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**Morel Morel D. A.,
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**STEREOTYPICAL RISKS AND THREATS IN THE YOUTH'S OPINION
(DIACHRONIC COMPARATIVE ASPECT)**

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Abstract. The paper reveals the structure of associative fields of words-stimuli "danger", "risk", "threat", fixed in 1988-90 (the materials of "Russian Association Dictionary") and in 2015 (the results of authors' associative experiment). The obtained results demonstrate the structural stability of these fields diachronically on the one hand and explicit redistribution of "association vectors" within them on the other one. By the end of the historical period under study, the corresponding fragment of the associative network gets saturated with new nodes and demonstrates considerable increase in density and relevance of internal relations. The degree of anxiety (and emotionality in general) in stereotypical perception of danger, risk and threat by modern youth is reduced, such phenomena begin to be perceived somewhat abstractly, and from distance.

Key words: associative experiment; stereotypical association; associative network; danger; risk; threat.

**Морель Морель Д.А.,
Спивак Л.Н.,
Шатилина С.И.**

**СТЕРЕОТИПНЫЕ РИСКИ И УГРОЗЫ В ГЛАЗАХ МОЛОДЕЖИ
(ДИАХРОННО-СОПОСТАВИТЕЛЬНЫЙ АСПЕКТ)**

Introduction

Since the associative memory model has been proposed (see [6]), reference to the materials dealing with associative experiments has gained a particular relevance for the studies with a cognitive focus and been keeping it to this day. At the same time, «at present, an interest in the study of the dynamics of linguistic consciousness based on the material of the comparative analysis of associative fields being different by fixation time has increased» [1, p. 15].

Such contrastive analyses that we have conducted, based on the materials from «The Russian Association Dictionary» and the results of the author's associative experiment, show high efficiency of such approach in studying the dynamics of the concepts at the turn of the epochs. The data for «The Russian Association Dictionary» were compiled in

the course of a mass experiment of the 1988-90s, and all the respondents (students aged 17-25 years) were born and formed as personalities in the USSR [2]. The author's experiment of a similar age group was conducted after 2013, therefore, its representatives grew after the disintegration of the USSR under the conditions of the other socio-political situation. Such ideological gap could not help affecting the peculiarities of the content and structure of associative fields, which allowed to reveal some interesting tendencies (see the example: [10; 12]), including those relating to the dynamics of stereotypical notions of security [9].

The Objective of the Paper

The present study attempts to trace the peculiarities of stereotypical perception of security threats by the youth of the Soviet and modern periods

of the history, and to identify the main tendencies in its dynamics in the mentioned historical period in terms of the material of the associations by the stimulus words «danger», «risk», «threat».

The Materials and Methods

To detect the state of the associative fields at the initial stage of the considered historical period (1988-90s – hereinafter, T₀), we referred to the data from «The Russian Association Dictionary» [5]. The authors' experiment was conducted on the basis of the analogous procedure (the subjects were asked to fill in the questionnaire containing 100 stimulus words within 10 minutes [2]; see also: [7, p. 156-157]) in 2015 (hereinafter, T₁) and involved 100 respondents. The collected associative material was semantically clustered (see: [4, p. 76; 8, p. 19-22]). On its basis the fragment of the associative network was modeled (see the example: [7, P. 154-155]).

The results and Discussion

The analysis of direct and inverse associations allowed to build two models describing the state of the associative network «around» the node «danger» as of T₀ and T₁.

As of T₀, «danger» is a central but not system-forming node of the considered fragment of the associative network. As of T₁, the density of connections of this node increases significantly, and it closely approaches in the semantic space (see: [12, 4, P. 79-88]) with the node «risk» (cross-association are the most frequent).

There is an interesting tendency in the dynamics of top reactions to the stimuli «danger» and «risk». If the T₀-respondents *accept* the risk (and even approve it implicitly), the T₁-respondents justify it only. The T₀-respondents tend to have a positive vision of the development of a threatening situation on the whole: the danger is *past* for them (whereas the answers of the T₁-respondents are indicative of the frequency of a corresponding reaction to fall to a minimum).

The nodes «explosion» and «terrorist attack» as of T₁ form a binary cluster (an internal coherence of which is enhanced by increasing the relevance of the associative bond with a bomb, which completely correlates with objectively observable criminogenic and socio-psychological tendencies in the Russian society [3, p. 3-4]). At the same time, in the semantic space they significantly converge with the fragment of the network (explosion was not considered by the T₀-respondents as danger, despite its sustained associating with the use of nuclear weapons).

The node «death» is also close to the considered fragment of the associative network in the semantic space, at the same time, one clearly traces amplification in the perception of death as a

frightening factor. One observes also intensification of the systemic importance of «fear» as a peripheral (relative to «threat») node. Note that the convergence of the fragment with the nodes corresponding to the «existential» concept («fear», «death») at the final stage [10] is mainly due to the formation of the binary cluster «explosion ↔ terrorist attack».

The performed semantic analysis of all associations by the stimulus word «**danger**» allowed to reveal 14 clusters:

danger... 1) sudden, 2) greater, 3) has a potential character, 4) for life, health, 5) is supposed to have protection against it, 6) is supposed to have warning about it, 7) is its initiator, 8) everywhere, 9) near, 10) has different localization in space and situation, 11) is past, 12) is coming, 13) is a fear (or absence of it), 14) is a different sensation, psychophysiological state, manifestation of it.

The replies of the T₀-respondents do not contain the representatives of cluster № 14, and of the T₁-respondents – №№ 1 and 13.

The linguistic consciousness of the T₀-respondents «danger» was mainly perceived through the prism of the movement, as being close, significant, supposing to have some symbols that warn about it. For the T₁-respondents, «danger» is largely reduced to its causers, it is stereotypically perceived as a *risk*, *threat*, *fear*, however, presupposes the existence of *protection* against it.

The attribute of *potentiality* of danger moves up from the irrelevant one for the linguistic consciousness of the T₀-respondent to the number of nuclear ones for their contemporary peers. Moreover, the attribute of *illusiveness* and of far-fetched nature of danger is actualized.

Note here that the observed tendency of the rapid growth of relevance of the attributes of *causal initiator* of danger (including weapons), and *protection* against it (mainly by means of *artefacts*) is largely correlated with the dynamics of similar attributes of «security» [9].

The clusters formed by verbal (that represent highly-relevant attributes of *motion* of danger for the T₀-respondents in the situational space) and adjectival (that represent the evaluative qualitative character of danger) reactions are almost completely de-actualized. The latter indicates an explicit decrease in brightness, intensity of perception of danger in the T₁-respondents compared to their Soviet counterparts.

At the same time, in the replies of the T₁-respondents, one observes an intensification of awareness of the danger as the cause of emotional

states including the fear (it is interesting that the T₀-respondents could *not be afraid of it*).

One notes the total decline of relevance of the clusters of localization of danger. A highly relevant attribute of *imminence* of danger as of T₀ is almost de-actualized, which is indicative of a manifest weakening of suspense in T₁-respondents, and this tendency cannot be compensated by the gain of the cluster «danger is everywhere». The latter, coupled with some reduction in the frequency of a particular space and situational binding of danger, suggests that the perception of danger as of T₁ is de-concretized, becomes more abstract, fuzzy.

As of both T₀ and T₁ in the structure of associative field of the stimulus word «**risk**», 9 clusters have been revealed:

risk... 1) is approved, 2) has been justified (or not) 3) is estimated by the degree (great or not), 4) is the danger 5) is a pastime associated with excitement (extreme sports, races, games), 6) is a success, chance (or failure), 7) is the fear (or courage), 8) for life, health, 9) is associated with behaviour and decision-making.

The T₀-respondents stereotypically interpret risk as «a noble cause», besides, they tend to assess it (mainly as great) and correlate it with danger. For T₁-respondents, «risk» comes mainly to the danger (for life, in particular) on the one hand and to the idea of excitement, good luck - on the other. In addition, from their point of view the risk is justified (but that is about it).

As of T₁, the risk almost completely ceases to be perceived as a «noble cause» (moreover, from the responses, the predicates of a positive evaluation completely disappear), however, the attribute of its *propriety* somewhat increases its relevance, shifting towards nuclear (at the same time, *the degree of reasonableness of risk* also increases, as assessment of it as unjustified being frequent enough for the T₀-respondents is de-actualized).

They begin to identify risk with danger and gambling pastime; relevant clusters demonstrate relatively high growth rates.

The intensification of the theme of passion in the perception of risk can be traced in the increase of relevance of its connection with the condition of success, good luck (the topicality of the saying «fortune favours the bold» has continued for modern respondents). The probability of failure for both groups of respondents is approximately equal and not great.

It is interesting that the decrease of the relevance of the cluster «fear (or courage)» is due to the full de-actualization of the second component. But the decrease

of the relevance of risk assessment in *size* is mainly owing to the representatives of its low indicators.

The analysis of the associative material concerning the stimulus word «**threat**» has revealed 14 clusters:

threat... 1) is a danger, 2) is a war, enemy, weapon, 3) is a crime, unlawful behaviour, 4) is a fear, 5) is other psycho-physiological states, 6) is a storm 7) is severe trials of life, 8) to life, health, 9) is an assault, 10) personal or collective, 11) great, 12) is localized in space 13) implies protection from it 14) can be avoided.

Clusters №№ 7 and 14 are not represented in the responses of the T₀-respondents.

From the point of view of the T₀-respondents, the stereotypical «threat» has *an object* (life, world, society, in the main), criminogenic or militaristic nature, comes to danger, causes fear. Stereotypical conception of the T₁-respondents of the threat is somewhat simplified: it has its own object (life in the main) and comes to the danger (the other clusters demonstrate low relevance).

«Threat» begins to acquire not so much social as vital («life-threatening») character. This is indicative of the growth of the relevance of the attribute, on the one hand, on the other – the fall in the relevance of the attributes of the criminogenic nature of the threat and its focus on the *social world*.

The understanding of the threat as *misfortune* is actualized as of T₁.

In the responses of the T₁-respondents, the attribute of the *intensification* of threat is practically de-actualized. Besides it, the correlation of threat with fear in their responses is virtually de-actualized (and with the other psycho-psychological states – is weakened).

The specificity of the responses of the T₁-respondents is actualization of understanding of that the threat can be *avoided of*, and one can be *protected*.

Conclusion

The present study has shown that by the substantial similarity of stereotypical notions of the Soviet and contemporary youth of the security threats (which is evidence of the stability of the relevant concepts) they demonstrate explicit distinctions that are indicative of structural and informative and functional changes in the picture of the world occurred for the historical period under review.

A number of tendencies in the dynamics of the studied conceptions has been revealed.

For example, in the case of «danger» it is shown that as of T₁ it acquires a potential character, comes to its causer, moves away from the personal space of

respondents, ceases to be perceived through the metaphor of motion.

In terms of stereotypical perception of «risk» two opposite tendencies are formed: on the one hand, «risk is not good» (risk is a danger, a threat to health, it ceases to be approved), on the other - «risk is not bad» (the risk is a lucky chance, excitement, extreme, it is justified).

«Threat» (as well as «danger») is de-concretized, de-personalized, takes more abstract, generalized character, considerably loses on emotionality of perception.

It should be noted that the tendency to virtually complete elimination of the verbal reactions in the responses of contemporary respondents was noted earlier in the analysis of other associative fields (mainly the names of the concepts forming the «security perimeter» [11]).

If the fragment of an associative network with a focus on the node «danger» as of T_0 demonstrates a low degree of systemic coherence, then in T_1 , it is characterized by a higher density and integration: in the same area of semantic space there are more nodes, relations between them are becoming more numerous and stable, the number of highly relevant cross-associations grow. Instead of loosely coupled network (T_0) as of T_1 it is observed interaction (including mediated through the node «fear») of the two triads, «risk ↔ danger ↔ threat» and «explosion ↔ terrorist attack → death».

In addition, as it follows from the analysis of this fragment of the associative network, the perception of danger by the T_0 -respondents differed to somewhat lesser extent of anxiety in comparison with their modern counterparts.

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«HAZARDOUS ZONES» WITHIN «SECURITY PERIMETER»:
COMPARATIVE STUDY ON THE MATERIAL OF FOLKLORIC
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Abstract. The article considers the concept of "house" as a core element of "security perimeter" (the term by A. Leroy-Gourhan) on the material of English, Russian and Scottish ballads. Two models of "house" were built, revealing national specificity but, however, remarkable similarities. The main grounds on which these models differ are the overall degree of openness / closure towards the outside world, the clarity of boundaries between loci, the degree of privacy of the inner loci, the extent of the mediator space. It is shown that in both cases the house is perceived as a highly complicated structure, an open system which internal and external borders are completely or partially pervious in some segments. It causes some vulnerabilities to negative external impacts (of social and supernatural origin) in "security perimeter" and loci of "space under threat" inside the house (and the adjoining protected areas). In addition, it is shown that the "security perimeter" as a complex hierarchical system displays the properties of self-similarity.

Key words: security perimeter; ballad; locus; boundary; hazard; house.

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«ЗОНЫ РИСКА» ВНУТРИ «ПЕРИМЕТРА БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ»:
СОПОСТАВИТЕЛЬНОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ
ФОЛЬКЛОРНОГО ДИСКУРСА

The term «security perimeter», proposed by the prominent French anthropologist and archeologist Andre Leroi-Gourhan in his work «Le geste et la parole», possesses, from our point of view, high heuristic and integrative potential which has not been completely revealed by modern science. The demand for it at the present stage of development of scientific thought and society in general seems to be obvious and is bound to the study and solution of a wide spectrum of the problems (security in its multifarious aspects, opposition «friend-or-foe», alienation, shortening personal space, etc.).

According to A. Leroi-Gourhan, human sense of security is based on placing an individual into a shelter, under cover and bringing him into homelike, group space and time (to be more precise, biological and social rhythms) [9, p. 139-140]. At the same time, a basis, «bridge-head» for domestication of space-time and the center of already «human» space-time, symbolically separated from the chaos of

the external world, is a dwelling (and, in the broad sense, settlement) [*ibid*, p. 149-154]).

Taking into consideration the thesis by A. Leroi-Gourhan about a concentric character of the picture of the world of the settled people [*ibid*, p. 155-163], the data about organization of the world model divided by concentric boundaries of the growing radius being inherent in mythological consciousness of the Slavs [1, p. 28; 2, p. 23], the modern conceptions of organization of the category «space», topos and locos[4] and concentricity of «personal space» [7], we have proposed our interpretation of «security perimeter». It implies the presentation of the latter in the form of the system of concentric rings of the boundaries dividing social and psychological space into the zones with decreasing (as the remoteness from «I»-center increases) degree of development and, consequently, the security (real or presumed) and psychological comfort (Fig. 1).

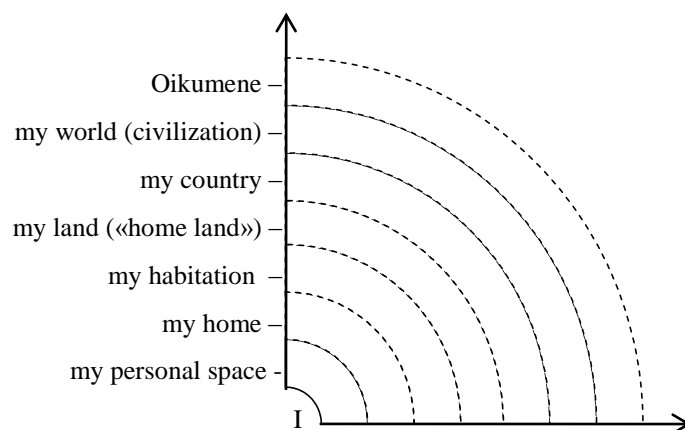


Fig. 1. «Security perimeter» organization

A system-forming core of «security perimeter», where a part of internal and most of external ties of this concept are closed, is home [3].

American scholars pass an opinion that «home» is not simply the actual, but the central concept of universal human being, having at the same time bright ethno-cultural specific character [8, p. 111].

A set of dominant features of home as archetypal image corresponds to its principal functions, the main of which is to define and mark the boundaries of a safe space in macro cosmos, to create one's own micro cosmos. Macrocosmos «security» implies air-tightness of home microcosmos. However, for human existence, the contacts with the external world are indispensable to life, therefore, «home» must have an opening to come in and out. An absolutely air-tight «home» is «wrong», since there is no exit outside: it might be a coffin, a grave [2, p. 23]. The presence of such opening – the rupture in monolithic protection of «security perimeter» – automatically implies vulnerability of the protected space.

The present paper attempts to consider the conception of «security perimeter» from the viewpoint of vulnerability to negative external impacts on the basis of the fragment of folkloric picture of the world «home», reconstructed before on the material of the English and Russian popular ballads [6].

The study has been based on the voluminous text material of popular ballads of England, Scotland and Russia with the help of numerous methods [5; 10] (see a detailed information about materials and the used research methods in: [6]).

In the texts of English and Scottish ballads, the semantic structure of *home* is blurred: it is the blending of the meanings of home as the locus of family and more general meaning of native land, a safe room of habitation of the characters of narration. Symbolically, the word *home* conveys the meaning «friend» in the mythological opposition «friend –

foe» and, accordingly, carries semiotic load of a safe place of habitation. Therefore, the semantic opposites of the word *home* in the folkloric text of a ballad are the loci that are hostile towards the main character *sea, green forest, wood, hill, churchyard*, as the places of habitation of dark forces of evil or foes. *House* can be both «friend», the locus being native for the character, and «foe», the locus belonging to another family, sometimes being fraught with danger.

Door in ballads is the main border between «small» house (or its separate premises: *bower, chamber*) and the surrounding world and plays often the role of obstacle on the way of unexpected or unwelcome guests, protecting the house against forcible entry, therefore, important are the actions relating to shutting, locking the door. The door sometimes stands for the border locus between the world of the living and the dead. The popular tradition prohibits to leave the door ajar, as it makes the house the most vulnerable to intrusion of dark forces of evil and evil spirits, and this fact is fixed in the English ballad [10, v. 2, p. 281].

Window is a non-regulated entry-exit and, therefore, more dangerous than the door, as one can get into it against the will of the owners of the house. The mythological symbolism of the window, as well as of the door, relates to its borderline between «own» and «alien» world and the hazard of intrusion into the dwelling through the least protected place. Crossing the border of the window is a forbidden step in most cases, only ill-wishers can get inside the house against the masters' will. The important in the ballad are the actions connected with the necessity of protecting this locus, they are usually expressed by the constructions in passive voice and the participles in past tense.

Wall as the border of a «large» house is found mainly in combination with the epithet *castle*, forming, in certain cases, the composite *castle-wall*. This concept in the texts carries the main semiotic

load of the border between «home», lived-in space of the house and outer space. Only the ghosts can cross the wall border.

Hall is a locus inside the house where many strange people are let in, therefore, it is saturated with the events and living actions in the English ballads (including murders which are committed here and cleared).

Bower is a smaller model of the house, has its boundaries, and methods of contact with the outside world (*bower-door*, *bower-window*, *bower wall*). The actions at the closed door (*bower-door*) repeat the actions at the gates and doors of the «large» and «small» house. *Bower* is carefully protected, forcible violation of its boundaries can lead to tragedy. Its semantics also reflects the idea of comfort and security of native home, to leave its boundaries voluntarily means to sacrifice comfort and personal safety.

Inside a *chamber*, as well as a *bower*, only the family members, servants and lovers are allowed. A Lover in the locus of the bedroom is «a friend» for the heroine, and «a foe» for all the other inhabitants of the house, so troubles can lie in wait for him.

Дом (House) symbolically realizes the opposition of the protected «own» space in relation to the «alien» hostile outer world, is a symbol of the native land. In the texts of the Russian ballads it confronts the loci of the outside world where the character can be surrounded by hazards, as well as the habitat of the hostile forces.

Терем (Terem/Tower) opposes a foreign *tent* as a hazardous hostile locus. The space of *терем (tower)* includes *жилые комнаты (living rooms)*, *горницы (upper chambers/bowers)*, *светлицы (front rooms)*, *повальиши (povalyshi)*. Killing the members of own family in the *house* or *terem* is a great sin, so one tries to lure the victim into the mediator space of the *yard* or *garden* or within the boundaries of undeveloped space outside the «large» house. *Terem, on the whole*, is a symbol of prosperity and security.

The lexeme *изба (izba)* in the folkloric model of the world of ballads refers to a dwelling house of modest means as a whole or living quarters and has generally reduced or negative connotations in the folkloric model of the world of ballads, associating with poverty or hazard (the locus of evil spirits).

Двор (Courtyard) in the Slavic mythopoetic model is the mediator space between «own» and «alien» world, which is reflected in the texts of the Russian ballads. In the locus of the *courtyard* there are private constructions *stable / stable yard, bathhouse, barn*. The space of *the yard* as one's «own» developed world is opposed to the *open field* where the hazards of the outside world wait for the characters. At the same time, *the yard* is an open locus, which allows a large number of «strange»

visitors to come in, not all of them are wanted to see in *the house*. *The yard* can be fraught with hazards, the characters on its territory are less protected than in the «small» house. In the locus of *the yard* there could be murders, deceit and betrayal of family members. Since the murder in the house was considered a great sin, one tries to lure the victim into *the yard* or in *the bathhouse*.

In the mythopoetic model of the world *ворота (gate)* performs the function of a regulated entry and exit into the space of one's «own» developed world. In the Russian popular ballad the character is not always required to perform a ritual action related to letting in through *the gate*, often these actions are performed by the villains, as they are not wanted to be let in the house.

Окно (window) unlike *дверь (the door)* and *ворота (the gate)* is an unregulated entry-exit and is therefore more semiotically loaded and associated with the hazards waiting for the characters from the outside world. *The window* in the house is opposed to the *window in the bathhouse*, which in the context of ballads appears as the locus near which the murders are committed.

Крыльцо (porch) in the Russian folkloric model is a place outside of the «small» house, where the ways of movement out of the house into the outer space intersect, and vice versa. On *the porch*, the characters are more vulnerable than in the house, so there occur the demonstrative murders that are sinful to be committed in the house.

In the texts of the Russian ballads *горница (upper chamber)* acts as an opposite to the loci located outside the «large» house. Opposition *горница (upper chamber) - чисто поле (open field), улица (street)* opposes the most secure locus home to the hazardous locus of the outside world, the opposition *горница (the upper room) - сырая земля/желтый песок/гробовая доска (damp earth / yellow sand / grave)* contrasts the locus of the world of the living with the world of the dead. *Горница, светлица, спальня и повальиши (upper room, front room, bedroom and povalyshi)* in the folkloric texts are synonymous as the most protected loci inside the house.

Дверь (door) is an important boundary of the house, performing a protective function. Two doors between which there is *сени (outer entrance hall)* usually lead to a living zone of the house. An exterior *door* opens onto *the porch*. The main semiotic load of the *door* is related to its protective function: it is made of a hard material, it is usually closed, it is *unlocked* if necessary.

Door and *gate* in the Slavonic tradition were the objects and loci of special rites (in addition to knocking), associated with the symbols of the boundaries between one's «own» and «alien» space in

the Christian tradition, so in the Russian ballads, one finds the descriptions of rituals of the characters before *the door* being not familiar to Western Christianity.

The bathhouse in the texts of ballads is a separate building in the territory of the «large» house. It is partially similar to the house in its construction, as evidenced by the presence of *окошко, лавки, порог, печка (трубёшка) / the small window, the bench, the threshold, the stove (trubeshka)*. In the context of the ballad *the bathhouse* performs its main function of the room for washing. On the other hand, according to the popular believes the role of «unclean» place inhabited by demonic creatures is attributed to the bathhouse. In the texts of folk ballads, it is the bathhouse where the most violent crimes, murders of some family members occur. If one wants to hide the crime from other family members the bathroom is the most appropriate locus.

In the English and Russian folk models of the world, one of the most important loci of the house is the place of family hearth. This locus is the center of the house, its vital organizing principle, has at the same time the links with the outside world through the chimney or pipe, thus being a borderline locus. In the Russian folk ballads it is designated by the lexeme *печь*, in English - *fire / kitchen-fire*.

As a result, the structure of folk models of the house in the English and Russian folk ballads reveals similarities and differences at the level of the mentioned lexemes [6]. The lexemes, indicating the boundaries of the house - *window/окно, door/дверь, gate/ворота* – agree in the main components of the semantics. Partial coincidences are in the lexemes, denoting different loci in the territory of the house: *bower, chamber, palour, room, hall, fire / горница, светлица, спальня, повальши, печь*. In the English folk model there are no lexemes that correspond to the Russian words *сени, крыльцо, двор, баня*; in the Russian model, the lexemes denoting the concepts that correspond to the English *kitchen, castlewall* are not found.

In the English model of the world *house* appears as the closed space, having clear boundaries (*castlewalls*), in which a large role is played by the private loci (*bower, chamber, room*) and by the border of entry / exit *door*. Contact with the community is selective and occurs behind the «closed» door of the «large» or «small» house, often in the space of *hall*, as well as via visual and auditory contact through *window*. The space of the courtyard is an unmotivated semantic lacuna for the genre of the English ballads, at the same time, a functionally significant locus is *stable*, since it is a transition point of movement from the house into the outer space. *House* in the English folk ballad has also a lexically destined place for household servants (*kitchen*), which is also at the same time a hazardous locus of

communication with the other world, as it borders with the outside world through the hearth (*fire*).

The Russian house, unlike the English one, is presented as an open type of communication that has no clear boundaries (the lexeme denoting the boundary of the house is absent in the Russian folk model). The Russian house is characterized by functionally important mediator space of *the yard (двор)* (the lexeme denoting the space of the yard is absent in the English folk model) and, unlike the English ones, less important private loci that have no distinct boundaries.

Thus, the fact that in the mythological and folk pictures of the world the house is an open system leads to the supposition that at this level there are «gaps» in «security perimeter».

It should be also noted that the components of the macro system «security perimeter» displays the properties of self-similarity at different hierarchical levels (separate subsystems of the system «house» ↔ system «house» ↔ «security perimeter» as the whole), which allows to make an assumption about fractal character of its organization.

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JARGON IN SPORT DISCOURSE: FORMATION AND FUNCTIONING

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Abstract. The paper discusses the major ways of sport jargon formation and the peculiarities of its functioning. Jargonisms come into the Russian word-stock through both borrowings from other languages (mostly English) and discourses. Among the productive means of word-stock enrichment are metaphorization, author's word-building, blending and others. The results of the texts analysis allow the authors of the paper come to the conclusion that there is an increase in the tendency of interpenetration of different discourses, which is caused by the great interest in the phenomenon of sport on behalf of different participants of sport discourse; by the dynamic nature of discourse practices; by the growing number of social relationships and the roles performed by linguistic personalities; by globalization processes.

Key words: jargon; sport discourse; globalization; metaphorization; neologisms; discourses interpenetration

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ЖАРГОН В СПОРТИВНОМ ДИСКУРСЕ: ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ
И ФУНКЦИОНИРОВАНИЕ

INTRODUCTION. Each social sphere of human life activity is characterized by certain forms of communication (verbal and nonverbal) which represent the most important instruments for achieving goals and satisfaction of the needs of either community. Any social institute as a form of organization of joint vital activity of the humans is characterized by the presence of a kind of discourse that includes specific socially and professionally marked signs. One can include special lexis, terms, phraseological units, paroimia, slang expressions, etc.

