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## Finno-Ugric languages (UDC 811.511.1)

DOI: 10.18454/RULB.5.15

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## ОТРАЖЕНИЕ БИЛИНГВИЗМА У ДЕТЕЙ ДОШКОЛЬНОГО ВОЗРАСТА, ГОВОРЯЩИХ НА РОДНОМ (ЭРЗЯНСКОМ) И НЕРОДНОМ (РУССКОМ) ЯЗЫКАХ

Аннотация

Данная статья посвящена особенностям мордовской речи 16 детей-билингвов, в возрасте от 3 до 7 лет включительно, владеющих как эрзянским, так и русским языками, живущих в Мордовии. Их язык анализируется на примере рассказов по книге в картинках, при этом делаются попытки выявить влияние русского языка на эрзянский и обнаружить явления интерференции на лексическом и грамматическом уровнях.

**Ключевые слова:** билингвизм, интерференция, эрзянский язык.

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## THE REFLECTION OF BILINGUALISM IN THE SPEECH OF PRESCHOOL CHILDREN SPEAKING NATIVE (ERZYA) AND NON-NATIVE (RUSSIAN) LANGUAGE

Abstract

This article considers the specific features of Mordovian speech of 16 bilingual children, aged 3 to 7 years, speaking both the Erzya and Russian languages, living in Mordovia. Their language is studied on the example of short stories in pictures, and it attempts to identify the influence of the Russian language on the Erzya one and to detect the occurrences of interference at the lexical and grammatical levels.

**Keywords:** bilingualism, interference, the Erzya language.

The attention to language acquisition in the state of bilingualism has recently been growing (Bhatia 2004). The most important issue in relation to the development of children's bilingualism is the relationship between two language systems (Schmitt 2000; Ringblom 2004).

Interference is a change in the structure or components of the structure of one language under the influence of another language, the violation of rules of how these languages contact by a bilingual person, which is reflected in the speech as a divergence from the norm, and it does not matter whether it is a speaker's native language, mother tongue, or the second language acquired later.

In oral everyday communication the speech interference appears sometimes in the use of whole structures. In this case, there are three main cases, when regarding to the mother tongue, the elements of the non-native language: 1) take the form of the native language (which can be considered as the actual interference), 2) are used in the wrong, mainly the initial form, and 3) preserve the form of a non-native language. This is the kind of reflection of bilingualism in a particular environment of the representatives of some social and professional groups, as well as in the speech of children who start speaking their native and non-native language.

The interference is manifested at different levels of a language: phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and so on. In the area of syntax the interference is described as the transfer of language syntax sentence structure from one language to another. Most often this is the transfer of non-native syntactic model, so called syntax calquing.

In the morphology the interference appears mainly indirectly. The phenomenon of transition of rules of accidence from one of the contact languages into another is quite rare. It is observed in the numerically small bilingual group, which experiences the influence of the group speaking different language and which has been more powerful in economic, political and cultural terms during a long period a time.

In the vocabulary the manifestation of interference is primarily considers as the transfer of lexical items from one language into another. In this case it can be the transfer of both simple and complex words and phrases.

The basis of the experiment are the stories of Erzya children in pictures without words, namely the so-called 'history of the frog' "Frog, where are you?" by Mercer Mayer, which is well known in the onto-linguistics. The age range of the selected group of 16 bilingual children was from 3 to 7 year old, and each age group consisted of several respondents (Mosina 2002).

According to the analysis the lexical interference is represented in the language of children as a direct transfer of words from Russian into Erzya without semantic expansion. More often there are

nouns which are the names of living creatures ones related to them, for example: *frog, boy, moose, owl, deer*.

*L'aguškat'n'e čijn 'it', višin'kat i pokšt* 'The frogs are running, big and small'.

A large group consists of the words with the meaning related to household, clothes, shoes, and so on, such as: *jar, lamp, slippers, blanket, house, chair, shirt, bottle, bed*.

*Kiskas' tov tus', domikis* 'The dog there went, into the house'.

Along with the nouns the interference also influences other parts of speech, such as adverbs, conjunctions, and verbs. Most frequently there is a direct transfer from Russian verbs:

*Sin' mol's't' virev i zablud'il'is'* 'They went to the forest and got lost'.

The manifestation of the interference in grammar is one of the most complex and controversial issues in linguistics. According to scholars the influence of one language on another in the field of grammar is often difficult to determine. One type of grammatical interference is a grammatical adaptation of lexical units transferred from one language to another. This phenomenon is very well represented in the speech of children. Most Russian lexemes transferred into Erzya, especially nouns, are marked by the possessive and case suffixes, and suffixes of definite declension of the Erzya language.

*Sin' tus't' l'aguškan't' vešn'em'e.* 'They went looking for the frog (Akk.Def.)'.

Verbs are not exposed to the adaptation while being transferred.

*Kiskas' t'ej hočet kuz'ems* 'The dog wants to climb here'.

In the speech of bilingual children the most common word order is Subject – Object – Verb, which is not typical for the Erzya language, but possible for Russian. For the Erzya language the typical word order is Subject – Verb – Object (Chinaeva 2011).

*A kiskas' (S) puromotn'en' (O) tandavtn'i (V)* 'And the dog is frightening the wasps'.

The analysis shows that the most evident cases of interference in the speech of bilingual children can be found on the lexical level, which results in smaller vocabulary and leads to a direct transfer of Russian lexemes, especially nouns into the Erzya language. The influence of the Russian language also happens on the syntactic level, namely such word order as subject – object – verb, which is not typical for the Erzya language. As for the morphological and morphosyntactic levels, we have revealed the features associated with the impact of the Erzya language on the Russian one, namely grammatical adaptation of lexical units transferred from one language to the other. Moreover, the nouns transferred into the Erzya language are marked by possessive, case suffixes, and suffixes of certain declension.

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## Literature (UDC 82)

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## К ВОПРОСУ О ПРИРОДЕ МУЗЫКАЛЬНЫХ ПРОЧТЕНИЙ ПРОЗЫ Ф.М. ДОСТОЕВСКОГО

Аннотация

В статье рассматриваются причины, обусловившие востребованность прозы Ф.М. Достоевского в музыкальной практике. На протяжении ста лет произведения автора «Бесов» представляют значительный интерес для композиторов. В различных музыкальных жанрах нашли воплощение все значительные романы, а также рассказы, опубликованные в журналах и «Дневниках писателя». Это тем более удивительно, что в наследии Достоевского нет драматических или сценических произведений. Однако специфика его художественного мышления и синтетичность создаваемых им романских структур позволяют усмотреть сходства особенностей сочинений Достоевского с принципами других видов искусств. При всем многообразии художественных ассоциаций доминирующими являются аналогии с законами музыки, что убедительно доказывают работы ведущих литературоведов и философов, обращавшихся к творчеству писателя. В них используются музыкальные термины «полифонический», «контрапунктический», «лейтмотив»; прослеживаются общность композиционных решений с принципами построения сложных музыкальных форм и жанров. Таким образом, специфика художественного мышления Достоевского, нашедшая отражение в его прозе, является причиной стремления композиторов воплотить прозу писателя в музыке.

**Ключевые слова:** Достоевский Ф.М., проза, музыка, драма, композиторское творчество.

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## ON THE PROBLEM OF THE NATURE OF MUSICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF F. M. DOSTOYEVSKY'S PROSE

Abstract

The article considers the causes of F. Dostoyevsky's prose being on demand in musical practice. His works have been of considerable composers' interest for a hundred years. All his significant novels, as well as the short stories published in magazines and "The Writer's Diaries", have been represented in different musical genres. The more surprising is the fact that there are no dramatic or theatrical works written by Dostoyevsky. Nevertheless, his specific artistic thinking and synthetic novel structures enable us to see that the special aspects of Dostoyevsky's works are similar to the principles of other arts. Alongside with diverse artistic associations, analogies with musical laws dominate, which is demonstrated by leading literary scholars and philosophers dealing with the writer's works. They use such musical terms as "polyphonic", "counterpoint", or "leitmotif"; they trace common features of compositional solutions and the principles of structuring complicated musical forms and genres. Therefore, Dostoyevsky's specific artistic thinking reflected in his prose, is the reason why composers strive to transform the writer's prose into music.

**Keywords:** Dostoyevsky F.M., prose, music, drama, composing.

One of the advanced and actively developing fields of modern musicology is devoted to the problem of interrelation of music and other arts, especially literature. Opera librettos based on classical works are of particular interest. Moreover, the more complicated the literary source is, the broader is the field for creative understanding; the more diverse and numerous are the solutions for interpreting the source in another "language". In this respect, the works by the great Russian writer are significant and actively used by both stage managers and musicians. It is more amazing that, as L. Dimitrov points out, Dostoyevsky is "the only outstanding representative of the classical age who did not write an explicit drama" (Dimitrov, 2012, p. 293).

Dostoyevsky's works were first transformed into music by V. I. Rebikov who composed the opera "Christmas Tree"<sup>[1]</sup> in 1900. But the real "starting point" of the "relations" between Dostoyevsky's prose and music was, without doubt, the opera "The Gambler" by S. Prokofiev, composed in 1916. Over 60 works inspired by Dostoyevsky have been written within 100 years. There is an extremely broad variety of genres: the opera (of all kinds), the musical drama, the overture, the ballet, the suite, the vocal and instrumental symphony, the symphonic poem, the vocal cycle, the musical, the oratory. With all the diversity of genre interpretations, the leading position is taken with musical drama.

The composers and stage managers' interest in Dostoyevsky can be explained by the fact that his works are extremely scenic with all their complexity and they are very musical, too. It was the musical term "polyphonic" that seemed the most appropriate for M.M. Bakhtin to reflect the multidimensional structure of the writer's novels. The idea of polyphony paved the new ways to interpreting the works by the Russian classic, and many literary scholars followed the idea after the author of "The Problems of Dostoyevsky's Poetics". The essence of the idea is that each character is seen as a subject but not the object of the author's or another character's conscience. Therefore, there is the "polyphony" of consciences and world outlooks. They all interrelate like polyphonic lines making up the musical canvas, without losing their own individual significance. Otherwise, the uniqueness and individuality of each character are better revealed when opposed to other "thematic characters".

Several decades later M.M. Bakhtin's concept was specified by A.A. Gozenpud in his fundamental research work "Dostoyevsky and the Art of Music and Theatre" (Gozenpud, 1981). He proposed the term "counterpoint" novel explaining it with the fact that Dostoyevsky's works have two consciences, two voices, and this is the minimum necessary for structuring the concept only at the early stage of the writer's work. His late novels are polyphonic works where the combination of several models of simultaneous existence is similar to the techniques of double and even triple counterpoint.

The works of literary scholars often express the idea of the Russian classic's novels being close to symphonic and operatic forms in their structure. The writer's contemporary K. N. Leontiev characterized the novel "The Brothers Karamazov" in his critical articles as "the utmost complete, half tragic and half clear opera, in which the threatening and sad sounds alternate with vague and touching ones" (cited in Dostoyevsky, 1976, p. 622). Vyacheslav Ivanov pointed out in his public lecture, "Like a symphony composer, he used his mechanism for the architectonics of a tragedy and in his novel he applied a method similar to the thematic development of the main phrases-motifs; — with the curves and metamorphoses of this development the composer leads us to aesthetic and psychological experiencing of the whole work as a certain unity" (Ivanov, 1990, p. 171).

A.A. Gozenpud writes about the principles of repetition and recapitulation which have found way into the composition of the novels "White Nights" and "Crime and Punishment". In "White Nights", the introduction (everything prior to coming of Nastenka), four episodes and the postlude stand out. In "Idiot" the system of leitmotifs is used: these of the knife, strokes and Rogozhin's "ill passion". G.M. Fridlender finds that the composition and grouping of the characters in "The Raw Youth", "Crime and Punishment", "Idiot", "The Gambler" and "The Brothers Karamazov" make up "a complex musical-symphonic whole", which answers the principles of a musical work organization. There is clear similarity to the themes of sonata *allegro*, the slow movement and the playful *Scherzo*; in the end there is "both deeply tragic and optimistic finale, where the feelings of profound mourning and despair evoke the sensation of "seraphic" spiritual heights in the reader's minds" (Fridlender, 1995, p. 301).

I would like to emphasize the fact that scholastic research works on Dostoyevsky are literally full of musical terms. We can find likening of human voices to the registers where variations of the main theme are conducted; the novel collisions are compared to musical contrasts and dissonances (e.g. Fridlender, 1995); the conflict scenes in the novels are likened to operatic ensembles and chain buffa-finales (e.g. Gozenpud, 1981) and many others.

There is another important idea in the research by A. A. Gozenpud. The scholar draws an analogy of “the static idea” often overtaking Dostoyevsky’s characters and the principle of monothematism realised, for example, in the “Fantastic” symphony by Berlioz. Indeed, a specific *idée fixe* often overtakes the minds of the characters of the great Russian novelist. The importance of the “idea” as the main one is not only in the behavior or thinking, moreover, it is in the being of the character, and understanding the idea as a certain *credo* is one of the fundamental features of Dostoyevsky’s poetics.

There is hardly a researcher who could avoid reflecting on the significance of the “idea” in the writer’s works. The main idea of each work had been thought over thoroughly by the writer, sometimes for several years. According to A.G. Dostoyevskaya, her husband used to value his ideas greatly and was afraid of ‘spoiling’ them. Sometimes, reading a chapter printed already, he was in despair because “could suddenly perceive his mistake, ‘I might have completely killed my idea with the mistake’” (Dostoyevskaya, 1987, p. 234-235).

As it is clear from the writer’s letters and notes, the idea is primary; it is the first thing to appear. It is known that from the very beginning Dostoyevsky was mostly far from the final variant of the novel, which is seen in the reports for the publishers and the letters to friends. The writer used to change the composition, the number of characters and their names; therefore, the plotlines and the size of works grew up. But the general idea taken as the basis did not change. The rest of the material, i.e. the characters and their features, the human types, the plot collisions, the pivotal episodes, was selected so that the main “idea” could be represented in the clearest and most evident way.

The bearer is the main hero of the book<sup>[2]</sup>. And vice versa, the idea is a particular quintessence of his outlook, which gives M. M. Bakhtin the reason to call Dostoyevsky’s heroes ideologists. The ideas’ truthfulness and vitality are tested through their interrelation with the ideas of other characters. Their role is to help the main hero find “man in a man”, because, as Bakhtin writes, only the one who possesses “an incomplete inner core” can “bear a full-fledged idea” (Bakhtin, 1975, p. 88).

“The idea” is also a kind of vertical axis of the whole construction of a “free novel” (L.P. Grossman), because it includes “the unity of inner meaning” imparting “the necessary wholeness to the scattered course of events” (Grossman, 1925, p. 18). In this

aspect, “the idea” is given the form making function because it “defines all the formal accents” (Bakhtin, 1979, p. 84).

The bright ideas, the inner tragic feeling, the intensity of emotions conditioned such quality of Dostoyevsky’s prose which is defined by A.V. Lunacharsky as staginess. Studying the sources of tragedy in the novels by the “great realist”, V.I. Ivanov comes to the conclusion that only two characteristics differ the writer’s works from a tragedy. The first characteristic is that they are narrations, but not stage interpretations. The second one is an extraordinary complexity of actions, which appears after counterpoint combination of several plotlines. Their entanglement makes up “a potentiated tragedy” (Ivanov, 1990, p. 172).

Numerous expressive dialogues “stimulating dramatic development” (Vetlovskaya, 1988, p.14) are also very important. Besides, the monologue forms of Dostoyevsky’s works often mean an implied dialogue addressed to another conscience, appealing to the reader’s attention and therefore wonderfully involving the latter into the area of the artistic work. This peculiarity of the writer’s prose is connected with one of the specific features of Dostoyevsky’s poetics: his works imply conversation, cooperative discussion, reflection on a problem, and a cooperative attempt to find answers to difficult questions.

“Reflection, but not contemplation is the main thing stirred within us by his characters” (Lossky, 1994, p. 35). While reflecting, we as if join the author and the character, we join the discussion of the action, we try out the situations in the novel. Like the hero, we go the way of mistakes and disappointments, we pass through the “furnace of doubts” like Dostoyevsky himself; that is all to be established in the truth once and for all, to be established by ourselves, without any enforcement or oppression, only with our own conscience. Perhaps, that is why his novels are read as if in one breath. Without dominating or dictating his point of view the writer involves the reader into a torturous and delightful process of co-creation, imperceptibly evoking the reader’s inner self and inner self-consciousness.

Perhaps this is what the composers catch especially sensitively, those who compose operas after Dostoyevsky’s works. Responding the call of the Russian writer each of them presents their own version of the plot, reveals their own outlook through the interpretation of the Russian classic; the composers look into the fictitious world of the writer’s novels as if into the most correct and flawless mirror so that they could reveal the real value of the world and present their discovery to the listener.

[1] The libretto is based on H. Ch. Andersen’s tale “The Little Match Girl” and the story “The Beggar Boy at Christ’s Christmas Tree” published in the January issue of “The Writer’s Diary”, 1876.

[2] It is not by chance that the artist I. Glazunov, an illustrator of Dostoyevsky’s novels, calls his characters “idea bearers”.

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Статья описывает формирование некоторых грамматических категорий в цыганском языке, распространенном среди цыган на Балканах. Цыганский язык, относящийся к индоарийским языкам, сохраняет грамматические черты индийских языков, тем не менее в нем есть грамматические категории, которые сформировались благодаря контакту цыганского языка с европейскими языками. Балканские диалекты, получившие влияние румынского языка, имеют ряд грамматических категорий, которых нет в других цыганских диалектах. Данные категории сформировались благодаря использованию архаичных суффиксов и префиксов в новых комбинациях. С другой стороны, существуют некоторые глаголы, которые возникли при помощи падежной системы цыганского языка, что показывает как эти глаголы функционируют.

**Ключевые слова:** цыганский язык, суффиксы, префиксы, глаголы, системный падеж.

The paper presents the formation of some grammatical categories in Romani, spoken by some Roma groups in Balkan countries. Romani, belonging to Indo-Arian languages, preserves some of the grammatical system form Indian languages, however there are grammatical categories which are developed throughout the centuries due to the contacts of Romani with European languages. A group of dialects, being in contact with Romanian language developed grammatical features which the other dialects of Romani do not have. These categories are developed by the use of old suffixes and prefixes in new combinations. From other side there are certain verbs which developed through the case system of Romani, which show how these verbs function in different cases.

**Keywords:** Romani, suffixes, prefixes, verbs, case system.

### Introduction

Romani is a comprehensive language with its grammatical structure. In Balkan countries such as Bulgaria, Macedonia, Greece, Serbia, Romania, there are mainly groups which dialects were influenced by Romanian language and at the same time there are groups which never came in contacts with Romanian. In this paper I will try to show how the grammatical categories are developed and preserved in some dialects spoken in some of the Balkan countries. These are dialects spoken by *Gurbeti*, *Dzhambazi*, *Kalajdzhi*, *Burgudzhi*, and similar groups and subgroups and they live in countries such as Bulgaria, Macedonia, Greece, Kosovo, Serbia and Romania.

Number of authors during last decades published on different dialects related to the mentioned ones, showing the grammatical structure of Romani and its close relationship with Indo-Ariyan languages. (Borezky, 1993; Duric, 2005; Hancock, 1995; Iglă, 1996; Kyuchukov, 2003; Matras, 2002; Sarau, 1992). Here I am going to focus more on some phenomenon from the Romani spoken in Balkan countries by professional groups mentioned above. Their religion does not play a role. They can be Muslims or Christians. The grammatical characteristics are the same.

From lexical point of view, part of Romani still preserves items from Indian languages and mainly from Hindi and the other part is made up by borrowing words, using the "patterns" offered by the old Romani suffixes and prefixes. The observations on different dialects prove that the Romani lexicon comes from the derivation of suffixes and prefixes and by their combinations.

### Derivation of suffixes and prefixes

#### A. Suffixes

With the use of some suffixes, one may create: *nouns*, *adjectives*, *adverbs*, *verbs*, *numerals*.

#### Nouns

The suffixes - **no** (for masculine noun) and - **ni** (for feminine nouns)

##### a. from verbs:

from the verb *arakh- av* "to find, guard, take care" + suffix - **no** > *arakhno* "care taker, bodyguard, finder"

from the verb *astar- av* "to catch" + suffix - **no** > *astarno*; with feminine suffix - **ni** > *astarni* "trap, something that catches"

from the verb *sikav- av* "to point to" + suffix - **no** > *sikavno*; with feminine suffix - **ni** > *sikavni* "guide, teacher".

##### b) from nouns:

The - **ni** suffix is used to get feminine nouns. For instance:

from the masculine noun *grast* "horse" + - **ni** > *grastni* "mare"

from the masculine noun *manuš* "man"

+ - **ni** > *manušni* "woman"

from the masculine noun *rom* "Rom" + - **ni** > *romni* "Roma woman"

from the masculine noun *thagar* "king"

+ - **ni** > *thagarni* "queen" etc

The suffix - **ipe(n)** forms the abstract nouns. With the help of the suffix - **ipe(n)** from nouns, adjectives and verbs:

##### a) from nouns:

from the masculine noun *amal* "friend" + suffix - **ipe(n)** > *amalipe(n)* "friendship";

from the masculine noun *phral* "brother" + suffix - **ipe(n)** > *phralipe(n)* "brotherhood"

##### b) from adjectives:

from the adjective *dil/o(- i, - e, - e)* "crazy, mad, stupid" + suffix - **ipe(n)** > *dilipe(n)* "madness, stupidity"

from the adjective *šukar* "beautiful" + suffix - **ipe(n)** > *šukaripe(n)* "beauty"

##### c) from verbs:

from the verb *kam- av* "to want, to wish, to love" + suf. - **ipen** > *kamipen* "wish, love".

#### The Suffix - **lin**.

##### a) from nouns:

from the noun *ambrol* "pear" + suffix - **lin** > feminine noun *ambrolin* "pear tree"

from the noun *phabaj* "apple" + suffix - **lin** > feminine noun *phabajlin* "apple tree"

The nouns can also be formed from some adjectives.

