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FEMININE URBANONYMY IN POLISH AND ITALIAN LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES

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Abstract: The paper presents an onomastic analysis of feminine urbanonymy of selected Polish and Italian towns and cities in the light of gender naming studies and proposes a typology of observed onymic and cultural phenomena in the linguistic landscape. The disparity in male and female naming in the urban space is a global cultural concern and generates emancipatory social actions that lead to a better understanding of the importance of harmony in gender urbanonymy (mainly hodonymy).

Key words: urbanonymy, feminine urbanonymy, hodonymy, onomastics, female, male, gender naming, linguistic landscape.

1. Introduction

Gender is one of the social constructs and properties that determine humans. People identify and perceive the world through the gender types framed by their cultural and linguistic features. Effectively, "[the gender] has obvious links to the real world, first in the connection between many grammatical gender systems and biological sex, and second in other types of categorization such as size, which underpin particular gender systems and also have external correlates" (Corbett 2014b: 1). Moreover, "[t]he social categories of gender are quite unlike other categories of social analysis, such as class, in being firmly and visibly connected to biological difference and function in a biological process" (Connell 1985: 266).

Apparently, there are many features that permit the distinction of one sex from the other. Furthermore, they affect the formation of gender stereotypes, views about men and women, which are the basis of the so-called world of men and the world of women, especially in the relationship between the male and female sexes. We can observe the domination of one sex over the other (the male over the female), subordination and discrimination as a consequence of sexism, and, yet, the respect, the empathy, the appreciation, the admiration and the attraction of one sex to the other. Both "worlds" manifest their specificity as well in language. In the field of linguistic and cultural phenomena, there is a need for proprial categorization and designation of men and women by the use of onyms that commemorate individuals or social groups and refer to the classes of male and female anthroponymy. From this gender determined onomastic perspective, we can note a kind of competition between men and women, emulation, and a revaluation of the parity rights adopted in the public policies of modern societies.

The gender issue emerges in many social and cultural contexts that are in the area of interests of scientists representing different disciplines; besides language studies, it is important to mention sociology, anthropology, biology and medicine, psychology, history to a certain extent, political science, law, and many others, including sub-disciplines that relate to the study of both sexes (Connell 1985; Connell & Pearse 2015; Gillis & Jacobs 2019; Kang et al. 2017; cfr. Petlyuchenko & Chernyakova 2019: 86). Nowadays, it is the subject of a range of academic analyses, which are interdisciplinarily determined as "gender studies" (e.g., Connell 1985; Gillis & Jacobs 2019; Giora 2002; Introduction to women's… 2017; Kang et al. 2017). In some countries and social circles, this trend of scientific research, unfortunately, raises controversy: it is discredited and recognized as biased and too trivial, which prompts the emergence of various attitudes, e.g., of those who try to negate and discredit the development of this type of academic study subject (see e.g., Anti-gender movements on the rise?..., *s.a.*; Korolczuk 2016).

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Gender issues have been addressed in a few linguistic works published in the last 20 years (e.g., Audring 2014; 2016; Formato 2019; Gender in grammar… 1999; Mandelli & Müller 2013; Rejter 2013; Robustelli 2014; The expression of gender… 2014; van Berkum 1996), leading to the naming of this area of research as "sex linguistics" (Karwatowska & Szpyra-Kozłowska 2010; cf., Gilbert & Gubar 1985, and the concept of "genderlect" in Motschenbacher 2007). At the same time, there are onomastic works that bring up for discussion this naming topic (e.g., Skowronek 2017; in the same scientific perspective see also Breillat et al. 2005; Ercolini 2011, 2013; Fucarino 2013b; Pignatari 2010), which may result from the use of gender studies methodology, and is the simple perception of the natural femininity and masculinity elements as objects of the onymic units submitted to research. For example, anthroponomasticians deal with the system and the functioning of personal names given to men and women (e.g., Barry & Harper 1993; Caffarelli 2011; Ndoma 1977; Sestito 2016; Thonus 1991; Wilson & Skipper 1990), while toponomasticians study male or female name motivation in the creation of deanthroponymic place names (e.g., Czopek-Kopciuch 2017; Karpluk 1955). This vision has also become a part of chrematonomastic research and, in general, concerns different categories of proper names (e.g., Nilsen 1995).

2. Hypothesis, materials and methods

In this paper, I am particularly focused on the use of female identification in Polish and Italian urbanonyms, which represent two European cultures, illustrating in this manner a wider global phenomenon. The choice concerning the Italian and Polish urban linguistic landscape is based on the fact that both cultural territories have a connection to a common civilization, but at the same time they differ noticeably in historical and psychosociological terms (the concept of "linguistic landscape" is adopted from Landry & Bourhis 1997).

The hypothesis I set assumes the overrepresentation of onymic units motivated by names related to men, and thus the low share of references to women in Polish and Italian urbanonymy. The problem has so far been signalled by few onomasticians and social scientists (see Walkowiak 2018; Ercolini 2011, 2013; Fucarino 2013a, 2013b; Pignatari 2010; cf., Note 1). My research contributes to the development of this field in onomastic and gender studies, and what I would like to demonstrate is the socio-onomastic recognition of the phenomenon of female references and representations in urbanonyms in a selected set of hodonymic and other toponymic, and, sometimes, "chrematoponymic" units. I assume here the classical definition of hodonyms as street and square names, and chrematonyms, or, specifically, "chrematoponyms", as names of cultural objects referred to their placement (e.g., business names, institutional names, building names, etc.; see ICOS lists of key onomastic terms, *s.a.*; cf., also Gałkowski 2018). Both categories are considered as "socially important elements" (Rutkowski 2019: 267). In the theory of Landry & Bourhis (1997: 26-27), the first can be englobed in the range of "government / public signs" ("road signs, place names, street names, and inscriptions on government buildings including ministries, hospitals, universities, town halls, schools, metro stations, and public parks"); the second corresponds to "private / commercial signs" ("storefronts and business institutions […], commercial advertising on billboards, and advertising signs displayed in public transport and on private vehicles").

2.1 The corpus methodology selection

The onymic corpus submitted to analysis originates from many sources: the Italian part is the total feminine hodonymy collected and classified by researchers and activists of the Italian *Toponomastica femminile* Association (see http://www.toponomasticafemminile.com/sito/)[1]; in the field of Polish data, it is a collection of proprial units that I found on numerous websites, lists of public places (e.g., Katalog ulic i placów… 2013), and, above all, from the TERYT database of the Polish Central Statistical Office website (Rejestr TERYT…, *s.a.*), which has registered the hodonyms of all Polish localities: above all, street and square names, as well as district and green area names, and others that in onomastic terms belong to urbanonymy. The main attention was dedicated to four selected Polish cities: Łódź, Białystok, Płock and Skierniewice, including special analysis of the hodonymy of these

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urban centres (see Bieńkowska & Umińska-Tytoń 2013; Fiedorowicz et al. 2012; Groblińska 2020; Gryszpanowicz 2016; Kita & Nartonowicz-Kot 2012). The total number of analysed onyms exceeds 1,000 units. In general, the Italian corpus is larger and available on the *Toponomastica femminile* website for all Italian towns and cities, systematized in regional statistics (Censimenti…, *s.a.*).

As far as **the methodological selection** of the material is concerned, the study includes the names of objects directly dedicated to female figures, e.g., *ul. Emilii Plater*[2] (a street in Łódź and many other Polish localities; nom. *Emilia Plater*, a 19th century revolutionary woman[3]) or *Instytut Centrum Zdrowia Matki Polki* (Polish Mother's Health Centre Institute, a hospital in Łódź; see Fig. 1) with the status of a public place in the city, as well as those in which there are references to women because of the already named object appearing in the denomination, e.g., in Italy, *Biblioteca del Convento di S. Maria Valleverde* (Library of the Convent of St. Mary Valleverde, Celano) or the *Biblioteca del Monastero delle benedettine celestine di S. Basilio* (Library of the Monastery of the Celestine Benedictines of St. Basil, L'Aquila). More specifically, I took into consideration forms which, in their cultural context, evoke the range of semes expressing femininity, e.g., *Żeński Dom Studencki KUL* (Female Student House of the Catholic University in Lublin, Poland) or *Fontana delle Tette* (The Fountain of the Tits in Treviso, Italy).

Figure 1. Polish Mother's Health Centre Institute in Łódź and the accompanying statue of a mother with a child. Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

Nonetheless, I do not develop here the issue of grammatical femininity or "feminativity"[4]. It is worth noting, however, that there are then official documents that refer to and regulate this field of linguistic use; e.g., in Italian, one can consult a guide for the use of gender in administrative language, which is a study published on the site of the Italian Ministry of Education, Universities and Research (Linee Guida per l'uso del *genere*… 2018). The document refers to both the grammar and the lexis defined by a grammatical and natural gender, the principles of which must be observed in Italian administrative communication. In a psycho-linguistic perspective, a quite spectacular exemplary effect of the application of this guide is the final approval of Italian forms such as *la ministra* 'the woman minister' or *la sindaca* 'the woman mayor' (alongside *il ministro* 'the minister' and *il sindaco* 'the mayor', so far universal and politically correct terms, like Pol. masc. n. *minister* 'the minister' and masc. n. *burmistrz* 'the mayor' or masc. n. *prezydent* 'the president'; cf., Note 4).

2.3 The method of the study adopted and methodological restrictions

This onomastic analysis is primarily of a qualitative nature, but it relies on quantitative gender naming data that are significative for observed trends. The research method goes beyond the frames of traditionally understood onomastics, however close to new directions of analysis that are determined by toponomastics or neo-toponomastics (considering toponyms that indicate, but at the same time say something about a named object, and assume the function of permanent information, often symbolic and suggestive). The applied research includes methods of fieldwork, which confirm official data in urban space and linguistic use, i.e. their occurrence, and graphic and iconic context.

In the quantitative calculations based on the research formula, a combination of onomastic facts from selected Polish and Italian towns and cities was treated, taking into account the total number of hodonyms in a given administrative urban space and the ratio of the number of names referring to men and women. In the qualitative analysis, a classification has been applied using the form for the census card (*Modello per la scheda di censimento*), adapted by researchers of the Italian *Toponomastica femminile* Association. It presents the names classified in 13 categories of dedications

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addressed to women (see Appendix), according to *Criteri di classificazione delle figure femminili* 'Criteria for the classification of female figures' applied to the analysis as a complex methodological key (Criteri di classificazione…, *s.a.*).

In **onomastic terms**, all the collected denominations can be ranged within the name category **feminine urbanonymy** (cf., the concept of "urban toponymy" in Rutkowski 2019 and Pol. *nazewnictwo miejskie* 'urban naming' according to Bieńkowska & Umińska-Tytoń 2013; cf., also Bieńkowska & Umińska-Tytoń 2019 and Siwiec 2012). This category embraces official and unofficial urbanonymic, mainly, hodonymic units in a city or a town (street and square names), and other onymic terms that serve to name industrial, residential, and natural zones; buildings; public institutions; religious places; sport, leisure, and entertainment areas; places of business activity in the urban topography[5], etc. Some of the specified objects will remain debatable in the onomastic context, but the urbanonymic ("chrematoponymic", see above) status of their names can be well-founded, e.g., the names of hotels as places in the city, and not the brands, which they are at the same time, or even the names of rooms in such hotels, in a special way dedicated to women.

The main **methodological restriction** relates to gender attribution, which, depending on the lexical form, is not directly associated with the world of women, but may, in fact, represent it. These are names that evoke individuals, among whom there were certainly women, e.g., in Białystok: *Rondo Nauczycieli Tajnego Nauczania* (Secret Teaching Teachers Roundabout), *ul. Honorowych Krwiodawców* (Honorary Blood Donors Street), in Łódź: *Aleja Pamięci Ofiar Litzmannstadt Getto* (Memorial Avenue of the Victims of the Litzmannstadt Ghetto), *Aleja Zakochanych* (Avenue of Lovers), *al. Rodziny Grohmanów* (Grohman Family Avenue).

In any event, the users of language should assume that political correctness can be required, and linguistic gender differentiation is possible. In theory, it can be conceived and depends on the existence of female forms in a language, e.g., hypothetically *ul.*

Honorowych Krwiodawczyń i Krwiodawców (Pol. pl. fem. nom. n. *krwiodawczynie* 'female blood donors'; Pol. pl. masc. nom. n. *krwiodawcy* 'male blood donors'). It is more feasible in the hodonym *ul. Bohaterów Września* (Heroes of September Street, commemorating the fighters of the first month of the Second World War, Łódź), which could possibly be extended to *ul. Bohaterek i Bohaterów Września* (Heroines and Heroes of September Street). Notwithstanding, one should not ignore the linguistic principle, which allows one to see universal terms covering male and female representatives in masculine forms in Polish (cf., Nalibow 1973; Nowosad-Bakalarczyk 2009; Woźniak 2014).

In some Polish feminine hodonyms, when a street name is reduced to a woman's surname, confusion can result, since common female surnames ending in *-ska* and *-owa* structurally resemble adjectives in the sing. fem. nom. These are then paired with the fem. n. *ulica* (=*ul*. 'street') in the nominal group *ulica* + *sing. fem. adj.* to create the illogical forms *"ulica Skłodowska"* or *"ulica Orzeszkowa"*, which, in the common perception of many inhabitants of the town of Skierniewice, formally stand for *ul. Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie* (elliptically, *ul. Skłodowskiej-Curie or ul. Curie-Skłodowskiej* or *ul. Skłodowskiej*) 'Maria Skłodowska-Curie Street' (cf., Fig. 2), and *ul. Elizy Orzeszkowej* (elliptically, *ul. Orzeszkowej*) 'Eliza Orzeszkowa Street'. The potential fem. adjs. *"skłodowska"* and *"orzeszkowa"* are treated here in the same way as the fem. adj. *krótka* 'short', *słoneczna* 'sunny' in the hodonyms *ul. Krótka* 'Short Street' and *ul. Słoneczna* 'Sunny Street', which are very frequent in Poland.

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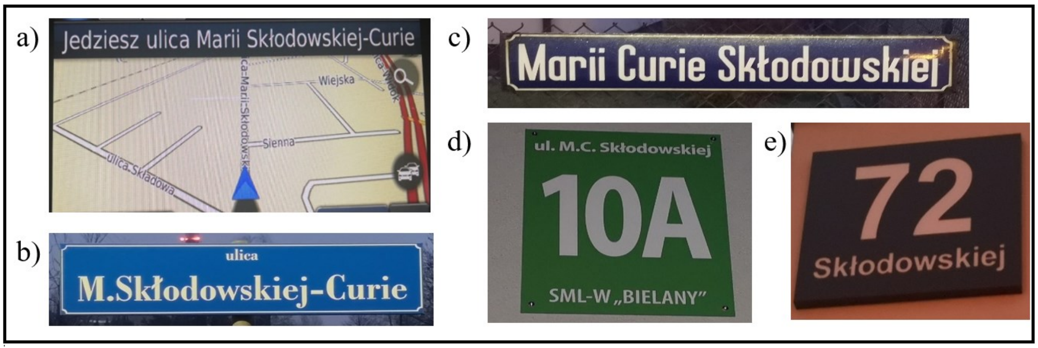

Figure 2. Different models of the name of the same street in Skierniewice dedicated to Maria Skłodowska-Curie: (a) *Jedziesz ulica* [recte *ulicą*] *Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie* 'You are going down MSC Street, a car GPS shot; (b) *ul. M. Skłodowskiej-Curie* (the latest official version); (c), (d), and (e) *ul. Marii Curie Skłodowskiej*; *ul. M. C. Skłodowskiej*; *ul. Skłodowskiej* (other versions of the name still preserved on several street plates). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

3. Quantitative results

The results reported below will focus on the illustration of the general situation regarding feminine urbanonymy in Polish and Italian urban spaces. The selected **data** are **exemplificatory** and serve to illustrate the observed state of public naming that exhibits a specific character when related to the male and female worlds. The results regarding the quantitative proportions of male and female presence in the urbanonymy of the selected Polish and Italian towns and cities are relevant to the research hypothesis.

3.1 Polish case

The Polish situation with regard to gender-determined urbanonymy of selected examples shows a definite overrepresentation of men and masculine elements in hodonymic naming. The following list proves this. The data are presented with the specification of all numerical parameters, and then in the form of a graph.

As an exemplificatory illustration in Polish we can consider the following parameters (see also Fig. 3):

- in Łódź (Łódź Voiv.; POP. ca. 700,000; AE 293.25 km^2), of a total number of 2,213 hodonyms, only 86 have a female reference (=3.9% FR), while there are nearly 600 male references (=26.8% MR);

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- in Białystok (Podlaskie Voiv; POP ca. 300,000; AE 102.12 km^2) the ratio is as follows: 1,151 (T) / 302 (=26.2% MR) *vs* 45 (=3.9% FR);
- in Płock (Mazowieckie Voiv; POP ca. 120,000; AE 88.06 km^2): 524 (T) / 153 (=29.2% MR) *vs* 11 (=2% FR);
- in Skierniewice (Łódzkie Voiv; POP ca. 47,400; AE 36.08 km^2): 316 (T) / 114 (=36% MR) *vs* 13 (=4.1% FR).

Other statistical findings for the selected Polish cities are reported by Walkowiak (2018: 342), in order: Warsaw, Cracow, Poznań, Wrocław, Szczecin, Gdańsk, Bydgoszcz, Lublin, Katowice, Częstochowa.

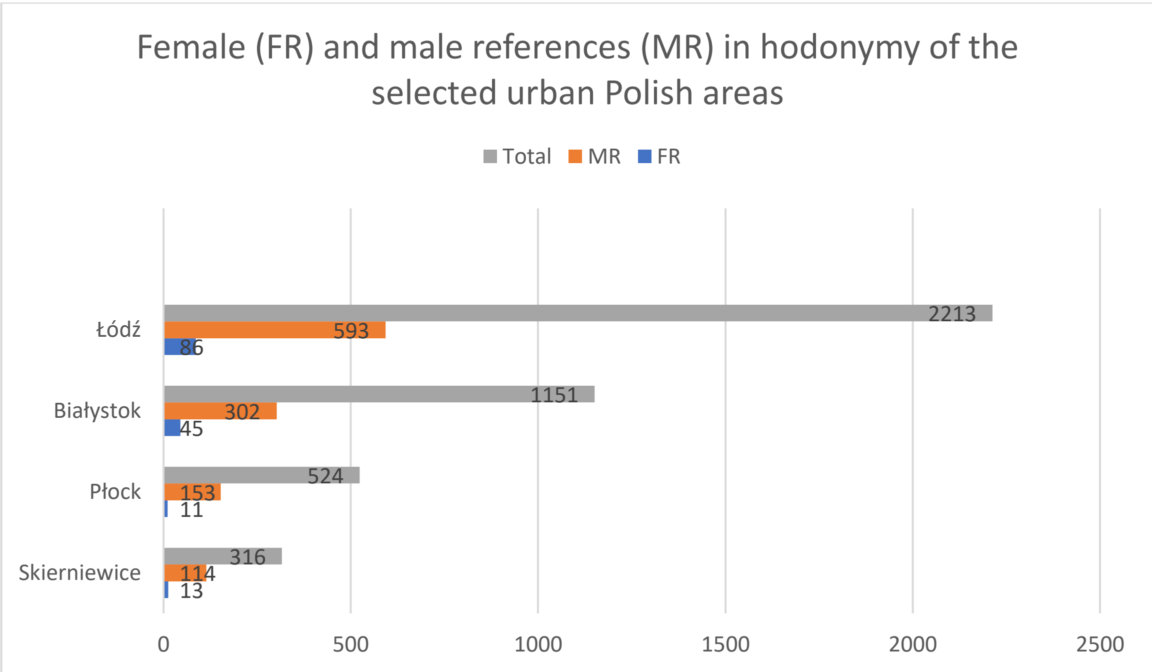

Figure 3. Illustration of gender motivated urbanonymic phenomena in Poland. Compilation based on the author's own research formula and the TERYT data. The latter available at: http://eteryt.stat.gov.pl

Using the *Toponomastica femminile*'s methodological key, I present in Appendix the distribution of feminine hodonyms for the cities of Łódź (Table 1), Białystok (Table 2) and Skierniewice (Table 3) as of 2019.

3.2 Italian case

This kind of calculation for Italy is established for the whole Italian territory, as recorded in the census data of the project *Toponomastica femminile*.

The exemplificatory examples of Italian data are following (see also Fig. 4):

- Novara (Piedmont Reg.; POP ca. 102,000; AE 103 km^2)[6]: 907 (T) / 463 (=51% MR) *vs* 24 (=2.6% FR);
- Turin (Piedmont Reg.; POP ca. 884,000; AE 130.17 km^2): 2,235 (T) / 1,054 (=47.2% MR) *vs* 65 (=2.9% FR);
- Chieti (Abruzzo Reg.; POP ca. 50,200; AE 58 km^2): 578 (T) / 266 (=46% MR) *vs* 21 (=3.6% FR);
- Pescara (Abruzzo Reg.; POP ca. 120,000; AE 34 km^2): 838 (T) / 255 (=30.4% MR) *vs* 17 (=2% FR);
- Matera (Basilicata Reg.; POP ca. 60,400; AE 387.4 km^2): 754 (T) / 350 (=46.4% MR) *vs* 27 (=3.6% FR);
- Potenza (Basilicata Reg.; POP ca. 67,200; AE 173 km^2): 472 (T) / 211 (=44.7% MR) *vs* 7 (=1.5% FR);
- Reggio Calabria (Calabria Reg.; POP ca. 190,100; AE 236 km^2): 1194 (T) / 266 (=22.3% MR) *vs* 55 (=4.6% FR);
- Napoli (Campania Reg.; POP ca. 1,248,000; AE 94.7 km^2): 3,515 (T) / 1,695 (=48.2% MR) *vs* 280 (=8% FR);
- Salerno (Campania Reg.; POP ca. 140,600; AE 58.96 km^2): 1,394 (T) / 826 (=59.3% MR) *vs* 80 (=5.7% FR);
- Bologna (Emilia-Romagna Reg.; POP ca. 386,300; AE 140.73 km^2): 1,969 (T) / 1102 (=56% MR) *vs* 74 (=3.8% FR);
- Milan (Lombardia Reg.; POP ca. 1,360,000; AE 182 km^2): 4,250 (T) / 2,538 (=59.7% MR) *vs* 141 (=3.3% FR);
- Genoa (Liguria Reg.; POP ca. 595,000; AE 243 km^2): 3,800 (T) / 1,507 (=39.7% MR) *vs* 136 (=3.6% FR);

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- Trieste (Friuli-Venezia-Giulia Reg.; POP ca. 208,600; AE 293.25 km^2): 1,306 (T) / 729 (=55.8% MR) *vs* 39 (=3% FR);
- Mantova (Lombardia Reg.; POP ca. 46.400; AE 63 km^2): 662 (T) / 347 (=52.4% MR) *vs* 33 (=5% FR).

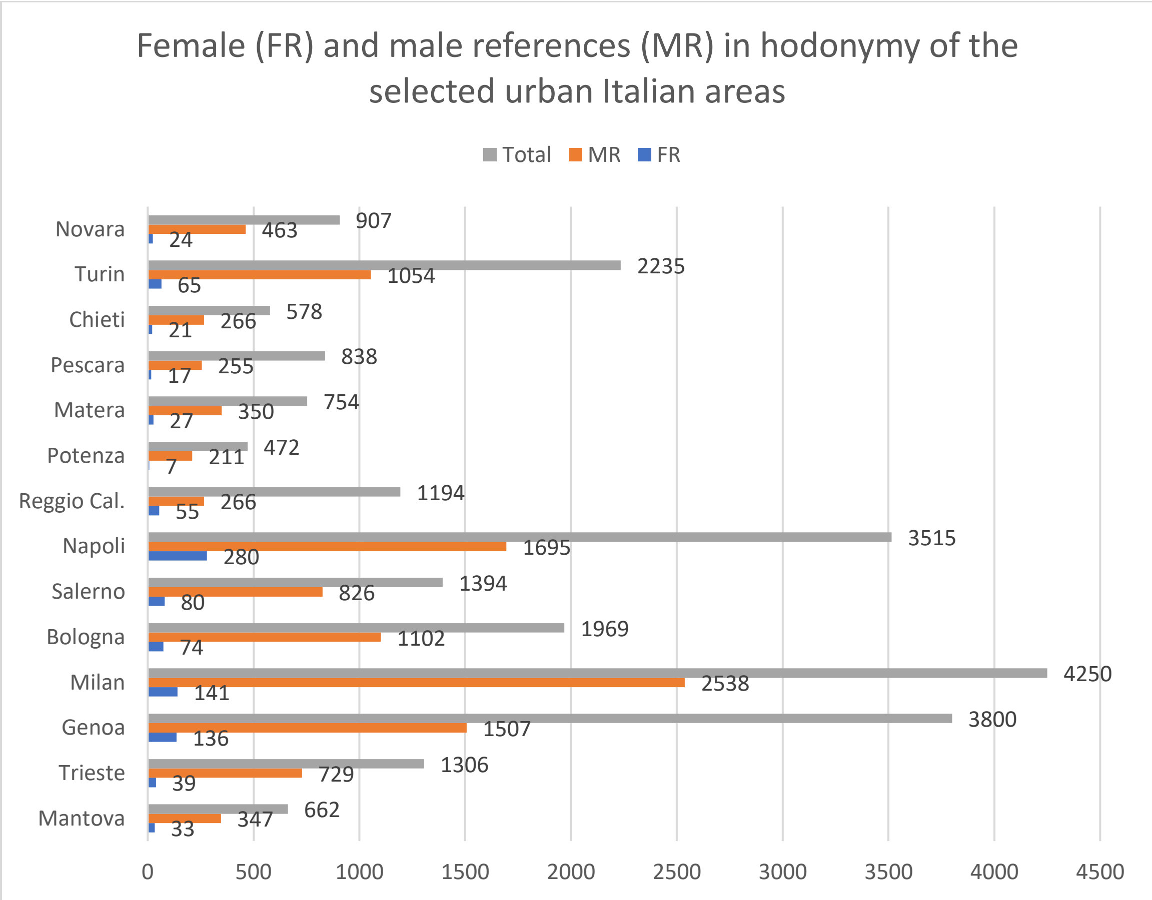

Figure 4. Illustration of gender motivated urbanonymic phenomena in Italy.
Compilation based on the author's own research formula and the *Toponomastica femminile* data.
The latter available at: https://www.toponomasticafemminile.com/sito/index.php/censimento/italia

The detailed distribution of the extracted hodonymic units for Italy is available on the *Toponomastica femminile* Association's website (see above). The substantial statistical survey was conducted for all towns and cities in 20 regions of Italy.

The situation of three representative Polish cities (one bigger, one medium and one smaller, Tables 1, 2, 3 in Appendix) can be compared with the set of hodonyms for any given city in the *Toponomastica femminile* census. The choice of the city of Salerno in the Campania Region (Table 4) is an example of classified data.

4. Qualitative findings and discussion

"*Investigating the causes for the lack of streets dedicated to remarkable women means identifying new strategies to change the situation and creating a new and more complete symbolic reality. Street plates form an extensive network of symbols that reflect the sense of the role of women in creating history. It is important to name streets after men who were partisans, scientists, and artists, but it is just as important to dedicate streets to women who were partisans, scientists, and artists. It is imperative to demonstrate their presence and to give meaning to their – hopefully temporary – absence from our collective imagination as well as from street maps.*" (Nocentini 2013: 11)

Based on a generalization of the theoretical views and available data regarding the feminine urbanonymy in Poland and Italy, I propose a typology of this kind of urban naming illustrating it with examples from various Polish and Italian urban spaces. The criteria of the analysis determine the following interpretative typologies.

4.1 Typology I: Collective and single female general references

Hodonyms that have transparent references to women will not raise doubts in their interpretation as examples of feminine urbanonymy. Primarily, I consider those that are not based on the names of specific women, but somehow denote, define, or connote women and the female reality. In the Italian corpus they are represented, e.g., by *via delle Donne* (Women Street lit. 'women's street' = 'street of women'[7], San Carlo; Orvieto; Ascoli Piceno), *via delle Belle Donne* (Beautiful Women Street, Florence), *piazzale Donne Partigiane* (Partisan Women Square, Milan), *via delle Donne Partigiane* (Partisan Women Street, Castelfidardo), *piazza delle Donne Lavoratrici* (Women Worker Street, Trento), *via delle Canterine* (It. *la canterina* 'a woman who sang in the street doing her housework', Ascoli Piceno), *via delle Lavandaie* (Washer Women Street, Ascoli Piceno), *via delle Zoccolette* (It. *la zoccoletta* means 'bitch, prostitute' but in this context rather 'young woman', Ascoli Piceno; cf., Fig. 4). This kind of naming without personal specification appears sporadically throughout the corpus, but it is more evocative than in occurrences where the names refer to less known women.

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Figure 4. *Via delle Zoccolette* (Rome). Author: Aleksandra Makowska-Ferenc 2020 (AG's p.a.).

Other Italian examples from this area are: in Alessandria (Piedmont): *strada della Gelosa* (Jealous [Woman] Street), *via della Santa* (Saint [Woman] Street), *via della Monaca* (Nun Street), *via Orfanelle* (Orphan Baby Girls Street), in many cities: *via* (*delle*) *Orfane* (Orphans Street; a popular naming motivation because of the social history regarding orphans in Italy), in Novara (Piedmont): *via delle Fioraie* (Florists Street), in Turin: *via Figlie dei Militari* (Daughters of the Military Men Street), in Naples: *cupa della Vedova* (Widow Street; It. *la cupa* 'narrow little street' < adj. *cupo* 'sombre, gloomy'), *vico delle Vecchie* (Old Women Street; It. *il vico* 'a kind of street or urban district'), in Bologna: *vicolo delle Dame* (Ladies Alleyway; It. *il vicolo* 'a kind of little street'), *via delle Donzelle* (Damsels Street), in Venice: *via de Donna Onesta* (Venetian dial. Honest Woman Street), *via Zitelle* (Spinsters Street), *via de la Comare* (Godmother Street) (cf., Fig. 5).

Figure 5. Google Maps pieces: *via della Santa*; *via della Monaca* (Alessandria); *via della Vedova* (Napoli); *via delle Dame* (Bologna). ©Google 2020.

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Most of these hodonymic units have a historical motivation and result from the stereotyped self-perception of Italian society in which different aspects of women's status are the consequences of a hierarchical cultural system and ameliorative or pejorative connotations: the simple fact of being women, married or not, noble or humble, young or old, beautiful, fair, good- or bad-mannered, etc.

In the Polish part of the corpus, this type of reference without precise personal names is less represented and is rather the effect of recent urban naming processes that commemorate historical female activity or the effect of circumstances centred on women. For instance, in Poland one can find such hodonymic units as *ul. Wojskowej Służby Kobiet* (Military Women Service Street, Warsaw), *skwer 100-lecia Praw Wyborczych Kobiet* (The 100th Anniversary of Women's Electoral Rights Square, Lublin), *Aleja Matek Polskich* (Polish Mothers Avenue, Łódź), *Rynek Włókniarek Łódzkich* (Łódź Textile Women Workers Square), *ul. Matki Polki* (Polish Mother Street, Gdańsk), *ul. Sanitariuszek* (Sanitary Nurses Street, Łódź), *ul. Łączniczek* (Women Liaison Officers Street, Płock) (see Fig. 6).

Figure 6. 'Polish Mothers Avenue' (Łódź); 'Łódź Textile Women Workers Square' (Łódź); 'Women Liaison Officers Street' (Płock). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

Further examples tend to express a certain personalization, which in the name itself remains generally not transparent, but falls within the scope of the considered collection of feminine urbanonymy. For instance, the name *Skwer Latających Babć z Plusem* (Flying Grandmothers and Plus Square) in Łódź was introduced to celebrate the activity of a group of elderly people, mainly women, who, as volunteers, write texts for children and organize other types of entertainment; "Plus One" refers to a man who joined the group in 2013 (see Fig. 7). In the same way, the evocative fantasy reference to feminine figures is ensured with the hodonyms *ul. Dobrej Wróżki* (Good Fairy Street, Łódź; cf., in Italy, *rua della Befana* 'La Befana Street', dial. *rua* 'via', Ascoli Piceno, or *strada della Befana* 'La Befana Road', Siena; It. *la Befana* 'a lay symbol of the Epiphany Feast in Italy represented by a figure of an ugly but good witch equipped with her broom'; cf., Fig. 20; Tables 1, 2, 3, v. [xi]).

Figure 7. 'Flying Grandmothers and Plus Square' (Łódź). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.). The logo of the *Latające Babcie z Plusem* Association ©Ryszard Tobiański 2013.

4.2 Typology II: (Im)personal female reference expressed by first names

The general categorization referring to women is evident in hodonyms that consist of a single feminine first name without a specific personal identification. This tendency is characteristic of the Polish corpus and can be explained by several factors. For instance, in the city of Łódź, there are around 20 street names based on single female anthroponyms, such as: *ul. Antoniny* (Antonina Street), *ul. Barbary* (Barbara Street), *ul. Bronisławy* (Bronisława Street), *ul. Doroty* (Dorota Street), *ul. Eleonory* (Eleonora Street), *ul. Grażyny* (Grażyna Street), etc. (see also Table 1, v. [xiii]; cf., Tables 2, 3, v. [xiii]). The motivation for most of them is indeed of a gendered nature, which in a way emphasizes the participation of women in the social history of the city and serves to balance the phenomenon of gender inequality in hodonymy, though it might be the result of the naming solution *donne senza volto* (It. 'faceless women', thus identifying

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undefined female characters who are deprived of their potential to become real; see Fucarino 2013b).

However, we are into the bargain dealing here with a characteristic administrative phenomenon (especially during the communist period), which involved the desacralization of street names dedicated to saints; e.g., before the Second World War, Łódź had *ul. św. Doroty* (St. Dorothy Street); from then on it changed its name to *ul. Doroty* (without the title 'saint'; see Fig. 8). In this manner, we can consider the replacement of the name *ul. św. Emilji* [sic!] (St. Emilia Street) by *ul. 8-ego Marca* (The 8th of March Street), as out-of-date; in an act of decommunization it was replaced by a name referring to a man, *ul. ks. bp. Wincentego Tymienieckiego* (Bishop Wincenty Tymieniecki Street). In common use, a hodonym with the name of a saint can be secularized and this is the effect of a certain mental shortcut, e.g., in Łódź, residents say *ul. Teresy* instead of the official and excessively long *ul. św. Teresy od Dzieciątka Jezus* (St. Theresa of the Infant Jesus Street). Interestingly, this process can be reversed and the name become sacralized (cf., the pre-war *ul. Stanisława* 'Stanisław Street' is today *ul. św. Stanisława Kostki* 'St. Stanisław Kosta Street' and *ul. Antoniego* 'Anthony Street' today *ul. św. Antoniego Padewskiego* 'St. Anthony of Padua Street').

Figure 8. 'Mary Street' (Łódź); '[ex-St.] Dorothy Street' (Łódź). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).
'St. Anne Street' (Białystok). Author: Michał Mordań 2020 (AG's p.a.).

Some of the cited female names may have literary, including fairy-tale and legendary backgrounds, e.g., *ul. Grażyny*, *ul. Jagienki*, *ul. Jagny* (nom. *Grażyna*, *Jagienka*, *Jagna*, female literary figures). This motivation can be quite obvious in such names as *ul. Balladyny* (Balladyna Street, Łódź, Białystok), *ul. Goplany* (Goplana Street, Łódź),

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ul. Halki (Halka Street, Łódź) or lack transparency, e.g., *ul. Aliny* (Alina Street) or *ul. Agatki* (Agatka Street) in Białystok[8].

In this group, some units are the onomastic products of literary reference to women, but formally they maintain the masculine grammatical form, namely *ul. Kopciuszka* (Pol. masc. nom. *Kopciuszek* corresponds to Cinderella, Białystok) or *ul. Czerwonego Kapturka* (Pol. masc. nom. *Czerwony Kapturek* corresponds to Little Red Riding Hood, Łódź; Białystok; Skierniewice; cf., Fig. 9; Tables 1, 2, v. [xi]).

Figure 9. *Jedziesz ulica* [recte *ulicą*] *Czerwonego Kapturka* 'You are going down Little Red Riding Hood Street', a car GPS shot; and the corresponding street name plate with the elision of the identifier *ul.* / *ulica* (Skierniewice). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

The single female names in Italian hodonymy involve rather encyclopaedic explanations. There are many hodonyms in this category referring to Roman and Greek mythology, legend, literature, oral tradition stories, etc. For instance, in Palermo (Sicily) we can find nearly 70 hodonyms structured as *via* + mythonym in apposition, dedicated to different mythological figures, e.g., *via Afrodite*, *via Andromaca*, *via Aracne*, *via Artemide*, *via Aurora*, *via Calipso*, *via Calliope*, *via Cassandra*, *via Clio*, *via Cloe*, *via Dafne*, *via Demetra*, *via Diana*, *via Elettra*, *via Leda*, *via Maia*, *via Medea*, *via Minerva*, *via Nike*, *via Pandora*, *via Urania*, *via Venere*, etc. (cf., Fig. 10). The range of this kind of demythonimical names is just as rich in numerous other Italian cities. It is important to notice that, in such cultural heritage of historical civilization, many Italian urban centres were founded and developed.

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Figure 10. 'Isis Square' (Rome); 'Minerva Square' (Rome).
Author: Aleksandra Makowska-Ferenc 2020 (AG's p.a.).

4.3 Typology III: Religious personal female reference

Another propitious circumstance in the creation of feminine urbanonyms is associated with the Christian – primarily Roman Catholic – culture of Italy, which has not been threatened to this day, except for some attempts at secularization during the period of fascism. The *Toponomastica femminile* research census shows that the names of saints and beatified women, as well as the popular and theological terms for the *Madonna* 'Saint Mary' (see Caffarelli 2016), dominate significantly the present and historical Italian feminine hodonymy, in small towns, as well as in big cities, such as Turin, Milan, Florence, and Rome (cf., e.g., Buzzi & Buzzi 2005; Rufini 1977; see Fig. 11).

Figure 11. *Via Madonnina*, a name referring to the symbolic statue of Saint Virgin Mary in Milan. Author: Giorgio Sale 2020; *via della Madonna de'Monti* (Rome). Author: Aleksandra Makowska-Ferenc 2020 (AG's p.a.). *Via Madonna dell'Idris* (Matera). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

The numbers are smaller when compared to the use of male hagionymy (names of beatified or canonized persons), even considering the fact that the number of canonized men in the Church is much higher than the number of women. The proportion is approximately 1,000 female characters to 10,000 male characters, and it concerns only recognized saints and blessed women. The most popular in Italian urbanonymy are *Santa Caterina*, *Santa Chiara*, *Santa Rita*, *Sant'Anna*, *Santa Lucia*, *Sant'Agnese*,

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Sant'Agata, *Santa Margherita* (cf., Table 4, v. [ii]). Their specification is often completed by a personal or local identification, which allows figures of the same name to be distinguished from one another, e.g., in Rome: *via di S. Caterina da Siena* and *piazza di S. Caterina della Rota*, in Palermo: *via / vicolo Santa Rosalia* and *via Santa Rosalia al Papireto* ('in the papyrus garden'), in Naples: *strettoia Santa Teresa degli Scalzi* (It. *la strettoia* 'narrow street') and *via Santa Teresa a Chiaia* (cf., Fig. 12; Table 1, v. [ii]).

Figure 12. *Via S. Caterina da Siena* (Rome); *via di S. Chiara* (Rome). Author: Aleksandra Makowska-Ferenc 2020 (AG's p.a.). *Via Santa Caterina* (Altamura); *strada Santa Chiara* (Bari). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

The use of the names of women saints is considered appropriate for the denomination of many other urbanonymic objects, including, above all, churches, chapels, and parish socialization centres; additionally, in Italy, hospitals, schools, and places related to artistic culture, e.g., *Teatro di Santa Cecilia* (Palermo), *Teatro di Santa Chiara* (Volterra), *Teatro di Santa Marina* (Villanovaforru), *Istituto Comprensivo Santa Lucia* (a primary and secondary school complex, Bergamo), *Scuola Paritaria Santa Dorotea* (St. Dorothy Parity School, Brescia).

In Poland, the share of hagionymy in urbanonymy is much smaller. References to female saints are fairly rare, e.g., in Białystok, only four hodonyms evoke women saints' names, *Rondo św. Faustyny Kowalskiej* (St. Faustyna Kowalska Roundabout), *Skwer Błogosławionej Bolesławy Lament* (Blessed Bolesława Lament Square), *ul. św. Anny* (St. Anne Street), *ul. św. Kingi* (St. Kinga Street), three in Łódź, *pasaż Świętej Urszuli Ledóchowskiej* (St. Urszula Ledóchowska Passage), *Skwer Świętej Siostry Faustyny Kowalskiej* (St. Sister Faustyna Kowalska Square), *ul. św. Teresy od Dzieciątka Jezus* (see above).

A religious indicator is not always given in the name. Until a person is beatified or canonized, he or she does not have the title, and the formal mark of theological categorization (*saint*, *blessed*, etc.) is not visible, e.g., in Łódź: *ul. Stanisławy Leszczyńskiej* (a street dedicated to Stanisława Leszczyńska, a servant of God).

Hagionyms are rarely used in the naming of Polish institutions. When it happens, the institution, such as a school, demonstrates its mainly catholic status, e.g., *Integracyjna Szkoła Podstawowa im. św. Rity* (St. Rita Integrated Primary School, Warsaw).

By extension, feminine connotation can be attributed to onymic phrases that relate to the feminine administration of the school, e.g., in Warsaw: *Szkoła Podstawowa Sióstr Felicjanek* (Primary School of the Congregation of Sisters of St. Felix of Cantalice), *Szkoła Podstawowa Sióstr Nazaretanek* (Primary School of the Sisters of Nazareth = the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth), *Szkoła Podstawowa Sióstr Zmartwychwstanek* (Elementary School of the Sisters of the Resurrection = the Congregation of the Sisters of the Resurrection), or in Wrocław: *Liceum Ogólnokształcące Sióstr Urszulanek* (High School of Ursuline Sisters = the Order of St. Ursula); unofficially named by the eponyms *felicjanki*, *nazaretanki*, *zmartwychwstanki*, *urszulanki* (Pol. fem. pl. nom. ns.) indicating the nominated school as an institution and a point in the local urban topography (cf. e.g., Pol. *uczyć się u felicjanek* 'study with the *felicjanki*').

On the other hand, references to women saints are frequent in the dedication of churches. Here again, the phenomenon of ellipsis is observed, consisting in the use of

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the saint's name to indicate the place of dedication in a metonymical way, e.g., in Łódź: (*św.*) *Teresa = bazylika św. Teresy* (Basilica of St. Theresa); in Cracow: *św. Anna = kolegiata uniwersytecka św. Anny* (University Collegiate of St. Anne); in Białystok: (*św.*) *Jadwiga = kościół św. Jadwigi Królowej* (Church of St. Jadwiga the Queen).

Finally, names related to the Virgin Mary are not particularly popular in Poland. Examples such as *ul. NMP Królowej Rodzin* (Saint Virgin Queen of Families Street, Białystok; see Fig. 13) or *aleja Matki Bożej Fatimskiej* (Saint Mary of Fatima Street, Tarnów) are exceptional.

Figure 13. 'Saint Virgin Queen of Families Street' (Białystok).
Author: Michał Mordań 2020 (AG's p.a.).

While in Italy this type of naming is quite common and gives the hodonymy a local colouration, see e.g., the long list of Marian hodonyms in Naples (in total 99), *largo*[9] *Madonna delle Grazie* (Our Lady of Grace Street), *via Madonna della bruna* (Our Lady of the Brunette Street), *piazza Madonna dell'arco* (Our Lady of the Arch Square), *fondaco / vico S. Maria a cappella vecchia* (SM in the Old Chapel Square / Street, It. *il fondaco* 'commercial storage place'), *salita S. Maria del parto* (SM of Childbirth Ascent), *gradoni S. Maria Apparente* (SM of the Revelation Stairs), *largo S. Maria del pianto* (SM of the Weeping Street), *via S. Maria di Costantinopoli alle mosche* (SM of Constantinople on the Flies Street), *via / vico S. Maria in portico* (SM on the Porch Street), *piazza / via / vico S. Maria la Nova* (SM The New Square / Street), *piazza / via S. Maria la Scala* (SM La Scala Square / Street), *supportico / traversa / via / via nuova S. Maria Ognibene* (SM Ognibene Porch / Traverse / Street / New Street), *vico S. Maria Vertecoeli* (SM Vertecoeli Street; It. *Vertecoeli* is a district name deriving most

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probably from Lat. *vertice coeli* 'summit of the sky', or from the surname *Vertecelli*), etc. (see also Table 4, v. [i]).

4.4 Typology IV: Secular personal female reference

The rest of the urbanonyms analysed in this study are connected with the names of women in the near or distant history, who can be classified in a mapping proposed by the *Toponomastica femminile* methodological key, as writers, poets, actresses, politicians, patriots, soldiers, queens, princesses, scientists, doctors, etc.

Among the names of Polish women in hodonymic naming, there are figures more or less known on a national and local scale. In the canon, there are three famous Marias: two authors Maria Konopnicka (poet, 19th / 20th), Maria Dąbrowska (novelist, 20th), and the double Nobel prize-winning scientist Maria Skłodowska-Curie (physician and chemist, 19th / 20th; frequent in the hodonymy of other countries, see e.g., Cario 2019; cf., Fig. 2). The dedication to Eliza Orzeszkowa (writer, 19th / 20th) is similarly recurrent. The names of artists are popular as well, e.g., the actresses Hanka Ordonówna (also a singer, 20th) and Helena Modrzejewska (19th / 20th). Historical figures are often represented by Polish queens and princesses, e.g., królowa Jadwiga (Pol. *królowa* 'queen'; 16th), królowa Bona (16th; cf., Figg. 14, 15), Anna Jagiellonka (16th), księżna Kinga (Pol. *księżna* 'princess'; 13th). Still, there are names of women who are known locally and deserved public recognition, e.g., the 19th / 20th century women doctors evoked in hodonyms, Jadwiga Szustrowa (*ul. Jadwigi Szustrowej* in Łódź), or Berta Szaykowska (*ul. Berty Szaykowskiej* in Białystok) (see also Tables 1, 2, 3, vv. [v, vi, vii].

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Figure 14. 'Queen Bona [Sforza] Street' (Skierniewice). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.). The view of the designated new Queen Bona [Sforza] Street in Białystok. Author: Michał Mordań 2020 (AG's p.a.). A piece from Google Maps with the planned Queen Bona Street in Białystok. ©Google 2020.

In the Italian linguistic landscape, we can identify similar tendencies, e.g., the use of aristocratic personal names, as in Palermo the queens Regina Maria di Sicilia (14th), Margherita di Savoia / Regina Margherita (19th), Regina Elena (19th) and the princesses Principessa Giovanna (20th), Principessa Iolanda (20th), Principessa Mafalda (20th), Principessa Maria (20th) (cf., Fig. 15; Table 4, v. [ix]).

Figure 15. Two ways of presenting the name of the same street: *via Principessa Iolanda* and *via Princssa Iolanda* 'Princess Iolanda Street' (Bari). *Via Bona Sforza* with an additional explanation *Duchessa di Bari* / *Regina di Polonia* 'Duchess of Bari / Queen of Poland', and the adequate car GPS shot (a private street in Bari). Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

The recently promoted trend in giving names with a female element in the Italian urban space is to search for the names of less known, but distinguished women. This is a

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result of actions and projects launched by the Association *Toponomastica femminile* and local social and administrative initiatives, e.g., the campaign for women's memory called *The 8th of March – 3 women – 3 streets*, the campaigns *A Margherita on our streets*, *A scene for Franca*, *A road for Miriam*, *The long road of Rita*, to commemorate authoritative women of Italian science, politics and culture. In the same direction, there is another initiative named *Camera d'autrice* 'Authoress's room' with the task to get one room in each hotel named after a woman who was a writer or an artist, if possible connected to the local territory.

The situation with the emergence of names referring to the world of women is generally improving, but it is far from that which the supporters of *Toponomastica femminile* would hope for. An increase in the number of female names would require the creation of new objects or the renaming of existing ones. Currently, however, there is some progress, e.g., in the green areas of Milan, we have such new names, dedicated to brave Italian 19th or 20th century women, as *Giardino Marisa Bellisario* (Garden Marisa Bellisaro, a business woman), *Giardino Oriana Fallaci* (Garden Oriana Fallaci, a famous journalist, writer and activist), *Parco Ravizza* (Park [Alessandrina] Ravizza, a philanthropist and emancipationist), *Parco delle Crocerossine* (It. *le crocerossine* 'adepts of the Italian Red Cross *Croce Rossa Italiana*'), *Giardino Gina Galeotti Bianchi* (Garden Gina Galeotti Bianchi, a partisan during the Second World War), *Giardino Wanda Osiris* (Garden Wanda Osiris, an actress and singer; see Fig. 16). As Cario (2019) notes, in only one year, 2019, the inland municipality of Venice gave new names to hodonymic structures (streets, roundabouts, squares) dedicating them to 10 women, among others *Maria Boscola* (a rowing champion in 18th century Venice), *Lyde Posti Cuneo* (the founder of the provincial section of the Italian ASL association), *Ondina Valla* (a sportswoman), *Marisa Bellisario* (a businesswoman), *Edith Stein* (a famous German Jewish philosopher, converted to Catholicism and canonized), *Chiara Silvia Lubich* (the founder of the *Focolare* movement, after her death in 2008 proclaimed a servant of God), *Marie Curie* (see above).

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Figure 16. Park plates in Milan. Author: Giorgio Sale 2020 (AG's p.a.).

This type of social movement in Poland is rather contained. An insufficient number of women's names in urbanonymy is not seen as a social problem. It is noticed, but not treated for political and other reasons, resulting from the Polish mentality, which redirects similar problems into the taboo sphere influenced by dominant ideologies or mainstream instances, such as the political parties in power or the Catholic Church. However, projects are being developed that involve the creation of quasi-tourist routes ("women's routes", see Szlaki kobiet… 2013; Krakowski szlak kobiet… 2015) that allow one to learn about the history of women referred to in street names, the history of institutions and houses in which women operated and lived, monuments to women, their birth or burial sites, etc., e.g., in Konin: *Kamienica Essowej* (the tenement house of Stefania Esse, a noble proprietary), *Dom Janiny Perathoner* (the house of Janina Perathoner, a novelist), *Dworek Urbanowskiej* (the manor house of Zofia Urbanowska, a local writer) (see Szlaki kobiet… 2013: 23-33).

The tendency to name a new place in Polish urban topography after a woman is still considered unusual. In some cases, the chosen anthroponyms are unknown even to the local communities, indicating women who seem important for the applicant of the hodonym, and are accepted by the city council, but in reality are difficult to find in accessible sources (e.g., in Płock: Anna Jabłczyńska and Stefania Kamińska, two local doctors who are commemorated in street names, elsewhere unknown; cf., Table 4, vv. [xi, xiii]).

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Objectively speaking, but risking being accused of subjectivity, the repertoire of women's names is relatively limited, especially in historical contexts. In order to compensate for this apparent deficiency, women's names are added to the hodonymy where possible, but modestly and sporadically, e.g., those of famous wives of even more famous husbands (in Łódź: *skwer Ireny Tuwim*, a square dedicated to Irena Tuwim, the wife of the Jewish-Polish poet Julian Tuwim originating from Łódź, or *skwer Aliny Margolis-Edelman*, a square dedicated to Alina Margolis-Edelman, the wife of Marek Edelman, a Jewish cardiologist originating from Łódź who participated in the 1943 uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto; see Fig. 17).

Figure 17. 'Irena Tuwim Square' in Łódź and the accompanying patroness board.
Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

It is symptomatic that such female names are given to smaller objects in the urban topography due to the lack of larger ones (streets, squares) to be named in already existing districts, especially in the historical and central parts of the city. It is worth explaining that Pol. *skwer*, although a borrowing from the English *square*, has undergone metonymization following the model *pars pro pars* (one type of open area starts to designate a different one); in Polish, *skwer* means 'a small square usually excluded from road traffic, a kind of mini park, a place of rest', sometimes created *ad*

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hoc at the request of residents or organizations planning special naming actions (this was the case with *Skwer Latających Babć z Plusem* in Łódź, see above).

It must be said that the nomenclature representing the feminine gender arises spontaneously at the colloquial level, often with a slangy or even vulgar tone. For instance, I can refer to a dictionary (Groblińska 2020) including popular feminine forms in the urbanonymy of Łódź: *Teośka* or *Teofka*, hypocoristic structures coming from *Teofilów*, the name of a district; *Gosia*, a hypocoristic of the name *Małgorzata* and the result of the phonetic mimicry of the acronym *GOŚ* (Pol. *Grupowa Oczyszczalnia Ścieków* 'Group Sewage Treatment Plant'); *Cipa* (Pol. vulg. *cipa* 'cunt'), *Wagina Kropiwnickiego* 'Kropiwnicki's vagina', *Kropiwary* (a contamination of a part of the surname *Kropi*[*wnicki*] and the Pol. *wary* standing for the dysphemism 'lips' in a vulgar sexual context); *Kropiczka* (a similar word game: *Kropi*[*wnicki*] + Pol. pop. vulg. *piczka* 'pussy'), etc., a long list of names which indicate the controversial shape of a fountain placed in Łódź by the mayor Jerzy Kropiwnicki in 2009 (see Fig. 18).

Figure 18. "The Jerzy Kropiwnicki's fountain" in front of the Grand Theatre building in Łódź. Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

In colloquial usage these kinds of onyms, when placed in certain linguistic landscape, assume, over time, a localization function transforming them into not only specific landmark words. They become also the bearers of public information and values about chrematonymic objects that are related to the sphere of economic structures, e.g.,

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department stores, store brands, manufacturers, restaurants, hotels, public institutions, etc. (e.g., *Magda*, the name of a former department store on Piotrkowska Street in Łódź, now a commonly recognised landmark; *Magda* is a hypocoristic form of the forename *Magdalena* in Polish; similarly, with *Wars & Sawa*, a department store with a long history in the centre of Warsaw; *Wars* and *Sawa* are the male and female names of the legendary founding couple of the city; despite contemporary changes, the historical distinction between *Wars*, the men's part of the store, and *Sawa*, the women's part, is preserved in the customers' memory; see Fig. 19).

Figure 19. Department stores: *Magda* on Piotrkowska Street in Łódź and *Wars & Sawa* in Marszałkowska Street in Warsaw. Author: AG 2020 (p.a.).

However, the problem of different functions of urbanonyms is already an issue for another study, in which the question should be answered whether there is something specific about the use of names created with allusion to the world of women and men in marketing chrematonyms, or why (especially in Italy) there are few commercial spaces such as shopping malls with names referring to women (except for the shopping centre in Rimini, named *Le Befane*, pl. form of It. *la Befana*, see Fig. 20).

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Figure 20. The name and the logo of *Le Befane* Commercial Centre in Rimini. Author: AG 2019 (p.a.). *La Befana* representation, Christmas fair in Rome. Author: Aleksandra Makowska-Ferenc 2020 (AG's p.a.). 'La Befana Road' (Siena). Author: Giovanni Favata 2020 (AG's p.a.).

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that personal references in urbanonymy (e.g., those linked with a professional sphere assigned to the site) have existed for as long as inhabitants of urban centres have needed to name streets, squares, and other locations in a city or a town, but the social impact of gender determined naming has never been as important as it is nowadays. It can be attributed to the growing awareness of gender as a social category that regulates modern civilization in many ways, including human relations, rules of behaviour, language use, etc. And only in our liquid modern epoch is there the opportunity to distinguish masculine and feminine urbanonymy, which can be the object of scientific investigation, especially in gender studies, but more specifically in sociology, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and onomastics. The latter perspective, decisively directed to new cultural and linguistic vectors of naming

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studies, was the main background of this attempt to study feminine urbanonyms as specific proprial units in the linguistic landscape of Polish and Italian urban spaces.

It must be noted that the phenomenon of feminine urbanonymy is a *signum temporis* that is considered a kind of social and psychological concept and mental process in contemporary public discourse. Feminine urbanonymy manifests itself in public and sometimes private determiners, which contribute to the creation of the linguistic landscapes, and it is a salient exhibition of these landscapes as other linguistic signs functioning in them. It is important to regulate the coexistence of feminine and masculine urbanonymy, taking in account the exponents of disparity in the general relation between men and women, such as misunderstanding, sexism, and sometimes discrimination and disregard.

Disparity and the preponderance of one sex over the other in the urbanonymic context are still feasible. This is a vital social and psychological matter which, however, will be difficult to remedy, despite quite common consent, because urbanonymy, and hodonymy in particular, is a consolidated and relatively unchanging onomastic fact of administrative arrangements and, consequently, modern linguistic landscapes and common use.

The conducted study confirms the underrepresentation of female characters and in general references to the world of women in urbanonymy (expressed especially by hodonyms, but also by "chrematoponymic" units) in the two examined cultures that are apparently rooted in a common European civilization, and at the same time present noticeable cultural differences. Moreover, the Polish and Italian linguistic areas apparently have similar socio-communicative construction.

The presence of female references in Polish and Italian urbanonymy is comparatively analogous: it sits at the level of 3-5% of the total hodonymy; while the ratios for male representations differ between the two countries: in Poland it is around 20-30%, in Italy

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it rises even to 50% of all the hodonyms in a city. This is the evident predominance of masculine names in the Italian urban space, but it certainly could not be called the masculinization of this sphere. In the Italian hodonymy there are relatively fewer references to other cultural realities than in the Polish, which is more formalized. There are currently a lot of actions of naming changes in Polish cities to give new streets or squares either names embraced by a particular lexical field or anthroponyms, which are transferred to the hodonymic area in the process of transonymization, and create thematically coherent sets of names (e.g., street names dedicated to fairy tale characters in an urban district).

In both Polish cities and Italian ones, it is rather difficult to find a coherent concentration of feminine urbanonymy in one district or other zone. This situation is unlikely to change in the near future. Perhaps one day it will be possible to talk about statistically significant "feminine urbanonomasticons" in a town or city, qualitatively and quantitatively compared to "masculine urbanonomasticons". Globally, we can certainly speak of both as unobtrusive collections, irrespective of whether their units are based in one location or dispersed across a larger area.

The investigation confirms the predominance of male over female naming in Polish and Italian urbanonymy, at the same time showing similarities and differences between the two studied areas, e.g., at the level of hagionymic or mythonymic references and new trends in the perception and creation or changing of urbanonyms in the contemporary urban space. There are some particular occurrences using female first names without referring to a specific, real female figure; but the names of historical feminine personages prevail in the whole analysed urbanonomasticon, sometimes in eponymic forms. Moreover, the phenomenon of feminine urbanonymy reveals the spontaneous creation of popular naming, which serves to indicate and determine characteristic objects in the urban topography, and creates informal onomasticons in linguistic landscapes in our towns and cities.

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It must be finally stated that the analysed feminine urbanonymy demonstrates different functional and cultural aspects, and is currently undergoing a visible process of development and revaluation. This process brings similar results in both the linguistic and cultural areas considered in this study, but it is in Italy that it is beginning to be regulated and encouraged by activities that have ardent supporters and are noticeable and effective on the national and international scale.

It should, then, not be forgotten that the current situation is the consequence of the actual history of Italy and Poland, as well as of other countries of Europe. Men have dominated it. Male figures are more visible in history than female ones.

Notwithstanding, the introduction of the male element in urbanonymy does not necessarily have to be a sign of discrimination or advanced sexism. It is actually crucial that the problem has been noticed and is the subject of a process of gradual repair, to which onomastic studies can contribute in terms of scientific observation, description, and classification of the linguistic and cultural phenomena.

It can be suggested that the phenomenon of feminine urbanonymy should enter the discussion of the problems exposed on *The Global Gender Gap Report* that has been published every year since 2016 by the World Economic Forum.

In general, feminine or female naming could be an issue of social and intellectual value in which linguists and onomasticians may participate actively[10].

Notes

1. The movement *Toponomastica femminile* has been active since 2012 and stands for a social and political project that revaluates women in the linguistic landscape of Italy, fulfilling scientific goals, organizing cyclical conferences and publishing their proceedings, as well as promoting other books and articles (see e.g., Sulle vie della parità… 2013; Ercolini 2011, 2013). The current activity of the Association is reported

in other scientific sources (see e.g., Caffarelli 2019), and in social media, especially on Facebook (see https://www.facebook.com/groups/292710960778847/?fref=ts, last access 18.12.2019). Similar social, and not only feminist, movements and actions are emerging in other countries, see e.g., *In Paris, Amsterdam and Brussels, feminists are campaigning to name more streets after women* (by S. Franssen):
https://www.citymetric.com/fabric/paris-amsterdam-and-brussels-feminists-are-campaigning-name-more-streets-after-women-4137;
Croatia, where the streets have no (women's) names:
https://www.europeandatajournalism.eu/eng/News/Data-news/Croatia-where-the-streets-have-no-women-s-names;
Bradford to name streets after women to tackle gender imbalance:
https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-48587377;
Historical women take the streets of Geneva: Restoring the legacy of international organizations' working bees (by P. Ohene-Nyako, L. Piguet & M. Piguet):
https://projects.au.dk/inventingbureaucracy/blog/show/artikel/historical-women-take-the-streets-of-geneva-restoring-the-legacy-of-international-organizations-wo/, etc.; last access to all quoted sites 19.12.2019.

2. The abbreviation *ul.* stands for Pol. *ulica* 'street', the identifier of the majority of hodonyms in Poland (e.g., *ulica Szeroka* lit. 'Wide Street' is usually abbreviated in *ul. Szeroka*). Other conventional abbreviations used in Polish hodonymy are *al.* = *aleja* 'avenue', *pl.* = *plac* 'square'. For conventional or logical reasons, sometimes the identifying components are evident elements of onyms and are written in full word and in capital initial letters. This applies to hodonyms with the identifier *Aleja*, e.g., coll. *Aleja Gwiazd* 'Star Avenue' lit. 'the avenue of the stars', offic. *Promenada Gwiazd* in Międzyzdroje (Pol. fem. n. *promenada* 'promenade'); *Aleja Marszałkowska* 'Marshal Avenue' in Częstochowa (Pol. fem. adj. *marszałkowska* < masc. n. *marszałek* 'marshal'); cf., *Aleje Jerozolimskie* 'Jerusalem Avenues' in Warsaw (Pol. plur. n. *aleje* 'avenues'; Pol. pl. fem. adj. *jerozolimskie* deriving from the toponyme *Nowa Jerozolima* lit. 'New Jerusalem', the name of a historical Jewish settlement on the outskirts of

Warsaw); see also the rules for the names of urban objects in Warsaw explained in Katalog ulic i placów… 2013).

3. The form *Emilii Plater* is the genitive case grammatically complementing the noun *ulica* (*ul.*) in the nominal group *ul. Emilii Plater* 'Emilia Plater Street', lit. 'the street of Emilia Plater' / 'Emilia Plater's Street'; cf., Note 7). All Polish personal and other dedications naming streets, squares, etc. are always declined in the genitive case (cf., *al. Jana Pawła II* 'John Paul II Avenue', while the nominative case is *Jan Paweł II*).

4. The current gender discussion is a subject that is being widely held in Polish public discourse, raising many social, scientific, and political arguments; see the official opinion of the Council of the Polish Language on female forms of profession names and titles (Stanowisko Rady Języka Polskiego… 2012). The main notion in these discussions is Lat. *feminativum* (Pol. plur. masc. n. *feminativa* or *feminatywa* 'female names for professions and functions'), in relation to which I use the neologism "feminativity" (cf., Hołojda-Mikulska 2016; Krysiak 2016). Indeed, in linguistic categories, "[g]ender is indeed remarkable, but to appreciate this we need to see it in the context of the other morphosyntactic features" (Corbett 2014a: 125).

5. Beside "hodonyms" ("route name (i.e. proper name of a street, square, motorway, country road, path, tunnel, ford, bridge, footbridge, railway line etc.)", ICOS lists of key onomastic terms, *s.a.*) according to the urbanonymic terminology I can indicate many pertinent notions such as "agoronyms" (names of squares), "ecclesionyms" (names of temples), "oykodomonyms" (names of buildings), "pylonyms" (names of gates), "gephyronyms" (names of bridges), "poreiurbanonyms" (names of public transport stops), "urban choronyms" (names of city districts and quarters), "ergonyms / ergourbanonyms" (names of commercial enterprises placed in urban space) (cf., Madieva & Suprun 2017; Razumov & Goryaev 2019). I would add to this list the term "microurbanonym" with the onomastic function of name of an urban object known in communities limited to minor groups of people like families, inhabitants of a street, employees of a company, students in a faculty, etc. Cf., the terms "private / commercial" *vs* "government / public signs" in Landry & Bourhis's (1997: 26-27).

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6. The data on the number of inhabitants and surface area derive from the official websites of the cities.

7. The notation with the apostrophe would probably express better the "idea" of the logical relationship between the elements of the name composed with the Italian preposition *di* in its paradigm *del*, *dello*, *della*, *dell'*, *dei*, *degli*, *delle* + *noun / nominal group*, however, for translation, I adopt the unified formula, which is more conventional for hodonymic constructions in English: *Name Street* / *Square*. It also relates to Polish structures, which are based on the genitive case, e.g., *ul. Marii Konopnickiej* 'Maria Konopnicka's Street' = 'Maria Konopnicka Street'. It seems that the best solution would be *Marii Konopnickiej Street*, but in this way, we lose our focus on the basic nominative form of the name. On the other hand, leaving the original genitive form would make it easier to find the street in the urban topography. Cf., Note 3.

8. *Grażyna* is a title character of a narrative poem by Adam Mickiewicz; *Jagienka* a character from the historical novel "The Knights of the Cross" by Henryk Sienkiewicz; *Jagna* a character from the novel "The Peasants" by Władysław Reymont; *Alina*, *Balladyna* and *Goplana* three characters from the tragedy "Balladyna" by Juliusz Słowacki; *Halka* a title character of an opera by Stanisław Moniuszko; *Agatka* (dim. < *Agata*) corresponds to a 1960s television programme for children intitled "Jacek i Agatka" (cf., Fiedorowicz et al. 2012).

9. The names reported in this paragraph are an illustration of different interesting hodonymic identifiers typical for the topographical specificity of the city of Naples: *la cupa*, *il fondaco*, *i gradoni*, *il largo*, *la salita*, *la strettoia*, *il supportico*, *la traversa*, *la via nuova*, *il viale*, *il vico*, *il vicolo*, etc.

10. See *The global gender gap report 2018*, available at: https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2018, last access 03.01.2020.

11. Apart from some cases, which I explain in the text of this paper the encyclopaedic meaning of the majority of systematized Polish and Italian names of female characters, can be directly found in various traditional and online publications and resources, starting with Wikipedia.

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List of abbreviations

adj. – adjective

AE – surface

coll. – colloquially

dial. – dialect

dim. – diminutive

fem. – feminine (gender)

FR – female reference

gen. – genitive (case)

It. – Italian

Lat. – Latin

lit. – literally

masc. – masculine (gender)

MR – male reference

n. – noun

nom. – nominative (case)

offic. – officially

p.a. – personal archive

pl. – plural

Pol. – Polish

POP – Population

Reg. – Region

S. – It. masc. / fem. adj. *santo / santa* 'saint'

sing. – singular

SM – St. Mary

syn. – synonym

św. – Pol. masc. / fem. adj. *święty / święta* 'saint'

T – total

Voiv. – Voivodeship

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Résumé

The paper is dedicated to the problem of so-called feminine urbanonymy, i.e. names of different objects in urban topography, especially streets, which contain in their onymic structure a reference to women, or in general to the "world of women". The research question points to the representation and typology of feminine urbanonymy in Poland and Italy; the analysis is concentrated on the urbanonymic (mainly hodonymic) corpus of some selected Polish and Italian towns and cities. In the Italian area, the study is based on data systemized by the Association *Toponomastica femminile*, which has inspired the revaluation of women's names in the onymy of many countries. The investigation confirms the predominance of male naming over female in Polish and Italian urbanonymy, showing similarities and differences between the two studied areas, e.g., at the level of hagionymic or mythonymic references and new trends in the perception and creation or renaming of urbanonyms in contemporary urban space.

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There are some specific representations using feminine first names without a referring to a specific, real female figure; but the names of historical feminine personages prevail in the whole analysed urbanonymasticon, sometimes in eponymic forms. Moreover, the phenomenon of feminine urbanonymy reveals the spontaneous creation of popular naming, which serves to indicate and determine characteristic objects in the urban topography.

Key words: urbanonymy, feminine urbanonymy, hodonymy, onomastics, female, male, gender studies.

Appendix

The 13 categories of feminine dedication according to the *Toponomastica femminile* methodological key are as follows (column **[A]** in Tables 1, 2, 3, 4):

[i]: Saint Mary.

[ii]: Saints, blessed, martyrs.

[iii]: Sisters / religious benefactors, meritorious sisters, founders of religious orders and / or charities.

[iv]: Lay benefactors, founders of charities.

[v]: Literary figures / humanists (writers, poets, critics, journalists, educators, pedagogues, archaeologists...).

[vi]: Scientists (mathematicians, physicists, astronomers, geographers, naturalists, biologists, doctors, botanists, zoologists...).

[vii]: Women in show business (actresses, singers, musicians, dancers, musicians, directors, set designers...).

[viii]: Artists (painters, sculptors, miniaturists, photographers, cartoonists...).

[ix]: Historical and political figures (queens, princesses, feudatories, aristocrats, patriots, women soldiers, victims of the political struggle / war / Nazism, politicians, feminists, environmentalists...).

[x]: Workers / entrepreneurs / craftswomen.

[xi]: Mythological or legendary figures, literary characters.

[xii]: Sportswomen.

[xiii]: Other (unidentified female names; common women; names linked to local traditions; mothers of famous people...).

Table 1. Distribution of feminine hodonyms in Łódź (Poland).
Based on the author's own formula[11].

[A] Feminine dedication	[B] Total number / Names
[i]	-
[ii]	**4** / ▪ *pasaż Świętej Urszuli Ledóchowskiej* (nom. *św. Urszula Ledóchowska*; Pol. sing. masc. n. *pasaż* 'passage') ▪ *skwer Świętej Siostry Faustyny Kowalskiej* (nom. *św. Siostra Faustyna Kowalska*) ▪ *ul. Stanisławy Leszczyńskiej* (nom. *Stanisława Leszczyńska*) ▪ *ul. św. Teresy od Dzieciątka Jezus* (nom. *św. Teresa od Dzieciątka Jezus*)
[iii]	-
[iv]	**1** / ▪ *skwer Latających Babć z Plusem* (pl. nom. *Latające Babcie z Plusem*, see above)
[v]	**18** / ▪ *ul. Elizy Orzeszkowej* (nom. *Eliza Orzeszkowa*) ▪ *ul. Ewy Szelburg-Zarembiny* (nom. *Ewa Szelburg-Zarembina*) ▪ *ul. Gabrieli Zapolskiej* (nom. *Gabriela Zapolska*) ▪ *ul. Heleny Boguszewskiej* (nom. *Helena Boguszewska*) ▪ *ul. Heleny Radlińskiej* (nom. *Helena Radlińska*) ▪ *ul. Janiny Porazińskiej* (nom. *Janina Porazińska*) ▪ *ul. Julii Zbijewskiej* (nom. *Julia Zbijewska*) ▪ *ul. Kazimiery Iłłakowiczówny* (nom. *Kazimiera Iłłakowiczówna*) ▪ *ul. Krystyny Niewiarowskiej* (nom. *Krystyna Niewiarowska*) ▪ *ul. Marii Konopnickiej* (nom. *Maria Konopnicka*) ▪ *ul. Marii Kownackiej* (nom. *Maria Kownacka*) ▪ *ul. Poli Gojawiczyńskiej* (nom. *Pola Gojawiczyńska*) ▪ *ul. Marii Nalepińskiej* (nom. *Maria Nalepińska*) ▪ *skwer Ireny Tuwim* (nom. *Irena Tuwim*) ▪ *ul. Stefanii Sempołowskiej* (nom. *Stefania Sempołowska*) ▪ *ul. Stefanii Skwarczyńskiej* (nom. *Stefania Skwarczyńska*) ▪ *ul. Władysławy Keniżanki* (nom. *Władysława Keniżanka*) ▪ *ul. Zofii Nałkowskiej* (nom. *Zofia Nałkowska*)
[vi]	**4** / ▪ *ul. Alicji Dorabialskiej* (nom. *Alicja Dorabialska*) ▪ *ul. Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie* (nom. *Maria Skłodowska-Curie*) ▪ *skwer Aliny Margolis-Edelman* (nom. *Alina Margolis-Edelman*) ▪ *skwer Jadwigi Szustrowej* (nom. *Jadwiga Szustrowa*)
[vii]	**6** / ▪ *ul. Antoniny Hoffmanowej* (nom. *Antonina Hoffmanowa*)

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	▪ *ul. Barbary Sass-Zdort* (nom. *Barbara Sass-Zdort*) ▪ *ul. Hanki Ordonówny* (nom. *Hanka Ordonówna*) ▪ *ul. Heleny Modrzejewskiej* (nom. *Helena Modrzejewska*) ▪ *ul. Jadzi Andrzejewskiej* (nom. *Jadzia Andrzejewska*) ▪ *skwer Barbary Wachowicz-Napiórkowskiej* (nom. *Barbara Wachowicz-Napiórkowska*)
[viii]	**2** / ▪ *al. Katarzyny Kobro* (nom. *Katarzyna Kobro*) ▪ *ul. Grażyny Bacewicz* (nom. *Grażyna Bacewicz*)
[ix]	**13** / ▪ *pl. adw. Joanny Agackiej-Indeckiej* (nom. *Joanna Agacka-Indecka*; Pol. *adw.* = sing. masc. / fem. n. *adwokat* 'lawyer') ▪ *ul. Anieli Krzywoń* (nom. *Aniela Krzywoń*) ▪ *ul. Anny Jagiellonki* (nom. *Anna Jagiellonka*) ▪ *ul. Anny Walentynowicz* (nom. *Anna Walentynowicz*) ▪ *ul. Dąbrówki* (nom. *Dąbrówka*) ▪ *ul. Elżbiety Łokietkówny* (nom. *Elżbieta Łokietkówna*) ▪ *ul. Emilii Plater* (nom. *Emilia Plater*) ▪ *ul. Emilii Sczanieckiej* (nom. *Emilia Sczaniecka*) ▪ *ul. Joanny Żubrowej* (nom. *Joanna Żubrowa*) ▪ *ul. Krystyny Idzikowskiej* (nom. *Krystyna Idzikowska*) ▪ *ul. Księżnej Kingi* (nom. *księżna Kinga*) ▪ *rondo Marii Jasińskiej* (nom. *Maria Jasińska*) ▪ *ul. Marii Piotrowiczowej* (nom. *Maria Piotrowiczowa*)
[x]	-
[xi]	**13 /** ▪ *ul. Balladyny* (nom. *Balladyna*) ▪ *ul. Czerwonego Kapturka* (nom. *Czerwony Kapturek*; cf., above) ▪ *ul. Dobrej Wróżki* (nom. *Dobra Wróżka*) ▪ *ul. Dziewanny* (nom. *Dziewanna*, the acception of legendary female divinity) ▪ *ul. Goplany* (nom. *Goplana*) ▪ *ul. Halki* (nom. *Halka*) ▪ *al. Joasi Podborskiej* (nom. *Joasia Podborska*) ▪ *ul. Oleńki Billewiczówny* (nom. *Oleńka Billewiczówna*) ▪ *al. Salomei Brynickiej* (nom. *Salomea Brynicka*) ▪ *ul. Szeherezady* (nom. *Szeherezada*) ▪ *ul. Telimeny* (nom. *Telimena*) ▪ *ul. Jagienki* (nom. *Jagienka*) ▪ *ul. Jagny* (nom. *Jagna*)
[xii]	**1** / ▪ *ul. Heleny Marusarzówny* (nom. *Helena Marusarzówna*)
[xiii]	**24** / ▪ *Aleja Matek Polskich* (pl. fem. nom. *Matki Polskie* 'Polish Mothers', see above) ▪ *ul. Antoniny* (nom. *Antonina*) ▪ *ul. Barbary* (nom. *Barbara*) ▪ *ul. Bronisławy* (nom. *Bronisława*) ▪ *ul. Doroty* (nom. *Dorota*) ▪ *ul. Eleonory* (nom. *Eleonora*) ▪ *ul. Feliksy* (nom. *Feliksa*) ▪ *ul. Grażyny* (nom. *Grażyna*)

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	▪ *ul. Heleny* (nom. *Helena*) ▪ *ul. Ireny* (nom. *Irena*) ▪ *ul. Jadwigi* (nom. *Jadwiga*) ▪ *ul. Janiny* (nom. *Janina*) ▪ *ul. Jasia i Małgosi* (dim. masc. nom. *Jaś* < *Jan*; dim. fem. nom. *Małgosia* < *Małgorzata*) ▪ *ul. Joanny* (nom. *Joanna*) ▪ *ul. Julii* (nom. *Julia*) ▪ *ul. Łucji* (nom. *Łucja*) ▪ *ul. Magdaleny* (nom. *Magdalena*) ▪ *ul. Marii* (nom. *Maria*) ▪ *ul. Natalii* (nom. *Natalia*) ▪ *ul. Rozalii* (nom. *Rozalia*) ▪ *ul. Zofii* (nom. *Zofia*) ▪ *pasaż Róży* (a word game: nom. *Róża vs* Pol. sing. fem. n. *róża* 'rose') ▪ *ul. Sanitariuszek* (Pol. pl. fem. nom. n. *sanitariuszki* 'sanitary nurses', see above) ▪ *Rynek Włókniarek Łódzkich* (Łódź Textile Women Workers Square; Pol. pl. fem. nom. n.+adj. *włókniarki łódzkie* 'textile women workers', see above)

Table 2. Distribution of feminine hodonyms in Białystok (Poland).
Based on the author's own formula.

[A] Feminine dedication	**[B] Total number / Names**
[i]	**1** / ▪ *ul. NMP Królowej Rodzin* (nom. *NMP Królowa Rodzin*; acronym *NMP = Najświętsza Maryja Panna* 'Saint Virgin Mary'; cf., above)
[ii]	**4** / ▪ *Rondo św. Faustyny Kowalskiej* (nom. *św. Faustyna Kowalska*; Pol. masc. n. rondo 'roundabout') ▪ *Skwer Błogosławionej Bolesławy Lament* (nom. *błogosławiona Bolesława Lament*; Pol. fem. adj. *błogosławiona* 'blessed') ▪ *ul. św. Anny* (nom. *św. Anna*) ▪ *ul. św. Kingi* (nom. *św. Kinga*)
[iii]	-
[iv]	-
[v]	**9** / ▪ *ul. Elizy Orzeszkowej* (nom. *Eliza Orzeszkowa*) ▪ *ul. Gabrieli Zapolskiej* (nom. *Gabriela Zapolska*) ▪ *ul. Ireny Zarzeckiej* (nom. *Irena Zarzecka*) ▪ *ul. Marii Dąbrowskiej* (nom. *Maria Dąbrowska*) ▪ *ul. Marii Konopnickiej* (nom. *Maria Konopnicka*) ▪ *ul. Narcyzy Żmichowskiej* (nom. *Narcyza Żmichowska*) ▪ *Skwer Anny Markowej* (nom. *Anna Markowa*) ▪ *Skwer Felicji Raszkin-Nowak* (nom. *Felicja Raszkin-Nowak*) ▪ *ul. Teresy Torańskiej* (nom. *Teresa Torańska*)
[vi]	**4** / ▪ *ul. Berty Szaykowskiej* (nom. *Berta Szaykowska*)

	▪ *ul. M. Curie-Skłodowskiej* (nom. *M*[*aria*] *Curie-Skłodowska*, cf., above) ▪ *ul. Simony Kossak* (nom. *Simona Kossak*) ▪ *Skwer im. Profesor Agnieszki Borzuchowskiej* (nom. *Agnieszka Borzuchowska*; Pol. sing. masc. gen. n. *im.* = *imienia* 'dedicated to' > masc. nom. n. *imię* 'name')
[vii]	**5** / ▪ *ul. Grażyny Bacewicz* (nom. *Grażyna Bacewicz*) ▪ *ul. Hanki Ordonówny* (nom. *Hanka Ordonówna*) ▪ *ul. Łucji Prus* (nom. *Łucja Prus*) ▪ *ul. Nory Ney* (nom. *Nora Ney*) ▪ *Skwery Tamary Sołoniewicz* (nom. *Tamara Sołoniewicz*; Pol. pl. masc. n. *skwery* 'squares')
[viii]	**1** / ▪ *pl. Krystyny Drewnowskiej* (nom. *Krystyna Drewnowska*)
[ix]	**10** / ▪ *ul. Anieli Krzywoń* (nom. *Aniela Krzywoń*) ▪ *ul. Anny Jagiellonki* (nom. *Anna Jagiellonka*) ▪ *Bulwary Ireny Sendlerowej* (nom. *Irena Sendlerowa*; Pol. pl. masc. n. *bulwary* 'boulevards') ▪ *ul. Danuty Siedzikówny* (nom. *Danuta Siedzikówna*) ▪ *ul. dr Ireny Białówny* (nom. *dr Irena Białówna*) ▪ *ul. Emilii Plater* (nom. *Emilia Plater*) ▪ *park Jadwigi Dziekońskiej* (nom. *Jadwiga Dziekońska*) ▪ *ul. Jadwigi Klimkiewiczowej* (nom. *Jadwiga Klimkiewiczowa*) ▪ *ul. Królowej Bony* (nom. *królowa Bona*; Pol. fem. n. *królowa* 'queen') ▪ *ul. Królowej Jadwigi* (nom. *królowa Jadwiga*)
[x]	-
[xi]	**7** / ▪ *ul. Balladyny* (nom. *Balladyna*) ▪ *ul. Czerwonego Kapturka* (nom. *Czerwony Kapturek*, see above) ▪ *ul. Kopciuszka* (nom. *Kopciuszek*, see above) ▪ *ul. Oleńki* (nom. *Oleńka*) ▪ *ul. Wenus* (nom. *Wenus*) ▪ *ul. Agatki* (nom. *Agatka*) ▪ *ul. Aliny* (nom. *Alina*)
[xii]	**1** / ▪ *ul. Heleny Marusarzówny* (nom. *Helena Marusarzówna*)
[xiii]	**3** / ▪ *ul. Grażyny* (nom. *Grażyna*) ▪ *ul. Hanki* (nom. *Hanka*) ▪ *ul. Jagienki* (nom. *Jagienka*)

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Table 3. Distribution of feminine hodonyms in Skierniewice (Poland).
Based on the author's own formula.

[A] Feminine dedication	[B] Total number / Names
[i]	-
[ii]	1 / ▪ *ul. św. Siostry Faustyny Kowalskiej* (nom. *św. Faustyna Kowalska*)
[iii]	-
[iv]	-
[v]	5 / ▪ *ul. Anny Olszewskiej* (nom. *Anna Olszewska*) ▪ *ul. Elizy Orzeszkowej* (nom. *Eliza Orzeszkowa*) ▪ *ul. Marii Dąbrowskiej* (nom. *Maria Dąbrowska*) ▪ *ul. Marii Konopnickiej* (nom. *Maria Konopnicka*) ▪ *Rondo Ireny Repp* (nom. *Irena Repp*)
[vi]	1 / ▪ *ul. Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie* (nom. *Maria Skłodowska-Curie*)
[vii]	-
[viii]	-
[ix]	5 / ▪ *ul. Anieli Krzywoń* (nom. *Aniela Krzywoń*) ▪ *ul. Barbary Radziwiłłówny* (nom. *Barbara Radziwiłłówna*) ▪ *ul. Królowej Bony* (nom. *królowa Bona*) ▪ *ul. Królowej Jadwigi* (nom. *królowa Jadwiga*) ▪ *ul. Królowej Marysieńki* (nom. *królowa Marysieńka*)
[x]	-
[xi]	1 / ▪ *ul. Czerwonego Kapturka* (nom. *Czerwony Kapturek*, see above)
[xii]	-
[xiii]	-

Table 4. Distribution of feminine hodonyms in Salerno (Italy)[12]. Based on the author's own formula. Data collecting source: http://www.toponomasticafemminile.com/sito/index.php/salerno-sa, last access 29.12.2019 (Agenzia del Territorio, the census by Antonella Sorrentino).

[A] Feminine dedication	[B] Total number / Names
[i]	16 / ▪ *via S. Maria delle Grazie* (SM of Grace) ▪ *via S. Maria della Mercede* (SM of Grace) ▪ *via S. Maria della Consolazione* (SM of Consolation) ▪ *via S. Maria del Campo* (It. *Campo* < sing. masc. n. *il campo* 'field, square') ▪ *via S. Maria del domino* (It. *il domino* < Lat. liturgic phrase *benedicamus Domĭno*) ▪ *via S. Maria Ausiliatrice* (SM Mary Help of Christians)

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	▪ *via S. Maria a mare* (SM at sea) ▪ *via Maria SS Immacolata* (SM Immaculate; It. *SS* = adj. fem. *santissima* 'holiest') ▪ *via Madonna di Fatima* (Our Lady of Fatima) ▪ *via Madonna della Stella* (Our Lady of the Star) ▪ *gradoni Madonna della lama* (It. sing. fem. n. *la lama* 'a terrain structure') ▪ *via Madonna del monte* (Our Lady of the Mountain) ▪ *via Madonna del campo* (see above) ▪ *via S. Maria del pumbolo* (local distinction) ▪ *via del Carmine* (SM of the Scapular) ▪ *via Ave Gratia Plena Maggiore* (Lat. Marian appellation deriving from a prayer; It. [*Santa Maria*] *Maggiore* '[SM] Major'; cf., Lat. *major basilica*)
[ii]	**14** / ▪ *traversa S. Anna* ▪ *gradini S. Anna* ▪ *vicolo S. Trofimen* ▪ *via S. Teresa* ▪ *vicolo S. Sofia* ▪ *vicoletto S. Lucia* ▪ *via S. Lucia* ▪ *galleria S. Lucia* ▪ *traversa S. Lucia* ▪ *via S. Margherita* ▪ *via S. Caterina Alessandrina* ▪ *viale S. Agnese* ▪ *via S. Maria Maddalena* ▪ *via Beata Teresa di Calcutta*
[iii]	-
[iv]	**1** / ▪ *piazzetta Mamma Lucia*
[v]	**3** / ▪ *via Emma Ferretti* ▪ *via Maria Guidi Vinacci* ▪ *via Sorelle Vigorito*
[vi]	**4** / ▪ *via Guarna Rebecca* *via Trotula De Ruggiero* ▪ *via Costanzella Calenda* ▪ *via Abella Salernitana*
[vii]	**2** / ▪ *via Borelli Alda* ▪ *via Marietta Gaudiosi*
[viii]	-
[ix]	**15** / ▪ *via Pandolfina Fasanella* ▪ *via Mafalda di Savoia* ▪ *piazza Anita Garibaldi* ▪ *via Isabella Villamarina* ▪ *via Raffaella Serfilippo* ▪ *via Regina Sibilla*

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	▪ *via Regina Costanza* ▪ *via Principessa Sichelgaita* ▪ *via Margherita da Durazzo* ▪ *via Maria Jervolino* ▪ *via Serafina Apicella* ▪ *via Antonietta De Pace* ▪ *via Zanzella della Porta* ▪ *via Rosina Sessa* ▪ *via Marianna Mazziotti*
[x]	-
[xi]	**3** / ▪ *via Leucosia* ▪ *via Lavinia* ▪ *via Marietta Gaudiosi*
[xii]	-
[xiii]	**12** / ▪ *via Piscarella* ▪ *via Picarella* ▪ *via Marinelle* ▪ *via La Mennolella* ▪ *via La Maddalena di Sant'Angelo* ▪ *largo Amalia Giovanna Galdi* ▪ *via Farina Caterina* ▪ *via Lucia di Marino* ▪ *traversa Rosa Bentivegna* ▪ *via Angelamaria a Monte* ▪ *via Elsa Maria Ricciardi* ▪ *via Maria Iazzetta*

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THE ROLE OF HISTORICAL CONTEXT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FIGURATIVE USE OF COMMON WORDS DERIVED FROM PLACE-NAMES*

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Abstract: In this account, I analyse some examples of commonization, which is a mechanism whereby nouns originally used as place-names[1] acquired the status of common nouns accompanied by subsequent semantic changes. The main objective of the paper is to provide evidence supporting the claim that commonization may be interpreted as resulting from the working of panchronically motivated conceptual processes, such as conceptual metaphor, metonymy, or the joint-operation of the two mechanisms.

Key words: place-names, metaphor, metonymy, commonization, historical context, metonymic chain.

1. Introduction

In the history of English, one may encounter numerous instances of cases when the name on a map takes on its own meaning as a common word. In this account, drawing on lexicographic data obtained from the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (MWD, *s.a.*), *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED 2009), *British National Corpus* (BNC, *s.a.*), and *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA, *s.a.*), I will analyse selected examples of commonization, which is a mechanism, by which various proper names

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* This paper is a preview of a pilot study, a part of a larger whole. Its aim is to present the current state of my research and to signal potential paths for future investigations. I wish to thank two anonymous reviewers whose illuminating remarks have been incorporated into the body of this article.

(here exemplified by place-names) lose the capitalization of the initial letter and start new lives as common nouns (sometimes verbs or adjectives). *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (MWD, *s.a.*) defines commonization as "the formation or development of a common noun, a common adjective, or a verb from a proper noun". For example, *Shanghai* 'one of the world's largest seaports on the South China Sea' is sometimes used figuratively as the verb *to shanghai* someone 'to kidnap a person onto a ship (or, more broadly, any unwanted position) and force him or her into unwilling labour'.

The main objective of this paper is to provide evidence supporting the claim that commonization may be interpreted as resulting from the working of conceptual metonymy or the joint-operation of conceptual metaphor and metonymy (originally referred to as metaphtonymy by Goossens (1990), while the motivation behind selected figurative developments seems to be determined by broadly understood historical context. This means that language change, represented in this account by commonization, is "set in the context of the evolution of human understanding" (Łozowski 2008: 79). Therefore, in order to appreciate the scope of the evolution of human understanding, one needs to take into consideration the historical context, in which language change takes place. In my view, panchrony can be understood as a combination of language change and cognition, while language change seems to be motivated historically in diachrony and cognitively in panchrony. It is worth bearing in mind that in diachrony language functions in time and space, however, in panchrony it operates in human understanding. More importantly, broadly understood historical context and a panchronic approach allow for a thorough analysis of the mechanism in hand because, as argued by Bybee (2010: 105), synchrony and diachrony must be treated as an "integrated whole". "What can be recognized in language as panchronic comes from treating language as a cognitive tool of human categorization" (Łozowski 2008: 79).

The theoretical framework adopted in the research is that of conceptual metaphor, metonymy, and metaphtonymy theory as discussed, for example, by Lakoff and

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Johnson (1980), Lakoff and Turner (1987), Goossens (1990), Radden and Kövecses (1999), Kövecses (2002; 2015; 2018), Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco (2003), Gil de Ruiz and Herrero Ruiz (2006), and Bierwiaczonek (2013), as well as metonymic chains, as employed by, for example, Hilpert (2007).

2. Methodological concepts

In this account I follow the definition postulated by Radden and Kövecses (1999: 128) according to whom "[…] metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model", or – concisely put – the conceptual entities involved belong to one and the same conceptual domain. In turn, as argued by Kövecses (2015: ix), "conceptual metaphors consist of sets of systematic correspondences, or mappings between two domains of experience and […] the meaning of a particular metaphorical expression realizing an underlying conceptual metaphor is based on such correspondences".

The term *metonymic chain* or *chained metonymy* has been used in metonymy research from Reddy (1979), Fass (1991), Nerlich and Clarke (2001), Radden and Kovecses (1999: 36) to Barcelona (2005), Hilpert (2007), Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2008), and Brdar (2015) but also Kiełtyka (2018). Some of the studies in question are, according to Hilpert (2007: 80), primarily concerned with metonymies involving multiple conceptual shifts, breaking up "complex conceptual mappings into simple, well-motivated mappings with a strong experiential basis". As far as metonymic chains are concerned, Hilpert (ibid., 81) argues that the English expression *with an eye on NP* is polysemous, conveying 'vision', 'attention', and 'desire'. The model of chained metonymies (eye → vision → attention → desire) naturally accounts for this polysemy, since people tend to watch the things they pay attention to, and pay attention to the things they desire. It seems that some of the cases of commonization addressed in my research can be accounted for in terms of *chained metonymies or metonymic chains*, which involve more than one conceptual shift. Moreover, metonymy is sometimes

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accompanied by metaphor and the interaction of the two mechanisms may lead to metaphtonymy.[2]

3. Literature of the subject and sources of data

Commonization is usually discussed in the literature of the subject under functional shift/conversion, for example, according to Brinton and Brinton (2010: 102-103): "A special kind of functional shift is what we may call commonization, in which a proper noun is converted into a common word. A proper noun, naming a real or fictional person or place, tribe, or group, may undergo commonization to a noun, verb, or adjective, often with no phonological change". Consider the following examples:

N: *Cashmere* or *Kashmīr* 'the name of a kingdom in the Western Himalayas' > *cashmere* 'soft wool obtained from the Cashmere goat'[3] (*BNC*: 111 hits in 64 different texts, frequency: 1.13 instances per million words) (PLACE FOR PRODUCT metonymy).

V: Charles C. *Boycott* – 'an English land agent in Ireland who was ostracized for refusing to reduce rents' > *to boycott* 'to join with others in refusing to deal with someone (as a person, organization, or country)[4] (since the 19th century) as a way of protesting or forcing changes' (*BNC*: 617 hits in 220 different texts, frequency: 6.28 instances per million words) (NAME FOR ACTION metonymy).

A: *Frank* 'a person belonging to the Germanic nation, or coalition of nations, that conquered Gaul in the 6th century, and from whom the country received the name of France' (since the 13th century)[5] > *frank* 'marked by free and sincere expression' (since the 16th century)[6] (*BNC*: 466 hits in 319 different texts, frequency: 5.3 instances per million words) (PLACE FOR SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS metonymy).

