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The Semantic Spectrum of the Lexeme "Zakonnik" (On Material of Modern Russian Media)

Abstract: *In the article we note separate historical stages in the formation and development of the semantics of the word "zakonnik (lawyer, legalist)" in Russian. On the example of journalistic texts from the National Corpus of the Russian language and some other periodicals, the semantic spectrum of the modern word is analyzed. The word, which had several semantic variants already in the 19th century, preserved and expanded its polysemantic character. The analysis allows us to identify the modern meanings of the word and the possibility of its usage in fundamentally different spheres of social life in Russia – both regulated by legal norms and criminal, in which the word legalist as belonging to thieves' slang is synonymous with the name of the main thief authority (the thief in law). At the same time, the available dictionary data does not reflect the whole diversity of the semantic spectrum of the word. Features of the functioning of the token lexeme are manifested in the presence of a wide range of connotations – positive and negative, generated by extralinguistic factors and reflecting the modern consciousness of Russian native speakers. The main attention is paid to objects that are nominated by this word (mostly names of persons: judge, lawyer, prosecutor, policeman, bailiff, etc.), and various aspects of the activity of lawyers, estimated by the speakers – in this case by journalists. When connotative nuances of words are identified in the context, the authors of the article rely on its lexical environment, which allows to highlight those characteristics of the person and / or his activity that deserve a positive or negative evaluation. An appeal to the language of the mass media seems to be effective, because of its ability to reflect quickly the changes occurring in the language, as well as the prevailing moods and opinions about certain aspects of public life in society.*

Key word: *Semantic, Russian language, modern Russian media.*

Introduction

Lexical and semantic innovations are especially evident in the language of the media – the mobile speech sphere, which reacts to changes in the social situation and demonstrates the actual language situation. An appeal to the peculiarities of the functioning of some lexemes, which nominate significant social phenomena, is very important, because it helps to reveal the specifics of Russian culture and mentality.

The life of society in the sphere of law comes into contact with various categories and values that determine the area of relations between the individual and the state, the individual and society as a whole – with upbringing, morality, norms of behavior, social stability, a sense of security, and so on. The sphere of institutional communication – in particular, in the field of legal relations – is an essential part of the communicative activity of a person: every speaker is familiar with the words *lawyer*, *prosecutor*, *notary*, *lawmaker*, etc. However, in addition to these names of persons, words that are semantically less detailed, having a wide semantic spectrum, capable of acting as synonyms for many of the above words, are very active in the language.

The word *zakonnik* (from the word *zakon* 'law'; *lawyer*, *legalist*) was originally used in the Russian language as a nomination with positive semantics – for the characterization of a person who knows well and can interpret existing laws, it appeared in Ancient Rus. In this meaning it occurs in the Chronicle of the Byzantine chronicler of the 9th c. Georgy Amartola (Old Russian Dictionary, 3, p. 319-320), in the works of one of the Great Cappadocians, archbishop of Constantinople Gregory the Theologian (Grigoriy Bogoslov. 1912, 1, p. 46; 2, p. 92), in the codes of laws – Efremovskaya Kormchy (Beneshovich, 2011, 1, pp. 650, 683), Ryazan Kormchy, in the collection "Pandekty" of Nikon Chernogorets (Old Russian Dictionary, 3, p. 319-320).

In the meaning 'a supporter, adherent (adept) of the law, one who follows the law and defends its postulates' is the word *legalist*, corresponding to the Greek *nomikos*, in translations of the New Testament into Russian. By this word the authoritative experts of the Torah are named in the Russian Synodal Bible, when they are trying, according to the 22nd chapter of the Gospel of Matthew, to find out from Jesus, "whether his position on the main commandment of the Torah coincides with the position of the "fathers" of the Pharisaic movement" (Bolotnikov).

These "zakonniki" (experts), representatives of the Pharisaic school, asking difficult questions to Jesus, did this, in A. Bolotnikov's opinion, not because of their harmful nature and personal dissatisfaction with the appearance of a messiah who, not being a disciple of one of the rabbis, introduced new interpretations of the commandments, but due to its status as a connoisseur of religious law, a kind of "lawyer" (Ibid.). Traditionally, the questions of lawyers are often interpreted in

theology as a manifestation of intentional fault-finding, insidiousness, and the law-ers themselves are considered pedants and pettifoggers.