MAIN PART. This paper will dwell on some peculiarities of sport discourse which is characteristic for athletes, supporters, commentators, sports journalists and fans, and which is realized by the texts of different type coupled with situational (sporting) event. The linguists differentiate certain peculiarities of sport discourse: it conveys the meaning that defines sporting activity; sport discourse is a non-isolated phenomenon, as it is connected with the other types of discourse (especially with mass-media) [7, p. 12–16].

Within sport discourse, one differentiates smaller sub-discourses which are peculiar to a certain sport. Different sport sub-discourses are characterized by different set of linguistic means: one

means include the units that are more emotionally marked, the others – less. Thus, for example, the chess sub-discourse will be less emotional than the football one, and the discourse of fighting sports is more expressive than, for example, of golf. This depends on many factors: 1) a sport – martial arts, sport games or rhythmic sports; 2) the presence and development of the institute of fans; 3) quantity and composition of viewing audience; 4) spectacular display of sporting events; 5) sports popularity; 6) the age of players and fans; 7) sports commentary and personality characteristics of a narrator; 8) gender peculiarities of either sport.

In the present paper, we would like to deal with one of the linguistic features of sport discourse in more detail, such as forming and using jargons.

Jargon (French jargon) – speech of a social or professional group that is distinguished from the literary language by special vocabulary. Jargon is a kind of language which is «not according the rules», «language-parvenu», understandable in a particular surroundings, since there are many artificial, sometimes conventional words and expressions, but which actively paves the way to «high society». For many centuries of its existing, many jargonistic «words», originated from «lower strata», penetrated

into and fixed in a literary language. Though not everything in jargonism is acceptable, it appreciably makes speech vivid, flexible and unexpectedly witty.

Till the 90s, in Russian linguistics there were purism traditions connected with unacceptance of non-standard forms of language: jargons, slangs, occasional words, dialecticisms. But, as the studies show, attitude to a jargon in the 90-s and «nulls» became more tolerant. Jargon is mobile and changeable with time, presses respectable speech via the means of mass information and spreading mass culture which imprint on language of the whole nation. What until recently was considered below the standards of the speech of the literate people and not recommended for use, now sounds from the lips of the professors, businessmen, politicians, from the pages of the press and TV screens. To a large extent, the meaning and purpose of jargons consist in the fact that they give the brightness to speech, figurativeness, emotionality and expression with the hints of irony, joke, raillery, reproach, contempt, love and hate.

Currently, the need to study jargons is appreciated by many Russian scholars. During the past ten years, a great number of works dealing with the peculiarities and problems of jargon formation and functioning has appeared.

Every sport has its own jargons and slang expressions. Some phrases from the language of sportsmen are hard to understand to the uninitiated people, and sometimes – they seem odd. For example, when the handballer *бьет по ушам* / *batters to the ears*, it does not mean that he intends to inflict injuries on someone. Just by completing a shot on goal, the player directs the ball over the head of the goalkeeper to the so-called «мертвая зона»/«*dead zone*» where the ball is rather hard to reach. And when in the boxing ring, one fighter sends another *искать пятый угол* / *to search for the fifth corner*, this means that he was down for the count; being down for the count he may also *собирать мелочь* / *collect small change*, i. e., the boxer's attempt to get up being on his knees and elbows stands for this slang expression.

Recalling the results of the past world football championship in Brazil, ended for our team ignominiously, one can use the slang expression «А. Кержаков сегодня снова «полирует банку» / «А. Kerzhakov «*polishes a can*» again today, i.e., he remains sitting on the substitutes' bench, to describe the situation of vain expectations of fans for the forward of Russia football team to take the field and a radical turn of the course of the play with the national team of the South Korea.

The skaters use the expression *сработать в ступу* / *to work in the back*. This means that on the straight line of skating oval, one must join up with an athlete running front as close as possible, then, due to less air resistance, it will possible to gain maximum speed.

One of the most spectacular elements of basketball is *a block shot*. Having snatched the moment, the defender has time to jump and, in the flight, to catch the ball flying into the ring. In the Russian-language variant, this technique has long been nicknamed with the word *горюк* / *pot*. But *горюк с крышкой* / *the pot with a lid* is considered to be even more valuable among the basketball players. They say so in the basketball world when the ball finally remains in the hands of the defender.

They say «запорол дохлый момент» / «*screwed up dead moment*» about the biggest mistake of a football goalkeeper, that is he did not realize a hundred-percent goal situation. For example, in hockey, it falls within the responsibility of a defenseman *чистить пятачок* / *to clean the snout*, i. e. to lean forward pushing the opponent out of the goalkeeper's area. In biathlon competition to describe the situation of failed shooting the slang word *застрелился* / *shot oneself* is used.

One differentiates general sport and highly specialized jargon. To the general sport jargon vocabulary one refers the following words and expressions understandable to the representatives of different sports: *технар* / *technician* - an athlete who can long hold the ball in the play of football or basketball, *технариться* - to hold the ball in the team sports too long and not to pass it to his partner, who takes a more advantageous position on the field or the playground, *порвать соперника* / *to break the opponent* - to have the great win, to win with an overwhelming advantage, *дохляк* (*dohlyak*) - weak athlete, *пикушка* (*pikushka*) - the peak of physical form.

Highly specialized jargon is used in various sports such as boxing and weightlifting of the athlete acting in lower weight class, it is called *мухач* (*mukhach*), and *кач* (*katch*) is an athlete bodybuilder.

The main methods of formation of sport jargons are borrowings, the development of meanings, formation of words via the word-building means from existing units, abbreviations, and other occasionalisms. Let us dwell on each of these methods.

Borrowings are abundant stratum of vocabulary in many languages. In the sports world discourse there is a great number of English borrowings, which is quite explainable, because «the concept «sport» is ethnocentric to Anglo-Saxon culture» [1, p. 78]. In

addition, the words without the "descent", created, as the phrase is, "from scratch" are extremely few in number, because a man is endowed with the ability to compare and transfer the properties of one object to another, thus giving it a new name, using the familiar material. And if one or another phenomenon has a name already, even if in another language, it is logical to use it. There are, however, countries that stand firmly on the positions of non-foreign-language borrowings [2, p. 136].

Let us dwell in detail on some borrowings. *Хет-трик/ Hat-trick* (calquing from English - a trick with hat: a hat - *шляпа*, a trick - *трюк, фокус*). According to one of the versions, this expression originated in England in the middle of the XIX century. Cricketer who turned three consecutive hardest blow were presented a cylinder in recognition of their excellence. According to another version, this word emerged in a competition being once popular in England, the aim of which was to knock the hat down with the ball from wooden figures. If a player was able to bring the three hats down in three consecutive attempts, the achievement was called *a hat-trick*. In football *хет-трик/hat-trick* means three goals scored by a player during a single match.

Predecessors of jargons can be professional sport terms of English origin which have already equivalents in the Russian language: *хавбек* (from the English *half* - половина, *back* - задний) - midfielder, a player of centreline of the team. *Хавбек* is a jargon and most used among the fans, the official term is «полузащитник»/«halfback». *Linesman* (from the English *line* - линия, *man* - человек) - the side referee in football. Today, these words are not perceived as slang and used as professional terms.

Adoption of some borrowings by the Russian language is accompanied by their grammatical and word formation Russification. For example, the borrowed word from the English language *фрирайдер / free rider* denoting an athlete who prefers extreme skiing comes from the English *free-rider*, which, in turn, was formed from the English *to free ride* – a style of biking or skiing, snowboarding that implies a ride on the complex, sometimes artificially erected routes using natural and artificial obstacles [Wikipedia]. In the Russian language, it is used according the grammar rules of Russian: *экипировка фрирайдера (Genitive case)*/equipment of freerider, *проблемы фрирайдерства* (formation of the word with the help of suffix)/ the problems of freeriding, etc. *Стоппер* (from the English *stopper* - пробка, затычка) - a centerback, whose main responsibility is to prevent threats to the goal in the central zone of defense. *Корнер (corner* - English

угол /Angle) - a corner kick. *Дриблинг* comes from the English *dribble* (to dribble the ball, to demonstrate skills of ball controlling with maneuvers, unexpected for the opponent, with trickery of the players and skills of deceptive movements). According to the etymological dictionary [9] the verb *dribble* (1580) derived from the verb *drib* (1520) with the meaning of *to drop* (from the English *drip*). In the sport discourse it began to be used first in football (1863), and then - in basketball (1892) [9].

Foreign borrowings are by no means the only source of enriching the sport lexicon. ***Borrowings from the other discourses*** are quite popular. The most common are occasional, metaphorically reinterpreted lexical units of *military science*. This active influence of one discourse on another is a consequence of their having common characteristics: the desire to win, fight, presence of the opponents, tactics of military and sporting activities, i. e. of emulative, competitive nature of war and sport. And when the athletes are competing with aggressive attitudes towards each other, a sporting event is much closer to military confrontation. Some experts call the sport «war without weapons» or «war without fire» [4, p. 52]. The purpose of using of borrowings from the military discourse in the sport is strengthening of the emotional impact. This includes metaphorically reinterpreted military words and terms, which as a result of regular use have become part of common lexicon. These words came In sport usage both the ready expressive means of language that took a certain shape in language (*армия /the army, армейский, боец /army fighter, бомбардир/ bombardier, гол-скейпер, контрнаступление/ counter offensive, оборона /defense, обстрел / bombardment, разгром /defeat, тяжелая артиллерия /heavy artillery, штурм/ assault, штаб /staff* and others.). The word of this group are used to intensify the expressiveness of speech, most often acting as substitutes for the basic terms. For example, *оборона / defence* instead of the word *защита*; *баталья, война / battle, war* - a contest, game, match; *снайпер /sniper* - a good forward. As a result of the specialization, the words of military science have also become sport terms, they are labeled in all sports and general dictionaries, dictionaries with special note «sport». These terms include the following sports: *атака/ attack* - onslaught, technical and tactic action in sport; *контратака / counterattack* - attack in martial arts and sport games, carried out in response to the attack of the opponent; *защита / defence* - an actions of an athlete in the martial arts, of a player, a line or a team in sport games, with the aim to reflect the attack and not to

give to achieve results; *фланг* / *flank* - a section of a playing ground adjacent to its side line; *капитан* / *captain* - a member of a sport team who is entrusted to direct the actions of the rest of the participants.

Some words are borrowed *from the jargons belonging to the other professional groups*, for example, from the computer discourse: *чайник* (*kettle*) / *dummy* (the beginner) in the field of sport activities means a person who stood on skis for the first time and decided to make his first descent from a hill, *подвал* (*basement*) / *bottom* - this is the last position of the table. This jargon has been adopted from the journalistic jargon (*спустить в подвал* (*down to the basement*) – make the material at the bottom of the page, of the other material). Interestingly, there is also an opposite phenomenon, in the Russian language there appears the term antonymous to *подвал* (*basement*)- jargon *чердак* (*loft*) (the top of the league table), formed as an antithesis to *подвал*. *Халявить* / *to freeload* in the sport means bad training (borrowed from the youth jargon); *джокер* / *joker* - the player coming on as a substitution, who is able to dramatically change the game in favor of his team (borrowing from the card game of poker); *парафин* / *paraffin* is used in the meaning of shameful, weak game.

At the present stage, the sport jargon is an active source of lexical units to enrich the other types of discourse. For example, the expression *to fight back to the ropes* (word for word in Russian *бороться, отступая к канатам ринга* / *fighting by retreating to the ropes of the ring*) was originally used among the boxers and meant 'to fight to the end, to fiercely react', and then was used as a common lexicon, but there was reinterpretation of the original meaning and its phraseologization. A similar process occurred with a boxing *throw in the towel* (literally in Russian *броситься в полотенце*) - *to give up, to recognize oneself as a loser*. From the sport sub-discourse of horse racing the following expressions became popular: *lose by a neck* (отстать на голову) – drop behind (and, therefore, to lose); *neck and neck* (голова в голову / *head-to-head* (about horses) - on an equal footing, not lagging behind; *win by a neck* (опередить на голову / *win by short head* (about the horse) - a little ahead (and thus to win).

A productive way of forming jargons and slang expressions is *metaphorization*, i.e. semantic development of a word or a phrase due to emerging figurative meanings to intensify expressiveness. Via metaphorization the following words were formed, such as, *наук* / *spider* - movement of four strikes in box: left hook to the head and right to the body, left hook to the body and the right to the head; *баранка* /

baranka - a loss; *нырок* / *dive* - a way to simulate violation of the rules of football to «beg» the free-kick or a penalty kick; *трехи, трешники* (*trehi, treshniki*) - three-point shots in basketball, *бетон* / *concrete defence* - stonewall; *грыжа на лыжах* / *grays on trays* – an overgrown snowboarder; *футбольная вдова* / *football widow* - a woman who does not see her husband during the days of football matches. In hockey, *плавить лед* (*to melt ice*) means often falling on the ice; *катить по рельсам* (*to run on the rails*) – to play too primitive, unsophisticated. The one who acts so is called *трамвай* (*the tram*); *уйти в буфет* / (*go to the buffet*) - to lose the goal. In baseball, *быстрые ноги* (*fast feet*) are called wheels: *Man, he's got some wheels on him, I cannot believe he made that catch!* [10].

In different countries the fans themselves are called differently: *тиффози* (*tiffozi*)- in Italy, *торсида* (*torsida*) - in Brazil, *инчас* (*inchas*) - in Spain, *фаны* / *fans* – in England, *фанаты* / *fanatic* - in Russia. But there are many metaphorical names for the representatives of fan audience. So, in the language of sports fans of «Spartacus» -«мясо» / «*meat*» (because initially this team represented the Moscow meat processing plant), «Динамо» - «мусор» («*junk*») / *fuzz man* (as *musor* in the criminal jargon - a policeman, and that team represented the sports club of the officers), «Крылья Советов» / «*Wings of the Soviets*» - «*крылышки*» / «*wings*», «ЦСКА» / «*CSKA*» - «*кони*» / «*horses*» (this team represented the sports club of the Red Army).

One can find the examples of *metonymy* in formation of the sport jargons: *железо* (*iron*) in weightlifting is called rods, weights, additional weight; *качать железо* / (lit. *push iron*) / *work out with weights* - perform a variety of exercises with barbell, weights. Association are actively used in the formation of new slang words and expressions: желтая карточка / *yellow card* - *горчичник* (mustard plaster)

As a result of *negligence and erroneous translation* of the English fan, there emerged a new meaning of the word *вентилятор* (*ventilator*) / *fan* - a fan/ a supporter. This meaning gained popularity after a message left in Russian on the Russian forum of the world hockey championship by an English-speaking user who, having taken an advantage of online translator, translated the English greeting «*Hello to Russian fans*» to the Russian fans into Russian as «*Здравствуйте к русским вентиляторам*» (*Welcome to the Russian ventilators*) [6]. It should be noted here that the users of particular discourses react differently to such language errors. But among young people and fans such «*fun*» / «*веселое*» purchase as *вентилятор* /

ventilator, fan in the meaning of a fan has been immediately adopted. Moreover, it has been further spread in the field of the youth jargon. We find the following contexts: «Фанатская среда с конца 90-х постоянно срацивалась с ультраправыми, в нее приходили агрессивные подростки, которые хотели бы с кем-нибудь подраться, но в силу расовых причин не всегда принимались как свои расистскими группировками. Убийства, ограбления, гоп-стопы давно уже норма бритоголовых «вентиляторов» / «Since the late 90's, the fan medium constantly jointed the right ultras, there were aggressive teenagers who would like to fight with someone, but on the strength of racial reasons they were not always accepted by racist groups as friends. Murders, robberies, stickup have long been the norm of the skinheads «fans». [8]

Occasionalisms, author's neologisms actively replenish the vocabulary of sport jargons. In the practice of sports reportage one can find such occasionalisms as *обезмячить* (*obezmyachit*), *остолбенизм* (*ostolbenizm*), *бомбардирство* (*bombardirstvo*), *сподножнее* (*spodnozhneye*) / (goal), *бразильничать* (*brazilnichat*), i. e. *финтить* to play tricks ("финтить" is also a slang word before, which has now become a part of the official language in football, it means to demonstrate a highly professional ball control). Some sports occasionalisms emerged by converting names of prominent athletes: *бекхемновато* (*bekhemnovato*), *зиданить* (*zidanit'*), *кержакнуть* (*kerzhaknut'*), *дзюбиньо* (*dzyubinyo*). The word *зиданить* (*zidanit'*) (Z. Zidane a famous French attacking halfback, the winner of many football trophies and titles, was distinguished with the highest ball skills.) is used to sarcastically denote the desire of a football player to try to defeat all the opponents in football, one by one, as the famous footballer Z. Zidane did; *бекхемновато* (*bekhemnovato*) (D. Beckham – an English football player, halfback, reached the pinnacle of his career playing for the club, Manchester United, he is the face of many fashion houses.) means very stylish, with a chic, glamorous; *кержакнуть* (*kerzhaknut'*) (Alexander Kerzhakov - Russian footballer of the club «Zenit». The concept *kerzhaknut'* has been spread thanks to one English commentator after Euro 2012 being the memorial for Russian fans), *скержаковил* (*skerzhakovil*) is used when a player in a favorable situation loses the goal. *Дзюбиньо* (*Dzyubin'yos*) (player of «Spartacus» - Artem Dzyuba) are the players who are not able to perform the «feints», but trying to do it carefully.

The sport discourse is actively enriched via **word-forming means** from the already existing

words in the language. We find the examples of suffixal word-formation – *технариться* (*tekhnaritsya*), *пикушка* (*pikushka*), *фрирайдерство* (*frirayderstvo*), in English, *homer* means a sports fan who always supports the team of his native city (home - house); suffixal-prefixal word formation: *отпасовка* (*otpasovka*) - passing hockey puck from the hockey player of the attacking team because of the goal line or for the very goal to the partner in front of the goal. The following English jargons are formed by means of reduction and abbreviation: *ship* (*championship*), *ref* (*referee*), *JS* (*Jordan Shoes*) - Nike sneakers (the famous footballer who played in the sneakers of this company). By means of word forming the Russian *физкультурман* (*fizkultoman*), the English *linesman* are built. Semantization of quasi morphemes is also used to form new sport jargons. A productive model in the modern Russian and English languages is joining component - *голик* (-golik) to designate a person who likes something (or smth to do), which means as motivating. In the sport discourse, we find the word *спортголик* (*sportogolik*): «Вы одна из тех «спортголиков», которые непременно хотят перепробовать все занятия в фитнес-клубе? От кик-боксинга и body-pump до аэробики и степа. Тогда кроссовок Master Mid от Nike прекрасно Вам подойдет» [3] / «You are one of those «sportogoliks», who will certainly want to try all the classes in a fitness club? From kickboxing and body-pump up to step and aerobics. Then Master Mid sneakers by Nike will suit you perfectly» [3].

Codified dropping, or univerbization is a widespread way of forming a jargon in sport and other discourses. This is a transformation of the term, being usually long (consisting of two or more words) or difficult to pronounce, into a unified lexeme. The examples of such dropping can serve the words *разделка* - individual race with separate start, the experts designate the discipline of road cycling where riders start and go one by one to cover the distance in the shortest time; *договорняк* (*dogovornyak*) is called fixed matches; *strategic game* - *strategy*

The sport jargon is enriched with the words and expressions formed by phonetic mimicry (coincidence or formal similarity of semantically dissimilar words) and sound misrepresentations: *редька* (*radish*) - ретаболил (*retabolil*) (anabolic steroid), *клён* (*maple*) - clenbuterol (fat burner), *вестибюль* / (*vestibule*) - the vestibular apparatus, *ливер* (*liver*) - Football club «Liverpool».

CONCLUSIONS. Thus, stratification of sports lexicon is a difficult task because of « the extraordinary prevalence of physical education and

sport: on the one hand, the sport lexicon aims to meet the communication needs of the representatives of the sports circle, on the other hand, being regularly influenced by standard literary language and jargons, it tends to simplicity and loses «dry» specialization» [5, p. 126].

It is important to note that the scope of sport discourse is not isolated from other discourses: it is not only actively widened with new lexical units by borrowing them from the other discourses, but it itself is a source of replenishment of the vocabulary of the other professional groups. The tendency towards interborrowings between different discourses is an indicator of active interpenetration. This is because, firstly, of the very dynamic nature of the discourse as a flexible resource for social interaction, and secondly, ever broadening contacts between users of different discourses within the same culture, and thirdly, global processes, spanning the boundaries in communication of different cultures.

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SECTION II. METHODOLOGY OF LINGUISTICS

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THE CONCEPTS "PERSONALITY", "LANGUAGE PERSONALITY" AND POSSIBILITY OF THEIR MODELING IN A LITERARY TEXT

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Abstract. This article deals with the analysis of the concepts "Language Personality" and "Personality" being current in modern times. The text of the article provides information on how to treat these notions in terms of the branches of linguistics as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, lingvosocionics, cultural linguistics, etc., as well as from the standpoint of psychology. In addition, the article focuses on the capabilities of studying and modeling personality and linguistic identity of the person on the material of a literary text. The basis for the proposed variant of modeling personality was a theoretical model of personality structure proposed by Sigmund Freud, which consists of three elements: the Id (the unconscious beginning), Ego (the conscious part) and Superego (the level representing the social norms and rules of behavior in society). The examples analyzed in the article, taken from the story by D. Granin "Zubr" represent the possibility of using literary texts as the material for modeling language personality.

Key words: sociolinguistics; linguistic cognitive science; psycholinguistics; cultural linguistics, personality, language personality, socio-model of personality

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ПОНЯТИЯ «ЛИЧНОСТЬ», «ЯЗЫКОВАЯ ЛИЧНОСТЬ» И ВОЗМОЖНОСТИ ИХ МОДЕЛИРОВАНИЯ В ТЕКСТЕ ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОГО ПРОИЗВЕДЕНИЯ

Introduction

The notion «language personality» has recently become the object of special attention of such branches of linguistic sciences as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, linguistic study of culture, cognitive linguistics, ethnolinguistics, text linguistics, linguodidactics, etc.

Language personality from the standpoint of linguistic study of culture is, first of all, a bearer of national culture. According to V. I. Karasik, language personality is always national and a part of certain linguocultural society with inherent consciousness and national stereotypes which the language personality appropriates in the process of socialization [6]. Yu. N. Karaulov expresses the same thought defining language personality as «being fixed primarily in semantic system basic national and cultural prototype of the bearer of a certain natural language that makes up timeless and invariant part of the structure of language personality» [7, p.42].

In sociolinguistics, language personality is understood as a native speaker, «being capable of realizing a set of linguistic means in speech activity, that characterize a definite part of the language community (social group) within a given interval of time» [9, p.12]. Sociolinguists differentiate various types of language personality based on a social type being characterized by a certain age, sex, profession, social status (V.I. Karasik, G. N. Bospamyatnova, M. A. Gusyeva, etc.).

Psycholinguistics studies speech behavior of the language personality depending on a psychological type he belongs to.

The main part:

The objective of the given article is to describe a specific character of modeling language personality represented in the pages of the literary text, to reveal the peculiarities of literary verbalization of the triad Id-Ego-Superego as the components of sociomodel of the personality being realized in the literary text. The material for studying was the text of the story by D. A. Granin «Zubr».

When writing the article according to the set objective, the following methods were used:

– study, systematization and analysis of the literature on linguistics and methodics to determine scientific basis on the problem of study;

– method of complete sampling of linguistic units describing three components of personality (Id, Ego and Superego) in the text of literary work.

On the basis of the analysis of the literature on linguistics and methodics, we have come to the conclusion that modern scholars develop different typologies of language personality. At present, there exist two ways of modeling language personality and his typology based on text characteristics [4, 10]. According to N.D. Golev and A.V. Kuznetsova, in theory and practice of studying language personality there have emerged the following directions of typology:

1) developing typology of language personality based on revealing the peculiarities of author's using linguistic means in the text, that is the typology in the direction from language/text to the type of language personality, which can be expanded by mental and psychological characteristics-explanations (G. I. Bogin, Yu. N. Karaulov and the others);

2) developing typology of language personality proceeding from his individual features (in terms of gender, professional, psychic features, etc.), and revealing peculiarities of functioning the given language types in speech, that is, typology in the direction from the type of language personality to his manifestation in speech activity and text (N. D. Golev, K. F. Sedov, L. M. Komissarova, N.A. Kupina, M. V. Lyapon and the others).

Linguosociolonic modeling of language personality based on sociolonic typology by A. Augustinavichute that allows, according to N. D. Golev and A. V. Kuznetsova, «to reveal what speech characteristics will be possessed by the author of the text if he has certain psychological characteristics defining the type of personality», refers to the second direction [1].

In spite of different approaches to understanding of «language personality», it should be noted that the concept «language personality» directly relates to the concept «personality». «Language personality is a personality, expressed in language (texts) and via language, a personality, reconstructed in his general terms on the basis of language means» [7, p.38]. Therefore, analyzing language personality, first of all, one should refer to the structure of personality from the standpoint of psychology.

At one time Z. Freud suggested the theoretical model of personality's structure consisting of three

elements (Id, Ego, Superego), with special functions possessed by each and relating to the other elements. **Id** – our biological entity, the most archaic part of personality, representing unconscious behavior, it is that a human has from the moment of his birth, inherited from his parents. **Ego** – conscious source, that controls the unconscious, that is, Id. And **Superego** – is a part of personality responsible for personality's behavior according to the norms approved of society. Our ego is an interlink between the unconscious and social norms, morality.

Analyzing the behavior, speech activity of the individual, one can characterize his personality on the whole. Many scholars model language personality belonging to the representatives of different professions, researchers, politicians, etc. taking into account their speech behavior, and their texts. But based on the literary material, one can reveal those elements that constitute the personality in general. The text can be sufficient material for describing a personality, including the speech one, a character of the literary work.

In particular, in the text, the author creating a portrait of the character of the work, describing how he behaves, treats people around him, rendering the character's speech gives the scholars the essential material due to which one can represent a sociomodel of personality, a personality of the character from the literary work.

As an example, one can take the story by D. Granin «Zubr», where the components of the personality of the main character, Zubr, whose prototype is the biologist N. V. Timofeyev-Resovsky, from the point of view of the personality theory by Z. Freud.

The research results and discussion

As a result of our research, we have revealed that the author, D. A. Granin, in his work, describes in detail all the three components of sociomodel of the personality of Zubr – The Id-Ego-Superego.

Let us give the brightest examples of Id's representation in the following contexts:

1) *Могучая его голова была набычена, (His mighty head got sulky,)* 2) *маленькие глазки сверкали исподлобья колюче и зорко. (small eyes gleamed sullenly prickly and vigilantly)* 3) *Густая седая грива его лохматилась. (The thick gray mane of his was shaggy)* 4) *Он был, конечно, стар, (He was old, of course)* 5) *но годы не источили его, а скорее задубили. (but the years did not get him slack, but got rather stiff)* 6) *Он был тяжел и тверд, как мореный дуб(He was heavy and steadfast as a fumed oak)*[2, p.3].

