, ярость, яростный, ярый, поярковый) are efficient to study using the lexical background in order to revive the internal form of these words for a foreign student and to reveal motivating semantic shares. It should also be explained to the students that in ancient times Rod and Yar were the proper names of pagan gods. Rod is the “god of Nature, god of life” [Rybakov, 1974, p. 463], “blowing life into all living things” [Rybakov, 1974, p. 604]. Yarilo is the Slavic god of fertility, who was associated with the fertile power of a grain-seed; “thus, the spring holidays have acquired an incantatory meaning” [Rybakov, 1974, p. 420].

The vocabulary conveying the idea of Russian people life during ancient times is also interesting. It was preserved in epos, epics and fairy tales. For instance, the names of buildings and premises (терем, хоромы, светлица, светёлка, горница), food and drinks (мёд, тризна), dishes (чарка, чара, чарочка), titles and names of the characters (баба Яга, Кощей, ведьма), names of people (добрый молодец, красна девица).

This vocabulary remains poetic today. It is impossible to perceive the lines «Лес словно терем расписной...» adequately, if you do not understand all the semantic and stylistic shades of the word терем. Терем is not just a “structure”. There is not only a concept behind this word, but also an image which has appeared from a wide variety of sources in Russian people minds. We can compare the fairy tale «Теремок», the song «Живёт моя отрада в высоком терему...», etc.

Most of the words cross with the vocabulary of the groups describing the life of Russian people. Their associations with the folklore elements in the modern Russian language give us reason to consider them in this group. For example, the words чарка, чара, чарочка were used in the everyday speech of Russian people of different estates (задравная чарка, чарка водки). Today their lexical background includes a special compatibility determined by folklore (чарка зелена вина). It is no coincidence that in dictionaries this word is marked as “folk poetic” [Explanatory dictionary of the Russian language, 1940, p. 618].

2. Vocabulary related to the life of the Russian peasantry. The historical realities of life in Russia over the last millennium are radically different from the historical realities in other countries. Among the words reflecting the life of peasants, there is a lot of non-equivalent and background vocabulary. Non-equivalent vocabulary cannot be “semantized through the translation” [Khanova, 2022, p. 729]. The content plan of these words

cannot be compared with foreign language lexical concepts [Vereshchagin, Kostomarov, 1983, p. 56]. The background vocabulary denotes objects and phenomena that have analogues in the comparable languages, but at the same time it has its own national characteristics of the functioning [Vereshchagin, Kostomarov, 1983, p. 59]. D. B. Khanova supposes that such vocabulary “forms the most complex group in terms of determining the national content of specific words”. She offers her own definition: “background vocabulary is words and expressions that have additional content and accompanying semantic and stylistic shades that are imposed on its main meaning, known to speakers and listeners belonging to a certain linguistic culture” [Khanova, 2022, p. 730].

It is possible to distinguish various lexical-semantic groups, such as clothes and shoes (лапоть, кушак, сарафан зипун, кафтан), dishes (чугунок, горшок, ухват, корзина, корыто, туес, лукошко), hut interior items (половик, лавка, печь, полати, красный угол), utensils (коромысло, лучина), collective actions and events (пляска, хоровод).

The words that fill this group are usually etymologically Russian or Turkic. Original Russian words have large word-formation nests. It makes sense to study their internal form (пол — полови́к, ухват — ухва́тить, крепостной — крепо́сть — крепо́кий, etc.).

We consider that the correct choice among the vocabulary of this group is the most currently used vocabulary for the Russian life description. This vocabulary should be included in the fund of the Russian literary language. It will be demanded by foreign students while reading Russian literature. The detailed study of the vocabulary will allow them to read and understand the texts of Russian classical writers in the original.

3. The vocabulary associated with the life of the Russian nobility and the Russian intelligentsia. This includes words naming household items, dishes, clothes, buildings, premises, etc. There are also many borrowings among the words of this group. Many words became obsolete for some period of time, but they are returning to the active vocabulary at present.

This vocabulary layer, which reflects the culture of the nobility, is necessary to describe the noble estate and the life of this social group. Among the most significant words are the names of clothing, shoes, accessories (панталоны, сюртук, камзол, кафтан), possessions, buildings and their parts (поместье, усадьба, флигель, кладовая, конюшня, псарня, анфилада), interior items and furniture (конторка, бюро, горка, гардероб, козетка, стол-бобик), social events (бал).

4. The vocabulary related to Russian nature. In different languages natural realities are not only differently written, but also interpreted differently. This vocabulary has an enormous symbolic potential. We can

mention the Russian birch, the mighty oak and the bear, the owner of the forest. For a Russian person, the word birch not only conveys this concept, but in different contexts can bring to mind an appeal to a folk song, to the tradition of decorating a church on Trinity, to the use of birch brooms in the bathhouse, to folk crafts associated with weaving from birch bark, to Russian poetry, etc.

5. The vocabulary related to Christian culture. The millennium of Orthodoxy in Rus' left its mark on the Russian language. It is known that for a long time there were two versions of the language: oral, going back to the Old Russian language, and written, going back to the Old Church Slavonic language. We believe that this situation contributed to the fact that Russian people gained the opportunity to separate worldly, vain, everyday and spiritual phenomena of a higher order at the linguistic level.

As a result, a certain vertical axis was formed in the Russian linguistic consciousness. In its lower part there are all phenomena of the material order, and in the upper part spiritual order phenomena. To express the latter sphere Old Slavonicisms or biblicalisms were used.

There are phenomena that have received the linguistic reflection due to biblicalisms. They reflect the moral characteristics of a person (блудница, алкать, возлюбить, животворить, заблудший, фарисей, благородный), illustrate a clear division of the Russian people reality into the material and spiritual world, divine world (бессмертный, бранный, суетный, суета).

Abstract nouns for depicting non-material phenomena in Russian are formed by the Old Church Slavonic origin suffixes (-ость, -ениј-, -ниј-, иј-, ј-, -от-). The words describing abstract phenomena that did not refer to everyday life, but to life, divorced from the vanity of material things were called biblicalisms. Without additional comments it is impossible for a foreign student to achieve correct linguistic perception of words associated with Christian values such as доброта, воскресение, спасение, святость, вознесение, прощение, совершенствование.

We should consider separately the vocabulary that reflects the ritual and religious reality of an Orthodox person. These words are used not only to describe the context of reality associated with Orthodoxy, but also have significant poetic potential. It is difficult to read Russian poetry without possessing this vocabulary.

We can consider several examples containing the vocabulary of a ritual and religious nature in Russian poetry. For instance, ...хаты — в ризах образа... (S. Yesenin), Пчела за данью полевой Летит из кельи восковой (А. Pushkin), И когда в тишине моей горницы Под лампадой томлюсь от обид, Синий призрак умершей любовницы Над кадиллом

мечтаний сквозит (А. Blok), И если слабею, Мне снится икона  
И девять ступенек на ней (А. Akhmatova).

6. The vocabulary related to Soviet ideology and Soviet everyday life. The Soviet period, unique with its cultural qualities, gave rise to a new life and cognitive realities and, thus, non-equivalent vocabulary denoting them. We suppose that when studying Russian as a foreign language, it is necessary to pay special attention to lexical and phraseological units that reveal the sphere of ideology of a certain period, interpersonal relationships, new realities of economic life, organization and management (пятилетка, звездочка, стройотряд, целина, колхоз, председатель колхоза, пролетариат, ударный, передовой, стройка века, дух коллективизма, etc.).

G. V. Chernov notes one interesting feature of Sovietisms. It is necessary to have an extended background knowledge about Soviet society to understand them [Chernov, 1958, p. 223–224]. In order to understand texts with Sovietisms adequately, it is necessary to proceed from the Soviet semantic paradigm. For example, the word целина (поехать на целину, поднимать целину) cannot be considered in isolation from the positive attitude towards this phenomenon in Soviet society, in which the semantics of confrontation with nature, the conquest of new lands, a new stage in the struggle for Soviet power of the younger generation, feat and adventure were also realized.

7. Names of people. We can identify vocabulary that is relevant for different historical periods of Russia, and names different social groups: крепостной, дворовый, бурлак, нищий, крестьянин, купец, боярин, боярыня, боярышня, дворянин, помещик, барин, барыня, лакей, жандарм, урядник, исправник, сотский, гувернантка, гувернер, гимназист, гимназистка, комсомолец, комсомолка, пионер, коммунист, стахановец.

A particular attention should be paid to addresses that have a rich lexical background: голубушка, голубчик, душа, братец, милостивый государь, etc.

The effectiveness of learning words with specified semantic fields is increased by using the following techniques that reveal the lexical basis:

- detailed seme analysis;
- historical and cultural commentaries;
- visual demonstration;
- word-formation and morphemic analysis;
- analysis of lexical compatibility of a word;
- analysis of the ability to participate in the formation of phraseological units;

- analysis of the ability to participate in the production of metaphorical meanings;
- analysis of the contextual fund of the Russian literature.

## Conclusion

The knowledge of the vocabulary lexical background discussed above determines a deep understanding of the meanings in texts and the correct use of specific lexemes. It is the lexical background that is the element of the semantics of a word, due to which the language acts as the guardian of national culture. Its comprehension makes it possible to talk about a high level of language proficiency.

We believe that today such a detailed approach to learning vocabulary with a rich lexical background is relevant not only for foreign students, but also for those who are native speakers.

In recent decades, we have been faced the problem when our children and young people are not able to comprehend texts of the 19<sup>th</sup> and even 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

We believe that the reason is not that the lexical background of that time is not relevant today, but we should pay more attention to its study. For example, schoolchildren of the 20th century could also perceive the Old Church Slavonic origin vocabulary as relevant. But the fact of reading experience, the study of texts, made this vocabulary a part of their linguistic environment, and they mastered it. Recently, due to changing educational conditions, the contact with classical texts has been interrupted. Increasingly we observe the digitalization and an appeal to retellings rather than original texts. This has led to the fact that our children become practically foreigners to A. S. Pushkin, F. M. Dostoevsky, S. A. Yesenin, V. V. Mayakovsky. While considering the fact that the language of A. S. Pushkin formed the Russian national identity, we are losing continuity between the new generation and previous one.

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## COGNITIVE AND DISCURSIVE GROUNDS FOR IDENTIFYING CHARMS AS ONE OF THE TYPES OF OLD ENGLISH MEDICAL TEXT

The Old English medical texts, which focus on adverse health conditions, medications, and treatments, encompass various genres and share common features. These features can be identified through a cognitive-discursive approach, specifically through the text-person link within a specific communicative space. These relations exist in situations of direct communication and imply the presence of some substance, whether real or metaphysical. In the context of prescribed rituals, a special type of text is featured, known as *galdor*, which is equivalent to a medicinal treatment and acts as a metaphysical substance in the healing process. Typically, it is preceded by a prescriptive prose commentary describing the treatment procedure. The *Lacnunga* healing book contains a recipe that demonstrates the use of *galdor* in healing rituals. The ritual is represented through direct healing actions and poetic text. The text has been analysed using methods such as cognitive modelling, concept analysis, and historical pragmatics.

*Keywords:* Old English medical text, *galdor*, cognitive model, historical pragmatics

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## КОГНИТИВНО-ДИСКУРСИВНЫЕ ОСНОВАНИЯ ВЫДЕЛЕНИЯ ЗАГОВОРА КАК ОДНОГО ИЗ ТИПОВ ДРЕВНЕАНГЛИЙСКОГО МЕДИЦИНСКОГО ТЕКСТА

Оригинальные непередаваемые медицинские тексты на древнеанглийском языке, описывающие болезненные состояния, лекарственные средства и способы их применения, представлены разными жанрами, но когнитивно-дискурсивные основания анализа позволяют объединить их в рамках единой схемы отношений через связь <текст-человек> в определённом коммуникативном пространстве. При этом указанная связь как реализуется в ситуации непосредственного общения, так и предполагает наличие некоей субстанции, реальной или метафизической. В ряде текстов в роли подобной метафизической субстанции выступает определённый заговор *galdor*; ему, как правило, предпослан предписывающий прозаический комментарий, описывающий процедуру лечения. Такие заговоры следует рассматривать как одну из составляющих комплексного медицинского текста при его изучении. На ма-

териале одного из рецептов лечебника *Lacnunga* с использованием методов концептуального анализа текста и когнитивного моделирования, а также методов исторической прагматики показано, что использование особого текста *galdor* в контексте предписанного ритуала мыслится как равносильный лекарственному препарату вариант лечения. Продемонстрировано, что репрезентация ритуала дублируется как в номинации ситуации непосредственных действий над пациентом, так и в стихотворном тексте ритуала.

*Ключевые слова:* древнеанглийский медицинский текст, заговор, когнитивная модель, историческая прагматика

## Introduction

This paper concerns the healing ritual as a characteristic part of the Anglo-Saxon medical treatment in corresponding medical writings. Cognitive foundations allow to identify a specific procedure in Old English medical practice, that is, the practice of reading or chanting a particular text named *galdor* and imbued with magical significance. Old English medical writings of Early Middle Ages (8th–11th centuries) represent a variety of genres. These are collections of recipes and descriptions of symptoms; herbals; as well as individual texts, marginalia, or specific inclusions in poetry and prose. When analysing the transmission of knowledge on how to cope with adverse health conditions, one can identify a common scheme of communicative relations. It is recognized through the <text-person> link in a certain communicative space and is important for cognitive-discursive approach in text analysis. These texts from distant epochs suggest practical use and comprehension, they contain information for audience to use. Therefore, they may be considered as discourses and studied within the range of historical pragmatics. This factor allows to regard Old English medical texts as discourse within the framework of functional significance ([Arutyunova, 1990, Chernyavskaya, 2012, Tretyakova, 2014]). The types of addressee—addresser relations among participants in the healing situation are mediated by the knowledge acquired by the interpreter through the decoding of texts.

## Material

The research material was taken from the *Lacnunga* (“Remedies”) manuscript (*British Library Harley MS 585*) written down in 10th–11th centuries. This collection of medical recipes, spells and prayers belongs to original Anglo-Saxon texts and bears no close relation to non-Anglo-Saxon sources or traces of being translated. Besides *Lacnunga*, there are



other examples, like the *Bald's Leechbook* in three parts (*Bald's Leechbook I, II, Leechbook III*), found in *British Library Royal MS 12. D. xvii*, dating back to the early 10th century and describing medicinal remedies, symptoms of diseases, and prescriptions. The recipe allows to show the process and outcome of healing and to identify the dynamic connections that arise within the discursive situation of healing practice.

Each single recipe describes symptoms of an illness or an adverse condition and prescribes a sequence of actions intended to heal it. These actions include both verbal and non-verbal elements. The content of these texts allows to discuss Anglo-Saxon healing practices, relatively independent of the Continental European one [Cameron, 1993: 35]. Thus, based on medical knowledge accumulated in the 8th–11th centuries, the discursive situation of healing practice can be modelled. It is precisely the knowledge and the will to possess information suitable for healing painful conditions that allow us to consider medical texts as part of the healing practice. Various genres of medical recipes hereby are regarded as discourses, constituting a practice within a specific knowledge discipline, i.e. medicine.

## Methods

Relations between participants within the healing situation exist as a medical ritual encapsulated in the text. Discourse interpretation discloses these relations. Interpretation here means applying a scheme both for participants and interpreters of the practice. The representation of the ritual occurs simultaneously for all participants, in consciousness and language. The foundation for this lies in the interpretation of semantic instructions in communicative interaction, reflecting <subject-subject> relations.

Applying cognitive-discursive approach to studying Old English medical recipes enables one to examine the Anglo-Saxons' medical knowledge structure regarding the causes and methods of treating diseases and adverse conditions. The result can be represented with methods of cognitive semantics analysis. Here, the term *frame* is viewed from the perspective of Charles Fillmore's semantics [Fillmore, 1985; Baker, Fillmore, 2012] and means a structured unit of knowledge about an object or event. The frame is based on recurring experience and includes not only knowledge about objects and their relations but also a specific cognitive context. In case of this research, context means the summation of lore, beliefs, and ideas characteristic for medieval Anglo-Saxon practitioners and patients.

## Discussion

The research is based on text analysis, cognitive modelling, concept analysis and specific methods of historical pragmatics which allow to combine historical and interpretative semantic. Major term used in the text reciting is *galdor*. It is a phrase, that the healer must utter for the purpose of treatment, therefore, being a type of Anglo-Saxon healing practice. Etymologically, the Old English word *galdor* is derived from the verbs *galan*, *galðran*, meaning ‘to sing, to cry out’ [Orel, 2003: 123–124]. Its Old Norse cognate *galdr* denotes an incantation sung during a specific ritual.

All available Old English *galdor* texts have come down to us in written form: either as part of a medical recipe or written on the margins or blank pages of a manuscript, without an obvious connection to the preceding or following text. Modern researchers can only reconstruct the nature of the sound of such texts through indirect indicators (such as rhythm, poetic elements, and narrative structure). Medical manuscripts also refer to these texts as *gebed* (‘prayer’) or *word* (‘phrase’—depending on the context, synonymous with *galdor* or *gebed*).

Participants in the healing situation imbue this text with magical significance, considering it a treatment, equivalent to medication. Multiple versions of a recipe for treating the same adverse condition are present in medical manuscripts, of which one details the preparation and application of a remedy, while another provides a specific text to be recited, sung or inscribed. This text may be a canonical Christian prayer, a single word or phrase in Latin, Old English, or a mixture of languages [Grendon, 1909: 182]. The Anglo-Saxons perceive this procedure as effective due to their belief in the power of spoken words, which is characteristic for early medieval medicine [Nenarokova, 2017: 884].

The concept of *galdor* denotes special words endowed with magical power. The healer or practitioner whispers or speaks these words over the ritual object; it is assumed that, uttering these words, they believed that *galdor* can help to achieve the desired favourable effect (healing, protection, good harvest, etc.). Old English literature researchers interpret *galdor* generally as *charm*, but, additionally, *spell* and *incantation* are used as synonyms (cf.: [Grendon, 1909: 105–110, Cameron, 1993: 185]).

We analysed the recipe *Wið lætbyrde* or ‘For delayed birth’ from the collection *Lacnunga*. It describes the actions a woman should take in case of a complicated pregnancy. The anonymous author of the recipe singled out five cases of this adverse situation and assigned a *galdor* to each of them. Based on the structural-semantic approach to the analysis of the text as a complex syntactic whole formulated in [Gal’perin, 2006;

Referovskaya, 1989], the text of the recipe can be divided into five supra-phrasal units (SPUs), each containing a description of the accompanying actions and a corresponding *galdor*. Further, we analysed each SPU, examining sequentially the types of addressee—addresser relations, the way the *galdor* and the prosaic description of the ritual are connected, and the degree of correspondence between the *galdor* and the traditional Germanic system of alliterative verse.

The first SPU describes the situation where a woman “cannot feed her child”. The prosaic explanation (*a*) describes a ritual that needs to be performed: the woman must go to a burial mound (*byrgenne*), step over it three times, and then recite a poetic charm (*a1–3*):

(a) *Se wifman, se hire cild áfédan ne mæg, gange tó gewitenes mannes birgenne and stæppe þonne þríwa ofer þá byrgenne and cwepe þonne þríwa þás word:*

(a1) *þis mé tó bóte þære láþan lætbyrde,*

(a2) *þis mé tó bóte þære swæran swærbyrde,*

(a3) *þis mé tó bóte þære láðan lambyrde*<sup>1</sup>.

The actor (and addressee) in this SPU is the woman (*wifman*) since she performs the specified actions in (*a*), including reciting the charm (*a1–3*), and the charm is composed in the first person (*þis me to bote* ‘this is to me a remedy’). The addressee is zero (specified in neither part of the SPU).

The connection between the prosaic and poetic parts of the SPU is ensured through an anaphoric relation between the description of the actor’s actions — *gange tó ... birgenne, stæppe ... ofer þá byrgenne* in (*a*) — and the pronoun *þis* at the beginning of each line (*a1–3*), referring to these actions; as well as the connection between the phrase *þás word* (*a*) and the charm itself.

The prosaic part of the SPU describes an adverse condition (*se wifman, se hire cild áfédan ne mæg*) and actions that need to be taken for healing are listed. The subjunctive mood of the verbs is used (*gange, stæppe, cwepe*). The poetic part of the SPU consists of three-line stanza constructed according to the rhythmic canon of Old English poetry: lines

<sup>1</sup> (*a*) The woman, who cannot sustain her baby, must go to the resting place of buried man and step three times over the grave and say these words three times:

(a1) This will help me against the hateful late-birth,

(a2) this will help me against the ponderous heavy-birth,

(a3) this will help me against the hateful lame-birth. (Translation by [Hostetter], unless otherwise specified.)

are divided into two half-lines by a caesura, with several stressed syllables in each half-line. The alliteration system lacks completeness: stressed syllables match each other in each even half-line (highlighted bold in the above text).

The second SPU contains a general prescription for the actions of a pregnant woman. In the prosaic introduction there is only an indication “the woman is with child” (*séo mid bearne*). The prosaic part (*b*) describes the circumstances under which the charm should be recited. Specifically, that is when the woman goes “to rest” with her husband: (*b*) *And þonne þæt wif séo mid bearne and héo tó hyre hláforde on reste gá, þonne cweþe héo*. Thus, it is applicable to a specific situation. The charm itself consists of three lines:

- (b1) *Up ic gonge, ofer þé stæppe*
- (b2) **mid cwican cilde**, *nalæs mid cwellendum*,
- (b3) **mid fulborennum**, *nalæs mid fægán*<sup>2</sup>.

The actor in the situation described in the SPU is the woman ‘wif’. The formal addressee in the incantation text is *hláford* ‘husband’ (cf.: *ofer þé stæppe* ‘I step over you’ (b1)). However, her speech does not imply the possibility of a response; the three-line charm asserts deliverance of a healthy child as an already accomplished fact.

The actions of the actor to be performed in the ritual (*b*) are specified in (b1): *Up ic gonge, ofer þé stæppe* ‘I go up, step over you’ = *þæt wif ... tó hyre hláforde on reste gá* ‘this woman ... goes to bed with her husband’. Thus, two spaces of narration are created in the SPU: the “real-world” space, where the actor performs actions and recites the charm, and the “magical-healing” space, where there the declaration of any actions means that they are already successfully undertaken.

The structures of lines (b2–3) are identical: the first half-line describes the desirable outcome (*mid cwican cilde*, *mid fulborennum*), while the second one depicts the undesirable outcome (*mid cwellendum*, *mid fægán*). The charm adheres to the norms of alliterative poetry, although alliteration between fully stressed syllables is only evident in (b2–3).

The third SPU consists of two prosaic parts. The first part contains instructions for a pregnant woman when she feels that her child is moving

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<sup>2</sup> (b) And when that woman who is with child, must go to rest with her husband, then she must say:

- (b1) Up I am going, over the steps
- (b2) with a living child, not at all with the dying,
- (b3) with the full-born, not at all with the fated to die.

(that is, alive): (c) *And þonne séo módor geféle þæt þæt bearn sí cwic, gá þonne tó cyrican, and þonne héo tóforan þán wéofode cume, cweþe þonne* ‘And when the mother should feel that her child is living, she must go to the church, and then come up to the altar, speaking then’; the second part provides the text of the charm she should speak — the phrase (c1): *Criste, ic scéde, þis gecýþed!* ‘To Christ, I said, this is revealed!’<sup>3</sup>. The outcome of the treatment in this SPU should be the “declaration to God” — presumably referring to a folk belief that what is known to God is under His protection.