The word *zakonnik* (*lawyer, legalist*) in the meaning of 'knowing laws' is noted in the explanatory dictionary of V.I. Dal' (1, p. 1470) and accompanied by the synonyms *zakonovedets, zakonotolkovatel, zakonopisatel* (result of combination of a word *law* and verbs *to know, to interpret, to write*), which indicates the importance of the semantic tinge 'knowledge' (cf. also in other dictionaries: Sreznevsky.1, p. 923; Dictionary of Church Slavonic and Russian.2, p. 26). This meaning is fixed in lexicography also in the XX century: *zakonnik* is '(spoken) a skilled interpreter of laws, a lawyer (Iskusnyy tolkovatel zakonov, zakonoved)'. Ob etom dele nado sprosit kakogo-nibud zakonnika. || 'Chelovek, strogo soblyudayushchiy zakony'. On takoy zakonnik, chto ot bukvy zakona ne otstupit (Explanatory dictionary. Ushakov.1, 1935). Two meanings – a 'connoisseur of laws' and 'strictly observing laws or watching for their observance' – are attributed to the lexeme also in the dictionary of S.I. Ozhegov (1949).

However, as early as the nineteenth century, with the development of the court system and the emergence of new procedural forms of legal proceedings, which increased "judicial red tape", complaints about which were heard in Russia right up to the judicial reform of 1864 (Dunyushkin, 2013, p. 8; Sahapov, 2014, p. 51; Smykalin, 2004, p. 58), the word "legalist" began to be asserted also in a negative sense: 'a person who is delaying a case, not interested in the quality performance of his duties; extortionist'. This is a fact noted by Russian proverbs: *Zakony svyaty, zakonniki supostaty; Zakony mirotvortsy, da zakonniki kryuchkotvortsy*, etc. (Dal'.1, p. 1470).

The peak of the usage of the word *zakonnik* in a negative sense was already in the post-revolutionary era. It was during this period that the word firmly established itself in the group of lexemes, such as *the red tape, the bureaucrat, the suitor, the jerboa, the squabbler, the slanderer*, and also *the hack-worker, the truant*, etc. These nouns refer to the group of allocated by P.P. Chervinsky colloquial words with the "inserted" shade of the Sovietness – in contrast to words with obvious Sovietness such as a *bribe taker, an accomplice (vzyatochnik, posobnik)*, etc., appearing in them as a "connotative substitute complement" (2011, pp. 29, 129, 147). In a negative-evaluative sense, this word is often found in the post-perestroika period (Ratmire, 2013, pp. 78-79).

Another meaning of the word "zakonnik" – the ability to nominate a person as an element of the underworld – is a fairly young phenomenon: its history does not exceed one hundred years. A "thief in law" (*vor v zakone*) is the highest rank in a criminal world, designated an authoritative and experienced thief, whose opinion can't be ignored (Grachev, 1992, p. 59; Dictionary of prison and thieves jargon, 1992, p. 47). The title of *zakonnik* is assigned to a person solely on thieves' meeting. Obligatory conditions for this are long-term "length of service", strict adherence to thieves' law and thieves' oath (Khomenko, 1997, p. 187). This respectable "rank" is

recognized by members of the thieves' community, the authority of such a figure makes its word the law for others. Thus, the prepositional-case form “*v zakone*” (*in the law*) is the carrier of a very multifaceted semantics. Formation of the community of *thieves in the law* occurred in Russia in the first third of the 20th cent. in places of liberty deprivation; the activities of its members were characterized by a narrow specialization (only stealing someone else's property), and the community as a whole achieved a high degree of self-organization (Latov, 2001, p. 176).

Although in the slang of the pre-revolutionary underworld the expression *thieves in law* was not noted by experts (Kurbatov, 2015, p. 1), nevertheless the prison community as such existed in pre-revolutionary Russia, its elite was the so-called “Ivans (Ivany)” – the figures of the criminal world, functionally and behaviorally similar with the *zakonniki* of the post-revolutionary era (Kutyakin, 2014, p. 9). It can't be ignored that the expression *v zakone (in the law)* is found in combinations not only with the noun *thief*, although with a certain flair of crime.¹ In the phraseological dictionary, however, there are no comments justifying such use of expression: *V zakone* (In the law) – *outdated, obs.* 1. 'About what is natural, inevitable, what is accepted in society' (*Ustar.* 1. 'O tom, chto yestestvenno, neizbezhno, chto prinyato v obshchestve'. [Pavlin:] Pochitayte Svyashchennoye pisaniye, Bibliyu, naprimer... Voyna – v zakone. [Bulychov:] Bros'. Kakoy eto zakon? Eto – skazka. Solntse ne ostanovish' (M. Gor'kiy. Yegor Bulychov i drugiye)). 2. 'In a legitimate marriage (to be, to live, etc.)'. (V zakonnom brake (byt', zhit' i t. p.). [Obolduyeva:] Da, uzh vam zhenit'sya nel'zya i lyubit' postoronnyuyu zhenshchinu grekh, potomu chto vy v zakone zhivote (A. Ostrovskiy. Krasavets-muzhchina)) (Fedorov, 2008).

