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# APPROACHING "THE END": METAPHORS OF *OLD AGE* IN THE LITERARY DISCOURSE

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**Abstract:** This paper aims to examine metaphorical conceptualisation of OLD AGE in the literary discourse. Adopting the interdisciplinary research perspective, the study reveals literary discursive models of OLD AGE conceptualization, providing the description of the new reality of old age not only as a biological phenomenon, but also as a social construct. Moreover, the paper characterizes the most common conceptual metaphors of OLD AGE.

**Key words:** concept, conceptual metaphor, metonymy, metaphorical conceptualization, literary discourse, gerontology, OLD AGE.

## 1. Introduction

The issue of population ageing has received much attention in recent academic studies, such as psychology (Abrams et al. 2006; Lamont et a. 2015), sociology (Stončikaite 2019), anthropology, and cultural gerontology (Baltes & Smith 2003; Twigg & Martin 2015), etc. The topicality of such works is quite obvious, since with the increase in life expectancy over the last fifty years, old age is said to have obtained new interpretations from different perspectives (e.g., New definition for old age 2013). However, how we approach old age is also greatly influenced by cultural and individual perceptions. This feature predetermines the need for the interdisciplinary analysis of old age and the ageing self.

As a socio-cultural product, language is influenced by two dominant discourses of ageing. Firstly, old age has become medicalized and the metaphor of decline has had a strong impact on society (see, e.g., Abrams et al. 2006; Lamont et al. 2015). The youth-centered approach with its anti-ageing stories has been creating a growing pressure on older adults continually with the purpose to induce elderly people to adjust to societal demands (e.g., Gullette 2018). Secondly, the idealistic notion of "successful ageing" is also getting habitual, which is observed in a trendsetting tendency to ignore the physical dimensions and focus on preserving vitality, energy, youthfulness, and social involvement of the elderly (Stončikaite 2019). As a result, a positive view of old age translates to transformation and continued self-realisation, rather than decline.

This research **aims** at revealing what old age is, and how ageing is conceptualized. The focus is made on the important aspects and changes in social and cultural values that shape age perception and age identity through altering the experience of chronological age in the Anglophone society. In this paper, I outline two approaches to define old age "from within", as approached by the ageing self, as well as "from the outside", i.e. as construed by young people. The paper addresses the abovementioned issues from the perspective of sociolinguistic ageism and stereotypical prejudices as encoded in the linguistic units that are used to portray not only an elderly person, but also the attitude to later life in society.

Further, conceptual metaphors of OLD AGE are analysed in Section 2. Materials and methods. These metaphors represent complex culturally embedded conceptual structures, such as systems of values, stereotypes, and perceptions of people. Metaphors of aging prove to be determined by generally established knowledge and perceptual experience. As to the theoretical tenets, this research draws on pioneering works in Conceptual metaphor theory (hereinafter referred to as CMT) (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 1980; 1999; Lakoff & Turner 1989), as well as more recent studies into the problems of figurative ways of conceptualisation, such as metaphor and metonymy (e.g., Benczes 2002; Gibbs et al. 2010; Kövecses 2010; 2018; 2020).

As defined by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 10), metaphor as a cognitive process "allows us to comprehend one aspect of a concept", the target domain (hereinafter referred to as TD), "in terms of another", the source domain (hereinafter referred to as SD). Gibbs et al. claim that "Metaphor, far from being an ornamental aspect of language, is integral to the way people speak and think about a wide variety of human events and abstract concepts" (2010: 680). Conceptual metaphor (hereinafter referred to as CM) is also interpreted "as a major enabler and perpetuator of socio-political reasoning, beliefs, plans, actions, attitudes, etc." (Tinceva 2020: 153). Hence, the focus of attention in the present paper is on the metaphorical conceptualization of OLD AGE interpreted according to the CMT theory capable of providing an adequate and reliable explanation for the phenomenon of "old age" as such. In line with Twigg and Martin, the conceptualization of "the subjectivity of older people, the width and depth of their lives" is placed at the forefront of analysis (2015: 2).