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A number of studies have dealt with the problem of functional shift/conversion in cognitive perspective. In my research I refer to, among others, Radden and Kövecses (1999), Geeraerts (2003), Kosecki (2005), Hilpert (2007), Łozowski (2008), Bierwiaczonek (2013), Martsa (2013), and Kövecses (2015; 2018). Dictionary and corpora searches show that commonization is a relatively productive mechanism whereby proper names are used figuratively with reference to people, animals, plants, inorganic entities, and abstract concepts. Lexicographic sources consulted such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* or the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* and online corpora such as the *British National Corpus*, and the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* have served as sources of my corpus including more than 30 cases, out of which 6 examples are analysed in greater detail (*Golconda*, *Mackinaw*, *Niagara*, *Japan*, *Shanghai*, and *Derby*) and a number of others are briefly touched upon to illustrate the scope of the research. Wherever possible, that is in cases of fully lexicalized items targeted, I will provide information about their frequency of appearance in the *BNC* in order to indicate their degree of productivity in currently used texts. Since one of the issues raised in this paper is the frequency of appearance of the analysed lexical data in the *BNC*, which may translate into productivity of the mechanism of commonization, the results of the research conducted with the aid of this corpus are collected in Table 1 (see Appendix). The adopted procedure includes measuring the number of hits and the number of different texts listed in the corpus as well as providing the frequency of appearance of the analysed words in terms of detected instances per million words.

Even a cursory look at the table shows that in the case of the data collected, the frequency of use varies from 5 to 1189 *BNC* hits and the number of hits for the majority of the items listed is over 100, which means that commonization is a relatively productive process. Notice that I have only provided *BNC* frequency for those examples of commonization that are fully lexicalized, e.g., *sherry* and not those like *Japan or Shanghai*, which are used both literally and figuratively.

3.1 A treatment of eponyms by Warren and Kosecki

The analysis of language data shows that commonization leads to the formation of eponyms – common names derived from proper names. Warren (1990: 145) views eponyms as motivated by metonymy. Therefore, examples such as *Sandwich* (*BNC:* 1044 hits in 485 different texts, frequency: 10.62 instances per million words) or *Homburg* (*BNC*: 19 hits in 18 different texts, frequency: 0.19 instances per million words) are believed to be structured by metonymy, where the metonymic vehicles take the form of place-names. Thus, the meaning of *sandwich* 'two or more slices of bread or a split roll having a filling in between' or 'one slice of bread covered with food' (since the 18th century, see *MWD*) was originally derived from the name of a town on the Stour River in Kent in south-eastern England through the working of the metonymy PLACE FOR THE THING EATEN THERE, while the meaning of *Homburg* 'a hat with a narrow curled brim and a lengthwise dent in a crown'[7] (see Hawkins 1987: 311) was based on the German city Homburg, where it originally appeared, through the working of the metonymic projection PLACE FOR THING WORN THERE. However, Kosecki (2005: 56) argues that in each of the cases one should also postulate the presence of another metonymic projection, that of PROTOTYPICAL MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR WHOLE CATEGORY, since the meanings of the analysed lexical items are usually extended to refer to slices of bread eaten in other places than Sandwich as well as similar hats worn in other places than Homburg, respectively.

3.2 Metonymy versus ellipsis

Although both ellipsis and metonymy involve an omission of a part of an expression, some authors (e.g., Kosecki 2005) argue that it is not possible to equate the two mechanisms. For example, Radden and Kovecses's (1999: 36) example *crude* for 'crude oil' is an example of ellipsis rather than the metonymy PART OF A FORM FOR THE WHOLE FORM due to the fact that the omitted element *oil* "can always be inserted back into the expression" (Kosecki 2005: 25). It seems that some of the examples of commonization may, in fact, be regarded as cases of ellipsis rather than metonymy.

However, in this account the starting point for the analysis of the mechanism of commonization is verifying whether the mechanism in hand can be motivated by metonymy.

4. Single metonymic projection: *Mackinaw*

Many place-names take on lives in the language as names for the products that originate from those areas, in particular fabric and clothing. In this respect the underlying conceptual mechanism is that of metonymy that may be formalized as PLACE FOR PRODUCT. For example, *Mackinaw*, used for a heavy wool cloth or a coat made from it, derives from the name of a trading post (also spelled *Mackinac*) at the northern tip of Michigan's Lower Peninsula. Consider the following *OED* quotations in (1):

(1)
1836 in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. (1892) 2nd *Ser. VII. 276 Covering, a cotton counterpane, a sheet, besides my own great coats and green* ***Mackinaw****.*
1973 J. Ryder Trevayne (1974) xxxiv. 264 A man in a ***mackinaw*** *coat and a fur cap.*
The metonymic projection responsible for the meaning development of *Mackinaw* is portrayed in Figure 1.

***Mackinaw* 'place' (source)**
↓
***Mackinaw* 'a heavy wool cloth or coat made from it' (target)**

Figure 1. PLACE FOR DISTINGUISHING PRODUCT ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE metonymy

The situation presented graphically in Figure 1 shows a simple metonymic projection whereby a place-name is used figuratively with reference to a product (fabric or a piece of garment) associated with that product. Other, similar examples portraying the general PLACE FOR ENTITY ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE metonymy type include, for example: *china* 'porcelain'; *Scotch* (from *Scotland*) 'whiskey'; *canary* (from

Canary Islands) 'a bird' (PLACE FOR ANIMAL sub-metonymy); *cardigan* (an anglicised variation of the Welsh place-name *Ceredigion*) originally a knitted sleeveless vest, which over time expanded to other types of garment and was named after James Brudenell, 7th Earl of *Cardigan*, a British Army Major General[8]; *sandwich* defined by the *OED* as 'an article of food for a light meal or snack, composed of two thin slices of bread, usually buttered, with a slice of beef or ham or other filling, which is said to be named after John Montagu, 4th Earl of *Sandwich* (1718–1792), who once spent twenty-four hours at the gaming-table without other refreshment than some slices of cold beef placed between slices of toast; as well as Polish *włoszczyzna* (from *Włochy* 'Italy') 'soup vegetables' (PLACE FOR PLANT sub-metonymy); *amerykanka* (from *Ameryka* 'America') 'chair-bed'; *hiszpanka* (from *Hiszpania* 'Spain') 'a type of flue', which originated in Spain and later spread to other countries of Europe between 1917 and 1918 (PLACE FOR DISEASE sub-metonymy); *włoszka* (from *Włochy* 'Italy') 'bee' (PLACE FOR ANIMAL sub-metonymy); *japonka* (from *Japonia* 'Japan') 'wheelbarrow', 'flip-flop' (PLACE FOR OBJECT sub-metonymy), *finka* (from *Finlandia* 'Finland') 'sheath knife' (PLACE FOR OBJECT sub-metonymy); *filipinka* (from *Filipiny* 'Filipines') 'a type of grenade produced and used by the Polish resistance movement, mainly during the Warsaw Uprising' (PLACE FOR OBJECT sub-metonymy).

Among other interesting examples in this group one may mention *bungalo*w (*BNC*: 528 hits in 218 different texts, frequency: 5.37 instances per million words) 'originally a one-storeyed house (or temporary building, e.g., a summer-house), lightly built, usually with a thatched roof' whose meaning in modern use is generalized to 'any one-storied house' (since the 17th century)[9]. According to the *OED*, *bungalow* is derived from the Hindustani *banglā*, understood to be identical with the adjective of the same form, meaning 'belonging to Bengal' and as such its meaning is motivated by the metonymy PLACE FOR HOUSE TYPICAL OF THAT PLACE.

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In turn, the word *Cheddar* (*BNC:* 145 hits in 66 different texts, frequency: 1.47 instances per million words) is the name of a village near the Mendip hills in Somerset. Hence, the meaning of *Cheddar* cheese[10] (or contextually *Cheddar*) seems to result from the metonymic projection PLACE FOR PRODUCT MADE THERE. Another interesting example of a single metonymic shift is represented by the semantic development of *China* 'the name of a country in Asia', which in the 17th century started to be used in the sense 'China porcelain, China-ware, china'.[11] In this particular case the conceptual metonymy can be formalized as PLACE (CHINA) FOR PRODUCT (PORCELAIN) ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE. It is noteworthy, however, that both in the case of *Cheddar* and *china* the mechanism of metonymy is preceded by that of ellipsis, which is *Cheddar* from *Cheddar cheese* and *china* from *China porcelain*. The loss of the capital letter in *china* (*BNC:* 671 hits in 332 different texts, frequency: 6.83 instances per million words) suggests a further degree of lexicalization.

One of the examples of commonization whose origin is American English is *tuxedo* (*BNC:*127 hits in 57 different texts, frequency: 1.29 instances per million words) 'a short jacket without tails, for formal wear; a dinner-jacket' (*OED*). This sense seems to have come into existence as a result of a single metonymy PLACE FOR GARMENT ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE as the name of the garment comes from *Tuxedo Park* in New York where the jacket was first introduced at the country club in 1886.

As far as the word *magenta* (*BNC:* 74 hits in 40 different texts, frequency: 0.75 instances per million words) is concerned, the working of a single metonymy PLACE FOR SUBSTANCE ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE leads to the rise of another sense representing the process of commonization. Specifically, *Magenta* is the name of a town in Northern Italy where, in 1859, the Austrians were defeated by the French and Sardinians. The common noun *magenta* is used for the name of 'a brilliant crimson aniline dye', discovered shortly after the date of the battle (since the 19th century, *OED*: *1860 R. Smith's Patent 11 Aug. in Newton's Lond. Jrnl. Arts & Sci. (1861) XIII. 225 What is called '**Magenta** red', may be obtained as follows.*).

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5. Ellipsis leading to a number of separate single metonymies

In my research, I have also found a few examples of commonization, which seem to originate as cases of ellipsis leading to a number of separate single metonymies. One of them is the proper noun *Cologne* whose semantic development may be accounted for by the working of the metonymies PLACE FOR PRODUCT/THINGS OBTAINED FROM THAT PLACE and PLACE FOR SOMETHING ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE. According to the *OED*, the term is the name of a German city on the Rhine, famous in the Middle Ages on account of the shrine of the Wise Men of the East, commonly called the Three Kings of Cologne. One may argue here that when *Cologne* (*BNC:* 62 hits in 42 different texts, frequency: 0.63 instances per million words) is used attributively to designate things obtained from the city or district, especially in early names of weapons, such as *Cologne brand*, *Cologne sword*, *Cologne thread*, *Cologne water* 'eau-de-Cologne', it is employed literally rather than metonymically. However, when *Cologne* loses its capital letter, it does not represent mere ellipsis, but it is used metonymically in the sense 'a perfume consisting of alcohol and various essential oils' (since the 19th century, *OED*: *1863 B. Taylor H. Thurston I. 265 Teacups, bowls, and even a* ***cologne*** *bottle).*

On the other hand, in the combination *Bordeaux mixture* 'a mixture composed of blue vitriol, lime, and water, used for the destruction of fungi', the place-name *Bordeaux* 'a city in the south of France' is employed literally. However, ellipsis may lead to the rise of the metonymy PLACE FOR PRODUCT, which seems to be at work in the case of another sense of *Bordeaux* (*BNC:* 6 hits in 5 different texts, frequency: 0.06 instances per million words), that of 'the wine made there, claret' (since the 16th century, *OED: c 1570 Leg. Bp. St. Andrews in Scot. Poems 16th C. (1801) II. 342 His contagious stomack was sa owersett ['so upset'] with* ***Burdeous*** *drummake ['foul mixture']*.).

6. Simple metonymic chain leading to metaphorical extension

The place-name *Golconda* (*BNC:* 5 hits in 3 different texts, frequency: 0.05 instances per million words) defined by *MWD* as 'a rich mine' or 'a source of great wealth' is the

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name of a historical city and fortress in southern India that thrived in the 16th century as the capital of the Qutb Shahi kingdom, a powerful Muslim sultanate. The term *Golconda* itself refers to 'a round-shaped hill'. The area was known for its flourishing diamond trade, with its mines producing famous diamonds including the Koh-i-Noor (part of the British Crown Jewels) and the Hope Diamond. In turn, the *OED* explains that *Golconda* is the old name of Hyderabad, formerly celebrated for its diamonds, used as a synonym for a 'mine of wealth'. The historical lexicographic evidence featuring some of the contexts, in which *Golconda* is used figuratively, is presented in (2) and (3):

(2) The 19th century *OED* contexts, from which the figurative use of *Golconda* emerges:

1884 F. Boyle Borderld. Fact & Fancy 400 If stray diamonds were found sticking in the house-wall, there must be a new ***Golconda*** *in the soil beneath.*
1890 W. Sharp Browning iii. 66 To the lover of poetry 'Paracelsus' will always be a ***Golconda****.*

(3) The *MWD* evidence portraying the figurative use of *Golconda*:

1871 Anthony Trollope, The Eustace Diamonds. Lord Fawn listened, but said very little. He especially did not say that Lady Eustace had had the stones valued. "They're real, I suppose?" he asked. Mr. Camperdown assured him that no diamonds more real had ever come from ***Golconda****, or passed through Mr. Garnett's hands. "They are as well known as any family diamonds in England," said Mr. Camperdown.*

2017 The Durham Herald Sun, Malcolm Berko. Because there's grim inefficiency and redundancy in smaller municipal systems and because they lack the financing to maintain clean water standards, their purchase by public water utilities with access to technology and capital could be a ***Golconda*** *for smart, patient investors.*

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In terms of the methodological apparatus employed here, the figurative use of *Golconda* 'a rich mine' seems to be metonymically motivated: PLACE FOR DISTINGUISHING PROPERTY OF THAT PLACE (place associated with 'a diamond mine' for 'a diamond mine'), which gives rise to another metonymic projection of the same type (place associated with 'a rich mine' for 'a rich mine'), while the meaning 'a source of great wealth' or 'mine of wealth' may be viewed as an example of the metaphorical extension formalized as A SOURCE OF GREAT WEALTH IS GOLCONDA. The following diagram (Fig. 2) portrays the figurative meaning development of *Golconda*:

Stage 1: **PLACE FOR DISTINGUISHING PROPERTY OF THAT PLACE metonymy**	
Golconda 'place' (source)	
metonymy 1 ↓	
Golconda 'a diamond mine' (target) (source in target)	
metonymy 2 ↓	
Golconda 'a rich mine' (target)	
Stage 2: **A SOURCE OF GREAT WEALTH IS GOLCONDA metaphor**	
SOURCE	TARGET
Golconda 'place' (source)	
metonymy 1 ↓	
Golconda 'a diamond mine' (target) (source in target)	*Golconda* 'a source of great wealth' (target)
metonymy 2 ↓	
Golconda 'a rich mine' (target)	

Figure 2. Metonymy-metaphor interaction in *Golconda*

As one can see in Figure 2, the semantic evolution of *Golconda* may be interpreted as an interface between a metonymic chain and a metaphorical extension of the metonymic target 'a rich mine' > 'a source of great wealth'. This means that the metonymic target 'a rich mine' serves as a source of metaphor, for which the target is the domain defined as 'a source of great wealth'. Notice that Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco (2003: 519-527) refer to similar cases as the target in source metonymy and metaphorical extension of the metonymic target.

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The lexical material I have analysed includes other examples of metonymy-metaphor interaction. They are discussed in (4) – (13). *Bantam* (*BNC:* 80 hits in 38 different texts, frequency: 0.81 instances per million words) (4) is 'a small variety of the domestic fowl, most breeds of which have feathered legs, while the cocks are spirited fighters'. According to the *OED*, they are named from *Bantam* in the north-west of Java, whence perhaps the fowls were imported to Europe. In the first half of the 20th century the word started to be metaphorically applied to battalions of small-sized soldiers.[12] In this case the metonymy PLACE (Bantam) FOR ANIMAL (domestic fowl) BROUGHT FROM THAT PLACE leads to the conceptual metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS in the case of which reference to small size and fighting skills produces the submetaphor SMALL-SIZED SOLDIERS ARE BANTAMS.

Another interesting example in this group is that of *meander* (*BNC:* 102 hits in 44 different texts, frequency: 1.04 instances per million words) whose semantic development seems to be initiated by the working of RIVER (Meander) FOR ITS DISTINGUISHING PROPERTY (winding) metonymy, which in turn is the basis for the metaphor formalized as CIRCUITOUS JOURNEY OR MOVEMENT; A DEVIATION; A WINDING COURSE (AS IN THE DANCE) IS A MEANDER. The *OED* explains that the Latin-based word *meander* is an appellative use of the name of a river in Phrygia noted for its winding course. In the 16th century the plural form *meanders* started to be used in the metonymic sense (5) 'sinuous windings (of a river)' and it also acquired the metaphorical meanings (6) 'crooked or winding paths (of a maze)', (7) 'confusing and bewildering ways; intricacies (of affairs, the law, a subject, etc.)', while in the 17th century the sense (8) 'a circuitous journey or movement; a deviation; a winding course (as in the dance)'[13] was dominant.

Two other examples whose semantic evolution seems to display similar conceptual motivation, that is metonymy leading to metaphor, are *peach* (388 hits in 196 different texts, frequency: 3.95 instances per million words) and spaniel (95 hits in 66 different texts (98,313,429 words, frequency: 0.97 instances per million words). As evidenced

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by the *OED*, the former is derived from Latin *Persicum mālum* 'Persian apple' and it has been part of the English Lexicon since the 14th century: (9) 'the fruit of the tree *Amygdalus persica*, a large drupe, usually round, of a whitish or yellow colour, flushed with red, with downy skin, highly flavoured sweet pulp, and rough furrowed stone'. In the middle of the 18th century metaphorical extension led to the rise of the slang sense (10) 'someone or something of exceptional worth or quality; someone or something particularly suitable or desirable, especially an attractive young woman'.[14] Thus, in the case of the semantics of *peach* one may speak of the working of metonymy PLACE FOR FRUIT ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE leading to the general conceptual metaphor A PERSON IS A FRUIT (e.g., AN ATTRACTIVE YOUNG WOMAN IS A PEACH).

As for *spaniel*, the etymological sources consulted (e.g., the *OED*) agree that the word is related to Old French *espaignol*, *espaigneul* (modern French *épagneul* 'Spanish dog'), which in the 14th century English started to be used in the sense (11) 'a variety of dog characterized by large drooping ears, long silky hair, keen scent, and affectionate nature, some breeds of which are used for sporting purposes, especially for starting and retrieving game, while others are favourite pet- or toy-dogs', while in the 16th century it developed the metaphorical readings: (12) 'one who pries into, or searches out, something' and (13) 'a submissive, cringing, or fawning person'. In this case the conceptual motivation behind the process of semantic change may be couched in the following terms: the metonymy PLACE FOR ANIMAL ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE leading to the metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS (A SUBMISSIVE PERSON IS A SPANIEL).

7. Metonymy from metaphor: *Niagara*

Situated on the Niagara River, which carries water from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario on the U.S.-Canada border, Niagara Falls is a popular tourist destination. It is the largest waterfall in North America in terms of volume and width. As evidenced by the *OED* in (14), already during the 19th century *Niagara* (*BNC:* 58 hits in 37 different texts,

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frequency: 0.59 instances per million words) started to be used metaphorically in the sense 'flow or vast quantity, torrent, deluge':

(14)

1841 F.A. Kemble Let. 28 Dec. in Rec. Later Life (1882) II. 153 Such a ***Niagara*** *of information did surely never pour from the lips of mortal man!*

1872 Ruskin Fors Clav. (1896) I. xxiv. 492 Phlegethon falls into the abyss in a ***Niagara*** *of blood.*

1894 Westm. Gaz. 13 June 3/2 There is a deluge, a very ***Niagara*** *of concerts.*

1909 Chambers's Jrnl. June 383/1 In the savage blizzards of a frozen Sahara this [ice-]drift becomes a roaring, hissing, blinding ***Niagara*** *of snow, rising hundreds of feet into the air.*

1912 I. S. Cobb Back Home 321 Rivers of red pop had already flowed, ***Niagaras*** *of lager beer and stick gin had been swallowed up.*

1970 P. Laurie Scotland Yard iii. 86 A ***Niagara*** *of tinted hair.*

*1974 Times 9 Jan. 6/5 Mr Nixon was swept towards what the White House once called a '****Niagara'*** *of accusations last spring.*

In this respect, one may argue that the metaphorical uses of *Niagara* are based on the comparison to the volume, width, and size of this waterfall so they are motivated by the conceptual metaphor VAST QUANTITY, TORRENT, DELUGE IS NIAGARA. However, in the case of *Niagara* one may also point to the working of metaphtonymy, which is metonymy from an earlier metaphor. Specifically, the conceptual metaphor VAST QUANTITY, TORRENT, DELUGE IS NIAGARA seems to lead to the activation of the metonymic projection FLOW/QUANTITY FOR ACTION ('a deluge' > 'to pour in a deluge'). The following 18th century *OED* context in (15) represents the verbal use of *Niagara*:

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(15)

1799 Southey St. Gualberto xxii, The fountain streams had ***Niagara'd*** *o'er the quadrangle.*

The metaphor-metonymy interrelation motivating the semantic development of *Niagara* is portrayed in Figure 3:

METAPHORICAL SOURCE	METAPHORICAL TARGET
***Niagara* 'place'**	*Niagara* 'vast quantity, deluge' (source)
	metonymy ↓
	Niagara 'to pour in a deluge' (target)

Figure 3. Metaphor-metonymy interaction in *Niagara*

As Figure 3 shows, the shift *Niagara* 'vast quantity, deluge' > *Niagara* 'to pour in a deluge' is an example of a metonymic projection where the metonymic source/vehicle is placed in the metaphorical target domain.

8. Metonymic chains leading to metaphor: *Japan > J/japan*

The proper noun *Japan* being originally a name of the insular empire on the eastern side of Asia may, according to the *MWD*, also refer to a kind of decorative finish of hard lacquer, particularly a black kind made from asphalt. Popular in the 18th century, it was used for coating wooden furniture and later tinware, and is fused to the surface by way of heat. The figurative sense may be interpreted as the result of a metonymic projection whereby the name of a country is used for a product or process known to have originated in Asia (though not necessarily in Japan). The evidence quoted from *MWD* in (16) shows a verbal use of *Japan*:

(16)

1868 Wilkie Collins, The Moonstone, Mrs. Yolland dived into this rubbish, and brought up an old ***japanned*** *tin case, with a cover to it, and a hasp to hang it up by the sort of*

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thing they use, on board ship, for keeping their maps and charts, and such-like, from the wet.

Through the working of metonymy PLACE FOR PROCESS English speakers applied the name of the country *Japan* to the process known to have originated in Asia. The process that became known as *japanning* took hold as an imitative craft in Europe in the 17^{th} and 18^{th} centuries.

10.1 Other cases of PLACE FOR PRODUCT metonymy

One of the instantiations of the general metonymy PLACE FOR PRODUCT is the sub-metonymy JAPAN FOR JAPANESE WORK/WORK IN THE JAPANESE STYLE represented by the 18^{th} century evidence from *OED* in (17):

(17)

1742 H. Walpole Lett. to Mann (1857) I. 192 He little thought that what maintained him for a whole session would scarce serve one of his younger grandsons to buy ***japan*** *and fans for princesses at Florence!*

1798 Jane Austen Northang. Abb. II. vi, She looked closely at the cabinet. It was ***Japan****, black and yellow* ***Japan*** *of the handsomest kind. Ibid. II. x, She did not love the sight of* ***japan*** *in any shape.*

Notice that the sub-metonymy JAPAN FOR VARNISH seems to motivate the 17^{th}-century change of the meaning of *Japan* defined by the *OED* as 'a varnish of exceptional hardness, which originally came from Japan'. The name is now extended to other varnishes of a like sort, especially to (a) 'a black varnish obtained by cooking asphaltum with oil, used for producing a black gloss on metal and other materials'; (b) 'a varnish-like liquid used as a medium in which to grind colours and for drying pigments'. Consider the following 17^{th}–19^{th} century *OED* evidence in (18):

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(18)

1688 Parker & Stalker Treat. Japanning Pref., True, genuine ***Japan*** *stands unalterable, when the wood, which was imprisoned in it, is utterly consumed. Ibid. v. 19 Of Black Varnishing or* ***Japan****. Ibid. 21 You cannot be overnice and curious in making white* ***Japan****.*

1761 Fitzgerald in Phil. Trans. LII. 150, I had it varnished over several times with strong varnish, or ***japan****.*

1851 Illustr. Catal. Gt. Exhib. 624 ***Japan*** *is applied with a brush.*

Moreover, the following 17th–19th century *OED* evidence in (19) confirms the working of the metonymic projection JAPAN FOR STH PERTAINING TO OR ADORNED WITH JAPAN (VARNISH):

(19)

1681 Secr. Serv. Money Chas. & Jas. (Camden) 42 For two ***japan*** *cabinets 100.0.0.*

1688 Parker & Stalker Treat. Japanning xiii. 36 There are two sorts of Bantam, as well as ***Japan****-work. Ibid., The* ***Japan****-Artist works most of all in Gold, and other metals.*

1697 Lond. Gaz. No. 3250/4 Lost, a large Silver ***Japan*** *headed Cane, the ground of it Shagreen, and the* ***Japan*** *Work most of it gilt.*

1712 Arbuthnot John Bull iii. i, She had laid aside your carving, gilding, and ***japan*** *work, as being too apt to gather dirt.*

1855 Mrs. Gaskell North & S. xiv, Go to my little ***japan*** *cabinet and in the second left-hand drawer you will find a packet of letters.*

1883 B'ham Daily Post 11 Oct., ***Japan****-stovers and Polishers, used to Cash-boxes and Coal-vases.*

One may also postulate the working of the following metonymic chain:

Metonymic chain: PLACE FOR DISTINGUISHING PRODUCT ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE FOR STH ADORNED WITH THAT PRODUCT FOR

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ACTION PERFORMED WITH THE AID OF THAT PRODUCT FOR ACTION PERFORMED WITH ANY MATERIAL THAT GIVES A HARD BLACK GLOSS FOR ACTION OF MAKING BLACK AND GLOSSY AS IN *JAPANNING* FOR ACTION OF POLISHING OR COVERING WITH BLACK, which leads to the metaphorical extension TO MAKE CLERICAL/TO ORDAIN IS TO JAPAN (MAKE BLACK). This situation is presented graphically in Figure 4:

***Japan* (place) (source)**
metonymy 1 $\downarrow$
'sth that originally came from Japan' (varnish)
(target) (source in target)
metonymy 2 $\downarrow$
'sth pertaining to or adorned with japan' (varnish)
(target) (source in target)
metonymy 3 $\downarrow$
'action performed with the use of japan' (target)
(source in target)
metonymy 4 $\downarrow$
'action performed with any material that gives a hard
black gloss' (target) (source in target)
metonymy 5 $\downarrow$

'action of making black and glossy as in *japanning*; action of polishing or covering with black' (target)	'to make clerical, to ordain (with reference to the black coat worn by priests)'
(METAPHORICAL SOURCE IN METONYMIC TARGET)	(METAPHORICAL TARGET)

Figure 4. Metonymic chain leading to metaphorical extension

The historical evidence confirming the existence of some of the elements of the metonymic chain outlined above is displayed in (20), (21), and (22):

(20) The 17^{th}–19^{th} century (1688–1816) *OED* evidence:
'to lacquer with *japan*; to varnish with any material that gives a hard black gloss' (PRODUCT FOR ACTION PERFORMED WITH THE AID OF THAT PRODUCT FOR ACTION PERFORMED WITH ANY MATERIAL THAT GIVES A HARD BLACK GLOSS).

1697 W. Dampier Voy. (1729) I. 400 Laquer which is used in ***japanning*** *of cabinets.*

1762 Goldsm. Cit. W. lv, A square table that had been once ***japanned****.*

1816 J. Smith Panorama Sc. & Art II. 37 Made of copper, or tinned iron plates ***japanned*** *within and without.*

(21) The 18th–19th century (1714–1865) *OED* evidence:

'to lacquer with *japan*; to varnish with any material that gives a hard black gloss' > 'to make black and glossy as in *japanning*; to polish or cover with black' (ACTION PERFORMED WITH ANY MATERIAL THAT GIVES A HARD BLACK GLOSS FOR ACTION OF MAKING BLACK AND GLOSSY AS IN *JAPANNING* FOR ACTION OF POLISHING OR COVERING WITH BLACK).

*1730 Royal Remarks 7 'Dear Jack' has exhausted his splendid Shilling, and now cries '****Japan*** *your shoes, your Honour'.*

1812 W. Combe Dr. Syntax x. ix, His gaiters, too, were fresh ***japann'd****.*

1818 Scott Rob Roy v, The monsters of heraldry grinned and ramped in red freestone, now ***japanned*** *by the smoke of centuries.*

1865 Carlyle Fredk. Gt. xix. viii. (1873) VIII. 265 ***Japanning*** *people with pitch to cure them of every malady.*

(22) The 18th–19th century (1756–1879) *OED* evidence:

'to make black' > 'to make clerical, to ordain (with reference to the black coat worn by priests)' (metaphor TO MAKE CLERICAL/TO ORDAIN IS TO JAPAN from metonymy ACTION OF POLISHING OR COVERING WITH BLACK)

*1756 Connoisseur No. 105/3 He had been double-****japanned*** *(as he called it) about a year ago, and was the present incumbent of ….*

*1796 Grose Dict. Vulg. T. s.v. 1826 Sporting Mag. XVIII. 283 My friend's son had just been ordained Deacon, or, in the language of the day, '****japanned****'.*

*1879 J. Payn High Spirits II. 106 He had passed his 'voluntary', and was to be '****japanned****' in a fortnight.*

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9. A series of metonymic chains: The case of *Derby*

Derby 'the name of a town and shire of England, and of an earldom named from the shire or county' (*OED*) is another example of commonization. One of the changes in meaning that involves this place-name seems to be the result of the metonymic projection PLACE FOR EVENT – *Derby* (place, a town) for *Derby* 'a proper name of the most noted annual horse-race in England, founded in 1780 by the twelfth Earl of *Derby*'. Consider the following 18th–19th century (1780–1871) *OED* evidence in (23):

(23)

*1844 W. H. Maxwell Sports & Adv. Scotl. xxxix. (1855) 305 What care I about Oaks or **Derbys**?*

*1848 Disraeli in Harper's Mag. Aug. (1883) 340/2 'You do not know what the **Derby** is'. 'Yes I do. It is the Blue Ribbon of the Turf'.*

*1871 M. Collins Mrq. & Merch. II. vi. 161, I had been to the **Derby**.*

Other cases of the semantic evolution of *Derby* seem to result from the operation of a complex metonymic chain PLACE FOR EVENT FOR THE DAY ON WHICH THE EVENT TAKES PLACE FOR ANOTHER EVENT. Apparently, in this case the general metonymy EVENT FOR ANYTHING ASSOCIATED WITH THIS EVENT gives rise to a number of sub-metonymies: EVENT FOR THE DAY ON WHICH THE EVENT TAKES PLACE; EVENT FOR A GATHERING DURING THIS EVENT; EVENT FOR AN ANIMAL (dog) ASSOCIATED WITH THIS EVENT; EVENT FOR A WINNER DURING THIS EVENT. The historical evidence confirming the existence of some of the elements of the metonymic chain outlined above is displayed in (24), (25), and (26):

(24) The 19th-century (1838–1885) *OED* evidence:

'Derby day, the day on which the 'Derby' is run'; '*Derby* gathering'; '*Derby* dog'; '*Derby* winner'.

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1838 Observer 26 Aug. 2/2 During last Epsom races, on the ***Derby*** *day we believe, [etc.].*
1862 Times 6 June, It was a real Derby gathering, and, if possible, a ***Derby*** *gathering exaggerated with all its queer mélange of high and low.*
1867 Punch LII. 227/1 The Mystery of the ***Derby*** *dog – the never-failing apparition of the Derby dog at Epsom.*
1871 M. Collins Mrq. & Merch. I. vi. 190 On a ***Derby*** *Day the hill at Epsom is thronged with them.*
1885 Times 4 June 10/2 The reputation which invariably attaches to a ***Derby*** *winner.*

Another metonymic projection, that of EVENT FOR ANOTHER/SIMILAR EVENT is at work in the case of the sense 'similar important races in other countries, such as the French Derby' (*OED*).

(25) The 19th-century (1890–1894) *OED* evidence:

1890 Whitaker's Alm. 584/1 The winner of the French ***Derby****.*
1894 Daily News 20 Feb. 5/3 The great 'Snowshoe ***Derby'*** *took place on Sunday and yesterday at Holmenkollen near Christiania.*

Interestingly, yet another metonymic projection (EVENT FOR ANOTHER EVENT) seems to motivate the 20th-century sense 'any kind of important sporting contest', e.g., local *Derby* 'a match between two teams from the same district'.

(26) The 20th-century (1909–1962) *OED* evidence:

1909 Daily Chron. 17 June 5/6 The twenty-ninth Medway Barge Sailing Match, known locally as 'the barge ***Derby****'.*
1914 Daily Express 3 Oct. 3/1 A local ***Derby*** *[sc. football match] between Liverpool and Everton.*

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*1914 Whitaker's Almanack 1915 822/2 Air '**Derby**' round London (94½ miles).*

*1919 Sphere 28 June 259 (heading) An air **derby** at 129 miles per hour.*

*1962 BBC Handbk. 37 It would still be right for local talent to be nursed and local **derbies** to be played.*

The semantic developments resulting from the operation of the metonymic chain discussed in (23), (24), (25), and (26) are presented graphically in Figure 5.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">Derby 'place' (source)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">metonymy 1 ↓</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">Derby 'event' (target) (source in target)</td></tr>
<tr><td align="center">metonymy 2 ↓</td><td align="center">metonymy 3 ↓</td></tr>
<tr><td align="center">'anything associated with this event' (target)</td><td align="center">'another event – a similar important race; any kind of important sporting contest' (target)</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 5. The semantic development of *Derby* 'place' > 'event' > 'anything associated with this event' > 'another event'

In 19th-century American English (see /27/) one may notice the use of ellipsis (*Derby* – (short) for *Derby* hat 'a stiff felt hat with a rounded crown and narrow brim'), which may result in the activation of the metonymic projection formalized as PLACE FOR OBJECT.

(27)

*1888 Pall Mall G. 12 June 14/1 Girls or young ladies are seen with their hands thrust deep into the Ulster pocket, the **derby** tipped on one side. Ibid. 24 Sept. 11/1 Low felt hats – **Derby** hats, as they are generally called here [U.S.] – were universal.*

As the 20th-century (1901–1968) *OED* evidence displayed in (28) shows, another instance of the working of the same metonymy, which is PLACE FOR OBJECT motivates the sense 'a kind of sporting-boot having no stiffening and a very low heel'.

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(28)

*1901 Daily News 23 Feb. 6/4 The Prince Consort is represented as wearing low-heeled, square-toed '**Derbies**', with buckles on them.*

*1904 Westm. Gaz. 15 Apr. 10/2 Russia calf **Derbys** for shooting-boots.*

*1968 J. Ironside Fashion Alphabet 130 **Derby**, the most common form of shoe. A tie shoe with eyelets and laces, the quarter and facings stitched on top of the vamp.*

The working of the metonymic projection PLACE FOR OBJECT is portrayed graphically in Figure 6.

Derby 'place' (source)	
metonymy 1 ↓	**metonymy 2 ↓**
Derby 'object – a hat' (target)	**_Derby_ 'a sporting-boot' (target)**

Figure 6. The metonymic development of *Derby* 'place' > 'object'

Additionally, in the first half of the 20th century, speakers of British English started to associate the place-name *Derby* first with the so-called *Derby scheme* (in the war of 1914–1918, 'a recruiting scheme initiated in October 1915 by the seventeenth Earl of *Derby*') and then with its participants (*Derby* recruit and simply *Derby*, 'a soldier recruited under this scheme'). This development, supported by the *OED* evidence collected in (29), seems to result from the working of the following metonymic chain: PLACE FOR SCHEME FOR PERSON:

(29)

*1915 Times 4 Dec. 9/6 Last week of the **Derby** Scheme. Ibid. 20 Dec. 9/2 Men who have been attested and classified under the **Derby** scheme.*

*1917 P. Gibbs Battles of Somme 177 Old English regiments with new men in them, including some of the '**Derby** recruits'.*

*a 1918 J. T. B. McCudden Five Yrs. R.F.C. (1919) 198 It was at that time [Feb. & Mar. 1917] that the '**Derby**' scheme was operating.*

*1925 Fraser & Gibbons Soldier & Sailor Words s.v., Men of the 'Groups' of '**Derbies**', awaiting their turn to be called up, wore armlets lettered 'G.R.' (General Reserve).*

1927 W.S. Churchill World Crisis, 1916–1918 i. x. 239 It was evident that the ***Derby*** *scheme could only be a palliative.*

The operation of the metonymic chain PLACE FOR SCHEME FOR PERSON is portrayed in Figure 7.

Derby **'place' (source)**
metonymy 1 ↓
Derby **'scheme' (target) (source in target)**
metonymy 2 ↓
Derby **'a participant in the scheme' (target)**

Figure 7. The metonymic development of *Derby* 'place' > 'scheme' > 'participant in the scheme'

10. Metonymic chain: *Shanghai*

Shanghai 'one of the world's largest seaports on the South China Sea' is sometimes used figuratively as the verb *to shanghai* someone 'to kidnap a person onto a ship (or, more broadly, any unwanted position) and force him or her into unwilling labour'. The mechanism involved in the construal of the figurative verbal sense of *Shanghai* seems to be that of a metonymic chain. First *Shanghai* must have been metonymically regarded as a place, from which people could be kidnapped to be later forced into unwilling labour and then, by another metonymic projection, the word started to be used as a verb meaning 'to kidnap a person onto a ship…'.

In the case of *Shanghai* 'one of the world's largest seaports on the South China Sea', the general metonymy PLACE FOR ENTITY FROM THAT PLACE (*Shanghai* for something introduced from *Shanghai*) is realized by a number of sub-metonymies, for example, the sub-metonymy PLACE FOR ANIMAL, which motivates the 19th-century sense 'a domestic fowl from Shanghai' as evidenced by the 19th-century *OED* data in (30):

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(30)

1853 Tegetmeier Profit. Poultry 19 Cochins or ***Shanghaes****.*
1853 Fortune in Wingfield & Johnson Poultry Bk. 3 The ***Shanghae*** *breed. Ibid., Some of the* ***Shanghae*** *fowls' eggs have double yolks.*
1857 Agassiz Contrib. Nat. Hist. U.S. I. 164 Varieties such as the ***Shanghae*** *fowl, for instance.*

On the other hand, as evidenced by the 19th-century American nautical slang data in (31), one may also notice the operation of yet another metonymy: PLACE (Shanghai) FOR ACTION – 'to drug or otherwise render insensible, and ship on board a vessel wanting hands'.

(31)

1871 N.Y. Tribune 1 Mar. (Schele de Vere Americanisms, p. 347), And before that time they would have been drugged, ***shanghaied****, and taken away from all means of making complaint.*
1887 S. Samuels Forecastle to Cabin 46 To be carried or forced on board of a ship in this manner is what is termed in sailor parlance being ***shanghaied****.*

Moreover, in 19th-century Australian and New Zealand English one may notice the working of the complex metonymic chain PLACE FOR OBJECT FOR ACTION FOR PERSON PERFORMING THIS ACTION. As a result of these conceptual operations, *shanghai* acquired such senses as: 'an object (a catapult) associated with Shanghai, 'to shoot with a shanghai', and 'a person using a shanghai (*shanghaier*)'.

(32) The 19th–20th century *OED* evidence:

1875 Spectator (Melbourne) 15 May 22/1 The lads had with them a couple of pistols, powder, shot, bullets, and a ***shanghai****.*
*1901 Dyson Gold-stealers viii. 81 The plan brought Dicky, '****shanghai****' in hand, under the tree where Hardy sat.*

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1947 D. M. Davin Gorse blooms Pale 57 Bits of ***shangeye*** *as they called their catapults.*
1972 M. Gee In my Father's Den 44 He made me ***shanghais*** *and bows and arrows.*
1917 Chambers's Jrnl. Jan. 19/1 Once a ***shanghaier*** *had been* ***shanghaied*** *by a rival* ***shanghaier****.*
1926 J. Black You can't Win xii. 152 Here I learned to beware the crafty ***shanghaier*** *with his knockout drops.*

In turn, according to the *OED*, 20th c. American military slang, exemplified by the data collected in (33), shows another meaning development, which seems to be motivated by the activation of the metonymic chain, that of PLACE (SHANGHAI) FOR ACTION FOR ANOTHER ACTION: *Shanghai* 'place' > 'to drug or otherwise render insensible, and ship on board a vessel' > 'to transfer forcibly or abduct; to constrain or compel'.

(33)
*1919 in Amer. Speech 1972 (1975) XLVII. 97 The second third has been '****shanghaied****' for garrison duty.*
*1974 Sunday Times 15 Dec. 3/1 Hunt thought he was being '****Shanghai-ed****'—prison jargon for a transfer to another prison as a punishment.*
1976 J. Gibson As I saw It xxviii. 491 Most of my guests get ***shanghaied*** *into giving a general knowledge talk to the boys.*

Finally, the metonymic chain formalized as PLACE (SHANGHAI) FOR GAME OF DARTS FOR ACTION, whose origin goes back to the 20th century (see /34/), motivated the development of the sense 'to eliminate (a player) from a game of shanghai (darts)'.

(34) The 20th-century *OED* evidence:

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*1930 Anchor Mag. (Barclay Perkins, Brewers) 196 '**Shanghai**' may be played by teams of 8, in pairs, individually, or, in fact, any number.*
*1968 N. E. Williamson Darts v. 46 Shanghai. One of the more popular dart games for a number of players. Usually two or three numbers most often 5, 7 and 9 are nominated as '**Shanghai**' numbers, and a player not scoring on any one of these is '**Shanghaied**' or out of the game.*
*1980 K. Turner Darts ix. 90 A more common variation is to '**Shanghai**' players out of the game.*

11. Other cases of metonymic chains

The lexical item *bayonet* (*BNC*: 83 hits in 51 different texts, frequency: 0.84 instances per million words) used in the sense 'stabbing instrument of steel, which may be fixed to the muzzle of a musket or rifle; originally its handle was inserted in the mouth of the gun, but it is now secured by a circular band clasping the barrel' (17th century) is, according to the *OED*, derived from the name of the city *Bayonne*, the weapon being supposed to have been either first made or first used there. The motivation for this sense is the metonymic projection PLACE FOR WEAPON MADE/USED IN THAT PLACE, which may give rise to another metonymy, that of ATTRIBUTE FOR PERSON (WEAPON FOR SOLDIER ARMED WITH THIS WEAPON) in the case of the figurative sense 'a soldier armed with a bayonet' (18th century[15]).

As for the word *parchment* (*BNC*: 246 hits in 113 different texts, frequency: 2.5 instances per million words) derived from *Pergamum*, a city of Mysia in Asia Minor, for which the *OED* lists the following three senses: 1. 'the skin of the sheep or goat, and sometimes that of other animals, dressed and prepared for writing, painting, engraving, etc.' (14th century); 2. 'a skin, piece, scroll, or roll of parchment; a manuscript or document on parchment' (14th century); 3. 'a certificate' (19th century[16]), one may postulate the existence of the metonymic chain: PLACE FOR STH (material) ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE, leading to the metonymies PART FOR

WHOLE and MATERIAL CONSTITUTING AN OBJECT FOR THE OBJECT (document, certificate).

Another common noun derived from a proper noun whose frequency of use is extremely high (*BNC*: 1189 hits in 449 different texts, frequency: 12.09 instances per million words) is the word *champagne* derived from the name of a province of eastern France; hence, 'a well-known wine of different varieties, white and red, and still or sparkling, made in this district' (since the 17th century). The analysed lexical item is, according to the *OED*, used figuratively in two senses 'something exhilarating, excellent, etc.' (since the 19th century[17]) and 'a colour like that of champagne' (since the 19th century). The figurative use of *champagne* is motivated by the PLACE FOR PRODUCT metonymy leading to the paragonic use – champagne is a paragon of something excellent motivated by the working of the PRODUCT FOR ITS SALIENT PROPERTY (excellence) metonymy and accompanied by yet another metonymic projection of the same type, that of PRODUCT FOR ITS SALIENT PROPERTY (colour).

An interesting example of commonization is the word *blarney* (*BNC*: 25 hits in 24 different texts, frequency: 0.25 instances per million words) derived from the name of a village near Cork called *Blarney*. The *OED* explains that in the local castle there is an inscribed stone "in a position difficult of access". The popular saying is that anyone who kisses this *Blarney stone* will ever after have "a cajoling tongue and the art of flattery or of telling lies with unblushing effrontery" (Lewis 1837: 45). In colloquial speech, *blarney* is used in the sense 'smoothly flattering or cajoling talk' or 'nonsense' (since the 18th century[18]). The metonymic chain motivating the semantic evolution in this case may be formulated in the following way PLACE FOR STONE ORIGINALLY ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE FOR STH (flattering or cajoling talk) ASSOCIATED WITH THAT STONE.

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In turn, the semantic evolution of the term *spruce* (*BNC*: 283 hits in 112 different texts, frequency: 2.88 instances per million words), which is an alteration of *Pruce*, *Prussia*, may be accounted for in terms of the metonymic chain PLACE FOR SOMETHING OBTAINED FROM THAT PLACE (the sense 'brought or obtained from Prussia' (since the 15th century), as *Spruce* board, *Spruce* canvas, *Spruce* chest, *Spruce* coffer), PLACE FOR PLANT ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE (the sense 'spruce fir' /since the 17th century/) accompanied by a later metonymy PLANT FOR STH OBTAINED/MADE FROM THAT PLANT (the senses 'the wood of the spruce fir' and 'an oar made of this wood' /the 19th century[19]/). Notice that, in fact, depending on the type of approach adopted in the research the senses 'brought or obtained from Prussia' and 'spruce fir' can be said to result from ellipsis rather than metonymy. In this account they are treated as part of a metonymic chain.

Another lexical item whose semantics is motivated by a metonymic chain is *tarantula* (*BNC*: 32 hits in 24 different texts, frequency: 0.33 instances per million words) defined by the *OED* as 'a large wolf-spider of Southern Europe, Lycosa tarantula (formerly *Tarantula Apuliae*), named from the town *Taranto* in the region where it is commonly found, whose bite is slightly poisonous'. Its figurative sense is that of 'tarantism – the bite of the tarantula' (since the 17th century[20]). In this case one may postulate the working of the chain PLACE FOR ANIMAL and ANIMAL FOR ACTION (bite of the tarantula).

According to available etymological sources (see, for example the *OED*), the word *turquoise* derived from French *turquoise* (*BNC*: 213 hits in 146 different texts, frequency: 2.17 instances per million words) 'Turkish stone' is so named as coming from Turkestan, where it was first found, or through the Turkish dominions. In the *OED* files one may find two senses of the term:

1. 'a precious stone found in Persia, much prized as a gem, of a sky-blue to apple-green colour, almost opaque or sometimes translucent, consisting of hydrous phosphate of aluminium' (since the 16th century);

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2. 'a name for a colour (short for *turquoise blue*) ' (since the 19th century[21]).

The two senses seem to result from the working of the metonymic projections PLACE FOR OBJECT (STONE) ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE and NAME OF STONE FOR NAME OF COLOUR ASSOCIATED WITH THAT STONE. However, in the case of sense 2, since the missing element *blue* can easily be restored, one may opt for ellipsis rather than metonymy.

As far as the word *sherry* (*BNC*: 567 hits in 231 different texts, frequency: 5.77 instances per million words) is concerned, the *OED* informs us that originally it was the still white wine made near *Xeres* (now *Jerez de la Frontera*, a town in Andalusia, near Cadiz), while in modern use it is extended to a class of Spanish fortified white wines of similar character, and (usually with a prefixed word, as *Californian sherry*, *Cape sherry*) to wines made elsewhere in imitation of *Spanish sherry* (since the 17th century). Thus, the present-day English senses of *sherry* can be couched in the following terms: 1. 'a glass or drink of sherry' (since the 20th century[22]); 2. 'a small wine-glass of the size and form commonly used for sherry and similar wines' (since the 20th century[23]).

The methodological framework adopted here makes it possible to interpret these senses as the working of the metonymic chain formalized as PLACE FOR WINE followed by WHOLE FOR PART ('a glass or drink of sherry'), which further gives rise to the paragonic use IDEAL MEMBER FOR CLASS ('a small wine-glass of the size and form commonly used for sherry and similar wines') (see Bierwiaczonek 2013; Paszenda & Góralczyk 2018) or the PROTOTYPICAL MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR WHOLE CATEGORY (see Kosecki 2005: 56).

In turn, the metonymic chain responsible for the development of the three senses of *milliner* (*BNC*: 22 hits in 15 different texts, frequency: 0.22 instances per million words), as defined by the *OED*: 1. 'a native or inhabitant of Milan' (a literal sense)

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(since the 16th century); 2. 'a vendor of 'fancy' wares and articles of apparel, especially of such as were originally of Milan manufacture, e.g., 'Milan bonnets', ribbons, gloves, cutlery (obsolete)' (since the 16th century[24]); 3. 'a person (usually a woman) who makes up articles of female apparel, especially bonnets and other headgear' (since the 19th century[25]), could be formulated in the following way: PLACE FOR INHABITANT OF A PLACE FOR VENDOR OF ARTICLES ORIGINALLY PRODUCED IN THAT PLACE FOR PERSON MAKING UP ARTICLES OF FEMALE APPAREL THAT WERE ORIGINALLY ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE.

The *OED* informs us that the term *currant* (*BNC*: 69 hits in 35 different texts, frequency: 0.7 instances per million words) was originally derived from French *raisins de Corinthe* 'raisins of Corinth', which before 1500 was reduced to *corauntz*, *coraunce*, whence the later *corantes*, *currants*, and *corans*, *currence*, *currans*. The senses that the word represents can be defined as: 1. 'the raisin or dried fruit prepared from a dwarf seedless variety of grape, grown in the Levant' (since the 14th century); 2. 'small round berry of certain species of Ribes (R. *nigrum*, R. *rubrum*) called Black and Red Currants' (since the 16th century[26]). In this case they also seem to be motivated by the working of a metonymic chain. Specifically, the metonymy PLACE FOR FRUIT FROM THAT PLACE is accompanied by the metonymic projection CATEGORY FOR A SUBTYPE OF A CATEGORY.

The final example in this group that I would like to briefly analyse is that of *gipsy/gypsy* (*BNC*: 229 hits in 66 different texts, frequency: 2.33 instances per million words) defined by the *OED* as 'a member of a wandering race (by themselves called Romany), of Hindu origin, which first appeared in England about the beginning of the 16th century and was then believed to have come from Egypt'. Gypsies tend to have dark tawny skin and black hair. They traditionally make a living by basket-making, horse-dealing, fortune-telling, etc. and have usually been objects of suspicion from their nomadic life and habits. Their language (called Romany) is a greatly corrupted dialect of Hindi, with large admixture of words from various European languages. The present-day senses of

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gipsy (see the *OED*): 1. 'gipsy language, Romany'; 2. 'a cunning rogue' (obsolete) (since the 17th century[27]); 3. 'a contemptuous term for a cunning, deceitful, fickle woman'; a 'baggage', 'hussy'. In more recent use merely playful, and applied especially to a 'brunette' (since the 17th century[28]), seem to be the result of the activation of the metonymic chain: PLACE FOR PERSON ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE followed by PERSON FOR LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY THIS PERSON and accompanied by PERSON FOR A CHARACTERISTIC ATTRIBUTE (cunning, deceitful, fickle woman).

12. Conclusions

In this paper, I have analysed, with varying degrees of detail, more than 30 examples of the mechanism of commonization whereby nouns originally used as place-names through the working of conceptual processes acquired the status of common nouns accompanied by subsequent semantic changes. The research shows that in most cases (13) meaning shifts are motivated by sequences of metonymic projections, the so-called metonymic chains, as in the case of *shanghai*, *derby*, *champagne*, *parchment*, *blarney*, *sherry*, *turquoise*, *tarantula*, *spruce*, *milliner*, *gipsy/gypsy*, *currant*, and *bayonet*. Among the analysed examples one may find 6 cases of single metonymic projections (*Mackinaw*, *cheddar*, *china*, *tuxedo*, *magenta*, *bungalow*), 2 place-names (*Bordeaux*, *Cologne*) whose changes in meanings are also motivated metonymically or, depending on the interpretation adopted, merely result from ellipsis, though the relevant metonymic projections do not form chains in that the new senses are not necessarily related, 6 examples of metonymic projections leading to metaphorical extensions (*Golconda*, *Japan*, *meander*, *spaniel*, *peach*, *bantam*), and one example of metaphor leading to metonymy (*Niagara*). It is important to emphasise the fact that the corpus of data subject to analysis is not representative enough to make it possible to arrive at far-reaching conclusions; however, I believe it enables me to formulate a few generalizations. First and foremost, it is not merely single metonymy that is responsible for commonization. In fact, in many cases we notice the working of metonymic chains and at least in some, metonymy-metaphor interfaces. Thus, the results of the research

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show how complex the changes are, whether they are motivated by single metonymies or metonymic chains, or a combination of metonymy and metaphor. More importantly, broadly understood historical context and a panchronic approach allow for a thorough analysis of the mechanism in hand because synchrony and diachrony must be treated as an integrated whole.

It is clear that further study on a larger corpus is necessary in order to confirm or refute the validity of the hypotheses formulated here. As the analysis of the historical data targeted in this paper shows, most of the cases of commonization go back to the Modern English period. Many of the figurative developments discussed originated as early as the 16th century, e.g., *turquoise* and some even earlier, e.g., *parchment* in the 14th century.

In this account, I have analysed selected examples of commonization – figurative use of place-names with reference to people, animals, inorganic entities, and abstract concepts that were extracted from the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. I have investigated the frequency of their use in the *British National Corpus*. The number of hits for various cases of commonization listed in the *BNC* ranges from 0 (e.g., in the case of *Mackinaw*) through 58 for *Niagara* to 1189 for *champagne*. Since in some cases the analysed examples have a limited frequency of appearance in *BNC*, other corpora had to be consulted.

The changes in meaning discussed here take place in time and space but they are conceptual in nature and the historical context or historical perspective shows their real scope or abundance. Since the changes are motivated by such cognitive processes as metonymy or the interface between metonymy and metaphor (as in the case of *japan* 'to blacken' > 'to be ordained a priest'), they help one to perceive language as a cognitive tool of human categorization. Thus, the historical context portraying the abundance of cognitively-oriented linguistic changes shows the importance of the panchronic perspective, where panchrony is understood as a combination of language change and

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cognition, and enables one to realize (and appreciate?) the presence of cognitive factors in historical language description. Language operates in or embodies human understanding and language change mirrors processes of thought, conceptualisation, and categorization and although linguistic changes take place in time and space, they are deeply rooted in human cognition and the ways, in which the human mind perceives the surrounding reality.

To conclude, let me stress the fact that language change is determined historically in diachrony and it is motivated cognitively in panchrony, by which I mean that language change is part and parcel of the evolution of human thought and understanding. Since this is merely a pilot study, a part of a larger whole, I have only signalled the complexity of the analysed problem and I have not been able to determine the productivity of metaphor-metonymy patterns responsible for the process of commonization as such. This aspect of the research, as well as other issues mentioned in the introduction, need further investigation. In particular, further research might allow one to gain insight into a number of problematic areas, such as delving into patterns of metaphor/metonymy interaction in the process of commonization, the analysis of the frequency of the use of cases of commonization in other corpora, an attempt to determine the types of proper nouns employed as possible sources, as well as to investigate the productivity of the identified targets (people, inanimate beings, plants, abstract concepts). So far, I have merely tried to determine the role of historical context for selected cases of commonization that result from the working of metonymy/metaphor or both mechanisms.

Notes

1. For an interesting discussion of topophones see Panasenko (2018), while for a thought-provoking account of toponymy see Rutkowski (2019).
2. See, among others, Kiełtyka (2017; 2019) for the discussion of zoosemic data in terms of metaphor-metonymy interaction.

3. Used since the 19th century *OED*: *1822 J. W. Croker Diary 11 Jan., She and Lady Eliz. were dressed in rich **cashmeres** the wide borders of the shawls making the flounce of the gown.*
4. *OED: 1880 Times 20 Nov. 10/1 The people of New Pallas have resolved to '**Boycott**' them and refused to supply them with food or drink.*
5. *OED: c 1205 Lay. 3715 Cordoille þe wes **Francene** quene.*
6. *OED: 1555 W. Watreman Fardle Facions App. 321 The bondeman lacketh the **francque** noblenes of minde.*
7. It has been used in this sense since the 19th century.
8. Supposedly, Brudenell invented the cardigan after noticing that the tails of his coat had accidentally been burnt off in a fireplace.
9. *OED: 1676 Streynsham Master MS. Diary (India Office) 25 Nov., It was thought fit to sett up **Bungales** or Hovells for all such English in the Company's Service as belong to their Sloopes & Vessells.*
10. Used since the 17th century (*OED: a 1661 Fuller Worthies, Somerset (1662) 18 The worst fault of **Chedder** Cheese is, they are so few and dear.*)
11. *OED: 1634 Sir T. Herbert Trav. 41 They sell Callicoes, Cheney Sattin, **Cheney** ware.*
12. Consider the following *OED* context of use: *1914 Daily Express 20 Nov. 5/5 'Bigland's **Bantams**' will probably be the pet name of a battalion which is being raised of men who are just too short to enlist under the ordinary conditions. The **Bantams** Battalion has been recognised by the War Office.*
13. The *OED* quotation: *1891 T. Hardy Tess xliv, Her journey back was rather a **meander** than a march.*
14. The *OED* evidence: *1754 E. Turner Let. 16 Aug. in Dickins & Stanton 18th-Cent. Corresp. (1910) 238, I had almost forgot that orange **Peach**, your Niece.*
15. *OED: 1780 Burke Let. Merlott Wks. IX. 259 On the demand of 40,000 Irish **bayonets**.*

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16. *OED*: *1888 C.M. Yonge Our New Mistress ii. 14 She had been two years from her training college, and had an excellent* ***parchment*** *and report from the place she had left.*
17. *OED: 1896 Godey's Mag. Apr. 365/1 His candid devotion to 'small cold bottles' is unfailing* ***champagne*** *to the audience.*
18. *OED*: *1796 Scott Let. 26 Sept. (1932) I. 55, I hold it (so to speak) to be all* ***Blarney****.*
19. *OED: 1892 Sporting Life 26 March 7/5 They were to use the new Ayling oars, and the '****spruces****' went much better than on the preceding day.*
20. *OED*: *1638–56 Cowley Davideis i. Notes §32 We should hardly be convinced of this Physick, unless it be in the particular cure of the* ***Tarantism****, the experiments of which are too notorious to be denyed or eluded.*
21. *OED: 1853 Kane Grinnell Exp. viii. (1856) 61 The blue and white were mixed in a pale* ***turkois****.*
22. *OED: 1924 Galsworthy White Monkey ii. ix. 192 Will you have a* ***sherry****?*
23. *OED: 1907 Yesterday's Shopping (1969) 937 Table glass services: 12* ***Sherries****, 12 Ports, 12 Clarets [etc.].*
24. *OED: c 1550 Disc. Common Weal Eng. (1893) 64 No not so much as a spurre, but it must be fett at the* ***milliners*** *hand.*
25. *OED: 1857 Geo. Eliot Scenes Clerical Life (1858) II. 99 It was hard for Mrs. Raynor to have to work at* ***millinering****—a woman well brought up.*
26. *OED: 1578 Lyte Dodoens vi. xx. 683 The first kinde is called Ribes rubrum; in English Redde Gooseberries, Bastard* ***Corinthes****.*
27. *OED: 1627 E. F. Hist. Edw. II (1680) 88 This overture being come to the queens ear, and withal the knowledge how this* ***Gipsie*** *[Spenser] had marshall'd his cunning practice, she seem'd wondrously well-pleas'd.*
28. *OED: 1632 Shirley Love in a Maze iv. 51 Yon. I heard You court another Mistris, that did answer it with entertainment. Thor. She was a very* ***Gipsie****. You were no sooner parted, but she us'd me Basely.*

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List of abbreviations

BNC – British national corpus

COCA – Corpus of contemporary American English

MWD – Merriam-Webster dictionary

OED – Oxford English dictionary

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Résumé

In the history of English, one may encounter numerous cases when the name on a map takes on its own meaning as a common word. In this account, drawing on lexicographic data obtained from the *Merriam Webster Dictionary* and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, I have analysed a number of examples of commonization, that is a mechanism, by which various proper names start to function as common words. For example, *Shanghai* 'one of the world's largest seaports on the South China Sea' is sometimes used figuratively as a verb *to shanghai* someone 'to kidnap a person onto a ship (or, more broadly, any unwanted position) and force him or her into unwilling labour'. The mechanism involved in the construal of the figurative verbal sense of *Shanghai* seems to be that of a metonymic chain. First *Shanghai* must have been metonymically regarded as a place from which people could be kidnapped to be later

forced into unwilling labour and then, by another metonymic projection, the word started to be used as a verb meaning 'to kidnap a person onto a ship…'. The paper provides evidence supporting the claim that commonization may be interpreted as resulting from the working of panchronically-conditioned conceptual metaphor, metonymy, or the joint-operation of the two conceptual mechanisms (metaphtonymy), while the motivation behind selected figurative developments seems to be determined by broadly understood historical context. The theoretical framework adopted in the research is that of Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory.

Key words: place-names, metaphor, metonymy, commonization, historical context, metonymic chain.

Appendix

Table 1. The frequency of appearance of selected cases of commonization in *BNC*

Item	*BNC* frequency	Figurative changes in meaning anchored in time
Mackinaw	No matches in *BNC*	1. 'a trading post', 2. 'a heavy wool cloth or a coat made from it'; since the 19th century
Golconda	5 hits in 3 different texts, frequency: 0.05 instances per million words	1. 'the old name of Hyderabad', 2. 'mine of wealth'; since the 19th century
Bordeaux (wine)	6 hits in 5 different texts, frequency: 0.06 instances per million words	1. 'a city in France', 2. 'the wine made in Bordeaux, claret'; since the 16th century
Homburg	19 hits in 18 different texts, frequency: 0.19 instances per million words	1. 'the name of a city in Germany', 2. 'a hat with a narrow curled brim and a lengthwise dent in a crown'; since the 19th century
milliner	22 hits in 15 different texts, frequency: 0.22 instances per million words	1. 'a native or inhabitant of Milan' (a literal sense); since the 16th century, 2. 'a vendor of 'fancy' wares and articles of apparel, especially of such as were originally of Milan manufacture'; since the 16th century, 3. 'a person (usually a woman) who makes up articles of female apparel, especially bonnets and other headgear'; since the 19th century
Blarney	25 hits in 24 different texts, frequency: 0.25 instances per million words	1. 'the name of a village near Cork in Ireland', 2. 'smoothly flattering or cajoling talk' or 'nonsense'; since the 18th century
Tarantula/ tarantism	32	1. 'Taranto a town in modern Apulia', 2. 'tarantism – the bite of the tarantula'; since the 17th century

	hits in 24 different texts, frequency: 0.33 instances per million words	
Niagara	58 hits in 37 different texts, frequency: 0.59 instances per million words	1. 'the name of a North American river', 2. 'flow or vast quantity, torrent, deluge'; since the 19th century
cologne	62 hits in 42 different texts, frequency: 0.63 instances per million words	1. 'the name of a city in Germany' 2. 'a perfume consisting of alcohol and various essential oils'; since the 19th century
currant	69 hits in 35 different texts, frequency: 0.7 instances per million words	1. 'raisins of *Corauntz*, raisins de *Corauntz*, raisins de *Corinthe*, raisins of *Corinth*', 2. 'the raisin or dried fruit prepared from a dwarf seedless variety of grape, grown in the Levant'; since the 14th century, 3. 'small round berry of certain species of Ribes (R. *nigrum*, R. *rubrum*) called Black and Red Currants'; since the 16th century
magenta	74 hits in 40 different texts, frequency: 0.75 instances per million words	1. 'the name of a town in Northern Italy', 2. 'a brilliant crimson aniline dye'; since the 19th century
bayonet	76 hits in 48 different texts, frequency: 0.77 instances per million words	1. 'derivation from the name of the city Bayonne', 2. 'a stabbing instrument'; since the 17th century 3. 'a soldier armed with a bayonet'; since the 18th century
bantam	80 hits in 38 different texts, frequency: 0.81 instances per million words	1. 'Bantam in the north-west of Java'; since the 18th century, 2. 'a small variety of the domestic fowl', 3. 'battalions of small-sized soldiers', since the 20th century
spaniel	95 hits in 66 different texts, frequency: 0.97 instances per million words	1. 'from Old French *espaignol*, *espaigneul* 'Spanish dog' ', 2. 'a variety of dog'; since the 14th century, 3. 'one who pries into, or searches out, something', 'a submissive, cringing, or fawning person'; since the 16th century
meander	102 hits in 44 different texts, frequency: 1.04 instances per million words	1. 'from Latin *meander*, appellative use of the name of a river in Phrygia noted for its winding course', 2. 'sinuous windings (of a river)', 'crooked or winding paths (of a maze)', 'confusing and bewildering ways; intricacies (of affairs, the law, a subject, etc.)'; since the 16th century, 3. 'a circuitous journey or movement; a deviation; a winding course (as in the dance)'; since the 17th century
cashmere	111	1. 'the name of a kingdom in the Western Himalayas',

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	hits in 64 different texts, frequency: 1.13 instances per million words	2. 'soft wool obtained from the Cashmere goat'; since the 19th century
tuxedo	127 hits in 57 different texts, frequency: 1.29 instances per million words	1. 'named from *Tuxedo Park* in New York', 2. 'a short jacket without tails, for formal wear; a dinner-jacket'; since the 19th century
Cheddar	145 hits in 66 different texts, frequency: 1.47 instances per million words	1. 'the name of a village near the Mendip hills in Somerset', 2. 'Cheddar cheese'; since the 17th century
turquoise	213 hits in 146 different texts, frequency: 2.17 instances per million words	1. 'from Old French *turquoise*, later *turquoise* meaning 'Turkish' ', 2. 'a precious stone found in Persia, much prized as a gem, of a sky-blue to apple-green colour, almost opaque or sometimes translucent, consisting of hydrous phosphate of aluminium'; since the 16th century, 3. 'a name for a colour (short for *turquoise blue*)'; since the 19th century.
gipsy	229 hits in 66 different texts, frequency: 2.33 instances per million words	1. 'derived from the early form *gipcyan*, which is aphetic for Egyptian', 2. 'gipsy language, Romany', 3. 'a cunning rogue' (obsolete); since the 17th century; 4. 'a contemptuous term for a cunning, deceitful, fickle woman; a 'baggage', 'hussy' '; since the 17th century
parchment	246 hits in 113 different texts, frequency: 2.5 instances per million words	1. 'of or belonging to *Pergamum*, a city of Mysia in Asia Minor', 2. 'the skin of the sheep or goat, and sometimes that of other animals, dressed and prepared for writing, painting, engraving, etc.'; since the 14th century, 3. 'a skin, piece, scroll, or roll of parchment; a manuscript or document on parchment'; since the 14th century, 4. 'a certificate'; since the 19th century
spruce	283 hits in 112 different texts, frequency: 2.88 instances per million words	1. 'alteration of *Pruce* 'Prussia' ', 2. 'brought or obtained from Prussia'; since the 15th century, 3. 'spruce fir'; since the 17th century, 4. 'the wood of the spruce fir', 'an oar made of this wood'; since the 19th century
peach	388 hits in 196 different texts, frequency: 3.95 instances per million words	1. 'from Old French *peche* based on Latin *persicum*, elliptical for *Persicum mālum* 'Persian apple' ', 2. 'the fruit of the tree *Amygdalus persica*'; since the 14th century, 3. 'someone or something of exceptional worth or quality; someone or something particularly suitable or desirable, especially an attractive young woman'; since the 18th century

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frank	466 hits in 319 different texts, frequency: 5.3 instances per million words	1. 'from Latin *Franc-us*, French *Franc*', 2. 'a person belonging to the Germanic nation, or coalition of nations, that conquered Gaul in the 6th century, and from whom the country received the name of France'; since the 13th century, 3. 'marked by free and sincere expression'; since the 16th century
bungalow	528 hits in 218 different texts, frequency: 5.37 instances per million words	1. 'from Hindustani *banglā* 'belonging to Bengal' ', 2. 'originally a one-storied house (or temporary building, e.g., a summer-house), lightly built, usually with a thatched roof'; 'any one-storied house'; since the 17th century
sherry	567 hits in 231 different texts, frequency: 5.77 instances per million words	1. 'the still white wine made near *Xeres* (now Jerez de la Frontera, a town in Andalusia, near Cadiz)', 2. 'a glass or drink of sherry'; since the 20th century, 3. 'a small wine-glass of the size and form commonly used for sherry and similar wines'; since the 20th century
boycott	617 hits in 220 different texts, frequency: 6.28 instances per million words	1. *Boycott* 'an English land agent in Ireland who was ostracized for refusing to reduce rents', 2. *to boycott* 'to join with others in refusing to deal with someone (as a person, organization, or country)'; since the 19th century
china	671 hits in 332 different texts, frequency: 6.83 instances per million words	1. 'from the name of the country *China* in Asia', 2. 'China porcelain, China-ware, china'; since the 17th century
sandwich	1044 hits in 485 different texts, frequency: 10.62 instances per million words	1. 'the name of the town of *Sandwich* in Kent', 2. 'two or more slices of bread or a split roll having a filling in between'; since the 18th century
champagne	1189 hits in 449 different texts, frequency: 12.09 instances per million words	1. 'from *Champagne* derived from the name of a province of eastern France', 2. 'a well-known wine of different varieties, white and red, and still or sparkling, made in this district'; since the 17th century, 3. 'something exhilarating, excellent, etc.'; since the 19th century, 4. 'a colour like that of champagne'; since the 19th century

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STRUCTURAL TYPOLOGY OF REDUNDANCY IN ENGLISH

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Abstract: This article focuses on the study of structural types of redundant phrases in English. The paper offers a definition of redundancy and examines types of redundancy from their structural perspective. The research outlines specific usage of redundant phrases in modern English. It has been shown that functional redundancies create emotional tension and are used to intensify or clarify information.

Key words: redundancy, emotional tension, reduplication, core semantic component, coordination, subordination.

1. Introduction

Language redundancy is the repetition of the same information, which occurs both explicitly and implicitly. The excess has been attributed to reasons of linguistic and non-linguistic character. These reasons depend not only on the content plane, but also on the expression plane, which aims for the clarity and expressiveness of the message. The main drivers of redundancy are the author's desire to add emotional colour to speech, the mental state of the addressee, his / her pragmatic intentions, social status and the level of education (Kashefi et al. 2018; Wierzbicka 1987). Redundancy is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon, widely represented both in language and in speech (Benczes 2014). We study language redundancy due to the fact that linguists started interpreting it more as a functional phenomenon (Зайц 2001; Иевлева 2000).

Language redundancy can be functional and non-functional. Functionally oriented speech elements are introduced by the addressee in the statement purposefully. Their purpose is to convey connotative information for a certain pragmatic effect on the recipient (Lehmann 2005). Non-functional redundancy is created by language elements that do not convey either basic or connotative information (Ефимов 1989).

Therefore, tautology and pleonasm are two kinds of redundancy. Both deal with the syntagmatic combination of two expressions such that the meaning of one includes the meaning of the other (Lehmann 2005). Tautology consists of two-component phrases, their redundancy being expressed lexically with the help of identical words. Full synonymy is crucial to the distinction of tautology from pleonasm. Pleonasms (pleonastic phrases) are separate words or two-component phrases, where redundancy is expressed grammatically and lexically with the help of semantically similar words. Reduplication manifests itself in duplication of: 1) lexemes, for example: *VIP-person* – *'Very Important Person person'*, PIN-number – *'Personal Identification Number number'*; 2) grammatical forms, for example: *more easier, seldomly* (hypercharacterization); 3) partial synonymy of components, for example: *beautiful and gorgeous, significant and important* (stylistic pleonasm) (Літкович et al. 2019).

Researching linguistic manipulation devices in mass media texts (Кара-Мурза 2005) with a clearly defined author's intention and practical orientation is relevant within the framework of pragmatic research in media discourse. In this regard, the analysis of structural peculiarities of redundancy in contemporary English is intended to facilitate the disclosure of text-making and text-perception processes.

As the material under analysis shows, a media discourse combines a range of pragmatic effects on the reader, the involvement of which allows authors to influence the audience (Потапенко 2007; Erofeeva & Ushnikova 2017; Panasenko et al. 2018). Redundancy is distinguished by its structure and semantics, so this article deals with the construction of a structural typology of redundancy in the English language.

2. Materials and methods

As far as redundancy is concerned, the focus is on selected media articles containing redundant phrases. In this work, 100 redundant phrases were analyzed with the help of qualitative and quantitative content analyses, and 32 of them were researched comprehensively. In total, ten collections of magazines (*The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, The Guardian, The Independent, The Daily Mail, The Age, The Sydney Morning Herald, The Irish Times, The London Evening Standard, The Associated Press*) and chats on the Internet were used.

The importance of the **topic** of our article is determined by the focus of modern linguistic research on the study of language dynamics, a general tendency of modern linguistics to study the functioning of speech units, in particular of redundant phrases that indicate the author's intention to influence his / her audience. We explored redundant phrases that are used to intensify information and produce a pragmatic effect on the addressee. As the research material were chosen media texts, because they are more likely to record numerous changes in linguistic reality, and, therefore, describe the current state of natural language (Добросклонская 2007; Потапенко 2007).

Media discourse is seen as both the process and the result of media activity dealing with production, storage, distribution, and consumption of semiotized information (Graham 2004: 54). The varieties of media discourse are newspaper, cinema, television, and radio discourses (Почепцов 1999: 76-99). Media texts constitute one of the most widespread forms of modern everyday language, and their number exceeds the total volume of broadcasting in different spheres of human activity (Потапенко 2007: 21). The influence function of media is realized through a wide range of linguistic and stylistic means of expression, in particular redundant phrases.

Redundancy is associated with both linguistic and psychological characteristics. The use of redundant phrases deals with attracting attention and mobilizing the memory of recipients, which improves text perception. Some types of redundant phrases provide additional information about a referent, thereby increasing the informativeness of the media texts featuring them. We claim that redundancy performs the following stylistic functions in media texts: emphatic, emotive, and evaluative. The emphatic function is to draw the addressee's attention to specific information, often enclosed within an individual phrase or a word (Сущинский 1987: 111):

(1) "*I believe he began with the Toll House recipe, which is in itself perfection. But then he gilded the perfection with a handful of extra steps. So I guess the recipe is perfecter than perfect*" (Neman 2019).

The word *perfect* has in its meaning a comparative and superlative degree – 'as good as possible, or the best of its kind' (LDCE). The author uses the incorrect form, adding the suffix *-er*, to emphasize a portion of the utterance, thereby creating semantic redundancy. In the example above, using the redundancy *perfecter*, the addresser describes the columnist's recipe as the best. The redundancy helps the author to accentuate the excellence of the cookies.

Redundant derivatives increase emphatic stress on a particular word, attracting the addressee's attention, for example:

(2) "*Americans are historically extremely litigious and it's their way of dealing with things. We do it differently, especially members of the royal family who historically have very seldomly sued because it's just more attention on them*" (Murphy & Waterson 2019).

In example (2), the Duke of Sussex adds the suffix *-ly* to the word *seldom*. This suffix is used in English to create adverbs, whereas the word *seldom* is an adverb itself and does not need any suffix. Thus, it creates redundancy and increases the expressiveness of this word and the whole utterance. Prince Harry announces that he wants to sue

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against the Sun and the Daily Mirror. He emphasizes the fact that members of the royal family have never taken legal action against tabloids.

The emotional function (Гнезділова 2007), through carefully selected redundant phrases, is responsible for adding emotionality and expressiveness. In other words, this function leads to the deliberate creation of emotional effects of communication, for example:

(3) "*Demolition of a 1960s tower block at Wynyard has delivered an unexpected surprise, the advertising facade of a gentleman's department store that was once a landmark of George Street*" (Siewert 2017).

In this example, the emotional function is manifested by the redundant phrase *unexpected surprise* intended to influence the addressee. Due to demolition work, people were extremely surprised by the most legendary advertising campaign of the last century. The emotionality is indicated by the affective language.

Evaluation is defined as a conscious activity, which leads to the formation of a positive or negative attitude towards the object being evaluated. Evaluation manifests itself in two main types of opposition: qualitative (good :: bad) and quantitative (many :: few; much :: little) (Вольф 2014). Evaluation incorporates the addresser's attitude and is characterized by national and cultural characteristics (Артемова 2006). In the example given below, the redundant phrase *humble and modest* expands the expressive potential of praise and intensifies the positive evaluations expressed in the utterance, for example:

(4) "*Because he was a humble and modest man, Carney didn't talk about baby records or an earlier part of his life when records were kept on his Hall of Fame Gaelic football career as a young man in Ireland where he is considered a legendary hero akin to Willie Mays or Babe Ruth in American baseball*" (Archbold 2019).

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The present analysis of redundant English phrases includes four stages:

a) selection of material for linguistic investigation through the sampling of lexical units in media texts published over the last five years;

b) description of typical redundancy patterns in the English language;

c) implementation of structural analysis to identify structural types of redundant phrases;

d) linguistic interpretation and generalization of the research findings.

3. Structural types of redundant phrases

According to the criterion of syntactic relations between components in a phrase, linguists differentiate between coordination and subordination. Some linguists have extended the two-member opposition and introduced a third type of syntagmatic relations – predicative (Бархударов 2012: 95) or "sociative predicative" (Мухин 2004: 25). The term "predicative" conveys information that the relation between the elements must correspond to the relation between the subject and the predicate (Иванова et al. 1981: 114). The relation between the two elements can, therefore, be of three types: 1) both elements are relatively independent of each other (which corresponds to our term ***coordination***); 2) the first element depends on the second one with the second element independent of the first one (which is obviously synonymous to ***subordination***); 3) the first element depends on the second one and the second element, in turn, depends on the first one. So, the elements are ***interdependent*** (Ельмслев 2006). Thus, the syntactic relations "coordination – subordination – interdependence" are more specific. Coordination and subordination do not signal the syntactic function of the constituent elements, but only indicate their interrelation status. All the three types of relations determine the status of the elements that form a number of syntactic relations with regard to one another (Иванова et al. 1981: 115).

According to the criterion of syntactic relations between components of a clause, redundant phrases are divided into subordinate, where one of the components

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dominates over the rest, and coordinate, which consist of relatively independent elements. A structural typology of redundant phrases is demonstrated in Figure 1.

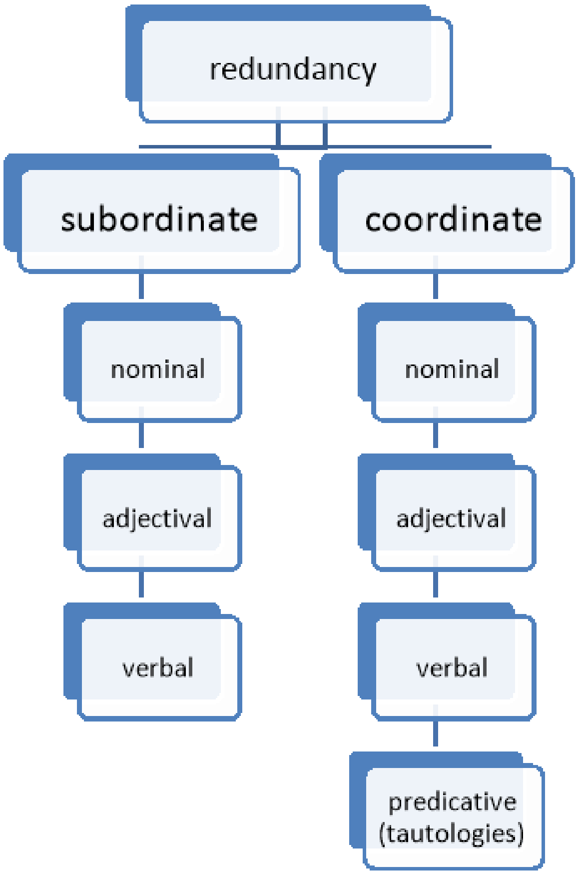

Figure 1. Structural typology of redundant phrases (Літкович 2014: 163)

4. Subordinate redundant phrases

Subordinate redundant phrases are based on inequality of components. Elements of a redundant phrase are combined in such a way that one dominates the others and subordinates them in terms of form and position. The dominant unit is referred to as the core semantic component, or the nucleus, of a subordinate redundant phrase and can be expressed by different parts of speech (Літкович 2014). The core semantic component of a subordinate redundant phrase is also characterized by its own features that permit its identification. In linguistics, there are no formal grammatical criteria for identification of the core semantic component of a subordinate word-group. The core of the subordinate word-group, however, can be easily recognized due to the identified syntactic links of the dependent components. The core component is an element whose

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syntactic function remains unidentified at this level of analysis (Иванова et al. 1981: 120-121). Thus, in the redundant phrase *extremely essential* the syntactic function of the adverb *extremely* can be identified as that of an adverbial modifier, whereas the function of the adjective *essential* remains unidentified within the given phrase. So, it allows us to label the adjective *essential* as the core of this word-group. With new components added to the phrase, the nucleus is shifted because it is impossible to identify its syntactic function. Thus, in the phrase *extremely essential skills*, the adverb *extremely* is identified as an adverbial modifier; the adjective *essential* performs the function of an attribute, and the syntactic role of the noun *skills* within this phrase cannot be identified, which implies that it is the core of the word-group.

The proposed process of identification of the nucleus according to formal grammatical criteria makes it possible to reach two important conclusions. Firstly, identification of the syntactic function of dependent components within a redundant phrase indicates the presence of subordinate relations in a word-group. Secondly, if it is impossible to identify the syntactic function of the component, this signals its dominant position and allows it to be recognized as a nucleus. The core and dependent components are identified inside a word-group. In the English language, subordinate redundant phrases are more widely used than coordinate ones.

Thus, there are three structural types of subordinate redundant phrases according to the morphological status of the core semantic component, namely:
1) nominal, with a noun being its core semantic component;
2) adjectival, with an adjective being its core semantic component;
3) verbal, with a verb being its core semantic component.

4.1 Nominal phrases

Several types of nominal redundant phrases are distinguished according to the morphological status of the core semantic component. They are represented by the following structural patterns:

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1) noun: "noun + noun" (*N* + *N*); "acronym + noun" (*Acronym* + *N*);
2) noun – preposition – noun: "noun + preposition + noun" (*N* + *prep.* + *N*);
3) adjective – noun: "adjective + noun" (*Adj.* + *N*); "acronym + adjective + noun" (*Acronym* + *Adj.* + *N*).

According to these two- and three-component patterns, redundant phrases are analyzed in the form of free phrases.

In accordance with the pattern "noun + noun" (*N* + *N*), the following redundant phrases with the first noun performing the attributive function are created: *summer season*, *time period*. The core semantic components of the redundant phrases *summer season* and *time period* are the first components *summer* and *time* because they do not subordinate to any other component within the phrase. A special feature of the English language that distinguishes it from other Indo-European languages is the ability of the noun to perform the function of a prepositional attribute (Иванова et al. 1981: 29), which we observe in the following pattern of a redundant phrase:

(5) "*It's September 1957, and the town is almost empty after the summer season, leaving the newlyweds feeling a little awkward*" (Carey 2019).

The pattern (*N* + *N*) is an attributive subordinate redundant phrase. According to this pattern, a phrase consists of words of one morphological class and can combine nouns of different groups and different semantic fields, creating subordination. Thus, in the redundant phrase *summer season* the first component means a specific season and the second component is a generalized name for the main periods which the year is divided into. The words in the phrase are in hyper-hyponymic relations, where *season* is a hypernym and *summer* is a hyponym. Redundant in this phrase is the hypernym *season*, while the hyponym *summer* is the nucleus.

According to the noun – preposition pattern "noun + preposition + noun" (*N* + *prep.* + *N*) are formed such redundant phrases as *period of time*, where the preposition *of*

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indicates the attributive relations between the words. The noun *period* refers to a part of the concept, whereas the noun *time* refers to the whole concept. The components of the redundant phrase *period of time* are related to each other as part – whole (part – whole relations):

(6) "*They have the same end game, which is that you are sequestered from the rest of the public for a period of time, said Dr. George Rutherford, an infectious disease specialist at the UC San Francisco School of Medicine*" (Netburn 2020).

The next pattern is adjective – noun "adjective + noun" (*Adj. + N*), for example: *absolute beginning*, *absolute end*, *advance warning*, *advance planning*, *advance reservations*, etc., where the adjective performs an attributive function and denotes the object feature, for example:

(7) "*IDA Ireland may seek advance planning permission for future data centres to avoid disputes like the one that delayed Apple's proposal for Athenry, Co Galway*" (O'Halloran 2017).

The dependent components of such redundant phrases are adjectives, while the core semantic components are common nouns, which more often denote lifeless things (*empty space*) and less often – living beings (*chief / main protagonist*).

The noun pattern "acronym + noun" (*Acronym + N*) is most frequently used, for example: *HIV virus*, *LCD display*, *OPEC countries*, *PAT testing*, *PIN number*, *SALT talks*, etc. Thus, the acronym *HIV* itself is a component of the phrase *HIV virus*, which absorbs the meaning of all its components (words that make up the acronym Human Immunodeficiency Virus). It is perceived as a specific, dependent, attributive component of the phrase, and the component *virus* is perceived as the nucleus. In fact, in the word combination *HIV virus* the component *virus* is an additional, structurally and semantically redundant, component. Its purpose is to facilitate the understanding of the semantics of the acronym, for example:

(8) "*A man who was injected with the HIV virus as an infant child by his father has defied the expectations of doctors to live to the age of 25, and says he is healthy as a horse*" (Samuels 2016).

The adjective – noun pattern has the structure *Acronym* + *Adj*. + *N* ("acronym + adjective + noun"). The pattern is represented by three-component redundant phrases such as the *MS-DOS operating system* type, for example:

(9) "*The MS-DOS operating system now classes as ancient history in the tech world*" (Humphries 2016).

The redundancy in the noun and noun-adjective patterns (*Acronym* + *N*), (*Acronym* + *Adj.* + *N*) becomes evident only after the acronym expansion: *DOS operating system – 'Disk Operating System operating system', LCD display – 'Liquid-Crystal Display display', PIN number – 'Personal Identification Number number'*. Redundant acronyms as initial abbreviations that coincide graphically and acoustically with fixed phrases in the language (Дубенец 2002: 58-64) include: *SALT talks – 'Strategic Arms Limitation Talks talks', HAND day – 'Have a Nice Day day'*.

These new units are full homonyms of the words *salt* and *hand* and they should be distinguished from other acronyms because they have their own independent lexical meaning.

The assimilation of acronyms is particularly noticeable in a group called *RAP – Redundant Acronym Phrase* (Жукова & Котов 2006). These acronyms include, amongst others, *PIN number*, *VIP person*, and *CD disc*, where the lexemes *number*, *person*, and *disc* overlap the last component of the abbreviation. Here are some other

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examples of redundant phrases contained in acronyms: *MAC conference – 'Mid-American Conference conference', GPS system – 'Global Positioning System system', LAN network – 'Local Area Network network', ATM machine – 'Automated Teller Machine machine', ISBN number – 'International Standard Book Number number', CNN network – 'Cable News Network network', DAT tape – 'Digital Audiotape tape', USP code – 'Universal Product Code code'*, etc.

There are also dual decoding examples of redundant abbreviations where two components of an acronym are duplicated: *personal PIN number*. This dual decoding phenomenon of redundant abbreviations has been called a syndrome: *RAS (Redundant Acronym Syndrome) syndrome* or *PINS (PIN Number Syndrome) syndrome* (ibid.). It is worth noting that creation of acronyms is a solution for overloaded term combinations because the expanded form is difficult to perceive.

Moreover, the main function of acronyms is economy of speech and written text. Pronounced abbreviations are approximately five times shorter in sounding than the corresponding full phrases and in written texts the economy can be even greater. The necessity to save linguistic resources and language efforts is conditioned by the constraints of human cognitive processing and communication. An acronym reduces the material side of communicative units, in particular redundant phrases, and more quickly conveys information from the sender to the receiver. In addition to saving time and speech efforts for the speaker, acronyms are also means of concentrating information (Літкович et al. 2019).

Consequently, nominal subordinate redundant phrases are represented by five patterns. They are frequent and diverse. The use of redundant phrases is pragmatically determined by media discourse. Therefore, the reason for the appearance of redundant acronyms is saving space, time, and speech efforts of the speaker. The use of redundant abbreviations can be justified when they help to understand a statement faster and / or more clearly as well as to avoid ambiguity (Літкович 2014). The phrase *DVD disc* denotes a disc itself, not the DVD player or compact disc player.

4.2 Adjectival phrases

Adjectival subordinate redundant phrases consist of two components with a core semantic component – the adjective. They can be represented by the following patterns:
1) adjective: "adjective + adjective" (*Adj. + Adj.*);
2) adverb – adjective: "adverb + adjective" (*Adv. + Adj.*);
3) noun – preposition – adjective: "noun + preposition + adjective" (*N + prep. + Adj.*), (*N + prep. (art.) + Adj.*).

According to the adjective pattern (*Adj. + Adj.*), both components of a redundant phrase denote an object feature and perform an attributive function:

(10) "*A young woman was burnt in the face with boiling hot water outside a bar amid fears of a fresh acid attack*" (Gillet 2017).

According to the adverb – adjective pattern (*Adv. + Adj.*), the following redundant phrases appeared: *absolutely necessary, absolutely sure, perfectly legitimate*, etc., for example:

(11) "*A government decree urged the country's famously demonstrative citizens to stay at least 1 meter (3 feet) apart from each other, restricted visits to nursing homes and urged the elderly not to go outside unless absolutely necessary*" (Sedensky & Leicester 2020).

The relation between the synonymic components is subordinate in this sort of redundant phrases. Semantic intensity focuses firstly on the core semantic component of the phrase – the adjective *necessary* – and then intensifies the adjective *absolutely*.

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The noun – preposition – adjective pattern (*N + prep. (art.) + Adj.*) is represented by redundant phrases such as *variety of different*, *widow of the late*, etc.:

(12) "*Numerous other research groups are attempting to make vaccines against COVID-19 using a variety of different methods in hopes at least one will offer protection*" (Rahhal 2020).

A redundant phrase may be complicated by the expansion of a dependent component or the use of periphrasis and fixed phrases in the position of the signified as the first component of the phrase. Redundant phrases may consist of two and also three or more components. Thus, redundant phrases can be complicated by expansion of the dependent component with the Participle II (*repeated redundancies*, *staged scenario*, *unmarried old maid*, *surrounded on all sides*) and synonymous adjectives (*freezing cold ice*).

Consequently, adjectival subordinate redundant phrases are represented in modern English-language media discourse by three main patterns. Typically, in a statement they perform the function of attributes and may be complicated by the expansion of the dependent adjective. The use of adjectival redundant phrases may be justified when a linguist, for some objective or subjective reasons, clarifies and explains something. In redundant phrases, one component adds shades of meaning to the other, specifying certain attributes or explaining them (Літкович 2014).

4.3 Verbal phrases

In verbal redundant phrases, the core semantic component is the verb. Such phrases can be represented by two patterns:

1) verb – adverb: "verb + adverb" (*V + Adv.*);

2) verb – noun: "verb + noun" (*V + N*).

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According to the verb – adverb pattern (*V + Adv.*), the following redundant phrases are formed: *to sink down*, *to mix together*, etc. In such phrases, the adverbs most often indicate direction of motion and overlap the semantics of the core semantic component. Some scholars (Амосова 2010: 35; Аничков 1961: 229) agree that the words *up*, *down*, *in*, *out* are postpositions that belong to structural parts of speech and do not have their own lexical meaning but only add extra nuances to the meaning of other words. Amosova (Амосова 2010) distinguishes three types of postpositions: 1) with the meaning of direction, 2) with aspective meaning, 3) with the meaning of intensification. However, the second elements of the verb – adverb group that she calls postpositives (*in*, *out*, *up*, *away*, etc.) are different from the other three groups because they can convey the meaning of direction independently and act as clarifying components (*He went up to his room*). Due to this fact, they become closer to adverbs. Other scholars variously interpret the lexical-grammatical nature of these components, referring them to adverbs (Смирницкий 2007: 159; Palmer 1988: 96), derivational affixes (Жлуктенко 1953: 12) and even special lexical elements that occupy an intermediate position between words and morphemes (Ilyish 1971: 153; Khaimovich & Rogovskaya 1967: 171).

The elements such as *up*, *out*, etc. can be considered adverbs only if they convey the meaning of direction. When the components are used to convey the aspective meaning of an action (*to eat up*) indicating its completeness or change the meaning of the verb (*to break – to break out*), these components are postpositives and they are not redundant (Смирницкий 2007: 162). Following Ivanova, Burlakova, and Pocheptsov (Иванова et al. 1981: 128), we consider that postpositives belong to adverbs. In redundant phrases, adverbs perform the function of clarifying and intensifying the meaning of the core semantic component – the verb. Indeed, pointing the direction, redundant phrases convey their own lexical meaning, for example:

(13) "*Before that wet concrete was leveled and smoothed, before it was pumped to the top of the building, before it was mixed together at a plant near Vernon, it started out as cement powder, water, sand and gravel*" (Koren 2017).

The verb – noun pattern (*V + N*) consists of a core semantic verb and is duplicated by a noun whose meaning is already included in / implied by the verb, for example: *to ask a question*, *to shrug one's shoulders*, *to present a gift*, and so on. The phrase *to ask a question* is easily recognized as redundant because the verb *to ask* already includes the seme *question* 'to say something to somebody in the form of a question, because you want to know the answer' (CALED). The verb – noun pattern can be extended by using the construction with a possessive pronoun and an adjective that precede the noun (*with (to) one's own*): *to see with one's own eyes*, *to hear with one's own ears*, *to rise to one's own feet*.

(14) "*After connecting on his sixth 3-pointer of the night, which he swished over his defender Cliff Robinson, Jordan turned to the scorer's table and shook his head three times. Then, as he jogged back down the court, he employed a simple shrug of his shoulders*" (Dodson 2017).