It is interesting that as the nomination of a criminal highest rank, a word was chosen that characterizes in the “ordinary” language a concept from the category of counterparts that are contrasted with the phenomena of the underworld sphere: is it a manifestation of linguistic homonymy or a result of implementing a peculiar irony that allows the usage of the word in the opposite sense? We can probably note the usage of the same method of suffixation, but different ways of forming nouns. The word *zakonnik* with the prevailing nuance ‘connoisseur’ (‘the person knowing, interpreting, observing the laws’) is formed by the method of suffixation from the word *zakon* (*law*). The word *zakonnik*, who calls the extralinguistic phenomenon of the thieves' milieu, is a univerbal version of the phrase *vor v zakone* (thief-in-law) – both forms are often found in a narrow context, for example: “V seredine 90-kh on [Usoyan] pytalsya zakrepat'sya vo mnogikh regionakh, prezhde vsego, yestestvenno, v stolitsakh. V Moskve yemu eto udalos' – pomog staryy priyatel' Zakhariy Kalashov, tozhe yezid po natsional'nosti. Etot vliyatel'nyy “zakonnik” po klichke Shakro Molodoy imel khoroshiye kontakty v silovyykh strukturakh, chto pozvolyalo yemu dobivat'sya prekrasnykh biznes-rezultatov. Usoyan stal partnerom Kalashova, i vmeste oni smogli dostich' vysot, dlya vorov v zakone prezhde nemyslimyykh”

[Dmitriy Velikovskiy, Maksim Gladkikh. "Ne mogu zhe ya byt' rabochim depo"// "Russkiy reporter", 2013].²

The lexeme *zakonnik* in a criminal sense illustrates the phenomenon of a secondary nomination, when an object previously named gets a new name (Zhuravlev, 1982, p. 50) – in this case we mean a representative of the thief elite, a thief in law recognized and "legalized" by the thieves' community.

By the time the thieves' communities appeared in Russia, in the post-revolutionary era, new nominations were needed in order to name not only these structures themselves, but also their participants in accordance with the established hierarchy (*pahan, fraer, alyoshka, hanson, pristyazh*, etc. (Khomenko, 1997, p. 187). As for the *thief in the law (zakonnik)*, this name was used to designate a subject with a certain specialization in a criminal environment (*a thief*), possessing power and indisputable authority among other criminals (*in the law*), i.e. having "legal grounds" for this. Therefore, the word in its new meaning was intended not only to emphasize the authority of the person named and its place in the hierarchy of other criminal elements, but also to characterize it as strictly observing, capable of interpreting and applying the *thief law*, which can be regarded as a peculiar mirror image of the "code of honor" of an ideal public official (Latov, 2001, p. 177).

In the case of this word, we see a partial enanthoseemia based on the opposition of pragmatic components, the source of which is irony (Ermakova, 2011, p. 68). It made it possible to apply the concept of law to a new extralinguistic (and generally illegal) phenomenon. Thus, the successful functioning of the word *zakonnik* in a new meaning was ensured by the presence of a new extralinguistic entity that needs a nomination and an understanding of the meaning invested in the word by society – first by members of a certain sociocultural group and then by all speakers – and those connotations that are attributed to the word (Eco, 2006, p. 89).

Results

An appeal to the peculiarities of the use of the word *zakonnik*, found on the pages of modern media, allows you to note the primary use of the word for the nomination of a person (subject).³ The individual and most representative subgroup is illustrated by contexts in which the word refers to officials associated with the field of official legal activity.

1. 'The official'. Today's lawyer is usually an official, in most cases – a representative of the legal industry, who has certain powers and responsibilities in the field of monitoring compliance with the law. It can be a very wide range of people:

– *The judge*, including representatives of both domestic and international bodies of justice, for example: "Sud'i budut khodit' po izolirovannym koridoram, chtoby ne peresehat'sya s posetiteliyami. Eto povysit ikh nezavisimost': nikto ne smozhet povliyat' na *zakonnikov* emotsiyami..." [Andrey Baranov. Vladimir Putin.

Nash zakon o mitingakh nichut' ne zhestche zarubezhnykh analogov // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 08.06.2012];

– *The prosecutor*, including different representatives of the specialized prosecutor's organization, for example: "*Zakonniki* podzemki, prokuratury Metropolitena i Metrostroya poyavilis' yeshche v seredine 30-kh godov proshlogo veka, i do sikh por neizvestno, pochemu imenno metro udostoilos' chesti imet' sobstvennykh «zakonnikov»" [Danilkin Aleksandr. Prokurora uvolili za opravdaniye // Trud-7, 08.12.2008];

– *The head of the highest level of legal authority*, for example: "Dlya Chelyabinskoy oblasti podyskivayut glavnogo zakonnika. Kak peredayet korrespondent "Novogo Regiona", prodolzhayetsya podbor kandidatur na post rukovoditelya upravleniya ministerstva yustitsii RF Chelyabinskoy oblasti..." [Kseniya Ufimtseva. Rukovodit' yuzhnoural'skim Minyustom mogut doverit' indianke // Novyy region 2, 20.08.2010];