## **2. Material and methods**

The paper aims to explore the conceptualization of OLD AGE in the literary discourse. The **material** for the analysis is selected from the novel by Diana Athill "Somewhere towards the end" (hereinafter referred to as STE), a winner of the 2009 National book critics circle award in autobiography and a New York Times bestseller. The book is about ageing and old age with its "illness and declining capabilities", as critics claim (Whitehorn 2008). Athill portrays the condition of being old: the losses and the gains that age brings, and the courage required to face death "and she seems to face up calmly to the fact that her own end can't be all that far off" (ibid). Drawing on the thesis about the interrelation between language and culture, I hypothesize that the concept OLD AGE is verbalized by a set of both culturally and individually loaded representations. This predetermines the need for the interdisciplinary analysis, integrating the **methods** of conceptual analysis and discourse analysis. Consequently, old age might be approached from multiple perspectives, not only as a biological phenomenon with psychological and social consequences, but also as a sociocultural and subjective phenomenon. More specifically, the paper considers OLD AGE through the notion of

metaphorical conceptualization. Accordingly, linguistic expressions tend to disclose how OLD AGE is constructed conceptually. In this research, I analyse the use of OLD AGE metaphors within the framework of CMT (Lakoff 1987; Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999) as its foundation and classify them into categories according to different SDs. The main focus is on the qualitative analysis of the example utterances, with quantitative measures used mostly to determine to what degree particular features may be considered significant.

The **methodology** employed for metaphors detection in texts is the metaphor identification procedure (Pragglejaz group 2007). The study focuses on the metaphorical SDs most frequently employed by the author. This is in line with the Pragglejaz group which suggests that "Metaphor scholars [...] may profitably use [...] the step associated with defining basic meaning, to identify the source and target domains underlying metaphorical words in context" (ibid., 34). It must be emphasized that this research does not account for all the OLD AGE CMs. Conversely, it aims to define the most common tendencies, to explore the metaphorical conceptualization of OLD AGE. As a result, underlying major themes and mappings are discussed that help to define some distinct tendencies towards the evolvement of negative, neutral, or positive connotations of the most frequently used SDs. Also, research results illustrate the ways in which the writer creatively reimagines conventional associations about old age. Contextual-interpretative analysis facilitates the interpretation of nominative units verbalizing the corresponding metaphorical conceptual models.

### **3. Conceptual metaphors: Some theoretical considerations**

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3), our conceptual systems are structured by CMs, we tend to think and act metaphorically. Indeed, metaphors are conceptual in nature. Kövecses claims that "we conceive of certain things in metaphorical ways, [...] our conceptual system governs how we act in the world, therefore we often act metaphorically" (2018: 127). As emphasised by the author, "most linguistic metaphors prove to be part of native speakers' mental lexicon" (ibid.).

CM is seen as a fundamental mechanism of human mind. Linguistic manifestation of CMs is based on a set of similarities and can also employ similes using connectors like, as, etc. (see, e.g., Lakoff & Turner 1989). Such metaphors are believed to be "inseparable from the circumstances in which they are uttered, and thus they are always inflected by discursive conventions and ideological commitments" (Eubanks 1999: 422).

Lakoff and Turner assume that CMs are "central to thought, and therefore to language" (1980: 59), which means that metaphors structure both thinking and knowledge. They believe that people typically conceptualise the "nonphysical" in terms of "physical" (ibid.). As a matter of fact, CMs are said to be drawn from collective cultural understanding, they have eventually become linguistic conventions (Nordquist 2019). Clarifying the difference between linguistic metaphors, on the one hand, i.e. linguistic expressions used metaphorically, and CMs, on the other, Kövecses proves that the latter refer to certain conceptual patterns we rely on in our daily living, certain kinds of "reality construction" (2018: 127). As suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), linguistic metaphors serve as evidence of the embodied nature of our conceptual organization. Metaphorical associations are based on particular features shared by two entities: the source and the target.

Furthermore, Kövecses highlights the standard definition of CMs as a "systematic set of correspondences, or mappings, between two domains of experience" (2018: 125). The researcher also defines metaphorization as a cognitive process by which "a set of mappings" is established between source and target conceptual-semantic domains, where the SD is "typically more concrete or physical and more clearly delineated" (Kövecses 2010: 15), while the TD is "more abstract and diffuse and lacks clear delineation" (ibid., 20). According to Morozova, conceptual metaphorization is not only the process, but also the result, when "conceptual structures of the source domain are mapped onto conceptual structures of the target domain, bringing with them a range of entailed attributes" (2017: 261). The target and source of metaphor can also be