The connection between the parts of the SPU is established through an anaphoric relation between the description of the actor’s sensations in (c) and the pronoun *þis* in (c1), referring to these actions: *þis = þæt bearn sí cwic*. The actor in both parts of the SPU is the mother (módor); the prosaic part (c) recounts a sequence of prescribed actions for her: to go to the church (*gá tó cyrican*), to the altar (*tóforan wéofode*). The actor (c1) does not directly address to the recipient (Christ), but he is implied and can be deduced from the context of the location (c) and the mention (c1). Like in other SPUs of the recipe *Wið lætbyrde*, the incantation (c1) has rhythm and alliteration; however, one cannot judge on the scale of a single line whether these features are used deliberately.

The fourth (d) and fifth (e) SPUs provide remedies for situation when a woman is unable to nourish her child (*bearn áfédan ne mæge*). They differ from each other in the description of the ritual and the text of the spell. The fourth SPU read as follows:

- (d) *Se wifmon, se hyre bearn áfédan ne mæge, genime héo sylf hyre ágenes cildes gebyrgenne dæð, wry æfter þonne on blace wulle and bebigce tó cépemannum and cweþe þonne:*  
 (d1) *Ic hit bebigce, gé hit bebiggan,*  
 (d2) *þás sweartan wulle and þysse sorge corn*<sup>4</sup>.

In this SPU the actor and addressee are represented by *wifmon* ‘woman’ and *cepemenn* ‘merchants’, respectively. The recipe instructs the actor to perform a series of actions in multiple locations: to take soil from the grave of her child (*cildes gebyrgenne*), to wrap it in black woolen cloth, and to sell it to the merchants. Additionally, she is to recite a two-line metrical charm (d1–2) that describes the trading process. Thus, the actor engages

<sup>3</sup> Translation ours.

<sup>4</sup> (d) The woman, who cannot sustain her child, she must take up some portion of her own child’s burial, wrap it in black wool after, and sell it to merchants, saying then:

(d1) I will buy it, you will buy it,

(d2) this dark wool, and these sorrowing corns.

simultaneously in the act of selling in both ‘real’ and ‘magical’ spaces, selling a bundle of wool and “sorrow corn” (that is the adverse condition, metaphorically). The connection between the prosaic and poetic parts of the SPU is maintained through anaphoric references to the ritual object: *cildes gebyrgenne dæl + blace wulle = sweartan wulle and sorge corn*, the pronoun *hit* in (*d1*) does refer to the same phrases.

The poetic charm (*d1-2*) also conforms with the rules of alliterative poetry.

The fifth SPU (*e-f*) proposes a more detailed recipe for healing the same adverse condition that is described in the previous SPU (*d*). This SPU has a framed structure: the charm (*e1-3*) is embedded within a description of the two-part ritual (*e, f*). The SPU reads as follows:

- (*e*) *Se wifman, se ne mæge bearn áfédan, nime þonne ánes bléos cú meoluc on hyre handæ and gesúpe þonne mid hyre múþe and gange þonne tó yrnendum wætere and spíwe þær in þá meolc and hlade þonne mid þære ylcan hand þæs wæteres múð fulne and forswelge. Cweþe þonne þás word:*
- (*e1*) *Gehwér férde ic mé þone mæran magapihtan,*
- (*e2*) *mid bysse mæran metepihtan;*
- (*e3*) *þonne ic mé wille habban and háþ gán.*
- (*f*) *Þonne héo tó þán bróce gá, þonne ne beséo héo, nó ne eft þonne héo þanan gá, and þonne gá héo in óþer hús óþer héo út oféode and þær gebyrge métes<sup>5</sup>.*

The actor in this SPU is once again woman ‘*wifman*’; the addressee is zero — the actions and words of the actor are not directed towards a specific individual and do not require a direct spoken answer. The connection between the prosaic parts of the SPU is maintained through anaphoric relation between the naming of the actor — *wifman* in (*e*) — and the pronoun *heo* in (*f*). The charm (*e1-3*) is also linked to the prosaic description of the ritual — *bearn* (*e*) corresponds to the combinations *mæran magapihtan* and *mæran metepihtan* with the demonstrative pronouns

<sup>5</sup> (*e*) The woman, who cannot sustain her baby, take then the milk of a single colored cow in her hand and sip it with her mouth and go to the running water and spit the milk therein, and then fill that same hand with a mouthful of water and swallow it. Then speak these words:

(*e1*) Everywhere I have carried this well-known child kin-strong,

(*e2*) with this well-known child meat-strong—

(*e3*) then I wish to keep it for myself and go home.

(*f*) Then she must go to the brook and must not look around, nor must she go from there, and then she must go into another house and another woman must grant her food and there she tastes it.

*þysse* (e2) and *þone* (e1). Also, (e1) is connected to (e) by cataphora between the phrase *þás word* (e) and the charm itself.

In the poetic charm (e1–3), the actor proclaims her movement: *gehwér fērde ic* ‘everywhere I carried’. This corresponds to multiple places mentioned in (e, f), that the actor is to visit within the performance of the ritual: *hús héo út oféode* -> *gange tó yrnendum wætere* -> *tó þán bróce gá* -> *gá in óþer hús*.

The lines (e1–3) follow the rules of alliterative poetry partially; the number of syllables in the first half-line (e2) is significantly less than in (e1, 3).

## Results and conclusion

The concept of *galdor* realises within the Old English medical recipe *Wið lætbyrde* as a poetic or metrical charm uttered in a situation of healing an adverse condition. This situation is presented within the semantic-syntactic organization of this complex medical text as a reflection of the healing procedure, realised in supra-phrasal units of the text, possessing integrity and coherence. The construction of the named situation is compliant to a specific scheme. This scheme includes a description of the manifestation of the adverse condition that needs healing, an enumeration of actions prescribed for the practitioner or patient to perform (in *Wið lætbyrde* they are the same person), particularly uttering specific words (that is the charm, *galdor*), and a description of the treatment result.

A special place in the charm belongs to the actor who recites the charm and participates in interpreting the situation in the prosaic part of the text. Addresser-addressee relations depend on the position of the actor. The addressee may be a third party not actively involved in the interaction, or the addressee may not be specified at all. It should be noted that the actor performs his ritual simultaneously in the real space, where physical actions are performed—moving along the line: *birgen* ‘grave’ -> *hláford* ‘husband’, *hus* ‘house’ -> *cyric* ‘church’ -> *wéofod* ‘altar’ -> *birgen* -> *cepemenn* ‘merchants’ -> *hús* ‘house’ -> *yrnende wæter* ‘flowing water’ -> *bróc* ‘brook’ -> *óþer hús* ‘other house’, corresponding to various life stages, and in the “virtual” space, where the same or similar actions are described or implied.

In conclusion, it is necessary to stress that the structure of *galdor*, its place in the Anglo-Saxon medical recipe and active role of the practitioner indicate the possibility to distinguish the charm (*galdor*) in two ways. First, it is a part of healing process within the frame of Old English medical recipe and, second, *galdor* presents a type of a medical text with

specific coherent communicative and semantic structural units disclosing cognitive interpretations of medical discourse.

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## CONCEPT “WOMAN” IN THE 21<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY NEOLIBERAL ANGLO-AMERICAN DISCOURSE

A large number of modern Russian and foreign scientists have been working on the problem of gender in language and culture. In a number of studies, E. E. Panchenko, N. V. Palanchuk, V. V. Tikhava, Y. I. Alferova, A. A. Grigoryan, E. Sereda, A. S. Gerasima the topic of gender expression in English was touched upon, and some research was conducted in the field of the concept “Woman”. H. Bradley, N. Burns, T. Chanter, S. Heckman study the concept of gender and femininity in the field of sociology, political scientists and philosophy. However, over the past decade, modern neoliberal Anglo-American discourse of the media and social networks has generated multiple new meanings and interpretations in the field of gender and self-identification. It provoked a significant increase in the number of linguistic units, terms and definitions for seemingly centuries-old concepts of “Woman”, “Mother”, “Man”, etc. Terms, such as “gender fluid”, “non-binary person”, “birth giving person”, etc. have come into use not only in everyday Western life, but also into the professional, scientific jargon of sociology, psychology, pediatrics and other sciences. In many ways, this linguistic creativity was provoked by a new wave of transformations of the neoliberal discourse itself, which, under the influence of social media, became more fragmented, less structured in form, multi-interpretive and ideological in terms of content as well as manipulative in its intent. It is in the 21<sup>st</sup> century that every individual with an access to the Internet has an opportunity to broadcast their views and values to the masses, transcending cultural and social borders. It is in this discourse environment that hundreds of definitions of gender appear, and the concepts “Sex”, “Gender”, “Woman” undergo significant changes. Furthermore, the linguistic metamorphoses of the Anglo-American discourse not only reflect, but also cause gender reforms at all levels of existence of Western society, including politics, children’s education, legislation, institutions of marriage and family. Since the linguistic aspects of neoliberal discourse have not been sufficiently studied, this research will attempt to describe the modern structure of the Anglo-American discourse of the media and social networks, as well as to characterize some key changes in the field of the concept “Woman”, including the separation of “femaleness” as its key meaning constituent, with subsequent reduction of the sign “Woman” to the state of a simulacrum.

*Keywords:* discourse, gender, woman, concept, simulacrum, Anglo-American, neoliberal

## КОНЦЕПТ «ЖЕНЩИНА» В АНГЛО-АМЕРИКАНСКОМ НЕОЛИБЕРАЛЬНОМ ДИСКУРСЕ XXI ВЕКА

Большое количество современных российских и зарубежных ученых занимаются разработкой проблемы гендера в языке и культуре. В ряде исследований Е. Э. Панченко, Н. В. Паланчук, В. В. Тихаевой, Ю. И. Алферовой, А. А. Григорян, Е. Середы, А. С. Герасимой была затронута тема выражения гендера в английском языке, а также проведены исследования в области концепта Женщина. Х. Брэдди, Н. Бернс, Т. Чантер, С. Хекман изучают понятие гендера и фемининности в области социологии, политологии и философии. Однако за последнее десятилетие современный неолиберальный англо-американский дискурс СМИ и соцсетей породил множество новых смыслов и интерпретаций в области гендерного самоопределения, а также спровоцировал значительный прирост новых языковых единиц, терминов и определений для, казалось бы, веками устоявшихся понятий и слов, таких как «Женщина», «Мать», «Мужчина» и так далее. Такие термины, как гендер флюид, небинарная личность, рожающий человек и др. вошли в обиход не только повседневной западной жизни, но и в терминологический аппарат социологии, психологии, педиатрии и других наук. Во многом данное словотворчество спровоцировано новым витком развития самого неолиберального дискурса, который под влиянием соцсетей стал более фрагментарным, менее структурированным по форме, а также мульти интерпретативным, идеологизированным и манипулятивным по своему содержанию. Именно в XXI веке каждый индивид, имеющий доступ в сети, получил возможность транслировать свои взгляды и ценности в массы, минуя культурные и социальные различия. Именно в этой дискурсивной среде появляются сотни определений гендерной принадлежности, а концепты «Пол», «Гендер», «Женщина» претерпевают значительные изменения. В свою очередь языковые метаморфозы англо-американского дискурса не только отражают, но и вызывают гендерные реформы на всех уровнях существования западного социума, включая политику, детское образование, законодательство, институты брака и семьи. Так как в современной лингвистике языковые аспекты неолиберального дискурса недостаточно изучены, данное исследование является лингвистической попыткой описать современную структуру англо-американского дискурса СМИ и соцсетей, а также охарактеризовать некоторые ключевые изменения в области концепта «Женщина», включая отрыв данного концепта от понятия фемининности в английском языке с последующим снижением данного знака до состояния симулякра.

*Ключевые слова:* дискурс, гендер, женщина, концепт, симулякр, англо-американский, неолиберальный

## Introduction

For the past twenty years in the Anglo-American discourse of mass and social media, language creativity in the area of gender and self-identity has spiraled up producing multiple interpretations of terms such as “woman”, “man”, “femaleness” and “maleness”. New terms (“assigned gender”, “two-spirited person”, “gender fluid”) have gained wide popularity both in the language of experts as well as common citizens.

“Woman” has become “an umbrella term” that largely lost its core “female” component and in the neoliberal agenda refers to literally “anybody, who identifies as a woman”. In the neoliberal media “woman” may denote both male and female individuals: “some women have penises” and “some men can get pregnant if they have the parts”. “Mother” as a notion is vastly challenged by new terms, such as “birthing person” and “chest feeder”.

Apart from political, social, and cultural nature of this metamorphose, there is a pure linguistic aspect, that should be addressed and thoroughly studied by modern linguists across the globe. This research aims to focus on the language creativity that is rapidly redefining the concept “Woman” and the womanhood itself in the neoliberal Anglo-American mass and social media discourse.

The big question to ask is why modern western society needs such abundance of loose and complex terms to refer to women. What social intents and desires spurred this language creativity? The core reason here is the bloom of neoliberal ideology that is pushed and supported by the democrat parties in power. Neoliberalism claims that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individuals, giving them entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free trade, and free markets [Harvey, 2005: 2].

Throughout western history women were viewed as oppressed by men, society, cultural and religious norms. Therefore, unlike the notion of “Man”, it is the “Woman” that has been widely addressed in the liberal discourse of political feminism. During the 1980s and 1990s while Marxist feminists tried to expose the class nature of women’s oppression [Beasley, 1999], radical feminists saw gender as the primal source of social discrimination [Bradley, 2007]. Therefore, “freeing individuals” to a great extent deals with freeing them from “gender”. In the 21 c. by means of language the neoliberal society is making another historical attempt to liberate women and minorities from their assigned gender roles and boundaries, such as necessity to give birth for females and necessity to act and look like a traditional man for queer males.

At the same time the rapid growth of social media has contributed to the spread of the neoliberal agenda providing an easy and direct access to mass audience of all age, racial, religious and gender groups. Speakers and influencers have gained a potential to impact the minds of broad communities while transcending social, ethical and cultural boarders.

The neoliberal discourse should not be seen as simply descriptive or reflective. It has become an “act”, a “force” that drives major political, social and cultural changes. New definitions of gender and identity have altered the fabric of the western societies and largely affected its family patterns, education, healthcare and legislative system. Some of such changes will be permanent and life-defining and, therefore, can't be overlooked by modern linguistics.

Thus, this research will make an attempt to describe the structure of the neoliberal Anglo-American discourse and address the changes of the concept “Woman” as a prominent example of the discourse development and dynamics.

## Methods and materials

An essential focus of the study will be to examine the historical evolution of sign in the Anglo-American discourse up to its current state in the neoliberal discourse: its main features and structure will be identified. As a means of interdisciplinary approach an economic model of “free market” will be applied in the structural analyses of the neoliberal mass and social media discourse.

In terms of linguistic methodology, this research will implement the elements of discourse analysis that is a qualitative research method involving an in-depth examination of any written, spoken, non-verbal, and visual language in context. Discourse analysis is the perfect method for looking at the correlation between language and broader social issues, such as language and gender.

Regarding materials, the research will mainly study a renowned documentary by Matt Walsh “What is a woman?” (2022). Matt Walsh is an American right-wing political commentator and activist, who is known for opposing transgender rights and has campaigned in opposition to groups providing or encouraging transgender health care, particularly for minors. In the documentary the author questions various liberal experts and activists about gender identity issues, including puberty blockers, sex change surgery, gender pronouns, and body mutilation. Thus, M. Walsh discusses the issues with “gender affirming” therapist Gurt Comfrey, Dr. Marci Lee Bowers — sex change surgeon, Dr. Patric Grzanka — a college

professor in women and gender studies, Michelle Forcier — a female pediatrician, Miriam Grossman — adolescent and adult psychiatrist, USA as well as conservative psychologist and influencer Jordan Peters. He randomly interviews people on city streets of America, feminist activists, parents, whose kids suffered from gender dysphoria, early childhood educators and teachers, etc. Some wider samples of the documentary interviews are streaming on a political news websites, mass and social media such as, Instagram, twitter, Tick Talk and represent a great interest to linguists, psychologists, sociologists across the globe.

Additionally, the research will investigate the American and British TV shows which directly addressed women and gender issues, such as Good Morning Britain with Piers Morgan and “Dr. Phil” show (the USA). The focus will also be on tick talk, telegram and Instagram talks of prominent social media influencers, such as Matt Walsh, Candice Owens and Charlie Kirk, who specifically spoke about the definition of woman in the liberal discourse.

To describe the current representation of the notion of “Woman”, the elements of concept analyses will be implemented. Conceptual analysis, according to E. S. Kubryakova, appears as a search for those general concepts that are brought under one sign and predetermine the existence of the sign as a known cognitive structure and leads to knowledge about the world. Concepts are understood as those images of the content of signs, “units of consciousness that form part of the general conceptual model of the world” [Kubryakova, 1991]. (2) The practical goal of the analyses is to describe the neoliberal concept “Woman” as a constituent of the bigger concept of “Gender” as well as outline the notion structure of its associative field.

## Results and discussion

### *Defining Neoliberal discourse*

The notion of discourse has been studied and developed by a number of both foreign and Russian linguists for several decades now and has been approached from various angles. Discourse interpretation ranges from its structural definition as stretches longer than one utterance in a conversational exchange by Harris [Harris,1952] to Stepanov’s “mental world” [Stepanov,1995] as well as “human life in the language” by Arutyunova [Arutyunova,1997]. M. Stubbs defines discourse as the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause [Stubbs1983], “the verbal or written exchange of ideas”. “Any unit of connected speech or writing that is longer than a sentence and that has a coherent meaning and a clear purpose” is another one by J.Sinclair and M.Coulthart [Sinclair,

Coulthard,1975]. Following I. A. Malkovskaya, D. Shiffrin the ideological, technological and strategic aspects of the Anglo-American mass and social media discourse will be investigated.

Since neoliberalism is largely based on the idea of “free market” it is highly reasonable to approach the Anglo-American neoliberal mass and social media discourse as a “Market of Opinions” where individuals are encouraged to stream their versions and interpretations of notions while the government provides ideological, political and technical support of individuals’ expression and speech. Social media here is a “market” where “speech entrepreneurs” promote and trade their ideas and “speech products”, with a certain ideological value and price.

The original idea of the free market as it is known today belongs to A. Smith who pictured the market’s driving force as “an invisible hand” that guides the market and helps define the value and price of commodities through demand and supply. The neoliberal vision of the free market by F. von Hayek describes the free market as “the mind of its own”, where each individual holds a share of the market common knowledge and together individuals constitute a “brain of its own” that can function independently and be self-sustained [Metcalf, 2021]. In Smith’s concept, market is a sphere that is separate from religion, culture, society and language. In Hayek’s one, Religion, culture, politics, language and all other possible spheres are the Market, where everything can be sold and bought, based on individual demand and supply.

In the same scenario, social and mass media contributors, regardless of their status or level of expertise, hold their individual shares of what constitutes modern concepts of gender, and self-identity, and subsequently of man and woman. In the neoliberal discourse it’s not the dictionary or an expert who define a notion. The presentation of the concept “Woman” in the language becomes a matter of multiple individual interpretations. According to S. Metcalf, “Neoliberalism” describes something more than a standard ideology. The political journalist for the Guardian, sees it as a way of “reordering social reality”, and of rethinking peoples’ status as individuals. “You see the extent to which a language formerly confined to chalkboard simplifications describing commodity markets (competition, perfect information, rational behavior) has been applied to all of society, until it has invaded the grit of our personal lives, and how the attitude of the salesman has become enmeshed in all modes of self-expression.” [Metcalf, 2021].

Another important feature of the Neoliberalism as an economic ideology is that it marked the current descent into “post-truth” liberalism. “Fake news means purposefully made-up content (textual, audial, or vi-

sual) where authors imply to mislead, terrify or cheat readers. In mass media, a fake pretends to be news. Both fakes and facts perform similar functions when they aim to entertain, persuade, advertise, or make money” S. Solntseva states [Solntseva, 2021]. In Neoliberal era, the truth is simply “an opinion” that entertains and sells better. On social media the latter is reflected in the number of likes, followers and the earnings made.

### *Anglo-American discourse as a “market of opinions”*

In order to understand the current structure of neoliberal discourse, it is important to outline the evolutionary milestones of the Anglo-American discourse throughout social history until today. Thus, A. M. Kaplunenko identifies three main historical types of the Anglo-American discourse:

“Discourse of differences” is the initial stage that predominates in Christian culture, in the 11th — 12th centuries. “The dialectics that dominated enlightened minds was associated with disputes between realists and nominalists about the status of the universal truth. On the intentional horizon of the social consciousness there was an intense search for points of mutual understanding” [Kaplunenko, 2007]. The Concept, which is interpreted by scientists as the main form of representation of knowledge of a given historical period, became the historical beginning of the movement towards the universal, common notions.

As the next evolutionary stage, “discourse of coordination” marked the Age of Enlightenment of the 17th and 18th centuries. The consciousness of this period is driven by systematicity, the desire for classification, coordination of viewpoints, sharpening of definitions with the subsequent limitation of the scope of the concept. In the discourse of coordination, the basic notions of the classic science were shaped. Please, see fig. 1 below.

The third development was the “Expert community discourse” starting from the late 19th to early 20th centuries, which became the onset of the scientific revolution with the subsequent popularization of mass communication. “In the areas of intellectual and practical activity that used to tend to agree upon notions at the previous stage, the time of specific interests and goals comes. The focus of cognition processes shifts from the general to the specific” [Kaplunenko, 2007]. Expressing the interests of political parties, subcultures, scientific schools becomes the target of the discourse.

Following the concept of A. M. Kaplunenko, this research will distinguish a new historical period of the Anglo-American discourse evolution and define it as a “Market / Discourse of Opinions”. This is the post-truth discourse that develops in the 21<sup>st</sup> c. and is characterized by the ubiquitous spread of social media, individual interpretations of classic notions,

increased language creativity, that is encouraged and facilitated by the ideology of the political party in power.

In the discourse of opinions, the representation of knowledge is an individual opinion about some object of reality. Unlike a viewpoint, an opinion neither has to reflect something that is true or real nor be justified or proved. An opinion in the neoliberal discourse is an “individual, personal truth”, a statement that reflects individual’s desire of reality or even a mere feeling of it.

While fifteen years ago in the pre-social media discourse linguists tended to describe the Speaker as a “faceless information carrier” [Mal'kovskaya,2005] in the discourse of opinions the image of the speaker is clearly presented and gains the status of “an individual truth carrier”, whose opinion should be acknowledged. Just like at the economic market an Opinion, as a product of an individual Speaker, gains popularity through consumer demand, expressed in the number of followers on social media. Thus, the truth in the neoliberal discourse is not a statement or a sign that reflects reality, but “an opinion in demand”, the one that sells better or gains more likes by the followers. In such discourse “woman” no longer refers to female physicality and roles, but rather reflects an opinion of what “a woman” might be by someone, who identifies as such. See fig. 2 below.

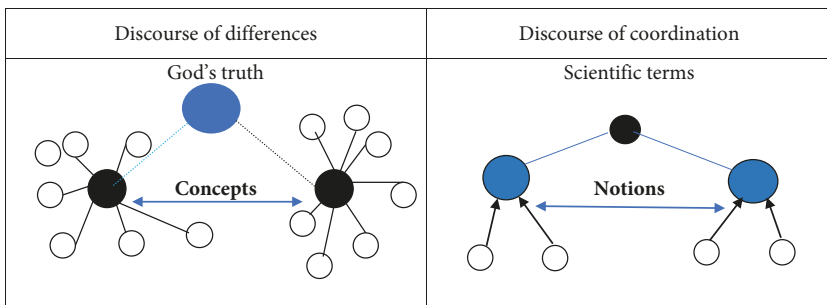


Fig. 1. Sign evolution in the “discourse of difference” and “coordination” respectively

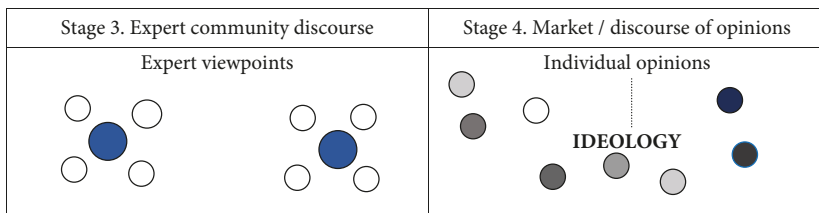


Fig. 2. Sign evolution in the “expert community discourse” and the neoliberal discourse



### *The concept of “Woman” in the neoliberal discourse*

The analyses of the neoliberal discourse on the subject of various language representations of “Woman” has provided the following crucial outcomes.