– *An investigator*, for example: "Sledovateli – zakonniki! – prodayut sootvetstvenno zakonnost'..." [Ul'iana Skoybeda, Aleksandr Kots. Pochemu menty pytayut i berut vzyatki // Komsomolskaya Pravda, 07.06.2005];

– *The bailiff (court usher)*, for example: "Pristavy ushli. No s tekh por Aleksandr vseгда derzhal kanistru s benzinom v prikhozhey. I kogda zakonniki prishli snova, nachali lomati dver', Semikov oblil sebya goryuchim, podzheg i polez v okno..." [Yelena Pankrat'yeva, Mariya Boteva. Uralets podzheg sebya i vybrosilsya s 9-go etazha // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 19.10.2005];

– *A policeman*, for example: "...Pereimenovat' militsiyu v politsiyu. I togda, mol, srazu u neye poyavitsya novyy imidzh, i vse militsionery stanut zakonnikami, pochishche amerikanskikh politseyskikh: ni vzyatok, ni strel'by..." [Andrei Dyatlov. Yes, let Comrade Stalin hang himself! // Komsomolskaya Pravda, 24.06.2009].

The lawyer also refers to (2) 'a person having a legal education who is not a civil servant', for example: "Ya postupila na yuridicheskiy fakul'tet L'vovskogo gosuniversiteta. Nas, budushchikh zakonnikov, dlya praktiki priglashali na sudebnyye rassmotreniya del tekh, kto zapyatnal sebya prestupleniyami protiv naroda" [Rudenko Zhanna. L'goty dlya esesovtsev // Trud-7, 28.03.2002]; "Yurist, s tochki zreniya rossiyan, yavlyayetsya v nastoyashcheye vremya i samoy dokhodnoy professiye <...> «Zakonniki» zanyali vtoroye mesto posle ekonomistov sredi grupp i slojev rossiyskogo obshchestva, kotorykh rossiyanе khotyat videt' v Gosudarstvennoy Dume (42% i 45% sootvetstvenno)" [Papu-yurista khochet imet' kazhdy // RBK Daily, 03.12.2009].

3. *Persons carrying out activities in the field of lawmaking*, including employees of legislative and representative authorities of various levels, are also referred to as lawyers. "Dumtsy tozhe ne rodilis' zakonnikami. No zakony, rozhdenyye v Gosdume, – eto rezul'tat soglasiya neskol'kikh politicheskikh storon" [Obnovlennyy Sovet Federatsii: "Veshat' molodogo spikera Mironova poka rano, a starogo Stroyeva uzhe pozdno" // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 30.01.2002];

4. Lawyers, as we have already mentioned, refer to the '*authoritative representatives of the criminal environment*' (the thief in law): "Politseyskiye razognali neskol'ko skhodok raznogo masshtaba i zaderzhali za razlichnyye prestupleniya 18 vorov v zakone <...> Yeshche 11 «zakonnikov» byli zaderzhany za narusheniye rossiyskogo migratsionnogo zakonodatel'stva i vydvoreny za predely Rossii" [Andrey Gridasov. MVD provelo perepis' vorov v zakone // Izvestiya, 28.05.2013];

5. A separate subgroup is made up of examples in which lawyers are said to be '*persons strictly observing the law and / or requiring others to comply with it*' (such names are represented by the least number of examples), for example: "Sokrytiye nalogov mogut dopustit' 26% grazhdan. <...> No zato 59% oproshennykh <...> schitayut ukloneniye ot nalogov nedopustimym. «Uklonisty» chislenno prevoskhodyat «zakonnikov» tol'ko v samoy obespechennoy gruppe" [Oleg Trutnev. Rossiyanе ne khotyat platit' nalogi // RBK Daily, 27.05.2005].

The modern media text (including a variety of online journalistic resources) demonstrates a very wide range of possibilities for using the word *zakonnik* (legalist) and the connotations of meaning and appraisal connotations that journalists put in him. When determining the actual meaning of a lexeme in a specific text, the reader relies on the semantic position of the word and its lexical environment. For example, the word "lawyer" itself, without any clarifications, can fulfill in the context the function of high evaluation of the necessary qualities of a lawyer – honesty and rigor in observance of the law: "Bednyy sud'ya, – vzdыхayu, – u nego teper' net variantov. – U Sergeya? – s ulybkoy mashet rukoy deputat. – Normal'nyy paren'! Zakonnik! Moy odnoklassnik – nadeyus', spravitsya" [Vladimir Vorsobin. Nachinayetsya sud po gromkomu delu s natsional'nym ottenkom: chto na samom dele proizoshlo v Maloyaroslavtse, gde ustroili marsh futbol'nyye fanaty iz Moskvy // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 2012.02.07].