7) Видно было по его коренастой фигуре, по его ручищам, какой огромной физической силы был этот человек. (It was seen from his stocky figure, his big hands, of what great physical strength this man was.)

8) Лицо его было изрезано морщинами жизни бурной и значительной. (His face was cut up with wrinkles of stormy and great life.)

9) Следы минувших схваток, отчаянных схваток, не безобразили, а скорее украшали его сильную, породистую физиономию (Traces of past battles, desperate battles did not disfigure him, but rather decorated his determined, thoroughbred face) [2, p.4].

10) А сам Зубр здесь еще в полной силе и красе (And Zubr himself is still vigorous enough and handsome) [2, p.5].

Let us list the most meaningful examples of representation of Ego in the following contexts:

1) Оттопырив нижнюю губу, он пофыркивал, рычал то одобрительно, то возмущенно (Pursing up his lower lip, he was snorting, growling either with approval or perturbation) [2, p.3].

2) Зубр одобрительно хмыкал (Zubr snorted approvingly) [2, p.4].

3) Сам Зубр принимал этот неожиданный парад как должное. (Zubr himself took this unexpected parade for granted.)

4) Похоже было, что ему нравилась роль маршала или патриарха, он милостиво кивал, выслушивал людей, (It seemed that he liked the role of marshal or patriarch, he nodded graciously, listened to the people,) [2, p.4]

5) И держался он по-иному, чем все, – свободнее, раскованнее. (And he behave differently than the others - freer, in a relaxed manner.)

6) Он позволял себе быть самим собою. (He afforded to be himself.) 7) Каким то образом он сохранял эту привилегию детей. (Somehow he retained the privilege of children.) 8) В нем были изысканность и – грубость (He had elegance and – rude manners) [2, p.4].

Representation of the third component of the analyzed triad, Superego, has been exposed in the following examples:

1) К нему подходили, кланялись, осторожно пожимали руку (Everybody came up to him, bowed, gently shook his hand) [2, p.3].

2) Большинство подходили именно затем, чтобы взглянуть на него хотя бы издали (Most came up to him in order to look at him even if from a distance) [2, p.3].

3) О Зубре ходили легенды, множество легенд одна невероятнее другой. Их передавали на ухо. Не верили. Ахали. Было бы странно, если бы подобные рассказы подтвердились. Они походили на мифы, которыми пытались объяснить какие-то факты его жизни. (Legends are flying about Zubr, many legends, each more incredible than the other. They were passed in the ear. They were not believed in. They exclaimed. It would be strange if these stories were confirmed. They were like the myths that by which they tried to explain some facts of his life.)

О нем существовали анекдоты, ему приписывались изречения, выходки и поступки совершенно невозможные. Были просто сказочные истории, интересно, что не всегда для него лестные, некоторые так прямо злоеющие. Но большей частью героические или же плутовские, никак не связанные с наукой (There were jokes about him, they were crediting him with saying, tricks and acts to be completely impossible. There were just fairy tales, it's interesting that they were not always flattering for him, just because some of them were ominous. But for the most part, heroic or roguish, not related to science) [2, p.4].

4) И то и другое соответствовало легендам о его аристократических предках и о его драках с уголовниками (Both corresponded to the legends of his aristocratic ancestors and his fights with criminals) [2, p.4].

As we can note from these examples, the language means being used to nominate three elements of the personality are multifarious by volume and in semantics. The author uses various lexical and syntactic units.

From the lexical units, used by the author to describe Id of the main character, the most frequent, as we have observed, one can differentiate the adjectives with the meaning of high degree of the manifested feature (могучая голова, густая седая грива, морёный дуб, сильная, породистая физиономия), short adjectives with the same meaning (голова набычена, был тяжел и тверд).

From the syntactic means one can take notice of using the nominal predicates in the sentences (голова была набычена; он был стар; он был тяжел и твёрд; лицо было изрезано морщинами; А сам Зубр здесь еще в полной красе и силе). When the author describes the unconscious source in the personality of the scientist, he uses the units that are typical for description, the author creates a word portrait of the character.

In describing Ego and Superego, most frequently the author uses the verbs characterizing the

character's actions and behavior in the story and the adverbs depicting these actions (*он пофыркивал, рычал то одобрительно, то возмущенно; он одобрительно хмыкал; милостиво кивал*). Concerning the structure of the sentences that portray Ego and Superego, these sentences are complicated by homogeneous parts (*Оттопырив нижнюю губу, он пофыркивал, рычал то одобрительно, то возмущенно; он милостиво кивал, выслушивал людей; К нему подходили, кланялись, осторожно пожимали руку; ему приписывались изречения, выходки и поступки совершенно невозможные*)

The examples from the story by D. Granin «Zubr» analyzed in the article represent the possibility to use literary text as the material to model language personality.

Conclusion

Analyzing units of language used by the author in the literary work, from the point of view of form and content, one can model and characterize the personality being described in the literary work not only from the standpoint of psychology but from the standpoint of linguistics, that is, represent a sociomodel of the personality.

The sociomodel of the personality of Zubr in the studied material is a personality possessing both physical and spiritual strength. Zubr is a respected scientist of authority, his every act or action is in the limelight in the society, and Zubr himself, realizing it, can afford rather more than it is allowed in the scientific community.

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**MENTALESE: THE CONFLICT BETWEEN LANGUAGE
AND THOUGHT**

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Abstract

Purpose: What does mentalese refer to as a theory introduced in the science of language is the main concern of this paper.

Method: The study is mainly descriptive where previous and related studies are reviewed and presented to reach a view about mentalese as an introduced theory in the science of language.

Results: It has been argued for a long time whether we think in language or do we use language to think. Having known two or more languages, do you we think separately in each language? Does each language possesses a different place in our brains?

Conclusions: There seems to be an agreement about the availability of mentalese as a linguistic faculty but there are different views about the nature and the interpretation of this faculty in relation to thought.

Key words: mentalese, thought.

Mentalese

Both language and thinking faculties are two gifts given to man is undeniable fact. Yet, do these two faculties interrelate to each other? Or do they affect one another? Do we think in language or do we use language in thinking? In fact, there are many questions that seem sometimes if not usually unanswerable. Had some of them has been answered, it is only answered theoretically but have never been proved scientifically. Or, has it been answered scientifically, it lacks the adequate evidences for such claims. It is a truth, however, that discussing language in relation to mind is only discussing abstract by abstract. Strictly speaking, there are many theories (hypotheses) where in some attempts have been made to answer the above raised questions from among these theories is one called as the *language of thought*, or more recently as *mentalese*. In technical terms, it is usually referred to as *computer-based theory* of language and thought (see Antony, n.d.; Bermudez, 2003; Machery, 2004, Pinker, 2002; Slezak, 2009).

Principally, the *mentalese* theory or hypothesis is originated by Chomsky (1968), Fodor (1975) and Pinker (1994), Lera Boroditsky (2001). Typically and for one reason or another it was a reaction to both the *Whorf-Sapir theory* (hypothesis) and *Ordinary Language Theory* (hypothesis), (see Wiley 2006). In its simplest words, *Whorf- Sapir hypothesis* maintains that we think in words, or our thoughts are reflected by our words and vice versa. Additionally, it is assumed that a speaker of English language, for example, is different from a speaker of Arabic language is a sense that thinking in Arabic is entirely

different from thinking in English and this applies to all other languages according to Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf (Whorf- Sapir), Schlenker (2006). Regarding the core idea or claim of the *Ordinary Language hypothesis*, it is stated by Wiley (ibid: p. 1) as:

People often talk silently to themselves, engaging in what is called inner speech, internal conversation, inner dialogue, self-talk and so on. This seems to be an inherent characteristic of human beings, commented on as early as Plato, who regarded thought as inner speech.

Unlike the Whorf-Sapir and the Ordinary Language hypotheses, the *mentalese* hypothesis argues in favor of that we think without words, yet all humans nearly share the same mechanism(s) and vehicles of language. That is, whether was it a French speaker or an English speaker, they share the same ideas and thoughts but they only differ in the form of producing those thoughts, the former will use French language (his/her native tongue language) and the other will use English as his or her native tongue language.

Basically, Mentalese is “our thoughts before they become language, and this stuff is the same for human beings”, (Boroditsky, 2001: p. 1). Wiley (ibid: p. 1) adds:

This approach, which sometimes uses the computer as a metaphor for the mind, resembles the Scholastic’s theory in envisioning a purely abstract language of thought. Whatever processes of ordinary language might accompany it are viewed as

epiphenomenal, gloss or what might be called “fluff.” Ordinary language, according to this view, is a pale shadow of the actual language of thought. In addition mentalese is regarded as both innate and unconscious. It is a faculty that is claimed to be present at birth and one which operates below the awareness of the mind.

In his book, Pinker (1995: 81) maintains:

We end up with the following picture. People do not think in English or Chinese or Apache; they think in a language of thought. This language of thought probably looks a bit like all these languages; presumably it has symbols for concepts, and arrangements of symbols that correspond to who did what to whom, as in the paint-spraying representation shown above. But compared with any given language, mentalese must be richer in some ways and simpler in others. It must be richer, for example, in that several concept symbols must correspond to a given English word like stool or stud.

One can notice it is exactly the opposite of what both Sapir and Whorf believe as “People’s thoughts are determined by the categories systems of classification made available by their language”, (Schlenker, *ibid*: 1). In spite of this, Pinker (1994: 82) insists in his book and he claims:

Knowing a language, then, is knowing how to translate mentalese into strings of words and vice versa. People without a language would still have mentalese, and babies and many non-human animals presumably have simpler dialects. Indeed, if babies did not have a mentalese to translate to and from English, it is not clear how learning English could take place, or even what learning English would mean.

Thought all these theories are still alive but each one is criticized by the other one or instead another new one. For example, the *mentalese* hypothesis is criticized for being unconscious. That is, being unconscious means there is no adequate evidence for empirical data to prove the accuracy of such claims, (Wiley: *ibid*).

Another claim against this theory is that conducted by Clark (2002) who attempted to prove Dennett’s ideas of numeral cognition as an alternative for the mentalese theory.

Conclusion

For all intents and purposes, an abstract thing introduced by an abstract thing will produce a more abstract thing. That is, the input (human’s brain and language) are abstract, the given (the hypothesis of *mentalese* along with other theories) are also abstract, and no doubt the outputs are abstract. The researcher believes that all of these theories have provided or come out with something true about language and

thought. It is seemingly impossible to present such a topic as language and thought from the point of view of only one science or field of study. That is to say, we need to form an approach or field of science that mix all: language study, philosophy, psychology, sociology, neurology, and some other sciences.

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**THE PHILOSOPHY OF STRUCTURALISM IN LANGUAGE
AND LINGUISTICS**

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Abstract. Structuralism is an intellectual movement to the human sciences with a profound effect on linguistics, sociology and other fields as well as philosophy which tries to analyze a specific field as a sophisticated system of interrelated parts. Structuralism believes that all human activity and its products are constructed and not natural. It also holds that everything has meaning. Structuralism underlies on the concepts that every system possesses a structure, that structure determines the position of every element of a whole, that structural rules deal with coexistence than changes, and that structures are the "real things" underlying the surface of meaning.

In language and linguistic studies, structuralism includes collecting a corpus of utterances and then attempting to classify all of the elements of the corpus at their different linguistic levels. It also tries to explain broad subjects by surveying their individual components and the way they interact to each other. Taking the structuralist's approach to language teaching will help the teachers and practitioners develop a methodology and then apply to any problem. It assists the students to learn through context. The structural approach views the language as being divided into various components interacting with each other and then forming the rules of the language.

Key words: structuralism, sign, types of structuralism, linguistics, semiotics.

Introduction

Before Saussure, language studies was limited to the syntactic studies as well as the historical or etymological studies of the words. In fact, this attitude derives from the philosophical approach of that era specially the school of nominalism. Based on the school of nominalism, "there is nothing general except names" (Mill, 1889) and any word is like a tag on the components and elements of the universe. He also claims that nominalism is a metaphysical view in philosophy according to which general or abstract terms and predicates exist, while universals or abstract objects, which are sometimes thought to correspond to these terms, do not exist (Mill, 1889). Conceptual combinations, adjectives and phrases are all the names referring to the various situations and phenomena. In this attitude, any word is immediately related to an object or part of the world and summons it quickly (Teichman, 2001). There are at least two main versions of nominalism. One version denies the existence of universals – things that can be instantiated or exemplified by many particular things (e.g., strength, humanity). The other version specifically denies the existence of abstract objects – objects that do not exist in space and time (Rodriguez-Pereyra, 2008).

Saussure introduced an entirely new attitude to linguistic approaches which later found philosophical and cognitive aspect (Tabeei, 2005). In "Course in General Linguistics" (Harris, 1983), he described the structure of language in relation with the reality. The basis of his thoughts focused on the relationship between the signifier and the signified respectively (Tabeei, 2005).

In other words, Saussure rejected the inherent communication of any word with objects but he claimed that the words are arbitrary symbols having nothing to do with the nature of things and the only thing that can link them to each other is a kind of contract and an optional admission. He said "the relationship between linguistic sign t-r-e-e and the image we have of it in the mind is arbitrary and in other words is unreasonable", "the word 'tree' has no characteristics of tree on his own. Their relationship is the result of a contract (Rodriguez and Garat, 2001) He also remarks that "linguistic sign does not relate a thing to a word but rather a concept to the phonetic image" (Cahoone, 2003)

In Saussure's view, a word or a linguistic sign is composed of a phone and a conceptual image, are related to each other like the two sides of a coin, and refined each other with their presence. They are distinguished as signifier and signified, and together

make up the sign set. The relationship between the sign and the universe is actually done through the signification. This relationship is quite an arbitrary relationship and in the meantime, the signifier is the link between the object and the concept. The process of signification relates the signified or conceptual image to an object or a phenomenon and this relationship is not created unless by the signifier.

The most important consequence of Saussure's view was that language is a separate and independent set of reality which can survive independently through the relationship between the signifier and the signified. From his view, language is formed in a way that language use manifests itself in its integrity, that is, language generalization. It means that the concept (signified) is attached to the phone (signifier) establishes itself and is understood through a distinction between the signifiers.

In fact, meaning is the offspring of the relationships between all signifiers. A phone outside of langue does not play a role in the signs unless there is a natural relationship between the phone and the concept like gurgling which naturally implies water fall. In fact, the main thing is that linguistic signs play symbolic functions only in a system based on convergence and distinctions along with the other signs.

What Saussure means when he says, “in language there are only differences without positive terms” is that language has a system that is created by negative signifiers put together. When the negatives are put together a positive is created. Without these negatives to create the positives, language would not have the parallelism between the signified and the signifier (Adams, 2012). “The sound pattern is not actually a sound; for a sound is something physical. A sound pattern is the hearer’s psychological impression of a sound, as given to him by the evidence of his senses” (CGL 66). So the minimal unit of the language system is the sign, which is made up of two sides—an abstract image of a sensible form (the signifier) and an idea or concept (the signified) (“Commentary on Saussure”, 2015).

Hence, Saussure distinguishes between language—the set of interpersonal rules and norms—the institution of language—language as a system (Langue) and language as any actual manifestation of the system in speech or writing, in short, any actual utterance (Parole) (Ahmadi, 2001). You couldn’t have an utterance (which was coherent and meaningful) without the institution of norms that Saussure called langue. So it is this that forms the object of study for modern linguistics. Now it should be clear that such an object could not ever be made

visible (as a stretch of text can) but you can establish the rules and conditions that make it possible to speak and write in meaningful ways. The fundamental distinction between langue and parole has been influential for a range of disciplines in the social sciences, allowing us to distinguish institution from event and to analyze institutions quite generally.

Saussure offers an analogy between language and chess: “The respective value of the pieces depends on their position on the chessboard just as each linguistic term derives its value from its opposition to all the other terms. . . . Language is a system of interdependent terms in which the value of each term results solely from the simultaneous presence of the others Signs function, then, not through their intrinsic value but through their relative position” (Bertens, 2007, pp. 82-86). Hans Bertens (2007), writing about Claude Lévi-Strauss, is helpful here: “Cultural signs position themselves somewhere on a gliding scale between pairs of opposites and in so doing express a relation between two terms, one of which represents a presence while the other represents an absence” (Bertens, 2007, pp. 63-64).

The position of sign in structuralism

The sign, the signifier, and the signified are concepts of the school of thought known as structuralism. In Saussure's view, the fundamental elements of a language and all human mental products and cultural treatments are signs (Howarth et. al., 2000). The central tenet of structuralism is that the phenomena of human life, whether language or media, are not intelligible except through their network of relationships, making the sign and the system (or structure) in which the sign is embedded primary concepts. As such, a sign -- for instance, a word -- gets its meaning only in relation to or in contrast with other signs in a system of signs. In general, the signifier and the signified are the components of the sign itself formed by the associative link between the signifier and signified. Even with these two components, however, signs can exist only in opposition to other signs. That is, signs are created by their value relationships with other signs. The contrasts that form between signs of the same nature in a network of relationships is how signs derive their meaning (Hoenisch, 2005).

Nonetheless to say that language is a product of social forces does not automatically explain why it comes to be constrained in the way it is. Bearing in mind that a language is always an inheritance from the past, one must add that the social forces in question act over a period of time. If stability is a characteristic of languages, it is not only because languages are anchored in the community. They are

also anchored in time (De Saussure, 1983, p. 74). The question of the socio-historical role of the linguistic sign rewards considerable examination, as recent development in the social sciences show, and once we acknowledge that the “top” part of the sign (the concept) is no less constrained and arbitrarily founded than the “bottom” part (the pattern) we learn to take seriously the historicity of our institutionalized patterns of thinking (“Commentary on Saussure”).

The purpose of the structural analysis is the revealing of the deep structures of texts. Structuralism is based on semiotics, that is, the theory of signs. On semioticians' beliefs, all of the systems are made of arbitrary signs. As an example it may be pointed out to a driver who reacts against the green light: "Green means go.

The lights as signs that can allow an action or reaction. Semiotics studies the signs actions within the systems and the codes dominating on their meanings. The sign systems are absolutely complex; the traffic lights are less grammatical in comparison with the narratives and texts; but the pattern of reaction to the signs make the base of their applications (Sim, 2009).

Structuralism as a method

Although structuralism had the greatest impact in the field of literary theory and literary criticism, it is more considered as an approach or methodology, not a distinct field.

The concepts of structuralism can be theoretically used in different areas. The ideas were at the center of interest with the works of Claude Levi Strauss, and it also affected on the thoughts and ideas of Lacan. Among the other structuralists are Michel Foucault, Umberto Eco, Levi Strauss, etc (Ward, 2005).

Structuralists equipped with a theory and a method of linguistic analysis, and have examined a whole variety of texts, such as fairy tales and myths. Such cultural phenomena as wrestling matches, regarded as ‘texts’ from the structuralist point of view, have also been examined. In the study of literature, structuralists have employed linguistic analysis to reveal how structures are formed. Indeed, structuralism does not so much focus on the “meaning” of a literary work as on its linguistic structure. Moreover, structuralists are principally concerned not with the uniqueness of literary works as aesthetic objects but with basic structures of “possible” works; traditional criticism, on the other hand, is more generally involved not only with

meaning but also with value in literature (Pradeep, 2011).

In its most general concept, structuralism questions about the meaning, representation and authorship and studies the relationships between language and cognition. Structuralists try to explain the human activities scientifically through discovering the basic elements of those activities (such as concepts, actions and the lexicons) and the rules, or their combination laws (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2000).

For example, Michel Foucault as one of the most famous structuralists believed in different elements in the evolution of meaning and never limited this process to internal structure. He believed that the intertextual factors and history are the crucial affecting the meaning of the texts and should never be deleted from the scope of surveys.

Michel Foucault also addressed the question of the author in critical interpretation. In his 1969 essay "What is an Author?" he developed the idea of "author function" to explain the author as a classifying principle within a particular discursive formation. Foucault did not mention Barthes in his essay but its analysis has been seen as a challenge to Barthes' depiction of a historical progression that will liberate the reader from domination by the author.

Michel Foucault also addressed the question of the author in critical interpretation. In his 1969 essay "What is an Author?", he developed the idea of "author function" to explain the author as a classifying principle within a particular discursive formation. Foucault did not mention Barthes in his essay but its analysis has been seen as a challenge to Barthes' depiction of a historical progression that will liberate the reader from domination by the author (Burke, 1998, 2010).

Foucault turned the concept of “author” inside out by examining the text points to the author and not, as is assumed, vice versa. He began by quoting Samuel Beckett, who wrote, “What matter who’s speaking, someone said, what matter who’s speaking?” The question connoted an “indifference,” Foucault noted, towards writing that had become an “immanent rule” that precluded expression. Like Barthes, Foucault was acting against Structuralism or a formal reading of a literary work and was opposed to the concept of expression, a holdover of Romantic thinking. Foucault understood writing to be “freed” from the need to “express” and was able to represent only itself (Willette, 2014).

Types of Structuralism

Generally, there are two kinds of structuralism:

a) Atomistic structuralism in which the elements are completely specified apart from their role in some larger whole like folk tale elements in the Vladimir Propp theory. Propp believed that it is possible to do a research based on his concepts in any territory of the narrative structure. In this manner, he could specify particular functions and roles for different characters of a narration according to an exact analogy of the narrative elements. Thus, he not only could include different characters of various stories in these structural patterns but also could extrapolate their relationships with each other in mathematical relations, and could realize the common aspects of hundreds of popular legends through a careful attention to the relationships and inattention to the content (Propp, 1997).

b) Holistic or diachronic structuralism in which what counts as a possible element is defined apart from the system of elements but what counts as an actual element is a function of the whole system of differences of which the given element is a part. For holistic structuralists such as Levi-Strauss, all possible terms must be defined (identified) apart from any specific system; the specific system of terms then determines which possible terms actually count as elements, that is, the system provides the individuation of the elements (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2014).

Levi-Strauss succinctly states this method:

The method we adopt . . . consists in the following operations:

1) define the phenomenon under study as a relation between two or more terms, real or supposed;

2) construct a table of possible permutations between these terms;

3) take this table as the general object of analysis which, at this level only, can yield necessary connections, the empirical phenomenon considered at the beginning being only one possible combination among others, the complete system of which must be reconstructed beforehand (Levi-Strauss, 1963; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2014).

For example, for Levi-Strauss in *The Raw and the Cooked*, raw, cooked, and rotten are identified as three possible elements; each actual system of elements then determines how in that system these three possible elements will be individuated. For example, they can be grouped into binary oppositions such as raw vs. cooked and rotten, or raw and rotten vs. cooked, or each of the three elements can count on its own (Levi-Strauss, 1969; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2014).

Approaches of Structuralism

The three approaches to structuralism are:

1. Semiology Derived from Saussurian linguistics and developed as a sociological tool (especially in film and media studies) through Barthes. It hinges on the analysis of the 'mythical' level of sign systems. See Semiology.

2. The search for deep structures. Levi-Strauss, Piaget, Jameson and, to some extent, linguistic structuralism in general, all are involved in a search for the underlying structures of society, language, myths and even thought. Thus structuralism is a theory of general meanings: ideas have an underlying (rational) structure that determines what we think. See Types of Structuralism (especially Anthropological Structuralism)

3. Marxist structuralism, which owes most to Althusser's endeavours. It draws on the long tradition of French sociology as well as epistemological debates in the philosophy of science. It sees social structures existing independently of our knowledge of them and of our actions (Encyclopedia of Marxism, 1999–2008).

Aspects of Structuralism

1. Structuralism is a metaphysical system (i.e. 'statements about the world which cannot be proved but must be taken on faith' (Craib, 1984))

These metaphysical assumptions are:

a. The world is a product of our ideas. This is a 'distortion' of Kant. In extreme form is anti-empiricist.

b. A logical order or structure underlies general meanings

c. The subject is trapped by the structure.

The idea that there is an unconscious logical structure is common to all structuralist approaches (Larrain, 1979). Thus ideology becomes an unconscious phenomenon whose meaning is received but not read (as in Barthes) or a set of images, concepts and structures subconsciously imposed upon people (as in Althusser) or a psychological structure of mind that determines the logic of myth (as in Levi-Strauss).

2. Structuralism is a method. As a method it sets out to show structural relationships. Various methodological devices are used:

a. Linguistic model: based on the work of Saussure and Pierce, it sees language as the underlying structure behind speech. This relies on an analysis of signs and their relationships.

b. The anthropological method of Levi-Strauss, which is based on a notion that the human mind arranges world into binary pairs (opposites).

c. Semiotics, principally the adaptation of Saussurian semiotics by Barthes.

Sometimes these, or elements of these, are combined and labelled the 'structuralist method'.

In general, a structuralist method allows for a way to classify what is an apparently infinite number of variations by analyzing structure.

Conclusion

Linguistically, structuralism refers to two independent movements. The first one is European and recognized as post-Saussurean. It claims that various elements of a language (sounds, words, meanings) present themselves as a system and can be identified through explaining their relations to other elements of the same language. Hence, they are not independent of the system of their language. As a language is composed of a system of signs, the study of language is not independent of its meanings. This reveals that the relation of expression-elements (sounds, words) is not separable of that of the content-elements (meanings). The second movement, the American one, developed from the Leonard Bloomfield's ideas and revolves around the methodological rigour. It rejects mentalism and is profoundly influenced by behaviourist psychology. The American movement separates the study of meaning from the study of grammar and describes any corpus based on the distribution of its expression-elements relative to each other. Unlike the American one which dealt with the development of formal models of language, the European one provided a model for structuralist thought and had great influence on Barthes, Lacan and Lévi-Strauss.

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SECTION III. ETHNOLINGUISTICS AND CULTURAL LINGUISTICS

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**COHESION AS A STRUCTURAL SEMANTIC FEATURE
IN THE TEXT OF BUSINESS LETTERS (BY THE EXAMPLE
OF THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGES)**

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Abstract. This article deals with the structural semantic problems of the textual organization of the business letter in French and Russian. The authors of the article study the cohesion phenomenon in the business letter text and draw a comparative analysis for the phenomenon in languages under study.

The cohesion in the text of a business letter is represented in the textual interrelation of separate parts and sentences with the help of lexical, morphological and syntactical means. Two types of the linear cohesion are peculiar to the business letter: semantic linking и semantic overlap.

The authors describe several levels of the semantic linking in the text of a business letter: lexical, grammatical и syntactical (coherence). The semantic linking at the lexical level is represented by reduplications and repeats; at the grammatical level – by the abidance by the grammar rules in writing business letters in the French and Russian languages; at the syntactical level – by the coherence means (language ties, language connectors).

The authors develop the notion of the semantic overlap and note that the phenomenon under study borders with the semantic repetitions and coincides with them in case if the lexical unit is replaced with a synonym.

Key words: official language, business letter, business society, office work, the French language.

