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ВОПРОСЫ ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКОЙ И ПРИКЛАДНОЙ ЛИНГВИСТИКИ

THEORETICAL AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS

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РАЗДЕЛ I. ТЕОРИЯ ЯЗЫКА

Абиева Н.А.

ВОЗНИКНОВЕНИЕ АБСТРАКТНОГО МЫШЛЕНИЯ ЧЕЛОВЕКА ПОД ВОЗДЕЙСТВИЕМ КОММУНИКАТИВНОЙ РАСПРЕДЕЛЕННОСТИ

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Аннотация: Человек, принадлежа к млекопитающим, обладает как разнообразными способами информационного взаимодействия, свойственными животным этого класса, так и специфическими, а именно – высоким уровнем абстрактного мышления, языками и беспрецедентной социальной активностью, результатом которой является создание культур. Человек выделяется поразительным умением координировать свои действия с другими людьми, и существование человеческих сообществ зависит от разделения когнитивных усилий между их членами, от распределенности познания. В статье выдвигается тезис о том, что социально распределенные когниции человека являются результатом развития биологически распределенных когниций, которые эволюционировали параллельно с развитием коммуникативных форм социального взаимодействия. Биосемиотический подход описывает человека как очень сложную динамическую систему, вовлеченную в непрерывную многоаспектную коммуникативную деятельность. Вместе с тем, многие аналогичные информационные процессы осуществляют все живые системы, что позволяет сделать вывод о том, что низший уровень абстрактного мышления вполне мог сформироваться в рамках пространственного мышления, доминирующего в режиме коммуникативного взаимодействия со средой *on*-line. Выдвигается предположение, что впоследствии данный первоначальный уровень абстракции смог достичь высокого порядка у человека благодаря возникшим способам коммуникации *off*-line. Таким образом, возникновение высокого абстрактного уровня мышления и широкой семиотической компетенции у человека явилось результатом принципа дополнительности биологически и социально распределенных когниции и коммуникации. История человеческой цивилизации свидетельствует о дальнейшем усилении позиций *off*-line коммуникации. Именно сдвиг в сторону информационного обмена *off*-line способствовал беспрецедентной социальной кооперации людей благодаря распределению когнитивно-коммуникативных процессов среди членов социальных групп независимо от ситуации «здесь и сейчас».

Ключевые слова: эволюция; абстрактное мышление; пространственная когниция; абстрактное мышление низшего и высшего уровня; *on*- and *off*-line коммуникация; распределенное познание и коммуникация; происхождение языка

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HUMAN MENTAL ABSTRACTION SPECIFICITY EMERGENCE UNDER DISTRIBUTED COMMUNICATIVE PRESSURE

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Abstract. Being mammals, humans both share with other animals varied forms of information exchange typical for that class and have something that makes them different, i.e. higher-order thinking, languages and unprecedented social activity resulting in a great diversity of cultures. People are particularly skilled in coordinating their activities, human communities rely on mind-sharing that is realized through distributed cognition. It is argued in the paper that human species' socially distributed cognition is an extension to their biologically distributed cognition both being inseparable from distributed communicative interactions. From the biosemiotic perspective, humans can be described as very complex dynamic living systems that are continuously involved in multifaceted communicative

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activity but so are all living systems, and lower-level mental abstraction could have evolved in terms of spatial cognition employed in *on*-line communicative interaction with the environment. It is proposed that that initial level of mental abstraction could then advance into higher-order thinking when humans developed communication *off*-line. Thus human semiotic mind specificity became possible due to biological and social distributed cognition and communication complementarity. The recorded history of mankind gives evidence that the focus on the *off*-line communication has been increasingly rising ever since. The shift from *on*-line to *off*-line interaction ensured the unparalleled social cooperation due to the distribution of cognitive processes across the members of a social group independently of 'here and now'.

Key words: evolution; mental abstraction; spatial cognition; lower-order and higher-order mental abstraction; *on*- and *off*-line communication; distributed cognition and communication; language origin.

Introduction

Specificity of human intelligence is usually equalized with the exceptional level of abstract thinking it possesses – the ability to perform different mental operations in situations where the schemes and images that are voluntarily retrieved and operated upon in the mind are not directly connected to the structure of the moment. That level of mental activity is not necessarily activated under the pressure of some urgent need in the circumstances of 'here and now' but is initiated by the individual himself for purposes quite often not stipulated by the survival. Human cultures consist of a great number of objects of art that are created for the sake of art and do not ensure the entire species biological continual existence. Nevertheless, that capacity of extreme abstract thinking has not come out of the blue.

There is a stable tendency in cognitive linguistics and psychology to explain this special human power in mental abstractness by language capacity innateness (Noam Chomsky's Theory of Universal Grammar (1965) and Eric Lenneberg's Critical Period Theory (1967), later developed by Stephen Pinker into language instinct (1994)). The use of languages that are unmotivated symbols and rely on individual's ability to memorize huge amounts of words and structures demands particular mental skills. Thus the conclusion about language innateness seems to lie on the surface as, judging by their behavior in natural environments, none of other biological species demonstrate anything similar to human verbal communication and none have ever approached humans in creating anything similar to their cultures. Language extreme importance in men's modern societies is unprecedented, and it would be absurd to deny the impact of language on the development of abstract cognitive abilities of an individual: in modern humans thinking and languaging have become practically inseparable.

The omnipresence of language is the fact of contemporary human cognition and communication but not all individuals master that skill even nowadays. But what was the case at the dawn of human civilization? By taking the point that it was language that enabled mind to increase its potential in abstractions, we find ourselves trapped in the long known evolutionists' problem: was it language that changed the mind or was it the mind that invented the language, the notorious "hen first – egg first" deadlock. Even admitting the crucial role of language in evolution, we have to agree that language in any form no matter how primitive (often referred to as protolanguage) demands considerable proficiency in cognitive computational mechanisms and verbal propositional thinking. In that case, it seems that the innate biological underpinnings of language acquisition are overemphasized. To conclude, the problem of mental abstraction emergence appears to be central in explaining how language evolved.

In my opinion, the emphasis is to be made not on *the language – mind co-evolution* but on *the semiotic capacity – mind co-evolution and development* [1]. To show that this paper is based on several assumptions:1) cognition must not be separated from communication, and both should be treated as two components of the same phenomenon; 2) cognition and communication are extremely diversified and distributed; they bear nonlinear traits; 3) high-order mental abstraction is not an exceptionally human prerogative, and there is continuity across species in biological and social cognition; 4) language is a social phenomenon, not a biological one; it is only one the plethora of codes used in human cultures; 5) human specificity emerged when early *Homo* made preference for *off*-line communication.

Concrete and Abstract Semantics Paradox

High-order mental abstraction can be explained by the natural evolutionary development of *concrete/abstract* thinking mutuality. Most probably, human abstract finesse developed from the initial level of abstract mental operations that make possible concrete / practical thinking not only in humans but animals as well.

Extended research on brain asymmetry revealed neuroanatomical differences between the left and

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right hemispheres that are responsible for lateralization of brain functions. That discovery gave rise to several dual-processing theories of the mind: "Dual-process theories have taken on various forms (e.g., see Evans, 2008 for a review). Nevertheless, there are some common features. First, these theories tend to explain the working of the human mind in terms of two qualitatively distinct cognitive systems, and are referred to as type 1/type 2 (Goodwin & Wason, 1972), System 1/System 2 (Stanovich, 1999), or intuitive/deliberative (Kahneman, 2003). Moreover, these two kinds of cognitive systems tend to be differentiated along the following dichotomies: unconscious/conscious, fast/slow, automatic/controlled, emotional/rational, intuitive/rule-based, etc." [22, p. 1673].

Complexity of mental processing allows postulating other types of dichotomies, including the opposition *concrete / abstract* which can be derived from the Dual-Coding Theory (DTC) developed by Alan Paivio in the 1970s [19; 20] according to which both visual and verbal inputs of information are processed differently. Two opposing cognitive systems are responsible for internalization and transformation of the incoming data: *image-holistic* that operates percepts converting them into representations in a form of mental analogue codes; and *verbal-propositional* that deals with symbolic mental codes: "The systems are assumed to be composed of internal representational units, called logogens and imagens, that are activated when one recognizes, manipulates, of just thinks about words or things. The representations are modality-specific, so that we have different logogens and imagens corresponding to the visual, auditory, and haptic (feel), and motor properties of language and objects. The representations are connected to sensory input and response output systems as well as to each other so that they can function independently or cooperatively to mediate nonverbal and verbal behavior. The representational activity may or may not be experienced consciously as imagery and inner speech" [19, p. 3].

Imagens are mental constructs that accumulate information about objects of reality in analogue forms, i.e. images are similar to natural objects and keep in memory their holistic parts, shapes, colours, etc. Imagens are the result of the entire body interaction in the environment in the real time mode, and the multiple channels of perception reflects the fragments of reality in their integrity at once. Thus imagens possess qualities of continuity.

Logogens are discreet units, rely on unmotivated language symbols and operate sequentially. To create a coherent utterance a speaker selects the necessary concepts, organizes them in a certain form of thought then encodes them by words in a syntactically appropriate sequence in a sentence. Both imagens and logogens are interconnected, and the processing of information can be interpreted in terms of the embodied natural translation that mind performs continually [11].

Concrete / abstract thinking dichotomy helps to better understand the two aforementioned cognitive processing systems and explain how it happened that in their co-evolution the latter became dominant in human mind.

Though definite criteria demarcating higher animals' and humans' thinking have not been given yet, it is repeatedly stressed that only people have a quality of abstract / higher-order, or conceptual [17] / off-line thinking [4]. Both socio-cultural and biological theories of intelligence specify human intellectual uniqueness according to the ability to perform mental operations in an abstract mode. Unfortunately, the idea of the abstraction is treated in modern science ambiguously. A couple of definitions demonstrate that:

"Abstract thinking is a high-level thought process. Someone who is thinking abstractly is considering a concept in a broad, general and non-specific way. Abstract thinking is the opposite of concrete thinking" [27].

Or: "abstract thinking – the final, most complex stage in the development of cognitive thinking, in which thought is characterized by adaptability, flexibility, and the use of concepts and generalizations. Problem solving is accomplished by drawing logical conclusions from a set of observations, such as making hypotheses and testing them. This type of thinking is developed by 12 to 15 years of age, usually after some degree of education. In psychiatry, many disorders are characterized by the inability to think abstractly" [18].

According to these definitions abstract thinking is the highest form of individual and cognitive development that only humans have acquired in the course of evolution, and it is always described as standing in contrast to concrete thinking which is believed to be easier to define. At least the same Mosby's Medical Dictionary characterizes it as: "a stage in the development of the cognitive thought processes in the child. During this phase thought becomes increasingly logical and coherent so that the child is *able to classify, sort, order, and organize facts* while still being incapable of generalizing or dealing in abstractions [italicized by N.A.]. Problem solving is accomplished in a concrete, systematic fashion based on what is perceived, keeping to the

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literal meaning of words, as in applying the word horse to a particular animal and not to horses in general. In Piaget's classification this stage occurs between 7 and 11 years of age, is preceded by syncretic thinking, and is followed by abstract thinking".

Though I am skeptical about children's inability to apply the word horse to horses in general before they are 7, the main idea is (or better say – seems to be) clear – practical everyday thinking is connected with familiar routine surroundings filled with trivial/concrete things that people manipulate mentally mostly in the automatic mode. Still concrete thinking is not defined as a positive concept with its own clearly identifiable traits, but is presented just as a stage on the way to abstract thinking acquisition. The reason for that is that a more careful observation shows the impossibility to separate the two. Gideon Rosen [24] states:

"The abstract/concrete distinction has a curious status in contemporary philosophy. It is widely agreed that the distinction is of fundamental importance. But there is no standard account of how the distinction is to be explained. There is a great deal of agreement about how to classify certain paradigm cases. Thus it is universally acknowledged that numbers and the other objects of pure mathematics are abstract, whereas rocks and trees and human beings are concrete" [24].

The last point is on the one hand sensible but on the other circular. It is true that abstract ideas (not only numbers, but such notions as happiness, democracy, etc.) *a priori* are opposed to concrete objects existing in reality – virtual concepts and physical objects possess entirely contrasting characteristics. But as to the sphere of mental activity the case is absolutely different – representations of all objects – both concrete and abstract – are semantic entities and exist not in reality but in the mind of an individual and their status is equalized. The opposition concrete – abstract obviously belongs to the sphere of semantics, and it is logical to apply it to the content of mental concepts which are considered to be the constituents of thoughts [23]: concrete concepts replace real objects of the world in the mental lexicon while abstract concepts represent non-existent entities that are products of the mind reasoning.

Nevertheless, when the notion of abstractness is discussed in terms of mental activity a lot of confusion arises from the very start. Any attempt to separate concepts of abstract objects from the concepts of concrete ones is groundless as the word object cannot be applied in the same sense to concepts that are abstract things by default and do not exist in reality, are not tangible or within the grasp of the senses. Similarly, the word concrete is not fully relevant even when applied to concepts of real objects which are part of the mental sphere. Concrete objects concepts are usually described as equal to the objects of reality they represent while they must be treated as abstract, too – mental representations (including perceptual images) only represent real objects in the individual's mind and are abstract, so to say virtual, *per se*. It follows that when speaking about mental processes we should distinguish the degree of abstraction that certain mental operations deal with. To draw a sharp distinction between the abstract and concrete thinking is impossible, and there is no need to do that. Even such purely abstract concepts as numbers and figures historically are linked to concrete notions of "many" and "much" that were designated by ancients in drawings of many objects, or scores of stones and shells.

The attempts to explain the peculiarities of concrete thinking by the mental operations involved in the problem-solving of the *here-and-now* moment reveal only half-truth. A closer observation shows that all mental processes are performed in an abstract way, even those going on in real time, even those based on the so called spatial cognition that involves the individual's physical presence on the particular environmental scene. When, for instance, I am walking down a path in the forest and see a big tree lying in front and blocking my way, I do not pull or push the trunk, neither do I try to perform physically any other scenarios of the problem-solving so that I could choose the best one which is absurd. Instead I first observe and estimate the situation: perceive the tree and objects around it – the size, the distance, the state of the ground on both sides of the path (in case it might be swampy or contain some other danger if I decide to walk around), my outfit (especially my footwear – is it only for walking on dry ground or are they rubber-boots?), my physical abilities (how fit I am for this or that sort of physical activity – jumping or climbing), etc. The listed objects are in front of me, they all are real objects but I operate only with their mental representations while searching for a solution.

What is to be noted here is the fact that I do not rely entirely on the information perceived on-line. I retrieve from my memory similar cases epistemologically acquired during my life and use them while estimating the present situation. Thus my "concrete, spatial" thinking becomes even more abstract as it involves all previous cases of my getting over different obstacles. It is particularly important here that though this sort of problem-solving does not

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include our linguistic mind it is obviously based on the ability to reason, plan, solve problems, think abstractly, comprehend complex ideas, the ability that is usually unjustly accredited only to human intelligence (see the definition above).

The latter circumstance is very important as there must be similar processes in the minds of other animals. All higher animals when acting in real life coordinate their capabilities with situations around them relying on the previous experience. Deer, cats and other evaluate the distance before jumping otherwise the consequences might be fatal. Puppies that have been hurt by a hedgehog's needles will avoid further contacts as their memories will warn them against that, and when meeting a hedgehog again the incoming percepts (auditory, visual and olfactory) will evoke impressions of the previous contact which will contain the painful tactile component. The fact that puppies become cautious with all hedgehogs shows that they not only learn from experience, but they also develop cognitively and are able to classify, sort, order, and organize facts: they become aware of the danger that comes from all hedgehogs, not a particular one. Definitely it will not be an exaggeration to admit that even animals' minds process data of different degree of abstract semantics.

That the problem of the mind origin in its different varieties is of particular importance for the evolution of life on Earth is addressed in many recent publications about proto-forms of mental activity in the lowest species [e.g., 26; 24]. In his paper presented at the 2012 Gatherings in Biosemiotics (Tartu, Estonia) Alexei Sharov writes that the mind emergence marks a transition from protosemiosis to eusemiosis. He treats mind as a tool for classifying and modeling objects which means that mind must be much more than just molecular signaling, and its origin meant the uncovering of a new threshold zone in the semiotic organization in evolving organisms [15]. According to Sharov, protosemiosis corresponds to the initial level of life origin, i.e. origin of agency (action), while eusemiosis marks the origin of the mind which he describes as the origin of signs/signals that control actions (there must be some form of mediation between action and stimulus): "A primitive form of mind may exist in a single cell, where the nucleus plays the role of the brain. Thus multicellular brains in animals are communities of cellular 'minds' of individual neurons. The ability of agents to classify objects may have originated from their capacity to distinguish states of their own body in order to prioritize various functions" [24, p. 216]. Interpretation at this level of communicative

interaction may mean the ability to choose from a set of options the organism confronts with. The author sees another important faculty of the mind at this primary modeling level of semiosis in the ability to anticipate unperceived features of the real world (ibid.) which means the presence of abstract mental proto-abilities in the microworld. Interpretive processes are based on abstraction. The matter of choice presupposes operation with abstract notions already on the binary opposition principle reducible to two main global concepts – good/favourable – bad/unfavourable.

The examples given show that it is certainly difficult to single out either abstract or concrete thinking as both definitely go together, or, better say, that concrete thinking (based on spatial perception) should be taken for the lower level of abstraction in the mind. Any living system must rely on both during its life-term, and what makes the difference is the quantity and quality of abstract thinking used by a species in problem-solving.

Abstraction must be always present when a living-system interprets data from the environment – even on the epistemological level external data monitoring includes such processes as comparing and valuating for further decision making and action taking. Before making a choice, the possible options are to be considered – which of them are favorable/ useful and which are not. Some degree of prognostication is a necessary prerequisite of survival in nature, which in its turn means that such or other abstract mechanisms of mental operations must be present, too. Today the problem of the mind emergence has been moved from the level of humans and non-human primates to much lower species [3; 24] because it has become evident that it is impossible to explain that highly complex dynamic interaction of the living beings if we do not admit the existence of some proto-forms of interpretive mental activity in practically all forms of earthly life.

There is no ground to demarcate perceptual and conceptual levels of thinking as the tendency with evolutionists is. For example, Robert Logan [17] categorically claims that brains of hominids were similar to other mammal brains which were purely percept processors and only language emergence made the conceptual thinking possible: "Words representing concepts allowed a transition from the non-verbal forms of communication and percept based thinking of our hominid ancestors to the verbal form of communication and the conceptual symbolic form of thinking that is characteristic of the human mind. Language is both a form of communication and an information processing system that permitted the

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transition from percept based thought to concept-based thought. The spoken word is the actual medium or mechanism by which concepts are expressed or represented. The relationship of spoken language and conceptual thought is not a linear causal one. Language did not give rise to concepts nor did concepts give rise to language, rather human speech and conceptualization emerged at exactly the same point in time creating the conditions for their mutual emergence. In a certain sense language and conceptual thought self-organized" [17, p. 82].

Unfortunately, that approach does not resolve the same old hen-first-egg-first problem. No one argues that language emergence had definitely increased the status of conceptual thinking in humans and made it the principal one that is in charge of Homo socio-cultural behavior. But neither language nor conceptual thinking could have evolved simultaneously, or by chance. There had to be some preparatory stages on both sides concerning moves in growth of distributed semiotic activity and abstract forms of thinking that could have enabled the new cardinal stage.

The biosemiotic perspective with its assumption that communication via different signs is continuous across species, and that biological evolution is not complete without evolutionary semiotics demonstrates that information processing in various animals demands proto-concepts that their minds operate when making decisions [26]. Language as a means of external and social (sic!) communication could have evolved only when the conceptual system (mental lexicon) had been formed. It has already been shown that the semantics of concepts is not equal to the semantics of corresponding words. The latter is much narrower as the speaker can externalize verbally only part of the sense leaving a lot in implication, for instance the nuances of his/her emotional state – human psyche is very rich semantically at any given moment of life. Each human mind is distinctive and singular, and its content is always much more affluent compared to what a person can show outwardly.

The view on the mind as distributed activity [1] on lower and higher levels of abstraction provides the possibility to explain the evolutionary continuity across species in terms of the constant increase of abstract thinking and mind complexity – the higher the class of the animal is the more complex and elaborate behavior the latter demonstrates, and the more multifaceted interaction it has with the environment and other species. Quantitative changes lead to a qualitative response giving rise to a new mental capacity that is built on top of the already

existing ones thus forming a hierarchy of the organism's semiotic linkages with the surroundings. Transition to a new level of interaction with the environment is marked by new forms of higher abstract thinking and new semiotic codes acquisition.

Semiotic mind

The dominance of our species on the planet (if we do not to take the microworld into account) is the decisive evidence of our uniqueness which is associated with two circumstances – human language capacity and the celebrated mental abilities. The former seems to be an obvious human benefit over the rest of the animals as no other biological species has ever approached anything similar to human verbal communication. Different varieties of languages are indispensable in the life of human communities and enable interpersonal information exchange to the maximum degree that can be found nowhere else in the living world.

Any discussion of human specificity invariably includes reasoning on both phenomena, and quite often the theorizing reminds of the hermeneutic circle – language is explained via mind while mind is equated to language. Those close ties between language and mind seem to be supported by the fact that specifically human thought processes are performed with the help of mental *verbal* representations, which means we think in language, and language functions in two modes – interior and exterior (I-language and E-language in Noam Chomsky's terminology (1986)) thus servicing the needs of interpersonal social communication and personal auto-communication, the latter can be epistemologically traced by everyone in their own minds.

The contemporary evolutionary theory treats language emergence as a phenomenon inseparable from the formation of the human mind. Purely human intelligence is normally identified with the ability to think in abstractions, or, in Derek Bickerton's words – *to off-think*, by which he implies such a mode of cognitive processes at which mental operations performed with mental representations are not influenced by the situation of the given moment and can refer to events both of the past and prospective future. The ease with which human thoughts flow and combine different verbal concepts on the combinatorial principles leads to an assumption that language and higher-order thinking have always gone together and must have evolved at the same time [4].

Speaking about the evolution of language systems in the brain, Terrence Deacon [7] differentiates two extreme language selection

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scenarios that " are commonly opposed in the literature to predict what changes in brain structure might be relevant: scenarios assuming that language is a consequence (or late-stage tweak) of a more prolonged trend toward increasing general intelligence (exemplified by a 2 million year expansion of brain size) and scenarios assuming that language is the consequence of domain-specific neural modifications and is independent of general intelligence" [7, p. 16].

He points out that those scenarios though not mutually exclusive, "do make different predictions with respect to neural structural and functional consequences, as well as evolutionary timing". In the first case language emergence "is likely supported by a significant and extended natural selection history, including the contributions of many genetic changes affecting the brain". If it is of recent invention, there has not been enough time for language functions to be more integrated into cognitive abilities. This hypothesis is "more consistent with language processes being highly modular and domain-specific, localized to one or a very few neural systems, fragile with respect to brain damage and genetic variation" [ibid., p. 16 – 17].

It would certainly be logical to accept the ancient language origin scenario, but the archeological evidence provides arguable evidence for that: "The paleoarcheological record is surprisingly stable from about 1.6 million years ago to roughly 350,000 years ago, with the transition from Acheulean to Mousterian tool culture, but doesn't begin to show signs of regional tool styles, decorative artifacts, and representational forms (e.g. carvings and cave paintings) until roughly 60,000 years ago, with the dawn of what is called the upper Paleolithic culture. This recent transition to technological diversity and representational artifacts has been attributed to a major change in cognitive abilities, which many archeologists speculate reflects the appearance of language. Fossil crania, however, provide no hint of a major neuroanatomical reorganization, and the genetic diversity of modern human populations indicates that there are some modern human lineages that have been reproductively separated from one another for at least twice this period and yet all have roughly equivalent language abilities. These considerations weigh in favor of a protracted evolution of language abilities and for the convergence of many diverse neural adaptations to support language "[ibid., p.17].

The sudden cultural explosion in the upper Paleolithic period must be an evidence of some really important changes in cognitive mechanisms that enabled an abrupt increase in cultural artifacts. But the fact remains that "Despite decades of research to identify the distinctive neuroanatomical substrates that provide humans with an unprecedented faculty for language, no definitive core of uniquely human anatomical correlates has been demonstrated. Only a few distinctive anatomical differences can be directly associated with the human language adaptation. These are associated with the special motor adaptations for speech" [ibid., p. 20].

The conflict will be resolved if we approach the language capacity acquisition from the distributed cognition and communication mutuality perspective and look upon human mind evolution as gradual increase of abstraction due to semiotic competence growth.

Cognition is inseparable from communicative processes, both heavily interdependent: cognition being the sum of knowledge that is vitally important for the species survival and maintenance, to acquire it the organism must develop multimodal mechanisms of interactions with the environment. Multifaceted communication (sensory-motor with non-humans) provides an organism with data that are mutually complementary thus enabling the verification of information received via one channel through the other. In the course of evolution, a dominant sense (e.g. sight in humans and primates) and additional ones are usually developed. Combinations of senses across species are different, and that variability is defined by the habitat and the patterns of the species behavior that the species constantly diversifies to survive and reproduce. The more varied the species cognition and communication are the more chances for success it has. That statement is circumstantially supported by the fact that more cognitively developed animals like mammals are fewer in number compared to lower species – the risks of the extinction are reduced by the input of more diverse data thus ensuring the organism's stability.

Both cognition and communication are always distributed and non-linear. The character of the cognitive and communicative networks of a living being is extremely complex and highly dynamic. The internal vs. external specificity of interaction defines the character of cognitive processes. Cognition underpins the interactions between species and structures their communities.

Jesper Hoffmeyer [11] writes that practically all processes in the animate world are regulated communicatively. The environmental pressure on an organism is so great that by genes alone it is impossible to explain the evolutionary changes a species undergoes. It is the ability of living systems to 'read' signs / signals and interpret them that regulates the mechanisms of adjustability to the instability of the settings. Thus mind is an inherent part of communication and consequently – of semiotic processes. The more diverse a species

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interaction with the world is the more complex mental activity it has, the richer its semioticon is the higher abstract operations the mind performs. Language is only one of the communicative means used in modern human cultures and to use it successfully well-developed mechanisms of abstraction are needed. Before language was acquired the mind had to be prepared for it through different communication practices via different signs.

Both thinking (information processing) and communication (information exchange) are dependent on data, and both can be better described as two sides of the same process. From the evolutionary perspective most probably not mind and language but mind and semiotic competence co-evolved. The survival of individuals in the biological world is impossible in isolation from the environment, and the latter provides every organism with huge masses of info non-stop. No wonder both capacities undeniably go together and co-influence each other, but still there is one great distinction between the two.

Thinking is an interior phenomenon, its processes are hidden behind the skull from the outside observer, and he/ she can only deduce what thoughts have preceded the actions performed by the individual under observation. As to communication, most of its forms (except internal processes) are externalized. The physical integrity itself of a living being rests on the interaction with animate and inanimate objects around it. Thus the more exhaustive and detailed data it gets the more verified the understanding of the situation a species has. The constant needs in extra data under the pressure of the changing environment initiate changes in the biological structure of the organism enabling its successful adaptation.

The semantic component is crucial for any communicative act for it is the content, or meaning, that both the addresser and the addressee are in need of. The multiple forms of external communicative interaction that have developed in the course of evolution must have emerged under the pressure of: 1) urgent need in meaningful information, and 2) completeness and full value of the received message. The latter must have always been the matter of particular concern – if losses of information in the course of interaction were too big, the interaction itself would lead to a failure. Thus the search for the most reliable operational mode and channel that would ensure the least possible losses of semantics must have accompanied biological evolution. As a result, the higher the species the more complex and multifaceted external communicative capacity it has

(behavioral patterns, gestures, vocal signals, spotting, ``etc.). That shows that one channel of information transfer and delivery is never enough, and species have developed extra pathways that would make a species information safety more stable.

David Kirsh [14] points to one more demand that had to contribute to communicative forms development and precision – the search for means of reducing the cost of information exchange. Though Kirsh writes about the ways external representations enhance human cognitive power, it is plausible that the cost reducing issue is relevant for all forms of biological communication. The best ways of information delivery and transfer are to be the quickest and energy saving to give a species a chance to withstand the environmental threats.

The organism's links with the surroundings are plentiful, its different biological systems establish their own forms of intercourse with the outside providing the body which is a complex integral system with separate flows of data that are to be compared, verified and generalized by its subsystems first, and the results must be amalgamated by the central controller then to create an overview of the situation.

External forms of communicative interaction can be performed in two modes: *on*-line and *off*-line. The *on*-line communication is a model of dynamic interaction in the real-time mode (all communicants function in the same system of time-and-space coordinates, interact directly and process information spontaneously) 'here and now" on the principle of analogue coding. Signs used by the interacting organisms are 'mapped' on their bodies as they communicate via voiced signals, postures and other bodily movements. In the situation of constant scene changing, immediate interaction demands spontaneous reaction (stimulus–response principle) to the received signal (figure). Space domineers in the situation and all components of the scene (ground) are revealed to the perceiving mind. The interacting organisms receive all sorts of the background data through their senses non-stop simultaneously, and they share the same data. The time span is irrelevant; the semantically rich background information of the moment is most significant and defines the character of the spontaneous discourse. *On*-line intercourse is based on the lower-level mental abstraction, and the semantic memory plays a less important role than the operational and the episodic types of memory.

In the *off*-line intercourse communicants are distanced in time and space, they can neither see nor hear each other while generating or receiving a message. That type is basically autonomous as the addresser, the message and the addressee are separated

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from each other. Cases of that communicative mode are scarce in nature, spotting known best of all, but they have been growing increasingly important in human societies uniting separated groups of communities and even generations by providing them with the accumulated knowledge of their ancestors. Thus the *off*-line social communication is time-oriented, and both external analog and symbolic sign systems are used to code. The total sum of cultural artifacts, practices, rituals, beliefs and patterns of social behavior constitute the cooperative external social memory of humans. These signs are not "mapped" on organisms' bodies, they are invented to pass the information from inside out and extend the biological memory of humans. That extension of an individual biological memory to the social collective one provided enormous possibilities for our species development as it made it possible to store, give access to and pass on to other generations huge, practically limitless, masses of info.

Cognitive specificity *on*-line and *off*-line types of communication can be described as follows:

Biological cognitive processes are internally distributed, embodied (local) and dynamic: they are continuous and the results of mental processing are used for short-term goals – *on*-line interaction.

Social cognitive processes with humans are externally distributed, disembodied (non-local) and static: externalized results are discrete units of knowledge that are fossilized and used for long-term goals– *off*-line interaction.

Off-line communicative interaction has become decisive for human evolution [2] bringing into existence mind-sharing [8] capacities in human societies. It is this off-line communication (not necessarily including the verbal component) that demands higher forms of abstraction and easily copes with social conventions not rooted in nature. Diversification of external sign systems relevant for communal survival gave rise to the human unprecedented abstract thinking.

Conclusion

Survival of any species no matter how complex is ensured by both concrete and abstract information, and the more complex the living system the more efficiently it operates abstract models derived from the interpretation of different flows of data provided by its different subsystems. The differences in the complexity of various species biological structures of natural kingdoms can be probably described in terms of the varying levels they have in communicative competence and cognitive abilities. Cognition is distributed but so is communication. It will not be an exaggeration to say that evolution itself should be looked upon as a continuing increase in

communicative competence which inevitably upgrades the interpreting abilities of the mind.

The biosemiotic approach helps to see that all forms of cognition, beginning with the biologically ingrained, are distributed as different perceptual channels of information delivery are needed to verify the in-coming data. Different forms of communicative interaction that are mapped on the organism's body demand specific cognitive structures to extract, analyze and generalize the information to adjust the body behavior to the *on*-line circumstances. The most essential data acquired through the life-term are stored for future, and each individual database is the personal knowledge of how to survive. Therefore, even in terms of spatial life spontaneity all species are dependent of different forms of mental abstraction: initial perceptual imagery (of iconic and indexical character) and generalized mental imagery stored in the memory. That lower-level mental abstraction turns out to be quite efficient for the survival of a species as closed system. The results of the internal cognitive processes are not necessarily externalized to be put to use by other organisms.

Biologically distributed environmental forms of cognition are backed up by interpersonal social forms of interaction and amplified with socially distributed cognition. Socially relevant forms of communication need convention that is why externalizing personal knowledge and adapting to collective intelligence become a prerequisite for social groups.