Let us dwell on this moment in more details, paying special attention to the evaluation created by the lexeme used and the context as a whole, to the intention realized by the author of the article when describing the situation.

The behavior and actions of the lawyer as servant of the law, his diligent guardian, can be assessed positively. These definitions to the word show what the marked merits are.

– *faithful to the duty, oath*: "Pered nami – istyy rossiyskiy zakonnik, che-lovek, vernyy dolgu, prisyaage, ustoyam svoey lichnoy chesti i sovesti». <...> Knyaz' rasskazyvayet o sebe kak o cheloveke ne prosto zhestkom, a dazhe – zhestokom. <...> Pri etom neustanno sledyashchem, chtoby vse po zakonu ver-shilos' – i tol'ko tak" [Leonid Repin. Zakonnik strogiy – knyaz' // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 19.08.2013];

– *consistent, rigorous*: "V davnem romane “Pelagiya i belyy bul'dog” byl u menya <...> neukosnitel'nyy zakonnik i pedant gubernator fon Gaggenau" [Boris Akunin. Ocharovaniye islama // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 31.01.2012];

– *incorruptible*: "Andzhelo, nepodkupnyy *zakonnik*, r'yano prinimayu za delo, tut zhe velit kaznit' Klavdio, soblaznivshego znatnyuyu devushku Dzhul'yettu" [Yelena Strel'nikova. Suka-lyubov' v Vakhtangovskom teatre // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 06.10.2010];

– *principal*: "Vozmozhno, imenno takoy printsipial'nyy chelovek, nastoyashchiy "zakonnik" i nuzhen segodnya dlya togo, chtoby rehabilitirovat' reputatsiyu SKP" [Yekaterina Popova. Kto stanet preymnikom Bastrykina? // Novyy region 2, 10.03.2010].

In the description of the basic qualities of lawyers – incorruptibility, justice, extreme rigor, consistency and adherence to the application of the law to violators – nouns and combinations with them also participate. Compare the marked characteristics:

– *independence*: "Sud'i budut khodit' po izolirovannym koridoram, chtoby ne peresekat'sya s posetiteliyami. Eto, po mneniyu Valenty Yepifanovoy, povysit ikh nezavisimost': nikto ne smozhet povliyat' na *zakonnikov* emotsiyami ili togo khuzhe «sunut' kupyury v mantiyu»..." [Andrey Baranov. Vladimir Putin: Nash zakon o mitingakh nichut' ne zhestche zarubezhnykh analogov // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 08.06.2011];

– *justice, incorruptibility*: "Tolstykh, kotorogo mnogiye ne lyubili, nekotoryye boyalis', otdel'nyye – nenavideli, no pochti vse uvazhali za spravedlivost', nepodkupnost' i stoykoye sledovaniye zakonam, okazalsya ne nuzhen v dolzhnosti, kotoraya i trebuet byt' spravedlivym *zakonnikom*" [Tsybanev YU. Gde Tolstykh – tam ne rvetsya? // Sovetskiy sport, 20.04.2010];

– *scrupulousness*: "Deystvuyushchemu deputatu, kak lyubomu yuristu-*zakonniku*, nuzhny skrupuleznost', sposobnost' dolgo uchastvovat' v zasedaniyakh" [U vlasti v Rossii – «vezunok», a znachit, vse nuzhno ostavit' kak yest' // Novyy region 2, 27.07.2006];

– *strong vise, severity*: "Uvelicheniye chisla i razmera shtrafov – vovse ne zhelaniye gorodskikh vlastey nazhit'sya na gorozhanakh. <...> V zhestkiye tiski *zakonnikov* popali dazhe domashniye zhiivotnyye. Otvetstvennost' za ikh prostupki pridetsya nesti khozyayevam" [Bogdan Stepovoy. Polnoye sobraniye nakazaniy // Izvestiya, 22.11.2007].

The fulfillment of their functions by the lawyers, the performance of their actions is characterized by the verbs; cf. the verb *to get (dostat')* in the sense of 'overtake': "Pinocheta, ktoromu v proshlom godu udalos'-taki uvernut'sya ot britanskogo i ispanskogo pravosudiya, *zakonniki* vse-taki "dostali" u nego zhe na rodine" [Yevgeniy Umerenkov. Yazyk Pinocheta – vrag yego // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 31.01.2001].

The expressiveness of the text is often increased due to phraseological units that accentuate the intensity of actions: "V sudy oblasti napravleno 16 postanovleniy o diskvalifikatsii rukovoditeley, dopustivshikh znachitel'nyuyu zadolzhen-

nost' po zarplate, <...> tol'ko ne na vseh nakhodyat upravu *zakonniki*" [Komarov Aleksey. A kto platit' budet? // Trud-7, 18.08.2004].