1. The growing divergence of the concept “Woman” from “female” as its key attribute.

The essentialist definition of gender states that “gender is inborn, biologically determined,” “one can be either a girl or a boy, but not both, nor somewhere in between” (National Library of Medicine, USA). Thus, from pure scientific, essentialist viewpoint, sex and gender are deeply interrelated, and sex defines gender. In the neoliberal discourse the two categories are growing separate and become very loosely connected.

In the example below, two experts refer to sex as a physical “genitalia based category”, while gender is viewed as an imperative, placed on individuals and assigned by the doctor at birth. Here gender and sex are viewed as two separate categories.

(1) *Interviewing G. Comfrey, gender affirming therapist), USA.*

*G. Comfrey: Thinking about the modalities that I use, I am definitely informed by like family feminist therapy and the ideas that we live in **gendered worlds**, where there are certain **imperatives** that are placed on us about who we are, what we do based on how we’ve been gendered. From the minute I was **assigned “female”** I was told, ok these are the kind of clothing you are gonna wear, this is the type of play that you are gonna engage in as a child, the path that maybe your life will take, because of social expectations.*

*Int: what do you mean by “**assigned female**”? Who assigns “female”?*

*G. Comfrey: Most times people when they are born, they’re assigned a gender by the doctor.*

*Int: what do they base that assignment on?*

*G. Comfrey: Basically, it’s based on **genitalia**. So, people looking at genitalia and deciding OK, this is a girl or a boy. And we know now that sex and gender are so much more than just this binary. Some **women have penises**, some men have vaginas... that’s not how gender works [“What’s a woman?”, 2022].*

(2) *Interviewing Dr. M. Forcier, MD, pediatrician, professor, USA.*

*Int: **Male gametes** — that what makes me **male**.*

*Dr. Forcier: No, your **sperm don’t make you male**.*

*Int: then what does?*

*Dr. Forcier: it’s a **constellation**. [“What’s a woman?”, 2022].*

(3) *Interviewing feminist activists:*

“Kids are being taught; you might feel like you are **a boy** even if you have **a vagina**. You are what you **feel** you are.” Some **women have penises**; some men have vaginas.” “So, men can get pregnant? Yeah, if they have **the parts** to do so. That’s the whole point, that it’s **fluid**. The way that we define these things changes a lot.” [“What’s a woman?”, 2022].

Thus, Sex is viewed as an “assigned”, not inborn trait, while gender is fluid and loosely related to biological sex. A woman can be both a male and a female, regardless of their genitalia and other physical attributes. See fig. 3.

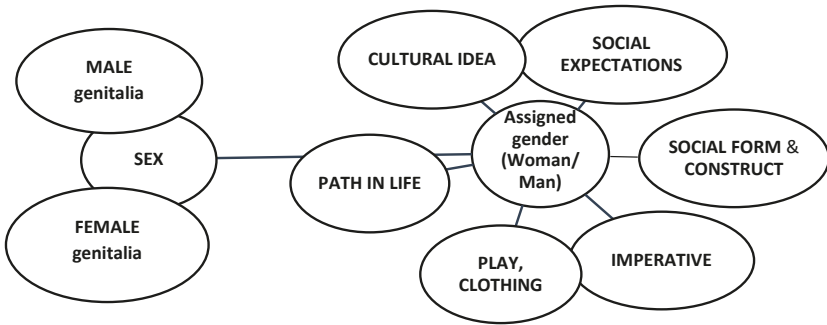


Fig. 3. Sex and Gender concepts evolution in the neoliberal discourse

2. “Woman” is becoming a fluid umbrella term with multiple definitions. The neoliberal discourse as a “market of opinions” allows a broad range of definitions to the notion of “Woman” as well as a variety of objects it can now refer to as a sign. (See fig. 2).

Having lost its physicality, definition of a “woman” has acquired more abstract interpretations, such as “Woman is a Social Construct”, “Woman is A Feeling” and “Woman is a Costume”.

As early as in 1949 French feminist Simone de Beauvoir (1949), famously claimed in her seminal study *The Second Sex* “Women are made, they are not born”. The interpretation of a woman as a social construct is widely exploited in the neoliberal “discourse of opinions”. Such language units as “project”, “social expectations”, “construct”, “imperatives placed” refer to the notion of “Woman” as social construct. See examples in (1) and (4), (5), (6).

(4) *Interviewing random individuals.*

Male speaker: *Defining womanhood is just a **project** of someone who identifies as a woman.*

Int: but what do they identify as a woman? What Is that?

Male speaker: Honestly, I don't know.

Defining Woman as “a Feeling (inside)”, is a relatively new development when someone who “feels like”, “think of themselves as”, “have a self-perception as”, “a delusion”, “imagine themselves to be” a woman can be defined as such.

- (5) *Gender Debate on “Dr. Phil” TV show.*

*M. Walsh: As human beings **we** have a sex: male or female. That is a biological, scientific fact. Now, gender is a linguistic term. Words have gender, people don't.*

*Int: You are saying there should be no construct of gender, just sex. You are either male or female. And someone **feeling in a mental, emotional way**, that they don't identify with the sex that they have been biologically created as and assigned at birth based on their genitalia, if they don't feel that way that there's no construct that describes that experience?*

*M. Walsh: Well, that has nothing to do with the reality. You can feel however you want. You can have whatever **self-perception** you want. But you cannot have me to take part in that self-perception.*

*Int: So, you think it's a **delusion**, that someone self-delusional.*

*M. Walsh: It can be self-delusion; it can be mental illness. With children it's also a confusion. [Dr. Phil show, 2023].*

- (6) *“A woman is **someone** who **wants to look pretty and thinks of herself as a delicate creature.**” Some people are girls, some are boys, some are both, some are neither. Gender is all about how we **feel on the inside** and how we **express** ourselves.” “Well, I think if someone **tells you who they are**, you should believe them. If a person says that they are a woman or they are a man, then that is them telling you their gender is.” [“What's a woman?”, 2022]*

In the neoliberal reality, the object of such definitions can be both a biological female or a male. Thus, Sex here is viewed as an irrelevant attribute to definition of gender. Stating “what you feel your gender to be” is enough to self-identify.

Another unique development of the concept “Woman” is its interpretation as a Costume, that is presented in the discourse by the language units, such as “gender clues”, “show to the world”, “theatrical production”, “charade”. Historically, this development is rooted in certain beliefs of radical western feminism and gender ideology. Feminist J. Butler advo-

cated drag and cross-dressing, adopting individualized and mixed forms of sexual identity, as ways in which binary thinking on gender can be broken down. In the neoliberal discourse the drag culture is flourishing as well as the idea of “presenting female”, when biological man putting on gender stereotypical attributes (make up, a wig, a dress) equals to Woman identity.

- (7) “A woman is you know. It’s a combination of (your) physical attributes and **what (you) are showing to the world** and the **gender clues** that you give. And hopefully those match your gender identity.”

M. Walsh (a right-wind influencer) when debating the definition of “woman” with a non-binary individual on Dr. Phil show states:

- (8) “You can’t expect me to take part in this kind of **charade**, in this **theatrical production**. You don’t get your own pronouns, just like you don’t get your own adjectives. What you want to do is to **appropriate** women, to appropriate womanhood and turn it into a basically a **costume** that could be worn.” [Dr. Phil show, 2022].

Here Womanhood is becoming a costume play while the concept “Woman” is turning into an empty sign, deprived of its original physical and social denotes, which can now refer to anyone who identifies as a woman.

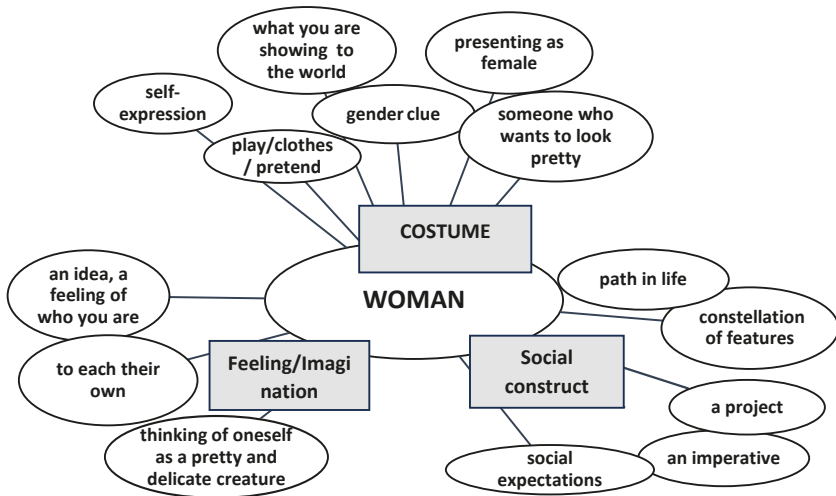


Fig. 4. “Woman” as an umbrella term in the neoliberal discourse

3. “Woman” as a sign degrades to simulacrum.

Another important finding of the neoliberal discourse analyses is that speakers often fail to give any definition to the word “woman” or provide circular definitions to it, such as “a woman is a woman”, “transwoman is a woman”, “woman is to each their own”, “Defining womanhood is just a project of someone who identifies as a woman”. The fluidity and vagueness of the sign combined with its increasing divergence from the physical realities of sex and gender attributes make “Woman” as a sign degrade to the state of simulacrum. It becomes empty of meaning.

From pure biological as well as common sense prospective, one more important attribute of a woman was giving birth to a child and breastfeed, as well as to be a mother. However, the neoliberal discourse managed to challenge even this basic rule of nature by means of language games. Examples are as follows:

- (9) *Interviewing female feminist protesters at “Women’s march” in Washington DC.*

*Protester: If **men can get pregnant**, they have the right to choose (abortion).*

*Int: But men can get pregnant?*

*Protester: You are saying if someone was born as a woman but identifies as a man, that is a real man.*

*Int: So, that’s a real man?*

*Protester: Yeah.*

*Int: So, men can get pregnant?*

*Protester: Yeah, if they **have the parts** to do so. That’s the whole point, that it’s fluid. The way that we define these things changes a lot. [Dr. Phil show, 2022].*

- (10) *“Can man be mothers?” debate on Good Morning Britain:*

*Speaker 1: I think we could all agree that motherhood starts way **beyond the biological event** and anyone including **men can mother** and play a role of a mother.*

*Speaker 2: No. Man father.*

*Speaker 1: With respect, **to mother** and to father, they are **not gender specific**.*

*Speaker 2: Why do we **pretend** otherwise?*

*Speaker 1: These **skills to mother** and to father can be acquired. [Good Morning Britain, 2019].*

In (9) the notion of woman is reduced to someone with the parts, that is reproductive organs. And in (10) a mother is no longer a female human, but a skill that can be learnt both by men and women. Moreover,

the “Mother” is not referred to by a noun, denoting a being, a human that objectively exists, but a verb that simply presents an action, an act that may or may not be performed.

The big question is what is left of Woman as a concept? If a woman is neither a female, nor a mother, if it can also denote a biological male, or if transwoman is a woman, then “What is a woman”? From linguistic perspective Woman in the neoliberal discourse is becoming an empty image or a simulacrum.

According to J. Baudrillard “simulacrum — not unreal, but a simulacrum, that is to say never exchanged for the real, but exchanged for itself, in an uninterrupted circuit without reference or circumference” [Baudrillard, 1981]. The Image or sign of Woman undergoes the following phases of simulacrum as defined by J. Baudrillard:

The Image first reflects a basic reality. That is when “woman” used to denote a human female with the female social roles.

In the second stage Woman as a feeling or someone’s self-imagination masks or perverts that basic reality when referring to both male and female individuals regardless of their physical sex.

The Woman as a stage three simulacrum masks the absence of a basic reality by becoming a Costume that can easily cover the absence of physical female traits in a male who identifies as a woman.

The signal of the approaching fourth stage of simulacrum is circular definitions, such as “a woman is a woman”, “a woman is someone who identifies as a woman”. Here, Woman is its own pure simulacrum with no definition or reference.

## Conclusion

Drawing a conclusion, it is important to note that the changes to the concept “Woman” that have been described are quite recent and are in progress. Thus, there is no possibility for a fixed definition of what “Woman” really is in the today’s neoliberal discourse. The only thing that can be done and was done in the research is to register the current dynamics and transformations the concept “Woman” is undergoing. The current key transformations of the concept “Woman” can be summarized in the fig. 5 below.

As can be seen, the concept “Woman” in the neoliberal discourse is sustainably losing its cognitive, notional connection to female gender and motherhood. “Mother” is becoming a function expressed through a verb rather than a human denoted by a noun “mother”. This function can be attributed to both biological females and males but not to women alone.

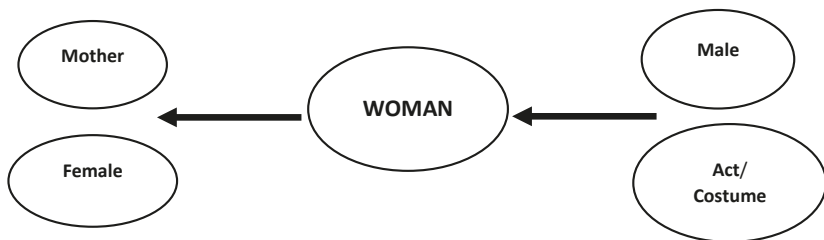


Fig. 5. Simulacration of the sign “Woman”

“Man can mother, women can father”. “Men can get pregnant, if they have the parts” [Good Morning Britain, 2019]. Here femaleness is reduced to genitalia that a transman may have. These statements have nothing to do with reality and the biology of human gender, however, the neoliberal language misleads, plays logic games, and eventually deprives the concept “Woman” of its biological and social domain. Thus, the Sign “Woman” becomes empty of its key attributes, that distinct a woman as a separate gender, and degrades to simulacrum.

Simulacrum is an empty sign that can be placed on any object that copies or pretends to be real. Thus, in the neoliberal discourse a biological male, who copies a woman or acts like one is described as a woman. While losing its female attributes the concept “Woman” gains new constituents such as “male”, “costume”, “act”.

There is no doubt that there will be more changes and developments to the concept. Those changes will be defined by the leading Anglo-American Ideology. With the liberal government in power, the speakers have the capacity to “play” with the traditional notions and produce more language creativity in the neoliberal direction. However, the right-wind ideologists have already been pushing back and are actively debating the neoliberal agenda. Many American and British conservative influencers, such as Mat Walsh, Piers Morgan, Candice Owens, Charlie Kirk, Ben Shapiro are actively advocating for a scientific, essentialist definition of “Woman” as “an adult human female”, with the gender roles such as wife and mother included. Its possible to assume that, once the ideological shift towards conservatism happens, the current attributes of the concept “Woman” may be eliminated. However, the ideological impact that the neoliberal language has already produced on the minds and lives of several generations will stay as a part of culture, that cannot be reversed or eradicated.

The bigger concern is that the impact of the neoliberal gender ideology is spreading in other countries where people have access to mass and social media. Some of the neoliberal gender and identity language

has been borrowed into the Russian language, in some cases by means of tracing and have been successfully functioning in the Russian discourse of psychology, life coaching, family therapy. Terms as “genderfluid / гендер флюид”, “mindful motherhood / осознанное материнство”, “nonbinary / небинарная личность” are of pure Anglo-American neoliberal origin and bare certain ideological power upon the community that has been using those.

Therefore, the linguistic study of the Anglo-American neoliberal language and discourse ought to be continued and further detailed. Words have illocutive power to change the reality and the mentality of humans. Therefore, reshaping and redefining key concepts such as “Woman”, “Man”, “Gender” can transform the fabric of a society and the direction those changes are taking should not be overlooked by the linguistic community.

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**“CONFLICT INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS” FRAMES  
IN CONFLICT DISCOURSE OF FANTASY GENRE**

The paper discusses the verbalization of frames related to ‘conflict interpersonal relations’ in literary discourse. This discourse encompasses not only the dialogues between characters in a conflict situation of interpersonal communication but also the description of this situation as the basis for plot development. The objective of this study is to describe the characteristics of verbalizing conflict interpersonal relations and basic conflict frames in literary discourse within the fantasy genre. The linguistic material analysed is taken from the series ‘The Chronicles of Malus Darkblade’ by D. Abnett and M. Lee. The research methods employed in this paper are discourse analysis and frame analysis. The study has revealed that the frame of conflict in interpersonal relations can be expressed both at the sentence and text levels. At the sentence level, this frame is represented by verbs that describe interpersonal relations. At the text level, it is represented as a generalized static and dynamic model of a referential situation. The study found that literary works in the fantasy genre often verbalize frames of conflict in interpersonal relations such as ‘opposition’, ‘physical / armed clash’, and ‘competition’. This text discusses the objectifying components of macro-propositions and the specific features of frame scenario development. Speech conflicts can represent various scenes in the cognitive frame scenario, but they are most commonly associated with the initiation and escalation of conflicts.

*Keywords:* conflict discourse, literary discourse, fantasy genre, frame, interpersonal relations

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**ФРЕЙМЫ КОНФЛИКТНЫХ МЕЖЛИЧНОСТНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ  
В КОНФЛИКТНОМ ДИСКУРСЕ ЖАНРА ФЭНТЕЗИ**

Статья посвящена объективации фреймов конфликтных межличностных отношений в конфликтном художественном дискурсе, который рассматривается в работе в новом, более широком контексте. С нашей точки зрения, помимо диалогической речи персонажей в конфликтной ситуации межличностного общения, конфликтный дискурс включает в себя также и описание самой конфликтной ситуации как основу развития сюжета. Целью исследования является описание особенностей вербализации фреймов «conflict interpersonal relations», базовых фреймов конфликтного художественного дискурса и выявление их специфики в жанре фэнтези. Языковым материалом исследования послужили

примеры из романов цикла «Хроники Малуса Темного клинка» Д. Абнетта и М. Ли. В качестве методов исследования в работе используются дискурсивный и фреймовый анализ. Исследование показало, что фреймы конфликтных межличностных отношений могут актуализироваться как на уровне предложения, так и на уровне текста. На уровне предложения данный фрейм вербализуется глаголами межличностных отношений, на уровне текста — как обобщенная статическая и динамическая модель референтной ситуации. Выявлено, что в литературных произведениях жанра фэнтези вербализуются такие фреймы конфликтных межличностных отношений, как «physical / armed clash», «opposition» и «competition». Отмечены особенности объективации отдельных компонентов макропропозиции данного фрейма в конфликтном дискурсе жанра фэнтези, описана специфика линейного развертывания фреймового сценария.

*Ключевые слова:* конфликтный дискурс, художественный дискурс, жанр фэнтези, фрейм, межличностные отношения

## Introduction

Fantasy, which nowadays is a very popular genre, refers to the personality-oriented literary discourse. It is based on a secondary artistic convention that represents some changes in reality, such as changes in logic or realia. Moreover, in creating a fantasy “possible” world, fantasy fiction is superimposed on artistic fiction, resulting in a “double possible world”; thus, a tertiary convention is formed. Such a world, according to E. V. Medvedeva, is not directly based on the real world: it has its own structure, laws and cultural principles [Medvedeva, 2015, p. 134]. The main role in it is played by the irrational and mystical, as fantasy worlds usually do not lend themselves to logical explanation.

The following features of this genre are underlined by researchers: 1) a detailed fictional world that serves as the background for the events described; 2) contrasting representation of good and evil; 3) non-linearity of the plot, 4) adventurousness of the plot [Dyakonova, 2017, p. 7].

It is essential to note that the fundamental issues of fantasy genre are moral and ethical problems. They are expressed in the confrontation between personalized embodiments of the good and evil [Ibid.]. Moral and philosophical laws of human existence are revealed, in particular, through the description of relations between the characters of the work. Most often, the author is interested in conflict interpersonal relations, since they most vividly expose such problems. The topic of a conflict between individuals and small groups of people is the the basis for the plot in many fantasy works and fiction in general.

As for conflict literary discourse, it is viewed by most scholars as a form of dialogical discourse [Karaziya, 2006, p. 6], “speech interaction between the addresser, addressee and target audience” [Koshkarova, 2015, p. 8], “a type of verbal behaviour which has its specific model of development in speech” [Paronyan, Bekaryan, 2014, p. 60].

In this study, we consider the conflict literary discourse from a new, broader perspective: dialogical discourse is included in the broader context of conflict interpersonal relations, the description of which is the representation of the frames of conflict interpersonal relations.

Thus, the aim of the study is to describe the peculiarities of verbalization of the frames of conflict interpersonal relations, the basic frames of conflict literary discourse, and reveal their specificity in the novels of the fantasy genre.

The collected linguistic material is taken from one of the best Warhammer fantasy series “The Chronicles of Malus Darkblade” by D. Abnett and M. Lee. The series consists of six novels: “The Daemon’s Curse”, “Bloodstorm”, “Reaper of Souls”, “Warpsword”, “Lord of Ruin” and “The Blood Price”. The total volume of the texts analysed is 2128 pages. “The Chronicles of Malus Darkblade” series is set in a fictional fantasy universe, which is notable for its dark background world. This is a world where everyone conflicts with each other, competes, and fights using weapons or physical force.

The methods used in the study are discourse analysis and frame analysis.

## Results and discussion

### 1. The “conflict interpersonal relations” frame and its structure (the sentence level)

The analysis has shown that one of the basic frames of conflict discourse of fantasy works are frames of conflict interpersonal relations. They are propositional frames that are actualized at the sentence level by corresponding verbs.

The term “frame” in cognitive semantics is understood as the structural organization of a concept. It represents “a cognitive model that conveys knowledge and opinions about a certain frequently repeated situation” [Boldyrev, 2000, p. 61]. As for the propositional frame, at the top of it, as T. A. van Dijck and W. Kintsch hold, there is a complex predicate containing information about the event; at lower levels there are arguments involved in the situation: agent, patient, object, etc. [Dijck, Kintsch, 1988, p. 186].

For identifying the structure of a frame of interpersonal relations, frame analysis was used.

The research has revealed that the general propositional frame of conflict interpersonal relations is profiled as one of its subframes: “physical/armed clash”, “opposition” and “competition”. These subframes represent models of stereotypical confrontation between individuals or small social groups and are represented by the verbs denoting interpersonal relations, such as fight, struggle, combat, clash (the subframe “physical/armed clash”); compete, contend, rival, vie (the subframe “rivalry”); oppose, fight, resist, counter, counteract, battle (the subframe “opposition”).