Off-line communication launched more generative processes in the mind that enabled combinatory links between percepts and mental images of more complex situations. It increased the capacity for *off*-line / higher-abstraction thinking. *Off*-line communication is always mediated by specific sign systems that are artificially created and are loaded with symbolic meaning – meaning that is not derived from natural existence epistemologically but is conventionally established in human societies. That social pressure led to the development of higher-order abstraction.

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БЫТОВАЯ ЛЕКСИКА В РЕЧИ АФРИКАНСКИХ ИММИГРАНТОВ ВО ФРАНЦИИ

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Аннотация: Настоящая статья посвящена описанию иноязычных вкраплений в языке франкоязычных африканских иммигрантов, проживающих во Франции. Актуальность темы данной статьи связана с необходимостью изучения процессов, происходящих в языке африканских иммигрантов во Франции в условиях билингвизма. Изучение феномена иноязычного вкрапления позволит объяснить особенности функционирования французского языка африканцев-билингвов. В статье исследует вопрос об определении термина «иноязычное вкрапление», а также часто употребляемая бытовая лексика из разных областей жизни. Именно бытовая лексика отражает специфические особенности мировоззрения африканцев во Франции и их духовную культуру.

Ключевые слова: иноязычное вкрапление; билингвизм; билингв; Африка; иммиграция.

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EVERYDAY VOCABULARY IN THE SPEECH OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN FRANCE

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the description of foreign inclusions in the language of French-speaking African immigrants residing in France. The relevance of the topic of this article is related to the need to study the processes occurring in the language of African immigrants in France in conditions of bilingualism. The study of the phenomenon of foreign inclusions will explain the peculiarities of functioning of the French language of African bilinguals. The article explores the question of defining the term «foreign inclusion», as well as the frequently used everyday vocabulary from different areas of life. It is the everyday vocabulary that reflects the specific features of the worldview of Africans in France and their spiritual culture.

Key words: foreign inclusion; bilingualism; bilingual; Africa; immigration

На фоне неослабевающего интереса к вопросам, для которых языковой контакт и билингвизм стали основой существования, вопрос об иноязычных вкраплениях до сих пор остается дискуссионным. Более того, несмотря на значительное количество работ, посвященных изучению иноязычных вкраплений (труды Ю.Т. Листратовой-Правды, О.Н. Олейниковой, Н.А. Колосовой, А.И. Андрусенко, В.В. Карповой, А.А. Леонтьева, Л.П. Крысина, В. Шетеля, А.К. Панфилова, М.А. Карпенко, Д. Кристалл, Н.М. Шанского, В.В. Макарова и др.), этот вопрос в лингвистике далеко не исчерпан.

Увеличение количества иноязычной лексики привело к появлению различных терминов, использующихся для номинации языковых средств, находящихся вне системы языка и выполняющих стилистические функции. Анализ теоретических источников выявляет смешение сфер употребления терминов, а также отсутствие единого подхода к критериям номинации этих разнородных явлений, развития языка, становится престижность иностранного языка.

Методы

В статье использовались как общенаучные методы (индукция, дедукция, анализ и синтез), так и специальные методы. Основные теоретические положения оценивались и обрабатывались при помощи метода металингвистического анализа. Сравнительно-сопоставительный метод применялся при анализе языковых вариантов для определения сходных

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черт и различий при их использовании.

Основная часть

Несмотря на наличие синонимичных терминов, мы склонны использовать термин «иноязычное вкрапление» в силу отсутствия у данного термина других ассоциаций, а также сложившейся традиции в отечественной лингвистике.

Анализ теоретических источников выявил приблизительность определения термина «иноязычное вкрапление», а также разнообразие подходов к объему и положению явлений среди других внесистемных языковых средств.

Впервые А.А. Леонтьев использовал термин «иноязычное вкрапление» в статье «Иноязычные вкрапления в русскую речь» [7]. Слово «вкрапление» (от глагола «вкрапить» – то есть «переместить, ставить куда-нибудь отдельными кусками») помогает раскрыть природу исследуемого речевого явления. В своей статье ученый представляет иноязычные вкрапления результатом взаимодействия двух текстов: иноязычный текст «вкрапливается» в основной текст.

М.Ю. Кириенко под этим термином необходимо понимать «разнородные речевые пласты, объединенные в одном или в серии коммуникативных актов, но относящиеся к принципиально разным языковым системам» [5].

В.С. Гимпелевич трактует иноязычные вкрапления как «речевые единицы, содержащие полностью или частично иносистемные семантические, морфемные или графические признаки, в окружении единиц данного языка» [3].

Е.В. Жабина понимает под иноязычными вкраплениями «неассимилированные или в незначительной степени ассимилированные, окказионально употребленные иноязычные единицы, не зафиксированные лексикографическими справочниками» [4].

Ю.Т. Листрова-Правда предлагает называть иноязычными вкраплениями ряд иноязычных языковых явлений, находящихся за пределами системы принимающего языка и обусловленных билингвизмом носителей языка. Иноязычные вкрапления находятся «за пределами языковой системы принявшего их языка и, будучи незамкнутой группой слов, словосочетаний, предложений или более крупных отрезков текста на иностранном языке, испытывают влияние текста, в который они вставлены» [8].

Большое количество определений термину «иноязычное вкрапление» позволяет указать на его многогранность и специфику, а также положительные особенности при исследовании

результатов языковых контактов. При этом все отмеченные дефиниции профилируют то одну, то другую сторону явления и, к сожалению, как видно из представленного выше обзора, на этом основании не могут быть сведены к единому универсальному пониманию. Последнее иллюстрирует выявленную учеными некоторую противоречивость и размытость границ понятийного аппарата контактной лингвистики [1], однако не снимает необходимости определения принципиальных особенностей термина «иноязычное вкрапление» в качестве дальнейшего инструментария для описания специфики языка иммигрантов из Африки во Франции.

Мы придерживаемся точки зрения Л.П. Крысина, который полагает, что иноязычные вкрапления могут трактоваться как «незамкнутые группы слов, употребление которых обусловлено степенью знакомства говорящего с иностранным языком, некоторыми стилистическими и жанровыми особенностями речи» [6]. Мы также в некотором роде разделяем точку зрения С. Влахова и С. Флорина о том, что иноязычные вкрапления – это «слова и выражения на чужом для подлинника языке» [2]. При этом в качестве языка-подлинника понимается классический вариант французского языка как государственный и принципиальный для иммигрантов-франкофонов, а чужой – языки, распространенные на территории Африки во Франции, элементы которых просачиваются в классический вариант французского языка. Соответственно, с таких позиций французский язык представляется в качестве принимающего языка, который вынужден мириться с иноязычными вкраплениями из африканских языков с целью трансляции номинаций безэквивалентных понятий либо называния существующих во французском языке реалий по привычке или в силу неграмотности иммигрантов-франкофонов. В данном случае особую роль приобретают культурное и национальное своеобразие и самобытность иноязычных вкраплений, которые ассоциированы с национально-культурной спецификой содержания сообщения (предметы быта и культуры, нехарактерные для французской нации), а также учет корреляции социального статуса иммигранта и способности выражать свои мысли средствами стандартизированного варианта французского языка.

Рассмотрим употребление иноязычных вкраплений в речи африканских иммигрантов во Франции на примере бытовой лексики.

Так, бытовая лексика африканцев часто затрагивает тему болезней. Эта тема во многом противоречива даже для африканцев, живущих во Франции. По их мнению, болезни связаны с

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негативным влиянием старших членов семьи, злых колдунов. Для лечения, которое заключается в приеме травяных отваров и смесей, в большинстве случаев африканцы также обращаются к колдунам. Часто результатом такого лечения является ухудшения состояния больного [9].

Слово *nkisi/kisi/kishi* (из языков группы банту) обозначает «лекарство, назначенное терапевтом». Иммигранты обозначают этим существительным все фармацевтические продукты:

...pour accroître le spectre d`action des nkissis...[11]. – …чтобы расширять спектр действия лекарств…

Реже значение существительного может сужаться и использоваться в значении «колдовское снадобье», т.е. обозначая средство нетрадиционной африканской медицины:

Elle voulait l'emposonner avec ce nkissi. – Она хотела его отравить этим снадобьем.

Особенно часто иммигранты, говорящие на лари, используют существительное *kondo-kanda* (киконго, лари) – «керосиновая лампа». Представляет собой изготовленную кустарным способом маленькую лампу: в емкость, наполненную керосином, помещают жгут, выполняющий роль фитиля. Частое употребление данного вкрапления связано с тем, что во многих африканских деревнях и даже в небольших городах часто отсутствует электричество и освещение. Богатые африканцы могут позволить себе использовать генераторы, а остальному населению доступны только керосиновые лампы. Во Франции эти лампы продаются мелкими торговцами и часть иммигрантов продолжает их использовать, т.к. плата за электричество достаточно высока, а лампы позволяют значительно сэкономить:

Il utilisait un kondo-kanda car il ne pouvait ni payer son loyer ni son éléctricité. – Он использовал керосиновую лампу, потому что не мог заплатить ни за аренду, ни за электричество.

Для обозначения лампы, изготовленной более профессионально и предназначенной для продажи, африканцы употребляют иноязычное вкрапление *mouinda* (из языков группы банту) («лампа»):

Elle veut acheter un nouveau mouinda. – Она хочет купить новую лампу.

Заметим, что некоторые французские фразы изменяются в языке франкоязычных иммигрантов и используются уже в качестве иноязычных вкраплений. Например, французское словосочетание «fil à sauter» (букв. «веревка для прыжков») вошло в язык из группы банту,

китуба, в виде слова *silicoté/silikoti* (фр. corde à sauter), обозначающее «скакалка». Данное иноязычное вкрапление широко используется, особенно в среде молодых девушек, которые прыгают через скакалку:

Gamine, elle se distinguait déjà de ses camarades en préférant la lecture au «silikoti». – Девчонка, она уже отличалась от товарищей, предпочитая чтение скакалке.

В разговорной речи часто употребляется слово *ofélé/ou félé* со значением «бесплатно», «без оплаты», образованное от искаженного произношения французской фразы «aux frais (de la princesse)» – «расходы (принцессы)» [10]. Это слово широко распространено в языке африканцев в Африке, а затем пришло во французский язык иммигрантов во Франции:

Pour mes loisirs donc, j'appris très tôt comment pénétrer dans un stade ou assister à un match aufélé et devenir un guembo de qualité [11]. – В свободное время я рано узнал, как проникнуть на стадион или посещать бесплатно игру и стать халявщиком.

Иноязычное вкрапление *moukande/ moukende/mukanda* (киконго) («письмо»), в киконго означает все бумаги, газеты. В языке африканцев слово может расширять значение и использоваться для наименования инструкций.

Существительное может приобретать значение «иметь образование», «быть образованным» в словосочетаниях «connaître la moukande» и «avoir (de) la moukande»:

Il a de la moukande. – Он образованный.

Достаточно широко распространено в языке иммигрантов вкрапление *biloko* (лингала), которое во множественном числе обозначает «вещи» или «багаж, чемодан»:

Où sont mes biloko? – Где мои чемоданы?

Заметим, что в африканцы так называются существо, похожее на вампира – «билоко». Согласно мифам, эти существа похожи на лысых людей, с острыми когтями, пронзительным взглядом, на теле которых растет трава. Они используют листья в качестве одежды. Мифические существа живут в глубине леса, в дуплах деревьев. Считается, что это существо охотиться необычным способом – звонит в волшебный колокол и жертва засыпает. Затем существо подходит и проглатывает добычу целиком. Амулеты и фетиши, изготовленные африканскими колдунами, могут защитить владельца от этого существа. Считается, что билоко охраняет спрятанные сокровища:

Il ne marche pas seul, ou le biloko va le manger. – Он не должен гулять один, или его съест билоко.

Африканцы используют слово *sanga* (лари,

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киконго) для обозначения современного женского украшения – «бусы»:

Maria a dépensé tout l'argent sur ce sanga. – Мария потратила все деньги на эти бусы.

Во Франции иммигранты используют привычные для них африканские наименования для обозначения таких сельскохозяйственных инструментов, как *nséngo* (из языков группы банту) («мотыга»), *pélo* (из языков группы банту) («лопата»), или места обозначения работы (например, *nsitou* (из языков группы банту) – «плантация»).

В речи конголезцев встречаются следующие примеры их употребления:

Nous avons besoin de deux nouveaux nséngos. – Нам нужны две новые мотыги;

Donnez-moi un pélo! – Дайте мне лопату!

Заключение

Обобщая изложенное, можно сказать, что вслед за Л. П. Крысиным, С. Влаховым, С. Флориным, Ю. Т. Листратовой-Правда и др., мы используем термин иноязычное вкрапление для обозначения языковых явлений, осуществляющихся на индивидуальном уровне и существующих лишь при условии билингвизма индивида.

Для иммигрантов африканская культура бесспорно важна и является фундаментом для развития их общества. Иноязычные вкрапления подчеркивают культурные особенности с помощью наименований, связанных с верованиями, традициями, обычаями и даже бытовой лексикой. Они отражают специфические особенности мировоззрения африканцев и их духовную культуру.

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СЕМАНТИКА «ВЕТРА» В ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ РУССКОЙ ЛИНГВОКУЛЬТУРЫ

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Аннотация: В статье рассматривается система метафорических переосмыслений слов, передающих семантику ветра, и их семантической роли в качестве компонентов фразеологических единиц в русском языке. Материалом, иллюстрирующим основные положения статьи, являются цитаты из классических и современных произведений русской литературы, в которых прямо или косвенно отражается семантика ветра. Делается вывод о том, что метафорический потенциал таких лексем создаёт широкие возможности их образного использования в стилистических и иных прагматических целях. Этот потенциал обусловлен универсальной ролью ветра в жизни любого народа Земли и, в частности, ассоциативными связями между ветром и высокими по интенсивности и глубине физическими, индивидуальными и социальными явлениями, важными с точки зрения русского языкового социума. Это отражается в появлении многочисленных метафорических моделей, которые в дальнейшем могут развиваться в достаточно многочисленные фразеосемантические модели, интенсивно используемые в языке для производства различных прагматических эффектов.
Ключевые слова: метафора; метонимия; образ; область-источник; фразеология.

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THE "ВЕТЕР" SEMANTICS IN THE RUSSIAN LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL SPACE

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Abstract. The article deals with the system of metaphorical interpretations of the words with the content of wind and their semantic role as the components of phraseological units in the Russian language. The material illustrating the main positions of the article is represented by citations from the classical and modern works of the Russian literature which more or less directly reflect the semantics of wind. The conclusion is made that the metaphorical potentials of such lexemes create abundant possibilities for their figurative use for the stylistic and other pragmatic purposes. This potential is determined by the universal role of the wind in the life of any people and, in particular, by the associative ties between the wind and the highly intensive and deep physical, individual and social phenomena important from the Russian language community point of view. This can be noticed in the emergence of numerous metaphorical models which can further be developed into numerous phraseo-semantic models which are characterized by their intensive use for creating different pragmatic effects.
Key words: metaphor; metonymy; form; source domain; phraseology

В качестве эпиграфа к данной статье можно взять всем известные строки А.С.Пушкина:
«Ветер, ветер! Ты могуч,
Ты гоняешь стаи туч,
Ты волнуешь сине море,
Всюду веешь на просторе.
Не боишься никого,
Кроме бога одного».

Именно ветер – это та стихийная сила, которая проникает во все возможные места земной поверхности, открытых небесной тверди. Объективно во многих случаях ветер является не только результатом действия определённых климатических факторов, но и сам по себе является важным фактором формирования определённых погодных и климатических

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условий. Ветер может быть и созидателем, если его грамотно ставит себе на службу человек (например, ветряные мельницы и прочие ветряные двигатели), но чаще он является природным разрушителем (например, в случаях эрозии почвы, разрушения гор). Именно по этой причине он находит своё место в качестве персонифицированной силы в мифологии и фольклоре разных народов.

Одним из первых упоминаний о ветре мы находим в древних сакральных текстах. Так, пророку Илие в пустыне Бог предстаёт в слабом дуновении ветра для того, чтобы дать ему наставления по дальнейшим действиям. Этот эпизод даётся в Главе 19 Третьей книги Царств:

(1) И сказал: выйди и стань на горе пред лицем Господним, и вот, Господь пройдёт, и большой и сильный ветер, раздирающий горы и сокрушающий скалы пред Господом, но не в ветре Господь; после ветра землетрясение, но не в землетрясении Господь; после землетрясения огонь, но не в огне Господь; после огня веяние тихого ветра.

Примечательно, что в данном эпизоде ветер актуализируется дважды – и как сильное, интенсивное движение воздуха, и как слабое, тихое.

В мифологии древних греков богом ветров является Эол, предположительно являющийся сыном такого важного бога, как Посейдон, морской бог. В его «ведении» находятся ветры четырёх сторон Земли, дети бога звёздного неба Астрея, тоже полубога: Борей (северный ветер), Нот (южный), Зефир (западный) и Эвр (восточный) [1]. Такой «половинчатый» с точки зрения олимпийской иерархии статус как самого Эола, так и находящихся в его ведении ветров, предполагает между ними не отношения повелителя и его слуг, а, скорее, «прораба» и «работников». Это отношение остроумно обыграно в юмористической поэме «Энеида» (где боги греческого пантеона предстают как типичные украинские мещане со своими недостатками (например, Зевс – пьяница, Нептун – взяточник и т.п.)) украинского писателя XIX века И.П. Котляревского, когда Юнона (древнегреческая Гера) пришла с угощением к Эолу, чтобы он разбросал корабли спасшихся троянцев, Эол отвечает ей следующее:

(2) «Гай, гай! Ой, дей же його кату! -
Еол насупившись сказав. -
Я все б зробив за сюю плату,
Та вітри всі порозпускав:
Борей недуж лежить з похмілля,
А Нот поїхав на весілля,
Зефір же, давній негодяй,
З дівчатами заженихався,

А Евр в поденщики найнявся, -
Як хочеш, так і помишляй!».

Доктрина единобожия, победившая в Средние века, сменила и тот фрагмент языковой картины мира, в которой существовало представление о ветре как не только определяющей повседневные условия нашей жизни, но и мыслящей, творящей субстанции. Однако высокий метафорический потенциал лексем, передающих структуру знаний ВЕТЕР, обусловил их активное использование в непрямом и фразеологически связанном значениях в разных языках мира.

В обыденном сознании номенклатуре ветров, имеющих различные пространственные и качественные характеристики, мы уделяем достаточно мало внимания. Тем не менее, для ряда профессий, связанных с непосредственным нахождением в природной среде (авиаторы, моряки, рыбаки, охотники и др.), это имеет существенное значение. В этом плане примечателен эпизод из рассказа К.Г. Паустовского «Амфора», в котором болгарский рыбак объясняет писателю названия различных ветров. Авторские комментарии к этому объяснению представляются достаточно интересными именно с лингвистической точки зрения:

(3) Мы вернулись к очагу. Там сидели остальные рыбаки. Старик начал называть мне ветры. … Старик поднял сухую руку, обвязанную от ревматизма красной ниткой, показал на север и сказал:

– Драмудан!

В этом названии слышалась итальянская тремонтана – ветер, дующий с севера, через горы, через Альпы. У нас на Азовском море северный ветер тоже зовут «трамонтаном».

Старик показал на северо-восток. То был опасный, ненавистный рыбакам край горизонта.

– Греус! – сказал старик.

Греус – это наш норд-ост, наша бора. Ветер бешеный, беспощадный, мрачный, как предупреждение о смерти.

Так мы обошли со стариком весь горизонт. Он называл мне ветры и следил, чтобы я правильно записывал названия…

Юго-восточный ветер назывался «серекос». В наименовании этого сухого ветра узнаешь знакомое слово «сирокко». А летом этот ветер называется по-иному и притом так, что имя его вызывает невольную улыбку. Он знаком нам с детских лет, этот ветер, знаком еще по стихам Пушкина и потому кажется особенно милым. Летом этот ветер называется. «зефир».

– Зефиры очень мягкие, тихие, ласковые ветры, – сказал старый рыбак. – Зовут их также

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«мельтемиями». Они не бьют в лицо, как грубые ветры, а ласкают его, будто машут большими веерами.

Я подивился живучести некоторых слов. Зефир живет сотни лет, а вот борей давно умер. Причины этого не разгадает, видимо, ни один лингвист.

Ветер с северо-запада называется «маиструс». Не пришло ли сюда это название из далекого Прованса? Там по осеням и зимам дует знаменитый мистраль…

Восточный ветер называется «леванти», южный – «лодос», а западный – «боненти» или «караэл» («черный ветер»). Действительно, это большей частью сырой и теплый ветер, несущий обложные дожди и покрывающий землю сумраком.

– А как по-вашему «штиль»? – спросил я старика.

– Так и будет – «штил».

Он выговаривал это слово твердо, без мягкого знака.

– Но есть еще полный штил. Он называется у нас «бунаца лада». Тогда море тяжелое и гладкое, как оливковое масло…

Несколько преобразованные под нормы смешанного русско-украинского говора болгарское название «маиструс» встречается также в романе В.П. Беляева «Старая крепость. Городок у моря», где название ветра является привычным для приазовских рыбаков и фактически используется в качестве фона для бытового повествования:

(4) Домик Турунды был расположен на самом берегу. Проходя во двор, я спросил:

– Не заливает волнами, когда шторм?

– Случается. Прошлой осенью майстра задул, и такие волны пошли, что стекло выбило водою. Моя жинка даже кур на чердак переселила, чтобы море не украло.

Как бы ни было, ветер является важной и неотъемлемой частью нашей повседневной жизни, что и отражается в прагматических механизмах речевой деятельности в современных языках, в том числе и в механизмах метафорического и фразеологического переосмысления. Такая содержательная сущность ветра в повседневной жизни людей не могла не быть замеченной в исследованиях по семантике и прагматике единиц русского языка, что и обусловило ряд интересных исследований, посвящённых данному объекту [3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 9; 10; 11]. Заметим, что в этих исследованиях ветер рассматривается как природное явление само по себе, так и во взаимодействии с другими природными феноменами.

В исследовании ключевых образов в поэзии Н. Рубцова А. Г. Москалёвой и Е. А. Воробьёвой подчёркивается мысль о том, что лексемы, актуализирующие концепт ВЕТЕР в поэтической речи, играют ведущую роль в эстетической реализации различных тем. В частности, лексема «ветер» создаёт, с одной стороны, эмоциональную ауру печали, грусти, задумчивости, а, с другой стороны, способствует реализации таких серьёзных тем, как «Родина», «память», «история народа» [3].

Исследуя характеризационную функцию номинативных предложений, передающих состояние окружающей среды, Н.И. Рябкова отмечает, что лексические единицы с семантикой «ветра», равно как и другие слова для описания природных явлений, наряду с бытийным значением передают и квалификативное значение, в составе номинативных предложений в художественных произведениях повышают художественную динамику этих произведений [5].

Анализируя фонетико-стилистические особенности стихотворения Ф.И. Тютчева «О чём ты воешь, ветр ночной?..», где в самом названии заложена персонификация ветра как неистового, хищного животного, И.В. Фоменко обращает внимание читателей на то, что в образе ветра передаётся широкая палитра явных и скрытых смыслов, вызывающая неоднозначное понимание и восприятие этих смыслов, что в рамках сравнительно небольшого поэтического произведения создаёт его полифонию, не уступающую многим романам [9].

К.М. Соливетти в исследовании структурно-семантической специфики повести Н.В. Гоголя «Шинель» отмечает важную роль семантики сильного ветра в создании общей образной сетки произведения. Она пишет, в частности: «В мотиве вьюги и ветра усматривается образ метафорического возмездия … Ветер порождает «вечные хлопоты», он «срывает маски», как и ночной мститель, «сдирающий со всех плеч, не разбирая чины и звания»… Возмездие оборачивается милосердием, а ветер – торжеством иного, высшего начала и иного суда» [7, с.225].

И это далеко не полный список научных работ, посвящённых исследованию семантической и прагматической специфики лексических единиц для передачи образов в художественных произведениях на русском языке. На наш взгляд, столь пристальный научный интерес к языковым и речевым единицам, внутренняя форма которых основана на семантике ветра, во многом обусловлена специфическими структурно-семантическими и

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функциональными потенциалами этих единиц. Рассмотрим эти потенциалы и средства их реализации подробнее.

В лингвокультуре русского языка ВЕТЕР как метафорическая область-источник является основой множества метафорических моделей. Основными являются, несомненно, модели семантические. Их можно разделить на модели эпитетов, модели сравнения, модели собственно метафорического переноса и модели фразеологизации. Собственно говоря, каждую из них можно рассматривать с позиций различения структурных и категориально-структурных моделей. Так, эпитеты с использованием этой лексемы можно разделить, во-первых, по их принадлежности к определённой части речи, или, точнее говоря, по их синтаксической функции. В этой связи можно выделить номинативные, глагольные и адвербиальные модели, в частности:

– номинативное использование лексемы с семантикой ветра в качестве эпитета предполагает её функционирование как имени существительного или прилагательного, например:

(5) Чудным звоном заливается колокольчик; гремит и становится ветром разорванный в куски воздух; летит мимо все, что ни есть на земли, и, косясь, постораниваются и дают ей дорогу другие народы и государства (Н.В. Гоголь. Мёртвые души) (в функции эпитета используется существительное «ветром»);

(6) Мягок мох на полянах, сладки ветреные грезы на опушках, хорошо голове полежать на ворохе шуршащих листьев… (В.С. Пикуль. Моонзунд);

(7) …Ветровым шелестом-перешепотом поползла по хутору новость: "Митька Коршунов Сергея Платоновича дочку обгулял!" (М.А. Шолохов. Тихий Дон).

– глагольное использование лексемы с семантикой ветра в качестве стёртой метафоры, фактически приближенное по функции к стилистическому и прагматическому эффекту, производимому эпитетом:

(8) При взгляде на коваля у Петра выветрились из памяти Фомин и разговор с ним, он ускорил шаги с целью переговорить относительно перековки коня… (М.А. Шолохов. Тихий Дон).

(9 – Не спеши. Засиделся небось, проветрись. Только пей в норму, чтобы в комендатуре тебя не искать (В.Д. Успенский. Неизвестные солдаты).

(10) – Поковыряйте, поковыряйте, – сказал разозленный Бесстужев. – Ковыряйте в носу, пока палец не сломается. Только прежде, чем нос

чистить, надо бы голову проветрить (В.Д. Успенский. Неизвестные солдаты).

– адвербиальное использование лексемы с семантикой ветра в качестве эпитета. В этом случае используется преимущественно форма творительного падежа имени существительного, т.е. *ветром* в значении «как ветер». Здесь следует сразу же оговорить следующий момент. Слово *ветер*, являясь своего рода прототипической формой передачи семантики естественного движения воздуха в природе, предполагает наличие разных степеней своего проявления в форме таких синонимов этого слова, как *штиль*, *затишье*, *буря*, *шторм*, *ураган* и других (это, кстати, относится практически ко всем случаям образной актуализации семантики ветра в речи). Особенно в такой форме используются значения ветра большой интенсивности, в частности:

(11) Ругал себя за то, что не решился ночью ударить по немцам. Пронесся бы ветром на полной скорости, расколол бы из пушки три-четыре фашистские коробки, а потом ищи-свищи! (В.Д. Успенский. Неизвестные солдаты).

(12) Еще земля не просохла на могиле Кирилова, как бурей налетел на Оренбургский край Татищев: – Плохо здесь все! Напортили тут… изгадили! (В.С. Пикуль. Слово и дело).

(13) Узнавши об этом, взбешенный артист ураганом налетел на дирекцию: – Ну вас к черту! Если у вас такие порядки, – я петь отказываюсь (В. Дорошевич. «Шаляпин в «Scala»»).

Во-вторых, объектом маркированности определениями, по стилистической функции являющимися эпитетами, часто является само слово «ветер». При этом также следует выделять две структурно-семантические модели. Первая из них является просто эпитетом, т.е. красочным, образным определением к маркируемому данным стилистическим средством имени существительному (в нашем случае, имена существительные с семантикой ветра), например:

(14) А ну-ка песню нам пропой, весёлый ветер (В. Лебедев-Кумач);

(15) Спины казакам грело солнце. Подушки седел приятно потеплели, бурые казачьи щеки увлажнял мокрогубый ветер (М.А. Шолохов. «Тихий Дон»);

(16) С юга дул теплый, ласковый ветер, на западе кучились густые, по-весеннему белые облака (М.А. Шолохов. «Тихий Дон»);

(17) Кораблей в эту пору в Новороссийске оказалось много. Жестокие, ножевые ветры рвали

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на мачтах английские, американские и французские флаги, тоскливо свистели в крепко натянутых снастях (И.Я. Болгарин, Г.Л. Северский. «Адъютант его превосходительства»).

Вторая модель является расширенной, поскольку кроме собственно красочного определения к словам *ветер*, *буря* и др. эти слова детерминируются общим метафорическим контекстом, т.е. слово с семантикой ветра подвергается образному переосмыслению для обозначения какого-либо важного с точки зрения говорящего или пишущего предмета, явления, события, например:

(18) - А! Ты не знал! – вдруг петушиным голосом пропел старик. – Так вот я тебе скажу, чтобы ты знал: ты не плохой малый, но если при буре ты будешь тверд, как льдина, то при дуновении теплого ветра ты можешь растаять (А.К. Виноградов. «Осуждение Паганини»).

Следующим важным с точки зрения семантики типом прагматико-стилистического использования слов с содержательной составляющей движения воздуха в естественных условиях является использование ветра в качестве объекта сравнения с каким-либо лицом, предметом, явлением или событием. Здесь хотелось бы отметить, что собственно разделение семантико-стилистических особенностей исследуемой группы лексических единиц на эпитеты, сравнения и метафоры с одной стороны можно считать достаточно условным, если учесть, что авторы многих учебных пособий по стилистике языка и сравнения, и эпитеты относят к общей группе тропов – метонимической. С другой стороны, многие авторы подчёркивают достаточно чёткое разделение указанных средств, а, например, А.Н. Мороховский сравнение вообще выносит из метафорической группы в группу фигур семантического тождества [6]. Учитывая именно данную точку зрения, мы также будем рассматривать указанные средства как отдельные и в то же время активно взаимодействующие друг с другом, в то же время не упуская из виду то обстоятельство, что данные средства активно конвергируют друг с другом, и порой, как, скажем, в примере, предваряющем данный абзац, представляется достаточно проблематичным отделить эпитет от сравнения. В данном случае под стилистической конвергенцией мы вслед за А.Н. Мороховским понимаем одновременную актуализацию сразу нескольких стилистических средств в условиях единого стилистически значимого контекста [6].

Как было указано выше, ветер достаточно часто встречается в сравнениях, т.е. в структурах семантического сравнения с обязательным использованием языковых маркеров ментальной операции сравнения. Т.е. союзов как, словно, будто, глаголов напоминать, походить на …, выглядеть как… и др., в частности:

(19) Отхлынувшие немцы щепили ее палашами. Возле небольшого клина суглинистой невеселой пахоты грудились, перекипали, колыхаясь в схватке, как под ветром (М.А. Шолохов. «Тихий Дон»).

(20) Дробь мелкой дроби в общей смете
Вся жизнь, затерянная в свете,
Как бурей загнанный ручей (П.А. Вяземский. «Коляска»).

(21) Григорий видел, как, словно от ветра, дрогнули ее ресницы, и на миг ощутил пряный запах помады, исходивший от ее неблекнущих щек (М.А. Шолохов. «Тихий Дон»).

(22) Впечатление было такое, что он вовсе не целится. А фигурки слетали с барьера одна за другой, точно их сдувало ветром (И.Я. Болгарин, Г.Л. Северский. «Адъютант его превосходительства»).

(23) Ее выросшее за год тело наполняло его, как ветер, дующий в парус с благоприятной стороны (Р.И. Фраерман. «Дикая собака Динго»).

(24) Вдруг, точно ветер, пугливо пронеслось по рядам одно торопливое короткое слово: «Едет, едет!» (А.И. Куприн. «Поединок»).

Как представляется, во всех указанных примерах сравнение с действием ветра направлено непосредственно на какие-то предметы или явления. От них следует отличать сравнения с кем или с чем-либо, в плане содержания фактически являющегося объектом сравнения, но в плане выражения опосредованным иным предметом или явлением, как, например, в следующем случае:

(25) Сотни Рябчикова повернулись фронтом к Каргинской и, словно ветер листья, погнали обратно красноармейцев (М.А. Шолохов. «Тихий Дон»).