It should be noted that verbs denoting the professional actions of lawyers are more often combined with actors – the names of their specific positions (lawyer, prosecutor, judge, etc.) or organizations that unite them (association of lawyers, prosecutor's office, etc.); for example: "Assotsiatsiya yuristov osudila deystviya suda po otnosheniyu k advokatam Yanukovicha" (Korrespondent.net; <https://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3949204>).

Justifying the need to include in the dictionary article a zone of pragmatic information about the word, L.P. Krysin notes, in particular, with regard to the words of the "zakonnik" (lawyer), the unjustifiable absence of an indication in dictionaries of a negative or ironic assessment, which the word often has in modern language – unlike the language of the nineteenth century (2008). Indeed, this opinion is confirmed by a number of examples that we have.

The list of claims to the lawyer as an official, endowed with authority and called upon to perform a certain range of duties, is wide enough. The law-makers are accused:

– *in insufficiently strict application of the law to others* (1): "Uvy, sud'i ne kommentiruyut svoi resheniya. V nedoumenii my pytalis' ponyat' prichinu neslykhannoy loyal'nosti *zakonnikov*" [Yaroslava Tan'kova. Chtoby izbezhat' nakanazaniya, man'yak zhenilsya na svoey budushchey zhertve! // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 04.10.2012].

It is inadmissible for a lawyer to show *partiality, tendentiousness, unwillingness to take a principled position* (2): "Nikto ne obyazyval spikera priderzhivat'sya samoy zhestkoy proprezidentskoy linii v "chechenskom voprose", on mog by vstat' v pozu bespristrastnogo *zakonnika*, ne berya na sebya chuzhiye grekhi i otvetstvennost' za vsyu ofitsial'nuyu gosudarstvennyuyu politiku. Ne bylo u Rybkina neobkhodimosti tak chasto begat' v Kreml', na svidaniya s prezidentom. <...> I uzh vovse ni k chemu bylo naprashivat'sya v prezidentskuyu banyu" [Nikolay Troitskiy. Gastrol' provintsiala v stolitse// «Obshchaya gazeta», 1995].

– *in venality and bribery* (3): "Sledovatelyi-*zakonniki*! – prodayut sootvetstvenno zakonnost'..." [Ul'yana Skoybeda, Aleksandr Kots. Pochemu menty pytayut i berut vzyatki // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 07.06.2005]; "Rech' idet ob ofitsial'nykh organizatsiyakh, kotorym gosudarstvo poruchilo kontrolirovat' rabotu rynkov. Tochneye, o zasevshikh tam mzdoimtsakh. Lyuboy kontroler mozhet tak oslozhnit' zhizn', torguyushchikh na rynke, chto deshevle otkupit'sya ot *zakonnika*" [Danilkin Aleksandr. Poltsarstva za prilavok // Trud-7, 05.04.2001];

– *in incompetence and unprofessionalism* (4): "My dolzhny byt' krayne otorozhnymi s advokatami i *zakonnikami* <...> u nikh yest' svoystvo izvrashchat' vse, k chemu oni prikasayutsya" [Dar'ya Aslamova. "Kastryl'naya" revolyutsiya v Islandii: Khochesh' pobedit' – nauchis' govorit' "net" Yevrope // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 19.12.2012]; "Ne znayu uzh, kakogo opredeleniya zasluzhivayet etot stran-

nyy “demarsh” rabotnikov Glavnoy voyennoy prokuratury, – to li eto prostoye golovotyapstvo, <...> to li nezhelaniye samikh “zakonnikov” deystvovat' po zakonu" [Alimamedova Larisa. Kazus na rovnom meste // Trud-7, 11.04.2002];

– *in pettifogging and casuistry* (5): "V soznanii znachitel'noy chasti obshchestva vlast' zakona assotsiiuyetsya s vlast'yu «zakonnikov» – sudeyskikh kryuchkotvorov i, ne v poslednyuyu ochered', s bespredelom oborotney v pogonakh" [Aleksandr Sekatskiy. Istoki pravovogo nigilizma v Rossii // Izvestiya, 14.06.2012]. As we see, the lawyer is characterized in this context in the most unflattering manner. The abuse of legal power is also indicated in other materials – cf. the title of the article "Chinovnichiy bespredel zakonnikov Primorskogo kraya" ("The official lawlessness of Primorsky Krai lawyers") – about violations in the judicial investigation in Vladivostok (<https://evkravez.livejournal.com/18211.html>).