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**СВЯЗАННОСТЬ КАК СВОЙСТВО СТРУКТУРНО-СМЫСЛОВОЙ
ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ТЕКСТА ДЕЛОВОГО ПИСЬМА
(НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ ФРАНЦУЗСКОГО И РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКОВ)**

Introduction

Writing the text of the business letter in the French and Russian languages is an extremely difficult task. There are such important goals before the writer of business messages as the competent drawing up of letters and following basic communication rules of business correspondence. The communicative success is totally dependent on compliance with the rules of writing the business letter. An improperly formatted business letter will not reach its communicative purpose, cause misunderstanding on the part of the recipient, and as a result, non-cooperation.

Unfortunately, even with large amounts of business correspondence patterns, there may be cases of communicative failure. This is due to the fact that the pattern reveals only the structure of a business

letter, the sequence of presentation of information. However, a particular challenge when writing business messages to the sender is a competent and consistent presentation of the ideas and proposals with coherent and logical transitions from one thought to another. Therefore, structural and semantic components of writing - cohesion and integrity- take an important place in the study of the characteristics of business correspondence.

The Objective

This article attempts to describe the phenomenon of coherence in the text of business correspondence, taking into account peculiarities of the French and Russian language. The basis for the actualization of this problem is the examples of communication failures, the main reason of which is the formation of semantic gaps, caused by the

inability of the communicants to achieve consistency and reasonableness of expressions, as well as coherent transitions from one problem to another.

The Main Part

Characteristic for the business letter from the standpoint of structural and semantic organization is cohesion – the ascertaining feature of the text, expressed in text correlation of separate parts and sentences via lexical, morphological or syntactic means, as well as the supertext cohesion expressed lexically and syntactically by means of the inserted phrases. Cohesion in the business letter plays an important role, because it gives you the opportunity to take the text of the business letter as a part of the discourse, to correlate it with the preceding context, cohering some of the messages in one global discourse.

According to V. Radchenko, the means of language content of business letters are cohered linearly, i. e. the separate parts of the text are linked directly to each other, depend on each other or reciprocally interpreted. The scholars identify two types of linear cohesion: semantic linking, implying logical and semantic relations between parts of the text, and semantic overlap, being partial identity of a semantic component of the previous message [1].

Semantic linking is represented at all levels in the text of the business letter irrespective of the language, at the lexical and grammatical levels.

Nous vous envoyons ci-joint le catalogue d'échantillons de nos derniers produits.

Мы вам также отправляем каталог с образцами нашей новой продукции. (We are also sending you the catalogue of the samples of our new production)

It is seen from the examples that the use of lexical units in the sentences of business letters have semantic causation, at the same time, each unit of the lexis of the business letter determines positioning the following lexical unit after it. The usage of lexical units in the text of the business letter follows grammar rules of the language in which the business letter is written.

At the lexical level in the business letter in Russian and French the presence of repetitions indicate semantic coherence. There exist several types of repetitions in business letter:

1. Complete lexical repetition (the use of identical words and expressions):

Lors de l'enregistrement de mes bagages, j'ai procédé à la déclaration de la valeur de mes bagages par le biais d'une déclaration spéciale d'intérêt. Le vol s'est parfaitement déroulé. Néanmoins, arrivé à destination, je n'ai pas trouvé mes bagages. Après avoir effectué des recherches, le personnel de la

compagnie m'a informé que mes bagages enregistrés avaient subi un retard d'acheminement et qu'ils me seraient restitués au plus vite.

Мы бы попросили Вас серьезно обсудить вопрос веса с Вашим поставщиком, поскольку это не только вопрос потери веса, но также и то, что мы несем дополнительные расходы за фрахт, поскольку мы оплачиваем заявленный вес и рассчитываем наши расходы на аренду на основе 20 т на контейнер, что означает, что мы потеряли несколько сотен долларов по фрахту и в связи с чрезмерной платой за аренду контейнеров. (We would ask you to seriously discuss the issue of weight with your supplier, as this is not just a matter of losing weight, but also the fact that we have additional costs for freight, because we pay the declared weight, and estimate our rental costs on the basis of 20 tons per container that means that we have lost a few hundred dollars for freight and due to the excessive fees for the rental of containers.)

Thus, we see from the examples that the text of business letter abounds with lexical repetitions, such as the repeated use of words (French) *bagages, declaration*; (Russian) *вопрос, веса, поскольку*.

2. Partial lexical repetition (repetition of the root morpheme):

In the examples given above, such partial lexical repetitions are found (French) *enregistrés – enregistrement*; (Russian) *вес – веса, фрахт – фрахту, контейнер – контейнеров, потери – потеряли*, that is indicative of the frequency of this phenomenon in the text of business letter.

3. Semantic repetition which implies the use of synonyms and synonymic constructions, for example:

Par courrier en date du (date), le trésor public de Paris m'a transmis un avis de majoration d'une amende de stationnement de 11 euros, majorée à hauteur de 33 euros. Je me trouve actuellement dans une situation financière difficile et je me trouve dans l'impossibilité d'acquitter cette dette, a fortiori son montant majoré. En effet, j'ai subi la perte de l'emploi daté du (date) et je suis encore impayable dès lors. C'est la raison pour laquelle je n'ai pas procédé au paiement de l'amende dans les délais impartis.

Как уже сообщалось по телефону, мы установили закупленные у Вас обеспыливающие фильтры для пересыпки химикатов. Служба охраны окружающей среды при замерах установила, что содержание пыли в воздухе переупаковочной станции на 20% выше нормы. На основании изложенного мы заказываем экспертизу оборудования. (As previously reported by phone, we have found the purchased dedusting

filters for suction of chemicals. The environment conservancy after measurements has set that the content of dust in the air of the repacking station is by 20% above the norm. Based on the stated above we are ordering the examination of the equipment.)

The role of semantic repetitions in these examples is played by the words and expressions of one semantic class, such as, (French) *amende de stationnement – cette dette, je me trouve dans l'impossibilité – je n'ai pas procédé*; (Russian) *обеспыливающие фильтры – оборудования*.

4. Affix-semantic repetition, in which the words with different roots link the affixes similar to semantics: (French) *impossibilité – impayable*; (Russian) *пересылки – перепуковачной*.

So, 4 types of repetitions which are the reflection of semantic coherence at the lexical level are inherent in the business letter.

At the grammatical level in French semantic linking is reflected in positioning the words of the sentence in strict order, agreement of adjectives and participles in gender and number, verb conjugation, the use of prepositions, articles, etc.:

Je sousigné (nom prénom) déclare que mon foyer fiscal a connu une baisse égale ou supérieure à 30% de ses revenus au cours des trois derniers mois. En effet, je joins à la présente les documents justifiant de mes difficultés financières actuelles.

So, in this example there is a direct order of the words ((parenthetic word) + subject + predicate + objects), the verbs-predicates agree in person and number with the subject (*je sousigné declare, mon foyer fiscal a connu, je joins*), as well as participle/adjectives with the main word (*difficultés financières, derniers mois*) etc., which is indicative of observance of the rule of semantic linking when writing a business letter in French.

In the Russian language this phenomenon is reflected in the preferred use of the direct word order in the sentence, verb conjugation depending on the subject, agreement of adjectives and adverbs in gender, number and case, noun declension in gender, number and case, etc.:

Как уже говорилось в нашем телефонном разговоре, калий, поставленный Вами, не соответствует требуемому качеству. Мы заметили, что парафин на поверхности калия не имеет обычного беловато-желтого цвета, а имеет более темный оттенок. В связи с качественным недостатком мы вынуждены вернуть весь материал обратно. (As mentioned in our telephone conversation, potassium, supplied by you, does not meet the required quality. We have noticed that the paraffin on the surface of potassium

does not have the usual whitish-yellow color and has a darker hue. Due to the lack of quality we have to return all the material back.)

In the examples in Russian the sender also follows the direct word order (*калий не соответствует, мы заметили*), agrees the adjectives with the nouns (*темный оттенок*), sticks to the rule of declension of adjectives and nouns in cases in conformity with preceding prepositions and verb government (*с качественным недостатком, не имеет обычного беловато-желтого цвета*) etc., which is indicative of following the rules of semantic linking when writing a business letter in Russian.

At the syntactic level the semantic coherence covers the whole text of the business letter generating logical links between separate sentences following one after another, and also between the sentences of the whole letter in general. Note that at the syntactic level, semantic linking is possible within one sentence as well, either compound sentence or complex sentence. For example:

Ce compromis de vente stipulait une condition suspensive, laquelle consistait en l'obtention d'un prêt destiné à financer cette opération. Je suis au regret de vous informer qu'il ne m'a été accordé aucun crédit par les établissements bancaires et les organismes prêteurs auxquels je me suis adressé. Je suis donc contraint d'abandonner le projet d'acquisition de votre bien et vous libère de toute obligation de vente à mon égard.

Данное соглашение о продаже оговаривает условие, приостанавливающее его исполнение, коим является получение необходимой ссуды для финансирования данной операции. Должен сообщить, что в получении требуемой суммы мне было отказано. Поэтому я вынужден отказаться от приобретения вашего товара и освободить вас от обязательств договора в моем отношении. (This agreement to sell sets out the terms of suspending its execution, which is the receipt of the necessary loans to finance this operation. I must inform you that I was refused in the receipt of the required amount. Therefore, I am forced to abandon the purchase of your product and release you from the obligation of the contract in my regard.)

Our examples illustrate that at the syntactic level semantic linking is represented by the indicators of correlation of the sentences (semantic ties, indices and connectors). We find in our examples 2 types of connectors: anaphoric links and logical semantic ties. Anaphoric links are represented by personal (*я, мы, вы, Вы, je, nous, vous*) and demonstrative (*ce, cette, данный, этот*) pronouns and adjectives, that are often

repeated in the text of the business letter. The pronominal adjectives also indicate the presence of anaphoric links: *votre, mon, notre, vous/Vous, мой, наш*.

In the French language, unlike the Russian language, this type of connection is also expressed by definite and solid articles, for example: *l'obtention d'un prêt, les établissements bancaires, les organismes prêteurs*. This phenomenon is determined by grammatical differences of the Russian and French languages.

Logical and semantic ties are represented by bond-conjunctions, parenthetic words, relative pronouns functioning as an object or subject in compound sentence. For example, the conjunctions introducing the idea that develops and supports the preceding one: *par ailleurs - вместе с тем, en outre - кроме того, de plus - более того, d'autre part - . впрочем, вместе с тем*.

Semantic overlap is often found in the business letter, especially at the lexical level, when one lexical unit is substituted by a synonymous unit or one relates semantically to it, for example:

Par acte authentique en date (date de l'acte), j'ai conclu, devant vous, un contrat de vente avec Monsieur (nom et prénom de votre cocontractant).

Je souhaiterais aujourd'hui me procurer une copie de cet acte authentique afin de faire valoir les droits découlant de cette convention, et en demander l'exécution forcée.

Нотариально удостоверенным актом от (дата) я заключил в вашем присутствии договор купли-продажи с (указать имя и фамилию участника договора).

Я хотел бы, чтобы сегодня мне была доставлена копия данного акта, чтобы отстоять права заключенного договора и потребовать его исполнения.

(By notarially authenticated act (date) I have signed in your presence the sales contract with (insert name of the participant of the contract).

I would like to see today I was delivered a copy of the act, to defend the right of the concluded contract and to demand its implementation.)

In this example, the semantic overlap is found in order to avoid additional repetitions. So, for example, we see that instead of the word combination «*cette convention*» the author of the letter uses the pronoun «*en*» in the letter in French, and in the letter in Russian the word combination «*заключенного договора*» is substituted by the pronoun «*его*».

Note that semantic overlap is contiguous with semantic repetitions and coincide with them when, instead of the substituted lexical unit, a synonymous unit is used.

Cohesion of the linear type helps to convey the whole meaning of the message, to describe a situation, to establish and maintain the dialogue between the communicators, with the further exchange of thoughts and ideas, which makes the letter coherent, as a result.

In summary, we note that the cohesion is expressed in the text correlation of separate parts and sentences via lexical, morphological or syntactic means. The linear type of cohesion expressed by semantic linking and semantic overlap in the text is peculiar to business letters. To the most common types of cohesion in the business letter in the Russian and French languages we refer repetitions, anaphoric bonds and connectors represented by conjunctive and adverbial expressions.

Summary

The analysis of the factual material has shown that two types of linear cohesion are characteristic to business letter: *semantic linking (coherence)*, implying logical and semantic relations between parts of the text, and *semantic overlap* being a partial identity of a semantic component of the preceding message. We have found out that at the grammatical level in French semantic linking is reflected in the strict word order in the sentence, the agreement of adjectives and participles in gender and number, conjugation of verbs, the use of prepositions and articles. In Russian, this phenomenon is also reflected in the preferred use of the direct word order in a sentence, the conjugation of verbs, depending on the subject, the agreement of adjectives and participles in gender, number and case, declension of nouns in gender, number and case. The study has shown that at the lexical level in the business letter in the French and Russian languages the presence of repetitions indicate the semantic coherence: complete lexical, partial lexical, semantic (the use of synonyms and synonymous constructions) and affix-semantic repetitions. At the syntactic level, semantic coherence affects the whole text of the business letter, making logical links between separate sentences. The analysis of the factual material proves the presence of anaphoric links and logical-semantic binding elements that help to achieve the accuracy and consistency of presentation. The semantic overlap occurs in business writing mainly at the lexical level, when one lexical unit is substituted by a synonymous one or by a semantically related word to it.

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**ARABIC IN THE LEAD-UP TO THE ARAB SPRING:
FUSION OR DIFFUSION**

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Abstract. This article aims to place the Arabic language in its recent historical context and proposes to describe the situation of Arabic in the period preceding and leading to the Arab Spring from the perspective of the degree to which Arabic language change and variation are moving in the direction of more fusion or diffusion. By diffusion I mean a situation in which divergences among the dialects of one language continue to grow and fragment, causing them eventually to develop into separate and largely mutually unintelligible systems. Fusion, on the other hand, is a process where dialectal variations in one language contract and gain wider acceptance, bringing more vitality for the Standard dialect at the level of social use and resulting in higher levels of mutual intelligibility among the dialects. I dedicate Part One of this paper to an overview of nomenclature and the ideological controversies surrounding Arabic language variation and where this variation is heading. In Part Two, I review the various arguments advanced by a substantial number of researchers who are of the view that forces of Arabic diffusion are solid enough to lead Standard Arabic and the dialects in the direction of a growing chasm. Part Three is the antithesis of Part Two and represents the major contribution of this paper. Here, I argue, based on the literature review and on oral and textual observations and analyses, that the forces of fragmentation notwithstanding, the changes that have obtained since the post-independence era at the level of rates of literacy militate for consolidating the role of Standard Arabic, for increased intelligibility among the dialects, and for closing the gap between the dialects and the Standard, albeit slowly, especially with the increased use of Arabic as one medium of expression of the Arab Spring, on the Web and on the street.

Key words: Diglossia, MSA, Arabic dialects, Educated Arabic, linguistic distance, Arab Spring, Web 2.0

1. Background

The publication in 1959 of Ferguson's Diglossia opened the gates on a plethora of Arabic sociolinguistic studies and compilations (Altoma, 1969; Badawi & Hinds, 1986; Blau, 1977; Fishman 1967; Holes, 1987; Maamouri, 1967; Shubashy, 2004, etc.). 'Diglossia' marked the start of an era in which Arabic linguistic scholarship enlarged its purview to include not just philological, stylistic and structural aspects of codified Arabic, but also its functional and dialectal dimensions. Between 1959 and 2011, three major transformations unfolded with crucial impact on the standing of Arabic. The first is the rise in rates of Arabic literacy among Arab populations as of the 1950s and 60s. The second dates back approximately to the mid-1980s and refers to what Ong (1988) calls the 'technologizing of the word', the emergence of word processing in Arabic and the subsequent localization of the web in Arabic around the mid-1990s. These changes saw a transition from massive illiteracy to wider access to digital Arabic literacy mediated by social networks, and manifest in the third transformation, the Arab Spring.

This is an argumentative paper with something of a historical perspective on where Arabic is

heading. While it attempts to develop a thesis on Arabic language variation and change, it goes beyond technical description of form to adduce evidence from a variety of fields. Throughout, my claim is that Arabic, since the fast-changing post-independence contexts, has moved along a path of coalescence and convergence between its varieties including the Standard, rather than a route of divergence and shift.

I dedicate Part One of this paper to a review the arguments advanced by a number of researchers claiming that forces of Arabic diffusion are solid enough to lead Standard Arabic and the dialects in the direction of fragmentation. Part Two is the antithesis of Part One and represents the major thrust of this paper. Here, I argue, based on the literature review and on observations and analyses of internet materials, that the forces of fragmentation notwithstanding, evolution of Arabic since after independence suggests a consolidation for the role of Standard Arabic and increased intelligibility among the dialects, assisted by growing use of Arabic as the medium of expression of the Arab Spring.

With this introduction, we proceed to defining two important linguistic processes at work in relation to this nomenclature:

- In his analysis of the forces impacting the future of English as a world language, Raddaoui (1988) distinguishes two forces pulling Received English and its many dialects in opposite directions, which he calls 'fusion' and 'diffusion'. Such forces include the mass media, educational institutions, language academies, government institutions, the publishing industry, and other socioculturally dominant forces, which operate as locomotives for determining whether dialects of one language come together or move in disparate directions. Below are working definitions for fusion and diffusion in relation to Arabic:

- Diffusion is a situation in which divergences among Arabic dialects and MSA continue to grow, causing them eventually to develop into separate and largely mutually unintelligible systems.

- Fusion is a process where variation between MSA and the dialects contracts and diminishes, leading to increased mutual intelligibility among the dialects and the consolidation of MSA as a rallying point, indicated by mounting social acceptance and use.

Contending as I do that that there are strong, rallying forces at work causing Arabic to move slowly but steadily into the direction of coalescence and fusion rather than on a path of shift, is, ideologically speaking, an uncomfortable and contentious position to hold. In the next sub-section, I survey the causes of this discomfort and expand on the issues attendant upon this controversy.

2. Diffusion arguments

The arguments I articulate in this section emphasize the distance among Arabic dialects and between the dialects on the one hand and MSA on the other. This distance is presented as forebodingly enormous to a point that precludes general communicative ease and educational viability. Let us call this the generalized distance thesis. I start this sub-section with a survey of emotive arguments followed with a review of linguistic arguments corroborating diffusion. I then proceed to querying the literature from a psycholinguistic perspective. Finally, I move to the wider sociolinguistic plane, where this distance manifests itself at the relatively new channel of communication, the internet.

First, a commentary of the kind of discourse employed in expounding the distance thesis is in order. Other than the term 'distance', which comes with Ferguson's initial characterization, Salameh (2011) refers to the situation as a "deep chasm" between MSA and the dialects (p. 56). Owens (2001)

equates learning MSA by its native Arabic speakers with learning a second language (p. 426). Borrowing the term from contexts similar to Canada's bilingual society, Amer, Adaileh and Rakhieh (2011) describe the Arabic linguistic situation as one of "cultural unity within linguistic diversity" (p. 19). Edward Saeed (2004), one of the staunchest defenders of causes Arab, is brought into this mix, and pronounces MSA to be "equivalent of Latin, a dead and forbidding language" (cited in Salameh, 2011).

These characterizations of the relationships between diverse varieties of Arabic and their communities of speakers are not confined to the linguistic/sociolinguistic register. As these depictions depart from the diglossic register, they start drawing on a wholly new lexicon mostly akin to mental dysfunction, where, in the words of Shubashy, diglossia is "crippling the Arab mind and stunting its capacities" (cited in Salameh, 2011). Far from being a medium in which social and communicative functions are transacted among Arabs, diglossia represents a situation of "pathology, schizophrenia and incoherence" (p. 53).

2.1 Emotive arguments for diffusion

Emotive arguments refer to thoughts, perceptions, and feelings of an impalpable, unobservable, and qualitative nature. The feelings reportedly associated with MSA/CA are generally negative and do not index the proximity and identity values normally associated with what a person or a community considers their own language. A 2003 United Nations report writes the following about MSA: MSA is "not the language of cordial, spontaneous expression, emotions, daily encounters, and ordinary communication (...) It is not a vehicle for discovering one's inner self or outer surroundings" (cited in Salameh, 2011, p. 54). Chouairi (2009) illustrates this situation by commenting on the dubbing by Arab television stations of Japanese cartoons in MSA, and writes that these cartoons are "not naturally appealing", that they border on the absurd, and that they are not capable of generating laughter among children who get bored very quickly while watching them (p. 41). In contrast, she notes that comedies presented in the dialect by such renowned actors as Dureid Laham of Syria, make both "children and adults giggle and laugh" (p. 41). Chouairi does not provide a direct answer for her question on how long H will survive in the media. While she declares her love for classical Arabic and its literature (p. 1), she is of the view that CA is far from being a viable tool for emotive identification. Let me and rationalize this lack of identification with CA by bringing to bear a number

of additional arguments, this time drawing upon the linguistic domain.

2.2 Linguistic distance

Linguistic distance between MSA/CA on the one hand and Arabic dialects on the other has been the focal point for research in the Arabic diglossic tradition. This distance covers aspects pertaining to language forms, notably the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. It is not the purpose of this paper to provide a comprehensive account of these differences, but for the sake of illustration, I briefly discuss two aspects: phonology and lexis.

Contrasting phonological systems, Chouairi (2009) makes the obvious note that no inventory of sounds in any Arabic dialect is in full correspondence with that of MSA, and this applies both to the consonant and vowel systems. Lexis is another area where MSA-Dialect distance is reportedly high. Gumperz (1964) argues that comparative study of the differences between MSA and dialects reveals crucial divergences in how new lexis is added to the language: While MSA tends to draw into its past in order to add words to its lexicon as a response to the requirements of modern life, the dialects continue to integrate loanwords (p. 423). As the lexical base of each expands, communication and equivalency between the two suffers, indicating they are embarking on a path of linguistic divergence. This linguistic distance is not without its ramifications on other levels, including that of language learning.

2.3 Psycho-pedagogic arguments for diffusion

Psycholinguistic distance between the dialects and MSA/CA impacts learnability and teachability of Arabic as a native and foreign language. This argument is mainly advanced by Ayari (1996), Maamouri (1998), Salameh (2011) and Ibrahim (2009). Its gist is that the linguistic gap between the spoken varieties and MSA is responsible for functional illiteracy in the Arab world, and for the difficulty encountered by children when learning to read. Maamouri (1998) argues that instead of reading to learn, Arab children spend their time learning to read.

It is possible that the difficulty encountered by native Arabic speakers in learning MSA has the contrastive analysis hypothesis (CAH) of the 1950s as its reference point. CAH deems learning ease to be a function of large similarities and small differences between the learner's L1 and the target language. Though CAH was mainly used to apprehend the learning processes for second/foreign language learners in terms of transfer and interference between L1 and the target language, the

terms of this hypothesis are used to describe the relationship between Arabic dialects and MSA, making these two dialects of Arabic analogous to two unrelated languages. Dakwar (2005) quotes a seven-year-old girl as saying: "Ammiya and Fusha do not differ much, that's why it is easy. I think in Ammiya before I write, I later *transfer* to Fusha. Sometimes, while reading I feel I am going back to Ammiya" (emphasis mine) (p. 92). Diem (1974) goes so far as to treat that MSA chunks infiltrating dialectal speech as 'interference' (cited in Owens 2001, p. 426) thus equating MSA to a foreign language.

Another tenet of CAH is that L1 forms are habits to be unlearned and hurdles to be overcome. Dakwar (2005), reports that when Jewish children who learn Palestinian Arabic at elementary school later start learning MSA, their teachers urge them to let go of their dialectal acquisitions so as to minimize interference, thereby stipulating that MSA and the Palestinian dialect are two unrelated languages. Shubashy (2006) points out that foreigners with high proficiency levels in MSA fail to see the connection between their formal acquisitions and Colloquial Egyptian Arabic: "they don't understand *a single word* I say in that language" (emphasis added) (cited in Salameh, 2011, p. 56). Shubashy (2004) thinks failure to implement MSA reform in the direction of simplification is subjecting the Arab child learning MSA to "suffering untold" (p. 45). This is visible in the "increased reluctance among the youth to learn the complicated rules of the language and the outdated words and phrases that are no longer fit for the modern person to express themselves (my translation) (p. 52).

Psycholinguistic research adds credence to these pedagogic hunches about how native Arabic speakers cognitively engage the task of learning MSA. Ibrahim's empirical study (2009) seeks to determine the linguistic distance between Palestinian Arabic and MSA by finding out whether Palestinian Arabs learning both MSA and Hebrew combine the lexical forms of Palestinian Arabic and the forms of MSA in a single lexicon in the brain or whether they access them as separate lexicons as they do for Arabic and Hebrew. His conclusion is that "the status of LA [Literary Arabic] is similar to that of Hebrew and is consistent with the typical organization of MSA in a separate lexicon. Thus, learning MSA appears to be, in some respects, more like learning a second language (p. 96).

Elgibali (1996) emits an interesting proposition on the nature of Classical Arabic as a language type. Noting the difficulties Arabic dialect speakers encounter while acquiring the Standard, Elgibali

points to “the inherent qualities of the Classical variety itself”. He explains that “if Classical Arabic is essentially an eclectic composite, then it is not a natural language” (p. 12). Elgibali does not expand on the notion of “eclectic composite”, nor does he clearly qualify Arabic as an “unnatural”, or “partly artificial” language. Chouairi (2009) weighs in on this issue and writes:

...classical Arabic (H variety) has a lexicon built from all the languages that bordered Arabia: Syriac, Egyptian, Bedouin Arabic, Greek and Persian while its grammar is a constructed, conscious grammar that does not lead itself to natural speech since it was formulated by linguists and writers (p. 42).

2.4 Sociolinguistic arguments for diffusion

The gist of the sociolinguistic argument in support of the distance thesis, probably a consequence of MSA’s reported failure to flow naturally, harks back to the nonexistence of a speech community for MSA, and its non-viability as a means of communication. This argument sits on Malinowsky’s (1923) dictum that the proper study of language should be conducted “against the background of human activities” (cited in Chouairi, 2009, p. 40). Chouairi agrees that the notion of an Arabic speech community is appraised against a kind of “non-situated theorizing”, by which she means that “Classical Arabic H is absent from current human activities other than reading and writing” (p. 40). Salameh (2011) agrees with a United Nations report that [Classical] Arabic “has in effect ceased to be a spoken language” and is a “largely a learned, cultic, ceremonial, and literary language” (p. 54). Since it is limited to the school, and is not spoken naturally, the argument goes, it has little social relevance. Salameh (2011) quotes the doyen of Arabic Letters, Taha Hussein, as saying, “Nobody speaks it [the Standard] at home, [in] school, [on] the streets, or in clubs; it is not even used in [the] Al-Azhar [Islamic University] itself” (p. 51). From this vantage point, CA has no actual speakership even among its most loyal guardians, the renowned Al-Azhar Islamic University.