explained in terms of image schemas, i.e. abstract, preconceptual structures that emerge from our recurrent experiences of the world (see, e.g., in Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987) that have different degrees of complexity and are abstracted by the human mind through interaction with the experiential world. As proved by cognitive theorists (e.g., Eubanks 1999), image schemas can either engage in mapping as indivisible wholes or lend to mapping their particular features and components. Developing these ideas, Grady (2007) assumes that the schema of the source is simpler, less abstract and more clearly structured than that of the target. Similarly, Kövecses claims that image-schemas "can serve as the basis of other concepts", highlighting that "the motion schema underlies the concept of a journey" (2010: 37-38). The motion schema has parts (initial point, movement, and end) which correspond to the point of departure, the travel, and the destination in journeys. In this way, most apparently non-image-schematic concepts (such as JOURNEY) seem to have an image-schematic basis. The TDs of many structural metaphors can then be seen as image-schematically structured by their source (such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY). Moreover, Kövecses regards the mappings as systematic since they "capture a coherent view" of SD that is mapped onto TD (2018: 126). Such mappings are supposed to bring into correspondence the elements and the relations between the SD with elements and the relations in the TD, creating a particular conception of TD relative to the view of SD (ibid.).

Since metaphorization is based on diverse associative connections in the human mind, metaphors usually vary due to different social, cultural, and individual factors. Moreover, target concepts often prove to be rather complex, which makes it necessary to apply different source concepts. Such sets of sources mapped onto one and the same target in a piece of discourse are defined as the range of metaphor (e.g., Kövecses 2010). In a more recent paper, Kövecses assumes that metaphorical conceptualization leads to creation of a certain metaphorical reality, which becomes especially evident when "two or more source domains are used to conceptualize a target domain" (2018: 127). Coll-Florit and Climent also claim that studying CMs can help "detect implicit ideas and assumptions about the concept in discourse", which might be hidden and not

explicitly expressed (2019: 44). Consequently, the use of different CMs to refer to a single domain may reveal different conceptualizations or ways of understanding the domain, as well as creative associations of the author. Also, Grady (2000) discerns gaps or hidden features, that seem to be irrelevant in the process of a particular metaphorical mapping.

It has become commonly accepted that a particular TD is seen in a different way whenever a new SD is applied to it (e.g., Kövecses 2010). This is based on the polysemy of words and several basic senses of words. Moreover, the CMT can help clarify the choice of certain vocabulary in certain contexts, and understand both conventional and figurative expressions (Kövecses 2018). Accordingly, the mappings are regarded as selective. This means that, depending on the context, a specific type of SD is selected to conceptualise a TD.

#### **4. Results and discussion**

Research results prove that old age as a complex notion has to be considered in relation to the socio-cultural context, its values, and individual perception. In this section the definitions of old age are considered in the interdisciplinary perspective with the focus on different discursive models of ageing conceptualisation, as well as metaphorical construal of the OLD AGE concept.

##### *4.1 The challenges of (re)defining OLD AGE*

As previously discussed in one of my earlier works, "definitions of old age are not consistent from the standpoints of biology, demography, employment, etc." (Holyk 2018b: 162). Gerontologists usually begin by defining population in terms of chronological age. In anthropological and gerontological studies, old age is commonly founded on the age index, i.e. the number of years lived by the person. However, it seems true that the definitions of old age are no longer based only on chronological age, but rather on social, economic, and personal criteria. Indeed, delimiting old age has become a highly debated issue. Baars highlights that "One of the main paradoxes

we are confronted with is that all human beings are constantly aging, but at a certain moment in life one is labelled aged or older (older than whom?) and life beyond that point is labelled aging" (2010: 4-6).

The textual material clearly displays two main approaches to defining the time when one becomes old. The first one, "from within", delimits old age as seen by the ageing self and sets the chronological beginning of it at 71, which means "*Being 'over seventy' is being old*":

(1) "*All through my sixties I felt I was still within hailing distance of middle age, not safe on its shores, perhaps, but navigating its coastal waters. My seventieth birthday failed to change this because I managed scarcely to notice it, but my seventy-first did change it. Being 'over seventy' is being old: suddenly I was aground on that fact and saw that the time had come to size it up*" (STE, p. 13).