– *in maliciousness* (6): "V obshchem, mestnyye zakonniki bez truda mogut pripayat' aktivistam <...> chto-nibud' pokhozheye na “zagovor”" [Yevgeniy Umerenkov. Gryzlov nameren razvodit' «medvedey» v Amerike // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 27.01.2001]. "Ne meneye zhestokuyu podnozhku postavili “zakonniki” i ofitseru zapasa Viktoru Silayevu iz Severomorska. <...> Posle vykhoda na pensiyu v 1996-m reshil obosnovat'sya s sem'yey v Ul'yanovske. Tam i byl postavlenn v ochered' (na zhil'yo). Ozhidaya kvartiru, prodolzhal zhit' v Severomorske, gde i poshel rabotat' v organy ugolovno-isspolnitel'noy sistemy. A v proshlom godu Silayeva isklyuchili iz ul'yanovskoy ocheredi na tom osnovanii, chto on-de truditsya teper' v sisteme Minyusta. <...> Eta zakavyka pridumana ne parlamentom Ul'yanovska, a rossiyskim pravitel'stvom" [Viktor Baranets. Zakon bez gluposti – kak praporshchik bez mata?// Komsomol'skaya pravda, 02.11.2005] – malice is also seen when the actions of lawyers can be regulated by different regulations and one of the possible approaches to the issue is detrimental to the citizen.

Of course, the "lawyer" (7) deserves a negative evaluation, if he defies the law and deserves, accordingly, punishments: "Babenko yavno namekal na istoriyu s pogorevshim sud'yey Morgunkovym. Proshtrafivshemusya zakonniku ostalos' dotyanut' do bogatoy pensii vsego 9 mesyatsev" [Vladimir Vorsobin. Pulya dlya upryamogo sud'i // Komsomol'skaya pravda, 16.12.2008].

Disapproval and irony is also caused by a person (8) who claims to know the laws and / or operates with information of a legal nature, in cases when it seems to the participants of the discourse inappropriate, excessive, wrong: "I tut ya okrysil'sya: “Po zakonu imeyu pravo ne govorit'! Chelovek, kotoryy sam nashel menya, sam prinets kopiyyu togo dokumenta iz Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR, khotel pomoch' Baykalu, a ne mne. I ya yego sdam?!” “Nu ladno, zakonnik, – yele sderzhivalsya sledovatel', – gde, govorish', kabinet glavnogo redaktora?”" [Sovtsov Yuri. Anatolii Yurkov: V Baykale voda, u Baykala beda // Trud-7, 2005.05.18].

In the process of revealing the negative connotations of the word "zakonnik (lawyer)", we note the expressiveness and stylistic decrease in the vocabulary that makes up its semantic environment, which gives the text the character of ease, fa-

miliarity, and sometimes – rudeness and vulgarity (Zemskaya, Kitaygorodskaya, Shiryaev, 1981, p. 52; Zemskaya, 2011, p. 28). Analyzed examples are confirmed by the expansion of the use of colloquial vocabulary (including jargon) noted by the researchers: today it is actively used both in art and journalistic texts, and in private letters, sms-communications and Internet messages. At the same time, any word of the Russian language can be subjected to a semantic modification of various degrees up to "getting them an individual value" (Starichenok, 2011, p. 136-137). As for the language of mass-media, the activity of slang vocabulary in media texts, observed at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, is explained by the effect of several factors – on the one hand, the jargon loses the signs of corporate identity, and on the other hand, the slang vocabulary very accurately reflects the essential realities of socio-economic and political processes and acts in the language of the media as a "semantic condensate of the text" (Petrova 2011: 52-54).

Semantic position of the word *zakonnik* (the legalist) in its criminalized hypostasis is not mixed in any way with other meanings of the word (homonyms) and is supported both by the subject matter of the texts and by a special lexical environment – the slang words, that are characteristic of the given sphere and give definiteness to the content. For example, one of the groups is formed by words characterizing the appropriation of a certain status by an authoritative thief: *coronation* (of *zakonnik*, lawyer) – *thief crown* – *king* (of the thieves), *deprive crowns*, *thieves' throne*, etc., e.g.: "31-letniy «zakonnik», izvestnyy kak Astik Sukhumskiy, deystvitel'no poluchil vorovskuyu koronu vsego mesyats nazad na skhodke konfliktovavshikh s Dedom Khasanom «zakonnikov». Togda koronatsiya srazu 15 molodykh avtoritetov vyzvala negodovaniye poslednego" [Vladimir Barinov. V dele ob ubiystve Deda Khasana poyavilsya «slavyanskiy sled» // Izvestiya, 23.01.2013]; "Po nashim dannym, Melkadze sam prosil «zakonnikov», chtoby yego «raskoronovali», potomu chto khochet zanyat'sya sem'yey..." [Yelizaveta Mayetnaya, German Petelin, Aleksandr Raskin. V dele ob ubiystve Dato Potiyskogo poyavilsya advokat // Izvestiya, 13.01.2014].