#### Adjectives

Adjectives can be formed by adding to the word the following suffixes:

The Suffix - **utn/o** (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**). The adjectives formed by means of this suffix come from:

##### a) nouns:

from the noun *kašt* "wood" + suffix - **utn/o**(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *kaštun/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "wooden, made out of wood"

from the noun *kher* "house" + suffix - **utn/o**(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *kherutn/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "domestic, pertaining to the household"

##### a. adjectives:

from adjective *čač/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "right, just, true" + suffix - **utn/o**(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *čačutn/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "truthful, just"

##### c) adverbs:

from the adverb *akana* "now" + suffix - **utn/o** (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *akanutn/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "contemporary, from now"

from the adverb *opre* "up"+ suffix - **utn/o**(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**)  
> adjective *oprutn/o* (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "superior"

d) prepositions:

from the preposition *anglal* "before, in front of" + suffix- **utn/o**  
(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *anglutn/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "anterior, preceding"  
from the preposition *palal* "after, behind" +  
suffix - **utn/o**(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *palutn/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "posterior,  
following"etc

The Suffix - (v)al/o (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**). Adjectives of this type are formed:

a. from nouns:

from the masculine noun *čhor* "beard" +  
suffix - (v)al/o(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *čhorval/o* (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "person  
who has a beard"  
from the masculine noun *rat* "blood" +  
suffix - (v)al/o(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *ratval/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "bloody"

The Suffix - **ikan/o** (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**). Adjectives can be formed from:

a) nouns:

from the masculine noun *murš* "man" +  
suffix - **ikan/o**(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *muršikan/o*  
(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "manly"  
from the feminine noun *žuvli* "woman" +  
suffix - **ikan/o**(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**)  
> adjective *žuvlikan/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "womanly"  
from the masculine noun *phral* "brother" +  
suffix - **ikan/o**(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) >  
adjective *phralikan/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "brotherly"

b) adjectives:

from adjective *dilo* "crazy, mad, stupid" + suffix- **ikan/o**  
(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *dilikan/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "crazy, foolish"

The Suffixes - **esk/o** (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) / - **eng/o** (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**)  
/ - **ak/o** (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) / - **ang/o** (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) are forms for the  
Genitive of the nouns.

from the masculine noun *dad* "father" +suffix - **esk/o**  
(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *dadesk/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "the father's" (Gen.)  
from masculine noun *dada* "father's"+ suffix **eng/o**  
(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *dadeng/o* (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "the father's" (Gen);  
from the feminine noun *daj* "mother"+suffix - **ak/o**  
(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) > adjective *dajak/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "the mother's" (Gen);

The Participial Suffixes - **d/o** (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**)

from the verb *lačhar- av* "to fix, to repair" > *lačhard/o*  
(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "fixed, repaired"

Adverbs

The Suffix - **es**.

from the adjective *roman/o* (- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "rom" +  
suffix - **es** > *romanes* "in a roma way"  
from the adjective *čač/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "right, just" + suffix - **es**  
> *čačes* "truthfully"

The Suffix - **al**.

from the masculine noun *maškar* "middle" + suffix - **al** >  
adj. *maškaral* "from the middle"  
from the adverb *avri* "outside" + suf. - **al** >  
adverbs *avrjal* "from the outside"

Verbs

The Suffix - **ar-** / - **jar-** is one of the most productive  
Rromani suffixes and added to nouns, adjectives, numerals,  
adverbs, verbs, it can form verbs.

a) from nouns:

from the feminine noun *mel* "dirt" +suffix - **jar-** >  
verb *meljar- el* "to get something dirty"  
from the feminine noun *loš* "joy"+suffix - **ar-** >  
verb *lošar- el* "to make somebody happy"

b) from adjectives:

from the adjective *bar/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "big"+suffix - **jar-** >  
verb *barjar- el* "to grow, to cultivate, to develop"  
from the adjective *dil/o*(- **i**, - **e**, - **e**) "crazy, stupid" +  
suffix - **jar-** > verb *diljar- el* "to drive somebody crazy"  
from the adjective *šukar* "beautiful"+ suffix - **jar-** >  
verb *sukarjar- el* "to beautify, to make beautiful"

c) from adverbs:

from the adverbs *dur* "far" + suffix -**jar-** > verb *durjar- el* "to  
run from, to put some distance between"

d) from verbs:

from the verb *sikljol* "to study"+ suffix - **jar-** >  
verb *sikljar- el* "to teach"

B. Prefixes

The Prefix **bi-** can form:

a) nouns:

prefix **bi-** + feminin noun *baxt* "good luck, chance" > feminin  
noun *bibaxt* "bad luck"

a. adjectives :

prefix **bi-** +adjective *londo* "salty" > adjective *bilondo* "with  
no salt"

a. verbs:

prefix **bi-** + verb *starel* "to catch, to grab, to remember" >  
verb *bistarel* "to drop, to forget"

prefix **bi-** + verb *kinel* "to buy"> verb *bikinel* "to not sell, to  
not buy"

The grammatical cases and Romani verbs

An important part of Romani language are the cases. Many  
authors have written about the case system of Romani. (Borezky,  
1993; Matras, 2002). The case system in Romani can be presented in  
two ways: with postpositions (*kher-es-tar* > *house-from*) or with  
prepositions (*andar o kher* > *from the house*). There are differences  
in the case endings for masculine and feminine nouns, plural and  
singular, as well as for animate and inanimate nouns. However, very  
little is known and there is no research and publications about the  
verbs in relation to the Romani case system. Here I will present  
examples about some verbs from Romani language and how they go  
along with different cases in Romani:

1) **džal** (to go)

ACC

1) <i>O rom džal kaštenge</i>			
the	man	go-3sg	wood-

for 'The man goes for wood'

2) *O rom džal po drom*

the man go(walk)-3sg on road

'The man walks on the road'

3) *O rom džal po grast*

the man go-3sg after horse

'The man follows the horse'

DAT

*O gad džal leske šukar*

the shirt go-3sg him nice

'The shirt suits him well'

INSTR

*Me džav tusa ando foro*

I go-1sg you-with in-the town

'I am coming with you to the town'

LOK

1) *I romni džal ando kher*

the woman go-3sg into house

'The woman goes into the house'

2) *Me džav paš tute*

I go-1sg to you

'I am coming to you'

2) **avel** (to come)

ACC

*O manuš avel po drom*

the man come-3sg on-the road

'The man comes on the road'

DAT

*O habe avela leske šukar*

the food come-3sg him-to nice

'He likes the food'

ABL

1) *O čhavo avel andar o kher*

the boy come-3sg from the house

'The boy comes from the house'

2) *O čhavo avel kherestar*

the boy come-3sg house-from

'The boy comes from the house'

INSTR

*Avav tusa*

come-1sg you-with

'I am coming with you'

**LOK**

*Me avav paš tute*

I come-1sg to you

'I am coming to you'

**3) tradel/bičalel (to send)**

**ACC**

*I romni bičalel e čhaves ko kurko*

the woman send-3sg the child to market

'The woman sends the child to the market'

**DAT**

*Trade mange jek lil*

send-PT-3pl me-to one book

'They sent me a book'

**ABL**

*Bičalde les andar o gav*

send-PT-3pl him from the village

'They sent him from the village'

**INSTR Tradas lensa love**

send-PT-3sg them-with money

'He sent money with them'

**LOC**

*Bičalde mande e čhave*

send-PT-3pl me-to the child(boy)

'They sent me the child(boy)'

**4) avel palpale (to come back)**

**ACC**

*Me avav palpale po drom*

I come back from road

'I come back from my trip'

**ABL**

*Me avav palpale tumendar*

I come back you-pl-from

'I come back from your place'

**INSTR**

*Me avav palpale lasa*

I come back her-with

'I come back with her'

**LOC**

*Me avav palpale paš tute*

I come back to you

'I come back to you'

**5) inkljol (to get out/to get on)**

**ACC**

*Inkljol pe les jekh kiri*

go out on him one ant

'An ant crawling on him'

**DAT**

*Inkljon leske jakha*

go out his eyes

'May he becomes blind'

**ABL**

*1) Inkljav andar o kher*

go out-1 sg from the house

'I leave the house'

*2) Inkljav kherestar*

go-out -1sg house-from

I leave home/the house'

**INSTR**

*O čhavo inklyola lasa ko bijav*

the boy go-out 3sg her-with to wedding

'the boy goes to the wedding with her'

**LOC**

*O rom inkljol opre khereste*

the man go out-3sg on house-the

'The man climbs on the houses wall'

**6) gyndel/del pes gogi (to think)**

**LOC**

*Me dav man gogi pe leste*

I think about him

'I think about him'

**7) mangel (to ask)**

**ACC**

*Mangav e čhaja*

love-1sg the girl

'I love the girl'

**8) dikhel (to see)**

**ACC**

*1) Dikhav o kher*

see-1sg the house

'I see the house'

*2) Dikhav e dades*

see-1sg the father

'I see the father'

**ABL**

*1) Dikhav e kerestar dži ki len*

see-1sg the house-from till the river

'I can see from the house till the river'

*2) Dikhav andar o kher dži ki len*

see-1sg from the house till the river

'I can see from the house till the river'

**INSTR**

*Dikhav tusa o filmo*

see/Watch1-sg you-with the film

'I watch the film with you'

**LOC**

*Dikhav opre leste šukar gad*

see-1 sg on him nice shirt

'He has a nice shirt on'

**9) vakerel (to say/ to talk)**

**DAT**

*Me vakerav tuke kaj ame džas ando foro*

I tell-1sg you that we go-1pl to-the city

'I tell you that we go to the city'

**ABL**

*Vakerdem andar o il*

speak-PT1sg about the book

'I spoke about the book'

**INSTR**

*Vakerdem lensa*

speak-PT1sg them-with

'I spoke with them'

**LOC**

*Vakerdem ko radio*

speak-PT1sg in the radio

'I did spoke on radio'

**10) prandel pes (to get married)**

**INSTR**

*Me prandilem lasa*

I marry-PT1sg her-with

'I got married with her'

**12) prandavav (make s.o. to get married)**

**ACC**

*Me prandavav les jekhe čhajasa*

I marry-1sg him one girl-with

'I married him to a girl'

**INSTR**

*Me prandavav lesa mire čhaja*

I marry-1sg him-with my daughter

'I made him to marry my daughter'

**12) bijanel(to give a birth)**

**DAT**

*I thagarni bijandili e thagareske jekhe*

the queen gave birth the king-DAT one-to

*sumnakune rakles*

golden boy

'The queen gave a birth to a golden boy for for the king'

**ACC**

*I daj bijandili jekhe čhaves*

the mother gave birth one-to boy

'The mother gave birth to a boy'

**LOC**

*I khamni bijandili ando lengo kher*

the pregnant woman gave birth intheir house

'The pregnant woman gave a birth in their house'

**13) merel (to die)**

**DAT**

*Ov merel lake*

he die-3sg her-for  
'He dies for her'

**LOC**

*Tu meres po drom*  
you die-2sg on-the road  
'You die on the road'

**INSTR**

*Von mule lensa ando foro*  
they die-3plPT them-with in-the city  
'They died together with them in the city'

**ABL**

1) *Voj muli xoljatar*  
she died anger-from  
'She died of anger'  
2) *Voj muli andar i xoli*  
she died from the anger

'She died of anger'

**LOC**

*Voj muli and-o gav*  
she die-3sgPT in-the village  
'She died in the village'

The examples above show clearly that there are certain verbs which go or do not with certain cases. The same verb used in different cases can have different meanings and the same phenomenon is observed in Hindi as well (Mohanani, 1994).

**Conclusions**

As it is shown in the paper, Romani still preserves structures typical for Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages. All these structures are typical for dialects which have been in contact with Romanian throughout the centuries. The verbs used by some cases are also similar to Hindi, or dialects of Hindi, which show that the deep structure of Romani comes from Indian languages, or dialects of Hindi.

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**Sociolinguistics. Usage of language (UDC 81`27)**

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Нелунова Е.Д.<sup>1</sup>, Григорьева В.В.<sup>1</sup>, Охлопкова Я.В.<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup>КМПИЯ ИЗФир СВФУ**ПРОБЛЕМЫ ИНКУЛЬТУРАЦИИ ЛИЧНОСТИ В МНОГОЯЗЫЧНОЙ ПОЛИКУЛЬТУРНОЙ СРЕДЕ***Аннотация*

*В статье рассматриваются различные пути угроз потери индивидуальности личности на примере профессиональной деятельности языковой личности, а также людей, живущих за рубежом и членов билингвальной семьи. Подчеркивается, что в условиях многоязычной поликультурной среды язык является средством, а культура способом самосохранения и самозащиты личности в процессе ее инкультурации и аккультурации. Инкультурация и аккультурация личности в многоязычной, поликультурной среде закономерны как ожидаемый результат социализации. Ассимиляция возможна при ярко выраженном проявлении конфликта интересов, в результате которого одни идут на компромисс с доминантами социума. Авторы также представляют наиболее актуальные примеры и рекомендации к самозащите личности от угроз ассимиляции.*

**Ключевые слова:** природосообразность, культуросообразность, социализация, инкультурация, аккультурация, ассимиляция, билингвальная семья, языковая личность, конфликт интересов, многоязычная поликультурная среда.

Nelunova E.D.<sup>1</sup>, Grigoreva V.V.<sup>1</sup>, Okhlopko Y.V.<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup>North-Eastern Federal University**PROBLEMS OF INCULTURATION AND ACCULTURATION OF A PERSON IN MULTILINGUAL POLY CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT***Abstract*

*Various ways of threats of losing an identity of a person are regarded in the article on examples of teachers of foreign languages, people living abroad and members of bilingual families. It is emphasized that in conditions of multilingual polycultural environment language is an instrument and culture is a way of self-preservation and self-defense of the person in the process of his/her inculturation and acculturation. Inculturation and acculturation of the person in multilingual, polycultural environment are natural as the expected result of socialization. Assimilation is possible when the person makes a compromise with dominant society. Authors also represent the most actual examples and recommendations for self-defense from assimilation threats.*

**Keywords:** natural and cultural conformity, inculturation, acculturation.

**Introduction**

The principles of "natural conformity" and "cultural conformity" of the humanistic pedagogics and psychology which became classical again demand now a special attention of scientists. Let's address to great Adolf Diesterweg's doctrine that cultural conformity of bringing up and education are closely connected the principle of natural conformity. Diesterweg highlighted that the principle of natural conformity in the sphere of formation of younger generation should be considered constantly and should have a leading position among other principles. Besides, it is necessary not to forget about the cultural level of society. Therefore the special attention has to be paid to natural conformity taking into account culture and development of society.

**Literature review**

Great Diesterweg highlighted that the principle of natural conformity represents the eternal purpose of human aspirations during all activity, it has to come nearer to it constantly. The content of activity of the person is filled with the cultural environment of the country, region, concrete society, space, etc. where he/she was born (Diesterweg, 1998).

Given above examples of Diesterweg direct us at reflection that these two principles are interfaced with each other so it is impossible to contrast them as it was done by his scientific peers. However we shouldn't forget the fact that there was a long desperate resistance for domination of this or that principle among representatives of cultural anthropology.

V. Kumarin analyzing two principles of A. Diesterweg specifies that cultural habitat of the person is a derivative of his nature, his ability to speaking, thinking, working, hearing a voice of instincts — self-preservation, reproduction, freedom (possibility of choice), security — from congenital need for realization of all abilities (Kumarin, 2004).

When education relies on universal values and considers features of outlooks and belief of a certain lingvocultural community, the principle of cultural conformity starts working. This principle helps the individual to feel comfortable in different branches of culture (household, physical, material, spiritual, political, economic, intellectual, moral, etc.). The purposes, contents, methods of education are considered as traditions, style of socialization and inculturation accompanying acculturation and assimilation.

In contemporary researches the processes of socialization and inculturation assume as assimilation of system of cultural values,

rules and standards of behavior by the individual of that society to which he/she belongs. However the person, communicating with representatives of other cultures, can't often predict their behavior, being based only on his/her own cultural norms and rules. At the same time researchers assume that the individual can become at the same time the member of several social and cultural communities. In scientific works A.P. Sadokhin it is noted that in cultural anthropology there was an axiom of a statement according to which each person acts as the carrier of that culture in which he grew up and was created as the personality. When the person is in his own lingvocultural community, he doesn't pay attention to significant features of his culture. These features surround him since his earliest childhood, and the individual perceives them as a reality. But when he contacts with representatives of other culture these features are shown in his activity and sometimes happen absolutely others than in native culture. Then the person starts realizing that there are other forms of experiences, types of behavior, and ways of thinking round him. Various impressions about the world are transformed in consciousness of the person to ideas, installations, stereotypes, expectations which become for him/her important regulators of his/her behavior and communication. Process of identification appears when the person analyzes, compares, and opposes views of other people, their positions, and opinion at his real contact with representatives of other culture. During his activity with other community members he has a process of formation of personal identification which is defined by his knowledge and representations. Meanwhile existence of characteristics of culture means that the main objective of cultural anthropology is supervision, registration, the description and interpretation of daily behavior of people with the purpose of finding an explanation of reasons and possible consequences (Sadokhin, 2012).

**Method of research**

We assume that constructing material and spiritual subjects, standards of behavior, developing skills, a person thereby creates himself. In this regard he/she appears at the world as a product of his/her own history, own activity, own consciousness. Thereby the cultural environment of people represents a specific way of adaptation of the person to the existing physical biological environment which is based on conscious activity. Customs, traditions, standards of behavior necessary for survival and development of nation, not only pass from father to son, but also develop under the influence of scientific and technical progress. Culture keeps, facilitates and protects a human life, establishing models of its relationship with the nature, with other people and with

itself. Thus, the culture acts for the person as a peculiar way of self-defense and adaptation in foreign cultural environment in the course of his/her socialization and inculturation.

Within the considered subject, socialization and acculturation are important for us in the conditions of multilingualism and polycultural habitat. It is assumed that the relations between language and culture can be considered as the relation between part and whole. Language — the main instrument of culture — is intermediary in the course of acculturation. The purpose of acculturation is hidden in understanding of alien meanings that could be accepted or rejected. Language could be apprehended as a component of culture and as a tool of culture. If the native speaker at the same time is the language and culture carrier, signs of language gain ability to carry out function of signs in culture and serve as means of representation of main installations of culture (Davydova and Fomin, 2012).

### Results and discussion

Socialization is the bilateral process. On one hand, the person acquires social experience when enters into community of people of his own society, starts social communications and becomes the member of this society. On the other hand, he actively reproduces this system in his activity. Every day the person accepts information which surrounds him, analyzes and generalizes, involving intellectual activity of his internal psychological experiences. Communication with people, internal experience, and acquisition of social interaction help the person to be formed as personality (Darinskayaa L., Moskvicheva N., Molodtsova G., 2015). The person starts entering the society, social environment, starts acquiring system of sociocultural values of society and feels comfortable and confident as a citizen. Socialization assumes integration of the person into society, and the term "inculturation" means understanding and acceptance of world and behavior inherent in his culture. As a result cognitive, emotional and behavioral strategies of the person become similar to representatives of his culture and differ from outlook of people of other culture. When the person is born, he enters into native culture at once. This process of behavior and speech proceeds during all life. During this process there is a formation of fundamental skills such as types of communication with people, forms of control of behavior, types of expression of emotions. In the process of inculturation the person develops his cultural competence as substantial part of assimilation of language, traditions, customs, and human values. When the person enters other social environment, language and culture, acculturation process is shown. The person can have a different acculturation level, for example, partial or full. At full acculturation the individual plunges into foreign culture and forgets native values. As a result of it there we can observe assimilation (Ardashkin I.B., Kachalova N.A., Borodin A.A., Kachalova O.I., 2015).

In this regard in conditions of globalization, multilingualism and polycultural space moving inculturation and acculturation there is a high probability of loss of preservation of uniqueness of the personality and his/her security in habitat. So-called "language person" is generally in risk. He/she knows foreign languages very well, anticipating and accepting foreign culture value, living and developing his/her professional activity in multilingual polycultural environment. The language person, being high professionals in linguistics, perceives culture of other people, studies their life, mentality, tolerantly, and sometimes with admiration copies their behavior, imperceptibly starts following them not only externally (gestures, a mimicry, clothes and т.п.) but also internally. The language person unconsciously changes, accepting with admiration some behavioural phenomena of other people. Thus he/she is in love with learned language and literature, art and even representatives of that nation. We also recognize that in the course of acculturation the person realizes his/her identity. On the other hand, the language person easily transforms him/herself, consciously assuming behavioural features of other people.

Edmund Gusserl finds that the vital world – naive everyday life is a source of all theories and concepts of science – is the fundamental prerequisite of culture and civilization. This world is filled with "meanings" of consciousness through which we perceive objects of life. All types of reality with which the person deals, are explained from acts of consciousness. Objective reality without consciousness doesn't exist. Human experiences are considered as

refraction through a prism of consciousness of values of the person in real life. In other words, human life is uniform process of formation of life of the person: the person at the same time is that who he is, and who he seeks to be. For example, the language person imperceptibly changes, externally and internally, accepting voluntary or involuntarily pronunciation, style of speaking, behavior of those people which language he/she learns. In these conditions, owning unique ability to change, the person has the threat to assimilate with other culture. Sometimes acculturation occurs, that the language person acquires knowledge and skills necessary for life in foreign environment (Nelunova, 2013; Grigoreva, 2014).

Families living in other country are included in the group of language persons. At the International distance conference 4-year student of North-Eastern Federal University Yuliyana Borisova reported: "... Mother and daughter are Chinese. They moved to the States when Xiao Yu (daughter) was seven years old. Neither mother, nor daughter didn't know English, from which both suffered very much for a long time. They told me it was terrible and hard for them in the alien language environment. They had a wish not to be strangers. They wanted to become "such, as people around". The main problems in such situations are objective (... terrible and hard in the alien language environment...) and at the same time subjective psychological wish to be similar to other people (... they had a wish not to be strangers, they wanted to become as people around). Existence of strong internal desire "to become as people around" causes not only acculturation of the person, but also assimilation. Assimilation is regarded as a form of when the person completely accepts values and norms of other culture, refusing norms and values of his/her own. However now the term "acculturation" is used for the process and result of mutual influence of different cultures at which all or part of representatives of one culture (recipients) adopt norms, values and traditions of another (donor culture). In the process of acculturation the person has to solve two problems at the same time — preservation of the cultural identity and entrance into foreign culture.

Situation in a bilingual family is also a problem. Bilingual family is a peculiar society which being the habitat of the person, derivative of his nature, has also double influence on the person. Actually members of such family try to follow the principle of natural conformity, according the leading role of father or mother. Members of this bilingual families talk equally well in two languages. Some bilingual families choose one language and, therefore, one culture especially in conditions of the city and regional centers. Here is the bilingual family where mother is Russian and the native speaker of Russian, and father is Sakha and the carrier of the Sakha language. Both parents perfectly know their native languages. This family belongs to the type of families with strategy "One language — one environment". Language of communication inside the house is Sakha, outdoors – Russian. Parents choose Russian as dominant language. They explain their choice that "you couldn't understand Russian if you aren't native speaker of this language". The Sakha language becomes second language and is used only for family communication. According to both parents the Sakha language is very easy for communication in the family environment.

The given examples lead us to an idea that the problem of acculturation of the language person, members of bilingual families, and people living, working in other countries consists in possibility of full assimilation to that habitat. So we think over a question – whether there are ways of self-preservation of the uniqueness in conditions of multilingualism. The problem, from our point of view, will occupy minds of psychologists and teachers for a long time as there are no universal receptions and ways of self-preservation of uniqueness of each person. In the article we have concerned only a little part of the problem of acculturation. In modern conditions the geography of the problem extends and goes deep because of migrants who lead economic, cultural, and even physical risks of the person and not only (Pilipenko A.N., Malkova N.Yu., 2015).

Bilingual family occupies more advantageous position among the above-presented examples. We observe a solution of speaking two languages that the question is solved naturally by the principles of natural and cultural conformity of education. In this case children can become members of two social and cultural communities at the same time (Russian and Sakha).



The partial solution of the problem of self-preservation of the person is in self-knowledge and a choice of the place of living in modern society. Acculturation of the person occurs in those cases when: a) the person perfectly knows his/her native language, culture (life, customs, literature, art and other achievements, history of his/her nation); b) he/she knows him/herself own opportunities and abilities, has knowledge in that sphere where he/she works and live. The person with self-endurance sufficient to control him/herself in any situations who could find any way out of "points of bifurcations", without doing harm to him/herself and other people, so process of inculturation and acculturation proceeds naturally in parallel with his/her socialization.

Positive examples of socialization and acculturation are shown by students in the educational environment of universities when they study abroad. More actual is an expansion of cooperation with China. North-Eastern Federal University signs the contract with Beijing Pedagogical University. The contract was signed for a long-term cooperation (five years and more), for lecturing, student-teacher exchange and carrying out joint scientific and educational projects, etc. (Panina S.V., Zalutskaya S.Yu., Grigorieva V.V., 2014).

### Conclusion

In conclusion it should be noted that:

a) language could be understood as a component and tool of culture. At the same time, language, culture and personal qualities of the person are peculiar ways and means of self-preservation of identity and self-defense from risk to assimilate in other environment. The language person is exposed to inculturation and acculturation, having partially acquired traditions and values of foreign culture in order to live and work in that environment;

b) bilingual family is the universal and unique environment of socialization, inculturation and acculturation of persons who could be members of several social and cultural communities at the same time;

c) multilingual educational polycultural environment promotes natural course of socialization, inculturation and acculturation of the person, thereby excludes possible assimilation.

Thus, inculturation and acculturation of the person in multilingual, polycultural environment are natural as the expected result of socialization. Assimilation is possible as a result of compromise with dominant society. In general, awareness of the identity is the message to self-knowledge of skills and abilities causing formation for self-affirmation with a support on which the person starts realizing himself not only in society where he was born, but also in any foreign culture habitat.

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## Text linguistics, Discourse analysis. Typological linguistics (UDC 81`4)

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## СТАТУС КВОТАТИВНОЙ ИНФОРМАЦИИ И СПОСОБЫ ЕЕ АКТУАЛИЗАЦИИ В НЕМЕЦКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

Аннотация

Известно, что к источникам «обыденного» знания относятся чувственное восприятие мира; мыслительная активность человека, детерминированная его способностью помимо пассивного созерцания к анализу окружающей действительности; а также получение знания «из вторых рук» в ходе разностороннего обмена информацией в обществе. Обсуждаемая в данной работе проблема сосредоточена на знании «из вторых рук» или квотативной информации – заимствованной информации, в достоверности которой говорящий может сомневаться. Несмотря на неоднозначность в определении статуса квотативной информации, мы относим ее к самостоятельным источникам приобретения информации главным образом исходя из наличия в немецком языке специальных маркеров для ее актуализации.