This reported irrelevance of CA in social life spills into its modern offshoot, MSA, as having little if any existence as ‘speech’, ‘parole’, or ‘performance’. Thus presented, CA and MSA are thus mere “competence” in the heads of linguists, and have no social basis. This reasoning leads to an interesting conclusion that the relationship between the dialects of Arabic and the H variety cannot be described in terms of the former being dialects of the latter: dialects “are not dialects of H because H is spoken nowhere” (Chouairi, 2009, p. 38).

In other words, Arabic dialects are not, sociolinguistically speaking, related to CA/MSA.

Salameh likens the distance between MSA/CA and the dialects to the distance between French and other Romance languages on the one hand and Latin on the other (2011, p. 48). He uses mutual unintelligibility as a carbon test of the distance. Abdelali (2004) and Chouairi (2009) distinguish Moroccan (or North African) Arabic, Cairo Arabic, North Syrian (Levantine) Arabic and Gulf Arabic as “separate languages”. Salameh (2011) states that “Egypt has an Egyptian language; Lebanon has a Lebanese language; the Hijaz has a Hijazi language” (p. 51), and goes so far as to talk of relative unintelligibility between Bagdadi and Damascene Arabic.

Finally, the traditional domains of language are the family, the school, the workplace and society at large. Now, we have to supplement these spaces with the new setting of the internet as an emerging medium. Here, the extent of the gap has yet to be gauged between users of written dialectal Arabic, Written Standard Arabic, and Latin-scripted Arabic. Which social variables determine which form of Arabic, including Arabic-French code switching, and how much felicitous communication is taking place among users of these varieties is another area of inquiry awaiting investigation.

Thus, according to the generalized linguistic distance thesis, Arabic dialects and MSA invite different typological, pedagogic, emotional, linguistic, and socio-linguistic descriptions and conclusions. Consequently, fragmentation and diffusion are suggested as a projection of the distance thesis.

3.0 Arguments for fusion

In the final section of this paper, I discuss, from a number of perspectives, the factors I consider to have caused Arabic varieties to embark on a convergence path. Here, I do not at all seek to take one-by-one the arguments put forward in the previous section and empty them of substance, but rather to draw attention to new trends and emerging data with significant impact on the direction of Arabic.

Back in 2001, Owens asked the question about why either of the two levels of speech, MSA or the dialects, has not yet become the unique medium of communication in the Arab world. He attributes maintenance of both not to language structure, but to the levels of social and political motivations:

Should these become impelling enough SA would doubtlessly become the spoken norm throughout the Arabic world. Lacking such motivation, however, and at present there are probably as many reasons for maintaining NA

[Native Arabic] as for adopting SA [Standard Arabic], diglossia will continue to prevail (p. 449).

Regardless of such motivations though, a host of actors have been at work, yielding a certain degree of linguistic change in the direction of proximity rather than distance. It is however not in the nature of change to be readily observable. This is all the more true as the 'diglossic frame' has remained the most important paradigm for examining Arabic language for over half a century. I propose that this frame, through its grip, appeal, and the more than critical mass of research it has spawned, has deflected attention away from change. The question I wish to address now is this: what are these new topographies that the diglossia prism has failed to register and react to? In answering this question, I should like to begin by suggesting that we reconceptualize the notion of diglossia itself.

3.1 Reconceptualizing diglossia

Albirini (2011) is one of the first to call for a drastic reformulation of the construct of diglossia through reexamining the initially reported division of labor between MSA and the dialects. Analyzing naturally-occurring spoken data from religious speakers, political debaters and soccer commentators, he finds that "speakers create a functional division between the two varieties by designating issues of importance, complexity and seriousness to SA [Standard Arabic], the High code, and accessible topics with DA [dialect Arabic], the Low code" (p. 537). He concludes that it is not context that determines use of either one or the other, but function: the use of H is not determined by where a person is speaking, say in the parliament, in the court or at the mosque, but selection of formal/informal register depends on the effect a particular chunk of speech is meant to achieve; speakers typically use dialectal Arabic if they wish to "downplay a particular segment of the discourse" but will shift to Standard Arabic to highlight the importance of a segment of discourse (p. 547) even when they are in the same event and in the same context. Thus analyzed, use of the two varieties in the same text and the same context represents a weakening of the diglossia frame.

Additionally, instead of apprehending the co-presence of H and L in terms of code-switching or interference, we could argue that what is taking place is an emerging hybrid mode of address encompassing the dialect and the Standard. This hybrid mode, applies not just to macro-level analyses of extended oral transactions, but also to the micro-level where smaller chunks indicate that the Standard and the dialect co-occur within the confines of one word or a

phrase. Examples abound, but for the sake of illustration, let us cite one example discussed by Owens (2001):

1. /reet/: Cairene dialect form: gloss: I have seen
2. /ra'aytu/: MSA form: I have seen
3. /ra'eet/: crossover between Cairene dialect and MSA (p. 432)

While forms 1 and 2 present us with instances of the Dialect and the Standard respectively, variation 3 is problematic because it is a composite of features: from the Standard, we have the stem /ra'/ and from the dialect, the suffix /eet/. The diglossic framework is incapable of handling this and similar phenomena. Owens (2001) suggests that form 3 is an emerging variation resulting from increased contact between two varieties of the same language producing a typical Educated Spoken Arabic hybrid. Space does not allow for citing more such examples, but based on the evidence, we can conclude that diglossia defined as a 'stable' situation where two varieties exist side by side, is not applicable in a strict sense as it assumes the formal variety and the dialect are moving on parallel tracks, without intersecting and affecting each other. The fact of the matter is that H and L are interacting and producing a new breed combining structural features from both codes.

There are additional grounds for putting into question the reportedly sizable lexical and structural gap between the dialects and MSA. Owens (2001) considers the lexical overlap between native Arabic and MSA and concludes, overall, that these are 80% similar (p. 449). In his study of the grammar of MSA and Cairene Arabic, McKay (1972), adopts Transformational Grammar as framework, and finds that there are no significant differences between the surface and deep structures of the following constructions: simple equational sentences, sentences embedded by relativization, sentences with verb-initial or verb second order, complementation using /?anna/, and direct and indirect questions (Pp. 29-30).

The above are some lines of argumentation that should be usefully researched in the future to gauge the ability of the diglossic prism to handle at least a spectrum of the data. In the following sub-section I reappraise the perceived psychological distance between Arabic speakers and MSA.

3.2 Psychological attachment to Arabic

Against the sociolinguistic theorizations of its irrelevance to the lives of Arabic speakers today, we need to consider the all-important emotive value attached to CA. Freeman (1996) writes that Arabic script is spoken and read beyond Arab countries. It is also the language of religion for 1.6 billion people,

approximately 23.4% of the world's population (Pew Research Center, 2011). CA, conceivably the highest form of Arabic composition on a universal scale, is learned, read, chanted, copied, translated, quoted and heard on multiple daily occasions throughout Muslims' and Arabs' lives. Because of this, it represents part and parcel of the language bath which impregnates life, regardless of educational attainment. In this connection, an interesting project would be to describe "a day in the life of an Arab", with specific reference to language to find out how much space/time each variety furnishes, and what psychological coefficient is attached to each.

In addition to its long history and its knowledge heritage value, the CA/MSA pair is often seen as one of the building blocks of Arab unity (Barakat, 1993; Owens, 2001). If Islam is the defining culture for a large majority of Arabs, Arabic is the language in which this culture is articulated, and which welds together and defines communities living on four time zones. Freeman (1996) asks why individual national strands of Arabic have not each gone their way to become their own language, and ponders that this is unlikely to happen in the foreseeable future because Arabs hold CA in high esteem. In his Cairo fieldwork, Haeri (2010) asks Egyptians about the value of translating the Qur'an into Egyptian Arabic, and reports their utter surprise at the question as for them, the form and meaning of Quranic language represents an untranslatable unit. They explain that the "language of the Qur'an (...), is after all the word of God and one must read His word and not some translation of it". They add they are Arabs, that they already speak Arabic and do not have a need for translation (p. 75).

Another interesting index of attachment to CA/MSA is that Arabs often rush to declare their dialect closer to MSA and more in keeping with its rules. While this should not be understood as a statement on the purity of language, since any language naturally borrows from and injects into others, this perception of proximity indexes the high value they attach to the Standard, and that the Standard carries a high referential coefficient, if not in their day-to-day conversational and written conducts, then at least in their internal representations of reality.

There is a final argument for why MSA as a "superposed" variety does not engender negative emotive feelings. Inglehart & Woodward (1972) write that tension between speakers of different languages or dialects occurs when "a dominant language group obtains the social, political and economic power within the society and blocks the social mobility of the minority language groups" (in

Borjian 2005, p. 65). This situation does not apply to MSA, since, technically speaking, it has no native speakers; maintaining it as a medium of instruction and formal address neither marginalizes nor privileges any social class or group. Quite the contrary, MSA serves a "neutral language", a term I borrow from Kachru (1986) for whom privileging of a specific Indian language as official in India's multilingual society can be objected to by speakers of other languages. Because of this, Kachru recommends that English be one of India's official languages, since it is no one's native language, and can thus serve as a neutral equalizer. Quite apart from the truth or falsity of this statement in the Indian context, we can argue that MSA is an equalizer in the Arab context, since Arabs, regardless of class, tribe, region or other variables, have similar levels of access to MSA outside the school context Arabic. The literacy they gain in MSA happens largely in formal contexts, which bring MSA and the dialects closer to each other.

3.3 The literacy factor as another index of fusion

This section concerns itself with two types of literacy, traditional and digital, and how they both militate for convergence between Arabic dialects and MSA. Defining literacy is of course a contentious issue that we will not address here, but we can report the following figures to denote the drastic change in the scene since diglossia became the byword among Arabic sociolinguistic circles: in 1950, adult literacy rates were 12% in North Africa (Easterlin, 2000, p. 20). From 1950 to the period between 2000 and 2004, this number jumped up to 62.7% for the whole Arab region (Burnett, 2005). Youth literacy rates (15-24), jumped from 42.7% in 1970 to 66.6% in 1990. More recent figures put the combined male-female youth literacy rate on a pan-Arab scale at 94.5% (Sika, 2007, p. 30). Owens (2001) writes:

Since World War II education has expanded enormously in Arabic countries. Because the Arabic used in instruction, is, in theory, Standard Arabic, this variety has become accessible to a larger segment of the population in a way it has never been before in the history of the language. Its use in education is reinforced by its use in many public spheres... (p. 430).

Lublinter (2002) proposes an interesting model to explain the historic importance of such increases in literacy rates. He projects that "diglossia (...) remains stable in a society as long as most of its children undergo only minimal schooling". However, when increasing segments of young people attend school well into their adolescence, a parastandard develops

based on the school language, which becomes the medium of peer conversation, and tends, within a few generations, to replace the dialect.

Though the Arabic linguistic setting is not one in which the dialects have been displaced, it seems there is a movement in this direction, albeit slow and hard to perceive. Salameh (2011), who favors adoption of regional dialects as standards, recognizes that “the numbers of users of MSA [are] swelling and hovering in the vicinity of 50 percent” (p. 56). Compared to UNESCO’s figure of 60% (Burnett, 2005), Salameh’s figure appears to be conservative. However, even at this rate, we may begin to understand the changes occurring in the patterns of educated native Arabic speech. Owens (2001) puts it as follows:

Observation of the spoken language quickly revealed that in practice native speakers of Arabic who had access to both the standard language and the dialect in any given stretch of speech rarely used purely one the other variant (p. 425).

One extrapolation of these figures is that the degree of interaction between the dialects and MSA is much higher than when mastery of MSA was confined to the 10-15% who had any claim on it in the 1950s and 1960s.

Chouairi (2009) provides further evidence for this crossbreed when she writes that personal letters often start with expressions and idioms from the H variety though they tend to switch back to L after a few lines (p. 37). This very switch would not have been possible on any significant scale in the decades preceding the spread of Arabic literacy. Daniëls (2004) examines the interplay between Fuṣḥa and the Egyptian dialect and concludes that:

Many local non-fuṣḥā characteristics have made their way to formal speech levels. In news broadcasts, for instance, the alveolar fricative /ǧ/ (fuṣḥā) is systematically realized as a velar plosive /g/ (Cairene/Egyptian), so that /g/ has become part of fuṣḥā in Egypt (with the exception of recitations of the Koran (p. 82).

In this case, it is the Standard that is playing the role of matrix language, wherein elements of the dialect get grafted. Owens (2001) points to the opposite trend where elements of the Standard get grafted onto a dialect base:

“...the degree of influence of SA [Standard Arabic] on spoken Arabic in modern Arabic countries can hardly be understated....The linguistic mechanism by which this is accomplished is via the introduction of SA lexical structures into the NA base (p. 450).

As stated earlier, this changing linguistic landscape is an invitation for further research, especially when conducted in the context of the

paradigmatic shifts brought about the information and communications technologies (ICT).

3.4 ICT as another tributary of fusion

A detailed sociology of ICTs and their impact on Arabic is outside the scope of this paper, however, a sketch of the ways ICT has brought Arabic, both formal and colloquial to the radar of the Arabic speaking communities, is important to draw. First, here is a definition of ICT:

ICT consist of the whole range of technologies designed to access, process and transmit information: hardware, software, networks, and media for collection, storage, processing, transmission, and presentation of information in the form of voice, sound, data, text and images (Detschew, 2007, p. 28).

While traditional media, such as newspapers, landlines, radio and terrestrial television channels, offered limited opportunities for Arabs of different nationalities to meet, test their “common language”, and gauge the coverage of and interaction between their dialects, ICT has brought Arabs together like no other platform. Use of Arabic word processing software programs such as Arab Word, Arabic Word Perfect, Arabic-enabled Microsoft Word, and generally Arabic desktop publishing solutions among schools, administrations, commercial institutions, homes, and individuals, has increased manifold. Arab populations, who had historically conducted their affairs in mostly oral fashions, have thus moved from the short-lived stage of traditional literacy in the sixties and seventies, to digital literacy from the late eighties onwards.

With Satellite television, exemplified by the Rotana Group, established in 1987, Middle East Broadcasting Center (MBC) 1991, Arab Radio and Television (ART), 1993, Children’s Cartoon TV, 1996, Al-Jazeera, 1996, and according to Battah (2011) as many as 250 satellite television channels (in Khater, 2011 p. 363) unbounded, new, forums “established a virtual on-air community, and a sense of Pan-Arab unity” (p. 363). Al-Mayadeen Satellite TV is the latest addition to this growing network. Added to the benefits of literacy in the Standard, the rise of “on air-communities” brings together, in Arab living rooms, speakers of dialects as widely distant as a Mauritania and Jordan. Analysis of the dynamics of interaction and the adjustments made by one speaker or another will quickly reveal that opinions, issues, and disagreements are not necessarily handled in MSA, but in a makeshift dialect comprehensible to the guests, the host, and the Arab-wide audience to varying degrees. Presumably, this medium is constantly negotiated, with the caveat of mutual intelligibility and the presence of MSA and the

speaker's dialect/idiolect as modulators of and circumscribers of variation. Thus, the average Arab's repertoire has been enriched with increased understanding of far-flung dialects and augmented exposure to formal Arabic, not just as reader and writer, but as listener and more often than before as interlocutor in an unfolding pan-Arab discussion theater, almost in synchrony with the unfolding Arab Spring.

In a volume titled 'The Real Arab World: Is reality TV democratizing the Middle East?', Armbrust ((2005) recalls speaking to an Egyptian Film director who, in search for an "Arab perspective", switched off CNN and BBC and opted for Al-Jazeera (Pp. 1-2). Because of her strategic decision to air an Arab perspective, Al-Jazeera no doubt elected to use Fuṣḥa rather than target a narrower viewership through privileging a dialect. Al-Shamrani (2012) conducted a comparative study of seven of Al-Jazeera programs and found the overall use of Standard Arabic by program presenters to be 83%, while that of guests was at 76%, producing an average of 80% use of Standard Arabic (p. 60). Al-Shamrani also reported on the rate of MSA usage in a live call-in program where the callers are children. While the broadcaster's reported use of Arabic as 96%, children's handling of Standard Arabic is described as "competent" despite their young" age. Al-Shamrani attributes children's ease with MSA to language planners, policy makers and families, who prefer children to master Fuṣḥa (Pp. 62-64).

Eventually, even satellite television stations known for favoring the dialect or a diluted form of the Standard, such as Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBC), are enriching the average Arab's dialectal repertoire, not so much as a productive user, but at least at the level of reception, to an extent not possible in the past. To this picture of convergence, among the dialects and between the dialects and the Standard, is added another tributary encompassing the internet and the Arab Spring.

3.5 The Internet, Arabic and the Arab Spring

As an event taking shape mostly in Arabic, the Arab Spring is as much lived on the Arab streets as it is channeled on the internet. The internet is arguably not only a channel, but also something of a dynamo, contributing its own momentum. Because of the relative unity of the language, MSA, dialects and intermediate varieties, slogans transfer from one locale to another in real time. Some slogans have reverberated verbatim; /a-ʃaʃb juri:d ʃisqa: ʃa – nið'a:m/, 'The people want regime downfall' in MSA, was the byword for objectors in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Yemen. In some cases, syntax is preserved, but lexical units change to suit the situation, as in 'The people want regime reform',

or 'The people want the cleansing of the judiciary'. Standard Arabic slogans, such as 'Leave' /ʔirḥal/ or /jasquʔ/ 'Down with...' cut across social and geographical boundaries. These slogans have become part of popular and shared memory of Arabs regardless of any social variables, in a manner that is possibly only true of the Quran, some of whose Surahs most people know to varying degrees. Now, Arabs have in common, not just their heritage language, CA, not just their sacred Book, the Quran, not just MSA, but also a largely shared and active popular memory of slogans, events, stories and a stronger sense of common destiny.

The Arab Spring and the internet have squeezed geographical space and linguistic distance. All of a sudden, Arabs, previously confined to living within the borders of their 'modern' nation states and to crossing border posts with extreme difficulty, have found themselves communicating their experiences, stories, struggles, and dialects to other Arab countries with the speed of light. They read, listen, share, disseminate and comment upon materials in Standard Arabic and their various dialects. Hofheinz (2005) comments that the internet whose use was limited to middle-aged professionals in the 1990s has rapidly become a factor in the socialization of the Arab Spring generations (p. 83). In 2003, internet penetration in Arab homes was 4%. An estimate of the number of internet-connected homes in 2006 was 11% (Hofheinz, 2005, p. 82). One year before the Arab Spring the rate stood at 17.5% (Internet World Stats). In 2011, while the revolution was underway, International Telecommunications Union reports the figure at 29%. This increased penetration goes hand in hand the number of household-equipped computers, which, in 2012 stood at around 31%. This translated itself in a substantial increase in Arabic materials on the internet. Within years, from 2004 to 2012, Arabic materials on the internet increased around twofold, from 1.7% (Abdulla, 2007, p. 146) to 3% (Internet World Stats). Salama, Director of the Cairo Microsoft Innovation Center comments, "The amount of Arabic I use on the Internet has tripled since the revolution... On Facebook, for example, we communicate much more in Arabic now than we did previously" (cited in Gantenbein, 2011).

The claim that Arabic dialects including MSA have come closer to each other can be substantiated through examination of Facebook pages, Twitter posts, YouTube videos, instant messaging services, synchronous and asynchronous discussion forums, weblogs, etc. In the interest of space, I sample internet Arabic in two ways in the remainder of this section. First, I preview a series of reader comments

in MSA on an article carried by Al-Jazeera. I then analyze a popular Yemeni revolution song where MSA and the dialect coalesce in new and revealing ways.

3.5.1 Analyzing reader comments

I refer to a news briefing produced by Associated Press and published on Al-Jazeera.net, February 8, 2012, around 3 months after the then President Moncef Marzouqi of Tunisia took office and just over a year after the start of the Arab Spring in Tunisia. The excerpt, 333 words long, is titled: “Marzouqi in Morocco at the Start of a regional tour”. Two days after its publication, 148 readers commented on the article, from 8 different Arab countries, mainly North African but also from Yemen, Syria and Palestine. Al-Jazeera’s policy is that comments be “written obligatorily in Arabic”, without specifying level of formality. Clearly, however, all commentators responded only in MSA, and wrote a total of 8,335 words, and an average of 58 words per comment. Why commentators responded only in MSA can be attributed to Al-Jazeera user comment policy, but commentators also know they are addressing an Arab-wide readership, in writing mode,

which can be interpreted as an invitation to avoid colloquialisms. What this says is that in Al-Jazeera’s theater of open and free transaction, commentators use MSA, which they handle correctly. The Arab Spring is transacted in Arab city squares via oral slogans, banners, and other artistic expressions, and also in written, audio, video and other internet materials. Again, the internet and the Arab Spring are helping move Arab citizens from traditional literacy forms to new forms of cyber literacy.

3.5.2 Sampling the Arab Spring on the street

Let us now sample the language of the Arab Spring as lived on the street, and as reported by social media, such as Facebook, YouTube, forums, blogs and other Web 2.0 tools. To this end, I introduce a popular song retrieved from Amr Khaled’s Forum (2011) by Yemeni singer Mohamed Al-Adhru’i, in San’aa’s Taghyeer (Transformation) Square. In this video, the singer parodies the efforts deployed by a representative of the then President Ali Abdullah to pacify Yemen. To the representative’s overtures, a large audience responds with a refrain indicating determination to effect regime change:

Last stanza of the song in the dialect	rendition of the last stanza in MSA (my translation)	Transcription of song in the dialect	Transcription of song in MSA	Gloss (my translation)
إذن أنا عرفت قصدكم الكذب زاد وطال صبركم وهم بينجخوا من حككم	إذن أنا عرفت قصدكم الكذب زاد وطال صبركم وهم يتمعشون من مالكم	iðan ʔana: ʕarifti gaʕdakum ʔal-kaðbi za:d w-ʔa:l ʕabra-kum wa hum bi-baŋgixu min ḥagga-kum	iðan ʔana ʕariftu gaʕdakum ʔal-kaðibu za:da Wa (qad) ʔa:l ʕabru- kum wa hum yatmaʕʕaʕu:na min ma:li-kum	So, I now know what you mean Lying is on the increase and your patience wearing thin They are living off your possessions
وانتم مساكين ايش بيدكم.	وانتو مساكين أي شيء بيدكم	w-antu: masa:ki:n e:ʃ bi-yadd:a-kum	<u>wa-ʔantum</u> <u>masa:ki:nun</u> ʔayyu <u>ʕayʔin bi-yadi-kum</u>	While your hands are tied
Refrain in MSA الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام إذا الشعب يوما أراد الحياة، فلا بد أن يستجيب القدر بلادي بلادي بلادي اليمن أحبيك يا موطني مدى الزمن	Refrain MSA (Same as in column 1)			The people want the regime to fall. If, one day, the people will life, destiny will have to comply. My homeland, my homeland, My homeland Yemen, I salute you my nation for ever.

Table 1: Sampling the Arab Spring: a popular Yemeni revolution song

I limit my analysis of this excerpt to points corroborating the thesis that the Arab Spring is

bringing the dialect and the Standard, at least in this song, closer to each other. Looking at the dialect stanza in relation to its equivalent in MSA, we note the following similarities and differences:

	Yemeni Dialect Feature	MSA features	Additional comments
Number of word tokens	16	17	The one word difference is due to phonological coalescence ʔayyu-shayʔin → ʔe:sh
Vocabulary differences	/bangix/ /hag/	/tamʕafa/ /ma:l/	/hag/ is an MSA word meaning ‘right’, ‘what is your lawfully yours’
Other spelling differences	ʔantu ʔi:ʃ	ʔantum ʔayyu ʃaj-in	Deletion of Standard Arab plural suffix/m/ in the dialect
Structural differences	None	None	Subj-Verb-Expansion Topic-Comment Interrogative sentence
Verb and noun cases	Dropped	Usually articulated	Formal spoken Arabic tends to drop certain case markings.
Other phonological differences	/w/ /w-antu/	/wa/ /wa-ʔantum	

Table 2: Summary of the differences between the Yemeni dialect and MSA

Discounting vowel diacritics, which are usually not added to Arabic text, the dialect and the Standard orthographically differ from each other in minor ways. Lexical differences are minimal, with 14 out of the 16 words in the dialect preserving the same word tokens in the Standard. Use of dialectal phoneme /g/ instead of MSA phoneme /q/, coupled case dropping may not impede understanding; the /g/-/q/ distinction is not made in Modern Standard Yemeni Arabic. There are no differences in sentence structure. I am of course not attributing these minor differences to the Arab Spring, but what this passage does is to invite a reconsideration of the long-held belief that the dialect and the Standard are significantly different from each other, to start with.

Other interesting phenomena in this passage beg a comment. Firstly, the dialect and the Standard are lumped together, in one unified, cohesive text. This goes against the traditional definition of diglossia, where the dialect and the Standard specialize as a function context. Here, in the same setting, are two varieties of Arabic appearing as one unified artistic construction. Further, the singer, playing the spokesperson for the President, uses the dialect to convey governmental plans for a more democratic Yemen. Government business is conventionally couched in the Standard, but here, the linguistic tables are turned: it is the people who chant anti-regime slogans in Modern Standard Arabic. Thus, the Standard is appropriated by the people and no longer the privilege of the ruling or educated class who traditionally use it to index status, as opposed to the

‘vernacular’, usually associated with people. Nor is the use of Standard Arabic on the part of the people made in a formal context. In this downtown square, it is the people who rule, while the leaders are repudiated. In this exercise of people power, people take possession of the Standard dialect that was previously used to subjugate them.

Finally, it important to note that the refrain itself is extended and contains three Standard Arabic slogans, which are first chanted consecutively and then simultaneously as an ensemble capable of overpowering authority. The first slogan is from the national Yemeni anthem, indicating a state of revolution. Under normal circumstances, anthems are often reserved for government rituals. In the Arab Spring, however, the anthem belongs to the people. The second part of the refrain is the one slogan that has been branded by Arab people, across the vast swathe of the Arab world, ‘The people want the regime to collapse’. Adding this slogan to the song is an indication that sources and potential audiences of the words and meanings are from both within Yemen and across the Arab world. The final part of the refrain is a quote, again, in MSA, with a very special place in popular Arab memory, from Tunisian poet, Abu Al-Qassim Al-Shabbi, whose poem is titled ‘The Songs of Life’. These are famous lines from the Tunisian national anthem, now chanted in the Arabian Peninsula.

4.0 Conclusions

4.1 Summary

The purpose of this paper has been to show that since the rise of interest in Arabic diglossia in the late

1950s until the current events of the Arab Spring, Arabic variation has been on a contraction and convergence path, rather than one of fragmentation and shift. The main problem seems to be that the diglossic prism, descriptively productive as it may be, has not taken account of three transformations that have galvanized the Arabic scene which are bringing Arabs and Arabic varieties closer together, namely, rising literacy rates in MSA, the ICT revolution, including the internet, and the latest events of the Arab Spring still unfolding.