The “physical/armed clash” subframe models the situation of an armed or physical conflict involving two or more participants (groups) in conflict interaction. Subject ( $S_1$ ) considers the situation caused by subject ( $S_2$ ) to be unfavorable for himself or the group as a whole and tries to influence subject ( $S_2$ ) by using weapons or physical force. ( $S_1$ )

The verbs ‘fight’, ‘struggle’, ‘combat’, ‘war’, ‘clash’ represent the subframe “physical/armed clash”. The analysis of dictionary definitions of these verbs has revealed the fact that the verb *fight* is prototypical for this subframe having the meaning of armed or physical confrontation. The systemic meaning of this verb describes a conflict situation in the most generalized and neutral way: **fight** — LSV (lexico-semantic variant) 2) ‘[intransitive, transitive] to struggle physically with somebody (against smb.)’ [OALD]. The meanings of other verbs are interpreted through this verb: **clash** — 1) [intransitive] clash (with somebody) to come together and *fight* [OALD], **combat** — ‘(very formal) to *fight* an enemy or opponent [MED]; **struggle** — LSV 3) [intransitive] to *fight* somebody or try to get away from them [OALD].

These lexemes are combined into one group on the basis of the two conceptual features: “try to stop the development of an unfavorable situation using armed methods or physical force”, “indicate the goal and method of confrontation”.

The “opposition” subframe models a situation that represents socially determined actions of participants in conflict interaction. Subject ( $S_1$ ) considers the situation caused by subject ( $S_2$ ) to be unfavorable for himself or the group as a whole and, guided by his personal or group goals, opposes subject ( $S_2$ ), i.e. tries to prevent this situation from developing or somehow improve it.

The group of verbs representing the “opposition” subframe convey the meaning of ‘to fight, oppose, confront, be in opposition, resist’.

Two conceptual features of this group are the following: “disagree, be against” and “try to stop the development of an unfavorable situation”.

*Oppose* is prototypical of this group of verbs. The systemic meaning of this stylistically neutral verb describes the situation of resistance in the most general way. The meaning of other verbs in some cases is either interpreted through this verb or contains one of the above mentioned conceptual features:

**fight** — LSV 4) ‘to try hard to stop, deal with or oppose smth. bad’ [OALD], LSV 4) ‘[intransitive or transitive] to try very hard to prevent something from happening or getting worse: *fight against*’ [MED];

**counter** — LSV 2) ‘to take action in order to oppose or stop something or reduce its negative effects’ [MED], LSV 2) ‘[transitive] to do something in order to prevent something bad from happening or to reduce its bad effects’ [LED], LSV 2) ‘to do smth. to reduce or prevent the bad effects of smth.’ [OALD];

**counteract** — ‘to do smth. to reduce or prevent the bad or harmful effects of smth.’ [OALD], ‘to reduce the negative effect of something by doing something that has an opposite effect’ [MED];

**resist** — LSV 3) ‘to use force to stop something from happening, strongly / fiercely / firmly etc.’ [LED];

**battle** — ‘to try very hard to deal with a difficult situation’ [MED], ‘to try hard to achieve something in a difficult situation’ [OALD].

*Combat* and *fight* always mean struggle, usually political or intellectual. This is evidenced by the data in the dictionaries: to fight racism / corruption / poverty, etc. [OALD], measures to combat crime / inflation / unemployment [OALD], to combat inflation / crime / racism etc. [LED]. The lexemes *counter*, *counteract*, *resist* and *contend*, expressing external resistance and opposition, also have the meaning of armed, economic, political or physical struggle:

The “competition” subframe models a situation in which subject (S<sub>1</sub>) achieves some advantage over subject (S<sub>2</sub>). Competition, as some sociologists believe, is a special type of conflict; the purpose of competition is to obtain benefits, superiority or better living conditions.

The “competition” subframe is objectified by the verbs *compete*, *contend*, *rival*, *fight*, *vie*. The prototypical verb for this group is the verb ‘to compete’. Their meaning includes the conceptual feature “trying to be more successful than others”:

**compete** — LSV 1) ‘(with/against smb.) (for smth.) to try to be more successful or better than smb. else who is trying to do the same as you’ [OALD]; ‘to try to be more successful than other companies or people in business’ [MED];

**rival** — ‘somebody/something (for/in something) to be as good, impressive, etc. as somebody/something else’ [OALD]; ‘to be as good as someone or something else’ [MED];

**vie** — ‘to compete strongly with somebody in order to obtain or achieve something’ [OALD]; ‘to compete with other people for something that is difficult to get’ [MED];

**contend** — LSV 2) ‘to compete against someone, for example for a victory or for power’ [MED], LSV 1) ‘[intransitive] to compete against someone in order to gain something (contend for)’: *Three armed groups are **contending** for power* [LED], LSV 2) to compete against smb. in order to gain sth. [OALD];

**fight** — LSV 7) ‘[intransitive or transitive] to compete in order to win something or get something’: *Our party is ready to **fight** an election at any time* [MED], LSV 3) ‘fight smb./ smth. (for smth.) to take part in a contest against smb.’: *to **fight** an election / campaign* [OALD], LSV 5) ‘[intransitive and transitive] to take part in an election or compete strongly for something, especially a job or political position’ [LED].

The subframe structure consists of obligatory (fixed) and terminal (optional) components. The obligatory components are SUBJECT (agent), OBJECT (counteragent), and PREDICATE expressed by the verb of interpersonal relations:

«*“Malus (SUBJECT) **struggled** (PREDICATE) against the daemon’s grip (**ОБЪЕКТ**) with all his will”*» [Abnett, Lee, 2007b].

The terminal components of the frame include TIME, PLACE, GOAL, INSTRUMENT, SPECIFICATION and MANNER of an action:

«*Malus gauged the reactions of the two corsairs carefully. He cleared his throat. “Brother, you are being unfair to your first officer. She (SUBJECT) handled the vagabond with great skill and successfully (MANNER of an action) **fought** (PREDICATE) an enemy (OBJECT) more than twice her size during the battle (TIME) with what little resources (INSTRUMENT) she had. Even I know that the law of the sea dictates her claim to the prize.” He paused for effect. “If this is about Yasmir-”*» [Abnett, Lee, 2005b].

«*The heretics (SUBJECT) openly **fought** (PREDICATE) the church (OBJECT) in the streets of Har Ganeth (PLACE) and the church seemed paralyzed with inaction. Malus could not think of an explanation for the lack of a quick and brutal response*» [Abnett, Lee, 2007a].

The frame of social relations (as well as interpersonal relations) represented by corresponding verbs can become a cognitive frame of the text (a generalized model of its referential situation) [Tsytsarkina, 2012, p.24–25].



## 2. Frames of conflict interpersonal relations at the text level

### 2.1. *Macro-proposition of the cognitive frame of conflict interpersonal relations*

As our research shows, subframes of interpersonal relations are the basis for cognitive frames of conflict discourse of fantasy works. The predicates of the subframes of the “conflict interpersonal relations” frame can become predicates of the cognitive frames of the text — “physical/armed clash”, “opposition” and “rivalry”. This means that verbs of conflict interpersonal relations, which express the predicate of the macro-proposition of the text, objectify this frame at the text level. Such frames serve a foundation for the development of the plot of a literary work.

Except for this macro-predicate, the macro-proposition of the cognitive frame of interpersonal relations includes also macro-arguments — “agent”, “counteragent”, “goal”, “temporative”, “locative”, “instrument” and “specification of action”. They form the scheme of the model reflected in the content of a literary work.

Let us give examples of cognitive frames of conflict interpersonal relations verbalized in the works of the series “Chronicles of Malus Darkblade”. These are conflicts that unfold throughout the entire novel or any part of it. Each novel has its own central conflict. Thus, in the novel “Daemon’s Curse” the “rivalry” frame is verbalized. The macro-proposition of the frame may or may not be explicated in the text. In the latter case, it is deduced from the content of the novel: Malus (agent) **competes** (predicate) with his sister (counteragent) to be the first to get the information that will lead him to the treasure (goal).

Frames of interpersonal relations can be verbalized in the text as complex frames consisting of two frames — basic and included. The included (subordinate) frame is embedded in the structure of the base (main) frame. For example, in the novel “Warpsword” the frame “competition (rivalry)” includes the subordinate frame “physical/armed clash”; the macro-proposition is as follows: Malus (agent) **rivals** (predicate) with Urial (counteragent), fighting him (action specification — frame “physical/armed clash”) in order to get a powerful relic (goal). Urial is Malus’s brother and also the main antagonist of the novel.

It is important to note that in “The Chronicles of Malus Darkblade” series, as in most works of fantasy, to determine the exact time of the event (temporative) seems difficult. The authors only state that the events are happening now, have already happened or will happen in the future. Apparently, for the fantasy genre with an adventurous plot and a direct sequence of events, the exact indication of the time of the conflict is of

little importance. The locative, on the contrary, is always described with a high degree of accuracy. Thus, the action of the novel “Warpsword” takes place in the city of Har Ganeth; the novel “Bloodstorm” is set in the Sea of Claws. Since the action of fantasy novels often takes place in elaborate worlds for which a detailed map has been created (which is true for this series as well), it allows readers to visualize the exact location in great detail.

## 2.2. Scenario frame of conflict interpersonal relations

Unlike frames actualized by verbs in a sentence, cognitive frames reflect not only static, but also dynamic characteristics of a conflict situation.

The macro-proposition of a cognitive frame includes a scenario as a lower-level unit. It is a dynamic decoding of the static macro-proposition and consists of the following scenes: conflict preconditions, conflict initiation, conflict escalation (consisting of one or several incidents (episodes)), conflict culmination, conflict resolution, conflict consequences.

It can be pointed out that a special role in representation of scenario scenes is played by speech conflict as an integral part of conflict literary discourse. V.S. Tretyakova defines speech conflict as “a state of confrontation between two parties (participants in the conflict), in the process of which each of the parties deliberately and actively acts to the detriment of the opposite party, explicating its actions by verbal and pragmatic means” [Tretyakova, 2004, p. 112].

Speech conflict can represent all the stages of the linear unfolding of the cognitive frame of the text, but with varying degrees of probability. Thus, the scene “conflict preconditions” most often is omitted, since prerequisites for conflict are very often derived from the content of the text or described at the beginning of a novel as in the following example:

*«The two retainers backed away from Malus, retreating to the shadows by the doorway. The highborn returned his gaze to Lurhan and made an ostentatious bow. “Well met, father and Vaulkhar,” Malus rasped. **“It’s an honour to be invited into your tower at long last. Though considering your choice of company, perhaps it’s not the privilege I thought it to be.”***

*Lurhan let out an angry hiss. **“Insolent churl! Do not presume to speak to me as an equal. You have been a stain upon the honour of this house from the moment of your birth! Would that I could have given you to the cauldron when you were but a babe”**» [Abnett, Lee, 2006].*

In this passage the conflict between Malus and his father Lurhan (the frame “opposition”) is described. This is one of the episodes of the conflict escalation scene. The prerequisites for this conflict were given in the first book of the series, “The Blood Price”, in an exposition of the work:

*“I was the price he had to pay when he brought my mother back from the Black Ark of Naggor. He wanted a sorceress, and she wanted a son. He’s been dreaming of killing me ever since”* [Abnett, Lee, 2004].

The study shows that the conflict preconditions scene can also be expressed through a character’s inner speech:

*«And now we get to the heart of the matter, Malus **thought**. If the skull was all you needed, we wouldn’t be speaking to one another right now, you’d be roasting me on that fire outside. What do you wish?»* [Abnett, Lee, 2005b].

The scenes of conflict preconditions and initiation are not included in the dialogue, if they are part of another speech conflict:

*«Finally, the highborn stepped inside the cramped room. “What in the Dark Mother’s name do you want?” he growled. “Shouldn’t you be up pacing the deck or something?”*

*The young knight gave Malus a hard stare. His jaw worked as he struggled to find the right words to say. Finally, he simply blurted out, “**What in the name of all the gods is wrong with you?**”*

*Malus blinked. “What?”*

*“**Were you dropped on your head as a child? Kicked by a horse? Was your mother cursed?**” The young knight’s voice rose as a tide of pent-up frustration bubbled forth. “**Master Gul handed you a chance at easy wealth, but you’d rather die at Ulthuan instead?**”*

*“**Mind your damned tongue!**” the highborn snapped. “**Another word out of you and I’ll have the first mate strip the skin from your back!**”»* [Abnett, Lee, 2004].

The conflict was due to Malus’s reluctance to spend too much time at sea, causing him to choose a closer but more dangerous target. Participants are Malus and the knight under his command, Silar. The frame “opposition” is verbalized in the text. The preconditions for conflict and its initiation were described in the earlier conflict (a dispute over the choice of the target of the raid).

The speech conflict starts immediately with escalation (*What in the name of all the gods is wrong with you?*) and moves to the culmination — Silar insults Malus (*Were you dropped on your head as a child? Kicked by a horse? Was your mother cursed?*) and accuses him of not wanting to get rich easily (*Master Gul handed you a chance at easy wealth, but you’d rather die at Ulthuan instead?*). In response to Silar’s insult, Malus threatens him (*Another word out of you and I’ll have the first mate strip the skin from your back!*). The conflict ends with reconciliation (concession by Silar):

Silar shook his head. “You’d take my oath, knowing how much your father hates my house?”

“For that reason especially,” Malus replied with a grin. “Imagine how much it will vex him.”

The young knight considered this, and a baleful light came to his eyes. “I’ll swear whatever oath you desire” [Abnett, Lee, 2004].

The culmination of the conflict is usually described through a dialogue:

“I sent you to reclaim our family’s honour and return to me the treasure of our household. But where is it? Where is the medallion?”

“I know where it is, father, but we couldn’t reach it! The river..”

“Be silent, whelp!” the Urhan roared. “Enough of your witless puling! You think to excuse your failure with gifts, as though I’m some tent-wife? **You’re no fit son, not like your brother,**” Beg growled. “Perhaps I’ll have a dress made for you and see if I can get you married off to some blind old Autarii in need of a bed-warmer” [Abnett, Lee, 2005a].

In this situation, Nual, the son of Shade (Autarii) clan chief named Urhan Beg, tries to justify his failure. In response, he is ridiculed and insulted being compared with his more successful brother (**You’re no fit son, not like your brother,**” Beg growled).

In macro-conflicts, which occur throughout a novel or even a series and consist of many separate speech conflicts, there can be only one scene of conflict resolution:

«The highborn grimaced. “I’ll take up that cursed sword because I must, and the prophecy be damned.”

Tz’arkan chuckled. “A prophecy cares not what you think of it, Malus. It is like a map, showing the road ahead. You can curse it all you want, but the road remains unchanged.”

“Indeed?” Malus replied. “Eldire thinks differently.”

“The witch knows nothing,” the daemon spat. “**She intends to shape you to her will, little druchii. You are her pawn, and she will cast you aside the moment you are no longer useful.**”

Malus laughed scornfully. “Next you will tell me that the sun is warm and the night is dark. You will have to do better than that, daemon,” the highborn sneered. “**At the moment she makes a far better ally than you. For one thing, she doesn’t hold my soul in her clutches.**”

“No,” Tz’arkan replied, “**but she sent you to me. Think on that**”» [Abnett, Lee, 2007a].

In this example, daemon Tz’arkan tries to change for the worse Malus’s opinion of his mother, who is a threat to Tz’arkan, thus provoking a conflict (*She intends to shape you to her will, little druchii. You are her*

*pawn, and she will cast you aside the moment you are no longer useful*). This passage describing the escalation scene is part of a macro-conflict unfolding throughout the two books (the cognitive frame “opposition”). At the end of the second book we can finally observe its climax and denouement (the scenes of conflict culmination and conflict resolution). The macro-proposition of the frame is “Malus (agent) **fight**s (predicate) with the daemon Tz’arkan (counteragent) for a year (temporative), by ruining his plans (action specification) in order to return his soul (goal)”.

## Conclusion

The research material allows us to draw the following conclusions. The basic frames of conflict literary discourse are frames of interpersonal relations representing a cognitive model of a typical conflict situation between individuals or their small groups. Such frames can be actualized both at the sentence level (by corresponding verbs) and at the text level — as a generalized static and dynamic model of the referential situation of the text (cognitive frame).

It is proved that the cognitive frames of conflict interpersonal relations in “The Chronicles of Malus Darkblade” series are “physical/armed clash”, “opposition” and “rivalry”. Structurally, they consist of a static macro-proposition and a dynamic scenario frame. Scenes of the frame scenario may be represented either by speech conflict (most often they are the scenes of initiation and escalation of the conflict of the frames “opposition” and “rivalry”), or by the author’s description of the situation. Cognitive frames can overlap. In this case the included (subordinate) frame is embedded in the structure of the base (main) frame. There are some peculiarities of verbalizing the macro-proposition of the frame and its components as well as of the linear unfolding of a conflict frame scenario.

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## PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN ENGLISH FICTION: GRAMMAR, STYLISTICS, PRAGMATICS

The unceasing interest in the study of various stylistic phenomena is due to the constant discovery of new aspects in various linguistic facts, and at the present stage of linguistic research more and more attention is paid to the interaction of expressive means of language at various levels, which increases the pragmatic effect of the utterance, and its most significant elements are brought to the fore. The pronoun can be considered one of the most ambiguous lexical and grammatical categories. Unlike nouns, the class of pronouns is closed due to the fact that it comprises a limited number of units, but the constant transition of one personal pronoun into the scope of another can affect its stylistic functions and serve as an additional means of implementing the pragmatic attitude of the utterance. This paper attempts not only to systematise the scattered information on the stylistic potential of certain pronouns and to observe the cases of stylistic convergence involving personal pronouns, but also to apply it to concrete empirical material, since personal pronouns are organically linked to artistic thinking and linguistic means acquire a stylistic function in combination with each other within a specific functional manifestation. The research was carried out on the material of two novels by contemporary English writers, Stephen Fry and Mark Haddon, who are highly recognised masters of the written word and who depict a wide range of socially significant phenomena and events in their works, using personal pronouns in all their grammatical and pragmatic diversity.

*Keywords:* personal pronoun, stylistic grammar, transposition, stylistic convergence

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## ЛИЧНЫЕ МЕСТОИМЕНЕНИЯ В АНГЛИЙСКОМ ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОМ ТЕКСТЕ: ГРАММАТИКА, СТИЛИСТИКА, ПРАГМАТИКА

Неугасающий интерес к изучению разнообразных стилистических явлений обусловлен постоянным открытием новых аспектов в различных языковых фактах, и на современном этапе в лингвистических исследованиях всё больше внимания уделяется взаимодействию экспрессивных средств языка различного уровня, благодаря чему усиливается прагматический эффект высказывания, и на первый план выдвигаются его наиболее значимые элементы. Местоимение можно справедливо назвать одной из самых неоднозначных лексико-грамматических

категорий. В отличие от имен, класс местоимений закрыт в виду того, что в него входит ограниченное число единиц, но постоянный переход одного личного местоимения в сферу действия другого может влиять на их стилистические функции и служить дополнительным средством реализации прагматической установки высказывания. В данной работе предпринята попытка не только систематизировать разрозненную информацию о стилистическом потенциале некоторых местоименных форм и проследить за случаями стилистической конвергенции с участием личных местоимений, но и осуществить это на конкретном эмпирическом материале, так как личные местоимения органически связаны с художественным мышлением, а языковые средства приобретают стилистическую функцию в сочетании друг с другом в пределах конкретного функционального проявления. Исследование выполнено на материале двух романов современных английских писателей Стивена Фрая и Марка Хэддона, которые являются признанными мастерами слова и описывают в своих произведениях большое количество социально значимых явлений и событий, употребляя личные местоимения во всем их грамматическом и прагматическом разнообразии.

*Ключевые слова:* личное местоимение, стилистическая грамматика, транспозиция, стилистическая конвергенция

## Introduction

From time to time, the focus of linguistics is directed towards various aspects of language study, and the interest in stylistic questions in all their diversity is constantly fuelled by the anthropocentrism of modern science. This is because the stylistic features of language and speech, together with their pragmatic functions, are always seen in close connection with human activities. Since the 1970s and 1980s, stylistic grammar or grammatical stylistics has developed in connection with the increased interest in studying the functioning of linguistic means in various areas of linguistic activity. It is to some extent associated with relatively new linguistic trends such as functional stylistics, speech culture, text linguistics [Kennedy, 1982], grammatical semantics, sociolinguistics, linguoculturology, as well as with such actively developing fields as gender linguistics [Iskhakova, 2009], cross-cultural communication, and cognitive discourse studies [Ulanova, 2017; Harrison, 2017; Tariq, 2018].

The key concept in grammatical stylistics has become transposition, i.e. the use of words and forms in grammatical meanings and/or with references that are unusual for them. This is expressed through the violation of valence relations, creating additional connotations of evaluativeness, emotionality, expressiveness or stylistic relevance [Arnold, 2009, p. 74]. In transposition, the replacing member of the opposition partially loses its



functional quality and becomes the bearer of two functions at the same time. The stylistic functions of pronouns also depend on the disparity between traditional and situational denotation. Transposition is realised here as the transfer of one pronoun to the domain of action of another pronoun.

## Materials and methods

The stylistic potential of pronouns in specific empirical material has not yet been systematically studied, although some textbooks on English stylistics devote small sections to this multifaceted phenomenon.

The reference to the text of a literary work as a source of material for analysing the functioning of specific grammatical forms is not accidental. They are organically linked to artistic thought, and linguistic means acquire a stylistic function in a specific combination within a particular functional manifestation.

This article attempts to describe some stylistically significant features in the use of some personal pronouns, based on the novels of contemporary English writers. Stephen Fry's "The Stars' Tennis Balls" is a reimagined version of Alexandre Dumas' timeless work "The Count of Monte Cristo", with the events transposed to the years 1980–2000. The text of this novel demonstrates a diverse use of stylistic devices and expressive means, thanks to the wide range of issues related to contemporary British society that it addresses, and the dual identity of its author — an actor and a writer. Winner of the Whitbread Novel of the Year Award, the Guardian Children's Fiction Prize and the South Bank Show Book Award, Mark Haddon's "The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time" tells the story of Christopher Boone, a fifteen-year-old mathematical genius and Sherlock Holmes fan who suffers from a psychological disorder called Asperger's Syndrome.

The main methods used in this research are: the descriptive-comparative method, the method of contextual analysis, the method of interpretation, whose main aim is to achieve applied and practical goals in close connection with the theoretical aspects of the problems in question.

## Discussion

Studies of various stylistic phenomena are often applied, and personal pronouns are no exception. However, it is important to note that mental health disorders can lead to changes in speech, including specific and sometimes 'anomalous' use of personal pronouns, according to a number of studies in the field of psychiatry [Lee, 1994; Watson, 2012].

When expressing an indefinite-personal subject of an action, it can be argued that the personal pronouns *you*, *we*, and *they* are synonymous in figurative usage. The choice of pronoun is determined by both the stylistic sphere of usage and the nuance of the speaker's subjective-expressive modality [Raevskaya, 1973, p. 56]. For instance, the inclusive *you* engages the reader in the events, feelings, and experiences described by the author.

In the novel 'The Stars' Tennis Balls', there is an episode where a patient of a psychiatric clinic, who has spent a long time in isolation, is prescribed to keep a diary as part of the therapy. In the diary, he repeatedly addresses nonexistent readers and listeners while describing his condition:

I cannot tell you how many winters and summers there have been. Sometimes I think it is three, sometimes as many as five.

Sixteen thousand two hundred seconds is four and a half hours, though you would be ashamed of me if you knew how long it took me to be absolutely certain of that simple calculation... [Fry, 2011]

The novel 'The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time' is narrated by Christopher, a 15-year-old boy whose intellectual abilities, psychological peculiarities, and communication difficulties become evident from the beginning of the book. The author does not explicitly label Christopher as autistic, but his characteristics suggest it. For example, the boy has memorised all the countries and their capitals, as well as all prime numbers up to 7507. However, he struggles to understand the meaning of emojis and considers metaphors to be falsehoods. Additionally, he is averse to physical contact. He decides to write a book about investigating the murder of a dog. The use of the pronoun 'you' in the following example can also be interpreted as expressing an indefinite-personal subject of the action:

Wellington was a poodle. Not one of the small poodles that have hairstyles but a big poodle. It had curly black fur, but when you got close you could see that the skin underneath the fur was a very pale yellow, like chicken [M. Haddon, 2004].