**Ключевые слова:** квотатив, информация, достоверность, модальные слова, модальные глаголы, конъюнктив, немецкий язык.

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## STATUS OF QUOTATIVE INFORMATION AND WAYS OF ACTUALISING IT IN THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

Abstract

It is known that the sources of "everyday" knowledge include sensory perception of the world, the thinking activity of humans, determined by our ability to analyse reality in addition to passive contemplation, as well as acquire knowledge from secondary sources during the versatile exchange of information in society. This paper is focused on the problem of knowledge we get from secondary sources, the so-called quotative information – borrowed information, the accuracy of which the speaker can doubt. Despite the ambiguity in the definition of quotative information, we refer it to independent sources of information acquisition, based on the presence of special markers for its actualization in the German language.

**Keywords:** quotative, information, accuracy, modal words, modal verbs, conjunctive, the German language.

## Introduction

In recent years, the term "quotative", related to such English words as "quote", "quotation" has received a new interpretation. Initially, the word "quotative" referred to oblique mood. In Estonian, for example, the verb has four moods, one of which is quotative used to express improbability and doubt. Currently, some authors are using the Russian equivalent of the term – "tsitativ", which is used in the study of evidentiality. So, speaking of mediated information Plungian V.A. [Плунгян 2000: 323] specifies it as derived from the third parties and indicating the presence of "tsitativ" in the verbal language system. In other words, the application of "tsitativ" is associated with the information acquired from other people.

Other researchers use the term "quotative", attributing additional meaning to the word. Andreeva E.V. [Андреева 2000: 187] following Kozintseva N.A., connects the term "quotative" with the semantics of oblique evidentiality (retelling), when the source of information is not personal observation or logical reasoning of the speaker, but the message of another person, when the speaker has the reason to doubt the truth of what is said.

To summarise what has been said, it can be noted that in recent studies the word "quotative" denotes not only oblique mood, but mediated information in general. In addition, the term "quotative" has acquired a new semantic component – the speaker questions the reliability of the information he reproduces. In this paper we define the status of quotative information in relation to other sources of "everyday" knowledge, which includes knowledge received from secondary sources and sensory or intellectual knowledge, and look into the ways of marking it in German.

## Theoretical Background of the Study

Speaking of quotative information it is necessary to determine its place among other sources of knowledge acquisition. There are striking differences in the way linguists treat this issue. Thus, Yakovleva E.S. [Яковлева 1994: 227] considers the knowledge of this kind to be direct, as well as Boulygina T.V. and Shmelev A.D. In contrast, Andreeva E.V. [Андреева 2000: 187] indicates logical output of information in quotatives.

For other researchers the place of mediated knowledge is not a question. According to Belyaeva E.I. [Беляева 1990: 163], the use of mediated knowledge allows to transfer the role of the subject of evaluation to a third party. Khadartsev O.A. [Хадартцев 2000: 186] considers that when there is no evaluation of probability, the speaker can indicate that he had received information from the third party: «[They say] X took place."

Finally, Zaliznyak A.A. claims that mediated knowledge can be attributed to different types of information. The author notes that the

evidence of others, depending on the measure of their reliability, can provide knowledge and veracity when "it does not change the conceptual world of the subject, only adds another proposition 'X believes that'" [Зализняк 1986: 6].

As you can see, there are significant differences in the opinion of linguists concerning mediated knowledge among other sources of information about the world.

## Quotative information as an independent way of receiving knowledge

In our understanding mediated knowledge is an independent kind of knowledge, which is not a part of perceptual or inferential knowledge. The interpretation of another's expertise as an independent type of information about the surrounding reality is based primarily on the fact that in German there are special and unique markers, characteristic only of this language, markers of secondary knowledge, which include units of different levels of language: subjunctive of indirect speech, modal verbs (MV) "sollen, wollen" in function of evaluation, modal words (MW) "angeblich, vorgeblich".

Regarding the German conjunctive, it should be noted that it is subdivided into present and past forms that can be regarded as paradigmatic synonyms, although on the syntagmatic level this synonymy is broken. The conjunctive use of different forms enables the speaker to actualise different levels of reliability of quotative information. In contrast to present conjunctive, which is aimed at marking a greater degree of confidence in the other's saying, past subjunctive expresses less confidence. For example: "Nein, sie würde zu Hause einfach sagen, daß sie beim Volleyballspielen mit Ulrike zusammengestoßen sei und Ulrike mit ihren langen Fingernägeln am Hals gekratzt hätte (I. Heyne)".

Lexical and grammatical means of actualising quotative information include MV sollen and wollen, which are relevant for the explication of doubt about the authenticity of the original statement when reproducing it. Discrepancies in semantic volume of these lexical units refer to marking the subject of information: the use of MV sollen is used when talking about an indefinite subject, whereas MV wollen is associated with the actualisation of the subject of speech, identified with the subject of the action of the original statement and "transmitted" through reproduction: "Sie soll es ihm versprochen haben (B. Lebert); ... Ein Lamparter will beim Vorbeirennen ein Geschrei vernommen haben ... (R. Schneider)".

By MW angeblich and vorgeblich the speaker marks quotative information, the accuracy of which is doubtful. As for the source of information, it is of no interest for him and is not indicated in the

statement: "Angeblich hörte er nichts, hob nur den Kopf ein bisschen und fragte ... (I. Schulze)".

Thus, quotative information, which has an independent status, indicates someone else's statement, the authenticity of which the speaker doubts. Means of its actualization in the German language

include subjunctive indirect speech, MV sollen, wollen, MW angeblich, vorgeblich. It should be noted that such sources of information as perceptual and inferential knowledge are primary in relation to the speaker, in contrast to quotative information which is secondary.

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ЗНАКОВОСТЬ СКАЗОЧНОГО ДИСКУРСА

Аннотация

В статье рассматриваются подходы к определению сказочного дискурса, в основе которых лежат процессуальный и результативный аспекты или их взаимодействие. Как лингвосемиотическое образование сказочный дискурс включает в себя разножанровые произведения народного творчества (сказки, легенды, былички, предания), объединенные общей категорией сказочности, центральным элементом которой выступает чудесное, и аккумулирующие в системе вербальных и невербальных знаков значимые для социума мифологические представления. Исходные мифологические конфигурации преобразуются в специфические для сказочного континуума знаки – сказочные изображения, функционирующие в виде сказочных имен, событий, высказываний. Семиотический характер сказочного дискурса проявляется в ситуации его взаимодействия с другими видами дискурсов.

**Ключевые слова:** дискурс, сказочный дискурс, текст, жанр, семиотика, знак.

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SEMIOTIC NATURE OF FOLK TALE DISCOURSE

Abstract

The article reviews existing approaches to folk tale discourse study defining it either in terms of process or result or their interaction. As a linguo-semiotic phenomenon folk tale discourse comprises folk texts of related genres (folk tales, legends, nursery tales, historical and local tales) which are united by the common category of fabulousness (skazochnost') with the miraculous as its central component and accumulate mythological beliefs shared by society in the system of verbal and nonverbal signs. Mythological configurations are transformed in folk tale discourse into specific folk tale signs – folk tale images functioning as folk tale names, events and expressions. Interactions of folk tale discourse with other discourse types bring out clearly its semiotic nature.

**Keywords:** discourse, folk tale discourse, text, genre, semiotics, sign.

Discourse is considered to be a significant object of linguistic research in the framework of approaches worked out by sociolinguistics, pragmatolinguistics, linguistics of speech and cognitive linguistics. Nevertheless, existing interpretations of discourse are numerous and heterogeneous. Being oral or written, various in length and treated “in textual or sociocultural and social-interactive terms,” it is referred to “an elusive area, an imprecise and constantly emerging and emergent interface between language and culture” [1, 22]. J. P. Gee differentiates “discourse” with a little “d” to mean language-in-use from “Discourse” with a capital “D” including besides language a nonverbal component (language *plus* “other stuff”) [2, 26].

Sociocognitive approach to discourse originates from Teun A. van Dijk's ideas and defines discourse as a general idea of text, a concept of text. In this meaning discourse can be compared to a prototype, a cognitive structure similar to mental structures representing objects and events [3, 191, 205]. In this case discourse assumes material form in infinitely many texts united by thematic unity, common structural and stylistic features and the same communicative sphere while any single text is marked as formal embodiment (materialization) of discourse [4, 232].

Folk tale discourse is an integrative part of existential discourse. Its transformation from situational-role to personal-oriented existential variety of discourse was due to the transition of oral communication into written. This shift of transmission resulted in the loss of its participants' role relations (those of story teller and listener) and in digressions from traditional formulaic style [5, 54].

All diversity of folk tale definitions can be reduced to a few most general definitions, congruent to definitions of discourse. In particular, folk tale discourse is defined as:

— a kind of personal communication, the purpose of which is to detect and experience the essential meaning of life, to interpret the nature of the relationship between man and the world [6, 43-44];

— a socio-cultural and communicative product of speech and thought of an ethnic group containing axiological strategies and cultural information in a variety of texts [7, 8; 8, 7];

— a dynamic process of cognitive and linguistic activity, inscribed in a fabulous context and its result – the text – represented in the special social form [5, 31].

The definition analysis reveals emphasis either on processional or resulting aspects or on their interaction. Another significant characteristic of folk tale discourse is its semiotic space attending to a specific communicative sphere. N. N. Mironova was the first to describe fictional discourse as “a special sign system serving cultural communication” [9, 48]. In addition, V. V. Krasnykh writes that any discourse by its nature is essentially a single semiotic system

possessing its own discursive units – mentefacts and text as units of planes of content and expression [10, 37].

Assertions of semiotic character can be applied in full measure to folk tale discourse, being a kinship with fictional discourse and a source of literary tradition. Folk tale discourse is based upon de-sacralized myth as “a way of social memory organization” [11, 175]. Being a non-text type and preceding event, myth in the form of reductive programs, frames, situations and events penetrates into signs of varying complexity. The symbolism of folk tale discourse is primarily determined by signs referring to mythological situation. Transformation of original mythological configurations (names, images, attributes, motifs, subjects) in accordance with axiological dominants of folk consciousness leads to the formation of specific folk tale signs – folk tale images functioning as folk tale names, events and expressions.

The semiotic nature of folk tale discourse reveals itself most explicitly in a situation of its interaction with other discourse types. As a result of this interaction folk tale images are borrowed to the non-fictional continuum and begin to function as precedent phenomena initiating in the minds of society a desired range of positive associations. Thus, folk tales are widely used and processed in accordance with the theatrical, television or computer discourse format, becoming theater and television performances or computer games. Mass production of toys and souvenirs, creation of great amusement parks as well as appeal to mythological structures of mass consciousness in order to increase the demand for consumer goods result from introduction of folk tale characters and motifs to advertising discourse. In educational discourse folk tales act as an effective means of socialization of children and organization of educational process. Besides, writers and painters turn to this genre of folk literature so that on its basis they could create new works of art having a meaningful emotional and aesthetic impact on the audience.

N. A. Akimenko brings out clearly the correlation between folk tale, political and religious discourses. Folk tale and political discourses are based on a system of identical mythological beliefs creatively transformed in each to receive diverse manifestations according to their aims. Despite different purposes and nature of folk tale and religious discourses, their proximity is verified by inner organization (speech formulas, recurrence, repetition) as well as by the structural and semantic characteristics of their onomastic systems [5, 18-26].

Folk tale discourse can be regarded as text in the broadest semiotic interpretation. In Bart's understanding of text [12, 452-458] it demonstrates the holistic multiplicity of meanings interacting with each other and giving rise to new meanings. Being a creolized system like any form of folk culture folk tale discourse concentrates

on the signifiant, releases the signifie from unambiguous interpretation and determines possibilities of its multifold existence.

From the standpoint of semiosis, or sign process, represented as a five-member ratio V, W, X, Y, Z by Ch. W. Morris [13, 119], folk tale text as a form of folk tale discourse manifestation and fabulousness (skazochnost') as its genre-forming category can be treated as the signifiant of the sign in the broad non-linguistic interpretation (V). The signification of the sign (Y) is the fabulous world constructed in the folk artistic consciousness which reflects creatively transformed experience the ethnic group acquired while interacting with the objective reality. This sign – folk tale discourse — in a particular communicative situation (context Z) arouses in the addressee-interpreter (W) predisposition to a certain reaction

(interpretant X). In other words, the story-teller's masterly narration of a folk tale determines the listeners' due communicative behaviour in accordance with the functional characteristics of folk tale discourse.

Consequently, folk tale discourse is a complex linguo-semiotic phenomenon, a product of speech and thought of an ethnic group manifested in different genres of folk works of art (folk tales, legends, nursery tales, historical and local tales) together with extralinguistic factors. The works of art that make up folk tale discourse are united by the common category of fabulousness with the miraculous as its central component and accumulate mythological beliefs shared by society in the system of verbal and nonverbal signs.

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В современной социологии понятие «скрытый смысл» относится к идеям, которые ученикам пытаются навязать косвенным путем. Авторы Советских школьных учебников никогда не пытались скрыть их идеологической составляющей, даже в течение достаточно либеральных 1920-ых гг. Напротив, идеология в них демонстрировалась осознанно и открыто. Математика всегда считалась наукой, наиболее удаленной от политики, но даже ее использовали в сталинские времена в пропагандистских образовательных целях. Превращение школ из достаточно свободных в абсолютно тоталитарные учреждения произошло в течение нескольких лет, а основные принципы советской педагогической науки сильно трансформировались в течение 1920-1930-ых гг. В авторских учебниках по математике это особенно заметно. В учебниках того периода доминирует своего рода модель соцреализма, и здесь важно отметить, что произошло это задолго до того, как он стал главным методом Советской литературы в широком смысле. Советская рутинная начала 1920-ых гг. отображена в этих учебниках достаточно детально. Среди главных тем: голод, болезни, бедность, а также природные и социальные катаклизмы. В учебниках арифметики появляется специфическая Советская модель мира. В педагогике того времени главным акцентом становится назидание, а школьная арифметика все чаще обращается к аспектам каждодневной жизни. Конфликт между реальностью и идеологией решается в пользу последней. В этом смысле, математику можно считать одним из главных факторов коммунистического воспитания.

**Ключевые слова:** скрытый смысл, конфликт, образование, идеология, математика, пропаганда, школьные учебники, модель мира, соцреализм, Советский образ жизни.

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### THE LIFE-MODELING FUNCTION OF TASKS IN RUSSIAN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS OF THE 1920S AND 1930S

Abstract

In modern social science, the notion of the “a hidden curriculum” refers to a set of beliefs imposed on pupils in an indirect way. The authors of Soviet school textbooks never tried to hide their ideological components, even during the relatively liberal 1920s. On the contrary, ideology was deliberately and overtly demonstrated in them. Mathematics is generally considered to be a science as far from politics as is possible, but even this was used by the school of the Stalin era in the service of propagandist educational aims. The transformation of schools from fairly liberal to fully totalitarian institutions took just a few years, and the basic principles of Soviet pedagogical science transformed rapidly during the 1920s and the 1930s. In the original manuals on Mathematics, the change is especially obvious. A kind of a model of Social Realism is dominant in the textbooks of this period, where it is important to note that this happened before it became the main method at use in the Soviet literature more broadly. The Soviet routine at the beginning of the 1920s is depicted in such books with realistic detail. Among the topics that dominate are hunger, disease, poverty, as well as natural and social disasters. A specific Soviet model of the world is formulated in arithmetical textbooks. When looking at current pedagogies, edification receives certain emphasis, and in the case of school arithmetic, refers more infrequently to aspects of daily life. A conflict between the real and the ideal is settled in favour of the latter. In this way Mathematics is considered to be one of the factors of Communist education.

**Keywords:** hidden curriculum, conflict, education, ideology, Mathematics, propaganda, school textbooks, model of the world, Social Realism, the Soviet way of life.

#### Introduction

Those who compiled the first Soviet textbooks would criticize their prerevolutionary colleagues, first of all, for being ‘out of touch’ with reality; they themselves were, by contrast, ready to turn a textbook into a newspaper or even a political leaflet, striving to be modern. The Politics Department of the Privolzhsky Military District, for example, issued *A New Arithmetical Book of Problems* in 1922 in consideration of the fact that “formerly, the contents of tasks and arithmetical exercises were too far from the life of pupils, [where] most of them felt artificial and failed to capture student interest, that was the reason why it [the Politics Department] compiled it < the book of problems> in the way to be more suitable for the interests of modern life” (*A New Arithmetical Book of Problems* Vol. I, 1922, p. 1). Pupils themselves should have participated in realizing this program. They were offered to compile their own task “using the materials of newspapers of the last month” (*A New Arithmetical Book of Problems*, Vol. I, 1922, p. 5).

#### Examples

Instead of an abstract “someone” used in the texts of those tasks to be found in prerevolutionary textbooks such as *A New Arithmetical Book of Problems*, there appeared quite modern characters – such as a Red army soldier, a speculator, a security officer (a chekist) – while the events are strictly localized, as the following examples bear out:

*In December of 1921, 1 gram of sugar cost 31/2 thousand rubles in Samara, if counted in old monetary system. How much should you pay for a kilo of sugar in 1922?*

*One of the districts of the Tula Governorate had sent to the state budget 9 train cars of wheat by the 1st of September, 1921 as a foodstuff tax though it should have sent 12 train cars. What part of its task did the district fulfill?*

*The market price of rye bread in Moscow on the 1st of January 1921 was 29/10 thousand rubles, and in Samara, it cost 31/2*

*thousand rubles for a pound. By how many times is bread more expensive in Samara than it is in Moscow?*

*(A New Arithmetical Book of Problems, Vol. I, 1922, p. 10 and Vol. II, 1922, p. 15).*

Such scrupulousness was typical for the textbooks of the first half of the 1920s. The same meticulousness can be found in Glazenap, who included the following problem: “a metric centner of cereal flour cost 25,50 rubles at the Moscow commodity exchange on the 19 of June in 1924. While a metric centner of buckwheat flour cost 10,75 rubles. How much more expensive is cereal flour than buckwheat flour?” (1924, 75).

The Soviet way of life of the beginning of the 1920s is presented in this way in textbooks in quite a realistic manner. The dominant topics include hunger, diseases, poverty, as well as natural and social disasters such as fighting with the enemies of the Revolution. Some further examples include:

*To help to people starving in Povolzhye, the cadets from Petrograd sent 17 pounds of bread from their ration and 9 pounds from the bread they were to get in compensation for working on Saturday on their day off [ which they called the subbotnik]. How much bread did the cadets sacrifice in total?*

*The death rate from cholera in Samara was 65% in 1921. [The task was to explain the sense of this number].*

*(A New Arithmetical Book of Problems, Vol. I, 1922: 3; Vol. II, 1922, p. 9).*

*30 kopecks were given to 10 beggars in equal parts. How much money did each of the beggars get?*

*30 kopecks were given to beggars such that each of them received 10 kopecks. How many beggars received money?*

*(Volkovsky, 1923, p. 11).*

Perhaps because the new regime had no achievements of which it might be proud, it introduced comparisons with western countries or even, in contrast, to Russia’s prerevolutionary period:

*In the United States, the average harvest of wheat from a dessiatina (2¼ acres) is 90 pounds and we have 45 pounds. How much is the harvest of bread in the United States more than ours?*

*In 1913 in Russia, we used 30 million pounds of paper and in 1920 we used 10 million pounds. How much cheaper was it in 1920?*

*A Russian eats on average 1,25 pounds of meat a year. A German eats 1½ pounds. An American eats 3,5 pounds. How much and how many times less meat does a Russian eat than a German and an American?*

(A New Arithmetical Book of Problems, Vol. I, 1922, pp. 4, 8 and Vol. II, 1992, p. 26).

The indications of the advantages of a prerevolutionary life would become impossible all too soon, but the issue of the USSR lagging behind the West finds expression regularly in the textbooks of 1920s, in examples such as the following:

*An average weight of a peasant's cow in Soviet Russia is 300 kilos. Some cows abroad weight up to 700 kilos. The yield of milk of a peasant cow is also quite low and it seldom is higher than 100 buckets a year. Some cows abroad give three times more milk.*

*Peasants think a horse to be tall if its height exceeds 155 centimeters; it is quite contrary abroad – a horse is considered to be short if its height is less than 155 centimeters.*

*There is some data about poultry in the Russian peasant household. A hen lays on average 80 eggs a year. [...] foreign thoroughbred hens lay up to 260 eggs a year. How many more eggs a year will 5 such foreign hens lay than 5 Russian hens?*

(Voronets, 1926, pp. 70, 74, 97–98).

You can find an admiration of American technologies on pages of the Soviet textbooks, and it is not surprising, because it was encouraged by Stalin himself. His formula of “a combination of the Russian revolutionary scope with the American business character” is actively propagandised, for example, by the authors of a manual on the Russian language (Barkhudarov, 1930, pp. 41, 120). In a workbook on Mathematics, as it should be, there are only facts and figures: “In 1925 in the United States, there were 191½ million of automobiles, which is 87,2% of the total number to be found worldwide. How many automobiles were there in all the other countries of the world excluding the USA?” (Berg, 1930, p. 148).

The school of the 1920s is relatively free for a while, where foregone conclusions were not imposed on pupils, and they are allowed to think by themselves and have their own point of view. For one of the problems on subtractions of decimal fractions, D.L. Volkovsky used the research of scientists who showed that women in wealthy families are taller than those in poor families. At the age of 17, a girl from a wealthy estate was 156,6 centimeters tall, from a middle class income estate was 153,8 centimeters tall, and from a poor family was 150,4 centimeters tall. “Using this data you are to make your own problems” the author offers, “solve them and make your own conclusions” (Volkovsky, 1926, p. 34). It is quite easy to suppose that schoolchildren are thereby pushed to make a conclusion about social injustice of the former world order. But the following statistical table changes the direction of thoughts of schoolchildren.

Volkovsky gives the data on the height of men and women in Moscow and in the governorate. It was found that Muscovites far overtake their peers from the provinces. The height of a 17 year-old Muscovite girl is 154,3 centimeters, and that of a girl from the governorate is 152,2 centimeters. The task is the same: “Compare the height of teenagers from Moscow with that of teenagers from the governorate. On the table make your own problems, solve them and make your own conclusions” (Volkovsky, 1926, p. 34). It is more difficult to forecast the conclusions of the third year schoolchildren here. At any case an perpetual conflict of the capital and province does not refer to class fighting.

The way in which quite liberal schools became totalitarian took just a few years. Basic principles of Soviet pedagogical science, leading from the 1920s into the 1930s, were transformed quite quickly. In manuals on Mathematics, the change of authorial opinion is especially obvious when comparing problems on the same topic.

Up to the beginning of the 1930s, simple calculations of the amount of sweets, nuts and apples were often changed in textbooks into the calculations of the cost of wine and vodka. In 1923, a second-year schoolchild should have solved, in particular, such a problem: “A bottle of wine costs 3 rubles 15 kopecks. How much do 6 bottles of such wine cost?” (Volkovsky, 1923, p. 27). No moral

inferences are made beyond the information provided to do the calculation. The same six bottles of wine are found in a textbook of 1931, however, compiled for the first-year schoolchildren, which reads: “a bottle of wine costs 3 rubles. How much will you spend for 6 bottles of vodka?” (Volgina, 1931, p. 62). Moral edification finds introduction here in the unit called ‘Traditional Life’, where the problem is taken from within a text focused on the celebration of Easter. While explicating this religious holiday, the co-authors make a demagogical substitution. They in fact absolutely ignore the religious part of the holiday, which is illustrated as an ordinary feast lasting for three days, and instead relate the following: “several fights happened and 12 people were injured in them. Seven of them got slightly injured, and the rest were severely injured and taken to hospital. How many people were taken to hospital?” (Volgina, 1931, p. 62). “Life Mathematics” by N. Belyakova, also published in 1931, is even more biased. One of the paragraphs here has the sloganary title: “For the fighting against the Easter drug”. The ‘Easter drug’ here is certainly not the exotic opiate mentioned in Marx’s popular definition of religion, but a reference to the more traditional vodka. With a complete disregard for religion and taking issue with drinking, Belyakov finds a what is to him a satisfactory substitute: “A bottle of vodka costs [...] but ‘The Peasant Newspaper’ costs 2 kopecks for an issue. How many issues of the newspaper can you buy instead of a bottle of vodka?” (Belyakov, 1931, p. 68). The cost of vodka here is not even given in the problem, where it is assumed that a pupil himself should insert it, and to do it he should know the prices for alcohol drinks quite well. A moralistic pathetic of a compiler poorly matches with this.