Комментируя данный пример, следует отметить, что ветром, несомненно, без учёта контекста погнало не красноармейцев, а листья, но общая содержательная структура высказывания в целом противоречит этому. Тем самым находит подтверждение постулат И.Р. Гальперина о том, что общее предметное или категориальное (т.е. семантическое) содержание высказывания не является простой математической суммой слов или словосочетаний, из которых оно состоит [2].

Переходя к рассмотрению непосредственно метафорического использования лексики с семантикой ветра в русском языке, считаем

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необходимым подчеркнуть, что такие метафоры носят в первую очередь символический характер. Ветер воплощает в себе как объективные черты природной стихии, так и субъективные свойства, равно как и обертоны особых линий поведения, человека и иных живых существ. При этом ключевое значение имеет такой фактор, как интенсивность ветра. С этих позиций метафорические употребления исследуемых языковых единиц можно выделить метафоризации соответственно сильного и слабого ветра, равно как и многочисленные случаи метафорического переосмысления независимо от интенсивности ветра, хотя это деление также носит довольно относительный характер, что будет показано выше. При этом образуются более или менее устойчивые парадигматические модели на основании семантической сочетаемости лексем, стилистическим контекстом которых является метафора. Это своего рода клише-прототипы в когнитивно-лингвистическом понимании этого термина. В качестве прототипа они содержат определённую лексему, наиболее рекуррентно реализуемую в инвариантных контекстах, т.е. во многом по структурно-семантическим параметрам они схожи с фразеологическими моделями. Однако фразеологически связанными их можно считать лишь с большой натяжкой.

Метафоры слабого или, по крайней мере, неинтенсивного, неразрушительного ветра в качестве инвариантных содержаний являются следующими:

– лёгкий ветер свободен. Он, как кот, «гуляет сам по себе», не связан какими-либо обязательствами или путами, в его брожении нет конкретных целей, это своего рода бродяга без особых претензий или требований:

(26) Ветер по чистому полю
Лёгкой гуляет походкой… (Р. Рождественский. «Песня Яшки-цыгана» из к/ф «Неуловимые мстители»).

Такой ветер вне всякого сомнения маркируется положительным оценочным знаком, поскольку он приносит свежесть в жару, тепло во время суровых морозов. Очень часто у писателей обоих полов он ассоциируется с нежным любовником или любовницей противоположного пола, поэтому ветер в такой метафоре носит безусловно ярко выраженный антропоцентрический характер, и тем самым её использование обладает очень высокой образностью и экспрессивностью. Именно такой является расширенная метафора в повести К.Г. Паустовского:

(27) Я проснулся и долго лежал, не открывая глаз, ощущая у себя на лице чьи-то теплые ладони. От них пахло цветущей мимозой. Это был, конечно, утренний бриз. Он заполнил каюту, лениво бродил по ней и прикасался ко всему, что попадалось ему на пути, в том числе и к моим щекам. Сквозь полусон я вспомнил, что вот уже пятый день не брился и наверняка исцарапаю своей щетиной эти милые ладони. Мне стало стыдно, я решил тотчас побриться, и, должно быть, от этого окончательно проснулся (К.Г. Паустовский. «Бросок на юг»).

Тем не менее, ветер-«гуляка» не всегда может быть ласковым, что подчёркивалось выше. Обычно в поэтических контекстах он предстаёт как противоречивое, непоследовательное и в своём роде опасное создание. Например, именно таким он предстаёт в следующем стихотворении Галины Перекрёстовой:

(28) Ветер гуляет у нас во дворе,
Злится, командует, воет и стонет,
Холодом сеет, кричит и ворчит…

– ветер свободен, беззаботен и не связан какими-либо обязательствами или путами, ему никто не мешает и его не задерживает:

(29) Летел как-то по свету беззаботный ветер и песенку веселую насвистывал… (Начало сказки Н. Антоновой «Ветер и занавеска»).

(30) Порою ветер шаловливый
 Разбудит листья, слышен шум,
 И вдруг все стихнет — и на ум
 Приходят сказочные дивы (И.С. Никитин. «Смеркает день...»).

– тихий ветер задумчив и глубокомыслен, навевает тихую грусть и заставляет задуматься над смыслом жизни:

(31) Ветер повеет — и в тучку скрывается
Полного месяца круг;
Медленно в мягкую тень погружается
Ближнее поле и луг (И.А. Бунин. «Месяц задумчивый...»).

Метафоры сильного ветра, шторма, бури, как нетрудно догадаться, знаменуют собой некоторую резкую смену состояний, настроений, обстановки в мире и в обществе:

(32) В дни, когда новое столетие стучалось властно в двери старинной Европы, Паганини ощущал на себе освежающее веяние бурных ветров и весь отдавался поискам нового музыкального мира (А.К. Виноградов. «Осуждение Паганини»).

Именно по этой причине такую метафору любили революционные писатели и поэты. В «Песни о буревестнике» М. Горький этой метафорой наполняет всё произведение, и. как

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своего рода призыв к смене общественного устройства звучит известный призыв:

(33) Пусть сильнее грянет буря! (М. Горький. «Песня о буревестнике»).

Метафора сильного, беспорядочного ветра как символа меняющегося мира достаточно распространена и в прозаических произведениях, в том числе и в персонажной речи, например:

(34) Старик сказал:

– В страстном здании хасидизма вышиблены окна и двери, но оно бессмертно, как душа матери... С вытекшими глазницами хасидизм все еще стоит на перекрестке ветров истории (И. Бабель. «Конармия»).

Сильный ветер в отрыве от сложных общественных и международных обстоятельств может передавать и ситуацию переживания сильных, неоднозначных, как правило, отрицательных чувств и эмоций, быть их эмотивным фоном, в частности:

(35) Буйный ветер играет терновником,
Задувает в окне свечу…
Ты ушла на свиданье с любовником.
Я снесу! Я стерплю! Я смолчу! (А. Блок. «Буйный ветер»).

Таков далеко не полный список метафорического потенциала лексических единиц с семантикой «ветра» в русском языке. Но говоря об обширных и интенсивных семантико-прагматических потенциалах таких слов, нельзя забывать и о другой важной категориальной модели когнитивно-прагматического переосмысления, а именно, метонимии. Так. ветер может надувать паруса, кружить и вздымать листья, гонять пыль, уносить вдаль тучи, а движения этих предметов, производимое ветром. Является не менее образным, нежели собственно метафорическое использование слов с непосредственной семантикой движения воздуха. Выше в примере (25) уже было представлено подобное метонимическое переосмысление в сочетании с общим метафорическим контекстом. Также смешанной метафоро-метонимической текстовой моделью представлены такие названия произведений А. Грина «Алые паруса» и стихотворение «Парус» М.Ю. Лермонтова (затем взятое в качестве аллюзии в известном детском романе В.А. Катаева, где само название произведения является символом грядущих коренных перемен в жизни персонажей. Но данные примеры являются далеко не единственными:

(36) Звон отбиваемых кос, душный ветер, столбы пыли по степным дорогам – тяжёлое выдалось лето! (К. Г. Паустовский. «Аннушка»).

(37) Далекое стрекотанье мощного мотора крепло с каждой секундой – катер неумолимо нагонял парусник, в очередной раз демонстрируя преимущества двигателя внутреннего сгорания над романтикой парусов… (А.А. Бушков. «Пиранья». «Звезда на волнах»).

(38) Все вокруг свистело, дрожало, стонало, гнулось и неслось в ту сторону, куда дул ветер. И только Марьин утес, парусом распустив над собой ветви осокоря, плыл и плыл навстречу бешеному ветру, ни разу не дрогнув, не покачнувшись, не повернув обратно (А. Иванов. «Тени исчезают в полдень»).

(39) В вечном волнении лист на ветру,
трепет сомнения милому чужд:
просто он маленький, лёгкий листок,
словно зеленый вверху лоскуток,
маялся - ветер затеял игру. (Н. Соллогуб. «Лист на ветру»)

Следует отметить, что данный принцип распространяется и на явления, основанные на образном сравнении, в частности:

(40) В зале задвигались головы, как шляпки подсолнухов, расталкиваемые ветром; набряк стон одобряющих голосов (М.А. Шолохов. «Тихий Дон»).

В исследовании семантики ветра в русистике важным представляется и словообразовательный аспект. Дело в том, что многие лексические единицы, образованные от основы «ветер-/ветр-», сами являются метафорическими переосмыслениями и выполняют важную, аксиологическую функцию в тех контекстах, которые направлены на выражение определённой ценностно-оценочной коннотации. Это такие слова, как «поветрие», «ветреный/-ая/-ое», «заветриваться» и другие. Например:

(41) Когда наступило поветрие защищать кандидатские диссертации, многие молодые научные работники нередко обращались к дяде Сандро с просьбой разъяснить внешние поводы некоторых дореволюционных, а иногда и послереволюционных княжеских междоусобиц (Фазиль Искандер. «Сандро из Чегема. Книга 1»).

(42) На верноподданных моряки смотрели как на последних идиотов. Это поветрие коснулось не только матросских кубриков, но и большинства кают-компаний (особенно на Балтике) (В.С. Пикуль. «Моонзунд»).

(43) Вывод такой банальный, что за него даже немного стыдно, – с течением времени всякие, даже самые нежные, страстные и искренние отношения могут слегка окостенеть, заветриться. Вот и самая частая причина супружеских измен – поиск новых ощущений.

(44) Я кружу напропалую

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С самой ветреной из женщин.
А я давно искал такую.

И ни больше, и ни меньше (И. Кохановский. «Бабье лето»).

Все изложенные выше факторы, формирующие обширную палитру образного речевого употребления лексических единиц обусловливают интенсивное функционирование описываемых выше единиц в такой подсистеме языковых единиц, как фразеосемантическая сфера. Эта сфера не менее сложна и многочисленна по количеству и прагматико-стилистическому потенциалу, нежели все описанные выше сферы. Например, даже такой фразеологизм, как «за семью ветрами» в значении «далеко», как было обнаружено, в современном русском языке встречается в самых различных типах текстов: во многочисленных, особенно самиздатовских, стихотворных произведениях, в поэтических произведениях песенного жанра (например, данное фразеологическое единство является заголовком для текстов разных песен в исполнении А. Лорак, группы «Оазис» («За семью морями/За семью холмами,/ За семью ветрами,/ Где, не знаю сам …»)) в заголовках повести А.С. Ткаченко (А. С. Ткаченко. «За семью ветрами»), в публицистике (Т. Янукович. «За семью ветрами») и ещё в нескольких сотнях обнаруженных в Интернете случаев. Естественно, что в лимитированных рамками данного жанра научной прозы мы не смогли бы не только дать исчерпывающие классификационные основания фразеосистемы с компонентом «ветер», но и даже описать её состав в более или менее полном виде. Поэтому мы ограничимся лишь описанием семантико-прагматических характеристик лишь наиболее частотных из таких фразеологических единиц.

Начнём с наиболее нейтрального в метафорическом плане ФЕ «открытый (всем/многим) ветрам» как характеристике местности определённого типа, например:

(45) Городок стоит на большом холме, возвышаясь над окрестными лугами и полями. Открыт он для всех ветров – отсюда, наверно, и название: Одуев (В.Д. Успенский. «Неизвестные солдаты»).

В этом значении употребляется и более образный вариант:

(46) Город стоял на бою ветров: они дули либо с гор, либо с моря (Болгарин И. Я., Северский Г.Л. «Адъютант его превосходительства»).

В поэзии компонентный состав данной фразеологической единицы может подвергаться

переразложению (термин З.В. Тимошенко в []) для повышения экспрессивности, в частности:

(47) … И выходит песня
С топотом шагов
В мир, открытый настежь
Бешенству ветров (Э.Г. Багрицкий. «Смерть пионерки»).

Другой достаточно частотной является междометная фразеологическая единица «Каким ветром!», как известно, выражающая удивление от неожиданной встречи и в зависимости от ситуации способная выражать различные положительные и отрицательные эмоции. Например, в представленном примере выражается неподдельная радость от случайной встречи на фронте:

(48) Красавец учитель будто помолодел. Всплеснул руками, закричал радостно:
– Булгаков?! Каким ветром? К нам? Вот это новость! (В.Д. Успенский. «Неизвестные солдаты»).

В данном примере автор высказывания относится к встрече с определённой долей скептицизма:

(49) – Привет, – говорю. – Каким ветром ? (В.И. Кунин. «Интердевочка»)

Не менее частотным является и весьма образная и обычно характеризующаяся отрицательной коннотативной семантикой фразеологическая единица «словно/будто ветром сдуло», которая означает быстрое, внезапное и обычно весьма своевременное для удалившегося исчезновение с места в ответственной или неприятной для данного субъекта действия ситуации:

(50) Славки уже и след простыл, его будто сдуло ветром, едва отец оказал о войне: мчался в город, на центральную улицу, к своим ребятам (В.Д. Успенский. «Неизвестные солдаты»).

(51) … И посредине этого разгула
Я пошептал на ухо жениху,
И жениха как будто ветром сдуло…
(В.С. Высоцкий. «Смотрины»).

Данная фразеологическая единица может употребляться и для экспрессивного описания собственно физического действия:

(52) – … От этого вина я в ту ночь до трех раз с коня падал! Только сяду в седло, и сызнова меня - как ветром сдует (М.А. Шолохов. «Тихий Дон»).

Фразеологическая единица «пускать по ветру» обычно предполагает безответственное или расточительное отношение к государственной или иной, в том числе

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принадлежащей и самому субъекту, собственности. Обычно данное устойчивое словосочетание предполагает резко отрицательное оценочное отношение к тому, кто допустил такую трату:

(53) Десятки тысяч рублей стоит государству воспитание одного лейтенанта в училище – такую цифру услышал однажды Долгушин на совещании. И закричал: «Тьфу на эти деньги! Не рубли по ветру пускаем! Народное достояние! Души людские!» (А.А. Азольский. «Затяжной выстрел»).

(54) – Как же было дать вам бриллианты, когда вы пустили по ветру имение моей дочери? – спокойно и зло молвила старуха (И.Ильф, Е. Петров. «Двенадцать стульев»).

(55) – Все равно этот ваш герильяс их пустит по ветру, на революцию или как там это у вас зовется... (А.А. Бушков. «Пиранья». «Первый бросок»).

Частный вариант «бросать слова на ветер» данной фразеологической единицы характеризует малоинформативное или бесполезное речевое действие. Такое употребление также характеризуется высокой частотностью употребления:

(56) – Да он мне ничего никогда не говорил! – Ну, тебе не говорил. А он зря слов на ветер не бросает... (Д.Д. Нагишкин. «Сердце Бонивура»).

В связи с данной единицей примечателен следующий пример из украинской художественной прозы, поскольку его употребление вполне возможно и в русском языке (оно и было переведено дословно). В данной ситуации молодая женщина разрывает документы на собственность, которая вынуждает её быть пособницей межгосударственной шпионской организации. В общем-то показанную в примере актуализацию можно считать вариантом именно данной фразеологической единицы по её функциональным характеристикам, хотя по формальным показателям она представляется скорее вариантом описанной выше ФЕ «за семью ветрами», в частности:

(57) – Лети за семи вітрами! – тихо прошепотіла Агнеса. «Мов лузга, що відлітає, лишаючи здорове зернятко... – подумав Григорій. – Сьогодні ти й Нунке пустила за семи вітрами...» (Ю. Дольд-Михайлик. «У чорних лицарів»).

«Пускать по ветру» может означать и намеренное, часто обусловленное идеологическими мотивами, обычно являющееся синонимичным глаголу «жечь; поджигать» уничтожение собственности врагов:

(58) Конная разведка первая вступила в покинутые противником хутора; а пока подходила пехота, Кошевой уже пускал по ветру самые богатые курени (М.А. Шолохов. «Тихий Дон»).

Весьма частотной как в художественной, так и в разговорной речи является и сравнительная по своим структурным параметрам фразеологическая единица «как ветер», способная как сочетаться с именами прилагательными («быстрый/пронзительный/стремительный, как …»), так и употребляться в конструкциях с управлением глаголами движения («мчаться/лететь/бежать и т.п. как ...»), например:

(59) Нам подают "американки" [сани], он откидывается со мной назад,- и мы мчимся, летим, как ветер (И.С. Шмелёв. «Лето Господне»).

Высоким прагматическим потенциалом и достаточно высокой рекуррентностью характеризуется и устойчивое словосочетание, также основанное на сравнительной конструкции, передающее высокую степень свободы человека, а именно «свободный/вольный, как ветер». Иных смысловых вариаций данной единицы обнаружено не было.

(60) Во втором письме, датированном двумя неделями позже, Ира с какой-то странной интонацией сообщала: «Слава тебе, господи, я снова как ветер свободна!» (А. и Г. Вайнеры. «Эра Милосердия»).

Ещё одним достаточно частотным и в то же время образным и обладающим высоким иллокутивным потенциалом, используемым для характеристики поведения или образа жизни определённого лица является инвариант фразеологической единицы, задаваемый словосочетанием «ветер в голове». Обычно данная фразеологическая единица служит средством передачи снисходительного или раздражённого отношения к лицу достаточно молодого возраста, как в следующем примере:

(61) – А ей и горюшка мало. Сказано, молодая да глупая. В голове ветер так и ходит! (А.П. Чехов. «Степь»).

Несколько менее частотным, но также достаточно распространённым в актуализации как в бытовом, так и в бытийном дискурсе, является инвариант «…ветер дует» с его вариантами «откуда ветер дует» и «куда ветер дует». Первый из них означает адекватное понимание сложной или проблемной ситуации и может характеризоваться как положительной, так и отрицательной оценочной коннотацией. В приводимом примере. Несмотря на внешнее одобрение умения характеризуемого персонажа ориентироваться в ситуации, оценочное

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отношение говорящего является несомненно отрицательным, поскольку общий контекст высказывания характеризуется саркастическим тоном, тем более, что оно произносится в присутствии объекта оценочного речевого действия:

(62) – Еще бы ему не побледнеть, – хмыкнул Мазур, – он же сообразительный. Быстро приплюсовал два и два и понял, откуда ветер дует. (А.А. Бушков. «Пиранья». «Первый бросок»).

Таков далеко не полный список достаточно частотных фразеологических единиц русского языка, компонентом которых является непосредственно слово «ветер», не говоря уже о таких его синонимах, как «буря», «смерч», «ураган», метонимически сопряжённых с «ветром» слов в таких фразеологизмах, как «без руля и ветрил», «на всех парусах», «бороться с ветряными мельницами» и др. Но и приведённые примеры показывают, насколько эффективен концептуальный фон лексемы, прототипически выражаемой словом «ветер» для создания образно-стилистических и прагматических эффектов.

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РАЗДЕЛ II. СОПОСТАВИТЕЛЬНОЕ ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ
SECTION II. COMPARATIVE LINGUISTICS

Kozlova L.Ya.

CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGE PICTURE OF THE WORLD

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Abstract. The subject matter of this paper is the Russian and English language picture of the world. The article is aimed at determining inherent and the most original traits of national character and mentality and their reflection in the Russian and English language – at both lexical and grammar levels. The further contrastive analysis has been carried out to reveal common and varying features of the two nations to draw conclusions concerning cross-cultural communication. On the lexical level, the analysis was made by means of defining "nationally-coloured" set expressions, phraseological units, proverbs, sayings, etc.; using statements of famous Russian and English writers about the national character and mentality; applying linguistic data of researchers on the topic under consideration. On the level of grammar, some typical structures for both languages were found out which show national identity.

The conclusion was drawn that according to the analyzed properties of the English and Russian national character and mentality, the contrasted language pictures of the world reveal more differences than commonalities. Some common phenomena have been found: love for freedom, love for fairness (truth), tolerance and politeness. Nevertheless, the study shows that even these are very different in their core. That is why people (and politicians, in particular), dealing with cross-cultural communication between England and Russia, require much training and a very careful and inclusive attitude to each other to make our common world more friendly.

As a result, two comparative tables were made which can be of possible use to the teachers and scholars in various fields concerning ethnic studies and cross-cultural communication.

Key words: language; culture; mentality; English and Russian language picture of the world; national character; national mentality.

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СОПОСТАВЛЕНИЕ ЯЗЫКОВОЙ КАРТИНЫ МИРА АНГЛИЧАН И РУССКИХ

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Аннотация: Предметом данного исследования являются русская и английская языковые картины мира (ЯКМ). Цель – выявить наиболее существенные и самобытные черты национального характера и менталитета обеих наций и определить, как они отражаются в языке на уровне лексики и грамматики. Был проведён контрастивный анализ общих и различных черт и сделаны выводы, касающиеся межкультурной коммуникации.

На уровне лексики были проанализированы пословицы, поговорки, фразеологизмы, высказывания, соответствующие коммуника¬тивно-релевантным чертам русского и английского национального характера и менталитета; высказывания известных писателей; были приняты во внимание данные лингвистов, исследующих настоящую проблему. На уровне грамматики сопоставлены некоторые структуры, демонстрирующие ту или иную часть языковой картины мира.

Сделано заключение, что сопоставляемые ЯКМ двух наций имеют больше различий, нежели общих черт. Несмотря на то, что были выявлены такие общие, на первый взгляд, национальные черты, как свободолюбие, любовь к справедливости (честности),

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толерантность (терпение) и вежливость, однако и они существенно различаются. Поэтому все, имеющие дело с межкультурной коммуникацией (особенно, политики) должны проходить обучение и тренинги, чтобы сделать наш общий мир более дружелюбным.

В результате исследования представлены две таблицы. Статья может быть интересна преподавателям, студентам, исследователям и всем, кто имеет отношение к межкультурной коммуникации и этнолингвистике.

Ключевые слова: язык, культура, контрастивный анализ, английская и русская языковая картина мира, национальный характер, национальная ментальность.

In the modern scientific paradigm of linguistic researches, in particular, in cultural linguistics and linguodidactics, one of priority issues is studying a ratio of language, culture and thinking and various methods of reflecting reality in this or that ethnos. Efficiency of cross-cultural communication and teaching foreign languages in many respects depends on the knowledge of ethnic, group and other features of language, culture, national mentality of the studied ethnos (communicant) and a capability to unconflictive, mutually interested communication.

Now, the international contacts have extended; in the center of attention of communicative and anthropocentric linguistics there lies a relation of a language and a person; interest in cross-cultural communication and cross-cultural understanding, national identity of different people has become more **active.** Moreover, the number of interethnic conflicts requiring settlement has been increasing. Taking into consideration everything aforementioned, one can testify the relevance of researches in the sphere of cross-cultural communication.

The subject matter of this paper is the Russian and English language picture. This investigation is an extension of my previous work [1].

The article is aimed at determining inherent and the most original traits of national character and mentality and their reflection in the Russian and English language – at both lexical and grammar levels. The further comparative analysis has been carried out to reveal common and varying features of the two nations to draw conclusions concerning cross-cultural communication. On the lexical level the analysis was made by means of defining "nationally-coloured" set expressions, phraseological units, proverbs, sayings, etc.; using statements of famous Russian and English writers about the national character and mentality; applying linguistic data of researchers on the topic under consideration. On the level of grammar some typical structures for both languages were found out which show national identity. As a result two comparative tables were made which can be of possible use to the teachers

and scholars in various fields concerning ethnic studies and cross-cultural communication.

From the sixtieth of the 20th century the problem of a picture of the world was considered within semiotics when studying primary modeling systems (language) and secondary modeling systems (the myth, religion, folklore, poetry, prose, cinema, painting, architecture, etc.). The culture at this approach was treated as «not hereditary memory of a collective», and its main task was the structural organization of the world around that finds its expression in a world model [2: 16-17)] Respectively, if different symbolic systems model the world differently, then different languages form unequal models of the world.

The monographs devoted to philosophical judgment of a picture of the world in Russian and other Slavic languages are distinguished in the following theoretical works (Apresyan, 1995; Arutyunova, 1999; Bulygina, 1981; Guard, 1987; Kubryakova, 2001; Likhachev, 1993; Postovalova, 1999; Stepanov, 1997; Shmelyov, 2002), to dialect pictures of the world (Zakiryanov, 2000), to mythological decoding of pictures of the world of Indo-European languages (Makovsky, 1996; Toporova, 1999), to word-formation and phraseological resources of a picture of the world (Thalia, 1996; Khayrullina, 1966), etc.

The term «picture of the world» which is used in philosophy, linguistics, physics and other disciplines is interpreted in different ways. According to B.A. Serebrennikov, for the first time this concept appeared in physics at the end of XIX – the beginning of the 20th century. Then Hertz (1918) applied this term in relation to the physical picture of the world treated by him as «set of internal images of external objects from which in the logical way it is possible to receive data concerning behavior of these objects» [3, p. 12]. Internal images, or the symbols of external objects created by researches of G. Herts, shall be such that «logically necessary consequences of these representations were in turn images of naturally necessary investigations of the displayed objects» [3, p. 12].

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M. Plank understood the «image of the world» created by physical science and the nature reflecting real regularities as a physical picture of the world. M. Plank distinguished practical and scientific pictures of the world. He connected a practical picture of the world with the complete idea of the world around formed by a person which is developed by him/her gradually on the basis of his/her own experience. M. Plank treated a scientific picture of the world as model of the real world in an absolute sense, independent of individuals and all human thinking.

V.I. Karasik determines a world picture as «complete set of images of reality in collective consciousness» [4, p. 102]. Components, in his opinion, are images and concepts. Images are any perceptual, objectively existing or thought up mental formations created in one`s consciousness. Concepts are logically shaped general ideas of classes of objects or the phenomena.

The picture of the world represents a complex system of the images reflecting reality in collective consciousness. They differentiate scientific and naive pictures of the world, and if the former operates with the terms and it is constructed on practical and theoretical knowledge, then the latter is more dialectic and allows contradictory definitions of things.

According to A. Vezhbitskaya [5, p. 33-49], in all natural languages there are elementary concepts (semantic primitives) which are fundamental to the mankind (i.e. a part of genetic inheritance). I presume that these semantic primitives are characteristic of a naive picture of the world.

Interest in a language picture of the world can be found even in the works of W. Humboldt who wrote that various languages are bodies of their original thinking and perception for the nation. «Peculiarity of the spirit and the structure of alanguage of any people are so internally connected among themselves that if one of them was given, the second should be deduced from it. Language is also an external manifestation of the spirit of the people. Language is their spirit, and their spirit is their language. Never it is possible to express sufficiently their identity» [6, p. 147].

By the end of the 20th century many works appeared which were devoted to the problem under consideration: G.A. Brutyan, S.A. Vasilyev, G.V. Kolshansky, N.I. Sukalenko, M. Black, D. Hayms's works, collective monograph «A Human Factor in a Language. Language and Picture of the World», etc.

A language picture of the world precedes special pictures of the world (chemical, physical, etc.) and forms them [7, p. 63] because a person is capable to understand the world and him/herself thanks to the

language in which socio-historical experience – both universal and national – is fixed. The latter also defines specific features of the language at all its levels. Owing to the specifics of the language in the consciousness of its carriers there is a certain language picture of the world through which a person sees the world.

Yu.D. Apresyan [8] emphasized prescientific character of a language picture of the world, calling it a naive picture. A language picture of the world supplements objective knowledge of reality often distorting it (take, for example, scientific definition and language interpretation of such words as atom, a point, light, warmly, etc.). Studying the semantics of these words, it is possible to reveal specifics of the cognitive (cogitative) models defining originality of a naive picture of the world.

Language is the most important way of formation and existence of knowledge of a person about the world. Reflecting the objective world in activity process, a person fixes the results of his/her knowledge of the world. A set of this knowledge imprinted in a language form represents a phenomenon which in various concepts is understood as «language intermediate world», «language representation of the world», «language model of the world», or «a language picture of the world». A language picture of the world is:

• «a set of knowledge imprinted in a language form» [7, p. 64];

• «a set of ideas of the world which has historically developed in ordinary consciousness of this language collective and reflected in a language, a certain way of conceptualization of reality» [9].

According to many researchers, a language picture of the world forms and directs the type of relation of a person to the world (to the nature, animals, him/herself as to a world element). It sets standards of behaviour of a person in the world, defines his/her relation to it. Each natural language reflects a certain way of perception and organization («conceptualization») of the world. The values expressed in this conceptualization develop in a certain uniform frame of viewpoints, some kind of collective philosophy which is imposed as obligatory for all native speakers.

Forming of LPW is influenced by language, traditions, nature and a landscape, education, training and other social factors.

To this day, the problem of interrelation of language and culture is one of central in linguistics. The first attempts of the solution of this problem can be traced in the works of W. Humboldt whose basic provisions of the concept can be reduced to the

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following: 1) material and spiritual culture are realized in a language; 2) any culture is national, its national character is expressed in a language by means of special vision of the world; the internal form (IF), specific to each people, is inherent in a language; 3) IF of a language is an expression of «national spirit», its culture; 4) a language is a mediating link between a person and the world surrounding him/her [7: 59].

W. Humboldt`s concept received a peculiar interpretation in A.A. Potebnya`s work «A Thought and Language», in Sh. Balli, Zh. Vandriyez, I.A. Baudouin de Courtene, R.O. Jacobson works and other researchers.

In the hypothesis of linguistic relativity of Sapir-Whorf (American ethnolinguists) the following basic principles are allocated: 1. Language causes a method of thinking of the people speaking on it. 2. The method of knowledge of the real world depends on what language the learning subjects think. «We dismember the nature in the direction prompted by our language. We mark out in the world of the phenomena these or those categories and types not because they are axiomatic, on the contrary, the world appears as the kaleidoscope flow of impressions which shall be organized by our consciousness and it means generally by the language system which is stored in our consciousness. We dismember the world and organize it in concepts and we distribute values so, but not differently, generally because we are agreement parties, ordering similar systematization. This agreement is valid for a certain language collective and is fixed in the system of models of the language» [10, p. 174].

This hypothesis got support and further development in L. Weisgerber's works, in his concept of language as the «intermediate world» standing between the objective reality and consciousness. The scholar considered that language works in all areas of spiritual life as a creating force.

Speaking about a ratio of national culture, personality and language one should start from the book of E.M. Vereshchagin and V.G. Kostomarov «Language and culture»: «A person isn`t born either Russian, or German, or Japanese, etc., and becomes as such in the result of stay in the corresponding national community of people. A child is educated through the impact of the national culture which carriers are surrounding people» [11, p. 25].

However, essential role in the education of a personality is played by the language inseparably linked with the culture. The known aphorism of the Soviet psychologist B.G. Ananyev given by E.M. Vereshchagin and V.G. Kostomarov: «a personality is a product of culture», S.G. Ter-Minasova specifies: «a personality is a product of language and culture» [12, p.

135]. A baby from the first minute of the birth plunges into the sounds of the native language which acquaints it with the world around, imposing «that picture which had been «drawn» before and without the child. At the same time through the language a person gains an impression about the world and the society which member it has become, about the culture, that is about the rules of the community, about a value system, morals, behavior, etc.» [12, p. 135].

Let us consider national character and stereotypes from the point of view of a ratio of national culture, personality and language. What is their influence on the forming of a language picture of the world of a specific ethnos? There are various terms designating originality and peculiar features of specific people: national spirit, national consciousness, ethnic identity, ethnic representation (N.A. Erofeyev), psychological temper of the nation (S.M. Arutyunyan), etc. However, «national character» remains the most widespread term. S.M. Arutyunyan speaks about the existence of «a psychological temper of the nation», determining it as «a peculiar national colour of feelings and emotions, views and actions, steady and national lines of the habits and traditions which are created under the influence of the conditions of material life, features of historical development of this nation and shown in the specifics of its national culture» [13, p. 23].

Though the term «national character» is not accepted by all the scholars, most of them admit, that there exist some inherent codes of behaviour and mentality specific of the particular nation, for instance, S.G. Ter-Minasova [12, p. 12] or English anthropologist and Co-Director of the Social Issues Research Centre in Oxford and a Fellow of the Institute for Cultural Research Kate Fox in her outstanding work «Watching the English»: «The object was to identify the *commonalities* in rules governing English behaviour – the *unofficial codes of conduct* that cut across class, age, sex, region, subcultures and other social boundaries. For example, Women's Institute members and leather-clad bikers may seem, on the surface, to have very little in common, but by looking beyond the «ethnographic dazzle» of superficial differences, I found that Women's Institute members and bikers, and other groups, *all behave in accordance with the same unwritten rules* – rules that define our national identity and character. I would also maintain, with George Orwell, that *this identity 'is continuous, it stretches into the future and the past, there is something in it that persists*, as in a living creature» [15].