In example (14), the phrase *to shrug one's shoulders* is redundant because the seme *shoulders* is included in the meaning of the verb *to shrug* – 'to raise and then lower your shoulders in order to show that you do not know something or do not care about something' (LDCE).

(15) "*All continents are surrounded on all sides by water, so the same question could be asked of Africa, South America or Eurasia*" (Campbell 2018).

In example (15), the phrase *surrounded on all sides* is a redundant phrase because the seme 'to be around someone or something' is included in the meaning of the verb *to*

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surround. The semantic intensity focuses on the core semantic component *surrounded* and then it is intensified by the noun group *on all sides*.

5. Coordinate redundant phrases

Coordinate redundant phrases are word combinations that consist of relatively independent elements and are joined by a conjunction. Elements of a redundant phrase are joined by the conjunction *and*, and occupy fixed positions in reference to each other: *peace and quiet – *quiet and peace*. These word combinations become terms. However, in media discourse they lose the status of terms, becoming ordinary word combinations. In this case, determinologization generates their emotive meaning (Русанівський 1988: 175).

Structural types of coordinate redundant phrases are distinguished by both elements belonging to a particular part of speech, namely the noun, the adjective, and the verb. We suggest that there are four structural types of coordinate redundant phrases, namely: 1) nominal, 2) adjectival, 3) verbal, and 4) predicative.

5.1 Nominal phrases

Nominal coordinate redundant phrases are represented by two patterns:

1) noun: "noun + conjunction + noun" (*N* + *conj.* + *N*);

2) adjective – noun: "adjective + noun + conjunction + noun" (*Adj.* + *N* + *conj.* + *N*).

Noun structures are based on the coordinate relations where nouns of one semantic field are combined and components are equal in their syntactic rank: *peace and quiet*, *bits and pieces*, *last will and testament*, *ways and means*, *hopes and aspirations*, etc. The pattern *N* + *conj.* + *N* is represented by redundant phrases, where two nouns are incomplete repetitions of synonymous components, for example:

(16) "*In these loud times — with political foes yelling on television, trucks rumbling through streets, and smartphones chirping all around — who doesn't want a little peace and quiet?*" (Bidgood 2018).

In the example above the phrase *peace and quiet* is redundant because the word *peace* means 'no noise, interruptions' (LDCE), and the word *quiet* means 'not making much noise' (ibid.). So the components of the redundant phrase are duplicated. Here is another example:

(17) "*While they were doing that, Ms Waters packed an overnight bag for her mother and included familiar bits and pieces from her bedroom*" (Pope 2020).

In example (17), the word combination *bits and pieces* is redundant since the seme 'piece' is included in the meaning of the word *bit* – 'a small piece of something' (LDCE). This redundant phrase does not allow the permutation of the components **pieces and bits*.

The adjective – noun pattern *Adj. + N + conj. + N* is represented by redundant phrases like *last will and testament*, for example:

(18) "*In these circumstances, the will should still be valid, provided the testator intended that the mark or the signature was meant to attest that this was their last will and testament*" (Morgan-Gould 2016).

In this example, the redundant phrase *last will and testament* is a fixed phrase. The components of the redundant phrase are duplicated and complement each other. According to Collins Advanced Learner's English Dictionary, this word combination means 'the most recent will that they have done, especially the last will that they do before they die' (CALED). The replacement of the components of the redundant phrase *last will and testament* is impossible – **testament and last will*.

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Consequently, nominal coordinate redundant phrases do not have a core semantic component and are represented by a noun coordinate pattern and an adjective-noun coordinate pattern. The components of the redundant phrase are based on equal relations where both are interconnected and do not allow component rearrangements.

5.2 Adjectival phrases

Adjectival coordinate redundant phrases are represented by one adjective pattern: "adjective + conjunction + adjective" *(Adj. + conj. + Adj.).* Two components out of three are qualitative adjectives. These qualitative adjectives are synonymous and are joined together into free collocations that denote an object feature. Adjective structures are based on the coordinate relations where adjectives of one semantic field are combined and components are syntactically equal but they are not identical: *the same and identical*, *unique and exceptional*, *sly and deceitful*, *useless and unnecessary*, *wordy and verbose*, *full and complete*, *necessary and desirable*, etc., for example:

(19) "*Over the past month Donald Trump has given us fresh reminders of the unique and exceptional ways he corrupts American life*" (Brooks 2019).

The connection between the elements of these phrases is coordinative. The attributive relations between the components of the redundant phrase and the signified are successive. Here are some examples where redundant phrases intensify the emotionality of the statement:

(20) "*The retired detective who brought Soham murderer Ian Huntley to justice has branded him a 'manipulative, cunning and deceitful' paedophile who should 'die in jail'[...]*" (Burrows 2018).

In example (20), the phrase *cunning and deceitful* is redundant because components duplicate the meaning of each other. Since the adjective *cunning* is defined as 'clever

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and good at deceiving people' (LDCE), the seme 'deceive' is already included in the meaning of the word *cunning*.

(21) "*Here are 20 luxury car features that are completely useless and unnecessary*" (Barclay 2020).

The above-mentioned word combination *useless and unnecessary* is redundant. Both components of the phrase are synonymous qualitative adjectives that duplicate each other's meaning and intensify the emotionality of the utterance.

Consequently, adjectival coordinate redundant phrases are scarce and they are represented by only one pattern. The components of the redundant phrase are synonymous qualitative adjectives that intensify the emotionality of the utterance.

5.3 Verbal phrases

Verbal coordinate redundant phrases are represented by one verbal pattern: "verb + preposition + verb" *(V + prep. + V).* This group includes redundant phrases like *to give and bequeath*, *to have and hold*, *to cease and desist*, *to authorize and direct*, *to aid and abet*, etc.:

(22) "*I do give and bequeath to my niece, Valorie Jean (Neal) White, all of my personal effects and all of my tangible personal property, including automobiles, hangars, aircraft, fly-drive vehicles, patents, companies, and all other things owned by me at the time of my death, including cash on hand in bank accounts in my own name, or companies names, or securities, or other intangibles*" (Dowell 2018).

The redundant phrase *to give and bequeath* does not have a core semantic component and the semantic intensification in these phrases falls on both components of the word combination – *to give and bequeath*.

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In verbal coordinate redundant phrases, both components are equal and, as a rule, they are set expressions, which do not allow component rearrangements, e.g.:

(23) "*As Hollman tells it, their talks ended with Hollman telling Giovannini not to use their name. They've been told repeatedly to* <u>*cease and desist*</u>*, he said*" (Stromberg 2020).

In example (23), the phrase *cease and desist* is redundant because the verbs *to cease* and *to desist* have the same meaning 'to stop doing something or stop happening' (LDCE). This redundancy does not allow the replacement of the components such as **to desist and cease*. The word combination *to cease and desist* becomes a fixed phrase as a term and is often used in legal discourse. We attribute the phrase *to authorize and direct* to phraseological terms, as in the following example:

(24) "*The amendment restores the Attorney General's plenary legal authority* <u>*to authorize and direct*</u> *all relevant federal agencies, including the Department of Homeland Security, to collect DNA samples from individuals who are arrested, facing charges, or convicted, and from non-United States person who are detained under the authority of the United States*" (National media release 2020).

In example (24), the phrase *to authorize and direct* is redundant. According to Collins Advanced Learner's English Dictionary, the meaning of the verb *to authorize* is 'to give official permission for something' (CALED) and one of the meanings of the verb *to direct* is 'to tell someone what they should do' (LDCE). These verbs duplicate each other. This type of redundancy is most commonly used in jurisprudence (legal theory).

Similar redundant phrases lose their main function – to denominate a special notion – and lose their status as terms (Колесникова 2003: 3). Thus, in media discourse most of these redundant phrases fall under the process of determinologization and become common words, for example:

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(25) "*You shamefully* <u>*aid and abet*</u> *Garcetti in supporting Los Angeles as a sanctuary city protecting illegal aliens while disabled homeless Veterans who fought on your behalf are living on the sidewalk directly outside the National Veterans Home*" (Rosebrock 2020).

Consequently, verbal coordinate redundant phrases like *to aid and abet* are commonly used in jurisprudence (legal theory), but in media discourse they lose the status of terms and become common words. In such a case, as a rule, terms that have undergone the determinologization process will acquire emotional meaning (Крапотина 1998: 175). However, these processes depend on the structure of media discourse, the quantity of terms and the function(s) they perform.

5.4 Predicative

In this section, various tautologies are investigated. Having examined the structural tautology $W + V + W$, where W is a word, which is represented by different parts of speech, and joined by the verb *to be*. We distinguish three main groups of predicative redundant phrases (tautology). A predicative can be represented by: abstract nouns, nouns denoting living beings, adjectives, and adverbs.

Abstract nouns: $N_{abs.} + V + N_{abs.}$ ("abstract noun + verb + abstract noun"), for example: *nought is nought*, *war is war*, *a job is a job*, *a bargain is a bargain*, *poison is poison*, *love is love*, *rank is rank*, and so on.

Nouns denoting living beings: $(D+)\ N + V + (D+)\ N$ ("pronoun + noun + verb + pronoun + noun"). D is a determinant of the noun. This determinant is usually a possessive pronoun or an article. D is an optional component. For example: *an ape is an ape*, *a varlet is a varlet*, *my son is my son*, *my daughter is my daughter*, etc.

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Adjectives: *Adj. + V + Adj.* ("adjective + verb + adjective"), for example: *own is own*, etc. Adverbs: *Adv. + V + Adv.* ("adverb + verb + adverb"), for example: *enough is enough*, *fair is fair*, etc.

In predicative redundant phrases as described above, components with invariant meaning for each group of examples are distinguished. The invariant meaning of such tautological constructions for each syntactic construction was determined by Wierzbicka (Вежбицкая 1985) and Levinson (2008) (one invariant meaning for all tautological constructions). In the group of examples with the pattern $N_{abs.} + V + N_{abs.}$ is expressed reference to a certain type of human activity:

1) this activity has positive / negative consequences;
2) these consequences are well-known;
3) it is impossible / difficult to change them;
4) it is necessary to accept the consequences.

Some clichéd parenthetical structures are constantly reproduced in speech as *you know*, *as they say*, etc. Sometimes tautologies following the pattern $N_{abs.} + V + N_{abs.}$ contain a large implicit component, such as: *work is work* ('work is tension, effort, but it brings revenue';), *war is war* ('war is sacrifice, destruction, famine'), and so on.

In predicative redundant phrases nouns denoting living beings (*N + V + N*) belong to the category of people / living beings, sharing certain qualities. When tautological constructions are phraseologized, they contain common nouns: *boys are boys*, *girls are girls*, *kids are kids*, *students are students*, *dogs are dogs*, *a man is a man*, *a woman is a woman*, etc. In addition, tautologies may include proper nouns: *Mother Teresa is Mother Teresa*, *Darwin is Darwin*, *Einstein is Einstein*, etc. Tautologies that contain common nouns denote well-known facts that do not require any proof since the objectivity of their existence is obvious.

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The lexical meaning of the common noun (*boys are boys*) is grouped around the nucleus, while the lexical meaning of the proper noun (*Darwin is Darwin*) is not supplied in the dictionary. To understand the meaning of a tautology that consists of two proper nouns, it is necessary for readers to have some extralingual knowledge about the subject. The lexical meaning of the proper noun reflects "encyclopedic" knowledge, a complex of versatile knowledge about the referent, known to the addresser and the addressee. First of all, let us clarify the meaning of the toponym *Texas* in the tautology *Texas is Texas*. Some people who have some knowledge about Texas due to Western movies and cowboy books can distinguish the following stereotypical features in its meaning: 'the presence of cows, horses, and weapons'. The motivation behind that is that they synthesize the meaning on the basis of representations, associations, and stereotypes.

Tautologies that are made with the help of proper nouns are nonce formations. Their use is occasional: *Best is Best* was the slogan of "The Beatles" fans. Best is the nickname of one of the band's former musicians. These tautologies are characterized by explicit ambiguity (Никитин 2007: 639). It is based on parallel implementation of two categorical meanings of the lexical unit *best* (adjective and noun): in the same context, two meanings are realized and combined (for the fans of the band "The Beatles", the musician named Best was the best musician. The slogan appeared at the time the musician left the band and his fans organized numerous protests).

To sum up, the group of structural tautologies $W + V + W$ is heterogeneous. In this group, the components of the redundant phrase consist of adverbs and adjectives. These tautologies are uncommon, so they are attributed to the periphery of predicative redundant constructions.

Speakers use tautologies of the structural type $W + V + W$ for various reasons. At the same time, the semantic meaning of the statement does not narrow, for example:

(26) "*LAPD Commander Andrew Smith had urged Dorner, whose truck was found in the area last Thursday, to surrender, telling him: Enough is enough*" (Boxall & Banerjee 2012).

In example (26), the police officer orders the offender to give up, telling him that it is enough to commit crime. The tautology *enough is enough* means 'enough shooting and bloodshed'. Predicative constructions contain a large implicit component, because their meaning is wider than their verbal representation. On condition that there is mutual knowledge about the subject of the conversation, the speaker does not provide explicit explanation in order to save time. The addresser appeals to the competence of the listener (Никитин 1983: 74).

Linguistic signs are bilateral. Every linguistic sign has two aspects, which are inseparably connected: the sound sequence (signifier) on the level of expression, and the concept (signified) on the level of meaning. The basis of the semantic meaning of tautology is the possibility of splitting meaning into different aspects: pragmatic vs cognitive, intentional vs extensional, signifying vs denotative (ibid.). The structure of meaning according to Nikitin is represented in Figure 2.

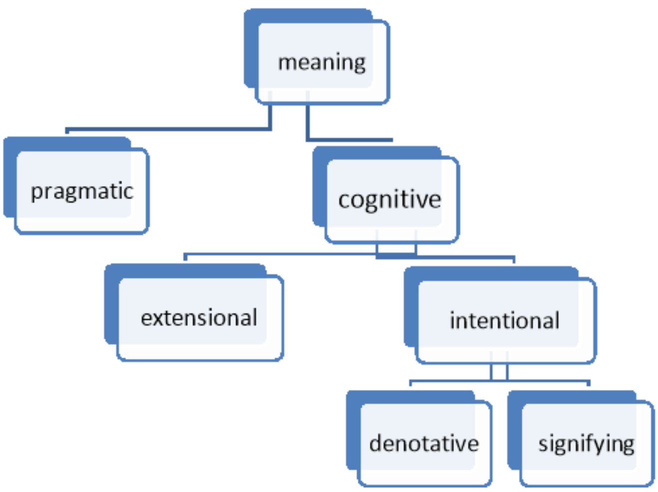

Figure 2. Structure of meaning according to Nikitin (Никитин 2007: 42)

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Cognitive meaning comprises two kinds: intensional and extensional. Intensional meaning, or intension, is based on qualities or attributes that a term connotes, while extensional meaning, or extension, refers to members of the class that the term denotes. Analysis of nouns reveals that the meaning of each noun in different contexts is not stable. Intensional and extensional meanings can vary, which affects the informativeness of a tautology.

Variation of extensional meaning is a change in denotation. Extension may vary in different contexts. Thus, a concept represents a particular member of the class to which it relates. The relation of a concept to denotation may be specific or non-specific. When it is specific, the denotatum differs in some ways from other members in its class, for example:

(27) "*The war between Russia and Ukraine, is a war that nobody wants to see [...]*" (Graham 2015).

In example (27), the tautology *war is war* means the specific war that is taking place between Ukraine and Russia, not war in general. In case a concept correlates with non-specific denotation, a certain class member is meant, but it is impossible to say which one. The denotatum is not specified, for example:

(28) "*What does it take to have a war? Soldiers – men and women willing to kill. A cause – any will do. Hatred – You can't kill someone you love. What else? War is war*" (Burke 2018).

In the example above, the predicative tautology *war is war* is not a specific war, but war in general. Let us consider more examples:

(29) "*Soldiers who served in the Gaza Strip say they received orders to shoot to kill every person they saw in what the army classified a "combat sector", while being led*

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to believe – wrongly – that the area had been cleared of civilians. [...] But <u>orders were orders</u>" (Pollard 2015).

In example (29), the second component of the tautology $N_{abs.}$ has a wide extension. According to the context, the soldiers received a strict order to shoot. So, we decompose the meaning of the tautology *orders were orders* ($N_{abs.}$ + V + $N_{abs.}$) into specific components: the first component $N_{abs.}$. is a strict order to shoot that must be followed; the second component $N_{abs.}$. is a general order, any regulatory document. In this phrase, the lexeme *orders* is duplicated.

In the tautology (N + V + N), the third component N can also represent a class category separate from its particular members, for example:

(30) "*The CBBC has come under fire on Twitter in response to a section of one of its audience guides entitled "<u>Girls are girls</u> and <u>boys are boys</u>". In "A guide to the CBBC audience", which is publicly available online, girls and boys are described in two separate paragraphs, headed "Girls: Emotionally focused" and "Boys: Task focused", respectively [...]*" (Criado 2014).

Tautologies of the group (W + V + W) are formed by duplication of adjectives / adverbs and have no extensional meaning.

Variation of intensional meaning. If extensional variation refers to denotations correlating with a concept, then intensional variation refers to their characteristics, which are in the meaning (Никитин 2007: 37). There are two possible ways of displaying intensional meaning variation. The first refers to the stable core of intensional meaning, in other words, its intension. Variation in the intension is the qualitative semantic transformation of the concept. Any change in intension creates a new meaning. This phenomenon is known as semantic shift (Кузнєцова 2011: 6;

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Willem 2009: 525). Let us consider the tautology *boys are boys / boys will be boys*. The following semes constitute the intension of the word *boy*:

1) human being;

2) male;

3) child.

The changes of the intension create a new meaning, *'aggressive behaviors'*, for example:

(31) "*I was also concerned to learn that when a child brought in a Ninjago book, the teachers read the book to the children even though Common Sense media reports that this series is best for children seven and over, and rates it 0/5 for educational value, 2/5 for violence, and 5/5 for consumerism. When I have expressed my concerns about some of these issues, every conversation has ended the same way, with the teacher saying, "Oh you know, boys will be boys" […]*" (Meyer 2014).

Otherwise, when the second component of tautology varies, it means that intension remains unchanged, but the meaning of tautology is enriched by various additional implicational characteristics. It is only possible when the component refers to a single denotatum that has a large number of characteristics in a text, apart from those characteristics that are commonly found in the class. This variation of intensional meaning does not violate intension itself and does not create new meanings. It reveals the two types of intensional meaning – signifying and denotative (Никитин 2007: 37-38).

The second component of a tautology (N) may express a signifying or denotative meaning. The second component *N* in tautologies of the first group with abstract nouns ($N_{abs.} + V + N_{abs.}$) and the second group with nouns denoting living beings ($N + V + N$) has a signifying meaning in the second component, giving a generalized image, a generalized idea, for example:

(32) "*Honestly, we're talking about an entity that thrives on enslavement, you know? Not cool. Fun's fun. But who needs it*" (Moraes 2017).

In example (32), *fun* means not a particular instance of fun, but a generalized idea of fun.

The second component of all tautologies that are formed by adjectives / adverbs (for example, *enough is enough*) does not have reference. This component only has a signifying meaning and does not have a denotative meaning.

The second component *N* in predicative tautologies with abstract nouns ($N_{abs.} + V + N_{abs.}$) and nouns denoting living beings ($N + V + N$) may have different extensions, depending on whether it represents the whole class or individual representatives of this class. When representing the whole class, N_2 has a signifying meaning, while when representing individual class representatives, N_2 has a denotative one. N_2 can also express different intensional meanings. Components of intension and implication may vary. W_2 in tautological predicative constructions with duplication of adjectives / adverbs (third group) can express only intensional signifying meaning. Due to its non-reference, W_2 has no extensional or denotative meaning.

6. Conclusions

This article investigates characteristics of redundant phrases functioning as a means of expressing redundancy in modern English media discourse and reveals the structural features of this variety of redundancy. Redundant phrases are no unwitting slips, but are intended to lend emphasis to the message. The imaginative and emotional nature of redundancy serves to explain their use not only in fiction but also in mass media discourse. Different types of redundancy have different stylistic intensity, depending on the intention of the addresser.

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Redundancy is an umbrella term for tautology, pleonasm, and hypercharacterization. Full synonymy is crucial in distinguishing tautology from pleonasm and hypercharacterization. The essence of this distinction is that redundancy can be full when components of a phrase completely duplicate each other – tautology. In the case of partial redundancy, components of a word combination are semantically similar words – pleonasm.

Redundancy can be functional and non-functional. Functionally-oriented speech elements are purposely introduced by the addresser. Their purpose is to convey connotative information in order to have a pragmatic impact on the recipient. Non-functional redundancy is created by linguistic elements that convey neither basic nor connotative information. Functional redundancy is manifested in repetition or synonymous duplication of lexemes, grammatical forms (hypercharacterization), or partial synonymy of components.

Synonymous duplication of lexemes is more common, more frequent, and more diverse in structure and semantics. In hypercharacterization, redundancy is created by means of grammatical markers, e.g. suffixes and prefixes, as well as with the help of degrees of comparison of the adjectives and adverbs that are used to focus the addressee's attention on the message. Hypercharacterization creates redundancy by violating the norms of English grammar, which becomes anomalous, incorrect, and has a special effect on the addressee. Partial synonymy of components is able to convey subtle nuances of meaning and emphasis in the content of an utterance.

Redundant phrases are independent expressive means of language. We differentiate stylistic means of expressing redundancy in speech and grammatical means of redundancy. The autonomy of redundancy in language is justified by its purpose to clarify, specify, supplement, and intensify a shade of meaning within a word in order to accurately convey information to the addressee.

Media discourse is considered as a process and result of media activity and as a mediator between visible reality and real life. The function of media influence is realized through linguistic and stylistic means of expression, in particular redundancy. Redundancy in contemporary English-language media discourse creates emotional tension and is used to intensify, distinguish, or clarify information. The semantic tension of an utterance emerges from the excessive duplication of grammatical or lexical forms whereby the writer draws the reader's attention. The impact on the reader / listener in order to convince him / her to do something or to induce a desired response is not achieved by logical argumentation. It is he emotional intensity of speech that guides the selection of linguistic means with suggestive influence.

It has been shown that according to the criterion of syntactic relations between the components, redundancies are subdivided into subordinate and coordinate. Subordinate redundant phrases are based on inequality of the components. To conclude, we have differentiated three subtypes of subordinate redundant phrases: a) nominal; b) adjectival; c) verbal. Coordinate redundant phrases are based on the semantic and syntactic relations between grammatically equal units of language. We have discussed and separated four subtypes of coordinate redundant phrases: a) nominal; b) adjectival; c) verbal; d) predicative (tautologies).

List of abbreviations

CALED – Collins advanced learner's English dictionary

LDCE – Longman dictionary of contemporary English

RAP – Redundant acronym phrase

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Résumé

This article focuses on revealing the nature of redundancy from a structural perspective. Functional redundancy is interpreted as a positive phenomenon that serves to specify, clarify, and add emotional colouring and sonority to the utterance. Redundant phrases can be found not only in language but also in speech. It is stated that redundancy is a linguistic means of expressing emotional tension. The semantic tension of an utterance emerges from the excessive duplication of grammatical or lexical forms whereby the writer draws the reader's attention. Redundancy manifests itself in the synonymous duplication of lexemes, grammatical forms, or partial synonymy of components. Two structural types of redundant phrases are distinguished: subordinate and coordinate. Subordinate redundant phrases are based on inequality of the components. Structural types of subordinate redundancy are distinguished by the core semantic component belonging to a particular part of speech: nominal, adjectival, and verbal. Coordinate redundant phrases are word combinations that consist of relatively independent elements and are joined with the help of a conjunction. These word combinations are fixed phrases, and their elements do not allow permutation of components. The following types of coordinate redundant phrases are distinguished: nominal, adjectival, verbal, and predicative. This article highlights certain pragmatic factors, which account for the creation of redundant phrases in modern English media discourse. As the analyzed material shows, despite the limited sample size, media publications combine a range of pragmatic effects on the reader.

Key words: redundancy, emotional tension, reduplication, core semantic component, coordination, subordination.

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Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

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THE GERMAN LINGUO-CULTURAL CONCEPT *SCHADENFREUDE* IN CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE: A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH

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Abstract: The paper focuses on the corpus-based method as a stage of a contrastive linguo-culturological study of the German linguo-cultural concept SCHADENFREUDE. The method under investigation made it possible to reveal specific senses of the concept which was contrasted with similar concepts of the Anglo-Saxon, Ukrainian, and Russian linguo-cultures. The method is equally used to verify the Anglo-Saxon heterostereotype that Germans tend to gloat more than other nations.

Key words: gloat, emotion, linguo-cultural concept, contrastive linguoculturology, corpus-based method.

> *Das Konzept der Schadenfreude wird fälschlicherweise fast ausschließlich den Deutschen zugeschrieben. Vermutlich deshalb, weil es im Deutschen dafür ein Wort gibt, im Englischen aber nicht, und sich die Briten das Wörtchen einfach borgen.* (Streck 2018) – [Erroneously, the notion of "Schadenfreude" (gloat) is ascribed particularly to Germans. Most likely it is accounted for by the fact that they have a special word for it, while it is not found in English, and the British just borrowed the German word]

1. Introduction

The anthropocentric approach, which was popular in linguistics of the second half of the 20th century and directed at a comprehensive study of the human being, gave the grounds for the emergence of a number of linguistic disciplines, which apply interdisciplinary methodology. It concerns Cognitive linguistics, where the epistemological basis is combined with an array of notions "borrowed" from psychology, in particular Cognitive psychology and Gestalt psychology. The methodological symbiosis of Linguistics and Psychology encouraged researchers, starting late 20th century, to study intensively a human being's emotion world represented by *emotional concepts*, the term used by Cognitive linguistics (see, e.g., Kövecses 2011; Panasenko 2012; Panasenko et al. 2013; Wierzbicka 1999).

It was the period when ideas of Cognitive linguistics were fast expanding in the post-Soviet language studies. Some of these ideas were transformed in terms of methodology and under the influence of different theoretically philosophical and methodological traditions: the "Western" ones on the one hand, and the Soviet or post-Soviet, on the other. The concept as a mental construct transformed considerably, since its psychological (operational) aspect was superseded by the cultural-and-semiotic (culturological) one, i.e. the concept began to be defined as a cognitive structure (mental construct) serving not only to perceive, accumulate, and transfer information in the mental space of a human being, but also representing a "bundle" of culture in his/her mind. Thus was formed the notion of a "linguo-cultural concept", a mental construct, which consists of immanently inherent cultural senses and is objectivated by means of language signs.

At the turn of the millennia, Russia experienced a conceptological "boom", which resulted in the emergence of linguo-anthropological disciplines, such as Linguoculturology, Contrastive linguoculturology, Linguoconceptology, and Contrastive linguoconceptology. The disciplines are considered to be autochthonously Russian (Воркачёв 2010: 16), though they are still widely spread in Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, and followers of these branches are found in Slovakia, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, and Bulgaria (see, e.g., Panasenko 2019; Petrikova et al. 2017; Uberman 2016). The main epistemological unit of a linguocultural concept is common to all the aforesaid disciplines. It is remarkable that Linguoculturology and Contrastive linguoculturology as well as Linguoconceptology and Contrastive linguoconceptology are actually methodological "twins", as linguo-conceptological studies are in fact linguo-culturological research focused on the study of a certain concept (or concepts).

All in all, linguo-culturologists and linguo-conceptologists have been studying thoroughly the emotional world of different linguo-societies for two decades now, analyzing linguo-cultural concepts representing emotions (emotional states, feelings, affects), both universal and specific to a certain linguo-society (see, e.g., Воркачёв 2007; Красавский 2001; Стефанский 2011).

2. Emotional concepts from the perspective of contrastive linguo-cultural studies in Ukraine

Contrastive linguoculturology separated from Linguoculturology in the early 21st century (Воробьёв 2008: 191), therefore its terminology is still developing. The reason for a greater focus on contrastive studies lies in the fact that some linguo-culturologists realized a lack of reliability in the results and conclusions of monolingual linguo-cultural studies, because judgements about the lingual and cultural features of a linguo-culture are more valid when compared with its other counterparts.

In Ukraine, the methodological ideas of Contrastive linguoculturology are gaining popularity among those linguists who can conventionally be called "cultural linguists". Still, within Linguoculturology there are some researches covering moral, ethical, and socio-psychological aspects of linguo-cultural concepts representing a chain of basic and non-basic (social) emotions (see, e.g., Мизин 2018; Мізін 2019; Петров 2016; Федорюк 2019; Шапран 2014). A special focus is on the study of specific concepts, in particular ethnically specific and emotional ones (see, e.g., Mizin & Letiucha 2019).

The contrastive linguo-cultural analysis of emotional concepts makes it possible to define both common and distinct senses concerning categorization and conceptualization of emotions in different linguo-societies. It is remarkable that specific concepts, i.e. ethno- and socio-cultural ones, can contain certain concepts representing universal basic emotions (Мизин 2018: 28-30). To identify specific senses means to enhance probable scientific results about the following: (a) different behavioural, etiquette, and moral rules of expressing emotions; (b) different degrees of tolerance to negative, in particular "sinful", emotions in different linguo-societies; (c) changes of value priorities and attitudes in various linguo-cultures.

It is also relevant to study how the expression, perception, and lingual designation of emotions are affected by the national and cultural features thought to be characteristic of this or that linguo-culture: extraversion / introversion, collectivism / individualism, high-context orientation / low-context orientation, rationality / irrationality, male domination / female domination, high / low distancing from authorities, high / low tolerance to indefiniteness, internal / external control locus, etc. (Hall 1989; Hofstede 1980). These national and cultural features are included in the notions of "mentality" or "national character".

To study a national character on the basis of language objectivation of linguo-cultural emotional concepts is methodologically justified by the fact that some basic or social emotions may dominate in the emotional world of an individual, if they get fixed as features of a national character. Accordingly, emotions dominating in the emotional world of a group of people (sub-culture, ethnos, and the like) shape their collective character (compare the following methodological analogy: individual cognition – collective cognition – cultural cognition; individual consciousness – collective consciousness – cultural consciousness).

In the second half of the 20th century, when the globalization processes began (inter-ethnic conflicts, prevention from intercultural communication, conflicts in polycultural communities, etc.), researchers began revealing features of character on the basis of the socio-cultural and political status of language societies, from subcultures (sub-

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ethne) to nations (ethne), which "forced" sociologists, ethnologists, ethno-psychologists, anthropologists, and linguists to get involved too (see, e.g., Hall 1989; Hofstede 1980; Samovar et al. 2013; Sharifian 2017). The use of different methodological approaches to determine national (subcultural, group) features ensured objective research results, since some certain feature may often be considered as a specific property of a group or nation under the influence of auto- or heterostereotypes, which, in fact, is not true.

For instance, Anglo-Saxons think Germans to be particularly gloating, as in English there is no absolute equivalent to the German compound noun *Schadenfreude* (see, e.g., Head 1994: 105). English-speaking psychologists even use the lexeme *Schadenfreude* as the term to denote gloating (see, e.g., Miller et al. 2004; Smith et al. 2009). But the objectivity of this idea is debatable. It turned out that in Ukrainian and Russian there are compounds similar to it: Ukr. *злорадство* (zloradstvo) / *зловтіха* (zlovtikha); Rus. *злорадство* (zloradstvo). Moreover, they differ from the German word by only a few semantic shades (Мізін 2019: 535). In this regard, a logical question arises whether German gloating is really somewhat particular (it may be more significant, intensive, negative, positive, etc.) compared to some other language ethnos, namely Anglo-Saxons. At least a partial answer to this question would require the contrastive linguo-culturological analysis of the German concept SCHADENFREUDE. The paper presents one of the stages of this analysis.

3. Methods and material (lingual corpora)

The purpose of the research is to reveal the specific relevant senses of the German linguo-cultural concept SCHADENFREUDE compared to the Anglo-Saxon GLOAT, the Ukrainian ЗЛОВТІХА, and the Russian ЗЛОРАДСТВО by means of a corpus-based method, as corpus linguistics data strengthen the results and conclusions of linguistic research papers (Adolphs 2006: 7-8; Tissari et al. 2019: 322). It is a way to verify the heterostereotype that representatives of the German linguo-culture have a special tendency to gloat existing mostly in the Anglo-Saxon world (Krönig 1999: 7).

Conceptual analysis is of utter importance in the study of linguo-cultural concepts. However, the former notion is rather vague, both in Linguocognitology and Linguoculturology (Linguoconceptology), as the basic research procedures that are mandatory for conceptual analysis have not been defined yet. Therefore, it would be reasonable to speak about conceptual analysis not as a method, but as a set of methods involving a number of methods of traditional linguistics (etymological analysis, definitional analysis, componential (seme) analysis, contextual analysis), and those of Cognitive linguistics, Psycholinguistics, Corpus linguistics, and other related sciences (e.g., associative experiment, cognitive modelling, frequency analysis).

Taking into account the abovementioned, the research methods include the following procedures:

1) definition of the etymological sources of words designating gloating in Romance, Germanic, and Slavic languages. This procedure is applied to reveal the properties that were the basis for the inner form of these nominations, which makes it possible to confirm or negate the uniqueness of the form and meaning of the name of the German concept SCHADENFREUDE within the European linguo-cultural space;

2) identification of the relevant senses of the concepts under study, i.e. Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО, by means of contrastive translation analysis of the modern language samples with the following keywords and their derivatives: *Schadenfreude* / *gloat* / *зловтіха* (*зловрадість*) / *злорадство*. The samples are found in the concordances built automatically on the basis of the corresponding word-requests. The lingual corpora used for the research are the following: British National Corpus (BNC), Corpus of Contemporary American English (CCAE (correct accordingly throughout the article)), Corpus of the Ukrainian Language (CUL), Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (DWDS), Leipzig Corpora Collection (LCC), Linguistic Portal (LP), Russian National Corpus (RNC);

3) formation of the cooccurrent profiles of the word-requests *Schadenfreude* / *gloat* / *зловтіха* (*злорадість*) / *злорадство*. The cooccurrent profile is a condensed calculation of psychologically real syntagmatic and paradigmatic "structure" of a

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lexeme based on a preferential-rational approach (Belica 2011: 172). The most relevant frequency data make it possible to determine the concepts most frequently correlating with the concepts Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО, as their main representatives.

4. Results

The research procedures described above serve to identify how the mentality of a language ethnos may affect the perception of gloating within this ethnos. According to these procedures, we focus on the following: 1) covering the main etymological sources of the names of gloating in Europian languages; 2) detecting the psycho-emotional and socio-cultural prerequisites of specific senses of the concepts Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО; 3) revealing the common and distinct senses by means of the corpus-based methods; 4) validating the results of the contrastive translation study of the concordance fragments of the word-requests *Schadenfreude* / *gloat* / *зловтіха* / *злорадство* based on the co-occurrent profile data.

4.1 The main etymological roots of the nomination of gloating in Europe

A detailed etymological study of the nominations of gloating in all languages of the European linguo-cultural space is a complicated objective that would require special research (moreover, the purpose of this study does not provide for it). However, to have a complete idea of how these nominations expanded across the area, it is necessary to go beyond the boundaries of the languages under consideration – English, German, Ukrainian, and Russian – and strengthen the etymological search by involving some other languages representing another language group, i.e. Romance languages. The reason for this is that Romance languages and Latin first of all made primarily a considerable contribution to the vocabulary of Germanic languages. Therefore, the etymology of most words (70%) in English (Scheler 1977: 74) and very many (27%) in German prove their Latin origin.

The etymological analysis revealed two ways of how the nominations of gloating spread within the European linguo-cultural area. They may be conventionally called the (a) "Byzantine" and (b) "Roman" paths. Ukrainian etymologists point out that the source language of the "Byzantine" way is Greek (ЕСУМ 1985: 267): the compound *χαιρεκακία* 'gloating' consists of two nouns – *χαρά* 'joy' and *κακό* 'evil'. The semantics of gloating is also found in the noun *κακοβουλία* 'unfriendliness' and the derivative adjective *κακόβουλος* 'evil; black; angry'. It means that the emotion of gloating was well-known to ancient Greeks. The lexeme *χαιρεκακία* (as well as the lexemes *κακοβουλία*, *κακόβουλος*, close in meaning) "migrated" as a morphological calque to Slavic languages, including the Eastern Slavic languages. It can be accounted for by the fact that Byzantium had a great cultural and religious influence upon the Slavic states (Cyril and Methodius's alphabet, Christianity, Byzantine Orthodox Church), especially upon Kyiv Rus. It is remarkable that we find a full calque of the abovementioned Greek word in the Eastern Slavic languages: Ukr. *зловтіха*, *злорадість* / *злорадство* / *зловтіха* (lexemes *втіха* and *радість* are synonyms); Belarus. *злорадость* / *зларадасць*; Rus. *злорадность* / *злорадство* (Glosbe, *s.a.*). Calquing can be traced in other Slavic languages, notably in Bulgarian *злорадство*, Croatian *zluradost*, Serbian *злорадост* / *zloradost*, Bosnian *zloradost*, Macedonian *злорадост* (ibid., *s.a.*). There is no reason for assuming that all these lexemes were calqued directly from Greek, as the factor of close interrelations between the aforesaid languages should be taken into account. It is illustrated by the fact that the closest to the German lexeme *Schadenfreude* are the compounds functioning in Czech and Slovak – *škodolibost* and *škodoradost* respectively (ibid., *s.a.*), where the first component means 'sorrow; loss', rather than 'evil' in the Slavic languages.

Within the Slavic language area, there are just a few languages where the compounds, similar to the Greek *χαιρεκακία*, exist but differ by a component of meaning. For instance, the Slovenian compound *škodoželje* 'gloating' and the Polish *złośliwość* 'acidity; nastiness; malice; malignance; gloating' and *nieżyczliwość* 'unfriendliness; gloating' (ibid., *s.a.*). In the latter the word-combinations of *złośliwa satysfakcja* and *złośliwe zadowolenie*, are functioning simultaneously, being a calque of the "Byzantine" designation of gloating.

The source language of the "Roman" way is certainly the Classical Latin language. As soon as it lacks a compound with the meaning, similar to Greek *χαιρεκακία*, other Roman languages lack such a nomination as well. The Latin word-combination *fera gaudia* (lit. malicious joy) was not calqued by the main Romance languages, i.e. Italian, French, and Spanish, though one can trace the influence of Latin, anyway, e.g., French *malignité* 'malice; gloating; malicious intent' (Larousse 1977: 618) originates from Lat. *malignitas* 'malice, angriness', having the semantics of unfriendly jokes, mocking someone; the Italian lexeme *malignità* 'malice; gloating; malicious intent' and word-combination *contentezza maligna* 'gloating' have Latin roots: *malignitas* (VOL, *s.a.*); the Spanish word *regodeo* 'satisfaction; amusement', originating in Lat. *gaudium* 'joy', got a negative semantic shade designating malicious (unfriendly) joy (DDLLE, *s.a.*).

At first glance, English stands out of these etymological processes, as the lexeme *gloat* is of Germanic origin: here one can trace either (1) a motif of the curl of the lips rooted in the Ancient Scandinavian word *glotta* 'to smile insincerely (in a curl of the lips)', or (2) a motif of a staring from the Middle High German lexeme *glotzen* 'to stare' (Partridge 2006: 1289). These motifs are distinctly linked within the verb *to gloat* meaning 'look / think with malicious, greedy or lusty delight' (NWDTEL 1993: 406). However, taking into account a considerable influence of Classical Latin, and later French, on the English language, we suggest that semantics of unfriendly (malicious) mocking, found in the French word of *malignité*, in some way correlates with the etymological motive of insincere grinning of the English lexeme *gloat.*

Thus, the noun and verb *gloat* and the verbal noun *gloating* cannot be the full equivalents of the German lexeme *Schadenfreude* as the latter has only one meaning of 'malicious joy of doing something harmful to another person, or caused by someone else's bad luck' (DKW 1997: 780). However, in Slavic languages there are just semantic equivalents of this German word; though rather formal, they still have the compound structure characteristic of the "Byzantine" path of the expansion of the nominations of gloating, e.g., Ukr. *злорадство* 'a feeling of malicious delight about someone else's bad luck, trouble' (СУМ 1972: 603); Rus. *злорадство* 'malicious joy of someone else's bad luck / trouble' (БТСРЯ 2000: 366). As long as etymologists cannot explain unambiguously the origin of the noun *Schadenfreude*, we can assume that it may be a calque from the Greek compound *χαιρεκακία*, and Slavic languages served as intermediaries, taking into account a close connection of German with Czech, Low Sorbian, High Sorbian, Slovak, and other Slavic languages. In this respect, German as a Germanic language is not unique, as in Swedish there is a similar compound noun – *skadeglädje* (Glosbe, *s.a.*).

Despite the fact that compound words to denote gloating are found in Germanic and Slavic languages, Anglo-Saxons ascribe this emotion to the Germans (Krönig 1999: 7). There are different reasons for this, including the ethnocentrism characteristic of each linguo-society. It is based to a great extent on the archetypal opposition "us" – "them", which divides the world into two poles: positive and negative. It is clear that each ethnos assigns positive features to itself, while ascribing negative properties to "them", i.e. alien ethne, especially neighbouring ones (Lehtonen 2005: 70). Ethnocentricity in the perception of a neighbouring ethnos usually lies in the basis of auto- and heterostereotypes.

Taking into account that Anglo-Saxons, in particular the British, were fighting with Germans during the recent history, they ascribed numerous negative heterostereotypical characteristics, which gradually spread in the whole Anglo-Saxon world, to the latter. Thus, Anglo-Saxons associate the following negative characteristics with the German national character: existential fear *Angst*, aggressiveness, arrogance, ability to terrify, bully, egoism, inferiority complex, sentimentality (Tenberg 1999: 18), as well as a tendency to gloat (Krönig 1999: 7). Because Anglo-Saxons do not have a lexeme denoting "gloat" so precisely as the

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Germans, they borrowed the language designation for this lexeme from German: *schadenfreude* 'satisfaction or pleasure felt at someone else's misfortune' (RHWUD 1998: 1713), as if stressing that Anglo-Saxons are less malicious than Germans, or even emphasizing that such a negative emotion as gloating is not characteristic of representatives of the Anglo-Saxon world. The following extract from the dialogue of Lisa and Homer in the well-known animation series "Simpsons" is a good example (episode "When Flanders failed") (Vitti & Reardon 1991):

– ***Lisa****: Dad, do you know what schadenfreude is?*

– ***Homer*** *(sarcastically): No, I do not know what schadenfreude is. Please tell me because I'm dying to know.*

– ***Lisa****: It's a German word for shameful joy, taking pleasure in the suffering of others*.

Germans themselves do not consider gloating as a specific feature of their national character:

(1) *Manche meinen, Schadenfreude sei eine spezifisch deutsche Emotion, aber das stimmt nicht ganz* – [*People think that gloating is a specifically German emotion, though, in fact, it is not exactly so*].

On the contrary, they ascribe gloating to Anglo-Saxons (the British), e.g.,

(2) *...klang bei vielen englischen Fußballanalysten eine Haltung durch, die man auch in ihrer Sprache mit der deutschen Vokabel "schadenfreude" beschreibt* – [*...a lot of English football experts show the attitude, which their language describes using the German word "schadenfreude"*];

(3) *Ihre Schadenfreude sagt weniger über die Deutschen aus als über die Briten* – [*Their gloating speaks less about the Germans than about the British*].

Taking into account that gloating is an inherent human emotion, i.e. it is natural for a person irrespective of ethnicity, it is possible to suggest that such heterostereotypical characteristics of this or that ethnos cannot be objectively justified. Still, different

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periods of a linguo-culture formation are accompanied by the change of values and priorities. The value orientation of a personality lies within the plain of a "positive – negative" scale, determined by the norms existing at a certain stage of the development of a language community. Norms change not only within one community, but differ considerably between the cultures.

4.2 Psycho-emotional and socio-cultural prerequisites of the specific senses of the concepts Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО

Though the human emotional world, especially basic emotions, are of universal nature, even closely related linguo-societies show some differences in the perception of emotions (emotional states, feelings), even greater than in their expression, especially when an emotion (e.g., generosity, greediness, meanness, pride, envy) dominates in this or that linguo-culture (see, e.g., Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2017: 47-48; Panasenko 2012: 1067-1068; Pinich 2017: 264-266). Such dominating emotions transform into national features of character, i.e. the features, more typical of one nation (ethnos) than others. So it is necessary to reveal the psycho-physiological and social nature of gloating, for it determines the ethno- and socio-cultural features of its perception within different linguo-cultures.

4.2.1 Psycho-physiological and social nature of gloating

Psychologists claim that gloating is a universal emotion (see, e.g., Feather 1989). There is no doubt that gloating is of social nature (Smith et al. 2009; Van Dijk et al. 2011). It means that gloating as a social emotion arose in the process of the humanity development as a basic emotion, and for its emergence at least two participants are needed, the subject and object of gloating.

However, the following questions are disputable: (a) determining the position, which is occupied by gloating in the "emotional mosaic" of a human being, formed as a result of "tangled" basic and non-basic emotions, and (b) revealing the social emotions whose activation provokes gloating.

Concerning the former questions, there is some indefiniteness, as psychologists are still discussing the notion "basic emotion" as well as which emotions should be considered basic (see, e.g., Izard 2011; Levenson 2011). They long believed that a human can experience just six basic emotions, i.e. happiness, fear, sadness, surprise, anger, and disgust (Ekman 1992). In the course of time, the list of basic emotions increased and decreased in accordance with the theories (approaches) applied by scholars. Despite such indefiniteness, the majority of scholars agree that the basic emotions are the foundation for shaping the non-basic (secondary, derivative) ones. It means that various combinations of basic emotions as a result of their permanent interaction, their "overlapping", enhance the emergence of more complex emotions (Levenson 2011). The number of the latter has not been determined either (Cowen & Keltner 2017). Combined (social) emotions differ, as a rule, on the interpersonal level, as they emerge under socio-cultural factors. Differences on the interpersonal level cause differences in the perception of this or that social emotion on the level of a certain group (collective), then on the intercultural level.

In the Intergroup Emotions Theory, the emotion of gloating is considered relevant to different groups (collective, subculture, etc.) as fear, anxiety, guilt, and anger (Smith et al. 2007). It is logically explained by the fact that gloating, judging from its inner form in various languages, emerges as a result of two basic emotions "intermingling" with one another, i.e. malice (as psychologists claim, the basic emotion is anger, not malice, though malice is a less intensive expression of anger) and joy. Researchers, having studied the nature of gloating for a while, have concluded that it is activated mostly by the following three factors: dignity, envy, and self-perfection (see, e.g., Van Dijk et al. 2011). It means that gloating may be "provoked" by the emotions (envy), feelings (dignity), and personal traits of an individual (striving for self-perfection), as gloating may be an emotion, a feeling, and a personal trait, simultaneously.

In the "emotional mosaic", the connection of gloating and envy is of special importance. Psychologists even think that it is envy that activates gloating (Smith et al.

2009: 539). It should also be emphasized that we speak not only about envy, but also about jealousy as a related emotion. An individual needs to transfer from envy (jealousy) to gloating to get a relief from the emotional tension as a result of the transformation of a painful social comparison into a more acceptable, more positive social comparison (Smith et al. 1996; Van Dijk et al. 2006).

It is remarkable that gloating may have a positive – stimulating – aspect, enhancing human progress. It is accounted for by the fact that gloating as well as envy, greed, jealousy, and some other negative emotions (see, e.g., about pride: Мизин 2018: 11) activates a different – mostly negative – side of the emotional world of a person, stimulating defensive behaviour on behalf of an individual – passive or active. Being passive – reserved – often results in the negative emotion "ruining" the person from the inside, while being active may be either destructive or competitive: the ruining activity may be directed at a physical annulment of external irritants (causing physical pain to a person, or even a murder), whereas the competitive activity is an incentive for activating an internal potential of a person with the purpose of improving his/her social status or social role.

In this context, a stimulating nature of gloating is of a more passive-observing character, as it does not bear direct threats from the subject to the object of gloating, considering its pending character: it is activated only if the object of gloating suffers from material losses, poor health, a lowered social status, some bad luck, or accident. At the same time, gloating is characterized by compensation, which may provoke either the stimulating or the competitive function. The latter is usually positive for individuals as well as for their environment. In the functions of compensation and competition psychologists see the nature of gloating through the lenses of the antagonistic game "zero-sum" introduced in the middle of the 20th century (von Newmann & Morgenstern 1944). Its nature lies in the fact that "their" victory (good luck) vs. failure (bad luck) are transformed completely into "our" victory (good luck) vs. failure (bad luck), therefore gloating can always be found in sports competitions.

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As soon as a person is inherently a part of a collective, victory vs. failure of "others" can activate gloating not only for oneself, but also for the group a person identifies him- / herself with (see, e.g., Reid & Hogg 2005). Such gloating is experienced at both intra- and intercultural levels in sports, politics, business, where the failure of "their" rival team evokes joy for "ours", which is proven by numerous examples:

(4) Eng. *Strangely, the match is never mentioned, as if a spot of gloating over an English rugby victory might be construed as bad form*;

(5) Ger. *In Irland herrscht nach der französischen Blamage Schadenfreude* – [*After the French failed, Ireland is overwhelmed with gloating*];

(6) Ukr. *Не повинно залишатися місця зловтісі, коли здійснюються напади на редакції "не своїх" газет або телеканалів* – [*No gloating is acceptable when our paper is attacked by "their" papers and television channels*];

(7) Rus. *У американцев чувствуется некое злорадство по поводу удорожания евро* – [*Americans are somewhat gloating about the euro getting more expensive*].

4.2.2 The influence of ethno- and socio-cultural factors on the perception of gloating by different linguo-cultures

The assumption about the domination of this or that emotion in different collectives (from family community to ethnos) is methodologically justified by taking into account the fact that the emotions, which predominate in the individual emotional world under the influence of some individual and socio-cultural factors, can transform not only into corresponding emotional states or feelings, but can also be fixed as national features of character. Therefore, if certain emotions dominate among most members of a collective, it creates a fragment of the emotional perception of the surrounding world by a certain language ethnos, which makes it possible to speak about fixing this emotion as a (national) character feature of the whole ethnos. It is clear that if such features change, it can be usually caused by a change of values, which can be observed at each stage of an ethnos's development. The latter is continuously affected by socio-historical and socio-cultural factors.

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"Fluctuations" of this or that emotion within the scale of "positive – negative" are possible due to the following specific aspect of human emotional organization: each positive emotion is opposed to a negative one, and vice versa. It is important to stress that the inner (emotional) world of a person permanently strives for the balance of the scale. Thus, empathy implying sympathizing with someone else's emotions, especially those of relatives (De Waal 2008), has the polar pair representation: sympathy – envy, co-joy – gloating. Such organization of the human emotional world lies of ist nature, as negative emotions are reactions to external irritants threatening a human's "ego" or even his/her very existence. These emotional reactions once helped to survive during the primeval period, and they still help a modern human to earn one's unique status in the society.

4.3 Common and distinct senses of the concept SCHADENFREUDE compared to A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО: Corpus-based approach

In order to describe the linguo-cultural concepts and reveal their culture-determined senses (alongside the scholarly perspectives on the nature of gloating analyzed above), it is necessary to study a "naive", non-scientific perception of the emotion of gloating. It involves studying the ideas associated with this emotion formed by a certain language ethnos in the process of its development. Traditional ideas are usually fixed in phraseology, for instance, and it is necessary to carry out contrastive translation analysis of the concordance fragments, built automatically on the basis of the word-requests *Schadenfreude* / *gloat* / *зловтіха* (*злорадість*) / *злорадство* and their derivatives to reveal the relevant senses of the concepts, namely Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО, in the contrasted linguo-cultures.

4.3.1 Common senses

In the "naive" perception of the contrasted linguo-cultures, gloating mostly arises on the grounds of social injustice (social hierarchy, social status, etc.) or excellency / primacy / successfulness / advantage (personal traits, physical characteristics, etc.) of other members of a certain human community (family, social group, subculture, etc.), which activates envy, jealousy, arrogance, disgust, and the like. These are the emotions that accompany gloating, stress the negativity and amorality of the latter, e.g.,

(8) Eng. *Francis decided that Lacuna angry was almost preferable to Lacuna gloating*;

(9) Ger. *In der SPD sprechen sie über Scholz in einer Mischung aus Ärger, Frust und Schadenfreude* – [*SDP speak of Scholz with mixed emotions of anger, frustration, and gloating*];

(10) Ukr. *Не всі злорадники усвідомлюють, що за кожним випадком зловтіхи – біль і страждання жертви* – [*Not all gloaters realize that each time they gloat it causes the victim to go through pain and sufferings*];

(11) Rus. *Том факт, что Олег приехал "с самой Москвы", у новых сотрудников вызвал лишь пошлое и обидное злорадство* – [*The fact that Oleg came "from as far as Moscow" evoked only vulgar and offensive gloating on behalf of the new employees*].

Gloating divides the world into "us" and "them", as this emotion is usually ascribed to someone who is among "them" (neighbours, guests, enemies, rivals, and the like). At the same time, they are reluctant to admit their own gloating, so it is often concealed and even struggled with, e.g.,

(12) Eng. *It's a time to get together with friends and family and gloat in their faces when your team beats theirs*;

(13) Ger. *In den Augen der anderen Gäste bemerkt Lindner Schadenfreude* – [*Lindner noticed gloating in the eyes of the other guests*];

(14) Ukr. *Розумієте, я ж насправді не вмію і не хочу зловтішатися на темі армії, це для мене неможливо* – [*You see, I am not able to gloat about the army issue, and do not want to, it is impossible for me*];

(15) Rus. *В моем характере нет таких черт как злорадство, зависть* – [*I do not have such traits of character as gloating, envy*].

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It is remarkable that not only scientific conclusions, but also "naive" ideas about gloating emphasize its close connection to envy, e.g.,

(16) Eng.: *You gloat because of your envy*;

(17) Ger. *So unverhohlen hatte ich nie Neid und Schadenfreude aufeinanderprallen sehen wie hier* – [*I had never seen jealousy and gloating clash as blatantly as here*];

(18) Ukr. *…а далі все частіше визиратиме супутниця заздрості – зловтіха* – [*…and later the envy's companion – gloating – will show up more and more*];

(19) Rus. *...и развивать не какие попало чувства, а только те, которые возвышают человека, а не разрушают его, как, скажем, зависть или злорадство* – [*...and develop only those feelings that make somebody a better person instead of contributing to random feelings that ruin him/her, such as envy or gloating*].

Together with envy, gloating manifests its destructive nature by either "ruining" a person's spirit or pushing him/her to aggressive behaviour and even violence. However, as distinct from "black" envy, which is a suffering without hope for the better, gloating may be not so painful for an individual, as it may help the gloating person consider that the other has greater financial problems, health issues, a lower level of intellect, etc. So the emotion of gloating is at the same time joy for the person who can make peace with him-/herself, which makes gloating different from envy, e.g.,

(20) Eng. *...common faces, glowing with common avarice, indulging the common pleasure of gloating at the latecomers' "despair"*;

(21) Ger. *Wer die Feministinnen noch nie mochte, kann sich jetzt angesichts der gefährlichen neuen Weltlage noch eine Weile lang mit Schadenfreude trösten* – [*Those who do not bear feminists can enjoy gloating, taking into account the dangerous situation in the world*];

(22) Ukr. *Ціле його роздразнене нутро зворохобилося, але заразом відчув він велике вдоволення і несказанну злорадість* – [*His whole irritated inner self was boiling, but he immediately felt a great satisfaction and an immense gloat*];

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(23) Rus. *Воспоминание о лицах сотрудников, на которых сперва расцвело злорадство, а потом проступило удовлетворение* – [*The memories about the faces of workmates which first shone with gloating and then showed some satisfaction*].

Such an emotional "comfort" of gloating results in the fact that it may be a transformer of a strong negative emotional tension into a milder strain, e.g.,

(24) Rus. *…они трансформируют свой страх в злорадство, а злорадство – в привычные апокалиптические образы* – [*…they transform their fear into gloating and the gloating into regular apocalyptic images*].

Gloating, similarly to a number of other emotions, has distinct expressions (mimics, look, etc.); therefore, it can be easily identified in the face of a gloating person and is sometimes difficult to conceal, e.g.,

(25) Eng. *He glanced at it, then at Michael, with a gloating expression*;

(26) Ger. *Er bot ihr (mit sichtlicher Schadenfreude) eine Kopie des Labour-Wahlprogramms an* – [*He proposed (with a noticeable gloat) a copy of the Labourites' election programme to her*];

(27) Ukr. *В Москві ж рішення альянсу про відновлення політичних контактів у рамках Ради Росія – НАТО коментували з неприхованою зловтіхою* – [*It was with an unconcealed gloat that Moscow commented on the decision of the Alliance to restore political contacts within the Russia – NATO Council*];

(28) Rus. *На лице его было написано нескрываемое злорадство* – [*There was an unconcealed gloat written in his face*].

Gloating can be expressed in the voice, a special look and laugh (gloating grin), e.g.,

(29) Eng. *The last he saw was a gloat in his sibling's eyes…*;

(30) Ger. *Ich glaubte zuerst, in seiner Stimme Schadenfreude zu hören* – [*First, I expected to hear some gloat in his voice*];

(31) Ukr. *Гучна заява української влади ... викликала злорадний сміх…* – [*The hot air statement of the Ukrainian government ... caused a gloating laugh…*];

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(32) Rus. *Ну, а как известно, самый искренний смех – это злорадостный* – [*As we all know, the most sincere laughter is that of gloating*].

Emotions are known to "fill in" a person. It is the reason why gloating is associated with fluids or gases, e.g.,

(33) Ger. *Gigabyteweise Schadenfreude ergoss sich im Internet über Ronaldo* – [*Gigabytes of gloating poured on Ronaldo on the Internet*];

(34) Ukr. *Її усмішка і вся ця "поза" була сповнена такої зловтіхи...* – [*Her smile and all this "posture" were full of gloating…*];

(35) Rus. *Этот учитель полон злорадства* – [*The teacher is full of gloating*].

For Ukrainians and Russians, gloating may be personified, being pictured as an evil creature which settles in the heart or soul, e.g.,

(36) Ukr. *...з таких ось моментів починається ваша велика біда: в глибині вашого серця поселяється злорадість* – [*…moments as these are the beginning of your big trouble: a gloat settles deep in your heart*];

(37) Rus. *И вместо сочувствия лезет из души какое-то мерзкое злорадство* – [*Instead of sympathy, a disgusting gloat is crawling out of your soul*].

Another common feature of the linguo-cultures under contrastive analysis is an idea that gloating is actively spread by mass media products, first of all by gloating news. Mass media may activate this emotion on purpose in some of their audience, e.g.,

(38) Eng. *I do not appreciate all the gloating done by friends and press people…*;

(39) Ger. *Den Medien ist nicht selten Schadenfreude anzumerken…* – [*Gloating can often be observed in the mass media…*];

(40) Ukr. *...про що з виразною зловтіхою писали ЗМІ…* – [*…which was described with a gloat in mass media…*];

(41) Rus. *Черта, которой у киргизов раньше не было: злорадство, которое им навязала сегодняшняя киргизская пресса* – [*The trait the Kyrgyz did not use to have is gloating, which has been imposed on them by today's Kyrgyz press*].

4.3.2 Diverse senses

4.3.2.1 The Anglo-Saxon concept of GLOAT

The concept has not lost its primary etymological motive "mocking / insincere stare at someone", which makes it distinct from the German concept of SCHADENFREUDE, Ukrainian ЗЛОВТІХА and Russian ЗЛОРАДСТВО, e.g.,

(42) *...now a queue of men was gloating over her nudity through the open door*.

Apparently, it influenced the relevance of the Anglo-Saxon association of gloating with a facial expression, e.g.,

(43) *I was sure he had had a gloating look in his eyes when he found out I had been robbed*.

It is remarkable that the etymological motive of a "curved grin" has also been preserved, e.g.,

(44) *...and I hoped I would never again see such a cold and gloating smile as she was smiling at me*.

The linguo-cultural specifics can be traced to the objectivation of the concept GLOAT with the help of the phrase *a good gloat* meaning that those who lose or fail deserve mocking with delight, e.g.,

(45) *...that the winners should have a good gloat*;

(46) *I rang her up to tell her that I would join her for a good gloat*.

Formally, the analogue of this phrase – *gute Schadenfreude* – may be found in German, e.g.,

(47) *Wenn die ganze Welt gegen einen zu sein scheint, hilft manchmal nur noch die gute alte Schadenfreude* – [*When the whole world seems to be against somebody, what can help a little is a good old-fashioned gloat*].

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However, it is just one version of ironic references to the German proverb *Schadenfreude ist die reinste Freude* (lit. Gloating is the only genuine joy) (Duden 1992: 610), e.g.,

(48) *Manchmal ist Schadenfreude wirklich die schönste Freude* – [*Sometimes gloating is really the best joy*].

The analysis of concordance fragments revealed the fact that the pleasure from gloating can often be found among Anglo-Saxons (107 examples in 863 concordance fragments BNC + COCA (12.3%)), e.g.,

(49) *He takes a rather gloating pleasure in setting her beside Kee…*;

(50) *It is always enjoyable to gloat over the agonizing of the high-minded… .*

The concept GLOAT differentiates between the sense of an exquisite gloat and that of humiliating the opponent, e.g.,

(51) *...Jeffrey Bartholet, who found it impossible to decide whether he wanted to adopt a patronizing sneer or just indulge in some good old fashioned gloating.*

4.3.2.2 The German concept of SCHADENFREUDE

The representatives of the German-speaking nation do not assume that gloating is an emotion to be proud of (154 examples in 978 concordance fragments DWDS + LLC (15.7%)), e.g.,

(52) *Die Isländer brauchen Charakterzüge ... wie die hässliche Schadenfreude und Häme und den deutschen unüberwindbaren Wunsch, möglichst billig (oder für umsonst) an Nachbars Eigentum zu kommen* – [*The Icelanders need traits of character ... such as terrible gloating and acidity, as well as the German insatiable desire to purchase a neighbour's property at the lowest price (or for free)*].

However, the language objectivation of the concept SCHADENFREUDE proves that gloating may be perceived by Germans more naturally as a reaction of empathy. It also contains some distinctly positive (stimulating) senses, e.g.,

(53) *Schadenfreude ist bekanntlich oft nicht die unangenehmste Freude* – [*Gloating is known to be not the most unpleasant joy*];

(54) *Schadenfreude ist noch immer ein kräftiger Motor menschlicher Schaffenskraft* – [*Gloating is still a powerful driver of creative forces*];

(55) *Schadenfreude tut eben wirklich gut* – [*Gloating really does good*].

Most likely, the success of others, their being supreme or victorious may stimulate the life potential (intellectual or physical activity) of a gloating person. One can admit that the positive side of the German gloating is connected with one of the main properties of the German national character, i.e. the pressing need for perfection (Deutschland in den Augen der Welt 2015: 25). This need activates the energy of an individual to overcome the other members of the collective who are supreme (victorious) by perfecting his/her inner potential – physical, intellectual, creative, etc. Therefore, the German emotion of gloating is not only "destructive": a representative of the German linguo-culture does not wait for the moment when the object of gloating fails or has some troubles. On the contrary, someone else being supreme (victorious) is an incentive for a German to work more, study more, be more self-organized, which makes it possible for him/her to become supreme (victorious) compared to the object of gloating. This is the reason why Germans believe that a little gloating will not do any harm, e.g.,

(56) *Ein wenig Schadenfreude tut durchaus gut – gönnen Sie sich einfach auch ein bisschen was davon!* – [*A little gloating does only good, just allow yourself to have some!*].

4.3.2.3 The Ukrainian concept of ЗЛОВТІХА

The analysis of the actual material revealed that the Ukrainian linguo-society's attitude towards gloating is mostly negative: it is condemned while its immoral nature is emphasized, e.g.,

(57) *Зловтіха завжди швидко змінювалася на роздратування, потім переходила в справжню лють* – [*Gloating always changed to irritation, then transformed into real fury*];

(58) *У моїй системі цінностей радіти тому, що у людини згорів будинок – зловтіха, яка породжує вседозволеність* – [*In my system of values, to be happy that someone else's house burnt down is the gloating, which causes anarchy*].

Specific here is the fact that gloating destroys not only the personality but equally the statehood. The latter is a threat to the whole process of the Ukrainian state-formation, as the whole nation (society) may act as gloaters, with the politicians being the object of their gloating, or vice versa, e.g.,

(59) *Емоційну забарвленість коментарів суспільства: злорадство, – в основному. І реакцію суспільства на коментарі влади – іронія, знущання, і те ж злорадство* – [*The emotional colouring of the society's comments is mostly gloating. The society's reaction to the government's comments is irony, acidity and gloating, again*].

Gloating in the Ukrainian political environment is considered to be extremely dangerous, e.g.,

(60) *І сьогодні нам треба не переживати чи зловтішатися щодо нашого спільного майбутнього, а сісти за стіл переговорів – зрозуміло, на рівні експертів, а не політиканів* – [*Today, we do not need to be anxious or gloat about our common future, but discuss it at the round table – of experts, not politicos, of course*].

It can be accounted for by the fact that it is of high importance to unite the nation, e.g.,

(61) *Я б хотів, щоб усі сьогодні об'єднувалися навколо, а не зловтішалися* – [*I would like everyone to unite around instead of gloating*].

It is all about saving the status of the state, the national values and integrity in terms of the national self-identification. The events of the Russia – Ukraine conflict show that

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the aforementioned may be easily lost. Among the properties of the Ukrainian national character, which disintegrates the Ukrainian community, is gloating, when one thinks of one's compatriots as of "them", not "us". This is the reason why overcoming such gloating is a priority for both the Ukrainian society and the domestic politicians, e.g.,

(62) *Компроміс, який нарешті дозволив би основним політичним партіям виступати єдиним фронтом із захисту інтересів та авторитету країни на міжнародній арені, а не робити дрібні "капості" й не кляузничати одне на одного, зловтішаючись…* – [*The compromise that could at last allow the main political parties to struggle together in order to protect the interests and authority of the country on the international scene instead of playing small "mean tricks" and complaining about each other with a gloat…*].

Let us assume that the background for the emergence of the "state-ruining" senses of the concept ЗЛОВТІХА is the principle, widespread among Ukrainians, expressed in the best way by the proverb *Якщо у мене здохло теля, то нехай у сусіда корова здохне* (lit. If my calf has died, let the neighbour's cow die too) or the curse *Щоб у сусіда хата згоріла!* (lit. Let the neighbour's house burn down!). The gloat in this principle has a distinctly "destructive" character. Ukrainian gloating also activates envy, strengthened by greed and arrogance. This "cocktail" has the same grounds as the phenomenon, which appeared in the late 20th century, called the "українська жаба [translit. *ukrayins'ka zhaba* / Eng. *Ukrainian toad*]" (the word *жаба* means (1) "toad" or (2) "angina pectoris"). All the negative emotions are associated in the naive consciousness with "inflating a toad" and "angina pectoris".

There is also "Russian toad" but the "Ukrainian" one is especially relevant, as this notion has been within the Ukrainian discourse for over two decades. The idiomatic expression that a person is being "choked by a toad" shows all the emotions encapsulated within the notion of the "Ukrainian toad". The "toad", which is "choking" both "us" and "them", is a threat for the Ukrainian society, e.g.,

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(63) *Найбільша наша проблема ... жаба! Величезна українська тварюка, яка задавила мільйони* – [*Our greatest problem is ... the zhaba (toad)! The enormous Ukrainian creature that has choked millions of people*].

It is remarkable that there are monuments to the "Ukrainian toad" in Ukrainian cities. Thus, for instance, in Berdiansk such a monument was opened in 2007: a toad with a cigar, two mobile phones, a press of bank notes, and a massive golden chain sitting on the heads of four people: a man, a woman, an old man, and a child. It is an illustration of the phrase *zhaba chokes* symbolizing the fact that the abovementioned emotions, in particular gloating, are still typical of all the layers of the Ukrainian society.

4.3.2.4 The Russian concept of ЗЛОРАДСТВО

Gloating in the "naive" Russian consciousness is considered to be evil, a sin, a flaw, e.g.,

(64) *Так что грех тому, кто будет злорадствовать по поводу здоровья Плющенко* – [*So he who gloats about Pliushchenko's health commits a sin*].

Russians are not ashamed to ascribe gloating to their compatriots, though they generally tend to relate it to other ethne, e.g.,

(65) *Злорадство свойственно характеру русского человека* – [*Gloating is typical of the Russian character*];

(66) *Пока американцы злорадствовали – российские С-300 в Сирии отразили воздушную атаку Израиля* – [*While Americans were gloating, the Russian C-300 repelled Israel's air attack in Syria*].

It is remarkable that, unlike the "state-ruining" gloating of Ukrainians, for Russians this emotion performs the opposite socio-cultural "state-uniting" function, which manifests itself in deep nationwide gloating, e.g.,

(67) *Вот где "широкая русская душа ... может разойтись в своем глубоком злорадстве"* – [*Here is where the "broad Russian soul ... can enjoy its deep gloat"*].

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This gloating can be defined as a "stapling" or "state-uniting" within the notion of "spiritual bonds" (ideological rules determining traditional Russian values), now popular in the Russian society. The "spiritual bonds" gloating unites representatives of the Russian linguo-culture in their opposition to real and fictitious enemies, e.g.,

(68) *Злоба, зависть и злорадство – три источника и три составные части русского патриотизма* – [*Malice, envy, and gloating are three sources and three constituent parts of the Russian patriotism*];

(69) *Своим злорадством по поводу катастроф в других странах ... россияне поставили себя в стороне от планеты всей, ибо это злорадство – беспрецедентно* – [*By their gloating about the catastrophes in other countries ... Russians have separated themselves from the rest of the globe, as their gloating is unprecedented*].

Russians are also prone to the so-called "Robin Hood" gloating, which is not considered immoral though, e.g.,

(70) *Вор он и есть вор, будь это карманник в метро или мудрый хакер. Впрочем, реакция-злорадство на то, как обворовали богатых, нормальна* – [*A thief is a thief, no matter whether he is a pickpocket on an underground train or a wise hacker. Anyway, it is alright to gloat when the rich are robbed*].

So, the contrastive translation study of the concordance fragments of the word-requests in question reveals that the concepts analyzed, namely Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО, have a number of common senses: (1) 'envy'; (2) 'jealousy'; (3) 'arrogance'; (4) 'malice'; (5) 'hatred'; (6) 'suffering'; (7) 'social inequality'; (8) 'supremacy'; (9) 'mocking'; (10) 'insincerity', and so on. On the background of these cross-cultural universal features are discovered some ethnically marked senses of the concepts in question, which make it possible to single out the following ethnically specific types of gloating: (1) "stimulating" for Germans, (2) "exquisitely ruining" for nglo-Saxons, (3) "state-ruining" for Ukrainians, and (4) "state-uniting (through "spiritual bonds")" for Russians (see Table 1).

Table 1. The quantitative indicator of ethno-specific types of gloat

Type of ethno-specific of gloat	**Corpus**	**Number of the concordance fragments**	**%**
A.-S. "exquisitely ruining"	BNC + COCA	113	13.1
Ger. "stimulating"	DWDS + LCC	187	19.1
Ukr. "state-ruining"	CUL + LP	59	14.8
Rus. "stapling"	RNC	72	16.8

4.3.3 Verifying the results of the contrastive translation study of the concordance fragments of the word-requests based on the co-occurrent profile data

It is methodologically justified to confirm the results of the above analysis by means of the cooccurrent profile data of the lemmas *Schadenfreude* / *gloat* / *зловтіха* / *злорадство*. The paper has not studied all the data provided by the cooccurrent profiles (cooccurrent-like forms, co-occurrences, left-hand and right-hand collocations, etc.), but only the most frequent co-occurrences (words that commonly occur in both vertical and horizontal contexts). The priority is given to nominal lemmas (tokens) denoting emotions or existential abstract notions (see Table 2). It is accounted for by the fact that these lemmas are simultaneously the names of the concepts that closely correlate with the concepts under study, i.e. Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО, serving as their main representatives.

Table 2. The most frequent noun co-occurrences of the Ger. *Schadenfreude*, Eng. *gloat*, Ukr. *зловтіха*, and Rus. *злорадство* lemmas (according to LLC corpus)

Schadenfreude	**gloat**	**зловтіха**	**злорадство**
1. Freude [joy] (284) 2. Häme [acidity] (281) 3. Neid [envy] (129) 4. Spott [mocking] (113) 5. Bosheit [malice] (83) 6. Mitleid [sympathy] (81)	1. victory (126) 2. arrogance (69) 3. glee (66) 4. enemy (40) 5. win (40) 6. Trump (37) 7. defeat (32) 8. brag (30) 9. bad luck (29) 10. media (29) 11. success (27)	1. заздрість [envy] (39) 2. торжество [triumph] (36) 3. жорстокість [cruelty] (32) 4. радість [joy] (29) 5. співчуття [sympathy] (27) 6. невдача [bad luck] (27)	1. зависть [envy] (165) 2. злоба [malice] (77) 3. сочувствие [sympathy] (63) 4. ненависть [hatred] (63) 5. смех [laughter] (60) 6. равнодушие [indifference] (42)

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7. Lachen [laughter] (60) 8. Fremdschämen [awkwardness about others] (59) 9. Genugtuung [pleasure] (58) 10. Rechthaberei [obstinacy] (42) 11. Voyeurismus [voyeurism] (37) 12. Heiterkeit [fun] (33) 13. Mißgunst [unfriendliness] (29) 14. Hohn [mockery; scorn] (24) 15. Witz [joke] (21)	12. failure (26) 13. mourn (26) 14. pleasure (25) 15. revel (23)	7. зневага [disrespect] (24) 8. ненависть [hatred] (23) 9. серце [heart] (23) 10. життя [life] (22) 11. задоволення [pleasure] (21) 12. горе [grief] (21) 13. насмішка [mockery] (21) 14. злість [malice] (20) 15. іронія [irony] (20)	7. радость [joy] (35) 8. возмущение [indignation] (31) 9. ирония [irony] (31) 10. сослуживец [workmate] (28) 11. удивление [surprise] (28) 12. насмешка [mockery] (25) 13. огорчение [disappointment] (21) 14. удовольствие [pleasure] (19) 15. неудача [bad luck] (18)

The table shows that the emotion of gloating, despite its universal character, has considerable cross-cultural differences. The Anglo-Saxon linguo-culture stands out in that even the connection between gloating and envy is not relevant any more.

In the four contrasted languages, there are just 20% of matches for the 15 most frequent co-occurrences (the lemmas to denote "mocking", "bad luck", and "pleasure"), while comparing three languages – German, Ukrainian, and Russian – we find as many as 53.3% of matches (most likely, it can be accounted for by their common etymological paths and a certain number of similarities of the gloating nomination, in terms of form and content). It is remarkable that even in closely related linguo-societies – Ukrainian and Russian – gloating is perceived differently (40% of differences). It can be explained by a considerable ethno- and socio-cultural influence on the perception of this social emotion in different linguo-cultures.

In general, the aforesaid data give an indirect confirmation of the results obtained by the contrastive translation analysis of the concordance fragments for the word-requests *Schadenfreude* / *gloat* / *зловтіха* (*злорадість*) / *злорадство* and their derivatives. Thus, the Anglo-Saxon gloating is activated by someone's victory or failure, which

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causes the opponent's satisfaction by provoking a gloating laughter, mocking, irony, or sadness. Malicious mockery is the reason for arrogance and loftiness of another person, so English-speakers now have an association of this emotion with Donald Trump who is well-known for exquisitely destructive gloating over his opponents. On the contrary, Germans consider envy to be the main factor provoking gloating. Still, it does not make the German gloating absolutely harmless, as it usually gives delight and is accompanied by joy, laughter, jokes, mocking, etc. Specifically German is the association of gloating with voyeurism. Most likely, this association is based on the principle of hidden observation of other people from the same community, characteristic of both gloating and voyeurism. It is remarkable that for Ukrainians and Russians, as distinct from Anglo-Saxons and Germans, gloating is first of all associated with envy (see Table 2). Here the question is about the "black" envy provoking hatred, cruelty, malice, and so on. Therefore, gloating is perceived much more negatively by Ukrainians and Russians than by Anglo-Saxons and Germans, despite its transforming function of turning the negative emotional tension of a person into a more positive state.

Having analyzed the most frequent co-occurrences, we determined the closest correlating concepts in each of the contrasted linguo-societies (see Table 2): Ger. SCHADENFREUDE → FREUDE [joy], HÄME [acidity; malice]; A.-S. GLOAT → VICTORY, ARROGANCE; Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА → ЗАЗДРІСТЬ [envy], ТОРЖЕСТВО [triumph]; Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО → ЗАВИСТЬ [envy], ЗЛОБА [malice]. These correlating concepts clearly demonstrate the cross-cultural differences in the nature of gloating and the factors activating it in the linguo-cultures under analysis.

5. Conclusions

The paper tests the corpus-based methods as one of the stages of a contrastive linguo-cultural study of the concept SCHADENFREUDE. These methods involved three research procedures: 1) identifying the etymological roots of the names of gloating in several Romance, Germanic, and Slavic languages; 2) revealing the relevant senses of the concepts under study, i.e. Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО, by means of contrastive translation analysis of the concordance fragments, automatically formed for word-requests; 3) verifying the results of the contrastive translation study of the word-request concordance fragments based on the data of other cooccurrent profiles.

The application of these research procedures has led us to the following conclusions:
1) the nominations of the emotion of gloating expanded within the European linguo-cultural area in the two ways called "Byzantine" and "Roman". German, Ukrainian, and Russian names of gloating followed the "Byzantine" path (compounds consisting of the components denoting anger (or sorrow, loss) and joy). On the other hand, the English name of this emotion is of Germanic origin (with a possible inconsiderable influence of Romance languages), which creates a sharp contrast with German. This must have served as the basis for an Anglo-Saxon heterostereotype about Germans as a particularly gloating nation;
2) the Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО concepts have both common (universal) and specific (ethno- and socio-cultural) senses. The latter make it possible to single out the following ethno-specific types of gloating, applicable to the contrasted linguo-cultures: "stimulating" (Germans), "exquisitely destructive" (Anglo-Saxons), "state-ruining" (Ukrainians), and "state-uniting" (Russians);
3) the Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО concepts have close connections with different concepts in the linguo-societies under consideration (German – FREUDE, HÄME; Anglo-Saxon – VICTORY, ARROGANCE; Ukrainian – ЗАЗДРІСТЬ, ТОРЖЕСТВО; Russian – ЗАВИСТЬ, ЗЛОБА), which shows noticeable cross-cultural differences in the perception of the emotion of gloating.

Having tested the methodology, we have revealed that the heterostereotype about a special tendency to gloating in the German linguo-culture does not have objective grounds, and the universal emotion of gloating has its ethno- and socio-cultural characteristics in the German, Anglo-Saxon, Ukrainian, and Russian linguo-societies, which can be discovered by cross-cultural analysis. These conclusions give grounds to suggest that the perception and, to a lesser extent, the expression, of social emotions in a language ethnos is partially determined by the psychological makeup of the ethnos, i.e. its national traits of character.

Notes and abbreviations

All the examples are borrowed from the following corpora:

1) English: BNC, COCA;

2) German: DWDS, LCC;

3) Ukrainian: CUL, LP;

4) Russian: RNC.

All the translations of the examples have been performed by the authors.

List of abbreviations

БТСРЯ – Большой толковый словарь русского языка

ЕСУМ – Етимологічний словник української мови

СУМ – Словник української мови

A.-S. – Anglo-Saxon

Belarus. – Belarussian

BNC – British national corpus

COCA – Corpus of contemporary American English

CUL – Corpus of the Ukrainian language

DDLLE – Diccionario de la lengua española

DKW – Der kleine Wahrig. Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache

DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache

Ger. – German

Lat. – Latin

LCC – Leipzig corpora collection

LP – Linguistic portal

NWDTEL – New Webster's dictionary and thesaurus of the English language

RHWUD – Random house Webster's unabridged dictionary

RNC – Russian national corpus

Rus. – Russian

Ukr. – Ukrainian

VOL – Vocabolario on line

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Résumé

The paper tests the corpus-based method as one of the stages of a contrastive linguo-cultural study of the German linguo-cultural concept SCHADENFREUDE. The first research procedure of the method is the etymological analysis, which reveals that the nominations of the emotion of gloating expanded within the European linguo-cultural area in two ways, i.e. the "Byzantine" and "Roman" paths. German, Ukrainian, and Russian names of gloating distinctly took the "Byzantine" path. The British nomination of gloating, which has Germanic roots, stands in contrast with German. This creates a foundation for Anglo-Saxons to form the heterostereotypical idea about Germans tending to gloat more than other nations. The second research procedure, based on the data of lingual corpora, made it possible to determine that the Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО concepts have common (universal) and specific (ethno- and socio-cultural) senses. Having analyzed the latter, we have singled out the following ethno-specific types of gloating: "stimulating" (Germans), "exquisitely destructive" (Anglo-Saxons), "state-ruining" (Ukrainians), and "state-uniting" (Russians). The third research procedure includes creating the cooccurrent profiles of the word-requests, which helped identify the close correlation of the concepts that have been determined in each of the contrasted linguo-societies with the concepts in question: SCHADENFREUDE, GLOAT, ЗЛОВТІХА, and ЗЛОРАДСТВО. The correlating concepts show a cross-cultural contrast in the ideas about the nature of gloating and the factors activating it in the linguo-cultures under contrastive analysis.

Having tested the method, we revealed that the heterostereotype about Germans being especially prone to gloating is not justified, while the universal emotion of gloating has its ethno- and socio-cultural characteristics in the German, Anglo-Saxon, Ukrainian, and Russian linguo-societies. These conclusions give grounds to suggest that the perception and, to a lesser extent, the expression, of social emotions in a language ethnos is partially determined–by the psychological makeup of the ethnos, i.e. its national traits of character.

Key words: gloat, emotion, linguo-cultural concept, contrastive linguoculturology, corpus-based method.

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Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

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COLOURFUL MOSAIC OF IMAGES AND CHARACTERS IN THE WORKS OF IRIS MURDOCH

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Abstract: Building upon research into such physical properties of colour as value, chroma, and hue, the author demonstrates how focal and subsidiary colours influence the plot development and text perception. Like eye-catching threads, colours weave into the texture of a work of fiction, creating rich images and characters. Colour terms play a special role in decoding the author's message. The technique of colour visualization offered by the author is original and offers promising directions for further investigations.

Key words: colour properties, colour terms, focal colours, hyponym, protagonist, antagonist, 'colour portrait' of the character.

Color is the place where our brain and the universe meet.
(Paul Klee)

1. Introduction

Text analysis, text interpretation, cognitive poetics, stylistics of decoding are boundless areas of study attracting the attention of linguists all over the world. There are numerous definitions of the text and various approaches to its study (Давидюк 2015; Залевская

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2001; Barthes 1975; Galperin 1981; Gerke 2010; Halliday & Webster 2014; Leech & Short 2007; Savchuk 2018; Turayeva 1986; Tykhomyrova 2018). Notwithstanding a number of serious publications which have appeared recently (Кухаренко 2018; Никитина 2019; Самохина & Рыжкова 2017; Чернявская 2016), there still is ample room for further research, and technical innovations definitely open up new perspectives of text analysis that provide for deeper penetration into its vast expanse.

My research is based on the analysis of colour terms (CTs) functioning in the works of Iris Murdoch who created a specific, very complicated world of intellectual prose. Many a time, her novels have been in the focus of scholars' and literary critics' attention. They studied her literary heritage on the whole (Altorf 2008; Browning 2018; Gerstenberger 1975; Heusel 1995); chose only one novel as the object of their research (Korcová 2011; Panasenko & Korcová 2011; Tereshchenko & Tkachuk 2019) or highlighted some aspect in the works of a definite timeslot (Тимонина 2016).

The novels of Iris Murdoch are known to have specific composition, very often due to difficult relations between characters. I would like to state that it is the conflict that triggers the plot development, and this conflict is created by the protagonist(s) and antagonist(s). The author sends a message we have to decode. As Konkov and Mitrofanova explain,

> "*The image becomes a way when it is the embodiment of the author's idea, the one the author invested in the image, creating it. But the author does not formulate this idea in this image, the reader oneself in one's mind should form this idea on the basis of the things depicted*" (Коньков & Митрофанова 2016: 30).

The images created by the author are not always verbal. In the book by Chernyavskaya (Чернявская 2016: 13), one may find a black and white photo of the picture by Carl Buchheister *Komposition Textem*, which can be translated as 'text composition'. The colourful version of this picture looks like this (see Fig. 1):

Figure 1. Carl Buchheister: Komposition Textem (text composition) (Available at: http://radisli-vesper-plus-bernau.de/xx/2-bldungsbits/religion/2-sind-menschen/m-r-prp-2-11.htm)

Chernyavskaya connects this picture with the etymology of the word 'textum'. The word *text* comes from the Latin verb *texō*, *texere*, *textum* (supinum) meaning *to weave*. Its derivatives in English are *textile*, *texture*, and *text*. We can think of texts as unities woven together from different strands or threads. Texts, like textiles, come in different shapes and sizes and have different functions in human life.

If we look at the picture attentively, we will see light and dark, thick and thin lines leading us to the outer space. They may be considered as positive and negative characters (evaluation), cumulative and supporting images; as lines connecting us with other texts (intertextuality); dark dots may symbolize context, light – artistic details, stylistic devices, etc. To sum it up,

"*This visualized example very accurately and clearly highlights the key points that define the scientific discussions today: the text is a meaningful unity, a structured and potentially interpreted whole; the text consists of various elements; the text exists within a certain stable continuous entity as its fragment; the boundaries of the text, its beginning and end, are relative*" (Чернявская 2016: 14).

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This understanding of the text as a well-structured semantic space is in harmony with Nikolayeva's point of view:

"*...Space-text does not appear as linear as it appears in narrative grammar, it is multidimensional. The units of this semantic space are not exactly equal to the units of language... The main decodable meaning of the text <...> is transmitted by some meaningful sense quantum not tied to a linear contact or to the design of grammatical levels. The text turns out to be sewn with these sense overruns*" (Николаева 2000: 418, 436).

Such an understanding of the text canvas can be applied to any literary text, and to a great extent, to the novels of Iris Murdoch, which are "indirect rather than direct expressions of how she understands the world" (Browning 2018: 8).

To my mind, this picture ideally matches the world of characters created by Iris Murdoch. Analyzing female and male characters, who may be antagonists or protagonists, considering moral aspects of the novels describing the battle between the good and the evil, we must always bear in mind symbolic meaning of colours typical of different cultures.

My research addresses the issue of colour names and their shades used by Iris Murdoch in two novels of hers. Before I present my findings, I deem it necessary to dwell in a concise form on the most important data concerning colour.

2. What do we know about colour?

Colour studies embrace different branches of science, and there are many (moreover, too many) interesting publications, the authors of which have contributed to the formation of basic notions and outlined topical problems and methods of their study (Богданова 1999; Герасименко 2010; Matschi 2004; Uberman 2017). Scholars have united their efforts in an attempt to shed light on various aspects of colour description and naming (Фрумкина

1984; Bennett 1988; Biggam & Kay 2006) and worked out various approaches to its study (Kelly & Judd 1976; Panasenko 2019; Panasenko & Korcová 2011; Van Leeuven 2010).

In our previous publication, we focused on the psychology of colour, philosophy of colour, anthropology of colour, neurology and neuropsychology of colour and language of colour (Panasenko & Korcová 2011). Then I concentrated on colour and its properties, colour and psychology, colour and symbolism, and colour and linguistics (Panasenko 2019). Now I want to sum up the properties of colour which are most relevant for this research and connect them with my language material.

1. All the colours have value (light vs. dark or white vs. black), chroma (saturation, purity, strength, intensity), and hue (e.g., the name of the color family: red, yellow, green, cyan, blue, magenta) (Wyler 1992).
2. According to Colour theory, all the colours are divided into chromatic colours and achromatic, i.e. without hue (black, white, and grey). Any color that lacks strong chromatic content is said to be unsaturated, achromatic, near neutral, or neutral. Near neutrals include browns, tans, pastels, and darker colors. Near neutrals can be of any hue or lightness (Ивенс 1964; Munsell 1912).
3. There are eleven focal colours (Berlin & Kay 1969).
4. There is a clear distinction between the acquisition of colour vision and the verbalization of colour vision (Wyler 1992: 43).
5. Psychologists differentiate between 'warm' and 'cold' colours; colours are used in colour therapy (Birren 1961); they greatly influence image perception.
6. Another important feature of CTs is the so called "radicalization", which implies a loss of differentiation and descriptive precision. It means that "widely accepted colour designations, in fact, do not give precise colour of the designated objects: 'white coffee' is not white; to be more precise it is 'brownish' or 'beige', 'white wine' is of a 'yellowish' or 'greenish' colour" (Wyler 1992).

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7. Colours are widely used as symbols (Телицын et al. 2005; Тресиддер 1999; Cirlot 2001; Dictionary of symbolism 2001 [1997]).
8. CTs in the text greatly promote its proper decoding (Panasenko 2019).
9. Functions of CTs in literary texts are different (ibid.); they may be considered as text-forming strategies (Savchuk 2018); when used figuratively, they work as stylistic devices (Uberman 2012; 2013); they are also used to create images (Stashko 2017).

Such are the theoretical basics of my approach to the study of CTs in fiction. Now I will enlarge on them and illustrate them with some examples.

3. Language material and ways of its study

More than ten years ago, together with my Master student Zuzana Korcová, we endeavoured to specify the role of colour terms in a novel of Iris Murdoch and published an article (Panasenko & Korcová 2011). Since then, I have been haunted by the idea to proceed and to analyse other works by this outstanding author. It took me more than three years to revise what we had done and using new computer possibilities to visualize colours in two novels by Iris Murdoch: "The sea, the sea" (hereinafter "The sea", which is 601 pages long) and "The book and the brotherhood" (hereinafter "The book", which comprises 538 pages).

The descriptive analysis was used to form several groups of CTs embracing different aspects:

- **object of description**: colours of human beings (appearance, dress, belongings, emotional state, etc.); nonanthropological objects (nature objects, animals, plants, buildings and their parts, house and its interior);
- **colour properties**: colour value, chroma, and hue;
- **colour function** in the text.

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Due to componential analysis, all CTs were divided into two groups: CTs proper and CTs with unspecified colour meaning. By proper CTs I mean those which are usually called focal colours. Semantic analysis gave me a possibility to present CTs as a lexico-semantic group with a hyperonym denoting a basic colour and its hyponyms, for example, red – pink, rosy, purple, scarlet, etc.; blue – dark blue, indigo, marine blue, etc.

Structural analysis enabled me to single out various types of word groupings, such as simple, derivative, compound, and complex-compound. CTs may also be part of descriptive constructions, like the colour of something, e.g., *green*, *greenish*, *cinnamon-brown*, *greyish brown*, *like ivy*, i.e. dark green.

Contextual analysis was used in the interpretation of the author's message, especially when it concerned artistic detail, like *a faded green* of the rug colour indicating the character's poverty (see example 21 on p. 214). When some colours were used with the purpose of creating images, linguo-stylistic analysis was applied. Most impressive were means of stylistic semasiology with the corresponding function, like metaphor, epithet, simile, figurative periphrasis, etc., e.g., ***yellow air***, ***as pale as a fish*** (about Tamar), ***dark hair****, sleek and glowing* ***like the feathers of an exotic bird*** (about Jean Cambus), ***a black determinist*** (Gerard about Crimond) (examples from "The book").

When all the CTs were sorted, they were grouped on different principles described above. Then with the help of the programme Adobe Photoshop and a set of specific codes, 'colour portraits' have been created. Each colour has a code, like dark blue – #00008b, dark midnight blue – #003366, blue gray – #6699cc, indigo – #4b0082, azure – #f0ffff, etc. (List of colors by name, *s.a.*). The list of other colour codes used in my study can be found in Table 1 in Appendix A.

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To reconstruct the precise colour shade, I use the system of colours used for technical purposes (see Fig. 1 in Appendix B). Modern computer technologies give possibility to precisely present focal and subsidiary colours, taking into account other colour properties mentioned above. Thus, colours used in the figures 2-13 accurately correspond to the CTs used by the author with the purpose to describe characters and their surroundings.

My hypothesis is that the author uses colour terms to make true-to-life descriptions of objects of nature, living beings, and to show conflicting relations between characters, i.e. to create a colourful text mosaic, each segment of which has a definite purpose and quality.

All these approaches contributed to creating 'colour portraits' of protagonists, antagonists, and supporting characters, who are in harmony or in conflict within the fictional narrative and thus form this colourful mosaic, contributing to the colourful texture of the two literary texts.

4. Literary text and important elements of its structure and understanding

If we want to discover the function of CTs in a literary text, we must always keep in mind its elements, which comprise the following ones: the plot (composition, sequence), title, setting, conflict, characters (means of characterization), imagery, artistic details, narrator, narrative method, point of view and author's attitude (means of creating), tone (degree of formality, emotional colouring, attitudinal characteristics), atmosphere, style, message (Рогачевская 2008: 81). All these elements are very important for text interpretation; they are interconnected and interwoven like threads in the texture of a literary work. The role of CTs in their actualization varies, and my aim here is to substantiate their importance by numerous examples. Most important for us are the **setting**, **conflict**, **characters**, **imagery**, **artistic details**, **tone**, **atmosphere**, and **author's message**.

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4.1 The setting in the novels by Iris Murdoch

The setting leads us to the topophone. This term, meaning literary place, was introduced by Bakhtin (1986: 121-122) and was further developed by other scholars (Bemong & Borghart 2010; Panasenko 2018).

If we consider the title of the novel "The sea, the sea", it is obvious that the sea shore is the place where the events unfold, thus the author has to use many adjectives to describe it in calm or stormy weather, at the dawn or sunset (see the detailed description of the sea below). Water is a highly important element of the setting: it is life, it has many symbolic meanings and is associated with the feminine (Davydyuk & Panasenko 2016). Thus, all the possible colours connected with the sea and its attributes (the sky, yellow sand, greenery) are logically expected.

Such a topophone is chosen by the author not at random, as far as "the open space has two directly opposite functions – one of them used more often – to show the greatness of man, even in conditions of hostile element. The second, on the contrary, is to show his weakness in front of unobservable forces" (Кухаренко 2018: 61). The antagonist of the novel "The sea", Charles Arrowby, appeared not to be able to conquer the sea. On the contrary, the sea demonstrated its power and brought not only disillusionment, but even death to Titus, a supporting character. Charles gave up, sold his house and came back to London.