A fifth-year schoolchild of any epoch outside that of Stalin’s would most likely be shocked by the statement of the following problem: “it is considered that the amount of pure alcohol that kills a living being is in proportion to his weight. For a person who weights 65 kilograms, a lethal dose is 520 cubic centimetres. Calculate out a lethal dose for your own weight” (Berg, 1930, p. 207). The aim of a compiler ought to have been to prove the harm of drinking to a child, where in fact he achieves the contrary effect when recommending each child to define a dose of alcohol suitable for his own demise. The question would certainly be thrown into stark relief were this to end up provoking suicide.

A wicked trick can be played on a teacher by objective scientific accuracy, especially when combined with uncontrollable childish curiosity. The information given in the problems № 790 and № 797 in *The Work Book on Mathematics (1926)*, is borrowed from the Soviet and prerevolutionary statistics as follows:

*On average, 4678 people annually die from drinking in the USSR, 26,3% of 2000 suicides registered every year are those of drunk people, while 60% of 2840 murders are committed by drunkards. How many people annually die from vodka?*

*According to the latest census in 1870–1887, 84217 people died from drinking in Russia, 7431 of which are women. Calculate the percentage of men and women who died (Berg, 1930, p. 207).*

Though the problems are printed next to each other, the authors tried to escape a direct correlation. However, it is not difficult – even for a pupil of primary school age – to calculate that the average annual number of people who die from drinking in Russia in 1870–80s is 4678 people, and that the number stays the same for the USSR. Such stability of Russian life across these eras is a great shock, and may easily upset anyone, even though it was not the aim of the teachers who provided students with this material.

In such a way, good arithmetical skills can lead to undesirable consequences. Perhaps it is even better for pupils not to count at lessons? It is, but this variant was also tested: “The expenses of one religious family during a church festival were as follows: they paid 1 ruble to the priest; 65 kopecks to the church for candles, communion bread and sundry; 2 rubles and 96 kopecks for vodka; and 2 rubles 35 kopecks for snacks. Is the money spent enough to buy skates or skis or chessboards?” (Berg, 1930, p. 206). One can certainly assume a positive answer to this question, and respond that yes, it will be enough to buy skates and skis and chess, too. However, the lack of prices in the problem shows that a pupil is expected not to formulate the correct calculations, but indeed, the correct ideology. A dangerous ambiguity is not passed over. Six rubles and 96 kopecks was quite enough to buy a chess set at the time, but why not

dream of something more qualitative and expensive and then the whole of antireligious propaganda will be in vain.

It seems that the safest way to suppress arbitrary connotations was chosen by Belyakov. The collection of problems from the unit "Working Together for the Common Cause" in his *Live Mathematics (1931)*, was devoted to comparing the harvest of a collective farm to that of separate households. The title of the unit itself makes it clear that the collective farmers won out against the separate households, even before the competition got started. But to illustrate this, it is necessary to illustrate the slogan with a certain material. The first step is to collect the facts as follows: "Find out what the approximate harvest is of a peasant from a separate from kolkhoz household. This data you can get from the local Soviet Department or from your teacher". (Belyakov, 1931, p. 10). It appears out of the question to get this information straight from a peasant! As far as alternative sources of information were limited there were no any grounds to doubt the usefulness of the collectivisation. But as if that is not enough, there is an additional argument being introduced. As an example, they give another calculation of the harvest as if it was made in some other school. It shows that the harvest of buckwheat on a collective farm to have been 8 centners higher than the harvest in separate household, where the harvest of wheat was 4 centners higher and that of oats was 5 centners higher. The question asked for teachers further on is then of certain interest: "Check up if pupils filled in the last column correctly" (Belyakov, 1931, p. 11). The last column of the table is called "Who has more", and the options are given thus: "In a collective farm"; "In a collective farm"; "In a collective farm". All of these naturally leads to this triple "hurrah" to the kolkhoz system. The main error of Belyakov was that he could not finally overcome the main idea of the 1920s., in the new decade of the 1930s, there was no need for any "Live Mathematics" as it was called in the title of the textbook. Reality is unpredictable but no one takes it into account. What if some wealthy private householder would grow a harvest, for example, which would be higher than on a collective farm? To break with all references to reality was the only way for a teacher to be guaranteed safety from confusing questions.

School arithmetic of the 1930s is so far from daily life, that even the notorious 'someone' from prerevolutionary problems now seemed to be an example of naturalism.

In textbooks of this period, a kind of analogue of the social realism won out and this had happened even before it became the main method of the Soviet literature. Problem № 608 from *The Activity Book on Mathematics* is fairly demonstrative: "By the end of

the five-year plan (1932–33) the length of the railway line should become 20% longer and be 92 000 km long; freight turnover will rise by 87% and reach 282 million tons per kilometre. Count the length of the line and its freight turnover at the beginning of the five-year plan (1927–28)" (Berg, 1930, p. 149). A pupil is expected to count how it was yesterday, based on the hypothetical data of a possible tomorrow. Looking from the future to the past in such a way, they ignored the present as it was taken for granted. The conflict between the way things are in reality and the way they should be, is won not by the reality.

#### Results

In modern social science, the notion of the "a hidden curriculum" refers to a set of beliefs imposed on pupils in an indirect way. The authors of the Soviet school textbooks never tried to hide an ideological component, even during the relatively liberal 1920s. On the contrary, ideology was deliberately demonstrated. If some conservative pedagogues could not change their opinions, in time it was deemed necessary for them to be assigned an ideologically competent consultant to suit the requirements of the moment. Professor Glazenap, in the introduction to his *Book of Problems on Basic Mathematics (1924)*, was frank enough to confess that "A.T. Shenkman helped me to compile the problems on social topics and to review the whole of the book" (Glazenap, 1924, p. 4). In the 1930s, this phenomenon was even more outspoken, where for example it was written for the second-year schoolchildren the very first page of the textbook "Mathematics at School", that "while compiling books, authors took into consideration the role of mathematics at school as one of the factors of Communist education" (Popova, 1932, p. 3).

#### Discussion

School textbooks are a significant part of the every day life of modern society. They in one way or another reflect author outlooks, the every day life of society, the policy of a state, and other such ideological constructs. The question of what a school textbook should be, to what degree it should reflect the realities of everyday life, and whether or not there should be any attempt to edify remain immediate for any community and state (Siyepu, 2013). Now and then we encounter lively discussions about the quality of the material presented in modern textbooks and even their ideological bent (Mnguni, 2013), despite the technical and social developments of 'the modern age' of today.

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## Text linguistics. Discourse analysis (UDC 81`42)

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## ПОЭТИЧЕСКИЙ ЯЗЫК П.А.ВЯЗЕМСКОГО В СЛОВАРНОЙ ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИИ

Аннотация

В статье представлены результаты системного анализа поэтического языка П.Вяземского (1792–1878), полученные авторами в ходе работы над словарем писателя. Выявлены количественные, качественные и эволюционные характеристики лексикона поэта. Проведен сопоставительный анализ словариков Д.Давыдова, А.Дельвига, А.Пушкина, Н.Языкова, Ф.Тютчева, А.Полещаяева, М.Лермонтова, Н.Огарева.

**Ключевые слова:** П.Вяземский, поэтический язык, словарь языка писателя, частотность словоупотребления, лингвопоэтика.

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## POETIC LANGUAGE OF P.A.VYAZEMSKY: THE DICTIONARY INTERPRETATION

Abstract

The article presents the results of the system analysis of poetic language of P.Vyazemsky (1792–1878), that have been obtained by the authors during the work on the dictionary of the writer. They have revealed the quantitative, qualitative and evolutionary characteristics of the lexicon of the poet. The comparative analysis of the Dictionnaires by D.Davydov, A.Delvig, A.Pushkin, N.Yazykov, F.Tyutchev, A.Polezhaev, M.Lermontov, N.Ogarev have also been carried out.

**Keywords:** P.Vyazemsky, poetic language, dictionary of the language of the writer, the frequency of word usage, linguapoetics.

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## Introduction

Last decades the rapid development of literary lexicography (dictionaries, concordances) of the Russian philology in Russia and the West is being observed. There appeared some generalizing works devoted to the subject (eg: Shestakova 2011); specialized conferences of this kind (see eg: Golovanevsky & Shestakova 2007; Shestakova 2013) and seminars at the Institute of Russian Language of the Russian Academy of Sciences are being held. This makes it possible to have good conditions to create some new and versatile methodology of linguistic and literary studies.

One of the urgent tasks of the author's lexicography is the preparation of alpha-frequency dictionaries of the most prominent poets of the past, in particular the «Pushkin galaxy» (Zhatkin 2000; Vasilyev 2003, 2010, 2015, p. 98-151; Zhatkin & Vasilyev 2008, 2009; Vasilyev & Zhatkin 2009a). This would enable to compare lexicons of both the contemporary poets, who were often close to each other ideologically and aesthetically, and the poets of different epochs, who were distant from each other in there system of art. Something has already been done in this regard, but it is necessary to do even more so that the present and future philologists could have dictionaries and reliable statistical basis for the study of language, style, and poetics of classics.

The article is aimed to show the results of research done and the possible prospects of these lexicographical works based on the example of the «Dictionary of the Poetic Language of P.A.Vyazemsky» (Vasilyev & Zhatkin 2015).

## Theoretical Background of Study

Alpha-frequency dictionaries of the writer's language are multipurpose in terms of efficiency of analysis: a) they model the quantitative and qualitative structure of the lexicon of a particular poet, novelist or playwright; b) they outline the contours of the artistic mentality of the authors, their linguapoetical horizons, active and passive verbal «links» in their aesthetic thinking that can manifest itself through specific concepts, images, names; c) provide a reliable factual and statistical toolkit for understanding of the creative evolution of writers; d) provide opportunities for objective comparative historical analysis of language and linguapoetics of authors (predecessors – contemporaries – successors), as well as literary movements (classicists – sentimentalists – romanticists and so on).

## The main results of the vocabulary «measuring» of P.Vyazemsky's language

1. This dictionary is the first experience of lexicographical description of the language of P.Vyazemsky (1792–1878), of

outstanding poet of the XIX century. It includes: alpha-frequency index of lexemes and proper names in the works of the writer (with reference to the specific text by means of indexation); a rating of the most common words; it interprets obscure lexemes; explains the names, the mythologisms, geographical realities and so on; makes comments on word usage of the writer. The evolution of the author is taken into account by means of information about the frequency of words and homonyms – it is divided into three periods of his unique literary activity, the conventional boundaries of which are A.Pushkin's death and the end of the epoch of the reign of Nicholas I: 1800–1837, 1838–1855, and 1856–1878. The dictionary contains an alphabetical index of poems of the poet (more than 1000 texts) with information about their chronology, printed and archival sources, in some cases about textual discrepancies. The work of the poet is presented here to almost the maximum extent, including works not published in the Soviet period and in the «The Complete Collected Works» of the writer (Vyazemsky 1878–1896). The appendices contain a list of neologisms of the poet (274 units), the poems not printed in the collections of his writings, their significant variations, including those found in the poet's archive (more than 40 new texts), as well as the works attributed to Vyazemsky.

2. The total number of lexemes used by the writer is 14 631 (taking into account the texts not included in the basic sample of the dictionary – 14 819); the cumulative amount of their usage (within the basic sample) – 187 881; the average frequency of occurrence – 12.8 times. Number of proper names appearing in poetry of Vyazemsky is 1486 (taking into account the texts not included in the basic sample of the dictionary – 1529); the amount of their usage (within the specified sample) – 3384; on average, they are used by the author 2.3 times. Number of barbarisms (foreign words and phrases) in the works of Vyazemsky – 32 (taking into account the texts not included in the basic sample of the dictionary – 34), the amount of their usage is 42; on average, each of them is used 1.3 times. The number of foreign-language homonyms is 24, the total amount of their usage – 30 times; they are used on average 1.25 times. The total number of lexical units (lexemes, proper names, barbarisms, foreign-language homonyms) in poetic language of Vyazemsky makes 16 173 units (taking into account the texts not included in the basic sample of the dictionary – 16 406); the total amount of their usage – 191 337 times, which makes the total sample of speech facts for the dictionary (without taking into account a number of products in the Annex to the dictionary).

3. Lexicon of Vyazemsky is the richest among the «counted» dictionnaires of other poets of the XIX century. So D.Davydov uses about 3500 words (Vasilyev & Zhatkin 2016), A.Delvig – over 5000 (Vasilyev & Zhatkin 2009), F.Tyutchev – over 6000 (Golovanevsky 2009), A.Polezhaev and N.Yazykov – almost 8500 (Vasilyev 2001;

Vasilyev & Zhatkin 2013), Lermontov – about 10 thousand (Borodin & Shaikevich 1981; Vasilyev 2001, p. 7); N.Ogarev – more than 10 thousand (Vasilyev 2013); and finally A.Pushkin uses almost 13 thousand words (Vinogradov 1956–1961; Vasilyev 2001, p. 7).

In our view it is quite natural, not only because of the large volume of Vyazemsky's literary heritage, which is significantly reflected in quantitative structure of the author's dictionaries, and of his 70-year-old creative activity, which is also important because in post-Pushkin time and especially in the second half of the XIX century there appeared many new words, concepts, phenomena, – it was owing to his «encyclopedic» mentality and the brilliant knowledge of the Russian language, despite the fact that his poetic language itself is hermetically sealed and «conservative».

The above can be confirmed by the unique poetic honymasticon of Vyazemsky especially on the background of his contemporaries. For us to compare: the number of proper names in the poetry of Baratynsky is approximately 350, in Delvig's about 400, in Ogarev's is almost 500, in Polezhaev's is over 500, and in Yazykov's – almost 600. Thus, the «list of names» Vyazemsky uses, is three times the average rate of usage of homonyms in the works of the representatives of «Pushkin galaxy» and their contemporaries.

If we consider the degree of activity of proper names in the poetry of Vyazemsky, then we can account the probability of their occurrence in the text of the poet as  $0,018 \pm 0,001$ . As a comparison, the same parameter in Ogarev's works is  $0,010 \pm 0,001$ , in Polezhaev's –  $0,018 \pm 0,001$ , in Yazykov's –  $0,026 \pm 0,001$ , in Delvig's –  $0,035 \pm 0,002$ . Therefore, as a whole Vyazemsky does not abuse homonyms in his poetic speech.

4. The list of 10 most frequent words of Vyazemsky includes *и, в, не, он, я, с, на, мы, весь, ты*. The peculiarity of the poet compared with other contemporaries is that he uses the lexemes *мы* and *весь*, which probably reflects the tendency of spiritual «conciliarity»; while the concept *Я* takes the lower level than, for example, in Lermontov's, Polezhaev's, Pushkin's, Delvig's, and Ogarev's works, and «selfish» pronoun *мой* does not even enter the rating of «best twenty». To a certain extent Vyazemsky comes close to Ogarev, who also actively uses the word *весь*, while the concept *мой* is muted.

Among the 20 most frequently used full-meaning words, defining the main semantic vectors of Vyazemsky's poetry are the following life-affirming, optimistic concepts as: *день, жизнь, душа, здесь, один, сердце, любовь, ум, небо, там, рука, сон, друг, дать, сказать, стих, земля, слово, мир* «universe», *другой*; they are followed by such important words as *любить, бог, тень, новый, светлый, милый, знать*... To compare with Delvig he uses – *друг, любовь, рука, бог, сердце, любить, душа, песня, жизнь, день, ночь, знать, небо, здесь, там, слеза, радость, говорить, сон, невец*; Yazykov uses – *день, душа, любовь, друг, мечта, поэт, милый, прекрасный, знать, стих, живой, слава, небо, рука, вино, здесь, любить, жизнь, сердце, сон*; Polezhaev uses – *душа, один, рука, день, друг, небо, мочь, жизнь, видеть, земля, там, сказать, бог, любовь, око, слава, милый, знать, идти, сердце*.

You may notice that compared with other poets (except for Yazykov) Vyazemsky does not have many verbs that are dynamic by their semantics among the 20 of his «favorite» lexemes. However, the verb *дать* takes a higher rating position in his poetry than in the works of his contemporaries.

5. The share of «one-time» words in the works of Vyazemsky makes 39%, i. e. this approximately corresponds to the statistical «normal» frequency distribution of the vocabulary in the language of the majority of writers: Davydov has 46,9 % of such words, Delvig – 45,4 %, Yazykov – 45,5 %, Polezhaev – 46 %, Ogarev – 41,7 %. As a result, you may notice that there is a tendency to reduce the probability of occurrence of low frequency words while the array of text samples forming the basis of these observations is increasing. The conclusion arises that the authors who have approximately identical literary heritage (in this case in the range from 65 to 79 000 word usages) there is almost a constant of the statistical distribution equal to 45–46 %, which, of course, needs further confirmation. The share of the twice used lexemes in the poetry of Vyazemsky is 16 %. Thus, more than half of the poet's glossary consists of the lexemes

of low frequency, which are sometime aesthetically very significant and memorable for their eccentricity: *абрис, авангард, агроном, азарт, аксиома, акция, алгебра, алебастровый, алтын* and so on. It is due to these elements that a stylistic uniqueness of any author is created, and the richness of its vocabulary arsenal is formed.

6. On the contrary the «one-time used» homonyms prevail among proper names in the works of Vyazemsky: *Авзоня, Агасфер, Адиссон, Адриатика, Азия, Аи, Айвазовский, Акрополь*... The following homonyms are leading: *Россия* (17, 44, 48), *Москва* (38, 12, 26), *Русь* (7, 19, 23), *Жуковский* (19, 9, 8), *Пушкин* (6, 7, 19), *Карамзин* (10, 7, 12), *Париж* (8, 7, 11), *Кремль* (5, 10, 10), *Феб* (24, 1, 0), *Европа* (4, 6, 14), *Нева* (12, 6, 6), *Святая Русь* (2, 14, 5), *Хвостов* [D.Khvostov] (16, 1, 2), *Парнас* (16, 0, 2), *Байрон* (9, 0, 8), *Белинский* (0, 2, 14), *Пегас* (13, 1, 1), *Петербург* (9, 2, 4) and so on. However, some of the proper names are duplicated at the conceptual level, which reinforces the impression of their significance in the semiosphere of poetic thinking of Vyazemsky, for example: *Россия, Русь, Святая Русь, Север; Петроград, Петербург, Петрополь, Питер, Санкт-Петербург; Петр, Петр Алексеевич, Петр Великий, Петр I, Петр Первый, Ригер; Байрон, Бейрон, Бирон, Бирони; Китрида, Киферея, Цетера; Мария, Дева Мария, Заступница, Мадонна, Пресвятая (Святая) Дева (Матерь), Царица небес*...

You may notice that such ancient «personalities» as *Амур, Анакреон, Аполлон, Аргус, Арей, Аякс* etc. mainly characterize the early works of Vyazemsky, then from the mid-century the images of religious and powerful country begin to grow in his poetry, and he mentions the names of fellow writers who are most dear to him.

7. In terms of active usage of certain lexemes in separate periods of his creative life there can be highlighted the following trends:

a) the frequency of usage of words remains relatively stable, given that the sample of the second period of the writer's literary activity is twice inferior in volume to the other two, for example: *веноч* (26, 11, 23), *грех* (21, 10, 19), *грядущий* (20, 12, 24), *дом* (50, 23, 51), *жить* (77, 39, 75), *звезда* (50, 22, 52), *красавица* (33, 15, 30), *красота* (88, 50, 79), *луч* (38, 22, 39), *любить* (106, 61, 121), *небо* (158, 69, 157), *радость* (80, 50, 79), *роковой* (20, 11, 17), *сей* (144, 59, 135), *сердце* (224, 112, 223), *слеза* (76, 45, 65), *тьма* (43, 26, 37), *улыбаться* (11, 7, 13), *ум* (166, 81, 166), *юность* (13, 5, 12), *юный* (32, 14, 36);

b) in due course it decreases, for example: *веселый* (28, 12, 12), *взор* (88, 14, 27), *волнение* (35, 3, 13), *восторг* (37, 7, 18), *герой* (35, 4, 11), *глас* (57, 12, 23), *гений* (23, 4, 12), *говорить* (86, 14, 48), *дар* (105, 16, 34), *делать* (27, 6, 9), *довольный* (13, 4, 3), *друг* (215, 49, 66), *жар* (39, 6, 8), *изящный* (14, 1, 6), *клятва* (18, 2, 7), *кумир* (29, 4, 11);

c) it decreases essentially, for example: *ах* (19, 1, 1), *богиня* (13, 4, 2), *брег* (35, 2, 4), *веселость* (9, 2, 1), *вздох* (23, 2, 5), *вино* (34, 5, 9), *воображение* (16, 1, 6), *забава* (28, 5, 4), *любимец* (19, 1, 4), *любовник* (19, 2, 2), *мадригал* (11, 0, 1), *малютка* (20, 0, 1), *мечтание* (13, 1, 4), *мотылек* (8, 2, 1), *муза* (91, 8, 14);

d) the following words (concepts) fall outside the scope of poetic thinking of the author – or already in the second period, for example: *верить* (5, 0, 0), *верить* (7, 0, 0), *грации* (19, 0, 0), *ода* (25, 0, 0), *уединенный* (14, 0, 0), *хариты* (4, 0, 0); or in the third period of his creativity, for example: *плень* (4, 4, 0), *поверить* (14, 1, 0), *предрассудок* (10, 1, 0), *признаваться* (8, 4, 0), *согражданин* (7, 3, 0), *увидеть* (15, 7, 0);

e) word frequency, conversely, increases, for example: *благодатный* (8, 7, 22), *благодать* (2, 5, 12), *боец* (6, 4, 22), *божий* (13, 30, 64), *боевой* (2, 12, 16), *бой* (28, 41, 56), *борьба* (18, 18, 62), *брат* (38, 34, 59), *вера* (9, 8, 21), *вечерний* (8, 9, 14), *внешний* (1, 9, 9), *внутренний* (2, 14, 26), *впечатление* (1, 8, 14), *вопрос* (5, 9, 39), *вражда* (17, 13, 34), *встреча* (9, 5, 25), *глубокий* (9, 9, 33), *горе* (16, 14, 45), *грустный* (7, 9, 22), *грусть* (11, 13, 27), *закат* (10, 9, 27);

f) in the speech of the poet there appear the words that he never uses – or at least in the first period of his life, for

example: *безвыходный* (0, 2, 3), *былой* (0, 9, 29), *господь* (0, 11, 27), *значение* (0, 4, 5), *кубок* (0, 8, 6), *либерал* (0, 1, 5), *недостойный* (0, 4, 3), *общественный* (0, 1, 12), *отблеск* (0, 3, 10), *отметить* (0, 1, 9), *поминки* (0, 6, 9), *редко* (0, 5, 6), *родственный* (0, 2, 11), *современный* (0, 3, 8), *сознание* (0, 5, 13), *сочувствовать* (0, 6, 10), *серебряный* (0, 2, 8), *телеграф* (0, 1, 5), *темно* (0, 1, 8), *теплиться* (0, 3, 9), *тревожный* (0, 5, 7), *ядро* (0, 6, 10), *ясность* (0, 5, 5); and in the second period, for example: *безвыходно* (0, 0, 2), *выдумать* (0, 0, 3), *гласность* (0, 0, 13), *коммунизм* (0, 0, 1), *коммунист* (0, 0, 1), *комфорт* (0, 0, 1), *митинг* (0, 0, 1), *нигилист* (0, 0, 2), *прогресс* (0, 0, 8), *публицист* (0, 0, 3), *растерять* (0, 0, 2), *реализм* (0, 0,

1), *утилитарность* (0, 0, 1), *фантазмагория* (0, 0, 1), *фельетон* (0, 0, 1), *филантропия* (0, 0, 1).

#### Summary

Compilation of such dictionaries-directories is extremely important, as they lay the foundation for further development of philology, putting at disposal of linguists and literary critics a set of corps and statistical tools for studying poetics of the particular author, for comparative studies from various points of view (Vasilyev 2015, p. 144-151, 198-266). The solution of this global problem can be compared to the work already done by verses experts in the field of analysis of historical parameterization of Russian verse.

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Статья посвящена анализу индивидуально-авторских метафор в качестве основополагающих компонентов художественного миромоделирования. В рамках данной работы рассматривается соотношение индивидуально-авторской метафоры с интердискурсивной маркированностью, что позволяет выявить особенности национально-культурной специфики англоязычного художественного текста. Центральное место в настоящем исследовании занимают положения, связанные со способами концептуализации действительности в сознании англоязычного менталитета, необходимыми для корректной интерпретации культурно-специфической информации.

**Ключевые слова:** индивидуально-авторская метафора, когнитивно-ориентированная парадигма, текстовые категории, интерпретация художественного текста.