I.A. Sternin parts the concepts «national character» and «mentality» considering that they cannot be mixed. According to I. A. Sternin and his school, mentality characterizes not only the nation in general, but also various social groups of people. In this regard mentality is defined by him as «specific

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way of perception and understanding of reality determined by the set of the cognitive stereotypes of consciousness characteristic of a certain group of people» [14, p. 24-26]. Group mentality is specific perception of reality by certain social, age, professional, gender groups of people. Mentality is connected with the viewpoints of a personality, his/her apperception mechanisms.

Except group, there is a national mentality – the national way of perception and understanding of reality determined by a set of cognitive stereotypes of the nation. For example, an American seeing a rich person thinks: *rich* means *clever*, a Russian in this case usually thinks *rich* means *a thief*. The concept *new* is perceived by an American as *the best*, by a Russian as *not checked*.

Thus, the national mentality represents a national way of perception and understanding of reality on the basis of the stereotypes which are present at national consciousness, mental clichés, schemes of explanations of the phenomena and events, mechanisms of causal attribution. These are consciousness stereotypes. According to I.A. Sternin, national character is psychological stereotypes of behaviour of the people. Social, physical and communicative behaviour are defined both by mentality and national character, but mentality, undoubtedly, plays the leading role in it [14, p. 23-25].

The most popular source of stereotypic ideas of national characters are the so-called international jokes, that is the jokes constructed on a sample plot: representatives of different nationalities, having got into the same situation, react to it differently, according to those lines of their national character which are attributed to them in the homeland of a joke. So, in the Russian international jokes the British usually are excessively punctual, laconic, pragmatic, reserved, love cigars, whisky, equestrian sport, etc. The Germans are practical, disciplined, organized, crazy about an order and, therefore, are limited. The French are thoughtless idlers, epicureans, thinking only of women, wine and gastronomic pleasures. The Americans are rich, generous, self-confident, pragmatic, are famous for good expensive cars. The Russians are unpretentious, alcoholics, fighters, open, crude, love vodka and fights. In the Russian international jokes, all of them behave according to these stereotypes.

S.G. Ter-Minasova [12] gives such a joke: how people of different nationalities behave if they find a fly in a glass of beer. A German (practical) throws out a fly and drinks beer. A Frenchman (sentimental) pulls out a fly, blows on it, straightens her wings — and doesn`t drink beer. A Russian (unpretentious and liking to drink) drinks beer, without having noticed a fly. An American (confident in his rights) calls the waiter, makes a scandal and asks for another mug. A Chinese (Chinese cuisine includes the most unexpected dishes) takes out a fly, drinks beer and has a snack on a fly. A Jew (mercantile) drinks beer and sells a fly to the Chinese.

Interregional Center of Communicative Researches of the Voronezh University carried out the analysis of the English communicative behaviour. The description of communicative behaviour reflects:

1. Really observed realization of these stereotypes by many carriers of this communicative culture.

2. Really observed realization of these stereotypes in many situations of communication.

3. Bigger or smaller awareness of these stereotypes by native speakers in the conditions of a reflection or the verifying poll.

4. Detection of these stereotypes in cross-cultural communication in the form of communicative shock or communicative difficulties [14, p. 20].

A language picture of the world is formed, first of all, at the lexical level by means of set expressions, phraseological units, idioms, proverbs, sayings, jokes, etc. Now I am passing to the results of my research and list here the main communicative and relevant features of the English mentality and national character which promote the formation of the English language picture of the world.

1. Moderation, restraint (social dis-ease, English reserve)

English show moderation and restraint in behaviour and in public life, they are not inclined to extremes. Kate Fox calls social dis-ease the core of Englishness.

 «The English social dis-ease is a congenital disorder, bordering on a sort of sub-clinical combination of autism and agoraphobia (the politically correct euphemism would be 'socially challenged'). It is our lack of ease, discomfort and incompetence in the field (minefield) of social interaction; our embarrassment, insularity, awkwardness, perverse obliqueness, emotional constipation, fear of intimacy and general inability to engage in a normal and straightforward fashion with other human beings. When we feel uncomfortable in social situations (that is, most of the time) we either become over-polite, buttoned up and awkwardly restrained or loud, loutish, crude, violent and generally obnoxious. Both our famous 'English reserve' and our infamous 'English hooliganism' are symptoms of this social dis-ease, as is our obsession with privacy. Some of us are more severely afflicted than others. The dis-ease is treatable (temporary alleviation/remission can be achieved using props and facilitators – games, pubs, clubs, weather-speak,

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cyberspace, pets, etc. – and/or ritual, alcohol, magic words and other medications), and we enjoy periods of 'natural' remission in private and among intimates, but it is never entirely curable. Most peculiarities of English behaviour are traceable, either directly or indirectly, to this unfortunate affliction» [15].

Key phrases include: 'An Englishman's home is his castle'; 'Nice day, isn't it?'; 'Oi - what you looking at?'; 'Mind your own business'; 'I don't like to pry, but . . .'; 'Don't make a fuss/scene'; 'Don't draw attention to yourself'; 'Keep yourself to yourself'; ''Ere we go, 'ere we go'; 'Enger-land! Enger-land! Enger-land».

Reserve of the English people is implemented in the following sayings and proverbs: Silence is gold(en). – Brevity is the soul of wit. – First think; then speak. – A word to the wise. – Still waters run deep.

A. Vezhbitskaya notes that in English there are very few intransitive emotional verbs – worry, grieve, rejoice, pine and some more. «This reflects an important feature of Anglo-Saxon culture – culture which looks at the behaviour estimated as «emotional» without special approval, with suspicion and confusion» [5, p. 339].

Especially it is necessary to stop on exclamatory sentences. Moderation and restraint of British, in particular, are shown in the lack of exclamatory sentences, especially in formal and business styles (Dear Mr. Smith, Dear Sir/Madam).

2. Conservatism in public life

British note that they think of the past better, than of the future. British «trust innovations with difficulty, patiently standing many temporary delusions; deeply and forever are sure of greatness, which is in the Law and in the Customs once solemnly established and long since recognized for fair and final» (Karleyl [1843] 1994, p. 252). British are obliged to English conservatism by the difficult, dispersing from the pronunciation spelling, left-hand traffic, furious protection of a pound against entering of euro and maintenance of the numerous traditions. Preserving the monarchy and general love to royal family is also a tribute to the English conservatism. Admirers of old times, ancient traditions and habitual tenor of life, they don't hurry to refuse the monarchy and institutes and customs accompanying it. British like to repeat: Don't change horses in the middle of the stream. - An old dog will learn no new tricks. - You can't teach old dogs new tricks. - An old dog barks not in vain.

3. Abiding to the law

British are exclusively law-abiding, researchers note that the respect for the law is a source of national pride of British. Unlike the Russian drivers, for example, the English drivers will surely stop on the crossing and will get a pedestrian go even if there is no police officer who can fine nearby.

4. Fair play

«Fair play» is a national priority, a part of the code of the gentleman – in all situations an Englishman shall behave fairly. Unlike Americans for whom the most important is victory, for British the most important is the fair behavior in a game. The most fair play in England is a cricket and the phrase of «It's not a cricket» is considered an expression of disapproval of a dishonest behavior. «Fair play, with its sporting overtones, suggests that everyone should be given an equal chance, that no-one should have an unfair advantage or handicap, and that people should conduct themselves honourably, observe the rules and not cheat or shirk their responsibilities. At the same time, «fair play» allows for differences in ability and accepts that there will be winners and losers – while maintaining that playing well and fairly is more important than winning» [15].

The following proverbs confirm this English national principle: Honesty is the best policy. - **A clean hand wants no washing. - A clear conscience laughs at false accusations.**

Kate Fox calls «fair play» national quasi-religious obsession. «Our acute sense of fairness is often mistaken for other things – including both socialism and conservatism, and even Christianity. Much of English morality is essentially about fair play» [15].

Key phrases: 'Well, to be fair . . .'; 'In all fairness . . .'; 'Given a fair chance'; 'Come on, it's only fair'; 'Fair's fair'; 'Fair enough'; 'Firm but fair'; 'Fair and square'; 'Wait your turn'; 'Take turns'; 'Be fair'; 'Fair cop'; 'That's not cricket/not on/out of order!'; 'Level playing-field'; 'Don't be greedy'; 'Live and let live'; 'On the other hand'; 'There's always two sides'; 'On balance'; 'Let's just agree to disagree, shall we?'» [15].

5. Politeness (demonstration of rules of conduct), manners

British are polite and affable everywhere. In a shop or office they patiently wait when they are noticed. It is not accepted to draw attention of a service personnel to oneself and it is useless if at this moment they serve another client. But, as soon as your queue has approached, you will be served exactly so much time as it is necessary. Moreover, one can speak to the seller about the weather and other things, and nobody from the queue will show either the slightest irritation, or impatience.

British tell *thanks* not only in response to the service, but also in many other communicative situations: a passenger says to the controller *Thank you* in response when returns the checked ticket. A

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cashier will tell *Thank you*, responding to your gratitude for the note which was exchanged to you.

Many researchers note that the English politeness and courtesy aren't sincere, proceeding from the heart. It is only a form, external manifestation of manners, statutory rules of behavior to which each Englishman submits. «English courtesy seems to be almost entirely a matter of form, of obedience to a set of rules rather than expression of genuine concern» [15].

Kate Fox claims that the English courtesy is the symptom of the same restraint, exclusivity and distancing of the British connected with the unwillingness of anybody`s invasion to the sphere of «ego». «Although our reserve is certainly a symptom of our social dis-ease, it is also, at least in part, a form of courtesy – the kind sociolinguists call **'negative politeness'**, which is concerned with other people's need not to be intruded or imposed upon (as opposed to 'positive politeness', which is concerned with their need for inclusion and social approval)» [15].

6. Tolerance

British are very tolerant, and are inclined to compromises. They perfectly understand that existence of different opinions on the same question – is in the nature of things, another opinion is not a crime. They do not, as a rule, do remarks to the surrounding people, even if their behavior creates big inconveniences. If a remark is, nevertheless, done, it will sound in a very soft form (Excuse me, I think you're standing on my foot – in a subway train), and frequently in the form of a request *(*Could you please stop talking? – to the schoolmates during the lesson*)*.

It should be noted that anthropologist Kate Fox does not mention this property in the cited work of hers. Tolerance is slightly referred to when speaking about moderation as a national quality. «Our tolerance… tends to be at least partly a matter of benign indifference» [15]. It should be noted that there is certainly less blatant tolerance of bribery, corruption and cheating in England than in most other countries.

7. Respect for property

British have a respect for other person`s property, which is a compulsory provision of a decent behaviour in the society. It is impossible to criticize property of another person. For example, in England it is not accepted to laugh at the deceived husbands, because they suffered in what belongs to them.

8. Individualism, non-interference in the others` affairs, observance of «privacy»

Privacy is that zone of personal autonomy in which the entrance to strangers is prohibited. The importance of this fragment of a language picture of the world is reflected in many English proverbs:

An Englishman's house is his castle. - Good fences make good neighbours. - Love your neighbour, yet pull not down your fence. - He travels the fastest who travels alone. - Come seldom, come welcome. - It is easy to keep a castle that was never assaulted. - Better a castle of bones than of stones [17: 253].

It should be noted that individualism and respect for property are very closely connected in the English language culture (issues 7-8), and, evidently, do not exist separately. That is why the proverbs given here can be equally referred to number 7.

9. Distancing

Distancing and mitigation of impact on the interlocutor drop a hint of doubt in a possibility of the commission of the action (I'd love to have you for dinner on Sunday, but I imagine you have other plans), distance the addressee from the action (Your car has to be moved up), etc.

10. Feeling of the English superiority

The English have a brightly expressed feeling of the English superiority. English, in their opinion, means the best. The English name «continental breakfast» which has become currently used by many people is associated with not English, that is not really qualitative, not «such as it is necessary». The feeling of the English superiority is shown also in the indulgent attitude of British to the foreigners and their belief that foreigners are to know English.

11. Pragmatism and rationalism

The English are very pragmatic. It is usually noted that their pragmatism is a consequence of their historical development as «the most bourgeois nation». They are prudent, they do what is necessary and try not to do anything superfluous. The English are obliged to their pragmatism and rationalism by rather small losses in World War II. Both the foreign policy of Great Britain, and work of its intelligence agencies is pragmatic.

At the level of grammar the structures actualising rationality and a causation connected with human will are widespread in English:

X made Y wash the dishes.
X had her boots mended.
X got Y furious [5: 369].

In other words, these structures reflect a priority of human mind and will in the English mentality over something irrational, inaccessible for a person. In comparison, we will note that irrationality which grammatical marker is impersonal sentences is peculiar to the Russian mentality: Его переехало трамваем. Его знобило/ лихорадило/ мутило. (He was run by a tram. He was shivering / was in a fever / stirred up). One should pay attention that translation gives only the general sense, but not the Russian structures.

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If a comparison is made in the usage of concepts душа/soul/mind, the result shows prevalence of the concept *mind* in the English language that undoubtedly is a sign of rationalism, while the Russian language demonstrates the dominant concept *душа:*

> *душевное спокойствие* / *peace of mind*
> *душевнобольной* / *mentally-ill person*
> *камень сваливается с души/ load (weight) off one's mind*

The mind is the man. - It is the riches of the mind only that make a man rich and happy.

12. Hypocrisy

«The English are rightly renowned for their hypocrisy. This is an omnipresent trait, insidiously infecting almost all of our behaviour – and even the 'ideals' we most prize, such as modesty, courtesy and fair play… You could say that most of our politeness/modesty/fairness is hypocritical, but also that most of our hypocrisy is a form of politeness – concealment of real opinions and feelings to avoid causing offence or embarrassment. English hypocrisy seems to be mainly a matter of unconscious, collective self-deception – collusion in an unspoken agreement to delude ourselves – rather than a deliberate, cynical, calculated attempt to deceive others» [15].

Key phrases: too numerous to list – English conversation is littered with polite euphemisms and other disguises, deceptions and denials – on average, at least every other 'please', 'thank-you', 'sorry', 'nice', 'lovely' (plus smiles, nods, etc.) is hypocritical.

13. Humour, irony, understatement

«Probably the most important of our three basic reflexes. Humour is our most effective built-in antidote to our social disease... Virtually all English conversations and social interactions involve at least some degree of banter, teasing, irony, wit, mockery, wordplay, satire, understatement, humorous self-deprecation, sarcasm, pomposity-pricking or just silliness. Humour is not a special, separate kind of talk: it is our 'default mode'; it is like breathing; we cannot function without it. English humour is a reflex, a knee-jerk response, particularly when we are feeling uncomfortable or awkward: when in doubt, joke» [15].

Key phrases: 'Oh, come off it!' (Our national catchphrase, along with 'Typical!') Others impossible to list – English humour is all in the *context*, e.g. understatement: 'Not bad' (meaning outstandingly brilliant); 'A bit of a nuisance' (meaning disastrous, traumatic, horrible); 'Not very friendly' (meaning abominably cruel); 'I may be some time' (meaning 'I'm going to die' – although, come to think of it, that one was possibly not intended to be funny).

14. Exaggerated estimation

Exaggeration in English shows that positive assessment can be strengthened by means of the use of intensifiers and repetitions: *What do you think of these photos? – They are absolutely marvelous. / You've done a great job. She is a smashing kid* (to the parents about their child). / *Your daughter is a genius. She is absolutely fantastic* (a teacher to the parents). / *That was a lovely dinner. You really are a superb cook* (a guest to the host). [14, p.150]

15. Love for freedom, freedom of opinions, tastes and behaviour:

Love for freedom, freedom of opinions, tastes and behaviour can be demonstrated in the following proverbs: It takes all sorts to make a world. – Variety is the spice of life. – Tastes differ. – Every man to his taste. – There is no accounting for tastes. – One man's meat is another man's poison. – Beauty is in the eye of the beholder.

16. Avoiding imperative forms

Inadmissibility of the impact on the addressee, respect for his/her communicative inviolability defines English communication as indirect (not straightforward), not categorical, subjective.

These features are characteristic, first of all, of incentive speech acts (command, request, invitation, advice, offer). They are also used for expressing opinion, that is in all those situations where the interests of the addressee are infringed and there is a threat of invasion into the zone of his/her personal autonomy.

The English avoid the use of imperative forms in different situations of communication (see Larina 2003). Can I see your passport? (on a passport control) / Could you please come to my office for a moment? (a chief – to a subordinate) / Would you mind repeating that, please? (a teacher – to a pupil). [14, p. 146]

17. Attitude to money, the rich and the poor

It was found out that attitude to money in the English society is rather respectful: Money makes money. – Money talks. – Money makes the man. – Money makes the mare go [14: 135].

The English think that the poor are left by God: God help the rich, the poor can look after themselves. - God help the rich man, let the poor man beg. - Children are poor men's riches.

Some proverbs detect the viewpoint of the English people on different aspects of life: He who lives according to nature will never be poor, and he who lives according to opinion will never be rich. - **A penny saved is a penny gained.**

In times of prosperity friends will be plenty, in times of adversity, not one in twenty. - Poverty is no vice, but an inconvenience.

Some English proverbs (4 out of 34 analyzed on the topic) demonstrate negative attitude to money and wealth: Money is the root of all evil. - Better wit than

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wealth. - Sell not virtue to purchase wealth. - An abundance of money ruins youth [18].

In general, the English culture belongs to individualist type.

A. Vezhbitskaya offers the following examples to demonstrate the differences in Russian (non-agentiveness) and English (agentiveness) languages:

A) He succeeded.

He failed.

B) Ему это удалось.

Ему это не удалось.

The English nominative construction (a) shifts a part of responsibility for success or failure of some enterprise onto the person who starts it while the Russian dative construction (b) completely exempts the subject from any liability for the end result. Thus, the conclusion is drawn that in the English culture there is a more responsible attitude to business than in the Russian culture. I consider that it is possible to mention a response phrase commonly spread now in the Russian language (especially in the students` environment): *Так получилось.* (It has turned out so). This phrase is usually used in a situation, if, for example, a teacher asks a student why he /she did not attend classes.

Now let us move on to the main communicative and relevant features of the Russian mentality and Russian national character which contribute to the formation of the Russian language picture of the world.

1. Generosity, hospitality

Hospitality and generosity of the Russian people is reflected in the Russian proverbs as in a mirror: «Первому гостю первое место и первая ложка» - To the first guest the first place and the first spoon; «Красному гостю честь да место» - To the handsome guest honour and place; «Садись, так гость будешь», - Sit down, so the guest you will be; «Гостю почёт, хозяину честь» - To the guest honor, to the host honour. - «Без обеда не красна беседа» - Without lunch the conversation isn`t good, «Красна река берегами, а обед пирогами» - A river is decorated with banks, and a lunch with the pies; «Чем богат, тем и рад» - what you are rich with, to that I am glad.

Russians pay special attention to good neighbourhood: «Худое дело обидеть соседа». – Bad business is to offend the neighbour. - «Жить в соседах – быть в беседах». - To live near the neighbour means to be in a conversation. - «Близкий сосед лучше дальней родни». - The close neighbour is better than distant relatives. - «Межи да грани – ссоры да брани». - Boundaries and limits are a quarrel and abuse.

The Russian hospitality is well-known and does not depend on the degree of wealth: «Хоть не богат, а гостям рад». - Though I am not rich, but glad to the guests. The best treat for the guest is always ready: «Коли есть, что в печи, все на стол мечи!» - If there is something in the furnace, everything on a table. - «Гостю щей не жалей, а погуще налей». – Do not spare Russian cabbage soup to the guest, and pour more densely.

2. Love of freedom

Russian proverbs demonstrate great love for freedom: «Хоть тяжелая доля, да все своя воля». - Though a heavy share, but my will for everything. - «Своя воля дороже всего». - My own will is the dearest. - «Вольность всего дороже». - The liberty is the dearest. - «Воля птичке дороже золотой клетки». - The will to a birdie is dearer than a gold cage. - «Что хочу, то и ворочу». – What I want, this I do. - «Своя рука владыка». - My hand is my lord.

Turning to the Russian history, one can make sure that even serfdom has not turned a Russian peasant into a spiritual slave. Great Russian poet A.S. Pushkin told how he, going in a stagecoach from Moscow to St. Petersburg, talked to an Englishman. «I have asked him a question what can be more unfortunate than a Russian peasant. The Englishman answered: «An English peasant». Pushkin was surprised: «Ah! A free Englishman, in your opinion, is more unfortunate than a Russian serf? Do you really consider a Russian peasant free?» The Englishman told: «Look at him: what can be freer than his treatment of you? Is there a shadow of slave humiliation in his gait and speech?» [19].

3. Religiousness, irrationality

One of the deep features of the Russian character is religiousness. The religious outlook has played an important role in the formation of both the nation in general, and the Russian personality, in particular. This characteristic deep feature of Russian national personality has been reflected since the most ancient times in the Russian folklore, in proverbs: «Жить – Богу служить». - To live is to serve God. - Сильна Божья рука. – God`s hand is strong. «Божья рука – владыка». God`s hand is a lord. «Никто не может, так Бог поможет» - Nobody can help, so God will help. - «С Богом пойдешь, до блага дойдешь». – If you go with God, you will reach good. These proverbs say that God is almighty and helps believers in everything, God is the perfection ideal, He is merciful, loving, kind, unselfish and wise: «У Бога милости много» - God has much favour. «Бог на милость не убог». - God isn`t poor on favour. «Друг о друге, а Бог обо всех». - We are about each other, but God is about everybody. «Кто добро творит, тому Бог отплатит». - Who does good, God will pay back. God is generous, He is glad to accept any person who addresses Him, His love is immeasurably big: «Кто к Богу, к тому и Бог». -

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Who is to God, to that is God. «Любящих и Бог любит» God loves those who love God. - «Бог полюбит, так не погубит». – If God will love, so He won`t ruin.

From 34 phraseological units with the word *душа* 15 are translated into English by the word *heart* and only four by the word *soul*. Soul and *душа* coincide in translation generally in terms of personal value (ни души — not a soul). The Russian phraseological units with the word *душа* are widely common, especially in informal conversation, while many combinations to the word soul have a dung «outdated» or «rare» in English [12].

Earlier it was noted that irrationality which grammatical marker is impersonal sentences is peculiar to the Russian mentality: Его переехало трамваем. Его знобило/ лихорадило/ мутило. «The impersonal form of verbs passes through the language and makes one of most characteristic features of the Russian way of thinking» [Zharintseva, 1916]. (See number 11).

4. Aspiration to the truth and justice

The Russian sense of justice was oriented to the life on the principles of conscience, but not on the formal rules or laws. Truth in Russian isn`t a formal concept in the western sense which can be always **turned out**, but an absolute concept and measure of good and conscience, the Absolute Truth which isn't limited to a certain person or people. The Russian people say: «Не в силе Бог, а в правде». - God is not in force, but in the truth. «Без веры Господь не избавит, без правды Господь не исправит». - Without faith the Lord won`t save, without the truth the Lord won`t correct. «Всякая неправда — грех». - Any lie is a sin. «Бог тому даст, кто правдой живет». - God will give to that who lives according to the truth. - «Кто правды ищет, того Бог сыщет». - Who looks for the truth, God will find that. «Оправь Бог правого, выдай виноватого»! – God, justify the innocent, issue the guilty!

5. Humility to destiny and authorities

A. Vezhbitskaya notes a tendency to passivity and fatalism as one of the main features of the Russian national character. «Судьба is a key concept of the Russian culture. It doesn't have an equivalent neither in English nor in the English culture … In судьба the hint is on what a person can expect something bad rather than good, but at the same time this word represents human life as incomprehensible (and at the same time not subject to the control) than as senseless and inevitably tragic» [5, p. 426, 429].

«Где быть беде, там ее не миновать». - Where trouble is to happen, one cannot avoid it. «Чему быть, того не миновать». - What must be, one cannot avoid it. «Кому служу, тому и волю творю». - To whom I serve, to that I submit my will.

«Бей челом ниже: до неба высоко, до лица земли ближе». - Ask humbly below: to the sky it is high, to the face of land it is closer. «Побьют – не воз навьют». – To be beaten is not to be loaded up.

6. Emotionality

According to the researches of the Russian national character conducted in Harward, Russians are people «expressive and emotionally live», they are distinguished by the «general effusiveness», «ease in expression of feelings» «impulsiveness» [5, p. 332].

Russian is exclusively rich with «active» emotional verbs, most of them are not translated into English at all: *любоваться, восхищаться, ликовать, волноваться, беспокоиться, огорчаться, радоваться, тосковать, скучать, грустить, хандрить, унывать, гордиться, ужасаться, стыдиться, злиться, гневаться, тревожиться, etc..* Activity of these verbs is demonstrated in the ability to enter direct speech (in the form of perfective aspect): «Маша здесь?» – удивился Иван. - Is Masha here? - Ivan was surprised.

The Russian culture refers verbal expression of emotions to one of the main functions of the human speech, meanwhile Anglo-Saxon culture disapproves of unconstrained verbal stream of feelings: *Pigs grunt about everything and nothing. First think, then speak.*

The concept of *родина* arouses a lot of emotion in Russians. Bruce Monk, one of the authors of a school textbook «Happy English», shared his thoughts and said that the concept of *родина* in Russia is feminine, «you regard it as your mother (родина-мать, родина-матушка,). We have a different attitude to our country. We would never dream of calling it «motherland». Your people feel nostalgic during three-week Oxford summer courses of English. I lived in Russia away from my country for 9 years and I did not feel nostalgic. We are on different terms with our country» [12, p.177].

7. Collectivism

Russians «are distinguished with the passionate desire to become members of some collective, they are distinguished by the feeling of collectivism, and also warmth and expressional emotionality of human relationship» [C. 332]. See point 1

«Один за всех, все за одного». - One for all and all for one.

«На миру и смерть красна, а в раю жить тошно одному». - Company in distress makes trouble less, and one feels sick to live in paradise alone.

«Один в поле не воин». - One man is no man (fighter).

«Одинокое дерево ветер валит». - Wind brings down a lonely tree.

«Одна ласточка не делает весны». - One swallow doesn't bring spring.

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In these proverbs one person, one tree, one hand, can`t do anything, but a group of people united by the common idea, aspiration and desire is able to do almost everything.

8. Patience and firmness

It is, perhaps, one of the characteristics of the Russian people which has become literally legendary. Russians have, apparently, boundless patience, surprising ability to stand difficulties, deprivations and sufferings. In the Russian culture patience and ability to endure sufferings is ability to existence, ability to answer challenges, it is a moral basis of a personality.

One can find reflection of this feature in the Russian proverbs and sayings:

"Терпение – лучше спасенья" - Patience is better than rescue.

"Терпение даст умение". - Patience will give ability.

"Час терпеть, а век жить". - To suffer an hour, and to live a century.

"Поживи в рабах, авось, будешь и в господах". - Live in slaves, perhaps, you will be also in misters.

"Бог даст день, даст и пищу". - God will give a day, He will also give food".

9. Mistrustful relation to laws

Historically and according to the objective state of things, most Russians do not trust the laws, because they are violated very often and mostly by authorities.

«Закон – что дышло: куда захочешь, туда и воротишь». - A law is like a rod: where you will want, there you will turn.

«Что мне законы, коли судьи знакомы». - What are laws to me, if judges are my acquaintances.

«Не будь закона, не стало б и греха». – If there was no law, there would be no sin also.

Instead of justice in the judicial sense there always lived in Russian people and has not died up to now a thirst for live truth and fairness expressed, for example, by the proverb: «Though all laws would be gone, if only people lived with the truth».

10. Russian maximalism

The Russian maximalism in the extreme form is expressed in A.K. Tolstoy`s poem (translation is mine – L. Kozlova):

Коль любить, так без рассудку,	If to love, then mindlessly,
Коль грозить, так не на шутку,	If to threaten, so outright,
Коль ругнуть, так сгоряча,	If to scold, then in a temper,
Коль рубнуть, так уж сплеча!	If to chop, so bluntly!
	If to argue, then bravely,
	If to punish, then for
Коли спорить, так уж смело,	good reason,
Коль карать, так уж за дело,	If to forgive, so with all the heart,
Коль простить, так всей душой,	If a feast, so a lavish feast!
Коли пир, так пир горой!	

As N.O. Lossky notes, the aspiration to absolutely perfect kingdom of life and at the same time excessive keenness on any defects of personal and other people`s activities is peculiar to a Russian person.

That is why there is often a chilling to the affair begun and disgust for its continuation; the plan and its general sketch is often very valuable, but its incompleteness and, therefore, inevitable imperfections push away a Russian person, and s/he is lazy to continue finishing the trifles. Thus, Oblomovism is in many cases the back side of high properties of a Russian person – aspiration to complete perfection and keenness to the shortcomings of our reality. Thus, it is clear that Oblomovism is widespread in all layers of the Russian society. Of course, most of people need to work to have means for the life and a family. Oblomovism is expressed in this forced, unloved labour that such Oblomov performs so-so, carelessly, only trying to get rid of it.

Partial Oblomovism is expressed in the Russian negligence, inaccuracy, untidiness, being late on meetings, in theaters, on appointments. Richly gifted Russian people are quite often limited only to an original plan, without bringing it to implementation [19].

11. Relation to money, wealth and poverty

Russian people firmly consider that «от трудов своих сыт будешь, а богат не будешь» (from your work you will be full, and won`t be rich), and the fact that «от трудов праведных и не наживешь палат каменных» (working fairly you won`t earn stone chambers). National consciousness still indulgently concerns to poor people, sympathizes with them:

«Бедность- святое дело». - Poverty is a sacred business.

«Бедность учит, а счастье портит». - Poverty teaches and happiness spoils.

«Бедность - не порок». - Poverty is not a defect.

Russians often connect wealth with sins.

«Богатому черти деньги куют». – A devil forges money to the rich.

«Пусти душу в ад — будешь богат». - Start your soul in the hell — you will be rich.

«Грехов много, да и денег вволю». – There are a lot of sins and money in plenty.

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«У кого деньги (богатство) вижу — души не вижу». - At whom I see money (wealth) — I don`t see a soul.

«Когда деньги говорят, тогда правда молчит». - When money speaks, then the truth is silent.

«Деньгами души не выкупишь». - You won't redeem your soul by money.

«Богатый совести не купит, а свою погубляет». – The rich won`t buy conscience, and ruins his.

12. National modesty, self-criticism and self-condemnation

«National modesty, self-criticism and a self-condemnation make an undoubted feature of the Russian national mentality. There are no people which to such an extent would like to abuse themselves, to expose themselves, to laugh at themselves. Remember Gogol and Dostoyevsky» [20]. «Ability to be released for a while from the soil to look at oneself more soberly and more impartially, is already in itself a sign of the greatest feature … In a Russian person, the fullest ability of the most sensible critics over himself is seen, the most sober on himself a look and lack of any self-eminence harming the freedom of action» (F.M. Dostoyevsky) [19].

13. Valuable relation to people and to objects

Russians have a highly valuable attitude not only towards people, but also to all objects, in general. It is expressed in abundance of diminutive, magnifying, pejorative names. Impersonal names can get a caressing, diminutive, pejorative form, e.g.: дом – домик, домище, домина, домишко...

Diminutives expressing tenderness are especially widespread and various. Personal names, derived with different suffixes, can express different feelings: Иван – Ваня, Ваничка, Ванюша; Мария – Маня, Маша, Маничка, Машенька, Машутка. Ivan – Vanya, Vanichka, Vanyusha; Maria – Masha, Manichka, Mashenka, Mashutka.

14. Existence of opposite principles

Freedom of spirit, search of the Absolute Good and, in this regard, a test of values lead to the fact that the Russian people have no strictly developed, ingrained life forms. The most various and even opposite properties and ways of behaviour exist in the Russian life. Berdyaev expressively emphasized this feature of the Russian people. «Two opposite beginnings, – he says, – have formed the basis of the formation of the Russian soul: natural, pagan Dionise elements and ascetically monastic Orthodoxy. It is possible to open opposite properties in the Russian people: despotism, hypertrophy of the state and

anarchism, liberty; cruelty, tendency to violence and kindness, humanity, softness; belief in rites and search of the truth; individualism, aggravated consciousness of a personality and impersonal collectivism; nationalism, bragging and universalism, universal humanity; eschatologically messianic religiousness and outer piety; search of God and militant godlessness; humility and impudence; slavery and revolt» [19].

15. Categoricalness, direct expression of motivation

Russian communicators prefer direct expression of motivation. Imperative statements are preferable in incentive speech acts. The strategy of mitigation of influence are used by Russians in much smaller degree than by the English. Russian communicators, on the contrary, can strengthen the motivation (*Будьте добры, повторите ваш вопрос* - Be so kind as to repeat your question. / *Обязательно приходите*. - You are come for sure./ *Вы должны непременно быть*. - You have to be by all means. / *Отказы не принимаются*. - Refusals aren't accepted) that is absolutely inadmissible in the English communication.