4.2 Provisional conclusions

The arguments of this paper suggest the following conclusions: (i) the initial assumption of relative stability in Ferguson's definition of diglossia may no longer be applicable, given the nature and speed of change in the Arab world, (ii) the presumed division of labor between formal Arabic and popular dialects depends more on function than context; (iii) Formal Arabic and the dialects may not be as structurally divergent as the diglossia frame indicates; (iv) in today's more advanced literacy settings, formal and colloquial Arabic often co-exist, borrow from each other, and are not compartmentalized, and (v) the Arab Spring and the dialects in which it is transacted, are breaking the boundaries between national dialects and their communities; new inter-Arab and cross-dialectal forums are developing, where dialects are adjusting toward each other and toward the Standard.

4.2 Areas for further investigation

Being the medium of such a disruptive event as the Arab Spring, Arabic/inter-Arab communication should offer an exciting and fertile area to describe, monitor and theorize. Five questions in particular appear to me to be worthy of further investigation: (i) Is it possible that diglossia, as a western instrument of description, is more attentive to the many details of difference between Standard Arabic and the dialects than to the perceptions of similarity and coalescence seen from within? (ii) What are the dynamics and forms of inter-Arab virtual communication? (iii) Given four audio/video excerpts in Arabic dialects in the four regional Arabic dialects, and four Arabic speakers from each of these regions, what would be the rate of inter-dialectal intelligibility? (iv) Considering a full day in the life of an Arab, what is the depth and breadth of their encounters with formal Arabic, Arabic dialects, intermediate varieties and other languages? (v) What would be the shape of a research tool to gauge Arabs' attitudes toward different varieties on the Arabic dialectal continuum?

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THE ROLE OF BELGOROD MASS-MEDIA IN FORMING
PUBLIC AGENDA

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Abstract. The article reveals the modalities of mass-media's influence on public consciousness. The correlation of political, public and media agendas has also been investigated. For the first time the investigation has been made with consideration for a region, by the example of the Belgorod Region.

Key words: mass-media; communication; informational, political and public agenda; cognitive management.

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РОЛЬ БЕЛГОРОДСКОЙ ПРЕССЫ В ФОРМИРОВАНИИ
ОБЩЕСТВЕННОЙ ПОВЕСТКИ ДНЯ

What criteria does a contemporary man follow, by choosing life principles? Where does he get up-to-date information about current events? What does he rely on when forming the picture of the world? Essential elements of information coming from outside into our minds are evidently to be brought by informational flows formed by various mass-media. Actually, the present, according to professor A. V. Polonsky, is «exceptionally mass-media project» [13: 110], and distance between the producer of information – mass-media – and its user is getting closer. The closer this distance is, the stronger the influence of mass-media on the consciousnesses, both individual and collective [5, p. 74].

In a new millennium, many specialists in the sphere of media researches speak seriously about qualitative transformation of mass-media in the direction of their individualization. There has even emerged the term «mass individual communication», or «mass self communication» – such mass communication that is produced, received and perceived individually [6]. This phenomenon is caused, according to the investigators, by «digital revolution», occurred at the turn of the centuries. Nowadays, due to the development of multi-channel and network communications, the users have gotten ample opportunities for choice of a source of information, and mass-media for its translation and dissemination. Professor A.P. Korochensky in this connection writes: «In these latter days it is possible and widely used the writing mass mailing of different individual messages through the Internet and mobile communication: text messages, photographic, audio and video materials, including

documentary news and journalistic texts. Mobile telephone being no more than the means of bidirectional communication in a verbal form a while ago has acquired the characteristics of convergent means of mass information being able wide spreading of multimedia texts» [9, p. 181].

Moreover: modern communications allow mass audience being in the role of passive user of information before (the reader of a newspaper, the viewer in front of the television screen) to pass on the attitude towards information, opinion its author or an event, even to supplement the message with new facts in the form of commentaries, which, as well as the source publication, are available for the other users to read. The reader of the Internet-mass-media shares the publication drawn his attention for some reasons with the subscribers in blogs and with the friends in social networks taking upon himself thus the function of a disseminator of information. In other words, today's media audience becomes not simply the user of information but the co-author of it, «moves up to the category of full-fledged subjects of mass communications providing the realization of the right to communication» [9, p. 182]. Under such circumstances the role of media as means of forming public awareness is rapidly growing: «Today we begin to be really conscious of the fact that mass media... does not simply exist in social life providing the needed level of communicative interaction of all its subjects, is not simply an obligatory component of social environment forming its communicative infrastructure, but has become the key, status context where all social processes acquire their cultural and ideological forms, where up-to-date models of

identity are developed, where the character of dominant semantic and ideological vectors of social consciousness are determined» [13, p. 110].

It is evident that the mass-media effect on public and individual consciousness is not only in belief and ability to change value and other sets of the recipient. Mass-media can draw attention of the audience to certain topics and events. «Choosing out the events of information event-trigger picture of the day, media, in that way, form information agenda. Any, even an insignificant, event can become noted on the agenda, and, on the contrary, a big event will remain in the background, if it will not have been broadcast» [1].

The term «agenda» is widely used in the literature on politology and business. Contemporary editions of explanatory dictionaries by Ozhegov and Ushakov treat it as «a list of issues which will be discussed at the meeting, session» [12]. But, in our opinion, in politological and media discourse the word combination «agenda» has much more quantity of meanings.

The process of actualization of the term «agenda» has actively begun since the middle of XX century, when many foreign scholars set to investigate mass media effect on social view. In those years the first evidences of that the mass-media could be good manipulator appeared. So, M. McCombs and D. Shaw were the first to find out the interdependence between the topics highlighted in media and public feeling by means of mathematical correlation analysis of social data and content-analysis of newspaper articles and television items. They have expanded the usual notion «agenda», by defining it as «a set of topics and problems being the most urgent within that period of time» [11]. They

have introduced the term «agenda-setting», that is, introduction of this set into the audience's consciousness. The American scholars have defined exactly this activity to be «primary activity of mass-media» [6].

Like McCombs and Shaw, the German analyst of public opinion E. Noelle Neumann has proved on the basis of empiric data, that mass media form a supposed «agenda», that is, an individual's idea of «what the others are discussing» [11].

Traditionally, the investigators differentiate the following types of agendas: political, informational and public.

The leading expert of the Center of political technologies (Moscow) G. Kovalyev treats the political agenda as a set of problems being not important simply, but requiring state obligatory interference to be solved [7]. The practitioner N. Ponomaryev from Perm adds to it that the problems put on the political agenda must be solved by the officials on a priority basis [16, p. 10]. To go on the agenda, «the problem must correspond to prevailing political values, have the tested out effective management technology, concern the interests of large groups of citizens (according to official appraisals or in virtue of external circumstances), and also have a variety of the other indicators» (Sheet 1) [16, p. 12]. Among these indications N. Ponomaryev, in particular, differentiates «political expedience and investments of private resources». In other words, not only socially-significant problems, but those, that are considered by the representatives of power structures (or big investors having powerful lobby in near-governmental environment) to be priority at the moment, can move on political stage.

Sheet 1

Media agenda	Political agenda	Public agenda
Editorial policy of mass media (informational occasion)	Statistical demonstration of problem priority	Daily problems of population
News format	Political expedience and investments of private resources	Vis-majors (elemental forces of nature and man-made disasters)
Technological process requirements	Approved technologies	Social cataclysms
Public opinion		

Informational, or media agenda, is defined by G. Kovalyev as «a set of five-seven subjects, suggested to society by news mass media for acquaintance» [7]. This «set» is determined by, first of all, by the existence of informational occasion («What is going on?» «Why are we discussing it today exactly?»). Out of the flow of informational occasions, the editorial board of mass-media selects those that fit the format of the publication and evoke the broadest response among potential audience (Sheet 1). In other words, before going on the informational

agenda, the subjects pass through a filtration which I. Rogozina, for example, understands to be not as mechanical process implying making a list of current events for media-representations but as a mental-cognitive. For designation of this phenomenon, she suggests using the term «media-select» - «verbalized result of mental-cognitive activity of the group of individuals on fathering, selection and processing of the information about social and natural reality, incoming from different informational sources with the view of its further mediation» [17, p. 53].

Concerning the political agenda, according to McCombs and Shaw, it covers those problems that seem to be important for a particular community [11]. Ponomaryev notes that it is influenced by both daily problems which affect most of population (rise in prices) and vis-majors (man-made disasters, natural calamities), and also social cataclysms (Sheet 1). All these factors can cause surges of public interest which are difficult to be predicted and which can run counter to both political and informational agenda. For example, surge in foreign currency in Russia in November-December, 2014 and the resulting growth of primary food prices drew back to one side, undoubtedly, important political and social subjects as recurrent escalation of the situation in the southeast of Ukraine, new west sanctions in relation to Russia and the others for several weeks.

Thus, we believe it to be evident that mass-media play a determining role in forming of the public agenda. At the same time, informational, political and public agendas never coincide completely. Firstly, any mass-media is not able to embrace all the range of socially-significant topics, secondly, some topics concern people irrespective of the fact whether they are highlighted in mass-media or not. Besides, mass-media are not always free to choose news subjects.

N. Ponomaryev in his book «Information Policy of State Authority: Propaganda, Antipropaganda, Contra propaganda» notes: «The more actively the bodies of power interact with the journalists, the closer the content of media agenda to the political agenda is. This correlation reaches the maximum in those mass media which are fully controlled by authorities, but never reaches unity, since any mass media have to respond to public agenda like raged list of issues exiting most inhabitants of the administrative territorial community» [16, p. 7]. O. Koltsova in the article «Who Affects the News-Making in Russia Today and How?» describes the principal types of «agents of effect» on mass-media: state (government, legislative assemblies, government officials of all levels), economic agents (owners of all levels, sponsors and advertisers), information resources (newsmakers), agents of naked violence (staff of enforcement agencies and criminal authorities), producers of news (the directors of mass-media, ordinary journalists) [8, p. 87]. Let us analyze, who is «the agent of effect» on Belgorod mass-media and how do they manage to have an effect on the public agenda?

According to the data of information base SCAN-Interfax [18] (www.scan-interfax.ru), developed by the specialists of the International information Group «Interfax» as the tool of complex

analysis of media environment, for October 1, 2015, in the Belgorod oblast' there function more than 150 mass-media of various types, subject matters and circulation. Most of them (more than 80) – are the Internet-portals. At the same time, it should be noted that in each district of the Belgorod oblast' there appear no less than one newspaper and some municipal formations (for example, in Valuyki, Starooskol and Gubkin urban districts) – even several ones. It is possible owing to subsidies allotted from municipal budgets for maintenance of the district newspapers.

Besides, in the Starooskol urban district (the largest in terms of population and gross domestic product after Belgorod agglomeration, including the oblast' center - the city of Belgorod and the Belgorod region), four local television channels owned by private investors function there. In the oblast' center, the media holding «Belgorod-Media» works, the sole founder of which is the city administration. It comprises the weekly newspaper «Our Belgorod», the cable television channel «Belgorod 24» and the Internet portal «Belgorod-Media».

And concerning the media covering the whole Belgorod region, the most significant of them, we think, to be the following: the State TV and Radio Company «Belgorod» (the branch of VSTRC), news agency «Bel.Ru» (owned by a private person) and information holding «BelPress» which includes news site «BelPressa.rf», the newspapers «Belgorod Izvestiya», «Change», «Main Recess» and «OnONas» as well as the TV and Radio Company «The World of Belogoriye». The only founder of the media holding «BelPressa» is the Government of the Belgorod oblast'. Undoubtedly, and two new network regional resources stating its work in 2015 deserve also consideration: information portals and Go31 Fonar TV (the founders - individuals). These projects, in our view, have filled the niche of the Internet-mass-media being empty until recently in our region, for interesting young, socially active residents of the area. They occupy an intermediate position between the news media and social networks.

It is also essential to note the activities of regional representatives of such big national periodicals as «Rossiyskaya Gazeta», «Komsomolskaya Pravda», «Arguments and Facts», as well as the largest federal news agencies: the news agency «TASS», RIA «Novosti» (up to April 2014) and non-governmental news agency «Interfax» (the founders are private individuals). The latter opened the regional bureau in February, 2014, in Belgorod, and in June 2014 - the regional press center, which became a popular venue for meetings of Belgorod

journalists with the authorities and representatives of business.

On the basis of the above-stated, it is evident that the main «agent of influence» on the informational agenda of the Belgorod region are public authorities at all levels: from the federal (STRC «Belgorod», «Rossiyskaya Gazeta» (Russian Newspaper), the news agency «TASS») to the regional (the holding «BelPress») and municipal (the holding «Belgorod-Media », regional newspapers). Big business plays an important role in the formation of media agenda. The activity of the so-called «agents of open violence» - the law enforcement agencies, in particular – is unobtrusive in Belgorod region. However, representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, investigative bodies, prosecutor's office and other law enforcement agencies carefully follow up the publications in the local media, and sometimes correctly - often in the form of «recommendations» - try to interfere in the work of local publications. All this leaves noticeable imprint on the editorial policy of the Belgorod media and, as a consequence - on a subject of media information published in the region.

Media-selects of the Belgorod media form the cognitive space in which the Belgorod region is persistently represented as an advanced, economically and socially stable, dynamic; as the place where, nevertheless, one holds sacred spiritual traditions of the Russian people.

Thus, in the minds of the inhabitants of the region, a steady symbolic interpretation of the region as a *spiritual and educational center*, a place *being spiritually and ecologically clean, free from contamination* is kept. This is facilitated by numerous large-scale, sometimes even ambitious, social and cultural projects, usually accompanied by a strong information support. Among them, there was held, for example, the festival "Patterned round dance: curve tanks of the Graivoron region" in Graivoron in May. The record was recorded by the Russian official representatives of the Guinness World Records. According to organizers, the festival was attended by more than 5,5 thousand people. The first international festival of Belgorod "BelMelFest" (Belgorod, August) and the First National Festival GTO (Belgorod, August) drew also a wide resonance. The mentioned events were mainly given coverage just by the regional press, the messages of the latter served as the basis for being quoted in the media of other regions and the media at the federal level.

Taking into account the fact that the most common and obvious criterion for estimating the results on the formation of cognitive space of the

territory is reference in the media (and, the matter is not only and not how many publications, but also the status of the publication, as well as the context of references), to confirm our assertion, let us conduct a research using the above information database (IDB), «the SCAN-Interfax». The IDB «SCAN» is one of the largest databases in the world, containing archives and current materials of information agencies (including - from the closed tapes), newspapers and magazines, analytical publications, online resources, transcripts of the TV and radio programs. Today the base «SCAN» contains more than 20.0 thousand names of sources, and their number continues to increase.

Let us analyze the published works of our region, released in the federal, regional and international media, being contained in the IDB «SCAN» for the current year. To narrow our search, let us ask the system query: search for the tag «Belgorod region» as a geographical name in all sources, except press-releases and information disclosure, as well as reviews of the markets and announcements, and the calendars.

This request (at 17:00 by Moscow time on August 31, 2015) provides us with 142580 publications, 89037 of which were published in the regional media, 48769 - in the federal and 7443 - in the foreign media. These are the publications on 25 subjects, including - economic («Macroeconomics», «Budget», «Financial Results», «Tariffs» and others.), political («Politics and the State», «The State Regulation», etc.) social («Sport», «Art and Culture», «Religion and Belief», «Social Issues» and so forth.) and criminal («Emergency», «Crime» and «The courts, Conflicts Investigations»).

For getting a more objective picture, let us apply the filter «All, except the same» to the monitoring (in this case, the system "SCAN" will exclude all the publications from the search results, where more than three paragraphs are repeated in succession). After having applied the filter we get 87818 publications.

Note that if the topic «Emergency» (along with the subjects «The Crime and Criminals» and «Courts, Conflicts, Investigation», they generally constitute an absolute majority of publications about most regions) is traditionally in the leads in the monitoring of the other regions, then according to the results of the present monitoring, the theme «Art and Culture» has come to the fore: 11296 publications, or 12.9 percent. The traditional leader - the theme «Disasters, Emergencies» - is the second most frequently mentioned (10697 publications, or 12.2 per cent). In third place - the theme «Sports» (10435 publication, or 11.9 per cent), on the fourth - «Politics and State» (8565 publications, or 9.8 per cent). The last in the top of 5 most frequently

mentioned topics is «The Crime and Criminals» with a result of 8107 publications, or 9.2 percent.

The results of our study, therefore, give us the reasons to argue that cognitive management of socio-cultural orientation successfully works in the Belgorod oblast' (we understand by cognitive management a kind of control system "of production, as well as intellectual, financial and other resources", based on KNOWLEDGE, INTELLIGENCE, possession of technologies of COGNITION, and hence, on the ability to use this latest achievements in various fields of knowledge - innovations - and innovation strategy of the management theories in the information society [13, p. 101]). In other words, in our region there take place enough of events, which can serve as information occasions for the news publications of such subjects. And thanks to the close cooperation of the public authorities and law enforcement agencies with the regional media in the Belgorod region there has emerged, to some extent, a unique media situation, allowing to form an information background with a pronounced positive shade, which certainly has an impact on the public agenda.

The cognitive management of the region, therefore, is based on the philosophy of success, the idea of indissoluble connection with the spiritual traditions of the past - but, at the same time, on the innovation, dynamic development. This helps the inhabitants of the region form a well-defined worldview attitude and system of values in life, which can be formulated as a spiritual unity, social optimism and confidence in the local authorities, which largely contributes to the activities of the regional mass media.

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SUPERLATIVE IN THE POETRY OF MARINA TSVETAYEVA

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Abstract. This article deals with the research of functioning of superlatives as the means of creating expressive intensity and expression in the language of Marina Tsvetayeva's poetry. Synthetic forms of the superlative degree of adjectives take an important place among the means of expressing in the works by Tsvetayeva. A specific feature of Marina Tsvetayeva's poetry is the usage of synthetic forms in the constructions where a simple form of superlatives is governed by a noun in the genitive case with the preposition «из». The presence of a prepositional-case word form allows to convey the absolute degree of demonstration of the character in the subject brighter, focus the recipient's attention on the highest degree of characteristic's intensity.

Marina Tsvetayeva's poetry is also characterized by using in these structures the attributive pronoun «весь» in the plural form. The use of the attributive pronoun emphasizes that this comparison has the character of a full coverage of the compared objects. It indicates brighter that the sign is manifested at the highest level, despite of the large number of things, which are associated with the subject (which has this feature).

A distinctive means of creating expressiveness in Tsvetayeva's lyrics is the use of occasional synthetic forms of superlative adjectives. These appear in the form of adjectives in which the semantics does not allow the formation of the superlative degree of comparison.

Key words: adjective; superlative; comparative; expressiveness; intensity; synthetic forms

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СУПЕРЛАТИВ В ПОЭЗИИ МАРИНЫ ЦВЕТАЕВОЙ

Expressiveness as one of the features of the language unit is closely connected with the category of emotional evaluation and with expression of human emotions on the whole. Many genetically fixed expressive means of language, including tropes and figures of speech, as well as techniques for structuring a verse, ascend to the peculiarities of presentation of an utterance in an emotionally coloured (effective) speech. This explains the similarity of the arsenal of expressive devices and principles of their functioning in the languages of different systems. It is significant that the categories of expressiveness and emotionality in the works of a number of linguists are identified [2, p. 591]. Ye. M. Galkina-Fedoruk believes that «expression is an intensification of expressiveness, increasing of effecting force of the said» [1, p. 107]. To convey expressiveness, language resorts to different level means that represent such level-forming branches of language as phonetics, lexicology, morphology and syntax. The grammatical interacts at that with the

lexical. Besides the informative function, in the literary text the «expressive» function is more realized [3]. This article attempts to analyze the specific character of functioning the synthetic forms of the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives as the means of creating expressiveness in the language of M.I. Tsvetayeva's works.

Analyzing the examples of using the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives in the poetry by Marina Tsvetayeva, it should be noted, first of all, the regularity of using such forms in the language of poetess's works. In the collection of selected works by Tsvetayeva by continuous sampling we have revealed 72 examples of using the forms of the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives, which accounts for than 60 % of the general number of usages of various forms of degrees of comparison of adjectives in the language of Tsvetayeva's lyric poetry. Therefore, one can argue that the superlative degree of adjectives for the author is more preferable means of expressing intensity and expressiveness.

In so doing, the synthetic form of the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives in the texts of poems has been found 57 times, which accounts for almost 55 % of the total number of using the forms of the degrees of comparison of adjectives in the language of Marina Tsvetaeva's lyric poetry. The use of the synthetic form of superlative degree of comparison of adjectives on the whole can be considered the most characteristic for the author's poetry, which disproves the thesis about certain bulkiness of the synthetic form in comparison with the analytical form of the superlative and, consequently, about less preferable use of simple form of superlative degree in the poetic texts [6].

Synthetic form of the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives renders a higher degree of intensity of character as opposed to synthetic form of the comparative degree [9]. Its use reflects a subjective character of Tsvetaeva's poetry, high degree of emotionality, expressiveness of the poetess's lyric poems.

In the first place, the use of these forms in constructions in which a simple form of the superlative degree governs the noun in genitive case with the preposition «из» attracts attention, compare: «Строжайшее из зеркал!» (the strictest of the mirrors) (Tsvetaeva. Мой письменный верный стол / My faithful desk).

In this example, the form of the adjective «строгий» (strict) means the feature which in the article «зеркало» (mirror) is manifested in the superlative degree in comparison with its manifestations in all the other homogeneous articles. It is indicated by the form of the genitive case of the noun «зеркало» with the preposition «из». We have revealed 16 examples of using the construction «synthetic form of the superlative degree of adjective + noun in the genitive case with the preposition «из»», which accounts approximately for one third of the total number of the uses of synthetic forms of this degree of comparison of adjectives, compare: «О, откровеннейшее из сокровищ:// Порода – узнаю тебя» (Tsvetaeva. EX – CL - DEVANT); «Ты дробью голосов ручьевых// Мозг бороздишь, как стих. // (Вместительнейший из почтовых// Ящичков – не вместит!)» (Tsvetaeva. Строительница струн – приструню и эту / Organizer of the Strings – will tune up this one).

Such constructions for the author are obviously to be extremely important, as the presence of prepositional and case word-form allows to convey the absolute degree of manifestations of the feature in the article brighter, to have the highest degree of intensity of a feature accentuated for the addressee of

information. It is characteristic by no chance for Marina Tsvetaeva's lyric poetry the use of attributive pronoun «весь» in the form of plural in such constructions, compare: «У тяжелейшей из всех преступниц// Сколько заступников и заступниц...» (Tsvetaeva. Люди на душу мою льстятся / People are tempted with My Soul).

The use of the attributive pronoun emphasizes that this comparison has the character of full coverage of the compared items. The feature of «преступница» (offender) is displayed in the highest degree as compared with its manifestations in the other items of one family designated as «преступница». The degree of intensity of manifestation of the feature in such combination is undoubtedly higher by far than in the construction «тяжелейшая преступница», compare: «Оты – из всех залинейных нот // Нижайшая! – Кончим распрю!» (Tsvetaeva. Последний моряк / The Last Sailor).

On the other hand, the use of the attributive pronoun «весь» in plural accentuates that the feature is manifested in the highest degree despite a great number of the things with which the given item with the same feature is contrasted, compare: «Чужая кровь – желаннейшая // И чуждейшая из всех!» (Tsvetaeva. Магдалина / Magdalena).

The following peculiarity of using synthetic forms of the superlative degree of adjectives in the language of Marina Tsvetaeva's works is the author's endeavour to saturate the poetic text with such forms. It is characteristic for Tsvetaeva to use a single synthetic form, but one can often find the examples of realization of these forms in one context, compare: «Из всех страстей// Страстнейшая, // Из всех смертей// Нежнейшая» (Tsvetaeva. Памяти Т.Ф. Скрыбиной / In Memoriam T. F. Skryabina); «На заре – наимедленнейшая кровь, // На заре – наивяственнейшая тишь... // Око зрит – невидимейшую даль, // Сердце зрит – невидимейшую связь... // Ухо пьет – неслыханнейшую молвь» (Tsvetaeva. На заре – наимедленнейшая кровь / At Dawn – the slowest Blood).

Representing each of the features as the highest by the degree of its manifestation, the author of the poems tries to achieve a maximum degree of expressiveness of the text. It is possible to argue that these forms perform text-forming function, are the means of expressing the category of text coherence [5]. It is essential to note that each of the forms of the superlative degree denotes the highest degree of manifestation of a characteristic in a certain object, that is, each of the definitions expressed by such

forms has a supporting word – a noun (or a word that substitutes it). Thus, a high degree of text saturation with information is achieved, at the same time, this information contains expressiveness and the idea of extremely high degree of intensity of manifestation of different signs in different items.

In the lyric works by Marina Tsvetaeva there are less examples of using the forms analyzed as homogeneous parts of the sentence, compare: «Чужая кровь – желаннейшая // И чуждейшая из всех!» (Tsvetaeva. Магдалина / Magdalena).

It is evident that the degree of information value and expressivity of such constructions is nevertheless lower than in the above analyzed constructions. On the other hand, one can note that the use of homogeneous parts of the sentence – synthetic forms of the superlative is inherent in Tsvetaeva's poetry in the cases when the author characterizes not an object of artificial nature but a human, compare: «Не тот – высочайший, // С усмешкою гордой: // Кротчайший Георгий, // Тишайший Георгий, // Горчайший – свеча моих бдений // Георгий, Кротчайший – с глазами оленя – Георгий!» (Tsvetaeva. О всеми ветрами Колеблемый лотос! / With All the Winds Swaying Lotus!).

Analyzing this example, it should be underlined that it is characteristic for Tsvetaeva to use a technique of repetition of a synthetic form within the framework of one context, grammatical and lexical repetition which can be found in the following constructions, compare: «Из всех страстей // Страстнейшая, ...» (Tsvetaeva. Памяти Т.Ф. Скрыбиной); «И шаг, и светлейший из светлых // Взгляд – коим поныне светла» (Tsvetaeva. Петр и Пушкин / Peter and Pushkin).

Stress should be also laid on the fact that most of the adjectives used in the synthetic form of the superlative degree of comparison in the analyzed poems indicate not external but internal characteristics of an object associated with intellectual, spiritual, psychological constituents of life of a man and his perception of the objective world, compare: «Грех последний, неоправданнейший!» (Tsvetaeva. От родимых сел, сел! / From Native Villages, Villages!); «И шаг, и светлейший из светлых // Взгляд – коим поныне светла» (Tsvetaeva. Петр и Пушкин ? Peter and Pushkin); «Такой уж почет, что ближайшим друзьям – Нет места...» (Tsvetaeva. Нет, бил барабан перед смутным полком / No, One Beat the Drum before the Anxious Regiment); «Кого ж это так – точно воры вора // Пристреленного – выносили? // Изменника? Нет. С проходного двора – // Умнейшего мужа России» (Tsvetaeva.

Нет, бил барабан перед смутным полком / No, One Beat the Drum before the Anxious Regiment).

The description of external characteristics of the thing expressed by the adjective in synthetic form of the superlative degree of comparison is the least likely to find in the texts of Marina Tsvetaeva's verses, compare: «Темнейшее из ночных // Мест: мост. – Устами в уста!...» (Tsvetaeva. Ночные места / Night Places). But in this case, the adjective denoting external feature of the object – colour, is represented in one context with the superlative of «вернейшая» (the most faithful), denoting the sign of the name «смерть» (death), ср.: «Вернейшее из ночных // Мест – смерть!» (Tsvetaeva. Ночные места / Night Places).