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## THE WORLD-MODELLING POTENCY OF THE INDIVIDUAL METAPHOR

Abstract

This article analyzes individual metaphors as a fundamental component of the artistic worldview. The research discusses the correlation between the individual metaphor and interdiscourse markedness that allows identifying some peculiarities of cultural identity of the English-language literary text. The central place belongs to the propositions connected with the ways of reality conceptualization in the minds of the English-speaking mentality, which are necessary for correct interpretation of the cultural-specific information.

**Keywords:** individual metaphor, cognitive-oriented paradigm, textual categories, interpretation of literary texts.

At the turn of XX-XXI centuries, in a new research paradigm of the linguistic science, a special place belongs to the communicative linguistics of the text. Its tasks are directly connected with the discourse analysis. Modern linguistics is often associated with the analysis and interpretation of the language worldview, which, in particular, according to E. Kubryakova, is «that part of the conceptual man's world that is tied to language and refracted through the linguistic forms which are reflected in the structure of the discourse». [4, 22]

One of the main components of reality conceptualization is a metaphor. Its function is the artistic world-modelling. In this respect the relationship between the individual metaphor and the interdiscourse markedness of metaphors is of great interest. An ideal base with a tremendous potential of metaphorical structures includes short fiction. Thus, it determined the object of our attention — a novel by Alice Munro, a Canadian contemporary writer, the winner of the 2013 Nobel Prize in Literature.

In the cognitive-oriented paradigm a special place belongs to the analysis of text categories, one of which is the coherence (integrity) of the text. As rightly pointed out by I.R. Halperin, the integrity of the text «... is focused on the content of the plan, on the sense, it is largely psycholinguistic and stipulated by the laws of the text perception, the reader's desire to decode the text, combining all the components into a whole». [1, 130]

In our opinion, it is metaphor that can help the recipient to engage actively with text categories representing a particular text as a unity of these categories. To better understand this issue, we turn to Alice Munro's short story «Dimensions». It contains many individual metaphorical structures, which are intertwined with each other, creating the finest psychological pattern. We analyzed about 70 metaphors and found it possible to group them thematically:

1. *nature*: «the sunlight was pouring down through naked branches»; «dazzling patches of water lay in the fields»; «here summer jumped almost directly into winter»; «Perhaps it was that most were meant not just to look out on but to open directly into the forest darkness, and that they displayed the heaven of home so artlessly»; «the fresh snow squeaked under my feet»; «the winter havoc which gave us distinction».

In the context of this metaphorical field the reader is faced with personified metaphors that are inseparably linked with the characters' lives, their mood and inner feelings. The metaphorical view, that is analyzed, is not only filled with colorful nature descriptions, but also carries a psychological and emotional burden. Examples of metaphorical units are put in order of appearance in the text, the protagonist's inner world being revealed with the help of nature descriptions. Thus, initially, there were no signs of trouble (the sun was shining, magnificent streams spilled on the fields), but suddenly the whole picture of the nature changed (as if summer immediately poured into the winter) because the main character was

going through tremendous emotional distress — her husband killed all their three children.

1. *time*: «It would take time, that things couldn't be hurried»; «I tell him he is wasting his time»; «He was exaggerating how old Maggie was... But she was afraid that the kidding would seem overly friendly to Maggie, an intrusion, or at least a waste of time».

Traditionally, the historical development of the society, the common cultural background, moral priorities influence the so-called time conceptualization. The central place here belongs to the concept of «cost». Concept analysis shows that the time measurement is interpreted as a unique dimension, and therefore it is preferably insufficient, it cannot be hastened, but if you use it properly, it is possible to increase its productivity.

1. *emotional state*: «Maggie had her own sharp no-nonsense way of looking at things»; «She just needed to walk something out of her system»; «Her heart kept thumping»; «Something softened at her, but she fought against it»; «Her large, kind, impersonal sobriety drained all assaulting cheerfulness, all insult, out of her clothes»; «...she could think of Lloyd burning in Hell»; «It is not my right to go emotional in front of you».

George Lakoff in his book «Metaphors we live by» names such constructions orientational metaphors, "when there is no structural ordering of the concept in terms of another, but there is an organization of the whole system." Presented metaphorical units are associated with spatial orientation, with the opposition of the type «in-out», «up-down». Thus, orientational metaphors give the notion "spatial orientation": «No. I do not close my eyes and get lifted up by any specific Higher Power»; «hat gave them a bit more to talk about, until she could not help herself»; «a feeling came over her». We consider it fair to link the conceptual nature of metaphorical units with human physical and cultural experience. These examples have physical and social foundation: a person's status is correlated with the figurative domination while physical domination metaphorically comes to the fore. [3, 126-172]

1. *outlook, way of thinking*: «his philosophy of life had changed»; «old ways of life»; «a humble way of trying to understand»; «he wanted them to be introduced to the world carefully»; «Lloyd had a certain way of looking at things»; «There is some large conviviality and appetite he carries with him»; «the idiocy in his book»; «the world was too ungenerous to give her the least credit»; «a long bumpy ride through the sordid back alleys of life».

2. *colour*: «sensitive reddish skin»; «raspberry or turquoise color»; «Maggie's hair was pepper-and-salt»; «honey-colored hair»; «pewter-colored hair»; «little gold sticker»; «Her hair was not white but platinum blond».

Thus, conducting a deep analysis of the metaphorical space in A. Munro's story, we can say that one of the key concepts of the English-speaking (Canadian) mentality from the standpoint of the cognitive paradigm is the category of time. What is more, nature is

something unshakable, as opposed to human existence because the heroine's inner world is being revealed with the help of unusual nature descriptions. A separate place belongs to color visualization and ways of thinking allowing us to conclude that to understand the mentality of native English-speakers it is not enough to know the language. We have to understand the nature of the national

consciousness and to know the peculiarities of reality conceptualization in their minds. So, it looks like next to impossible for a foreign reader to grasp the whole message of a text if they are far from cultural and ethnic awareness. The text will remain undeciphered or misunderstood until the reader is familiar to those peculiarities.

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## ОСМЫСЛЕНИЕ ПЕРЕВОДЧЕСКОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ Д.Е. МИНА В РУССКОМ ЛИТЕРАТУРОВЕДЕНИИ

Аннотация

В статье впервые представлен обзор материалов, связанных с изучением и восприятием творчества поэта-переводчика Дмитрия Егоровича Мина (1818–1885) русской литературной критикой и литературоведением. Отмечается, что значительный интерес, проявленный к творчеству Мина библиографами и составителями справочных изданий конца XIX – XX вв., долгое время сочетается с определенной ограниченностью внимания к нему со стороны ученых-литературоведов, в основном кратко упоминавших о деятельности переводчика при осмыслении пограничных проблем, таких, как русская рецепция У.Морриса, восприятие шекспировской драматургии в России 1870 – 1880-х гг., творчество Данте и его влияние на русскую и мировую культуру, цензурные препятствия при издании переводов итальянской литературы в России и др.

**Ключевые слова:** Д.Е.Мин, поэзия, традиция, художественный перевод, компаративистика, литературная критика, библиография, межкультурная коммуникация.

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## COMPREHENSION OF D.E.MINH'S TRANSLATION ACTIVITY IN THE RUSSIAN LITERARY CRITICISM

Abstract

The review of the materials connected with studying and perception of works of the poet-translator Dmitry Egorovich Minh (1818–1885) in the Russian literary criticism is for the first time presented in the article. The considerable interest shown to Minh's creative works by bibliographers and authors of reference books of the end of the XIX-XXth centuries, for a long time was combined with a certain limitation of attention to it from the literary critics generally briefly mentioning the translator's activity at judgment of boundary problems, such as the Russian reception of U. Morris, perception of Shakespearean dramatic art in Russia in 1870 – 1880s, Dante's creative works and his influence on the Russian and world culture, strict censorship at the edition of the translations of the Italian literature in Russia, etc.

**Keywords:** D.E.Minh, poetry, tradition, literary translation, comparative study, literary criticism, bibliography, cross-cultural communication.

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## Introduction

Creative activity of the poet-translator Dmitry Egorovich Minh caused a fixed interest of the contemporary Russian critics. In 1843 even before the appearance of his first translation (Francesca da Rimini containing an episode of the V song of "Hell" from "The Divine Comedy" by Dante (Minh, 1843, p. 307–311)) in the conclusion of the pejorative review of the prose translation of "Hell" by Fang-Dim (E.V.Kologrivova) the author of the thesis "Dant and his eyelids" S.P.Shevryev who also transferred the great Dante's work, with satisfaction reported: "... almost all "Hell" by Dant has already translated in Russian by terza rimas with proximity and accuracy incredible. <...> A translator Minh, apparently, is unknown in our literature at all. Some literary songs were delivered to me – and I was surprised by this work, conscientious and great. <...> Minh studied the original, seized the Russian terza rima perfectly and translates Dante's works so close and truly that can outdo the best German translators" (Shevryev, 1843, p. 193–194).

In the second half of the 1840s – the beginning of the 1850s Minh was published only as the translator of "The Divine Comedy", and, at the same time, small, but lexically and stylistically perfected fragments of the future big translation appearing on pages of "Sovremennik" (Minh, 1845, p. 151–162) and "Moskvityanin" (Minh, 1850, p. 11–20), testified to thorough approach of the translator to the chosen work. In 1852 after the publication of the I song of "Hell" in Minh's translation (Minh, 1852, p. I–IV, 215–224) I.I.Panayev specified in his "Notes and reflections of the New poet concerning the Russian journalism" that "Mr Minh began working with love and knowledge" and as a result the translation was "very good and worthy of any respect": "<...> to a certain extent he managed the main thing, he could reflect as far as possible the spirit of the original, – and that is very important!" (Panayev, 1852, p. 114–115).

As we can see, from laconic judgments of S.P.Shevryev, I.I.Panayev, and also their contemporaries who prepared anonymous publications the history of literary and critical understanding of the

activity of one of the most considerable Russian translators of the second half of the XIXth century D.E.Minh began.

## Theoretical Background of Study

The theoretical and methodological base of the research is based on the works of classics of the Russian literary criticism Alexey N. Veselovsky, V.M.Zhirmunsky, M.M.Bakhtin, the works of the researchers of international literary relations, first of all, of the representatives of the Leningrad comparative-historical school – M.P.Alekseev, R.M.Gorokhova, Yu.D.Levin, K.I.Rovda, and also on the works concerning problems of Russian-English and Russian-Italian literary and historical and cultural interaction. Not numerous works of the foreign researchers affecting D.E.Minh's creative works in the context of international literary relations, in particular, the research of H.Buriot-Darsiles comprehending perception problems of Dante's "The Divine Comedy" by imperial censorship (Buriot-Darsiles, 1924), the book of A. Engel-Braunschmidt accenting questions of reception of the German poetry in Russia in the XIXth century were used (Engel-Braunschmidt, 1973). For understanding of D.E.Minh's translation manner, for comparison of his translations with the English originals the authoritative editions were also used.

## Results

D.E.Minh's heritage is studied by literary critics extremely poorly at present. So, in the works of academician M.P.Alekseev, the founder of the Leningrad comparative-historical school, the name of Minh can be found three times: in the article "Problem of Literary Translation" (1931) where the scrupulousness of Minh's work in the translation of "The Divine Comedy" is noted, numerous completions of the text from option to option (Alekseev, 1931, p. 176), in the article "The First Acquaintance with Dante in Russia" (1970) where it is casually mentioned strict censorship which arose at the publication of the first full translation of Dante's "Hell" (Alekseev, 1970, p. 45), and in the article "Russian Meetings of William Morris" (Alekseev, 1996, p. 4), where in the note it is reported about Minh as the first translator of fragments from "Earthly paradise" by W. Morris and that sharply disapproving assessment which got this translation in I. S. Turgenyev's letters (Turgenyev, 1964, pp. 314, 316).

From the Leningrad comparative representatives R.M.Gorokhova became interested in Minh very much, whose most considerable works are devoted to the perception of the Italian literature (first of all, Torkvato Tasso's creative works) in Russia. In her article "Dante's "Hell" in D.E.Minh's translation and imperial censorship" (1966) the advantages of "the first full Russian poetic translation of "Hell"" are noted, in particular that it is written "by the metre the most corresponding to the original – iambic pentameter *terza rima*" (Gorokhova, 1966, p. 48). R.M.Gorokhova calls Minh "the talented and tireless poet-translator" (Gorokhova, 1966, p. 48) also mentions his interpretations of Schiller, Byron, Shakespeare, Petrarch, Torkvato Tasso and other poets. The main volume of the article is devoted to identification of the reasons of the publication of "Hell" with strict censorship reductions, among which – censor's disapproval of the possibility to place tsars into a hell, undesirability of accusation of pastors in a self-interest, perception of invariable condemnation of indifference and indecision as an appeal to a civil activity, etc. (Gorokhova, 1966, p. 54–55).

K.I.Rovda, analyzing the translations of Shakespeare's works made in 1880s, among the others presented in his article "Years of Reaction" which was the part of the collective monograph "Shakespeare and Russian Culture" (1965) published under edition of the academician M.P.Alekseev, the short analysis of interpretation of the play "King Joahn" by D.E.Minh. Drawing conclusions from his reasonings, K.I.Rovda noted the fight of two tendencies in creation of translations, alterations and retellings of Shakespearean works in 1880s: one of them reflected "aspiration to adapt Shakespeare's creative works for the lowered tastes of a bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reader and viewer", the second "was directed to the original Shakespeare's development" (Rovda, 1965, p. 650). Minh, along with D.V.Averkiyev and S.A.Yuryev, was ranked as a translator of the second group, whose activity corresponded to the tendencies of development of philological science in respect of Shakespeare's perception in particular and translated works in general.

Minh's biography and creative works drew attention of Yu.D.Levin who not only devoted the certain part of the book to him "Russian Translators of the XIXth Century and Development of Literary Translation" (Levin, 1985, p. 214–234), in which the author made the general review of his biography and creative activity, but also mentioned about the poet-translator in other sections of his book. Subsequently on the basis of materials of the book "Russian Translators of the XIXth Century and Development of Literary Translation" of the article about D.E.Minh in the fourth volume of the biographic dictionary "The Russian writers. 1800 – 1917" was prepared by Yu.D.Levin (Levin, 1999, p. 72–73). Minh was also mentioned in other scientific works of Yu. D. Levin. In the monograph "Shakespeare and Russian Literature of the XIXth Century" he was called among the audience on celebration of Shakespeare's anniversary in Moscow on April 11(23), 1864, and preparation to the anniversary of the translation of a monologue of the King Richard II said before the death in a dungeon (from the fifth scene of the V act of the drama "Richard II") (Levin, 1988, p. 201) was noted; noting that Minh had translated "King Joahn", Yu.D.Levin gave the characteristics to him as to the poet, "glorified by the translation of "The Divine Comedy" by Dante" (Levin, 1988, p. 317). In the article "Burns in Russian" Minh was characterized by Yu.D.Levin in the context of consideration of Russian translations of Burns' works, and it was talked of interpretation of the first part of the poem "The Vision" ("Videniye") as the only fact of Minh's appeal to Burns' heritage (Levin, 1982, p. 546).

Minh's activity was also affected in the monographs of the Russian researchers of Dante Alighieri's creative works – A.K.Dzhivelegov ("Dante Alighiyeri. Life and creative works" (Dzhivelegov, 1933, p. 169)), I.N.Golenishchev-Kutuzov ("Dante's creative works and world culture" (Golenishchev-Kutuzov, 1971, p. 416)), A.A.Asoyan ("Honor the greatest poet ...". Destiny of "The Divine Comedy" of Dante in Russia" (Asoyan, 1990, p. 19, 192–193)).

The question of influence of the Russian biobibliography on development and strengthening of D.E.Minh's literary reputation can cause a special discussion. Among posthumous comments on the translator D.D.Yazykov's edition "The review of life and works of

the late Russian writers" is remarkable. In the fifth part of it Minh's short biography and bibliographic data on his printed translations from Dante, F.Schiller, J.-G.Byron, W.Shakespeare, W.Morris, A.Tennyson, W.Wordsworth are presented (Yazykov, 1888–1909, ed. 5, p. 110–111). In the subsequent parts Yazykov made additions to data on Minh's translations from the above-mentioned West European writers, and also from J.Krabb, R.Burns, R.Buchanan, G.Longfello, T.Moore, P.-B.Shelley's, T.Tasso (Yazykov, 1888–1909, ed. 6, p. 9; ed. 8, p. 145; ed. 9, p. 98; ed. 11, p. 229). Nevertheless he didn't consider actual data about Minh's interpretations of F.Petrarch, J.Milton, T.Campbell.

Reference information about Minh is also represented in the bibliographic index prepared by A.V.Mezyer in 1902 "The Russian literature from the XIth to the XIXth century inclusive" (Mezyer, 1902, p. 229), in the book of the Ryazan local historians I.V.Dobrolyubov and S.D.Yakhontov appeared in 1910 "Bibliographic book of writers, scientists and artists, natives (mainly) Ryazan province" (Dobrolyubov & Yakhontov, 1910, p. 145–146). S.A.Vengerov in the fourth volume of "The book of the Russian writers" (1917) added very modest biographic data of the translator with the list of the editions containing publications of his works, and also obituaries and responses on the published translations (Vengerov, 1917, p. 332).

Minh is also mentioned in bibliographic editions of the Soviet period. So, in N.P.Smirnov-Sokolskiy's bibliography "Russian literary almanacs and collections of the XVIII–XIXth centuries" it is noted some collections containing translated works of Minh, – published by N.F.Shcherbina "The collection of the best works of the Russian poetry" (SPb., 1858), the collection "Poets of All Times and People" prepared by V.D.Kostomarov and F.N.Berg (M., 1862), "The German poets in biographies and samples" under N.V.Gerbel's edition (SPb., 1877), "The collection of English poets" published by the Society of distribution of useful books (M., 1879) (Smirnov-Sokolskiy, 1965, pp. 260, 274, 332, 343). In the bibliographic edition "Library of the Russian poetry of I.N.Rozanov" the list of the almanacs and collections containing Minh's translations was added with N.V.Gerbel's anthology "English poets in biographies and samples" (SPb., 1875) (Goldberg & Kostrova, 1975, p. 171). I.F.Masanov's investigation's are also interesting who established Minh's pseudonyms – D.M., De Minh, Demin, Dae Minh (it is established allegedly), Dyamin (Masanov, 1956–1960, v. 1, pp. 317, 334, 337, 353, 355). Bibliographic data on publications of the translation of "The Divine Comedy" made by D.E.Minh and also on literary and critical responses to this translation are contained in M.M.Kowalewski's works (Kowalewski, 1921, p. 58–60) and V.T.Danchenko (Danchenko, 1973); data on Minh's translations from Shakespeare are included in the known Shakespearean bibliography of I.M.Levidova (Levidova, 1964, pp. 36, 46, 47, 63).

#### Summary

D.E.Minh mainly drew attention of bibliographers and originators of reference books (D.D.Yazykov, A.V.Mezyer, S.A.Vengerov, I.F.Masanov, N.P.Smirnov-Sokolskiy, I.M.Levidova, V.T.Danchenko) thanks to whom it was succeeded to keep and systematize the valuable factual materials concerning separate Minh's publications in the Russian periodical press of the second half of the XIXth century, the emergence of responses to his publications. Minh's activity became a reference point for new generations of translators of Dante's "The Divine Comedy", first of all for V.Ya.Bryusov and M.L.Loizinsky. At the same time the works of literary critics were limited either of a mention of Minh considering boundary problems, or of the short characteristic of separate episodes of his literary biography (strict censorship at the publication of Dante's "Hell" (R.M.Gorokhov), creation of the translation of the historical chronicle of W.Shakespeare "King Joahn" (K.I.Rovda)), or of the review adumbrating about activity of the translator and his achievements (Yu.D.Levin). Minh was distinctly perceived as the founder of one of the best readings of "The Divine Comedy" (I.N.Golenishchev-Kutuzov, A.A.Asoyan) while his other translations remained in the shadow, without causing interest, – the deep system judgment of Minh's creative works in the Russian literary criticism of the XXth century didn't occur that has to be surely filled with literary criticism of the XXIth century.

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**Auxiliary sciences and studies of philology (UDC 801.7)**

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Аннотация

В статье выявляется литературная основа российской медиакритики. В то же время исторически критика в России была тесно связана с публицистическим дискурсом. Такая корреляция сохраняется и сегодня.

**Ключевые слова:** медиакритика, литература, публицистика.

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LITERARY SPECIFICS OF THE RUSSIAN MEDIA CRITICISM

Abstract

The article reveals the literary foundation of the Russian media criticism. At the same time, historically criticism in Russia was closely linked to the journalistic discourse. This correlation continues today.

**Keywords:** media criticism, literature, journalism.

Media criticism is a new trend in Russian media process. In the modern sense concept “media” includes a variety of communication channels, including literature. More precisely, it is not a new phenomenon, but just a new word. The phenomenon itself is highly characteristic exactly for Russia. Under media criticism in a broad sense we understand the various traditional areas of critical discourse, taken not by themselves, but adapted to the media formats. This kind of media adaptation has several key features in Russia. The first one is that Russian criticism tends more to the thick magazine, rather than operational journalistic formats. Second – criticism in Russia has always moved closer to literary journalism and essays. So, the conversation about Russian media criticism – in addition to the journalistic component – have to deduce into a wide socio-cultural context. Russian criticism high culture orientation has determined historically.

The origin of criticism in Russia was connected with the process of formation such important types of edition, as magazine and almanac. During Russian press system becoming, heated debates around the question, what Russian magazine should be, were largely based on an understanding the significant influence that criticism can really exert to the public opinion.

In such literary focused country, like Russia, media criticism, certainly, is mainly represented in its literary variety. Meanwhile, at the periods of transformation the whole Russian life, in 1830 – 1840 years, criticism from the aesthetic phenomenon has transformed into the great ideological power. Russian “real criticism”, represented realistic poetics in the middle – the second half of the XIX century was essentially a publicism (or, in another words, authors journalism). Almost all the major writers in XIX century were themselves the original critics.

At that time critic judged, appreciated not the very literary work, but Russian life at the whole, which has been reflected in some way in analysing creation. A classic example is considered to be the critical method, used – as they said – by “furious Vissarion” (Vissarion Belinsky). The special Russian model of criticism as publicism has not only been determined by censorship factor. The fact is that Russian public discourse traditionally declared itself through the literature way. Like the sacred status of the Russian writer, the author of critical articles in Russia || historically appeared to be a ruler of minds. And it is a unique social and cultural situation that has arisen precisely in Russian conditions.

Thus, more than one hundred and fifty years ago, criticism from the factor, regulated the printing system, has transformed into the most important factor of the public opinion. Real criticism method, appealing to the practical common sense, “people’s needs”, methodologically paved the way for the media criticism separation as a means of social control over the media. The twentieth century marked by two existing areas of criticism: the ideological and aesthetic. Ideological criticism was used in the Soviet era to fight against ideological enemies. One of the greatest masters of aesthetic criticism on TV was Irakly Andronnikov. His oral histories on TV about Russian cultural figures were very much enjoyed from soviet viewers. In the Soviet times, TV was conceptualized by critics as a screen art. Art approach to television was largely due to the ideological factor. The powerful head of the USSR State television and radio committee Sergey Lapin said that to criticize television was the same as to criticize the Soviet regime.

Although the media criticism concept was borrowed from the Western practice, media criticism phenomenon is very typical for Russia. Media criticism development in the West mainly due to the media promoting, in Russia it mostly associated with ideological function. Method of media critical analysis in Russia is different from the Western analogues. In the view of the literary type of Russian culture, Russian literature has always been more than a fiction and criticism has moved closer to the author’s journalism. Like the sacred status of the writer, the author of critical articles in Russia historically appeared to be a ruler of the minds. Due to the tradition of Russian criticism it should form a broad picture of social life. Russian media criticism formed on the base of actual critical discourse with the culture-centered character. In Russia, media criticism has traditionally been associated with other media and cultural paradigm. In the Western practice, media criticism plays a significant role in the relationship between expert community and media.

Contemporary Russian media criticism approaches to the art-criticism (typical for the Soviet period) and author’s journalism, moving away from the forms of corporate media criticism, established in the 1990s. In the whole, media criticism returned to the starting point, which determines its fame in the XIX century. Media critical discourse approaches to publicism again. And this is the traditional Russian environment for discuss the public life topical issues.

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## General questions relating to both linguistics and literature. Philology (UDC 80)

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## ЭТНОКУЛЬТУРНАЯ СПЕЦИФИКА ИДИОМЫ: ПРОПИСНЫЕ ИСТИНЫ ИЛИ СКРЫТЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ?