4.2 The conflict in the novels by Iris Murdoch

Conflict and tension are the triggers of the plot development. I would like to state that they are obligatory elements in many of Murdoch's novels. Concerning the two novels under consideration critics say:

"*The sea, the sea" is a beautiful, complex, ironic novel, which confronts our major demons: fear, jealousy, vanity, envy, the pain and confusion of misplaced love, and the impulse to violent action, whether on the battlefield, or in the privacy of the home*" (Burnside 1999: xvi).

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It is a novel about a retired actor and theatre director who is tired of his life in London, which is saturated with love affairs. He buys a house without electricity on the seashore and tries to find peace and comfort to his soul there. His former mistresses bother him with letters and visits, whereas he spends much time by the sea watching its incredible colours and listening to its voice. As far as he is named "one amongst a series of selfish and egoistic leading characters in Murdoch's fiction" (Browning 2018: 95), conflicts are granted. Quite by chance, he meets his former school love and decides to kidnap her from her despotic, to his mind, husband. He is sure that he will make her happy this time, but fails.

The other novel under consideration, "The book and the brotherhood" is classified by literary critics as "expressly political in that the plot centres around a projected text in political theory that is supported financially by a group of friends" (Browning 2018: 139). A group of friends make a fellowship to support David Crimmond, a radical Marxist, who is supposed to write a book. The work moves slowly. David seduces a wife of one of the committee members, and she leaves her husband. When the book is completed and ready for publishing, all of a sudden David offers his mistress Jean Cambus to commit suicide as the proof of her love. The author resorts to defeated expectancy here in order to attract the reader's attention to the eccentricity of his behaviour and uses a specific set of colours (see Fig. 2).

4.3 Characters in the novels by Iris Murdoch

Together with the author, time, and space, **characters** are the basic constituent of literary prosaic text creation and existence (Кухаренко 2018: 12). From the moral point of view, the characters in a book or play are considered to be positive or negative. Thus, depending on the role played by the person in the text, a character can be main/major or supporting/minor. Among the main characters, one can name a hero/heroine, a protagonist and an antagonist, a character or a group of characters who cause(s) the conflict for the

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protagonist. A character in a story is not necessarily a person, but can also be an animal, a non-human being, a creature, or a thing (Character, *s.a.*).

If we try to apply this classification to the novels under consideration, Charles Arrowby ("The sea") and David Crimond ("The book") are obvious antagonists. Thus in their portrayal, dark shades prevail (see Fig. 2).

Figure 2. Colour terms creating the image of David Crimond ("The book").

As can be seen in Figure 2, the prevalent colours and their shades are red and black. Red is associated with the colour of David Crimond's hair:

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(1) "*His hair, narrowly wavy and longish, once* ***a flaming red now a faded orange,*** *adhered closely to his head, no flying locks. His light blue eyes did not follow his partner, nor did they, when he faced her, change their cold even grim expression*" ("The book", p. 33).

Rose Curtland perceived Crimond as something black and lethal. Gerard Hernshaw called him a black determinist. His home is described as dark. Colour value is connected with dark vs. light, which is symbolically associated with the battle of good and evil. Light is very important for Iris Murdoch (Тимонина 2016), whose moral and philosophical principles found their reflection in her works.

Another antagonist, Charles Arrowby ("The sea") is also described in dark colours: the house he bought has no electricity, it is very dark there most of the time, but more interesting are the examples where dark colours are used metaphorically, creating the image of misery, misfortune, and grief:
(2) "*I record these details, which I recall so clearly, because they are the very image of sorrow; things seen which might have given pleasure, but could not. I saw through* ***a black veil of misery and remorse and indecision and fear****; and there was a feeling as if I carried a small leaden coffin in the place of my heart*" ("The sea", p. 430).

To the protagonists of "The sea" belong James Arrowby, Charles' cousin, Mary Hartley Fitch, Charles' school love, and his women – Lizzie Scherer and Rosina Vamburgh. Minor characters are Benjamin Fitch, Hartley's husband, Titus, Hartley's adopted son, and some others. Most of the members of the 'brotherhood', i.e. the book committee, form the system of protagonists: Gerard Hernshaw, Rose Curtland, and Gulliver Ash. I would like to add to this list Lily Boyne, Gideon Fairfax, Tamar Hernshaw, an Oxford student, Professor Levquist, Duncan Cambus and Jean Cambus, Duncan's wife, Rose's school friend. Among the supporting characters, I would like to mention Jenkin Riderhood, Violet Hernshaw, Patricia Fairfax, and Father McAlister, local vicar.

The subdivision between major and minor characters is important. The author uses many details in creating protagonists and antagonists. If we compare the 'colour portraits' of two characters, Lily Boyne and Gideon Fairfax (see Fig. 3 and Fig. 4), we will see that the usage of CTs in them varies from ample to scarce.

Figure 3. Colour terms creating the image of Lily Boyne ("The book").

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Lily Boyne is a major character in the novel "The book". Her appearance, dress, belongings, as well as her emotional state are thoroughly depicted with the help of different colours: *lips with silver paint*, *'melted sugar eyes'*, *(eyes) pale brown with a dark rim and blue and brown stripes leading*, *scanty pale dry hair*, clothes of various colours and shades (orange, white, purple, transparent silvery, silver, black, blue, light blue, dark blue, red, green, dark brown, pink), and belongings.

Another character, a supporting one, Gideon Fairfax is very laconically described. Only his appearance, clothes, and belongings are mentioned in the text (see Fig. 4).

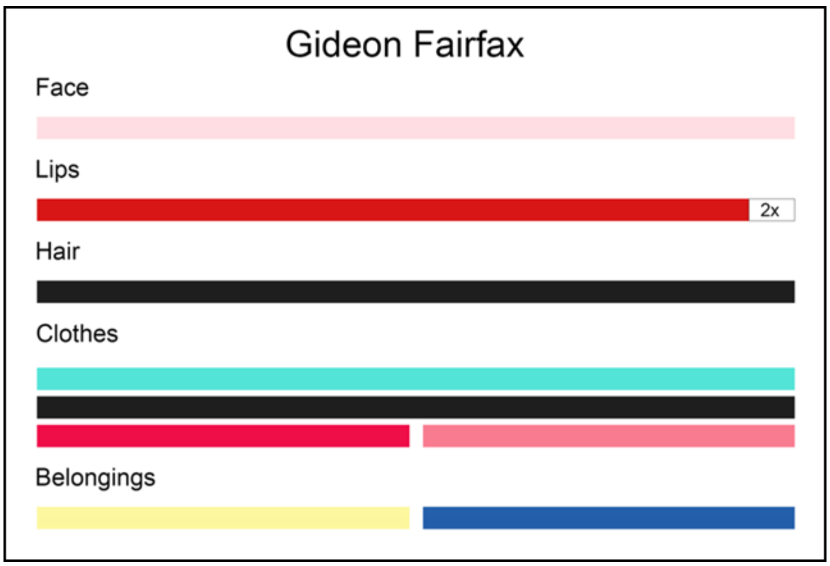

Figure 4. Colour terms creating the image of Gideon Fairfax ("The book").

There are other, more interesting subdivisions of characters (Character, *s.a.*), which may be static, dynamic, flat, round, and stock. Static characters remain unchanged through the whole story; they may be either major or minor. As an example of a static character, I would like to name Jenkin Riderhood, a schoolmaster, whose 'colour portrait' is very concise (see Fig. 5). He may also be called a flat character, endowed mainly with positive traits.

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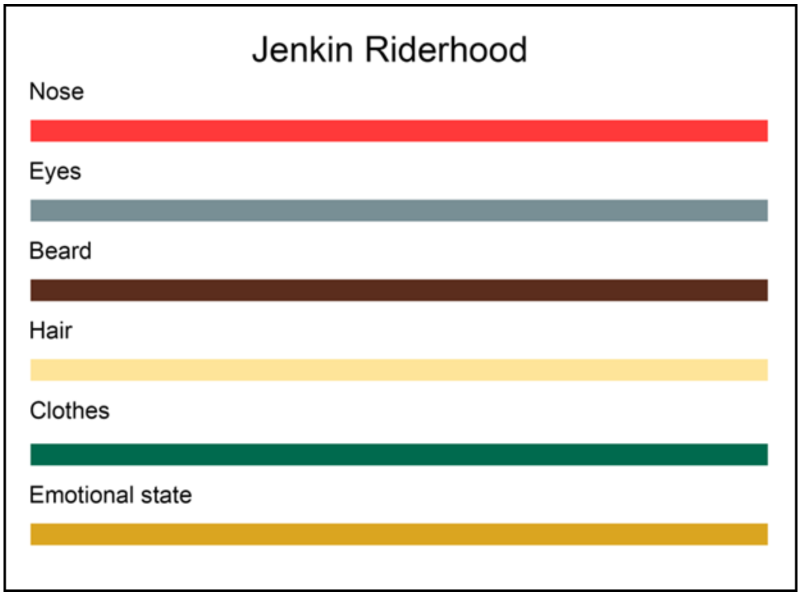

Figure 5. Colour terms creating the image of Jenkin Riderhood ("The book").

Opposite to static are dynamic characters, who change throughout the story. In the two novels under consideration, most of the characters are dynamic. For instance, Lizzie Scherer is very eccentric; she changes her mind every now and then; she pleads Charles to let her stay with her partner Gilbert Opian, then she wants to come back to Charles; her decisions are spontaneous and her moods are like gusts of wind (see Fig. 6).

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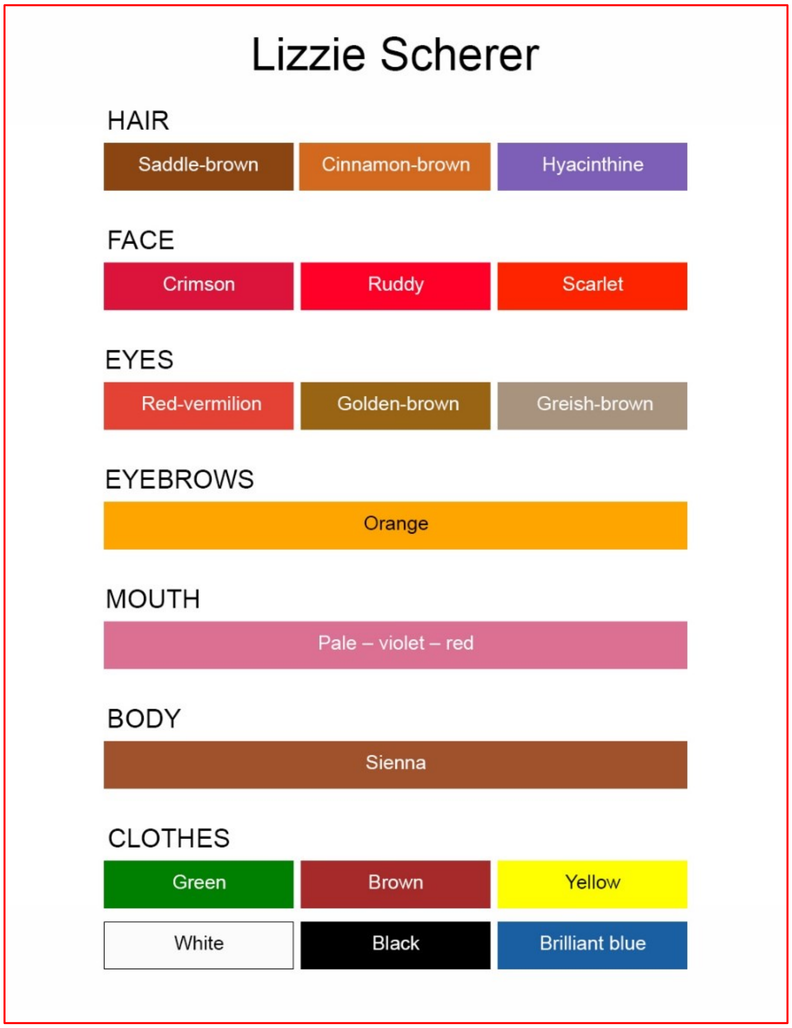

Figure 6. Colour terms creating the image of Lizzie Scherer ("The sea").

Iris Murdoch describes her appearance and dress in detail:

(3) "*Lizzie is Scottish, half Sephardi Jew…Her appearance is not easy to describe. She has a large wide brow and a strong attractive profile…her lips are firm too, not full but well moulded and sensitively textured... Nature not art has painted them an attractive* ***terracotta-pink****... Her eyes are* ***a light dewy brown****; when I kissed her how those* ***pale eyes*** *flashed!.. She has almost invisible* ***orange eyebrows*** *which she never, under my regime, tampered with. Her complexion is healthy,* ***rosy****, rather shiny… Lizzie's hair, now tinted, is* ***a cinnamon brown****,* ***of the hyacinthine variety*** *and copious*" (ibid., p. 45).

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All the colours used by Iris Murdoch in creating this character are warm; different shades and hues are used. Lizzie is a round character (the opposite of the flat character). It means that she has many different traits, good and bad, making her more interesting.

The author creates another female protagonist from this book, Rosina Vamburgh, in a specific way: there are only basic colours, contrastive in nature (black – white, red – black) and there are fewer shades than in the 'colour portrait' of Lizzie. Due to this set of colours, we see a very decisive, impulsive, sometimes aggressive woman (see Fig. 7).

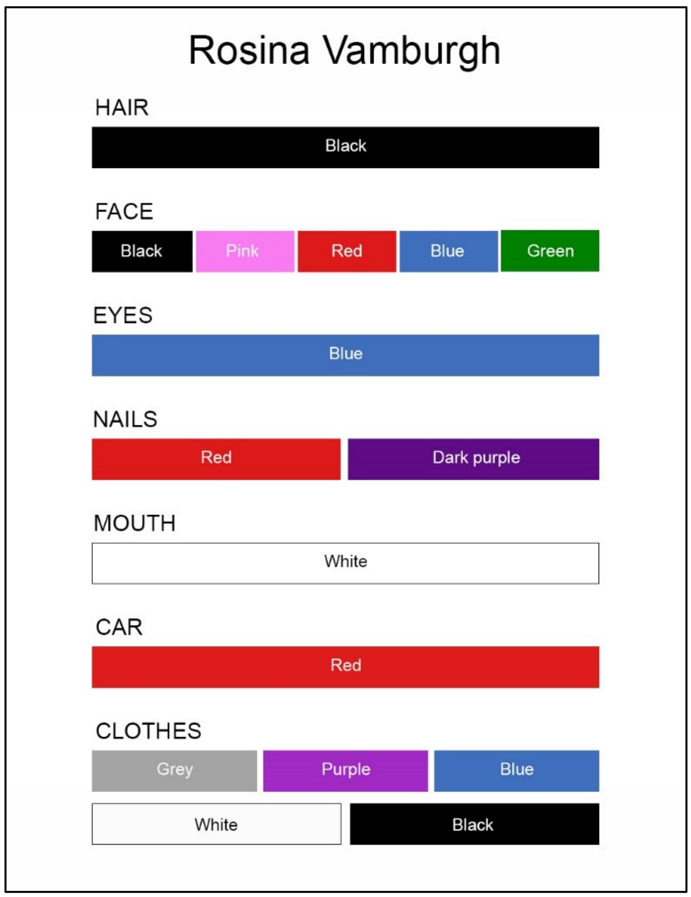

Figure 7. Colour terms creating the image of Rosina Vamburgh ("The sea").

Her behaviour can be explained by the fact that Charles Arrowby conquered her, destroyed her marriage, made her divorce Peregrine and then, predictably, left her for another woman. Rosina spies after him, intrudes into his house, and demands to marry her

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or at least to live together with her. Her dress and make up are a kaleidoscopic mixture of colours:

(4) "*Rosina was wearing a sort of* ***black*** *tweedy cloak, with slits through which she had thrust her bare forearms. Her hands were covered with rings, her wrists with bracelets, which were glinting as she lightly tapped her fingers together. Her* ***dark*** *wiry hair, looking* ***almost black*** *in the lamplight, was pinned up in some sort of Grecian crown… Her face was heavily made up, patterned with* ***pinks*** *and* ***reds*** *and* ***blues…greens****, looking in the subdued localized light like an Indian mask. She looked handsomely grotesque*" ("The sea", p. 111).

Charles calls her 'a dangerous woman' and tries to choose a proper line in his behaviour, but Rosina scratches him until blood appears (red colour again):

(5) "*Rosina's* ***vermilion*** *claws, making a slash at my face, just touched my neck as I got out of range*" (ibid., p. 202).

The interpretation of the CTs used by Iris Murdoch in creating images in the novels under study is subjective. I consider Rosina Vambourgh as a protagonist in the novel "The sea" (see Fig. 7), but taking into account her aggressiveness, her love for contrasting colours she may be perceived by the reader as an antagonist. In secret, she invades Charles Arrowby's house, moves objects there, breaks a mirror (which is said to be a bad omen), and terrorizes him with interrogations and sudden visits. Yet her behaviour can be explained as a sort of her revenge to Charles who destroyed her marriage and life.

In the texts under analysis, one can trace the **character arc**, which is a specific variety of character transformation**.** The respective changes are essential and often shape a character with disparate or even opposing features. Such changes may be for good or for bad.

For example, Tamar Hernshaw is an Oxford student who lives with her despotic mother Violet. She is a humble and obedient child, mainly dressed in white (*virginal white dress*, *white evening dress*) or green:

(6) "*Tamar fingering a little sherry, was dressed as usual in her uniform, a skirt and blouse and jacket. She chose colours which were like her own colouring of tree-trunk **brown** and **green** and **greenish grey**. Her skirt and buttoned shoes were **brown**, her stockings were **grey**, her jacket was **dark green**, not unlike the colour of Gerard's jacket. Her blouse was **white**, worn with a **light green** scarf. Her **mouse-brown tree-brown** hair was neatly combed. Her large **green-brown** eyes looked up with trustful doubt at Gerard*" ("The book", p. 152).

She was taken as an angel clad in white by people who knew her:

(7) (Duncan about Tamar): *You're an angel. You're the only thing in the world that isn't made of evil and darkness and hell. You are **saving** me, it's a miracle* (ibid., p. 215).

The book is divided into three parts: Midsummer, Midwinter, and Spring. It enables the reader to follow the events in the book on the time axis. Tamar's mother, who is unemployed, makes her daughter leave Oxford university, find a well-paid job and support her. Being a non-conflict person with weak objections, the daughter gives in. After a short affair with Dunkan Cambus, whom she was sent to console because his wife Jean had eloped with Crimond, she became pregnant. She makes an abortion and kills Dunkan's child.

Using specific CTs, Iris Murdoch shows the psychological state of this protagonist. White colour is gone, substituted by brown:

(8) "*At that moment Tamar appeared at the kitchen door. Tamar did indeed look like a ghost, not a transparent wraith, but rather the substantial stick-like kind, which might be a broom handle or a signpost but clearly and terrifyingly is not. She was wearing a long*

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***brown** overcoat, and a large **brown** beret which was pulled down over her ears and made <u>her look like a weird **pale-faced** animal</u>, faintly pathetic, faintly pleasant*" (ibid., p. 320).

Then achromatic colours, black and grey, prevail in her description accompanied by brown:

(9) "*Tamar dressed in a **black** skirt and **black** stockings and a **grey** pullover, was conspicuously calm. She had ruffled her fine silky **wood-brown green-brown** hair into an untidy mop. Something has happened to her, thought Gideon, she has **been through** something. She's strong*..." (ibid., p. 506).

The black colour is also used metaphorically to intensify her grief:

(10) "*But the child was dead, or even worse, changed into a wicked deadly demon, **black with resentment and anger**, living on as a horrible filthy ghost, dedicated to punishing its murderous mother lethal to any other child who might, from that accursed womb, succeed it and live*" (ibid., p. 346).

Tamar survives, comes back to Oxford, breaks relations with her mother and starts a new life. She was baptized and confirmed. Other colours appear in the third part of the book reflecting changes in her life:

(11) "*Tamar had abandoned her **brown** and **grey** uniform and was wearing a **midnight-blue** dress with a jabot of frilly **white** silk at the neck. Her fine **tree-brown tree-green** hair had been cleverly cut into layers, she looked boyish and elfin and cool. Her large **hazel** eyes carried a wary self-consciously melancholy expression which was new*" (ibid., p. 541).

The entire colour palette used by Iris Murdoch in creating the character arc is presented in Figure 8. In the book, her neck and body are described as 'milky', with the help of a white colour standard, i.e. 'white': *baby milky body, pale transparent milky neck*. Here we

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have a case of radicalization because white skin in reality is not white, as well as 'white people' are not white as opposed to 'black' (Wyler 1992: 180). A corresponding code of the colour was used to describe a human body and its parts properly.

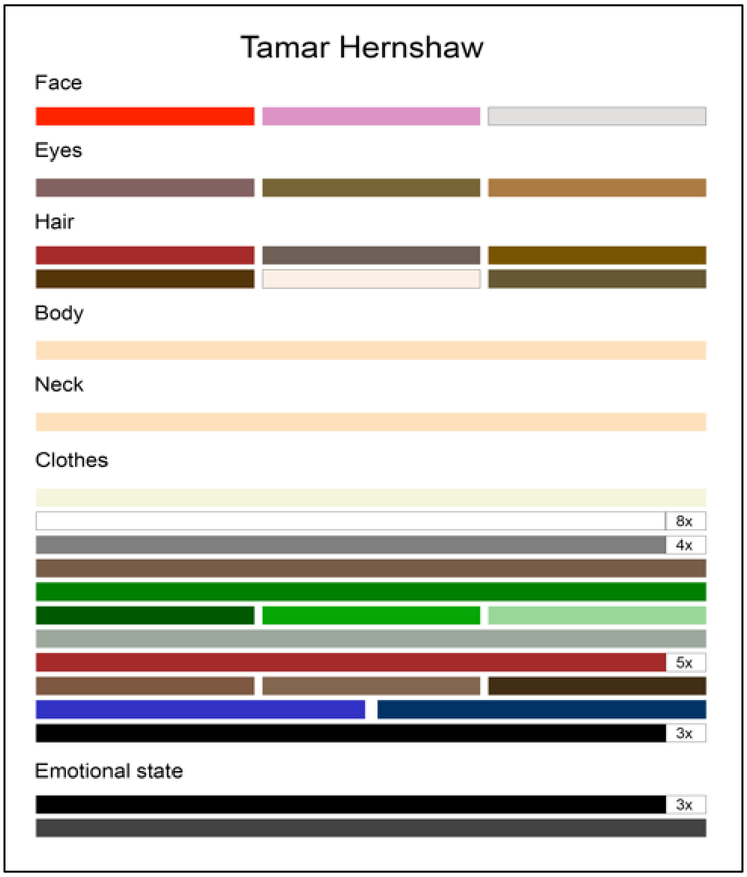

Figure 8. Colour terms creating the image of Tamar Hernshaw ("The book").

Here the change of colour presented chronologically may be associated with psychological and moral changes of a young girl: white (virgin, angel), green (spring, youth), brown (spiritual death, sorrow, barrenness), black (grief), blue (loyalty, fidelity, constancy, and chastity), white again, green again (expectation in relation to spring hopes, revival) (Dictionary of symbolism 1997).

To show how important colours are for any person, Jean Cambus gives Tamar a piece of advice:

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(12) " '*But Tamar, you must learn to dress! Get a decent* dress *that says something, with a* shape *and* ***a definite*** **colour**, *not those* ***muddy browns*** *and* ***pale greens***' " ("The book", p. 162). For Jean, to change colour means to turn a new leaf.

5. Rendering focal and subsidiary colours in the works of Iris Murdoch

All the studies on colour traditionally start with the work by Berlin and Kay (1969) who distinguish eleven basic colour terms in their universalist hypothesis where they claim that categorization of colours is not random, and the prototypes of basic colour terms are similar in all languages. All focal colours were identified in the novel "The sea".

Table 1. Distribution of focal colours in the novel "The sea"
(after Korcová 2011)

Colour	Frequency
black	16.5%
yellow	14.4%
white	14%
red	13%
blue	13%
brown	8.5%
green	7.5%
grey	7.4%
pink	2.7%
purple	1.6%
orange	1.4%

The distribution of focal colours in the second book under analysis does not differ greatly from the first one (see Table 2).

Table 2. Eleven basic colour terms in the novel "The book"

Colour	Frequency
black	19%
blue	16%
white	14%
brown	13%
red	11%
green	10%
grey	7.85%
yellow	5.7%
pink	1.65%
orange	1%
purple	0.8%

The difference lies in the great number of different shades of colours in the first novel and a variety of other, less frequent, but important colours in the second novel, where belong such shades of red, as crimson, rosy, and scarlet; of yellow (e.g. *strawy blond*); colours of metals (e.g. *gold/golden, silver/silvery, bronze*); beige, navy (e.g. *navy*), and colours of a stone or plant standard (e.g. *amethyst, amber, like laurel, like myrtle).*

How do these colour terms function in the texts under study? What do they denote? Much depends upon the setting of the story. Universal objects of description are people whose appearance is depicted (face, eyes, hair, body, neck, lips, beard and moustache for men), as well as their clothes and belongings (house, car, handbag, footwear, etc.) and emotional state. Description of imagery, like natural objects, animals, plants, buildings and their parts, house and things inside, liquids, artefacts is also important. All these CTs belong to different lexico-semantic groups united by a common semantic feature – colour.

In the novel "The sea", we singled out several groups (see Fig. 9-13) denoting focal colours (Panasenko & Korcová 2011). In this article, only five of them will be discussed in detail as most important and having the largest number of hyponyms. The members of this lexico-semantic group are not only synonyms; they are united together by the semantic component, which is colour.

Figures 9-13 presented below need some explanation. In the novel "The sea", Iris Murdoch uses many multicomponent words in describing both people and natural objects. As far as the sea is the setting of this novel, it is richly described in colour. The basic focal colours used in this book are presented in Table 1. Those colours which are verbalized by adjectives having many hyponyms, are the following ones: **blue** (the colour of water and the sky), **red** (the colour of sunrise and sunset on the sea as well as the colour of appearance and belongings), **yellow** (the colour of the sand), **green** (the colour of the verdure), and **grey** (the colour of natural objects, houses and their parts). Figure 9 includes 13 names and shades of blue.

Figure 9. The adjective "*blue*" and its hyponyms in the book "The sea"

When we discuss some focal colours, like blue or red, we can take into account synesthetic connection of different information procession channels, like vision and smell, vision and touch (Panasenko 2019: 132). I mean connection of colours with psychology, i.e. "the sensation of warmth and cold: warm red – cool blue, cold blue; light pink – heavy purple; luscious green – opulent red; fresh yellow" (Wyler 1992: 107). Thanks to sensory sensations, blue is often named 'a cold colour', whereas red belongs to the 'warm' ones. Light blue is associated with the sky and the day, and with the calm sea; dark blue – with

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the sky and the night, and with the stormy sea (Cirlot 2001: 53). Figure 9 is a very good proof of blue being a cold colour.

In the novel "The sea" it is possible to single out the following lexico-semantic group of adjectives denoting the red colour (see Fig. 10).

Figure 10. The adjective "*red*" and its hyponyms in the book "The sea"

Ten hyponyms of the word *red* have different structure and are also repeated more than once throughout the whole text. Compounds *red-brown*, *terracota-pink* and complex compound *reddish blond* consist of two kinds of colour as compounds usually do. There are five hyponyms belonging to the secondary colour terms: *rusty*, *blush*, *scarlet*, *vermillion*, and *crimson*. Three CTs, *terracota-pink*, *reddish blond*, and *red-brown* are compounds and *dark red* and *tomato red* are formed by modification.

To interpret the usage of each colour in the text, we must also take into account the symbolic value attributed to it. In the dictionary of Cirlot (2001: 53), red is associated with blood, wounds, death-throes, and sublimation. In the Dictionary of symbolism (1997 [2002]), red is considered to be an emotionally charged color associated with the sun and

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gods of war, anger, blood-lust, vengance, fire, and the masculine. It can also mean love, passion, health, and/or sexual arousal. It is often opposed to blue as the symbol of femininity (Davydyuk & Panasenko 2016).

Red and its shades are often used by Iris Murdoch in the novel "The sea" for different purposes. "*A little red room*" in the house is at first a sort of peaceful seclusion for Charles Arrowby, who is tired of London and theater, whereas later it transforms into the place of battlefield with his former mistress Rosina Vamburgh and other unwanted visitors. It is the colour of Rosina's car:

(13) "*I heard* ***the departing scream*** *of the little* ***red car***" ("The sea", p. 207);

(14) "***The car shot off like a red rocket*** *in the direction of the village*" (ibid., p. 341).

Rosina's red car, her "*vermillion claws*", crimson face, scarlet lipstick denote aggression, vengeance and have symbolic and character creating functions. Her 'colour portrait' is presented in Figure 7.

The next focal colour in question with eleven hyponyms is yellow (see Fig. 11).

Figure 11. The adjective "yellow" and its hyponyms in the book "The sea"

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As a symbol, this colour has such positive meanings as confidence, friendliness, creativity, emotional strength, optimism and such negative meanings, as fear, depression, suicide, anxiety, and irrationality (Korcová 2011). In the novel "The sea", it is mainly used in description of the landscape (*yellow rocks*, *yellow sand*), appearance, and dress. The yellow colour may be rendered metaphorically:

(15) "*I lit a candle and pulled the curtains although it was still light outside with* ***a huge dull moon the colour of Wensleydale cheese***" (ibid., p. 299).

The green colour has nine hyponyms (see Fig. 12). In many cultures, 'green' is often associated with "spring", "life', "growth", "freshness" (compare, e.g., '*green years*' or '*green wound*') (Panasenko 2019: 131). It has the meaning of peace, refreshment, harmony, balance, restoration. In Russian, there is an expression *тоска зелёная* (green melancholy, inverted attribute in Russian), which has a negative connotation.

Figure 12. The adjective "green" and its hyponyms in the book "The sea"

The reader may find in the text many nice descriptions of nature: the sea, plants, clouds containing different shades of green (*a pale green sky*, *that strange greenish light*, etc.). Some of them are formed by modifiers (*lucid green*, *faintly green*), some reflect the so called standard colours and belong to the group of secondary colour terms: *emerald*, *turquoise*, *khaki*, and *bottle green* (Korcová 2011). They are used to describe nature or characters' dress. One more example from the text:

(16) "*The sea is golden, speckled with white points of light, lapping with a sort of mechanical self-satisfaction under* ***a pale green sky****. How huge it is, how empty, this great space for which I have been longing all my life*" ("The sea", p. 17).

Grey, like black and white, belongs to achromatic colours, lacking hue. Notwithstanding the absence of hue in grey, the corresponding adjective has eleven hyponyms in the novel "The sea" (sea Fig. 13).

Figure 13. The adjective "grey" and its hyponyms in the book "The sea"

Grey has psychological neutrality and is often seen as the colour of depression, humility, stagnation, enervation, and boredom. Ashes are usually grey in colour. Christianity commonly views grey as symbolic death of the body while the soul remains eternal ("Dictionary of symbolism" 1997 [2001]). Structurally, most of the CTs denoting grey and its varieties have the following model: adverb/intensifier + adjective + CT.

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The examples presented above were selected from the book "The sea". If we compare the discussed CTs with those picked up from the second novel, "The book", we will see that they demonstrate considerably variation in number and functions. In the first book, there are so many hyponyms of the key colours, thanks to the setting of the text. To prove it, I want to give as an example the very beginning of the novel "The sea":

(17) "*The sea which lies before me as I write glows rather than sparkles in the bland May sunshine. With the tide turning, it leans quietly against the land, almost unflecked by ripples or by foam. Near to the horizon it is a* ***luxurious purple****, spotted with regular lines of* ***emerald green****. At the horizon it is* ***indigo****. Near to the shore, where my view is framed by rising heaps of* ***humpy yellow rock****, there is a band of* ***lighter green, icy and pure, less radiant, opaque*** *however,* ***not transparent****. We are in the north, and the* ***bright sunshine*** *cannot penetrate the sea. Where the gentle water taps the rocks there is still* ***a surface skin of colour.*** *The cloudless sky is very* ***pale*** *at the* ***indigo*** *horizon which it lightly pencils in with* ***silver****. Its* ***blue*** *gains towards the zenith and vibrates there. But the sky looks cold, even the sun looks cold*" ("The sea", p. 1).

This extract includes names of many focal colours: purple, yellow, and blue; shades of blue – indigo and green – *emerald green*, *lighter green.* They are the colours with value (*lighter green*, *less radiant*), intensity (*bright sunshine*, *pale*), saturation (*luxurious purple*), strength (*bright sunshine*, *opaque*, *not transparent*), purity (*icy and pure*) and hue (*silver*). In fact, this extract looks like a very good illustration of the Colour theory.

Of course, there are many CTs in the novel "The book", but not all of them have so many synonyms as five focal colours presented above in Figures 9-12. What are most frequent basic colours and what do they characterize?

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Black. There are many examples with this CT characterizing animals (*some **black-shaped** sheep*), artefacts (*a black thing appeared*, *a motor car*). More interesting are examples of its figurative use:

(18) (McAlister about Violet). "*He could see, he thought, her terrible unhappiness, an unhappiness which made his sympathetic sentimental (she had used that word) soul wince and cringe, **a black unhappiness, deeper and darker** and* **harder** *than her daughter's, and he had seen too how her suffering had made her monstrous*" ("The book", p. 510).

Blue. This colour is combined with natural objects, like *a sky of a dusky blue*, *dark blue sky*, *blue sea* and in the description of Crimond's flat where the duel took place:

(19) "*The door was **blue**, the colour vividly emerging in the-brilliant neon light. Crimond, motionless, was framed in the **blue** door. This is my first shot, thought Duncan*" (ibid., p. 467).

Green. This CT is used in descriptions of natural objects:

(20) "*The grass at the little field beside him shone **violently green***" ("The book", p. 87), Jenkin's room (*the green tumbler*), Gerard's house (*somber and serious, but quietly stylish and smart, in greens and browns*), and Crimond's room:

(21) "*...a very old quilt of **faded green** covered with geometrical designs which Crimond said had been woven in the Hebrides and had once covered his parents' bed*" (ibid., p. 173). In the last example, we have a depicting detail – *of faded green*, which reminds the reader of the character's very modest financial state.

Red, crimson, scarlet, and pink. These CTs are used for description of artefacts, parts of the house, its furniture, and natural objects:

(22) "*...and the sky, its dome contracting, was becoming **red** and glowing darkly. The snow was **pink**...*" (ibid., p. 253).

White. The main function of white is to serve as a depicting detail (*a large **white** handkerchief*, *the brightening **white** light*); it indicates the colour of the snow and reminds the reader that events unfold in winter (*the strange road like a **white** river*, *the **white** wandering flakes*). We have interesting examples of colour radicalization: *local **white** wine*, *dry **white** wine*, *and **white** port*. White wine in reality is not white, but of some yellow colour; it is shared knowledge, clear to everyone. What concerns white colour and the sea, it is connected with the gale force: the stronger the storm becomes, the more of white colour is seen in the sea:
(23) "*The sea which had been mildly disturbed and covered with flickering points of **white** had become calmer*" (ibid., p. 528).

Yellow. In this novel, it is attributed to natural objects (*yellow stars*), plants (*yellow chrysanthemum*), light (*a single distant light*, *a faint yellow spot*). We can identify a case of simile, when the moon, which implicitly has yellow colour, is compared to a head of cheese:
(24) "***The moon**, huge, **crumbly like a cheese**, was still low down among the trees beyond the local streamlets of the river Cherwell…*" (ibid., p. 1) and a case of an epithet:
(25) "*She knelt in the opening, surveying the **yellow air** and the motionless white scene which contained no sign of human habitation, nothing, beyond the orchard trees*" (ibid., p. 240).

To less frequent colours belong such ones as beige, brown, golden, and grey, which describe furniture, buildings, a parrot, whose description occupies several pages, because it is a very important image, and dim light. One example deserves special notice:
(26) (Violet's flat): "*…net curtains, **grey** with dirt*" (ibid., p. 509). "Grey curtains" here are a characterological detail, describing not only the state of Violet's flat, covered with dust, but mainly her attitude to it. She lives in her own world, does not work and neglects things which surround her.

These examples from the two novels are mostly connected with imagery, though their principal role is creation of characters. Their analysis helps better understand the author's message and adequately decode it.

6. Conclusions and perspectives

Colour as a physical phenomenon treated from different angles appears to be a powerful means of weaving the text fabric. As a psychological phenomenon, it influences the reader's perception greatly. Most of the color properties, like colour value, chroma, and hue, are used for different purposes. Functioning in a literary text as colour terms, they are used to create female and male images, heroes and heroines, protagonists and antagonists performing descriptive and character-generating functions. Relations between characters often are based on conflict, which triggers the development of the plot. To show this conflict, contrastive colours are very often used, like black vs. white, light colours vs. dark ones. Though text analysis should not be connected with mechanical calculation of CTs, their concentration in some parts of the text, their variety, considerable number of synonyms is important. It explains, why some 'colour portraits' include quantitative data, and some do not.

CTs in a literary text can also be used as an instrument of naming natural objects and artefacts, performing descriptive function. Their number and variety are closely connected with the text setting and in many cases they can be considered as an artistic detail (depicting, characterological, authentic, and implicit) (the terms of Kukharenko).

It is a pilot research, which has become possible due to new computer technologies, the existence of the Internet and electronic publications in colour.

With the help of different colours, the author reflects the inner state of antagonists and protagonists, renders the specific atmosphere of the story and sends us the message to be

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decoded. CTs as artistic details stir the reader's imagination, evoke empathy and may be considered as signals of the addressee orientation.

The method of colour visualization definitely needs further improvement and development, like any new step in research. An experienced reader may notice that 'colour portraits' are created in a different way: some have colours accompanied by their names; some have only colours reconstructed with precise colour codes from the tables. Which method is better? When colour names are mentioned, it is clear how they are formed and what synonyms they have. When there are only colours, 'a colour portrait' presents a character like a picture, in which colours are never named. Visualization of colours evokes specific image perception. I hope new computer technologies will considerably contribute to its popularity in future.

Abbreviations

CT(s) – colour term(s)

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Résumé

Colour is traditionally considered one of most favoured topics in psychology and especially in linguistics. Adopting different approaches, scholars have identified ways of producing colours (neurology and physiology), their perception (psychology), understanding (philosophy, semiotics), and naming (linguistics, anthropology). The author offers a complex approach to studying colour terms taking into account the findings of outstanding scholars. Colour terms are considered an important element of literary text structure. The results of this research prove the hypothesis that Iris Murdoch successfully employs different properties of colours, like value, chroma, and hue, for different purposes, mainly for creating images of human beings and inanimate things. Moreover, different colour palettes are used for portraying protagonists and antagonists, main and supporting characters, flat and round characters, as well as the character arc. The role of colour terms as text-forming elements is most apparent in the setting which dictates the necessary colour scheme (the sea in our case); the conflict which sets the plot in motion, requiring specific colours for describing the characters' behaviour and their moral evaluation; the characters (protagonists, antagonists, main, supporting, flat); the author's message, which is to be properly decoded. Very often Iris Murdoch encodes the information in colours which have symbolic character and are used as artistic details. Numerous colour terms in the text perform different functions. The descriptive function is connected with the names of eleven focal colours identifying an object's properties, a

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person's appearance and dress; they also create beautiful landscape pictures and present one's abode. Thus, colour terms perform more elaborate functions than mere naming: character-constructive, metaphoric, and symbolic.

Key words: colour properties, colour terms, focal colours, hyponym, protagonist, antagonist, 'colour portrait' of a character.

Appendix A

Table 1. Technical codes of colours

Codes of blue	Codes of green	Codes of red
Dark blue – #00008b Dark midnight blue – #003366 Blue gray – #6699cc Indigo – #4b0082 Azure – #f0ffff Casual blue – X Light blue – #add8e6 Plain blue – X Intense blue – X Pale blue – #afeeee Blue purple – #8a2be2 **Alternative colours:** Cadet blue – #5f9ea0 Dodger blue – #1e90ff Royal blue – #4169e1 Navy blue – #000080	Emerald – #50c878 Turquoise – #40e0d0 Dark khaki – #bdb76b Light green – #90ee90 Pale green – #98fb98 Lucid green – X Translucent green – X Bottle green – #006a4e Faintly greenish – X **Alternative colours:** Dark olive green – #556b2f Green yellow – #adff2f Lime green – #32cd32	Rust – #b7410e Blush – #de5d83 Scarlet – #ff2400 Vermilion – #e34234 Crimson – #DC143C Resene terracotta pink – #9b3d3d Tomato red – #ff6347 Dark red – #8B0000 Reddish blond – X Red brown – #a13d2d Alternative colours: Rose Gold –#b76e79

Codes of yellow	Codes of grey
Sandy yellow – #fddf77 Buff – #f0dc82 Gold – #FFD700 Cream – #fffdd0 Golden brown – #996515 Ochre – #cc7722 Dark yellow – #CCCC00 Transparent yellow – #F6EEC4 Ochre yellow – F5C52C Glowing yellow – X	Silver – #c0c0c0 Greyish brown – #A8937D Golden grey – #7c8253 Blue grey – #6699cc Pearl light grey – #9c9c9c Steel grey – #43464B Light grey – #d3d3d3 Gainsboro – #dcdcdc Faintly gradient grey – X Moon grey – X

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Yellowish white – X **Alternative colours:** Fluorescent yellow – #ccff00 Moon glow – #f5f3ce	Brilliant grey – X **Alternative colours:** Slate grey – #708090 Glidden moonlight grey – #c2c5cc Dim gray – #696969

Appendix B

Fig. 1. Assorted colours with their codes (Available at: https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&source=imgres&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwjlotfewbHpAhXBKewKHWGaCmIQjRx6BAgBEAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Frodbuildersupplies.com%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2019%2F02%2FProwrap-thread-2.pdf&psig=AOvVaw1Dfz3NF9uN52xKE6RXibPo&ust=1589482464133304)

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PHONEMIC PATTERNING OF WORD-FORMS IN GOTHIC

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Abstract: This study presents a phonological analysis of the word-forms in Gothic at the segmental level. The paper is the first one to establish phonological patterns of the word-forms attested in Gothic manuscripts. Distributional analysis has revealed regularities in the combinability of consonants and vowels within word-forms as well as restrictions and exclusions on them. Statistical analysis proved the systemic nature of phonological patterning in Gothic word-forms.

Key words: word-form, phoneme, kineme, phonemic structure, distribution, canonical form.

1. Introduction

Studies of the language vocabulary testify to its systematic nature on grammatical and semantic levels (Уфимцева 1962). The statement that vocabulary is not just a set of elements, but an ordered set of interdependent and interrelated elements, that is, a system, must be confirmed not only by grammatical and semantic criteria, but also by phonological ones (Парк 2018a: 4). Linguists have extensively explored the phonemic systems of languages belonging to different grammatical types (Перебийніс 1970; Akidah 2013; Antonsen 1972; Barrack 1998; Fulk 2018; Moradi & Chen 2018; Moulton 1972; Nielsen 2013; Rauch 2017; Trubetzkoy 1969; Voyles 1992) and the phonemic structure of unilateral and bilateral linguistic units, i.e. syllables, morphemes, and words (Васько 2007; Парк 2018b; 2019; Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995; Greenberg 1990; Pike 1947; Vennemann 1988).

The linguists who conducted phonological research into different languages, including Germanic, have emphasized the importance not only of establishing phonemic inventories and phonemic opposition systems, but also the need to study the phonemic structure of units at all hierarchical levels of language. The results of the present study testify to the fact that the language system favours one structural model and imposes restrictions on phoneme compatibility in other structural patterns, or completely prohibits instantiation of certain sound shapes consisting of various classes and groups of phonemes.

The discussion of the literature on Gothic phonology concentrates on the most significant works in the field, and does not claim to consider all the findings made before. The developments in the phonology of Gothic do not permit to overview them in the chronological order since there are traces of certain influences of and connections between different linguistic schools. Furthermore, there have always been phonologists, who did not belong to any particular school, but who have been influenced by various theories (Fischer-Jørgensen 1995: xx). The history of linguistic research since its beginning in the 19th century has been characterized as "proceeding in two channels, running parallel but differently oriented" (Vachek 1966: 15). In this respect, it is worthwhile to differentiate between phonetics and phonology. The former refers to articulatory, acoustic, and auditory aspects of speech sounds as individual products of individual speakers, actualized every time they are pronounced. Phonology deals with phonemes as language units capable of differentiating meaningful units (morphemes, words, and word-forms) with regard to their function in the language system. According to Krámský, the first scholar to use the word "phoneme" was Dufriche-Desgenettes in 1873 (1974: 21). However, it was Baudouin de Courtenay (1972a: 152), who was the first to give the phoneme its definition as a language unit being "endowed by semasiologized and morphologized functions" in 1894. Most importantly, the concept of the phoneme has become pivotal in the emerging European and American linguistic schools since the thirties of the 20th century. These arguments condition the structure of the literature review. The relevant papers based on the phonetic principle, i.e. making no distinction between the concepts of "sound" and "phoneme", are considered first; a review of phonological works is provided further.

Many scholarly works have been written on the phonology of Gothic. The authors belonging to different linguistic schools bring to light new aspects and offer new insights into the subject. Consider Braune (1883: 1-34), who under the chapter title "Phonology" draws conclusions as to the nature of the Gothic vowel and consonant sounds taking into account the following factors: (1) the origin of the Gothic alphabet; (2) the use of Greek words and Biblical proper names; (3) the transcription of the Gothic proper names in Latin documents and by Latin authors of the 4^{th}–8^{th} centuries; (4) the testimony of the cognate Germanic languages. Gothic monophthongs and diphthongs in accented and unaccented syllables in the word as well as the subsequent development of the primitive and general Germanic equivalents inherited from the Indo-Germanic vocalic system are described by Wright (1910: 4-83). Gothic consonants are considered as the development of the primitive and general Germanic consonantal system taking into account their correspondences due to the operation of Grimm's Law, Verner's Law, and other consonant changes (ibid.).

The first scientific study of the Gothic language has been carried out by Jellinek (1926). Applying comparative analysis to the spelling of ancient Greek words and proper names in Gothic texts, as well as the transcription of Gothic words and proper names in Latin and Greek texts, the spelling of words borrowed into the Romance languages and by establishing sound correspondences of Gothic with other Germanic languages, he describes vowel and consonant sounds (not phonemes), their history, syllabification, accentuation, and combinations of consonant sounds within words. A fair and extensive treatment of Gothic phonetics is suggested by Zadorozhnyj (Задорожний 1960: 49-146), who provides a detailed description of Gothic sounds and different consonantal changes as compared to their Indo-European and Common Germanic correlates. Traditional description of Gothic phonetics is proposed by Agud Aparacio

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and Fernandes Alvares (1988: 28-35), who differentiate between long and short vowels, semivowels, occlusive, and fricative sounds.

A more detailed account of different phonological phenomena is given by Gukhman (Гухман 1958: 30-68), who focuses in her research on the Gothic system of writing, reading rules, accentuation, ablaut alternations, spontaneous and combinatorial changes of consonants, which took place before the time of the Gothic written records. The system of Gothic phonemes is described in terms of classical phonology by Mossé (1969: 51-69) with the emphasis on the classification and pronunciation of short and long vowels, diphthongs, sound values of diagraphs, consonants, accentuation, grammatical alternations according to Verner's Law, assimilation, dissimilation, simplification of consonantal clusters; much attention is paid to the phonetic changes in the unaccented syllables.

Another landmark in the Gothic phonological studies is the work of Marchand (1973), in which the author, aiming "to determine the pronunciation of Gothic", uses such criteria, as "(1) the origin of the alphabet; (2) loan words and transcriptions of proper names; (3) internal evidence; (4) comparative evidence" (op. cit., 12). Marchand describes the pronunciation of the 4th century Greek, certain Latin, and runic signs (op. cit., 27-30); provides orthographical deviants explaining them as different types of errors: mechanical errors, errors, which may indicate pronunciation (op. cit., 37-57); discusses phonemic oppositions (op. cit., 60-64); considers comparative evidence afforded by other Germanic and Indo-European languages (op. cit., 79-101). One of the most important contributions to Gothic phonology has been made by Bennett (1980), who outlines phonological history of Gothic, explains essentials of phonologic and analogic changes, developments of short vowels in originally medial and final syllables.

Statistical data of Gothic initial and final consonants and their clusters as the ratio of two frequencies – the average textual frequency and lexicon (dictionary) frequency –

are provided by Joos (1942). Snædal (2009) presents various statistics concerning East Germanic, i.e. Gothic morphology and individual characters (letters and numerals), and principal speech sounds (phonemes) in the Gothic manuscripts (2013). Rauch (2011) in terms of generative phonology establishes Gothic consonantal (op. cit., 47-49) and vocalic (op. cit., 59-60) inventories; she describes phonological constraints in consonants (op. cit., 41-46) and vowels (op. cit., 51-58); and under the subtitle "Phonological architecture" segments the Gothic word "into a hierarchy of descending tiers: the foot, the syllable, the skeletal or CV tier and the root tier" (op. cit., 35-40); gives matrices of phonetic distinctive features for the Gothic consonants and vowels (ibid.).

The phonological evolution of the Old Germanic languages, including Gothic, is presented within the framework of "kinemic theory" by Plotkin (2008: 33-34). This theory views the system of phonemes and phonemic oppositions in a dynamic aspect, i.e. as the process, in which particular sound changes are described as links in one chain of causes and effects that underlie the phonological history of every single language under investigation. In his earlier writings, Plotkin (1978) uses the term "kinakeme" coined by Baudouin de Courtenay (1972c: 280) to designate the ultimate phonological unit of language. This term is a blend composed of *κινημα* "kineme" – the elementary unit of articulatory work, and *ακουσμα*" acousmeme" – the elementary unit of auditory perception, respectively (1972b: 325). The author of the kinemic theory (Plotkin 2008: 26) explains:

> *"Of these three terms, 'kineme' appears to be the most suitable term for the ultimate phonological unit. <...> As for the term 'kinakeme', which was previously used by the present author to designate the ultimate language unit, it appears to be unnecessarily complicated by the insertion of a reference to auditory perception. <...> the reference to the initial action is quite sufficient".*

Linear syntagmatics of the ultimate phonological units in the initial, medial, and final consonantal groups of Gothic was investigated by Vasko (Васько 1997). In his research, the scholar establishes the frequency, regularities, and restrictions in the consonantal clusters of Gothic lexemes selected from Feist (1939), analyzes interphonemic combinability of the ultimate phonological units, which are very productive in Gothic and based mainly on phonological contrasts.

Yet, in spite of the extensive scholarship done since the inception of Gothic studies, some issues of Gothic phonology still remain the subject of discussions in Germanic linguistics. An inquiry into the Gothic phonemic system constructional potential and its implementation, preferences, limitations, and prohibitions on phonemic patterning, as well as statistical investigation of the corpus under analysis merit further consideration.

This article aims to establish the inventory of the word-forms construction patterns, explore their potential, frequency, and functional load; identify and examine systemic and peripheral models, investigate the vowel and consonant phonemes patterning, reveal regularities, constraints, and exclusions on the phonemic combinability, and define the average word-forms length and its mean square deviation, estimate the research exactitude, and other data. Neither of these topics has been studied before. The aim of the study is achieved by applying the methods of quantitative, distributional, and statistical analyses to the phonological structure of word-forms attested in the Gothic Bible and minor Gothic manuscripts. Obtained by mechanical sampling, 9443 word-forms presented by Tollenaere and Jones (1976), with the exception of word fragments, number symbols, and emended word-forms, have made the corpus of the present study. The word-forms sampling frequency is 67464. Each of the registered word-forms has also been cross-checked in Köbler (1989), Snædal (1998), and Streitberg (2000).

2. The phonemic system of Gothic

Before embarking on the analysis of phonemic patterning in the Gothic word-forms, it is necessary to decide what phonemic system of the Gothic language will be taken for the research. In this study, the subsystem of Gothic consonant phonemes proposed by Vasko (Васько 1997) and the subsystem of Gothic vowel phonemes presented by

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Plotkin (2008) are used. These subsystems are logically and linguistically substantiated and do not contradict each other as far as the phonological theory is concerned.

Furthermore, it is necessary to specify the approach to the notion of phoneme, which, from its inception, was introduced to denote the ultimate indivisible unit of the language system. However, the divisibility of phonemes into smaller phonologically relevant entities charged with semiotic value became evident to the representatives of the linguistic school of Prague as early as in the mid-thirties of the 20th century (Trubetzkoy 1969: 67; Vachek 1976b: 17); later research brought to light "distinctive features" as a universal inventory assumed to be used by all human languages for building phonemes as bundles of such features (Jakobson 1971: 422, 425, 484-486). With the development of phonological theory, other terms, such as "mérisme" (Benveniste 1966: 121) meaning "delimitation" in Greek and "phononeme" (Grucza 1970: 77) were coined and introduced, but neither of them seems acceptable "since the ultimate phonological unit is not in itself a unit of sound" (Plotkin 2008: 25). The concept of "distinctive feature" was criticized for its imprecision (Fischer-Jørgensen 1995: 146-147) since it did not reflect its "emic" status as a linguistic unit. The term "kineme" proposed by Plotkin (2008: 26) appears to be the most appropriate as it properly reflects the essence of the ultimate "emic" unit of sound generating movement, and it will be used in this sense here below. Plotkin (op. cit., 63) explains:

> *"A block of kinemes constituting a phoneme is a standard unity providing for automatic materialization of its underlying substance – a systemically organized block of several aggregates for phonatory actions. Materialization of a single kineme is automatic in the sense that the neural impulse it represents in the language system activates the aggregate of actions as an integral unity, a complex formed in the process of mastering the sound pattern of the language".*

Thus, the phoneme is considered as a language-specific standard block of kinemes, while Jakobsonian (Jakobson 1971: 420-421) and Chomskyan (Chomsky & Halle 1991: 299-300) "distinctive features" are universal, mere inventories, and represent "the phonetic capabilities of man" (ibid.). Kinemes, on the contrary, have all the attributes of linguistic units: they are paradigmatically organized, syntagmatically combined, and they carry semantic load (Plotkin 2008: 45, 52, 61).

Consonantal modal kinemes (Plotkin 2008: 82-86) determine the nature of the obstacle to the air stream and are represented in Gothic by the sonority opposition for controlling the work of the vocal cords and the striction opposition that deals with other obstacles. Consonantal locational kinemes (op. cit., 87-88) determine the choice of the active and passive articulatory organs, thus forming in Gothic the opposition of labiality (pre-centrality according to the active organ of speech), the opposition of palato-alveolarity / velarity / pharyngeality (post-centrality according to the active organ of speech, and the opposition of post-dentality (post-centrality according to the passive organ of speech). Vocalic modal kinemes (op. cit., 71-73) control tongue elevation (low vs. non-low or high vs. non-high), while vocalic locational kinemes (op. cit., 73-75) control timber characteristics dependent on the horizontal tongue position and lip movement (front vs. non-front or labialized vs non-labialized).

Within the framework of the kinemic theory, any phoneme can be described as a bundle of kinemes, e.g., the Gothic phoneme /l/ is defined as a standard block of kinemes consisting of the positive modal kineme of striction, negative modal kineme of obstruence, positive modal kineme of sonority, and locational negative kinemes of labiality, palato-alveolarity, and post-dentality.

3. The phonemic structure of the Gothic word-forms at the segmental level

The study of phonemic patterning in the Gothic word-forms involves determining the length of each registered word-form in phonemes, establishing the inventory of models (patterns) of the phonemic structure of word-forms, calculating the frequency of each model, applying statistical methods to verify the reliability of the study, identifying clusters of vowel and consonant phonemes in the structure of word-forms, analyzing the mechanism of their patterning in order to expose factors, preferable patterns,

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restrictions, and prohibitions on combinability within the phonemic structure of word-forms.

3.1 The length of the Gothic word-forms in phonemes

One of the important structural features of a word-form is its length in phonemes. Torsuyev notes that "the possible number of phonemes in a word / word-form itself is interesting in the structural characterization of a word / word-form" (Торсуев 1962: 5). Smirnitskij defined the word-form in the following way: "The word-form is a certain word in a certain grammatical form and of a certain phonemic shape, by which one particular lexical meaning is expressed" (Смирницкий 1954: 11). This section of the study focuses on bringing to light the registered Gothic word-form length in phonemes. The corpus of the word-forms under analysis is 9443; the textual frequency of the word-forms is 67464.

As a result of the corpus phonemic structure analysis, word-forms from one to nineteen phonemes in length have been registered. No eighteen-phoneme word-forms have been found. Thus, the whole corpus of word-forms is divided into eighteen groups. Each of the eighteen groups is represented by a different number of word-forms and their different textual frequency in the Gothic manuscripts under study (See Table 1).

Table 1. Distribution of the phonemic word-form length in Gothic

#	Number of phonemes in the word-form	Number of the registered word-forms	% of the word-form usage in the sample	Absolute frequency of the word-form	% of the word-form usage from their absolute frequency
1.	1	2	0.02	658	0.97
2.	2	53	0.56	11175	16.56
3.	3	200	2.12	13032	19.31
4.	4	619	6.55	9512	14.10
5.	5	1175	12.44	10191	15.10
6.	6	1532	16.22	6981	10.34
7.	7	1548	16.39	5634	8.35
8.	8	1428	15.12	3914	5.80
9.	9	1166	12.35	3002	4.44
10.	10	724	7.66	1473	2.18
11.	11	521	5.51	1058	1.56
12.	12	252	2.67	477	0.71
13.	13	128	1.35	205	0.30
14.	14	64	0.67	109	0.16
15.	15	20	0.21	29	0.04

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16.	16	6	0.06	8	0.01
17.	17	3	0.03	4	0.006
18.	18	*Not registered*			
19.	19	2	0.02	2	0.003
		Total: 9443	**Total: 99.95%**	**Total: 67464**	**Total: 99.94%**

One-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 2 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 658, e.g., Goth. *ei* /i/ – partic., conj. "in that case, under those circumstances, then, thereby, such that, a time wherein, such manner as, in a way that" (Köbler 1989: 131-133; Snædal 1998: 205-213; Streitberg 2000: 53; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 43-44).

Two-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 53 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 11175, e.g., Goth. *in* – prep. "in, into, unto, onto, at, within, when, while, in virtue of, because of, for the sake of, through, due" (Köbler 1989: 294-300; Snædal 1998: 440-470; Streitberg 2000: 125; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 91-96).

Three-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 200 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 13032, e.g., Goth. *þan* – adv., conj. "then, at that time, but, this time, thereupon, thereafter, now then, furthermore, moreover, when, thus, whenever" (Köbler 1989: 535-538; Snædal 1998: 1042-1051; Streitberg 2000: 17; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 176-178).

Four-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 619 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 9512, e.g., Goth. *þata* – nom. and acc., neut., sing. of demonstr. pron. "that" (Köbler 1989: 541; Snædal 1998: 860-866; Streitberg 2000: 127; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 180-183).

Five-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 1175 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 10191, e.g., Goth. *ahman* – noun, acc., neut., sing. *ahma* "spirit" (Köbler 1989: 15; Snædal 1998: 20; Streitberg 2000: 103; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 8).

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Six-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 1532 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 6981, e.g., Goth. *kunnuþ* – 2nd pers., sing., pret. ind. of pret.-pres. verb *kunnan* "be acquainted, to know, to understand" (Köbler 1989: 347; Snædal 1998: 618; Streitberg 2000: 47; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 119).

Seven-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 1548 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 5634, e.g., Goth. *armands* – Part. I, nom., masc., sing. of *armands* "having mercy on" (Köbler 1989: 58; Snædal 1998: 95; Streitberg 2000: 241; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 23).

Eight-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 1428 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 3914, e.g., Goth. *galaubeinai* – noun, dat., fem., sing. of *galaubeins* "belief, faith" (Köbler 1989: 199-200; Snædal 1998: 292-294; Streitberg 2000: 233; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 61).

Nine-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 1166 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 3002, e.g., Goth. *insandida* – 1st and 3rd pers. sing., pret. ind. of the weak verb I *insandjan* "send, dispatch" (Köbler 1989: 304; Snædal 1998: 913-914; Streitberg 2000: 77; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 97).

Ten-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 724 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 1473, e.g., Goth. *fauramaþleis* – noun, nom. and gen., masc. *faúramaþleis* "ruler, prince, chief, head man, governor, official" (Köbler 1989: 146; Rousseau 2016: 97; Snædal 1998: 230; Streitberg 2000: 125; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 47).

Eleven-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 521 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 1058, e.g., Goth. *galaubidedun* – 3rd pers. pl., pret. ind. of the weak verb I *galaubjan* "to believe, to permit, to have faith in, to be confident of, to have confidence in" (Köbler 1989: 199-200; Snædal 1998: 636-638; Streitberg 2000: 49;

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Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 62).

Twelve-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 252 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 477, e.g., Goth. *swnagogafada* – noun, dat., masc., sing. of *swnagogafaþs* "synagogue leader, ruler of the synagogue" (Köbler 1989: 518; Snædal 1998: 1009; Streitberg 2000: 183; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 170).

Thirteen-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 128 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 205, e.g., Goth. *gaswiltandans* – Part. I, nom., masc., pl. of *gaswiltandans* "those who cease living" (Köbler 1989: 224-225; Snædal 1998: 1007-1008; Streitberg 2000: 275; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 68).

Fourteen-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 64 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 109, e.g., Goth. *sildaleikidedun* – 3rd pers. pl., pret. ind. of the weak verb I s*ildaleikjan* "to marvel, to wonder, to be amazed" (Köbler 1989: 475-476; Snædal 1998: 913-914; Streitberg 2000: 15; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 159).

Fifteen-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 20 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 29, e.g., Goth. *ufarfulljandans* – Part. I, nom., masc., pl. of *ufarfulljandans* "those who are overfilling, those who are filling to superabundance" (Köbler 1989: 562; Snædal 1998: 268; Streitberg 2000: 277; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 191).

Sixteen-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 6 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 8, e.g., Goth. *miþanakumbidedun* – 3rd pers. pl., pret. ind. of the weak verb I *miþanakumbjan* "recline together with to eat, lie down to a meal together" (Köbler 1989: 392; Snædal 1998: 616; Streitberg 2000: 15; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 134).

Seventeen-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 3 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 4, e.g., Goth. *ufarhiminakundans* – adj., nom., masc., pl. of *ufarhiminakunds* "born of heaven above, heavenly, of heavenly origin" (Köbler 1989: 563; Snædal 1998: 1100; Streitberg 2000: 275; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 191).

Nineteen-phoneme word-forms. This group is represented by 2 word-forms. Their textual frequency is 2, e.g., Goth. *gahþanmiþsandidedum* – 1st pers. pl., pret. ind. of the weak verb I *gamiþsandjan* "and then we sent with" – (Köbler 1989: 209; Miller 2019: 198, 268, 670; Rauch 2011: xxi; Snædal 1998: 914-915; Streitberg 2000: 311; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 60, 70).

As shown in Table 1, 9165 Gothic word-forms with a length from three to twelve phonemes comprise more than 97% of the sample, whereas the number of the registered word-forms with a length of one to two and of 13 to 19 phonemes is more than 60 times smaller: there are 278 word-forms, which is 2.9% of the total number of word-forms. According to the laws of the Gothic language, only two vowel phonemes /o/ and /i/, graphically represented by *o* and *ei*, respectively, form one-phoneme word-forms. The initial position in the Gothic word-forms is occupied by all 19 consonant and 7 vowel phonemes with the only restriction for the phoneme /j/ to occupy the word-form final position.

3.2 Statistical analysis

Data on the number of phonemes that can occupy word-form initial and final positions, i.e. 26 and 25 phonemes, respectively, allow calculating the theoretically possible number of two-phoneme word-forms: 26 x 25 = 650. In the corpus under analysis, only 53 two-phoneme word-forms are registered. A comparison of the theoretically possible number with the registered quantity of instantiated models of two-phoneme word-forms (650 and 53, respectively) leads to the conclusion that the Gothic language macrosystem imposes restrictions on the implementation of one- and two-phoneme word-forms. Calculations presented in Table 1 concern the implementation of word-forms with the length of 10 to 19 phonemes, show even more limitations of the Gothic

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language macrosystem: as the word-form length increases, the number of word-forms decreases sharply.

To calculate the average phonemic length of the registered word-forms, the formula proposed by Perebyjnis (Перебийніс 2002: 38) is used:

$\bar{x} = \frac{\sum x_i n_i}{\sum n_i}$, in which:

$\bar{x}$ – average word-form length in phonemes;

$\sum$ – total number of the registered word-forms;

x_i – number of phonemes in the word-form;

n_i – number of word-forms of a certain length in phonemes;

$\sum n_i$ – total number of word-forms of all lengths in phonemes.

After performing the necessary operations, the average phonemic length is calculated:

$$\bar{x} = \frac{\sum x_i n_i}{\sum n_i} = \frac{70045}{9443} = 7.42 \text{ phonemes.}$$

Thus, the average word-form length in the corpus of the Gothic word-forms under analysis is 7.42 phonemes. This value depends on the number of word-forms of each length: an increase or decrease in the number would change the average length of the word-form. When calculating the average length of the word-form, it is essential to set the limits of oscillation of both average and absolute lengths by the formula of the mean square deviation: $\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum (x_i - \bar{x})^2 n_i}{\sum n_i}}$ (ibid., 48).

Having made all the calculations, the mean square deviation is found by the above-given formula, in which:

σ – mean square deviation;

$\bar{x}$ – average word-form length in phonemes;

x_i – number of phonemes in the word-form;

n_i – number of word-forms of a certain length in phonemes;

$\sum$ – total number of the registered word-forms;

$\sum n_i$ – total number of word-forms of all lengths in phonemes.

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$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum(x_i - \bar{x})^2 n_i}{\sum n_i}} = \sqrt{\frac{52050.4652}{9443}} = \sqrt{5.512068} = 2.3477 = 2.35.$$

To verify the accuracy of the obtained results, it is necessary to estimate the oscillation measure of the average word-form length $\sigma_{\bar{x}}$, which is calculated by the following formula $\sigma_{\bar{x}} = \frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{\sum n_i}}$ (ibid., 51).

Having used all previously obtained data, the measure of oscillation is set:

$$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = \frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{\sum n_i}} = \frac{2.3477}{\sqrt{9443}} = \frac{2.3477}{97.1750} = 0.0241 = 0.02.$$

The mean square deviation $\sigma = 2.35$, and $\sigma_{\bar{x}} = 0.02$. In the range from $\bar{x} - 2\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ to $\bar{x} + 2\sigma_{\bar{x}}$, i.e. 7.42 – 0.02 to 7.42 + 0.02 (7.40 – 7.44), there are possible oscillations in the average Gothic word-form length that are caused by statistical factors.

Since word-form fragments, word-forms with spaces, letters denoting numbers, word-forms with individual letters restored by Streitberg (2000) were not registered in the sample, the value of $\bar{x}$ cannot be calculated precisely. According to Perebyjnis (Перебийніс 2002: 60-61):

> *"... $\bar{x}$ and other statistical characteristics... are calculated with a certain amount of error, that is, with a certain deviation of the value that we would obtain if we survey the whole corpus. This inaccuracy is called a margin of error (or inaccuracy) of the study" and is calculated by the formula $\varepsilon = \frac{K\sigma_{\bar{x}}}{\bar{x}}$, in which: K is a constant that determines the confidence coefficient and equals to 1.96'.'*

Relative margin of error in the study is found according to the formula:

$\varepsilon = \frac{K\sigma_{\bar{x}}}{\bar{x}} = \frac{1.96 \times 0.02}{7.42} = \frac{0.0342}{7.42} = 0.0052 = 0.005$. This means that the value of $\bar{x}$ (average phonemic length of the registered word-forms in Gothic) in this study is calculated with a relative error of 0.5%, and the exactitude of the statistical characteristics is 99.5%. Consequently, statistical data of the phonemic patterning of the word-forms in Gothic are highly precise.

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4. Distributional analysis at the phonemic level

The phonemic combinatorial model in a word-form is represented by a canonical form (CF), where **C** is any consonant phoneme and **V** is any vowel phoneme. The consonantal Gothic subsystem consists of 19 phonemes, the vocalic system – of seven phonemes. The theoretical number of word-forms of a certain length in phonemes is calculated by the formula $\Sigma = 2^n$, where *n* is the number of phonemes that structure the word-forms (length of word-forms in phonemes) (Перебийніс 1970: 160). Thus, for nineteen-phoneme word-forms, the number of canonical forms is $\Sigma = 2^{19}$, that is 525288 CFs, etc.

4.1 Canonical forms

It is quite certain that not all theoretically possible canonical forms (combinatorial models) of the phonemic structure of the Gothic word-forms can be instantiated: like in any other language, it depends on many factors: 1) the number of phonemes in a word-form; 2) the morphemic structure of a word-form; 3) the implementation of consonantal and vocalic clusters of phonemes within a word-form in different (initial, medial, and final) positions; 4) the phoneme that occupies initial position in a word-form, and 5) the kinemic structure of the phonemes that constitute a word-form.

Table 2 shows the number of theoretically possible and registered canonical forms; instances of the Gothic word-forms of each particular length are provided in the right-side column. The table shows that percentage of the canonical forms instantiated in word-forms of each particular phonemic length depends on the number of phonemes constituting the word-forms, ranging from 68.75% (the highest measure of realization) in 4-phoneme word-forms to 0.0002% (the lowest measure of realization) in 19-phoneme word-forms. After analyzing the corpus of 9443 Gothic word-forms, their inventory of 656 canonical forms (CFs) was established.

As shown in Table 2, the Gothic language does not use all theoretically possible canonical forms from 1 to 19 phonemes long. The longer the word-forms in phonemes are, the smaller the percentage of realization of theoretically possible canonical forms by the language is, and the smaller the number of word-forms modelled by these canonical forms is.

Table 2. Number of theoretically possible and registered canonical forms compared

Number of phonemes in a word-form	Theoretically possible number of canonical forms	Number of the registered canonical forms	% of realization	Canonical form (example from the corpus under analysis)
1	2	1	50	**V** – *o* – interj. "o, oh, aha, ha";
2	4	2	50	**VC** – *iþ* – conj "but, however, in any case";
3	8	5	62.5	**CVC** – *her* – adv. "here, hither";
4	16	11	68.75	**CVCC** – *barn* noun, nom., neut. "child";
5	32	19	59.38	**CCVCV** – *staina* – noun, dat. masc. "stone, rock";
6	64	33	51.56	**CVCCVC** – *sunjus*– noun, gen., fem. "truth";
7	128	41	32.03	**CVCCCCV** – *waurstwa* – noun, nom., masc. "worker";
8	256	57	22.27	**CCVCCVCV** – *swikniþai* – noun, dat. fem. "purity, chasity";
9	512	77	15.04	**CVCCVCCVC** – *gaggandin* – Part. I, dat., masc., sing. of irreg. verb *gaggan* "to go, to walk";
10	1024	81	7.91	**CVCVCVCCCV** – *fauragaggja* – noun, nom., masc. sing. "superintendent";
11	2048	96	4.69	**CVCVCVCCCCV** – *manamaurþrja* – noun, nom., masc., sing. "murderer";
12	4096	91	2.22	**CVCCVCCVCCVC** – *midjungardis* – noun, gen., masc. sing. "the habitable world, earth";
13	8192	71	0.87	**CVCVCVCVCCVCV** – *himinakundana* – adj., acc., masc. sing. "heavenly, celestial";
14	16384	44	0.27	**CVCVCVCVCVCCVC** – *witodalaisarjos* – noun, nom., masc., pl., "law teacher, legal exegete, scribe";
15	32768	17	0.052	**CVCCVCVCCVCCVCV** – *sildalikjandona* – Part. I, nom., pl., neut., of the weak verb I *sildaleikjan* "marvel, wonder";
16	65536	6	0.0092	**CVCCVCVCCCVCCVCV** – *gaswikunþjandona* – Part. I, pl. neut., of the weak verb I *gaswikunþjan* "make manifest, make openly known";
17	131072	3	0.0023	**CVCVCVCVCCCVCCVCV** – *miþanakumbjandane* – Part. I, gen., pl. masc. of the weak verb I *miþanakumbjan* "lie down to a meal together";
18	262144	**Not registered**		
19	524288	1	0.0002	**CVCCVCCVCCVCCVCVCVC** – *gahþanmiþsandidedum* – 1 pers. pl. pret. of the weak verb I *gamiþsandjan* "to send / dispatch together with".
Total:	**1048574**	**656**	**0.0625**	

The analysis shows that the use of theoretically possible canonical forms with a length from one to six phonemes is high (from 68.75% to 50%). As the length of the canonical

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form increases, the percentage of its realization from the theoretically possible number decreases: after the 6-phoneme canonical forms it is less than 50%, and it decreases as the length of the canonical forms increases (from 32.03% in 7-phoneme to 0.0002% in 19-phoneme canonical forms). The study of the phonemic structure of word-forms shows that the number of canonical forms registered in the Gothic language makes an extremely small portion of their theoretically possible number: 656 out of 1048574, which is 0.0625%.

It is necessary not only to establish the inventory of the canonical forms used in the language, but also to determine the role that each canonical form plays in it. All the Gothic corpus of 67464 word-form usages is patterned according to 656 canonical forms (CFs), each of them having different frequency, and consequently, being characterized by various modelling power (Парк 2018a: 6). Thus, there are CFs, such as **CVC**, e.g., Goth. *jah* – conj. "and, but, also", **VC**, e.g., Goth. *ut* – adv. "out, outside", **CV**, e.g., Goth. *bi* – prep. "by, at, near", etc. with very high frequency of 9588, 5948, and 5227 of usages, which is 14.212%, 8.816% and 7.748%, respectively, of the total word-forms frequency; and there are such CFs, as **CCVCVCCVCV**, e.g., Goth. *swikunþaba* – adv. "plainly, clearly, in an obvious manner", **CVCVCVCVCVCV**, e.g., Goth. *fauragahugida* – 3rd pers. sing., pret. ind. of the weak verb I *fauragahugjan* "make up one's mind beforehand", and **VCCCVCCCVCV**, e.g., Goth. *andbahtjaina* – 3rd pers. pl., pres. opt. of the weak verb I *andbahtjan* "serve, administer, perform", with much lower frequency of 25, 15, and 5, respectively. Such canonical forms, as **VCVCCCVCCC**, e.g., Goth. *ufarskafts* – "altar, first fruit", **CCVCVCCCC**, e.g., Goth. *frawaurhts* – "offence, transgression, evil-doing", and **VCVCCVCVCVCVCCVCC**, e.g., Goth. *ufarhiminakundans* – adj., pl., nom, masc., weak decl. of *ufarhiminakunds* "born of heaven above, of heavenly origin, heavenly", are represented each by a single word-form.

For further study of the phonemic distribution in Gothic word-forms, it is necessary to determine, which canonical forms comprise the core system, the main system or centre,

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and periphery in terms of Prague school of linguistic thought (Daneš 1966; Vachek 1966: 27; 1976a), which is 75%, 90%, and 10%, respectively. Table 3 shows 24 canonical forms (CFs) with the highest modeling power in the decreasing frequencies order. These CFs represent the core system, they model 50660 Gothic word-forms, which comprise 75.091% of all the sample.

Table 3. Modelling power of the most frequent canonical forms in Gothic

#	Canonical form	Example of a word-form and its translation	Modelling power (frequency)	Cumulative modelling power (frequency)	Modelling power in %	Cumulative modelling power in %
1.	**CVC**	*qam* – "came"	9588	9588	14.212	14.212
2.	**VC**	*ut* – "out, outside"	5948	15536	8.816	23.028
3.	**CV**	*bi* – "by, at, near"	5227	20763	7.748	30.776
4.	**CVCV**	*runa* – "secret plan"	4803	25566	7.119	37.895
5.	**CVCVC**	*sunus* – "son"	4087	29653	6.058	43.953
6.	**CVCCV**	*manna* – "man, person"	2386	32039	3.536	47.490
7.	**VCCVC**	*unsar* – "our"	2096	34135	3.107	50.597
8.	**CVCCVC**	*wiljan* – "to wish"	1976	36111	2.929	53.526
9.	**VCCV**	*ahtau* – "eight"	1813	37924	2.687	56.213
10.	**CVCC**	*barn* – "child"	1661	39585	2.462	58.675
11.	**CVCVCV**	*rodida* – "spoke"	1493	41078	2.213	60.888
12.	**VCV**	*augo* – "eye"	1349	42427	1.999	62.888
13.	**VCC**	*ains* – "one, alone"	1255	43682	1.860	64.748
14.	**CVCVCVC**	*laisareis* – "teacher"	1221	44903	1.810	66.558
15.	**V**	*ei* – "in that case"	658	45561	0.975	67.533
16.	**CCVCVC**	*broþar* – "brother"	652	46213	0.966	68.500
17.	**VCCVCVC**	*aggilus* – "angel"	609	46822	0.902	69.403
18.	**CCVCCV**	*stibna* – "voice"	607	47429	0.899	70.302
19.	**CVCVCC**	*mikils* – "great, large"	581	48010	0.861	71.163
20.	**CVCVCCVC**	*bokarjos* – "scribes"	577	48587	0.855	72.019
21.	**CVCVCCV**	*fijaþwa* – "enmity"	564	49151	0.836	72.855
22.	**VCCVCV**	*idreiga* – "repentence"	507	49658	0.751	73.606
23.	**CVCVCVCV**	*samaleiko* – "similarly"	506	50164	0.750	74.356
24.	**CVV**	*saei* – "the one who"	496	50660	0.735	75.091
TOTAL:			**50660**	**50660**	**75.091**	**75.091**

As shown in Table 3, there are four three-phoneme CFs with the highest cumulative modelling power: 12688 word-form usages, which is 18.807% of the total frequency, two two-phoneme CFs with cumulative modelling power of 11175 word-form usages, which is 16.564% of the total frequency, three five-phoneme CFs with cumulative modelling power of 8569 word-form usages, which is 12.701% of the total frequency, three four-phoneme CFs with cumulative modelling power of 8277 word-form usages, which is 12.269% of the total frequency, six six-phoneme CFs with cumulative modelling power of 5816 word-form usages, which is 8.621% of the total frequency, two seven-phoneme CFs with cumulative modelling power of 2394 word-form usages, which is 3.548% of the total frequency, two eight-phoneme CFs with cumulative modelling power of 1083 word-form usages, which is 1.605% of the total frequency, and one one-phoneme CF with the frequency of 658 word-form usages, which is 0.975% of the total frequency. The main system together with the core of the system include 71 canonical forms (10.823% of all the CFs) that model 60812 word-form usages, which is 90.14%. The rest 585 canonical forms model 6652 word-form usages, which is 9.86% of the word-forms corpus under analysis, which represents the Gothic language word-forms periphery.

4.2 Gothic two-phoneme initial vocalic clusters

In the Gothic word-form corpus under analysis, 61 word-forms containing two-phoneme vocalic clusters in the initial position were attested. This is 0.65% of the total word-form number (9443). Their frequency is 767 word-form usages, which is 1.14% of the total word-form frequency (67464). Among these word-forms, only seven are of Germanic origin with the frequency of 25 word-form usages. They all begin with a two-phoneme vocalic cluster *iu* /iu/, which represents the only Gothic biphonemic diphthong with no signs of being monophonemicized (Ebbinghaus 1971; Plotkin 2008: 127), e.g.:

1) Goth. *iumjons* – noun, nom., fem. pl. of *iumjo* "crowd, throng" (Köbler 1989: 317; Snædal 1998: 516; Streitberg 2000: 11; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 104);

2) Goth. *iup* – adv. "up, upwards" (Köbler 1989: 317; Snædal 1998: 516; Streitberg 2000: 59; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 104);

3) Goth. *iupa* – adv. "on high, above, aloft, high up" (Köbler 1989: 317-318; Snædal 1998: 516; Streitberg 2000: 458; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 104);

4) Goth. *iupana* – adv. "from above, from before, again from the start, anew" (Köbler 1989: 318; Snædal 1998: 516; Streitberg 2000: 359; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 104);

5) Goth. *iupaþro* – adv. "from above" (Köbler 1989: 318; Snædal 1998: 516; Streitberg 2000: 29; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 104);

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6) Goth. *iusila* – noun, nom., fem. sing. "improvement, amelioration, betterment, ease" (Köbler 1989: 318; Snædal 1998: 517; Streitberg 2000: 405; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 104);

7) Goth. *iusiza* – adj. (supplet. of *goþs* "good"), nom., masc. sing. "better, superior" (Köbler 1989: 318; Snædal 1998: 517; Streitberg 2000: 357; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 104).

In addition to these, 54 word-forms of the corpus with the frequency of 742 word-form usages represent proper names of the Biblical personages, geographical names, and names of nationalities, which were transcribed from the Old Greek original, the so called *"Greek Vorlage"* of the New Testament (Miller 2019: 18-20), e.g.:

1) *Iesus* /iesus/ – "Jesus" (Snædal 1998: 420; Streitberg 2000: 81; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 85);

2) *Iakob* /iakob/ – "Jakob" (Snædal 1998: 416; Streitberg 2000: 231; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 85);

3) *Iairusalem* /iɛrusalem/ – "Jerusalem" (Snædal 1998: 415; Streitberg 2000: 93; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 85);

4) *Iaurdanu* /iɔrdanu/ – noun, acc., masc. sing. "the Jordan river" (Snædal 1998: 417; Streitberg 2000: 55; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 85);

5) *Iudaialand* /iudɛaland/ – "Judea" (Köbler 1989: 317; Snædal 1998: 514; Streitberg 2000: 165; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 103);

6) *iudaiwiskon* /iudɛwiskon/ – inf. of the weak verb II "live like a Jew" (Köbler 1989: 317; Snædal 1998: 516; Streitberg 2000: 355; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 104);

7) *Iudaius* /iudɛus/ – "Jew" (Köbler 1989: 317; Snædal 1998: 516; Streitberg 2000: 81; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 104), etc.

Two three-phoneme initial vocalic clusters were identified. They are represented by single usages in the Gothic Bible, e.g.:

1) /*iai*/ in *Iaeirus* – "Jairus", a ruler of the synagogue's name (Snædal 1998: 415; Streitberg 2000: 125; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 85);

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2) */ioa/* in Ioanan – "Johanan", the Old Testament proper name (Snædal 1998: 473; Streitberg 2000: 451; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 98).

4.3 Gothic two-phoneme final vocalic clusters

Besides, there are 37 (0.39% of the total number of word-forms under analysis) Gothic word-forms with the frequency of 801 (1.19% of the total word-form frequency) usages containing 19 two-phoneme vocalic clusters in the final position:

1) /*iu*/, e.g., Goth. *niu* – adv. "do not, did not, shall not, will not, have not" (Köbler 1989: 413; Snædal 1998: 775; Streitberg 2000: 219; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 141);

2) */ui/*, e.g., Goth. *þuei* – relat. pron., nom., sing., "you who" (Köbler 1989: 557; Snædal 1998: 1089; Streitberg 2000: 245; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 189);

3) /*oe*/, e.g., Goth. *ailoe* – interj. "my God" (Köbler 1989: 18; Snædal 1998: 27; Streitberg 2000: 221; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 9);

4) */au/*, e.g., Goth. *jau* – adv. "it may not be so that, is it so that, whether, regarding whether" (Köbler 1989: 333; Snædal 1998: 588; Streitberg 2000: 111; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 116);

5) */ua/*, e.g., Goth. *Iesua* – noun., dat., sing., masc. of *Iesus* "Jesus" (Snædal 1998: 420; Streitberg 2000: 59; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 86);

6) /*ii*/, e.g., Goth. *þizeiei* – relat. pron., gen., pl., masc. of *saei* "the one who, the one which, which" (Köbler 1989: 458; Snædal 1998: 879; Streitberg 2000: 377; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 187);

7) /*io*/, e.g., Goth. *gazaufwlakio* – noun., dat., sing., masc. of *gazaufwlakio* "treasury, treasure room" (Köbler 1989: 237; Snædal 1998: 313; Streitberg 2000: 43; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 71);

8) /*ia*/, e.g., Goth. *praitoria* – noun., acc., sing., neut./fem. "praetorium, palace" (Köbler 1989: 420-421; Snædal 1998: 789; Streitberg 2000: 81; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 143);

9) */ai/*, e.g., Goth. *swaei* – conj. "so that, such that, so as to, therefore" (Köbler 1989: 510; Snædal 1998: 993; Streitberg 2000: 171; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 167);

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10) /*ei*/, e.g., Goth. *þizeei* – relat. pron., gen., pl., masc. and neut. of *saei* "the one who, the one which, which" (Köbler 1989: 458; Snædal 1998: 879; Streitberg 2000: 377; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 187);

11) */oi/*, e.g., Goth. *þaþroei* – adv. "from the place that, from which place" (Köbler 1989: 543; Snædal 1998: 1063; Streitberg 2000: 377; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 183);

12) */áii/*, e.g., Goth. *þaiei* – relat. pron., nom., pl., masc. of *saei* "the one who, the one which, which" (Köbler 1989: 455; Snædal 1998: 879; Streitberg 2000: 177; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 174);

13) */iái/*, e.g., Goth. *siai* – 3rd pers. sing., pres. opt. of the irreg. verb *wisan* "be, exist, have existence, be present" (Köbler 1989: 638; Snædal 1998: 1219; Streitberg 2000: 391; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 157);

14) */áua/*, e.g., Goth. *gatraua* – 1st pers. sing., pres. ind. of the weak verb III *gatrauan* "trust, have confidence, be confident of, be convinced of, put into the trust of" (Köbler 1989: 228; Snædal 1998: 1031; Streitberg 2000: 229; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 69);

15) */iáu/*, e.g., Goth. *siau* – 1st pers. sing., pres. opt. of the irreg. verb *wisan* "be, exist, have existence, be present" (Köbler 1989: 640; Snædal 1998: 1219; Streitberg 2000: 131; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 157);

16) */áiu/*, e.g., Goth. *habaiu* – 3rd pers. sing., pres. opt. of the weak. Verb III *haban* followed by interrog. enclit. partic. *-u* "have, possess, have hold of, take hold of, have at one's disposal, consider" (Köbler 1989: 251; Snædal 1998: 344; Streitberg 2000: 141; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 75);

17) */áuáu/*, e.g., Goth. *gatrauau* – 1st pers. sing., pres. opt. of the weak verb III *gatrauan* "trust, have confidence, be confident of, be convinced of, put into the trust of" (Köbler 1989: 228; Snædal 1998: 1031; Streitberg 2000: 315; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 69);

18) */áuái/*, e.g., Goth. *bauai* – 3rd pers. sing., pres. opt. of the weak verb III *bauan* "dwell, inhabit, live" (Köbler 1989: 83; Snædal 1998: 133; Streitberg 2000: 389; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 30);

19) /*áui*/, e.g., Goth. Goth. *táui* – noun., nom. and acc., sing., neut. "work, act, activity, deed, product, effect" (Köbler 1989: 523; Snædal 1998: 1017; Streitberg 2000: 335; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 171).

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There is only one three-phoneme final vocalic cluster */iáiu/* represented by a single word-form: Goth. *siaiu* – 3rd pers. sing., pres. opt. of the irreg. verb *wisan* followed by interrog. enclit. partic. *-u* "be, exist, have existence, be present" (Snædal 1998: 1220; Streitberg 2000: 141; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 157).

The analysis of the initial vocalic clusters shows immediate phonological constraints that prevent their phonemic patterning, particularly in the word-forms of the Germanic origin. Instances of clusters in the Biblical proper names are transcriptions from the Greek original. Final vocalic clusters are conditioned mainly by the morphological system (noun, pronoun, and verbal paradigms). Vocalic patterning in Gothic demonstrates much lower combinability as compared to that of consonantal.

4.4 Gothic consonantal clusters

This section of the present study proposes a phonological analysis of initial (33 two-phoneme, two three-phoneme) and final (75 two-phoneme, 48 three-phoneme, and seven four-phoneme) consonantal clusters, based on a sample of 11988 (5038 two-phoneme initial, 5571 two-phoneme final, 20 three-phoneme initial, 1315 three-phoneme final, and 44 four-phoneme final) textual occurrences in the Gothic Bible and minor Gothic manuscripts.

4.4.1 Gothic two-phoneme initial consonantal clusters

Having analyzed all the corpus of the Gothic word-forms, 33 out of 361 (9.14% of realization) theoretically possible two-phoneme initial consonantal clusters were identified. Their frequency in the Gothic manuscripts is 5038 usages.

The most frequent two-phoneme consonantal clusters are:

1) */fr/* with 1634 usages, e.g., Goth. *fram* – prep. "forwards, forth, from, at, by, near, before, about" (Köbler 1989: 161-162; Snædal 1998: 244-247; Streitberg 2000: 7; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 50-51);

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2) */sw/* with 948 usages, e.g., Goth. *swe* – adv., conj. "as, just as, in like manner as, as if, like" (Köbler 1989: 513-514; Snædal 1998: 999-1002; Streitberg 2000: 211; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 168-169);
3) */hr/* with 494 usages, e.g., Goth. *hropjan* – inf. of the weak verb I "cry out, shout, call out" (Köbler 1989: 275; Snædal 1998: 391; Streitberg 2000: 205; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 81).

The least frequent two-phoneme consonantal clusters are:
1) */gl/* with 4 usages, e.g., Goth. *glaggwuba* – adv. "meticulously, with attention to detail, diligently" (Köbler 1989: 240; Snædal 1998: 323; Streitberg 2000: 85; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 72);
2) */bn/* with a single usage, e.g., *bnauandans* – Part. I, nom., pl., masc. of the strong reduplicative verb *bnauan* "rub" (Köbler 1989: 100-101; Snædal 1998: 155; Streitberg 2000: 109; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 35);
3) */*k^w*r/* also with a single usage, e.g., *qrammiþa* – noun, acc., sing., fem. of *qrammiþa* "moisture" (Köbler 1989: 431; Snædal 1998: 820; Streitberg 2000: 121; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 149).

The number of the consonant phonemes is 19. All of them except /j/ can occupy the first position in the initial cluster. The theoretically possible number of two-phoneme initial consonantal clusters is $18^2 = 324$. Of these only 33 occur (10.19% of realization). The second position in the cluster is occupied by 17 consonant phonemes; excluded from the sequences are the phonemes /h^w/ and /j/. The most typical and frequent clusters are those containing sonorant phonemes /w/, /r/, /l/, /m/, and /n/ in the second position; they are all heterogeneous in regard to the presence in their phonemic structure modal positive kineme of obstruence. Their frequency in the corpus is 4360 (86.5% of the total occurrences).

The next clusters in the decreasing frequency order are those combined with the phoneme /s/ as the first member of the sequence, and obstruent plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/

– as the second. These three clusters are homogeneous in obstruency. They are found in 672 word-forms (13.33% of the total occurrences). Homogeneous cluster /ps/ and heterogeneous /bn/ demonstrate the least frequency: six cases of realization out of 5038.

4.4.1 Gothic two-phoneme final consonantal clusters

There are 75 two-phoneme final consonantal clusters, which is 20.8% of the theoretically possible number of combinations. Their frequency in the Gothic corpus of word-forms is 5571 usages. The number of two-phoneme consonantal clusters in the final position is more than twice as high as the number of two-phoneme consonantal clusters in the initial position.

The most frequent two-phoneme final consonantal clusters are:
1) */ns/* with 2134 usages, e.g., Goth. *qumans* – Part. II, nom., sing., masc. of the strong verb IV *qiman* "come, arrive, get to" (Köbler 1989: 424-425; Snædal 1998: 793-798; Streitberg 2000: 115; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 149);
2) */st/* with the frequency of 788 usages, e.g., Goth. *ist* – 3rd pers. sing., pres. ind. of the irreg. verb *wisan* "be, exist, have existence, be present" (Köbler 1989: 639-644; Snædal 1998: 1206-1214; Streitberg 2000: 123; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 100-102); 3) */nd/* with the frequency of 669 usages, e.g., *letand* – 3rd pers. pl., pres. ind. of the strong reduplicative verb VII *letan* "let alone, leave, leave alone, let out, let forth" (Köbler 1989: 359; Snædal 1998: 55; Streitberg 2000: 159; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 122).

Two-phoneme final consonantal clusters with the lowest frequency are represented by:
1) */hʷt/* with the frequency of two usages, e.g., Goth. *saƕt* – 2nd pers. sing., pres. ind. of the strong verb V *saiƕan* "see, look, observe, view" (Köbler 1989: 461-462; Snædal 1998: 898-900; Streitberg 2000: 137; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 154);
2) */mz/* with a single usage, e.g., Goth. *mimz* – noun, acc., sing., neut. of *mimz* "meat, edible flesh" (Köbler 1989: 388; Snædal 1998: 721; Streitberg 2000: 259; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 132);

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3) */lf/* also with a single usage, e.g., Goth. *wulf* – noun, acc., sing., masc. of *wulfs* "wolf" (Köbler 1989: 652; Snædal 1998: 1241-1242; Streitberg 2000: 51; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 215).

All consonant phonemes except /j/, /h^w/, and /j/ can occupy the first position in the final cluster. The theoretically possible number of two-phoneme initial consonantal clusters is $16^2 = 256$. Of these only 75 were attested (29.3% of realization). The phonemes /k^w/, /w/, and /j/ are excluded by the Gothic language system from their role as the second elements of the final clusters.

Table 4. Combinability of the Gothic consonant phonemes
in the two-phoneme initial and final clusters

		PHONEMES																		
		p	t	k	k^w	f	θ	s	h/x	h^w	b/v	d/ð	z	g/γ	m	n	w	r	l	j
PHONEMES	p							ps										pr	pl	
	t		tt					ts									tw	tr	tl	
	k							ks								kn		kr	kl	
	k^w																	k^wr		
	f		ft					fs										fr	fl	
	θ							θs									θw	θr	θl	
	s	sp	st	sk				ss							sm	sn	sw		sl	
	h/x		ht					hs								hn	hw	hr	hl	
	h^w		h^wt																	
	b/v							bs								bn		br	bl	
	d/ð							ds									dw	dr		
	z											zd				zn				
	g/γ		gt					gs				gd			gm	gn		gr	gl	
	m	mp	mt			mf		ms			mb		mz		mm					
	n		nt	nk	nk^w		nθ	ns				nd	nz	ng		nn				
	w																	wr	wl	
	r	rp	rt			rf	rθ	rs	rh		rb	rd		rg	rm	rn				
	l	lp	lt	lk		lf	lθ	ls	lh			ld		lg	lm				ll	
	j																			

Table 4 shows combinability of phonemes in two-phoneme initial and final consonantal clusters. Phonemes in the left side vertical column are the first members of the clusters, phonemes in the upright horizontal row are the second elements of the clusters. The attested consonantal clusters are realized at the intersection of phonemes. Clusters highlighted in blue are found only in the initial position; those in green are final, while clusters in red are realized both initially and finally. Empty spaces mean exclusions on the phonemic combinability.