The use of the second person in a monologized dialogue creates the impression of a silent, obedient, and even guilty interlocutor.

In this context, the pronoun *you* takes on a different nuance when an autistic teenager attempts to explain why his reaction to the police officer's tedious questioning was deemed 'violent' by 'ordinary' people. Ultimately, he struck the officer who pulled him by the hand. It appears as though the author is suggesting that the reaction described is the only reasonable response to the situation. This implies that the officer was asking too

many questions too quickly, and the only way to stop it was through the described action:

I rolled back onto the lawn and pressed my forehead to the ground and made the noise that Father calls groaning. I make this noise when there is too much information coming into my head from the outside world. It is like when you are upset and you hold the radio against your ear and you tune it halfway between two stations so that all you get is white noise and then you turn the volume right up so that this is all you can hear and then you know you are safe because you cannot hear anything else [Haddon, 2004].

Set-expressions such as you see, you never know, as you may think, as you might imagine, you have my word, and you know often use the second-person pronoun. This also brings the speaker and the listener closer, involving them in the conversation.

I have attempted, as you might imagine, to count the days and weeks, but something is stopping me. [Fry, 2011]

Life is difficult, you know [Haddon, 2004]

In the novel 'The Stars' Tennis Balls, another important and quite an extraordinary character Ashley Barson-Garland keeps a personal diary. It is noteworthy that he addresses himself in the second person, using the pronoun you. This creates a unique perspective where he serves as both the object and subject of communication. The use of second-person pronouns in a monologue with oneself creates a sense of detachment, suggests the character's fragmented personality, and adds to the conversational tone of their monologue.

Then you twigged. It wasn't you they were talking about. They had no idea you existed. [Fry, 2011]

In the above example, the pronoun they is used to refer to a group of people that does not include the interlocutor or the speaker. This use of they is not substituting anything, but shows the distance between Ashley and other students. It is worth noting that this young man appears to suffer from a superiority complex over those around them. The way in which he addresses himself suggests that he does not consider anyone in his environment to be a suitable conversational partner. However, he also displays an inferiority complex as he, coming from the middle class, desperately desires to enter high society and become an integral part of it, to be seen as an aristocrat, a nobleman, or a representative of the upper class. He wants to be one of the 'golden youth' whom he always refers to as they. Simultaneously, Ashley despises his own family, his name, and harbours envy and resentment towards those who are inherently better than him.

This is indicated through the stylistically significant use of pronouns you and they in numerous examples from his diary:

Oh but Ashley, you poor sap, can you actually believe that you're supposed to be of their world? Don't you know that it's a world you can only be born into?

I shall add my mother's maiden name of Barson. Why not? They have been doing it for years.

But firstly, there must come the accent. When I arrive, the accent will be in place and they will never know [Fry, 2011].

The use of the Imperative Mood with the pronoun you, both in affirmative and negative forms, has long been referred to as the emotionally coloured. This is known as the pleonastic use of personal pronouns in imperative sentences. Such examples are numerous in texts and have almost become a linguistic norm:

You come along with us, sir' [S. Fry, 2011].

'You don't touch it till you've washed your hands [S. Fry, 2011].

Don't you go throwing it away! [M. Haddon, 2004].

However, using a personal pronoun in combination with an occasionalism can have a more significant impact. Its established pragmatic value of insistent recommendation or categorical command allows for clear interpretation of the occasional meaning:

'Lunch,' said Portia firmly. 'In fact it's last night's supper and this morning's breakfast too. You absolutely must eat. I'm going to watch you. I don't care if I sound like the worst Jewish mother in the world. You simply must eat.'

'Yeah, yeah. Whatever. Look, Mum...'

'Don't you "whatever" me! I'm going to watch every sandwich going down your throat...' [S. Fry, 2011].

The second person singular pronouns thou and thee, possessive pronoun thy, and its absolute form thine, as well as the intensifying and reflexive form thyself, are no longer in use in modern English, except in dialects.

However, in contemporary English, these obsolete forms create an atmosphere of 'high style', particularly in addresses to God, contributing to an archaic elevation [Arnold, 2009, p.167]. In S. Fry's novel, Ashley Barson-Garland writes in his diary about his hatred for Ned due to his affiliation with the upper class, despite Ned's objectively positive qualities. The entry serves as a stylization of religious texts, ironically highlighting the supposed purity and sinlessness of his sworn friend:

What would Ned have done next? Prayed probably. Ashley wanted to snort at the very idea of it. Yes, Ned would have gone to the chapel, fallen to his knees and prayed for guidance. And what manner of guidance would have been offered by Ned's shining auburn-haired shampoo-commercial Christ? 'Go thou and hold Ashley to you as a brother. My son Ashley is frightened and filled with self-hatred. Go thou then and may the kindness and love of God shine upon his countenance and make him whole.' [S. Fry, 2011]

In 'generalized' statements, the first person plural pronoun we can signify an indefinite group of people, including the speaker, who intentionally want to emphasize some commonality of habits or involvement with them in a particular situation. An illustrative example of such usage can be found in the epigraph chosen by S. Fry for his novel, which also served as its title. It is a quote from John Webster's tragedy 'The Duchess of Malfi', published in 1623. Like Webster's Elizabethan tragedy, the main character in Fry's novel falls victim to circumstances, intrigues, and twists of fate:

We are merely the stars' tennis balls, struck and banded Which way please them [Fry, 2011].

According to I. V. Arnold, the personal pronoun we can be used as a *Pluralis Modestiae*, or 'plural of modesty' [Arnold, 2009, p.168]. This usage can modestly and at the same time evidently emphasize the speaker's unity with those being addressed. In the following example from S. Fry's novel, the guest entertains the family's children with tricks and gradually endears himself to everyone present. The use of 'unifying' language addressed to both the children and adults helped in this process:

'Good. We make progress, yes? Now we come to Rupert...' [Fry, 2011]

A professional psychiatrist adopts a similar approach to gain maximum trust from his patient:

I shall call you Thomas', he said, after gazing for a while at a picture on the wall behind Ned. 'How is Thomas? An English name I think, for you are an English young man. This we know.' [Fry, 2011]

The secret service officer employs a similar communication tactic during the interrogation to gain maximum trust and openness from the interrogated person:

'Well now you see. There we have it,' Oliver said, patting Ned on the back. 'That wasn't so difficult, was it?'

The use of the personal pronoun I is, on the one hand, a formal feature of first-person narration, and on the other hand, it can carry addi-

tional information, as in the case of its exaggeratedly frequent use in certain instances, because 'grammatical forms acquire stylistic significance through repetition and, in general, through unusual distribution' [Arnold, 2009, p. 174]. Thus, in the extract from the aforementioned diary of Ned, who spent a long time in isolation and began talking to himself, there are only 77 words, but the personal pronoun I is used 11 times, which is almost 14%, whereas in the rest of the novel, the relative frequency of this pronoun is about 1.5%. It's hardly appropriate to speak of excessive egocentrism or selfishness of the character; objectively, he has been in solitude for a long time, and in this case, he serves as both the addressee and the addresser of this peculiar communication:

When I do decide to talk to myself I make sure that what I say is ordered and sensible. 'Today I shall do three hundred press-ups before lunch and five hundred press-ups after lunch,' I might tell myself. Or, 'This morning I shall run through the Lord's Prayer, the General Confession, all the hymns I know and every capital city I can remember.' And I remind myself out loud that I must not despair if I forget [Fry, 2011].

As for Christopher from Haddon's book, it is interesting to note that at the very beginning of the book, the boy referred to the dog as it which corresponds to the norms of the English language.

It was 7 minutes after midnight. The dog was lying on the grass in the middle of the lawn in front of Mrs. Shears's house. Its eyes were closed. It looked as if it was running on its side, the way dogs run when they think they are chasing a cat in a dream. '

The dog was called Wellington. It belonged to Mrs. Shears, who was our friend [Haddon, 2004].

However, when describing the deceased animal, feeling sympathy to the dog, he started calling Wellington by its name and using the pronoun he in all subsequent cases:

I stroked Wellington and wondered who had killed him, and why.

I pulled the fork out of the dog and lifted him into my arms and hugged him. He was leaking blood from the fork holes [Haddon, 2004].

Regarding his pet rat, he consistently referred to it by its proper name, Toby, and used pronouns he, him, himself. This highlights the notion that, for this exceptional boy, communicating with animals is more natural and comprehensible than with most people:

But rats are very clean. Toby is always washing himself. And you don't have to take him to walks. I just let him run around my room so that he gets some exercise. And sometimes he sits on my shoulder or hides in my sleeve like it's a burrow [Haddon, 2004].

The use of the personal pronoun *it* to refer to infants is quite frequent and stylistically unmarked in English. However, when using this pronoun to refer to an adult, additional connotations can be identified.

‘For God’s sake — ‘ she began, but was interrupted by the sleepy, shuffling entrance of her cousin. ‘Aha!’ said Pete cheerfully. ‘It’s awake. It’s awake and needs feeding.’ ‘Well hi there!’ said Hillary who had developed the strange habit of going slightly American whenever she spoke to Gordon.

## Results

The research has analyzed the stylistic functions of personal pronouns *you*, *they*, *I*, *we*, *it*, and *he* in belles-lettres writing. The most prominent stylistic characteristics of these pronouns are highlighted.

Researchers argued in the 1970s that grammatical phenomena are organically connected with artistic thinking and that linguistic means acquire a stylistic function in specific combinations within a particular functional manifestation. They pointed out the necessity of a separate study of the problems of stylistic morphology apart from general stylistics. [Rayevskaya, 1973, p. 5]. Thus, the study of the stylistic potential of parts of speech, particularly personal pronouns, in the context of literary texts is entirely justified.

There is ongoing debate about the nature of the category of number in terms of plurality/non-plurality. While it is argued that personal pronouns indicate the degree of remoteness from the speaker, this ‘remoteness’ can be highly relative depending on the context.

The authors of the novels analysed actively used the stylistic possibilities of personal pronouns to reflect the inner world of the characters and, on the other hand, to convey the nuances of their interactions with those around them. The protagonists of the works are young people with different characteristics of intellectual development and mental health, they are portrayed at different stages of their lives and in different states of psychological well-being, and numerous cases of additional connotations appearing in the use of personal pronouns confirm the applied nature of the research and the close interconnection of grammar, stylistics and pragmatics on specific empirical material.

To achieve a stylistic effect, authors use the obvious juxtaposition of norms and deviations, as well as a combination of stylistic devices and expressive means of different levels, resorting to stylistic convergence.

Grammatical forms can also take on a stylistic meaning through repetition and, more generally, through an unusual distribution of usage.

In the perspective of this study, there is a plan for a detailed examination of the pragmatic functions of personal pronouns in English literary texts, with a particular focus on their translation into the Russian language.

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## CULTURAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITY: NATIONAL SELF-IDENTITY AND TRANSLATION STRATEGIES\*

Ethnic translation is a field of study that highlights the significance of cultural and national identity as a component of translation strategy. It is a prerequisite for successfully integrating the original text into the host culture and achieving authenticity and accuracy in translation. Comparing the original text with its translation enables us to identify the reasons for any discrepancies. These discrepancies can be attributed to the preservation or transformation of cultural and national identity. The first reason is the structure of the rhetorical ideal, which consists of the ideal speaker and the ideal speech, as understood in light of scientific ideas. The second reason is the selection of speech influence techniques in both the original and translated texts. Additionally, the methods used to convey Kazakh ethical representations and norms of behaviour play a crucial role in achieving a 'harmonising dialogue'. The study of the rhetorical ideal in relation to the national constants of Kazakh national and communicative consciousness serves as the foundation for examining the techniques used to create a national worldview in both the original text and its translation. This analysis also explains the differences between the linguistic personalities of the author and the translator (secondary linguistic personality). An interesting object of study is Russian translations of zhyrau poetry, which were translated word-for-word by Kazakh poets writing in Russian, namely A. Kodar and O. Zhanaidarov. The rhetorical ideal's dominant values are explained culturally and nationally through the use of proverbs, idioms, symbols, and mythological poetics in the national conceptsphere and linguistic expressions. The author's conceptsphere employs allegory, poetic syntax devices, and an imaginary world. The text has been edited for objectivity, comprehensibility, conventional structure, clear and objective language, format, formal register, structure, balance, precise word choice, and grammatical correctness. The secondary linguistic personality of the translator considers the otherness of the Other as an important aspect of identity manifestation. It is important to give special consideration to the category of 'imaginary world'. This approach helps to understand the historical and cultural conditions that affect effective communication between the poet and the addressee.

*Keywords:* rhetorical ideal, national worldview, ideal speaker, ideal speech, listener

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\* Written within the framework of the project "Scientific concept of Kazakh rhetoric: rhetorical ideal, identity, argumentation and speech practice".

**КУЛЬТУРНАЯ И НАЦИОНАЛЬНАЯ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ:  
НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЕ САМОСОЗНАНИЕ  
И СТРАТЕГИИ ПЕРЕВОДА\***

Этноперевод является областью науки, которая выявляет значение культурной и национальной идентичности как фактора стратегии перевода, условия успешной интеграции оригинала в принимающую культуру, приемы достижения аутентичности/точности перевода. Сопоставление оригинала и перевода позволяет установить причины расхождений, которые можно дифференцировать по нескольким направлениям, обусловленным сохранением/трансформацией культурной и национальной идентичности. Прежде всего, это структура риторического идеала, основными компонентами которой в свете научных представлений являются идеальный оратор и идеальная речь. Во-вторых, выбор приемов речевого воздействия в оригинале и переводе. В-третьих, способы передачи казахских этических представлений и норм поведения. Анализ риторического идеала в связи с национальными константами казахского национального и коммуникативного сознания становится основой изучения приемов создания национальной картины мира в оригинале и переводе, объясняет различия языковой личности переводимого автора и переводчика (вторичной языковой личности). Интересным объектом изучения в этом отношении являются русские переводы поэзии жырау, выполненные с подстрочника казахскими поэтами, пишущими на русском языке (А. Кодаром, О. Жанайдаровым). Культурно-национальные экспликации ценностно-речевых доминант риторического идеала определяются в оригинале национальной концептосферой и языковыми формами выражения посредством пословиц, идиом, символов, мифологической поэтики, с одной стороны, и авторской концептосферой, с другой (аллегорией, фигурами поэтического синтаксиса, «воображаемым миром»). Для вторичной языковой личности переводчика инаковость Другого также составляет важный аспект проявления идентичности. Отдельного внимания заслуживает категория «воображаемого мира». Такой подход способствует пониманию историко-культурной обусловленности эффективной коммуникации поэта и его адресата.

*Ключевые слова:* риторический идеал, национальная картина мира, идеальный оратор, идеальная речь, слушатель

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\* Написано в рамках проекта «Научная концепция казахской риторики: риторический идеал, идентичность, аргументация и речевая практика».

## Introduction

The relevance of this study is due to the relation between cultural and national identity and its influence on the purpose of translation and the choice of translation strategy. It is also crucial to solve the problem that would shed light on the ways of achieving authenticity/accuracy of translation and the reasons for effective integration of the original text into the host culture. The comparison between the original text and the translation helps to determine the reasons for the discrepancies between the original text and the translation, explains the factors of translation multiplicity and dispersion, which, in turn, characterise the processes of preservation / transformation of cultural and national identity. Hence the attention to such subjects of study as the structure of the rhetorical ideal, the main components of which, in the light of modern scientific ideas, are the ideal speaker and the ideal speech. Secondly, the choice of speech influence techniques in the original text and translation. Thirdly, ways of conveying Kazakh ethical representations and norms of behaviour as an aspect of “harmonising dialogue”. The object of the study is the song of the 15<sup>th</sup> century poet Asan Kaigy “What is unhappiness in this life?” and its translations by A. Kodar, O. Zhanaidarov and K. Urazaeva. The research is aimed at revealing the connection of the rhetorical ideal with the constants of Kazakh national and communicative consciousness. In the process of research, the following hypothesis is proved: the rhetorical ideal is based on the three synthesised forms of influence on the addressee (semantic, stylistic and pragmatic ones). The ways of creating the rhetorical ideal justify the choice of translation strategy and explain different artistic results, namely different ways of creating the worldview and infinite forms of identity reflection.

## Methods and materials

The materials presented in this article are devoted to the issues of authenticity / accuracy of translation. The analysis of the preservation / transformation of cultural and national identity explains the heed to the rhetorical ideal, considered from the perspective of the categories of “ideal speaker” and “ideal speech”, ways of speech impact, or “harmonizing speech dialogue” [Mikhalskaya, 2002, p. 94]. The polemics in the interpretation of the rhetorical ideal runs between the ideas of A. P. Skovorodnikov and A. K. Mikhalskaya. Objecting to Mikhalskaya’s idea about the dominance of ethical and aesthetic categories in traditional Russian culture, Skovorodnikov relies on the real needs and peculiarities of material and

spiritual life of the Russian society [Skovorodnikov, 1997, p.28]. Sternin defines the rhetorical ideal as “a set of real characteristics of the speaker and statement, positively assessed by the carriers of Russian communicative culture” [Sternin, 2002, pp. 104–105]. The study of communicative consciousness in modern linguistics and psycholinguistics is the area of interest for E. K. Polyakova, who treats the category “rhetorical ideal” as a set of mental representations of the ideal speaker and his/her statement [Polyakova, 2003].

The problem of the rhetorical ideal raises the question of the poet’s semantic impact on the listener. Therefore, the role of the category of “imaginary world” should be singled out. The term “Mundus Imaginalis” by Henri Corbin [Corbin, 2013, [http:// http://www.delphis.ru/journal/article/mir-voobrazheniya](http://www.delphis.ru/journal/article/mir-voobrazheniya)] is relevant for this article since it recognises a special reality or level of essence that lies between the material and the spiritual worlds. In other words, it is a space of “encounter” and “interaction” between the physical and spiritual worlds. The ways of interpreting the “imaginary world” contribute to the study of cultural and national identity from the position of value concepts of the Kazakh people. The methods of creating the worldview through the “imaginary world” reflect the boundaries of the linguistic personality of the original text’s and translated text’s authors. The significance of examining this aspect of the topic is conditioned by understanding and conveying the otherness of the *Other* in translation.

The problem of the speech impact actualises attention to the issues of the linguistic personality of the author and the translator. The notion of phatic function as a contact between the narrator and the addressee introduced by R. Jakobson [Cited in: Bart, 1987, 399]. The experience of analysing cardinal (or nuclear) functions as *the signifier* and functions-catalysts as *the signified*; phatic function as a way of achieving authenticity/accuracy and an indicator of creating the worldview was described in the work [Urazaeva, Yerik, 2020] on the material of the translation into Russian of O. Wilde’s fairy tale “The Nightingale and the Rose”. The correlation of *the signifier* and *signified* in the original and translation, the analysis of narrative logic and the structural role of the character, the identification of paradigmatic meanings of the fairy tale and the influence on the genre, the duality of narrative discourse became the validation of Russian translations as a fabular narrative.

The techniques of speech influence as regards the phatic function and “communicant’s authority” thought out in the work of I. Miloslavsky [Miloslavsky, 2016] reflect both the differences of the linguistic personality of zhyrau and its translators in the embodiment of identity, and the condi-

tions of effective communication between the speaker and the listener, the successful integration of the text of *another* culture into the host culture.

The productivity of referring to the above cited works consists in discourse analysis of the text's impact on the addressee, which takes place in three directions: in semantic (*what is said*), stylistic (*how it is said*) and pragmatic (*what reaction is caused by what is said in the reader*). Meanwhile the following methods are used for speech impact on the listener in the original text and translation: neo-rhetorical (discourse), which involves identifying the relationship between the purpose of translation and the impact of the text on the addressee; comparative, which helps to establish the specificity of the otherness of the Other when creating a picture of the world by the poet creating zhyrau and translators. The application of linguistic conceptological, linguistic cultural and linguistic pragmatic approaches allows us to characterise the pragmatic potential of the utterance in the original text and translations; to show the spiritual and ethical values of the Kazakh people and the ways of their broadcasting.

## Results and discussion

The approach taken in the article is significant for its ability to clarify the polemical aspects of humanities in terms of describing Kazakh rhetoric in zhyrau poetry. Their transposition into the field of national self-consciousness and identity enables us to clarify A. Kodar's assessment of zhyrau poetry as "poetry of self-glorification and self-heroisation" [Kodar, 2006, p. 12], "provocative nature of the strategy of steppe rhetorical tradition, which, like any rhetoric, is a sly veiling of an answer prepared in advance" [Ibid, p. 11]. The application of the pragmatolinguistic approach reveals the controversiality of the researcher's judgements about such features of the rhetorical tradition in zhyrau poetry as "the style of buffoonish intimidation and provocation", as well as the presence of "grotesque tragedy" as "bait for the gullible" [Ibid, p. 11]. The process of exploring national self-identity and its influence on the choice of translation strategy explains different artistic results, specifically different ways of creating the worldview and endless forms of identity representation.

Let us compare the methods of speech impact or "harmonizing speech dialogue" (A. Mikhalskaya) in three translations of Asan Kaigy's song "Bul zamanda ne garyp?" (*What is unhappiness in this life?*). The analysis of the categories of "ideal speaker" and "ideal speech" as techniques of semantic influence on the addressee as an initial criterion reveals the role of the word-for-word translation as a tool for achieving authenticity / accuracy in cases of translation plurality and inevitable dispersions. The role of the

word-for-word translation as a descriptive tool that reveals the boundaries of differences between the linguistic personality of zhyrau poet and the translators is confirmed by one of the branches of translation studies known as descriptive translation studies, which emerged in the 1970s. Its task is to describe the process of translation. This approach makes it possible to uncover objectively existing regularities of the transition from the original language to the target one, discovering these regularities by analysing the translations already made.

*The signified* in the original song is the concept of “unhappiness” [Poets of Five Centuries, 1984, p.27]. The nuclear (in the structural-semiotic understanding) function is exposed with the help of functions-catalysts being *the signifier*. This is a series of images close to concepts. The most complex image of unhappiness is an ashy dried up feather grass, reminiscent of a *white* (dead) city. Unhappiness is untold to the decent ones (people, listeners), i.e. an implicit word (speech). It is also specified as a *precious* (*encouraging*) word. Unhappy are old people who have no peers. Unhappy is the girl whose value is not recognised by (her) daughter-in-law. “Unhappy” is the grass on pastures, if the people have stopped nomading. “Unhappy” is a lake where geese and ducks do not nest. Unhappy and doomed to spiritual death is a mentor without followers. A lonely person without relatives is unhappy. The father is unhappy, even if he is a respectable man and has children who are strong in spirit. The poet’s chain of associations is unfolded and shows practically no connection between the physical and spiritual worlds. The absence of anthropomorphic images and parallelisms, typical of folklore thinking, not only constructs the system of value representations of the people, but explains the permeability of the two worlds. “Imaginary world” is presented as a holistic and inseparable concept of unhappiness. The metaphysical is conveyed in sensual sensations, the idea of continuity both in the bosom of the family (a girl and a brother’s spouse), generations (old men), and the spiritual (the preacher and murids). The loci of the steppe world, having parameters of measurable reality (nomad camps, pastures, lake, grass) and sacredness of colour symbolism (ash and white as signs of death, combining images of steppe wormwood, feather grass and destroyed city (implicit image of Timur’s ancient settlement) appeal to the consciousness of the listener, whose perception of the world is formed by the symbols of the steppe worldview and existence. The activation of the unconscious is carried out by images-signals. Epiphora becomes an important rhythmic and semantic indicator. “Unhappiness” at the end of the rhyming lines bears a semantic construct of the worldview imprinted on the catastrophic breakdown of habitual reality. The crisis of worldview as a crisis of identity is the core of the author’s concept.