Аннотация

Этнокультурная специфика идиомы рассматривается с методологических позиций когнитивной фразеологии. В центре внимания два аспекта: лингвокультурологическое своеобразие идиомы и когнитивные факторы, обуславливающие их этнокультурную специфику. С точки зрения вербализации культурно маркированного отражения действительности в структуре фразеобразующего концепта рассматриваются его основные механизмы: а) сенсорно-перцептивные процессы, б) лингвокреативное мышление и в) обыденно-понятийные мировосприятие.

**Ключевые слова:** идиома, этнокультура, фразеологические универсалии, фразеологические уникалии, фразеобразующий концепт, лингвокреативное мышление.

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## ETHNOCULTURAL IDIOM SPECIFICITY: FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS OR LATENT PROBLEMS?

Abstract

*Ethnocultural idiom specificity is dwelt upon from the methodological views of cognitive phraseology. The two aspects are under study, i.e. linguocultural idiom specificity and cognitive factors defining their ethnocultural specific nature. In terms of verbalisation of culture specific reflection of reality, the structure of phraseme forming concept implies the main mechanisms, namely: a) sensory perceptual processes, b) linguocreative thinking, and c) ordinary conceptual perception of the world.*

**Keywords:** idiom, ethnoculture, phraseological universals, unique idioms, phraseme forming concept, linguocreative thinking.

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## Introduction

At the stage of becoming phraseology a linguistic discipline, many researchers laid a special emphasis on studying the expressive figurative nature of phrasemics (in European terminology – *idiomology*), and its ethno-linguistic specificity. Perhaps the most profound observations were expressed by Leonid I. Roizenzon who called phrasemics the most original and complicated phenomenon “out of the all creations of human linguistic genius” (L. Roizenzon, 1977: 116). Over the time, this state of things seemed to become stable. At the turn of the 20th-21st centuries, however, against the background of the cognitive contrastive analysis of the phrasemes correlated in different languages, it began being doubted in the works of even such authoritative in phraseology scholars as Harry Walter and Valeriy M. Mokienko. According to them, nowadays there is an overestimation of phrasemics culture specific that originates from “the folkloric and linguistic romanticism of the first half of the 19th century” (H. Walter, V. Mokienko, 2013: 1). Their own studies constituted a ground for disproving the folkloric romanticism postulates. As viewed by these scholars, most phrasemes “by no means emerged on the folk and national ground proper, but on the all-European cultural and philosophical ones” (ibid: 2). The main reason for this is that in the languages compared there are phrasemes of the same vocabulary like Rus. *lovit' rybku v mutnoj vode* – Eng. *to fish in troubled waters*, ad lit. “*lovit' rybku v mutnoj vode*”; Rus. *iskat' igolku v stoge sena* – Eng. *to look for a needle in a haystack*, lit. “*iskat' igolku v stoge sena*”. No doubt, for peoples of small Europe linguocultural communication are of such importance that they could not have led to numerous borrowings and calques both in vocabulary and idiomology (T. Cherdanceva, 1996: 58; A. Cowie, 1998). The main reason for borrowing of “other’s” idiom is the lack of the corresponding concept (a naïve, trivial notion) in the cognitive base of the recipient language. Among other reasons one should name the necessity to express the polysemy of the known concept with the help of a loan idiom, to replenish the expressive means of the mother tongue, etc. (T. Fedulenkova, 2014). Special intensity of the phraseme interpenetration process was given by the Scriptures, i.e. idiomology of biblical origin penetrated into the linguistic consciousness of European people (D. Balakova et al., 2014). That is why the views of those researchers who do not exclude that “Somebody else’s” can turn into a part of “One’s own” are significant (S. Georgieva, 2013: 36; M. Lapteva, 2012; Zh. Fink, 2013: 151).

Finding out the ethnocultural specificity of phrasemics is certainly impossible without comparing folk wisdom fixed in the tropes in different languages. However, it is very unlikely to solve the given task confining oneself just to the structurally semantic comparison of idioms, of closely related languages in particular (cf.: J. Korhonen, 2007). It was Aleksandr A. Reformatskiy who wrote the following: “Closely related languages are of great interest for the contrastive method as *the temptation of identifying “one’s own” with “somebody else’s” ... “lies on the surface”*. But it is exactly that kind of provocative proximity, the overcoming of which is fraught with big practical difficulties. It is especially applied to such groups of languages as Slavic and Turkic” (A. Revormatskiy, 1987: 41; *italized by* – N.A.). At the same time it is necessary to take into account that within the interpenetration of linguocultures foreign language units are subjected to paradigmatic and syntagmatic adaptation. “The adoption of something belonging to somebody else’s”, Aleksandr A. Revormatskiy continued his reasoning, “lies exactly in its subjecting to something of one’s own” (A. Revormatskiy, 1987: 42). Adapting loan phrasemes and their components in terms of adaptation to the nominative semantic system of the borrowing language is necessary for their effective functioning, indeed. For instance, “morphological adoption of foreign phraseologism [...] begins with endowing it with active grammatical categories (G. Kadantseva, 2008: 137). Thus, nouns in the composition of the English phrase borrowed by the German language, acquire the categories of number and gender, e.g. *der Zapper, die Bubble Economy*, verbs, in their turn, borrow a definite conjugation type (the weak one, as a rule – *maken, make gemakt*), e.g. *bad blood maken*. Adjectives are adopted on the analogy of German, e.g. *easieres Leben*.

Nowadays such a delicate issue should be considered in the light of modern cognitive culture linguistics achievements, moreover, before our eyes contrastive cognitive linguistics is onward and upward (see N. Alefirenko, Sh. Zharkynbekova, 2014).

## Linguocultural idiom specificity

Even in case of entire foreign phraseme adaptation the original connection with their traditional event discursive origins is retained. It is no coincidence that academician Fedor I. Buslaev called “well-known common expressions” “peculiar micromyths”, the semantics of which implies “both moral law and common sense expressed in short sayings that were bequeathed by ancestors to guide their descendants” (F. Buslaev, 1954: 37). Therefore appealing to phrasemes lets us approach to the realising the peculiarities of nation mental make-up not in an abstract way but in the context of that axiological space in which these phrasemes were formed. We act on

the premise that the prime purpose of phrasemes is that of their reflexive function. The phraseme content is always aimed at the wisdom of the ages and nation value system fixed in them. Specific culture worldview and peculiarities of national mentality are implemented in their discursive modus semantics. As a result, ethnolinguistic phraseme specificity of any language shows up in a multifaceted way, namely,

a) in reflection of nation mental make-up and the peculiarities of national consciousness;

b) featuring in peculiarities of national form and any nation ethnocultural colouring that is reflected in phraseological image, being specific for different peoples;

c) in the specific origins of phraseme forming concept (L. Bayramova 2013: 170);

d) in psychosemantic shades of phraseological connotation (A. Naciscione, 2010) caused by the genesis and peculiarities of meaning system functioning in either language, with this system mediating the process of ethnocultural perception, thinking and linguistic memory;

e) in ethnolinguistic distinction of encoding of one and the same content.

To make sure of this, it is quite enough to turn to spoken language that is extremely larded with specific set expressions, indeed. It seems that in any language there are lexical nominants that are used in them, e.g. *names for geese, ducks and hens*. However, their unusual combination with metaphoric epithets within the Russian linguistic consciousness, for instance, cause such associative-metaphorical meanings that are either absent in any other linguoculture, or applied in a different discursive pragmatic level. By the way, the uniqueness of most Russian phrasemes is exactly determined by their associative-notional relations within a certain discursive pragmatic paradigm. Thus, on sudden discovering somebody's negative traits of character, a Russian would most likely say: *gus' lapchatyi, khorosh gus', nu i gus'!*

*Gus' lapchatyi* is a humorous / ironic name for a rascal or just a dodger who is easy to get out of difficult situations, to avoid punishment for his actions or behaves as if he did not want to take the responsibility for his vices. The two other phrasemes are the variations of the previous one, i.e. *khorosh gus' < khorosh gus' lapchatyi: nu i gus' < nu i gus' lapchatyi!* Cf.: "*Ai da Aleksei Ivanovich; nechego skazat', khorosh gus'!*" (A. Phushkin).

The metaphoric epithet *lapchatyi* plays one of the leading parts in the phrasemes under study. It implies an extremely important history- and culture-specific meaning that is connected with Count Vasily Petrovich Saltykov's economic activities. Ex-ambassador of His Majesty of Russia's Emperor for France, having retired and settled in his estate, located on the opposite bank of the quiet and tranquil Tesha river near Arzamas, turned out to be a good manager as we would call him today. On the meadows near the Tesha river, he used to breed large gaggles of geese. Among people Saltykov even got an inoffensive nickname "Goose Count". But the bred poultry had to be sold somewhere. Where? – In Moscow and Petersburg, certainly, in the main trade areas of those times. But that was a long way from Arzamas. How to cover such a distance? – People did their best and tried to transport geese on a cart. However, the latter used to lose their weight so that it was absolutely impossible even to look at them without compassion. That is why the master of the bird's land made up his mind to carry geese for long distances and keep their salable condition in an extraordinary way. People began to drive geese on their own. For that purpose even the land parallel to the road was ploughed up and sowed with grass for feeding the birds. It all seemed to satisfy everybody, the geese even put on excess weight on the way... New hardships did not keep them waiting: on their way the geese did get bloody feet. A new idea occurred to them – to provide geese with shoes. Skilled craftsmen put themselves on the map. They started to adjust very tiny bast shoes right to a goose foot. But that was not to geese's liking; moreover, they pecked those annoying "shoes" to bits. Since the idea of providing geese with ordinary bast shoes was not caught on, a new idea occurred to the people, a brainwave, indeed! It was based on goose's feet ability to withstand large temperature drops. It is common knowledge how easily birds can walk on ice as well as they are not afraid of wandering on hot sand. One day the Count was struck by such an idea: before being sent on a long journey, the

geese were supposed to run through a long corridor, the beginning of which was tarred. The geese were driven through it at a run, after that they immediately got on the pre-paved fine river sand. Getting into the best of the molten slush, geese soles became covered with a layer of adhesive resin, to which sand clung tightly. Thus, on their feet a thick protective layer was formed, that was called a horseshoe. Even such an expression as "*gusei podkovyvat' vedut*" (*geese are driven for shoeing*) became popular with people. Exactly in such very tiny "*lapotchki*" ("*bast shoes*") snow-white gaggles left behind a hundred miles away, getting not only to Moscow and St. Petersburg, and, as rumored, even to Paris. It looks like a legend, to be sure. However, until now the street, along which the birds were driven to form their "bast shoes", has been called Progonnaya (*see: B. Zhestkov Shkola zhizni.ru*).

The phrasemes under study (*gus' lapchatyi, khorosh gus', nu i gus'!*) are in epigrammatic relations with the preceded fixed simile *kak s gusya voda* that means 'somebody is absolutely indifferent about something; something decidedly does not affect somebody'. The simile itself, in its turn, is obliged for its origin not only to ordinary human power of observation. It dates back from a healer's discourse that represents a widespread verbal and cogitative event reflecting an ancient heathen popular belief that was rooted itself in ingenuous Russian folk's consciousness. That is why this is not a common proverb, as it seems to be, but a part of an old incantation, magic spell. Even both healers while throwing "incanted water" on ill children, and caring parents when bathing their precious child used to keep incanting. By doing this they wished their children to get rid of leanness (some ailment). "*S gusya voda, a s tebya, dityatko, vsya khudoba*". Sometimes this spell in the mouth of dear people turned out to be a form of direct address: "*Kak s gusya voda, s nashego kolen'ki (ili Katen'ki) – khudoba*". Quite an ordinary fact served as the basis of such a comparison: goose feather is not wetted, as covered by a thin layer of fat; water rolls off a goose's back and it always comes out of the water completely dry. This commonplace observation was the basis for the appearance of another phraseme: *vykhodit' sukhim iz vody* – 'to avoid just deserts; remain untainted, unpunished; to wriggle out of a complicated, an unpleasant situation without any loss or damage. This phraseme can surely be translated into different languages. While being translated, however, its culture-specific uniqueness is lost even when their lexical components coincide: *to come out dry* – lit. *vyiti sukhim iz vody*. All the more reason this loss is noticeable when using the other phraseological equivalents: Eng. *come through unscathed* – lit. *vykhodit' nevredimym; to come off clear* – lit. *vyiti sukhim iz vody; thy back shall go unscathed* – lit. *tvoya spina vyidet nepovrezhdennoi; the unscathed hero of the fight* – lit. *nevredimyi geroi etoi bitvy; to come out with clean hands* – lit. *vyiti s chistymi rukami*.

So there is no doubt that ethnocultural idiom specificity is the soul of any language (S. Ivanova, Z. Chanysheva, 2010). Reflecting the long process of formation and development of axiological ethnoculture space, phrasemes retain and in a unique way pass on cultural guidelines and cognitive patterns, models and archetypes from one generation to another.

#### Cognitive factors

Cognitive factors in the realm of phraseology are connected with the mechanisms of the associative and figurative outside world's reflection in a human consciousness, and "the process of the appeared image-structures' getting involved into linguistics" by means of the indirect and derivative nomination signs. Making a start from such kind of views, scholars began to speak about various linguistic world images (LWI). As our studies showed, the formation of phrasemes is a multiway process due to which, in fact, the subjective and objective aura of the LWI is created. The nature of phraseological representation of the subjective world's image is in many respects determined by a complex interlacing of multiple-vector human activity. The image of the world being explained from this point of view opens up great possibilities for phraseme semiosis:

- to include the already metaphorically transformed reality in its linguocreative arsenal,
- gives a chance to get out of that "dull" one-plane perception of the world,
- to make proper axiological emphases in its application field,

• to form a sensible world image in associative correlation between the subject and verbal images, subject and linguistic symbols. Cf.: Russian phraseme *delit' shkuru neubitogo medvedya* that with a tint of irony, of course, expresses 'to revel in yet not reached goals; anticipating the results of yet not executed business, to build on anything not reasonable calculations, to divide yet not received award';

Belorus.: *на жывыым мядзведзі скуру купляць, з незабітага ліса ф утра (кажух) шыць, скуру ў лесе фарбаваць(прадаваць), не скуб і, накуль не зловіт;* Germ. *man soll das Fell nicht verkaufen, ehe man den Bären hat*, lit. 'ne sleduet prodavat' shkuru, poka ne imeesh' medvedya'; Eng. *to cook a hare before catching him*, lit. 'zharit' zaita prezhde, chem on poimav' or *to eat the calfin the cow's belly*, lit. 'est' telenka, kotoryi eshche ne rodilsya'; *catch the bear before you cook him*, lit. 'medvedya ne ubiv, shkury ne prodavai'; *don't sell the bear's skin before you have caught the bear*, lit. 'ne prodavai medvezh'ei shkury, ne poimav sperva medvedya'; *catch the bear before you sell his skin*, lit. 'prezhde poimai medvedya, a potom prodavai ego shkuru'.

Everything in these phraseme variations is capacious, multivariate and figurative. It would seem, within one cognitive metaphor that ironically expresses the same sense, i.e. "to prematurely estimate the results of any business, to share profit from yet not carried out enterprise, undertaking", phrasemes might lack any ethno-lingual specifics. However, in this case the value-semantic emphases are made in correspondence with the associations of their application field, too (Rus. *medved'* (bear), Belarus. *lis* (fox), Eng. *telenok, zayats, ugri* (calf, hare, eels)). And that is so, notwithstanding one and the same phraseme protosource. This phraseme became popular after the translation of the French fable "The Bear and the Travelers" (Cf.: *L'ours et les deux compagnons*) written by Jean de La Fontain (1621 – 1695). The fact that proves the linguocreativity of the ethno-lingual consciousness, looking for a proper designatum for an already metaphorised discursive situation, is that yet in the 1930s of the 20th century it was accepted to speak as follows: "to sell (not to divide) the skin of a not yet killed bear" ("*prodavat' (ne delit') shkuru neubitogo medvedya*"). It is interesting to note that outside the historical and culturological context it may seem that the basis of this phraseme is represented by the all-European image since the lexical composition of both German and English phraseme contains the lexeme *bear*. Cf. Germ.: *das Fell des Bärenverkaufen (unü verteilen)*, lit. 'продавать (делит') шкуру медведя';

Eng. *to sell bear's skin before one has caught the bear*,

lit. 'prodavai' medvezh'yu shkuru pered tem, kak poimai' medvedya'.

However, in German linguoculture animalistic lexicon is most likely connected with the professional jargon of London Stock Exchange players that appeared in the 19th century. The falling exchange rate was associated with the image of a bear as a bear, hunting, tries to *knock down* its prey, and the increasing one – with the image of a bull as when the bull attacks it *throws* the enemy with its horns *up*.

Thus, phraseme semiosis is a cognitively conditioned process. Moreover, such conditionality is of isomorphic nature (T. Fedulenkova, 2005:125). The point is not only the language but the subjective experience represented by the image of the world has a *multi-level* structure (See: I. Vysokov, 2014).

First and foremost, it is necessary to highlight the fact that encoding with the help of phraseme components belonging to the subjective experience is implemented on the two interrelated levels of cognition, i.e. the surface and the profound levels. On the surface level the sensually shaped idea of the world is set up, whereas on the profound level its rational and emotional understanding is organised. The initial stage of image appearance is the transition from one sensual reality to another, from the surface structures to more profound ones. For instance, the initial stage on which the image of the phraseme [*stroit'*] *vozdushnye zamki* (cf.: [*to build*] *castles in the air*) emerges, is the surface and sensual and vague picture of the castle in unreal (overground, air) space. This picture is projected by semantics of the free syntactic phraseme prototype. It stimulates the associative search for the concept standing behind it and containing layer-by-layer semantic interpretation of the imagined. As a result there is an idea of something imaginary, impracticable, unrealisable. Such a transition, being carried out on a scale "the sensual – emotive

and rational", shapes a concept within the whole range of its value and semantic content: 'fantastic, impracticable plans, conceptions, unrealisable desires'. To my mind, this vector of encoding by means of the phraseme components of subjective experience is not supposed to cause any basic objections. Nevertheless, the main issue remains unsettled: what stages of the phraseme forming interaction between the linguistic levels does the process of phraseological semantics creation consist of? To reply to this question, one has to define the formation source of the main layers of a phraseme forming (discursive modus) concept.

I assume that the multilayer structure of the concept underlying the emergence of the phraseme is determined by cognition mechanisms of the object that is liable to phraseological representation. The main reflection mechanisms within the structure of the phraseme forming concept of reality are a) sensory perceptual processes, b) conceptions, c) linguocreative thinking, and d) commonplace and conceptual perception of the world. The cognitive-discursive entity of such an ascent consists in the harmonization of subjective sensuous and ethnocultural factors of the phraseologisation process.

#### Sensory perceptual processes

The process of phraseme formation is related to the actualization of the sensory perceptual realisation products in the linguistic consciousness. This is rather a complicated mental scanning process of the object of phraseological nomination that is connected with the so called *advancing reflection* (P. Anohin, 1980). The phraseme semiosis intension on the signal of the prototypical word combination presupposes the implementation by linguistic consciousness a cognitive and metaphorical projection of the image of the primary denotatum to the sphere of the secondary denotative situation, referring sensually perceived signs to abstract and directly not observed objects. Such a cogitative scanning of the object of the phraseological nomination results in a discursive modus concept, i.e. a cognitive substratum of the semantic content of the phraseme. For example, the meaning "to be engaged in something obviously senseless, useless" can be rendered by the Russian phrasemes *reshetom vodu nosit'* and *toloch' vodu v stupe*; Eng. *to drop a bucket into an empty well*; lit. 'kidat' vedro v pustoj kolodec'; *to beat the air*, lit. 'molotit' vozduh'; *to mill the wind*, lit. 'na mel'nicu vetra; Germ. *das Wasser pflügen*, lit. 'pahat' vodu'. As exemplified, the cognitive metaphor forming the discursive modus concept and, in the act of the phraseme semiosis having caught or created, the resemblance between some remote from each other contemplation objects, does the conscious transfer of the name from one denotatum to another one associated with it. Owing to this fact, at generation and perception of the phraseme-centered statement the advancing reflection serves as the main neurocognitive mechanism of modelling of the secondary denotative situation (N. Alefirenko, 2010: 58 – 65), which is denoted by a phraseme. This mechanism that brings the sensory perceptual processes and the reflection into effect uses the elements of anticipation. In cognitive phraseology anticipation is responsible for representation of subjects in indirect nomination in a human mind long before they are really perceived and realised.

The perception of the phraseme forming anticipation process through the prism of the advancing reflection creates a *conceptual bridge* (E. Vityaev's term) that connects the rational anticipation of the phraseological denotatum with its emotive and figurative conception. Thus in the phraseme [*stroit'*] *vozdushnye zamki* touched upon above, such a conceptual bridge leads to the actualization of such evaluating components as 'impracticability' of ideas, their 'unrealizability'. Causing the appearance of a phraseme forming concept in a linguistic consciousness, and defining the nature of its representans, the conceptual bridge also serves as a mechanism of appearance of the phraseme's emotive components in its semantic structure. One can reveal the cognitive nature of this component basing on the theory of emotion developed by Pavel V. Simonov (P. Simonov, 1981). In the light of his approach, the phraseme emotivity has to be studied not as a insignificant component that is outside the phraseological semantics, but as its weighty constituent part. According to this theory, emotive component of phraseological meaning by its nature represents the human mind's reflection product of an actual need and possibility of its satisfaction that is estimated by us on the basis of genetic and

prior ethnocultural experience. For example: – *Churmenyaev? Tol'ko chto ot menya vyshel. Pryamo Gogolem!.. Ne v perenosnom – v bukval'nom smysle! Menya v vosemnadtsati stranakh izdali – ya o sebe nikogda takogo ne voobrazhal. Chto?... Da chital ya etu "Zhenshchinu v kresle". Bred svoi kobyly!* (Yury Polyakov, "Goatling in milk", p. 182). The prototype of the phraseme *bred svoi kobyly* (the grey mare's nonsense) seems to be abracadabra. First of all, the epithet turns out to be absurd: why the mare is grey, but not any other colour? It appears that its emergence in the component structure of the phraseme is caused by an ethnocultural factor: it was a popular belief that a grey horse was considered a silly animal; its appearance in a dream was taken as a lie harbinger. Cf. *vrat' kaksiviy merin* (to lie as a grey gelding). The lexeme *bred* (nonsense) was, probably, a component part of the phraseme used in its secondary meaning – 'chatter'. Cf. Rus. dial.: *bredá* – 'the talker, the fool', Ukr., Belarus. *brednyá* – 'lies, lie', Old Pol. *brzedzić* – 'to chatter', *ubrdac sobie* – 'to hammer (drive) into the head'. Franc Miklošič and Erich Berneker considered these words going back to the verbal forms '*bredú, brestí*'. This explanation is confirmed by the examples like *sumasbród*, originally 'gone crazy'. By the way, Nicolaas van Wijk compared these words with Middle Low Germ., Middle Dutch *praten* – 'to talk, to chatter', Eng. *prate* – 'a chatterbox', *to prate* – 'to talk foolishly or tediously about something'.

#### Linguocreative thinking and ordinary conceptual perception of the world

In terms of explanation of ethnocultural phraseme specifics (D. Dobrovolskii, 1998: 48; L. Zainullina, 2005), conceptions represent a reflection product of a set of the brightest external, sensually perceived certain signs of a subject or a phenomenon. On the other hand, these are images generalized by ethnocultural experience. The most specific feature of conception is that demonstrativeness and generality are connected within it. Exactly in such a two-unity idea the conception of that denotative situation which is designated by the phraseme *bred svoi kobyly* is formed. The interaction between the etymological meaning of the lexical component *bred* and the symbolical figurativeness of the phrase *sivaya kobyla* – 'nonsense' creates the semantic content 'the obvious nonsense proceeding from a silly being'. Its discursive associative communication with such a highly intellectual product as a book generates a rough colloquial and even a contemptuous connotation – 'utter nonsense, baloney'. In Vladimir I. Dahl's Dictionary after significant definition of the word *bred* – 'the incoherent, senseless speeches delivered in an unconsciousness of the patient' – is given generally — metaphorical, coll.: 'something silly, senseless, improbable'. It forms a basis to a synonymy of the phraseme and such words as *glupost', bodyaga, mura, beliberda, tarabarshchina, absurd, nonsens, akhineya, nelepitsa, zaviral'nye idei, fantasmagoriya, chush', purga, zaum', abrakadabra, nesurazitsa, neskladitsa, erunda, vzdor, galimat'ya, bezlepitsa, drebeden', bessmyslitsa, eres', bredyatina, dich', baida, pustyaki, pustoe, chepukha, bredni*.