The conclusion is the following:

1. Russian culture belongs to the collectivist type of culture. This feature is reflected in the Russian language by means of set expressions, phraseological units, proverbs, sayings. The Russian people highly appreciate interpersonal relations. The Russians differ from the English by their openness, hospitality, religiousness, striving for Truth and Absolute Good, irrationalism, being (very) emotional, rather categoric, straightforward and direct, tolerant (in the religious meaning), rather self-critical, loyal and interested at foreigners and foreign languages, inclined to fatalism, submissive to superiors, incredulous to human laws. The Russian national character and mentality unites opposing things (extremes): love of freedom and despotism, kindness and inclination to violence, striving for Truth and love for ritualism, religiousness and formal piousness, seeking for God and aggressive irreligion, humbleness and arrogance.

2. English culture belongs to the individualist type of culture. The core of Englishness is a social dis-ease, which gives rise to other most English traits of national character – being reserved, overpolite, individualistic, not categoric and hypocritical, pragmatic, distant from other people, using humour, irony and understatement. The English are very proud of their nation, feel superior to the other nations and neglect them, they observe «fair play», value privacy, freedom and human laws. Unlike

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Russians, they estimate money to a very high degree and are very rational.

3. Comparing language pictures of the two nations, some common phenomena have been found – love for freedom, love for fairness (truth), tolerance and politeness. Nevertheless, as our study shows, even these are very different in their core. English courtesy seems to be almost entirely a matter of obedience to a set of rules rather than expression of genuine concern. Russian people not **seem** to be polite, but **are** polite, expressing genuine concern. That does not mean, of course, that there are no impolite people. English reserve is a form of courtesy – the kind sociolinguists call «negative politeness», which is concerned with other people's need not to be intruded or imposed upon.

English acute sense of fairness is often mistaken for other things – including both socialism and conservatism, and even Christianity. Much of English morality is essentially about fair play. Russians strive for Absolute Truth and Absolute Good. The criteria by which the judgements are made very often refer to Orthodox or other existing religions` regulations or morality rules. Most of the statements are ethical and estimated positively or negatively.

One could say that most of English politeness/modesty/fairness is hypocritical, but also that most of this hypocrisy is a form of politeness – concealment of real opinions and feelings to avoid causing offence or embarrassment. Russian politeness/modesty/fairness has nothing to do with hypocrisy (as a rule). It`s about «wearing hearts on their sleeves».

English tolerance has also come out of a social dis-ease and individualism, inclination to compromise. English tolerance tends to be at least partly a matter of benign indifference. Russian tolerance (terpeniye) has another origin – religious, which means that one should stand all hardships, pain, unpleasant things and situations: God suffered and adjured us to endure everything.

As a result, two comparative tables were made which can be of possible use to the teachers and scholars in various fields concerning ethnic studies and cross-cultural communication. I admit that the analysis done does not cover all the properties of the two nations, but it does reveal

It should be mentioned that according to the analyzed properties of the English and Russian national character and mentality, the contrasted language pictures of the world reveal more differences than commonalities. That is why people (and politicians, in particular) dealing with cross-cultural communication between England and Russia

require much training and very careful and inclusive attitude to each other to make our common world more friendly.

Table 1

Relevant communicative properties of English and Russian mentality and national character

Relevant communicative properties of English mentality and national character	Relevant communicative properties of Russian mentality and national character
1. Politeness (**demonstration** of rules of conduct)	1. Politeness (**observance** of rules of conduct
2. Ambiguity	2. Unambiguity
3. Communicative insincerity	3. Communicative sincerity
4. Agentiveness	4. Non-agentiveness
5. Law-abidingness	5. Mistrustful relation to laws
6. "Fair play"	6. Aspiration to the truth and justice
7. Respect for property	7. Valuable relation to people and to objects
8. Individualism, non-interference to others`affairs, observance of "privacy"	8. Collectivism
9. Distancing, dis-ease in communication	9. Tendency to inclusion, importance of interpersonal relationship
10. Feeling of the English superiority	10. National modesty, self-criticism and self-condemnation
11. Pragmatism and rationalism	11. Lack of a pragmatism, irrationalism
12. Tolerance	12. Tolerance and firmness of character
13. Freedom of views, tastes and behavior	13. Religiousness
14. More positive relation to money	14. More negative relation to money, sympathising with the poor and disrespectful attitude to the rich
15. Tendency more to a praise, than to a criticism	15. Tendency more to a criticism, than to a praise
16. Lack of interest in other people and countries	16. Interest in other people and countries
17. Love of freedom	17. Love of freedom, maximalism
18. Sense of humour, irony, underestimation	18. Sense of humour, ability to laugh at themselves

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Table 2

Dominant features of English and Russian communicative behaviour

Dominant features of English communicative behaviour	Dominant features of Russian communicative behaviour
Moderation, emotional restraint	Emotionality
Tolerance, non-categoricalness	Categoricalness, straightforwardness
Low loudness of communication	Higher loudness of communication
Rigid thematic regulation of communication	Lack of a rigid thematic regulation of communication
Priority of phatic communication	Priority of informative communication
Communicative informality	Communicative formality
Communicative optimism	
Communicative **neimpozitivnost**	Communicative **impozitivnost**, direct expression of motivation
The relation to a language as to an important indicator of the social status of the speaker	---
Dislike for studying and use of foreign languages	Loyalty to foreigners and aspiration to learn foreign languages
exaggerated estimation	----

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ЭТНИЧЕСКИЕ ПРОЗВИЩА РУССКИХ
В УКРАИНСКОЙ И РОССИЙСКОЙ БЛОГОСФЕРАХ

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Аннотация: Статья рассматривает проблемы функционирования этнических прозвищ в «языке вражды» на примере эскалации политической напряженности в отношениях между Россией и Украиной в период 2014-2017 гг. Целью исследования является создание ономасиологического портрета русских в современной украинской языковой картине мира. Материалом исследования послужили этнические прозвища русских, отобранные на веб-форумах городов Белгород (Россия) и Харьков (Украина). В качестве методов исследования использованы: концептуальный, дефиниционный, прагмалингвистический, контекстуальный, этимологический, семантический и социолингвистический анализ. В ходе исследования выявлены наиболее продуктивные способы образования современных этнических прозвищ русских, их характерные особенности, а также лингвистически релевантные когнитивы, позволившие составить образ современного русского, сложившийся в языковой картине мира среднестатистического интернет-пользователя украинской и российской блогосфер. Результаты работы могут найти свое применения в дальнейших исследованиях в области социолингвистики, этноконфликтологии, истории и политологии.
Ключевые слова: «язык вражды»; этническое прозвище; этнофолизм; ономасиологический портрет; этнокогнитивы; языковая картина мира; блогосфера

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ETHNIC NICKNAMES FOR RUSSIANS IN UKRAINIAN
AND RUSSIAN BLOGOSPHERES

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Abstract. The article describes ethnic nicknames and their functioning in "hate speech" amid escalating political tension between Russia and Ukraine in 2014-2017. The research is aimed at creating an onomasiological portrait of a typical Russian in the Ukrainian linguistic mentality. The author studies the ethnic nicknames selected from the city web forums of Belgorod (Russia) and Kharkov (Ukraine). The research is based on the conceptual analysis, definitional analysis, pragmalinguistic analysis, contextual analysis, etymological analysis, semantic analysis, and sociolinguistic analysis. In the course of the study, the author revealed the most productive means of formation of modern ethnic nicknames for Russians, described their characteristic features and some linguistically relevant ethno-cognitive units enabling to create an image of a contemporary Russian built up in the linguistic mentality of a typical Ukrainian and Russian web forums visitor. The results of the research may be applied in further studies in the spheres of sociolinguistics, ethnoconflictology, history, and political science.
Key words: "hate speech"; ethnic nickname; ethnophaulism; onomasiological portrait; ethno-cognitive unit; linguistic mentality; blogosphere

Настоящая работа представляет собой продолжение лингво-культурологического исследования, имеющего своей целью составление ономасиологического портрета украинцев, русских и представителей других этносов на основе комплексного анализа современных этнических прозвищ, употребляемых в российской и украинской

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блогосферах на фоне обострившегося в начале XXI века кризиса в отношениях между Россией и Украиной, Россией и странами Запада в целом.

В качестве материала исследования выступают этнические прозвища, отобранные методом сплошной выборки на городских веб-форумах г. Белгорода («Форум Бел.Ру» и г. Харькова («Харьков Форум»). Выборка материала осуществлялась в период с декабря 2013 г. по январь 2017 г. Первые результаты исследования, проводившегося с использованием концептуального анализа прозвищ украинцев, нашли свое отражение в ономасиологическом портрете современного украинца в российской и украинской блогосферах [5]. В работе использованы дефиниционный, прагмалингвистический, контекстуальный, этимологический, семантический и социолингвистический анализ этнических прозвищ русских с целью составления ономасиологического портрета русских в современной украинской языковой картине мира.

Помимо традиционно употреблявшегося по отношению к русским прозвища *москаль*, обретшим новую популярность на волне «майданного патриотизма», широкое распространение имеет и уже упомянутое в предыдущих работах презрительное прозвище *кацап* [6]. Этимология данного прозвища достаточно спорна, и окончательный вывод по поводу его происхождения все еще не сделан.

Существуют две точки зрения по поводу возникновения прозвища *кацап*. Согласно первой, оно происходит от украинского слова *цап* (козел) с приставкой *ка-* (усеченное *как*) и основано на метафорическом переносе по признаку внешних особенностей человека: бритый украинец сравнивал бородатого русского с козлом. Например, «Бог створив цапа, а чорт кацапа!» (укр. пословица).

Эта аналогия приводится в словарных статьях самых разных авторов (см. Фасмер М., Чудинов А.Н., Павленков Ф. и др.), а также в русской и украинской версиях Википедии. У классика русской литературы XIX века Гоголя в повести «Иван Федорович Шпонька и его тетушка» читаем: «Проклятые кацапы… едят даже щи с тараканами» (гл. II). Примечательно, что Гоголь в предисловии, давая перечень слов, которые могли быть непонятны русскому читателю, указывает, что *кацап* – это русский человек с бородой [8].

Эту точку зрения поддерживают и многие современные украинские националисты, подчеркивающие схожесть русских с козлами по

целому ряду признаков, среди которых, безусловно, преобладают крайне негативные: 1) упрямство, ибо, как известно, козлы в природе очень упрямые животные; 2) клиновидная бородка (как у *цапа – как цап → кацап*); 3) запах, поскольку козлы обладают специфически неприятным запахом. Отсюда и восприятие индивидов, причем не обязательно этнических русских, называемых кацапами: «Кацапы в современном мире, отличаются тупостью, ленью, козлиным упрямством, нечистоплотностью, алчностью, хамоватостью, грубостью, необразованностью и другими подобными качествами. Если вам попался сильно нетрезвый и матерящийся индивидуум, от которого за версту несет запахом давно немытого тела, и который при малейшем несогласии с его исключительно верной точкой зрения переходит на оскорбления, хамство или применение физической силы – это стопроцентный кацап, независимо от этнического происхождения» [7].

Согласно другой точке зрения (см. Ушаков Д.Н., Елистратов В.С., и др.), слово «кацап» имеет арабское происхождение (араб. *kassab* – мясник, живодер) и проникло в украинский и русский языки через тюркские наречия (в которых отсутствует буква «ц»), так же, как и слово «казак» (перс. *газак* – состоящий на службе, оплачиваемой казной). Именование русских *кацапами* объясняется, например, тем, что соблюдавшим законы халяля татарам обычаи русских казались живодёрством. По другой версии русские были уподоблены скотобойцам благодаря неизменным атрибутам русских стрельцов времен Ивана Грозного – наточенной секире или бердышу, смахивающим на топор мясника. В пользу данной теории происхождения прозвища *кацап* многие авторы приводят довод о том, что в русском языке нет слова «цап», а в украинском отсутствует слово «как», а значит, по-украински прозвище скорее звучало бы *«як цап»*. Это лишь пример созвучности слов, не более. Тем не менее, в современной украинской блогосфере яростно поддерживаются обе версии, поскольку помимо негативных признаков, ассоциируемых с козлом, прозвище обретает дополнительные негативные коннотации, обусловленные значением слова *kassab* в тюркских наречиях, а именно: «резник», «мясник», «злодей», «шельма», «палач», «деспот», «вор». Именно эти неприкрытые смыслы закладываются украинскими националистами в прозвище *кацап*, употребляемое по отношению к этническим

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русским и представителям любых сочувствующих им этносам.

Некогда шутливое, а теперь крайне презрительное, непристойное, оскорбительное, шовинистическое прозвище *кацап* в настоящее время в украинской блогосфере принимает новые формы: *кацапо-фашисты*, *кацаперды*, *кацапеты*, *кацапидусы*, *кацапня*, *лишнехромасомная кацапня*, *кацапы-угробуряты*, *прокацапская сволочь (домбасяне)* и др. Россию называю *Кацапетовкой*, а ее жителей – *козломордыми* или *кАзлАмордыми*: *казламордая орда с востока*; *казламордое племя, пожирающее репу, населяющее страну-бензоколонку*; *казламордые голодранцы*. Отсюда и противостояние в блогосферах: *козломордые* vs. *свинорылые* (*свинорылые* – прозвище украинцев, основанное на пищевом стереотипе, придуманное русскими блогерами в отместку). Отсюда и преисполненные ненавистью комментарии, сопровождающие претендующие на научность статьи, в которых предпринимаются отчаянные попытки найти любое «историческое» обоснование противостояния двух народов – русского и украинского.

Вот лишь один из примеров подобных комментариев к статье И. Дмитровой «Что арабы подарили Украине», в которой она делает попытку объяснить этимологию «унизительного национального прозвища» *кацап*: «Не столь важно, кто кому и когда подарил слово. Важно, что оно обозначает. А означает оно истинное наименование так называемых "русских" – отмороженно-безбашенное племя *козломордых выродков* с человеконенавистническим и агрессивным животным менталитетом. … никуда не уйти от общеизвестного установившегося употребления клички *кацап* в самом негативном смысле этого слова…» [2].

Помимо традиционных прозвищ *москаль* и *кацап*, используемых по отношению к русским, современный «язык вражды» содержит массу и других негативных ярлыков, клеймящих оппонентов. В период 2014-2017 гг. филологами фиксируется скачкообразный рост этнических прозвищ, подтверждающий тот факт, что негативные ярлыки для обозначения врага являются неотъемлемым компонентом любой информационной войны, вооружённого или невооружённого конфликта.

Среди новейших этнофолизмов, служащих культурными маркерами и отражающих поляризацию между группами «свой – чужой» в российской и украинской блогосферах, особое место занимают прозвища *ватник* и *колорад*. Своим появлением данные прозвища обязаны интернет-мемам – остроумным словам или изображениям, распространяемым в соцсетях, форумах и блогах, все чаще выходящим за пределы виртуального пространства, и, очевидно, способным формировать общественное мнение. Мемы несут на себе мощный отпечаток молодежной субкультуры, специфического юмора и подросткового нонконформизма, позволяют взглянуть на привычные для взрослых вещи свежим «тинэйджерским» взглядом. Мемы призваны вызывать определенную эмоциональную реакцию, причем, как правило, с негативным, провокационным «тинэйджерским» оттенком. Это может быть смех, некое пренебрежение, неприятие, сарказм, явный или скрытый страх. Эмоционально окрашенная информация лучше обращает на себя внимание. Эмоции являются важным фактором для первоначального запоминания мема и стимулом для дальнейшего его распространения и осмысления [9]. Именно эмоциональная реакция на мемы и связанная с ней способность распространяться, тиражироваться в сознании других людей, меняя их мировоззрение, часто используется в современных технологиях ведения информационной войны.

Одним из продуктов «мем-креативизма» стал изначально иронический термин «ватник» – собирательный образ карикатурных ура-патриотов, появившийся в 2011 году в одной из либеральных групп соцсети «ВКонтакте» в виде сатирического персонажа «Рашка – квадратный ватник». Термин «ватник» обрел популярность и стал инструментом пропаганды и нагнетания вражды в 2014 году на фоне украинского конфликта. Превратившись в прозвище, он стал употребляться по отношению к россиянам и пророссийски настроенным жителям Восточной Украины. В противовес прозвищу *ватник* в блогосферах используется прозвище *вышиватник* (вышиванка + ватник), которым обозначают фанатичного сторонника украинской власти.

Многочисленные «словари постмайданой лексики», появляющиеся в сети как реакция на любой «событийный всплеск» в масс-медийном дискурсе, наделяют прозвище *ватник* следующими значениями: твердолобый российский патриот; примитивный человек, неспособный восстать против тех, кто угнетал его всю его жизнь; пьяное, грязное, лицемерное и агрессивное быдло, ненавидящее всех не похожих на него и не согласных с ним, но очень любящее

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при этом православие и «сильную руку»; человек, отличающийся слепой лояльностью своим властям, ненавидящий все американское, обладающий непоколебимой уверенностью в том, что русский народ – самый великий в мире; человек патриотически и беспросветно тупой, являющийся носителем целого букета взаимоисключающих политических взглядов.

Прозвище *ватник* и его различные варианты – *уатник* (имитация кавказского акцента), *русская вата*, *кацапская вата*, *пидорватник*, *ватная петушня* и др. – не только пополняются новыми значениями, но и способствуют усилению старых и возникновению новых этнических стереотипов. Вот лишь один из примеров образа типичного россиянина, который закладывается в сознание посетителя одного из украинских блогов: «*Ватник* просыпается бухой в *быдляндии-рашкортостане*, выпивает литр водяры и идёт блевать в филармонию. Потом с соседями подраться. По пятницам лично осуществляет поставки вооружения на Украину, по дороге обратно вывозит из неё нефть, заводы и счастье всех украинцев. Дружит с медведем. *Ватника* от человека отличить просто: *ватник* не верит тому, что видит за окном, человек – тому, что слышит по телевизору» [10].

Еще одним популярным среди украинских националистов прозвищем-мемом стал этнофолизм *колорад* как ответ на использование активистами России оранжево-черной гвардейской ленты. В основе данной метафоры – сочетание цветов, напоминающее расцветку личинки колорадского жука. Интересно, что изначально, до массового использования на Украине, колорадами называли сторонников Евромайдана: кучкуются «коло Рады» (возле украинского парламента) → *колорады*. Кроме того, сочетание красного и черного цветов соответствовало символике украинских националистов. Тем не менее, прозвище *колорад* было подхвачено в проукраинских блогах в качестве ярлыка, применяемого по отношению к пророссийски настроенным жителям Юго-востока Украины и россиянам в целом именно благодаря расцветке гвардейской ленточки. При этом оценочно-ассоциативная и сигнификативная составляющие прозвища связаны со стереотипной эмоционально негативной оценкой насекомых как вредителей и с общей сигнификативной моделью, формируемой на базе противопоставления человека и животного мира (ср. презрительные характеристики человека: насекомое, вошь, козявка, тля, клоп, червяк) [1].

Подтверждение данной трактовке прозвища *колорады* находим в многочисленных публикациях в украинской блогосфере. Например: «Путинские провокаторы сделали т.н. георгиевскую ленточку преступным символом. Т.е., кто ее носит, добровольно ассоциируют себя с криминальными действиями российских властей (как те, кто надевает значки со свастикой, заявляют этим о своей приверженности нацизму). В общем, надел ленточку – заявил о своей поддержке военных преступлений – получи непочетное звание *колорад*». Там же: «*Колорады* ассоциируется с колорадским жуком, то есть с тем, что убить не жалко, с вредителем, убийство которого принесёт только пользу. *Ватник* ассоциируется с зэками. Получается, современная Россия – страна вредителей и уголовников [11].

Очевидно, что именование оппонентов прозвищем *колорады* и его производными – *колорадос*, *колорадостный*, *колорадствующие*, *кАлорады* – является попыткой демонизации, расчеловечивания и дегуманизации противников Евромайдана с целью оправдания их физического уничтожения. В основе этой ненависти лежит не что иное, как чувство превосходства одной части граждан над другими, убеждённость в том, что россияне и жители Юго-востока Украины находятся на низшей ступени интеллектуального, социального и культурного развития и, следовательно, не заслуживают тех прав, которыми пользуются «носители европейских ценностей», да и жизнь таких людей не так уж и ценна. Все, кто в чём-то не согласен с властью, сначала именуются «агентами ФСБ», потом *колорадами* и *ватниками,* подлежащими уничтожению.

В процессе клеймения используются и другие растиражированные прозвища-мемы, например, *гей-оргиевцы* (метонимический перенос, основанный на созвучии названия георгиевской ленточки со словом «гей») и *дедывоевали/ дидовоевалки* (от хэштега *#дедывоевали*, изначально сопровождавшего патриотические публикации в российских соцсетях, как правило, в преддверии празднований Дня победы в Великой Отечественной войне; используется украинскими националистами для высмеивания *расейских поцреотов* или *поцреотов Расии* (от обсценного слова «поц», взятого из идиш, означающего «половой член»), которые в крайне агрессивной форме встречают в штыки любое посягательство на авторитетность или отрицание культа «воевавших дедов»).

Большое число современных этнических прозвищ, употребляемых по отношению к

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россиянам, имеют производящую основу «россияне» – политоним, совокупное название граждан России вне зависимости от их этнической принадлежности. В процессе превращения в прозвище данный политоним, как правило, претерпевает самые разные трансформации – от искажения в написании и произношении – до сложения с другими эмоционально окрашенными производящими основами: *рассеяне*, *роССияне* (аллюзия на отряды охраны SS (сокр. от нем. *Schutzstaffel*) – попытка сравнения россиян с фашистами), ра$$*еяне* (замена букв «с» символом доллара, призвана, очевидно, продемонстрировать тот факт, что в своей политике на Украине россияне руководствуются лишь денежными интересами), *расеянцы*, *россиянцы, мразь расейская*. Подобным образом искажается и подвергается трансформациям и этноним «русские»: *рузке, русня, руськие, русо-путлеро-кремле-дрочеры, русский медвед, руссо-фашисты* и др.

Россия сравнивается националистами с Мордором – «черной страной» из произведений Р.Р. Толкина, населенной злобными существами, подчиняющимися Темному Властелину или *Темнейшему* (прозвище президента России В.В. Путина). Формируемая украинской блогосферой в сознании граждан убежденность в том, что Россия – это загнивающее азиатское государство, «орда», населённая ленивыми, невежественными, и покорными авторитарной власти людьми, в силу своей врождённой умственной отсталости не способными понять всю прогрессивность европейского выбора, обогащает «язык вражды» и превращает стереотипы в новые этнофолизмы: *орки, тупая восточная шваль, угро-финны, чухонь, угро-буряты, угробурятская недонация*. «Как ни старались русские европеизироваться, однако на европейцев они не похожи. Во многом они больше схожи с татарами. Точнее сказать, по формальным признакам – это цивилизованное общество, но внутри – чисто русская начинка. За внешней благопристойностью легко проглядывается истинная грубая натура…» [4].

Пренебрежительное именование России *рашкой* (производное от «раша», англ. Russia) дает повод как украинским, так и русским националистам именовать населяющих ее граждан *рашистами* (созвучно со словом «фашисты») и *рашкованами*, а усеченная основа названия членов правящей партии «Единая Россия» – единороссов – используется ими посредством сложения с известным вульгаризмом в прозвище *пидороссы*.

Поскольку в сознании украинских националистов российский президент В.В. Путин является олицетворением «вселенского зла» (самое безобидное прозвище, которым его награждают, – *Путлер* (по аналогии с Гитлером)), его фамилия часто используется в качестве основы новейших прозвищ россиян – «граждан Мордора, заклейменных тысячелетними оковами рабства и озомбированных излучателями ОРТ»: *путенисты* (искажение фамилии Путина – *путен* + суффикс -*ист* (по аналогии со словом «коммунисты»)), *путиноиды* (используется греч. суффикс -*оид* в значении «подобный»), *путлеровцы* (по аналогии со словом «гитлеровцы»)), *путлоскот* (прибавляется основа «скот»), *путтисты* (с добавлением суффикса -*ист* в значении «тот, кто связан с Путиным») и др.

Определенную роль в создании современных прозвищ россиян, употребляемых в украинской блогосфере, играют этнические стереотипы, связанные с традиционными русскими реалиями. Как правило, это пищевые стереотипы, а также стереотипы, связанные с предметами одежды, быта и т.д.: *репоедцы/ репоеды, валенки, лапти, тульские самовары, нация кокошников* и др. Очевидно, подобные этнофолизмы призваны сформировать в сознании человека следующие установки: россияне как нация ущербны, им чужд любой прогресс, они застряли в своем «совке» (*совки, совко-ватники, совкодрочеры, хомо советикус, совкопидоры*); россияне считают себя выше других наций, а внешняя политика России построена на гегемонизме (*Иван-оккупант, фошисты, ымперцы*); идея старшинства глубоко проникла в психологию русских (*братья-рассеяне*).

Существует мнение о том, что употребление этнических прозвищ позволяет высмеивать соперника и шутить в травматической ситуации, смягчая ее болевое воздействие и помогая справиться с внутренним напряжением. Этим приемом пользуются и объекты высмеивания, привнося в этнические оскорбления положительные коннотации, не связанные с русофобским контекстом. Так, например, прозвище *ватник* стало иронично употребляться российскими государственниками и патриотами по отношению к самим себе. Их примеру последовали и ведущие интернет-канала «Сепаратист ТВ», которые взяли себе шуточные псевдонимы *Инна Колорад* и *Василий Ватник*. Тем не менее, этнофолизмы выполняют определенную символическую функцию – принижение соперника, возвышение над ним:

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Я – колорад, но я так рад!
Свидомые, мы в разном весе.
Мой дед прославил Сталинград,
Вы опозорили Одессу.

Этнофолизмы способны действовать на коллективное подсознание, то есть непосредственно влиять на поступки масс: «С коллективным подсознанием связаны как проявления группового героизма, так и общей паранойи или психоза. Чем больше у вас в голове терминов, которые используют все вокруг, тем больше ваша голова открыта для массового психоза» [3].

Итак, анализ внутренней формы номинативных единиц – этнических прозвищ россиян – позволяет выделить целый ряд лингвистически релевантных когнитивов, которые рисуют следующий ономасиологический портрет современного россиянина, сложившегося в языковой картине мира среднестатистического интернет-пользователя украинской блогосферы:

Агрессивный, бородатый, умственно отсталый тип нетрадиционной сексуальной ориентации. Принадлежит к самой уродливой, дикой и невежественной восточной нации. Типичное имя – Иван. Носит лапти и валенки. Обязательный атрибут одежды – ватник, дополняемый кокошником и георгиевской ленточкой. Питается исключительно репой, запивая ее неимоверным количеством водки. Слепо и фанатично преклоняется перед Путиным. Самозабвенно оберегает завоевания дедов, живет прошлым и тоскует по временам СССР. Руководствуется идеологией фашизма. Беден, но страдает имперским величием и жаждой наживы. «Не по-братски», под шумок захватывает чужие территории.

Анализ ономасиологического материала свидетельствует о том, что «язык вражды» регулярно пополняется не только входящими в разряд антропонимов оскорбительными этническими прозвищами представителей того или иного этноса, но и многочисленными этнофолизмами из разряда топонимов. А это говорит о том, что наше исследование еще далеко от своего завершения и требует своего логического продолжения.

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К ТРУДНОСТЯМ ПЕРЕВОДА АНГЛОЯЗЫЧНОЙ БЕЗЭКВИВАЛЕНТНОЙ ФРАЗЕОЛОГИИ НА РУССКИЙ ЯЗЫК

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Аннотация. Исследования фразеологических единиц приобретают всё большую актуальность в настоящее время, как в отечественной, так и в зарубежной лингвистике, поскольку активные межкультурные связи создают ситуации свободной коммуникации и заимствования слов из одного языка в другой. В данной статье рассматриваются англоязычные фразеологические единицы, взятые путем сплошной выборки из текстов современных СМИ, и описываются способы перевода данной лексики на русский язык. Фразеологические единицы анализируются с точки зрения репрезентации заложенной в них тональности. Основное внимание в статье уделяется эквивалентному, лексическому и описательному способам перевода англоязычных фразеологических единиц на русский язык. Доказывается, что данные способы перевода фразеологических единиц позволяют сохранять смысловой и эмоционально-стилевой формат контекста, а также тональность высказывания. Кроме того, делается вывод, что эквивалентный перевод фразеологизмов является приоритетным, но не всегда оправданным с точки зрения репрезентации интенций автора.
Ключевые слова: фразеологические единицы; безэквивалентная лексика; способы перевода; тональность; эмоционально-стилевой формат

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DIFFICULTIES OF TRANSLATION OF ENGLISH NONEQUIVALENT PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS INTO RUSSIAN

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Abstract. Nowadays the research of phraseological units is becoming increasingly relevant and topical in language study, as the active intercultural and international communication creates situations of free interaction and borrowing of words from one language to another. The article touches upon the content of the concept `culture-specific vocabulary` and examines the components of a word meaning controlling the process of implementing tonality. The article focuses on stylistic and emotional aspects of phraseological units taken from English mass media. Special attention is paid to the methods of translation of English phraseological units into the Russian language. Equivalent, lexical and descriptive methods of translation of English phraseological units into Russian are revealed. It is proved that these methods of translation of phraseological units are the most efficient in representing meaning, emotional colouring, tone and stylistic devices of the context. In spite of the fact that equivalent method of translation is preferable, it is not always justified.
Key words: phraseological units; non-equivalent or culture-specific vocabulary; adequate translation; tonality; emotional and stylistic formats.

Интенсивное развитие фразеологии за последние десятилетия выдвинуло множество разнообразных проблем. С одной стороны, задач фразеологов является описание фразеологического материала отдельных языков с упором на их специфические особенности. С другой стороны, все большее значение приобретает сопоставительное изучение фразеологических систем разных языков. В контексте современной научной парадигмы с ее ориентацией на когнитивный потенциал языка как никогда стали актуальны вопросы, связанные

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с моделированием смыслового содержания фразеологизмов и идиоматичной лексики в целом (см., например, [4])

Проанализировав различные точки зрения на определение фразеологических единиц, их классификации и трудности перевода английских фразеологических единиц на русский язык, мы подробнее остановились на классификации А.В. Кунина. Вслед за А.В. Куниным, мы понимаем под фразеологическими единицами «устойчивые сочетания слов с осложненной семантикой, не образующиеся по порождающим структурно-семантическим моделям переменных сочетаний» [1, с.5]. В своей классификации А.В. Кунин разделяет фразеологизмы по структурно-семантическому признаку и по происхождению. Во второй группе он выделяет две большие группы фразеологических единиц: исконно английские фразеологизмы и заимствованные.

Материалом нашего исследования послужили фразеологические единицы, взятые путем сплошной выборки из англоязычных текстов СМИ: 'The New York Times', 'Financial Times', 'The Daily Mail', 'The Observer', 'The Guardian', 'The Times', 'Los Angeles Daily News', 'The Wall Street Journal', дата обращения: январь – июнь 2016 года.

В рамках данной статьи мы уделим основное внимание рассмотрению способов перевода фразеологических единиц с английского языка на русский. Так, в ходе проведенного анализа нами были выделены группы примеров, для адекватного перевода которых использовался *эквивалентный, лексический и описательный методы*. Рассмотрим примеры:

Many older technological investors, eager not to miss out, are going to great lengths to shed fuddy-duddy pictures and ingratiate themselves with much younger generation [19].

В данном отрывке встречается сразу несколько фразеологических выражений, которые вызывают трудности при переводе на русский язык и попытке сохранения не только их смысловой, но и эмоциональной нагрузки. Одно из них, *«miss out»,* согласно фразеологическому словарю А.В. Кунина имеет значение *«упустить некую возможность, упустить возможность в чем-то поучаствовать»* [2]. В своем сборнике фразеологизмов П.П. Литвинов дает эквивалент данному фразеологическому выражению из русского языка, а именно: простонародное выражение *«проворонить»* что-либо, употребляемое обычно вместе с

существительным, в данном случае *«проворонить возможность»* [3]. Выбор вокабуляра в данном контексте очень важен и дает нам возможность понять, что простонародное, разговорное выражение *«проворонить»* не только не подходит стилистически, но и искажает тональность высказывания, которая из информативной превратится в фатическую. Под тональностью мы понимаем «когнитивный, прагматически, культурно и ситуативно-обусловленный, эмоционально-стилевой и жанровый формат общения, основную категорию выражения эмоций, возникающую в процессе взаимодействия коммуникантов как языковых личностей и определяющую их установки и выбор всех средств общения» [7, с. 153]. Таким образом, в вышеприведенном примере следует использовать частичный эквивалент «отставать», наиболее полно отражающий суть исходного выражения.