In Gothic, as shown in the Table 4, there are 16 two-phoneme consonantal clusters (highlighted in red), which are implemented both in the initial and final word-form positions. These combinations fall into two groups, based on their models. The first group of sequences /st, sk, ps/ contains two obstruent phonemes. It is noteworthy that the second and most numerous group of clusters /sn, fl, kn, kr, kl, θr, hn, hl, bn, br, dr, gl, gr/ is that of an obstruent combined with a sonorant phoneme. Two-phoneme final sequences of consonants (highlighted in green) display fewer constraints and exclusions on phonemic patterning as compared to the initial combinations (highlighted in blue), in which their realizations depend on and are regulated by the increase of sonority before the nucleus of the syllable represented by a vowel phoneme.

See the full list of the two-phoneme initial and final consonantal clusters in the frequency decreasing order in Tables 5 and 6 (Appendices A and B).

4.4.3 Gothic three-phoneme initial consonantal clusters

Two three-phoneme initial consonantal clusters with a strict sequence of phonemes (/s + p / t + r/) were attested:

1) */spr/* with the frequency of 17 usages, e.g., Goth. *sprauto* – adv., conj. "quickly, speedily, promptly, fast, rapidly, without delay" (Köbler 1989: 496; Snædal 1998: 966-967; Streitberg 2000: 57; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 168-169);

2) */str/* with the frequency of 3 usages, e.g., *strawidedun* – 3rd pers. pl., pret. ind. of the weak verb I *straujan* "strew, scatter, spread by throwing" (Köbler 1989: 503; Snædal 1998: 979; Streitberg 2000: 205; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 165).

4.4.4 Gothic three-phoneme final consonantal clusters

Analysis of three-phoneme consonantal clusters is complicated by a number of theoretical differences on this point. The inventory of three-phoneme consonantal

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clusters, compiled by Schulze (1966), includes 36 consonantal clusters, of which 21 clusters are formed by combining two-phoneme clusters with consonant phonemes /s/, /t/, which are word-forming suffixes. Calabrese (1994) holds the same opinion. Thus, the realization of the three-phoneme final consonantal clusters in the word-forms of Gothic is supported by the morphological system of the language.

In the corpus of word-forms, there are 48 three-phoneme final consonantal clusters, which is 0.7% of the 6859 theoretically possible combinations. The frequency of these clusters is 1315 usages. The most frequent three-phoneme final consonantal clusters are:
1) */nds/*, which is registered in 969 word-form usages, e.g., Goth. *ungalaubjands* – Part. I, nom., sing., masc. "unbelieving, uncompliant, disobedient" (Köbler 1989: 576; Snædal 1998: 1110-1111; Streitberg 2000: 269; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 194);
2) */hts/* with the frequency of 73 usages, e.g., Goth. *waihts* – noun, nom. and gen., sing., acc., pl. of *waihts* "thing, anything, something, entity, objective, matter" (Köbler 1989: 611-612; Snædal 1998: 1147-1148; Streitberg 2000: 47; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 205);
3) */nst/* with the frequency of 23 usages, e.g., Goth. *anst* – noun, acc., sing., fem. of *ansts* "meat, beneficence, graciousness, grace, joy, thanks, gift" (Köbler 1989: 53-54; Snædal 1998: 86-87; Streitberg 2000: 87; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 22).

The least frequent three-phoneme final consonantal clusters are represented by single word-forms:
1) */rθr/* as in Goth. *maurþr* – noun, acc., sing., neut. of *maurþr* "murder, homicide" (Köbler 1989: 381; Snædal 1998: 704; Streitberg 2000: 219; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 129);
2) */þms/* as in Goth. *maiþms* – noun, acc., sing., neut. of *maurþr* "votive treasure, gift" (Köbler 1989: 371; Snædal 1998: 682; Streitberg 2000: 187; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 125);

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3) */mbs/* as in Goth. *dumbs* – adj, nom., sing., masc. "voiceless, mute" (Köbler 1989: 129; Snædal 1998: 203; Streitberg 2000: 87; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 42).

According to their structure, all the 48 three-phoneme final consonantal clusters are distributed among five groups. The most frequent clusters are described by such sequence of phonemes as a sonorant followed by two successive obstruent phonemes. This group is represented by 23 consonantal sequences. Their textual occurrence is the highest among the other four groups (1141 usages, which is 86.77% of the three-phoneme final clusters total frequency). The second group of clusters is represented by seven consonantal sequences modelled in the following order: first, second, and third positions are all occupied by obstruent phonemes. These consonantal sequences are attested in 115 word-forms (8.75% of the total three phoneme final clusters frequency). Another group of eight clusters is built according to such model, as an obstruent + a sonorant + an obstruent. Its textual frequency is 27 occurrences (2.05%). The fourth group of seven clusters with the frequency of 17 usages (1.29%) are constructed in the following order: a sonorant + an obstruent + a sonorant. The rarest group of the three-phoneme consonant sequences is an obstruent phoneme followed by another obstruent + a sonorant. Its frequency is 15 usages in the corpus under analysis.

See the full list of the three-phoneme final consonantal clusters in the frequency decreasing order in Table 7 (Appendix C).

4.4.5 Gothic four-phoneme final consonantal clusters

In the Gothic corpus under analysis, seven four-phoneme final consonantal clusters with frequency of 44 usages were attested. These clusters are:

1) */nsts/* as in Goth. *ansts* – noun, nom., sing., fem. "meat, beneficence, graciousness, grace, joy, thanks, gift" (Köbler 1989: 53-54; Snædal 1998: 86-87; Streitberg 2000: 87; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 22);

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2) */mfsl/* as in Goth. *swumfsl* – noun, acc., sing., neut. "pool, pond, place of swimming" (Köbler 1989: 519; Snædal 1998: 1010; Streitberg 2000: 49; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 170);
3) */strs/* as in Goth. *swistrs* – noun, gen., sing., fem. of *swistar* "sister" (Köbler 1989: 518; Snædal 1998: 1009; Streitberg 2000: 55; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 170);
4) */rkns/* as in Goth. *airkns* – adj, nom., sing., masc. "holy, genuine, pure, sincere, unadulterated" (Köbler 1989: 22; Streitberg 2000: 419; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 11);
5) */rfts/* as in Goth. *þaurfts* – noun, nom., sing., fem. "need, necessity, requisiteness" (Köbler 1989: 544; Snædal 1998: 1065; Streitberg 2000: 157; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 183);
6) */rhts/* as in Goth. *frawaurhts* – noun, nom., sing., fem. "evil-doing, offence, transgression" (Köbler 1989: 168; Snædal 1998: 51; Streitberg 2000: 157; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 53);
7) */hsns/* as in Goth. *garehsns* – noun, nom., sing., fem. "design, plan, programme, determination, fixed time" (Köbler 1989: 216; Snædal 1998: 304; Streitberg 2000: 460; Tollenaere & Jones 1976: 66).

As seen from the above-drawn instances, four models of the four-phoneme consonantal clusters are realized according to the following models:
1) a sonorant + an obstruent + an obstruent /t/ + an obstruent /s/ – /nsts/, /rfts/, and /hts/;
2) an obstruent + an obstruent + a sonorant + an obstruent /s/ – /strs/ and /hsns/;
3) a sonorant /r/+ an obstruent /k/+ a sonorant /n/+ an obstruent /s/;
4) a sonorant /m/ + an obstruent /f/ + an obstruent /s/ + a sonorant /l/.

5. Discussion and conclusions

The study is focused on the search for such characteristics that would help corroborate the hypothesis that the corpus of the Gothic word-forms is not just a multitude of word-forms the language system is comprised of, but an ordered set of elements that are related in certain ways, not only at the grammatical and semantic levels, but also at the

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phonemic one. The word-form as a linguistic unit is not a simple sequence of phonemes, it is also structured at the phonemic level.

Phonemic patterning of the word-forms was studied in the aspect of its structural characteristics, calculating the average word-form length in phonemes, setting the oscillation limits of average and absolute lengths, establishing the margin of error by statistical analysis. Combinability of the two classes of phonemes (vowels and consonants) within a word-form was undertaken by applying the method of distributional analysis at the segmental (phonemic) level.

The study of the word-form length in phonemes has shown that the Gothic language macrosystem imposes restrictions on its most general structural characteristics – the number of phonemes that constitute a word-form. There are no word-forms longer than 19 phonemes in the Gothic language; neither has any 18-phoneme long word-form been registered. All registered word-forms are grouped into 18 classes according to the number of phonemes in their structure. Each class has a different number of word-forms, the largest being the seven-phoneme class. Close in number to this class are the six- and eight-phoneme-long word-forms. With the increase of length in phonemes, the number of word-forms in a certain class decreases. The longer in phonemes the word-forms are, the less convenient they are for the speakers of the language.

The analysis of the general patterns in the phonemic structure of word-forms has shown that inside the word-forms of each length, the Gothic language imposes its restrictions and limitations on the combinability of the two classes of phonemes – vowels and consonants, presented in the most general form as V and C. A comparison of the theoretically possible and instantiated canonical forms shows that the Gothic language exploits its potential by less than one percent, while the number of theoretically possible canonical forms used by the language decreases with their increasing length. The inquiry into the canonical forms has shown that the Gothic language does not allow

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vocalic clusters longer than three phonemes and consonantal clusters longer than four phonemes successively in word-forms of any length.

Some of the canonical forms cannot be word-forms according to the laws of any Indo-European language, being only clusters of consonant phonemes. Others could theoretically be word-forms, but they are not found in the Gothic manuscripts. Among the unrealized constructional patterns, which, according to the laws of the Gothic language, could be word-forms, since the combination of vowel and consonant phonemes in them does not exceed the norm established in the language, they, nevertheless, do not model a single word. Obviously, the restrictions imposed by the Gothic language on the combinability of phonemes belonging to the same class in a word-form must be considered in close connection with its length: the shorter the canonical forms are, the shorter the same class phoneme clusters are, even though such clusters are permitted by the laws of the language.

The analysis of the modelling power of canonical forms measured by the number of word-forms and their textual frequency has shown that the presence of three-phoneme vocalic or four-phoneme consonantal clusters, which are allowed by the language, sharply reduces the modelling power of a canonical form. The inventory of 71 (out of 656) most frequent canonical forms with cumulative modelling power of 90% has been determined as the centre of the system. The remaining inventory of 585 canonical forms, whose cumulative modelling power is 10%, represents the system's periphery.

The distributional analysis of the initial vocalic clusters has revealed one two-phoneme sequence of /i/ +/u/ in the word-forms of the Germanic origin. The other seven two-phoneme and two three-phoneme initial clusters have been found in proper names of the Biblical personages, geographical names, and names of nationalities, which were transcribed from the Old Greek New Testament original, or via Old Greek from the Hebrew Old Testament, where such combinations of vowel phonemes are permitted by the laws of the respective languages. The examination of the two-phoneme and three-phoneme final vocalic sequences has shown that their combinability is conditioned mainly by the noun, pronoun, and verbal paradigms.

The study of consonantal clusters has revealed a significantly larger inventory of construction patterns (33 initial two-phoneme, two three-phoneme combinations), whereas 75 two-phoneme, 48 three-phoneme, and seven four-phoneme sequences have been attested in the end of the word-forms. The most typical and frequent two-phoneme clusters are those containing sonorant phonemes as the first members of the sequences, the second position is occupied by any phoneme containing a positive modal kineme of obstruence. Next in the frequency decreasing order are the clusters with obstruent phonemes in the first position. The second position is occupied by obstruent phonemes or sonorants. Among the least frequent two-phoneme final consonantal clusters are those consisting of two sonorant phonemes, an obstruent phoneme followed by a sonorant, or by another obstruent.

The investigation of the two three-phoneme initial consonantal clusters has identified a strict order of their implementation: the first member of the sequence is the phoneme /s/, the second position is occupied by the obstruent phonemes /p/ or /t/ followed by the sonorant phoneme /r/. The treatment of the final consonantal clusters has shown that they are patterned according to five models. The most frequent clusters are represented by such sequence of phonemes as a sonorant followed by two successive obstruent phonemes. The next group of clusters in the frequency decreasing order is modelled by the obstruent phonemes realized successively. Another group of consonantal combinations is instantiated by the sequence of an obstruent + a sonorant + an obstruent. Consonantal sequences belonging to the fourth group are constructed in the following order: a sonorant + an obstruent + a sonorant. The rarest group of the three-phoneme consonantal sequences is an obstruent followed by another obstruent + a sonorant phoneme.

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The application of statistical analysis methods has revealed such features of the phonemic structure of the Gothic word-form, as its length in phonemes, the position of phonemes in the word-form, and the position of classes of phonemes in the canonical forms. Statistical analysis confirmed the reliability of the obtained results: the relative margin of error does not exceed 0.5%, and the accuracy of statistical characteristics is 99.5%.

The proposed methodology, results, and conclusions of the study can be used in further theoretical developments not only in phonology, but also in the study of typological features of the cognate and genetically distant languages belonging to different grammatical types.

Abbreviations

acc. – accusative
adj. – adjective
adv. – adverb
CF – canonical form
conj. – conjunction
demonstr. – demonstrative
fem. – feminine
gen. – genitive
dat. – dative
enclit. – enclitic
Goth. – Gothic
ind. – indicative
inf. – infinitive
interj. – interjection
irreg. – irregular
masc. – masculine
neut. – neuter

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nom. – nominative

Part. I – present participle

Part II – past participle

partic. – particle

pers. – person

pl. – plural

prep. – preposition

pres. – presence

pret.-pres. – preterite-present

pret. – preterite

pron. – pronoun

relat. – relative

sing. – singular

supplet. – suppletive

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Résumé

This study of the phonemic patterning in the Gothic word-forms aims at quantitative, distributional, and statistical analysis of the phonological structure of the word-forms attested in Gothic manuscripts at the segmental level. It is based on the hypothesis that the systemic character of meaningful linguistic units is corroborated not only by grammatical and semantic criteria, but also by the phonological one. The word-form is not a simple sequence of phonemes, it is also structured at the phonemic level. Calculations have shown that the Gothic language, theoretically capable of building the inventory of more than 1000000 word-forms construction patterns, actually utilized only 656, or 0.06 per cent. Any vocalic or consonantal cluster would inevitably bring about a corresponding reduction in the modelling power of the canonical form. The analysis of canonical forms has shown that the Gothic language does not allow vocalic and consonantal clusters longer than three and four phonemes respectively. The study of the word-form length in phonemes has shown that the Gothic language imposes restrictions and exclusions on its most general structural characteristics – the number of phonemes that constitute a word-form. Each of the 18 classes that were grouped according to the length in phonemes, is characterized by a different number and textual frequency, the largest being the class of the word-forms containing seven phonemes. With the increase of length in phonemes, the number and frequency of word-forms in a certain class decreases. Distributional analysis at the phonemic level has made it possible to establish all initial and final vocalic and consonantal clusters and their constructional models. The choice of phonemes and number of clusters in the word-form initial position is very strict, even rigid, while the final position demonstrates more freedom for the cluster's realization. Statistical analysis has confirmed the reliability of the obtained results.

Key words: word-form, phoneme, kineme, phonemic structure, distribution, canonical form.

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Appendix A

Table 5. Two-phoneme initial consonantal clusters in the frequency decreasing order

#	Cluster	Frequency	#	Cluster	Frequency	#	Cluster	Frequency
1.	/fr/	1634	12.	/pr/	76	23.	/hn/	12
2.	/sw/	948	13.	/tr/	75	24.	/θl/	11
3.	/hr/	494	14.	/gr/	54	25.	/wl/	11
4.	/sk/	332	15.	/sp/	53	26.	/kn/	10
5.	/st/	288	16.	/sl/	49	27.	/pl/	7
6.	/br/	284	17.	/wr/	47	28.	/fl/	6
7.	/hl/	143	18.	/sn/	39	29.	/ps/	5
8.	/dr/	110	19.	/θw/	37	30.	/kl/	4
9.	/tw/	89	20.	/dw/	14	31.	/gl/	4
10.	/θr/	88	21.	/sm/	13	32.	/bn/	1
11.	/bl/	87	22.	/kr/	12	33.	/k^{w}r/	1

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Appendix B

Table 6. Two-phoneme final consonantal clusters in the frequency decreasing order

#	Cluster	Frequency	#	Cluster	Frequency	#	Cluster	Frequency
1.	/ns/	2134	26.	/nθ/	17	51.	/hn/	3
2.	/st/	788	27.	/zn/	16	52.	/nk/	3
3.	/nd/	669	28.	/ss/	16	53.	/lg/	3
4.	/rθ/	224	29.	/sn/	16	54.	/br/	3
5.	/θs/	216	30.	/lk/	16	55.	/tt/	3
6.	/rh/	208	31.	/rs/	14	56.	/lm/	2
7.	/rd/	143	32.	/lθ/	13	57.	/h^{w}t/	2
8.	/ht/	134	33.	/θr/	12	58.	/rt/	2
9.	/nn/	112	34.	/rp/	12	59.	/mm/	2
10.	/ll/	100	35.	/kn/	11	60.	/gl/	2
11.	/gs/	83	36.	/fs/	10	61.	/nz/	1
12.	/ks/	54	37.	/mt/	9	62.	/lf/	1
13.	/ng/	49	38.	/gn/	9	63.	/rf/	1
14.	/ds/	44	39.	/kl/	8	64.	/rm/	1
15.	/lh/	42	40.	/gt/	8	65.	/mz/	1
16.	/ms/	40	41.	/nt/	7	66.	/mb/	1
17.	/ls/	37	42.	/ps/	7	67.	/mp/	1
18.	/ts/	32	43.	/rb/	6	68.	/kr/	1
19.	/rg/	32	44.	/zd/	5	69.	/fl/	1
20.	/lt/	30	45.	/gm/	5	70.	/hw/	1
21.	/rn/	28	46.	/bs/	5	71.	/hl/	1
22.	/ld/	25	47.	/lp/	4	72.	/bn/	1
23.	/hs/	25	48.	/sk/	4	73.	/dr/	1
24.	/ft/	23	49.	/gr/	4	74.	/gd/	1
25.	/mf/	21	50.	/nk^w/	4	75.	/tl/	1

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Appendix C

Table 7. Three-phoneme final consonantal clusters in the frequency decreasing order

#	Cluster	Frequency	#	Cluster	Frequency	#	Cluster	Frequency
1.	/nds/	966	17.	/lds/	6	33.	/kns/	2
2.	/hts/	73	18.	/sns/	6	34.	/kls/	2
3.	/rθs/	24	19.	/fst/	6	35.	/nnt/	1
4.	/lks/	23	20.	/θrs/	6	36.	/ngk/	1
5.	/nst/	23	21.	/hsn/	5	37.	/ngkʷ/	1
6.	/rht/	21	22.	/nsl/	5	38.	/hst/	1
7.	/sts/	19	23.	/rst/	4	39.	/mbs/	1
8.	/rgs/	16	24.	/zds/	4	40.	/mbn/	1
9.	/rds/	14	25.	/lθs/	3	41.	/msl/	1
10.	/nθs/	14	26.	/rft/	3	42.	/mts/	1
11.	/fts/	9	27.	/tts/	3	43.	/lht/	1
12.	/str/	8	28.	/rhs/	2	44.	/lfs/	1
13.	/rts/	7	29.	/rms/	2	45.	/rbs/	1
14.	/gms/	7	30.	/htr/	2	46.	/rθr/	1
15.	/lls/	6	31.	/ngs/	2	47.	/θms/	1
16.	/lhs/	6	32.	/krs/	2	48.	/brs/	1

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PAUSATION ALGORITHM OF POLITICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL DISCOURSES: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: The article highlights the findings of an experimental phonetic study of pausation algorithm of English pedagogical and political discourses from a comparative perspective. The work focuses on pausation as an important temporal element of the specific cognitive perception mechanism. Common and variant features of optimal duration of structural pauses, their localisation, and pausation ratio have been revealed.

Key words: institutional discourse, comparative discourse analysis, discourse prosody, comparative approach, pausal organisation, auditory-acoustic analysis, variant and invariant temporal features.

Never pause unless you have a reason for it but when you pause, pause as long as you can (William Somerset Maugham).

1. Introduction

New developments in the fields of discourse studies and cognitive science have resulted in the evolution of new paradigms in linguistics and shifted its core scientific

[1] We would like to take the opportunity to thank all the people whose involvement was vital in completing the present study. We are especially grateful to Prof. Valentina Daineko, the Head of our Department, Anna Orel, and Olena Chambers for their valuable assistance at the various stages of preparing the manuscript. It is with true pleasure that we acknowledge the contribution made by *Lege Artis* to our research. We have been very fortunate to cooperate with Senior Managing Editor Halyna Stashko, who is exceptional both professionally and personally. We would like to sincerely thank Halyna for her sensible comments, encouragement, and motivation throughout the entire process of the manuscript preparation. Our appreciation goes to our reviewers, whose names we do not know. The constructive communication between us helped clarify the viewpoints and sharpen and refine the ideas. However, we take the responsibility for any errors and shortcomings still remaining in the research. We also recognise the contribution of the Language Editor. Last, but not least, our thanks goes to the Editor-in-Chief of *Lege Artis* Prof. Nataliya Panasenko for her service to society and the development of science in its true spirit and intention.

goals from traditional formal-structural studies to socio-cognitive perspective. By interpretation of Lakoff (1993) and Kubryakova (Кубрякова 1994), cognitive linguistics studies language as a cognitive mechanism that plays a role in encoding and transforming information. The model of frame semantics and concept modelling was developed in the works by Fillmore (1982) and Zhabotinskaya (Жаботинская 2012). A socio-cognitive approach to discourse analysis was suggested by van Dijk (2010).

This encouraged the spread of new trends in the study of phonetics, namely new approaches to analysing prosodic characteristics suggested by Kalyta (Калита 2000), Potapova and Potapov (Потапова & Потапов 2000), new strategies in analysing discourse prosodic patterns (Штакина 2006; Bondarenko 2013; Wichmann 2000). In its present stage of development, phonetics is characterised by growing interest in prosodic problems within the framework of complex discourse analysis, the basis of which is interaction of discourse units of different language levels.

Popova (Попова 2015: 297) concludes that language as an abstract sign system is realised through discourses. Consequently, Karasik (Карасик 2004) identifies two main types of discourse: *personal* and *institutional*. He notes that in modern communicative space the following types of institutional discourse are used: *political*, *diplomatic*, *administrative*, *legal*, *military*, *pedagogical*, *religious*, *mystical*, *medical*, *business*, *advertising*, *sports*, *scientific*, *stage*, *and mass information* (ibid.). According to van Dijk (2008), institutional discourse is communication within established social institutions of the society. As for varieties of institutional discourse, differences between them are rather arbitrary. Thus, the choice of pedagogical and political discourses as an object of comparative analysis is not random; both discourses belong to the same type, are goal-oriented, and aim at reaching the audience. Institutional discourse is considered in different studies, which focus on various types of communication, distinguished on the basis of sociolinguistic features, including phonetic ones (Петренко 2000; Alexiyevets 2017; Siller 2019). It is generally recognised that institutional discourse uses a certain system of professionally oriented signs, that is, it has its own sublanguage. Therefore, the study of prosodic organisation in this perspective will be very relevant for both discourse analysis and phonetic studies on the problems of prosodic variability. The comparative study of prosodic variation will make it possible to fully describe and understand the nature of prosodic features of institutional discourse and reflect the specifics of discursive approach more deeply.

Until now, empirical studies in the area of discourse prosody were predominantly concentrated on studying prosody or one of its components in a particular type of discourse, for example, Al-Siyami (2018), Lysychkina (Лисичкіна 2005) analysed advertising discourse, Alexiyevets (2017), Kirkham and Moore (2016) focused on political discourse, Falk (2013) investigated radio discourse, and Serdyuk (Сердюк 2016) paid special attention to military discourse. Nevertheless, comparative studies of prosodic parameters of two or more discourses were almost entirely ignored. On the one hand, phoneticians increasingly claim that discourse structure is reflected by a number of global prosodic parameters or cognitive prosodic universals (Cruttenden 1986; Jasinskaja et al. 2005), but on the other hand, each type of discourse has its own peculiar features. Considering these ideas, first, we want to fill the gap in empirical research comparing two socially important discourses. Secondly, we want to check whether the expectation that there are global prosodic parameters is correct.

"The hierarchical structure of spoken discourse is reflected by a number of prosodic parameters" (Jasinskaja et al. 2005). The prosody manifests itself at different levels (i.e. syllables, words, word combinations, and whole utterances) influencing interpretation of a message in different ways. For example, prosodic information can be used to convey lexical meaning at the word level through variations in stress pattern or lexical tone (Carvalho et al. 2018). Bondarenko (2013), Bradford (1996), Brown (1990), and Roach (2000) argue that prosody is also used to convey useful discourse information such as information structure (e.g., focus, new vs. old information). Carvalho et al. (2018), Kalyta (Калита 2001), Magnier et al. (2014) conclude that

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prosody can also be used to change interpretation of an utterance (e.g., irony, disbelief, etc.), and it can reflect the emotional state of the speaker (Stashko 2017).

Prosody is regarded as a macro-system (Bradford 1996; Panasenko 2013; Roach 2000), which includes three aspects: melodic (tone and intonation, in relation with speech melody), temporal (unit durations, pausation, and speech rate), and dynamic (intensity, one of the major correlates of loudness). These prosodic aspects of speech have a variety of communicative functions, most of these closely tied to the fact that they mediate between abstract and time-free mental structures underlying speech utterances and the production and perception of speech developing in real time (Nooteboom 1997). Recent phonetic studies pay special attention to the pragmatic aspect of prosody (Musiienko 2017; Strangert 2006; Taranenko 2017), prosodic emphasis (Лисичкіна 2005; Szczepek 2010), rhythm (Zabuzhanska 2017), and pause features (Александрова 2004; Барьядаева 2016; Falk 2013; Fors 2015; Li-chiung 2007).

Prosody of speech is a sensitive and delicate indicator of rhetorical methods to influence the audience. In other words, the basic principle of modern public speech both in lecture and in political speech is the principle of harmony between an addresser and an addressee. Manifestation of certain influence on the addressee is realised with the help of the whole complex of prosodic means, pauses being a significant expressive component of such (Бишук 2005). In her doctoral dissertation, Fors (2015: 14) defines a pause as follows: "a pause is a silence that occurs during an ongoing conversation, and during a speaker's turn or at a turn change". Pauses play a very important role in speech production, for instance, they have a physiological role during the breathing phase of the speaker and they fulfil a rhythmic and prosodic role in grouping words together and producing them in a particular rate (Demol et al. 2007). According to Zontova (Зонтова 2016: 80):

"*As a phenomenon of the linguistic plan, pauses can be regarded as a component of prosody, which allows segmenting speech utterance into discrete units optimum for transferring the meaning of the message. As a phenomenon of the extralinguistic plan, it is phenomenally (i.e. as a phenomenon) related to and dependent on the communication situation. As a phenomenon of the metalinguistic plan,* *pausation, and especially its formal component, is not only the key to decoding the meaning of the utterance, but also going beyond the linguistic plan into extralinguistic, which allows the recipient to interpret the incoming extralinguistic information and to correlate it with the linguistic form*".

Pauses have multiple functions, they organise oral discourse, reflect its structural-semantic space, serve as cues to discourse boundaries in speech, introduce new discourse topics, and act as cognitive and interactional discourse signals (Li-chiung 2007; Zellner 1994: 46). Works on discourse production increasingly discuss the aspects concerning the cognitive status of pauses (Schilperoord 2002), showing the relation between pauses and cognitive processes in discourse production. Zellner (1994) suggests that as a reflection of cognitive activity a pause is the external manifestation of some of the cognitive processes involved in speech production in that pauses provide extra time for planning and programming the final production. Scholars recognise that pauses are relevant to cognitive processing and are related to effect, style, and lexical and grammatical structure (e.g., Ramanarayanan & Bresch 2009; Schilperoord 2002; Zellner 1994 among others).

Speech pauses are regularly used to demarcate major or minor phrases, and the particular acoustic realisation seems to depend on the relation between the prosodic boundary and its position in the hierarchical constituent structure of the sentence being spoken (Nooteboom 1997; Zellner 1994). Production of speech pauses is to a large extent optional, and depends much on the style of speech and speech tempo (Nooteboom 1997). Pauses are used as expressive elements in a discourse, especially for emphasis or dramatic effect and for building up tension or climax (Magnier et al. 2014).

Thus, the **object** of this paper is pedagogical and political discourses as types of institutional discourse. We **aim** to closely study their pausation algorithm, which is the **subject** of this research, as an important element of discourse temporal organisation from a comparative perspective. The **hypothesis** is as follows: there are both common and variant prosodic features in pausation algorithm of political and pedagogical discourses, consequently, the overall **purpose** of this study is to reveal possible similarities and differences in the pausal arrangement of these types of discourse.

2. Methods and material

This work uses a combination of auditory and acoustic phonetic analysis methods. Nowadays it is generally recognised that both auditory and acoustic techniques have their flaws when used in isolation, a combination of both in an auditory-acoustic approach should ideally be used when carrying out phonetic experiments (Дворжецкая et al. 1991; De Witte 2017). We agree with widely accepted point of view by most phoneticians (Дворжецкая et al. 1991; Калита 2001; Bradford 1996; Brown 1990) that "both approaches are indispensable: the auditory analysis [...] is of equal importance to its acoustic analysis, which the auditory analysis must logically precede" (Rose 2002: 35). The stages of the experiment were based on existing methodological paradigms in experimental phonetics: peculiarities of the English speech intonation system (Захарова 2004; Bradford 1996; Cruttenden 1986), approaches and aspects of experimental phonetic researches (Калита 2001; Цеплитис 1974), principles of acoustic analysis (Бондарко et al. 1991; Бровченко & Волошин 2005). Auditory or perceptual analysis is an integral part of the combined phonetic method used in this research. Despite the development of computer technology, which gives phoneticians-experimentalists extremely wide opportunities, perceptual analysis is still relevant today. To identify the perceived characteristics of the discourses under study several stages of auditory experiments were carried out. In accordance with the recommendations (Дворжецкая et al. 1991: 39), a board of auditors consisting of an odd number of phoneticians (*n*=5) were involved in the experiment to ensure a more correct further statistical analysis. The auditors were highly trained phoneticians who are non-native speakers. Before conducting the audition, the auditors were familiarized with the specific requirements, the relevant procedure of the analysis, issued clear instructions on how to perform tasks. A list of unified system of phonetic diacritics was provided to each participant. In the research we stick to the traditional approach (Зырянова 2016: 95; Nordquist 2020) to mark short pauses by a single bar (|) and very short pauses by a vertical broken bar (¦). The medium pauses usually made between sentences are marked by two parallel bars (||). To represent a distinct long pause a triple bar symbol (|||) is used correspondingly as a delimiter. The number of auditions of

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experimental material samples was not limited and stated in the instructions. In the auditory analysis, the phoneticians were asked to divide the texts into syntagms, to denote temporal pauses, the duration of temporal pauses, characterise temporal differences of the speech segments as well as to present them graphically.

Acoustic analysis was manipulated through using *PRAAT* and *Speech Analyser: version 3.1* resynthesis techniques. Quantitative and statistical methods performed via special computer software (*Mathcad Prime 2.0 and Microsoft Excel Office 2019*) were applied to find out whether the differences of the data obtained were statistically significant when compared. The significance of the difference between the percentages was verified by the modified formula for calculating Student's T-Test (Перебийніс 2002: 82-84):

$$t = \frac{|p_1 - p_2|}{Sed\,\%}$$

The speech corpus of the English lecture and political discourse for the comparative analysis derives from a larger investigation on the role of prosodic features in discourse organisation. The empirical data have been received in authentic phonetic experimental research carried out by the authors. Speech material that has been used is the same as in (Васік 2008; Полєєва 2011) and consisted of a set of 90 lectures from the course "English for academic purposes series" (total recording time is over 12 hours) and political speeches by the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and Cabinet Ministers, recorded from the Internet. Individual characteristics of speakers (physical, social, gender) in both discourses were not taken into account. The total duration of the sound of the analysed research material (40 political speeches) is 4 hours.

Thus, the obtained substantiation of the invariant prosodic characteristics can serve as a theoretical and methodological ground for the experimental comparative phonetic study of pausation algorithm of political and pedagogical discourses.

3. Results and discussion

In this paragraph, we will consider the analysis and the interpretation of the results of the undertaken experimental study on common and variant features of pausal organisation in pedagogical and political discourses according to the developed methodological actions.

3.1 Perceptive analysis

Breaks in the continuity of speech flow are inevitable – we cannot speak without pausing (Zellner 1994). The simplest way to try to explain the reason for pauses would be to suggest that pauses are produced to inhale, speak for as long as our lung capacity allows, and then pause to inhale again. Pausing to breathe is a physiological necessity, but pauses are also made in speech due to cognitive needs (Fors 2015). A study by Howell and Sackin (2001) further underlines the cognitive aspect of pauses by demonstrating that when speakers are conditioned to avoid silent pauses, they instead increase function word repetitions. Based on this, we can argue that pauses are not only made to breathe, but to gain time to, for example, plan what is going to be said (and when pauses can not be used, we use other strategies to get planning time, such as repeating function words) (Fors 2015).

The important function of pauses, as argued by Oliveira (2002), is that they are very significant in speech perception, because they help the audience to cognitively digest the input. Though pauses perform multiple functions, it is generally accepted that among all the prosodic features available to the speaker for signalling the structure of a text, pauses are one of the most efficient structuring devices (Сердюк 2016; Cruttenden 1986; Oliveira 2002). As mentioned by Viola and Madureira (2008: 721), pauses generally mark the boundaries of intonation groups and coincide, in a general way, with syntactic boundaries, within and between sentences.

Modern linguists (see, for example, Bilá & Džambová 2011; Viola & Madureira 2008 among others) classify pauses from *structural, functional,* and *distributional* points of view. From a *descriptive* point of view, two classifications of pauses are in general use. The first one is a physical and linguistic classification, and the second one is a psychological and psycholinguistic classification (Zellner 1994: 42). The focus of this phonetic experimental research is structural speech pauses.

Thus, in the perceptive analysis the following temporal parameters of the two discourses under study have been compared: *structural pauses*, *duration of structural pauses*, *localisation of structural pauses in relation to pause duration*. In accordance with the purpose of the study, a generalised classification of structural pauses, formulated by Petrenko (Петренко 2000), was accepted. The following classification of the types of structural pauses has been accepted: *inter-syntagmatic*, *intra- syntagmatic*, *intra-sentence*, and *discursive*. Although there is very little agreement among researchers concerning the cut-off point for defining a silent pause (Oliveira 2002), duration of silent intervals (Блохина & Потапова 1977: 32-33) was perceived as a perceptual cue of speech pauses by the experts in intonation involved in the experiment.

The results of the study indicate that out of all types of pauses *structural pauses* make up about 90% of all other types of pauses in lecture (see examples below) and 83% in political speech.

→Now ¦ ˈlet's ˎ turn to the ˈˈfirst of the ˈthree ˚topical ˎ issues. || It's the ˆquestion of ˈˈraw maˎ terial ˌprices. || ˈˈRaw maˈterial ˎ prices. || ˏLDCs arè worried ¦ that inˈdustrial ˌcountries are exˎ ploiting ˌthem. || Exˆploiting them ¦ by ˈbuying ˈraw maˬterials from ˚them at ˈlow ˎprice. || And then ˈsending the ˈsame ˌraw maˬterialˋ back to them ¦ in the ˈform of manuˈfactured ˎ goods. || ˈBut | at aˋmuch ˌhigher ˎ price. ||ˌCountries ¦ which proˌduce ˈprimary coˬmmodities | ˈlikeˋ coffee, ¦ forˊexample,¦ orˋ minerals˚likeˬcopper, | would ˆlove to be ˌable to ˌcopy the ˈˈoil- proˎ ducing ˎ countries. || They'd ˵love to ˈtriple the ˎprice of their ˈprimary ˎ products, | but at the ˈsame ˏtime ¦ ˈnot ˎ suffer a sigˌnificant reˌduction in the ˈˈquantities deˎ manded. |||

‿Hello! || In ˈthis ˏlecture ¦ we are ˈgoing to ˌlook at ˈwhat we˚mean by ˏillness and ˋdisease. ||⌐You might ˌthink ¦ that ˈillness and diˈsease are syˎ nonymous, | ˈthat is they ˌmean the ˌsameˎ thing. || But ˈthat's ˈˈnot ˌquiteˎ true. || ˈLet me exˈplain theˎ difference. || ˏIllness ¦ is the exˈperience of ˈfeeling unˎ well: | it is the ˈfeeling of ˈill-ˏhealth ¦ that ˈoften acˈˈcompanies diˌsease. || Di‿ˏsease ¦ is a disˈturbance of theˏstructure ¦ or ˇfunction ¦ of ˈpart of theˎ body, | for ˎinstance by ˏcancer ¦ or inˈfection with ˌmicroˎ organisms. || It is ˌsomething that can ˌusually be ˈmeasured in ˌsome ˏway | or ˈlooked˚down ˈunder aˎ microscope. || But ˈˈis this ˌdifference of any imˆportance? || And if ˏso, |ˆwhy? || ˈThat's ˈwhat we'll˚be conˎ sidering toˌday. |||

It should be pointed out, however, that the auditors also marked *filled pauses*, *pauses of hesitation*, *emotional pauses*, *psychological pauses*, *breath pauses*, etc. Since such pauses are not primarily used as a means of signalling the structure in a discourse and have limited incidence in speech (Oliveira 2002), they were removed from further research. The overall results of this parameter in the two types of discourses are suggested in Table 1. Inter-syntagmatic pauses were not subject to investigation in political discourse and pauses planning the discourse and structuring parts of the discourse were not analysed in pedagogical discourse. Therefore, further research studies should be carried out to fill in this gap.

Table 1. Results of structural pauses indication in pedagogical and political discourses[1]

type of ***discourse***	type of ***structural pause***			
	inter-syntagmatic	**intra-syntagmatic**	**intra-sentence**	**discursive**
Pedagogical discourse	+	+	+	not studied
Political discourse	not studied	+	+	+

Nevertheless, it should be noted that for pedagogical discourse the auditors recognised the

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so-called *narrator's pause* (Берковець 2004: 112) or in some research papers *pre- emphatic pause* (Bilá & Džambová 2011: 22) as a variant speech feature. Pre-emphatic pauses occur before semantically heavy words: new names, proper names, complex terms, digital data, or complex syntaxes, thereby enhancing their status and giving them extra emphasis. An emphasized word may be at the same time identified by a number of prosodic features, e.g., increased volume, slower speech rate, and change in the melody. The pause preceding an emphasized word prepares a perceiver for the most important portion of an utterance. Here are some examples of such pauses in lecture discourse:

¯Let's ˈtake the eˌxample of | ˌhyper ˎ tension. ||

The ˈfirst of ˏ these | is ˈwhat we → call | ˈGross ˈNational ˎ Product. ||

In the first example, the lecturer pauses before the word *"hypertension",* which is introduced for the first time and is a specific medical term. Similarly, in the second case *"Gross National Product"* is a keyword highlighted and enhanced by means of a narrator's pause. In both cases, the use of the pause with medium perceptual duration was indicated.

However, the auditors identified *rhetorical pause* a relevant marker of political discourse. Rhetorical pauses serve to highlight and emphasize "the high-key information centre" of the utterance (Brown 1990: 135) to keep and control the attention of the audience and add particular significance to the semantic core. In addition, the functional load of such pauses is to facilitate the perception of the text, enhance emotional engagement (Васік 2008: 100). Rhetorical hesitations are also used to create certain proximity between the politician and his audience (Duez 1997).

In some cases, rhetorical pauses overlap structural ones. Substitution of the structural pause proper with rhetorical pause is evidenced by longer duration compared to other pauses realised at the same syntactic boundaries in the same text:

1. I have kept / Her Majesty the Queen / fully informed of my intentions, / and I will *continue to serve / as her Prime Minister / until the process has concluded. 2.* || *It is,* |‌|‌ *and will always remain,* |‌| *a matter of deep regret to me / that I have not been able to deliver* |‌| *Brexit. 3.* || *It will be for my successor* |‌| *to seek a way forward that honours / the result of the referendum.* (Theresa May's Resignation Speech of May 24, 2009)

Thus, the duration of the pauses separating the phrases in the second and third sentences is much longer (|‌|) than the length of the normal pause generally realised between these units.

Furthermore, rhetorical pauses can be used to reinforce the significance of emotional impact of speech on the audience involved to obtain the effect of a more pronounced rhythmic pattern. For instance:

Our politics | *may be under strain,* || *but there is so much* | *that is good* | *about this country.* ||| *So much* | *to be proud of.* ||| *So much* | *to be optimistic about.* |||
I will shortly | *leave the job* | *that it has been the honour* | *of my life* || *to hold –* ||| *the second female Prime Minister* || *but certainly* | *not the last.* ||
I do so with no ill will, || *but with enormous and enduring gratitude* || *to have had the opportunity* || *to serve the* <u>*country ||| I love*</u>. (ibid.).

In this example, pauses create a certain prosodic pattern where short pauses (|) alternate with rhetorical pauses (|||) enhancing the emotional appeal to the audience acting as certain regulators between the addresser and the addressee. Thus, the pauses contribute to the effective transfer of dynamism and expressiveness of political discourse. Pausing, well adjusted to the content of the message, is essential in creating an optimal situation and having a maximal effect on the listener (Strangert 2006).

Most rhetorical pauses are a technique for creating expressiveness. Using a rhetorical pause on the border of syntagmatic division allows the speaker to emphasize the significance of the previous phrase, and the listener to perceive the logic of the

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speaker's thoughts and intentions. A rhetorical pause, when it follows a beat after a compulsory intra-pause pause, creates favourable conditions for perception of the text, as it compensates for the lack of a compulsory pause.

It seems that we do not pause haphazardly, but rather we plan where to pause, following certain constraints such as speech rhythm (Szczepek 2010). Regarding the "rhythm of the sentence" factor, we believe that pausing is one of the essential components of the rhythm of a sentence because pausing per se plays a very important role ensuring that a persuasive tone is developed in the speech and the desired affect is created upon the audience (Карпиченкова 1981). In addition, stable correspondence of a form of the pause organisation to semantic segmentation of discourse can be regarded as a typical sign of its integrity, the invariant characteristic of which is gradual pausal correlation of rhythm units. However, our study has not focused on the role of pauses in determining the rhythm of a sentence or its role regarding persuasiveness of speech.

Next, perceptual relative duration of silent intervals as perceptual cues of speech pauses was explored. From the temporal point of view, we differentiated five types of pauses: *very short*, *short*, *medium*, *long*, *very long*. The overall data obtained are summarised in the table below. Table 2 displays distribution of perceptual duration of speech pauses (%). Variant prosodic features hereinafter are given in dark background colour fill and invariant features are suggested in light background colour fill accordingly.

Table 2. Distribution of perceptual duration of pauses
in pedagogical and political discourses

type of ***discourse***	***Distribution of pauses perceptual duration*** (%)		
	short pauses; very short pauses	medium pauses	long pauses; very long pauses
Pedagogical discourse	25.9	30.3	43.8
Political discourse	45.2	21.3	33.5

variant features
invariant features

The comparative analysis revealed that short pauses (45%) prevail in political

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discourse, although the portion of long pauses is also quite significant (33.5%) that "reproduces a certain receptive scheme of perception of this type of discourse, as well as regulates the semantic development of discourse" (Васік 2008: 98). The share of short pauses in pedagogical discourse is less significant, only 25.9%, medium – 30.3%, and long pauses prevail here (43.8%). Figure 1 shows a histogram of pause distribution more closely.

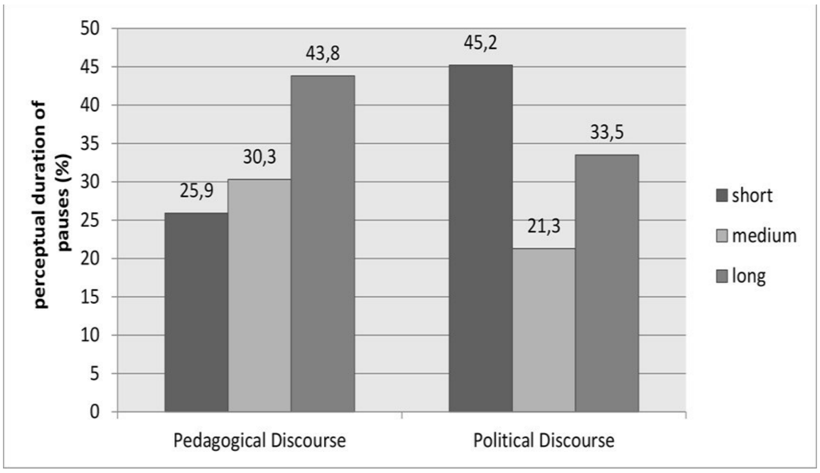

Figure 1. Histogram of distribution of perceptual duration of pauses in pedagogical and political discourses[2]

We concluded that a distinctive variant feature of political speech is the apparent predominance of short pauses. It is known (see, for example, Фрейдина et al. 2015: 96) that the use of short and very short pauses by politicians, at times in combination with fast speech tempo and peculiar prosodic organisation, creates a certain multiplier effect. What is more, relatively fast speech tempo and the use of short pauses contribute to the fact that politicians speak very confidently, categorically, they have a desire to convince, perhaps even to impose their point of view (ibid.: 97). Thus, a short pause is an extremely effective tool in public speaking. If timed correctly, it can be a short moment to create a long lasting impact (Kukreja 2019). Pedagogical speech, on the contrary, is distinguished by a moderately slow speaking pace, and pausation is mainly attributable to syntactic and logical division of the utterance.

At the next stage of the experiment, correlation between perceptual length of pauses and their localisation in discourse structures have been analysed and compared. Table 3 below summarises the data obtained for this parameter. As the table shows, the results of the study indicated syntactic localisation of pauses in pedagogical discourse. The duration of pauses primarily reflects the features of the syntactic structure of the text of the lecture or its segments. Thus, pauses of short duration are most often used by lecturers within a clause (intra-syntagmatic – short pauses 74.2%), medium –between clauses of the same sentence (intra-syntagmatic pause – medium pauses 78.6%), long pauses tend to occur at the boundaries of sentences (intra-sentence pause – long pauses 95.3%). The results of this study confirm that pause localisation in pedagogical discourse almost fully complies with logical and syntactic segmentation of the text of a lecture, both in terms of identifying the boundaries of discourse segments and in the use of pauses of adequate duration. Such pausation algorithm, as well as a moderate speech tempo, is a variant characteristic for pedagogical discourse (Фрейдина et al. 2015). The speech flow of a lecturer is smooth compared to the emotional well-paced speech flow of politicians. In general, political discourse is not linked as much to speech organisation and syntactic planning, it is more emphatic and emotional. Through that expressiveness pauses are produced in places not oriented by punctuation marks or by discourse structure, but rather by the emotional qualities (Magnier et al. 2014). As for intra-syntagmatic boundaries almost all types of pauses are used here by politicians, pauses of long duration (29.3%), medium pauses (23%) but short pauses prevail (47.7%). One more variant peculiarity indicated in our study is that no short pauses occur on intra-sentence boundaries in pedagogical lecture discourse whereas 19.7% of short pauses are registered for political discourse for this syntactic localisation. The existing studies include the following explanations of this feature: "a politician, not wanting to be interrupted, can purposely avoid using pauses at the end of a sentence, which gives no opportunity to the interviewer to interrupt him" (Wichmann 2000: 22). There may be one more explanation that is in political speeches, the text is known and learned in advance, and this helps the speaker not to hesitate, not to make long pauses.

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Table 3. Correlation of the perceptual duration of pauses and their localizations in political and pedagogical discourses (%)

type of ***discourse***	type of ***pauses***											
	inter-syntagmatic pause			**intra- syntagmatic pause**			**ra-sentence pause**			**discursive pause**		
	very short; short	medium	very long; long	very short; short	medium	very long; long	very short; short	medium	very long; long	very short; short	medium	very long; long
Pedagogical discourse	74.2	24.6	1.2	9.4	78.6	12	---	4.7	95.3	not studied		
Political discourse	not studied			47.7	23	29.3	19.7	16.9	63.4	---	11.1	88.9

Pauses facilitate benefit transfer of information at a lecture because their distribution structures basic discourse semantic units thus performing a more complex communicative task and allowing the recipients to process information easier. Significant pausal saturation can be considered a variant feature of political discourse as a kind of institutional discourse, to which pedagogical discourse also belongs (Попова 2015).

However, perceptual measurements of pausation remain a relative indicator to help the researcher to take a cue in the plane of discourse structure for conducting the next stage of the experiment, namely the acoustic analysis, to account the relationships of perceptually identified pauses to objective properties of spoken discourse.

3.2 Acoustic analysis

According to Zellner (1994), perceived pauses are not really the equivalent of physical pauses. In acoustics a pause is generally considered a stop or break in continuous speech, which is marked by a drop of the sound pressure level to 0 dB at a linear time interval for a period of 10 ms (Блохина & Потапова 1977: 32; Светозарова 1990: 369).

For acoustic analysis, the sound files of the experimental material were digitized in real time in the software, specifically the programs *Praat* and *Speech Analyser 3.1*. The developed perceptual estimates of the auditors served as a basis when computer defining the length of the pause. Furthermore, the pauses were detected and annotated by the auditors into sentences, syntagms, and rhythmic groups. The segmentation of the speech signal was carried out manually in an oscillogram through simultaneous audio and visual examination of the speech signal.

The duration of silent pauses (duration of phonation breaks) was measured in milliseconds (ms) by using the waveform (speech anal tutorial). It is therefore important to note that in the present study we preferred examination of correlation of perceived pauses with their acoustic properties to automatic pause detection methods. However, the subjective perception of pauses does not always correlate with acoustic silences (Hansson 1998: 41) since listeners may be relying on other cues, such as inserted vowels (fillers), preboundary lengthening, specific F0-patterns, and drops in intensity (Strangert 1993). Some significant examples illustrating that perceived pauses are not really the equivalent of physical pauses are provided below (see Fig. 2 and 3).

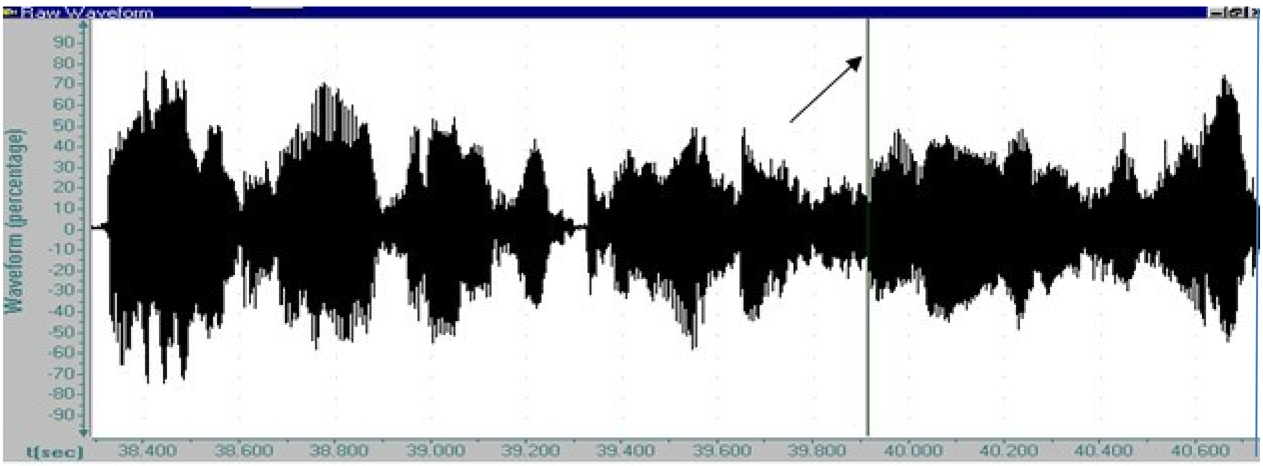

Figure 2. The oscillogram of the phrase *"Microeconomic concepts,¦ on the other hand, [because they are of interest only to the particular group they deal with are of less public interest]"* (Pedagogical discourse)

The cursor indicates the absence of break in phonation after the word "concepts" (Fig. 2). The perceptual impression of a pause in the auditory analysis is due to the

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sharp drop in the F0 and the intensity in the specified segment, as can be seen from the waveform and pitch track (Fig. 3) of the same fragment of speech.

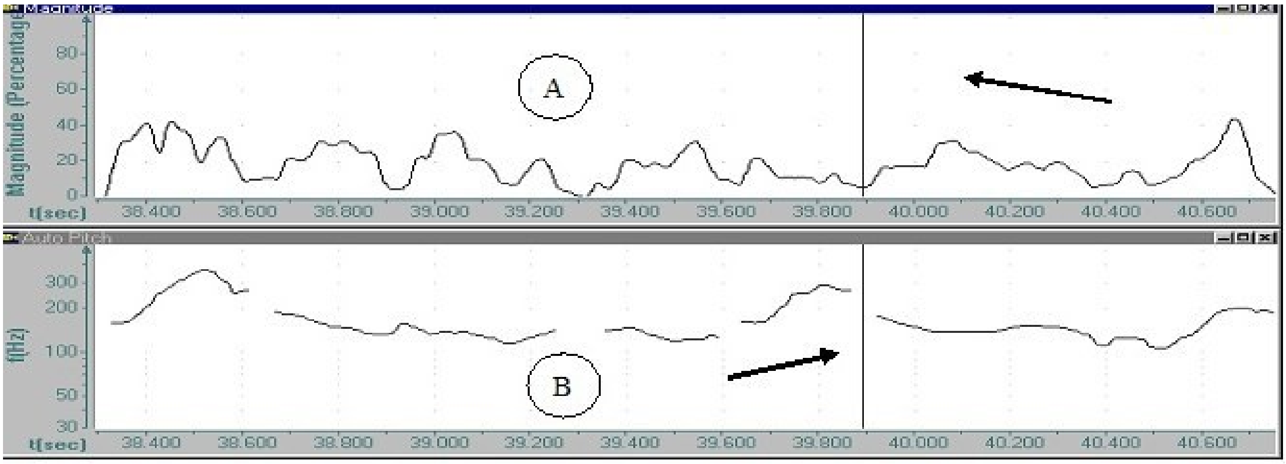

Figure 3. Waveform (A) and pitch track (F0 contour in Hz) (B) of the phrase
"Microeconomic concepts,¦ on the other hand, [because they are of interest only to the particular group they deal with are of less public interest]". (Pedagogical discourse)

Thus, the results of the acoustic analysis showed that for the experimental corpus two types of pauses can be distinguished:

- *temporal* (silent, absolute, physical pauses) – pauses with a phonation break;
- *non-temporal* (quasi-pauses, filled pauses) – pauses without a break in phonation.

Non-temporal pauses are characterised by low degree of perceptual identification, their number in the analysed fragments is insignificant. For both pedagogical and political discourses, they account for a small portion (~7%) of the overall number of structural pauses detected. This type of pauses was identified only perceptually, and in the acoustic analysis was not taken into account. Physical analysis of non-temporal pauses is increasingly complex owing to the fact that duration is still the only available pause indicator (Zellner 1994).

Analysing this temporal prosodic parameter, we also recorded *physical pauses (breathing pauses)*, *logical pauses*, *hesitation pauses (filled*, *unfilled)*, rarely *emphatic*. However, these types of pauses were not subject to careful analysis. The research focus was on duration of structural pauses in the two types of discourses.

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Therefore, silent pauses made up a larger group. Their duration on inter-syntagmatic, intra-syntagmatic, and intra-sentence joints is shown in Table 4. For structural pauses both the range of the value of duration and the mean value were determined. The software allowed for measurements in tenths of a thousand of a second. However, since a large database of pauses was analysed, it was considered reasonable to round off measurements to the nearest ten in milliseconds.

Table 4. Duration range and mean duration of structural pauses
in pedagogical and political discourses (ms)

type of *discourse*	Duration of inter-syntagmatic pauses (t_i)	Mean duration of inter-syntagmatic pauses	Duration of intra-syntagmatic pauses (t_i)	Mean duration of intra-syntagmatic pauses	Duration of intra-sentence pauses (t_i)	Mean duration of intra-sentence pauses	Duration of discursive pauses (t_i)	Mean duration of discursive pauses
Pedagogical discourse	50... 560	200	110... 900	600	600... 1740	1 350	not studied	not studied
Political discourse	not studied	not studied	220... 500	not studied	520... 800	not studied	>1 200	not studied

Figure 4 depicts a typical duration of an intra-sentence pause in pedagogical discourse. In the oscillogram, the temporal pause corresponds to a silence of 1 390 ms. Identification of the silent pause was made by *Speech Analyser 3.1*.

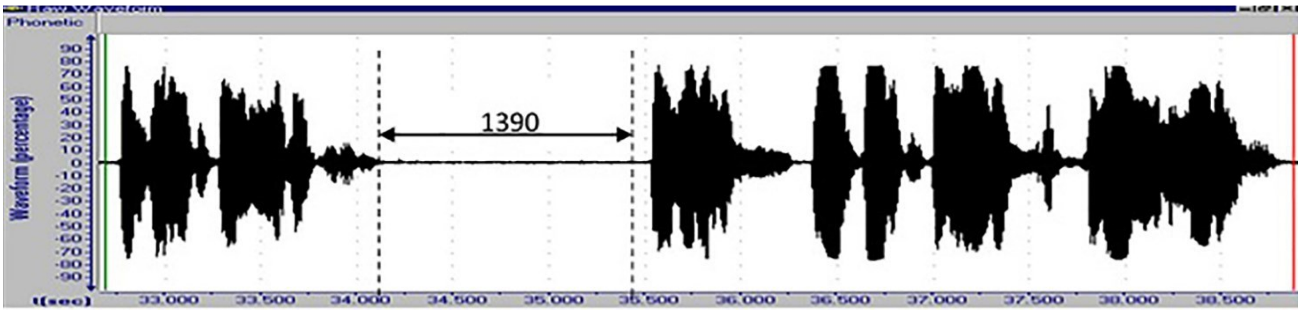

Figure 4. The oscillogram of the sentences *"Let me explain the difference. || Illness is the experience of feeling unwell"* (Pedagogical discourse)

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The comparative perceptual and acoustic analyses of temporal organisation of speech has revealed that duration of most of pauses generally exceeds the established norms. Very long pauses (>1 200 ms) make up 17.4% of all types of pauses in political speech, which is another of its variant features. The more active use of *long* and *very long* pauses is observed, in particular, in the final part, which makes the concluding point of the discourse. Such usage of pauses highlights the intense semantic and structural development of the discourse. For instance (final part of political discourse):

It is important, however, |2 460| *that those engaged in terrorism realise* |3 783| *that our determination* |750| *to defend our values* |600| *and our way of life* |3 397| *is greater* |1 988| *than their determination* |470| *to cause death and destruction* |228| *to innocent people* |1 340| *in a desire to impose extremism on the world* |4 515|. *Whatever they do,* |1 478| *it is our determination* |1 320| *that they will never succeed in destroying* |588| *what we hold dear in this country* |1 905| *and in other civilized nations throughout the world.*

The example above represents absolute duration values of the pauses in milliseconds (ms) illustrating the peculiarities of the pausal organisation of the final part in political discourse. As is shown, it is characterised by wide use (30.7%) of *very long pauses* (>1 200 ms). In eight cases out of nine, this type of pause is used as an intra-sentence pause, whereas the duration norm of this type pause is 200-500 ms. It gives prominence to its most essential final parts and is evidence of their rhetorical nature. The greatest influence is achieved by double framing of dominant syntagms (2, 6, 10, 12) with rhetorical pauses, which results in special emotionality of the final part, allows the recipient to psychologically "read" the message, prepare for perception of high-key information. In this example, the speaker highlights the opposition of "*peaceful coexistence*" and "*the cruelty of terrorism*" and rhetorical pauses help clearly express the ideological position – dominance of good over evil.

Rhetorical pauses can break the closest syntactic links, for example, between an article and a noun: *a* || *report*, *the* || *leaders*, between a preposition and a noun: *with* ||| *the victims*, between parts of the analytical verb form: *it is* || *designed*.

In addition, rhetorical pauses amplify emotional impact of the utterance on the audience by acting as certain regulators between the addresser and the addressee. For example, if the duration of a pause exceeds similar average pauses of segmentation of the largest units of the oral discourse, the listener may perceive it as a signal of intentional or unintentional interruption of communication, which is, as noted by Zontova (Зонтова 2016), a very significant factor in distant communication.

It is therefore important to consider *absolute length* vs *perceptual relative length.* The perceptual correlate of the temporal characteristics of speech is the subjective relative duration (Fors 2015). The analysis compared correlation of perceived pauses with acoustic properties, absolute values of duration with their subjective perceptual estimates. Thus, for the pedagogical discourse the mean value of the *short pauses* according to their physical duration is within 100-300 ms, whereas in political discourse they constituted a larger range of 220-500 ms. This type of structural pause is characterised by the lowest degree of perceptual recognition, and our study was no exception. Acoustic analysis of duration showed that the sound interruption with physical duration of up to 100 ms, which was marked on the oscillogram, with some exceptions, was not detected by the auditors.

Medium pauses, marked, as a rule, by most auditors and characterised by a relatively high degree of perceptual identification, have duration ranging from 300 to 600 ms. Medium pauses again proved to be longer in political discourse – from 520 to 800 ms. During the experiment, it was possible to determine physical duration of *long pauses* in lecture discourse as manifested through perception. The average pause duration in pedagogical discourse is equal to > 600 ms vs political discourse 820-1 200 ms.

Thus, five types of pauses have been considered in analysing the discourses: *very short*, *short*, *medium*, *long*, *very long.* The summary of this comparative overall analysis of

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temporal pauses absolute duration (ms) in relevance to their perceptual estimates is suggested in Table 5.

Table 5. The range of length of temporal pauses in relevance to their perceptual estimates (ms)

temporal ***pauses***	**Pedagogical discourse**	**Political discourse**
very short	not studied	< 200 ms
short	100-300 ms	220-500 ms
medium	300-600 ms	520-800 ms
long	>600 ms	820-1 200 ms
very long	not studied	>1 200 ms

The results in Table 5 indicate one more variant feature of political discourse, significant increase of total pause time in political discourse in contrast to pedagogical discourse. This discrepancy is observed not only in terms of duration of pauses in pedagogical lecture discourse but also in deviation from the normative indicators in English of average duration of structural pauses (see, for instance, Bilá & Džambová 2011: 23).

Another parameter, which has been taken into account in the acoustic analysis, is *pausation ratio (Kp)*. General tendency to increase pausation in political discourse is confirmed by the results of estimations of pausation ratio. The coefficient of pausation was calculated by using the following formula:

$$K_p = \frac{t\sum 1}{t\sum 2},$$

where $t\sum 1$ – the total length of the sounding text with pauses;
$t\sum 2$ – the total length of the sounding text excluding pauses.

Without pausing this coefficient is equal to 1. The more pauses are in a text, the higher the coefficient increases (Дворжецкая et al. 1991: 66).

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Based on the study of the temporal component, we determined absolute duration of discourse segments and duration of the sound of the phonation segment without pauses to determine the pausation ratio. Thus, calculated for each political speech of the investigated material with an average value, this coefficient is equal to 1.6. For pedagogical discourse, this indicator made 1.27 that is significantly lower (see Fig. 5).

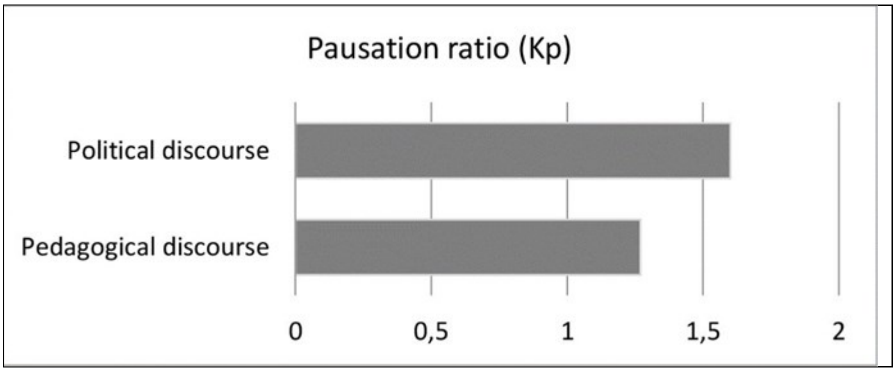

Figure 5. Bar chart of pausation ratio in pedagogical and political discourses

Thus, the measurements of pausation ratio prove that political discourse is characterised by a significantly higher degree of pausing compared to pedagogical speech.

4. Conclusion

The results of the research presented in the article demonstrate some peculiarities of pausal organisation of English pedagogical and political discourses conditioned by integration of prosodic cues and semantic discourse structure. The comparison of the pausation algorithms supports our main research hypothesis therefore showing variable and invariable temporal structures. It has been found out that the peculiarities of pausal organisation of pedagogical and political discourses are predetermined by their communicative pragmatic dominant and genre peculiarities creating adequate cognitive strategies for these types of discourses.

The perceptive and acoustic analyses have proved that point of view, making it possible to conclude, that a great number of pauses contribute to the effective transfer of dynamism and expressiveness of pedagogical and political discourse. Pause

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distribution and duration are essential in natural discourse processing and indicate not just physiological but also cognitive origins of pauses that result from planning and organising units of discourse structure.

Furthermore, the invariant specifics of pausation in political and pedagogical discourses shows that with the increasing rank of the unit, duration of a pause regulating the process of delimitating discourse segment structure increases. In pedagogical discourse, pauses ordinarily occur syntactically and their duration is linked to speech organisation though temporal segmentation is not really equivalent to the syntactic structure of utterances in political discourse.

We concluded that a distinctive variant feature of political speech is apparent predominance of short pauses. The comparative perceptual and acoustic analyses of temporal organisation of political speech has revealed that duration of most pauses exceeds the established norms. Such usage of pauses highlights intense semantic and structural development of the discourse. Thus, our results clearly indicate significant increase of total pause time in political discourse in contrast to pedagogical discourse. This discrepancy is observed not only in terms of duration of pauses in lecture but also in deviation from the normative indicators in English of the average duration of structural pauses. General tendency to increase of pausation in political discourse is confirmed by the results of the estimations of pausation ratio. Thus, considerable pausal saturation can be considered a characteristic feature of political discourse as a kind of institutional discourse, to which pedagogical discourse also belongs.

Studying the role of other prosodic parameters of the two discourses from a comparative perspective offers significant prospects for further research. It would also be of particular scientific interest to apply this method to other discourses or even different languages with homogeneous data and comparable speech materials.

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Notes

1. Tables 1-5 are by Yuliia Polieieva and Yuliia Vasik. The original tables presented in the paper are an integral part of the research, summarising the results on the basis of authentic empirical data obtained by the authors.

2. Figures 1-2 are by Yuliia Polieieva and Yuliia Vasik. The original figures of the paper illustrate the findings of the undertaken research.

List of used phonetic symbols

dB – decibels

Kp – pausation ratio

ms – milliseconds

| – inter-syntagmatic pause (short pause)

|| – intra-syntagmatic pause (medium pause)

||| – intra-sentence pause (long pause)

▁ – rhetorical or pre-emphatic pause

ˈ**m** – main stress

ˈˈ**m** – emphatic stress

ˌ**m** – secondary stress

˚**m** – partially stressed syllable

ˎ **m** – the Low Fall

ˋ**m** – the High Fall

ˏ**m** – the Low Rise

ˊ**m** – the High Rise

ˇ**m** – the Fall-Rise

ˆ**m** – the Rise-Fall

ˉ**m** – high pre-head

→ **m** – level tone

↑**m –** Accidental/Special Rise

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Résumé

The paper highlights the results of the investigation into the pausation algorithm of political and pedagogical discourses from a comparative perspective. The study is integrated analysis of examples of political and pedagogical discourses as socially significant types of institutional discourse. Considering the prosodic organisation of the discourses under examination, this research provides a brief review of theoretical material in the field of experimental phonetic studies, discourse prosody, as well as discourse studies. The work focuses on pausation algorithm as an important element of discourse temporal organisation in comparative context. It has been found out that the specific character of pausal organisation of English pedagogical and political discourse is predetermined by their dominant pragmatic communicative and genre peculiarities creating an adequate cognitive strategy of these types of discourse. The comparative perceptual and acoustic analyses of temporal arrangement of speech have revealed that a distinctive feature of political discourse is apparent predominance of short pauses. In pedagogical discourse pauses ordinarily occur syntactically and their duration is linked to speech organisation. Another variant feature discovered in our study is that no short pauses occur on intra-sentence boundaries in lectures whereas they are registered for political speeches. The outcome of the acoustic analysis verified a significant increase of total pause time in political discourse in contrast to pedagogical discourse. This discrepancy is observed not only in terms of duration of pauses in lecture but also in deviation from the normative indicators in English of the average duration of structural pauses.

Key words: institutional discourse, comparative discourse analysis, discourse prosody, comparative approach, pausal organisation, auditory-acoustic analysis, variant and invariant temporal features.

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MEANING-MAKING THROUGH MONTAGE IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE HAIKU

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Abstract: This paper explores meaning-making in English-language haiku through the lens of Sergei Eisenstein's theory of montage and cognitive semiotics, an emergent interdisciplinary field for the study of meaning. The driving force behind meaning-making in English-language haiku is the technique of juxtaposition. The effect resulting from the juxtaposition of images in this genre of poetry is similar to that which arises from the collision of shots in montage.

Keywords: English-language haiku, meaning-making, poetic montage, juxtaposition, image schema, iconicity.

From our point of view, [haiku] are montage phrases. Shotlists.
(Eisenstein 1929b)

The haiku has this rather phantasmagorical property:
that we always suppose we ourselves can write such things easily.
(Barthes 1983)

The brevity of the haiku is not formal;
the haiku is not a rich thought reduced to a brief form,
but a brief event which immediately finds its proper form.
(Barthes 1983)

1. Introduction

In this paper, which adopts insights from cognitive linguistics and linguo-semiotic studies, meaning-making in English-language haiku is viewed as a cognitive-semiotic process termed "poetic montage". The term has been drawn from the theory of montage developed by Soviet film director and theorist Sergei Eisenstein. He believed that a film's structure should be built through juxtaposing unrelated, contrasting elements (Aitken 2001: 27). Despite the fact that it was American director D.W. Griffith who actually invented the montage technique, through intercutting several parallel actions in a motion picture (Pavlou 2018), (inspired, in its turn, by Charles Dickens' novels (Odin 1989: 69)), it is Eisenstein's understanding and definition of montage which have become widely accepted.

The term "montage" is reminiscent of Eisenstein's engineering background: he borrowed the notion from industry, where it means "assembly of machinery, pipes, and machine tools" (Aitken 2001: 27). Nevertheless, montage theory was given an impetus by Japanese culture, more specifically haiku poetry. Eisenstein was inspired by this lyrical mini-poetic form known for its ability to pack in a number of ideas and thoughts via a limited number of vivid nature images. His definition of montage reads that it is "combining shots that are *depictive*, single in meaning, neutral in content – into *intellectual* contexts and series" (Eisenstein 1929b: 30). According to the filmmaker, montage is the main aesthetic principle of cinematography and art in general (Eisenstein 1934: 3-5). This research has shown that the main principles of Eisenstein's theory of montage are applicable to the exploration of the process of meaning-making in English-language haiku.

Today haiku may be regarded not only as one of the most popular literary genres among poets and readers around the world but also as a unique and even highly 'addictive' form of poetry. Having originated as early as the late 15th century in the East and reaching its peak of popularity through the efforts of Matsuo Basho in the 17th century, nowadays it has become a truly global poetic phenomenon (Gilbert 2003; Swede 2000b: 14). Even though English-language haiku has not attained the same status in English literature as,

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for example, the sonnet, it keeps paving its way steadily to the canon of English poetry (Swede 2000a: 6).

Haiku written in English is developing in a new lingua-cultural environment (Шершньова 2013: 7, 96), but it continues to share some of the remarkable features which constitute "the brain, heart, and lungs" of its Japanese counterpart (Swede 2000b: 14). Among these features are brevity, natural imagery, directly-observed experience, and simple language, as well as the technique of the juxtaposition of a couple of poetic details, the interaction of which results in an "Aha!" moment. The latter refers to the experience of sudden insight called *satori* (悟り) in Zen Buddhism, a philosophy underlying oriental haiku (Marsh, *s.a.*: 1). Despite their miniature and rather unconventional form, haiku poems written in English resonate for many readers across the globe.

The question of how a surprisingly limited number of items of simple imagery generates meaning and evokes a strong emotional response in the reader has proven a fascinating challenge for scholars and haiku enthusiasts. As for oriental haiku, the system of writing is helpful in this regard. Known as *kanji* (漢字; [kã̠ɴʑi]), Japanese writing may produce a strong visual impact, as it comprises three different types of signs, or scripts: Chinese logographs; syllabary for words of purely Japanese origin; and syllabary for words of foreign origin aside from Chinese. They can all be used to represent the same phonological text; therefore, the choice of signs and their distribution in the text can assist the poet in creating multiple layers of meaning (Hiraga 2005: 10). Because of graphical elements used in logographs and calligraphy, Japanese haiku displays features of visual poetry (Shershnova 2013: 48), one that is meant not only to be read but also seen.

Fig. 1 below features haiku by Takahama Kyoshi (1874-1959), which demonstrates the inherent visual appeal of this oriental genre of poetry. The hybrid nature of the Japanese

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writing system significantly complicates translation of haiku (Wakabayashi 2016: 177), as practically no any other language has the same "potential for orthographic flexibility" as Japanese (Robertson 2015: 205).

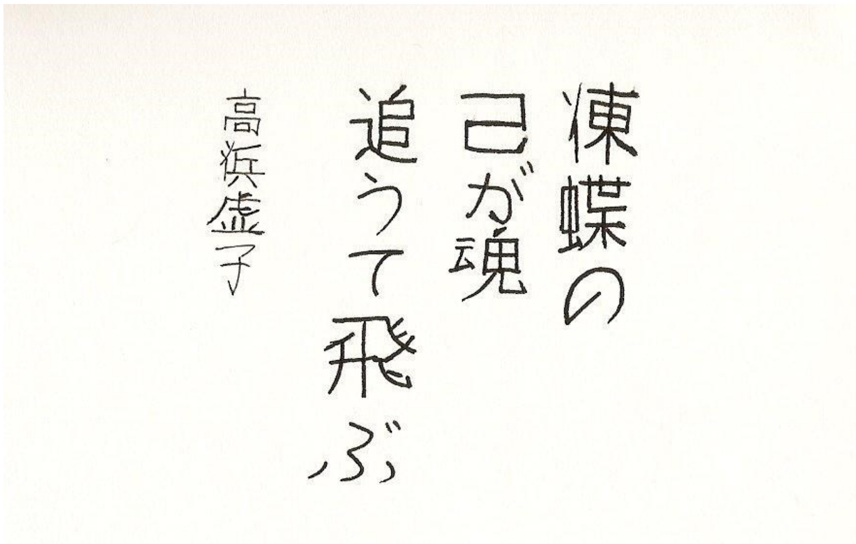

Figure 1. Haiku by Takahama Kyoshi (*Deviantart* 2011)

Considering the extensive visual repertoire of Japanese writing, the reader of oriental haiku may be regarded as a viewer as well (Bohn 2011: 83). Conversely, Western writing, which is based on the Latin alphabet, is far from being regarded as visually prominent. As opposed to logographs, its letters and words have very little aesthetic appeal. Nevertheless, English-language haiku also comes with its own effective tools for creating rich poetic meaning, which accounts for the continually-growing interest in this genre.

The meaning-building capacity of English-language haiku is tightly linked to the technique of image **juxtaposition**, which has been borrowed from Japanese haiku. Juxtaposition entails putting two distinct images side by side (Müller et al. 2017). Fig. 2 below demonstrates the technique of the juxtaposition of two disparate images – those of a cat and the tail of a tuna. Each image has a strong presence within the frame. American fine artist DeRember (2015) employed this technique to illustrate the well-known idea

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"You are what you eat"; in doing so, she has created an ironic and playful concept of a mermaid cat.

Figure 2. "Cat & tuna" (DeRemer 2015)

The technique of juxtaposition has always been an inherent feature of English-language haiku, where it allows for the creation of new, ambiguous, or unexpected meanings, too. According to Ferris Gilli (*s.a.*), a well-known American haiku poet, juxtaposition in this genre "creates a binding of two images, the combination of which is stronger and more elucidating than either image alone". In a normative English-language haiku (a three-lined verse), the division, also known as *the cut*, between two semantically separable parts is placed after either line one or line two, thereby marking a clear pause between them. The two parts are set in not only a 'tense' but also often surprising relationship (Müller et al. 2017: 1-2).

Kacian (2006), another notable American haiku poet, publisher, and editor states that this special relationship is the very feature which invites the reader to construct meaning when reading a given haiku poem. The juxtaposition of two images is likely to evoke memories, emotions, and associations shaped by the reader's own experiences, which help them bridge 'the gap' which has been left out intentionally by the haiku author.

In cognitive linguistics, a concept commonly used for referring to a supporting structure for all human knowledge, reasoning, and experiences is an **image schema** (Johnson 1987;

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Turner 1996). When reading an English-language haiku poem, establishing a complex relationship between its juxtaposed verbal images requires the activation of familiar image schemas (Шершньова 2013: 209); hence, juxtaposition becomes the driving force behind meaning-making. According to White (2013: 156), juxtaposition is a means of iconicity ("iconisation by means of juxtaposition"). The latter, from Pierce's theory of signs, denotes the relationship of similarity between the form of a sign and its meaning (Nöth 1999: 613). Studies demonstrate that iconicity is not only evident at all language levels including phonological, morphological, lexical, and even syntactical (Hiraga et al. 2015), but it is also defined as "part of our cognitive and biological make-up" (Volkova 2018: 460). Therefore, the process of 'recognising' image schemas and their interaction with each other should be considered the highest degree of iconicity.

The novelty of the paper lies in its contribution to the study of meaning-making as a multi-semiotic phenomenon through exploring contemporary English-language haiku. In my thesis "Image-building in English oriental poetic miniatures: A cognitive-semiotic perspective" (Шершньова 2013), I put forward the notion of **schema iconicity** for denoting the highest degree of projecting the source domain (form) onto the target domain (meaning) to explain the process of image-building in English-language haiku. In the present research, which adopts some of the findings of the thesis, the process of establishing links between image schemas operating within a given English-language haiku poem has been named **poetic montage**, drawing from Eisenstein's filmmaking practice. The term encapsulates the essence of meaning-making in this poetic genre and attests to the originality of the research. Its pilot results were presented at the "Culture and cognition in language 2: The significance of context for human conceptual system" conference, hosted by the Institute of English Studies at the University of Rzeszov, Poland, in April 2019, and published in the conference proceedings (Shershnova 2019). The following chapter proposes a theoretical and methodological framework used to validate the rationale behind approaching meaning-making in English-language haiku building on Eisenstein's theory of montage and the most recent achievements in cognitive semiotics.

2. Material and methods

The **aim** of this research is to explore the process of meaning-making in English-language haiku as poetic montage – a cognitive-semiotic process culminating in an "Aha!" moment as a result of resolving hidden dualism between images juxtaposed in the poem. The main **research question** addressed in the paper concerns a correlation between the technique of juxtaposition and the process of poetic montage in English-language haiku. In other words, the question is how the technique of juxtaposition contributes to rich emergent meaning in this genre of poetry. Based on the assumption that relationships between laconic images in English-language haiku are grounded in image schemas, the **hypothesis** of the research paper is that meaning-making results from bridging the gap between the poem's juxtaposed images through the cognitive-semiotic process of poetic montage.

2.1 Rationale for the study

The present study demonstrates that the technique of juxtaposition used by English-language haiku poets works similarly to the principle of montage in a motion picture. Eisenstein (1944: 239) called cinema "the art of juxtaposition". He viewed montage as "an idea that arises from the collision of independent shots – shots even opposite to one another" wherein "each sequential element is perceived not *next* to the other, but on *top* of the other" (Eisenstein 1929a: 49). Such superimposition, or counterpoint, of a series of elements of the same dimension creates an entity of "a new, higher dimension" (ibid.).

The figure below, taken from Eisenstein's essay "A dialectic approach to film form" (1929a: 54), shows how two independent primary pieces collide thereby resulting in a new concept:

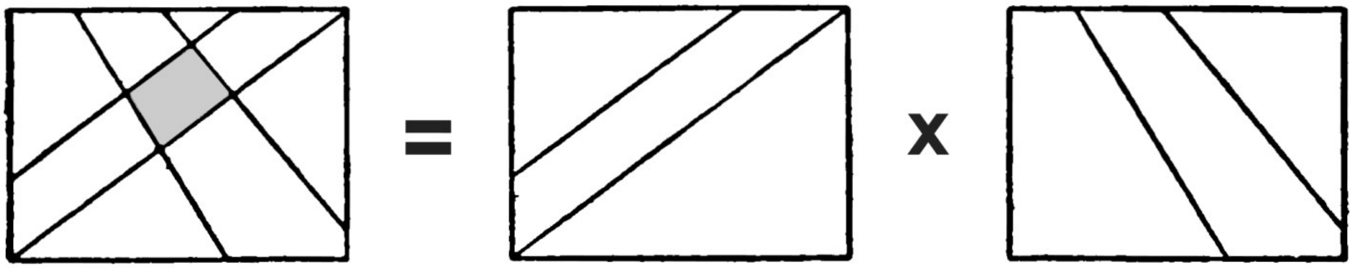

Figure 3. A graphical representation of montage

The effect of montage in general terms is illustrated by the grey area which appears at the intersection of two entities as seen in the square on the left in Fig. 3. The theorist criticized his opponent, Lev Kuleshov, another Soviet filmmaker, for viewing shots as *elements* of montage; for him, each film shot was rather a montage *cell* (or *molecule*) (Eisenstein 1929a: 50, 53). Hence, he was advancing the idea of montage as the collision, not a simple linkage, of several cells, and "[f]rom the collision of two given factors *arises* a concept" (Eisenstein 1929a: 37). This idea sets the stage for this research: juxtaposed images in an English-language haiku poem can also be viewed as "cells" that produce meaning through a complex and often unexpected interaction with each other, and in this way trigger an emotional response in the reader.

Regardless of the extent to which this interaction may seem unanticipated to the reader, images in English-language haiku are juxtaposed in a way, which, according to Cariello (2010), "reveals their previously unarticulated associations". Associations of this type can be understood in terms of static and dynamic image schemas (Шершньова 2013: 48), skeletal patterns which guide people's sensory experience and cognition (Turner 1996: 16). The alignment of these image schemas is an innate complex process that contains "an iconic moment" (Hiraga 2005: 6). The iconicity which emerges in English-language haiku as the result of recognising image schemas embodying the relationships between juxtaposed images can be termed schema iconicity (Шершньова 2013: 191). Basically,

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as stated previously, iconicity should be viewed not only as a feature of a linguistic sign; it is a process of fundamental importance to human cognition.

This assertion calls for the development of a cognitive-semiotic paradigm for analysing relationships between images juxtaposed in English-language haiku, in order to arrive at a full understanding of poetic montage as the main principle of meaning-making in this genre of poetry. A cognitive-semiotic approach has been applied by contemporary scholars to study the mechanisms of narrative multidimensionality (Vorobyova 2017b), the structure of ethnocultural experience in Amerindian prose (Volkova 2018), imagery as a universally central dimension in the production of poetic meaning (Brandt & Brandt 2007), paradoxicality in contemporary American poetic discourse (Marina 2018), and metamorphosis formation and functioning in English poetic texts (Moskvichova & Suvorova 2017). More so, the paradigm has proven effective in the analysis of Japanese haiku, with a particular emphasis on iconicity, an important principle of logographic writing, and its link with metaphor (Hiraga 2000; 2002; 2005; 2006).

A cognitive-semiotic approach to analysing a poetic text is justified by the phenomenon of *multimodality*, an inbuilt feature of poetic discourse which always implies an array of various semiotic codes (Воробйова 2012: 9). Multimodality offers the idea of "meaning-making as a multi-semiotic phenomenon" (Nørgaard et al. 2010: 30; Vorobyova 2017b: 99). Notably, Eisenstein's cinematographic theory has served as a theoretical background to studies focused on Basho's poetics (Shirane 1992), as well as on reading, writing, and interpreting Japanese haiku in general (Chen-ou 2013; Chen-ou 2014; Myers 2009). It has been identified that oriental haiku not only combines literary and visual arts but also displays features of cinematography, because it creates meaning through different semiotic modes simultaneously.

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As for contemporary haiku written in English, a number of noteworthy studies exploring this poetic genre have primarily focused on its evolution in the English-speaking world, its pioneers, and most prominent contributors (Hakutani 2009; Kacian 2018; Swede 2000a); key genre features (Swede 2000b); imagery (Cariello 2000; Rowland 2013); season reference (Higginson 2007); "a haiku moment" (Gilbert 2009); similarities and differences between Japanese and English-language haiku (Gilbert 2007; Gilbert & Yoneoka 2000); and even the role of haiku in teaching English as a foreign language (Iida 2010; Myers 2009).

The most recent and undoubtedly revolutionary approach to studying meaning-making in English-language haiku has been initiated by a group of researchers including Geyer, Guenther, Kacian, Liesefeld, Müller, and Pierides. Together they have set up an interdisciplinary project "Haiku and the brain", aiming to combine the efforts of poets and cognitive scholars to investigate the construction of meaning during the process of reading a three-line English-language haiku. The researchers have applied neuroscience, cognitive, and behavioural methods (Geyer et al. 2018; "Haiku and the brain" 2018; Müller et al. 2017). Their initial findings demonstrate that eye movements during the reading of an English-language haiku combined with memory and subjective rating of comprehension metrics drawn post-reading reflect the process of meaning construction and even the depth of processing (Müller et al. 2017: 2). The project underpins, on the one hand, a deep interest in English-language haiku, a genre combining features of two cultures, and on the other hand, highlights the necessity to employ multidisciplinary tools for elucidating the question of meaning-making in this literary genre.

This paper adopts a multidisciplinary approach, integrating notions, tools, and methods which have originated within the cognitive-semiotic paradigm and Eisenstein's cinematography aesthetics, in order to explore the process of meaning-making in the genre of English-language haiku. The term "poetic montage" emphasises the multimodal nature

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of this poetic form. The chosen multidisciplinary approach is instrumental in explicating the hidden peculiarities of the process of deriving meaning in a genre which skillfully weds poetic traditions of two polar cultures.

2.2 Literature review: Theory and key notions

As stated above, Sergei Eisenstein (1898-1948) drew the main principles of his montage theory from Japanese culture. He claimed that montage was the quintessence of the entire Japanese culture, one full of an endless number of cinematographic traits (Eisenstein 1929b: 28). The film director was interested in the creative potential of the Japanese system of writing, as he believed it performed not only its denotative but also a depictive function. Even though Japanese logographs have become considerably formalised since their inception (2650 B. C.), they have always maintained a noticeable degree of iconicity (Hiraga 2005: 4). To Eisenstein, as to Pierce, iconic thinking was "first and foremost about a set of relations" (Kibbey 2005: 138-139). What particularly struck Eisenstein about Japanese written language was that the combination of two simple logographs, each denoting an *object*, resulted not in their simple sum but in something of a new quality – an abstract *concept* (Eisenstein1929b: 30). The term which is commonly associated with this phenomenon, or method, is the ideogram. In logographs, for example, the combination of the symbol for a dog and the symbol for a mouth would stand for "to bark" while a mouth plus a bird – for "to sing" (ibid.). Thus, through the ideogram, one can express something that would be graphically undepictable otherwise.

Eisenstein (1929b: 30) stated that the principle of the ideogram was ideal for cinema, because it helped to show complex abstract notions with a maximum of laconism by means of montage – "the creative juxtaposition of images" (Kibbey 2005: 138). In his movie *Battleship Potemkin* (1925), shots featuring a civilian crowd running down the Odessa Steps create tension by means of the ideogram hence montage (Fig. 4-6):

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Figure 4. Soldiers marching down the Odessa Steps

Figure 5. A boy shot by the soldiers

Figure 6. The boy's mother in despair at seeing her son bleeding

Montage in this scene, devoid of any dialogue, is realized through the juxtaposition of heterogeneous shots, which allows the audience to observe the scene from multiple viewpoints rather than perceive it from a single perspective. A person is physically unable to simultaneously observe several objects, places, and individuals. In a motion picture, however, montage provides the possibility to manipulate time and space (McVey 2010).

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The sequence of diverse shots juxtaposed in the scene (Fig. 4-6) creates new context and bolsters the emotions of fear, anger, shock, etc. in the viewer. Thus, a powerful emotional effect is derived not from the content but rather from the manner in which the director has edited the elements of the scene.

The principle of montage, according to Eisenstein (1929b), when applied to poetry, could maximize its potential for expressiveness. Haiku is the Japanese poetic genre which is built on the same principle of 'denotation by depiction' (Eisenstein 1929b: 35). The combination of two or three simple material details "blurred in *emotional quality*" yields a product of psychological nature – "an *imagist* effect" (ibid., 31). This way, a concept, which is only "a bare formula", becomes adorned; hence, it becomes verbalised and transformed into an image (ibid.). Analysis of one of Matsuo Basho's classic haiku (translated into English by Robert Hass) presented below illustrates this idea:

autumn moonlight –
a worm digs silently
into the chestnut

(Matsuo Basho, *s.a.*)

Pointed images such as *autumn moonlight* and *a worm* would be referred to by Eisenstein as shot lists superimposed on each other, hence juxtaposed. Each image retains a certain degree of autonomy, a typical feature of any haiku. The reader of the poem is unlikely to anticipate the image of *a worm* after encountering the image of the *autumn moonlight* in the opening line; therefore, contrast between the two images becomes immediate. Nevertheless, a gap between these incongruent images nurtures the idea of the universal law of harmony in nature, where plants, animals, and planets co-exist despite their fundamental differences, and are all indispensible elements of the macrocosm.

This interpretation is in line with another essential feature of haiku, viz., its ability to show "appreciation for small mysteries" and "small yet inspiring incidents in everyday reality"

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(Sekine 2006). It is also in accordance with Eisenstein's understanding of montage as conflict (1929b: 38). A hidden dualism between seemingly unrelated images produces a vivid emotional experience, and for Eisenstein, emotions were a kind of universal language used to depict abstract ideas in art (van Schlun 2017: 77). However, Eisenstein was not the only Western artist who had derived inspiration from the ideogram method and Japanese haiku for cultivating aesthetic and creative expression.

American poet Ezra Pound (1885-1972), the pioneer of Imagism, a poetic movement of the early 20th century, was the forerunner of the ideogram method in English poetry. Though he worked more than a decade before Eisenstein, he also viewed the genre of Japanese haiku as a medium for presenting complex ideas though a language stripped of superfluous qualities, unlike that which had been commonly used in old traditional poetry. For him, Imagism was synonymous with superimposition of simple, easy to comprehend images aimed at representing an important abstract idea (Ȕstȕn 2012: 3). Pound was to a large extent inspired and influenced by the creative potential of oriental poetry.

As in Eisenstein's aesthetics, lying at the heart of Pound's ideogram method, which he championed in his book "The ABC of reading" (1960), is the principle of juxtaposing vivid and sensory images for rendering much more complex notions. He arrived at this understanding of the method by exploring the formation and functioning of the Chinese word "East" (東). He viewed it as a result of "super-position" of the signs "tree" (木) and"sun" (日) hence the "sun tangled in the tree's branches, as at sunrise, now meaning 'the East'" (Pound 1960: 21). The poet used the word "super-position" to refer to juxtaposition (Bohn 1997: 39). To further explain this principle, he detailed how a Chinese person would define the colour red – with the help of "abbreviated pictures"– roses, cherries, iron, rust, and a flamingo (Pound 1960: 22). Thus, according to the poet, abstract and complex ideas are made up of components which are simple, familiar, and independent of each other, e.g.:

ROSE CHERRY

IRON RUST FLAMINGO

Pound found logographic writing extremely poetic. He emphasized the importance of visual presentation in poetry (Stark 2012: 151) and believed one who could write in a simple language, free of trickery, should be referred to as a true poet (Hakutani 2009: 77). The idea behind Imagism, which he promoted, was that using as few words as possible "maximizes and intensifies meaning" (ibid.). For this reason, Pound was genuinely interested in Japanese haiku, which through brevity and juxtaposition could serve as a contour of a poet's thought, a moment experienced and depicted in a miniature poem, with an emotion attached to it (Шершньова 2013: 28). Pound's two-line verse "In a station of the metro" (1913) is considered to be the first haiku-like poem ever written in English:

The apparition of these faces in the crowd;
Petals on a wet, black bough.

(Ezra Pound 1912)

The two-line poem contains two principal images – *faces in the crowd* and *petals on a bough* – characterized by straightforward language, definiteness, and precision, features which have always been central to the genre of haiku. It is hard to say which image is dominant over the other because it is their superimposition, or "super-position", in Pound's parlance, which produces an image of a new dimension – "a crystallised moment" (Simpson 2004: 111), or "an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time" (Pound 1913: 200). This resultant image encodes the author's idea of both the beauty and temporality of life: the image of flower petals which are stuck on a wet tree branch and whose life is coming to an end is parallel with the image of people's faces which the speaker is observing in the underground. The faces of the people seem to disappear as quickly as the petals of the wet flower fade (Шершньова 2013: 28). The juxtaposition of a few seemingly unrelated, conflicting but concise images in this haiku creates an interaction which gives rise to an image of a new dimension, one that encapsulates a set of emotions and feelings, such as sadness, humility, and melancholy. A complex relation between two autonomous images, *faces in the crowd* and *petals on a bough*, functions as a basis for a more subtle, abstract idea, or a bare formula, in Eisenstein's terminology.