As can be seen in example (1), the protagonist reflects on her ageing process and describes the fuzzy period between middle age and old age. She mentions the subtle changes, which she "*managed scarcely to notice*". However, the age of 71 is a special milestone when there comes an abrupt awareness that one can hardly avoid this state. This confession might serve as a relevant proof that older adults are commonly hesitant to think of themselves as "older" or admit the fact of ageing. Their chronological age fails to capture how old they actually feel as they mainly wish to preserve their "middle-aged" status. Demographically speaking, old age index 65+, commonly applied in the majority of the Western world, seems to have lost its validity in the society where people who are socially, intellectually, or economically active are no longer regarded as old.

An opposite tendency to ageing is seen "from the outside", when one is still rather young. An 18-year-old girl considers the onset of old age once you turn thirty. For her, ageing is perplexing and scary, it means failure, both physical and emotional, which is expressed by attributes *anxious* and *wrinkled*:

(2) *"It will be all right for quite a time; I thought. 'He will go on coming back to me while we are like we are now. But when I get old – when I'm thirty' – and I saw a flash of my own face, anxious and wrinkled under grey hair – 'then it will be dangerous, then he could fall in love with one of them"* (ibid., 19).

This context evidently conceptualizes one of the common prejudiced perceptions of elderhood at a young age. The age of thirty seems quite frightening for the protagonist, and the chronological limit is apprehended as the beginning of old age by a young girl, as she imagines her unattractive ageing self. In this fragment, old age is conceptualized in cosmetic markers, such as wrinkles and grey hair, yet it is also a period of emotional instability, and the age of anxiety. Ageing is viewed as a dangerous process, which can lead to unpredictable life consequences, to loneliness, and the betrayal of the dearest.

Another excerpt also portrays the perception of old age by a young girl (*I was eighteen or nineteen*) who is truly astonished to learn that the couple who are in their forties (*forty-nine* and *mid-forties*) get married and seem to be happy with this. She believes that they are too old to start a family. Thus, another age index used to conceptualize the coming of old age in the novel is forties (*forty-nine* or *mid-forties*):

(3) *"When I was eighteen or nineteen, we were all surprised to learn that a man who lived near us had got married. It had been assumed that he was a confirmed bachelor because he had reached the age of (I think) forty-nine [...]. People were pleased for him when they learnt that he had found a wife, a suitable woman in her mid-forties [...]. I watched them take to the floor together, two small, sandy-haired, plain but cheerful-looking old people – no, more than cheerful-looking, rapturously happy"* (ibid., 85-86).

Thus, the understanding of ageing proves to be greatly influenced by societal norms. The prevalence of negative social stereotypes makes old age "a frightening perspective", the period of weakening and depression, the state of decline, especially for the younger generation. However, as seen by the elderly themselves, old age is not

a purely biological phenomenon, it is characterised by the desire of infinite youth and longer life. Discursive conceptualisation of OLD AGE is no longer based on chronological markers only, rather on socio-cultural collective and individual experiences, and shared values of that generation.

#### 4.2 Metaphorical conceptualization of OLD AGE: A case study

The metaphorical reality of the OLD AGE concept in the present paper is represented with a number of structural metaphors employing the SDs of PHYSICAL/MENTAL STATE, JOURNEY, DEATH, WAR/BATTLE, LOSS, ANIMAL, OTHER, FOOD, where the abstract concept of OLD AGE is embodied in terms of more concrete concepts. Also, the SDs of CONTAINER and BUILDING are seen to conceptualise OLD AGE as ontological metaphors to encode the understanding of old age with regard to entities. Finally, the orientational metaphor involving spatial relationships OLD AGE IS DOWN is observed to provide data concerning the conceptual structure of the socially, individually, and culturally significant notion of old age (see Table 1).

Table 1. Metaphorical reality of OLD AGE

	Source domains	The number of examples
<b>Structural metaphors</b>	JOURNEY	15
	WAR/BATTLE	9
	DEATH	10
	PHYSICAL/MENTAL STATE	82
	LOSS	14
	ANIMAL	2
	OTHER	3
	FOOD	1
<b>Ontological metaphors</b>	CONTAINER	4
	MATERIAL OBJECT	3
	BUILDING/STRUCTURE	2
<b>Oriental metaphor</b>	DOWN	2

One of the most important source domains is the one constructing OLD AGE and AGEING as part of a JOURNEY. The reader can easily observe it from the very beginning, in the title of the novel "Somewhere towards the end". Represented with the help of the linguistic metaphor, it underlies the conceptual transfer with the particular emphasis on the resemblance-based associations of the author. This domain derives from the LIFE