Known in Russia since the Middle Ages, the word *crown* denoted one of the monarchical regalia in the form of a gold or silver crown decorated with carvings and precious stones (ESSRY 2010: 429) and had nothing to do with the criminal environment. Nevertheless, it is the crown that distinguishes the newly-made king of thieves, as well as its image in the form of a tattoo, which is made by the thief in law (Sidorov 1992: 72), becomes the designation of the highest title of the underworld. Another obvious lexical paradigm is formed by words denoting a group of thieves, *a clan*, *a family*, *a caste*, a group headed by a lawyer, etc., but these words are rare in direct combination with a lexeme *zakonnik*; e.g.: "Mnogiye iz prestupleniy byli obuslovleny svyazyami «avtoriteta» Lesnyakova s vorami v zakone iz klana Deda Khasana" [Vladimir Barinov, Yekaterina Kvon. Ubiytsy krestnika Deda Khasana poshli na sdelku so sledstviyem // Izvestiya, 05.03.2013].

Conclusions

The experience of such a study makes it possible to see the results of the influence of extralinguistic factors on the change of the semantic paradigm of the word, the possibility of its pragmatic application, to delineate an important fragment of the linguistic picture of the world that is not always reflected in detail in lexicographical sources.

To summarize, we note that in the language of modern journalism the meanings of the word "zakonnik", peculiar to him in the old days, are actualized: the media widely use it in relation to different situations. However, by the present time a certain redistribution has taken place in the semantic structure of the word. In modern publicistic speech, the semantic tinge of the word, associated with the creation and improvement of laws, is rarely actualized. Of the three main, marked yet by lexicographer V.I. Dal' elements of the meaning of the word "zakonnik (lawyer, legalist)" - 'to know', 'to interpret', 'to create' (law), in modern language for the word was fixed, first of all, the idea of knowledge of laws and the implementation of legal activities. The predominant usage of the word is for the nomination of people involved in jurisprudence, having the appropriate education, a certain range of powers and obligations due to their profession (prosecutor, judge, police officer, minister of justice, etc.), who know and skillfully interpret laws.

Speakers identify a significant list of qualities necessary for a professional, evaluating them positively (strict, principled, etc.), but also an impressive list of shortcomings in which lawyers are accused. "The unique specificity of the third power in Russia" (A. Sekatsky), according to many journalists, is bleak: a negative evaluation of their activities is manifested in the use of a lexeme *zakonnik* surrounded by words such as *perverting*, *lawlessness*, *brutal*, *soldering*, *sophistication*, *trickery*, *quirky* and etc. In the role of textual semantic support are the words of different parts of speech – adjectives, nouns, verbs, phraseological expressions. The word *legalist*, thus, capable of characterizing a very ambiguous relation to the subject, is ambivalent. Modern discourse also confirms the expansion of the sphere of ironical application of the word as the name of a subject who unreasonably claims to know the law and offering his questionable interpretations.

The use of the word in the criminal sphere, explained by a special linguistic phenomenon - compression, led to the paradoxical coexistence of two homonymous words related to the idea of the law. The meaning of the word 'thief in law, the highest thief authority' contrasts with the usual dictionary meaning of a lexeme as a nomination of a person, from which not only knowledge of existing laws is expected, but strict observance of them.

The subject of the research is not exhausted: today, when new words and expressions appear as a result of new historical, political, social and other realities, the semantics of existing ones are transformed, and a scrupulous analysis of the used media of vocabulary is relevant. It is intended not only to provide understanding of linguistic processes, observed in Russian journalism, but also – and this is especial-

ly important – to characterize the worldview paradigm of modern society, that is verbalized by means of media.

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¹ The film, entitled *Teacher-in-Law*, tells of a former thief in law, nicknamed Praying Mantis, who, after breaking with his past, became a teacher of literature and directs a children's shelter, but turns out to be involved in criminal events. Here we can see a language game, the phenomenon of duality: in the hero of the movie, both the law-abiding teacher and a person with criminal life experience and knowledge of the thieves' law live together (<https://www.youtube.com/playlist>). The television series "Mom in Law" tells about the mother of a child who returned from prison and found her son, adopted by another

family. The mother refuses to try to find a son again for his own good and warns the current father of the child about an attempt on his life (http://seasonvar.ru/serial-10031-Mama_v_zakone.html).

² Here and further in such brackets [xx] the contexts from the National Corpus of the Russian language (www.ruscorpora.ru) are given.

³ In addition to the names of persons, the word "lawyer" is used as the name of various codes and collections of legislative acts. In particular, this applies to such collections of legal documents as the "Lawyer of Hammurabi" – the legislative code of the Old Babylonian period, dating back to the 1750s BC; "Lawyer of Stefan Dushan (Dushanov's Lawyer)" is a medieval collection of Serbian laws compiled by the Serbian Tsar Stefan Dushan (1349-1354), etc. However, such usage of the word is very remotely related to the language of the media.