In another example the adjective denoting colour realizes a metaphorical figurative meaning in the context, compare: «Что мне делать, певцу и первенцу, // В мире, где наичернейший – сер!» (Tsvetaeva. Что же мне делать, слепцу и пасынку / What's to do, to me, blind and stepchild). The adjective «серый» (grey) in this context realizes the following meaning: «Dull...3. Mediocre, absolutely unremarkable» [7, p. 738]. Hereupon the adjective «черный» (black) in synthetic form of the superlative degree of comparison is perceived as not colour designation but description of a man's character, his nature.

It is also necessary to note that Tsvetaeva's poetry is featured by synthetic forms of the superlative degree of adjectives, the semantics of which is connected with the state of stillness, calm, meekness, fragility. Compare: «За тишайшую просьбу уст их, // Исполняемую как окрик» (Tsvetaeva. Хвала богатым); «Смысл выше – ниже тон, // Ни-жайший...» (Tsvetaeva. Крысолов); «Наинасытнейшая рифма // Недр, наинизший тон» (Tsvetaeva. Емче органа и звонче бубна / More Capacious than the Organ and Clearer than the Tambourine).

The synthetic forms of the superlative degree «тишайший», «кротчайший», «нижайший», «сладчайший», «горчайший» can be taken as the examples to be the most characteristic and typical, and it is necessary to note that the adjectives «низкий», «горький», «сладкий» are used by Tsvetaeva not in the direct but figurative metaphorical meaning. However, in the verses by Marina Tsvetaeva there is no such bright contrast like «сладчайший» - «горчайший» as in the lyric poetry by Anna Akhmatova [8]. The language of M.I. Tsvetaeva is distinguished, on the other hand, by greater variety of adjectives used in synthetic form of the superlative degree of comparison. The form

«тишайший» is used in the analyzed text three times, the forms «нижайший» and «сладчайший» are used twice each. Thus, the domination like «сладчайший» - «горчайший» being inherent in Akhmatova's verses is not observed in the poetry by Tsvetaeva. But a high frequency of using synthetic forms of the superlative in Tsvetaeva can be recognized as a distinguishing feature of Tsvetaeva's style as opposed to, for example, a creative method of Nikolai Gumilyev, in whose works such forms are very rare [10].

A distinctive means of creating expressiveness in Tsvetaeva's lyrics is the use of occasional synthetic forms of superlative degree of comparison of adjectives. Though such forms appear in the adjectives, the semantics of which does not admit of forming the superlative degree of comparison, compare: «Владением бесплотнейшим // Какая разлилась// Россия – в три полотнища!» (Tsvetaeva. Рассвет на рельсах / Dawn on the Rails).

It is obvious that in the real world one cannot imagine something «more bodiless» or «very (the most) bodiless» in comparison with the other things in the objective reality. Explanatory and Grammar Dictionaries do not also make mention of the presence of the degrees of comparison in adjective «бесплотный» [see: 7; 4]. But the form «бесплотнейший» used in the poetic text is the means of expression of the subjective perception of the objective reality by a lyric heroine, and consequently, by the author.

The present analysis of the language material has shown that the forming prefix «най-» intensifying the degree of manifestation of a feature is highly frequent in Marina Tsvetaeva's poetry. Of 57 examples of the usage of synthetic forms of the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives, the meaning of the feature in the absolute form of its manifestation is intensified in 6 cases with the help of this prefix, that is, «най-» is found approximately in 10 % of the considered forms. This indicates a high degree of subjectivity of Tsvetaeva's poetry, peculiarities of the author's association of the world, compare: «Наинасытнейшая рифма// Недр, наинизший тон...» (Tsvetaeva. Емче органа и звонче бубна / More Capacious than the Organ and Clearer than the Tambourine).

As one can see, such the prefix is used even in occasional forms of the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives, being already rather expressive owing to its author's individual character. To compare, one can recall that in two-volume collected works by Anna Akhmatova there only one example of using the prefix «най-» is found [8], compare: «Из которой глядит тот самый, //

Ставший наигорчайшей драмой, // И еще не оплаканный час» (Akhmatova. Поэма без героя / The Poem without the Hero).

Therefore, it is reasonable to decide that the use of the forms with the prefix «най-» is one of the characteristic features of M.I. Tsvetaeva's idiostyle, peculiarity of functioning synthetic forms of the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives in the language of the poetess's literary works.

Synthetic form of the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives is found 57 times in the texts of verses, which accounts for approximately 55 % of the total number of uses of forms of degrees of adjectives in Marina Tsvetaeva's lyric language. The use of a synthetic form of the superlative degree of comparison on the whole is the most peculiar to the author's poetry.

Approximately one third of the total number of the examples of using synthetic form of the superlative degree is constituted by the constructions «synthetic form of the superlative degree + noun in the genitive case with the preposition «из». Such constructions for the author are obviously important, as the presence of prepositional and case word-form allows to render the absolute degree of manifestation of a feature in a thing brighter, to concentrate attention of the addressee of the message on the highest degree of intensity of a feature. It is by no chance characteristic for Marina Tsvetaeva's lyrics the use of the attributive pronoun «весь» in the form of plural in such constructions, as this pronoun emphasizes that the feature in a thing is manifested in the superlative degree, in spite of the fact that in the world there are good many things having such feature.

The bright means of creating expressiveness in Tsvetaeva's lyrics is the use of occasional synthetic forms of the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives. Though such forms appear in the adjectives, the semantics of which does not admit of forming the superlative degree of comparison. The occasional synthetic forms of the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives constitute rather considerable part of the examples of using synthetic forms of the superlative in the language of Marina Tsvetaeva's poetry.

The present analysis of the language material has shown that the forming prefix «най-» intensifying the degree of manifestation of a feature is highly frequent in Marina Tsvetaeva's poetry. Of 57 examples of the use of synthetic forms of the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives, the meaning of the feature in the absolute form of its manifestation is intensified in 6 cases with the help of

this prefix. This prefix is observed in both usual and occasional forms.

The peculiarity of using synthetic forms of the superlative degree of comparison of adjectives in the language of Marina Tsvetaeva's works is the author's endeavour to saturate the verse with such forms. The use of the single synthetic form is characteristic for Tsvetaeva, but the examples of realization of these forms in one context are also found rather frequent.

Representing each of the features as the highest by the degree of its manifestation, the author of the verses tries to achieve the maximum of text expressiveness. It is possible to argue that these forms perform a text-forming function, are the means of expressing the category of text coherence.

In the language of Marina Tsvetaeva's lyric works there are far less examples of the use of the analyzed forms as homogeneous parts of the sentence.

It is obvious that the degree of informative value and expressivity of such constructions is lower. On the other hand, the use of the homogeneous parts – synthetic forms of the superlative, is attributable to Tsvetaeva's poetry in three cases, when the author characterizes not a thing of the inanimate nature, but a man.

The characteristic technique for Tsvetaeva's poetry is repetition of a synthetic form within the framework of one context, grammatical and lexical repetition. Various types of repetition is the means of expression of expressivity and intensity of feature manifestation. A thing in the verse is a possessor of the feature in the superlative degree of its manifestation compared with the other views which are also the possessors of this feature but in less degree of its manifestation. This degree of feature manifestation is perceived by the addressee of the message much brighter and better.

It also should be pointed out that most of the adjectives used in synthetic form of the superlative degree in the analyzed verses denote not the external features but the internal features of a thing connected with intellectual, spiritual, psychological constituents of human life and his perception of the objective world. Representations of the external features of a thing expressed by the adjective in synthetic form of the superlative degree of comparison are very rare to be found in the texts of Marina Tsvetaeva's verses.

It is also necessary to note that characteristic feature for Tsvetaeva's poetry is the presence of synthetic forms of the superlative degree of adjectives, the semantics of which is connected with the state of stillness, calm, meekness, fragility.

The most characteristic and typical examples are the synthetic forms of the superlative degree «тишайший», «кротчайший», «нижайший»,

«сладчайший», «горчайший», though it is essential to note that the adjectives «низкий», «горький», «сладкий» are used by Tsvetaeva not in the direct but figurative metaphorical sense. The form «тишайший» is used three times in the analyzed texts, the forms «нижайший» and «сладчайший» are used two times each. The dominance of «сладчайший» - «горчайший» which is inherent in Akhmatova's verses is not observed in Tsvetaeva's verses.

Thus, on the basis of the analysis of functioning of synthetic forms of the superlative degree one can argue that the superlative degree of adjectives for the author is one of the most preferable linguistic means of expressing intensity and expressiveness.

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SECTION IV. COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND PRAGMATICS

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THE PROBLEM OF COGNITIVE-SEMANTIC GROUNDS FOR VERBS
POLYSEMY IN ENGLISH

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Abstract. In the modern world one of the leading tendencies in linguistics is cognitive semantics which studies meanings of language units as a result of informative people's activity and a way of knowledge representation. For modern linguistics an extremely prominent aspect is the research of typological characteristics of semantic universals. One of the major semantic universals is the regular polysemy and a secondary lexical nomination. The given article considers the problem of the cognitive and semantic basis for polysemanticism of verbs in English as one of the main mental processes that promotes changes and development of the meaning of words, the verbs in particular.

Key words: lexico-semantic version of the word; polysemanticism of verbs in English; cognitive and semantic basis.

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ПРОБЛЕМА КОГНИТИВНО-СЕМАНТИЧЕСКОГО ОСНОВАНИЯ ДЛЯ
ПОЛИСЕМИИ ГЛАГОЛОВ В АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

In modern world one of the leading branches in linguistics is cognitive semantics which studies the meanings of language units as the result of human cognitive activity and the way of representation of knowledge.

In contemporary linguistics extremely important aspect is the investigation of typological features of semantic universals. One of the most significant semantic universals is regular polysemanticism and secondary lexical nomination.

English vocabulary is polysemantic, that is, it possesses polysemanticism. In the English language the notions «multilingualism» and «polysemy» are synonyms, which denotes that words have two or more interrelated and historical meanings [1].

The currency of this topic is grounded on undeveloped theory of cognitive and semantic basis of polysemanticism as one of the principal mental processes that is conductive to the meanings of the words being changed and developed, the verbs in

particular. Revelation of mental structures standing for polysemantic expressions and determination of their composition and also the rules of generation of these units allow to remove many obstacles when developing the samples of artificial intelligence, modern dictionaries and translating machines.

Most scholars consider polysemy as an objective language feature, besides, one of the conditions of its existing and developing as the main semasiological law. Polysemy is rightly considered to be one of the language universals. One scholars note that polysemantic words are of majority: ~80, the others - ~50% [2].

Therefore, polysemy is a fundamental characteristic of human language. It is polysemy that predetermines the universal character of the language as means of communication.

But in each language as a result of concrete peculiarities of its historical development there emerges a distinctive system of external divergences

which forms an individual, unique system of language meanings.

Linguists differentiate different reasons of emergence of polysemy. It was V. V. Vinogradov who defined the idea of causality of lexical polysemanticism most distinctly and categorically: "None of the language could express each concrete idea by means of an independent word or root element. Concreteness of experience is boundless, the resources of the very language are severely restricted" [6].

Let us conclude:

1) polysemy is the result of disproportion which exists between the number of signs of speech and enormous number of notions that seek for being expressed in language;

2) polysemy is caused by antinomy of the designated and one that designates by antinomy predetermined by asymmetry of the language sign: one meaning may relate to the two designated;

3) lexical polysemy of a word is the result of operation of the law of parsimony;

4) the causes of polysemy – in the context;

5) polysemy is predetermined by correlation of the very objects and phenomena which are reflected in the human consciousness in the form of "clusters" of the meanings;

6) cause – in special nature of human thinking which reflects an intention of human being to cognize reality in correlation and interdependence of its objects and phenomena. Lexical polysemy thus reflects universal laws of thinking.

The emergence of a new meaning in the word is always a complex and interesting question. Wordage is not something invariable. Indeed, the semantic history of words in many cases represent changes in life conditions of society.

The most widespread in communication are the verbs that can have up to 15 different meanings [5]. The verbs from the point of view of syntax are the central elements of simple sentences and have a direct influence on the presence and realization of the other parts of the sentence.

Also multiple meaning of words makes difficulties in translating, as one is to take into consideration a position of the verb, that is, what preposition is before or after the word, and also time, context and the other factors. One of the brightest examples is the verb *выполнить* (*to do*) that has many variations such as, *выполнить желание – fulfill a dream*, *выполнять правила – abide by rules*, *выполнять обязательство – accomplish*, *выполнить работу – put through*, *выполнить обещание – keep a promise*. In its turn, any of the listed verbs will have additional meanings: *fulfill – удовлетворять*; *abide – терпеть, выносить*; *accomplish – оформлять, достигать*; *put through*

– *соединять по телефону*; *keep – держать, хранить, управлять* and so on.

The most commonly used classification of the verbs is the classification by Z. Vendler [7]. He distinguishes four classes of predicates: states, activities, achievements and accomplishments.

Levin has also proposed the classification where the cognitive peculiarities are taken into account more than the semantic characteristics. The important aspect is an assumption that the behaviour of the verb especially in relation to interpretation of its arguments is determined more by its meaning. The presence of regular correlations between the verb meaning and verb function is indicative of the fact that not all the meanings of the verb are to be registered by dictionaries, as the speaker has an ability to guess, to develop a conceptual guesswork and to define by himself the features of the verbs in the given context. In other words, lexical knowledge of language users must obligatorily comprise knowledge of the meanings of separate words, of the meanings of the components determining syntactic behaviour of the verb, and the information about general principles that specify functioning of the verb based on its meaning.

Let us consider the most polysemantic verbs in the English language.

The verb to take:

- Взять, брать

Ann took your pencil. – Анна взяла твой карандаш.

- Пить, принимать пищу

It's useful to take some water before meal. – Полезно выпить немного воды перед едой.

- Ловить, поймать на месте преступления

My friend and I like to take fish. – Мой друг и я любим ловить рыбу.

- Сесть (в транспорт), занимать место

Jonh takes bus every evening. – Джон садится на автобус каждый вечер.

The verb to make

- Делать

She must make a telephone call. – Она должна сделать телефонный звонок.

- Создавать

My mom made a cake. – Моя мама сделала торт.

- Причинять

The children made such a mess in a sitting room. – Дети сделали беспорядок в гостиной.

- Заставить кого-то сделать что-то

He can't make her learn, if she doesn't want to. – Он не может заставить её учиться, если она не хочет.

- Стать

I think she'll make a good lawyer. – Я думаю, она станет хорошим адвокатом.

- Зарабатывать

Mike makes \$70 000 a year as an engineer. – Майк зарабатывает 70 000 долларов в год, работая инженером.

The verb to keep:

- Хранить

I keep my copybooks in a bookcase. – Я храню свои тетради в книжном шкафу.

- Сохраняться, держаться

The weather keeps warm. – Погода держится теплой.

- Вести

Father keeps house in our family. – Отец ведет хозяйство в нашей семье. Miranda does not like to keep a diary. – Миранда не любит вести дневник.

- Продолжать

She kept discussing this theme. – Она продолжала обсуждать эту тему.

The verb to get is one of the most polysemantic in the English language. These are its examples:

It is often translated as «получать» (receive) in combination with a pronoun or noun:

I have got his gift. – Я получила его подарок.

If an adjective follows after *get*, the verb usually has meaning «становиться» (become):

He got annoyed after that meeting. – Он стал раздраженным после той встречи.

It is used in the meaning of «покупать что-либо» (buy): We got this dress for our mother. – Мы купили это платье для нашей мамы.

Приносить (что-либо для кого-то) (bring):

I'll get you a cup of tea. – Я принесу тебе чашку чая.

Сделать, закончить (справиться с какой-то работой) (finish):

She'll get the article by morning. – К утру она закончит статью.

Уговорить (настоять на том, чтобы кто-либо сделал что-то) (insist on):

He got her to work in his company. – Он уговорил её работать в его компании.

Переносить (что-либо) (carry), сменять (профессию, занятие) (change profession):

I want to get the armchair to the bedroom. – Я хочу перенести кресло в спальню. He got to court of law last year. – Он начал работать в суде в прошлом году.

Добираться, приезжать (reach to, arrive):

It takes three hours to get to the railway station. —Необходимо три часа, чтобы добраться до железнодорожной станции.

Зарабатывать (earn)

She has gotten USD 15 000 this year. – Она заработала 15 000 долларов в этом году.

Понимать (understand)

I didn't get the topic. –Я не поняла тему

The verb to have

Polysemantic verb *to have* is influenced by the words standing after it and having influence on it.

If a noun stands after *have*, its usual meaning is «иметь»

I have this collection of books in my library. – Я имею эту коллекцию книг в своей библиотеке.

It is translated as «мочь» (be able to), «хотеть» (want), «быть в состоянии», if a noun or infinitive stands after *to have*.

I have a task you to do. – Я хочу, чтобы ты выполнил задание. They have a possibility to help you. – Они могут помочь тебе.

To have means «надо», «нужно» (need+to, must+Inf.), if it is followed by Infinitive. You have to come to classes every day. – Ты должен приходить на уроки каждый день.

If *have* is followed by the verb in the third form, it is indicative of Perfect Tenses. This group of tenses is needed to indicate that the action occurs (have occurred or will have occurred) before another action. In such cases *have* is an auxiliary verb and not translated into the Russian language. When we arrived, they had just left. – Когда мы приехали, они только что уехали.

It is impossible to determine «basic» aspect type in most of predicates, but, for convenience of description, most types of events are given the type on default. So, the verb *take* has primary type «accomplishment». But influenced by the changes occurring in the structure of frame, this verb can be referred to the verbs of «activity» in the second cluster of its meanings .

Polysemy in the group of verbs in English can be described in terms of cognitive approach which considers it as conceptual phenomenon that manifests in the lexical units grouped around a prototype and forming polysemantic conceptual categories of special type – radial categories. The radial categories are characterized by relatedness of the meanings via common cognitive principles and formalized in radial networks.

Polysemanticism of the English verb reflects its frame structure actualized by various meanings of this verb. All the additional meanings and augments of the meaning can be obtained as a result of different modifications of frame structures and their transformation into the frames of another concept when filling in the slots not by conventional fillers but simply compatible with the semantics of the whole constructions.

One differentiates lexico-semantic variants of the word – these are separate meanings of the word being to each other in relations of semantic derivation and expressed by one sound. The term «lexico-semantic version of the word» is introduced by A. I. Smirnitsky. Polysemantic word is the unity of LSV, the number of which equals the number of individual

meanings. LSV is the unity of sounding and one of the meanings of the word [4].

For example: дупло (hollow): 1) пустота в стволе дерева (in tree); 2) отверстие, дырочка в зубе (in a tooth); потолок (ceiling): 1) верхнее внутреннее перекрытие помещения (in the room); 2) предельная степень чего-либо (upper limit of smth); jug: 1) deep vessel with a handle and lip; 2) prison; preach: 1) deliver a sermon; 2) give moral advice; 3) urge, recommend; correct: 1) true, right; 2) proper, in ace, with good taste or convention. It is impossible to consider LSV as ideal entity.

Thus, V.A. Zvegintsev writes about «lexico-semantic variant of the meaning»; F.A. Litvin notes that «variation of lexical meaning of the word represents its lexico-semantic variants» writes further about signs by means of which the considered ideal objects are differentiated – lexico-semantic variants. LSV – is a totality of sound and meaning, it is a sign taken in one of its system meanings [3].

It is important to emphasize that polysemy in the English language becomes the reason that we cannot choose an appropriate method for memorizing the words. We learn the words, one or two meanings of it, and when encounter this word in quite different context, realize then that we cannot translate it because we do not get the point. Therefore, I would recommend to enrich vocabulary in the following way: learn English words not in isolation but in context obligatory. Let it be word-combinations or even the whole sentences showing one or another meaning of the polysemantic word. Try to memorize not only one meaning of the word but several, if any, of course. Do not forget about direction: various prepositions or their absence, objects, which follow after the word and determine its grammatically right use. That is, the verb «ждать» should be memorized not only as «wait», but as «wait for somebody / something», as this verb is used only in this way.

It is important to differentiate lexical meaning of the word in speech and its semantic structure in language. The meaning in context is a contextual. Polysemy exists only in language but not in speech. The summaries of many contexts where the word can be met make it possible for us to trace and note all the occurrences of identical meaning and occurrences of differences in meaning. They are registered and classified by lexicographers and they can be found in dictionaries.

The word that has more than one meaning in language is called polysemantic. Polysemy is not connected with the communicative function of language, as in any concrete occurrence the situation and context, that is, the environment of the word, leaves only one of the all possible meanings and makes transmission to be monosemantic.

Polysemy is imitative in the very nature of words and notions, as they always contain generalization of

several features of the object. Some of these features are inherent in the other objects as well. Hence, there is a possibility of identical names for the objects for which the common features are characteristic.

Thus, polysemy – is the description of many words in many languages, whatever different they were. Word polysemanticism – is a direct evidence of that the vocabulary of language is always in dynamic state reflecting changes in the reality. Polysemy (polysemanticism) is characteristic of both the words and the morphemes (both root and affix), it is also intrinsic in the structural objects (word combinations, sentences, texts). Polysemanticism characterizes the overwhelming majority of words (both content and functional), wherein one can easily be convinced by having opened the dictionary of any language.

Polysemy in the English language can make difficulties but if to take the indicated advice, it is possible to memorize not only the words but the whole expressions without wasting time.

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COMMUNICATIVE AND COGNITIVE FEATURES OF ART DISCOURSE
AND SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE

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Abstract. The paper describes the communicative and cognitive signs of literary discourse and its interpretations in linguistics. Different interpretations of discourse in modern linguistic research are considered.

The author's literary discourse is described in terms of the conception, with respect to which the researcher positions himself. The world view of the writer is often manifested in the framework of the verbalization of a number of concepts that are organically included in idiosphere of individual author's works. Reconstructing a hypothetical generalizing model of a linguistic identity of the author is based on the description and analysis of linguistic material use as the basis for interpretation of the semiotic discourse space. Individual concept sphere and the author's thesaurus can be considered as an epistemological base of language personality of the writer.

It is conjectured that the literary discourse serves to highlight the relevant objects and essential features of language personality of the writer. Language personality of the writer is treated as a model element of national linguocultural community.

Key words: linguistic culture; discourse; cognition; communication; concept; idiosphere; linguistic identity.

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КОММУНИКАТИВНО-КОГНИТИВНЫЕ ОСОБЕННОСТИ
ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОГО ДИСКУРСА И НАУКА О ЯЗЫКЕ

Literary text is communicative by definition and intentional nature of the discourse to which it belongs, it also composes the process of communication as realization of intellectual and creative interaction of the author and the recipient, communication of the linguoesthetic information to the latter that contains the author's attitude to personage (character), artistic position, stable value orientations.

The works by classical writers of literature can be treated from different positions. The task to make the creative works of the writer to be plain for the reader, to approach the understanding of implications of literary works stands before a philological personality.

Specificity of the world view of the author is expressed, as a rule, by means of verbalization of certain concepts. The modeling of perception includes description and analysis of using language material as a basis for interpretation and construction of hypothetical generalized model of a language personality of the author. The language personality can be described in terms of *individual conceptual sphere and thesaurus of the author*.

The case in question here is literary concepts, which are generated by communicative space of the

literary text and form a unique image of the author's individual artistic picture of the world. The literary concept as a notion or conception has in common with literary word or image. The unity of definition of semantics of the concept and its solution can be grounded with either of the degree of rationality when understanding essential emotional aspects in literary text.

The same criteria underlie the understanding of the term in contemporary linguistics [18, p. 42]. At the same time, when perceiving literary work concept can be considered as an embryo of cognitive operations (momentary act), the development of which into certain system requires definite time. Besides, the possibility of logical operations with literary concepts is based on the implicit, being an integral part of the literary discourse. The implicit in the literary discourse has relatively clear dynamic structure being drawn towards potential images.

The literary discourse as linguistic equivalent of thinking can be considered as one of the brightest language «representatives» of national way of world viewing. The language personality of the writer acts

here as a modeling projection of the national language and national discourse and communicative behaviour.

Particularization of verbalization of the author's concepts is concerned with linguistic analysis of literary text, identification of linguistic rules of discourse interpretation. At the same time, *semantic configurations of the author's text* reflect a particular type of the author's personality. In this regard, the author's text can be considered as a totality of personality *mnemonic resources and associative processes*, being inseparable from the whole pattern of this language personality of the author. Besides, the literary form of the text inducing the modus of linguistic existential being enables to give autonomous description of peculiarities of the author's idiolect as one of the hypostasis of language personality. The case in question is particularly in the unity of idiostyle of the author in describing the perceptions.

The behaviour of the lexical units in terms of discourse space of literary works is distinguished by the following specific features. Affected by individual literary context, the language units acquire original meaning being inherent in these texts only and have rather unrestricted semantic boundaries. The meanings of language units are transformed conforming with general thematic text attitude of narration and tasks of the literary discourse.

Multiple-aspect character of discourse forms a variety of conceptions, theories and propositions concerning its essence, and avalanche-like flow of scientific comment is indicative of an extremely claimed problematics of the literary discourse.

The term "discourse" is polysemantic, is originated from French *discours*, English *discourse*, from Latin *discursus* (движение/motion, круговорот/rotation; беседа/conversation, разговор/talk), generally — a process of language activity, studying different research aspects of the functioning of a language: the study of literature and semiotics, sociology, logics, anthropology and ethnology, historiography and theology, jurisprudence, the theory and practice of translation, pedagogics, philosophy and linguistics [6, p. 86-95].

A generally accepted definition of the discourse covering all the cases of its usage does not exist, and, apparently, just that was conducive to such big popularity of this term currently, and different treatment answers successfully any conceptual requirements, modifying more traditional conceptions of speech, text, style and even language.

Narrowing discourse to a linguistic «life form», many philologists unify this not at all trivial phenomenon, connected at the same time with internal and external world existing in both the

human consciousness and objective-subjective reality, in fact, with a particular style of the text as a special form of its presentation and situation of its use, for example, reportage, interview or popular science lecture. In linguistics, the notion of discourse has been used so far as one of the synonyms of stylistic communities of either linguistic forms (texts, speech, political essays, etc.) [13, p. 33].

The term «discourse» relates to various national traditions and authors' contributions. Let us consider the most essential concepts of the literary discourse in home and foreign linguistics.

In the middle of XX century, in 1952, the term «discourse» was used in terms of linguistics for the first time in the title of the article «Discourse-Analysis» by an American linguist Z. Harris, where he treated this notion exceedingly simple, as the sequence of utterances, a piece of the text longer than a sentence, and only in two decades this term was claimed in linguistics in full. This school arose earlier than the idea of «linguistics of the text», but exactly it was to realize the original intentions of such linguistics [26, p. 355].