«Going to great lengths», согласно фразеологическому словарю А.В. Кунина, означает *«сделать многое, чтобы достичь цели»* [2]. Как известно, для адекватного перевода необходимо найти эквивалент высказывания в русском языке. Рассмотрев контекст, стиль, тональность и синтаксическую составляющую высказывания, мы подобрали русский эквивалент: *«пойти на многое».* Более того, он, на наш взгляд, не только отображает значение фразеологизма, но и имеет схожую экспрессивную окраску и сохраняет тональность исходного контекста, то есть его «эмоционально-стиливой формат» [5].

Выражение *«fuddy-duddy»,* согласно сборнику фразеологизмов и устойчивых выражений П.П. Литвинова, имеет следующее определение: *«человек, который не хочет и не готов меняться»* [3]. Данное высказывание образовано путем редупликации, с одним из корней, образованным от слова *«fussy»* *(very concerned about small, usually unimportant details, and difficult to please; with small, exact, and careful actions, sometimes showing nervousness).* Исходный вариант ссылается на то, что человек *«суетливый»* и чаще относится к людям в возрасте. Данного человека можно назвать *«консерватор»,* однако это выражение чаще ассоциируется у человека с политическими взглядами. Это некий человек, застывший во времени, имеющий свои взгляды, от которых он не хочет отказываться. В русском языке не существует эквивалента, имеющего рифмованную структуру и также созданного

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путем редупликации. Наиболее уместным и передающим смысл будет выражение *«старомодный»*, полученное путем лексической трансформации. В итоге, мы пришли к следующему переводу:

Многие технические инвесторы в возрасте горят желанием не отставать и готовы пойти на многое, чтобы избавиться от образа старомодных и снискать расположение у поколения, гораздо моложе их.

Кроме широко известных и хорошо изученных англоязычных фразеологизмов, в настоящее время, как показало наше исследование, образуется множество новых фразеологизмов как в русском, так и в английском языке. Переводчик может столкнуться с трудностями при переводе фразеологических единиц, недавно образованных в языке и еще недостаточно известных. Рассмотрим следующий пример:

*Nelson Freeman is a professional chess-player who studied science at Oxford. Few months ago, though, he decided he needed a **crash course** in **getting hip*** [16].

Во фразеологическом словаре А.В. Кунина можно найти следующую дефиницию словосочетания *«crash course»*, употребляемого в данном отрывке: *«быстрый урок, быстрый метод получение знания»*[2]. Данное выражение можно отнести к профессиональным терминам, если взглянуть на контекст. Рассматривая это выражение как термин, можно сказать, что в русском языке можно найти его соответствие – *«интенсивный курс»* [11].

Неологизм *«getting hip»* нельзя полностью назвать фразеологическим из-за его недавнего появления в английском языке. Все же он вызывает некоторые трудности. В молодежном сленге данное выражение имеет значение *«врубаться»*, т.е. «понять некую тему или найти ответ на вопрос». Мы не можем, опираясь на контекст, использовать молодежный сленг наравне с профессиональными терминами. Лексическая замена *«войти в форму»* лучше передает образ и значение данного выражения без изменения стилистической составляющей [11].

Нельсон Фримен – профессиональный игрок в шашки, который изучал точные науки в Оксфорде. Однако несколько месяцев назад, он решил, что ему необходим интенсивный курс для того, чтобы войти в форму.

Особое внимание было уделено переводу безэквивалентной лексики. Рассмотрим следующий пример, взятый из литературного столбца рубрики:

*As she pushed her shopping cart down an alley of the Walmart near her home in Durham, N.C., lately, Mrs. Allen, a retired nurse, suddenly thought why did she **steer clear** of high-colorie chocolate mousse. "It's not very natural and absolutely not good for me"* [9].

Выражение *«steers clear»* означает *избежать чего-то*. Слово *«to steer»* (*to control the direction a vehicle is going, for example by turning a wheel*) в словаре имеет следующее определение: *«управляться с каким-то средством с помощью руля или подобного устройства»* [11]. Это выражение связано с автомобильной тематикой, где *«steer»* означает руль машины. Когда перед водителем появляется что-то на дороге, необходимо объехать это препятствие. Если рассматривать данное выражение в приведенном контексте, можно предположить, что автор сделал аналогию с тележкой из супермаркета. Тележка в данном случае является машиной героини. Поэтому можно оценивать данное выражение как *«срулить»* с пути. Однако возникают сложности: в русском языке не существует эквивалента, обозначающего *«избежать»* и связанного с автомобилями. Согласно фразеологическому словарю А.В. Кунина, выражение *«держаться подальше»* связано со страхом, а *«упустить возможность»* относится скорее к делам и решениям [2].

Следовательно, данные фразеологизмы не передают всех оттенков значения. Возникает дилемма, появляющаяся довольно часто: сохранить образность высказывания или опустить эмоциональный образ при дословном переводе и полностью передать смысл. Решение, какой из двух подходов выбрать, должно основываться на контексте, его стиле, тональности и интенциях автора. Мы решили, что автор хотел провести аналогию и нарисовать в голове читателя четкую картину для усиления эффекта. На наш взгляд, описательный перевод наиболее подходит для данного случая. Использование смыслового аналога *«срулить»* и добавление описания наиболее полно разъясняют ситуацию и сохраняют эмоционально-стилевой формат контекста и заложенную автором тональность. В итоге мы получили:

Пока она катила тележку к выходу из супермаркета Валмарта недалеко от ее дома в Дареме, штат Нью-Йорк, Миссис Аллен, медсестра на пенсии, думала, почему же она

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срулила, не купив высококалорийного шоколадного мусса. «Он совсем не натуральный и уж точно не полезен для меня».

Обратимся к следующему примеру:

*In one of his first acts as president, Obama was **gagging for** the prison at Guantánamo closed within the first year of his presidency and ordered a review of the status of the roughly 180 men still detained there* [12].

Английское выражение «*gagging for*» (informal *to be very eager to do or have something*) является ярким примером безэквивалентной лексики и довольно популярно в современных текстах англоязычных СМИ. Согласно фразеологическому словарю А.В. Кунина, оно означает «*хотеть что-то сделать, иметь большое желание*» [2]. У данного высказывания присутствует яркая эмоциональная окраска и экспрессивность. Однако схожие русские выражения, такие как «*умираю, как хочу», «хотеть, несмотря ни на что*» не подходят по контексту, стилю и тональности (они репрезентируют фамильярную, фатическую тональность, в некоторых случаях даже ироничную, шутливую [8]). Другой русский фразеологизм «*хотеть птичьего молока*» означает требовать явно невозможного, а это нарушает смысл исходного выражения. Наиболее экспрессивное и нейтральное по стилю выражение, встречающееся в русском языке, - это «*гореть желанием*».

В результате мы пришли к следующему переводу:

В первые годы президентства, как первый шаг своего срока, Обама горел желанием закрыть тюрьмы в Гуантанамо и приказать пересмотреть статус примерно 180 человек, все еще содержащихся там.

Рассмотрим следующий пример:

*Companies developing this technology are not necessarily **cashing in*** [18].

Во фразеологическом словаре А.В. Кунина можно найти следующий перевод выражения: «*cashing in*» - «*заработать деньги, делая что-то*» [2]. «*Cash*» (*money in the form of coins or notes rather thancheques, credit cards etc*) в дословном переводе означает «*касса*» и не имеет никаких схожих аналогов связанных с заработком денег в русском языке [20]. Выражение «*наживать*» не подходит стилистически и создает информативную тональность. С помощью русского эквивалента «*грести деньги лопатой*» возможно передать не только смысл, но и

изменить тональность высказывания, сделав акцент на большой прибыли.

В итоге, используя русский эквивалент, мы получили следующий перевод:

Компания, разрабатывающая эти технологии, не обязательно гребет деньги лопатой.

Как мы видим, в каждом обществе существует своя система оценок. Вместе с тем эта система во многом должна быть универсальной, поскольку, без сомнения, существуют и общечеловеческие ценности и подходы к людям, явлениям, предметам, поступкам. Чтобы правильно понимать и использовать фразеологические единицы, нужно знать как принятую в данном коллективе условную связь знака и его содержания, так и исходить из общечеловеческого опыта [6, с. 16]. Наш опыт и фоновые знания помогают не только правильно перевести англоязычный текст, содержащий фразеологизмы, но и адекватно передать тональность, заложенную автором высказывания, сохранив при этом эмоционально-стилевой формат исходного текста.

Рассмотрим следующий пример:

*Russell, the grill maker from in Madison, WI., is improving his most expensive grill, the $3,000 Silver Open Flat V6, after buyers wanted more **bells and whistles**, said James Davis, a Russell executive. "They want stainless grills and more accessories like warmer walls inside, anti-heat gloves and backlight* [17].

Данный фразеологизм появился в английском языке в начале развития индустриальной эры [10]. В то время все средства передвижения были механические и должны были быть оснащены колокольчиками и свистками для того, чтобы распугивать лошадей и прохожих. Такие элементы назывались «*bells and whistles*» и были лишними, хотя требовались по закону. С тех пор, это выражение стало относиться к чертам, которые делают товар особенным, хотя этого может и не требоваться. Это так *называемые «модные штучки»*, что-то, что является дополнением, ненужным «наворотом». В русских реалиях не существует фразеологизма, связанного со свистками и колокольчиками. Образность исходного выражения потеряна, что позволяет использовать нефразеологический лексический перевод без потери смысла и стилистики [15]. Слово «*прибамбасы*» имеет такую же эмоциональную окраску, что и исходное выражение, поэтому при

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его использовании не теряется его экспрессивность [15].

Основываясь на данных комментариях, мы получили следующий перевод:

«Расселл, производитель гриля из города Мэдисон, штат Висконсин, усовершенствует свой самый дорогой гриль Silver Open Flat V6 за три тысячи долларов после того, как покупатели захотели больше прибамбасов», - рассказывает Джеймс Дэвис, помощник Расселла. *«Они хотят нержавеющие грили с дополнительными аксессуарами, например, более горячие стенки внутри, защитные перчатки и боковая подсветка».*

Обратимся еще к одному примеру:

*Eight months after the town's bid for hosting the 2010 Olympic games dropped, the doors were open for the 2014 games - statement that **fly in the face** of arguments by Culture Minister Barness and other town authorities* [14].

Фразеологизм *«fly in the face»* используется в данном отрывке в значении *противоречить* и согласно Кембриджскому онлайн-словарю имеет определение *«to completely oppose what seems sensible or normal»,* т.е. *«противоречить каким-то фактам, опровергать»* [11].

Данный оборот пришел в английскую речь из соколиной охоты. Образ высказывания давно потерян и не ассоциируется у людей с соколами, летящими в лицо, поэтому передача образности не обязательна [13]. Автор хотел показать, насколько аргументы противоречат всему сказанному ранее. Опущения первоначального образа, но сохранение изначально заложенной тональности и оттенков значения использовались нами при частичной замене английского фразеологизма *«fly in the face»* на русский эквивалент *«противоречить».*

Прошло всего восемь месяцев с тех пор, как предлагаемая цена города для приема 2010-х Олимпийских игр упала, двери открылись для 2014-х игр – заявление, которое противоречило всем аргументам, сказанным Министром Культуры Барнессом и другими членами городской власти.

Таким образом, анализируя вышеприведенные примеры возможных переводов, мы пришли к выводу, что поиск эквивалентов на языке перевода не всегда оправдан. Правило «фразеологизм переводят фразеологизмом» не является абсолютным. Однако к такому переводу, как к идеалу, переводчику нужно стремиться в первую очередь. Поиск иных путей можно допустить, лишь убедившись в полном отсутствии русскоязычного эквивалента или убедившись в нецелесообразности фразеологического перевода в данном тексте. Опираясь на классификацию фразеологических единиц и классификацию их перевода по признаку эквивалентности, мы привели пример возможного перевода исходных текстов, давая развернутые комментарии. При переводе англоязычных фразеологизмов на русский язык нами учитывалась тональность высказывания и эмоционально-стилевой формат контекста в целом.

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РАЗДЕЛ III. ГЕРМАНСКИЕ ЯЗЫКИ

Bogatova S.M.

GODS AND BELIEVERS IN "MRS. DALLOWAY" (A COGNITIVE STUDY OF V. WOOLF'S RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS)

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Abstract. The article deals with topical issues of religious worldview and its interaction with national culture and individual artistic worldviews as crystallized in the language of literature. It presents a vigorous study of some religious concepts in Virginia Woolf's artistic worldview which have previously been overlooked. The concepts "God" and "believer" are studied by means of conceptual interpretation to explicate their essential semantics. Several conceptual layers represented by corresponding sets of cognitive features reflect various types of religious worldview and are presented in a resulting table. The only cognitive feature of the concept "God" in which all conceptual layers overlap is "individual". The author comes to the conclusion that V. Woolf with her modernist broad-mindedness asserts that religion is a highly personal issue; and the main questions that are placed before an individual are whether his "god" is benevolent or antagonistic and what provides the meaning of his own life.

Key words: concept, religion, artistic worldview, religious worldview, cognitive feature

Богатова С.М.

БОГИ И БОГОМОЛЬЦЫ В РОМАНЕ «МИССИС ДЭЛЛОУЭЙ» (КОГНИТИВНОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ РЕЛИГИОЗНЫХ КОНЦЕПТОВ В. ВУЛФ)

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Аннотация: В статье рассматриваются актуальные вопросы взаимосвязи религиозной картины мира с национальной культурой и индивидуально-авторской картиной мира, кристаллизованной в языке художественных произведений. Данное исследование представляет собой подробное изучение некоторых религиозных концептов в художественной картине мира В. Вулф, которым ранее уделялось недостаточно внимания. Посредством концептуальной интерпретации выявляется эссенциальная семантика концептов «Бог» и «верующий». Для каждого концепта выявляются специфические концептуальные слои и соответствующие им когнитивные признаки, отражающие разные типы религиозной картины мира. Результаты исследования представлены в таблице. Единственным когнитивным признаком концепта «Бог», который встречается во всех концептуальных слоях, оказался КП «индивидуальный». Автор приходит к выводу о том, что для В. Вулф, с ее модернистской широтой взглядов, религия – сугубо индивидуальная вещь, и основные вопросы, встающие перед каждым человеком: добр или антагонистичен его «бог» и что определяет смысл его жизни.

Ключевые слова: концепт, религия, художественная картина мира, религиозная картина мира, когнитивный признак

INTRODUCTION

The study of concepts has been taking a center stage in Russian linguistic science for at least fifty years by now ever since the term "concept" in its today meaning was first explicated by S.A. Askoldov in his famous article "Concept and word" way back in 1928 [7]. So far, concepts have been studied from various points of view: as universal phenomena, as national symbols or cultural constants, as expressions of individual consciousness and etc. The concept has become a useful tool for uncovering some of the underlying cognitive processes hidden behind the

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processes of language and speech production. It allows for the unveiling of individual mental worlds of people whose speech can now be found only in the crystalized form of their writings, that is, the great authors of the past. One of the most famous and abstruse English writers is Virginia Woolf with her mind-bending stream of consciousness technique. It is such persons, the cultural symbols and key figures of their time, that deserve scientific attention. Through their consciousness and artistic worldview we can uncover, study and analyze the dominant concepts and prevailing ideas of their age. One of the most topical spheres of our time is the sphere of religion. "Religion can also be said to represent a favourite independent variable, as witnessed by the growing number of surveys in which religion is used alongside other explanatory variables in the study of a wide range of cultural phenomena" [4, p. 2].

MAIN PART:

PURPOSE OF THE PAPER

The purpose of this paper is to study religious concepts, namely the concepts of God and believer, in the works of Virginia Woolf (on the material of the novel "Mrs. Dalloway"), to explicate its main features and the individuality of the contents of these concepts in the author's artistic worldview.

MATERIAL AND METHODS OF RESEARCH

Before we start analyzing the material it is necessary not only to state the methods but also to explain the terms used. It is no secret that cognitive linguistics has been developing in a bit different directions in Russia and abroad. We all started from the Sapir-Whorf's theory of linguistic relativity which claims that "an intellectual system embodied in each language shapes the thought of its speakers in a quite general way" [2, p. 66]. Thus, a crucial connection between language and culture, and language and cognition was established. Theoretical findings and main trends within the cognitive linguistics were shared and popularized both in Russia and abroad. And as a result there were created numerous methodologies for explication of the contents of concepts.

As N.N. Boldyrev writes "Conceptual analysis encompasses various research techniques of the numerous means of world interpretation (conceptualization) represented in language forms and expressions of various complexity levels: from a separate morpheme to a full statement or text" [8, p. 27].

For instance, Yu.S. Stepanov sees a concept as a structure containing three components: 1) the main or relevant feature, 2) one or several additional, passive features, which may not be relevant anymore but which historically have been so, 3) the inner form which is imprinted in the wording [12, p.40-43].

Z.D. Popova and I.A. Sternin have developed their own theory stating that concepts have field structure in which the nucleus is represented by a sensory image and surrounded by the information field which is further enveloped by the interpretation field. The concept itself is formed by cognitive features, which are structured field-wise and placed closer to or further from the nucleus according to the relevance (or brightness) of the feature in the consciousness of language speakers [11].

V.I. Karasik sees the concept as including three main components: a notional component, an image-bearing component and an axiological one [10, p. 127].

But for the purposes of this study it seems sensible to employ the concept structure proposed by S.G. Vorkachev [9]. He believes that semantically a concept consists of three constituents: the notional one which reflects the features of the concept derived not only from various definitions but also from the numerous contexts of language use; the visual (or representational) one which records cognitive metaphors that serve to maintain the concept in the language conscience; and the "valeur" constituent which signifies the place of this concept in the lexical and grammatical system of the language (that is, all of its paradigmatic connections) [9, p.123].

It is the notional component that we are going to look at in this paper since we are studying a concept in an individual consciousness of an artistic person. And in Vorkachev's terminology such individual author's conceptual layers of meaning included in the notional component are called "essential semantics" of the concept [9, p.123]. We want to see what is specific in V.Woolf's perception of religion and what cognitive features of the studied concepts can be derived from her works by means of conceptual interpretation.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Virginia Woolf as other modernists (such as J. Joyce, K. Mansfield) openly declared herself an atheist. Once in a letter to her sister Vanessa Bell in 1928 she wrote: "I have had a most shameful and distressing interview with poor dear Tom Eliot, who may be called dead to us all from this day forward. He has become an Anglo-Catholic, believes in God and immortality, and goes to church. I was really shocked. A corpse would seem to me more credible than he is. I mean, there's something obscene in a living person sitting by the fire and believing in God." [5]

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RESEARCH RESULT

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Even though there are no other explicit remarks on the existence of God such as this one to be found in her non-fiction prose Woolf's atheism seems to be self-apparent. But it does not negate the presence of the concept religion in her worldview (see [3]). Rather it makes it the more interesting.

Thus in the view of the foregoing it is no wonder that in the novel "Mrs. Dalloway" only two characters openly acknowledge the existence of God. The first one is the mentally disordered Septimus Smith who refers to God in his distracted ramblings:

Men must not cut down trees. There is a God [6].

And the other one is a character with marked negative features, the only character explicitly brought into opposition to the protagonist – Miss Kilman. A subtle case of antonomasia in her last name foreshadows her role in the narrative and gives us an understanding of the author's attitude to her.

Her alliterative description introduces a concept of a fanatical believer:

Bitter and burning, Miss Kilman had turned into a church two years three months ago[6].

It seems that Woolf has put all her aversion towards religious bigotry into this character. Kilman seems to be asserting that religion and God are a means for "assuaging" hurt feelings and taking one's revenge on the world.

*… the **hot** and **turbulent feelings** which **boiled** and **surged** in her had been **assuaged** as she sat there (S.B. in a church)… So now, whenever the **hot** and **painful feelings boiled** within her, this **hatred** of Mrs. Dalloway, this **grudge against the world**, she thought of God. She thought of Mr. Whittaker. **Rage** was succeeded by **calm**. A **sweet savour** filled her veins, her lips parted, and, standing formidable upon the landing in her mackintosh, she looked with steady and **sinister serenity** at Mrs. Dalloway, who came out with her daughter [6].*

Thus, the concept of a "believer" acquires such negative cognitive features as "hot", "turbulent", "painful", "feeling hatred", "bearing a grudge". Even when her rage is succeeded by calm we can see that this "sweet savour" is not of forgiveness but of malice, as her serenity is characterized as "sinister".

As for the aspirations of this earnest believer, they are not as might be supposed to be of reaching inner peace or gaining personal salvation. The subjunctive mood in the following sentences hints at the unattainable intimate desires of this "ardent Christian":

*If only she could make her **weep**; could **ruin** her; **humiliate** her; bring her to her knees **crying**, You are right! But this was God's will, not Miss Kilman's. It was to be a **religious victory**. So she **glared**; so she **glowered**… She **despised** Mrs. Dalloway from the*

bottom of her heart. *She was not serious. She was not good. Her life was a tissue of vanity and deceit[6].*

Here the concept of "believer" acquires some more characteristics through the verbs with negative semantics of "opposition": ruin, humiliate, despise, glared, glowered. And the phrase "religious victory" stands for her desire to "overcome and oppress". Thus this concept may be said to actualize an image of some hawkish Crusader. It is obvious that such characteristics would be extrapolated to the concept of God, following the reversed line of thinking "like father, like son" or "quails rex, talis grex".

It is no wonder that the protagonist expresses her astonishment at such qualities. Even though she is not a believer herself, she expects Christians to be otherwise: humble, submissive and "knowing the meaning of life":

*Clarissa was really shocked. This a **Christian** – this woman! This woman had taken her daughter from her! She in touch with invisible presences! **Heavy**, **ugly**, **commonplace**, **without kindness** or **grace**, she knows the meaning of life! …[6].*

Some other cognitive features of the concept "God" are provided here by means of periphrasis – "invisible" and "present". At the same time, we see that Woolf does not propose Kilman as a prototypical "believer" but as an extreme case, showing the extent which bigotry and fanaticism can reach. Even other worshippers perceive her as an outsider:

*"**Doggedly** she set off with her parcel to … the Abbey, where, **raising her hands in a tent** before her face, she sat beside those driven into shelter too; the variously assorted **worshippers**, now divested of social rank, almost of sex, as they raised their hands before their faces; but once they removed them, instantly reverent, middle class, English men and women… **But** Miss Kilman **held her tent before her face**. Now she was deserted; now rejoined. New worshippers came in from the street to replace the strollers, and still … still she **barred her eyes** with her fingers and tried in this **double darkness**… **to aspire above the vanities**, the **desires**, the **commodities**, to **rid herself both of** 109 **hatred** and of **love**. Her hands twitched. She seemed to struggle [6].*

Unlike other worshippers, who come and go, Miss Kilman is shown to be intensively praying (the repetition of an adverb "still") by "holding her hands in a tent". This outward expression of devotion may seem ostentatious. She is presented as missing out on the whole point of Christianity, using almost Buddhist outward practices: "double darkness", "aspire above vanities, desires, commodities", "rid herself of both hatred and love". So, we can conclude that she does not stand for a Christian specifically, but represents a fanatical believer in general.

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Miss Kilman cannot be called a happy worshipper. When she goes to church, she does it "doggedly", as if it is something compulsory for her and the word "struggle" also introduces a cognitive feature "forced/induced".

The following example again places Miss Kilman outside the mainstream of believers for whom God is easily "accessible":

*Yet to others **God was accessible and the path to Him smooth**. Mr. Fletcher, retired, of the Treasury, Mrs. Gorham, widow of the famous K.C., **approached Him simply**, and having done their praying, leant back, enjoyed the music (the organ pealed sweetly), and saw Miss Kilman at the end of the row, **praying**, **praying**, and, being still on the **threshold of their underworld**, thought of her sympathetically as a **soul haunting the same territory**; a soul cut out of **immaterial substance**; not a woman, a **soul**[6].*

This group of ordinary worshippers can be characterized by such positive cognitive features as "simple", "smooth", "having an easy access to God", "enjoying"; they feel sympathetic towards this soul that for some reason cannot even enter the same territory of inner peace.

The following example underlines that each person for Woolf has his or her own God, or perception of God. As the other worshippers approached God smoothly, Kilman had a hard time with "her" God. This adds another cognitive feature to the concept of God – "individual".

*... it was **so rough** the **approach to her God**—so **tough** her **desires** [6].*

All of the above mentioned proves that Kilman had an eclectic image of God incorporating ideas of different religions and pagan beliefs. The idea of God's omnipresence does not cross her mind, but she calls the Cathedral God's habitation. And she is surprised at His presence in everyday life amidst the traffic:

*The tower of **Westminster Cathedral** rose in front of her, the **habitation of God**. In the midst of the traffic, there was **the habitation of God** [6].*

In her worldview, the concept of God has a cognitive feature of "limited" or "circumscribed to a certain place".

The examples that follow only add to the idea that Kilman's God is a means of having one's revenge on the world and a tool for oppressing others:

*But one must **fight**; **vanquish**; have **faith in God** [6].*

*Mr. Whittaker had said she was there for a purpose. But no one knew the **agony**! He said, pointing to the **crucifix**, that **God knew**. But why should she have to **suffer** when other women, like Clarissa Dalloway, escaped? Knowledge comes through **suffering**, said Mr. Whittaker [6].*

Miss Kilman is so egoistic she sees only her own "suffering", while this cognitive feature is attributed not only to the "believers" but to the concept of God too, through a reference to the crucifix. Thus another cognitive feature of the concept of God to be educed here is "knowing".

Opposed to Miss Kilman is a positive character of Peter Walsh, Clarissa's friend of youth whom she gave up for the prominent Mr. Dalloway. His God seems to be as accessible as that of an average believer shocked by Kilman. Even though he professes himself as "an atheist perhaps" [6] he refers to God quite often and quite naturally as to his "benefactor":

*... those admirable letters which Peter had read thousands of miles across the sea in the Times, and had **thanked God** he was out of that pernicious hubble-bubble ... [6].*

*Villains there must be, and **God knows** the rascals who get hanged for battering the brains of a girl out in a train do less harm on the whole than Hugh Whitbread and his kindness [6].*

*"Everybody in the room has six sons at Eton," Peter told her, except himself. He, **thank God**, had none [6].*

*For hours at a time (**pray God** that one might say these things without being overheard)... [6].*

This is the kind of religion then that Woolf approves of – where God is just a by-word, only a cliché; at least, when believers do not explicitly express any further depth.

If we continue exploring the idea of "individual religions" (or idolatries) with other characters we can notice that this concept is repeatedly actualized in this novel, sometimes by referring to the conceptual sphere of the church and its practices – a domain in which God would usually be found. In the following abstract as Mrs. Dalloway returns home she compares her feelings to those of a "nun who has left the world". Thus, such lexical units as "nun", "devotions", "bowed", "blessed", "purified" bring the concepts or religion and God to the foreground without being mentioned. So, that we can surmise from the extract that her religion is her service to the family, and her house serves the role of a temple. But who or what exactly is her God? It is difficult to reckon. Since it is usually to God that we bow and it is God who blesses and purifies, sometimes these actions would be performed through an intermediary – a priest, but in the context it is problematic to attribute these words to something particular. Perhaps, what she means is her state and situation in life.

*The hall of the house was cool as a vault. Mrs. Dalloway raised her hand to her eyes, and, as the maid shut the door to... she **felt like a nun** who has*

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*left the world and feels fold round her the familiar **veils** and the response to **old devotions**. ... It was her life, and, bending her head over the hall table, she **bowed** beneath the influence, **felt blessed and purified**, she thought ... **not for a moment did she believe in God**; but all the more, she thought.. must one **repay** in daily life to servants, yes, to dogs and canaries, above all to Richard her husband, who was the **foundation** of it—of the gay sounds, of the green lights, of the cook even whistling... - one must pay back from this secret deposit of exquisite moments...[6].*

And as she concludes her inner represented speech with the confession that "not for a moment did she believe in God", she has to name the beneficiaries of her gratitude instead. And here she names an unusual list of recipients to whom she feels obliged to "repay": servants, dogs, canaries and her husband. This makes us think that Woolf is deliberately creating a religion here, something akin to a natural religion or urban paganism. She seems to be worshiping her status in life.

And her status is given quite a high evaluation. Her servant's perception of Mrs. Dalloway puts her in the position which she methodically tries to bring down, that of a highest deity:

*and, taking Mrs. Dalloway's parasol, handled it like a **sacred** weapon which a **Goddess**, having acquitted herself honourably in the field of battle, sheds, and placed it in the umbrella stand [6].*

Here a person of high social status (a hostess, a lady) is compared to a goddess (and spelt with a capital letter!), her parasol metaphorically representing a weapon.

Another example confirms Woolf's predisposition to polytheism:

*... she implored **the Gods** to lay by her side a bunch of purple-heather [6].*

*For although the clouds were of mountainous white ... and had all the appearance of settled habitations **assembled for the conference of gods** above the world [6].*

*Those **ruffians**, the **Gods**, shan't have it all their own way, – her notion being that the Gods, who never lost a chance of **hurting**, **thwarting** and **spoiling** human lives were seriously **put out** if, all the same, you behaved like a lady. ...Later she wasn't so positive perhaps; she thought there were **no Gods**; no one was **to blame**; and so she evolved this **atheist's religion** of doing good for the sake of goodness [6].*

This last partly ironic assertion provides some additional cognitive features of the concept "God". The noun "ruffians" brings in a jocular note to the definition, and is further supported by such action verbs as "hurting", "thwarting", "spoiling". Thus, a new cognitive feature is added to the concept of her

God that of "opposing" or "antagonistic". The verb "put out" adds some anthropomorphic features to the concept. Unlike the omnipotent benevolent Christian God, the Gods of Woolf are mischievous and touchy, resembling the Greek Pantheon. Since there were no Gods, so "no one was to blame" means that usually one would blame God/Gods, who are "culpable" for problems in human life.

Woolf goes on to extend this idea of everybody worshipping some gods of their own on the example of still another character, a well-off psychiatrist, Sir Bradshaw. Woolf's criticism of him is very harsh:

***Proportion**, **divine proportion**, Sir William's **goddess**, was **acquired** by Sir William walking hospitals, catching salmon... **Worshipping proportion**, Sir William not only **prospered** himself but made England prosper ... [6].*

Thus Woolf shows that people can worship whatever makes them prosper adding another cognitive feature to the concept of God – "by which you can prosper" and "that which can be acquired".

*Sir William with his thirty years' experience of these kinds of cases, and his **infallible instinct**, this is madness, this sense; in fact, his **sense of proportion** ... [6].*

Sir William has probably thought himself the highest priest of his religion, since such adjectives as "infallible" only have been used in religious discourse to describe the Pope. He feels that he can pronounce the final judgement ("this is madness, this is sense") just like the apostles of Christ (see Matthew18:18).

Woolf goes even further to show the perils of serving false gods and following the path of religious bigotry by mentioning another goddess – Conversion.

*But **Proportion** has a sister, less smiling, more **formidable**, a **Goddess** even now engaged ... in **dashing down shrines**, **smashing idols**, and setting up in their place her own stern countenance. **Conversion** is her name and she **feasts** on the **wills** of the weakly, **loving** to **impress**, to **impose**, adoring her own features stamped on the face of the populace. ... offers help, but **desires power** ... **bestows her blessing** on those who, looking upward, catch submissively from her eyes the light of their own... But conversion, **fastidious Goddess**, loves **blood** better than brick, and feasts most subtly on the human will [6].*

The cognitive features that are added to the concept are "formidable", "smashing", "imposing its will", "stern", "fastidious".

But the main question that Woolf proposes that the religion (or God) should have to answer is "Why live?" This is the question Sir William's patients ask him:

***Why live?** they demanded. Sir William replied that life was good. ... But to us, they protested, life has given*

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no such bounty. He acquiesced. They lacked a sense of proportion. **And perhaps, after all, there is no God?** *He shrugged his shoulders. In short, this living or not living is an affair of* **our own?** *[6]*

If we try to look at concepts in a broader sense and consider the concept of this novel on the whole or the problem that it seems to be solving – it can be summed up in this one question usually addressed to religion - "Why live?" This is the question that the protagonist is implicitly trying to find the answer to throughout the whole text. She considers the concepts of life and death and tries to identify what role the religion plays in this whole affair. This is what she seems to be concluding: while there are personal gods (benevolent or formidable) the question of living is an affair of one's own.