IS A JOURNEY complex metaphor as its generic-level metaphor, being one of the best-studied metaphors (Grady et al. 1996; Lakoff & Johnson 1999). In this way, the research relies on the theoretical distinction between generic-level and specific-level metaphors (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 80-81). Generally speaking, the JOURNEY domain might be considered as neutral. However, in conceptualization of the ageing process, this domain's neutral semantics gradually acquires negative characterization:

(4) *"All through my sixties I felt I was still within hailing distance of middle age, not safe on its shores, perhaps, but navigating its coastal waters. Being 'over seventy' is being old: suddenly I was aground on that fact and saw that the time had come to size it up"* (STE, p. 13).

Being middle-aged feels rather comfortable for the protagonist, which is represented by means of the lexemes "hailing", i.e. welcoming, though "not safe". Life is portrayed as the sea, which, in its turn, leads to LIFE IS THE SEA metaphor. Accordingly, the process of human ageing is conceptualized by Athill as a sea journey, including sailing and reaching the shallow waters (i.e. *being aground*). Being middle-aged is still "navigating", i.e. moving, living your life to the full. However, being "over seventy" means reaching one's final destination. This correlates with the dictionary meaning of the lexeme "old age" as "*the last stage of the human life cycle*" (LDCE). Thus, the SD of JOURNEY gets negative characterisation, since this one is a journey to the inevitable "end".

A similar CM can be exemplified in the following passages with the help of linguistic metaphors describing the manner of travelling, such as *sail into one's eighties, move into one's seventies, go into advanced age, move on to some plane, reach one's birthday, moving through advanced old age*. As a result, ageing can be conceptualized as a journey by sea (*sail, navigate*), or by air (*move on to another plane*), overland journey (*downhill journey*), or even a journey along the river (*parts of the broad, many-coloured river*):

(5) "*Later I came to know a former lover of his, the Austrian painter Marie-Louise Motesiczky, a woman who sailed into her eighties gracefully [...]" (STE, p. 6).*

(6) "*[...] the most obvious thing about moving into my seventies was the disappearance of what used to be the most important thing in life[...]" (ibid., 15).*

(7) "*So here I go, into advanced old age, towards my inevitable and no longer distant end, without the 'support' of religion and having to face the prospect ahead in all its bald reality" (ibid., 53).*

(8) "*Of course, closely interwoven with what happened yesterday, being simply a continuation of the same process: only those old people afflicted with senile dementia move on to another plane" (ibid., 59).*

By applying the principles of CMT, it can be proved that the metaphor is grounded in our physical experience, in this case, it is the experience of taking a journey. Accordingly, ageing, similar to journey, has its beginning, when one has *long years ahead*, it also has its parts with unpredictable experiences – *parts of the broad, many-coloured river*, and, finally, death, which is also seen as a final part of this journey, its symbolic "end":

(9) "*Whereas if, flitting in and out of our awareness, there are people who are beginning, to whom the years ahead are long and full of who knows what, it is a reminder – indeed it enables us actually to feel again – that we are not just dots at the end of thin black lines projecting into nothingness, but are parts of the broad, many-coloured river teeming with beginnings, ripenings, decaying, new beginnings – are still parts of it, and our dying will be part of it just as these children's being young is, so while we still have the equipment to see this, let us not waste our time grizzling" (ibid., 84). Also, such journeys can differ by the speed at which you are travelling:*

(10) "*Because not everyone ages at the same rate [...]" (ibid., 115).*

Undeniably, OLD AGE is a concept that involves various activities, phenomena, and objects. Ageing is like a long path with many experiences on one's way. When people

have gone far enough (*over eighty-nine years*), they have a lot (*a landscape*) to recollect:

(11) "*It seems to me that anyone looking back over eighty-nine years ought to see a landscape pockmarked with regrets*" (ibid., 161).

Based on the shared structure, the JOURNEY domain functions as a SD for the OLD AGE domain. The author uses the language of journey when she describes her experience of ageing and perceptions of old age:

(12) "[...] you have moved on and stopped wanting what youth wants. And that was the end of that stage" (ibid., 24).