At the ordinary conceptual level the essential bases of the phraseological nomination are set up, i.e. its ability to integrate personal and ethnocultural experience of the world's development. Here, the conceptual core of the phraseme forming concept that expresses the main idea of the phraseme is actualized. The conceptual phase of the interaction between the cognitive and pragmatic intensions of phraseological nomination and the phraseme's derivational base begins from that moment when "the great bundle of knowledge accumulated by the mankind starts to be included in the individual experience" (B. Lomov, 2008: 169). Thus, the conception underlying the phraseme *ne vynosit' sor iz izby* originated in a popular belief that using the sweepings unkind people can put an evil curse. Therefore the litter had to be collected in a kiln's corner and burnt later in order not to be used by those unkind people for their evil purposes. With time, having enriched with the vital experience concerning fraught consequences of the data disclosure concerning a narrow circle of people, conception turned into an ordinary notion that finally created such a phraseological meaning as 'not to disclose the quarrels, squabbles occurring between close people'. Those who broke the taboo were exposed to condemnation. In ethnocultural communities, free from this superstition, for designation of this concept phrasemes arose on other images. Cf. English *to wear*

*one's heart upon one's sleeve* – lit. 'nosit' svoe serdtse na rukave'; *it is an ill bird that fouls its own nest* – lit. 'tol'ko durnaya ptitsa zasoryaet svoe gnezdo'; *to foul one's own nest* – lit. 'gádit' v sóbstvennom gnezde'; *to tell tales out of school* – lit. 'razbaltyvat' za stenami shkoly'; *to wash one's dirty linen in public* – lit. 'stirat' gryaznoe bel'e u vsekha na glazakh'. At the ordinary conceptual level the structure of the phraseme forming image gets for the account of close connection between the processes of nomination and predication a certain "panoramic view" that allows to be beyond specifically perceived situation.

#### Conclusion

Cognitive discursive approach to the judgment of specifics of idiom generation and perception allows considering the latent problems of ethnolinguistic character behind the seeming common truths. When solving the problem of correlation of the universal and unique in phraseology of any language (R. Khairullina, M. Aichichek, A. Boztash, 2011: 197; B. Aginsky, 1984; J. Greenberg, 1963), it is necessary to distinguish the cognitive and ethnolinguistic bases for comparing phrasemes. The cognitive factor is mainly objective as at understanding of phrasemes it is focused on natural and cultural realia. The latter can be common in case they are the products of universal perception of the world, as well as specific if they are linked to the life of one nation. The ethnolinguistic factor is principally subjective as relies on optional selection (selective combination theory) of the lexemes forming a designator (meaning) of a phraseme. Even the same concepts in different languages can be nominated by combination theory of nonequivalent lexemes.

Ethnolinguistic specifics of phrasemes are shown in all cases of divergences between their denotata and designata which can be determined by the reasons of both cultural and linguistic character. Cultural specifics of a phraseme assumes its correlation to an original topic (a thematic subject, a concept, a communicative event, a phraseme forming discourse) of mentality or spiritual culture of ethnos, its history, beliefs, traditions, and natural living conditions. However, differentiation of the cognitive and linguistic factors influencing the formation of phraseological universals and unique is not the only possible one. Some scientists as a subject of the analysis choose *national and cultural* language specifics. The point of view of Nikolai A. Berdyaev recognising culture national is the cornerstone of such an approach: "The culture was never and will never be abstract human, it is always specifically human, i.e. national" (N. Berdyaev, 1997: 85). It is precisely this philosophical view that became basic for Veronika N. Telija's research that investigated the national and cultural specifics of Russian phrasemes. According to the approach, everything that can be interpreted in terms of evaluativity, creates national and cultural specifics in phraseology (V. Telija, 1996: 214). This understanding is specified by Natalya M. Firsova (2004: 51-52) treating national phraseme specifics as manifestation of their original signs that reflect (explicitly or implicitly) both actually linguistic and extralinguistic (social, historical, cultural, psychological, ethnic) realia of any national cultural community.

In our concept of a phraseme semiosis we differentiate phraseological universals and phraseological uniques. The typology of phraseological unique is caused by the system of universal concepts such as life, death, immortality, conscience, sin, evil, labour, idleness, etc. Phraseological unique typology is the result of display of the most different manifestations of ethnoculture in phraseology: a) national traditions which are defined as steady elements of culture, customs and ceremonies that carry out the function of subconscious familiarising with the system of spiritual norms and values dominating in the society; b) household culture; c) daily behaviour (the norms of communication accepted in this society); d) features of national thinking; e) products of art culture; e) way of development and representation of natural resources and natural habitat.

Since phraseme forming concepts represent the discursively marked "culture bundles" – cognition products of different nations, meanings of even genetically close phrasemes differ in different languages, particularly when they designate the same denotative situation. It can be explained by the fact that the linguocreative thinking of each people for representation of even the same concept uses different phraseological images or their variable interpretations. Thanks to their ethnocultural originality, phrasemes carry out the

most important mission of preservation of cultural heritage of the people, fixing and transferring its cultural guidelines and stereotypes from generation to generation, as well as valuable and semantic standards, mythologemes and archetypes developed for centuries –

the universal congenital mental structures making the content of collective unconscious in the semantics of idioms.

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### ГЕНЕЗИС КУЛЬТУРНО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ МИФОЛОГИИ: ТРЕДИАКОВСКИЙ (1757), ЛОМОНОСОВ (1758), СУМАРОКОВ (1759) О ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИИ РУССКОЙ НАЦИИ И РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКА

*Аннотация*

В статье анализируются истоки полемики о происхождении русского народа и русского языка, начатой в первой трети XVIII в. В течение трех лет (1757-1759 гг.) к обсуждению предлагаются три работы, посвященные данной проблеме. В предпринятом исследовании устанавливаются идеологические параллели между трудом Тредиаковского «Три рассуждения о трех главнейших древностях российских...» (1757); первым томом «Древней Российской истории» Ломоносова (1758); статьей Сумарокова «О коренных словах русского языка», опубликованной в «Трудолюбивой Пчеле» (1759).

**Ключевые слова:** XVIII век, происхождение русского языка, Ломоносов, Тредиаковский, Сумароков.

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### GENESIS OF CULTURAL AND POLITICAL MYTHOLOGY: TREDIKOVSKY (1757) LOMONOSOV (1758), SUMAROKOV (1759) ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF RUSSIAN NATION AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

*Abstract*

The paper studies the controversy of the origin of the Russian Nation and the Russian language in 1757-1759. Trediakovskiy, Lomonosov and Sumarokov wrote three works: "Three Discourses about Three Main Russian Ancestries" (Trediakovskiy, 1757), "The Ancient Russian Empire" Volume I (Lomonosov, 1758), "About the Root Words of the Russian Language" (Sumarokov, 1759).

**Keywords:** : XVIII century, the origins of Russian, Lomonosov, Trediakovskii, Sumarokov.

#### Introduction

V. Proskurina writes: "The imperial mythology always takes the literary field for representative service" (Proskurin 2006, p. 8). In XVIII century Peter I declared a break with the old patriarchal traditions. A tradition way of life was replaced by social etiquette. The western direction was selected as the main. However, such a situation – isolation from the preceding historical development – could not last for a long time. Since the 1730s the problem of the origin of the Russian people, the very name of Russia has been studied in the writings of Bayer, Miller and Tatishchev. In the middle of the XVIII century Trediakovskii, Lomonosov, Sumarokov, the best poets of the time, published the papers on that problem. In this article we want to study the ideological parallels between the researches: "Three Arguments about the Three Main Russian Antiquities ..." by Trediakovskiy (1757); the first volume of the scientific work of Lomonosov "Ancient Russian History" (1758); "About the Root Words of the Russian language" (1759) by Sumarokov.

#### The Origin of Language as a Cosmogony: Trediakovskii

Trediakovskii considers the origin of the Russian language and Russians was ancient. He states: "... the first language of the Scythians and Celts was the same. It was the Scythian language. Scythian language has to be Slavic. In later times due to various places of settlement Slavic language have grown in many related branches from a single root. And there were so many of these branches, that many languages can be heard today in all western, northern and eastern states" (Trediakovskii 1849, p. 332). Trediakovskii considers Scythian language as one of the oldest, and the very name of the Scythians comes from the Russian word for SKITANIE (free movement from place to place) (Ibid, pp. 341-342).

The problem of the origin of language was a kind of cosmogony for Trediakovskiy. In his cosmogony he appeals to some Chaldean and Persian original books. Trediakovskii supposedly read about it in the unknown book "World History". In this book "a deep ancient Slavic language" was denoted. This is the opinion of the Chaldean birth of the world, suggested in the first volume, on page 24 of the introduction. The book assumes that the first world was OMOROKA. This word was Slavic. It means "the darkness, the darkness", which has been around before the creation of the world. The same opinion is expressed in Persian sages on page 73 in Note

"(Ibid, pp. 337-338). For Trediakovskiy definition of "branches" of the tree of language is the establishment of a world order.

According to Trediakovskiy, Scythian language was the first. The Scythians were mixed with other European nations. So there were dialects of the Scythian language: Slavic, Polish, Danish, Swedish, Saxon and many others. Trediakovskii sees "strong resemblance" between these languages (Ibid, p. 336). Trediakovskii considers it possible to analyze the root words for the proof of related languages.

Trediakovskii considers Latin was spoiled. The Greek language, in his opinion, has a lot of grammatical coincidences with the Russian language (declension of names and the order of words in a sentence) (Ibid, p. 339). He hopes that the Russian language will not deteriorate as well as Latin. He believes in the long life of the Russian language, since, in his opinion, it is the defense – "the immortal language of our Church" (Ibid, p. 372).

It is important for Trediakovskiy to identify the continuity of the development of languages. It defines the historical path of "our current Russian language" (Ibid, p. 338). Trediakovskii is sure that the Russian language is derived from the Scythian language. The descendants of Japheth spoke Scythian language. Japheth, the son of Noah, is one of the pioneers of humanity and the progenitor of the Europeans. This ancient language "is very useful to the Russian people" (Ibid, p. 341). Trediakovskii believes that the history of the Russian language begins from the Old Testament times.

#### About the Patriotic Task of Russian Science and Literature: Lomonosov

Lomonosov considers a patriotic orientation of the study of Russian history and literature as a major task. Scientist claim the idea of ancient Slavs. He does not believe Scythians are the ancestors of the Russians. On the contrary, he indicates that the Slavs were very brave and courageous, they defeated the Scythians. In 1758 Lomonosov finished the first volume of "Ancient Russian History from the Beginning of the Russian People to the Death of the Grand Prince Yaroslav the First or until 1054". He says in this book that Ptolemy wrote about the Slavs for the first time. The famous Slavic rulers were known for their exploits in the days of the ancient Greeks (Lomonosov 1952a, p. 182).

Lomonosov considers the Slavic people were the descendants of the Vikings who lived in the area between the Dnieper and the Don, and spoke a Slavic language. He sees the Russian roots of

prince's names Oskold, Deere, Oleg, who were the Vikings (Lomonosov 1952b, p. 22).

Lomonosov claims that many tribes (Czechs, Pomorians, Slavs, Serbs, Bulgarians, krivichi, drevlyans and so on) spoke Slavonic even before the birth of Christ. Russian people were among these people. Lomonosov is convinced that Greek and Latin are not the ancestors of the Slavic language. Slavic language existed simultaneously with them. According to the scientist a powerful Slavic people existed in the days of the power of the Roman Empire.

#### "Son of the Language of the Scythians": Sumarokov

As Trediakovskii, Sumarokov believes Scythian language as the ancestor of the Russian language. "Our language, the author writes, ... is the son of the language of the Scythians" (Sumarokov 1759, p. 95). Scythians are ancient courageous people, who conquered China. There are many examples in his article. The writer thinks that he takes the examples of eleven Scythian language, such as "Rooster, in some languages called Scythian Kuras, Kuraz and Koraz congruent with the word Hen" (Ibid, pp. 94-95). In this Sumarokov's words designating kinship phenomena of nature, plants, birds and animals: a goat, duck, goose, wolf, bear, lamb, mare, sheep, rooster, chicken; household utensils. In some of the

Scythian languages, he writes, the child is called Bala, which is derived from the Russian word Balovat. (Ibid, p. 94).

#### Conclusions

The order and harmony form the basis of the world. The foundation of the order is language. Ancient language strengthens the nation. The authors of the XVIII century were looking for the roots of the Russian language in antiquity – in ancient times, and the Old Testament. In the XVIII century there was no etymology. Therefore Trediakovskii, Lomonosov, Sumarokov often resort to wrong etymologies. This was not a scientific exercise for Russian authors. They were trying to create their own cosmogony, the creation of a new myth about the Russian people and the Russian language.

The papers of writers of the XVIII century had ideological, patriotic character. Their task was to justify the claims of the Russian nation and the Russian language in antiquity and greatness of equality is not only a modern nations and languages, but also with the ancient, sacred ones. Russian language, according to our authors, points directly to the antiquity of the Russian people. The strength of the nation was associated with the antiquity of the language for the writers and scholars of the XVIII century.

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**Practical knowledge of languages (UDC 81`24)**

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*Статья посвящена важности оптимального выбора методов стимулирования и мотивации к обучению. В современных условиях очень важно, чтобы учитель не давал ученикам готовых знаний, а указывал путь к приобретению знаний, учил добывать знания. Это требует от словесника выбора эффективных форм работы с текстами разных типов и стилей речи, аудирования, говорения. В связи с этим особого внимания требуют уроки развития речи. Существует специальная группа методов стимулирования развития коммуникативной компетенции. Среди них и метод дискуссий, который все чаще используется на занятиях по русскому языку.*

**Ключевые слова:** метод обучения, дискуссионные методы обучения, активные методы обучения, познавательная деятельность, качество образования, модификация, трансформация.

Abbasova A.A.<sup>1</sup>, Tskoliya C.R.<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup>Peoples' Friendship University of Russia**DISCUSSION METHODS: MODIFICATION AND TRANSFORMATION***Abstract*

*This article is about how to the importance of selecting the optimal methods of stimulation and motivation to learn. In modern conditions it is very important that the teacher gave the students ready knowledge, and pointed the way for the acquisition of knowledge, taught to acquire knowledge. This requires the selection of effective forms of language and literature work with texts of different types and styles of speech, listening, speaking. In this regard, special attention should be given lessons of speech development. There is a special group of methods to stimulate the development of communicative competence. Among them, and the method of discussion, which is increasingly being used in the classroom in the Russian language*

**Keywords:** teaching method, discussion methods of teaching, active learning methods, cognitive activity, the quality of education, modification, transformation.

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The method of discussion as a method of problem-based learning is increasingly being used in the classroom for Russian as a foreign language, including the professionally-oriented training, mainly because it allows you to seamlessly integrate students' knowledge from different fields when solving a problem. It makes it possible to apply the language knowledge and skills in practice. Teaching Russian as a whole, which includes a variety of types of speech and mental activity promotes the formation of a student's ability to think clearly, critically perceive the information to allocate it the main idea, and finding tools and arguments for its confirmation and substantiation, and therefore improves any theoretical understanding of the material. The development of norms of good verbal communication, rules of debate contributes to the formation of critical thinking and responsible attitude to the speech, which is one of the most important requirements for modern specialist.

When using discussions in educational practice of universities, particularly at training to Russian, it is necessary to take into account the specificity of the method. Discussion on employment on Russian as part of the training course is different from the discussions taking place in real life, such as politics, science, social life, particularly your goals. There is not so much important to find a solution to a problem, how to get certain skills, experience, and apply the fix already existing knowledge and skills in the course of the discussion, that is a discussion activity performs the function of teaching. The second function, develop, associated with the stimulation of creative activity of students, with the development of their logic skills, ability to think independently, to argue and to prove his point of view, as well as the formation of a common culture of speech, cultural debates and polemical skill. The third function, educational, is the formation of social competence of students.

A group organization of students work promotes interpersonal relationships, developing cooperation in the educational microsociety: solving problem tasks are usually performed in a group of small and medium size. During the discussion, they learn to interact with each other, find common ground, to come to an agreement on some issues, develop a common strategy and tactics, and sometimes give way to compromise. Extremely important skill, form in the lesson-discussion is the ability to listen to your opponent, respect and understand his views or at least try to understand the arguments of the other side. Without the ability to listen to any

ability and knowledge, sharpness of mind and quick reflexes will not help. This is just a skill that we often do not have in life, that's why many conflicts occur between people. In this respect, the educational value of the discussion can not be overestimated.

Another one feature discussion sessions are conditional situation, which generally tend to learn Russian as a foreign language apart from the language environment. Learning Objectives certain specify the conditions under which the discussion takes place, and that will inevitably have an element of artificiality, as no methods and technical means do not provide the ability to create a real language environment. In educational terms possible immersion in the language only in specially selected and methodically organized linguistic material. The selection is carried out taking into account the recent difficulties in the assimilation of this material and its importance for communication. Therefore, using the debate in the educational process, particularly important preparatory stage. Without prejudice to the second phase – the actual debate, which is the culmination of a class – should be given enough time preparing the discussion, carefully thought out and the roles of participants, the sequence of speeches and, of course, the language of the sessions: must be previously worked relevant material, researched and secured the necessary lexical units and grammatical structures. This does not mean that the responsibility lies with the teacher and students are deprived of freedom of choice and creativity. The teacher can only set the direction of the discussion, identify the issues the discussion, describe the interesting problem situations, and the rest work in search, selection, analysis of information falls on the shoulders of students. They can actively participate in the selection of topics, formulating problems, certain stages of discussions, the regulations, and summarizing others.

The task of the teacher is to create a situation of providing student freedom and responsibility at the same time in the selection and decision-making autonomy and independence of action. At the same time, the linguistic side of the debate should be carefully thought out and provide teachers. This linguistic aspect distinguishes the debate on the lessons of the Russian language from the discussion sessions in their native language, where speakers allow relatively few grammatical errors, and most of the students, even those who themselves admit grammatical errors, do not miss an opportunity to mention the most obvious mistakes in the language of

your opponent. Mistakes made by native speakers, cut the ear and cause at best smile.

In discussions as a form of academic classes in Russian language mistakes are inevitable and do not cause such a reaction, because all participants are in a more or less equal footing, because the language of the discussion is not their native language. Mistakes are part of the learning process, but to correct them must be as productive and useful. This raises the question: how to respond to errors? In a typical session errors are corrected one way or another teacher. During the discussion, the teacher's role is different: as a rule, he does not enter into a direct dialogue with the students, and more than watching and if possible, directs discussions. The intervention itself in the discussion with a view to correct this or that mistake inevitably will result in the failure, reduce the rate of speeches and debated distracts from the essence of the problem. Besides, as you know, some students out of fear of making a mistake would prefer to remain silent and not to participate in the general debate. At the same time, it does not respond to errors, especially in those which lead to an incorrect understanding expression and thus disturb communication. Teacher acting as a master or a panelist may use the following methods: 1) fix the errors in the course of the debate and postpone their analysis and correction of the final stage, which are summed up by highlighting as a separate evaluation criterion debate grammatical and lexical correctness performances; 2) to correct mistakes once in a part of the discussion in the form of questions and clarifications and grammatically correct repetition of the participants said the discussions.

Another one difficult moment in the debate for the students is the need to remain all time as part of the Russian language, without going into the native language, as in the heat of debate, on the one hand, it's hard to control myself, but on the other hand, want to make more than allow it known language tools. Nevertheless the task to communicate only in Russian should be placed before the start of the discussion and, if possible in the course of the discussion. To remove a teacher controlling function, you can enter into a discussion as additional functions, which will be distributed among the participants and contain some of the game elements: to prepare the pre-colored cards that can be used as a penalty for the use of the Russian language; write labels or posters, forbidden to speak their native language, use sound signals, and etc. To perform these functions, it is advisable to introduce the role of an observer who can

perform at that voluntarily any of the students, who are not confident in their abilities and afraid to speak out in the presence of stronger students. Of course, these roles (leader, secretary, etc.) Should be shared and alternated with the account of the opportunities and wishes of the students, so that all feel involved in the overall process, and can be proud of its contribution to the debate. The value in this case is not only achieved the target, but also the way to this goal.

Summing up, I would like to mention some of the benefits of discussion in Russian language in comparison with the debate in their own language: self learning Russian disciplines, organizes, promotes the development of logical thinking, enhances self-control. The latter is very important since, as opposed to communicating in their native language, when we say relatively free, long-winded and succumbing to emotions, we can be distracted from the topic, the dialogue in Russian as part of the learning process requires self-control, the need to build phrases in accordance with clear rules. The limited vocabulary may be, no matter how paradoxical it may sound, also play a positive role, because the speaker does not have to expend extra effort to find a synonym or some vivid figure of speech, at his disposal is a specific set of linguistic resources that need to be updated in the desired time. Understand each other panelists in Russian can sometimes even better than when communicating in their native language because they focus on communication and tend to listen to their opponents in order to adequately respond to their statements. In the native language, if there is no such facility, the opponents do not listen and do not hear each other. To understand a person speaking in Russian, it is necessary to learn the language.

To understand his companion, fellow, you just have to learn to listen and try to understand the essence of what has been said by the other party. In this sense, the debate in any language is a universal means of interpersonal communication training.

Thus, the discussion method not only allows you to bring the culture of speech, but also encourages students to seek self-help, resulting in a culture of creative thinking. Use of discussion in teaching Russian as a foreign language in conjunction with other methods of problem contributes to the formation of intercultural communication that daët to prepare professionals ready for an open and constructive dialogue with the representatives of other cultures.

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**Rhetoric. The effective use of language (UDC 808)**

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**СЕМАНТИЧЕСКИЕ ПЕРЕНОСЫ: КРИТЕРИИ КЛАССИФИКАЦИИ***Аннотация*

Представлена общая классификация семантических переносов. Как показало исследование, переносы поддаются систематизации по четырём параметрам: 1) по характеру ассоциаций, лежащих в их основе: сходству, смежности и контрасту, причём ассоциации по сходству и контрасту составляют основу таксономических переносов (с рода на вид, с вида на род, с вида на вид и др.); 2) по функциональному параметру: функционально релевантные и иррелевантные; 3) по сфере действия: перенос распространяется как на лексическую, так и на грамматическую семантику; 4) по степени выразительности: так, метонимические ассоциации более предсказуемы, чем метафорические.

**Ключевые слова:** метафора, метонимия, синекдоха, таксономический перенос, грамматический перенос.

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**SEMANTIC TRANSFERS: CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFICATION***Abstract*

There is represented the general classification of semantic transfers. As the research has shown, transfers can be systematized based on four parameters: 1) the type of associations lying on their basis: similarity, contiguity and contrast, the associations by similarity and contrast being regarded as the basis for taxonomic transfers (from genus to species, from species to genus, from species to species, etc.); 2) the functional parameter: functionally relevant and irrelevant; 3) the sphere of action: transfer applies both to lexical and grammatical semantics; 4) the degree of ex-pressiveness: thus, the metonymic associations are more predictable than the metaphoric ones.

**Keywords:** metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, taxonomic transfer, grammatical transfer.

**Introduction**

A semantic transfer, which consists in using a nominative unit “to express a meaning which it has not previously expressed”, that is, in a “secondary (derived) meaning” (Stern 1968 [1931]: 163 & 5), has been interpreted since antiquity as “[a] turn from the word’s own meaning to another one, which is akin to it” (Guarin 1726: 32). The contemporary theory of semantic transfers has always been not only closely connected and interrelated with the theory of tropes (cf. Gr. *τρόπος* ‘transfer’, literally ‘turn’ < *τρέπειν* ‘to turn’), but can also be genetically traced back to it: “Speech is decorated, as Greeks believe, if word transfers are used, or, as they name them, tropes” (Cicero 1853: 23). A commentator of Hermogenes of Tarsus (160–225 AD) notes: “Starting with Aristotle and Hermogenes, tropes are seen simply as transfers, or metaphors”, as “*τρέπειν* means *μεταφέρειν*, that is, to transfer, and tropes are nothing else than transfers” (Hermogenes 1614 :108). Classification of tropes is a point of considerable debate in linguistics: starting with antiquity, “among grammarians and philosophers a battle (pugna) has been raging as to what the types and subtypes of tropes are, and also how many of them there are” (Quintilianus 1854 :75). The three issues concerning transfers have not yet been fully resolved too, namely: 1) the separating semantic transfers from adjacent phenomena, in particular, from tropes; 2) the repertoire of transfers, that is, ‘how many of them there are’; 3) the classification of transfers (i.e. ‘what the types and subtypes of them are’), and therefore the establishing criteria for such classification.