CONCLUSION

Religious concepts of God and believer are extremely versatile in Woolf's novel. We can distinguish several layers of belief and present the findings in a table:

Table

Conceptual layers of the concepts "God" and "believer" and their cognitive features

Layers	God (cognitive features)	Believer/Adherent (cognitive features)
Regular Christian	**Individual** Invisible Present Smooth Easily accessible **Beneficent**	Simple Enjoying Knowing the meaning of life
Fanatical Christian (Miss Kilman)	**Individual** Suffering Knowing Assuaging	Bitter Burning Turbulent Painful Hateful Unforgiving Oppressive Forced Suffering
Atheism/Pantheism (Clarissa)	**Antagonistic** Multiple Culpable	Good Grateful
Idols: Social status Proportion Conversion	**Individual** by which you can prosper can be acquired formidable imposing its will **Antagonistic**	Infallible

Thus, we can see that the various layers of these concepts coincide only in one cognitive feature, which is "individual" and have a couple of

contrasting features in the conceptions of God: beneficent/antagonistic. Similar conclusions are stated in the study by Nadia Gerritsen: "Rather than presenting a general view of how secularization impacted the world and society, Mrs. Dalloway shows the messy, multifarious, and intimate response of different people on an ordinary day [1, p. 55]. In Woolf's artistic picture of the world (based on this novel) she seems to be asserting that the concept of religion is a purely individual thing and the main questions are whether one's God is beneficent or antagonistic and who provides the purpose to one's life.

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РАЗДЕЛ IV. ЯЗЫКИ НАРОДОВ ЗАРУБЕЖНЫХ СТРАН

Dr. Alberto Quero

**"CAMBIA SOBRE EL MAR TU FULGOR":
LATIN AMERICAN CALLIGRAMS AND SEMIOTIC TRANSCODING**

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Abstract. This paper deals with the works of José J. Tablada, Guillermo de Torre and Vicente Huidobro.

The method of analysis is textual interpretative, which renders an explicative hypothesis. Firstly, we use semiotics to explain that a calligram is a convergence zone for different types of meaning. And its importance transcends each of its modes: it becomes an artistic occurrence and a cultural phenomenon. Then, we find how those codes they convey information on multiple levels so they can be combined to create art.

The objective is interpreting how these poets used different methods to create art. They set an intermediate sense, different from the habitual one, which was articulated in multiple codes, where the graphic content was modelled by linguistic categories.

The conclusion is this. These works evidence a double codification. If a real-world object can become a sign, and vice versa, in a calligram there is a double interplay between the sign and the object. So, it can be the best example of pure *inventio*.

Key words: calligram; signifier; signified; code; intercedence.

*"¿Qué es una palabra sino una serie de letras
y qué es una letra sino una línea que forma un
dibujo dado?"*

Julio Cortázar

Introduction: Does iconism exist?

This paper deals with three remarkable Latin American poets: José Juan Tablada, from Mexico, Vicente Huidobro, from Chile and Guillermo De Torre, who was born in Spain but lived and worked a long time in Argentina.

After visiting the Far East in 1903, Tablada discovered the *haiku* genre and introduced it to Latin America. In 1916, Huidobro met Apollinaire, Breton, and Aragon. He became a major poet of his time. In 1919, Tablada published *Li-Po and other poems*, inspired by the works of Bashō, a Japanese poet from the XVIII century [cf. Perrone 1991, 7]. On his turn, *Hélices* was De Torre's only book of poems. He later became a literary critic in Spain and in Argentina. [Cfr. García Martín 2001, 11].

These men were pioneers in the creation of calligrams, defined as "a text, generally poetic, in which typographic disposition tries to represent the contents of the poem" [DRAE 2016, web]. The definition, though apparently simple, captures the essence of one of the most intricate literary genres. Such complexity results from the possibility of

alternation or simultaneous artistic expression in two different codes.

A calligram is a convergence zone for different types of semiosis. And its importance transcends each of its modes: it becomes a complete artistic occurrence, and a cultural phenomenon. It integrates different codes and conveys information on multiple levels. Semiosis consists not only in giving semiotic pertinence to certain visual conventions; that would be just mimesis. In order for semiosis to exist, at least two factors are required: (i) the selection of elements, and (ii) the transformation of those elements into meaning relations. It is true that a calligram must possess a certain degree of isomorphism with real-world objects, but it matters little if perfect visual resemblance is not achieved. Thus Eco [1976] is correct: talking about iconism is pure metaphor… but in the case of a calligram, that is exactly what we need.

1. An approach to intercedence

A calligram appears as an artistic macro-unit whose content is codified in two different –but potentially complementary- semiotic systems: the linguistic and the visual one, corresponding to the analytical features of the same substance. The context is a kind of sememe which can be expressed on several levels. The meaning can be completely motivated, and hence pure invention. It can be also unmotivated, which we can qualify as metaphoric.

By creating a calligram, rather than a codic interpenetration zone, the author creates an

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intermediate sense which is different from the habitual one[1]. It will be articulated in a multiple code, in which the graphic content can be modelled by linguistic categories. To achieve this, a calligram would include three geometrical transformations (homotecia, projections, and topological transformations) and two analytical ones (discretization and filtering)[2]. We can still ask if calligrams are icons or not. It could be perhaps said they are doubly stimulated, and institute their own code through metalinguistic invention.

2. Two, three or four vertices? The problem of functives

The first problem is determining how many functives must be related. Saussure explained the combination of a "psychological entity", called the signified, which implies entirety, and a sound-image or "psychological imprint of the sound", called the signifier. The relation is arbitrary or unmotivated, as there is no natural bond between them [Saussure 1970, 67]. The Saussurean conception is functional in micro linguistics. But language has a bigger dimension, it transcends the phrasal level and expands into discourse. It is there that we find it possible to use language as something more than a tool of communication: it can become a piece of art.

Since Peirce [1994], modern semiotics knows that a third element is feasible. A sign is a mental representation or substitution, generally arbitrary, of something that renders another thing. From there on, a three-level relation is established. *Firstness* is a mere possibility and implies everything that can be thinkable, even if it is abstract. *Secondness* constitutes the sign's materialization. It is a possibility made real through a relation with Firstness. *Thirdness* is a correlate formed by the laws which govern the functioning and interconnection of phenomena and it is materialized through an *Interpretant*, which works as a logical bond.

We can make two remarks here. (i) A calligram is a sign: it is firstness. But it integrates two variants of secondness, for the work of art is concreted twice: this may happen through the codes which may be redundant or not. And (ii), as a calligram involves three elements, a bond between the two significants is not mandatory, but it is certainly possible and even probable.

So, Peirce's classification resists an automatic application to calligrams. When one tries to analyse calligrams in terms of the conventional systems,

some problems appear. The first is the status of the codes, as units of diverse origin integrate. According to Eco, iconic codes "establish either a correlation between a graphic sign-vehicle and already coded perceptual units, or between a pertinent unit of a graphic sign-system and a pertinent unit of a semantic system depending on a previous codification of perceptual experience" [Eco 1976, 208]. But this definition seems not to take into account the intersections. The graphic vehicle for coded perceptual experience is written language, whose own conduit is a graphemic continuum. In this way a new semantic system is created; it would not be prior to perceptual experience, but the opposite. When examining a calligram, it is not enough to consider the modes of its production. The modes of connection between the functives – of which there are not two, but three – must also be considered. This is no longer about producing one signal, but two, and they are related to a single meaning. It is true that word and image link differently with its contents; and calligrams try to exploit that ambiguity.

In iconic semiotics "it is hard to find an equivalent of the morpheme, the phrase and the text. Constituted units are of the same nature and one passes in a continuous manner from small units to very vast wholes" [Klinkenberg 2006, 371]. However, text structures, morphemes, and all the other linguistic elements may occur in a calligram. And, in its turn, the calligram may be an equivalent of a phrase within a metatext of a dual nature: in fact, it has a verbal discourse and a graphic content. Each of them has its own structure and syntax, yet they can be included in a double articulation.

This creates another problem: defining the distinctive types of syntax. Iconic toposyntax is based on a series of implicit marks, and therefore it lacks certain procedures which can only be proper of linguistic chronosyntax; that is the case of specialized morphemes [Klinkenberg 2006, 373]. But calligrams integrate both types of syntax. As shown by the works of Tablada and Huidobro, the relation between an idea and its verbal expression can be arbitrary. The relation between the poet's idea and the materialization he creates through words is optional: he chose it that way. The relation between the idea and the visual expression is also arbitrary. Now, if the linguistic value is "the property word has in order to represent an idea" [Saussure 1970, 194], then there must also be an aesthetic value; and it would be double. One cannot perhaps talk about dependence, for that implies hierarchy; but one can certainly talk about complementarity, which is diverse.

Klinkenberg proposes a fourth element; his tetradic system "bursts the binary relation between a signifier and a signified" [Klinkenberg 2006, 350].

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[1] The alternativeness of sense does not imply there would be an *infraction* in meaning, as suggested by Greimas and Courtés [1979] and Ducrot and Todorov [1986].

[2] The only available technologies in the first quarter of the XXth century.

НАУЧНЫЙ РЕЗУЛЬТАТ
RESEARCH RESULT

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The four elements are: referent, stimulus, significant and type. This is perhaps the most sophisticated model so far proposed for iconic analysis. But it also seems to be needlessly detailed and exhaustive. There are at least two observations to be made here:

(a) There are functives which admit but a single type and a single referent. Let us consider the calligram below:
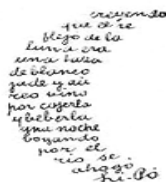
José Juan Tablada, "Untitled", from
Li Po and other poems (1920)

We can see that sometimes type and referent seem to be the same thing: as planet Earth has only one satellite, the moon is simultaneously a specimen and a category. Besides, the previous representations are so schematic and stylized that the lack of redundancy is virtually impossible.

(b) On the other hand, when we read-observe a calligram, it becomes clear that there are two signifiers and two stimuli, for a calligram is not only a drawing, but also a text. In fact, there are two stimuli because we receive two kinds of information: verbal and visual.

To summarize, Klinkenberg's model is pluricodic. We propose to call it *intrafunctional*. He talks about the stimuli (shapes, color, textures, etc.) which will form a signifier related to the signified, and hence to the type. But all the logic of interpretation belongs to the graphic semiosphere, while calligrams integrate two semiospheres –the graphic and the verbal one. And that is precisely the key: we must integrate the meaning systems, not isolate them. If this is overlooked, any attempt to interpret a calligram will be impossible, or at best, imperfect. As Saussure prognosticated, visual signifiers can present concomitant complications in diverse dimensions. We can clearly see these complications in a calligram. Therefore, it seems that the best mode of approach here is syncretism.

3. A possible explanation

Tablada's and Huidobro's calligrams are certainly "cultural units" [cf. Eco 1976, 67]. Those

units would match the Saussurean *linguistic sign*, with a signified [i.e. the idea one wants to express, which constitutes a subjective unit] and a signifier [i.e. the materialization of the idea, in the form of a piece of art]. Saussure makes it clear that a sign integrates two natures: in writing, temporal succession is substituted by graphic spatiality [1970, 70], and that the signified can manifest itself through two signifiers encoded in two different ways: one visual, another verbal.

But, as Peirce intuits, semiosis is "an influence which is, or involves, a cooperation of three subjects, such as a sign, its object and its interpretant, this tri-relative influence not being in any way resolvable into actions between pairs" [Peirce, 1994 484]. This means that there could be three abstract entities and their internal dynamics is cooperative. Hence, triple influence appears to be unavoidable; it appears, too, that it is most operative to conceive the three functives as being in a reciprocal relation. The idea of an expanded sign seems adequate. If "the object of representation can be nothing but a representation" [Peirce 1994, 151], then a calligram can be an interpretant, for it is a complement or an equivalent of another sign, which belongs to a different code and to a different semiotic system. In this way, intersemiotic heterocodification is feasible.

3.1 The Signified

In order to understand the signified, let us assume that Saussure's concept is adequate. However, it should be made more precise. A cultural unit may have several content features: Eco points out that an iconic sign "may possess: (a) optic (visible), (b) ontological (supposed), and (c) conventional properties of the object" [Eco 1976, 207].

This is true of a calligram. Provided that it is synthetic and schematic, it can simultaneously integrate all the properties mentioned by Eco. It does this through a process that could be regarded as doubly metaphorical. Firstly, there are linguistic metaphors that may appear inside the text. Secondly, there are graphic-verbal metaphors which may result from the more or less evident relation between the verbal aspect (= the poem) and the visual aspect (= the figure originating from the spatial disposition of the poem).

3.1.1 The verbal signifier (VeS)

According to Lotman, literary texts are "mechanisms which generate univocal comprehension", i.e. they become catalyzers. This quality is produced by fragments of those semiotic structures or even the whole texts, rather than by languages, for the latter constitute closed systems [Lotman 1982, 27]. Moreover, catalyzers have two main characteristics: (i) the border between different texts is a site of an intense creation of meaning, and

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(ii) there is a close relation between the whole and the parts: even if it is isolated, every semiotic structure preserves the mechanism needed to reconstruct the whole system.

This reconstruction of a previously lost language, in whose system the given text would acquire the condition of having sense, always results practically in the creation of a new language, and not in the recreation of the old one, as it seems to originate in critical self-consciousness" [Lotman 1982, 28].

As a catalyst, the text does not necessarily function as a sign, but it would be one of the elements within the bigger artistic product. It helps to generate a double expressive correlation with respect to the contents it conveys. In the case of the calligrams, what matters most is not the efficiency of the mimesis –for there might be none– but that of a double metaphor: the creation of inedited senses on both levels: graphic and textual.

3.1.2 The visual signifier (ViS)

Peirce regards a sign as iconic "when it can represent its object chiefly by resemblance" [Peirce 1986: 76]. However, these calligrams show that the graphic signs do not necessarily have the properties of the objects they represent, but are rather "surrogate stimuli that, within the framework of a given representational convention, contribute to the signification" [Eco 1976, 194]. The problem seems to be this: if the ViS were isolated, and therefore autonomous, they would probably be only pure icons. But considering that they are in a contextual (and even oppositional) relation with other signifiers, they seem not to be.

3.2 An approach to functions

Klinkeberg's quadrivium thus seems less useful than expanding the Saussurean system through a Peircean trivium. The quadrivium functions effectively when it comes to strictly visual units, which are monomateric; but it seems insufficient in a calligram, where semiosis is coded in two variants. Calligrams let us employ a triadic mode of interpretation, which can be shown by means of the following diagram, which was created by us especially for this paper

```
            S
           /  \
          /    \
         /      \
      VeS --------------------ViS
```
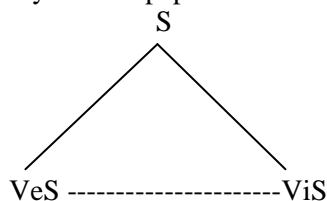
The calligrams demonstrate that it is possible to employ elements from one or more different semiotic systems in order to create a clearly recognizable functive.

3.3 Relations of determination

It must be emphasized that the most operative strategy seems to be creating a device whose mechanism would be analogical to Peirce's. But the background would not be exactly be the same. Let us look more closely at the third problem: the relations between the units of meaning.

Klinkenberg writes that an isolated signifier might lead to no interpretation at all. On the plane of discourse, the relation between the units is called a relation of determination. Its function is to inscribe the units within isotopies; this allows them to make sense, and to identify the status of the sub- or super- unit:

Every unit identifies itself as such thanks to its neighbors, with no imposed order of identification. Evidently, this is possible due to the special character of the iconic syntax and to the simultaneous perception it permits (...) The simultaneous presence of relations increases the level of redundancy and therefore confirms the isotopy in which the units are inscribed [Klinkenberg 2006, 371].

This appears to be valid only for the pictorial calligrams, which have the highest redundancy rate. But some calligrams by Tablada and Huidobro do not employ a single code, and their opposition in that case may make it harder for the reader-observer to decode the work, devoid of any preset spatial direction. All this suggests that a visual icon might have some kind of syntax. Moreover, the syntax can be multiple. This element would undoubtedly have a decisive role in semiotic intercedence. In contrast, an abstract calligram may lack redundancy between the text and its spatial setting.

It is clear there are differences between the codes: in language, "distinctive units appear when we have reached the end of segmentation, arriving at the smallest meaningful units", but in a visual system "segmentation is not consecutive, instead it can be performed simultaneously" [Klinkenberg 2006, 274]. If this is true of the visual expression, another problem arises: it would be almost impossible to anticipate what the reader-observer of a calligram will perceive first: the verbal expression of the poem's content or the visual form derived from it. So, although the relations of determination can be hierarchical, the verbal part could be set to shape the visual part – or just the opposite. Therefore, a calligram can be thoroughly unmotivated in one or in both significants.

Eco claims that out of context, iconic signs lack status; they do not belong to any code and do not

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resemble anything. They are visual forms which can be analyzed neither as signs nor as figures. Besides, an iconic sign does not then have a verbal equivalent, but, at best, only a reference [Eco 2000, 319]. But these calligrams are not solely graphic, so they question that principle. This happens because the graphic element may have an equivalence –or at least a very tightly codified solidarity correlation – with the textual element. Such solidarity can be so strong that the verbal part may even model the visual element, determining its shape and size. Eco also points out that

> to iconically represent an object means to transcribe according to graphic (or other) conventions the cultural properties which are attributed to it. A culture defines its objects by referring to certain codes of recognition which select the pertinent and characteristic features of the content [Eco 2000, 306].

Reading-observing the calligrams of Tablada or Huidobro, we can see the noteworthy contribution they have made to literature, as they expand on earlier ideas. Western culture has employed conventional graphic means to represent content. Traditionally, they were only used to describe reality in a verbal mode, not to depict it. Thus, the iconic representation code was redefined. Moreover, the text could not even provide a code of recognition to semantically validate the relation between the verbal element and the visual one, or between those and the signified.

3.4 Redundancy rate

We must make allowances for the differences in the level of iconicity present in the works. Eco made a distinction between *ratio facilis* and *ratio difficilis* [1976]. Although it is accurate, this idea seems very ambitious. Klinkenberg's concept of redundancy [2006] becomes more operative for these cases, and it will be adopted here, with some comments.

3.4.1 High redundancy rate

The first possibility is an obvious high redundancy rate. In the case of the calligram below, there are noticeable coincidences with Peirce's definition of an icon: the poem seeks to resemble some material objects as much as possible, and the text is set so as to achieve such likeness.

The iconic sign "is analogic and refers us mimetically to a real-world object" [Klinkenberg 2006, 347]. The calligram concurs with that definition, but Eco's analysis in terms of "surrogate stimuli" does not apply here; in this case, one does not deal with graphic signs, but rather with lexemes

coherently organized as a poem and as a picture. Therefore, it is difficult to separate the information conveyed by the text and by the visual aspect, formed by the typographic disposition of the poem.

José Juan Tablada, "Impression of Havana" (1919)

If the redundancy level is high, the ViS depends of the VeS, which maintains semiotic autonomy only at the linguistic and rhetorical level, as the tropes and other poetic procedures which constitute the VeS subsist independently from the graphic disposition of the text. We can speak of a *solidarity* relation. In a high redundancy rate calligram, the author wants the iconic content to be of the same nature as the linguistic content, in order to establish a semiotic co-type. If it is true that one of the type's functions is to guarantee the redundancy between the referent and the signifier, in a calligram such function will be fulfilled by a co-implication between the text and the type. The aim is creating a coincidence between the nature of the encyclopaedias activated by the type and by the linguistic meaning.

The ViS is motivated in at least two ways: (i) by the graphic likeness which has to bring together the signifier and the type, and (ii) by the solidarity relation with the VeS. Hence the ViS is a heteromaterial object [Eco 1976], but it is completely motivated and modelled by the VeS, which functions as its cause. By communicating the content by verbal means and setting the latter as an inferred acknowledgement one produces a metasemiotic utterance. In fact,

> in order to realize iconic equivalents for perception only certain pertinent aspects (of the portrayed objects) are selected (…) Iconic figurae do not correspond to linguistic phonemes for they do not have positional or oppositional value. (…) Their positional value varies according to the convention instituted by the context. [Eco 1976, 214-15].

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Certainly, a calligram depends greatly on the graphic schematization process mentioned by Eco: only the more pertinent features are selected. Let us consider the following calligram:

Vicente Huidobro, "Moulin" (1921)

We could think of a symbol, i.e. "a sign which refers to the object that it denotes by virtue of a law, usually an association of general ideas, which operates to cause the symbol to be interpreted as referring to that object" [Peirce 1994, 249]. The most emblematic feature of a windmill –the vanes – does appear. But others, equally necessary in a real windmill do not, like the door. Since the calligram includes an interplay of two codes, it is difficult to perceive the opposition suggested by Eco.

Although Huidobro did not think of giving his windmill a door, he did think of the lexical frame which surrounds the picture. D'Asprer thinks that the frame made of words is an irony, for it indicates that "poetry is art and it can be exposed just like framed paintings" [D'Asprer 2011, 100]

But whether it is affected by a set of graphemes or not, visual syntax is very different from linguistic syntax, which does not preclude the existence of bonds between them. As we can see, there are moments when the linguistic chronosyntax determines the graphic toposyntax: here, each blade is attached to the windmill through the lexemes which refer to the times of day: *matin*, *midi*, *nuit*, *soir*. But in the picture's peripheral ornament we see something exactly opposite: it is visual toposyntax that presets the linguistic chronosytax of the poem's external verses. And we may suppose that the reader-viewer should begin on the verse which says: "Moud les instants comme une horloge"

It is evident that a calligram combines the stability and tight codification of the verbal code with the openness of the visual code. In this sense, calligrams adapt and even create their own content. The opposition between icons and words has been replaced by the relations of solidarity or just

complementarity. The author wants his work to resemble something, even if in a very stylized manner: if not a real object, then at least some schematic representation of it.

Thus, a calligram is an artistic product which simultaneously uses two different –but potentially complementary – codes in order to articulate the same idea. By giving the content such double expression, the codes interact in an act of communication and semiotic intercoding becomes possible.

3.4.2 Moderate redundancy rate

There could be an intermediate possibility: a medium redundancy rate, where the concomitance relation between signifiers is less evident. We could think of an index as

a sign which refers to the object that it denotes by virtue of being really affected by that object … It necessarily has some quality in common with the object and it is in respect to these that it refers to the object. It does, therefore, involve a sort of icon, although an icon of a peculiar kind; and it is not the mere resemblance to its object even in these respects, which makes it a sign, but it is the actual modification of it by the object [Peirce 1994, 248].

Peirce's definition is adequate; but other problems arise from the functioning of a work of art. Modern semiotics seems unable to deal with some aspects of this issue:

In cases of *ratio difficilis* what matters is not the relationship between an image and its object, but rather that between an image and its content. The content, in this case, is the result of a convention, as is the proportional correlation. The elements of motivation exist, but they can only work when they have been conventionally accepted and coded [Eco 1976, 199].

Eco is right in the first part of his postulate: what matters is the relation between image and content and also between them both and the poem. These three terms would be equivalent to what we have called ViS, VeS, and S, respectively. Thus, there can actually exist an intermediate degree of redundancy, although it may be ruled by what Eco calls "ratio difficilis". But there is more: in the case of Tablada's works, he creates his own convention in order to justify the codification he elaborates. One of Tablada's work talks about the moon, and the text is shaped as such. (We have already quoted it) This comes close to the notion of immediate interpretant [Peirce 1994, 473]. But the moon is represented in two ways. The first text, which treats about the death of Li-Po is a crescent shape, which evokes the

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significant /half moon/ and may connote "sadness," as opposed to the following one. This comes close to a dynamic signified, for it involves a stream of repercussions produced by the presence of analogue ideas [Peirce 1994, 536].

The second text, which treats about celebration, is in the shape of a circle. It resembles the significant /full moon/, and can therefore connote the meaning of "plenitude". Jung [1997, 37] claims that a genuine symbol appears only when one needs to express what thought is unable to: intuitions. Jaffé [1997, 94] claims that the circle is a symbol of the psyche and therefore it always points to the fundamental aspect of life: its definitive completeness.

Tablada's text also reveals something more important than the possible meanings of a circle or a crescent: signs may have an oppositional syntax; however, oppositions can be only perceived in context, not in isolated signs.

3.4.3 Low redundancy rate

If the redundancy level is low, the relation is more abstract; that is why the possible relation between VeS and ViS is represented in the triangle by a dotted line. In this case, the relations of determination are not hierarchical but concomitant, which precludes preordination. Therefore, the relation must be considered only complementary, for it supplies a sense which is additional, but not necessarily dependent on the sense provided by the ViS, as it is not comparable to any other object previously codified: interpretation can only happen – if it exists at all– by inference and deduction. We might ask what happens when there is no apparent connection between VeS and ViS. If there is no equivalence between the significant and the referent, the situation requires a purely metaphorical interpretation.

3.5 The "Lennon-Magritte" hypothesis: inverse semiosis

The first thing we see in the video clip for John Lennon's *Imagine* are the words "This is not here". In René Magritte's panting, a pipe fills the entire canvas, but its title is "Ceci n'est pas une pipe". Let us imagine the following calligram (which we have created for the purpose of theoretical reflection):
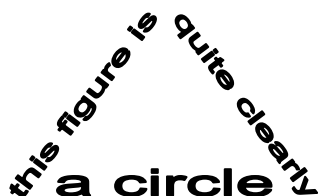

It is obvious that the information conveyed by the work does not coincide with the shape of the text. Violating the premise of congruence –assumed a

priori through cultural conventions installed in the reader-viewer– yields a form of contrasting opposition between the significant features of the utterance and those of its visual setting.

Let us call this phenomenon inverse semiosis, and it is an appropriate rhetorical strategy for conveying sarcastic – and even intentionally absurd – contents, for irony does not consist only in meaning oppositions, but also in the ironic speaker's wish to say several things at once [Viñas Piquer 468]. Thus, to be recognized by the audience, the irony must be "ostensibly poliphonic": the speaker creates a fictitious situation, which "stands in opposition to reality" [Reyes 1990, 142].

In classical rhetoric, an eloquent orator had to avoid total or partial *obscuritas*; the former is absolute, has no direction and hence impedes the understanding of the speech; the latter has an imprecise direction and is linked with ambiguity [Lausberg 1993, 57]. Irony has two strategies: (i) *dissimulatio*, concealing the speaker's opinion, and (ii) *simulatio*, deceiving the audience. Irony does not consist only in semantic and pragmatic contradictions. Sometimes even silence may have sarcastic contents and signify something exactly opposite [Lausberg 1986, 79].

We can imagine an extreme level of irony, involving not only a contradiction between the visual and the verbal aspects of the message; there may be also a contradiction within the verbal part itself. Let us consider this calligram, again our own:
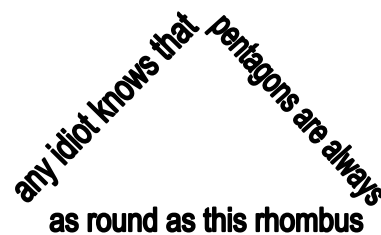
Obviously, in this case we have not only changed the rate of redundancy, but we have also introduced a change at the pragmatic level, due to the deliberate discordance between and within the planes of meaning. The only thing that may save us from total *obscuritas* is understanding that we are witnessing the process of *dissimulatio* [Lausberg 1986, 94].

3.6 Pure metaphor

In these calligrams, the redundancy rate is either very abstract or so low that it approaches total absence. We thus arrive at pure poetry. The plastic sign has been defined as one involving "codes based in lines, colours and textures that are independent of

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any mimetic reference" [Klinkenberg 2006, 347]. Therefore, we must consider two possibilities of correlation between VeS and ViS:

The first variant involves a complex plane of content, which however has no relation with the graphic shape of the text. Let us consider the calligram below:

Thesa
La   bella
Gentil   princesa
Es una blanca estrella.
Es una estrella japonesa.
Thesa es la más divina flor de Kioto
Y cuando pasa triunfante en su palanquín
Parece un tierno lirio, parece un pálido loto
Arrancado una tarde de estío del imperial jardín.

Todos la adoran como a una diosa, todos hasta el Mikado
Pero   ella   cruza   por   entre   todos   indiferente
De nadie se sabe que haya su amor logrado
Y siempre está risueña, está sonriente.
Es   una   Ofelia   japonesa
Que a las flores amante
Loca y traviesa
Triunfante
Besa.

Vicente Huidobro, "Harmonic triangle", (1912)

We see a work of great verbal cohesion, but with virtually no relation between VeS and ViS. The only redundant relation holds between the title and the shape. The story about a Japanese princess does not seem to have any relation with the triangular shape. We wonder what it may represent. We understand there is no irony, for the text's intention and meaning do not conflict with the shape, they are just incompatible with it.

The second possibility is the total absence of relations, not only between the visual and the verbal part, but also within each of them.

In the case of the calligram below, the only signic precision may come from the suggested kinetic meaning which would be included in the neologism "girándula" from the title, a derivation from the verb *girar* ("to turn").

G I R Á N D U L A

Una constelación pluricolor

Un sol de rotación arroja 10,000 proyectiles por minuto.

Ciudad y el mar copulados

El ventilador pirotécnico multiplica sus aspas deshilachadas.

y efímera tapiza el cielo estival.

Los cohetes braman tirotean sobre la

Guillermo de Torre *Girándula* (1923)

The poem contains four verses with such degree of poetic metaphorization that finding syntactic relations between those verses is almost impossible. Lotman conceives literature as its own inherent modelling system, for it is explicit, limited and structured. This work includes signs and combination rules for those signs which allow for the construction of a unique message, not conveyable through other means. In texts with these qualities, the signs of the text enter a relation of opposition with signs and systems that are foreign to literature, so they only acquire meaning when they relate to other systems [Lotman 1982, 34].

We only see four autonomous and concurrent surrealistic micropoems. Moreover, the graphic layout is so arbitrary that the reading-observation may start anywhere, and no toposyntactic relations can be imposed. And as the plane of content is so ambiguous, no interpretation can be attributed to it. Rather than talking of semiotic functions, we could view the micro-texts as open signals, for they "appear to invite the attribution of a content, thus issuing a sort of interpretative challenge to their addressee … they can only 'wait' to be correlated to a content, each being susceptible of many different correlations" [Eco 1976, 243]. Nevertheless, all these possibilities are only interpretative premises, not definitive conclusions. In cases like these, semiotics seems to have reached its limit. Perhaps the only solution should be sought outside semiotics, according to the suggestion in the following excerpt:

A symbol is a term, a word or even a painting which can be known in daily life although it may have specific connotations other than its obvious and ordinary meaning … It has a bigger, 'unconscious' aspect which is never exactly defined or completely explained. And one cannot hope to define it or explain it. When the mind explores a symbol, it is taken to ideas that lay beyond the reach of reason [Jung 1997, 17].

This quizzical calligram illustrates an extreme case: the total absence of motivation. Everything is due to the author's whim. The only thing to do is to determine whether the whimsical typography has any artistic value and is creative enough to be regarded as literature

Conclusions

Such works as the calligrams of Tablada and Huidobro evidence double codification of reality. If it is true that a real-world object can become a sign, and vice versa [Eco 1976], in a calligram there is a double interplay between the sign and the object, for the ViS can be a referent to reality. On the other hand, if there is a high redundancy rate, the VeS –which is normally a sign– can become an object or a referent for another thing. A calligram can be the best example of pure *inventio*. If Eco is correct, it would be a mode of creation in which the creator of the semiotic function selects a new or not yet explored material for his objectives, and then suggest a new

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way to transform the pertinent elements of its contents. In fact this represents the most exemplary "case of ratio difficilis realized within a heteromaterial expression; but since no previous convention exists to correlate the elements of the expression with the selected content, the sign producer must in some way posit this correlation so as to make it acceptable" [Eco 1976, 245]. Consequently, as a semantic structure within a macrostructure called a calligram, the VeS is not only a poem, but also a full semiotic feature, for it is spatial and could be articulated in a different syntax, that of the ViS.

This would solve a paradox. Eco, who openly criticizes the concept of iconicity, supplies the best theory to understand a calligram. Like Klinkenberg's, Eco's ideas remain within an intrafunctional scheme and do not provide for the links that may exist between diverse forms of semiosis. Yet if, instead of division, one goes for unification, the paradox is solved.