As a poetic genre celebrating expressiveness through brevity, haiku in English has already thrived for more than 100 years since Pound's first attempts to adopt this oriental poetic tradition. Despite a varied understanding of the genre over this period of time, the quality of haiku in English has always remained stable (High 2012: 9). Contemporary English-language haiku is characterised by an even greater degree of laconism than its "forefather", Ezra Pound's poem "In a station of the metro". Today it may contain even fewer than ten words, but it displays the same simplicity of construction, precision, and striking economy of image. The latter, however, does not affect the capacity of English-language-haiku to speak directly to the reader and build a "haiku moment", e.g.:

onion skin
I open myself
to the rain

(Bill Pauly 2016)

As can be seen, the poet does not reveal much and omits punctuation marks; therefore, he leaves space for interpretation by the reader. Is the speaker just crying while cutting onions, or is it the raindrops that are touching their faces, or both? The poet endows the verse with simple tactile imagery; nevertheless, it is rather their juxtaposition that produces an impact on the reader.

English-language haiku by David Cobb, a prominent British haiku poet, conveys the magic of the moment of a beautiful 'metamorphosis' of tree buds into sparrow. Even though the adjective *sudden* is used in the second line, the reader is unlikely to anticipate the end of the depicted event, which makes it even more memorable and charming:

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on the misty pear
all of a sudden buds
burst into sparrows

(David Cobb, *s.a.*, 19)

Russian formalist Victor Shklovsky (1917) stated that "poets are much more concerned with arranging images than with creating them and introduced the notion of "defamiliarisation", or "ostranenie", to refer to the artistic technique of presenting familiar things in strange ways in order to enhance the audience's perception of well-known things.

When reading an English-language haiku, it is up to the reader to establish links between the image of the onion skin, the speaker, and the rain, or between the images of a misty pear, buds, and sparrows. The process may require a great deal of cognitive effort, and not each haiku may work for each reader, just as with any other genre of poetry. What makes English-language haiku stand out, though, is its meaning-making capacity: its rigorous choice of words can result in a pleasurable ambiguity which calls for the reader's experience to fill in the gap conceived in a given poem. According to a renowned American poet and publisher of haiku poetry, Michael Dylan Welch (2009), the "leap that occurs in the space between the poem's two parts" grants energy to an English-language haiku. This energy is an essential part of the poem's meaning. The next subchapter describes the methodological framework designed for exploring the peculiarities of meaning-making in English-language haiku.

2.3 Methodological framework

For addressing the central question of this research, viz., how the technique of juxtaposition contributes to rich meaning in English-language haiku, a multifaceted approach has been adopted, encompassing concepts of Eisenstein's montage theory and the most recent trends in cognitive semiotics. The process of meaning-making in haiku written in English will be explained through the theories of conceptual metaphor, conceptual blending (conceptual integration networks), and mental spaces as developed by cognitive linguists Fauconnier and Turner (2002). Moreover, meaning-making in English-language haiku will be explored through the application of the theory of iconicity, borrowed from semiotics, based on the idea of conceived similarity to varying degrees between the form of a sign (a target domain) and its meaning (a source domain).

Research has shown that English-language haiku is generally free from such conventional stylistic tools as metaphor, with its core feature of blending two concept domains into one figurative expression (Harbus 2012: 57). Conceptual blending theory is closely linked to conceptual metaphor theory wherein an invisible, complex subject matter (a target domain) is understood in terms of a more concrete and recognizable subject matter (a source domain), hence mapping. However, conceptual blending goes beyond the idea of unidirectional mapping and provides "a way of understanding networks of cross-domain mappings in the construction of meaning" (ibid., 57).

Conceptual blending theory has proven more useful in analysing expressions which only "technically qualify as metaphors", and the process of mapping across domains has been defined by cognitive linguists as "the universal capacity of the evolved human mind", language, thought, and communication, hence all human cognitive processing (ibid., 57). Thus, conceptual blending theory allows more in terms of exploring meaning as an online-process: as a four-space model, blend "can account for phenomena that are ignored or hidden in the two-domain model", the framework of conceptual metaphor (Grady et al. 1999: 102). This theory is instrumental in explaining how "counter-factual or hypothetical scenarios are created and integrated in information processing" (Harbus 2012: 57). According to Turner (2002: 10), conceptual blending is a mental operation entailing the combination of "two mental packets of meaning – two schematic frames of knowledge or two scenarios" which "selectively and under constraints" creates a third packet of meaning, one that has "new, emergent meaning". In general, conceptual blending is a basic

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and universal mental function which allows for the integration and blending of ideas to give rise to new concepts. The language of haiku written in English is simple and devoid of poetic trickery, but the cut that divides the poems into two "energizing" parts creates a gap, or incompleteness, in Grady et al.'s (1999) parlance. Filling out the "incompleteness" of English-language haiku culminates in the emergence of meaning of a new dimension, and this cognitive process can be explained by means of a blend, a four-space model.

Fauconnier's theory of mental spaces, in its turn, underpins the theory of conceptual metaphor and blending. The theory states that mental spaces are interconnected structures built up from the information available in one's working memory in response to linguistic stimuli (Fauconnier1997); they are utilized and modified in the process of meaning-creation on-line (Harbus 2012: 53). As mentioned above, the idea of blending is based on an inherent human ability to resolve unrelated pieces of information (input spaces) into a new knowledge (a blend) which cannot be construed from any of the constituents alone (ibid.). The blended space develops ideas, emotions, and inferences which modify the initial input spaces and change or challenge them, ultimately resulting in an emergent structure of its own (Hiraga 2005: 38-39). Thus, the theories of conceptual metaphor, conceptual blending, and mental spaces can serve as an ideal methodological framework for elucidating the process of meaning-making in English-language haiku. Mental spaces built from haiku's two major parts are juxtaposed, projected onto each other, and interact, thereby creating an emergent meaning; this idea resonates with Eisenstein's principle of montage as the collision of two given factors.

According to haiku researcher Hiraga (2005: 38-39), the process of conceptual projection is motivated by image schemas. The term "image schema" is going to be employed in this paper as an equivalent of Eisenstein's term "bare formula", which he used for referring to the complex idea realised through the collision of two autonomous depictive elements in cinema, poetry, and art in general. Image schemas, for example, SYMMETRY, CONTAINER, BALANCE, RESISTANCE, FORCE, etc., are "mimetic mental representations of sensory perceptions and constitute imagic iconicity" (Hiraga 2005: 39). Simple image schemas combine into more complex ones (Johnson 1987: 126; Lakoff 1987: 372; Turner 1996: 16), which contributes to their infinite number. Moreover, image schemas are "at once visual, auditory, kinaesthetic, and tactile" (Gibbs & Colson 1995: 349). Research has shown that image schemas ground the relationship(s) between two concept domains of English-language haiku, which explains the way in which clear-cut images in this genre of poetry not only interact but also generate meaning of another, higher dimension.

Hence, what Eisenstein would refer to as a "bare formula" which is "adorned" in a poetic text, in this research focused on English-language haiku is understood as an image schema. Image schemas exist as "continuous and analogue patterns beneath conscious awareness, prior to and independently of other concepts" (Hampe 2005: 1). With reference to Hiraga's (2005: 6, 38) idea that there are iconic moments in the alignment of image schemas, this process is reminiscent of mapping and conceptual blending where a relatively abstract phenomenon is understood in terms of a more structured one and input spaces interact and are projected onto each other. At this point, the theories of conceptual metaphor, blending, mental spaces, and iconicity intersect and account for the process of meaning-making in English-language haiku as poetic montage.

3. Results and discussion

Meaning-making in English-language haiku occurs through poetic montage, as it is dependent on and reinforced by the technique of juxtaposition, promoted by both Pound and Eisenstein. The English-language haiku given below will be analysed to show how juxtaposition of a couple of simple images generates a 'bigger' idea which does not arise from any image outside the context of the poem, e.g.:

rainy pavement –
our big umbrella
blooms every puddle

(Mark Rutter 2008)

In this haiku, the poet juxtaposes the image of a rainy pavement and the image of puddles which seem to be blooming due to their reflection on the rainy pavement under the speaker and their companion's umbrella. The pictures in Fig. 7 below could illustrate the sequence of images encountered by the reader.

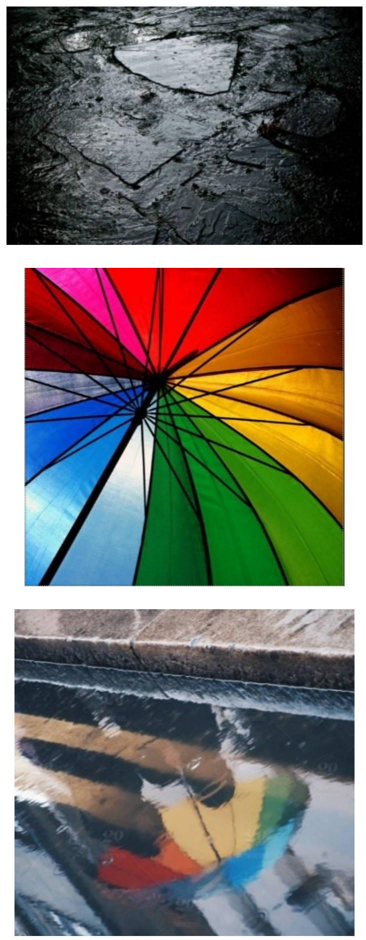

Figure 7. The sequence of images in Rutter's haiku
(*Soundcloud* 2018; *Twenty20* 2019; *Wallpaper* 2013)

While *rainy pavement* might trigger associations with dull colour, the image of blooming puddles is likely to render feelings quite opposite to those experienced initially. The verb *bloom* entails bright colours and elevated mood because it is closely related to flowers.

In the poem, the moment of juxtaposition is punctuated by means of a dash at the end of the first line. However, it is in the third line where juxtaposition becomes evident, because the middle line appears to be rather neutral in meaning, while the third line is a pivot. Such a delayed effect contributes to the poem's tension, the latter being an integral part of montage. The tension occurs as a result of two conflicting ideas – rainy weather and bright colours. The question to answer here is how the reader is engaged into the process of "literary text disambiguation", in Vorobyova's (2017a: 428) parlance, thus, how the reader establishes a correlation between the two disparate images, how they actually become one, and how the reader eventually draws meaning out of this.

Based on conceptual blending theory, the meaning created by the human brain is more than the simple sum of its constituent parts. Through the selection and combination of the familiar and new information, image schemas shaped by our sensory experience and background knowledge are integrated, thereby giving rise to new concepts (Harbus 2012: 52).

While reading the haiku poem above, several relatively simple image schemas become activated: OBJECTS, embodied by the rainy pavement, umbrella, and puddles; MOTION and PROCESS, suggested by the speaker and their companion's walking through puddles in the rain; and ITERATION, implied by the pronoun *every* encountered in the closing line. A more complex image schema is aligned when the OBJECTS *umbrella* and *puddles* 'interact': the umbrella makes puddles *bloom*, hence turning them into something reminiscent of flowerbeds, whereby the image schema TRANSFORMATION comes into

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play. This image schema is activated in both the source domain (*blooms*) and in the target domain (the umbrella makes puddles look like flowerbeds).

We are most interested in the image schema TRANSFORMATION, which arises due to the conflict between *rainy pavement* and blooming puddles. The juxtaposition of these two images results in an 'incompleteness' that has to be filled out by the reader. According to Eisenstein's theory of montage, it is the superimposition of two independent elements which produces new meaning and generates insights. The model of blending developed by Turner and Fauconnier (1995) has been used to test the hypothesis of this research stating that poetic montage is a process in English-language haiku which allows for meaning to be construed from two contrasting juxtaposed images.

As shown in Fig. 8 below, the source domain is made up of three input spaces, one presented by *rainy pavement* (input 1), another one by *umbrella* (input 2), and one more by blooming puddles (input 3).These are vivid and rigorously chosen images, which, with reference to Hiraga's idea (2005: 39), form the basis for imagic iconicity. Input 2 and Input 3 are placed into a bigger circle to suggest the idea of a 'bigger' image – puddles blooming under the speaker and their companion's big umbrella. The arrow connecting input 2 and input 3 is labelled TRANSFORMATION: the latter is the image schema that embodies the interaction between the image of a big umbrella and that of puddles in the rain (the umbrella makes each puddle bloom).

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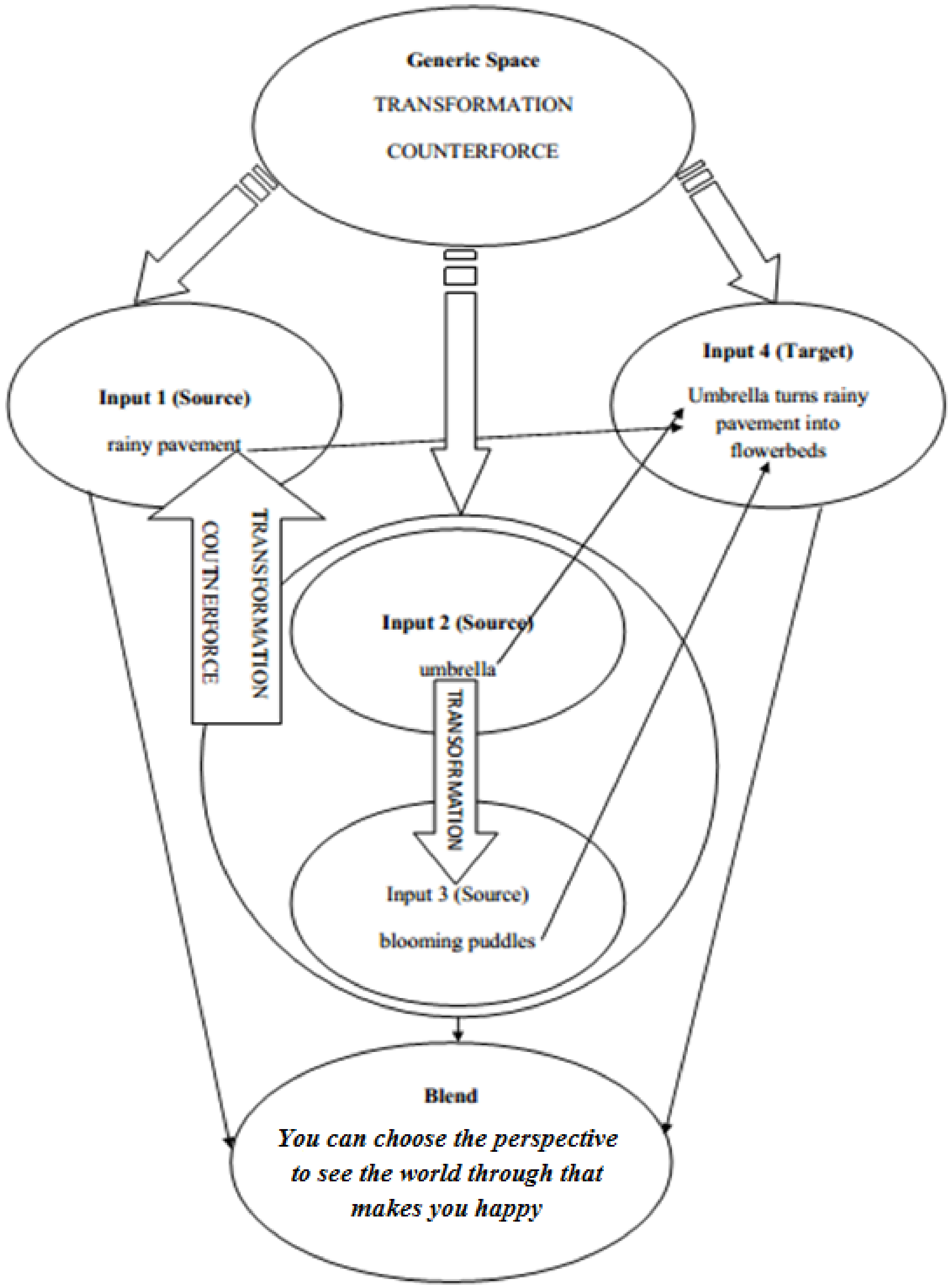

Figure 8. The model of blending for Mark Rutter's haiku

The same image schema is aligned for the interaction of input 1, on the one hand, and inputs 2 and 3, on the other hand: blooming puddles tend to change the way the pavement looks in the rain. Therefore, the image schema TRANSFORMATION is placed into a generic space because it reflects an abstract structure shared by inputs 1, 2, and 3.

Another image schema, which not only reflects relations between images in the source domains but also, and perhaps more importantly, signals juxtaposition between the images of a rainy pavement and blooming puddles, is that of COUNTERFORCE. The image of puddles changing their colour under the big umbrella appears emotionally stronger than that of a rainy pavement. The target domain demonstrates the interaction of all three source domains: under a big colourful umbrella, puddles in the rain resemble blooming flowerbeds.

The blend, as a newly emergent space, creates a meaningful bridge between all the mental spaces and graphically illustrates the process of poetic montage. The new idea generated by the interaction and juxtaposition of the poetic details in a verse as small as this might not seem brand new: nevertheless, it is the perspective through which we choose to look at the world which actually matters and which can make us happy. However, the way in which the poet of the haiku reminds us of this truth is remarkably delightful, and this re-discovery ultimately leads to the "Aha!" moment.

4. Concluding remarks

English-language haiku is a genre of poetry with oriental roots and which is thriving in the English-speaking world today. As a miniature poem, it resonates for many readers and poets across the globe. The process of meaning-making in this unconventional genre of poetry has raised interest in a number of scholars.

Given that contemporary linguists view meaning-making as a multi-semiotic phenomenon, the article suggests a multidisciplinary approach, integrating notions, tools, and methods employed within the cognitive-semiotic paradigm and borrowed from

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filmmaker Eisenstein's cinematography aesthetics, to elucidate the complex process of meaning-making in English-language haiku. Specifically, this paper has explored the process of meaning-making through the lens of Eisenstein's theory of montage as well as the theories of conceptual metaphor, conceptual blending, mental spaces, and iconicity within cognitive semiotics, an emergent interdisciplinary field for the study of meaning.

My reasoning concerning the process of meaning-making in English-language haiku is in line with Eisenstein's definition of montage as the collision of independent shots which always entails conflict, an underlying principle of the dialectal nature of cinema and art in general. It is through the juxtaposition of conflicting shots that a film scene can produce strong meaning and introduce new insights; juxtaposing disparate images in English-language haiku helps achieve the same effect of intensifying meaning and generating new knowledge; therefore, the process of meaning-making in English-language haiku has been termed poetic montage in this paper.

The term "poetic montage" accurately describes the essence of meaning-making in English-language haiku. It may be defined as a cognitive-semiotic process of establishing connections between juxtaposed images (through the cognitive processes of mapping, conceptual blending, and iconicity), thus drawing parallels between the experience of nature as described in the poetic text of haiku and the reader's own experience, and which is followed by the evocation of a strong emotional response to the depicted 'event'. The gap that occurs between the poem's two juxtaposed parts endows an English-language haiku with certain 'energy', a crucial part of the poem's meaning-making capacity.

Taking into account the idea that the relationships between juxtaposed laconic images in English-language haiku are grounded in image schemas, the research has proven the hypothesis that the gap between the images juxtaposed in the poem contributes to the "Aha!" moment, an experience of sudden insight resulting from bridging this gap through

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the cognitive-semiotic process of poetic montage. Establishing the types of poetic montage in English-language haiku calls for further research in regards to meaning-making in extraordinary genres of poetry such as English-language haiku.

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Résumé

English-language haiku as a miniature genre of poetry with oriental roots has raised interest in readers, poets, and scholars across the globe. This paper is focused on meaning-making in this genre of poetry, which is thriving in the English-speaking world today. The aim of this research is to explore the process of meaning-making in English-language haiku as poetic montage. The main research question addressed in the paper concerns a correlation between the technique of juxtaposition and the process of poetic montage in English-language haiku. The paper adopts a multidisciplinary approach, integrating notions, tools, and methods which have originated within the cognitive-semiotic paradigm and Eisenstein's cinematography aesthetics, for elucidating the question of meaning-making in this unconventional literary genre. Based on the idea that the relationships between juxtaposed laconic images in English-language haiku are grounded in image schemas, the research has proven the hypothesis that that the gap between the images juxtaposed in the poem contributes to the "Aha!" moment, an experience of insight resulting from bridging the gap through the process of poetic montage. Poetic montage is the term that describes the essence of meaning-making in English-language haiku and should be defined as a cognitive-semiotic process of establishing connections between juxtaposed images (through the cognitive processes of mapping, conceptual blending, and iconicity), thus drawing parallels between the experience of nature as described in the poetic text of haiku and the reader's own feelings and experience, and which is followed by the evocation of a strong emotional response to the 'event' depicted in the poem.

Key words: English-language haiku, meaning-making, poetic montage, juxtaposition, image schema, iconicity.

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MEDIA IMAGES OF SLOVAK AND UKRAINIAN PRESIDENTS: 'I/WE' BINARY PRONOMINAL OPPOSITION IN POLITICAL SPEECHES

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Abstract: This article focuses on presidential images constructed by the presidents' social behaviour and skillfully structured political speeches further cascaded by mass media. The research results show that the presidents' gender, personal charisma, social and professional background contribute to their political charisma, replicated in the media. Linguistically, this synergy is reflected in the binary pronominal opposition, which illustrates both leadership skills and togetherness as a national idea.

Key words: image of president, media linguistics, media influence, binary pronominal opposition, personal pronouns, rhetoric, charisma, political speeches, text construction, text perception.

*When **I** is replaced with **WE**, even illness becomes wellness!*
(Malcolm X)

1. Introduction

Today our globalized world requires interdisciplinary synergy in order to find out answers to the questions related to how images are created on the political arena, how the media mould public opinion, and why these two issues are interdependent. Successes and failures of present-day political leaders require analysis to proliferate their triumphant ideas among people or anticipate their consequent misinterpretation. Indeed, linguistics with its arsenal of tools appears handy when it comes to reaching out to people's hearts or manoeuvring amidst populist speeches and nationalist trends. Analysis of politicians' social behaviour as the nation's leaders and personalities through their oratory skills representation may dovetail contemporary developments of media studies into social and human sciences.

Political speeches have been viewed as a sign of democracy for ages. Bearing this point in mind, we believe that presidential speeches are tailored to trigger patriotic spirits in the realm of negatively charged news feeds; therefore, we develop the **hypothesis** that such speeches will be intensively used to cultivate positive thinking and trust; meanwhile a president's reputation and image are dependent on such messages and their perception by the audience. Besides, such image-related components as charisma, gender, social and professional background may play an important role on the political arena.

The image of a president is constructed by his/her social behaviour and skillfully structured political speeches. Thus, we focus our research on the use of personal pronouns (see Chapter 5.1 for details) in public speeches of two presidents **aiming** to see how they try to identify themselves with the interests, needs, and problems of the public and nation. Other contributory image-related components, such as charisma, social and professional background, gender, are viewed as complementary as they help intensify the 'I/we' binary pronominal opposition.

2. Theoretical background: Images and media

In studying political issues, contemporary scholars have shown considerable interest to the media and language interface, personalities of political actors and their impact on global processes. According to Waterman, Wright, and Clair, "the presidency has

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always been associated with images" (2018: xiv), which explains why nowadays, when the world is going digital, "presidents have put the public relations cart before the policy horse and carefully craft images for public consumption" (ibid.). Presidents show charismatic expressiveness in their speeches (Petlyuchenko & Chernyakova 2019), linguistically encode their beliefs, interests, biases, and points of view (Alexiyevets 2017) while speaking to the global audience and aiming at success (Fedoriv 2016). Undoubtedly, political communication is of a strongly pronounced rhetorical nature since rhetorical competence helps speakers convey their views, present them to a wider audience, make contact, position themselves in a favourable light, convince the audience of the correctness of their views and encourage specific action (Alexiyevets 2017), or spread manipulative electoral messages (Momoc 2018; Ponti 2020) and misinform (Bôtošová 2019).

Conversely, the interface between the text and image (Martynyuk & Meleshchenko 2019; Yaremko 2019) can be revealed, while content, worldview, and mind (Prihodko & Prykhodchenko 2018; Prykchodchenko 2019) are considered to have a reflection in people's thoughts. In addition, Erofeeva and Ushnikova (2017) claim that modern mass media are seeking efficient strategies, ensuring their high rating and thus help spread media texts representing a national worldview with their ability to support sustainable cultural meaning and provoke a mass response from the target audience. In turn, it is believed that audiences are more open to public personalities who use the media as a bridge to human minds (Stashko 2018). Furthermore, certain communicative devices appear effective instruments of manipulation used to encourage, impose, or incite the interlocutor to some particular behavior desirable to the speaker (Gnezdilova 2017; Izutsu & Izutsu 2017; Morozova 2013; Rigo 2018; Simon 2020). However, only accurate, truthful, and reasoned information inspires confidence (Prihodko 2019).

Bearing the spectrum of media and audience interaction modes in mind, we endeavour to analyse linguistic means, which shape presidential images when properly used in presidential speeches, interpret their respective usage, and see their pragmatic effect.

3. Material, data, and methodology

Taking into account the theoretical considerations on the issue, we selected the research material and methods to be applied in a comparative study of the spoken language of two presidents – Zuzana Čaputová and Volodymyr Zelensky (see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Personal and political data about Zuzana Čaputová and Volodymyr Zelensky

Zuzana Čaputová, 5th President of Slovakia		**Volodymyr Zelensky**, 6th President of Ukraine
 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zuzana_%C4%8Caputov%C3%A1	picture available at	 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volodymyr_Zelensky
15 June 2019	assumed office	20 May 2019
45	age elected at	41
law	education	law
lawyer, project manager, deputy to the town mayor	career	comedian, actor, screenwriter, film producer and director
social-liberal political party "Progressive Slovakia"	political views and affiliations	big tent political party "Servant of the People"

Considering their personal and political data, it is obvious that the two presidents have a lot in common. They are young and new to politics featuring zero political experience but plenty of enthusiasm to fight corruption and develop their countries. Each of them got their law degree, but before becoming presidents, they gained their work experience in the spheres other than politics: whereas Čaputová worked as a lawyer, Zelensky operated as a producer in the film industry and show business. Both presidents are happy to get support and inspiration in their families. As the vast majority of voters supported them, it is clear that both presidents have charisma and characteristics of a leader.

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In particular, one of the reasons motivating the choice of the personalities of these presidents as the subject matter of our analysis is the fact that their speeches were given during their first year of presidency, which ensures equal treatment of their personalities in this regard. Moreover, they are similar in their views on political issues, though different in gender.

It is also worth mentioning that the presidents have their own 'keys' to people's hearts and methods of influence, which originate from their social and professional background, gender, etc.

Our sample consists of 18 presidential speeches by Zuzana Čaputová (8578 words) and Volodymyr Zelensky (8196 words) delivered on official occasions in 2019-2020. They range from those addressed to the nation (parliament, government or linked to local public events) to the ones showing each president as a representative of the nation on the international arena. Table 3 in Appendix shows the list of the presidential speeches in Slovak, Ukrainian, and English, their thematic range, and corresponding links.

It is important to point out that an image of a political leader (here: president) is created on linguistic and media levels. In our research, the linguistic level is investigated to illustrate how words and their relevant usage may mould presidential images and their perception.

Relying on the methodological tools of media linguistics, we use the following methodological procedure to process the data:
Step 1. Creating research hypothesis to obtain accurate similar and/or contrastive results.
Step 2. Using scientific observation method, linguistic and computational analysis to spot, count, and group all personal pronouns in the speeches in question.

Step 3. Describing the functions of each group and interpreting their correlation with speech topicality, target audience, gender, and charisma issues with the help of perceptual, comparative, and qualitative content analyses.
Step 4. Revealing how these components (from major to minor) contribute to the images of both presidents with the tertium comparationis model applied.

Regarding the matter of the authors' personal subjectivity in descriptions, respective blurred considerations are therefore possible. However, linguistics and media have favoured individual perceptions of certain issues so far.

4. Preliminary definitions

To begin with, it is important to provide definitions and terms linked to the issue and emended to the research.

4.1 Image and its definitions in media linguistics

The scope of studies connected with the current research enables us to generate a cumulative definition of the 'image of president'.

The word 'image' originates from Latin *imāgin-, imāgō* meaning 'representation, reflection, apparition, semblance, copy, visible form' (MWOD, *s.a.*). According to Cambridge free English dictionary and thesaurus (CFEDT, *s.a.*), 'image' is "a) a picture in smb's mind or an idea of how someone or something is, b) the way that something or someone is thought of by other people, c) a mental picture or idea that forms in a reader's or listener's mind from the words that they read or hear". Besides, there exists a broader definition of an image as "a mental conception held in common by members of a group and symbolic of a basic attitude and orientation" and as "a popular conception (as of a person, institution, or nation) projected especially through the mass media" (MWOD, *s.a.*). In this research, however, we propose to define the term 'the image of the president' cumulatively as a stereotypical mental picture of a president held in common by a nation projected through mass media and formed from his/her

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social activities. Such activities are viewed as those activating mental pictures in people's minds.

4.1.1 Image-related components: Charisma, gender, and professional background

The proposed definition of the term 'the image of the president' suggests that a combination of primary and secondary image-related components will or may lead to a certain outcome. Furthermore, the image of the president, which is effectively constructed by the media, convincingly demonstrates what can be achieved if people elect this person for the post of the state leader. It is arguable which component is the most result-bearing or how many components the image of the president consists of. In order to address this problem, we focus on the most typical and, thus, important for our research components of the image of the president, i.e. his/her personal and political charisma, gender, and socio-political background.

Scholars have found out that presidents who go into more image-based rhetoric in their inaugural addresses were rated higher in charisma (Emrich et al. 2001). A charismatic leader uses charismatic rhetoric backed up by the kinetic component (gesture and mimic), making communication more effective. It complements his/her words and highlights the key points of his/her speech in order to achieve verbal charismatic appeal through which the leader exercises his/her influence on his followers and/or opponents encouraging them to commit actions aimed at achieving a particular goal (Petlyuchenko & Artiukhova 2015). The art of rhetoric has accumulated an extensive variety of principles and precepts for structuring a public speech, choosing vocabulary and visualisation devices, tone and place, and many other tools (Fedoriv 2016). Indeed, successful articulation and enactment of a leader's vision may rest on his/her ability to paint for his followers a verbal picture of what can be accomplished with their help (Emrich et al. 2001). Some scholars draw a distinction between personal and political charisma, though they obviously cross in the impact and fusion (House et al. 1991) (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Image-related components in politics.
Available at: https://images.app.goo.gl/hR95ecWqELrJrSZ1A

It is obvious that charisma is tightly connected with the speaker's gender, as well as his/her status, age, social and professional background, etc. Taken together, these characteristics give more details regarding images, their representation, and further interpretation (Stashko 2016; 2017a; 2017b). Generally, a woman is socially perceived as soft and cooperative (Stashko 2016), while a man is shown as strong, dominant, and self-focused. Some studies proved that certain female politicians have natural, confident, attractive, and sincere voice qualities, which all the raters found to be charismatic (Petlyuchenko & Chernyakova 2019). Besides, female speakers are prone to emotional argumentation and they tend to influence the emotions of their listeners. Male speakers, being considered "more rational", will opt for logical argumentation and try to influence the reasoning of their listeners (Kisicek 2008). However, many of the rhetorical elements that have been found to be characteristic of political speeches are not gender-dependent (ibid.). Furthermore, in contrast to most research on the influence of female leadership, no effect of a female politician's gender on policy outcomes was found either in the short run or in the long run (Ferreira & Gyourko 2014).

In addition, we focus on the professional background of both presidents as we see direct influence of this aspect on the presidents' images and popularity. The research contribution on this issue demonstrates how personal characteristics of political agents, i.e. their expertise, political experience, social and professional background, etc. influenced their political or economic outcomes. For instance, entrepreneurs, professional scientists, and trained economists are significantly more likely to implement market-liberal reforms than politicians with no university education or profession that provide the skills required to implement reforms (Dreher et al. 2006). Also, there is a connection between a politician's background and the regime he/she gravitates to. In general, democratic leaders differ from nondemocratic ones in terms of their educational, social, and career background (Baturo 2016). Other research showed that famous female speakers tend to start their speeches with stories about their family background and early childhood hardships to illustrate examples, which echo in the listener's heart and find the targeted reflection (Stashko 2018).

Overall, we may see certain tendencies of constructing politicians' images drawing on his/her background, experience in politics and careers prior to their presidency, which can cumulatively complement their presidential image. Together with other image-related components, these findings may turn out to be significant for image interpretation.

4.2 'I/we' binary pronominal opposition

Traditionally, a *pronoun* is defined as a word that is used instead of a noun or noun phrase. Pronouns refer to either a noun that has already been mentioned or to a noun that does not need to be named specifically (MWOD, *s.a.*). There are several types of English pronouns: personal, possessive, reflexive, indefinite, demonstrative, reciprocal, relative, and interrogative (ibid.).

Yet pronouns are not merely a way of expressing person, number, and gender as is suggested by traditional grammarians, nor do they only do referential and deictic work. Rather, they must be thought of in the context of interaction and in terms of the 'identity work' that they accomplish (Bramley 2001). Brown and Gilman (1960) state that a man's consistent pronoun style gives away his class status and his political views. Besides, they suggest that the direction of change in pronoun usage expresses a will to extend the solidarity ethic to everyone.

The research conducted by Jones and Wareing (1999) revealed that the first person singular pronoun 'I', for instance, clearly declares who is responsible, while the first person plural pronoun 'we' makes the status of responsibility less clear.

Bramley's investigation (2001) reveals that a politician's pronominal choice indicates his/her varied identity, more specifically his or her individual or collective identity. The scholar also highlights that the primary concern of a politician is to create an image of the reality according to them, and pronouns are of major importance in doing so (ibid.). Thus, we may suggest that young unexperienced politicians may be more inclined to show a mixture of both in terms of their images.

Sedláková claims that "binary opposition often reduces the complexity of social reality to a clash of opposing social factors" (2014: 451). Images tend to be dependent on such oppositions regardless of spheres. Moreover, the binary opposition on which the language expression unit is built embodies the ideology of dominant discourse and contributes to the reproduction of hierarchical power relations and the strengthening of the existing status quo (ibid.).

The binary opposition is the basis of human orientation in the world, which helps organize it. There is always a hierarchy between the parties to this dichotomy, one of which is considered to be more important, better, or superior to the other, which is less important, incorrect, or inferior. However, none of them could exist alone as these categories would lose their meaning. There is a large number of these dichotomies and they are culturally specific. Individual parts of the world / groups / persons are always classified as belonging to only one of them (Lévi-Strauss 2006). Self-presentation in politics seems more crucial for the charismatic leader's image in the short run while togetherness manifested in speeches is supposed to bond the image in the long run.

Personal pronouns are a key part of politicians' discourse because they provide a basis through which politicians try to identify themselves with the interests, needs, and problems of the public (Allen 2007). Politicians actively exploit the flexibility of pronominal reference to construct the different identities of themselves and 'others' and use them to create different alignments to, and boundaries between, their multiple 'selves' and 'others' (Bramley 2001). Binary oppositions using personal pronouns emphasize the positive societal aspects that policy seeks to identify. At the same time, they make it possible to point out the negative aspects of the actors to whom the policy seeks to define (Allen 2007).

Besides, the study conducted by Bramley (2001: 259) showed that politicians use the pronoun 'I' to present themselves as individuals and speak from their own perspective, preferably highlighting one's good qualities and accomplishments. On the other hand, the scholar argues (ibid.) that 'we' can be used to invoke a group membership or a collective identity, and create a separation between the 'us' and 'them'.

Bearing the above stated in mind, the study in question investigates the use of personal pronouns 'I' (and its variant forms 'my' and 'me') and 'we' (and its variant forms 'our' and 'us') in public speeches of the two presidents in order to compare differences based on thematic range, personal involvement, and target audience.

5. Results and discussion

This chapter focuses on the interrelation of key research theme lines in media linguistics. Crossovers and exchanges between them are possible and even necessary because their synergy may show complexity of images and illustrate the needed plane or distinction.

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However, it is worth mentioning that the results obtained and the conclusions made cannot be fully applied to the presidents in question as political leaders are usually assisted by their speechwriters, especially when they are invited to deliver their speeches at previously planned events.

5.1 Personal pronouns in public speeches of the presidents

As it was mentioned in Chapter 4.2, the main emphasis in analyzing 'I/we' binary pronominal opposition is on determining who the two presidents refer to in their speeches when they opt for the pronouns 'I' ('my', 'me') and 'we' ('our', 'us') and comparing the differences in pronominal usage by the two presidents. Reflexive pronouns 'myself' and 'ourselves' as well as possessive pronouns 'mine' and 'ours' were excluded from the analysis because English, Slovak, and Ukrainian are morphologically different, and these pronouns may be situationally omitted or substituted with the personal pronouns 'me' and 'us', respectively. Besides, we should keep in mind that in Slovak the subject is omitted in sentences, which will be reflected in the specific way to spot the respective pronouns in the demo examples. The same selectively refers to some cases in Ukrainian, mainly with the Imperative Mood. Another important point to note is that 'my' and 'our' are actually possessive adjectives. However, as we refer to the 'I/we' binary pronominal opposition in order to spot the differences, which are connected with linguistic and extralinguistic issues, we dare include these adjectives into our research.

The results of this research show how pronouns are used to construct politicians' positive stance towards reality and how they determine people's perception of their images 'cascaded' by the media.

Both presidents have delivered their speeches on the main concerns and events in their countries, such as inauguration, main national holidays, economy and corruption, war and peace. Table 2 below shows the thematic range and quantitative counts of pronouns in the analyzed speeches.

Table 2. Use of pronouns
in Zuzana Čaputová (pink) and Volodymyr Zelensky's (blue) public speeches: Thematic range

#	*topic / event* / *pronoun*	**I**		**my**		**me**		**we**		**our**		**us**	
1	Inauguration	**37**	**24**	**1**	**8**	**2**	**2**	**50**	**21**	**35**	**12**	**11**	**11**
2	New Year	**17**	**3**	**2**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**51**	**17**	**16**	**6**	**8**	**8**
3	Independence / Unity	**17**[1]	**8/7**	**2**[1]	**2/2**	**-**[1]	**-**	**51**[1]	**22/6**	**16**[1]	**20/-**	**8**[1]	**3/1**
4	Economic Development	**8**	**26**	**-**	**6**	**-**	**2**	**8**	**12**	**8**	**13**	**3**	**1**
5	Fight against Corruption[2]	**1/17**	**3/5**	**-/3**	**-/1**	**2/2**	**1/1**	**16/9**	**4/1**	**6/-**	**1/2**	**-/2**	**1/-**
6	War / Peace / Security[3]	**27/16**	**13/9**	**6/2**	**-/-**	**-/1**	**-/-**	**6/21**	**5/11**	**11/9**	**4/4**	**2/14**	**-/1**
7	COVID-19	**9**	**4**	**14**	**1**	**-**	**1**	**14**	**13**	**4**	**3**	**7**	**2**

In particular, the figures in Table 2 clearly illustrate that the 'we' / 'our' / 'us' part tends to be more quantitatively represented in the reports of positive or neutral events (e.g., New Year or Independence Day). Besides, these pronouns are used in the speeches which convey ultimate support to the nation (e.g., pandemic or fight against corruption). The presidents address to their nations and emphasize they are part of it (see examples 1, 2, 4 below). All these details contribute to an image-making process. Togetherness (2, 3) created with the help of the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' is perceived as sharing (1) and supportive (5). Let us take some examples and see how it works in the speeches under study.

(1) Ukr. – *"**Ми** з вами дуже різні. Але хіба **нас** мало що об'єднує?"* (VZ 2019, New Year speech).

Eng. – "**We** are very different. But isn't there a lot that unites **us**?".[4]

(2) Ukr. – *"Якщо **ми** бачимо майбутнє однаково, це повинно **нас** об'єднувати"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "If **we** view the future in the same way, it is to unite **us**".

(3) Sk. – *"**Myslime** však na to, že aj po nich **budeme** všetci na Slovensku žiť spoločne"* (ZC 2019, New Year speech).

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Eng. – "**We** need to bear in mind that however much **we** argue, **we** will still be living together in Slovakia".[4]

(4) Ukr. – *"Так хто ж* ***ми****?* ***Ми*** *ті, хто говорить 'Я тебе кохаю' "* (VZ 2019, New Year speech).

Eng. – "So who are **we**? **We** are the ones who say 'I love you' ".

(5) Sk. – *"****Nezabúdajme*** *na to, že* ***máme*** *dôvod byť hrdí"* (ZC 2019, New Year speech).

Eng. – "Let **us** not forget that **we** have reasons to be proud".

Considering the COVID-19 pandemic, both presidents show readiness to act together with their people and responsibility for the whole nation. Their messages were oriented towards every community member (6, 7) and every doctor (8, 9) with the appeal to support each other:

(6) Sk. – *"Ak sa* ***zomkneme, zvládneme*** *to"* (ZC 2019, Speech on COVID-19).

Eng. – "If **we** lock up, **we** can do it".

(7) Ukr. – *"Від кожного з* ***нас*** *дуже багато залежить. <…>* ***Ми*** *сильні і в* ***нас*** *все буде добре"* (VZ 2019, Speech on COVID-19).

Eng. – "A lot depends on each of **us**. <…> **We** are strong and **we** will be all right".

(8) Sk. – *"****Svojou*** *zodpovednosťou a príkladným správaním najviac* ***pomôžeme*** *tým, od ktorých* ***naše*** *zdravie bude o pár dní závisieť najviac –* ***našim*** *zdravotníkom"* (ZC 2019, Speech on COVID-19).

Eng. – "With **our** responsibility and exemplary behavior, **we** will help most of all those on whom **our** health will depend most in a few days – **our** healthcare professionals".

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(9) Ukr. – *"**Ми** доручили органам місцевого самоврядування та місцевої влади запровадити додаткове матеріальне заохочення медичних працівників, які залучені до протиепідемічних та лікувальних заходів"* (VZ 2019, Speech on COVID-19).

Eng. – "**We** have instructed local governments and local authorities to introduce additional financial incentives for health care providers involved in anti-epidemic and treatment activities".

However, financial and social issues (e.g., business and economy or security) are mentioned along the 'I' / 'my' / 'me' line. Presidents sound strong and reliable to their nations in order to stay identified with the controlling power and leadership capacity.

In June 2019, the President of Ukraine, for instance, met with the members of the YES Supervisory Board where he "informed the YES representatives of the key priorities of **his** activities, including the establishment of peace in Ukraine, the protection of its sovereignty and the restoration of territorial integrity, the implementation of system reforms, strengthening the defense capabilities of the state and ensuring the conditions for successful development of the country" (OWPU, *s.a.*).

Provided that at that moment Mr. Zelensky had been president for a month with no political experience but tremendous ambitions (10), the reason to opt for 'I' / 'my' / 'me' pronouns appears more than obvious: he wanted to show his leadership skills (12) and thus gain trust (10, 11), which can be illustrated by the following excerpts:

(10) Ukr. – *"Знаєте, багато хто відверто дивувався: навіщо **я** іду в політику. **Мені** казали: у тебе ж все є, ти – щаслива людина. <...> Зараз у **мене** та **моєї** команди є привід для щастя. Це – велика довіра громадян"* (VZ 2019, Speech at YES forum).

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Eng. – "You know, many people were genuinely surprised: why **I** go to politics. **I** was told: you have everything, you are a happy person. <…> Now, **my** team and **I** have a reason for happiness. It is the great trust of citizens".

(11) Ukr. – *"Але **я** не раз казав: єдиний шлях до цього – дипломатія. <…> **Я** не втомлююся повторювати всім нашим світовим партнерам, які нам допомагають – **я** дуже їм вдячний"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "But **I** have repeatedly said that the only way to do this is through diplomacy. <…> **I** am not tired of repeating it to all our world partners who help us that **I** am very grateful to them".

(12) Ukr. – *"З вашого дозволу – декілька проектів, які **я** хотів би анонсувати. Це низка проектів, куди під **мої** особисті гарантії захисту **я** запрошую іноземний бізнес"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "With your permission, there are some projects **I** would like to announce. They are a series of projects where **I** invite foreign business under **my** personal protection guarantees".

The analysis of Zuzana Čaputová's statement after the meeting with the Minister of the Interior, Police President, and First Deputy Attorney General revealed that she also used the pronoun 'I' to present herself as the nation's leader and speak from her own perspective, highlighting her power and readiness to restructure the state (13, 14), e.g.:

(13) Sk. – *"Ako prezidentka **cítim** povinnosť ozvať sa, keď **vidím** nespravodlivosť, zneužívanie moci alebo zanedbanie povinností kompetentnými orgánmi. Rovnako však **považujem** za **svoju** povinnosť vyzdvihnúť aj pozitívny prístup alebo upokojiť situáciu, keď je na to dôvod"* (ZC 2019, Statement after the meeting with the Minister of the Interior).

Eng. – "As president, **I** feel obliged to speak up when **I** see injustice, abuse of power or neglect of duty by the competent authorities. However, **I** also consider it **my** duty to emphasize a positive approach or to calm the situation when there is a reason to do so".

(14) Sk. – *"Zo* ***svojej*** *pozície* ***mám*** *možnosť pýtať sa zodpovedných činiteľov na skutočnosti, ktoré* ***považujem*** *za sporné, a z ich informácií si urobiť názor"* (ibid.). Eng. – "From **my** position, **I** have the opportunity to ask those responsible about the facts that **I** consider controversial and to form an opinion from their information.

The next investigation stage revealed approaches used by the presidents with regard to their target audience (see Fig. 2 and 3), i.e. their communication styles when speaking to and for their audience. In audience-based speaking, it is essential to determine the role the speaker plays and specify the level of involvement into the matter. In order to track these issues in the analyzed speeches, we focused on domestic and international arenas.

With this goal in view, in this paragraph we present the results obtained from the analysis of the army and security related state concerns (Fig. 2), which are of paramount importance for Ukraine and Slovakia.

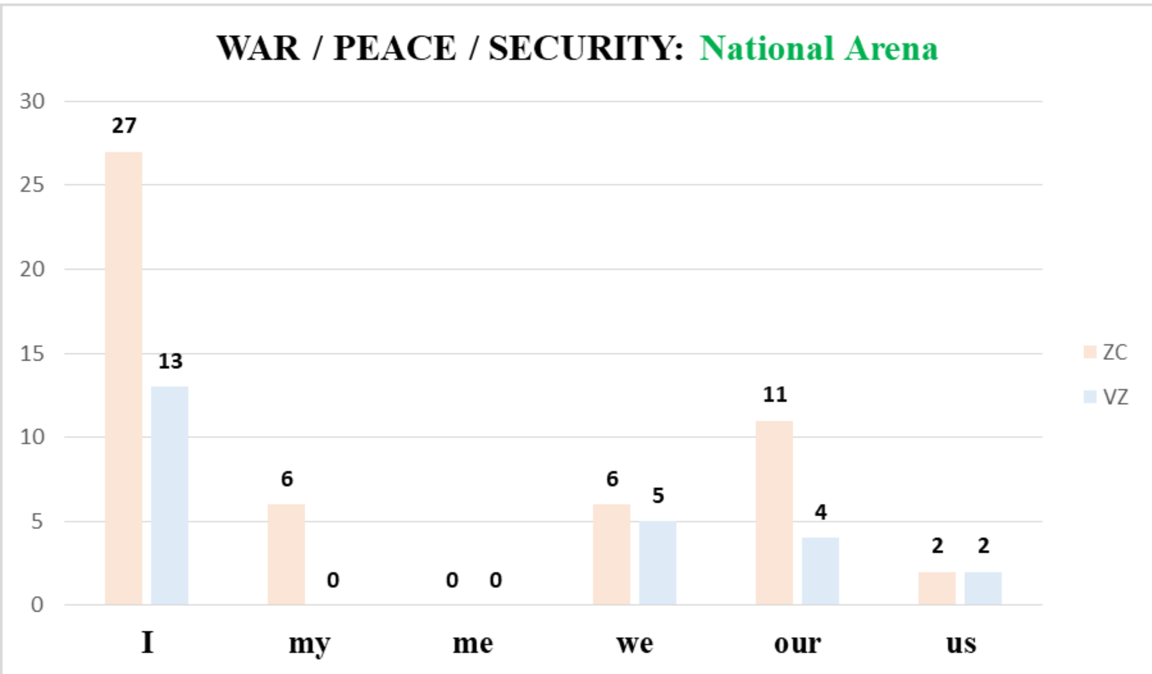

Figure 2. Use of pronouns in Zuzana Čaputová (pink) and Volodymyr Zelensky's (blue) public speeches on war, peace, and security: The national arena

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As follows from the figures above, the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' are used in a very similar way in both presidents' speeches. Such tendency is wholly consistent with the issue of togetherness, which is central for this study. When the presidents speak to their nations, they do not separate themselves from their people and motherland, and therefore, from their armies (15). As an example to illustrate this, let us refer to Zelensky's speech on Defender Day:

(15) Ukr. – *"<…> Українці будуть єдиними й згуртованими. Бо тоді –* ***ми*** *сильні. Бо тоді – непереможні. Тож на заздрість усім* ***доведімо****, що* ***ми****, українці, – вільний, цивілізований, а головне – мудрий народ.* ***Пам'ятаймо*** *про це"* (VZ 2019, Speech on Defender Day).

Eng. – "<…> Ukrainians will be consolidated and united. Because then **we** are strong. Because then **we** are invincible. Therefore, to the envy of all, **we** shall prove that **we**, Ukrainians, are a free, civilized, and most importantly, wise nation. Let **us** keep that in mind".

The use of the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' is quite heavy in the beginning of the speech, which matches in terms with role sharing. The president is part of his nation and his heart belongs to his country.

In contrast to this, the pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' are mostly concentrated in the middle part of the speech in question, when Mr. President gives several promises from the first person (16):

(16) Ukr. – *"****Обіцяю*** *вам як Президент України і Верховний Головнокомандувач Збройних Сил, що і* ***я*** *ніколи цього (прим.: війни) не допущу. <…>* ***Я*** *знаю це і* ***запевняю*** *вас – тільки так і буде. <…> Бо 20 травня* ***я*** *присягнув усіма справами боронити суверенітет і незалежність України.* ***Я*** *вірний цій клятві і* ***залишатимуся*** *вірним їй завжди"* (ibid.).

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Eng. – "**I** promise you as President of Ukraine and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces that **I** will never let this (note: war) happen. <…> **I** know this and **I** assure you – it will be like this. <…> As on May 20, **I** took an oath of office to defend the sovereignty and independence of Ukraine. **I** am loyal to this oath and **I** will always be loyal to it".

The most likely explanation of this finding is theme-and-role congruence. According to the Constitution of Ukraine, the President is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, which implies certain duties and responsibilities. In its turn, this position requires leadership skills and expertise to be respected by the Army. His image is conventional and firm, and his words are expected to appeal to each soldier. His involvement and promises are manifested in the beginning of each sentence (16).

Considering the speech by the President of Slovakia to the General Staff of the Army of Slovakia, we gained expected findings in terms of the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us'. President Čaputová started her speech with an honorary mention of the soldiers (17), which sounded reasonable. Then, she turned to the point of reliability and safety embodied in the army focusing on togetherness of the army and the state (18).

(17) Sk. – *"Po niekoľkých mesiacoch vo funkcii môžem s plnou vážnosťou povedať, že ozbrojené sily majú medzi **našimi** obyvateľmi veľmi dobré meno. <…> Počúvam, že **naši** vojaci sú skutoční profesionáli"* (ZC 2019, Speech to the General Staff of the Army).

Eng. – "After a few months in office, I can say with all seriousness that the armed forces have a very good reputation among **our** people. <…> I hear that **our** soldiers are real professionals".

(18) Sk. – *"Ozbrojené sily Slovenskej republiky sú nielen jedným z najdôležitejších symbolov **našej** štátnej suverenity, ale sú aj zhmotnením **nášho** členstva v Aliancii"* (ibid.).

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Eng. – "The Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic are not only one of the most important symbols of **our** state sovereignty, but they are also the embodiment of **our** membership in the Alliance".

However, the results obtained for the use of pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' were surprising, especially in contrast to hypothetical expectations. Unlike her Ukrainian peer, Mrs. Čaputová did not focus on promises but gave her critical feedback (19) on the defeatist situation in the armed forces emphasizing significant drawbacks:

(19) Sk. – *"Nedávno* ***som mala možnosť*** *prečítať si správu o operačnej pripravenosti našich ozbrojených síl.* ***Pýtala som sa*** *na dôvody a príčiny jej záverov. Odpovede, ktoré* ***som dostala****, sa zásade zhodovali: nedostatky sú spôsobené dlhodobým podfinancovaním, zanedbaním niektorých oblastí a v súčasnosti aj nerovnomerným rozdeľovaním prostriedkov"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "**I** have recently had the opportunity to read a report on the operational readiness of our armed forces. **I** asked for the reasons for the conclusions. The answers **I** received were in principle the same: the shortcomings are due to long-term underfunding, the neglect of some areas and, at present, the uneven distribution of funds".

Clearly, Čaputová's next appeal to the militaries shows her understanding of the problematic issues (19, 22) and criticism of the counter actions (20). The President's personal involvement in problem solving seems diplomatic, and her personal expectations sound sincere (21):

(20) Sk. – *"****Priznám sa****, že nie celkom* ***rozumiem*** *tomu, prečo nemôžu generáli vystúpiť na verejnosti so svojimi názormi na obranu štátu a na potreby ozbrojených síl"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "**I** admit that **I** do not quite understand why generals cannot speak in public with their views on the defense of the state and the needs of the armed forces".

(21) Sk. – *"**Nemám** v úmysle a ani si **nemyslím**, že je to **mojou** úlohou, aby som teraz prechádzala oblasť po oblasti a pripomínala, čo sa za posledný rok podarilo viac a čo menej"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "**I** do not intend, nor do **I** think it is **my** job, to go from area to area now, recalling what has been more and less successful over the last year".

(22) Sk. – *"**Nemyslím**, že k tomu došlo preto, lebo niekto chce ozbrojeným silám úmyselne škodiť"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "**I** do not think this happened because someone wants to intentionally harm the armed forces.

Thus, it is evident that the two presidents feel part of the army they command and eagerly speak that out using the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' (ZC – 19 and VZ – 11) but they show their intentions, criticism, and suggestions differently. While the President of Ukraine speaks in the first person to share his hopes and promises, the President of Slovakia demonstrates sharp criticism and her personal wish to solve the specific problems they have in common. The evidence to support this contrast lies in the president's experience and her professional background (see Table 1 and Chapter 5.3). Indeed, Zuzana Čaputová (see OWPS and Chapter 5.3 for details) is from the jurisprudence field, and this suggests that she is practically aware of everything she wants to change in the state. In contrast, Volodymyr Zelensky (see OWPU for details), being a cinematography representative, lacks professional expertise in military affairs, which is reflected in the way of his use of pronouns. Nevertheless, both presidents have one common feature in their feedback – their speeches abound in the pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' (ZC – 33 and VZ – 13) when they show their intention to act. Besides, they manifest their gratitude to their people using contrastive options (23, 24):

(23) Sk. – *"Za to všetko, čo pre Slovensko a jeho občanov doma i v zahraničí robíte, vám úprimne **ďakujem**"* (ibid.).

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Eng. – "**I** sincerely thank you for everything you do for Slovakia and its citizens at home and abroad".

(24) Ukr. – *"І завтра кожен свідомий українець висловить безмежну шану та подяку* ***нашим*** *воїнам, добровольцям, медикам і волонтерам"* (VZ 2019, Speech on Defender Day).

Eng. – "And tomorrow every conscientious Ukrainian will express boundless respect and gratitude to **our** soldiers, unpaid helpers, doctors and volunteers".

Similarly, we analyzed the presidential speeches delivered on the international arenas (see Fig. 3) where the target audience is not focused on internal problem-solving of foreign partner states but where participants speak on behalf of their nations.

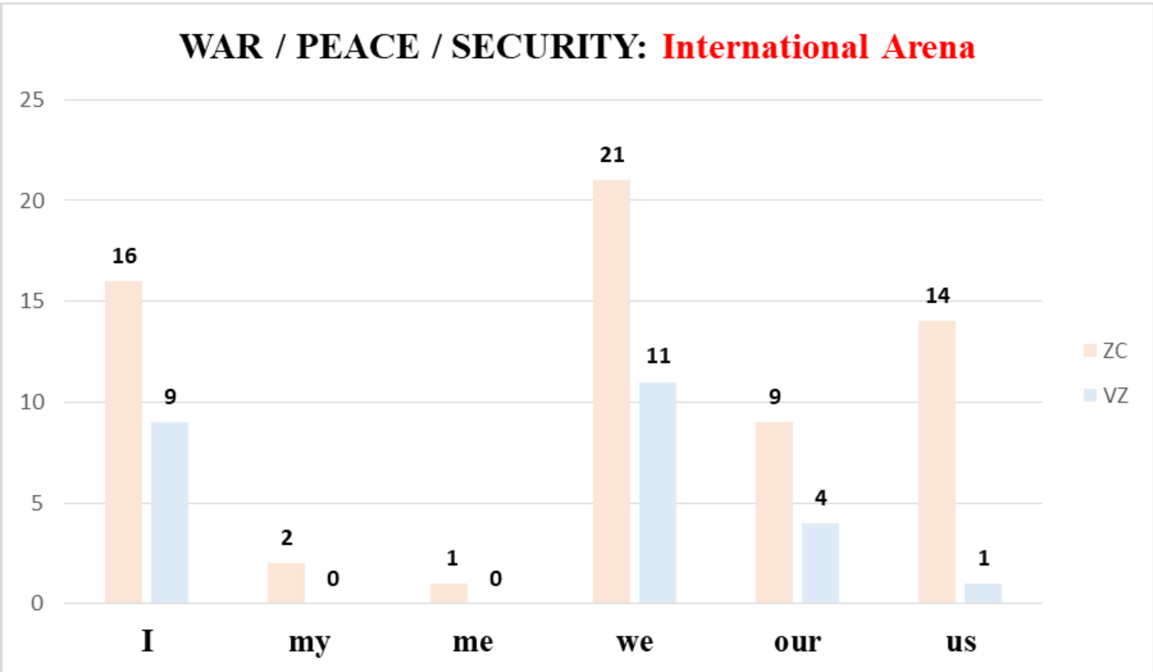

Figure 3. Use of pronouns in Zuzana Čaputová (pink) and Volodymyr Zelensky's (blue) public speeches on war, peace, and security: The international arena

On the whole, the analysis shows that the major focus in Čaputová's speech falls on the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' (44 in total), while Zelensky moderately uses both the 'I' / 'my' / 'me' and 'we' / 'our' / 'us' pronoun lines (9 and 16, respectively). In order to reveal

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possible reasons for such differences, we can refer to the structure of the two speeches. Both presidents keep to similar storylines and emphasize similar points in their speeches.

The first message (25) sent to the respective world institutions was that the presidents ('I') represent their countries ('we'), which are part of the world community ('we'):

(25) Sk. – *"Dnes sa bude veľa rozprávať o Európskej únii, ktorá chráni nielen* ***našich*** *občanov, ale aj* ***naše*** *hodnoty.* ***Prichádzam*** *z regiónu, kde – ak sa* ***pozrieme*** *iba na čísla – sa dnes* ***občania*** *majú lepšie ako* ***kedykoľvek*** *predtým"* (ZC 2019, Speech at Munich Security Conference).

Eng. – "The theme of today's discussions is Europe that protects not only **our** citizens, but also **our** values. **I** come from a region where – if **we** look at the numbers alone – **we** live better than **we** ever have.

Another important message describes problems both countries are facing and difficulties in combating these problems (26). As long as the countries have acute challenges to overcome, they desperately need global support from those who have already managed to do that and are now keeping their standards high, respecting the rule of law. Inadmissibility of violating the law was the key message of both leaders, verbally supported with the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us', which testifies to their common rhetoric:

(26) Sk. – *"Prečo síce* ***vieme*** *ochrániť* ***naše*** *hospodárstvo, ale prečo s rovnakou vervou nevieme chrániť* ***naše*** *hodnoty?* ***Všetci čelíme*** *nárastu populizmu, extrémizmu, či nezodpovednej rétoriky, ktorá rozdeľuje* ***naše*** *spoločnosti a pomaly relativizuje, spochybňuje či* ***priamo*** *útočí na hodnoty a pravidlá"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "Why can **we** protect **our** economies but lack the same determination to defend **our** values? **We** are all facing the rise of populism, extremism and irresponsible narratives that divide **our** societies and attack **our** rules and values".

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The presidents spoke about their burning internal issues and the strong will to act since their domestic concerns may turn catastrophic for the world if neglected by the global community (27). Specifically, the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' contributed to a clearer appeal to the world for support and declarations to fight:

(27) Ukr. – *"Усвідомлюючи всю небезпеку цивілізації, **ми** повинні генерувати інші смисли. <...> Сьогодні, коли існують тисячі сторінок міжнародного права та сотні організацій, покликаних його захищати, **наша**, саме **наша** країна зі зброєю в руках, втрачаючи **своїх** громадян, відстоює власний суверенітет і територіальну цілісність. <...> Але в сучасному світі, де **ми** з вами живемо, більше немає чужої війни. <...> Саме тому **ми** потребуємо світової підтримки"* (VZ 2019, Speech at UN Assembly).

Eng. – "Being aware of all the dangers of civilization, **we** must generate other senses. <…> Today, when there are thousands of pages of international law and hundreds of organizations designed to defend it, **our** and only **our** country with arms in the hands, losing its citizens, upholds **our** own sovereignty and territorial integrity. <…> But in the modern world where **we** live, there is no longer somebody else's war. <…> That is why **we** need worldwide support".

Indeed, these examples illustrate the abovementioned conclusions and demonstrate that separate words can contribute to a general message delivered in speeches. The presidents use mostly the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' to attract attention to 'us' as people, to declare responsibility for 'us' as a nation, and share 'togetherness' messages regardless of their audiences.

Finally, we can now proceed to the issue of gender in the analysed presidential speeches. On the whole, it can be claimed that no speech, which underwent analysis, contains gender-related wordings. Thus, each president tries to act as a nation's leader rather than a male or female representative of his/her nation. Politics has no gender.

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Leadership skills do not depend on gender in politics. Moreover, a female politician is expected to run her country the same effective way any male politician does.

However, the choice of pronouns may hint that a female politician is more flamboyant in terms of wordings, which may explain a higher counts of pronouns in the speeches by the Slovak president.

Taking into account the results obtained at this research stage, it can be stated that the pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' and 'we' / 'our' / 'us' are heavily used in every speech by both presidents regardless of their gender. The latter aspect is not reflected by the 'I/we' pronominal opposition at all. The presidents typically use the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' to express their identity with their nation or their target audiences, particularly being a speaker on the international arena or referring to the nation on positive occasions. On the other hand, the pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' usually occur when it is necessary to represent one's 'self' as a responsible leader, which is also manifested in the context. The presidents eagerly share their declarations to act responsibly and ask their people to follow them.

5.3 Synergy of linguistics and media studies in image making

This chapter presents our findings on how media affect presidents and how their impact shapes the president's image perception by their followers and their nations. In the meantime, it is evident that the digitalized world can no longer exist without mass media and, therefore, will be influenced and manipulated by mass media to a certain extent. Conversely, mass media can help enhance or ruin images of politicians and show how effective politicians and their messages are.

Moreover, some findings revealed that not all politicians are likely to be influenced by the media in the same way (Helfer 2016; Kaltseis 2019). Since the media inform of events and news using their methodology and guidelines (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Panasenko 2016; Panasenko et al. 2017), their reports share common characteristics to

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attract attention to politics and politicians. In its turn, it contributes to increasing personalization of political authority and polarization of media and society (Poguntke & Webb 2005). The role of journalism in digital media is gaining new trends (Višňovský et al. 2015) due to new technologies, environments, and marketing strategies (Čábyová 2006; 2010; 2012a; 2012b; Krajčovič & Čábyová 2016; Pravdová 2017). Media literacy is also in focus, which means questioning the media and interpreting its messages accordingly can help challenge the views media present to us (Aroldi et al. 2017; Hicks-Goldston & Ritchart 2019; Petranova & Vrabec 2016).

First, it is essential to say that the present study does not mean to rate politicians or evaluate political media coverage. On the contrary, we aim at zooming in on a list of image-related issues developed and scattered by media.

Second, in illustration of synergy of tools and techniques and their coherence in creating presidential images, we ponder how media help recognize and intensify a charismatic leader. In particular, Volodymyr Zelensky has tight links with cinematography, being a film producer, a comedian, and an actor. Before standing for presidential elections, he successfully starred in the popular television series "Servant of the people" where he played the President of Ukraine and promised to clean up politics and fight corruption in the country. The movie went viral and evoked hot discussions in social networks and mass media. As a result, Zelensky won the presidential runoff with 73.2% of the vote against Poroshenko's 25.3% (Ukraine elects local TV comic President, 2019). Being new to politics but popular as an actor turned out to be a winning situation. Over the course of time, it got obvious that it was a trick, but a media myth was presented like a real fact and soon it turned reality. A charismatic actor became a political leader.

The case of Zuzana Čaputová, also a political newcomer, proves that the media can not only frame a candidate's image but also be used as a show case in the victorious race for presidency. The future president structured her election campaign as a struggle between good and evil following the murder of an investigative journalist a year before (Slovakia shocked by killing of journalist and partner, 2018). Ms. Caputova cited Mr. Kuciak's murder as one of the reasons she decided to run for president and won 58% of the vote, with Mr. Sefcovic trailing on 42% (Zuzana Caputova becomes Slovakia's first female president, 2019). She was heavily supported by the media, which added positive aspects to her image. Similarly, her professional and social background and gender significantly helped in image making of a new politician. As a lawyer, Ms. Caputova gained national prominence when she led a case against an illegal landfill lasting 14 years and being a mother of two kids she promoted adoption and showed liberal views on families (ibid.). As a result, she was supported by Slovaks and managed to gain 58% votes and became Slovakia's first female president (ibid.).

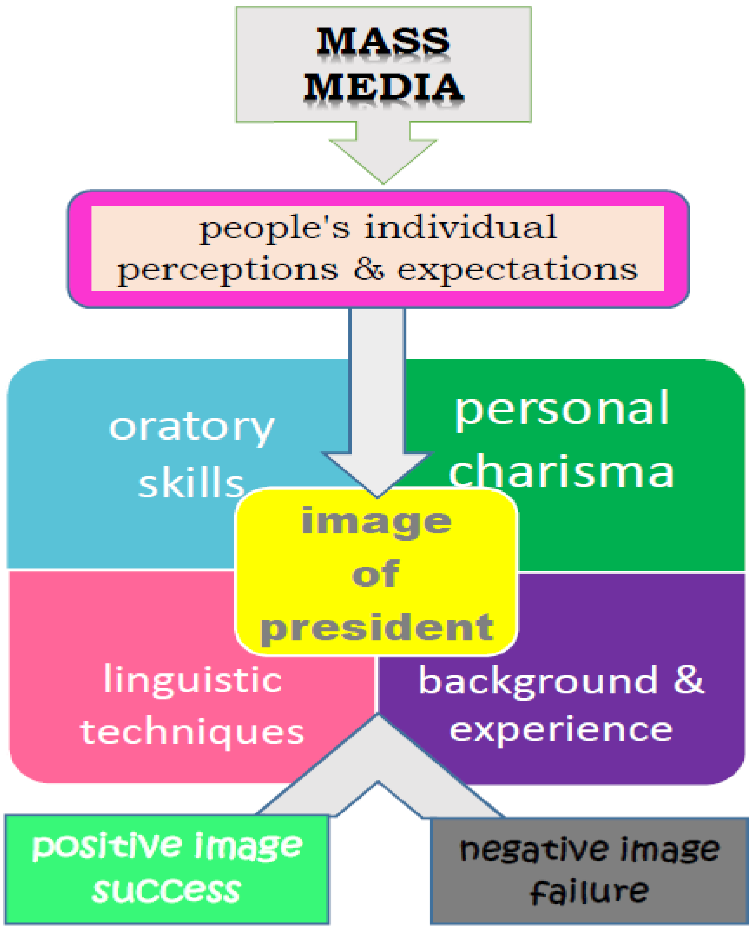

Figure 4. Synergy of tools and techniques and their coherence in creating the presidential image

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To conclude, we may state that image-related components reveal different ways of influence on the images of both presidents (Fig. 4). It is rather a synergy of components starting from verbal messages and finishing with actions. The presidents' public speeches reflect hopes and thoughts of their nations. However, one should not forget that successful political leaders are always assisted by skillful speechwriters who help make their messages hit the target.

6. Conclusions

To sum up, we can infer that the image of the president is largely dependent on a combination of factors and is a synergy of image-related components. The conducted comparative analysis of public speeches delivered by the two presidents – Zuzana Čaputová and Volodymyr Zelensky – testifies to the fact that there is a synergy of linguistic and media tools and techniques in creating the image of the president; their coherence on both levels produces the necessary effect.

On the linguistic level, it is noticeable that the use of personal pronouns in public speeches of the two presidents illustrates how they identify themselves with the interests, needs, and problems of the public and nation. The 'I/we' binary pronominal opposition targeted in the analysis has helped spot what messages are decoded in the presidential speeches.

The study has revealed that the pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' are mostly used to speak about social security issues. Both presidents convey the ideas of reliability and responsibility to their nations, which emphasize their leadership skills and enthusiasm to act. Taking into account the presidents' zero experience in politics, the abovementioned pronouns also illustrate the leaders' promises to their nations.

Conversely, the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' are integrated in the presidential speeches more frequently and focus on togetherness as a national idea. Positive or neutral events

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as well as national concerns are the topics in which the presidents emphasize that they are part of their nations, ready to share everything with their people.

National and international arenas did not show differences in the use of the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us', which enabled the country leaders to demonstrate togetherness regardless of the thematic issue. While the pronouns 'I' / 'my' / 'me' appeared conventional when the presidents represented themselves as reliable leaders and eagerly shared their declarations to act responsibly and ask their people to follow them. The data obtained are broadly consistent with other studies, which have shown that the choice of pronouns may hint at how the presidents express their identity with their nation or their target audiences.

Undoubtedly, media zoomed in on image-related issues and helped the presidents be recognized in their messages. Namely, mass media promoted their images positively as both presidents had media-related background links prior to their presidency. In a synergy of all the components, media intensified charismatic leaders and their verbal messages.

Notes

1. The Day of the Establishment of the Slovak Republic is an official state holiday in Slovakia celebrated on 1 January, i.e. on the same day as New Year. Thus, Zuzana Čaputová's New Year Speech covers both events and the respective figures are used twice. See Table 3 for more details.

2. The problem of corruption is developed in two speeches by both presidents: the first (1/17) to the people who either fight corruption or are ready to do it and the second (1/17) to their key state bodies (government and parliament). See Table 3 for more details.

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3. War, peace, and security related alarming points are highlighted in two speeches from both presidents who represented their countries on the domestic (27/16) and international arenas. See Table 3 for more details.

4. Translation of Ukrainian examples is done by Halyna Stashko and Slovak ones – by Norbert Vrabec.

List of abbreviations

CFEDT – Cambridge free English dictionary and thesaurus

MWOD – Merriam-Webster online dictionary

OWPS – Official website of President of Slovakia

OWPU – Official website of President of Ukraine

VZ – Volodymyr Zelensky

ZC – Zuzana Čaputová

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Résumé

This paper presents a comparative analysis of public speeches delivered by two presidents – Zuzana Čaputová and Volodymyr Zelensky – and demonstrates how presidential images are constructed by their social and linguistic behaviour covered by the media. In the given research, the image of a president is referred to as a stereotypical mental picture of a president held in common by a nation; it is constructed by his/her social and linguistic activities that are made known to the public via mass media. Linguistically, the presidents' images are reflected and interpreted in the 'I/we' binary pronominal opposition, which illustrates both personal characteristics of the speakers, their leadership skills and togetherness as a national idea. In particular, the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' quantitatively prevail in positive events or when the nation requires

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ultimate support. Togetherness created with the help of pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' is perceived as sharing and supportive. However, social security issues are mentioned mostly along the 'I' / 'my' / 'me' pronoun line. Presidents sound reliable to their nations to stay identified with power and leadership. In audience-based speaking, togetherness is obviously demonstrated on the domestic arena whereas when seeking global support, the presidents use the pronouns 'we' / 'our' / 'us' to attract attention to 'us' as people, declare responsibility for 'us' as a nation, and share 'togetherness' messages to the world community. The data obtained have shown that artfully structured presidential speeches are tailored to kindle patriotic spirit and trust among the people, which, in their turn, contribute to the presidents' images constructed in such messages. Considering similarities the presidents possess, we emphasize political experience, social and professional background, and charisma. It has been found that these image-related components cumulatively contribute to political charisma and popularity, replicated in the media.

Key words: image of president, media linguistics, media influence, binary pronominal opposition, personal pronouns, rhetoric, charisma, political speeches, text construction, text perception.

Appendix

Table 3. Thematic range of speeches of Zuzana Čaputová (ZC) and Volodymyr Zelensky (VZ)

#	*topic/event/concern*	*speech/source*
1	Inauguration	***ZC:* Inaugural Speech** Available at: https://www.prezident.sk/article/inauguracia-prezidentky-zuzany-caputovej/
		***VZ:* Inaugural Speech** Available at: https://www.president.gov.ua/news/inavguracijna-promova-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelensk-55489
2	New Year	***ZC:* New Year Speech** Available at: https://www.prezident.sk/en/article/the-presidents-new-years-speech/
		***VZ:* New Year Speech** Available at: https://znaj.ua/politics/286481-shcho-pobazhav-zelenskiy-ukrajincyam-u-novomu-roci-povniy-tekst-ta-video-emociynogo-zvernennya-prezidenta
3	Independence / Unity	***ZC:*** see above (also see Note 1)
		***VZ:* Independence Day Speech** Available at: https://www.president.gov.ua/news/vistup-prezidenta-ukrayini-pid-chas-urochistostej-z-nagodi-d-56937 ***VZ:* Day of Unity Speech** Available at: https://www.president.gov.ua/videos/zvernennya-prezidenta-z-nagodi-dnya-sobornosti-ukrayini-1649
4	Economic / Business / Social Development	***ZC:* The president has conferred state honours on 20 personalities** Available at: https://www.prezident.sk/en/article/the-president-has-conferred-state-honours-on-20-personalities/
		***VZ:* Yes Forum Speech** Available at: https://www.president.gov.ua/news/vistup-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-na-16-j-sho-57257
5	Fight against Corruption	***ZC:* White Crow Awards** Available at: https://www.prezident.sk/page/prejavy/ ***ZC:* Statement by the President after the meeting with the Minister of the Interior, Police President, and First Deputy Attorney General** Available at: http://www.pr-news.sk/rss/link/2019/10/1933325/video-caputova-to-co-sa-dozvedam-presiahlo-absolutne-moju-predstavivost-tu-je-moje-stanovisko/
		***VZ:* Speech on Corruption** Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M1xrHSkZvE4 ***VZ:* Extraordinary Message to Parliament** Available at: https://www.president.gov.ua/news/pozachergove-poslannya-prezidenta-ukrayini-do-verhovnoyi-rad-56981
6	War / Peace / Security	***ZC:* Speech to the General Staff of the Army of Slovakia** Available at: https://www.prezident.sk/page/prejavy/ ***ZC:* Munich Security Conference Speech** Available at: https://www.prezident.sk/page/prejavy/
		***VZ:* Defender Day Speech** Available at: https://www.president.gov.ua/news/prezident-u-zvernenni-do-gromadyan-ya-prisyagnuv-boroniti-su-57789

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		VZ: **UN Assembly Speech** Available at: https://www.president.gov.ua/news/vistup-prezidenta-ukrayini-volodimira-zelenskogo-na-zagalnih-57477
7	COVID-19	***ZC:*** **Speech on COVID-19** Available at: https://www.prezident.sk/page/prejavy/
		VZ: **Speech on COVID-19** Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WK0RMibS6O0

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EMPATHY AS A SELF-ORGANIZED COGNITIVE MODEL: A LINGUISTIC SYNERGETIC PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: This article encompasses a comprehensive consideration of the concept of EMPATHY (lexicalized by the word *empathy*) in modern English discourse. Therefore, the aim of the research is twofold: a) to gain an understanding of how EMPATHY (as a dynamic cognitive model) is used by speakers, i.e., its nature and scope; b) to introduce the idea of the self-organization of three conceptual dimensions of EMPATHY: logical, identifying, and structural.

Key words: cognitive model, concept, dimension, empathy, self-organization, synergetics.

1. Introduction

Despite the voluminous history of the research of empathy and emotivity (Cuff et al. 2016; McStay 2018; Morse et al. 2006; Nikonova & Boyko 2019), empathy is still an ambiguous notion. Since entering the discourse of psychology and philosophy, it has been generally agreed upon as the capacities to resonate with another person's emotions, understand his/her thoughts and feelings, separate our own thoughts and emotions from those of the observed, and respond with the appropriate prosocial and helpful behaviour (Oliveira-Silva & Gonçalves 2011: 201).

The multidimensional aspect of empathy refers to its various components, which are labelled slightly different across studies. Morse et al. (1992: 274) provide a bright account of four components and define them in the following manner:

> *1) cognitive: "... intellectual ability to identify and understand another person's feelings and perspective from an objective stance"; 2) emotive: "the ability to subjectively experience and share in another's psychological state, emotions or intrinsic feelings"; 3) moral: "an internal altruistic force that motivates the practice of empathy"; 4) behavioral: "communicative response to convey understanding of another's perspective".*

However, several questions relating to the nature of empathy are still to be discussed: whether it is more cognitive or more affective, congruent or incongruent, automatic or controlled. Furthermore, empathy needs to be clearly distinguished from other concepts, such as sympathy, compassion, emotional contagion, etc. There are as many points of view as there are authors in the field. As a result, empathy is considered to be a multidimensional phenomenon central not only to sociology, political science, and moral theory, but also to linguistics.

In the English language, empathy is a relative newcomer. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (*s.a.*), it emerged in 1912. Provocative is the fact that its original meaning was drastically different from the one, to which we have become accustomed. Its first documented English usage gives full quotation:

> *Lipps (1906) introduced the theory that the appreciation of a work of art depended upon the capacity of the spectator to project his own personality into the object of contemplation. One had to "feel oneself into it" ... . This cognitive process he called by the name of "Einfühlung", or, as it was translated, "empathy"* (ibid.).

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Empathy, described by Lipps (1906), is clearly revealed to essentially be a self-centered phenomenon: the subject projects his/her personality into the object to be understood, which therefore acts as a kind of mirror, reflecting aspects deriving from the subject. Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language (1986: 2317) adds that the term is "frequently employed with reference to a nonhuman object". Thus, it possesses the least emotional content out of any of the synonyms for "sympathy". This should appear as a surprise, given its current meaning as "the ability to sense and understand someone else's feelings as if they were one's own" (CED 2008: 275-276). According to Garcia (1989: 29),

> *"this curious historical transformation of the meaning of empathy emphasizes a general and fundamental paradox posed by the human quest for knowledge: that human's understanding of his/her surroundings (which include their fellow men) is both predicated upon and limited by the narcissistic projection of personal characteristics, mental and emotional".*

The interaction between empathy and language is still very attractive to linguists. In functional syntax, empathy is defined as "the point of view" in an anaphoric utterance, by which a participant is bound with the event or state that he/she describes in that sentence, or the participant in the reported event whose perspective is taken by the speaker (Kuno 1987). In this sense, the concept of empathy is applied by Kuno (ibid.) for the explanation of sentence structures.

In pragmatically oriented linguistics, empathy means that the speaker and the listener who are involved in the act of communication can detect and identify the immediate affective state of each other, eliciting an appropriate response (Chen 2013: 2269). The first part of this interpretation, "detect and identify the immediate affective state of each other", characterizes the process of discernment, which is basic in choosing applicable responses. It states that empathy requires people absorbed in communication to understand how others perceive the situation, and their current emotional state. Furthermore, empathy has

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a "you" orientation that makes successful communication possible, rather than an "I" orientation that may hinder positive communication.

Little attention has been given to the cognitive and synergetic nature of the linguistic representation of empathy. The previous research on EMPATHY as a linguistic concept was done from the perspective of cognitive semantics (Tatsenko 2016; 2018). The **aim** of this study is to look at EMPATHY as a multidimensional cognitive model realized in modern English discourse. I treat this cognitive model as a dynamic, self-organized discourse formation, rather than a stable, cognitive representation stored in a speaker's mind.

I assume the article to be relevant for the advancement in the field of contemporary cognitive linguistics, since it aims at dealing with the way the human mind structures knowledge in cognitive models and makes use of them in discourse. Besides, the research advances linguistic synergetics as a new interdisciplinary approach to language and discourse studies. Dombrovan (2018: 29) divides linguistic synergetics into two branches: the synergetics of language and the synergetics of speech. The latter can be further subdivided into text synergetics, discourse synergetics, idiolect synergetics, etc. I hold the view that cognitive linguistic synergetics should be added to this list as a new interdisciplinary path of research, which describes how language interacts with cognition, its dynamics, and self-organizing properties.

The insights into the way the lexicalized concept EMPATHY functions in discourse participants' minds contribute to understanding the intricate intertwining of cognition and language, its dynamics, and synergy.

2. Material and methods

The theoretical framework of this analysis is situated within cognitive linguistics (Allwood 2006; Barsalou 2003; De Beaugrande 2004; Dirven 2005; The Cambridge handbook of cognitive linguistics 2017), cognitive semantics, modelling, metaphor (Никитин 1996; Davydyuk & Panasenko 2016; Kövecses 2017a; 2017b; 2018; Lemmens 2015; Morozova 2017; Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa 2014; Sandra & Rise 1995; Tuggy 2007), neural theory of metaphor (Lakoff 2008), conceptual blending (Fauconnier 2007; Fauconnier & Turner 2002; Turner 2007), socio-cognitive approach to discourse (Dijk 2008), cognitive neurodynamics (Freeman 2008), and linguistic synergetics (Dombrovan 2018; Evans 2007; Köhler 1993).

Contemporary linguists hold the view that the process of discourse production, understanding, and recall is influenced not by natural situations as such, but by their abstractions formed in speakers' minds. Therefore, there is a mental mechanism, which filters through infinite lists of features of real-life events and situations in order to sort out those relevant for ongoing communication (Morozova 2017: 256). These consequential, functional, and variable versions of the world in the discourse participants' minds are referred to as cognitive models (Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa 2014).

At present, the nature and functions of cognitive models stimulate a large amount of research among linguists of different persuasions. Interested readers may refer to some critical overviews of such varieties of cognitive models as idealized cognitive models, frames, domains, propositional models, image schemas, and their combinations (Cienki 2007; Kövecses 2017b). Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa (2014) elaborate a distinction between situational and non-situational cognitive models at the propositional level of representation: the situational include frames like 'taking a taxi', 'ordering a meal', or 'going to the dentist', while non-situational cognitive models encompass objects ('mother'), events ('hurricane'), and relations ('hugging') in a more general fashion.

A timely detailed taxonomy of the issue is given by Morozova (2017). She draws a distinction between 'cultural cognitive models' and 'situational cognitive models'. In her opinion, cultural cognitive models are static: they are stored in the long-term memory, organizing shared knowledge of things, events, or situations of a certain type. In contrast to cultural cognitive models, situational cognitive models are dynamic. They capture relevant properties of the situation under consideration and organize them systematically. The knowledge structured by a situational cognitive model is unique, defined in terms of subjective participant constructs. Situational cognitive models are instantiations of cultural cognitive models. Thus, they represent only a certain portion of respective cultural cognitive models, but they usually characterize it in more detail, evoking richer associations. Situational cognitive models are not 'prefabricated' mental entities stored in the memory, ready to be extracted: they are constructed only as the need for them arises (Morozova 2017: 256-257).

In East-European linguistics, cultural cognitive models are known as 'concepts' (Попова & Стернин 2007; Приходько 2017; Prihodko & Prykhodchenko 2018). A detailed review of the issue is given by Davydyuk & Panasenko (2016). Concepts are rather broad mental entities, which form the worldview image and have rational, abstract, emotional, personal, and other aspects, embracing cognitive models of all ranks (primary-, low-, and high-level). In this connection, I should remark that a concept can hardly be said to fit into the cultural cognitive model only. It embraces the features of both cultural and situational cognitive models, as we cannot fully differentiate socially shared knowledge from its instantiations in discourse production or personal mental models. As Dijk (2008: 163) rightfully claims, there are relationships between personal knowledge and opinions, and socially shared ones, that is, between representations in Social Memory and personal models in Episodic Memory.

In addition, agreeing with the fact that the notion of a concept is close to the notion of a 'mental space' (originally described by Fauconnier & Turner (2002) as a small conceptual packet constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action),

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I see the proof of my point of view in Fauconnier's idea that "mental spaces are constructed and modified as thought and discourse unfolds and are connected to each other by various kinds of mappings, in particular, identity and analogy mappings" (Fauconnier 2007: 351). It has been hypothesized that at the neural level, mental spaces are sets of activated neuronal assemblies and the connections between elements correspond to coactivation-bindings. In this sense, mental spaces operate in working memory, but are built up partly by activating structures available from long-term memory (Fauconnier 2007). Thus, a concept is a dynamic cognitive model, which integrates both personal and socially shared knowledge.

According to Turner (2007: 378), conceptual integration conforms to a set of constitutive principles: 1) a partial cross-space mapping connects some counterparts in the input mental spaces; 2) there is a generic mental space, which maps onto each of the inputs and contains what the inputs have in common; 3) there is a fourth mental space, the blended space, often called "the blend"; 4) there is selective projection from the inputs to the blend. Turner emphasizes that not all elements and relations from the inputs are projected to the blend.

This perspective is congruent with synergetics as a special type of theoretical systems modelling, whose specific characteristic is the treatment of the spontaneous rise and development of structures (Köhler 1993: 41). In Köhler's (ibid.) view, language (like other self-organizing systems) is characterized by the presence of cooperative and competitive processes which, together with the external forces of biology, psychology, physics, the social system, and others, form the dynamics of the system.

As a result, EMPATHY can be defined, most generally, as a dynamic self-organizing mental space (lexicalized by the word *empathy*) that spontaneously functions in the individuals' cognitive and communicative activities. This concept is unleashed in discourse and is

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described in the light of the complex interaction of external and internal factors. They are associated with the individuals' involvement in extralinguistic environment and socio-cultural interaction. This definition can be applied to any concept.

Nikitin (Никитин 1996) defines the concept as a complex gestalt of interconnected operandi modi. Furthermore, every modus contains cognitive and pragmatic (emotional and evaluative) elements, which are the result of accumulated knowledge about the world (ibid., 188). Hence, interpretation of the term 'modus' leads us to think that it is a functional modification, a substructure of the concept, being also its means of existence in discourse participants' minds. Such an interpretation is rightful, taking into account the fact that the comprehension of reality exists in the reflection of any structure. Modi's arrangement of the concept entails the necessity to perform the functions of systematizing the world, identifying its entities, and structuring the classes of entities.

As Nikitin (ibid.) writes, a systematizing function is the identification of socially shared knowledge, being the least pragmatic, maximum objective, and far from instantaneous needs and assessments. It forms the logical modus of the concept. This modus does not have a probabilistic nature. Another function is identification, and it involves the correlation of things with their concepts, forming an operational recognition modus with its possible variants – an image, a symbol, a stereotype, a prototype, and a recognizable notion. Through this modus lies the path to an abstract, generalized concept of the object.

It appears that recognition (in a broad sense) does not end with a contemplative attitude to entities, but has an active continuation: an image controls, directs and corrects activities and intentions. Furthermore, purposeful activity compares its results with the image. Returning to the function of structuring classes of entities, suffice it to say that it forms the structural modus of the concept, which involves separating its 'intentional' and 'implicational' (in Nikitin's terminology) (ibid., 155-160; 183-199). The 'intentional' is a logical concept. Because of the general connection of entities, the features presented in the 'intentional' of the concept make us think about other related features. Their totality forms the 'implicational' – a set of implications of intentional features.

This perspective has served as a foundation for the research of EMPATHY as a concept realized in English discourse using such **methods**: conceptual, semantic, functional, introspective, and rational analyses. In agreement with the objectives of the research, together with the idea of mental space as a multidimensional entity, the modus model of the concept was elaborated by introducing conceptual dimensions. I propose the idea that the concept EMPATHY has interconnected dimensions: *the logical, the identifying,* and *the structural.* The logical dimension is scrutinized by way of semantic analysis. It is gained through the methodology of componential analysis of the lexical and semantic field of the word *empathy* (a cognitive semantics vector). The functioning of the identifying and structural dimensions of the concept EMPATHY in discourse was analyzed through the functional method (a pragmatic vector). The dynamics and self-organization of the dimensions were analysed with the help of introspective and rational analyses used to explain the functions and purpose of cognitive processes and to discover the structure of the mind (a synergetic vector). It is proved that in their cooperation and coherent action in the brain, dimensions produce a concept, which functions in discourse. Moreover, every time the concept arises in discourse, the cooperation of dimensions in the brain is unique.

Therefore, the dimensions should be considered as *order parameters* of the conceptual system. In terms of synergetics, order parameters are certain constants of the system determining the coordinates and the configuration of states of the system at a given moment or period of time and providing the system's ability to function (Dombrovan 2018: 36). Order parameters lead the system to its *attractor* – another term of synergetics widely used in the description of dynamic systems.

"*An attractor is denoted as a stable state toward which a developmental trajectory is inexorably drawn, established by the regulatory network architecture; that is, by the set of logical rules (positive and negative interactions) that regulate the development of information within a self-organizing system. In essence, an attractor is a final cause accessed by the regulatory network, which is, in turn, a formal cause established by the organization that developed via the selective agency of autocatalytic cycles*" (Coffman 2011: 300).

The attractor of any linguistic concept is the set of values, to which the concept evolves resulting in its sustainable functioning in discourse.

The analysis is based on the **material** of 40 definitions of empathy in different dictionaries and scientific texts, which form the basis for its logical dimension. The identifying and structural dimensions are represented by a selected number of 269 discourse examples presenting the word *empathy* in British national corpus, which contains 100 million words of texts from a wide range of genres (spoken, fiction, magazines, newspapers, and academic). Besides, my sample consists of examples from political discourse and 150 quotations about empathy extracted from BrainyQuote – the world's largest quotation site. It provides quotations ranging from history's most prominent figures to today's newsmakers – famous athletes, politicians, authors, celebrities, etc. For reasons of space, the article is narrowed down to displaying only the brightest definitions (in the author's perspective) and discourse examples of the word *empathy*. The reason for this varied data collection is explained by the fact that EMPATHY is scrutinized as a multidimensional phenomenon.

3. Results and discussion

3.1 The logical dimension

The logical dimension of the concept EMPATHY has been thought to be the rational, logical conceptualization of empathy. It is realized in a certain logical form and belongs to the abstract and generalizing level of consciousness. The function of the logical dimension is to systematize the constitutive features of a recognizable entity. It is, therefore, possible

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to hypothesize that the formation of the logical dimension, which is close to a scientific definition, is the result of the purposeful cognitive activity of an individual. On the linguistic level, the logical dimension is formed through the interpretation of semantic features of the concept in the abstract typical contexts, which reflect an individual's generalized socio-cultural experience and are fixed in dictionaries.

The insight into the logical dimension of the concept EMPATHY is gained through the methodology of componential analysis of its lexical and semantic field. It is used in the domain of structural semantics and is carried out based on vocabulary definitions through the differentiation of semes (the units of meaning). The componential analysis of a significative meaning of the word *empathy* allows analysing the semes in different vocabulary definitions of empathy and in the definitions of leading scientists (semes are underlined).

Empathy is:

1) "the power of projecting one's personality into, and so fully understanding the object of contemplation" (OED 1989: 30);
2) "the power to enter into the feeling or spirit of others" (NWDTEL 1993: 309);
3) "the ability to understand how someone feels because you can imagine what it is like to be them" (MD, *s.a.*);
4) "the ability to sense and understand someone else's feelings as if they were one's own" (CED 2008: 275-276);
5) a) "the ability to identify with or understand the perspective, experiences, or motivations of another individual and to comprehend and share another individual's emotional state"; b) "the projection of one's own feelings or thoughts onto something else, such as an object in a work of art or a character in a novel or film" (AHDEL, *s.a.*);

6) "the capacity to understand and enter into another person's feelings and emotions or to experience something from the other person's point of view" (Colman 2009: 248);

7) "an affective state, caused by sharing of the emotions or sensory states of another person" (Hein & Singer 2008: 154);

8) "sharing another's feelings by placing oneself psychologically in that person's circumstance" (Lazarus 1994: 287);

9) "a category of emotional responses that are felt on behalf of others" (Stocks 2011: 3).

According to the results of the definition analysis, I have singled out common and differential semes of the lexical meaning of the word *empathy*.

Common seme: "sharing another's feelings" / "sharing of the emotions" / "share another individual's emotional state". **Differential semes:** "way of sharing": "projecting", "fully understanding", "enter into", "sense", "understand", "imagine", "identify with", "comprehend", "experience", "placing oneself psychologically", "felt"; "object of contemplation": "others", "someone", "someone else", "another individual", "something else", "an object in a work of art", "character in a novel or film", "another person"; "specific feeling": "spirit", "perspective", "experiences", "motivations", "emotional state", "emotions", "sensory states", "feelings", "emotional responses".

The common seme in the definitions of *empathy* is indicative of different sub-fields for a common lexical and semantic field (LSF) (see Table 1):

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Table 1. LSF of the word *empathy*

1. Capacity of **sharing another's feelings**	1) "the power of projecting one's personality into, and so fully understanding the object of_contemplation" (OED 1989: 30); 2) "the power to enter into the feeling or spirit of others" (NWDTEL 1993: 309); 3) "the ability to understand how someone feels because you can imagine what it is like to be them" (MD, *s.a.*); 4) "the ability to sense and understand someone else's feelings as if they were one's own" (CED 2008: 275-276); 5) "the ability to identify with or understand the perspective, experiences, or motivations of another individual and to comprehend and share another individual's emotional state" (AHDEL, *s.a.*); 6) "the capacity to understand and enter into another person's feelings and emotions or to experience something from the other person's point of view" (Colman 2009: 248).
2. Act of **sharing another's feelings**	1) "the projection of one's own feelings or thoughts onto something else, such as an object in a work of art or a character in a novel or film" (AHDEL, *s.a.*); 2) "sharing another's feelings by placing oneself psychologically in that person's circumstance" (Lazarus 1994: 287).
3. Result of **sharing another's feelings**	1) "an affective state, caused by sharing of the emotions or sensory states of another person" (Hein & Singer 2008: 154); 2) "a category of emotional responses that are felt on behalf of others" (Stocks 2011: 3).