Hence, drawing on Kövecses (2018:126), the following sets of mappings in AGEING IS A JOURNEY metaphorical conceptualization can be identified:

the beginning of the journey → the beginning of old age

the end of the journey → the end of old age/life

the speed of the journey → the rate of ageing

the parts of the journey → the stages of ageing

the itinerary of the journey → the landscape of ageing

Another structural metaphor AGEING IS WAR/BATTLE can be related to the generic-level metaphor LIFE IS A STRUGGLE/WAR. War terms refer to the words or expressions used in military situations or conflicts, such as *wartime fling*, *frontier*, *attack*, *take refuge*, *go against*, *kill*, *force*, *push*, etc. Using the expressions from war terminology to talk about ageing is not accidental; it might be the result of the conceptual network of BATTLE, which is commonly projected against the LIFE domain and characterizes the concept of HUMAN LIFE in general, and OLD AGE as its particular stage, especially in terms of mental conflicts. Such mappings are usually based on individual experience and knowledge:

(13) "*I was his wartime fling, or folly [...], while she was his good and blameless wife who had just become the mother of their first child [...]*" (STE, p. 24).

(14) "*The last man in my life as a sexual being, who accompanied me over the frontier between late middle-age and being old, was Sam*" (ibid., 27).

(15) "[...] *since the old age and death of my closest friend has taught me how much it costs to employ skilled home nursing, or to take refuge in a 'home' with staff as kind and understanding as they are efficient*" (ibid., 53).

(16) "*but she had a daughter to help her through it at home and that daughter was able to report that the attack which finally killed her was a good deal less disagreeable than some of those that she survived*" (ibid., 71).

(17) "[...] *he was finally forced to recognize that his appetite had gone and that he was feeling dreadfully cold*" (ibid., 72).

(18) "*It was ridiculous to have known nothing about her until now, but what a wonderful discovery to be pushed, or led, into in one's eighty-ninth year!*" (ibid., 133).

In terms of war, we generally imply the existence of at least two opposing parties who fight with each other for the territory, wealth, power, etc. The objective of war in the process of ageing is not only to confront the rest of people around you, usually younger, but also yourself, your ageing body, which becomes your own enemy:

(19) "*I know, the body does go against things. You can't do anything about that*" (ibid., 34).

Ageing, thus, turns to be a violent battle with yourself, with the inevitability of the "end":

(20) "*My second object lesson was the Bulgarian-born, Nobel-Prize-winning writer, Elias Canetti, whose defiance of death was more foolish than Jean's dismay*" (ibid., 6).

Furthermore, other SDs employed for OLD AGE metaphoric conceptualization also carry negative connotations. This means that in different contexts the semantics of the lexeme "old age" is made up of elements from different conceptual domains. Thus, for example, a commonly observed structural CM OLD AGE IS DEATH is constructed by such

linguistic metaphors as *to approach death, to fall away, the sooner-rather-than-later inevitable event, the death is up, to be gone, to sign off*:

(21) "*The individual just has to be born, to develop to the point at which it can procreate, and then to fall away into death to make way for its successors, and humans are no exception whatever they may fancy*" (ibid., 9).

(22) "*I knew that this sooner-rather-than-later inevitable event would be the timely conclusion of a long and good life, not a tragedy*" (ibid., 58).

(23) "*Given the physical nature of the act of dying, one has to suppose that most of the pithy ones are apocryphal, but still one likes to imagine oneself signing off in a memorable way*" (ibid., 182).

Death is thus conceived as unavoidable for the elderly, it is regarded as logical and natural for people to die because of their age, simply because they are old. However, "death" is known to be a taboo word in many cultures. As Uberman claims, "the problem of the end of life, passing, and burying the dead, has always been a cultural taboo and the sacred in western civilizations" (2016: 172). The word "death" is replaced with euphemistic nominative units, used to conceal otherwise difficult, sad and unpleasant things, those that people are afraid of (e.g., *last words; the occasion on which I have to say it; signing off*). The linguistic manifestation of OLD AGE IS DEATH CM employs euphemistic units, such as *this sooner-rather-than-later inevitable event, the end* or the act of dying is verbalized with metaphoric expressions *to sign off* or *to be gone*.

One of the most significant SDs employed in the process of metaphorical conceptualization of OLD AGE is that of PHYSICAL/MENTAL STATE. This group is mainly represented explicitly (e.g., *feel, look*, etc.):

(24) "*I might not look, or even feel, all that old*" (STE, p. 15).