C. Paradis, after having analyzed the classification schemes for types of semantic change suggested by H. Paul, G. Stern, L. Bloomfield, and S. Ullmann, arrived at the conclusion that in all those schemes “[t]he classes are like islands [as the binary oppositions like ‘narrowing / widening’, ‘metaphor / metonymy’, etc. are inconnected and so do not form an ‘arbor porphyrii’; V.M.], and most classes can be included in one another” (Paradis 2001 :70). The aims of the present paper are: a) to separate transfers from adjacent phenomena; b) to establish a set of logically relevant criteria for a consistent general typology of transfers.

**Transfers and adjacent phenomena**

A. Blank made a significant contribution to the common theory of the change of meaning, as he separated transfers as ‘taxonomically elementary’ units from devices, which are either derived from different transfers or cover heterogeneous sets of transfers. Thus:

1. A hyperbole can be created through a number of devices: a) through metaphor: *book mountain* (metaphoric hyperbole), b) through comparison: *sweeter far than honey* (comparative hyperbole), c) through transfer finitus numerus pro infinito: *two hundredtimes for many a time* (numerical hyperbole), and so forth. So, hyperbole (as well as litotes and other instances of overstatement

and understatement, in particular, euphemisms) should be regarded as ‘secondary processes of transfer’ (Blank 1997: 333; see also Blank 2001: 95).

2. The types of synecdoche “are concerned with the very different relations” (Blank 1997: 254; cf. Lausberg 1998 [1960]: 260–2). One of the broader interpretations of synecdoche is shared by those researchers who, although they clearly see the difference between taxonomy and paronymy, consciously disregard this difference as negligible: “Synecdoche is a transfer from part to the whole or from the whole to its part as well as from species to genus and from genus to species, as species is an instance of part, and genus – of whole” (Hispalensis 1577: 29; cf. Ramus 2010 [1549]: 209); “Firs are a part of the category ‘tree’, as one says that an arm is a part of the body” (Seto 1999: 94). However, the impossibility of a substitution like 1 proves that it is undesirable to apply the notion of part to the sphere of abstract things.

(1) Arm is a **part** of the body → \*Arm is a **species** of the body.

In this light, it seems advisable: a) to use the notion of part in its narrow, concrete sense, as a constituent element of a material object, which gives the opportunity for separation of transfers pars pro toto and totum pro parte from taxonomic transfers; b) to accept that “it is necessary to tell the difference between the relationship species-genus and the relationship part-whole, as confusing them might lead to some theoretical and practical mistakes” (Barton 1994 :51).

**Functional analysis of transfers**

All theories of semantic change were developed in historical semantics and historical semantics, which do not adequately take into account the pragmatics and so the functions, in particular, those which are relevant for taxonomic categorization of semantic transfers. K. Nyrop (1913: 326–336), S. Ullmann (1951: 243–245; 1962: 211–227), A. Blank (1997: 303–308) and other scientists regard the popular etymology, metonymy, metaphor, and other transfers as taxonomically homogeneous phenomena. However, according to the functional criterion, all transfers should be divided into two classes: a) functionally relevant; b) functionally irrelevant ones (i.e. errors), in particular, popular etymology.

Already Aristotle (1837: 146) described a category of “transfers for the eyes (*μεταφοραί πρό ὀμμάτων*)”, which make speech more vivid and pictorial, that is, perform a depictive function. Judging by the examples he gives, these include: 1) metaphor in the narrow sense, that is, “transfer by similarity (*μεταφορὰ κατ’ ἀναλογίαν*)”: “Cephisodotus called warships painted windmills”, “The course of my words lies straight through the middle of Chares’ deeds”; 2) metonymy: “shed the tears (*δακρῦσαι*)” (for the heroes fallen in Salamis), “Till all Hellas shouted aloud”. This Aristotelian idea gives rise to the belief that these transfers awaken our imagination, thinking, and reflection, and to the widespread definitions of metaphor and metonymy (“to which synecdoche belongs as well”)

as “substituting the direct expression by an indirect one, substituting a thing by its image” (Heinichen 1842: 285–6). However, it should be mentioned that:

1. As is well known now, metaphor in its depictive function can appeal not only to eyesight (“πρό ὀμμάτων”), but also to other senses, that is, metaphor presupposes immediate sensory and (in particular) visual perception, for example: *sweet sleep, hot temper, soft breeze, sonorous style*.

2. Metonymy is not always depictive and descriptive, for example: *As he swung toward them holding up the hand Half in appeal, but half as if to keep The life (= blood; V.M.) from spilling* (R. Frost. *Out, Out*).

According to the analysed parameter, all transfers can be divided into two classes: 1) those which are meant for depictive function (descriptive transfers), thus, all kinds of metaphor are always descriptive, hence the traditional opinion that “among all the tropes there is neither an equally colourful one, nor one that lends so much vividness to the speech in particular words” (Cicero 1839: 329); 2) those which are not meant for this aim. Transfers of this class can have abstract character, thus, antiphrasis “can do without any imagery at all” (Potebnia 1990 [1905]: 271), as well as metonymy, synecdoche, taxonomic transfers, and phonetic allusion.

#### Associative base of transfers

The following two criteria are relevant from this point of view.

1. Degree of predictability. Metaphor in the narrow sense is traditionally seen as a transfer based on similarity – in its semantic aspect, and as a “reduced simile” (Quintilianus 1854: 76) – transformationally. On the other hand, a simile “is an expanded (πλεονάζουσα) metaphor” (Demetrius 1743: 64); thus, metaphor and simile are regarded since antiquity as interconvertible, see 2.

(2) eyes as green as emeralds (simile) ↔ emerald eyes (metaphor). [2]

The second subject of comparison, which becomes the vehicle of the corresponding metaphor, varies on a more or less wide range (*as green as grass / as bottle / as garden / as toad / as emerald...*), therefore simile and so metaphor (cf. *emerald eyes*) are unpredictable, surprising, and so expressive.

Metonymy consists in transfer “based on a spacial, temporal, or causal connections” (Paul 1995 [1880]: 83), that is, on connections within one frame or script (Blank 1997: 249–253): *His face turned pale* ‘He got a scare’ (this transfer follows the metonymic formula ‘effecta pro causis’, i.e. ‘cause → effect’). Metonymic associations in contrast to metaphoric ones are traditionally regarded as more realistic and predictable: “Whereas the connection between trigger and target in the case of metonymy tends to be one in a set of favoured relations and so constrained and predictable to some extent, the nature of the connection in metaphors is completely unconstrained” (Warren 1998: 306; cf. Aarts, Calbert 1979: 49). It seems yet that metonymic associations are “constrained and predictable” as they connect the elements within one frame and so they are less expressive, hence the opinion that ‘the best specimen of a trope is a metaphor’ (Donatus 1553: 101).

Thus, similes and so metaphors are expressive as the connections between the first subject of comparison and its second subject (which becomes the vehicle of the corresponding metaphor) are unpredictable. Metonymic associations, in contrast to metaphoric ones, are relatively predictable and so less expressive as they connect the elements of one frame. On the other hand, predictability of connections within the frame is the base for the use of metonymy in compressive function, as in 3.

(3) All Hellas shouted aloud. → All the people living in Hellas shouted aloud.

The connections between the whole object and its parts are predictable, if not trivial, therefore synecdoche, like metonymy: a) is less expressive than metaphor; b) can perform compressive function. Taxonomic transfers are less expressive than metonymic ones as connections between the elements of a taxonomic hierarchy are axiomatic. So, expressivity of transfers can be represented as a gradual scale.

2. Type of association. A. Blank (1997: 133), with reference to Aristotle’s thesis that recollection starts “from something similar, from something contrary, or from something closely connected” (Aristotle 2007: 39), distinguishes ‘the three principles of associations’ as the basis for semantic transfer: 1) the principle of

similarity; 2) the principle of contiguity; 3) the principle of contrast. Let us regard the taxonomic transfers from this point of view.

The first description of taxonomic transfers is found in Aristotle’s *Poetics*: “<A transfer> from genus to species is when I say: *There I have put my boat, for to anchor is the same as to put.* <A transfer> from species to genus: *A myriad of glorious deeds is done by Odysseus.* Since a *myriad* (μυρίον) means ‘many’, this word is used instead of *many*”. The notion ‘a myriad’ is seen by Aristotle as a species-notion of the genus-notion ‘many’ (cf. Lausberg 1998 [1960]: 249), that is, this is a finitus numerus pro infinito transfer. Further: “<A transfer> from species to species: *pulled out the soul with copper is the same as cut off with longwearing* (literally: *unerasable*; V. M.) *copper, as to pull out means ‘to cut off’, and to cut off means ‘to pull out’, and they both mean ‘remove’*” (Aristoteles 1839: 48–9). The analysis of Aristotelian description shows that: 1) the example of transfer from species to genus belongs to finitus numerus pro infinito transfer, which is strictly speaking a subtype of transfer from species to genus; 2) the class of taxonomic transfers is presented as one-level system, which became a characteristic feature of the subsequent descriptions (see Nyrop 1913: 156–82; Bloomfield 1962 [1933]: 426; Blank 1997: 192–217, etc.). Let us analyse the taxonomic transfers as a system including patterns of lower and higher classification levels.

1. Transfer from the abstract to the concrete (abstractum pro concreto, downward semantic shift, narrowing, specialization of meaning): *She for beloved woman*.

1.1. Transfer from the genus to the species (genus pro specie), which is used, in particular, in euphemistic function, for example, 4 instead of *to do a dishonest action*.

(4) But tell me definitely, how did the Baron finally persuade you to – well, **to do what you did?** (O. Wilde. *An Ideal Husband*).

The nominal periphrases are often based on this type of taxonomic transfer: *military person for soldier*, Lat. *bucera saecla* ‘horned tribe’ for *cows* (given as example of periphrasis in: Anonymous 1863: 611).

1.2. Transfer from the species to the individual (species pro individuo), which is based on the substitution of a proper name by: a) a periphrasis: *the little corporal* instead of *Napoleon*; b) a common name: *the city* instead of *New York*. Since this kind of substitution, which is known as classical antonomasia, is carried out according to the algorithm of the transfer ‘species pro individuo’ (cf. ‘corporal’ : ‘Napoleon’ = ‘species’ : ‘individuum’), it becomes hard to accept the interpretation of antonomasia as a type of metonymy (e.g. Holmqvist, Pluciennik 2010: 373); so, H. Lausberg’s point of view seems preferable, as he sees the transfer species pro individuo as the basis for the classical antonomasia (Lausberg 1998 [1960]: 265).

2. Transfer from species to species (species pro specie, horizontal semantic shift), or “cohyponymous transfer” (Blank 1997: 207). A. Blank (1997: 217) restricts this transfer to the relations of the words which only demonstrate “minimal semantic difference between them”. In our opinion, there are two different instances here:

2.1. The change of names in the realm of similar concepts, in particular, “of similar plants and animals”, for example, “Eur. Sp. *león* ‘lion’ > Amer. Sp. ‘Puma’, Eur. Sp. *tigre* ‘tiger’ > Amer. Sp. ‘Jaguar’” (Blank 1997: 377), “the history of the change of names for concepts MOUSE and RAT” and the transfer “Old Lat. *talpus* ‘mole’ > It. *topo* ‘mouse’” (Blank 1997: 207 & 509); the regular confusion of the concepts ‘carrion-crow’, ‘raven’ and ‘rook’; ‘willow’, ‘pussy willow’ and ‘brittle willow (broom)’ in the modern Russian speech seems to have the same character. The “co-taxonomic similarity” (Blank 2003: 46) of the concepts causes the possibility for confusion of their names (i.e. for lexical error) rather than for a functionally relevant transfer. So the smaller the taxonomic difference between the concepts is, the more the possibility for confusion of their names rises.

2.2. The change of names in the realm of dissimilar concepts. The bigger the taxonomic difference between the concepts is, the more the possibility for rhetorical play on the change of their names rises, which, in particular, is observed:

a) in the joking euphemism 5, used instead of *glutton*:

(5) His lunch – (cold pig) – the **gourmand** quits, The very coocs desert their spits (E. Bulwer. *The Siamese twins*);

b) in the Russian joking phrase *priglasit' na riumku chaja* 'to invite somebody to a shotglass of **tea**' instead of 'a shotglass of **vodka**', and so forth.

3. Transfer from species to genus (species pro genere, widening, upward semantic shift, generalization of meaning): *daily bread* for *food*.

3.1. Transfer finitus numerus pro infinito (i.e. using a cardinal numeral to denote an indefinite multitude), as in 6.

(6) Each separate star seems nothing, but a **myriad** scattered stars break up the night and make it beautiful (B. Taylor. *Lars*).

A. Blank defines taxonomy as "relations between concepts which are more or less similar exhibiting a number of common features (e.g. TIGER, LION, LEOPARD, PUMA) so that they can be subordinated to a more general concept which logically includes them (FELINE or CAT)" and believes that similarity between "the concepts of DOG and DOG TRAINED TO PURSUE GAME (i.e. HOUND; V. M.) as well as TIGER and JAGUAR ... is much stronger than in the case of metaphor" (Blank 2003: 42 & 46). However, it is well known that not only the similarities, but also the differences ("differentiae specificae"), contrasts, and oppositions are important for the relations within one genus too, that is why: a) the definition of a species "covers the characteristics which the species shares with other member-species of its genus which is implied by giving it and them the same generic name, and those characteristics which distinguish it from these other members, its differentiae" (Stearn 1959: 16); b) systematics (taxonomy), for example with reference to biology, is regarded as "the scientific study of the kinds and diversity of organisms" (Simpson 1961: 7). From this point of view, it becomes obvious that "categorical (or taxonomic) relations" cannot be explained upon "the traditional basis for associations of similarity and contiguity" (Nelson 2002: 235). The relevant issue of debate from this viewpoint is the problem of antiphrasis, which is traditionally defined as "a transfer by contrast" (Knox 1989: 13–4) or "nomination by contrast (nominatio per contrarium)" (Tiberius 1676: 180). This transfer serves to express irony and is sometimes identified with it, for example, when it is interpreted as "one-word irony" (Probus 1864: 402; Susenbrotus 1551: 13). Transfers by contrast include:

1. Charientism, expression of negative evaluation through positively charged words, "sarcasm under the mask of a compliment" (Rufinianus 1863: 39), as in 7.

(7) Donne, the **delight** of Phœbus and each muse, Who, to thy one, all other brains refuse... (B. Jonson. *Epigram 22. To John Donne*).

2. Asteism (ironia urbana), expression of positive evaluation under the guise of negative one, "exquisite and sophisticated playfulness, used to praise or flatter somebody in the form of blame or reproof" (Fontanier 1968: 150), for example, a mother calling her own child "little monster" (Dupriez 1991: 49).

It was noted long ago that antiphrasis connects "those words that take their source in a contrast" (Hispalensis 1577: 31): Russ. euph. *aromat* 'aroma' for *von* 'stink', *umnik* 'smart guy' for *durak* 'fool'. Since the opposites involved in creating an antiphrasis can be seen as two species within one genus ('aroma' / 'stink' ~ 'smell', 'reproof' / 'praise' ~ 'evaluation'), it is quite logical to define antiphrasis as an instance of a transfer from species to species (species pro specie).

K. Reisig treats the understanding of antiphrasis as a device of word-formation with severe criticism, as he believes that calling something "κατ' ἀντίφρασιν", for example Lat. *non lucus* instead of *lucus* 'light', is "entirely senseless (völlig unsinnig)" (Reisig 1839: 287). The only restriction of antiphrasis seems to be bound with the expression of irony; outside of this function antiphrasis becomes "entirely senseless". Antiphrasis does not depend on the degree of precision of contrast, however, A. Blank restricts this figure to inexact ("connotative") contrast: "Although lexical innovation by contrast occurs rarely, we can distinguish two subtypes: cotaxonomic contrast (or antonymic contrast), which designates an association of something directly opposed (as in Eng. *bad* 'not good' > Eng. (slang) 'excellent'), and antiphrastic contrast for cases of association of more indirectly opposed concepts (as in Fr. *pensionnaire* 'guest in a boarding house' > Fr. (argot) 'convict')"

(Blank 2003: 47; Blank 2000: 68), Old Fr. *oste* 'guest' > 'hostage' (Blank 2001: 92). It seems yet that the joking French word *pensionnaire* in the meaning 'convict' and the Old French word *oste* in the meaning 'hostage' are metaphors, as the imprisoned convict is **like a guest** in a boarding house and as the hostage in the enemy's camp is **like a guest** in the house.

A. Blank admits himself that: a) "the fundamental similarity remains in the highest possible contrast" (Blank 1997: 142); b) the opposites involved in creating contrast "need a common basis": thus, the concept 'colour' is the common basis for the concepts 'white colour' and 'black colour' (Blank 2000: 61). From this viewpoint, it appears logical to accept that opposing concepts are species within one genus and therefore antiphrasis is an instance of a species pro specie transfer.

#### Semantic scope of transfers

All the modern lists of transfers cover lexical semantics only, but as is well known since antiquity, the transfers affect not only lexical, but also grammatical semantics. Grammatical transfer presented in the medieval grammars as 'enallage' or 'immutatio' (Gr. *ἐναλλαγή*, Lat. *immutatio* 'alteration') consists in using one grammatical category in the meaning of another one, that is, in transforming the grammatical semantics of the word (cf. Lausberg 1998 [1960]: 235–6). Enallage is traditionally defined as the grammatical figure that changes the morphological semantics of the word; two transfers fall under this class, conversion (zero-derivation, antimetonymy) and heterosis: "Enallage est figura grammatica etymologica... Est vel antimetonymia vel heterosis" (Bengel 1862: 1094). Let us consider these two figures in some of their subtypes.

#### Conversion

The present research shows that the different schemes of conversion use the different types of semantic transfer, in particular:

1. The scheme "verb > noun" is based on metaphor, as the action is reified (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza, Cervel 2008: 263) or personified as a result of this type of conversion and so acquires the features of an object (cf. 8 and reification in 9) or a person (cf. 10 and personification in 11).

(8) to take an axe;

(9) to take a **walk**;

(10) He gives me books;

(11) Work gives me satisfaction.

2. The schemes "noun > verb", "noun > adjective", and "adjective > verb" are based on metonymy (Dirven 1999, Schönefeld 2005, etc.), for example: *to hammer a nail into smth.* → *to drive a nail with a hammer into smth.*; *stone wall* → *stone-built wall* → *wall built of stone* (an element of the frame stands for the action involving this element); *to empty a ship* → *to unload a ship* <and so to make it empty> (a result for an action that leads to this result).

The analysis shows that the many-sided phenomenon of conversion cannot be reduced to one transfer, for example, to metaphor, as G. Crocco-Galeas (1990) believes.

#### Heterosis

Heterosis is traditionally defined as using one form of grammatical number, tense, person, gender, and so forth in the meaning of another corresponding grammatical form, that is, as "enallage generum, numerorum, personarum, modorum ac temporum" (Susenbrotus 1551: 37). This figure (see Probus 1864: 393–94; Gerber 1871: 460–596; Lausberg 1998 [1960]: 235–40) includes, in particular:

1. Numerical transfer (enallage numeri, heterosis numerorum):

1.1. Transfer from one to many (ab uno plura, singularis pro plurali), that is, using a singular grammar form instead of a plural one, or "singularisation", as in 12.

(12) Barking **dogs** seldom bite. → Barking **dog** seldom bites.

1.2. Transfer from many to one (a pluribus unum, pluralis pro singulari), using a grammatical form of plural number instead of a singular form, "pluralisation", for example, "author's *we*" (pluralis modestiae) and "the royal *we*" (pluralis majestatis) in the meaning 'I', see 13.

(13) King Richard. Old John of Gaunt, time-honor'd Lancaster, Hast thou, according to thy oath and band, Brought hither Henry Hereford, thy bold son; Here to make good the boisterous late appeal, Which then **our** leisure would not let **us** hear, Against the

Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray? (W. Shakespeare. *The life and death of King Richard II*).

2. Transfer tempus pro tempore, or enallage temporis pro tempore, in particular, using a present form in the meaning of a past one (praesens historicum, historic present, or the narrative present tense), as in 14.

(14) Freddy **rushes** in out of the rain from the Southampton Street side, and **comes** between them closing a dripping umbrella. He **is** a young man of twenty, in evening dress, very wet around the ankles (B. Shaw. *Pygmalion*).

Longinus (1837: 38) notes: “If you represent the events of the past as happening right now, your story stops being a narration and turns into reality”.

3. Using one grammatical person for another one: thus, “the author often takes on the mask of the hero” and, “changing from one character to another one”, speaking in their language and on their behalf, “becomes many-faced (πολυπρόσωπον)”; for example, Demosthenes “played out his speech between the third and the second person: ‘Does anyone feel disgust or even anger towards this dirty scoundrel (= towards **him**; V.M.) – oh, you unworthy rascal!..’” (Longinus 1837: 40 & 41).

Secondary functions of grammatical categories develop on the basis of enallage; it leads to “relativisation of norm, a price we pay for widening the potential usage” (Lardet 1988: 313). Grammatical transfer is more relevant for inflectional languages, such as Greek, Latin, and so forth, “for the multiplicity of their grammatical accidents. ... We, having no such variety of accidents, have little or no use of this figure. They [Greeks; V. M.] called it enallage” (Puttenham 1869 [1589]: 182).

As is well known, “[a]ll approaches to grammatical description necessarily incorporate some taxonomic elements” (Trask 2013: 275), as grammatical notions form the taxonomic subhierarchies, for example, ‘number’ (genus) ~ ‘singular number’, ‘dual number’, ‘plural number’ (species); ‘person’ (genus) ~ ‘first person’, ‘second person’, ‘third person’ (species); ‘gender’ (genus) ~ ‘feminine gender’ and ‘masculine gender’ (species), and so forth. L. Valla (2012 [1439]: 270) notes that “tamen per se est tempus prius et per se tempus posterius”, as “genus prius specie”, that is, “the <notion of> tense is prior to the <notion of> past tense”, as “genus is prior to species”. From this point of view, heterosis can be regarded as horizontal semantic shift in a grammatical subhierarchy, that is, as a transfer from species to species. B. Westheimer (1535: 441–42) provides 15 as an example of this transfer.

(15) “Et genus pro genere, Genesis uigesimo tertio capite. Sepeliam mortuum meum, ubi masculinum ponitur pro femino”.

‘And gender for gender: I should bury my dead <man> (Genesis XXIII: 8), where masculine stands for feminine’.

### Conclusion

All transfers can be subdivided according to the following three parameters:

1. According to the functional parameter:

1.1. Functionally irrelevant transfers: a) popular etymology; b) confusion of semantically similar words as the unintentional counterpart of transfer from species to species.

1.2. Functionally relevant (i.e. intentional) transfers: metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and taxonomic transfers.

2. According to the associative base of transfer. The following two criteria are relevant from this viewpoint.

2.1. Degree of predictability. The unpredictability of connections between the first subject of comparison and its possible second subject (which becomes the vehicle of the corresponding metaphor) is the source of expressivity of similes (*as green as grass* / *as abottle* / *as a garden* / *as a toad* / *as emerald*...), and so metaphors (cf. *emerald eyes*). Metonymic associations in contrast to metaphoric ones are quite predictable and so less expressive, as they connect the elements of the same frame; on the other hand, predictability of connections within the frame and within the whole is the base for the use of metonymy in compressive function. Since connections between the elements of taxonomic hierarchy are axiomatic, taxonomic transfers are less expressive than metonymy and synecdoche. So, degrees of emotional expressivity of different transfers form a gradual scale.

2.2. Type of association. Metaphor is based on the principle of similarity, metonymy and synecdoche are subordinated to the principle of

contiguity, while taxonomic transfers are based both on the principles of similarity and contrast of concepts, which are connected with genus on the principle of similarity and opposed within genus on the principle of contrast. From this viewpoint, contrary concepts can be seen as species within one genus, therefore, antiphrasis should be regarded as an instance of transfer from species to species.

2.3. According to the semantic scope of transfers, as they affect not only lexical semantics, but grammatical semantics too.

[1] Taxonomic transfer is regarded as a semantic transfer, which takes place within one genus. The term *taxonomic transfer* belongs to A. Blank (2001:73).

[2] This transformation rule covers the Vossian antonomasia as well, which ‘has to be referred to metaphor’ (Vossius 1781 [1621]:326): *Aphrodite* ‘a beauty’ ↔ *a girl who is as beautiful as Aphrodite*.

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