Kodar in the translation relies on the key concept of “pity”: “What in our epoch is worthy of pity?” [Kodar, 2006, p. 29]. Preserving the chain of images created by Asan, the translator twice repeats the idea of what is worth pitying. However, pity as an act of compassion or an expression of regret is not inherent in the rational thinking of the zhyrau. It is noteworthy that Kodar draws attention to this peculiarity of zhyrau poetry in the preface to his translations. The category of time in Kodar’s translation is thought-provoking in the actual present in Asan’s confessional monologue. It is justified lexically, because in the original text the question, which acquires the features of argumentative discourse, has the character of an indefinite-personal sentence and becomes rhetorical. “This life” is an indication of the nomad’s world. The predominance of everyday life behaviour in the worldview characterises Kodar’s strategy. Kodar’s labelling of the translation strategy as an academic literal translation explains the rejection of the epiphora in the original text. However, the artistic subtlety and dramatic rhythm are weakened by this rejection.

In O. Zhanaidarov’s poetic contextual translation, Asan’s reflections are transferred to the plane of the future and recreate a prognostic picture: “What will be bad in the world?” [Steppe Lakes, 2008, p. 83]. Reduction and ordinarisation in the coordinates of simple worldview of ordinary consciousness present the principle of creating the worldview. The translator resorts to the stratification of the semantic core into “bad” and “trouble”. There is quantitative predominance of the category “bad”: “helpless years”, “no good words said to good people”, “bad for an old man to be without friends”, “relatives without hearts”, “an older married woman who is angry with her sister-in-law”, “for grass / When people do not graze herds”, “talent will not find admirers”, “if a hero was born / To rule his country / But power does not come into his hands”, and there was only the singular usage of the image of “trouble”: “And for a lake it is a misfortune // If its water is clear without geese and ducks” [Zhanaidarov, 2008, p. 83]. So, this usage makes the two concepts semantically identical. The tragedy of Asan’s identity crisis is brought into the pragmatics of everyday existence, which in its own way is justified by the rational logic of the Kazakh worldview of the Middle Ages. However, Asan’s second name is Kaigy, which means not just “sad”, but “sorrowful”. In search of the promised land for his people, Asan, mythological for the Kazakh listener, embodied the tragedy of the disintegration of the integrity of the people, the tragic split in all the songs preserved in the national memory. The loss of the dramatic historical dilemma in the fate of the people shows Zhanaidarov’s inclination to reproduce the benchmarks of the people’s everyday life. The

historical conditioning of the identity crisis is presented in picture alternations and does not emphasise cognitive processes.

In the author's translation, the preservation of the concept "unhappiness" and the desire to convey the crisis of identity in the sound and visual symbols of Kazakh culture, peculiarities of composition, attention to the syntactic and semantic role of epiphora, synthesis of abstract, social and everyday vocabulary of the original text led to the choice of rhymed word-for-word translation as an example of deinterlinear translation. Researchers were among the first to distinguish word-for-word translation (deinterlinear) and translation from an intermediary language (trans-translation) as forms of mediated reference to the original work and independent equal types of reception of foreign-language poetry. Such deinterlinear translation limits deviations from the original text [Urazaeva et al., 2023, pp. 20–21].

The image of "ideal speaker" and "ideal speech" in Asan's song is focused around the epiphora "unhappiness" as the core of the mental way of thinking of Kazakhs in the era of the khanate formation and the historical conflict of the people with the ruler. The notion of "ideal speaker" as an authoritative word, transmitting the values of the people, predicated the techniques of "ideal speech" in terms of influence by way of negation (a lake without ducks and geese, a girl without an understanding sister-in-law, old people without same-age peers, a teacher-mentor without pupils, a man without relatives), simile, analogy, parallelism (feather grass as a sign of a lifeless city), appeal to ethical constants of national consciousness (a worthy word and a respectable father). The ineffable (the unpronounced word, the power that cannot be held) demonstrates the crisis of identity through the collapse of the imaginary world as a world of ideal representations. Thus, Asan derives through the formula of unhappiness the idea of what is meaningless to the Kazakh. The forms of appeal to the subconscious through the language of symbols are devoid of both provocation and grotesque, or manipulation in the expectation of creating a false idea of the world, which provocation implies. Techniques of speech manipulation as a tool of argumentative discourse in Asan's poetry realise the phatic function as a form of contact between the narrator and the addressee.

Thus, Asan's song about unhappiness as a covert formula of what constitutes the meaning of life for a Kazakh, written in the form of a parable, operating with symbols of Kazakh culture, is perceived by a listener belonging to another culture as an allegory. The encoding of meanings embedded in the text is the source of multiple pragmatic potential of the original text and different manifestations of the worldview in existing and future translations. The notion of "communicant's authority" is motivated



by the degree of understanding of the Other's otherness as the lyrical hero of the original text ("ideal speaker").

In this way, the hypothesis proposed in the article about the structure of the rhetorical ideal as a combination of three forms of influence on the addressee and the connection between the rhetorical ideal and the translation strategy is confirmed. This approach explains the plurality of translations as different ways of creating the worldview and variability of identity transfer.

The problem of identity in connection with the peculiarities of Kazakh rhetoric, including those in zhyrau poetry, has not been the object of special consideration in Kazakhstani science yet. Hence the stated topic seems acute and brings into the field of discussion the issues related to the scientific concept of Kazakh rhetoric, its national originality in connection with the conventional national values and methods of argumentation.

## Conclusion

Establishing the connection between the rhetorical ideal and the national self-consciousness shows in each individual case of translation the specificity of the creation of the rhetorical ideal in the set of images of the "ideal author" and "ideal speech", the techniques of speech influence, the embodiment of the imaginary world as the principles of creating the worldview, on the one hand, and the differences in the linguistic personality of the original text author and the translator, on the other. The forms of influence of the original text's and translated text's authors on the addressee denote the structure of the rhetorical ideal and the range of translation strategies. The multiplicity of ways of creating the worldview and embodiment of identity, including the "imaginary world", reflects the spectrum of differences in the linguistic personality of the author and the translator. Cultural and national explications of the rhetorical ideal, conditioned by the national and author's conceptsphere and linguistic forms of expression, are extrapolated to the *Other's* otherness as a context of identity. The experience proposed in the article contributes to the understanding of the historical and cultural conditionality of effective communication between the poet and the addressee, to the expansion of the idea of harmonising speech influence.

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## STATISTICAL ANALYSIS AND WAYS TO ACHIEVE TRANSLATION AUTHENTICITY (Kazakh translation of A. Pushkin's fairy tale)

This article is devoted to the application of the statistical method in the analysis of variances in the process of translating Pushkin's literary fairy tale into the Kazakh language. The results obtained allow us to develop recommendations for achieving translation authenticity and identify factors for the effective integration of another text into the receiving culture. Using the example of the analysis of the translation of A. Pushkin's "The Tales of the Fisherman and the Fish" into the Kazakh language, A. Baitursynov shows the connection between the criteria of translation authenticity and the use of culture-oriented strategies — domestication, foreignization and *estrangement*. The role of the cultural grid is also revealed. Comparing the original and the translation, the significance of the laugh poetics and the paradoxical nature of Pushkin's fairy tale, characterizing the method of the Russian writer, was substantiated. The use of a cross-cultural approach in combination with the statistical method revealed the role of the fairy tale as an object of cultural transfer and transcultural mission. To systematize the features of the literary specificity of a translated fairy tale as an object of ethno-translation, the main thing was the translator's reproduction and analysis of the identity of the original. The generalization of translation derivations in a translated fairy tale is based on the study of lexical, grammatical, and sound levels that determined the menippean features of Pushkin's fairy tale. The development of recommendations for the creation of accurate translations should take into account such signs of the literary specificity of Pushkin's fairy tale as the relationship between the ratio of the plot (fabula), plot and genre, and the ways in which the author influences the addressee. The study of Baitursynov's translations showed the successful solution of translation problems from these positions. The study of Baitursynov's translations showed the successful solution of translation problems from these positions. The choice of translation and the connection between the purpose, strategy and result of translation showed the dominance of domestication and *estrangement*. The principles of domestication based on parody, linguistic and literary play and reliance on the phrase about the resources of the native language have shown. The authenticity of the Kazakh translation is shown through the *estrangement* as a factor of the author's style. It has been proven that turning to statistical methods for processing the analysis of a literary work ensures the reliability of the results and the development of recommendations for achieving the authenticity of the translation.

*Keywords:* literary fairy tale, literary translation, Pushkin, Baitursynov, domestication, foreignization, *estrangement*, cultural grid

СТАТИСТИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ И СПОСОБЫ  
ДОСТИЖЕНИЯ ПЕРЕВОДЧЕСКОЙ АУТЕНТИЧНОСТИ  
(Казахский перевод сказки А. Пушкина)

Настоящая статья посвящена применению статистического метода при анализе дисперсий в процессе перевода литературной сказки Пушкина на казахский язык. Полученные результаты позволяют выработать рекомендации для достижения аутентичности перевода и выявить факторы эффективной интеграции *другого* текста в принимающую культуру. На примере анализа перевода «Сказки о рыбаке и рыбке» А. Пушкина на казахский язык А. Байтурсиновым показана связь критериев аутентичности перевода с использованием культуроориентированных стратегий — доместикации, форенизации и *остранения*. Выявлена также роль культурной решетки. При сопоставлении оригинала и перевода была обоснована значимость смеховой поэтики и парадоксальной природы сказки Пушкина, характеризующая метод русского писателя. Использование кросс-культурного подхода в сочетании со статистическим методом выявила роль сказки как объекта культурного трансфера и транскультурной миссии. Для систематизации признаков литературной специфики переводной сказки как объекта этноперевода основным явилось воспроизведение переводчиком и анализ идентичности оригинала. Обобщение переводческих дериваций в переводной сказке построено на изучении лексических, грамматических, звуковых уровней, обусловивших мениппейные признаки сказки Пушкина. Разработка рекомендаций по созданию точных переводов должна учитывать такие признаки литературной специфики сказки Пушкина, как связь между соотношением фабулы, сюжета и жанра, способы воздействия автора на адресата. Исследование переводов Байтурсинова показало успешное решение переводческих задач с данных позиций. Выбор переводческой и связь между целью, стратегией и результатом перевода показал доминирование доместикации и *остранения*. Показаны принципы доместикации, основанные на пародировании, языковой и литературной игре, опоре на фразеоресурсы родного языка. Аутентичность казахского перевода показаны и сквозь призму *остранения* как фактора авторского стиля. Доказано, что обращение к статистическим методам обработки анализа художественного произведения обеспечивает достоверность результатов и выработку рекомендаций по достижению аутентичности перевода.

*Ключевые слова:* литературная сказка, художественный перевод, Пушкин, Байтурсинов, доместикация, форенизация, *остранение*, культурная решетка

## Introduction

The novelty of the literary fairy tale genre for Kazakh culture at the time when A. Baitursynov began translating «The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish» and the lack of translations of Pushkin's fairy tale into the Kazakh language presented a certain difficulty for translators of the Soviet period. Well-known dastans (stories) since the second half of the 19th century created based on "Eugene Onegin", songs-confession of Tatiana and Onegin in the interpretation of Abay Kunanbaev required the translators of Pushkin's fairy tales to develop a new strategy. The transmission of the laugh poetics and paradoxical nature of Pushkin's fairy tale required an understanding of the Russian writer's method. The study of literary translation in the aspect of achieving authenticity has highlighted the importance of preserving the paradox as the core of Pushkin's fairy tale, characterizing the genre discoveries of the Russian writer. The connection with the cross-cultural approach and consideration of fairy tale translations as an object of cultural transfer and transcultural mission is also obvious. Attention to such approaches ensures the effective integration of the outgoing culture into the receiving one. The identification of the conditions for the formation of cultural interaction and mutual influence requires generalization of the features of the literary specificity of a translated fairy tale as an object of ethnographic translation. This understanding of relevance influenced the setting of the purpose of the article to develop criteria for achieving authenticity using statistical processing of Kazakh translations of A. Pushkin's «The Tales of the Fisherman and the Fish» by A. Baitursynov. Consideration of culturally oriented strategies — domestication, foreignization — as tools for achieving authenticity shows the focus of the tasks of ethno-translation on reproducing the identity of the original. The development of criteria for the authenticity of literary translation contributes to understand whether translation derivations take place in the process of understanding Pushkin's fairy tale in the Kazakh language. The analysis of lexical, grammatical, and sound levels, which also characterize the author's style and his genre discoveries, including menippean signs, allows us to describe the features of genre formation and genre perception in the host culture. The development of authenticity criteria using statistical methods required solving the following problems: 1) describe the relationship between the ratio of the plot (fabula) and the plot, on the one hand, and the genre of the fairy tale, on the other; 2) identify and describe the relationship between the genre of the fairy tale and the ways the author of the translation influences the addressee;

3) explain the choice of translation strategy; 4) characterize the relationship between the goal, strategy and result of translation.

### Literature review

In the period from 1903 to 1909 Baitursynov translated Pushkin's works: «The Horse», «The Song of the Prophetic Oleg», «Voltaire», the fairy tales «The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish» and «The Golden Cockerel». For the literary and translation fate of Baitursynov, the fact of publishing the works of A. Pushkin in three volumes in the Kazakh language under the general editorship of S. Seifullin is significant [Zholdasbekova, Baratov, 2016]. The article by Kazakh scientists Byu Dzholdasbekova and Sh. Baratov does not indicate examples of including translations of fairy tales by the Russian writer in the collection of Pushkin's works in the Kazakh language. In this regard, the inclusion of translations of Pushkin's fairy tales by Baitursynov in new collections of works or anthologies of Pushkin's works in the Kazakh language seems to be a task that implements the integration of science, book and reader culture, publishing.

### Materials and methods

An important concept that influenced the development of authenticity criteria is the concept of «cultural grid» [Lefevre, 2004]. The idea of the authenticity of literary translation is also expanded by the correlation of the cultural grid with the structure of the plot. Thus, the analysis of plot syntagmaticity and paradigmatic plot [Silantiev 2001, 2002, 2011, 2018] explains not only the paradoxical essence of the fairy tale plot, objects and formulas of parody as manifestations of the cultural grid, but the nature of the laughter culture that determined the direction of Pushkin's fairy tale at the same time for adults and children. This is the most difficult object of literary translation. The use of statistical data processing methods actualizes the ideas of G. Yermolenko. [Yermolenko, 1967, 1969]. Thus, the scientist's remark: «When solving linguistic problems, graphical methods of depicting statistical data help not only to clearly imagine the linguistic phenomenon or process being studied, but sometimes to make some theoretical generalizations» — helps to fit the results of statistical research into the theory of genre formation of a literary fairy tale for both original and translated. Yermolenko's other point of view, connected with the achievement of «objectivity of the stated assumption» [Yermolenko, 1967], as opposed to the inevitable intuitive, subjective, allows us to establish patterns

of translation variances and develop their classification. At the same time, the scientist's remark about the disadvantages of the method is fruitful. Thus, referring to N. Morozov, who in 1915 called his research method «stylometric study» [Yermolenko, 1967], the researcher writes the following: «Texts should be stylistically homogeneous as much as possible, and the selection should be random» [Yermolenko, 1967]. Significant experience in the use of statistical methods in the study of poetry seems to be the work of E. Goncharenko [Goncharenko, 2021]. Based on the material of poetry and translations by S. Goncharenko, E. Goncharenko showed and explained the changes in the nature of the use of metro-rhythmic techniques and identified the factors of the formation of the author's style, his inner world, the reflection in it of the changes that took place in the external world.

## Results

The hypothesis of this article is that the achievement of authenticity of literary translation is due to the preservation of the paradox of Pushkin's fairy tale, which explains the dual nature of the recipient's perception and the dual structure of the genre. The validity of the hypothesis is proved by the results of statistical processing of translations of «The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish» into the Kazakh language by A. Baitursynov.

## Discussion

The study of Pushkin's fairy tale in the aspect of paradox, its structure and the formation of a new meaning by it was based primarily on the analysis of the relationship between the fabula and the plot. The plot syntagma of Baitursynov's translation can be described using the cultural grid technique, or the similarity of the formulaic poetics of the Russian folk tale with the Kazakh one. As an element of the plot, which creates a narrative technique close to the original, the translator uses repetitions in the description of the gesture of an old man expressing a prayer and appeal to a fish: *Tagzimmen kol kusyryp, aryz aityp*<sup>1</sup> (With a prayer with folded hands, having made a request) (114). Just like in Pushkin, repetitions record in translation the stages of unfolding of the plot. For example, in the description of the sea, the similarity of the cultural grid determines

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Baitursynov A. Шығармалары: Өлеңдер, аудармалар, зерттеулер. (Құраст. Шәріпов Ә., Дәуітов С.). [Works: Poems, translations, research. (Comp. Sharipov A., Dautov S.)]. Alma-Ata: Zhazushi, 1989–320 p; the page is in brackets

the literal transmission of the original in repeated rhetorical formulas: *Boldy ma zhanyn riza!* (literally: Now your soul is satisfied!) (116). These repetitions are characterized by a trace of spiritual semantics, bringing the translation closer to the axiological poetics of the original. Trust in the higher will helps to achieve the authenticity of the translation due to the role delegated to the old man — the victim of circumstances, arbitrariness and tyranny of the old woman, but at the same time the subtext hides the hope of mercy from above, symbolizing the will of heaven in the fish. At the same time, the old man's idiomatic style retains the unconscious manipulation of the victim and the appeal to the fish for protection. This solution of the poetics of magic reflects the similarity of folklore and fairy tale traditions characteristic of Russian and Kazakh cultures. Not only the plot determines the role of repetitions, which most consistently demonstrate the features of the cultural grid, but also by the stylistic decisions of the translator. The closeness of the translation to the original is ensured by the preservation in the repetitions of the plot properties that accompany the attitude towards the hero: *Bolmas ozin shan, otyrma* (literally: If you don't have your own sleigh, don't sit down. creating a description of the old woman's outfit as a pillar noblewoman of irony in the portrait of the character and parodying mass behavior as a devaluation of established norms and ethical ideas. The authenticity of the literary translation is also achieved by the translator's loyalty to the original author in the description of the old woman's curses and screams: *Ursada kelisimen shalga akryp* (literally: Scolds, shouts at the old man) (14).

Techniques for creating a chronotope can be noted as a cultural grid that also contributes to the authenticity of translation. The method of creating a chronotope using spectacular symbolism — visual images describing changes in color and sea waves — transforms a syntagmatic plot into a paradigmatic plot. Thus, the symbolism is conveyed in the dynamics of the description of the sea. For example: *Zhybyrlap sudyn beti shimaylanip* (literally: The waves oscillate) (117). Spectacular symbolism, based on the semiotics of color, goes back to mythological poetics: *Buzylyp sudyn tysi laylanyp* (literally: the sea has darkened, silt rises to the surface from the bottom) (117). *Karayyp teniz beti tuneri* (literally: The surface of the sea has darkened) (115) — form a feeling and a harbinger of trouble for the reader. Fifth, translation authenticity is ensured by such a feature of the cultural grid as the similarity of the colour symbolism in influencing the translation's recipient. *Kara bult, kara dauyl* (literally: Black clouds, black wind is driving waves) (117) — such description supports the unity of symbolism in folklore: the black colour symbolizes chaos and inevitable disaster. It is interesting to cite the «complex case of language interac-



tion» identified by N. Fenenko and A. Kretov, by which scientists mean such a method of transmitting color meanings, in the process of which the «technique of superimposing «one's own color picture of the world» on «someone else's» (for example, French on Russian)» is used [Fenenko, Kretov, 2002]. The researchers conclude that as a result of mastering the «alien» color picture of the world, «the means of their conceptual system» are «incompleteness or approximation of the proposed correspondences» [Fenenko, Kretov, 2002]. Baitursynov's translation allows us to reconsider this statement and explain this phenomenon with the concept of a cultural grid, the coincidence of the semiotics of color in mythology and folklore. In addition to the cultural grid, which contributes the adaptation of Pushkin's fairy tale to the consciousness of the Kazakh reader, Baitursynov used domestication as a strategy for integrating another culture into the host one. As noted by V. Razumovskaya and Yu. Valkova: Domestication dominates in cases of «dissimilarity of cultural grids» [Razumovskaya, Valkova, 2017]. Hence, the systematization of intercultural barriers by scientists as a factor in the use of domestication. In other words, the appeal to domestication begins where the fairy tale traditions of the originating and receiving cultures diverge. Let us give examples of domestication and classify them according to the ways to achieve authenticity of translation in order to identify their impact on the process of genre formation and genre perception. One of the methods of domestication is an appeal to the ideas of the Kazakhs about the structure of housing. The description of the old people's wooden hut in Baitursynov's translation operates on the collective unconscious of the Kazakhs, aimed at perceiving the home along the vertical and horizontal axis. This is the description of the top and bottom: *Ust shym, asty shukyr zherden zhyrgan / Baspana mekenin siky turgan* (literally: turf on top, a hole at the bottom, // miraculously stands on the ground) (112). The «dilapidated dugout» of the original evokes many associations: with biblical mythology (Old Testament), with an indication of the wear and tear of the dwelling in the direct meaning (old house), compassion for age (old man). The polysemanticism of meanings contained in the topos of housing bears traces of a book-colored tradition, imparts a literary character of *estrangement* to the image of a dugout, and becomes a source of axiologically colored signals to the reader of the original. In translation, the concretization, objectification in the description of the heroes' home is determined by the realistic tradition, when the exposition requires the techniques of everyday narration. Kazakh non-narrative prose has developed an arsenal of artistic means that socialize the position of the characters as the first identification signal for the formation of a communicative setting in the reader — creating his location, sympathy

for the heroes. The age and description of housing are enhanced by the childlessness of the elderly and become plot signals of the narrative. In the folk tradition, it was a common custom not to invite childless spouses to festive celebrations. The custom was associated with superstition, the interpretation of childlessness as a sin, as well as mortality in nomadic life from disease, during the years of famine. For Baitursynov's translation, the mention of the childlessness of the spouses becomes a sign of sympathy and returns us to the observation that a subtext allusion is significant for the plot of the translation. Meanwhile, in the plot of the original, the meaning forming principle is eventfulness (in accordance with the ideas accepted in theoretical poetics about the specifics of the plot and fabula, especially in the light of the established theory of formalists in science). A comparison of the original and the translation shows different techniques of the author's influence on the addressee when describing the interior. For example, psychologization becomes a source of parody and at the same time a paradigmatic plot in both the original and the translation. Let us compare the description of the old woman's house in the role of a pillar noblewoman. Pushkin ironically recreates the naive ideas of the common person about the way of life, manners and behavior of the nobility: *Высокий терем. // На крыльце стоит его старуха/В дорогой собольей душегрейке, // Парчевая на маковке кичка, // Жемчуги огрузили шею, // На руках золотые перстни, // На ногах красные сапожки. // Перед нею усердные слуги; // Она бьет их, за чупрун таскает* (537). Baitursynov's parody techniques go back to the eastern book tradition: the description of the palace appears in decorative wall paintings, images of singing birds: *Salgan uy saltanatty sanimen, // Boyagan, oyulagan manimen. // Sairagan bakshasynda turli kustar/Keltirgen kunil hoshyn animen* (literally: The house was built as a solemn palace // Painted, covered with patterns/There are various birds in the palace/Cheer up with their singing) (114). The use of a conventional book tradition becomes, on the one hand, a method of domestication. The translator appeals to the Kazakh reader's ideas about the interior and luxury of the nobility. The translator activates the ideas of the people about the social hierarchy: the division into 'karashepken' (blacksmiths) and 'aksuyek' (white bone).