Thus, the subfields for a common LSF of the word *empathy* are *the capacity of sharing another's feelings*, *the act of sharing another's feelings*, and *the result of sharing another's feelings*.

It should be mentioned that when the sub-field *capacity of sharing another's feelings* is active in discourse participants' minds, the concept EMPATHY is considered to be non-situational: e.g., (1) *"And he was incapable of empathy!"* (BNC, empathy, 32, *s.a.*). When the sub-field *act of sharing another's feelings* is active in discourse, the concept EMPATHY proves to be a situational cognitive model: e.g., (2) *"Rose said it with such empathy that all criticism was stopped"* (BNC, empathy, 13, *s.a.*). When the sub-field *result of sharing another's feelings* is active in discourse, the concept EMPATHY is also a situational cognitive model: e.g., (3) *"This, allied to the respect and admiration he had already gained here as captain of our 1977 promotion team and as a member of the full Welsh International side, established an empathy between Ian and the fans which made him part of the folk-lore of Crystal Palace Football Club"* (BNC, empathy, 70, *s.a.*).

The logical dimension is thought to be at the centre of attention of discourse participants' minds in contexts where there is a comparison of EMPATHY with other concepts, or putting it in a line with them. Let us consider the following examples.

(4) *"Perhaps the most frequent discussion with regards to this theme is the difference between empathy and sympathy"* (Cuff et al. 2016: 149). (5) *"We can include in this category empathy or intuition, and also telepathy"* (BNC, empathy, 20, *s.a.*). (6) *"They use extra-sensory communication in the forms of empathy, telepathy, and clairvoyance"* (BNC, empathy, 21, *s.a.*). (7) *"Empathy is a different form of communication from other forms such as verbal, or body language, or smell"* (BNC, empathy, 23, *s.a.*). (8) *"Not only is the destructiveness of addictive disease replaced by the creativity of recovery but the progressive return of spiritual values such as faith, hope, love, trust, honesty, forgiveness, empathy, gratitude and the return of child-like innocence in the appreciation of the beauty of the world, make recovery synonymous with the treasure of life itself"* (BNC, empathy, 190, *s.a.*). (9) *"The emphasis is on historical empathy and understanding, cultivating the appreciation and enjoyment of History as a relevant and meaningful learning experience"*

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(BNC, empathy, 256, *s.a.*). (10) *"As the wide range of qualities and skills quoted above illustrate, relevant experience can be obtained from almost any background; personality is really of far more importance, together with a sense of empathy and the ability to be adaptable"* (BNC, empathy, 252, *s.a.*).

In the quotes presented, the concept EMPATHY is differentiated from the concepts SYMPATHY, INTUITION, TELEPATHY, CLAIRVOYANCE, VERBAL LANGUAGE, BODY LANGUAGE, SMELL, FAITH, HOPE, LOVE, TRUST, HONESTY, FORGIVENESS, GRATITUDE, INNOCENCE, UNDERSTANDING, and ABILITY TO BE ADAPTABLE. That is, a difference or similarity between the logical dimensions of the above-mentioned concepts is in the foreground of conceptualization. Consequently, the logical dimension is formed during mental operations of adjustment and arrangement of the world's entities.

3.2 The identifying dimension

The identifying dimension of the concept EMPATHY has been defined as a non-rational conceptualization, which is carried out through the formation of concrete and visual representations of EMPATHY. They are based on conceptual metaphor, which is a systematic set of correspondences, or mappings, between two domains of experience (Kövecses 2017a). Certain elements and the relations in a domain are mapped onto another domain. The domain, from which they are mapped, is called the "source domain" and the domain, onto which they are mapped, is called the "target domain" (Kövecses 2018: 125-126). Metaphors are helpful when discussing things, which are new and/or complicated since they allow speakers/writers to bring to light certain aspects of such entities by likening them to more common or less complicated ones (Gibbs 1994; Grady 2007; Kövecses 2017b; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; 1999).

The identifying dimension is based on the Access Principle (also called the Identification Principle). This principle states that an expression, which names or describes an element in one mental space, can be used to access a counterpart of that element in another mental space (Fauconnier 2007: 353). Most often, a less tangible domain is conceptualized from the perspective of a more tangible image.

An image is considered to be like a picture formed in consciousness, which is associated with direct sensory knowledge of the world and is filled with specific sensory elements. In this case, I mean an image as a picture of an object itself or its properties: e.g., (11) *"The thin bridge of empathy between two professional people was abruptly dashed away"* (BNC, empathy, 86, *s.a.*). In this example, empathy is metaphorically embodied in a concrete picture of a bridge, which connects two people. This correspondence, or mapping, represents the conceptual metaphor EMPATHY IS BRIDGE. The mapping captures a coherent view of a bridge that is mapped onto empathy, bringing into correspondence the elements and their relations in the bridge domain with elements and their relations in the empathy domain. The mappings from the bridge domain bring about a particular conception of empathy relative to the view of a bridge. Furthermore, this image of a bridge controls and directs empathy as an activity: like a material formation, it can be "dashed away".

When we conceptualize an intangible or less tangible domain metaphorically as, and from the perspective of, a more tangible domain, we create a certain metaphorical reality (Kövecses 2018: 127). For example, we imagine empathy one way when we think of it as a bridge, and in another way when we think of it as a tool, as reflected in the following quotation: (12) *"Empathy is a tool for building people into groups, for allowing us to function as more than self-obsessed individuals"* (BQEQ, Neil Gaiman, *s.a.*). These two source domains (BRIDGE and TOOL) make us have different perspectives on empathy, creating quite dissimilar realities.

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In the neural theory of metaphor, such conventional conceptual metaphorical mappings are explained by fixed brain circuitry (Lakoff 2008: 27-28):

"*When you hear a metaphorical expression, the literal meanings of the words should activate the source domain circuitry and the context should activate the target domain circuitry, and together they should activate the mapping circuit. The result is an integrated circuit, with activation of both source and target domains and processing over both at once. Thus, understanding language that makes use of a conventional conceptual metaphor should take no longer than normal frame-based nonmetaphorical processing. ... Each neuron fires asymmetrically, with the flow of ions from the cell body down the axon, spreading out from there. Different neurons have different firing capacities, depending on the receptors at the synapses that regulate ion flow. Those neurons that fire more tend to develop greater firing capacities. And those involved in physical bodily functioning tend to fire more. For this reason, the metaphorical maps learned are asymmetric and tend to have physical source domains (though some have social source domains)*".

Thus, the identifying dimension lies halfway between the entity and its generalized reflection in the conceptual system. Sensory perception of things or concrete images of individual things are thought to correlate with the image of class as its standard on the integral, pre-analytical level of consciousness, that is, on the level of integral perception and concentration of what is given in sensations and memory.

This idea coincides with Hardy's (1997) theory of semantic constellations. It views the psyche as organized in semantic constellations (or constellations of meanings). These constellations bind together specific images, sensations, words, ideas, memories, experiences, etc., which are correlated to a focal-meaning. They are instantiated through extensive mental, neurological and organic processes, ranging from the most abstract knowledge levels to basic functional and physiological levels (ibid., 162-163).

Let us consider several examples.

(13) *"When you sing with a group of people, you learn how to subsume yourself into a group consciousness because a capella singing is all about the immersion of the self into the community. That's one of the great feelings – to stop being me for a little while and to*

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become us. That way lies empathy, the great social virtue" (BQEQ, Brian Eno, *s.a.*). Brian Eno, a British composer specializing in electronic music of non-academic genres and styles, connects EMPATHY with singing within a group of people. The image of the immersion of the self into the others is caused in his mind by a rooted pattern of behaviour associated with a capella singing (which is understandable because of his professional activity).

For the famous TV star Oprah Winfrey, EMPATHY is activated in the cognition by struggle, pain, lack of love, and memories that she was once abandoned: e.g., (14) *"The struggle of my life created empathy – I could relate to pain, being abandoned, having people not love me"* (BQEQ, Oprah Winfrey, *s.a.*).

In Hardy's (1997) terminology, such processes are explained by the fact that the psyche can be apprehended as a lattice of major semantic constellations containing sub-constellations, intertwined in very complex ways, mostly interacting and evolving, but sometimes frozen into a closed ensemble:

> "*Insofar as this semantic lattice of the individual houses his whole knowledge, sensoriality, and behavior patterns – as memory clusters, and as a living, growing, experience – it acts as a basic interpretational framework in all cognitive processes. It functions not as an indistinct background, but on the contrary, in very selective ways, in the sense that only the semantic constellations, which are activated in a given period, and in a given state of consciousness, constitute the endo-context for the interpretation of external events*" (ibid., 163).

It should be noted that the image plays a special role in the identifying dimension of the concept EMPATHY because it is an intermediary between its logical dimension and everyday representations. By linking everyday representations to the sensually perceived visibility of the world, the image simultaneously transforms the specific parameters of the senses into a generalized mental form on the path to the abstract form of the logical dimension. Moreover, the identifying dimension not only reflects the essence that exists in reality, but also creates this essence in consciousness, combining the features of real observation and thinking.

For instance, for the TV host of a popular show "Dr. Oz show", it is important that ANGER is a concept opposite to EMPATHY: e.g., (15) *"The opposite of anger is not calmness, it's empathy"* (BQEQ, Mehmet Oz, *s.a.*). In Mehmet Oz's imagination, the opposition of ANGER and EMPATHY creates a reference image of the concept EMPATHY, which he relates precisely to the absence of anger in the nature of man. The given example also proves the fact that the characteristics associated with an emotional and evaluative perception of EMPATHY are included in the identifying dimension (negative semantics of the word *anger* as opposed to the positive semantics of the word *empathy*). These characteristics as a whole constitute a special 'emotional image' of the concept, which is closely connected with its 'cognitive image'. The former and the latter are intertwined in a complex way and comprise the identifying dimension.

Thus, each conceptualizer defines EMPATHY through the prism of his/her principles, values, interests, life experience, level of knowledge, specific images, sensations, etc. As a certain axiological standard, people use the logical dimension. The conformity of the identifying dimension to the logical dimension is characterized by the fact that discourse participants use such axiological concepts as 'good-bad' or 'better-worse', which are indispensable structural components of any cognitive model. Paintings, diagrams, drawings, gestures, facial expressions, comparisons, figures of speech (metaphor, metonymy), etc. in their contensive aspect can be ideal images, which constitute the identifying dimension of the concept EMPATHY.

3.3 The structural dimension

The structural dimension of the concept EMPATHY entails that the latter is organized according to the informative addition of various meaningful features differentiating the

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idea of the norm and its associative extension. The norm is considered to be represented by the logical dimension of the concept, and its extension – by implications from it. The implications are characterized by the semantic features habitually associated with the norm. Variable versions of the concept EMPATHY in discourse participants' minds are accompanied by an internal transfer from the level of the norm to the level of the implications from it and vice versa.

To tackle the aspect of differentiating between conceptual dimensions, I must admit that the structural dimension of the concept differs from the logical dimension by the fact that in the former, the cognitive operation of conceptual features adjustment is complicated due to the consideration of characteristics that are not constitutive of a certain concept. Besides, these features are differentiated according to their degree of typicality/atypicality. As a result, a mental structure is organized under the principle of 'core-periphery', which can be modelled according to the prototype basis.

It should also be noted that the structural dimension of the concept provides a transition from mere contemplation, a purely intellectual comprehension of an entity, to its usage and application. Moreover, it is based on practical interest. For example: (16) *"It celebrates a 'feminine' culture of pacifism, art, empathy, and spirituality, in which all women can potentially share"* (BNC, empathy, 145, *s.a.*). (17) *"If you list the qualities that we consider feminine, they are patience, understanding, empathy, supportiveness, a desire to nurture"* (BQEQ, Sydney Pollack, *s.a.*).

'Femininity' is not an indispensable feature of the logical dimension of the concept EMPATHY (although it is implicated with high probability) since EMPATHY is the ability of a person regardless of his/her sex. However, one of the implications of a dictionary meaning of empathy is femininity. This mapping represents the conceptual metaphor EMPATHY IS FEMININITY, capturing a coherent view of femininity that is mapped onto empathy.

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Furthermore, logical dimensions of the concepts of PATIENCE, UNDERSTANDING, EMPATHY, SUPPORTIVENESS, and DESIRE TO NURTURE are "put in a line" and are claimed to have femininity at the periphery of their semantic structures.

The following examples show that EMPATHY is endowed with power, activism, and even romanticism: e.g., (18) *"There's a power in empathy"* (BQEQ, Tarana Burke, *s.a.*). (19) *"I think, at the end of the day, acting and activism are both about empathy. You're trying to get people to see other people as real and human. And to care"* (BQEQ, Sara Ramirez, *s.a.*). (20) *"I think empathy is romantic. I think humor is romantic. Kindness is romantic. I think those kind of gestures of caring and love are romantic"* (BQEQ, Michael Buble, *s.a.*). Thus, in the structural dimension of the concept, there is a structuring of core and peripheral features of EMPATHY, their formation on the axis of 'obligatory' – 'optional'. The obligatory features of EMPATHY are given in the logical dimension, while the optional features depend on each person's worldview.

The implications of conceptual features can be divided into positive and negative. The positive implications of EMPATHY describe a set of causative-consecutive probable features that are implicated from the logical dimension and are compliant with it (illustrated above). Accordingly, the negative implications outline the features that are not compliant with the logical dimension, being its negative information potential. It can be illustrated by the following example: (21) *"Humankind seems to have an enormous capacity for savagery, for brutality, for lack of empathy, for lack of compassion"* (BQEQ, Annie Lennox, *s.a.*).

The logical dimensions of the concepts SAVAGERY and BRUTALITY, taken together with the statement of the absence of EMPATHY and COMPASSION, can be attributed to the negative implications of the concept EMPATHY. In the following sentence, the absence of EMPATHY is associated with DESTRUCTION: e.g., (22) *"This is a wonderful planet, and it is being*

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completely *destroyed* *by people who have too much money and power and* *no empathy"* (BQEQ, Alice Walker, *s.a.*).

Furthermore, positive and negative implications are formed according to the features extracted from people's knowledge of the world (at any given moment or accumulated from the past), from the knowledge of axiology, and personal insights: e.g., (23) *"It was used by American therapists, before being banned in 1985, for marital problems as it encourages* *empathy* *and dispels* *hostility; it is often called the 'hug' or 'love' drug"* (BNC, empathy, 249, *s.a.*). Here, the negative implication of EMPATHY is HOSTILITY and it is based on the author's accumulated knowledge of life.

The aforementioned examples confirm the synergy of the dictionary meaning and its implications, namely: in discourse, the logical dimension of one concept can simultaneously act as the implication of another concept, reflecting the probabilistic nature of any structure. Besides, the presence of the positive and negative implications of EMPATHY proves the obligatory axiological marking of the structural dimension.

3.4 Self-organization of the dimensions

Our cognitive system stores many patterns of the dimensions of the concept EMPATHY. Fauconnier & Turner (2002: v) have called this process *conceptual blending*, which operates largely behind the scenes:

> "*We are not consciously aware of its hidden complexities, any more than we are consciously aware of the complexities of perception involved in, for example, seeing a blue cup. Almost invisibly to consciousness, conceptual blending choreographs vast networks of conceptual meaning, yielding cognitive products that, at the conscious level, appear simple*" (ibid.).

Mental spaces operate in working memory but are built up partly by activating structures available from long-term memory (Fauconnier 2007: 351).

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The restoration of dimensions from the initial state in the brain appears simultaneously, depending on the initial conditions, and is completed in a unique fashion. This process can be called *pattern formation*. As order parameters, the dimensions may cooperate or compete in the brain. If they compete, one of them dominates. For example, as mentioned above, in the contexts where there is a comparison of EMPATHY with other concepts or putting it in a line with them, we can talk about the domination of the logical dimension. In such a case, the concept EMPATHY is rather simply visualized in the cognitive system and easily described in discourse. This process can be called *pattern recognition*. If the dimensions cooperate, the conceptual system runs through a hierarchy of their different patterns. The following example with a picture from The Washington Post (Fig. 1) explicitly shows this process: (24) *"This photo of Trump's notes captures his <u>empathy</u> deficit better than anything"* (The Washington Post, February 21, 2018).

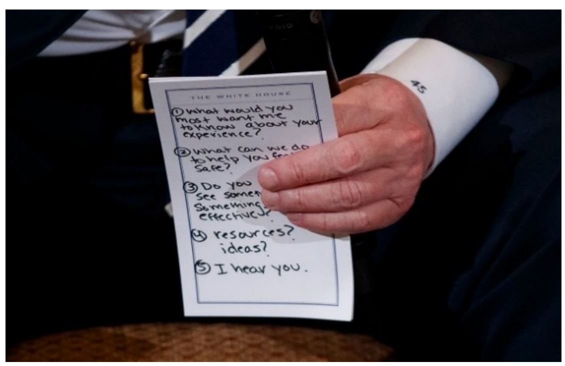

Figure 1. President Trump on Feb. 21 met at the White House with students who survived the Feb. 14 shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida. (Photo: Ricky Carioti/The Washington Post)

The Washington Post photographer Ricky Carioti captured this image, which shows that Trump holds a card with talking points during a listening session: *1) What would you most want me to know about your experience? 2) What can we do to help you feel safe? 3) Do you see someone or something effective? 4) Resources? Ideas? 5) I hear you.* Since the President noted them as a reminder that he should empathize, the author of the article

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(Aaron Blake) assumed that Trump was not able to respond to people's suffering naturally, without reminders, and was therefore unable to feel empathy. Aaron Blake made a connection between the different mental spaces – EMPATHY and REMINDING.

As Turner (2007) rightfully claims, running multiple mental spaces, or, more generally, multiple constellated networks of mental spaces, when we should be absorbed by only one, and blending them when they should be kept apart, is at the root of what makes us human (ibid., 378). Blending is creative, especially in its advanced forms. It works almost completely below the scope of consciousness. The products of blending intermittently become rooted as units in conceptual structure, ready to be activated by a person who has learned or developed them. The fact of being below the horizon of consciousness enables me to claim that this process can be called the self-organization of pattern formation and pattern recognition.

In the example above, we can see the work of the structural dimension, in which one of the implications of the dictionary meaning of empathy is the absence of reminders to express it. Accordingly, this photo forms a negative implication of the concept EMPATHY, which is not compliant with the logical dimension. Simultaneously, the identifying dimension is also at work here. This concrete sensorily perceived image derived from the photo does not correlate with behaviour patterns connected with the concept EMPATHY on the integral level of consciousness given in memory and sensations.

In Aaron Blake's imagination, the absence of reminders to express empathy naturally creates a reference image of this concept, which he relates precisely to the presence of sincere emotions in the nature of man. This characteristic constitutes a special emergent 'emotional image' of the concept EMPATHY closely connected with its 'cognitive image'. As an axiological standard, the author of the article uses the logical dimension of the concept EMPATHY, to which the photo does not correspond.

Circular causality is present in this process, where the dimensions as order parameters prescribe the 'behaviour' of the concept EMPATHY as a system in people's minds and in discourse, which in turn determines the functioning of the dimensions. In other words, the recognition of the concept in discourse can generate the corresponding dimension, which in turn forces the rest of the conceptual system into the total state that represents the concept EMPATHY in the sense of associative memory. This process of self-organization of order parameters leads the conceptual system to its attractor – the set of values, to which the concept EMPATHY evolves resulting in its sustainability in modern English discourse.

4. Conclusions

Within the framework of EMPATHY as a self-organizing conceptual structure that arises in consciousness as a reflection of the probabilistic nature of the world, being realized in English discourse, several auxiliary, secondary substructures are formed: logical, identifying, and structural dimensions of the concept. They are the order parameters of the concept, which fix certain aspects of its functioning, some typical essential moments of its instantiations in the course of solving people's thinking and practical issues connected with EMPATHY. In other words, their intrinsic complexity is of a dynamic operational nature, binding together specific images, sensations, ideas, memories, and experiences of discourse participants by way of conceptual blending.

Every time the concept EMPATHY appears in discourse, its dimensions are revealed with a different degree of brightness. As order parameters, they may cooperate or compete in the brain. The logical dimension most generally works in contexts where there is a comparison of EMPATHY with other concepts or in scientific discourse. It is entrenched in long-term memory and is analysed on the basis of vocabulary definitions of the word *empathy* through the differentiation of semes. The research shows that in the logical dimension, empathy is conceptualized as the capacity of sharing another's feelings, the act of sharing another's feelings, and the result of sharing another's feelings.

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The identifying dimension is considered as metaphoric conceptualization, which is carried out through the formation of concrete images of empathy. It is also considered to be like a picture formed in the consciousness, which is associated with direct sensory knowledge of the world and is filled with specific sensory elements. The identifying dimension is based on the identification principle stating that an expression, which names or describes an element in one mental space, can be used to access a counterpart of that element in another mental space.

The structural dimension entails that the concept EMPATHY is organised in people's consciousness according to the informative addition of meaningful features differentiating the idea of the norm and its associative extension. The norm is considered to be represented by the logical dimension of the concept, and its extension – by implications from it. The implications are characterized by the semantic features habitually associated with the norm. Variable versions of the concept EMPATHY in discourse participants' minds are accompanied by an internal transfer from the level of the norm to the level of the implications from it.

The restoration of dimensions from the initial state in the brain appears simultaneously, depending on the initial conditions, and is completed in a unique fashion. As order parameters, the dimensions may cooperate or compete in the brain. If they compete, one of them dominates. If the dimensions cooperate, the conceptual system runs through a hierarchy of their different patterns. The considered substructures of the concept EMPATHY are universal in the sense that they are discovered with some measure of unfolding in any concept. The recognition of the concept in discourse can generate the corresponding dimension, which in turn forces the rest of the conceptual system into the total state that represents the concept EMPATHY in the sense of associative memory.

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This process of self-organization of order parameters leads the conceptual system to its attractor – the set of values, to which the concept EMPATHY evolves resulting in its sustainability in modern English discourse. The idea of EMPATHY as a multidimensional dynamic concept is proved by the necessity of discourse participants' minds to perform the functions of systematizing the world, identifying its entities, and structuring the classes of entities. These functions tend to be self-organizing: interdependent, interconnected, and presuppose each other, being at the same time fundamentally different and finding embodiment in their own dimension of the concept.

List of abbreviations

AHDEL – The American heritage dictionary of the English language

BNC – British national corpus

BQEQ – Brainyquote. Empathy quotes

CED – Collins English dictionary

LSF – lexical and semantic field

MD – Macmillan dictionary

NWDTEL – New Webster's dictionary and thesaurus of the English language

OED – Oxford English dictionary

WTNIDEL – Webster's third new international dictionary of the English language

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Résumé

Belonging to a recent intellectual heritage, the notion of empathy has become considerably attractive to linguists. Following current theoretical interpretations of cognitive models, this article encompasses a comprehensive consideration of the concept EMPATHY (lexicalized by the word *empathy*) in modern English discourse. Therefore, the aim of the research is twofold: a) to gain an understanding of how EMPATHY (as a dynamic cognitive model) is used by speakers, i.e., its nature and scope; b) to introduce the idea of the self-organization of three conceptual dimensions of EMPATHY: logical, identifying, and structural. Their intrinsic complexity is of a dynamic operational nature, binding together specific images, sensations, ideas, memories, and experiences of discourse participants by way of conceptual blending. The restoration of dimensions from the initial state in the brain appears simultaneously and is completed in a unique fashion. The perspective of EMPATHY as a multidimensional concept is linked to the necessity of discourse participants' minds to perform the functions of systematizing the world, identifying its entities, and structuring the classes of entities. Moreover, these functions are thought to be interdependent, interconnected, and preconditioned, being at the same time fundamentally different and finding embodiment in their own dimension of the concept EMPATHY. The dimensions are order parameters of the concept, which fix certain aspects of its functioning, some typical essential moments of its instantiations in the course of solving people's thinking and practical issues connected with EMPATHY. Order parameters lead EMPATHY to its attractor – the set of values to which the concept evolves resulting in its sustainability in modern English discourse.

Key words: cognitive model, concept, dimension, empathy, self-organization, synergetics.

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LINGUISTIC AVATARS OF DEITY IN POLISH AND ENGLISH

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Abstract: This research study addresses the problem of lexicalisation of the idea of God in non-related languages. It considers Polish lexical units (words, phrases, and proverbs) and their English equivalents, revealing isomorphic and allomorphic semantic features of the units under consideration. The study also elucidates the specificity of representing non-material reality by linguistic means of the two languages.

Key words: God, deity, linguistic worldview, lexicon, proverbs, contrastive semantics.

1. Introduction

Every language reflects the way people think and feel as well as what they believe in. It induces various images embodied in linguistics signs. They pertain to a variety of phenomena ranging from those that are down-to-earth to these of a spiritual nature. The present study focuses on the latter end of the spectrum[1], namely the lexicon denoting God, and His divine attributes. Ironic as it may seem, I attempt to capture the notion of God as presented in non-religious sources, i.e. the ones that analyse philosophical, religious, or cultural aspects of deity.

1.1 Materials and methods

The aim of the study is to demonstrate whether God and deity are lexicalised in Polish and English by analogous or dissimilar linguistic means. I start with analysing dictionary definitions of the word *God* and its derivatives (section 2 *Capturing the idea* *of God*) in order to establish their semantic (epidigmatic) structure and to find out which of the meanings are considered prototypical in the languages under comparison. Further on, I turn to specialist encyclopaedias (Gaskin 1998; Groff 2007; Harrington 2010; Hill & Rauser 2006; Leftow 2005; Mou 2009; Murguía 2012) with the purpose of systematising different approaches to capturing the notion of God.

The process of defining the semantic content of the terms denoting deity rests on the premise that respective features are ingrained in human cognition as characteristic and necessary to set the notion under consideration apart from neighbouring notions. Those features are also mirrored in the language used by a particular cultural community to describe reality in which its members function on a daily basis. The features are the building blocks of the linguistic worldview encoded in different languages. Hence, linguistic worldview shall be briefly addressed in section 3 titled *The idea of God in linguistic worldview* (Bartmiński 2009; Grzegorczykowa 1990; Levisen & Waters 2017; Panasenko 2014; Pisarek 1999; Tokarski 1998). It will be followed by the presentation in section 4 of the Great Chain of Being (Bartmiński 2009; Goatly 2007; Krzeszowski 1997; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Szwedek 2011) as one of the ways adopted in categorising all living beings and inanimate things. In this hierarchy, God takes the topmost position.

The language people use to describe the reality is embedded in culture and conditioned by the beliefs that particular communities adhere to. As a result, the definitions of various concepts as well as their attributes, God and deity in this case, are reflected in the lexicon. Both the Polish and the English are citizens of the states that belong to the western world, hence the values of western civilisation have shaped their worldview. Nevertheless, some diversity is likely to occur even between neighbouring nations, let alone those, whose languages do not belong to the same language family (Polish and English are just the case). Consequently, certain differences could be expected. The discussion to follow, aims at verifying this claim. Even though the scope of this analysis is limited to a narrow group of lexical items, one can get an insight into whether the differences in how the concept of God is reflected in the lexicon of the languages under comparison and whether the differences are indeed greater than the similarities.

With the aim of carrying out the comparative semantic analysis, in sections 5 and 6, a sample selected from divinity-related lexis of Polish and English is put to scrutiny; the results are contrasted in order to find out whether the arrays of words, phrases, and proverbs relating to some form of deity in the two languages share a common motivation or whether they are diverse in a significant way. Owing to the fact that religious lexicon is very productive, only those phrases containing the noun *Bóg*, *Boże*, *Bogiem*, *Bogu* (*God*, *gods*) or the adjectives *boży*, *boski*, *boża*, *boskie* (*godly*, *God's*) will be analysed. Set phrases and proverbs related to other forms of deity, such as angels, cherubs, etc., are not considered. The sample is selected from contemporary dictionaries of the Polish language, phraseological dictionaries, and dictionaries of proverbs. The items marked as outdated or obsolete have not been included into the sample.

The analysis starts with the discussion of expressions in Polish, and, when available, their English counterparts are provided, as well as their literal translation. Analogously, proverbs in Polish are discussed together with the meanings they convey, as well as the available equivalents in English and the literal translation.

Obviously, the lexicon of any language is too extensive a collection, which cannot be investigated in a research project of such a limited scope. Nevertheless, an attempt to compare a certain number of expressions in one language (Polish) with the respective number of lexical units in another language (English) is quite manageable. The available data are analysed in sections *God-related lexicon in Polish and English* as well as *Proverbs addressing deity*, with preliminary conclusions drawn in the final section (section 7 named *Concluding remarks*).

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2. Capturing the idea of God

Some form of supreme spiritual figure is present in religions and cults all over the world. Irrespective of their religious denomination, people worship some type of deity, which is believed to be omniscient and omnipresent.

The definition provided by the Merriam-Webster online dictionary (MWD, s.a.) makes reference to superiority and power, and reads as follows:

*"**1** capitalized**:** the supreme or ultimate reality: such as*
***a:** the Being perfect in power, wisdom, and goodness who is worshipped as creator and ruler of the universe*
***b:** Christian Science**:** the incorporeal divine Principle ruling over all as eternal Spirit **:** infinite Mind*
***2:** a being or object believed to have more than natural attributes and powers and to require human worship specifically**:** one controlling a particular aspect or part of reality*
***3:** a person or thing of supreme value*
***4:** a powerful ruler"*

The online dictionary Lexico.com (*s.a.*) presents God (God (a), *s.a.*) as the creator and a powerful ruler, also worthy of worship:

"1. (in Christianity and other monotheistic religions) the creator and ruler of the universe and source of all moral authority; the supreme being.
*2. (also **god**)*
(in certain other religions) a superhuman being or spirit worshipped as having power over nature or human fortunes; a deity.
2.1 an image, animal or other object worshipped as divine or symbolizing a god.
2.2 used as a conventional personification of fate.
*3. (also **god**) a greatly admired of influential person.*
3.1 a thing accorded the supreme importance appropriate to a god".

Similarly, Longman dictionary of contemporary English (2012: 752) foregrounds the aspects of worship and creation. It explains the meaning of God in the following words:

*"1. **God** the spirit or being who Christians, Jews, Muslims etc. pray to, and who they believe created the universe [...]. In this sense, God is written with a capital letter and without 'the'*
2. a male spirit or being who is believed by some religions to control the world or part of it, or who represents a particular quality [...]
4. someone who is admired very much
5. something which you give too much importance or respect to"

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The entry God (God (b), *s.a.*), in the online Oxford English dictionary (*s.a.*) is more extensive and focuses on a number of features ranging from superiority, through divine power, being the creator and ruler, to being an object of worship. It reads as follows:

*"**A.***
I. *In uses relating to polytheism, and senses derived from this.*
1. a. *A superhuman person regarded as having power over nature and human fortunes; a god (use in the singular usually refers to a being regarded as male (cf. GODDESS), but in the plural frequently used to refer to male and female beings collectively). Chiefly applied to the divinities of polytheistic systems; when applied to the Supreme Being of monotheistic belief, this sense becomes more or less modified: see sense A. 6b.*
b. *With postmodifying of-phrase or (now archaic) premodifying genitive indicating the department of nature, or human activity of passion, over which a particular god is thought to rule.*
In this use the reference, unless there is indication to the contrary, is usually to classical mythology, the gods of which are often mentioned rhetorically or humorously as mere personifications of qualities or influences.
the god of day*: the sun.* ***the god of war****: Mars or Ares.* ***the god of love****: Cupid or Eros.* ***the god of wine****: Bacchus.*
c. *Prefixed (without article) to the name of a god. Also: prefixed to the name of a person likened to a god (rare).*
2. *An image or object (as a plant or an animal) worshipped as symbolising or constituting the visible habitation of a divinity or as itself possessing divine power; an idol.*
3. *In extended use.*
a. *An adored, admired, or supremely powerful person (opera, rock, sex god).*
b. *An adored or worshipped object; something exercising great or supreme influence.*
4. *In plural.*
a. *Theatre. The occupants of the seats in the highest part of the auditorium; that part of the audience occupying the gallery.*
b. *colloquial (originally Theatre). With the. The seats above the dress circle in a theatre; the gallery. Now also: the upper tier of seats in a stadium. Frequently in* ***in the gods****.*
II. *In uses relating to monotheism, and senses derived from this. (Now usually with initial capital.)*
5. *Especially in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: the Supreme Being, regarded as the creator and ruler of the universe.*
a. *Treated as a proper name.*
b*, With an additional title of epithet. Frequently prefixed to the designations of the Persons of the Trinity, as* ***God the Father****,* ***God the Son****,* ***God the Holy Spirit****.*
6. *A being such as is understood by the name 'God'; a sole divine creator and ruler of the universe.*
a. *As a general concept.*
b. *As opposed to the gods of other faiths (with partial reversion to the general sense: see sense A.1.)*
c. *Chiefly with of. Such a being as associated with or embodying a particular quality (as the God of love, the God of mercy, the God of vengeance, etc.) or sphere of life or action (as the God of nature, the God of revelation, the God of providence), or as conceived of in a specified religion or system of thought (as the God of philosophy, the God of pantheism, the God of Judaism).*
B. *int.*
Expressing strong feeling, esp. dismay, disgust, exasperation, or anxiety. Cf. earlier oh God, my God, etc."

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As noted in Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego (Dubisz 2003: 309) 'Bóg' ('God'), is "the highest supernatural being, the creator and master of the universe" (Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2013: 204). This sense, similarly to the definitions present in English lexicographic sources, pertains to the interpretation referring to monotheistic religions. Another sense, related to polytheistic religions, designates a being or its image, animal, plant or thing that is worshipped (SJP 1998: 182). Wielki słownik języka polskiego (2018), similarly to the definition provided by the online Oxford English dictionary (*s.a.*), specifies three senses, i.e. 1. in monotheistic religions – the highest supernatural being, the creator, and the master of the universe, 2. in polytheistic religions – a being or its image that is worshipped, 3. figuratively – an individual or object that is worshipped unconditionally.

The above quoted dictionary definitions all point to the powerful features and supreme qualities primarily, though not only, of religious reference. They are based on the way humans perceive and interpret the surrounding reality and the world we live in.

I shall now refer to diverse specialist and expert sources pertaining to religion, philosophy, including philosophy of religion, in an attempt to capture the "universal" concept of God.

Murguía notes in Encyclopaedia of global religion (2012: 469) that

> *"One cultural current in particular that has spanned the entirety of the globe is the notion of God. Perhaps no other figure of worship has reached so extensively into the past of ancient history and geographically throughout all reaches of the world than the idea of God itself. Although there are religions that focus directly on the worship, existence, guidance, or tyranny of God, no tradition could be said to lay exclusive claim to His or Her invention or creation. It is with this notion of theocratic plurality that any religious tradition may hold insight into the concept of God".*

However, he also states that there is little agreement among scholars as to the origins of the idea of God, either religious and / or cultural. Nevertheless, Murguía (2012: 470) points out as follows:

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"[...] the very etymology of the word God[2] and the variety of terms by which God is referred to demonstrate the diverse ways of conceptualizing a God-figure. Despite specific names given to the deities of particular institutions of worship throughout history, the actual term God[3] derives from the Proto-Germanic word guthan[4], meaning "to invoke". While some traditions described God through parables and metaphysical concepts, others transformed God into a carnal living being, even developing hagiographies that support the indoctrination of particular beliefs. Still others understood God as a manifestation of nature and followed God's teachings to incur similar attributes within the harmony of life. Yet regardless of the ontological characteristics that distinguished these understandings of God, the geographical, social, and cultural conceptions that undergirded God's existence were the impetus for major wars, stretches of peace, grounds for exploration and conquest, and the establishment of ancient moral codes and ethical strictures".

The same scholar (ibid., 470) also addresses the issue of qualitative and quantitative analysis of the concept in question stating that:

"Interpretations of God can be classified according to a variety of quantitative and qualitative categories. There are at least four primary categorical varieties pertaining to the beliefs in God or gods. Quantitative varieties include monotheism, or the belief in and/or worship of a single god, and polytheism, or the belief in and/or worship of several gods. Parallel categories of these quantitative varieties include henotheism, which is the belief in one god combined with the belief in the possibility of other existing gods, and monolatrism, which denotes the worship of one god while recognizing the existence of other gods".

Despite the fact that various approaches can be adopted to the qualitative or quantitative interpretation of theistic categories, there are some universal attributes that can be identified. These include: omnipresence ("the always present nature of God"), omnipotence ("an all-powerful attribute of God") and omniscience (which "denotes an all-knowing attribute") (ibid., 470).

As noted by Leftow in The shorter Routledge encyclopedia of philosophy (2005: 326), people consider God as the maker, a perfect being.

"We think of God as an ultimate reality, the source or ground of all else, perfect and deserving of worship. Such a conception is common to both Eastern and Western religions. Some trace this to human psychology or sociology: Freud regarded God as a wish-fulfilling projection of a perfect, comforting father-figure; Marxists see belief in God as arising from the capitalist structure of society. Believers, however, trace their belief to religious experience, revealed or authoritative texts, and rational reflection".

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Gaskin (1988: 329) emphasises the fact that the philosophical discussion on the existence of God(s) has gone through various stages, some of which include considerations on dogmas of Christian and Islamic theism and, most recently, the scepticism directed at Christian theism.

> *"Theism[5] is belief in the one and only eternal God who created and sustains all things, who remains active within the creation and has an awareness of, and care for, mankind as a special part of that creation. It is contrasted with deism[6] which is belief in a god (usually regarded as a single god) not otherwise known by revelation (i.e. by means of information revealed by god's messenger or intermediary on earth) who set the materials of the universe in orderly motion, or caused the universe as a whole to exist and be as it is, and thereafter either left everything alone or at least 'takes no care of man' ".*

According to Harrington (2010: 66), God is "the God and Father of Jesus Christ – that is, creator, lord and god of all things". In Islamic philosophy, however (Groff 2007: 48), God is perceived as Allah who is pictured in Qur'an as:

> *"absolutely unitary and unique, the one true reality and the ultimate source of all value, as well as the creator, sustainer and sovereign of everything that exists. This anticipates later philosophical concepts of the divine, as do the traditional Qur'anic attributes of eternity, omnipotence and omniscience. But the God of the Qur'an is no mere abstract explanatory principle; He is a person in the most robust sense, and His great character comes across powerfully through the many 'beautiful names' attributed to Him in the Qur'an: He is living, willing, hearing, seeing, speaking, grand, majestic, terrible, sometimes even haughty, but also just, merciful, generous, patient, etc. In spite of His radical otherness and **transcendence**, He is also intimately concerned with the affairs of His creatures and intervenes when necessary in the course of human history. The most important of these miraculous interventions is the revelation of the Qur'an itself, which sets forth the divine **law** according to which human beings should live and according to which they will ultimately be judged and rewarded or punished".*

According to Christian philosophy, as outlined by Hill and Rauser (2006: 75), the nature of God can be discussed with reference to

> *"(1) **perfect-being theology**, which seeks to analyse the divine nature in the light of the single defining attribute of perfection or **'maximal greatness'**; (2) **creation theology**, which seeks to postulate as features of the divine nature those features that we can see reflected in, or are needed to explain, the world around us; and (3) purely biblical theology, which seeks to attribute to the divine nature only those features that are attributed to God in **special revelation**. Attributes traditionally held to be part of the divine nature are **omnipotence**, **omniscience**, **omnipresence**, **perfect goodness** and **eternity**. [...] One of the other attributes traditionally ascribed to God is **divine simplicity**. In its strongest form the doctrine of divine simplicity asserts that each of God's attributes is identical with*

each of his attributes, and that God himself is identical with this attribute. In other words, God is his nature".

Chinese philosophy (Mou 2009: 57) does not recognise the existence of God, but religious Buddhism bases its "account of ***karma* and *samsara*** on the belief that the spiritual deity can exist independently of the physical body".

However, regardless of which interpretation is adopted, some type of the supreme omnipresent, eternal, and omnipotent force is acknowledged. The concept of God, together with the respective attributes, are succinctly summarised in A dictionary of philosophy of religion (2010: 98-99) as follows:

"As understood in traditional Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, God is the Creator of the cosmos, omnipotent, omniscient, wholly good, omnipresent, everlasting or eternal, necessarily existent, worthy of worship and incorporeal. Other attributes are sometimes thought to be divine simplicity (God is not made up of parts), immutability (not subject to change), and impassability (not subject to emotions or passions). Theists in these traditions sometimes differ in their treatment of the attributes: Is God outside of time? Does omniscience include knowledge of the future?

"God" is also understood differently in traditions that affirm the unity of God and nature. According to pantheism, God is in some sense everything. In panentheism, the world (or nature or "creation") is thought to exist within God. Some nonrealists treat the concept of God noncognitively and believe "God" does not refer to a creator or some other transcendent being. On their view, talk of God is to be understood as a way of cultivating certain values and feelings such as compassion and loving your neighbor".

Having concisely outlined the philosophical rationale behind the concept of God let us now focus attention on how it is represented in language and culture. We shall briefly address the linguistic worldview and the conception known as the Great Chain of Being.

3. The idea of God in linguistic worldview

Levisen and Waters note that in European languages the semantic molecule[7] 'God [m]' has been an essential molecule for the vocabulary of Christianity. "Concepts like church and prayer rely on God [m]" (2017: 11). This claim is definitely true of the Polish language, with the phrase – maxim 'Bóg, honor, ojczyzna' ('God, honour,

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homeland') present on various emblems and flags. Its presence can be attributed to the linguistic worldview embedded and expressed in Polish.

Bartmiński (2009: 24) states that linguistic worldview is a concept that is defined as:

> *"a 'picture of the world reflected in a given national language' (Pisarek 1999: 168), a 'conceptual structure fossilised in the system of a given language' (Grzegorczykowa 1990: 43) and a 'set of regularities' in grammatical and lexical structures, manifesting various ways of perceiving the world" (Tokarski 1998: 10).*

His own "definition of linguistic worldview as a 'set of judgements' reveals its epistemological (interpretive) nature, does not limit it to what is 'fossilised' or closed as a 'structure'". Instead, it "makes room for the dynamic, open nature of the worldview, and does not favour the abstract 'regularity' in grammar and vocabulary" (ibid., 24). He points out that the linguistic worldview is a feature of national language "used by an average speaker of a natural language: the worldview reflects the speaker's needs, aspirations and mentality". He goes on to explain further that it "is 'naive' in the sense of Apresyan, i.e. constructed by a human being, relative to human measure, anthropocentric, but also adapted to social needs and ethnocentric mentality" (ibid., 24). This can be stated of the most common style of any national language – the colloquial one.

The concept is summarised as follows (ibid., 213):

> *"The linguistic worldview conception is semantic, anthropological and cultural in nature. It is based on the assumption that language codes a certain socially established knowledge of the world and that this knowledge can be reconstructed and verbalised as a set of judgements about people, objects and events. The knowledge results from the subjective perception and conceptualisation of reality by the human mind; it is anthropocentric and relativised to languages and cultures. In contrast to the restrictive structuralist view, the knowledge of the world belongs to the realm of semantics, being entrenched in the very fabric of language, primarily in the meanings of words but also in grammar".*

Levitsky (2016: 93) defines the language worldview as "a consciousness-reality image reflected by means of a language, a model of the integrated knowledge of the

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conceptual sphere manifested in a language". However, an important type of worldview is the conceptual one, which according to the author, similarly to the language worldview "is constantly changing while reflecting the results of human cognitive and social activity". As succinctly summarised by Panasenko (2014: 170), "the conceptual image of the world results from contemplation, understanding, analysis and assessment of the surrounding social environment by a person as an intermediary between various spheres of human activity". Owing to the fact that language is an inherent human faculty, it is the main tool that is used to verbalise the conceptual imagery.

4. Great Chain of Being

As rightly pointed out by Bartmiński (2009: 40-41), language is a tool, which helps humans to assign values, "values are somehow 'stored' in language, in the meanings of words […] and in their combinations (collocations and phraseological units), as well as in texts, especially stereotyped texts, such as proverbs". While referring to valuation Krzeszowski (1997: 63) points out that "assigning a value is that aspect of conceptualization whereby a semantic structure derives its value through the imposition of a "profile" upon a "base" ". Within this domain, Krzeszowski (ibid., 64) points to two dimensions: vertical and horizontal. While "the horizontal dimension represents *scales* of values at various levels of the hierarchy" (ranging from negative to positive), the vertical dimension is "iconically consistent with the UP-DOWN orientation and depicts the *hierarchy* of values from the lowest to the highest ones". Bartmiński (2009: 39) refers to the vertical arrangement as "hierarchical, based on the experience of reality as a Great Chain of Being, in which God and people are at the 'top', whereas animals, plants and non-organic beings are at 'lower' levels".

As noted by the online Encyclopaedia Britannica (EC, *s.a.*) the Great Chain of Being also known as Chain of Being is the "conception of the nature of the universe". The source further explains as follows:

"The term denotes three general features of the universe: plenitude, continuity, and gradation. The principle of plenitude states that the universe is "full," exhibiting the maximal diversity of kinds of existences; everything possible (i.e. not self-contradictory) is actual. The principle of continuity asserts that the universe is composed of an infinite series of forms, each of which shares with its neighbour at least one attribute. According to the principle of linear gradation, this series ranges in hierarchical order from the barest type of existence to the ens perfectissimum[8]*, or God".*

According to Szwedek (2011: 257), the Great Chain of Being "is a way in which human beings perceive the structure of the world, but only the material world".

As originally noted by Lakoff and Turner (1989) a certain sense of the order of things is taken for granted in language, particularly in proverbs. Lakoff and Turner notice that "proverbs concern people, though they often look superficially as if they concern other things […]. We understand proverbs as offering us ways of comprehending complex faculties of human beings in terms of these other things. To do this, we use the Great Chain of Being" (ibid., 166). Lakoff and Turner (ibid., 166-167) also explain the nature of the model in the following words:

"The Great Chain of Being is a cultural model that concerns kinds of beings and their properties and places them on a vertical scale with "higher" beings and properties above "lower" beings and properties. When we talk about man's "higher" faculties, we mean his aesthetic and moral sense and rational capacity, not his physical characteristics, his animal desires, or his raw emotions. We speak of higher and lower forms of life. The Great Chain is a scale of forms of being – human, animal, plant, inanimate object – and consequently a scale of the properties that characterize forms of being – reason, instinctual behaviour, biological function, physical attributes, and so on".

The Great Chain Metaphor in its basic form is characterised by attributes and forms of behaviour that are hierarchically arranged in the sequence (ibid., 170-171):

"The Basic Great Chain

- *HUMANS: Higher-order attributes and behavior (e.g. thought, character)*
- *ANIMALS: Instinctual attributes and behavior*
- *PLANTS: Biological attributes and behavior*
- *COMPLEX OBJECTS: Structural attributes and functional behavior*
- *NATURAL PHYSICAL THINGS: Natural physical attributes and natural physical behavior*

Each form of being has all of the attribute types lower on the hierarchy. For example, animals do not have mental and character attributes, but in addition to instinctual attributes they have biological, structural, and natural physical attributes".

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Krzeszowski (1997: 66) notes that the Great Chain has two versions, i.e. the basic one and the extended one. The former considers humans as topmost in the hierarchy, whereas "in the extended version human beings are situated below other beings, with God at the top of the hierarchy". Similarly, as noted by Goatly (2007: 148), in line with the long Western philosophical and cosmological tradition "At the top of the hierarchy were purely spiritual beings, God and the angels. Just below them, […] were humans, partly spiritual and partly animal". As further explained by Goatly (ibid.), humans "had the free will to choose between their spiritual nature and their animal nature, and the main feature distinguishing them from animals was their ability to use reason to control their will". Hence, the hierarchy follows the sequence: GOD – ANGELS – MAN – ANIMALS – PLANTS – MINERALS.

Krzeszowski (1997: 67) summarises the positions and features of God within this concept as follows:

> *"While the highest property of a particular being determines its position on the hierarchy, God as an absolute, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient and perfect being, though not conceivable in any human terms, is, at least in some religions, credited with all the properties characterising all lower beings together with an infinity of other properties, probably best summarized in the Old Testament concept of JAHWE "I am who am", i.e. Being in Itself or Ultimate Being".*

Thus, the being at topmost level of the Great Chain hierarchy is God with the representative mode of existence in the form of "being in itself" and the highest property signified as "divinity". The model, as the author (ibid., 68) rightly asserts,

> *"is a product of human everyday experience and reflects our persistent, though not universally accepted, view of the way things are in this world. As such it is a very grossly oversimplified model of reality, constructed from the experiential perspective of a human being endowed with the usual perceptual neuro-sensory apparatus of vision and other senses".*

On the basis of the above discussion, the quoted dictionary definitions and expert sources, it is obvious that the designation of God in the conceptions of the universe (c.f., the Great Chain) is that of the topmost position among other beings and things, the supreme power, force, and source of knowledge. This aspect of the worldview is

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also embedded in language. The subsequent sections will be devoted to the analysis of phrases, expressions, and later on proverbs in search for underlying meanings and shared imagery.

5. God-related lexicon in Polish and English

The values that a group of people hold dear are expressed in their rich vocabulary. I shall analyse the expressions in Polish and English related to the notion of God. As pointed out in the introductory section dealing with defining the concept, both in English and in Polish God is conceptualised as the supreme power, the maker, or creator; or an entity with highly valued qualities and features (compare the features of gods or goddesses metaphorically attributed to people in Stashko (2017).

The considerations to follow are aimed at determining to what extent the expressions present in the compared languages share the imagery and embedded meanings. An expression in Polish is presented first and it is followed by its literal meaning in English (the translations into English are provided by the present author). The sense of the lexical unit is provided and, wherever available, an equivalent phrase in English is quoted.

The Polish expression ***Bogiem a prawdą*** ('God and truth') means 'frankly speaking, truthfully speaking, really', (Bąba & Liberek 2002: 47). Clearly, it emphasises truthfulness of the expression, thus highlighting the positive connotation of the phrase and the reference made to the truth as if placed in God. In English, there is no reference to God in equivalent collocations and set phrases, i.e. *'to tell the truth'*; *'as a matter of fact'* (WSPA 2004: 66).

Bogu ducha winny / winien (Bąba & Liberek 2002: 47) ('owing the spirit to God') is used with reference to someone who is totally innocent in some respect. In this expression, the absence of sin is stressed, which is one of the features of divinity. The corresponding English expressions, i.e. *'(as) innocent as the day sb / one was born'* or

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'(as) innocent as a lamb' (WSPA 2004: 66) make no explicit appeal to God; though the imagery of a lamb is metonymically associated with God (Biedermann 1996: 201-202).

In the expression ***Cały boży dzień*** (Bąba & Liberek 2002: 45) ('all God's day'), the reference is made to the divine feature of infinity, as it renders the meaning 'since early morning till night'; 'all day long' (WSPA 2004: 66). This imagery or reference to God is not present in the English equivalent.

Dopust boży (Bąba & Liberek 2002: 45) ('God's plague') stands for *'divine retribution'* (WSPA 2004: 174) and the above phrases pertain to God and his features; the punishment is sent by the divine force.

Iskra boża (Bąba & Liberek 2002: 45) ('God's spark') is a phrase describing 'exceptional skills, talents, predispositions; vocation, calling', which has no English equivalent associated with the supernatural divine properties; in English its meaning can be rendered by means of the expression *'to have a talent, gift'* (WSPA 2004: 316). The Polish expression might suggest the skills (i.e. 'the spark') are given or the call is voiced by the divine force, while the English phrase highlights the possession of talent by an individual and it is the individual that is foregrounded.

Palec boży (Bąba & Liberek 2002: 46) ('God's finger') refers to some sign, the activity of the supernatural forces, providence. In English, the equivalent phrase is *'the hand of God'* (WSPA 2004: 203). The difference in meaning is not noted; however in the process of metaphorisation a different body part is employed to render the desired sense.

Świata bożego nie widzieć poza kimś (Bąba & Liberek 2002: 46) ('not to see God's world beyond someone') is a phrase that means 'to love someone / something more than anything'. In the corresponding English expression *'to think all the world of sb'* (WSPA

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2004: 1111), no reference is made to the Creator or the Maker, unlike in the Polish phrase.

Zapomnieć / zapominać o bożym świecie (Bąba & Liberek 2002: 46) ('to forget God's world') means 'to be so busy or fascinated by something that one forgets about everything; to concentrate on something'. In the English equivalent *'to be oblivious (to the world)'* (WSPA 2004: 66), no reference is made to God – the creator, instead only the world, i.e. the creation, is evoked.

If someone or something is ironically referred to as ***z bożej łaski*** (Bąba & Liberek 2002: 47) ('by God's grace'), this means they are considered to be unskilled, with no talent; 'piteous, pathetic' (WSPA 2004: 453). In English divine grace is not evoked, either literally or figuratively.

An exclamation, which is supposed to warn against doing something or showing fear of something, is ***niech (cię) ręka boska broni*** (Bąba & Liberek 2002: 45) ('let God's hand protect / defend you'). In its English equivalent *'God forbid!'*, God is directly evoked; however, this concept can be also evoked indirectly (metonymically), by naming the place of residence, i.e. *'heaven forbid!'* (WSPA 2004: 65).

Bóg zapłać ('let God pay') is a form of expressing thanks, which is in English worded as *'God bless you'* (WSPA 2004: 66). However, if a job or service is performed ***za Bóg zapłać*** (Dereń et al. 2019: 36) ('for let God pay'), ***robić coś za Bóg zapłać*** (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 23) ('to do something for let God pay'), this means that the remuneration is non-existent. Literally, God is called a prospective bursar, hence no financial compensation can be expected. In English, the meaning of the phrase is *'to do something for free'* (WSPA 2004: 66), with no reference to God.

As noted by Wielki słownik języka polskiego (2018), the exclamation ***Na Boga!*** ('on God') (or its archaic form ***Na miły Bóg!*** ('on kind God') is a way of expressing outrage,

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surprise, etc. *'For God's / heaven's sake!'* (WSPA 2004: 66) can be treated as its closest English equivalent. A similar meaning is rendered by the Polish phrases ***na litość boską!*** ('on God's mercy / pity') ***/ na młość boską!*** ('on God's love') / ***na miły Bóg!*** ('on kind God'), which are synonymous with the English expressions *'for the love of God!'* or *'For God's / heaven's sake!'* (WSPA 2004: 65).

Broń (Panie) Boże! ('God defend') ***/ uchowaj Boże!*** ('God save') (WSJP 2018) express the meaning of negation 'absolutely not, not at all' rendered in English as *'God / heaven forbid!'* (WSPA 2004: 66). An alternative in Polish is also ***niech Bóg broni!*** ('let God defend').

A farewell well-wishing formula ***Z Bogiem*** ('with God') ***/ niech Bóg prowadzi*** ('let God lead / guide') (WSJP 2018) has no English equivalent.

The following expressions are used in Polish when intensifying the meaning of an utterance and as a form of an oath or swearing: ***Bóg (mi) świadkiem*** ('God is my witness') ***/ niech mnie Bóg skarze, pokarze*** ('let God punish me') ***/ tak mi dopomóż Bóg*** ('so help me God') ***/ jak mi Bóg miły*** (WSJP 2018). The first two, i.e. ***Bóg (mi) świadkiem / niech mnie Bóg skarze, pokarze***, are equivalent to *'as God is my witness!'*, while a counterpart to ***tak mi dopomóż Bóg*** is *'so help me God!'* (WSPA 2004: 66). The expression ***jak mi Bog miły*** ('as God is dear to me') as well as ***miły Boże*** ('kind God') ***/ na miły Bóg*** ('on kind God'), when used to designate surprise is rendered in English by *'good God!'*, *'my God!'*. However, when these exclamations are used to show outrage, they are equivalent to *'for God's / heaven's sake!'* or *'for the love of God!'* (ibid., 66)[9].

The phrase ***Niezbadane są wyroki boskie*** (WSJP 2018) ('unfathomable are God's judgements') suggests that nothing can be foreseen and anything can happen. In English the meaning is rendered by the phrase *'God works / moves in mysterious ways'* (WSPA

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2004: 600). Considerable similarity is observed in the proverb *'All things are possible with God'* (Manser 2007: 7).

No reference is made to God in the English equivalent of the phrase ***Goły / nagi jak go Pan Bóg storzył*** (WSJP 2018) ('naked as God created him'), i.e. *'in his birthday suit'* (WSPA 2004: 66).

If someone is said to feel and look good, fresh, and young, the phrase that can be applied is ***czuć się / wyglądać jak młody bóg*** (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 23) ('to feel / look like a young god'). Numerous phrases designating good looks can be found in English, for instance, as quoted after the online Oxford English dictionary (*s.a.*) *'good looks'*, *'in good looks'*, *'to like the look(s) of'*, *'fresh and fair'*, *'fresh as a rose'*, *'fresh-looking'*, *'fresh-faced'*, *'to fresh-skin'*, *'body beautiful'*, *'beautiful-faced'*, *'beautiful-looking'*, *'beautiful-smelling'*, *'beautiful-minded'*, *'beauty sleep'*, etc. However, no direct equivalent containing the lexeme 'god' is registered in English.

The phrase ***komuś się żyje jak u Pana Boga za piecem*** (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 351) ('someone lives like behind God's stove') describes someone who leads a happy, healthy life and lives comfortably and safely. In the English lexicon, a phrase *'(as) snug as a bug in a rug'* (WSPA 2004: 66) refers to a similar situation, yet no reference to God is made.

Nie mieć Boga w sercu (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 468) ('not to have God in one's heart') is used with reference to someone who is ruthless, or has no conscience (WSPA 2004: 66) and in English 'God' is not evoked.

God is universally believed to be the maker, creator, and giver of life, hence, also the one who has the liberty to take it. This aspect of the worldview is highlighted in the Polish expressions designating someone's death, i.e. ***pójść do Boga*** ('to go to God') ***/ stanąć przed Bogiem*** ('to stand before God') ***/ spocząć w Bogu*** ('to rest in God') ***/ oddać***

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Bogu ducha ('to give up spirit to God') ***/ oddać duszę Bogu*** ('to give soul to God') (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 23). In the English equivalent phrase *'to (go to) meet one's maker'* (WSPA 2004: 66) the lexeme 'God' does not appear, nonetheless His image is indirectly yet clearly evoked by means of the 'maker'. It might be added in this connection that a proverb, which originated in the Middle Ages, i.e. ***Bóg widzi, czas ucieka, śmierć goni, wieczność czeka*** (Kopaliński 2001: 116) ('God sees, time escapes, death chases, eternity awaits') was frequently used as a motto in panegyrics as well as etched on gravestones.

The futility of human attempts can be inferred from the expression ***strzelać Panu Bogu w okno*** (WSJP 2018) ('to shoot into God's window'), which means to miss the aim while shooting. There is no English equivalent phrase.

The array of phrases and expressions present in Polish and the equivalent English lexical representation is much more extensive than the selected examples analysed in the foregoing considerations. The results presented above are far from exhaustive, but it is representative in the way the analysed languages reflect the manner their speakers conceptualise reality. The lexicons of the respective tongues also abound in the maxims testifying to their cultural background and commonly held beliefs. The following considerations deal with this lexical area.

6. Proverbs addressing deity

Mieder (2004: xi) points to the fact that "the wisdom of proverbs has guided people in their social interactions thousands of years throughout the world. Proverbs contain everyday experiences and common observations in succinct and formulaic language", which makes them easily remembered as well as "ready to be used instantly as effective rhetoric in oral or written communication". Another feature ascribed to proverbs is that of brevity; they have also been treated as linguistic representation of human cultural values and thoughts.

Bartmiński (2009: 33) stresses that proverbs are the shortest texts that are of stereotyped nature.

> *"They express the so called 'folk wisdom', general knowledge passed on to individual receivers by the community for pedagogical purposes. They tend to contain universal quantifiers, such as every, no, always, never*[10]*, as is typical of stereotypes [...]. Proverbs are based on typical events and figures from the represented world, which allows one to use them as linguistic evidence in the reconstruction of the worldview".*

As universally acknowledged, proverbs are maxims that contain truths pertaining to the lives of the given culture and language community[11]. The present discussion focuses on the concept of God represented in the contrasted languages and reflected in lexical items. The collection of god-related proverbs is a sizeable chunk of the lexicon of numerous languages. The cases of morals, beliefs, religious philosophy, and way of conduct are particularly plentiful in proverbs pertaining to religion (Kochman-Haładyj 2018). In the following discussion, we will consider selected proverbs related to God and divinity in general.

An old Polish proverb ***gość w dom, Bóg w dom*** (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 125) ('guest into the home, God into the home') is a welcoming formula which is used to express hospitality and appreciation for visitors. The English equivalent *'our house is at your disposal'* (WSPA 2004: 275) also expresses hospitality, but there is no reference to divinity in it.

Bóg jest jeden, choć wiar wiele (Dereń et al. 2019: 36) ('God is one even though faiths are many') presents the simplest of truths, namely: there is one God, or god-like being, despite a number of faiths, beliefs, or religious cults. This proverb suggests the monotheistic approach to the interpretation of the unique supernatural force, a single creator, and master: *'God is one, but faiths there are many'* (Kochman-Haładyj 2018: 35).

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In a manner similar to the previous proverb, God's power is also highlighted in the maxim ***Człowiek projektuje, Pan Bóg dysponuje*** (Dereń et al. 2019: 36) ('man designs, God orders'), or ***Człowiek strzela, Pan Bóg kule nosi*** (Świerczyńska 2019: 9), ('man shoots, God carries bullets') which stress the futility of human attempts if they are not carried out by the supernatural. The English equivalent is *'Man proposes but God disposes'* (Mieder 2004: 6). The fate of humans is in the hands of God.

Każdy o sobie, a Bóg o wszystkich (Świerczyńska 2019: 10) ('everyone about himself, God about all') is a counterpart of *'every man for himself and God for us all'* (Manser 2007: 78). These proverbs mean that in times of crisis or danger personal survival is in the hands of and the responsibility of each individual, while there is "hope for divine protection for everybody". They are synonymous with *'self-preservation is the first law of nature'*.

God's care and helpfulness are brought to the fore in the Polish proverbs ***Bóg pomaga tym, co sobie sami pomagają*** ('God helps those who help themselves') or ***Pracuj, nieboże, a Bóg ci dopomoże*** ('work, poor thing, and God will help you') (Świerczyńska 2019: 8) whose English equivalent is *'God helps them, that help themselves'* (Mieder 2004: 218). However, this means that individuals are responsible for their own fate and their hard work is more likely to be rewarded. "Those who are self-reliant and make an effort are more likely to get what they want than those who sit back and wait for divine assistance" (Manser 2007: 102).

God's mercy is the core of the proverb ***Kto sie na Boga spuści, tego Bóg nie opuści*** ('who relies on God, God will not leave him') – *'God provides for him, that trusteth'* (Świerczyńska 2019: 10). The fact that anything may happen or nothing is impossible to the divine will is also accentuated in the Polish proverb ***Jak Pan Bóg dopuści, to i z kija wypuści*** (WSJP 2018; Kłosińska et al. 2018: 23) ('if God allows, a stick will bud / sprout'). A related English maxim is *'All things are possible with God'* (Manser 2007: 7).

Gdzie nic nie ma, tam i sam Pan Bóg nie bierze ('where there is nothing, even God himself does not take') testifies to the futility of attempts when one does not have the right means. Contrarily to the Polish proverb, deity is not evoked in the English maxim *'Where nought's to be got, kings lose their scot'* (Świerczyńska 2019: 11).

Even though God is presented as omniscient, omnipresent, and good, he is also the one who punishes people for their misbehaviour and sins. ***Pan Bóg nierychliwy, ale sprawiedliwy*** (Dereń et al. 2019: 36) ('God tardy, but just') is rendered in English as *'God stays long but strikes at last'* (Świerczyńska 2019: 11). A similar imagery is evoked by the maxim ***Boskie młyny pomału mielą, ale dobrze*** (Świerczyńska 2019: 8) ('God's mills grind slowly but well'), whose English equivalents are *'The mill(s) of God grind(s) slowly'*; *'The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind small'* or *'God's Mill grinds slow, but sure'* (Mieder 2004: 51). The interpretation offered by Mieder (ibid) points to justice being done: however slow it may take, it is sure to come.

A particular form of God's punishment is exemplified by the proverb ***Kogo Bóg chce skarać, rozum mu odbiera*** (Świerczyńska 2019: 10) ('whom God wants to punish, he takes away his mind'). As noted by Stone (2006: 187), the counterpart in English is *'whom God would ruin, he first deprives of reason'*. Another variety noted by Manser (2007: 301) is *'whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad'*. Two aspects are important in those maxims: first of all – God is almighty and can do, give, and take, anything; second of all – human mind is crucial in providing for a prosperous, comfortable life.

In order to secure well-off living conditions people need to work and those who are hardworking are helped out by divine power. ***Kto rano wstaje, temu Pan Bóg daje*** (Świerczyńska 2019: 227) ('who gets up early, him God gives') is clearly related to religion, unlike the English counterpart *'the early bird catches the worm'* (Stone 2006: 120). Those who are late to act are at a disadvantaged position and miss the opportunities (Manser 2007: 70).

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God is the last resort to many people in times of distress, they are then excessively eager to pray and ask for help: ***Jak trwoga, to do Boga*** (Dereń et al. 2019: 36) ('when terror, then to God'). The English equivalent is expressed in words *'the danger past and God forgotten'*, which Manser (2007: 51) explains as follows: "people are prone to calling on God in times of trouble, only to forget all about their newly found religious faith as soon as the crisis is past". An equivalent variant reads *'the river past and God forgotten'*.

Despite the punishment people receive from the divine power for their sins, they are not made to endure more than they can stand. Such an observation can be inferred from the proverbs ***Komu Bóg pomaga, ten wszystko przemaga*** (Dereń et al. 2019: 36) ('whom God helps, he overcomes everything') and its English equivalent *'God fits / makes the back to the burden'*, which suggests that "at times of great adversity we are given extra strength", or "the strongest are destined to suffer the greatest adversity" (Manser 2007: 103). As noted by Manser (ibid), a similar meaning is expressed by the proverb *'God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb'*.

Strzeżonego Pan Bóg strzeże (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 519) ('the guarded God guards') is a proverb, which accentuates the necessity for caution, in English rendered as *'better safe than sorry'*. Manser (2007: 25) explains that it is better to take safety measures than risk problems. Unlike in the Polish maxim, God is not called to mind as safeguard.

Human immorality is accented in the Polish proverb ***Im bliżej kościoła, tym dalej od Boga*** (Świerczyńska 2019: 78) ('the nearer the church, the further from God') and its English equivalent *'The nearer the church, the farther from God'* (Stone 2006: 67). Unfortunately, the interpretation is not favourable either for the church officials or its active members who are often "the least godly in their daily lives" (Manser 2007: 195).

Bogu i mamonie razem służyć nie można (Świerczyńska 2019: 8) ('God and mammon together one cannot serve') and its English equivalent *'You cannot serve God and*

Mammon' (Manser 2007: 314) are of biblical origin (the Gospel of Matthew[12] 6: 24) and mean that "a devout or virtuous way of life is incompatible with the pursuit of material wealth and possessions". Money is thus considered *'the root of all evil'*, which seems to drive pious individuals into the realm of moral destruction.

Panu Bogu świeczkę i diabłu ogarek (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 23) ('candle to God, candle-end to devil') is a proverb describing the situation, in which one is trying to please the opponents. Its English equivalent *'to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds'* (WSPA 2004: 1112) is metaphorically placed in the domain of hunting, versus the Polish religious association. The reference to the two core figures i.e. God and devil is present in the English proverb *'where God builds a church the devil will build a chapel'* (Stone 2006: 187). The meaning that is conveyed by the maxim is the appendage of bad things to any positive undertaking; in other words "any force for good, such as progress or reform, is inevitably accompanied – or closely followed – by something bad" (Manser 2007: 298).

The proverb ***co cesarskie oddać cesarzowi, a co boskie – Bogu*** ('what is Caesar's give back to Caesar, what is God's – to God') has its direct English counterpart, namely: *'render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and to God which are God's'* (Świerczyńska 2019: 9). As noted by Manser (2007: 232), the proverb is of biblical origin (the Gospel of Matthew 22:21) and its core meaning is "to keep worldly things separate from religion".

Jak Kuba Bogu, tak Bóg Kubie (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 23) ('as Jake (does) to God, so God (does) to Jake') is a case of *'tit for tat'* (WSPA 2004: 66), the revenge can be expected in return for the harm done to someone. Clearly, the English equivalent is not motivated by religious themes.

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7. Concluding remarks

Attempting to define deity is a daunting task. The features ascribed to the concept are reflected in its meaning and interpretation. Thus, the worldview embedded in language is tell-tale evidence of what a particular community believes in. Considering the definition of 'God', a valuable observation has been made by Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska (2013: 204-205), who states as follows:

> *"According to the cognitive definition, which accounts for linguistic facts, God is not only an invisible being more powerful than people but a being that is endowed with many conventional, linguistic-cultural features [...]: he is the creator of people and the world (stworzenie boże 'God's creation'), the giver of fate, happiness and wealth (dary boże 'God's gifts,' co Bóg da 'whatever God gives,' bogdanka (old use) 'a beloved woman,' lit. 'the one given by God'), the one who takes care of people (Opatrzność Boża 'God's Providence'), supports (szczęść Boże!/z Bogiem! 'God bless you!'), helps in difficult situations (zostawić kogoś Opatrzności Bożej 'leave someone to God's Providence'). People are dependent on God''s will (wola boska 'God's will,' niech się dzieje wola Boża/nieba 'let God's will be done,' dopust boży 'dispensation of Providence; scourge'), God being sovereign in his decisions (miłosierdzie boże 'God's mercy'). God is someone who intervenes in a person's life (palec boży 'the hand of God,' lit. 'God's finger,' zrządzenie boskie 'God's decree'), punishes (kara boska 'God's punishment,' sąd boży 'God's Judgment') or rewards (nagroda od Boga/w niebie 'a reward from God/in heaven') but is always ready to forgive sins (pojednać się z Bogiem 'make peace with the Lord'). God is omniscient (Bóg jeden wie 'God only knows') and therefore just (sprawiedliwość boska/boża 'God's justice'). He lives mainly in heaven (coś jest pewne jak Bóg na niebie, lit. 'something is certain as God in heaven'), where he awaits people after they have died (pójść do Boga 'go to God,' stanąć przed Bogiem 'stand before God,' oddać duszę Bogu 'give up one's soul to God')[13]".*

God, as presented in the above description, is powerful, merciful, just, but also punishes people, rules over them, and judges their behaviour. All of those aspects of the Polish worldview are evidenced in expressions, phrases, and proverbs copiously noted in various lexicographic sources. In line with the categorisation proposed in the Great Chain metaphor, God is, indeed, pictured in linguistic expressions as all-powerful, superior to humans and all living creatures. The analysed examples in fact confirm the statement quoted earlier from Krzeszowski (1997: 66), namely, "human beings are situated below other beings[14], with God at the top of the hierarchy".

The analyses presented in sections 5 and 6 testify to the fact that both Polish and English share the way in which God is conceptualised to a great extent. Deity is frequently evoked in both discussed languages.

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God is present at the beginning and at the end of life. However, as can be noted the latter case is more frequently evoked in Polish (***pójść do Boga / stanąć przed Bogiem / spocząć w Bogu / oddać Bogu ducha / oddać duszę Bogu*** – *'to (go to) meet one's maker'*). Interestingly, in English the aspect of giving life is foregrounded ('the maker') even in the face of departing life. All of the above quoted expressions are euphemistically describing death, however, avoiding to name the unavoidable[15].

God is viewed with reverence (***na litość boską! / na młość boską!*** / ***na miły Bóg!*** – *'for the love of God!'*, *'For God's / heaven's sake!'*; ***palec boży*** – *'the hand of God'*), and is considered omnipotent (***Niezbadane są wyroki boskie*** – *'God works / moves in mysterious ways'*; ***Jak Pan Bóg dopuści, to i z kija wypuści*** – *'All things are possible with God'*). He can protect (***Broń (Panie) Boże! / uchowaj Boże!*** – *'God / heaven forbid!'*) and he is helpful (***tak mi dopomóż Bóg*** – *'so help me God!'*; ***Komu Bóg pomaga, ten wszystko przemaga –*** *'God fits / makes the back to the burden'*, *'God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb'*). He cares for those who trust him (***Kto się na Boga spuści, tego Bóg nie opuści*** – *'God provides for him, that trusteth'*) and supports those who are resourceful (***Bóg pomaga tym, co sobie sami pomagają***, ***Pracuj, nieboże, a Bóg ci dopomoże*** – *'God helps them, that help themselves'*). God is an everlasting, omniscient force (***Człowiek projektuje, Pan Bóg dysponuje***, ***Człowiek strzela, Pan Bóg kule nosi*** – *'Man proposes but God disposes'*), and is addressed for help in troubled times (***tak mi dopomóż Bóg*** – *'so help me God!'*). However, humans are fallible and tend to forget the helping hand as soon as their condition improves (***Jak trwoga, to do Boga*** – *'the danger past and God forgotten'*, *'the river past and God forgotten'*).

God is just (***Pan Bóg nierychliwy, ale sprawiedliwy*** – *'God stays long but strikes at last'*; ***Boskie młyny pomału mielą, ale dobrze*** – *'the mill(s) of God grind(s) slowly'*, *'the mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind small'*, *'God's Mill grinds slow, but sure'*). Despite the positive connotations, God is also viewed as revengeful. For their sins people are punished (***Kogo Bóg chce skarać, rozum mu odbiera*** – *'whom God*

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would ruin, he first deprives of reason', *'whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad'*; ***dopust boży*** – *'divine retribution'*).

While evoking the image of deity, human wickedness is also brought to attention, i.e. insufficient faith and devotion (***Im bliżej kościoła, tym dalej od Boga*** – *'The nearer the church, the farther from God'*), as well as craving material prosperity (***Bogu i mamonie razem służyć nie można*** – *'You cannot serve God and Mammon'*).

While most Polish lexical phrases and proverbs have their equivalents in English, not all of those counterparts evoke the image of deity. Thus, ***Bogiem a prawdą*** means *'frankly speaking, truthfully speaking, really'* and deity is synonymous with truth. ***Bogu ducha winny / winien*** describes someone *'(as) innocent as the day sb / one was born'* or *'(as) innocent as a lamb'* and it is the lack of sins that is highlighted. God as creator and maker of the universe and all living things is presented in the phrase ***Świata bożego nie widzieć poza kimś*** (*'to love someone / something more than anything'*), ***zapomnieć/ zapominać o bożym świecie*** ('to be so busy or fascinated by something that one forgets about everything; to concentrate on something', *'to be oblivious (to the world)'*) and ***cały boży dzień*** (*all day long*). 'Boży świat' and 'boży dzień' employed in the above quoted expressions have come into being through God's making. God offers gifts and talents (***iskra boża*** – *'to have a talent, gift'*), is associated with providing prosperous life (***jak u pana boga za piecem*** – *'(as) snug as a bug in a rug'*), as well as and good looks and health (***czuć się / wyglądać jak młody bóg***). Many Polish welcoming and farewell formulas also enclose divine reference (***gość w dom, Bóg w dom***; ***z Bogiem***; ***niech Bóg prowadzi***).

Obviously, this cannot be considered a conclusive observation, yet a greater presence of Polish expressions in which divine forces are evoked is likely to provide evidence for a more religious outlook and devotion of the Polish people. The community is known for its devoutness and excessively relying on deity. Such frequent reference to God can be attributed to high religiousness resulting, among others, from years of

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poverty and subordination in historical times. Poland lost independence and was eradicated from the set of European member states for many years. When there was no one to turn to for help, divine forces were ordinary people's last resort. Those years of dependence from foreign states, lack of freedom, or sovereignty could have resulted in the need to resort in prayers to almighty God for ultimate help. This also accounts for the number of lexical items featuring God and divine powers. Speakers of English, on the other hand, have been, historically, citizens of an influential state; thus they had plenty of self-confidence and trust in their own power. Perhaps, no great reliance on any other entity was necessary.

Being religious cannot be attributed only to poverty or lack of freedom. This is a highly spiritual issue pertaining not only to one's beliefs, values, traditions as well as national culture, but also to the worldview expressed by the language and culture community. Religion is considered quite a significant part of Polish national identity.

As pointed out by Underhill (2011: 6), three dimensions of worldview can be identified; of the language system, of each cultural mindset[16], and of the individual. However, "this subdivision will only serve if it is understood as a means of discerning different conceptions of the relationship between language and thought, between words and worldviews" (ibid.). Those relationships between 'words and worldviews' are expressed by means of linguistic items of a given language.

Despite the fact that in English fewer god-related lexical units are noted, as compared to their Polish variety (as exemplified in the discussion above), both languages share the imagery to a great extent. The differences are not extreme, but the synonymous linguistic means draw on diverse metaphorical extensions (e.g. Polish: ***goły jak go Pan Bóg stworzył*** vs. English: *'in his birthday suit'*; Polish: ***jak u Pana Boga za piecem*** vs. English: *'as snug as a bug in a rug'*; Polish: ***Bogu ducha winien*** vs. English: *'as innocent as a lamb'*). Nevertheless, all of the lexical items conform to the linguistic worldview according to which the core features of divinity, i.e. omnipresence,

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omniscience, superiority, and power (whether to reward or punish), are rendered in the semantics of the lexical items.

Notes

1. The term 'spectrum' means here a range of complexity, the continuum starting with the matter-of-fact concepts and ending with those that are of mystical and divine nature.
2. The underlining has been introduced by the author to reflect the original italicised form.
3. The underlining has been introduced by the author to reflect the original italicised form.
4. The underlining has been introduced by the author to reflect the original italicised form.
5. The underlining has been introduced by the author to reflect the original italicised form.
6. The underlining has been introduced by the author to reflect the original italicised form.
7. According to Levisen and Waters (2017: 11) "A reductive paraphrase is a short explanatory text, composed in semantic primes. Sometimes, however, it is necessary to make recourse to a selection of non-primitive meanings called *semantic molecules*. Marked with the notation [m], these concepts are not simple; that is, they can be semantically decomposed into primes. The claim is that they function as conceptual building blocks, in the analysis of other words".
8. The underlining has been introduced by the author to reflect the original italicised form.
9. Compare: Gnezdilova (2017).
10. The underlining has been introduced by the author to reflect the original italicised form.
11. Compare: discussion on knowledge-related proverbs (Uberman 2019).

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12. The words come from The Gospel of Matthew in the New Testament and are part of the Sermon on the Mount (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matthew_6:24), which in the translation after the World English Bible read as follows:

No one can serve two masters, for either he
will hate the one and love the other; or else
he will be devoted to one and despise the
other. You can't serve both God and Mammon.

13. The underlinings in the quotation have been introduced by the author to reflect italicised forms in the original source.

14. Other beings: the angels (Goatly 2007: 148).

15. This topic is extensively discussed in Uberman (2018).

16. Cultural mindset, according to Underhill (2011: 7), means "designating the worldview specific to a political regime or religion".

List of abbreviations

EC – Encyclopaedia Britannica

MWD – Merriam-Webster online dictionary

SJP – Słownik języka polskiego

WSJP – Wielki słownik języka polskiego PWN ze słownikiem wyrazów bliskoznacznych

WSPA – Wielki słownik polsko-angielski

sb – somebody

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Résumé

God is the phenomenon that is difficult to define, as deity can be viewed from a variety of angles, including the monotheistic or polytheistic one. Certain features, such as omnipresence, omniscience, and omnipotence, are considered universal for God(s). The divine, supernatural power is considered to be the creator of life superior to all living organisms. The unique features of deity reflected in language also confirm the unparalleled position of God. The linguistic worldview, that is embedded in the language of a particular culture-and-language community, is expressed through application of particular lexical means. They replicate the beliefs and experiences of such a group. The analysis of the selected part of God-related lexical stock of Polish and English has shown that both language groups, as representatives of the western world, largely share the approach to the description and perception of god. God is perceived from a monotheistic perspective. The image of God that is enclosed in the scrutinised vocabulary is uniform for Polish and English. Both languages encode the supernatural power, God's supremacy over all living creatures, as well as the facility to give and take life. Such attributes of deity as justice, mercy, and grace are also highlighted. The similarities noted between the linguistic avatars of deity in Polish and English by far exceed the differences between the compared languages. The observed presence of intensive reliance on God is noted in more cases in Polish, as compared to English. More frequent instances of turning for help to God in Polish could be explained by the feeling of inferiority caused by years of lack of independence and the need to seek help in the maker as a last resort. Nevertheless, the cultural mindset reflected by the array of the analysed linguistic means, is comparable in Polish and English.

Key words: God, deity, linguistic worldview, lexicon, proverbs, contrastive semantics.
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RISK COMMUNICATION AND STANCE: STRATEGIC FRAMING IN RISK DISCOURSE[1]

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Abstract: This study offers a socio-cognitive approach to discourse analysis, allowing a multifaceted exploration of stance and stancetaking in contemporary American risk discourse. Integrating features of immediate and mediated discursive activities, stance is seen here as both a subjective and an intersubjective discourse construct, inseparably connected with situational framing and formation of situational identities.

Key words: frame semantics, frame analysis, framing, risk society, risk discourse, stance, stancetaking.

1. Introduction

In 2012, seven Italian scientists were convicted of manslaughter for what they said and did not say when informing people of the approaching earthquake in a small town of L'Aquila. A few years earlier, in 2009, regional government officials issued a press release proclaiming there would not be a big earthquake. This message proved out to be more than inadequate, because six days later L'Aquila was ravaged by a potent earthquake that killed 300 people, injured 1500 people, and made thousands of people homeless. Thereafter, the survivors issued a claim blaming the experts who, in their

[1] This work was supported by the Fulbright Scholar Program (grant dates: September 2019 – May 2020)

opinion, had knowingly neglected their responsibility to properly inform the population about the risk at hand.

On the one hand, Italian experts did not want to trigger panic, but on the other hand, the wording of their announcement made the city residents resist their established habit of fleeing their homes during tremors because of a reassuring message from the distinguished commission.

The described case is unique in that it was linguistic formulation of the expert report that became the reason for criminal verdict. The accusation has had a pronounced metapragmatic character, being based upon the specification of the felony act in terms of a speech act – through the pragmatic evaluation of "a language and its semantics as a referent, or object of description" (Silverstein 1976: 16). The crime was, essentially, that the way the scientists linguistically formulated their stance on risk did not have the intended effect. The recipients did not get the intended message from the statement and, therefore, the scientists were at fault for putting the residents in harm's way.

Inspired by this example from Italy that showed a criminal outcome for faulty risk communication, this article offers an analysis of discursive stancetaking in contemporary American risk discourse. How are risks communicated in modern media? How is the discourse of risk created and how does it influence our perceptions of risk? How do experts inform the public about risks without scaring people but at the same time making them take necessary measures of precaution? How do public speakers formulate their stances on risks and how are their stances interrelated with the stances of their audience? These are the research questions this article seeks to answer.

Interest in risk in modern society in general – and in academia in particular – is motivated by our recognition of the multiple unknown consequences humanity is facing as a result of its haphazard activities. Moreover, this interest is motivated by awareness of ordinary people's dependence on political action or a lack of it, which can

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have important life-sustaining or life-threatening effects not only on humans, but also on the environment.

When this article had already been written and was under peer-review, the whole world unexpectedly found itself in the situation where risk discussion became a daily routine for every single person on the planet due to an unprecedented outbreak of a novel coronavirus and the ensuing COVID-19 pandemic. All-pervading risk discourse has literally overwhelmed national and international media around the world, which makes the **topicality** of this research exceptionally salient and undisputable.

Until lately, linguistics played an insignificant role in scholarly achievements of risk studies, although it is linguistics that can offer insights into how risk is construed, framed and communicated. The **purpose** of this work is to disclose the linguistic specificity of risk framing in modern American media through analyzing pragmatic and cognitive features of stancetaking on risk as a way of socio-semiotic creation of contemporary American risk discourse.

2. Theoretical background: Risk society, risk discourse, and stancetaking

Risk communication produces risk discourse and, in turn, is influenced, or framed by it. Uncertainty and alternativity, danger and fear, expectation of eventual harm or possible excitement over imagined gains are central to risk discourse and, consequently, to a "risk society", a term coined by German sociologist Ulrich Beck in 1999. Ever since, there have been multiple attempts to disclose the secrets of "risk" and "risky behavior", but very few of them concerned language. During a fairly long period of time, risk had mainly been researched by economists, financial analysts and scholars of business. Lately, the focus has shifted to the humanist sphere of academic interests, involving sociologists (Beck 1999; Luhmann 2005), psychologists (Ильин 2012; Slovič 2010), media researchers (Sandman 1992; Schehr 2005), and linguists (Ефимова 2000; Ущина 2016; Fillmore & Atkins 1992; Ushchyna 2018; Zinn 2010; Zinn & McDonald 2018).

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As an object for research, *risk discourse* became central to academic debate in 2010 at the CADAAD (Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines) forum. "Risk discourse" can be defined as a communicative activity of the language speakers associated with discussing various aspects of risk. This definition is based on its thematic orientation or topicality, seen as a dominating and differentiating feature of discourse (Демьянков 2002). The theme of *risk* involves a variety of discursive practices including cognition and social interaction, and thus, becomes its constitutive quality when approached from a socio-cognitive perspective (Dijk 2008).

Based upon the proceedings following the above-mentioned event (Zinn 2010), as well as my own additional observations, I claim that risk discourse can be found in two forms: (1) risk discourse proper – *in situ* discursive interaction of individuals, taking place under the circumstances of a risky choice (henceforth will appear as "communicative situation of risk – CSR") and (2) discourse about risks, organized as a communicative event *ex situ*, in which stance-takers discuss their previously taken stances on risk in mediated discourse (henceforth will appear as "meta-communicative situation of risk – MSR"). The latter is in the focus of my attention in this work.

As a reference point and topical centerpiece of risk discourse, *risk* is a highly abstract notion, very often approachable and interpretable only through the use of language. One of the most elaborate linguistic analyses of *risk* was fulfilled in the theoretical grounding of Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982; Fillmore & Atkins 1992; Fillmore et al. 2003), where the notion of "frame" means a cognitive structure that organizes human experience and can be activated by various linguistic signals (Fillmore 1982; Fillmore & Atkins 1992). According to Fillmore and Atkins, "individual word senses, relationships among the senses of polysemous words, and relationships between (senses of) semantically related words are linked with the cognitive structures (or "frames"), knowledge of which is presupposed for the concepts encoded by the words" (1992: 75). In other words, in accordance with Frame Semantics, we think in terms of conceptual frames, any of the specific parts or which can be activated by particular

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lexical meanings or lexical and syntactic patterns. The groups of related words (e.g., *risk*, *danger*, *threat*, *peril*, *hazard*, *chance*, etc.) are mentally organized in terms of frame structures, based on common knowledge, beliefs or experience.

My understanding of situational *framing* in social and media discourse owes not only to Frame Semantics, but also to Frame Analysis by Goffman, who uses the notion of "frame" as a metaphor for setting, context or situation (1986[1974]: 10-11):

> *"I assume that definitions of situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify. That is my definition of frame. My phrase "frame analysis" is a slogan to refer to the examination in these terms of organization of experience".*

"Our subjective involvement" in social situations, as mentioned by Goffman, is especially important when we deal with discursive situations of risk, because risk is a highly subjective phenomenon in its non-objective, non-statistical understanding. Risk is not something that has an ontological status or exists in material reality, but rather is constructed interactively in complex and multilayered discursive activities of social actors. Risk communication presupposes an act of *stancetaking* – socio-cognitive process of discursive construction of one's attitude towards the object of discussion. Stancetaking in the situation of risk can be equaled to decision-making, and, thus, is never isolated from the physical world and sociological existence of a stance-taker, but quite the opposite, is molded by the situation on the one hand, and frames the reality on the other one.

In the last decades, *stance* has become a popular object for linguistic investigation (Морозова 2011; Du Bois 2007; Englebretson 2007; Jaffe 2009; Johnstone 2009; Kiesling et. al. 2018) due to its ability "to bridge what happens in actual interactions with the big patterns of language we find, and it helps explain why we find those patterns" (Kiesling, *s. a.*). The term was introduced by Biber and Finegan in their article "Styles of stance in English: Lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect" (1989). According to their definition, stance is "the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message" (ibid., 124).

In this study, stance is defined as a speaker's way to manifest his or her knowledge and the level of certainty about the verbalized proposition(-s) (epistemic stance), as well as emotional and evaluative attitude to his or her own and others' message(-s) (affective stance) by means of specifically chosen and designed linguistic and non-linguistic resources. For example, in the statements *"I know"* (Napolitano 2020: 190) or *"I don't know"* (Ramos 2019: 230), the speaker informs his or her listener about the level of his or her knowledge concerning the object of interaction. This is an epistemic stance. In the statements *"that's a great question"* (Napolitano 2020: 217) and *"I'm feeling particularly guilty"* (Cook 2005: 325) the speakers are constructing their affective stances. In the former sentence, the reference to the object of stancetaking is realized via the demonstrative pronoun *that* and a positively colored epithet *great*. In the latter utterance, the speaker explicates his emotional state with *"I'm feeling particularly guilty"*. All the above statements contain the information about one or the other component of already formed stance, presenting the result rather than the process.

The representatives of the dynamic approach to discourse analysis (Морозова 2008; De Fina 2011; Du Bois 2007; Englebretson 2007) focus on intersubjectivity of stancetaking. According to this view, stances are in constant change, upgrade, and alignment, and the central role is given to interaction as an inherent component of stancetaking.

E.g., PAMELA: *... it's really interesting*.
JENNIFER*: I don't agree with you. That was dumb* (SBC).

In the above fragment of a conversation, taken from the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English, Pamela and Jennifer declare their opposite evaluations of the same stance-object, thus, construct different stances *"really interesting"* and *"was dumb"*. Evaluation here is seen as an interactive process during which the stance-takers orient themselves in relation to this object, evaluate it and then characterize it, basing their evaluative characteristics on their pre-existing background knowledge. In a sentence *"I don't agree with you"*, a stance alignment takes place. The stance-taker not only acknowledges the presence of her interlocutor, but also aligns her stance with the stance of her communicative partner. Consequently, the stance predicate *"agree"* belongs to stance-constructing rather than stance-expressing language resources.

Thus, stance is a contextually dependent and interactively formed discursive construct containing information about knowledge of the speakers concerning the object of stancetaking and their emotional attitudes towards it. Stance seems to be crucially meaningful discursive category due to its explicative potential that enables understanding non-linguistic social processes and phenomena through analyzing linguistic patterns of stancetaking.

Any native speaker of a language is also a representative of his or her culture and ideology, which can be discernible in his or her stancetaking. Linguistic resources for the expression of stance include modal, evaluative, emotive, evidential, and attitudinal expressions. These expressions are indexical not only of the speaker's (writer's) stance, but also of his or her "construal of the event" (Langacker 2002), as well as of his or her "contextual" (Crystal 2010: 50) or "situational" (De Fina 2011: 268) identity that incorporates their linguistic, cognitive, and sociolinguistic repertoire (Bamberg et al. 2011; Benwell & Stokoe 2006).

Pragmatic and rhetorical approach to the analysis of stancetaking presupposes taking into consideration both its subjectivity (Biber & Finegan 1989; Ochs 1990; Martin & White 2005) and intersubjectivity (Kärkkäinen 2003; Keisanen 2007; Kiesling et al 2018; Verhagen 2005). The linguistic studies of subjectivity are primarily concerned with the expression of self (Lyons 1995; Marin-Arrese 2010), in which the speaker's /

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writer's point of view is explicitly encoded (e.g., in deixis, modality, discourse interaction, etc.) (Traugott & Dasher 2002: 22). The intersubjectivity echoes with Bakhtin's notion of "dialogicality" (2010), Voloshinov's interest in "a word as a shared knowledge" (1973), and Goffman's "deconstruction of the speaker" (1981). In investigating intersubjectivity of stancetaking the focus is on interaction – mutual involvement, adjustment, alignment of stances.

Thus, discursive articulation of stance in different situational domains in general and in risk discourse in particular, is treated as a product of interactive meaning creation – dialectic merger of cognitive processes of context conceptualization, communicative processes of pragmatic intentions realization, and social processes of ideologies, cultures and values transmission.

3. Methods and data

This paper is a longitudinal qualitative multiple-case study. The research setting is the American risk discourse with the following topical dominants: risks of vaccination, risks of Internet addiction, environmental risks and coronavirus risks.

Among multiple approaches to discourse, CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) offers the widest range of tools for the analysis of public discourses that have high power potential (e.g., political or media discourse). Fairclough's view of discourse as a complex three-dimensional activity seems to be the most compliant with the needs of a current study (1992: 4):

> *"Any discursive event (i.e. any instance of discourse) is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, and instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice. The "text" dimension attends to language analysis of texts. The "discursive practice" dimension, like 'interaction' in the 'text-and-interaction' view of discourse, specifies the nature of the processes of text production and interpretation [...]. The 'social practice' dimension attends to issues of concern in social analysis such as the institutional and organizational circumstances of the discursive event and how that shapes the nature of the discursive practice, and the constitutive / constructive effects of discourse".*

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Fairclough's methodological instrumentarium allows analyzing various levels of stancetaking as a complex discursive activity, not only framed by the situation of communicative interaction, but also framing it.

As has been mentioned above, the constructivist approaches of Frame Analysis and Frame Semantics were used to examine *risk* as a situational setting for studying discursive stancetaking. FrameNet (https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu) – the network of frames created by Charles Fillmore in cooperation with his students and colleagues – provided the knowledge basis needed for framing the discourse situations as the situations of risk. In Fillmore and Atkins' article, *risk* is defined as "the possibility of an unwelcome event" (Fillmore & Atkins 1992: 79). The structure of the risk frame in FrameNet is based upon analysis of the semantic valence of frame-evoking items (including derivatives of "risk lexemes", such as *venturesome*, *riskily*, *hazardous*, etc.). Each word or word combination (including idioms) of the risk frame is associated with the context construal of the situation of risk:

> *"**An Asset** (= something judged to be desirable or valuable which might be lost or damaged) is in a particular **Situation** (= the situation under which the Asset is safe or unsafe), which has the likelihood of leading to or inviting a **Harmful Event** (= an event that may occur or a state which could result in the loss or damage of the Asset)"* (Risk scenario).