Tablada's and Huidobro's calligrams show that the evolution of modern art has perhaps been far too radical and fast for researchers to work out effective interpretative instruments. In fact, important scholars in the field of analytic psychology acknowledged that in the middle of the XXth century, when abstract painting had become the most frequent – and the most complicated – pictorial form. The evolution of modern art has been fascinating, for it has broken down the barriers between subjectivity and expression. Contemporary artists seem not to care about mimesis, but only about the expression of emotions [Jaffé 1997, 253]. Modern art has abandoned the sensory and the individual: it is collective and moves many; only the artist's style remains individual.

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* All the translations from Spanish in the paper are done by the author.

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AN INVESTIGATION OF CHINESE STUDENTS' GRAMMAR DEVELOPMENTAL SEQUENCE: A CORPUS STUDY OF ACADEMIC WRITING

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Abstract. The study investigates Chinese students' grammar developmental sequence and implications of the so-called "morpheme" studies. A brief overview of L1 and L2 research in this regard is provided. The paper explores the impact of three major dominants of acquisition order: semantic complexity, input frequency, and native language transfer.

A special corpus of Chinese students' academic writing was created to present both qualitative and quantitative data for the research. The number of texts analyzed for this research is 510, comprising 701 440 words. The research is longitudinal; the data presented in this paper were obtained in the period of February 2015 – February 2017. The research will be carried out, thus the results which we want to discuss are preliminary.

The research findings provide support for pedagogical recommendations to present the patterns in receptive grammar acquisition (input) which can result in more error-free and diversified grammatical output.

Key words: second language acquisition; corpus linguistics; grammar acquisition; natural order studies; English for academic purposes.

Introduction

Natural order studies can be traced back as early as the 1970s when the researchers paid their attention to "independent grammar assumption" inspired by an innatist view of language acquisition (Cook, 1993). This approach was prevalent in the 1970s and 1980s (due to the influence of Chomsky's Universal Grammar) and gradually lost its popularity in the 1990s.

The basic hypothesis for natural order studies was the acquisition of L1/L2 learners of grammatical morphemes and is commonly referred as morpheme studies (Ellis, 2013, p. 82). The researchers tried to establish either there was an invariant order of morpheme acquisition for L2 learners as it was stipulated for L1 learners.

The idea of morpheme acquisition research in the 1970s was supported with considerable empirical evidence that proved the notion of a consistent order (it served as a basis for Natural Order Hypothesis). The results of numerous researches supported the hypothesis of similarity of L2 acquisition with L1 acquisition (Dulay & Burnt, 1973; Krashen, Butler, Birnbaum & Robertson, 1978). Certain researchers found that the morpheme sequences for second language acquisition coincide with those of first language acquisition, thus the learners L1 does not pay a crucial role in acquiring the second language (Larsen- Freeman, 1975; Fathman, 1975). Other research results showed that the morpheme acquisition sequence in L2 remains consistent for learners of different ages (Bailey, et al.,1974; Kessler & Idar, 1979).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the focus was shifted from empirical evidence to the identifications of different determinants of the acquisition sequence. The purpose was to reexamine the Natural Order Hypothesis, though fewer empirical researches were conducted. Still, the list of determiners with respect of L1 and L2 acquisition was suggested. For L1 acquisition the following determiners are usually cited: 1) perceptual salience (e.g. morpheme –ing, as in *playing*, can be stressed in some cases, thus, it is regarded to be salient, but the morpheme –ed, as in *played*, cannot be stressed), syllabicity (if the morpheme is syllabic or not), and lack of exception (the possessive 's is used without any exceptions, whereas the past tense –ed has exceptions for irregular verbs). These three determinants are considered to be stable and not variable, still, some researchers considered the possibility of two more determinants: semantic and/or syntactic complexity (Brown, 1973).

The list of determinants for L2 is still to be established, so far the following list has been suggested (which is wider than the list above and includes all the mentioned before determinants, thus we will enumerate those which are peculiar for L2 acquisition): morpho-phonological regularity;

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syntactic complexity; frequency; semantic complexity; native language transfer; levels of morpheme activation (Andersen, 1978; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Wei, 1999,2000 a, 2000b, 2003).

The empirical evidence prove that despite some differences the order of morpheme acquisition for L2 learners will be consistent. Still, the Chinese learners of English acquire English morphemes differently compared to other L2 learners:

Table 1

Order of Acquisition of English Morphemes in L2 Studies (adapted from Jeong, 2002)

Dulay & Burt (1974)	Bailey, Madden & Krashen (1974)	Larsen-Freeman (1975)	Hakuta (1976)	Rosansky (1976)
Children-Spanish And Chinese	Adults – classified as Spanish and Non-Spanish speakers	Adults – Arabic, Japanese, Persian and Spanish	Child Japanese	Children, Adolescents, Adults (Spanish)
N= 60 Spanish = 55 Chinese	N=73	N=24	N=1	N=6
1 Article	1 Present Progressive	1 Present Progressive	1 Present Progressive	1 Present Progressive
2 Copula	2 Plural	2 Copula	2 Copula	2
3 Progressive	3 Contracted copula	3 Article	3 Auxiliary	3
4 Simple plural	4 article	4 Auxiliary	4 in	4 Article
5 Auxiliary	5 Past irregular	5 Short plural	5 to	5 Copula
6 Past Regular	6 Possessive	6 Past Regular	6 Past Auxiliary	6 Auxiliary
7 Past Irregular	7 Contracted auxiliary	7 Singular	7 on	7 Possessive
8 Long Plural	8 3rd person present	8 Past Irregular	8 Possessive	8 Past Irregular
9 Possessive	9 Possessive	9 Long. Plural	9 Past Irregular	9 Long Plural
10 3rd person singular	10 3rd person singular	10 Long Plural	10 Past Irregular	10 Long Plural

The list which we showed here is an abridged one and does not include the sequence of English morpheme acquisition in L1 studies, though we need to mention the morphemes stated in both lists are almost the same. Having analyzed the sequence of

morpheme acquisitions by different nationalities, we come to the conclusion that Chinese learners of English constitute a special group: the first morpheme they acquire is the article, whereas the Present Progressive comes only third.

The aim of our study is twofold: Firstly, to understand better the production of English morphemes (output) in academic writing (morphemes which are error-free and have not been learned as chunks before), it will help to organize the input in accordance with Natural Order Hypothesis. Secondly, this study investigates how the morpheme production varies among low and high performing students. Through answering these questions, we hope to gain insight into coping strategies for decreasing the number of mistakes L2 academic writing.

Literature Review

As far as the status quo of the EFL education in China is concerned, writing in English has always been foregrounded as one of the most difficult areas for both Chinese EFL teachers and learners (Chen, 2016, p.3). Academic writing is of particular difficulty for Chinese EFL learners, as it has been estimated by Shu (2004) less than 50% of the undergraduates can reach the basic pragmatic level of English to fluently conduct daily (oral) communication and read academic English articles/books associated with specialized areas, as for the postgraduate students, they are more competent in speaking and reading than undergraduate students, though they feel awkward writing English research articles for academic purposes.

There is a paradox in reality as all the Chinese students have to study English for at least 6 years at middle and high schools, many of them begin studying English being as young as 3-4 years old, it means that many students have at least 12 years of the previous history of learning English. As Shu (2004) states that students can hardly adapt to academic discourse at tertiary level because both examination- oriented Chinese school EFL education (commonly known as高考) and general-purpose University English cannot meet the demands for high academic literacy of specialists.

Research has shown that recently more investigations appear dedicated either to the problem of vocabulary acquisition by Chinese EFL learners, or contrastive typology of languages (Prystupa, 2016), though only a few fundamental and empirical types of research focused on teaching EAP (writing) in China (Chen,2016) or developmental aspects of language production of Chinese EFL learners in writing (Chun, 2015) are available in English.

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Methodology

The research employed both in-class academic essay writing and analysis of students' writing corpus which consists of 510 essays (for this particular research but still more essays will be uploaded as the research is longitudinal), comprising 701440 words.

This is a quasi-experimental study that investigated the production of English morphemes in Chinese ESL students' academic writing. In addition, this study investigated how the use of English morphemes vary among high and low performing students.

Participants

There were 102 participants spread across 4 classrooms. All students were taught by two teachers: one Chinese teacher (general writing practice + grammar) and one foreign teacher (academic writing, EAP). Both teachers were non-native speakers of English, but both were awarded academic degrees from English-speaking countries, their teaching experience exceeded 10 years. All classes followed an identical EAP program (approved by Navitas). The participants were mixed: both undergraduates and postgraduates participated in the project, the age range is 18-23 y.o. All participants had no prior experience of studying in an English-speaking country. The number of years of studying English varies: from 8 to 13 years, a mix of men and women. The L2 proficiency of the students ranged from IELTS 5.5-7.0 (5.5 being the minimum requirement to enter the program in question), with no class significantly higher or lower in L2 proficiency than any of the others, thus the students were spread into two main classes: English A (IELTS 6.5-7.0) and English B (IELTS 5.5 – 6.0). All the participants agreed to have their original data – submitted as a part of EAP program – copied and analyzed for research purposes, they were told that (non)-participation in the corpus project would not affect their assessment.

Special attention was paid to the selection of students and their prior ESL learning experience, the duration of prior language learning seems to be important for the development of cognitive-academic language proficiency (5-7 years) (Cummings, 2000).

Instruments

To create the Chinese EFL students' academic writing corpus, we used Lauren Anthony's software, which is in open access and can be downloaded from http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html. To calculate the data PSPP software was used.

Writing tasks

The participants were expected to write 5 academic essays of different types (comparative, explanation, argument, cause and effect, comparison and contrast essays), word limit for each essay was 1500 words. As the participants of the program were the students of different majors, the topic areas suggested for essay writing were neutral: Population, Water, Climate Change, Globalization, The Information Age, Media, Social Interaction. The participants were free to choose any aspect to analyze within the given topic. Special attention was paid to the anti- plagiarism measures, all essays were submitted via anti-plagiarism software.

Discussion

As Biber states: "Grammatical features contribute to the general perception that academic writing is more complex, structurally elaborated, and explicit in meaning than most other spoken and written registers"(Biber, 2016, p.14). The results of our research show that Chinese ESL learners in their academic writing show grammatical diversity in the cliché phrases that they memorized as chunks and use them actively as coherent and cohesive elements, such phrases as: *there is a growing body of literature that recognizes the importance of ...;several attempts have been made to ...;one observer has already drawn attention to the paradox in ...;what follows is an account of ...; turning now to the experimental evidence on ...* and many others, still we do not take them into consideration as they had been given to students before the essay writing during pre-writing sessions and students were expected to memorize them, thus these chunks cannot be analyzed as "real" output.

Our core interest was to investigate the use of English morphemes in academic writing and to see if there is a correlation between high and low performing students. We have chosen the following grammar phenomena for investigation: English verb tense and aspect system, voice, modal verbs (hedges to express vagueness), non-finite forms of the verb.

Table 2
The use of English tense system in academic writing by Chinese ESL students

Tense (active voice)	Low- Performing Students (65 students)	High- Performing Students (37 students)
Present Simple	91%	98%
Past Simple	83%	94%
Present Perfect	61%	79%
Present Progressive	78%	82%
Past Perfect	12%	37%
Future	67%	86%

Table 2 illustrates the number of error-free sentences. The results show that grammar tense that causes fewer problems is the Presents Simple Tense,

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it can be explained by high input frequency and low semantic complexity. The tense which caused the biggest confusion is the Past Perfect Tense, this can be explained by low input frequency (usually the explanation of this verb tense is disregarded in Chinese high schools and universities), high semantic complexity for Chinese students (this can be explained by the difference between Chinese and English grammar systems; the Chinese language uses present tense to express the past tense through time adjuncts, the perfective aspect, which signifies the occurrence or completion of action, is expressed through the perfective particle 了. As Chinse tense system is relatively easy compared to the English one, we can say that perfect aspect seems to be the most problematic for Chinese students, who tend to correlate 了 with the Past Simple Tense but not with the Past Perfect Tense. Native language transfer is significant in this example. The same explanation can be applied to the future tense.

Table 3

The use of the Passive Voice in academic writing by Chinese ESL students

	Low- Performing Students (65 students)	High -Performing Students (37 students)
Passive Voice	53%	64%

Table 3. presents the total number of error-free sentences with the passive voice. We do not diversify the table according to tense and aspect as our prior concern was in the investigation of the general principles of the passive voice use. In Chinese, the passive voice, which is usually associated with structural elaboration and academic writing, appears to be used less than in English. The analysis of students' academic essays shows that there is a strong tendency in using the active voice, while the use if the passive voice is not systematic and grammatically erroneous. This phenomenon can be explained by insufficient input and direct language transfer (the influence of L1 on L2).

Table 4

The use of English modal verbs in academic writing by Chinese ESL students

Tense (active voice)	Low- Performing Students (65 students)	High -Performing Students (37 students)
Can	79%	94%
May	65	94%
Must	61%	69%
could	78%	82%

Modal verbs with the meaning of vagueness in academic writing (hedge) seem to be a problematic area for Chinese ESL learners. They have a strong preference for the use of the indicative mood without using hedges in academic writing. The data show that among the modal verbs that Chinese students use are *can, may, must and could*. First two are often used interchangeably but the preference is given to the modal verb "can", here our results coincide with Susan Hutson's data (Hutson, 2015, p.210). The modal verb "must" comes third in the rating of the most frequently used modals in Chinese ESL students' academic writing. The data show that other modal verbs, such as have to, should, ought to, might, were not used in the essays we analyzed. It can be the result of low-frequency input, the semantic difficulty of should and ought to for Chinese students who often confuse these two modal verbs.

Our results of our research are still preliminary. The generalizability of these results is subject to certain limitations. The small sample size analyzed for this research allows us to make the following assumptions:

1.There may be a taxonomy of certain English morpheme acquisitions at higher intermediate levels of L2 proficiency. Though as not all grammar morphemes in Chinese ESL students were analyzed, we can suppose that the most difficult for acquisition are the Past Perfect tense (both active and passive voice), modal verbs (hedges) and the passive voice for all grammar aspects.

2. Special attention should be paid to the development of grammar morphemes in academic writing, as this genre is characterized by its grammar elaboration and explicitness.

Conclusion

The present study was designed to Chinese ESL students' developmental sequences of English morphemes acquisition. The results show that there are certain English morphemes that are produced error-free with high frequency, though the other morphemes are often grammatically erroneous or just absent in the output. Three possible explanations for these phenomena were suggested: semantic complexity, input frequency, and native language transfer. Still, it is not clear which factor of these three prevails for each grammar morpheme. This study just outlines the future investigation of the problem and is the pilot project that provides the preliminary data.

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РАЗДЕЛ V. ТЕОРИЯ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ

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SCIENCE FICTION AND FUTURE HUMAN: CYBORG, TRANSHUMAN AND POSTHUMAN

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Abstract. Since science and technology are intertwined with literature, a great number of writers have created different depictions under the label of Science Fiction which mostly shows various aspects of future human, life, culture, and society. Science Fiction will be exemplified through a number of notable Science Fiction stories in this paper; afterwards, it will outline various notable critics' notions about future forms of humans including cyborg, transhuman and posthuman, to examine two goals of immortality and superiority in Science Fiction. In sum, this is a literary review paper which presents an overview on Science Fiction and offers a broad discussion on the transformations including cyborg, transhuman and posthuman to distinguish these concepts from each other: transhuman as a transcended human, posthuman as an obsolete human, and cyborg as a machine man.
Key words: science fiction; cyborg; transhuman; posthuman; transformation.

INTRODUCTION

Since the late 20th century, humans have witnessed numerous advances in technology which have changed the boundaries of their lives. Nowadays, we can easily travel everywhere, access the latest information in no time, and communicate with someone across the world via the Internet. Science and technology have reshaped every aspects of human life exponentially and humans always look for a better world with more comfortable life; hence technological advancements play an important role in this way so far. Moreover, humans have discovered cures for many diseases that used to be incurable in the past and also different scientific ways are now available to promote human health and appearances. Advances in medicine have led to greater human longevity and more comfortable lifestyle, to the extent that the human desire for immortality has increased. In addition, progress in several other scientific fields, such as biotechnology, has made considerable advances in prosthetics or making artificial limbs and body parts for humans. Accordingly, humans are no longer limited to their

biological features that they already have had; they are also able to improve their new given abilities prosthetically, but this begs the question: is going beyond human boundaries possible and whether is it positive or negative?

Strictly speaking, technology even has more significant impacts on human life where the world becomes an unavoidable reality and human everyday life is more dependent on technology. Humans try to adjust the environment to suit their necessities, and they alter their bodies through cosmetic surgeries, brain implants, and mechanical prosthetics. Thus, going beyond human limitation may be accessible through some changes in human form, but these changes pose a controversial question: since humans become more dependent on technology in order to fulfill their desires what will happen to humanness and humanity? What will happen to their moralities and behaviors? Therefore, technological advances may have both promising and discouraging pictures in the human mind. Meanwhile, many scientists promise a utopia (a perfect life in a perfect society) and immortal life through advanced technology; in

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this case, Science Fiction helps us to imagine possible consequences [6, P.15]. This literary genre will be explained in the next section broadly.

SCIENCE FICTION GENRE

Science Fiction (henceforth SF), as a literary prophetic genre, tries to explore different predictions through fiction and depict the influences of cutting-edge technology on the future human societies. It typically deals with imaginative terms in the areas of science and futurology. Needless to say, SF is considered as a combination of literature and science; science because it speaks about science and technological advances, and literature because of its characters and fictional events which are created by the authors. So, as a literary genre of scientific ideas and philosophy, it includes different futuristic elements of human, culture, and society. It often portrays the fictional scientific advances which are intertwined with future human life. As a literature of anticipation and ideas, it has been one of the most influential literary genres since the 19th century through countless stories which show different reflexes in human life through technology.

Science Fiction has historically always studied the interaction between human and machine / demon and angels/ technology and magic, raising ethical questions both of imminent concern and forecasting issues to ponder. As a genre it offers challenging narratives that should be used as pedagogical tools to critically shift what we consider curriculum and learning to be, as well as where it resides [21, P. 119]

SF is also a literature of changes which shows a significant concern about what it means to be human and what will come after the human. It is exceptional in literature not only because of its content, but its imagination. It illustrates the turning of human life into a paradise or a hell under the shadow of technological advances. As an interdisciplinary literary genre, SF creates a unique language by which writers visualise human future life and predict its positive and negative consequences. In this case, Nick Bostrom states that "yesterday's science fiction is turning into today's science fact – or at least into a somewhat realistic mid-term prospect" [3]. It means that, whatever SF depicts in a time, it will turn into the fact one day.

SF writers try to teach, inform, and prepare us to deal with different changes that technology brings in. They take us into imaginary worlds and show both promising and terrifying results of technological applications into future human life. Many notable SF

texts have centered on technological advances, from the beginnings of the 20th century onwards, such as *Brave New World* (1932) by the British writer Aldous Huxley (1894-1963), *I, Robot* (1950) by the American writer Isaac Asimov (1920-1992), and other SF novels. In such novels, there is a gap which makes a bridge between SF and reality:

Recent scientific and technological breakthroughs demonstrate that the gap is being bridged between science fiction and science fact, between literary imagination and mind-boggling technoscientific realities … Moon and Mars landing, genetic and tissue engineering, cloning, xenotransplantation, artificial birth technologies, animal head transplants, bionics, robotics, and eugenics now exist [1, P. 103].

Many other SF novels, such as *On the Beach* (1957) by the Australian novelist Nevil Shute (1899-1960), and *Z for Zachariah* (1974) by the American writer Robert C. O'Brien (1918-1973), predict the massive ruinous power of technology in human life and society. One of the most dangerous impacts depicted in such fictions is technology's dehumanisation that causes the denial of humanness or traits which make us human. In such novels, writers try to warn that, although technology in the present time leads to a better life for humans, it may end in an apocalypse too. Moreover, humans are exponentially becoming more and more dependent on technology and, consequently, technological dehumanisation may happen in the close future. Realistically speaking, in the not-too-distant future, human bodies will be made of genetic engineering, machines, images, and information and non-biological or mechanical limbs.

In many other SF stories, such as *Cyborg* (1972) by the American writer Martin Caidin (1927-1997), technology is used as a tool for enhancing human's physical and cognitive abilities and it tries to remove humans' disabilities, vulnerabilities, and illnesses in order to make humans immortal and superior. In this way, technology transcends characters' limitations through medicines, genetics, prosthetic chips and limbs, and mind-uploading. In such stories, the process where technology transfers people's primitive Darwinian humanness to the enhanced humans, is called the revolutionising of human:

The fact is we remain shackled by our primitive Darwinian brains. Humanity for whatever progress we have made, is the result of an unguided, natural, 3.8 billion-year-long experiment of chemistry …

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[humans must] fundamentally revolutionize what it means to be human by way of technological advancements [2].

Here, the revolutionising of humans generally refers to upgrading human body and mental abilities, but in SF stories, it has been depicted both as a liberating and frightening opportunity, carrying both 'superhumanisation' and 'dehumanisation' [5, P. 5]. Thus, a number of problematic features in human enhancement processes are shown through different definitions in SF literature. Necessarily, it is common to distinguish enhancement and medical treatment; however, some medical treatments lead to enhancement of human functions. Such enhancements may be a dream for many of us, and SF shows that technology is the best tool to accomplish such dream. Hence, SF depicts that humans have to try to go beyond their natural boundaries to transform themselves into beings different than what they currently are. This might be a dream to open the door of longevity, superhumanity, and even immortality for them. In the wake of that, many thinkers, such as Donna Haraway (1991), believe in inventing different prosthetic limbs and some similar technological tools in order to be transformed into a better or an enhanced human. In contrast, Charles T. Rubin believes that one of the current topics about human extinction is the same enhancement:

[W]e will improve ourselves, becoming something new and better, and in doing so we will destroy what we are now. We have this opportunity because science and technology are giving us the power to control human evolution, turning it from a natural process based on chance to one guided by our own intelligence and will. [18, P. 9]

According to Rubin, whether such transformation will result in human extinction or enhancement is a significant area which must be deeply studied. There might be no way back if humans step into the transformation process. In the next section, this paper will discuss the transformation process expansively.

TRANSFORMATION: GOOD OR BAD?

As discussed in the previous section, many SF stories show that human transformation and enhancement can be possible and accessible through advanced technology. There are three kinds of enhancements in SF: the first one is enhancement of the existing functions that we already have, such as in *Amped* (2011) by the American writer Daniel H. Wilson (b. 1978); the second one is organ replacement or extension of natural limbs in which

humans would become bionics or cyborgs, such as *Machine Man* (2011) by the Australian writer Max Barry (b. 1973); and the third one is replacing of the whole body with an artificial one along with uploading of mind in it, such as *Mindscan* (2005) by the Canadian writer Robert J. Sawyer (b. 1960). These processes follow two goals: to achieve human immortality and to gain superiority. As for superiority, transhumanism suggests that humans should transform into transhuman or posthuman if they look for superiority because technology is becoming more advanced day by day, and, simultaneously, humans remain stable; this means that, one day, they might become more stupid and weaker than technology. Following this, Albert Einstein states, "I fear the day that technology will surpass our human interaction. The world will have a generation of idiots". Thus, many scientists and philosophers, such as Bostrom, believe that we must update ourselves with new technologies or must stop technological process in order to prevent ourselves from becoming less smart than technology.

Transformation is one of the most controversial terms in SF as it might be either positive or negative; however, it is mostly depicted as a destructive man-made weapon against humans at least. Accordingly, many SF stories show "the messy, confused, unstable and dynamic ways in which the human and the more-than-human have been, and continue to be, conceived – a fusion of ideas that operates very much in accordance with the hybrid nature of posthuman philosophy itself" [11, P. 21]. In the transformation process, we should evolve or transform into a superior human, and this is what a number of SF writers have depicted before, such as in *The Silicon Man* (1991) by the British writer Charles Platt (b. 1945) which depicts a character who transforms into a super-intelligent full-machine. If once human turns into machine, there may be two destructive dangers by which he can be used as a slave [12, P. 117], and the reason is that mechanical or artificial human can be abused as a slave. In addition, Daniel Dinello believes that human beings have been turned into weapons, "humans have been subsumed into weaponised systems and themselves function as the slave-like tools of technology" [6, P. 3]. The reason is that human body will be made of machines which might be hacked, controlled and steered by abusers and hackers. In total, there are both good and bad impacts in the technological transformations of humans.

TRANSHUMAN AND POSTHUMAN

Several contemporary thinkers and futurists, such as Hans Moravec and Ray Kurzweil, describe

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technological progression in human life as transbiological progression or postbiological evolution [15, P. 5]. The reason is that technological advancement steps beyond our biological boundaries and transform us into immortal and enhanced humans. Herein, there are scholars and scientists called transhumanists who aim to reach human enhancement and immortality. They believe that by "making better people" we will make "the world a better place" [8, P. 35]. They think that, through advanced technology, we will prepare a situation to enhance human body through medicine, genetics, biotechnology, replacement of body limbs, and even human brain and finally human beings will be able to turn from the current position into transhuman and posthuman in order to become happier and healthier with more fulfilling life. For example, Bostrom suggests that humans should try to reevaluate certain features of human existence, and later on "the posthuman values can be our current values" [4]. To become transhuman and posthuman, transhumanism movement plays an important role which aims to transform human into enhanced human, physically and intellectually. There are three main principles of transhumanism: superlongevity that is living forever; super-wellbeing that may be possible through medicines and genetic manipulation to eliminate bad genes of our unborn children in order to prevent diseases in them; and super-intelligence that will be possible when we surpass our limitations through technology [2].

Transhumanists argue not only that modern science and technology are giving human beings the power to take evolution into our own hands to improve the human species, and then to create some new species entirely, but also the ability to improve on all of nature [18, P. 9].

Transhumanists believe that we need to be redesigned to stop our extinction if we want to prevent human apocalypse [18, P. 9]. Vernor Vinge, one of the most prominent transhumanists, predicts that human era will end as soon as superhuman intelligence is created or, similarly, Kurzweil believes in an increasingly evolving technology that ends in a new different era in which the accelerating speed of change affects our condition [5, P. 5]. In this new era, "our biological portion will become obsolete which already mentioned, [that is called] the posthuman era" [5, P. 5]. Posthuman stage, to some extent, is alienated from biological humans and mostly contains mechanical/prosthetic features in human body or bodiless identity with mind-uploading

process. Susan Schneider (2009) postulates that future humans will be so dissimilar to their current physical and mental embodiment and similar to the characters depicted in SF novels. This would be a justifiable reason for considering SF as a human life genre that would link technology with fiction. In fact, for transhumanists such as Bostrom, we might as well be uploading immortal and virtual lives on computers in the future [19, P. 24].

Generally speaking, transhumanists aim to create a world where humans will be able to transform and transcend through technology. As a matter of fact, they are not happy with the present form of the human body and its weak points. For example, Max More and Natasha Vita-More postulate that technological evolution of humans will eliminate illness and stop the ageing process through replacing human limbs with artificial prostheses operating better than the natural ones. In SF, characters that are biologically transformed are considered as transhumans, such as in *Perfect People* (2013) by the British writer Peter James (b. 1948) and, when non-biologically transformed by mechanical or artificial limbs or devices, they are called cyborgs. This transformation is completed by the posthuman stage in which a human is transformed into a humanoid or his consciousness is uploaded into a computer. Sometimes the character is transformed into inhuman, such as in *The Fly* (1957) by the French writer George Langelaan (1908- 1972) that is one of the SF short stories in which the protagonist unwantedly transforms into a giant housefly. Some other science fictional characters transform into bionic humans that are mainly biological with a few technological means such as implants and replacements; for example, in *iBoy* (2010) by the British writer Kevin Brooks (b.1959) in which the protagonist accidentally transforms into a super-bionic youngster since some fragments of a smashed iPhone are embedded in his skull. Similarly, there are many other examples in SF in which the body is transformed by technology.

In SF stories when human characters attach some artificial limbs or brain implantations to their own bodies, their biological deprivations or corporeal limitations are removed which satiates their desires and thoughts. However, when they transcend or upgrade the corporeal capacities by technology "the rift between organic and mechanic is increasingly made more obscure". It "outdate" or obsolete body [17]. Thus, the body obsolescence happens when humans are radically steered by technology to transform into the posthuman where human organic body is an out-of-date form. In this case, Kevin

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LaGrandeur (2014) explains that there will be a time in the future where humans interweave with super-intelligent technology progressively in which "humans and machines will be effectively merged, since differences in appearance will be meaningless" and finally the human body will be obsolete. This means that humans may be able to substitute the whole body limbs for technological ones. Finally, the human mind will be only a "software that could potentially run on hardware [machine body] made of chips and wires instead of neurons and blood vessels" [20]. In that case, the obsolescence of the human organic body has happened.

CYBORGISATION

In 1960, Manfred Clynes and Nathan Kline coined the term cyborg, short for cybernetic organism to refer to human body that has been transformed and enhanced with machines [7, P. 48], in order to survive in extraterrestrial environments in the future [10, P. 204]. Twenty five years later in 1985, Haraway popularised cyborg as a term which means "hybrid of machine and organism" in order to bring about reconciliation between human and technology. She views cyborg as a real creature in human society as well as a science fictional being. Afterwards, cyborg became a common term in SF to signify a being that is part human, part machine. Nowadays, our world is full of cyborgs, for example, people who are spectacled or those who wear hearing aid or contact lenses could be considered as a kind of cyborg. Haraway believes that the combination of body and technology leads to the creation of a cyborg. She describes cyborg as a matter of fiction, and optical illusion as a border between SF and social reality [9, P. 165].

In total, cyborgisation is an upgrading of the biological entity with microchip implants and machine components. A quantity of tiny mechanical or electrical implants is used for medical purposes, for example, to hear or see something better. Scientifically speaking, when we put glasses on to see things better or when we can connect to the Internet by wearing a Google glass, we can be identified as a sort of cyborg. Moreover, such tools are applied for upgrading the body's function in SF's characters which make them more intelligent and stronger. The most notable cyborg character in SF, so far, is depicted in *Cyborg* (1972) by the American writer Martin Caidin (1927-1997) and its TV series adaptation "Six Million Dollar Man" (1973) in which the protagonist becomes a superhuman (or cyborg) through the use of some mechanical organs or joints. According to David Kreps, human behaviours would change through the use of such tools (1). Indeed,

there are a few real cyborg humans in present time, such as Steve Mann who is the inventor of the wearable computers (WearComp), Jens Naumann with his bionic eyes to help him to see, Stelarc who has surgically attached a 'Third Ear' to his left arm and works on enhancing the abilities of human body, and Neil Harbisson, the cyborg activist who is known for having an antenna implanted in his skull to allow him to perceive visible and invisible colors.

In sum, cyborgisation is a process under the posthuman concept because it finally leads to posthuman due to its non-biological features; nevertheless, due to the process of distinguishing between cyborg and posthuman, LaGrandeur (2014) proposes a simple definition to resolve any ambiguities about them. He describes cyborg as a transforming project through different evolving technologies. This process continues and goes beyond, and finally intertwines with machines to be called cyborg. In that case, humans will be easily transformed through the use of prosthetics to upgrade their bodies and functions. However, as discussed earlier, the concept of the cyborg may include every simple intertwining of biology with machine.

CONCLUSION

One of the aims of SF is to study the interaction between human and technology. Since technology is considered as the best tool to upgrade human abilities and life, a number of SF novels warn against present advancing technology which may lead to an apocalypse instead of the revolutionising of human. Thus, after the merging of human with technology, there is an obscure line between superhumanisation and dehumanisation. Transhumanists believe that it might be a dream to gain longevity, superhumanity, and even immortality for humans. Following after, Haraway, as a proponent, suggests creating prosthetic limbs to be transformed into an enhanced human, but Rubin, as an opponent, addresses human transformation through technology as a point for extinction.

As transhumanists follows, in the transformation process, humans must transform into superior humans than inferior beings, but Kakoudaki postulates that, once humans transform into machine, they can be used as slaves who are inferior to untransformed humans. Similarly but from another angle, Dinello proposes that humans transform into weapons and are used as slavish tools of technology. In contrast, scientists, such as Moravec and Kurzweil, postulate such transformation as postbiological evolution which must be done in order to make better people and better world. Transhumanists suggest that humans need to be redesigned to prevent extinction if

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and human face apocalypse. In this case, Kurzweil believes that the human organic body must become obsolete and enter the posthuman stage in order to extend life after leaving behind an out-of-date form called the obsolete body. Finally, Haraway suggests cyborgisation of the human body to preserve our own body with some needed substitutions for useless body limbs that could be considered as a project of transformation.

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