The translator for the psychological portrait of the old woman uses domestication, and here the range of techniques of parody represents a wide gradation. This is also an indication of the old woman's intolerance and power for the fish urgently fulfill the old woman's whim. The addition from the author is significant here: *Zhumystyn tygyzdygyn, tezin aitty* (literally: Indicated the urgency of the matter) (117). These are examples of emphasizing the power of an old woman with details of a social nature.

The old woman commands in the rank of queen: *Tapsyrdy shalga zhymys, emir etip* (literally: Entrusted to the old man, demonstrating power) (115). The role of domestication to enhance the translator's parody of the author of the original family relations required Baitursynov to use phraseological resources of the Kazakh language — idioms and proverbs. For example: *Soz katsan, zhyrtlyady zhagan* (literally: You will not keep your word. i.e., you will not fulfill the required, the collar will be torn, i.e. you will be punished) (117). Alternatively, the use of an idiom: *Koz saldy zhan-jagyna moynyn buryp* (literally: Looks around, i.e. turns his neck) (117). Thus, the translator involves the image of an old man in the sphere of ironic narration, which is consonant with the concept of the original. In Baitursynov's choice of domestication, the role of the morphological structure of the Kazakh language and the processes of word formation characteristic of the target language is significant. Examples of the grammatical plan, including reduplication as an enhancement of the emotional impact on the reader, contribute to creating an impact on the reader. The irony in the depiction of the characters led to the use of laugh poetics, for example, the use of words whose structure is based on the repetition of the root. For example: *'ap-ademi*<sup>22</sup> (pleasant, pretty), *'salyp-salyp*' (hitting), *'dalme-dal'* (exactly), *'turyr-tyryr*' (standing, standing), *'zhyryk-zhyryk* ' (scratched), *'an-tan kalyp*' (amazed).

Domestication is based on the translator's creation of a psychological motivation for the actions and behavior of the hero, close to the original. To influence the addressee, the translator uses vocabulary with an expressively colored style when describing the condition of the hero: *azap* (torment, suffering), *'tanyrkanyp*' (amazed). In this way, the translator strengthens the reader's compassion for an old man who has become a victim of the arbitrariness of an old woman. An independent group of parody, which explains the peculiarities of the use of domestication, consists of techniques of comic modality and language play. So, Pushkin's *'дурачина'* and *'простофиля'* correspondences were found: *Акымак ... alzhygan, ketken yesin!* (literally: stupid, crazy (senile)) (113), *Miy ashyan, kuk kok sakal!* (literally: Sour brains, gray beard) (113), *adyragal* (literally: You are staring), *miyn ashyp ketken shirip* (literally: Your brains have turned sour, rotted) (114). The old woman uses the technique of the old man's public reputation for greater negation, using tracing method: *Kadirsiz muzhyk degen at halykka* (literally: For the people, a man deprived of respect). This tracing method is a case of foreignization in the work, which indicates

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<sup>22</sup> Bektaev K. Dictionary Kazakh-Russian and Russian-Kazakh dictionary. Almaty: Altyn Kazyna, 2001.

not only the maximum adaptation of the original to the perception of the Kazakh reader, but also Baitursynov's skill in achieving the authenticity of the translation. Examples: *Adepsis*, *akyly zhok*, *zharym* (literally: My ill-mannered, stupid old woman) (115) and *Akymak*, *adebi zhok*, *alzhygan kul* (literally: Stupid, ill-mannered, crazy servant) (116) — they also reflect interesting ways of adapting Russian fairy tales to the perception of Kazakhs through common vulgarisms. In the comic modality of translation, one can also highlight spectacular symbolism of a psychological nature: *Kempiri shalga kozin bazhyraytty* (literally: The old woman widened her eyes) (113). Such parody is absent in the original, but it is justified by the solution found by the translator. It is connected with the ideological nature of laughter, characteristic of the Russian folk tale, and is also due to the menippean nature of Pushkin's fairy tale.

For the comic modality of translation, such techniques of language play are typical, when parody is based on the use of formulas of family etiquette. The designation of an old woman by the colloquial '*katyny*' conveys not only the rude and lexically equivalent *баба* (*baba*) found in everyday life. In the Kazakh ordinary family institute, this is a designation of a social role and a sign of belonging to the family (his wife). The translator also used the following family category: '*zharyn*' (your wife), where the inflection contains not only the meaning of belonging, but also an allusion to the lack of power of the old man and the distribution of accepted family values.

Playing with vulgarisms, aimed at transferring the robust character, are reflected in the translations of Pushkin's rage — crossing the borderline. It has built the old woman character on her desires, dreams and ideas about a noble life: *Kempirdin mun-muddesin* (literally: sadness, desires, intentions) (114). The author focuses the reader's attention when the old man becomes aware of how far the old woman's demands are mad; on the hero's guilty feeling for the claims of the old woman, which led the translator to choose the following: *Tayandy zhyndanuga kempir zhetip* (literally: The old woman reached the peak in her madness) (115). In the comic modality, the syntactic and stylistic role is assumed by irony, parodying the old woman through a rhetorical question: *Katyn, kaityp kelse, bolgan khanim, // Kasyna shal kalaisha zholar endi?! (literally: He returned, and his woman became a grand lady. // How dare the old man to speak to her?)* (114). The irony lies in the use of repetition when describing the palace — intensification used in the meaning of generalization: *bari* (everything): *Bari mol*, *bari baylyk*, *bari iri* (literally: Everything is enough, everything is rich, everything is large) (114). The description of the old woman's pose also contains irony and parody: *Pansynyp syrty esikte tur-*

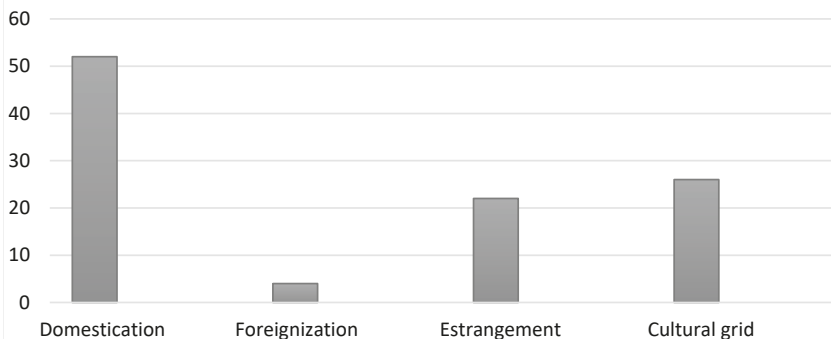


Fig. 1. Quantitative indicators of translation strategies by A. Baitursynov  
“The tales of the Fisherman and the Fish”

*piri* (literally: In the pose of a defender, a guardian) (115). This is not just a state: the verbal participle explains the old woman’s arrogance with her new social status. The irony is also reflected in the past-and-present opposition: *Buryngy muzhyktygy esten ketin* (literally: I forgot the peasant life) (115). The ironic connotations are complemented by the Fish’s comments on the old woman’s desire to become a queen, and forgiveness to the old man’s request: *Zhurgizip zhurtka amirin meilinshe, // Aybyndy bolar patsha zharyn* (literally: Let her show the power to people, // Your old woman will be a queen) (116).

Domestication is also a search for equivalents from a set of concepts accepted in the Kazakh everyday life: for example, *shabarman* (a runner). Another symbol is the gesture *sapyrip* — known to the Kazakh people as a rhythmic movement, which helps to decrease the acidity of kumis (mare’s milk) or cool the hot soup. Interestingly, the verb implies an unmentioned visual image through the movement’s rhythm. This is also the addressing cliché *aksakal, taksyr* (sovereign), *kart* (respect to the old ages). *Estrangement* is explained as a result of the national conceptual sphere and a more complex type of domestication, which gives an opportunity to study the author’s innovation. This thesis is supported by the phrases of speech etiquette, which are transparent semantically and communicatively: *Balykka ait menen kop-kop salem!* (literally: Say my love to the Fish) (117). In the Kazakh folk culture, the old man’s age and his physical weakness are associated with respect and honour. Weakness is reflected using such trope as *ali jok soz kayyrrar* (literally: No strength — strength to answer against) (117). However, when the old man is being beaten, it inverses the national values. In this case, the author influences the reader by the rhetorical question: *Agyna sakalyn kim karady?* (Who will respect his gray beard?)

(116), rough treating and dynamic verb forms: *Zhelkelep, suyrep, zhulkyp zhulmalaydy* (literally: They pushed me out, dragging along the floor, pulling and pushing) (116). In the episode: *Shaldy aydap alyp keldi dirdektetip* (literally: They dragged a shaking, trembling old man) (117) — the event reaches its peak. The bottom-up value principles are emphasized by travesty, through the general lines: *Zhurt kulip: Shal ekensin, -dedi, -zharym, / Akylyn kem bolgan son, kimge obalyn?* (literally: Dear, if someone has no brain, then who is to blame? A bad worker always blames his tools) (116). Making the folk wisdom rhetoric addressed to the old man refers to the violation of norms, and evoke a sympathy for the old man through an indirect speech. In the speech etiquette, among the rhetorical formulas, one should also note how the Fish calms the old man *kaygyрма* (literally: do not be blue). The expression does not possess any axiological connotation of the original and is reflects consolation formulas typical for the Kazakh culture. The rhetorical strategy follows the speech etiquette norms accepted by the Kazakh people. For example, the formula of calming (consolation) when expressing condolences *sabyr et* is fixed in the funeral and memorial rituals. *Estrangement* is achieved by using formulas that unconsciously actualize the core concepts of the Kazakh people: *Kun korgen bis-haralar / Bolmpty tort tulikten yrymga mall* (literally: Those who did not know the life of the tramp / Not having livestock) (112) — operates with the concept of *tort tulik* — four types of domestic animals respected by the nomadic people. Moreover, there is a didactic component presented in the formulas of wisdom: *Buryngy aitpap pa edi makaldaryn?* (literally: Does not the old times teach us?) (116) is a rhetorical question reflecting didacticism as an etiological attitude towards the recipient. It is typical way for Kazakh mentality, folklore and the narrative system. As a loss of the original axiology, *estrangement* is expressed in translation by the old woman's desire to become a queen. This is the state of dissatisfaction verbalized in the reduced use of the word 'jan' (soul): *Zhetken zhok zhanym al yrzalykka. // Aksuyek darejesin azsynamyn, // Patsha etsin meni dereu bir halykka!* (literally: The old woman's soul is still not satisfied / It is not enough for her to be a white-bone, // She wants to become the queen) (115).

To understand the nature of *estrangement*, metaphysics-oriented speech manipulation techniques are also important. For example, the old man's manipulation: *Alldim abden tynyshym ketip* (literally: He finally lost his mind and worry too much). Among the manipulation techniques, one should also highlight the author's ironic: *Saktasyn doly katyn perisinen!* (literally: God, save me from the grumpy old woman!) (113), *Barady suyegimnen sokkeni otip* (literally: Her swearing sticks to my bones) (114). *Estrangement* shapes the transformation of the original chronotope. For

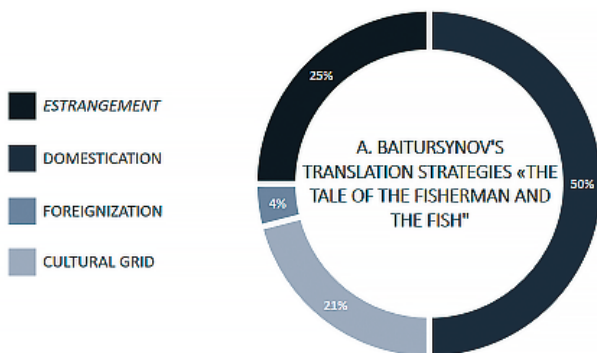


Fig. 2

example, in the final episode: *Tusirip taz kebine bir-ak kunde, // Kuypty kukbasty Kudai uryy* (literally: In one moment everything became the same // God has cursed the cunning, hated old woman!) (117) — is a translation derivation. Pushkin inweaved morality into the structure. Baitursynov sees the momentary, futility of the old woman's intentions and obedience of the old man as a payment from heaven. Hence the idiom 'ku kabas' (literally: childless, hateful, disgusting) lose its rudeness in relation to the old woman. The ratio of culture-based strategies in the translation of Baitursynov «The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish» is given in Fig. 2.

## Conclusion

Translational authenticity in Baitursynov's translation of Pushkin's fairy tale is achieved mainly with the help of two strategies — domestication and *estrangement*. The dominance of domestication (50%) is explained by the popularization of Pushkin's fairy tale and it needs to develop a formal poetics of the fairy tale, which is adapted to the Kazakh listener. As the analysis shows, the syntagmatic plot of the translation is created mainly by the cultural grid and domestication, while the paradigmatics of the plot is ensured by *estrangement* (25%). The results of the analysis allow us to identify additions in domestication due to the achievement of authenticity of literary translation. Domestication is based on parody, linguistic and literary play as ways of conveying Pushkin's comic modality and the paradoxical nature of a fairy tale. The dominant role is played by the translator's reliance on the phraseological resources of his native language. *Estrangement* - as a kind of domestication — reflects the influence of the national conceptual sphere on the expression of the author's style.

Thus, the use of statistical methods for processing the analysis of a work of art makes it possible to read the text objectively, as opposed to intuitively. The experience of studying the facts of language and speech using mathematical methods in poetry is fruitful for the implementation of a synchronic and diachronic analysis of a fairy tale.

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Russia named after Patrice Lumumba

## TRANSLATION OF SLANG ELEMENTS IN THE NOVEL “FOOD BLOCK” BY A. IVANOV FROM RUSSIAN INTO CHINESE

Slang (“sub-language”) is a vocabulary of informal register normally used to establish a group identity of either people of little political power (adolescents) or people who hide from the authorities (gamblers, drug addicts, prisoners). Its most common characteristics are sociability, flexibility and naturalness, which make it a unique object of scientific research. The purpose of this article is to solve the problem of translation into Chinese of Russian slang lexical units in literature taking as example the text of Alexei Ivanov’s novel “Food block”. The plot of A. Ivanov’s novel “Food block” unfolds in 1980 and tells a story about young people who spend summer vacations in “Burevestnik”, a pioneer camp invaded by vampires. The book uses a lot of slang units to enrich the language and create a realistic environment. These lexical units may be difficult to translate into Chinese not only because of their absence in Russian-Chinese dictionaries, but also because of the ambivalence of their interpretation and different perception in the cultures of the source and the target languages. In this article we will provide analysis and offer translations into Chinese for the following slang units: 1) пацы; 2) шпили-вилы; 3) мацать; 4) шашни; 5) мильтоны; 6) ходок; 7) тупарь. The article’s structure is the following: we analyze the origin of each selected slang unit, study their artistic impact and literary meaning in the original, analyze advantages and disadvantages of possible translation techniques and illustrating their practical application. Since the novel has not yet been translated into Chinese, the results of the study may be useful for potential translators, as well as for the study of Sino-Russian intercultural dialog in general and the translation of Russian slang into Chinese in particular.

*Keywords:* Russian slang; slang translation, literary translation, slang in literature, translation from Russian into Chinese, “Food block” by A. Ivanov

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### ПЕРЕВОД ЭЛЕМЕНТОВ СЛЕНГА В РОМАНЕ А. ИВАНОВА «ПИЩЕБЛОК» С РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКА НА КИТАЙСКИЙ

Сленг — это лексика неформального регистра, обычно используемая для установления групповой идентичности людей, не обладающих по-

литической властью (подростков), либо людей, скрывающихся от властей (игроков, наркоманов, заключенных). Его наиболее характерными чертами являются социальность, гибкость и естественность, что делает его уникальным объектом для научного исследования. Целью данной статьи является решение проблемы перевода на китайский язык русского сленга в литературных произведениях на материале романа Алексея Иванова «Пищеблок». Сюжет романа А. Иванова «Пищеблок» разворачивается в 1980 году и повествует о молодых людях, которые проводят летние каникулы в пионерском лагере «Буревестник», захваченном вампирами. В книге используется много сленга для обогащения литературного языка и сюжета. Данные сленговые единицы могут представлять сложность для перевода на китайский язык не только ввиду их отсутствия в русско-китайских словарях, но и из-за амбивалентности их интерпретации и различного восприятия в культурах языков оригинала и перевода. В данной статье мы приведем анализ и предложим переводы на китайский язык следующих сленговых единиц: 1) пацы; 2) шпильки-вилы; 3) мацать; 4) шашни; 5) мильтоны; 6) ходок; 7) тупарь. При написании статьи авторами использовались следующие методы: анализ происхождения сленга, их художественный эффект и литературное значение в оригинале, анализ возможных техник перевода и их плюсов и минусов, иллюстрация применения описываемых техник перевода. Поскольку роман еще не переведен на китайский язык, результаты исследования могут быть полезны потенциальным переводчикам, а также для изучения китайско-русского межкультурного диалога и перевода русского сленга на китайский язык.

*Ключевые слова:* русский сленг, перевод сленга, литературный перевод, сленг в литературе, перевод с русского на китайский, роман А. Иванова «Пищеблок»

## Introduction

Slang (“sub-language”) is a vocabulary of informal register normally used to establish a group identity of either people of little political power (adolescents) or people who hide from the authorities (gamblers, drug addicts, prisoners). Its most common characteristics are sociability, flexibility and naturalness, which make it a unique object of scientific research [Anishchenko, 2012].

The plot of the novel “Food block” by A. Ivanov is set in 1980 and tells a story of young people that spend their summer vacation in a Pioneer camp *Burevestnik* (“*Petrel*”) invaded by vampires. Although the novel deals with a variety of complex subjects, such as love, friendship, self-sacrifice, etc., on the linguistic level we will focus on the slang units that appear in pioneers’ and camp caretakers’ interaction with each other. The use of these lexical elements adds credibility to such scenes in the original, as

they create the linguistic environment of the corresponding time period and also reflect the tendency of adolescents to show off by using “adult” vocabulary (although it should be noted that the kids never cross the line of what could be considered a “marginal” vocabulary). These lexical units may present a challenge for translation into Chinese not only because of their absence in Russian-Chinese dictionaries, but also due to the ambivalence of their interpretation and different perceptions in the cultures of the original and target languages.

## Methodology

The object of the study is translation of slang lexical units in literary works, particularly, from Russian into Chinese. The subject of the study is the Alexey Ivanov’s novel “Food block”. In this paper we will study the origin, meaning and esthetic impact of the selected slang units and offer their possible translations into Chinese and analyze the advantages and disadvantages of each option.

In the course of our study we recur to the existing bilingual and explanatory dictionaries of Russian slang, such as «新俄汉俚语词典» (2008) (*Новый русско-китайский словарь сленга, New Russian-Chinese Dictionary of Slang*), «俄汉双解俚语词典» (1994) (*Русско-китайский толковый словарь сленга, Russian-Chinese explanatory dictionary of slang*), and «俄罗斯俚语» (2008) (*Русский сленг, Russian slang*), «Большой словарь русских народных сравнений: большой объяснительный словарь: более 45000 образных выражений» (2008) (*Big Dictionary of Russian Folk Comparisons: big explanatory dictionary: more than 45,000 figurative expressions*); «Толковый словарь молодёжного сленга: Слова, непонятные взрослым» (2003) (*Explanatory Dictionary of Youth Slang: Words not understood by adults*); «Словарь русского аргота: материалы 1980 — 1990 гг.» (2000) (*Dictionary of Russian argot: materials of the 1980–1990s*); «Большой китайско-русский словарь» (1983) (*Big Chinese-Russian Dictionary*), etc.

It should be noted that the “New Russian-Chinese dictionary of slang” (2008) offers more than 10,000 entries compared to the “Russian-Chinese explanatory dictionary of slang” (1994), which is a proof of a serious advance in the studies of Russian slang and Russian language in general in China.

Since the novel “Food block” has not yet been translated into Russian, the results of this study will be useful to future translators, as well as to researches of the Russian-Chinese intercultural dialogue in general.

## Slang units in “Food block”: origin, meaning and translation into Chinese

The text of the “Food block” contains a lot of slang lexical units that form an important part of the scenes set up in a pioneer camp. Some of these words can be found in bilingual dictionaries, although it should be noted that some of them may not fit into the context of Ivanov’s novel.

For example, the *New Russian-Chinese Dictionary of Slang*(2008) translates the word *пацан* as

- (1) 刚开始行窃的年轻小偷(young thieves who have just started stealing);
- (2) 黑道上受尊敬的人(a respected person in the mob);
- (3) 青年团伙中受尊敬的、有权威的学员(a respected, authoritative member of a youth gang);
- (4) (中小学)班上、学校里非正式儿的头(the unofficial head of a class, (elementary or middle) school);
- (5) 一套开各种锁的钥匙(*a set of keys for all types of locks*).

However, they certainly do provide a starting point in the search for an optimal solution.

At the same time, a large number of slang units can’t be found in bilingual dictionaries, which has to do with the mutability of this part of the language: slang is a complex and contradictory socio-cultural phenomenon that reflects historical processes, social changes and cultural development [Cong Yaping, 2001].

Based on their usage and perception, slang units can be classified into (1) those used by marginal groups only, (2) explicit elements used by common people in unofficial environment and (3) lexical units that are almost stylistically neutral. Since in many literary works slang lexical units serve to shape the characters [Liu Lixia, 2010], it is important to mention that in Ivanov’s novel we deal only with the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> groups, since the characters are Soviet adolescents who come from common families with no marginal background.

Therefore, taking into account possible differences in perception of certain concepts in Russian and Chinese cultures, it is important that each lexical unit remain within the same classification group when translated in order to preserve the authenticity of the original.

### **А. пацы**

“Пацы” is a shortened form of the slang word “пацан” (fella, youngster, lad) which designates a boy or a young man. In our opinion, A. Iva-

nov uses this word in the novel instead of the stylistically neutral synonyms “boys” and “guys” to recreate as authentically as possible the atmosphere of informal, sometimes deliberately rude communication between teenage boys who in the absence of adults want to seem more mature and experienced than they really are:

*Example 1:*

— **Пацы**, есть у кого пионерский значок? А то я свой дома забыл. Дайте поносить, пожалуйста.

*Example 2:*

— **Пацы**, угадайте загадку! — сплёвывая зубную пасту, предложил Лёха Цыбастов.

*Example 3:*

— А классно же! — от скуки воодушевился Гурька. — Флагом можно как копьём тыкать! **Пацы**, давайте флаги возьмём!

Similarly to Russian, Chinese language has quite a wide range of neutral lexical units denoting boys in general: 男孩儿们(nánhái'ermen), as well as slang words, such as 臭小子们(chòuxiǎozimen), 小毛孩们(xiǎomáoháimen).

The *New Russian-Chinese Dictionary of Slang* (2008) and *Russian-Chinese explanatory dictionary of slang* (1994) offer several translations for this word. The interpretations “(中小学)班上、学校里非正式儿的头 (unofficial head of a class, (elementary or middle) school)” and “小男孩(little boy, boy)” that appear in both dictionaries provide us the basic meaning of the word to be translated into Chinese.

The context of use of this lexical unit is similar in all the contexts; however, since it is not a term, the authors believe it is appropriate to consider the possibility of using different equivalents in Chinese to translate it.