The FrameNet risk scenario was extended and elaborated into a three-dimensional cascade model of risk discourse (Appendix, Fig. 1), consisting of a referential situation of risk frame (Appendix, Fig. 2), scenario of communicative situation of risk, and a frame of meta-communicative situation of risk (Fig. 1). The models were devised with regard to their linguistic features: lexical (e.g., words, collocations, and idiomatic expressions), grammatical (e.g., word classes and syntactic functions), and semantic (e.g., attribution of lexical and grammatical units to particular frame slots). For the reasons of space, I will not dwell on the step-by-step procedure of model designing here (for more details see Ущина 2016: 168-203).

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Textual actualization of the risk discourse or at least one of the components of its models served as the main criteria for data selection. Lexical units of risk or their antonyms (e.g., *risk*, *peril*, *danger*, *chance*, *hazard*, *venture*, *jeopardy*, *gamble*, *caution*, *safety*, etc.), syntactical structures (e.g., conditional clauses *if / when*, *in case of*), or other (implicit) signs indexing distinguished ontological features of the situation of risk (e.g., *uncertainty*, *unpredictability*, *availability of choice*, *probability of chance*, *possibility of gains and losses*, *alternativity*, *necessity of decision making*) were used as content-related, topical, grammatical, and / or nominative actualizers of the situation of risk.

The data consists of media texts (editorials, expert reports, personal narratives, and media articles) gathered during the period between September 2018 and March 2020 from the hard and soft editions of the following media resources: The New Yorker, The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, USA Today, and Pittsburgh City Paper. The materials (97 texts totaling 132 502 words) were gathered manually and by searching for risk frame keywords (Appendix, Fig. 2) from the newspapers' database search engines.

The integrated methodology of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992; 1998; Wodak & Meyer 2009) and interpersonal pragmatics (Arundale 2013; Locher 2010) was used to reveal the discursive features of subjectivity and intersubjectivity of stance and to unveil their role in achieving pragmatic goals of risk communication. Based upon the analysis of epistemic (Aikhenvald 2015; Heritage 2012a; 2012b; 2013) and affective (Ильин 2012; Pinich 2019; Scherer 2005) components of stancetaking, the types of collective identities, constructed in MSR, were determined and analyzed.

This analytical framework allowed to shed light on the interactional complexity of stancetaking as a multi-party and multimodal discursive activity. Uncovering rhetorical means of stancetaking in meta-communicative situations of risk enabled disclosing its socio-semiotic potential.

4. Results and discussion

In meta-communicative situation of risk, which is in the focus of my attention in this work, the stance-takers construct not only their individual stances, but more often they represent collective positions of various communities (ethnic, religious, political), of publishing houses, business corporations, or even whole nations. The specificity of stancetaking in MSR is framed by the pattern of speakers' participation in this situation – discursive interaction in MSR is not immediate, but mediated.

4.1 Stancetaking in meta-communicative situation of risk

The stance-takers speak about previously taken stances in the *ex situ* conditions of the MSR in the form of personal narratives and commentaries, editorials and journalistic articles, expert accounts and reports, published in the media. In other words, stancetaking in the MSR becomes meta-communicatively or meta-discursively considered. Stance-takers manifest their stances on previously taken decisions (or previously constructed stances) on risks. They can speak about their stances with a greater or lesser degree of certainty in the formulated proposition (epistemic stance), as well as with greater or lesser emotionality (affective stance) (Ushchyna 2014; 2015; 2018). Stancetaking is a contextually bound activity, which is why stancetaking speech behavior is always framed by the situation of interaction, or, rather, its subjective construct (Dijk 2008) or construal (Langacker 2002).

4.2 Strategic risk framing in American media

The frame of a meta-communicative situation of risk (MSR) is based on the frame of a referential situation of risk (Appendix, Fig. 1). It was expanded by introducing a meta-communicative element to it. This facilitated analytical alignment of the linguistic characteristics of speech behavior in a risk discourse situation with the subjective attitudes of the stance-takers as well as with a broader social context.

The stance subject is an active participant of the MSR. Being either an individual actor or a collective voice, he or she is not necessarily a risk subject. Their speech activities

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determine the cognitive structure and linguistic form of the frame, for the manifested message reflects the result of their stancetaking on risk. Verbalized stances represent the subject's prospective or previously taken decisions on risk. They appear in the following frame: RISK OBJECT, RISK AIM, RISK SOURCE, and INSTRUMENT of the message.

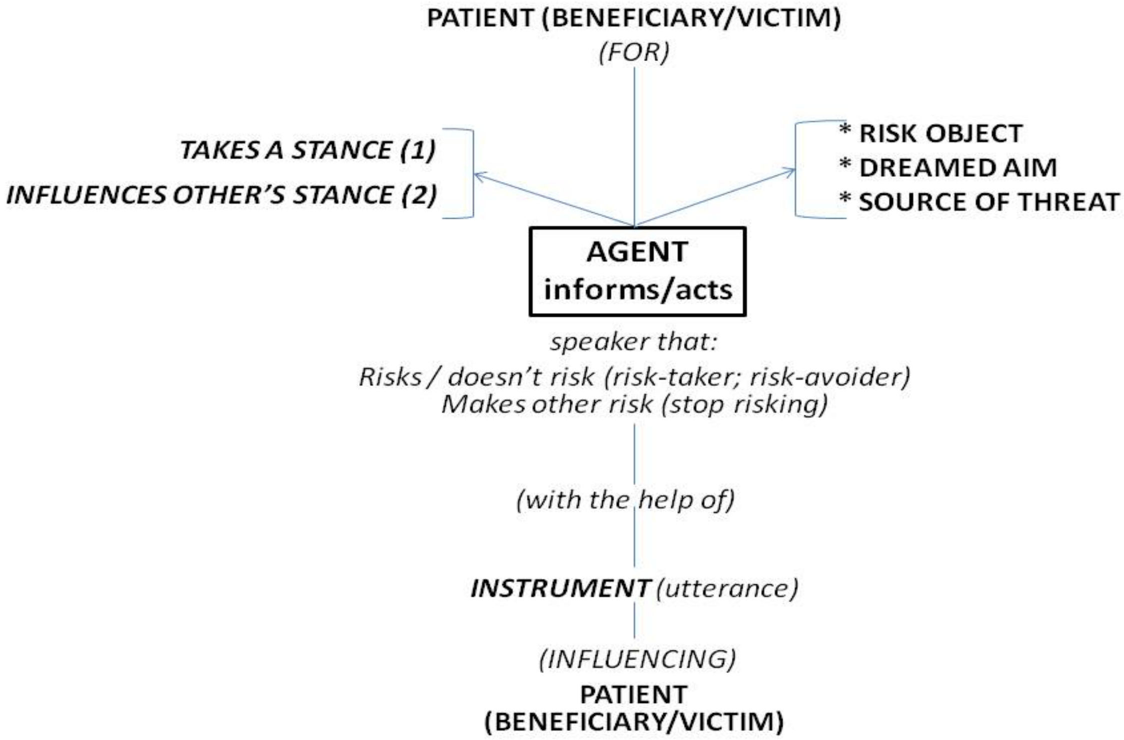

Figure 1. Frame of a meta-communicative situation of risk (Ushchyna 2018: 207)

The frame of MSR consists of a cluster of interconnected components that unite various abstract notions in the verb frame, treated as the basic constituents (or slots) of a frame: AGENT, PATIENT, BENEFICIARY / VICTIM, INSTRUMENT, DREAMED AIM, RISK OBJECT, SOURCE OF THREAT. An active role in the meta-communicative risk event belongs to the AGENT, who is the source of actions and a stance-taker. He / she produces an utterance (INSTRUMENT), by which he / she indicates his / her stance or aims on affecting the stance of the PATIENT in a meta-communicative risk situation. Manifesting his / her stance on the discussed risk / choice / decision, AGENT also outlines other components of a risk frame: RISK OBJECT, DREAMED AIM, SOURCE OF THREAT and RISK SUBJECT, which may be himself / herself, a PATIENT (VICTIM or BENEFICIARY) of a risky choice or the third party (Ushchyna 2018: 206-208).

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E.g., *President Trump's health became a major issue when Fabio Wajngarten, the press secretary for the Brazilian President, Jair Bolsonaro, came down with covid-19 this week. On March 7, Trump stood shoulder to shoulder with Wajngarten and Bolsonaro when they visited Mar-a-Lago. Wajngarten dropped in on a birthday party for Kimberly Guilfoyle, the girlfriend of Donald Trump, Jr., which President Trump also attended. On Friday night, the Brazilian Embassy tweeted that Brazil's acting Ambassador in Washington, Nestor Forster, who sat at Trump's table on Saturday, at Mar-a-Lago, had also tested positive for the coronavirus. Trump's reluctance to take action regarding his own health was in contrast to Senator Rick Scott, the Florida Republican, who opted to go into isolation because he met with Bolsonaro and his delegation on Monday, in Miami. "The health and safety of the American people is my focus, and I have made the decision to self-quarantine in an abundance of caution", he said, on Thursday* (Wright 2020).

The author of a given fragment speaks on behalf of the AGENT, which in this case can be both "American people" and / or "The New Yorker". She informs her readers about the risks posed by the novel coronavirus (SOURCE OF THREAT) for the health of American President. Donald Trump is positioned as a RISK OBJECT, due to the fact that he was exposed to the risk of getting sick because of his close physical contact (*stood shoulder to shoulder with Wajngarten and Bolsonaro when they visited Mar-a-Lago*) with other political leaders that were tested positive for the coronavirus (*On Friday night, the Brazilian Embassy tweeted that Brazil's acting Ambassador in Washington, Nestor Forster, who sat at Trump's table on Saturday, at Mar-a-Lago, had also tested positive for the coronavirus*). In this situation, not only coronavirus, but also all the mentioned politicians are represented as a SOURCE OF THREAT.

Reference to the necessity of a decision-making (*to take action*) is another sign, indexing the risk frame (*Trump's reluctance to take action regarding his own health was in contrast to Senator Rick Scott, the Florida Republican, who opted to go into isolation because he met with Bolsonaro and his delegation on Monday*). Moreover, this sentence

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is stance-formulating, as it contains the presupposition concerning the author's evaluative attitude towards the expected action (or rather – a lack of it) from Donald Trump who is positioned already as the RISK SUBJECT (*Trump's reluctance to take action regarding his own health was in contrast to Senator Rick Scott*), contrasting it with other politician's thoughtful behavior, presented metapragmatically, in the form of a quote (*"The health and safety of the American people is my focus, and I have made the decision to self-quarantine in an abundance of caution," he said on Thursday*). In quoted Senator Rick Scott's words, the RISK OBJECT *"health of the US President"* is substituted by the RISK OBJECT *"the health of American people"*, which appears to be his DREAMED AIM (*The health and safety of the American people is my focus*). To reach this noble AIM he, unlike the President, decides to self-quarantine, and so to avoid risk.

It is interesting how the stance-taker "toys" with the agency of the MSR participants. At the beginning of this paragraph, President Trump was presented as a PATIENT of the situation, as it was *his health* that was at risk (*President Trump's health became a major issue*). Further, though, the author shifts the responsibility to Trump himself, making him an AGENT of the risky decisions, responsible not only for his own health but also for the health of the whole nation. In such a way, the stance-taker manipulates the perceptions of her readers, implicitly imposing her own negative attitude towards Trump's "risk-taking behavior", as opposed to a thoughtful "risk-averse behavior" of Senator Rick Scott.

Using the RISK frame for the analysis of stancetaking in political and media discourse allows for analyzing the risk context as an (inter-)subjective construct (Dijk 2008: 15) – a mental model of a situation that explains interrelation between an individual speaker, discourse and society. Unique cognitive processing of contextual environment is inseparably connected with broader social and cultural properties of discourse, shared by all the participants of discursive interaction. Frame analysis demonstrates that as institutional members, journalists have power and resources for creating a "needed" view of reality. They use discourse stancetaking strategically: to frame a particular perspective of risk, to form a particular attitude towards risk agents, and, thus, to "steer" public perceptions and / or actions in a wished direction.

4.3 Stancetaking in MSR as identity construction

Stancetaking in risk discourse consists in speakers' tendency to take comparable stances and, as a result, to construct distinctive personal identities (risk-taking / risk-averse) in resembling situations of communication. As it were, stances comprise epistemic and affective components where 'epistemic' express information about the origin of the speaker's knowledge concerning the object of stancetaking (evidentiality) (Aikhenvald 2015; Chafe 1986) as well as the subjective reflexivity of the current situational context (modality) (Palmer 1979; Papafragou 1997). Affective components indicate the speaker's emotions, feelings, assessments, and attitudes towards the stance object as well as towards other communicative participants and their stances (Шаховский 2010; Nikonova & Boyko 2019). Epistemic and affective components of stancetaking are inextricably intertwined. Together they comprise the act of evaluation as a part of stancetaking: the speaker's emotional state activates his or her axiological exertion, motivating the epistemic evaluation in his or her stance statements. And vice versa, knowledge about the object of discussion, expressed by the stance-takers, causes the corresponding emotional reactions. Consequently, the speakers make their risk choices on the basis of discussion of their epistemic and affective evaluations.

It needs to be emphasized that in MSR, knowledge as a part of epistemic stance receives a special attention, no longer being a private cognitive state of an individual speaker but becoming a part of public realm. This may be partly ascribed to the attribution of knowledge in the public domain – instead of being attributed to an individual cognition, knowledge belongs to social organizations, representing their views and values, rights and obligations. Therefore, in MSR, knowledge is distributed according to the types of personas who take the floor and, thus, discursively construe their corresponding collective identities – **experts** (scientists, researchers, politicians), **lay** people (ordinary citizens without special knowledge in a discussed sphere), and **mediators** (journalists and other media representatives). Consequently, in MSR, it is no longer significant whether the person is risk-averse or a risk-taker in his or her private life, but it is the level of their knowledge about the object of discussion that is of a particular importance. What experts know, what lay people know, and what journalists know about the discussed risks and how they reveal their knowledge – these are things that predetermine potential intensity of their social interaction with wide audiences.

4.4.1 Subjectivity of stancetaking in MSR

According to Finegan (1995: 1-2), subjectivity "concerns expression of self and the representation of a speaker's (or, more generally, a locutionary agent's) perspective or point of view in discourse" ("a speaker's imprint"). Subjectivity is a crucial feature of discourse, since it concerns "the way we construe the situation, which is essentially subjective" (Langacker 1999: 14). Studies on subjectivity have aimed at capturing the ways of expressing knowledge, affect and attitude towards the communicated propositions (Marin-Arrese 2010: 22).

As an engrained component of epistemic stance, knowledge is an important part of stancetaking in MSR. Following Heritage (2012a; 2012b; 2013), I distinguish between the speakers' epistemic stances and epistemic statuses. In short, an epistemic status is the speaker's access to a certain sphere of knowledge, while an epistemic stance is the way this knowledge is communicated in discourse through various linguistic and non-linguistic resources.

Before proceeding further, it would be appropriate to explain that as an analyst I am well-aware it is impossible to get into the speaker's head and 'read his or her mind' trying to find out what he or she knows, or does not know. But it is quite possible to study the linguistic resources they use to display their knowledge or a lack of it. There are two main markings of epistemic stance that index the source and level of speakers' knowledge as well as their confidence in the asserted proposition: (a) evidentiality – concerned primarily with the source of information, e.g., *I saw*; *I heard*; *they say*; *I read that*; and (b) modality

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– the way of expressing the speaker's attitude to his or her knowledge and the level of confidence in what is asserted, e.g., *I know it's risky*; *it might be risky*; *I hope*, *it's not risky*.

Following Heritage (2012b: 4), I used the analytic instrument "epistemic gradient" (more knowledgeable [Kn+] or less knowledgeable [Kn-]) for describing relative epistemic statuses of the speakers and stratifying them through the verbal manifestation of different epistemic stances they construct in discourse. Heritage argues that the gradient can vary from low to high, in that there may be linguistic resources reflecting not only overall access of the stance-takers to information, but also indicating their knowledge of the discussed topic (ibid., 7). Along epistemic statuses, the level of subjectivity, or "commitment" (Kockelman 2004: 140) of stancetaking in MSR is of a particular importance. Compare:

(1) *"**While I'm certainly no expert,** this is an area **I've always found** particularly interesting. **I enjoy discussing** digital citizenship because it's so important yet often overlooked or only covered in one-off lessons. **I am certain** that digital citizenship education doesn't have to be hard and **you** don't have to be an expert. Students and teachers alike are online more than ever before. Mostly, this is a great thing but problems can occur. A proactive approach and a little forward thinking can help dramatically"* (Morris 2018).

(2) *"**Some researchers have already found** links between excessive screen time, particularly phone use, and attention deficits, behavioral issues, sleep problems, impaired social skills, loneliness, anxiety and depression. Balancing technology use with other aspects of daily life seems reasonable, **but there is a lot of conflicting advice** about where that balance should be. **But to me,** that resembles a moral panic, giving voice to scary claims based on weak data"* (Ferguson 2018).

(3) *"Just as frequently being around other people while they smoke can cause cancer, heart disease, lung disease and other ailments, what I call "secondhand screen time"*

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could be endangering children. *By not limiting their own phone use, parents and other caregivers* ***may be unwittingly setting kids up to be addicted to screens"*** (Renstrom 2020).

In the first example, the excessive use of personal pronoun *I* points to a high level of subjectivity of stancetaking. The author also deploys pronoun *you* in addressing her audience by which she sets up the tone of solidarity and friendliness. Though she openly acknowledges the lack of expertise [Kn-] in the discussed field (*I'm certainly no expert*), her stance is still expressed with a fair degree of confidence and self-assurance (*I've always found*; *I'm certain).* The stance-taker mentions the *risks of Internet use* only vaguely by means of elusive generalized nomination *problems*, antithesized with the benefits (*Mostly*, *this is a great thing but problems can occur. A proactive approach and a little forward thinking can help dramatically*). By this, not only the speaker's stance is expressed but also a conversational implicature concerning the positive evaluation of Internet use for educational purposes is created.

In fragment (2), the stance, though critical, is manifested less subjectively. The stance-taker offers references to expert knowledge (*Some researchers have already found*), which usually serves the pragmatic purposes of epistemic status fortification. However, in this case, it is used by the author for displaying his disalignment with the expert opinion (*but there is a lot of conflicting advice*) that enhances his own epistemic stance [Kn+]. To emphasize his dissent, the speaker resorts to underlining his agency in the proclaimed stance (*But to me*), further explicitly criticizing the mentioned researchers, qualifying their stance as "*moral panic*, *scary claims based on weak data"* (*resembles a moral panic*, *giving voice to scary claims based on weak data*).

In the third example, the stance is expressed with the lowest degree of certainty, as well as with a lesser subjectivity than in the former fragments, though it does not necessarily mean the lack of knowledge [Kn+-]. Although the stance-taker does not seem to doubt the validity of her statement concerning the risk of secondary mobile phone exposure,

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she uses modal verbs expressing uncertain modality (*could, may*), eventually trying to avoid "black-and-white" reasoning (*could be endangering*; *may be unwittingly setting kids up to be addicted to screens*). I would call this way of stancetaking "discursively cautious" – a communicative technique, characteristic to the stance-takers with insufficient epistemic status and / or those who prefer not to sound too downright unequivocal, biased or judgmental.

Although epistemic component of stancetaking is decisively important for construing collective identities in MSR, affective segment is also significant. While epistemic gradient is a coefficient of disproportion between linguistic realization of expert's, mediator's and lay person's epistemic statuses, affective gradient is seen as an imbalance between their verbalized affective reactions. The linguistic formulation of stances, as well as a degree of stance subjectivity in the MSR depend on the type of text (personal narrative, expert report or journalistic article) in which the stance subjects construct their collective identities. They also build upon circumstances of communication, including the author's wish and need to advocate his or her right to possess the information or alternately to disassociate himself or herself from it.

4.4.2 Intersubjectivity of stancetaking in MSR

Stancetaking is not only subjective but also an intersubjective, multimember, and multimodal activity. The formulation of 'intersubjectivity' is found in the work by Benveniste (1966 [1958]), for whom the relationship of intersubjectivity between the speaker (writer) and addressee (reader) is a condition for linguistic communication. In their stancetaking utterances, the speakers (writers) not only manifest their stances but they also reflect the complexity and interactionality of social meaning creation. They also form the socially consequential images of their communicative partners or other social actors.
Inherent intersubjectivity of stance has been noted by Du Bois in his stance triangle (2007: 163), which facilitates considering not only subjectivity but also inter-subjectivity of stance. It presents stancetaking in three interdependent components (triangle apexes): (1) the stance subject (subject$_1$), (2) all other communicative participants (subject$_{2,3,4...}$), (3)

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the stance object, which in this study is either risk itself or the risk subject, risk object or risk source. As Kiesling et al. put it, " [t]he advantage of this stance model is that there is a specific basis on which to ground inter-utterance alignments, namely, the structure of individual utterances of evaluation. Note that this model is not one based on a single speaker, but is inherently dialogic in the sense that it requires more than one utterance to really know what is going on with respect to stancetaking" (2018: 685-686).

Interlocutors deploy an array of linguistic resources to evaluate the stance object and position themselves in its regards. At the same time, they also consider stances of their conversation partners, no matter whether the latter participate in communicative exchange in person or are the unvoiced stances of the mass audience or the referred subjects (as often is the case with media discourse). White (2003: 260) calls it "heteroglossic engagement" – "the textual voice acts first and foremost to engage or to align itself with respect to positions which are in some way alternative to that being advanced by the text".

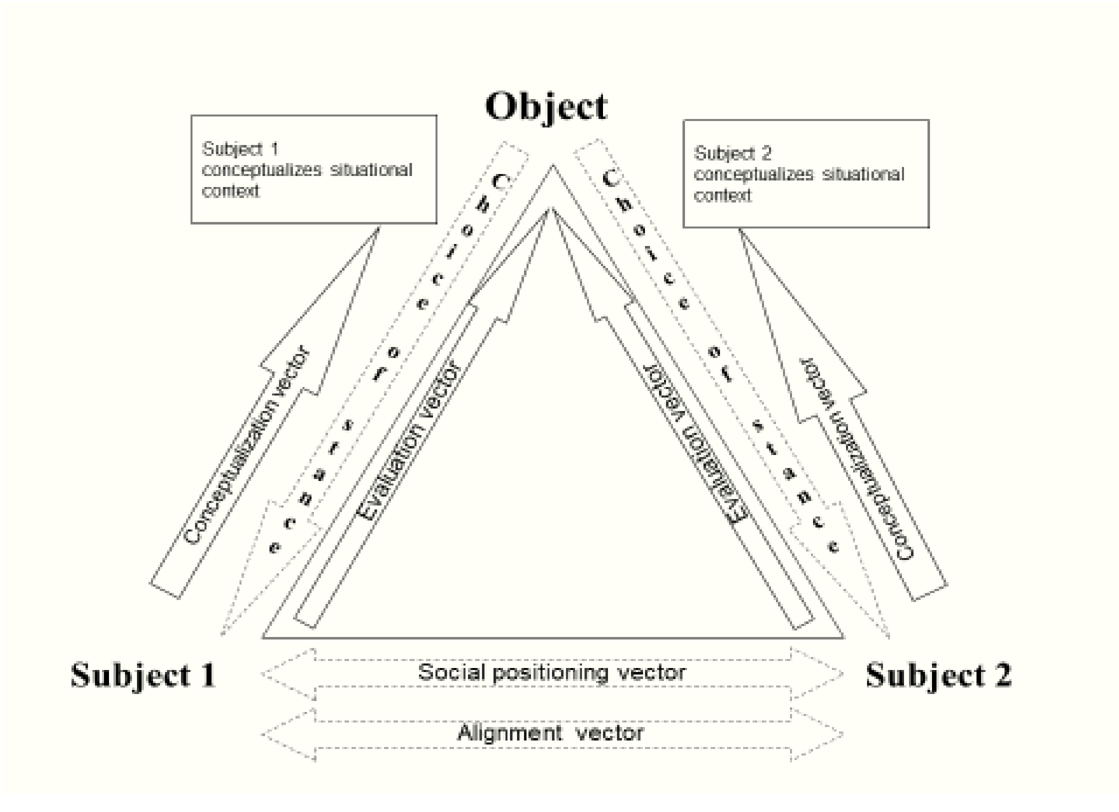

Figure 2. Model of stancetaking in discourse (revised version of Du Bois' "stance triangle", Du Bois 2007: 163)

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To grasp the complexity of inherent interactionality of discursive stancetaking, I added two more dimensions to Du Bois' triangle – cognitive and pragmatic. This allowed me the finer-grained analysis of social meaning creation. According to my revised version, in the process of stancetaking, speakers simultaneously are engaged in the following discursive actions: 1) they conceptualize the situational conditions of interaction (cognitive dimension of stancetaking); 2) they evaluate the stance object both epistemically and affectively (pragmatic dimension); 3) they determine and formulate their own stances on the object of evaluation (speech dimension); 4) they identify social statuses of all the interaction participants (social dimension); 5) they align their own stances with the stances of their communicative partners (interactional dimension).

E.g., *"There's a better way. Instead of ignoring the risks of climate change, listen to the communities – conservative and progressive, rural and urban, rich and poor – that are not only paying for federal infrastructure with their tax dollars, but also living with the legacy of that infrastructure for decades"* (Drakin 2020: 2).

The above communicative situation is framed as a situation of risk by means of the lexemes from the RISK frame (Appendix, Fig.1), as well as by the whole conceptual structure of the article, including its headline *"How Climate Change is Hurting Americans Now"* and the lead *"Instead of ignoring risks of climate change, listen to the communities – conservative and progressive, rural and urban, rich and poor – that have been hurt"* that is repeated in the fragment above.

The author, Julia Drakin, is quite eloquent in expressing her stance, which is verbalized in the stance-expressing sentence *"There's a better way"*. This statement contains an evaluative proposition concerning her attitude towards the object of discussion (the risks of climate change). An adjective 'good', used in a comparative degree (*better*) makes her statement essentially intersubjective, as it implies "there is something worse than what is offered". In the sentence that follows, the author makes an intersubjective

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reference to the actions that she evaluates as negative ones – *"ignoring the risks of climate change"*.

In the next sentence the stance-taker uses a direct address (imperative mood of a verb *'to listen'* (*listen to the communities*). This grammatical form is characteristic for an actual dialogue, presupposing interaction between at least two participants. Though the implied addressee is presumably "American government", the message is meant not for them, but for the readers (or American people), mentioned in a rhetorically prominent way – by means of a chain of antithetical phrases, used in parallel syntactic constructions (*conservative and progressive, rural and urban, rich and poor*). So, the stance-taker disaligns her stance with one of her imagined addressees, and aligns it with another one.

5. Stance-takers' identities in MSR

Analysis of subjective and intersubjective features of epistemic and affective components of stance led to establishing of the following rhetorical formulas, characteristic for stancetaking in MSR: 1) expert − EG > AG = Kn(+)As(+) > Em(-)Att(-), where EG is epistemic gradient, AG is affective gradient, Kn is the speaker's knowledge of discussed risks, As – verbal expression of assertiveness, Em – verbal expression of emotions, Att – explication of the speaker's personal attitude towards risk (subjectivity); 2) lay person − EG < AG = Kn(-)As(-) < Em(+)Att(+); 3) mediator − EG <> AG = Kn(+-)As(+-) <> Em(+-)Att(+). Consequently, in expert stancetaking, epistemic gradient prevails over affective, while in lay people's stancetaking affective gradient preponderates. In mediators' stancetaking, both gradients are reasonably balanced. Let's consider their effectuation in the examples below.

5.1 Lay identities

Lay identities are often constructed in personal narratives where people share accounts of their former risk-taking experience. He or she lives in a space of public discursive practices that can be seen as the area where various discourses, stances, subjects, and their identities meet, where individual and social stretches of human existence intersect. Discursive subjectivity of a personal narrative presumes explicit author self-identification, which makes stancetaking highly subjective and emotional.

E.g., *"Around the same time, I got married… Now this was a different life altogether. From a risk taker, I became a safe player like everybody around me…. and the years passed by….and the frustrations grew of adjusting to a life lower than my original plan or vision. I changed a few jobs in the ten years of my working in the corporate world. My original vision was to work for a couple of years and then do my own business. But those couple of years turned into ten years. Although I made good progress, in comparison to the people around me, as I was still taking more risks than others, yet the frustration and helplessness started showing on my body. I became overweight and looked older than my age, not to mention the nightmare that I became in my domestic life"* (Haseeb 2012).

The above example is a fragment of the personal narrative written by a man telling a motivational story about risk-taking. His apparent stance on risk is verbalized quite explicitly in self-identifying statement *"From a risk taker, I became a safe player"*. However, further discursive structuring of his story allows the reader to decode a presupposition about the author's real attitude to his "safety over risk" choice as something he did not like very much. Therefore, no matter what situational self-identity he himself proclaims, his actual stance on risk is indexed linguistically as risk-willing rather than risk-averse. His negative stance on safety is expressed lexically (*the frustrations grew*; *adjusting to a life lower than my original plan*) and syntactically (long, broken sentences, parallel constructions, irregular punctuation, aposiopesis (*and the years passed by… and the frustrations grew*). The use of emotive syntax, explicit description of feelings (*the frustrations grew*), disclosing details of personal life (*I got married*; *I changed a few jobs in the ten years of my working*), and abundance of personal pronouns *I*, *my*, *me* make discursive structure of personal narratives highly subjective.

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The stance-taker shares his expectations (*vision*) about his new risk-free life that eventually failed (*My original vision was to work for a couple of years and then do my own business*). And, finally, in the last sentence of this excerpt, the author explicates his stance, equaling risk-taking to "good progress" (*Although I made good progress, in comparison to the people around me, as I was still taking more risks than others*). Contrarily, risk-free life is evaluated quite negatively (*the frustration and helplessness started showing on my body*) through the description of its unfavourable outcomes (*I became overweight and looked older than my age, not to mention the nightmare that I became in my domestic life*). Thus, in this narrative, risk is framed as beneficial and progressive, while safety is painted as disadvantageous and detrimental. The overall tone of this fragment is characterized by a high degree of subjectivity and prevalence of affective stancetaking, which indicates the lay identity, discursively constructed by the author of a personal narrative.

5.2 Expert identities

In **expert** discourse, though, the epistemic component of stance becomes more prominent. Instead of emotions, the authors of expert articles focus their attention on pointing out their expert knowledge and high epistemic competence in certain areas of expertise.

E.g., "*The study*, *published in JAMA Pediatrics*, *shows that children who have more screen time have lower* ***structural integrity of white matter tracts*** *in parts of the brain that support language and other emergent literacy skills. These skills include* ***imagery and executive function*** *– the process involving* ***mental control*** *and* ***self-regulation****. These children also risk to have lower scores on language and literacy measures. […] The study involved 47 healthy children -- 27 girls and 20 boys -- between 3 and 5 years old*, *and their parents. The children completed standard cognitive tests followed by* ***diffusion tensor MRI***, *which provides estimates of* ***white matter integrity*** *in the brain"* (DeWitt et al. 2019).

The above fragment was taken from an expert report on the study held by Cincinnati Children's hospital concerning the risks for young children's brain development associated with excessive use of mobile phones. One can find numerous linguistic markers of the authors' high epistemic status (e.g., references to research data – *The study*, *published in JAMA Pediatrics*; use of numbers – *47 healthy children*, *27 girls and 20 boys*; technical abbreviations – *JAMA*, *MRI*) and their high linguistic competence (e.g., complex syntactic structures, abundant use of terms – *structural integrity of white matter tracts*, *imagery and executive function*, *diffusion tensor MRI*). At the same time, in this piece of discourse, there are no markers of affective stance. Taken together, these features indicate the positive correlation between stancetaking in the MSR and the level of subjectivity. In expert articles and reports, where the author(s) is / are not personally involved into the described situation, the level of subjectivity is rather low and stancetaking is predominantly epistemic. Therefore, the expert identity, constructed in mediated risk discourse consists of non-affective, non-emotional, or "faceless" stances.

5.3 Mediator identities

Constructing **mediators'** identities in analytical articles about risks, journalists not only represent their stances on given problems but they also fulfill their important social function – being a link between experts (government officials, politicians, researchers) and lay citizens (the general, ordinary public). They advise their readers on matters of risk, warn them about possible hazards, help them make appropriate decisions, and criticize stances of other journalists and experts. Having access to wide audiences, journalists also get a special role in society: publicly proclaiming their stances, they influence the process of meaning-making, and so become agents of social semiosis. Regardless of general societal requirements to journalistic impartiality, media professionals often cannot escape emotional statements and judgmental evaluations.

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E.g., "*Several drugmakers are racing to develop vaccines that could protect against the new respiratory virus originating in China, as* ***fears mount it could spread more widely.****" […]*
"There are no known vaccines or treatments approved specifically for the virus, dubbed ***nCoV-2019****, which belongs to a family of coronaviruses responsible for outbreaks of severe acute respiratory syndrome, known as* ***SARS****." […]*
"CEPI Chief Executive Richard Hatchett said in an interview the virus could turn into "a very serious epidemic" (Loftus & McKay 2020: 6A).

The authors manifest their collective stance concerning the risk of the coronavirus epidemic of 2019-2020. In their seemingly neutral informing about the drug-makers' intent to *"develop vaccines that could protect against the new respiratory virus originating in China"* they use a progressive form of the verb *"to race"* that infers their evaluation of the described action as a bustling (and supposedly untimely) effort the drug-makers are taking to eliminate the risks of the epidemic. Assessing the risks of the possible disease spread, they mention *fears* as a possible SOURCE OF RISK (*as fears mount it could spread more widely)* that qualifies as the authors' subjective attitude towards a panicky emotional state of American society. Extensive use of terms (*nCoV-2019; acute respiratory syndrome, known as SARS*), as well as references to the expert qualifications (*CEPI Chief Executive Richard Hatchett*) and opinion (*the virus could turn into "a very serious epidemic"*) reflect the authors' eventual intention to support their epistemic status and, thus, influence the interpretations of their recipients. Unlike in personal narrative, the authors of the journalistic pieces (articles, editorials) try to hide their own affective reactions, concentrating on the other people's emotions (*as fears mount*) and evaluations (*the virus could turn into "a very serious epidemic"*) instead. In such a way, they seek to remain unbiased, distancing themselves from explicit judgments.

Thus, the level of personal involvement or subjectivity of stancetaking in the MSR determines the degree of emotional intensiveness of affective stance, which can be either emphatic or faceless. On the other hand, epistemic stances depend upon the level

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of knowledge of stance-takers and their linguistic structure reflects the stance-takers' certainty in inferred propositions. Epistemic stances in the MSR can be either certain – verbalized by means of assertive modality and direct (experiential) evidentiality, or uncertain – verbalized by means of probabilistic modality and indirect (reportative, inferential, imaginative) evidentiality.

6. Conclusions

With each passing year, we become more and more aware of an unprecedented role language plays in organizing our lives on all social levels – from individual interaction in small social groups to our ongoing online contacts with global communities, authorities, media, and experts. Investigation of stancetaking in contemporary American risk discourse, fulfilled in this article, blends seamlessly into the socio-cognitive paradigm of critical discourse analysis.

Complex discursive approach to this multidisciplinary problem allowed discovering specifics of mutual identification of the English language speakers in different situational and cultural conditions. This research has also disclosed socio-semiotic potential of stance as a discursive formation uniting micro- and macro-levels of social interaction. Risk, risk perception, risk assessment, and risk communication have always been essential for our everyday experience, as we face risks every day – crossing the road, drinking alcohol or smoking. However, lately, we have become more aware of risk and risk communication due to some objective (e.g., COVID-19 pandemic or climate change) and subjective (e.g., wide use of Internet and social media as global means of communication) reasons.

The ways a lot of current events are framed linguistically influence the ways we perceive them and act in them. This work discovers cognitive and linguistic mechanisms of situational framing in risk communication, as well as pragmatic and rhetorical mechanisms of stancetaking behavior in these situational setting. The use of RISK frame in stancetaking analysis demonstrated that framing in American media is realized strategically, rather than randomly. The choice of linguistic and rhetorical resources, used by the participants of risk discourse, reflect their pragmatic goals and index their social identities.

A special focus of this work was on stancetaking behavior of media representatives in their efforts to create a desired image of risk and motivate the necessary risk actions. It was revealed that risks can be framed and communicated professionally – by researchers, scientists, and politicians; and unprofessionally – by ordinary people. Media representatives take a special position in this arrangement, as they serve an intermediate link between professionals and non-professionals.

Stancetaking, realized in situational conditions of mediated interaction (meta-communicative situation of risk), is characterized by both subjectivity and intersubjectivity. The dimension of subjectivity was examined in terms of knowledge, assertiveness and commitment (epistemic stance), as well as intensity of emotional expressiveness (affective stance). The dimension of intersubjectivity was discussed in terms of inherent discursive dialogicality, interactionality, and alignment. The use of linguistic resources which are indexical of the stance-takers` subjectivity and intersubjectivity are also indexical of their identities.

In the meta-communicative situation of risk, discursively built identities include expert, lay, and mediator. Their epistemic stances can be certain or uncertain, while their affective stances can be either emphatic or faceless. Experts' stances are predominantly based on assertive epistemic reasoning, and are devoid of emotionality, or faceless. Lay peoples' stancetaking is more emphatic than epistemic. Mediators' stances are characterized by wide variability – they can be certain or uncertain, emphatic or faceless. The stance-formulating means they use attest not only to their individual views and positions but index collective voices of media and/or institutions they represent.

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Contextual conditions of information era leave open various options for stance-takers' perceptual foci in their interpretations of risk. This study may help to expose the problems of contemporary humanity as a globalized "risk society", offering discursive analytic tools of solving some of them. The respective awareness of the speakers' stancetaking dynamics is vitally significant to take appropriate measures aiming at either removing real risks or discarding the virtual or false ones.

List of abbreviations

CSR – Communicative situation of risk

MSR – Meta-communicative situation of risk

SBC – Santa Barbara corpus of spoken American English. Available at: https://www.kaggle.com/rtatman/santa-barbara-corpus-of-spoken-american-english

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Résumé

The study focuses on disclosing interrelations between discursive stancetaking and strategic framing in risk discourse. Treating stance as an intersubjective, interactional, indexical, and context-bound discursive construct, this analysis embraces micro- and macro-properties of discursive interaction in an attempt to explain social semiosis of the "world risk society". The general theoretical framework for the study stipulates socio-constructionist understanding of discourse and social semiosis, according to which societal values, attitudes, and ideologies are shaped in discourse and by discourse. The problem of risk framing in modern American media is approached in the socio-cognitive paradigm of discourse analysis that allows encapsulating multidimensional aspects of discourse interaction in modern media: cognitive, pragmatic, rhetorical, interactional, and social. The analysed linguistic resources, used by stance-takers in risk discourse for framing and reframing situations of risk as well as for manifesting their corresponding stances, proved out to be indexical not only of their stances, but also of their situational identities: lay, expert and mediator.

Speakers construct their stances on risk, based on their knowledge about an object of stancetaking and the level of certainty / uncertainty in proclaimed propositions (epistemic stance), or consulting their feelings, attitudes, and dispositions (affective stance). In the course of analysis, it was revealed that in a meta-communicative situation of risk, it is knowledge that receives a particular importance. Different epistemic statuses of the speakers / writers become a source of imbalances and discrepancies between their stancetaking behaviours, which may facilitate better understanding of the key role stancetaking plays in social action and interaction. Analysis of linguistic formulations of subjectivity and intersubjectivity of stance enabled disclosing socio-semiotic potential and pragmatic-rhetorical patterns of speech behaviour in risk discourse.

Key words: frame semantics, frame analysis, framing, risk society, risk discourse, stance, stancetaking.

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Appendix

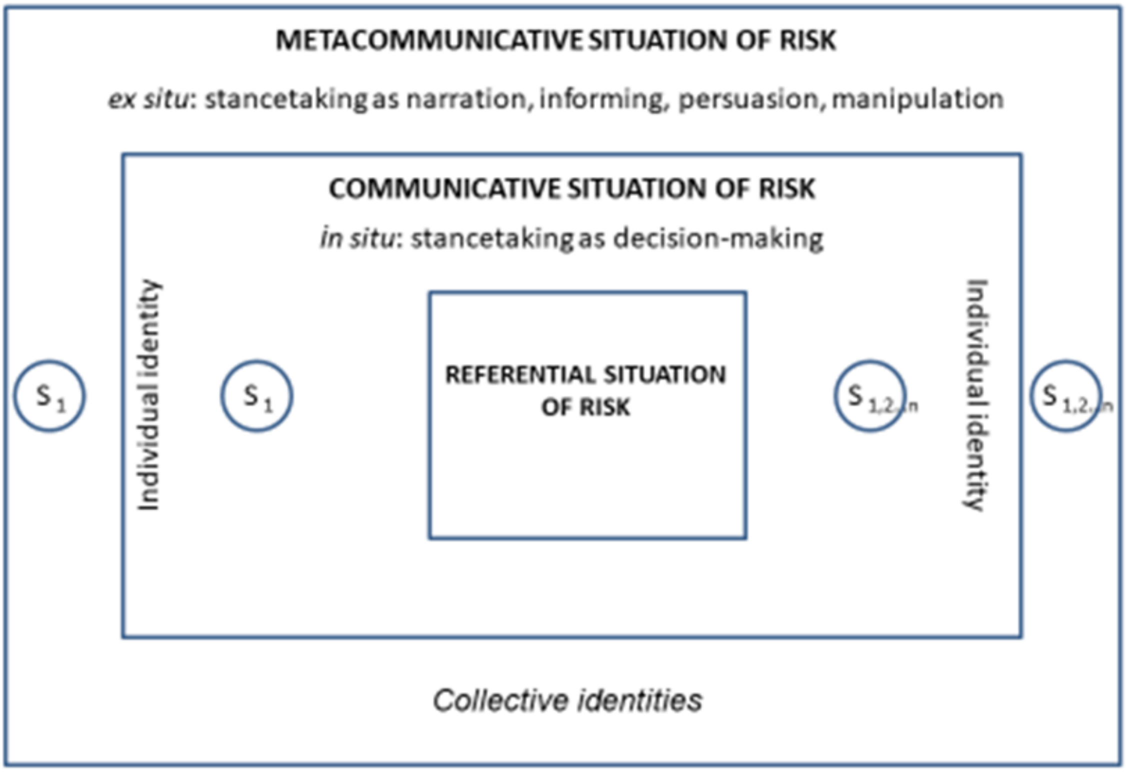

Figure 2. Integrated model of the risk discourse situation (Ущина 2016: 193)

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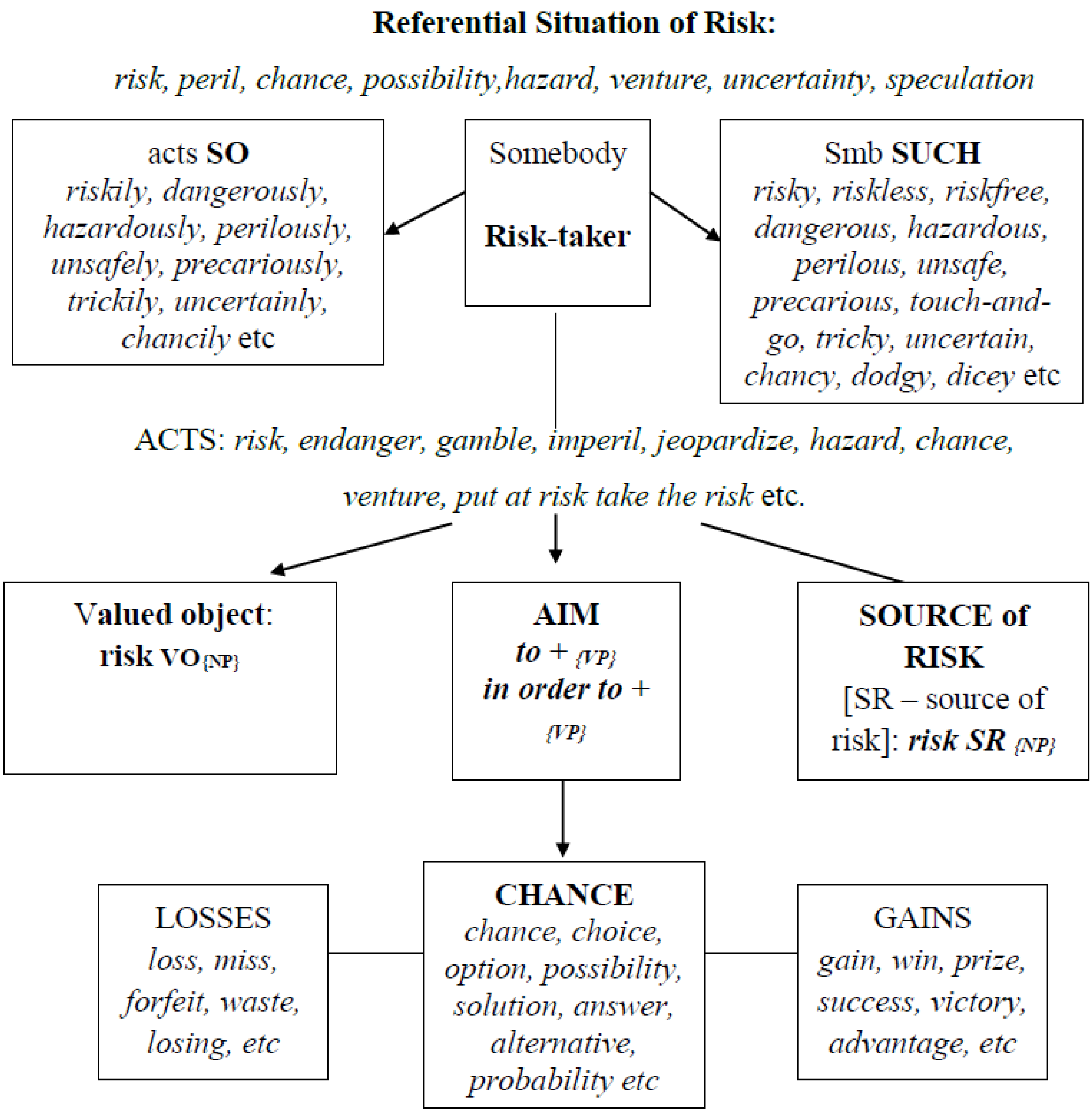

Figure 3. Frame of the referential situation of risk (Ущина 2016: 176)

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VERBAL SOURCES OF CINEMATIC METAPHORS: FROM CINEMATIC PERFORMATIVITY TO LINGUISTIC CREATIVITY*

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Abstract: The paper develops a methodology for analyzing multimodal strategies involved in the creation of cinematic metaphors based on verbal units. Special attention is paid to the typology of verbal means that underlie cinematic metaphors emerging in comedy films. The research offers an integrated approach to the study of cinematic performativity and linguistic creativity and gives insights into their interrelatedness in constructing cinematic figurativeness.

Key words: cinematic discourse, cinematic performativity, cinematic metaphor, linguistic creativity, phraseological unit, multimodal strategy, comedy film.

1. Introduction: Revisiting the issue of the word in cinematic art

Among the top-ranking research areas in the modern theory of film semantics is the issue of nature, sources, and functions of the cinematic, or filmic, metaphor. Our research is aimed at studying verbal (or language) sources of cinematic metaphors, the discussion of which was triggered at the beginning of the 20th century by the active search for the cinema-specific means of artistic expression inaccessible to other arts.

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As is well-known, the development of the "pure cinema" (or "true cinema", "absolute film") conception once divided film specialists into opposing camps taking different positions with regard to the role of the word in the film-making process. As Christie claims, there was genuine fear that "sound would in some way destroy the 'essence' of film art". The researcher also adds that "most aesthetic discussions of sound in the 1930s come down to the <…> assertion that, since film is essentially visual and therefore silent, sound will inevitably distract from its artistry" (1991: 177). Therefore, according to Fischer, it was believed that "sound would ruin the poetic art of cinema developed in the silent era – reducing all film to banal talking heads or ringing phones" (1999: 78).

Despite the fact that the role of the word was frequently downplayed at the different periods of the evolution of cinematic art, its validity as a peculiar artistic means in constructing films' conceptual medium as well as its peculiar diegetic world have been highly appreciated by many outstanding film figures and cinema theorists both in the past and at present. For instance, Italian Futurists regarded language and, more specifically, its figurative means as one of the crucial points in creating the film narrative. In 1916, they published a manifesto in which they claimed that cinema was able to embody most of the tropes, or figures of speech, known in literature (Marinetti et al. 1916). Making a reference to Philippon, Deleuze mentions that one of the principal aims of cinema's reason for being is to film speech (1989). Carroll writes that "cinema is not a language"; nevertheless, "language plays an intimate role in several of the symbolic structures used in cinema" (1996: 187).

It is worth special mention that, as is usually recognized, it was Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) – "one of the giants of world cinema" (Gillespie 2000: 57) who exerted the strongest influence on developing a certain attitude to the word in the historical development of cinema and to the word's adaptation to this technologically new and multimodal medium. Eisenstein's experimentation in the field of filmmaking revealed the true value of the word in the film's inner structure as well as the significance of figurative language means in elaborating the semantic or conceptual architecture of a film. Besides, his approach to the cinematic word-based imagery contributed much to the development of the theory of cinematic performativity as well as to disclosing its essence and how it can be embodied in films.

First of all, as a pioneer in a specific use of film editing (alongside other representatives of the Russian cinematic school, such as Lev Kuleshov, Vsevolod Pudovkin, Dziga Vertov, and others), Eisenstein was one of the founders of the cinematic metaphor theory. He introduced a certain type of cinematic metaphors – montage metaphors defined as moving, or movement, images that are impressive, laden with multidimensional senses and easy to memorize. Elaborating principles of creating and using montage and visual metaphors, Eisenstein, as is usually asserted, was among those film directors who shaped film imaging for the years to come. One of his best-known images is the massacre on the Odessa Steps in the film "Броненосец Потемкин" ("Battleship Potemkin"), released in 1926. As Gillespie points out, the massacre sequence demonstrates "a magnificent awareness of the possibilities of moving image" (2000: 44). The researcher describes the intricate imagery (or figurativeness) of the episode in question in the following way:

> *"We never get to see the faces of the other Cossacks – they are merely faceless murderers or, in the scene when the mother of the wounded boy confronts them, ominous, giant shadows looming over her. When the pram totters then rolls down the steps, it is a synecdoche of the enormous brutality of the regime. It then becomes transformed into an unmistakable visual metaphor for the Revolution itself, amassing its own momentum as it moves relentlessly on, bearing a traditional Russian cultural symbol of the New World: a baby. The whole episode also features dynamic cross-cuts and stylistic flourishes, and there is a great visceral power to the images of violence"* (Gillespie 2000: 43-44).

Also remarkably, Eisenstein was one of the first to use literary tropes and phraseology as a kind of basis for his montage and visual imagery experiments. For example, depicting the scene "Separator" in the film "Генеральная линия" ("The general line", released in 1929 and co-directed with Grigori Aleksandrov), Eisenstein emphasizes that one of its core conceptual constituents is the cinematic metaphor of "milk fountains", which was derived from such figurative folklore phrases as *молочные реки* (lit. *milk rivers*) and *кисельные берега* (lit. *kissel' (~ sweet jelly-like) riverbanks*), symbolizing material prosperity in the Russian culture (Эйзенштейн 1964: 85). In his paper, Caroll recalls how Eisenstein cuts from images of Kerensky in the film "Октябрь" ("October", released in 1927) to a mechanical peacock and emphasizes that to understand "this interpolation, one must remember the Russian saying *proud as a peacock*" (1996: 413). Christie (1991: 178) mentions Eikhenbaum's claim that "film metaphor is entirely dependent on verbal metaphor" was "of prime importance to Eisenstein in the development of his conception of 'intellectual cinema' and many of the montage 'tropes' " created in his films. The researcher concludes that "what was at stake in the sound revolution, for the montage school, was nothing less than the underlying principle of montage itself, the poetic interplay of inner speech and montage figures, the participation of the spectator as actor" (op. cit.).

So, in his filmmaking work and theoretical writings, Eisenstein developed the "metaphor principle" whose origin can be traced back to the language and to the literary usage. He paid special attention to the metaphor's structure, its psychological affectivity, "regularity of its emergence and presence at a certain level of a thematically required impression" (Эйзенштейн 1964: 200). Eisenstein's experiments with movement (or moving) images and with staging verbal tropes on the screen were aimed at both creating the maximum psychological impact and provoking or receiving the greatest emotional response. Being such, they are closely related to the notion of cinematic performativity, which is part and parcel of the modern cinema theory. Eisenstein shared his belief in the future of the sound cinema with numerous other outstanding film specialists. From his point of view, sound as a new technical invention was "an organic exit from many blind alleys rather than an occasional moment in the history of cinema" (Эйзенштейн et al. 1964: 315-316). In accordance with Eisenstein, sound (and I would add the speech sound) treated as a new montage element and as an independent constituent alongside the visual image inevitably brings a new means of enormous power to the cinematic expressivity and performativity.

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Thus, revising the fundamental issue of the word relevance in the cinematic art foregrounds another fundamental issue of cinematic performativity. Eisenstein's conception of the sound and the word as the acting forces of creative filmmaking gives an initial impetus to the awareness that they are closely related to the phenomenon of cinematic performativity, which is characterized nowadays by an intensive research interest on the part of many contemporary disciplines and interdisciplines.

2. Theoretical framework: Integrating cinematic performativity with linguistic creativity

The notion of "cinematic performativity" has acquired a wide range of interpretations in the course of its development from the silent cinema epoch to the modern cinema production based on digital technologies. Nowadays, its understanding is characterized by the blend of a number of well-known theories as well as approaches that serve as theoretical groundings for modern film studies and are further elaborated in various interdisciplinary perspectives.

The analysis of modern film literature has shown that the most influential approaches and theories ensuring the development of the cinematic performativity theory are as follows: Austin – Searle speech act theory with the key tenet of equating words with deeds (see, e.g., the approach to cinematic verbal images as illocutionary acts (Carroll 1996); Chomsky's conception of linguistic performance and linguistic creativity (Chomsky 1964; 1966); Butler's theory of gender performativity (Butler 1990); Iser's conceptions of the fictive and the imaginary, his ideas of the text as a living event, performance, or a staged play (Iser 1993); Sobchak's neo-phenomenological approach to cinema with the central idea of the [film] narrative produced by spectators in their embodied experiences of film-viewing (Sobchak 1992; 2004); Deleuze's views on cinema, his concepts of "the movement-image" and "the time-image", of "the cinema of the body" as opposed to "the cinema of the brain", of speech as a dimension of the visual image (Deleuze 1989); the theory of metaphoric performativity in different arts

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(including the cinematic art) and science, e.g., gene-technological experiments (Hallensleben 2003; Cinematic metaphor 2018); the theory of the comic performativity or the performative theory of humour (Velten 2009).

Generalization of numerous contemporary film studies makes it possible to conclude that cinematic performativity is conceived in terms of a number of correlated notions, such as "action", "gesture", "event", "a staged play/game", "staging", "doing", "acting". Resting on these modern interpretations, I elaborate **a new approach to cinematic performativity connecting it with the notion of linguistic creativity** (see also Зыкова 2019).

In my research, cinematic performativity is understood as "staging" (or "performing", "acting") various verbal means (e.g., words, wide-spread literary tropes, free word-combinations, phraseological units) in the film medium. In cinematic discourse, this staging aims to achieve particular artistic purposes and results in the emergence of different cinematic (or film) images, cinematic (or film) tropes, including cinematic (or film) metaphors in particular. Verbal or verbally based cinematic metaphors affect the verbal expressions that underlay their formation in a creative way. Within the framework of cinematic metaphors, the initial verbal unit may undergo structural, semantic, grammatical, and pragmatic changes that shape a new (original, unusual, extraordinary) verbal form.

To give an insight into what the approach that is based on the integration of the notions of "cinematic performativity" and "linguistic creativity" seeks to show, I cite the following example, which is taken from the script of the film "Как поживаете?" ("How is your life?"), written in 1926 by Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893–1930), a leading figure of the Russian avant-garde Futurist movement. Though the film has never been staged, from my point of view, it proves to be a good example of how cinematic metaphors can arise owing to verbal expressions and influence the latter in a linguistically creative way.

In one of the scenes of the film script in part four, Mayakovsky (1958: 144) proceeds from the popular Russian idiom *на крыльях любви* (*on the wings of love*) and creates a movement image of a young man (Mayakovsky himself) and a young girl who fly up the stairs, with aeroplane wings growing behind their shoulders:

(Сцена) ***На крыльях любви***

70-72. У девушки и Маяковского появляются аэропланные крылья.

73-74. Девушка и человек вспархивают по лестнице.

(Scene) ***On the wings of love***

70-72. The aeroplane wings start growing behind the shoulders of the young girl and Mayakovsky.

73-74. The young girl and the man fly up the stairs. /translated by the author/

The given example illustrates the following:

- it reveals the author's idea of creating a cinematic metaphor by means of a visual representation, and more specifically, by peculiar animation effects and the actors' (kinesthetic) performance of the expression *on the wings of love*;
- this presupposed visual-kinesthetic performance results in the radical linguistic transformation of the original verbal expression *on the wings of love* into a rather extended expression *to fly up the stairs with aeroplane wings of love suddenly growing behind a man's/woman's shoulders*;
- this linguistic transformation is a creative modification of the verbal unit under consideration, stemming from a newly created metaphorical image, which is rather comic;
- the new metaphorical image affects the original phraseological unit in the following way: a) its five-component composition changes into the fifteen-component composition; b) its adverbial structure transforms into the verbal one with the verb *to fly* as a pivotal structural element); c) its semantics acquires multiple additional senses, e.g., the beginning of love relations, getting away from

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reality, striving to be modern and to be not like everybody else, etc; and d) its pragmatic function changes, as it is used to produce a humorous rather than dramatic effect.

Thus, creating a cinematic metaphor implies in this particular case the cinematic performance or cinematic staging of a certain verbal item (*on the wings of love*) that underlies this cinematic metaphor. As a result, a new, unique (unusual, extraordinary) verbal form emerges – a fact that exposes the cause-effect connection between such two fundamental phenomena as cinematic performativity and linguistic creativity. The interrelation described above is far more intricate than it might seem at first sight. In an attempt to explore it comprehensively, I proceed to special methodology that should be applied to the fiction film material to get an insight into how the underlying blending mechanism works.

3. Material and methodology

The research was conducted on the basis of a specific type of fiction films – comedy films. I selected and analyzed eight popular comedy films directed by famous Soviet film directors and released in the 1960s and the early 1970s. These years are known as the period of "The Thaw" and the time of a new wave of artistic experimentation in the Soviet cinema art:

- "Полосатый рейс" ("Striped trip", directed by Aleksandr Sery; released in 1961);
- "Семь нянек" ("Seven nannies", directed by Rolan Bykov; released in 1962);
- "Три плюс два" ("Three plus two", directed by Genrikh Oganisyan; released in 1963);
- "Добро пожаловать, или Посторонним вход воспрещен" ("Welcome, or no trespassing", directed by Elem Klimov; released in 1964);
- "Дайте жалобную книгу!" ("Give me a book of complaints!", directed by Eldar Ryazanov; released in 1965);

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- "Бриллиантовая рука" ("The diamond arm", directed by Leonid Gaidai; released in 1968);
- "Джентльмены удачи" ("Gentlemen of fortune", directed by Aleksandr Sery; released in 1971);
- "Невероятные приключения итальянцев в России" ("Unbelievable adventures of Italians in Russia", directed by Eldar Ryazanov and Franco Prosperi; released in 1973).

The cinematic material under consideration encompasses different subtypes of film comedy: romantic, social, adventure, criminal, screwball (eccentric). It is worth special mention that in modern investigations of performativity attention to the comic or the ludic becomes a central concern insofar as, according to Sherzer (2002), it contains a high level of metadiscourse and social critique (see also Marina (2018), in which the category of the paradoxical is analyzed). Due to their special pragmatic essence, comedy films prove to be especially prolific in the study of cinematic performativity. Comedy films are deliberately designed to entertain, "to amuse and provoke laughter by exaggerating the situation, the language, action, relationships, and characters" (Filmsite.org). Horton (1991: 5) writes that:

"A work that is identified in any way as comic automatically predisposes its audience to enter a state of liminality where the everyday is turned upside down and where cause and effect can be triumphed over and manipulated. Comedy thus can be partially described as a playful realm of consecrated freedom".

It is emphasized that "comedy is a form of 'play' that embraces fantasy and festivity" (A companion to film comedy 2012: 3). King (2002: 5) also notes:

"Comedy tends to involve departures of a particular type – or particular kinds – from what are considered to be the 'normal' routines of life of the social group in question. In order to be marked out as comic, the events represented – or the mode of representation – tend to be different in characteristic ways from what is usually expected in the non-comic world. <…> Comedy can result from a sense of things being out of place, mixed up or not quite right, in various ways".

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Additionally, from the linguistic point of view, it is remarkable that comedies are "always attentive to the mechanisms of popular language" (Viganò 1995: 15), which is full of witty and easily recognizable words and phrases, paremiological and idiomatic units that can be chosen for staging on the screen in order to achieve a strong emotional reaction (mainly laughter) on the part of the viewer.

The methodology developed in my research involves several analytical stages based on the application of particular research methods. These stages are as follows: (I) recognizing (or reconstructing) cinematic metaphors in films, (II) analyzing the cinematic performativity of the verbal unit that underlies a cinematic metaphor, and (III) measuring the linguistically creative potential of the cinematic metaphor that manifests itself in the extent of transformations (or modifications) of the verbal unit that gave rise to this cinematic metaphor.

***Stage I – Recognizing (or reconstructing) cinematic metaphors in films*.**

One of the key challenges in studying cinematic and multimodal metaphors is their recognizability in the cinematic material. In modern film literature, this issue is approached from many different perspectives and with the application of different methods, such as, e.g., cognitive methods based on the conceptual metaphor theory and image-schemas (Eggertsson & Forceville 2009; Forceville 2017); the method of identifying waking metaphors (multimodal and monomodal) as opposed to sleeping metaphors (Müller 2008; Müller & Ladewig 2013); the method of transcribing multimodal discourses including cinematic or multimodal images as their immediate constituents (Baldry 2004).

Of particular interest is the conception of cinematic metaphor recognizability offered by Carroll (1996). The researcher establishes the following properties that help recognize a cinematic metaphor or qualify some film figure as a cinematic metaphor: *superimposition* (providing a selective mapping of the target domain with the source domain); *homospatiality* (implying that disparate elements are visually incorporated into one spatially bounded homogeneous entity, inhabit the same space-time coordinates); *physical noncompossibility* (meaning that the physically noncompossible elements must be literally co-present in the same object or state of affairs); *falsity* or *apparent falsity* (indicating that cinematic metaphors are intentionally made to represent something non-existent in reality, which opposes them to what physically possible entities represent in a fantastic world); *symbolization* (meaning the need for symbolic interpretation); *visual salience* (implying that all relevant elements composing a cinematic metaphor must be salient, i.e. they must stand out); *heuristic value* (suggesting that cinematic metaphors facilitate the spectator's apprehension of the putative relation, comparison, or fact, and let the spectator make some discoveries in the process of exploring the image); *language dependence* (meaning a degree of relatedness of cinematic metaphors to particular language means, i.e. words, phrases, or expressions).

According to Carroll (1996), composite figures that have these properties or meet these requirements can be successfully identified as film metaphors. The author puts special emphasis on the link of cinematic metaphors to language and elaborates the notion of (cinematic) verbal images. This link can manifest itself either directly, when corresponding language units accompany the unfolding of film metaphors or give a cue to their interpretation, or indirectly. However, as Carroll notes, even if there is no accompanying text, the spectator can supply it, or, in other words, can "find the words through the pictures" or elicit the words from the pictures (ibid., 187).

In my research, I deal with cinematic metaphors that are derived from verbal units. Therefore, the process of recognizing such cinematic metaphors consists in the search of the cases of cinematic acting (or staging, performing) language items of different structural-semantic types (e.g., special words or terms, familiar literary tropes, phraseological units). One of the factors of recognizing verbally based cinematic metaphors is the oral or written form of representation of the verbal units underlying these cinematic metaphors in the analyzed comedy films. Another factor is deciphering

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the initial verbal source through the analysis of the specifics of constructing a cinematic metaphor in the comedy films, taking into account the various aspects, constituents, and devices involved in its composition.

Thus, as a point of departure in the process of recognizing cinematic metaphors, the verbal structure of the comedy films under consideration is explored, particularly the possible ways of staging or performing their verbal elements on the screen.

Stage II – Analyzing the cinematic performativity of the verbal unit that underlies a cinematic metaphor

At this stage of the analysis, the main objectives are not only to study how a verbal unit is staged in the comedy films under consideration, giving rise to a certain cinematic metaphor, but also to establish what modalities are involved in the process of translating this verbal unit into a rather complex multimodal form – a cinematic metaphor as a new perceptual whole. Since a cinematic metaphor is a type of multimodal metaphors, one of the questions that has to be considered first is what the term 'modality', or 'mode', means.

From Forceville's point of view (2009), when studying multimodal metaphors, 'modalities' or 'modes' should not be linked to the five senses (sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch), since such an approach allows arriving at a rather "crude" categorization of modes that can be presented in the following way: 1) the pictorial or visual mode; 2) the aural or sonic mode; 3) the olfactory mode; 4) the gustatory mode; and 5) the tactile mode. The main drawback of this perspective is that it is impossible to clearly distinguish between modalities or modes as, e.g., "the sonic mode under this description lumps together spoken language, music, and non-verbal sound" (ibid., 22). In his turn, the researcher claims that the list of modalities or modes should include, at least, the following ones: 1) pictorial signs; 2) written signs; 3) spoken signs; 4) gestures; 5) sounds; 6) music; 7) smells; 8) tastes; and 9) touch.

According to contemporary studies of multimodal metaphors, the relevance of these modalities may differ depending on the media environment. For example, Eggertsson and Forceville (2009: 430) state that "in film, the list of modes includes at least: visuals, written language, spoken language, sound, and music". Rohdin (2009: 404) also points out that the creation of multimodal metaphors in fiction films is based on the modalities or modes that include five different signs: pictorial signs, written signs, spoken signs, non-verbal sounds, and music. Carroll defines cinematic metaphors as composite figures constructed by a number of techniques. Analyzing cinematic verbal images as well as film metaphors, the researcher claims that they "can be propounded by every channel of articulation available to the medium including blocking, lighting, set design, camera placement, movement, and angulation as well as editing, special effects, and overall narrative organization" (1996: 189). Besides, video-image processing, costuming, and computer-generated imaging can also be added. The researcher regards the camera movement as one of the unique means for projecting verbal images in film. In particular, Carroll notes that "the variables of speed, direction and shape in camera movement can each be exploited to produce verbal images; Ophuls' circular movement in *Lola Motes*, for example, are 'encirclements' in the sense of entrapments" (ibid., 191).

In the book "Cinematic metaphor", the "CinMet procedure" is elaborated to study cinematic metaphors that are interpreted in terms of temporal gestalts. According to the conception presented in the book, "film images develop as movement patterns, combining different staging tools like sound composition, montage rhythm, camera movements, and acting into one temporal gestalt" (Cinematic metaphor 2018: 131). The authors claim that CinMet addresses temporal structures on the macro, meso, and micro levels and is applicable, in particular, to the analysis of cinematic metaphors arising in films. Of special significance for my research is the micro level since it intends to spell out the metaphoricity emerging in the film as well as the functioning of verbal metaphorical expressions. To analyze the specifics of cinematic metaphors emerging in the film medium, the book suggests the following core aspects of aesthetic expressive movement units which may be taken into account: camera; montage; sound;

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acting; mise-en-scène; choreography; image composition; dialogue and written words (Cinematic metaphor 2018: 236).

Resting on the approaches described above, I single out the following six parameters to explore the specifics of the cinematic staging of the verbal units that "trigger" cinematic metaphors in the comedy films under consideration:

1. The form of presenting the verbal unit in a comedy film: spoken or written; spoken and written; neither spoken, nor written.
2. The duration of staging the verbal unit that underlies a particular cinematic metaphor as well as its location in the temporal structure of the comedy film.
3. Verbal sequence: all the verbal means involved in staging the target verbal unit and forming the whole verbal structure of the cinematic metaphor; type of this verbal structure, e.g., dialogue, description, etc.).
4. Visuals construction: the description of mise-en-scène (time and place of action, characters (performers), set design, costumes and make-up, props and accessories), camera position and moves, montage, shot transitions, shooting angle, light values, contrast and color distribution, etc.
5. Sound design: music, sounds and noises, acoustic effects, sound volume and tempo.
6. Kinetics (or kinesthetic sequences): a wide range of exteroceptive and proprioceptive modalities characterizing the actors' playing, such as their movement and position in space, gestures, body movements, facial expressions, etc.

The study of these cinematic parameters discloses how different modalities interact in the process of the cinematic staging of verbal means and helps to understand which modalities are more relevant in this process. Thus, this study establishes **the multimodal strategy of creating cinematic metaphors in the comedy films** in question and their linguistically creative potential manifested in various linguistic transformations that the verbal units undergo while generating the cinematic metaphors and when serving as their core elements in the film medium.

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Stage III – Measuring the linguistically creative potential of the cinematic metaphor. This or that multimodal strategy determines a certain extent of transformation of the verbal unit in the cinematic metaphor it underlies. Therefore, this stage of the analysis focuses on the specifics of this transformation, which is analyzed in accordance with the following aspects: a) structural changes in the verbal unit; b) grammatical changes in the verbal unit; c) semantic changes in the verbal unit; and e) pragmatic changes in the use of the verbal unit that are evoked by the implementation of the comic through the transformations it underwent as part of a cinematic metaphor.

To sum up, the whole research procedure comprises three consecutive stages of analysis that reveal how verbal means of different structural-semantic types are staged (performed) in the comedy films under consideration, giving birth to the cinematic metaphors in which these verbal means change their initial linguistic properties and acquire novel, original features in order to produce a peculiar pragmatic and aesthetic effect in the comedy films in question.

4. Results and discussion: Multimodal strategies of cinematic performativity and linguistically creative potential of cinematic metaphors

The analysis has shown that cinematic metaphors in the comedy films under consideration may originate in the verbal units that can be grouped into the following two main classes:

1. Non-figurative verbal units, i.e. words, free word-combinations, and sentences. For example, in the comedy film "Семь нянек" ("Seven nannies"), the utterance of the word *выдох* (*exhalation* – 'the action of sending air out of one's lungs') is synchronized with the image of the city embankment in its foreground and a few houses and factory buildings in its background. The factory chimney stacks emitting steam and smoke stage figuratively the idea of the city's "*exhalation*", which gives rise to the cinematic metaphor of the city's vital activity, dependent (like any human being's vital activity) on the ability to breathe (see Fig. 1).

Выдох (Exhalation)
Figure 1. The cinematic metaphor based on the word *выдох (exhalation)*

2. Figurative verbal units, i.e. figurative lexis, widely-spread literary or verbal tropes, various phraseological and paremiological units. For example, in the comedy film "Полосатый рейс" ("Striped trip") Gleb Shuleikin (interpreted by Evgeniy Leonov) in his conversation with the cook (interpreted by Arkadiy Trusov) characterizes the chief mate Oleg Petrovich (interpreted by Ivan Dmitriev), saying that the latter is *серьезный товарищ, капитан-то против него пожиже будет* (*a serious guy, the captain is going to be "thinner" against him* /translated by the author/). This phase is being uttered at the moment when Shuleikin is stirring the simmering soup with a spoon and pouring the soup from the spoon into the pot, thus testing its thickness (cf., *thin soup*) (see Fig. 2, images 1 and 2).

(1) [Oleg Petrovich is] *A serious guy…* (2) *The captain is going to* ***be "thinner" against him***.

Figure 2. The cinematic metaphor based on the word combination *быть пожиже кого-либо* (fig. *be "thinner" against someone else*)

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In the Russian language, the word *жидкий* is used to metaphorically denote a person who is 'not of a firm character or strong will', who is indecisive. The cinematic staging of the metaphorical phrase *быть пожиже кого-либо* (lit. *to be more "liquid" than someone else*; ~ *to be "thinner" against someone else*) provides the emergence of a cinematic metaphor in which the protagonist's main traits of character, his essence, or human qualities as a personality are conceived in terms of the nutritional value of soup, of soup quality defined through its thickness.

Since the majority of verbally based cinematic metaphors are derived from phraseological and paremiological units, the elaborated research procedure and the results obtained in my work are further demonstrated on the basis of the second class of verbal units. The cinematic metaphors generated by the phraseological units *яблоку негде упасть* (lit. *there is no place for an apple to fall down* /translated by the author/) and *спустить кого-либо с лестницы* (lit. *to fling someone down the staircase* /translated by the author/) will serve as examples.

The phraseological unit *яблоку негде упасть* (lit. *there is no place for an apple to fall down*) means 'a place is so full of people or things that there is no free space at all'. It is used in the comedy film "Три плюс два" ("Three plus two"), which is about a holiday romance between two young men (interpreted by Evgeniy Zharikov and Andrey Mironov) and two young women (interpreted by Natalya Kustinskaya and Natalya Fateeva), respectively. In search of a place to spend their holidays far from overcrowded resorts, three young men (interpreted by Evgeniy Zharikov, Andrey Mironov, and Gennadiy Nilov) and two young women (interpreted by Natalya Kustinskaya and Natalya Fateeva) (these men and women did not previously know each other) happen to come to one and the same deserted beach on the coast of the Black Sea. Since the young people sought to flee overcrowded beaches, the film starts with a metaphorical presentation of what they tried to escape that is based on the cinematic staging of the phraseological unit *яблоку негде упасть*. It should be specially noted that this unit is not presented verbally in the film (either in oral or

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written form). The specifics of its staging are presented in Figure 3 by a series of movement images (images 1-7) that can be described in the following way:

(image 1): The staging begins by introducing an overcrowded resort beach.

(images 2 and 3): While a young man with a hat full of apples in his arm is going along the beach, one of the apples falls out of his hat.

(images 4-6): The apple is flying around, making several attempts to fall down.

(image 7): With nowhere to land on the ground, the green apple comes back into the young man's hat.

Figure 3. The cinematic metaphor based on the phraseological unit *яблоку негде упасть* (lit. *there is no place for an apple to fall down*)

The analysis of this phraseological unit's cinematic performance leads to the establishment of an appropriate multimodal strategy used to transfer this verbal item into a certain cinematic metaphor. The results of the analysis conducted in accordance with the six parameters (or aspects) singled out in my research are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Specifics of the cinematic staging of the phraseological unit *яблоку негде упасть* (lit. *there is no place for an apple to fall down*)

Parameters	***яблоку негде упасть*** (lit. *there is no place for an apple to fall down*)
1. The form of presenting the verbal unit in the comedy film (spoken or written; spoken and written; neither spoken, nor written)	Neither spoken, nor written. The phraseological unit is performed by audio-visual means.
2. The duration of staging the verbal unit that underlies the cinematic metaphor and **its location in the temporal structure** of the comedy film	The duration of the staging is 31 seconds. The performance period lasts from 02 min. 47 sec. to 03 min. 18 sec.
3. Verbal sequence (all the verbal means involved in performing the target verbal unit and constituting the whole verbal structure of the cinematic metaphor; type of the verbal structure, e.g., dialogue, description, etc.)	*[none]*
4. Visuals construction (the description of mise-en-scène (time and place of the action, characters (performers), set design, costumes and make-up, props and accessories), camera position and moves, montage, shot transitions, shooting angle, light values, contrast and colour distribution, etc.)	The action takes place in summer on one of the beaches of the seacoast in the daytime. The characters (performers): extra actors and one main actor. At the beginning, several shots with extras; a few quick shot transitions giving different perspectives of the place of action – an overcrowded beach. The medium shots of the actor going along the beach with the hatful of apples in his right arm. The full shots of the green apple floating in search of the place to land on the ground. The movement of the camera, which focuses on the apple, is synchronized both with the movement of the apple flying in the air at some distance ahead of the man and with the occasional short stops the apple makes (tracking shot). The set design: outdoor location shooting with a picturesque scenery of the sea and the sea coast with some beach facilities on it, and (in the background) the images of the mountains and the typical flora of the place – all accentuate the important plot point of the film. The bright natural sunlight creates a rather cheerful, playful, and careless atmosphere.

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5. Sound design (music, sounds and noises, acoustic effects, sound volume and tempo)	The cinematic staging of the phraseological unit as well as the unfolding of the cinematic metaphor it underlies are accompanied by lively music.
6. Kinetics (kinesthetic sequence) (a wide range of proprioceptive and exteroceptive modalities characterizing the acting, such as movement and position in space, gestures, body movements, facial expressions, etc.)	Extras represent numerous holidaymakers, engaged in different types of recreational activities on the beach, and, as opposed to them, one main actor – a vacationer, walking along the beach in search of a free space and carrying a hat full of apples in one arm. The man is walking rather slowly, stepping over the people sitting or lying everywhere on the beach; he is watching carefully his every step and the way his apple is flying; he has an intense facial expression. People on the beach are preoccupied with their own affairs (playing different games, reading, chatting, sleeping, sunbathing, eating, smoking, etc.) without paying attention to the young man who is trying to find some free space to join the holidaymakers. The green apple is flying smoothly through the air, making several attempts to land on the ground in different places, but fails and returns into the young man's hat.

The study of the cinematic staging of the phraseological unit *яблоку негде упасть* (lit. *there is no place for an apple to fall down*) has resulted in establishing particular cinematic techniques employed to synthesize the following three modalities (or modes) into a new complex perceptual whole: 1) the visual sequence, in which the camera movements, the shot transitions, the natural scenery, and the visual effects of the flying apple gain particular relevance; 2) the cheerful, lively music; 3) the kinesthetic sequence, in which the focus is on the young man walking along the beach, which is hampered by a large number of people sitting and lying all over on his way. All these cinematic techniques are indicative of **a specific multimodal strategy** that is applied for creating and unfolding the cinematic metaphor of "an overcrowded place (resort)" based on the phraseological unit *яблоку негде упасть*. Also noteworthy is the time when this cinematic metaphor emerges in the temporal structure of the comedy film "Three plus two". Emerging at the very beginning of the film, it depicts the motif that predetermines the casual acquaintance of the three young men and two young women, previously unacquainted, on one of the deserted spots of the seacoast and, therefore, serves as a core element in its storyline formation.

Of special interest further on is the linguistically creative potential of the analyzed cinematic metaphor that manifests itself in the ways and extent of modifications of its target verbal unit.

It should be specially noted that, within the framework of the cinematic metaphor, the phraseological unit *яблоку негде упасть* (lit. *there is no place for an apple to fall down*) undergoes particular structural, semantic, and pragmatic transformations. As a result of the cinematic staging, the apple acquires colouring (green) and is personified, i.e. it can fly, estimating the possibility of falling down in this or that place on the beach. This means that the base form of the phraseological unit changes from the three-component structure to the eight-component one: *яблоку негде упасть* > *зеленому летающему яблоку негде упасть на курортном пляже* (lit. *there is no place on the resort beach for the green flying apple to fall down*). The new extended structure of the phraseological unit is rather comic and intends to provoke laughter on the part of the film viewer. Its comic character is intensified by a specific type of sounding music accompanying the unfolding of the cinematic metaphor as well as by the behaviour of the holidaymakers, who seem to ignore a strange thing – the green apple flying in search of a place to land on the ground. Moreover, new semantic elements arise in the meaning of the phraseological unit in the process of its transformation into a new multimodal form – the cinematic metaphor. In this cinematic metaphor, *the green apple*, on the one hand, obtains the symbolic senses of temptation or a budding romantic relationship, and, on the other hand, becomes a symbol of discord between the three young men and the two young women who first took an oath of loyalty to their respective male and female friendship, but eventually broke it, giving way to the feeling of love that dawned on them.

As yet another example, it is worth considering the verbally based cinematic metaphor derived from the phraseological unit *спустить кого-либо с лестницы* (lit. *to fling someone down the staircase*) that denotes 'to force someone to leave one's house with disgrace by showing that (s)he is considered a dishonest and unworthy person'.

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This phraseological unit is used in the criminal comedy film "Джентльмены удачи" ("Gentlemen of fortune") narrating a story about a group of criminals who steal the priceless helmet of Alexander the Great during an archaeological expedition. In order to find out where they hide the helmet, the police ask an amiable, good-hearted kindergarten principal named Evgeniy Ivanovich Troshkin (interpreted by Evgeniy Leonov), who looks exactly like the cruel gang leader nicknamed Docent[1], to perform the undercover role of his "twin". Troshkin, disguised as Docent, comes home to one of Docent's accomplices (interpreted by Aleksey Vanin) to get the information about the helmet. The accomplice, however, no longer wants to have anything to do with Docent and flings him down the staircase. As a result of the cinematic staging of the phraseological unit *спустить кого-либо с лестницы* (lit. *to fling someone down the staircase*), the cinematic metaphor of "breaking off from crime" emerges. The way it unfolds in the comedy film under analysis is presented in Figure 4 (images 1-12) by a series of movement images that can be described as follows:

(image 1): The kindergarten principal Troshkin, disguised as Docent, goes up the stairs of a block of flats and rings the doorbell of the flat of one of Docent's former accomplices.

(image 2): The former accomplice opens the door and comes out onto the stairwell.

(images 3-9): The former accomplice and Docent have a tough talk in which the former accomplice behaves rather aggressively.

(images 10-12): The talk ends in the former accomplice taking the "gang leader" by the collar of his coat and pushing him down the staircase into the street.

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(3) The former accomplice: *Listen, Docent, did I tell you I'm done? Did I?*
(4) Docent: *Mmm…you did.*

(5) The former accomplice: *Did I say you better not come? Did I?*
(6) Docent: *Mmm... you did.*

(7) The former accomplice: *Did I tell you I'****d fling you down the staircase****? Did I?*
(8) Docent: *You did say THAT?*
The former accomplice: *Yes, I did.*

(9) The former accomplice: *Then, no offence!*

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Figure 4. Cinematic metaphor based on the phraseological unit *спустить с лестницы*

The next step in my research is the establishment of those cinematic techniques and devices that are employed to transform the phraseological unit *спустить кого-либо с лестницы* (lit. *to fling someone down the staircase*) into a new multimodal form in order to create the cinematic metaphor of "breaking off from crime". The data obtained are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Specifics of the cinematic staging of the phraseological unit *спустить с лестницы* (lit. *to fling someone down the staircase*)

Parameters	***спустить с лестницы*** (lit. *to fling someone down the staircase*)
1. The form of presenting the verbal unit in the comedy film (spoken or written; spoken and written; neither spoken, nor written)	The phraseological unit is spoken.
2. The duration of staging the verbal unit that underlies the cinematic metaphor and **its location in the temporal structure** of the comedy film	The duration of the staging is 61 seconds The performance period lasts from 44 min. 37 sec. to 45 min. 38 sec. The phraseological unit is pronounced on the 45th min. 28-29th sec.
3. Verbal sequence (all the verbal means involved in performing the target verbal unit and constituting the whole verbal structure of the cinematic metaphor; type of the verbal structure, e.g., dialogue, description, etc.)	The phraseological unit is used in a dialogue containing a number of prosodic, lexical, syntactical, and stylistic devices: expressive-emotive intonation modulations, a cluster of parallel syntactical constructions, elliptical sentences, lexical repetitions, the syntactical figures of anaphora and gradation, emotive use of interjections.
4. Visuals construction (the description of mise-en-scène (time and place of the action, characters (performers), set design, costumes and make-up, props and accessories), camera position and moves, montage, shot transitions, shooting angle, light	The action takes place in winter, in the evening, on the stairwell of a block of flats in the city. The characters (performers): the good-hearted kindergarten principal named Evgeniy Ivanovich Troshkin, disguised as the cruel gang leader nicknamed Docent (interpreted by Evgeniy Leonov), and one of Docent's former accomplices (interpreted by Aleksey Vanin).

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values, contrast and color distribution, etc.	The camera movement is synchronized with the characters' movements (tracking shooting): the camera moves from the left to the right when Troshkin goes from the staircase to the former accomplice's flat and the camera moves in the "reverse" direction, i.e. from the right to the left, when the characters go from the accomplice's flat to the place at the stairwell where the accomplice flings Troshkin down the staircase and out into the snow. The alteration of the medium, full, and extreme long shots creates the multifocal perspective of perceiving the unfolding event. The shooting angle: (mainly) the two-shot (both protagonists in profile) with the stairwell in the background. The set design: indoor location shooting – a block of flats, the stairwell. The artificial light effects together with the medium shots render the atmosphere of intensifying tension between the two protagonists produced by the aggression on the part of the former gang member and the growing sense of fear on the part of "the gang leader" Docent.
5. Sound design (music, sounds and noises, acoustic effects, sound volume and tempo)	The cinematic staging of the phraseological unit and the compositional deployment of the cinematic metaphor it underlies are accompanied by staccato music with a slightly accelerating tempo that ends with one abrupt high-pitch sound to accentuate the moment when Docent "flies out" of the block of flats into the street. Voice contrast: a confident, firm voice of the former gang member is opposed to a halting voice of the gang leader (produces a humorous effect).
6. Kinetics (kinesthetic sequence) (a wide range of proprioceptive and exteroceptive modalities characterizing the acting, such as movement and position in space, gestures, body movements, facial expressions, etc.)	The main technique is a kinesthetic contrast. The former accomplice, a tall athletic young man is opposed to "the gang leader" – Docent, a short stout middle-aged man. The face-to-face confrontation positions of the protagonists. The slow offensive ("attacking") movement of the former accomplice is opposed to the slow retreating ("defending") movement of "the gang leader". The confident gaze of the former accomplice at the "gang leader" is opposed to the frightened, indecisive look of the "gang leader". The active gesturing of the former accomplice (various head movements, hand gestures, touches, and grabs) is opposed to the almost non-gesticulating "gang leader's" behaviour (few gestures, barely noticeable nods of the head). The pronunciation of the phraseological unit *to fling you down the stairs* (see image 7) is synchronized with the right-hand gesture made by the former accomplice to indicate the stairs from which the kindergarten principal Troshkin, disguised as the gang leader, will be roughly thrown down in a few seconds.

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As the analysis has shown, the cinematic staging of the phraseological unit *спустить кого-либо с лестницы* (lit. *to fling someone down the staircase*) involves the application of certain cinematic techniques and devices, which results in synthesizing the following modalities (or modes) as a new perceptual whole: 1) the verbal sequence whose nucleus is the phraseological unit in question; 2) the visuals in which the place of action (the stairwell of a block of flats) and the camera movements are meant to highlight the focal aspects of the staging; 3) the staccato music sounds; 4) the kinesthetic sequence constructed on the contrast of the characters' movements and gesturing and on the employment of the hand gesture that points to the staircase and accompanies the speech presentation of the phraseological unit *спустить кого-либо с лестницы* (lit. *to fling someone down the staircase*). All these cinematic devices are integrated into **one multimodal strategy** used to create and unfold the cinematic metaphor of "completely breaking off from crime" in the comedy film "Gentlemen of fortune".

Of special interest is the linguistically creative potential of the cinematic metaphor under consideration. The multimodal strategy applied in its emergence modifies the phraseological unit that underlies this cinematic metaphor. Its two-component composition extends significantly by means of incorporating several new components, cf., *спустить кого-либо с лестницы* (lit. *to fling someone down the staircase*) > *спустить заведующего детского сада в роли уголовника-рецидивиста с лестницы жилого многоэтажного дома на улицу* (lit. *to fling the kindergarten principal disguised as a recidivist down the staircase of a block of flats into the street*). The structural modification evokes semantic transformations. The meaning 'to force someone to leave one's house with disgrace by showing that (s)he is considered a dishonest and unworthy person' acquires new semantic elements and changes into 'to force an exceptionally decent, honest, respectable person to leave one's house with great disgrace by showing that he is considered an extremely dishonest and unworthy person'. Besides, this man is not just thrown down the staircase. He has to "fly" through several flights of stairs until he reaches the ground floor, ending up outside. Arising within the framework of semantics, the paradoxical contradiction between 'the man's high moral qualities and his being treated in an extremely disgraceful manner' solves concrete pragmatic tasks – it produces a comic effect and triggers the viewer's laughter. The former accomplice's attempt of "completely breaking off from crime", personified in this situation by the "false" criminal boss, is illusive and, therefore, absurd, ridiculous, and amusing.

Thus, deploying the cinematic metaphor in the process of film viewing affects the phraseological unit underlying it in that it makes the latter change (to a certain extent) structurally, semantically, and pragmatically. This fact testifies to the linguistically creative possibilities of this cinematic metaphor. In general, my experience shows that cinematic figurativeness related to phraseological imagery is among the most stable and productive in cinematic comedy discourse.

5. Conclusion

In the present paper, the research focus was on the exploration of the verbal means that underlie cinematic metaphors as the pivotal constructive elements of the artistic medium of the cinematic discourse and, more specifically, of the Soviet comedy films released in the 1960s and the early 1970s.

According to the analysis conducted, cinematic metaphors have a long-standing research record. The paper traced the way of their historical development back to the theoretical writings of Sergey Eisenstein – a world-famous film director and theorist who was one of the founders of the cinematic metaphor theory. His works highlight a high relevance of the word as such and of language figurativeness in creating cinematic metaphors, particularly montage and visual metaphors that are presented in the film to achieve maximum psychological impact. As was shown, Eisenstein's approach opens up new areas for the exploration of cinematic performativity, which forms part and parcel of the modern film theory.

Taking into account the classical and contemporary works in the field explored, I attempted to elaborate a new approach to cinematic performativity, connecting it with the notion of linguistic creativity. In my research, cinematic performativity is understood as "staging" (or "performing", "acting") various verbal means in the film medium, which results in the emergence of cinematic metaphors that, in their turn, affect the verbal units that underlie their formation in a creative way.

The complex methodology developed in my research includes three consecutive stages of analysis based on the application of particular research methods: (I) recognizing (or reconstructing) cinematic metaphors in films; (II) analyzing the cinematic performativity of the verbal unit that underlies a cinematic metaphor; and (III) measuring the linguistically creative potential of the cinematic metaphor that manifests itself in the extent of transformations (or modifications) of the verbal unit that gave rise to this cinematic metaphor.

The application of this methodology to the analysis of popular Soviet comedy films let me draw the following main deductions.

The verbal units underlying the cinematic metaphors in the comedy films under consideration can be of two kinds: 1) non-figurative verbal units, i.e. words, free word-combinations, and sentences; 2) figurative verbal units, i.e. figurative lexis, widespread literary tropes, various phraseological and paremiological units. In accordance with the research findings, the figurative verbal units prove to be more productive in constructing cinematic metaphors than the non-figurative ones.

Staging the verbal sources of both kinds involves the employment of certain multimodal strategies that provide their transfer into the new – filmic – medium. These multimodal strategies consist in blending different modalities (or modes), in forming their peculiar combinations to create new intricately structured perceptual wholes – cinematic metaphors. As was confirmed, the rather frequent multimodal strategies,

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described in detail in the paper, are based on the synthesis of the following three or four modalities, correspondingly: 1) 'visual sequence – music – kinesthetic sequence' (the case study of the cinematic metaphor of "a overcrowded place (resort)" generated by the phraseological unit *яблоку негде упасть*); 2) 'verbal sequence – visual sequence – music – kinesthetic sequence' (the case study of the cinematic metaphor of "completely breaking off from crime" rooted in the phraseological unit *спустить с лестницы*). The research findings (presented in Tables 1-2) show that each modality consists of a number of sub-modalities whose relevance and prominence differs with regard to particular cinematic metaphors. For instance, the comparison of the kinesthetic sequences reveals a high degree of salience and significance of the protagonist's walking movement in making up the first cinematic metaphor under consideration and the use of the kinesthetic contrast in the second one.

The creation of cinematic metaphors evokes certain structural, grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic changes of the underlying phraseological units that can be regarded as manifestations of the linguistically creative power of these cinematic metaphors. New (original, unusual, extraordinary) forms of verbal units **serve the purpose of expressing in a (rather or very) creative way the ludic** and **the comic** as the fundamental ethical and aesthetic categories of cinematic art.

Notes

1. In Russian, the word *docent* is used to denote 'a member of the teaching staff in higher school immediately below professorial rank'. In the film, this word used as a nickname (*Docent*) implies the gang leader's special traits of character.
2. All the examples and titles in the text have been translated by the author.

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Résumé

The paper addresses one of the central problems in the interdisciplinary field of film and language studies that concerns the role of language in constructing and construing the cinematic figurativeness explored here in terms of the notions of "cinematic performativity" and "linguistic creativity". As a starting point, the issue of the word in the cinematic art is revisited. Special attention is paid to Eisenstein's contribution to the development of a trend which views language and language figurativeness as one of the crucial driving forces in creating cinematic metaphors (moving or movement images aimed at eliciting the viewer's strongest emotional reactions). Eisenstein's conception introduces the idea of cinematic performativity being rooted in speech sound. Following the classical as well as contemporary works in the field explored, the present research sets out to elaborate the theory of the integrative study of cinematic performativity and linguistic creativity that gives insights into their interrelatedness in constructing cinematic imagery. This theory is developed and tested on the basis of a certain type of fiction films – popular Soviet comedy films of the 1960s and the early 1970s. The films are explored by means of a complex methodology that comprises three consecutive stages of analysis: (I) identifying cinematic metaphors in the comedy films under study; (II) analyzing the cinematic performativity of the verbal units that underlie the identified cinematic metaphors; and (III) measuring the linguistically creative potential of the given cinematic metaphors. The research results in establishing two types of verbal units that underlie the cinematic metaphors of the comedy: non-figurative verbal units and figurative verbal units. The present paper demonstrates that both types of verbal units become part of the performance in the analyzed comedy films by means of particular multimodal strategies that account for their creative modifications giving rise to particular cinematic metaphors and construing the comic as a key ethical and aesthetic category of cinematic art.

Key words: cinematic discourse, cinematic performativity, cinematic metaphor, linguistic creativity, phraseological unit, multimodal strategy, comedy film.

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