Modern works in the field of discourse analysis are certainly less formalistic than the works by Z. Harris, they are addressed more to the human but some generalities have remained.

According to Z. Harris, the method of analysis of coherent speech is the analysis of discourse, the method to be formal, oriented only to frequency of occurrence of morphemes taken as distinctive elements, not depended on the meanings of every meaningful language unit. This method does not also present any new information about the meanings of the morphemes that compose the text. But it does not mean utterly that as a result of discourse analysis we will not find out about the discourse and what forms grammar takes in it. After all, «though we use formal procedures similar to descriptive-linguistic ones, we can get new information about a concrete studied text, information being beyond the scope of descriptive linguistics» [26, p. 355].

Though over a period of many centuries language interaction used to be the subject of such disciplines as rhetoric, oratorical skill, stylistics and study of literature, but only since the recent decades of the XX century discourse analysis has become to exist as a scientific school. It occurred against the background of the opposed tendency being dominant in linguistics – struggle for linguistics «cleansing» of studying speech. F. de Saussure believed that the only object of linguistics – language system. Transition from the notion of speech to the notion of discourse is connected with an attempt to introduce

something paradoxically more significant than the very speech and, at the same time, treatable via contemporary linguistic methods into classical contraposition of language and speech belonging to the scholar [16, p. 57].

In 1960s there emerged clear differentiation of the notions of discourse and text, that was suggested by the French school of discourse to which E. Benveniste, P. Charaudeau, M. Pêcheux, P. Sériot belong.

So, in accordance with anthropocentric language paradigm advanced by E. Benveniste it became possible to consider discourse as «language functioning in face-to-face communication». The investigator was one of the first to give terminological meaning to the word “discourse” and to define it as «speech, referred to the speakers» [2, p. 296].

We find reflection of the understanding of text and discourse as representative and resultant aspect of speech activity in P. Charaudeau. According to him, text is an «embodiment, visual representation of different speech»; «unique, individual result of the process being dependent on the speaker and conditions of speech production». In addition to that P. Charaudeau notes that «text intersects with great number of discourses, each of which, in its turn, belongs to a genre and correlates with a situation» [22, p. 69]. In general outline, the scholar treats discourse as consolidation of such notions as «utterance» and «communicative situation» [22, p. 28].

In 1969 M. Pêcheux derived the theory of discourse on the basis of the study about ideology and ideological formations by L. Althusser. In M. Pêcheux judgment, discourse is referred to «the compound» of discourse formation and «complex of ideological formations », hidden behind the transparency of the very discourse [15, p. 12-53].

Going out the science and popularity of using the term «discourse» in political journalism ascends to the French structuralists and poststructuralists, and, first of all, to M. Foucault and also A. Greimas, J. Derrida, Yu. Kristyeva; is modified later on by M. Pêcheux. The term «discourse» being understandable so describes the way of speaking and is obligatory to be defined what or whose discourse is, as the scholars are interested not only in discourse per se, but in its concrete types, designated by a wide spectrum of parameters: purely language features, stylistic specificity, and also a subject area, belief system, lines of arguments, etc. Besides, it is assumed that a way of speaking largely predetermines and creates the subject area of discourse and social institutes being relevant to it.

M. Foucault in «Archeology of Knowledge» develops the doctrine about discourse formation as a

condition of functioning of specific discursive practices with their rules, concepts and strategies. The classical knowledge is thought by him as archaeological analysis of discursive practices being rooted not in the subject of cognition or activity but in the anonymous will to knowledge that systematically forms the objects discussed in these discourses. The discourse is a total number of utterances which are subordinate to the same system of forming. These utterances depend on the same formation that is the principle of dispersion and placement of the utterances. The discourse is composed of a restricted number of utterances. It is historical. It can be called a fragment of the history, its unity and discontinuity [19].

In the middle of the 1970s, the discursive analysis was linked with the investigation of the laws of information motion within the framework of communicative situation, realized first of all by exchanging replicas; thus, one describes an interaction of the structure of dialogues. In so doing, a dynamic character of discourse is emphasized to differentiate between the notions of discourse and traditional conception about text as a static structure [26].

T.A. van Dijk and W. Kintsch write in their work that originally, the theoretical assumptions based on the fact that grammar was to explain system- language structures of the whole text thus turning into text grammar remained declarative and too close, as usual, to generative paradigm. However, soon after, both the text grammar and the linguistic studies of discourse developed more independent paradigm which was adopted in Europe and the United States» [3, p. 154]. The «textual» approach prevails as before in the work by these two authors, that is, the texts are viewed as «speech works of art», which are of incalculable number, therefore, they require the development of general principles for being understood but not concrete real grammars of different types of discourse.

According to the mentioned authors, the discourse itself is a complex object with indistinctly defined notion in contemporary linguistics. T.A. van Dijk discusses «diffusiveness of the category» of the discourse and explains it by both the conditions of forming and being of this term and indefinite rank of the discourse in the system of language categories [4, p. 46].

When studying discourse, the question of its classification arises: what types and varieties of discourse exist. The most essential differentiation in this field is a contrast between written and spoken discourse. This differentiation is connected with the channel of information transfer: in spoken discourse,

the channel is acoustic, in written one – visual. Sometimes the differentiation between spoken and written forms of language usage is equaled to difference between discourse and text, but such confusion of two different notions is unreasonable [7, p. 5-20].

V. Z. Demiyankov notes that «discours – discourse, an arbitrary fragment of the text consisting of more than one sentence or independent part of the sentence. Often but not always, it concentrates on a supporting concept; creates a common context describing personages, objects, circumstances, times acts, etc., being defined not so much by the succession of sentences as by the world being common for its interpreter creating the discourse, which is «built» in the course of the discourse being developed <...>. The discourse elements: the developed events, their participants, performative information and «non-events», that is, a) circumstances, accompanying the events; b) background illustrating the events; c) evaluation of the participants of the event; d) information bringing the discourse and events into correlation» [5, p. 7].

A. Greimas and J. Courtés in their joint work «Semiotics. Explanatory Dictionary of the Language Theory» review the eleven usages of the notion of discourse. Text is opposed to discourse and acts as utterance, actualized in discourse as substance, from linguistic point of view, whereas discourse is a process [25, p. 389]. J. Courtés implies the discourse to be multicomponent whole, composed by a large number of language units specially selected and united in a certain way, serving as building material for «speech acts, being acts of communication, <...> of the parts of a particular global integrity» [24, p. 28]. Discourse is interpreted as semiotic process realized in different forms of «discursive practices». When considering the discourse, one means, first and foremost, a specific way or specific rules of speech activity (written or spoken). For example, J.-C. Coquet refers discourse to «cohesion of the meaning structures possessing own rules of combination and transformation» [23, p. 27-28].

Literary discourse comes into a conflict with a supposed monosemanticity, inherent in terminological vocabulary, and is treated differently: «text, immersed in a situation of communication», regarding «great number of intentions» and also mutually complementary approaches in studying (pragmalinguistic, structural-linguistic, linguocultural, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic) [8, p. 5–6].

N.D. Arutyunova treats discourse as «coherent text in complex with extralinguistic, pragmatic,

sociocultural psychological and the other factors». «Discourse – is a speech, immersed in life», speech, inserted into a communicative situation, and, therefore, being a category with distinctive social content as compared to speech activity of an individual.

Discourse is a phenomenon, studied within current time, that is, as it emerges and develops, and when analyzing it, it is necessary to take into account all the social, culturological and pragmatic factors. Therefore, in contrast with the term “text” the term “discourse” is not applied to the ancient and the other texts, the ties of which with directly living life are not reestablished [1, p. 136–137].

Nevertheless, Ye. F. Kirov suggests removing the latter restriction because of the fact of the existence of the past in the presence and its ability to determine many events in the presence and the future. According to Ye. F. Kirov, discourse – is a totality of the written and spoken texts in either language in terms of either culture in the history of its existence [10, p. 16–24].

Literary discourse – is a cognitive process connected with speechmaking, creating speech product, and text – is an ultimate result of the process of speech activity having a definite complete (and fixed) form [11, p. 186–197].

Discourse is an ideal type of communication, realized in the most possible detachment from social reality, traditions, authority, communicative routine, etc., and aiming at critical discussion and arguments in support of views and actions of the participants of communication. According to Yu. Habermas, discourse is a dialogue, in the process of which there is a coordination of disputed claims to the importance to reach agreement: «In the discourses we are trying to re-produce the problematized acceptance, which took place in the communicative action, by means of giving reasons» [20, p. 69-76].

N. Chomsky suggests studying language «competence» and abstracting away from using language. Recently, cognitive sets in the science about language have changed, and none of language phenomena can be understood and described beyond their use, without considering their discursive aspects. Therefore, discursive analysis becomes one of the most important branches of linguistics [21]. Any of these disciplines approaches to discourse in its own way, but some of them exerted considerable influence on linguistic discursive analysis.

The formation of a new anthropocentric paradigm has led to expanding the sphere of studying the realization of language facts in direction of their more detailed analysis and caused the necessity of

developing adequate methods and principles of linguistic investigations which are gradually orienting to discourse and discursive analysis.

In our opinion, literary discourse like all language substances (morpheme, words, sentences), is structured according to certain rules characteristic for the given language. The very act of existing language rules and restrictions is often demonstrated with the help of experimental language formations where the rules or restrictions violate.

The process of language communication implies the presence of two radically opposed roles of discourse – the speaker and the addressee. The modeling of the processes of making discourse – is not the same that the modeling of the processes of discourse analyses. Discourse is represented, on the one hand, as speech activity, on the other hand, as a result of this activity, a completed narrative construction of interrelated semiotic levels of making the meaning [14, p. 4].

It follows from the mentioned above that the notion of discourse, the emergence of which relates to approaching linguistic research to the area of superphrasal syntax, means mainly complex unit consisting of succession of sentences, combined by logical, semantic type of cohesion. In other words, discourse – is a language unit of the upper level possessing structural, functional specificity, it is «a new feature in the character of Language, appearing before us at the turn of XX century» [17, p. 71].

In the main, discourse exists not simply in the texts but in the works, where grammar, syntax, word usage, vocabulary are special and in this special world the world's laws and rules are in force. Each discourse is one of the «possible worlds». The very phenomenon of discourse is a proof of the thesis «language – the home of spirit» [9, p. 47].

Thus, the treatment of the literary discourse as a form of language interaction in dynamics of text organization of speech is essential for further considering the author's conceptual sphere and the writer's idiosyncrasy that are the important elements for revealing the features of language personality.

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METHODS OF REPRESENTATION OF THE CONCEPT OF GOOD AND EVIL IN CH. T. AYTMATOV'S WORKS (BASED ON THE NOVEL "CASSANDRA'S BRAND")

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Abstract. The article considers the ways of representation of concepts of "good" and "evil" as universals of human thinking in terms of cognitive linguistics, reveals their informative features on the basis of their verbal objectification in the Aytmatov's language (based on the novel "Cassandra's Brand").

This article gives linguo-cognitive description of individual authorial concepts of "evil and good". The study of individual authorial concepts exposes the system of the hierarchy of senses of values of creative language personality. Individual value priorities do not always coincide with the value priorities being generally accepted in the society.

Key words: concept, frame, slots, cognitive linguistics.

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РЕПРЕЗЕНТАЦИЯ КОНЦЕПТОВ ДОБРА И ЗЛА В ПРОИЗВЕДЕНИЯХ Ч.Т. АЙТМАТОВА (НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ РОМАНА «ТАВРО КАССАНДРЫ»)

The prominent Kyrgyz writer Ch. Aytmatov makes good his position in the history of literature of the XX century. The objects of study in this paper are the texts of his works, the concepts «good» and «evil» as the universal phenomena of human thinking in terms of cognitive linguistics are considered as the subject of study, the paper reveals their substantial features on the basis of their verbal objectification in the language of Ch. Aytmatov (based on the novel «Cassandra's Brand»).

Many different approaches in contemporary linguistics define the term «concept», the most close definition for us is the definition given by Z. D. Popova and I. A. Sternin.

Z.D. Popov and I.A. Sternin develop the cognitive approach to understanding of a concept, describing the concept as «a global cogitative unit corresponding to a quantum of structured knowledge» [2, p.4].

The terms «frame» and «slot» are used in terms of cognitive linguistics to represent the structure of a concept. Frame is represented formally as the structure of nodes and relations. Vertex levels of a frame are fixed and correspond to the things being always equitable in relation to the supposed situation. Lower of these nodes — terminal nodes, or slots .

It seems necessary to us to take the frame-slot structure of the concept as a basis for structural analysis of the literary concept-opposition «Good — Evil». Moreover, we have taken into consideration

the field concept organization, offered by I. A. Sternin and I. A. Tarasova, and analyzed the basic (conceptual) layer and peripheral layers of the concept, including associative and figurative and emotive layers. We have also studied the structure of the concept from the viewpoint of realization of the following patterns in it: archetypical pattern, *culturological* (prototypical) pattern and individual and authorial pattern.

Semantic and cognitive analysis and frame analysis are accepted to be the leading methods in cognitive linguistics. The key term of frame analysis is the term «frame»; equally with «images», «prototypes», «schemes», i. e., frames are interpreted as different coherent constructions, in the form of which human memory stores knowledge about the surrounding world [5,p.65]. The development of such cognitive structures is associated primarily with the works of Ch. Fillmore, G. Lakoff, M. Minsky. Frames, cognitive structures standing for a word meaning and ensuring its understanding form hierarchical elements – subframes, and slots, smaller units, making an aspect or a part of frame.

Professor, Doctor of Philology, Derbisheva Z. K. mentions in her book that in order to study the writer's conceptual sphere, it is essential to choose key concepts, mental formulae, idioms, metaphors, similes, i. e. Each of the mental formulae occurred in the depths of his creative consciousness, tormented his soul, heart and

became a wise saying, philosophical maxim, bright original metaphor against his will. The conceptual sphere of Ch. Aytmatov is represented by the following concepts: «Дети»/ «Children», «Любовь»/ «Love», «Нравственность»/ «Morality», «Душа» / «Soul», «Зло» / «Evil», «Добро» / «Good», «Слово» / «Word», «Человек» / «Human», «Жизнь» / «Life», «Мысли» / «Thoughts», «Власть» / «Power», «Совесть»/ «Conscience», «Природа» / «Nature», «Языковой космос» / «Language Space», «Музыка» / «Music», «Культура» / «Culture», «Художник» / «Artist», «Религия» / «Religion», «Судьба» / «Fortune», «Война» / «War», «Истина» / «Truth», «Память» / «Memory», «Современный мир» / «Contemporary World». Each of these categories is represented by placers of precious thoughts of the writer [3, p.17].

Any literary writer's word has two views: visual (physical, seen by anyone capable of seeing) and hypothetical, mental (imaginary), it is seen by a possessor of the sight of mind and soul. In this regard, true are the words belonging to L. Cherneyko: «Sight – the function of light, speculation – the function of soul» [4, p.58].

A special place in the conceptual sphere of Ch. Aytmatov is taken by the concept «Evil». He observes that human evil is aggressive, many of his works end tragically, when, having undergone the conflict of «good» and «evil», the main characters suffer a defeat. It is vividly manifested in his novels «Плаха» / «The Block», «Когда падают горы» / «When Mountains Fall», «И дольше века длится день» / «And the Day is Longer than the Century», «Тавро Кассандры» / «Cassandra's Brand», «Белый пароход» / «White Steamship». Ch. Aytmatov said in one of his interviews: «Good is incompatible with evil, and «positive» characters meet a defeat in combat with «the negative», but death of the main characters makes us appreciate and understand the sense of right to be free people, as, for sake of this, the characters lay down their lives. Thus, they are attractive and grand to the living. The characters lose their lives not because of despair, but because they are irreconcilable with such state of «things».

We know that the concept *evil* at the conceptual level has hierarchically complex frame structure consisting of slots (as the element of concept), which are corresponded to in the language by lexical units verbalizing them. The analysis of lexical units filling in the scenario of the concept allows to reveal their ability to realize one or another feature of the concept *evil*. The concept *evil* is represented in the novel by the following frames «Cassandra-embryo», «Cassandra's Brand», «Oliver Ordok», «Crowd», «Miseries», «Philotheus».

1) The frame «Cassandra-embryo» - «iksrody» – devoted revolutionaries of the XXI century. In

individual author's view, iksrod has nothing to lose, his hand will not falter to deliver a nuclear blow. The writer develops the idea that responsibility of each subject before both the past and the future in the chain of development of human evolution is great. Family guilt, stored by generations in an individual, affects the future generations as well, strengthening a heap of negative information in each newly born into this world in order to continue steadfast movement to apocalypse. Existential life fear of Cassandra-embryos is not accidental, but natural phenomenon, the result of evil, despair and hate have been accumulated for centuries. And the nuclear units of this frame are the slots «Разрушение»/ «Destruction», «Гитлер»/ «Hitler», «Сталин»/ «Stalin», which are realized by such expressions as: *Зародыш/ Foetus, подающие негативные сигналы/sending negative signals, неприятие и предчувствие рока и беды/ rejection and a premonition of fate and misfortune, ребенок, относящийся к судьбе негативно/ a negative child's attitude to the fate, негативное отношение к рождению/ a negative attitude to the birth, ребенок, ожидающий беспросветную нищету/ a child, waiting for hopeless poverty, болезнь и насилие/ disease and violence, пороки и унижения/ vices and humiliation, несчастный зачаток будущего некрофила/ unhappy germ of the future necrophiliac, ужасный преступник/ a terrible criminal, эмбрион/ an embryo, предчувствующий рок, беду/ foreboding of rock, trouble, источник зла/ the source of evil. These expressions point to the fact that Cassandra-embryo can bring evil to the earth.*

2) The following frame is «Cassandra's brand», which is expanded in the text by the synonyms such as: *знак-сигнал/signal-sign, сигнал беды/the sign of misfortune, проклятый знак/ accursed sign, тревожный сигнал/alert sygnal, злополучный знак/ill-fated sign. These units represent the most accurate conceptual and essential nominations of Cassandra's Brand.*

The frame «Cassandra's Brand» in the conceptual sphere of Ch. Aytmatov includes such slots as: «трагедия»/ «tragedy», «тревога»/ «uneasiness», «проклятие»/ «curse», «катастрофа»/ «catastrophe», «война»/ «war», which are objectified by such expressions as: *изоциренная дьявольщина/ sophisticated diabolism, порочность и гибельность людского бытия/ viciousness and ruinous results of human being, мучительная участь человечества/ painful fate of humanity, яростное послание/ violent message, наказание из преисподней/ punishment from the hell, грядущий апокалипсис/ coming appokalipsis, злоеющее багровое пятнышко/ominous crimson stain, агрессия со стороны космоса/ aggression on the part of the cosmos, подкоп, затеянный со злым умыслом/*

scheming, started maliciously, с античеловеческой целью/ with the anti-human purpose, сокрушение духа/ the crushing of the spirit, великая смута на земле/ the great turmoil on Earth, предсказательница бед и несчастий/ prophetic of troubles and misfortunes, космическая авантюра/ space adventure, искажение и деструкцию человеческого генофонда/ distortion and destruction of human gene fond, мировое зло/ the world's evil, неизбежный апокалиптический обвал/ inevitable apocalyptic collapse, нечто грозное/ something terrible, вызов брошенный судьбой/ a challenge thrown by fate, роковая проблема/ fatal problem, сигнал о таящемся в нас зле/ signal of evil hidden within us, гадость и позор/disgusting thing and a disgrace, pointing to evil that can bring this signal-sign.

3) The frame «Оливер Ордок»/ «Oliver Ordok» in the literary text includes the slots «Низость»/ «Meanness», «Наглость»/ «Insolence», «Подлость»/ «Baseness», being realized by the vocabulary: «Птичье лицо»/ *Bird's face, лицо экзальтированного Геббелса/ the face of exalted Goebbels, честолюбивый/ ambitious, жаждущий власти/ power-hungry, юркие черные глаза/ brisk black eye, having negative connotation and estimating hypocritical and mean man who can betray everybody anytime like betrayed Bork.*

4) The frame «Голпа»/ «Crowd» in the literary text includes the slots «Насилие»/ «Violence», «Злоба»/ «Anger», «Убийство»/ «Killing», being realized by the following vocabulary: «Уличная публика»/ «Street audience», *исчадие ада/ fiend, шумна/ noisy, наэлектризованная уличная демонстрация/ electrified street demonstrations, гнусная сборища врагов отечества/ vile gatherings enemies of the fatherland, кровь/ blood, слезы и стоны/ tears and groans, схватки сотен людей/ fight of hundreds of people, обезумевшие люди/ mad people, кипение свирепых/ fuming of the ferocious, разрушительных вожделиний/ of destructive lust, злобные хохоты/ evil laughter, гул громадного осинового роя/ roar of a huge swarm of wasps, ищущего выхода в излиянии яда/ seeking access in the outpouring of poison, обезумевшая толпа/ frenzied crowd, куча беснующих людей/ a whole lot of raving people, преступники/ criminals, дикая расправа с человеком/ wild violence to the person, бунт /rebellion, хаос/ chaos, смута/ turmoil, бушующий людской океан / raging human ocean, in the individual author's vision of Ch. Aytmatov in the work «Cassandra's Brand», «crowd» is viewed as aggressive mass of people plunging forward, carried all before them (killing of Bork).*

5) The frame «Невзгоды»/ «Miseries» in the literary text includes the slots «Наказание»/ «Punishment», «Капа всевышнего»/ «Visitation»,

«Негодование»/ «Indignation» being realized by the following words in the literary text: *голод/ hunger, труппы/ slums, болезни/ diseases, СПИД /AIDS, война/ war, экономический кризис/ economic crisis, преступность/ crime, проституция/prostitution, наркомания и наркомафия/ drug abuse and the drug mafia, межэтнические побоища/ ethnic slaughter, расизм/ racism, экологические и энергетические катастрофы/ environmental and energy disasters, ядерные испытания / nuclear testing, черные дыры/black holes, which express evil. And evil which will bring grief and disaster to all.*

6) The frame «Филофей»/ «Philotheus» in the literary text includes the slots «Анархист»/ «Anarchist», «Негодяй»/ «Villain», «Злодей»/ «Malefactor», being realized by the following words: *грешная душа/ sinful soul, дьявол/devil, злостный вселенский смутьян/ malignant universal troublemaker, космический стукач/space informer, сатана/Satan, Фауст/Faust, враг социализма/foe of socialism, провокатор/provoker, мерзавец/stinker, демон/demon, проклятый патриархат/damned patriarchate, самоубийца/self-killer. These slots from the text describe Philotheus from negative point of view. Philotheus is considered in the text in both positive and negative senses, for example, such as *пророк/ prophet, ученый/learned man, солнце из-за горы/ the sun from behind the mountain.**

The conceptual component of the concept of good characterizes all the positive, light, pleasing, successful, useful, that is, good works, gestures doing good. The concept of good in the novel consists of the following frames «Энтони Юнгер»/ «Antony Junger» «Киты»/ «Whales» «Океан»/ «Ocean».

1) The frame «Antony Junger» in individual author's conceptual sphere of Ch. Aytmatov comprises the slots «единомышленник»/ «like-minded person», «миссия»/ «mission», «жертвенность»/ «self-sacrificingness», being realized by such expression as: *светлый луч/ bright beam. These slots indicate that Antony Junger wants to help humanity.*

2) The frame «Киты»/ «Whales» as embodiment of good in the literary text includes the slots «Радары»/ «Radars», «Жертвы»/ «Sacrifices», which are objectified by the following expressions: *как журавли в небе/ like cranes in the sky, большое стадо/great school, могучие животные/ powerful animals, вселенские радары/ universal radars, обрекающие себя на смерть животные / animals condemning themselves to death - whales, in Ch. Aytmatov's opinion – these animals are the radars of the Universe, subtly catching all the world cataclysms, foreboding of approach of catastrophe. The world of space is outlined by the reality of*

natural objects (ocean, stars) and zoomorphic images (whales, owl). All the images mentioned above are leitmotifs, but dominating of them is the image of whales. The use of it in the text is connected with its reproduction into different semantic planes, projecting Bork's attitude of these animals: admiration for their beauty, disquieting apprehensions of coming misfortunes, compassion and terror of self-murder (the whales beach themselves for no apparent reason). The character often dreams about the whales, identifying himself with one of them and trying to feel his behavior deeply from within: *«И тут, на развороте самолета по курсу, он вдруг увидел с накренившегося борта большое стадо плывущих в океане китов. Он увидел их настолько отчетливо, настолько едино объемно в пространстве и движении, это было столь ошеломительно, что дух захватило. А ведь они, киты, ему часто снились.... И вроде бы звали его за собой.... Почему они погибают, выбрасываясь на берег? Самое главное, что в своих снах он ощущал себя китом. Он чувствовал: то, что постигнет китов, постигнет и его <...>»* / *«And then, at the turn of the plane on the course, from the lifted side, he saw a large school of whales floating in the ocean. He could see them so clearly, so united and dimensional in space and movement, it was so stunning that dazzled. But they, whales, he often dreamed of. ... as if they called him together with them. ... Why did they die, casting ashore? Most important in his dreams was that he felt like a whale. He felt that what befell the whales, would befall him <...>»* [1]. The mythologem «кит»/ «whale» directly correlates with the structure of the universe, realizing protective and constructive function. (For example, «сначала землю поддерживали семь китов, однако со временем она слишком отяжелела от грехов, совершаемых людьми. Четыре кита не выдержали нагрузки и нырнули в бездонную пучину. Три кита старались изо всех сил, но предотвратить затопления большей части суши не смогли. Именно, это стало причиной Всемирного потопа»/ «first, earth was supported by seven whales, but over time it became too heavy with the sins committed by people. Four whales could not stand the load and plunged into fathomless depth. Three whales tried to do utmost, but could not prevent flooding of much of the land. It was the cause of the Flood» [3]). These slots show good though the representative of the world of animals: the whales are

represented as those to have presentiment of disasters falling upon the earth. Aytmatov calls people to have sermons in nature and indicates to this idea being rooted in national traditions, mythology. Conscience and wisdom are rendered just through the very images of whale and owl.

In conclusion, we can say that the concept of evil in this novel dominates, as Aytmatov warns us, the living on the earth, about coming dangers of the way of development chosen by us. Anxious about human being «Экзистенциальный страх кассандро-эмбрионов перед жизнью – это не случайность, а закономерное явление, следствие накопленного веками зла, отчаяния и ненависти» Именно накопленное веками зло породило таких как Филофей осознающих, но ничего с этим не могущих поделать людей без роду и племени» / «Existential fear of Cassandra-embryos for life - it is not an accident but a natural phenomenon, a consequence of evil, despair and hatred being accumulated for centuries». It is evil, accumulated over the centuries has given rise to such tribeless people as Philotheus who are conscious of it, but not able to do with it».

As a result, we can say that, it follows from his works, that the concepts of good and evil in Aytmatov's works are realized with high efficiency through lexemes of ethics and aesthetics and have certain semantics.

All of them are regularly used to convey the essence of the moral characters. The concepts of good and evil reflect ideological position of CH.T. Aytmatov.

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