- (a) Based on the fact that the word “пацан”/“пацаны” was quite a common form to address each other among Soviet adolescents, we can translate it as “朋友们(péngyoumen, lit. friends)”. The word “朋友们(péngyoumen)” is often used in Chinese as a neutral form to address people / attract their attention in everyday life, therefore in this case is the contextual equivalent of the word “пацаны”.

*Translation 1a:*

— 朋友们, 谁有少先队徽? 我的忘在家里了, 谁能借我戴一下?  
(lit. – **Friends**, who has a pioneer badge? I forgot mine at home, maybe someone can lend me one to wear).

*Translation 2a:*

— 朋友们，来猜谜语吧！— 廖哈·齐巴斯托夫边吐着牙膏边说。  
(lit. — **Friends**, come to solve the riddle! — said Leha Tsybastov, spitting out toothpaste).

*Translation 3a:*

— 哇，太酷了！— 无聊的古里卡突然兴奋起来。— 旗子也可以用来当矛！朋友们，我们去拿旗子吧！  
(lit. — Wow, that's so cool! — The bored Gurka suddenly got excited. — Flags can also be used as spears! **Friends**, let's take flags!).

- (b) Another possible translation of this lexical unit is “伙伴 (huǒbàn, lit.partner)”, which in Chinese is the synonym of the word “朋友 (péngyou, lit.friend)”. The key difference between the two words is that “朋友 (péngyou lit.friend)” refers to friendship, while “伙伴 (huǒbàn, lit.partner)” refers to a collaborator in an activity, organization or team. The derivative of “伙伴(huǒbàn, lit.partner)”, “小伙伴 (xiǎohuǒbàn, lit.little partner)” in the recent years has become quite popular on the Internet and can be used here to add the touch of “modern language”.

*Translation 1b:*

— 小伙伴们，谁有少先队徽？我的忘在家里了，谁能借我戴一下？  
(lit. — **Little Partners**, who has a pioneer badge? I forgot mine at home, maybe someone can lend me one to wear).

*Translation 2b:*

— 小伙伴们，来猜谜语吧！— 廖哈·齐巴斯托夫边吐着牙膏边说。  
(lit. — **Little Partners**, come to solve the riddle! — said Leha Tsybastov, spitting out toothpaste).

*Translation 3b:*

— 哇，太酷了！— 无聊的古里卡突然兴奋起来。— 旗子也可以用来当矛！小伙伴们，我们去拿旗子吧！  
(lit. — Wow, that's so cool! — The bored Gurka suddenly got excited. — Flags can also be used as spears! **Little Partners**, let's take flags!).

- (c) The word “咱们 (zánmen)” in the northern dialect means “we” and is currently widely used in daily life, especially in colloquial language, when people want to do something together. As we can observe, the word “пацы” often appears in conversations where pioneers address each other to suggest a joint activity. Therefore, the word “咱们 (zánmen)” can also be considered as an option to render the word “пацы”.

*Translation 1c:*

— 咱们谁有少先队徽？我的忘在家里了，谁能借我戴一下？  
(lit. — **Who among us** has a pioneer badge? I forgot mine at home, maybe someone can lend me one to wear).

*Translation 2c:*

— 咱们来猜谜语吧！— 廖哈·齐巴斯托夫边吐着牙膏边说。  
(lit. — **Let's solve the riddle!** — said Leha Tsybastov, spitting out toothpaste).

*Translation 3c:*

— 哇，太酷了！— 无聊的古里卡突然兴奋起来。— 旗子也可以用来当矛！咱们去拿旗子吧！  
(lit. — **Wow, that's so cool!** — The bored Gurka suddenly got excited. — **Flags can also be used as spears! Let's take flags!**).

- (d) When the intention is to address many/all people simultaneously, Chinese language uses the expression “大家(dàjiā)”, which means “everyone”. This word can also be used to address everyone present or to call on people to come together to do something. The difference with “咱们(zánmen, lit.we)” is that in general “大家(dàjiā)” does not include the speaker himself/herself, so we can't use it in Example 3, as otherwise it will be implied that Gurka does not intend to carry the flag himself.

*Translation 1d:*

— 大家谁有少先队徽？我的忘在家里了，谁能借我戴一下？  
(lit. — **Everyone**, who has a pioneer badge? I forgot mine at home, maybe someone can lend me to wear).

*Translation 2d:*

— 大家来猜谜语吧！— 廖哈·齐巴斯托夫边吐着牙膏边说。  
(lit. — **Everyone**, come to solve the riddle! — said Leha Tsybastov, spitting out toothpaste).

- (e) In colloquial Chinese, “兄弟们(xiōngdìmen, brothers)” is often used among boys and men. For example, elementary and middle school students often call each other “brothers” to emphasize both the strength of their relationship and their maturity, a type of mentality which definitely fits into the novel's setting. Therefore, we suggest the word “兄弟们(xiōngdìmen)” as a possible translation of the word “пацы”. This allows to use modern language and maintain the spirit of a pioneer camp.

*Translation 1e:*

— 兄弟们，谁有少先队徽？我的忘在家里了，谁能我戴一下？  
(lit. — **Brothers**, who has a pioneer badge? I forgot mine at home, maybe someone can lend me one to wear).

*Translation 2e:*

— 兄弟们，来猜谜语吧！— 廖哈·齐巴斯托夫边吐着牙膏边说。  
(lit. — **Brothers**, come to solve the riddle! — said Leha Tsybastov, spitting out toothpaste).

*Translation 3e:*

— 哇，太酷了！— 无聊的古里卡突然兴奋起来。— 旗子也可以用来当矛！兄弟们，去拿旗子吧！  
(lit. — Wow, that's so cool! — The bored Gurka suddenly got excited. — Flags can also be used as spears! **Brothers**, let's take flags!).

- (f) Although the above-mentioned translations “朋友们(péngyoumen, friends), 伙伴们(huǒbànmen, partners), 咱们(zánmen, we), 大家(dàjiā, everyone)”, 兄弟们(xiōngdìmen) generally convey the meaning of the original word “*научи*”, they do not produce the esthetic impact intended by the author with the choice of a slang lexical unit. To achieve this goal we suggest the use of the word “老铁们(lǎotiěmen, lit. old irons)”, a currently popular internet word, borrowed from the northeastern dialect.

The northeastern dialect is spoken in the northeastern region of China which has been a political and cultural center since ancient times. The Standard Chinese language Putonghua is also based on the northern dialect, so the northeastern dialect is not quite different from Putonghua. It is characterized by high voice timbre, humorous vocabulary, slightly exaggerated gestures, vividness and liveliness, while Standard Chinese is more refined and condensed.

As the character “老(lǎo)” means “old; experienced” and character “铁(tiě)” means “iron”, the word “老铁们(lǎotiěmen) literary means “old irons”, but is synonymous with “朋友们(péngyoumen, friends)” and is used to describe the strength of friendships. It is also popular on the Internet, where it can be used interchangeably with “烙铁们(làotiěmen, lit. “soldering irons” or “паяльники” in Russian)” due to the similarity of pronunciation, namely, that “老(lǎo)” and “烙(lào)” consist of the same vowels and consonants, but are pronounced with different tones.

Today, internet terms are so widely-known that many modern teenagers often use them to communicate with their peers in an attempt to fit in with what they perceive as fashionable language. Since the term “老铁



们(lǎotiěmen)” is popular among teenagers and differs from the “formal” language, we believe that in the context of this novel it is the most accurate equivalent of the word “пацы”.

*Translation 1f:*

— 老铁们，谁有少先队徽？我的忘在家里了，谁能借我戴一下？  
(lit. — **Old irons**, who has a pioneer badge? I forgot mine at home, maybe someone can lend me one to wear).

*Translation 2f:*

— 老铁们，来猜谜语吧！— 廖哈·齐巴斯托夫边吐着牙膏边说。  
(lit. — **Old irons**, come to solve the riddle! — said Leha Tsybastov, spitting out toothpaste).

*Translation 3f:*

— 哇，太酷了！— 无聊的古里卡突然兴奋起来。— 旗子也可以用来当矛！老铁们去拿旗子吧！  
(lit. — Wow, that's so cool! — The bored Gurka suddenly got excited. — Flags can also be used as spears! **Old irons**, let's take flags!).

However, it is arguable whether fashionable Internet-words should be accepted in translations of literary novels, as one of the objectives of literature is to show how language should be used as opposed to following the current language trends. According to Bondaletov, many young people get so comfortable with jargon that they do not internalize the literary language, its riches and norms which results in an energetic and aggressive ignorance.” [Bondaletov, 2003].

(g) Another possible method of translation is omission. Since the word “пацы” in the original text serves mainly to get audience's attention and as a call to arms, it can be omitted if its pragmatic function is implied by the context of a corresponding scene. However, in some cases (see Example 3) the omission may create confusion as to who is expected to act, therefore this technique should be used carefully and only where the context allows it.

*Translation 1g:*

— 谁有少先队徽？我的忘在家里了，谁能借我戴一下？  
(lit. — Who has a pioneer badge? I forgot mine at home, maybe someone can lend me one to wear).

*Translation 2g:*

— 来猜谜语吧！— 廖哈·齐巴斯托夫边吐着牙膏边说。  
(lit. — Come to solve the riddle! — said Leha Tsybastov, spitting out toothpaste).

## В. шпили-вили, мацать, шашни

The slang units “шпили-вили”, “мацать” and “шашни” appear in the same scene when one of the young men brags about his recent advances with his girlfriend asking for advice as to where he can have sex with her. The author’s choice of the lexical units (“шпили-вили”, “мацать”, “шашни”) leaves little room for an idea of romantic love, making it quite clear that the dominating feeling is lust. However, it should be noted that the characters use euphemisms, which means that they still find it important to not cross the line of what is seen as socially acceptable.

### Example 4:

— И **мацал** её, и целовались **взасос!** Надо хату найти, и **шпили-вили** верняк будут! Димон хвастался своими достижениями в **шашнях** с Ириной.

— Сделайте **шпили-вили** на природе, — посоветовал Игорь.

The word “мацать” can be found in *Russian-Chinese explanatory dictionary of slang* (1994) and has three main acceptations: (1) (在某人的口袋、包裹、手提包里)摸到值钱的东西(to discover in one’s pockets, a roll, a bag something worthwhile); (2) 摸(某人的)口袋、包裹、手提包(reach into (someone’s) pocket, package, or handbag); (3) 摸(女人的身体、乳房) (to feel a woman’s body, breasts). The latter one can be extended to “stalk”, “molest”, “annoy”, etc.

The word “шпили-вили” stems from the verb “шпилить/шпилиться” and has three acceptations in *New Russian-Chinese Dictionary of Slang* (2008): (1) 赌牌(to gamble); (2) 闻可卡因 (to sniff cocaine); (3) 与……发生性行为 (to have sex with someone); (4) 工作 (to work).

No Russian-Chinese dictionary offers a translation for the word “шашни”; however, its explanation can be found in the *Large Chinese-Russian Dictionary* (1983): (1) conspiracy, trickery; (2) flirting, hooking, fornication.

It is easy to deduce that in all these cases only the acceptations related to sex fit into the context under study.

The fist and the most obvious possibility is to render direct meanings of the slang units “мацать”, “шпили-вили”, and “шашни” as “touch her breasts” “make love/have sex”, and “fling”, respectively. (Even though the verb “мацать” does not specify which exact parts of the body are touched, it is implied that they are intimate, so this specification does not contradict the author’s intention).

### Translation 4a:

— 我摸着她的胸，亲了很久！我得找个屋子和她做爱！季蒙吹嘘着他是如何跟伊琳娜调情的

— 可以去野外做爱，— 伊戈尔建议道。

(lit. — *I touched her breasts and kissed them for a long time! I had to find a room to **make love to her!** Dimon bragged about his **fling** with Irina.*

— *You can go to the field and **make love**, Igor suggested.)*

However, it should be taken into account that sex (and the related vocabulary) is not a common topic in Chinese literature to be addressed directly, especially in a novel whose setting is a children's camp. Besides being precepted as rough and possibly tasteless, it might lead to serious misjudgment as to characters' personalities, because of the topic itself being tabued in Chinese society (while in Russia this topic can be raised in an informal conversation among friends). From the context of the original text we know that the word “мацать” here means “to feel a woman's body, breasts”, so technically this translation is true to the original (despite the addition of word “乳房(rǔfáng), breasts”). However, this translation is too literal.

To avoid the cultural shock the slang units can be substituted by “丰满(fēngmǎn) (curvaceous), “大汗淋漓(dàhànlínlí) (to sweat by doing physical exercises), and “风流韵事(fēngliúyùnshì) (love affair; romance), respectively, that will make this conversation sound more natural and socially acceptable to Chinese readers while still being true to the plot line.

*Translation 4b:*

— 她太丰满了，我们亲了很久！我得找个地方和她大汗淋漓一场！季蒙吹嘘着他和伊琳娜的风流韵事。

— 去找个小树林吧！—伊戈尔建议道。

(lit. — *She was so curvaceous and we kissed for a long time! I had to find a place to get a **good sweat on her!** Dimon bragged about his **love affair** with Irina.*

— *Find a grove!* — Igor suggested)

Here we avoid mentioning sex directly and use an euphemism 丰满(fēngmǎn) which literally means “curvaceous”, and 大汗淋漓(dàhànlínlí) which literally means “to sweat by doing physical exercises”. This particular context and the addition “和她(hétā, with her)” leave it quite clear what activity is implied. Besides, the particularization “小树林(xiǎoshùlín, grove)” of the original word “природа” (nature) also hints at a romantic encounter, as in Chinese society groves are known as places that are popular among young couples, specifically university students (which coincides with the original storyline context).

One point that must be noted is that these slang lexical units are rarely used in spoken language, as they are uniformly characterized by rudeness,

lowliness, and impudence. In Western literature, relatively explicit expressions and scenes are more common. However, if the readers of this novel are Chinese, we have to consider the Chinese national character and what linguistic expressions are seen as socially acceptable by Chinese readers.

### С. МИЛЬТОНЫ

In Ivanov's novel the word “мильтоны” is used by pioneers to refer to police in an informal and a little bit derogatory way.

#### Example 5:

— Если бы в лагере дети пропадали, сюда бы **мильтоны** приехали, — сердито заметил Лёва Хлопов.

The most common Chinese word to refer to the police is «警察 (jǐngchá, lit. policeman)» which sounds natural in almost any context, but does not reflect the informal touch of the original.

#### Translation 5a:

— 如果营地里有小孩失踪了，警察就该来了， — 廖瓦·赫洛波夫愤怒地说道。

(lit. — Если бы в лагере какой-то ребенок пропал, приехала бы милиция, — сердито сказал Лёва Хлопов.)

The *New Russian-Chinese dictionary of slang* (2008) translates the word “мильтон” as “youth slang for militia, militia man”, but other dictionaries, such as the *Big Dictionary of Russian Folk Comparisons* (2008), *Dictionary of Russian argot* (2000) and offer a more accurate meaning, “a cop”. Due to the nature of their professional activity, police officers have many slang names (the same can be applied to other subjects who usually discipline them, for example parents, teachers, etc.).

Perhaps the most offensive naming in modern Chinese is “黑狗 (hēigǒu, lit. black dog)”. But there are also other names, such as “条子 (tiáozǐ)” which literally means “a rectangular sheets of paper”, but is used among criminals to refer to policemen.

#### Translation 5b:

— 如果营地里有小孩失踪了，黑狗就该来了， — 廖瓦·赫洛波夫愤怒地说道。

(lit. — If a child had disappeared from the camp, the **black dog** would have come, — said Liova Khlopov angrily.)

#### Translation 5c:

— 如果营地里有小孩失踪了，条子就该来了， — 廖瓦·赫洛波夫愤怒地说道。

(lit. — *If a child had disappeared from the camp, the rectangular sheets of paper would have come, — said Liova Khlopov angrily.*)

The most neutral unconventional way to refer to a policeman is 阿Sir (lit. “Sir”) which comes from the times of Hong Kong colonization by the British who used this name to address people of a certain social standing, such as policemen or teachers. The standard Chinese usually uses the word «先生(xiānsheng, lit. mister, sir)», but the word 阿Sir will also be understood correctly, since it is still popular in Guangdong.

*Translation 5d:*

— 如果营地里有小孩失踪了，阿Sir就该来了，— 廖瓦·赫洛波夫愤怒地说道。

(lit. — *If a child had disappeared from the camp, the Sir would have come, — said Liova Khlopov angrily.*)

At the same time a policeman can be perceived as a positive character in Chinese society who preserves public peace, which gives him other, rather tender names, such as 警察叔叔(jǐngcháshūshu) (lit. uncle policeman). As “every generation has its own slang” [Sun Yumin, 2020], in today’s China, many people affectionately call “police” as “警察叔叔(jǐngcháshūshu)”.

*Translation 5e:*

— 如果营地里有小孩失踪了，警察叔叔就该来了，— 廖瓦·赫洛波夫愤怒地说道。

(lit. — *If a child had disappeared from the camp, the uncle policeman would have come, — said Liova Khlopov angrily.*)

In our opinion, the best solution is to translate the word “мильтоны” with a neutral «警察(jǐngchá)». Although it does not have any slang connotation, it fits best into a boy’s speech (that is not supposed to cross the line of open rudeness), while the emotional charge is transmitted with the accompanying adverb “angrily”.

#### D. ходок

The word “ходок” comes from the verb “ходить” (to go), but its slang meaning goes far beyond. It appears in many Chinese dictionaries (*Dictionary of Russian argot, Russian-Chinese explanatory dictionary of slang, New Russian-Chinese dictionary of slang, etc.*) and its acceptations can be summarized as follows: 1.色鬼, 贪淫好色之徒 (lecher, womanizer); 2.(农民的)代表 ((Farmers’) representatives); 3.毒品承运者 (drug couriers); 4.为获得报酬而给犯人提供违禁物品的劳教所雇佣人员 (an employee of a correctional facility who provides convicts with forbid-

den items for money) ; 5.喜欢经常换性伴侣的男人 (a man who like to change their sexual partners often) ; 6.竞走运动员 (walking athlete). Obviously, in the context of Ivanov's novel the correct acceptations are those related to a sexually active man.

*Example 6:*

*Игорь позавидовал капитану: такой старый, полтинник уже, и всё ещё **ходок**. А у него, Игоря, у молодого и резвого, нет подруги даже после второго курса.*

But since the very idea of a sex life outside wedlock may be seen differently even within the same culture, it is important to mention that in the particular context of Ivanov's novel, “ходок” is a neutral, even positive epithet, as the young man who gives it to a mature captain would gladly take after the example. Therefore, we need to select a word that is at the very least non-judgmental, if not positive.

*Translation 6a:*

伊戈尔很羡慕船长：那么老了，都50岁了，还这么有女人缘。而他自己，伊戈尔，又年轻有活力，都快大三了连个女朋友还没有。  
*(lit.: Igor envied the Captain: so old, already 50, and still is a real ladies'man'. And he himself, Igor, young and energetic, was almost a junior in college and still doesn't have a girlfriend.)*

We have translated the word “ходок” here as “女人缘 (nǚ rén yuán)”, which translates literally into English as “woman's fated relationship”. In Chinese the common expression is “xxx有女人缘”, which means “xxx is a real ladies'man”. The word “女人缘 (nǚ rén yuán)” in Chinese is to indicate that the person is especially attentive to woman.

In a certain way the word “ходок” describes the man as a skillful suitor of women, and it's for this very reason that Igor expresses his envy of the captain. Therefore, we also consider the use of a poetic expression, «宝刀未老 (bǎodāowèilǎo)» which literally means “treasure knife does not age” and refers to an elderly man who is still sexually active. In modern Chinese society it is usually used in a humorous way, which in our opinion perfectly fits the original.

*Translation 6b:*

伊戈尔很羡慕队长：那么老了，年过半百了还宝刀未老。而他自己，伊戈尔，又年轻有活力，都快大三了连个女朋友还没有。  
*(lit.: Igor envied the Captain: so old, already 50, and still **treasure knife does not age**. And he himself, Igor, young and energetic, was almost a junior in college and still doesn't have a girlfriend.)*

Besides producing an additional aesthetic impact, we believe it is relevant to make this characteristic (which in fact might be seen as dubious in modern Chinese society) be perceived in a positive way.

### Е. тупарь

The word “тупарь” (which is a slang word for “think slowly and poorly”) can be found in the “Dictionary of Russian Slang (Словарь русского апро)” and comes from the verb “тупой”. Etymologically it is the opposite of a “sharp mind”, that is, a mind with excellent cognitive possibilities. In Ivanov’s novel this word is used by children in regard to their camp counselors to express the annoyance at them being inattentive to certain problems.

#### Example 7:

*Пацаны ухмылялись. Забавно было, что Гурька с Титяпой вопят такие хулиганские слова во весь голос — а вожатые ваще не слышат, как тупари.*

#### Translation 7a:

男孩们傻笑着。有趣的是，古里卡和季佳普金超级大声地喊出这样流氓的话，但是辅导员们好像个傻子压根没听见。

*(lit.: The boys giggled. It’s funny that Gurika and Tigapkin shouted such bad words super loud, but the counselors seemed like **idiots** who didn’t hear it.)*

In the Chinese dictionary *New Russian-Chinese Dictionary of Slang* (2008) the word “тупить” is interpreted as “不理解，不明白 (not understood, not get it)”. In this particular case we translate “тупарь” as “傻子 (shǎzi)” (lit. idiot), which sounds more common and natural to Chinese readers in this context, although the word itself is not a slang, but rather just a derogatory lexical unit.

#### Translation 7b:

男孩们傻笑着。有趣的是，古里卡和季佳普金超级大声地喊出这样流氓的话，但是辅导员们好像有点二压根没听见。

*(lit.: The boys giggled. It’s funny that Gurika and Tigapkin shouted such bad words super loud, while the counselors seemed **a little two** who didn’t hear it.)*

In translate we translated “тупарь” into “二 (èr, lit.two)”. A common expression in Chinese is “xxx很二”, which’s literal translation is “xxx is two”, meaning that the person is stupid. In Chinese slang, the number “二 (èr, lit.two)” has the meaning of “stupid”, so this translation conveys the original meaning and retains the slang coloring of the original text.

## Conclusion

Despite the fact that the functions of slang elements in Russian and Chinese are similar, the traditions of their use in fiction may differ. The translator's position on whether contemporary fiction should primarily reflect the actual use of language (by society or the author of the work) or fulfill a didactic function by reinforcing and demonstrating how language should be used plays a rather important role in the choice of translation options. In this regard, the authors suggest that in some cases, when translating into Chinese, it may be appropriate to soften or omit slang lexical units in order to preserve the aesthetic perception of the novel and avoid an erroneous illusion that the characters belong to marginalized or semi-marginalized strata of society.

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Научное издание  
СИНЕРГИЯ ЯЗЫКОВ И КУЛЬТУР 2023  
МЕЖДИСЦИПЛИНАРНЫЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

*Сборник статей*

Тексты статей публикуются в авторской редакции.  
Texts of the articles published in the original edition.

Корректор *Т. В. Хорошавина*  
Компьютерная верстка *Ю. Ю. Тауриной*  
Обложка *И. А. Колтушиной*

Подписано в печать 24.09.2024. Формат 60×90 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>.  
Усл. печ. л. 27. Тираж 300 экз. Print-On-Demand. Заказ №  
Издательство Санкт-Петербургского университета.  
199004, С.-Петербург, В. О., 6-я линия, д. 11.  
Тел./факс +7(812)328-44-22  
[publishing@spbu.ru](mailto:publishing@spbu.ru)



[publishing.spbu.ru](http://publishing.spbu.ru)

Типография Издательства СПбГУ. 199034, С.-Петербург, Менделеевская линия, д. 5.