As shown by the data in Table 1, the reference to the psycho-emotional state of the ageing individual is the most common and observed in 82 fragments. This complex domain is specified with a number of correlates (see Fig. 1).

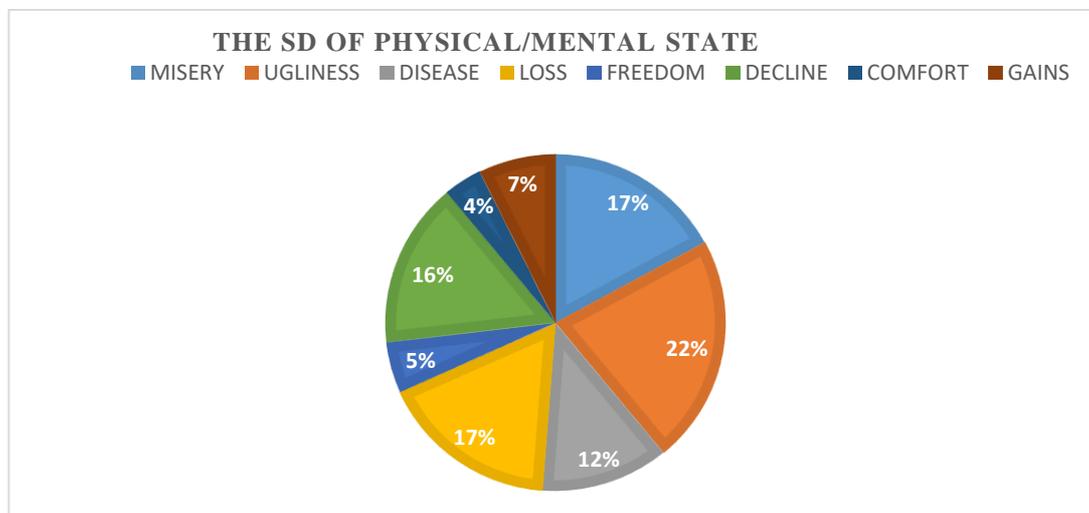


Figure 1. The correlates in the SD of PHYSICAL/MENTAL STATE

For example, the specificational metaphor OLD AGE IS MISERY is used in 17% of textual fragments to conceptualize such cognitive features of OLD AGE concept as the prevalence of negative emotions and feelings (depression, misery, resentment, sadness, grief, fear, hatred, etc.). The elderly experience these feelings because of their lost opportunities, past youth, a sense of mortality:

(25) "*She never in fact said 'I was a bit sad, well 'very' about being old, but no doubt she would have done if she had not hated and feared it too much to speak of it' (ibid., 4-5).*

(26) "*What filled him as death approached was not fear of whatever physical battering he would have to endure (in fact there was not, at the end, any of that), but grief at having to say goodbye to what he could never have enough of' (ibid., 74).*

(27) "*Those last miserable weeks or months (may it not be years!) when you are unable to look after yourself are so disagreeable anyway that it hardly matters how they are spent" (ibid., 75-76).*

(28) "*It's not surprising, perhaps, that we easily slide into a general pessimism about life, but it is very boring and it makes dreary last years even drearier' (ibid., 83-84).*

(29) "When you begin discussing old age you come up against reluctance to depress either others or yourself, so you tend to focus on the more agreeable aspects of it: coming to terms with death, the continuing presence of young people, the discovery of new pursuits and so on" (ibid., 115).

These emotions appear as a reaction of an individual who has witnessed the death of a family member or a close friend, or they might result from an abrupt change in social roles, such as retirement, or loss of autonomy, inability to take care of oneself, etc. Social scientists (e.g., Erickson 1997) believe that the sense of mortality precipitates the final life crisis. That might be explained by a number of reasons, but, as agreed on by many gerontologists, the most evident of them is that the attitudes towards old age and the aged are predominantly negative, because "successful ageing means not ageing and not being old" (Calasanti & King 2005: 7). Accordingly, the feeling of fear is believed to always accompany the process of ageing, making it a frightening prospect:

(30) "[...] there's nothing like a whiff of death in the air to intensify desire, the essence of life [...]" (STE, p. 20).

The ageing process is rather painful, since old age comes with physical decline and bodily changes, which not only present psychological suffering for the individuals themselves, but provoke a negative attitude in the rest of society. However, ageing proves to be even more painful for women. This results in metaphorization of OLD AGE through the SD of UGLINESS, which involves bodily decline accompanying old age and carries strong negative connotations:

(31) "Until quite recently they could be a danger, because women who had always worn a lot of make-up tended to continue to do so, blind to the unfortunate effect it could have on an inelastic and creepy skin" (ibid., 14).

(32) "Judging by the skimpiness of my own hair in old age, which comes from her side of the family, she had good reason for adhering to that particular fashion" (ibid.).

(33) "It is unlikely that anyone else will notice that the nose on an old face is red and shiny or the broken veins on its cheeks are visible [...]" (ibid., 15).

(34) "*Luckily today's cosmetics are much better made and more subtle in effect, so that an ancient face that would look absurd if visibly painted can be gently coaxed into looking quite naturally better than it really is*" (ibid., 14).

Examples 33 and 34 demonstrate metonymic conceptualization of OLD AGE, namely OLD (ANCIENT) FACE IS OLDER PERSON, i.e. PART OF HUMAN BODY STANDS FOR A HUMAN. Such conceptualizations are more emotionally coloured and appeal to the psycho-emotional sphere of the readers, thus contributing to a negative portrayal of OLD AGE.

Critical examination of some of the metaphors associated with OLD AGE has demonstrated that in her discursive practices Athill associates later life with disease and physical decline. The components UGLINESS, DISEASE, DECLINE prove to be the most representative and are observed in the majority of textual fragments (22%, 12%, 16% respectively (see Fig. 1). The assumptions for such metaphorizations are explicit, they are based on general images of old age and draw on the prevailing bio-medical approach to ageing (discussed in my earlier works, e.g., Holyk 2018a: 10). This might involve battle-mentalities to address ageing (e.g., AGEING IS A BATTLE metaphor), when it is seen as a disease that has to be prevented, treated, remedied, yet tends to be incurable. In such cases, OLD AGE IS DECLINE, OLD AGE IS A DISEASE, OLD AGE IS PHYSICAL/MENTAL HARM metaphors are used to map the literal meanings, such as *deaf, blind, rheumatic hand, feebleness, painful feet, ailments of old age, unwieldy body, the flesh is weak, dementia, incurable, dwindling energy, bedridden feebleness, remedy*, etc.:

(35) "*By the time she was ninety-two, [...] she was deaf, blind in one eye and depending on a contact lens for sight in the other, so arthritic in her hips that she could hardly walk, and in her right arm that it was almost useless*" (STE, p. 54).

(36) "*My maternal grandmother had to endure several months of distressing bedridden feebleness owing to prolonged heart failure [...]*" (ibid., 71).

(37) "*but its owner certainly will, and will equally certainly feel a lift in her spirits when this depressing sight is remedied*" (ibid., 15).

(38) "Dwindling energy is one of the most boring things about being old" (ibid., 132).

(39) "He was eighty-five. He knew death was coming because, having stubbornly refused to pay attention to various ailments of old age [...]" (ibid., 72).

Example 39 serves as an illustration of the metonymic conceptualization AILMENTS STAND FOR OLD AGE. The image it seems to evoke is the one of an elderly individual, physically and mentally challenged. Thus, OLD AGE is conceptualized as a stage in life marked with serious illnesses. Also, another metonymic conceptualization LONG-SIGHTEDNESS IS OLD AGE represents old age as a stage with age-related long-sightedness seen as a normal part of ageing:

(40) "I had been short-sighted all my life, and suddenly I could see like a hawk and no longer needed glasses, except for the readers that the 'long sight' of old age necessitates" (ibid., 107).

Although, as can be seen from the data in Figure 1, the preference for the negative portrayal of OLD AGE in the novel is noticeable, one may also observe the domains constructing the target positively as GAINS, FREEDOM, COMFORT. For instance, the GAINS domain (7%), contrary to that of LOSSES, can be illustrated with the examples, specifying the achievements in the later life, such as *keeping their wits about them, no longer suffered from shyness*, etc.:

(41) "Most of the women on both sides of my family live into their nineties, keeping their wits about them" (ibid., 107).

(42) "The third gain was related to the second: I no longer suffered from shyness" (ibid., 155).

Seen in the positive light, OLD AGE is quite often described in terms of FREEDOM (5%), the emerging reality for elderly women in recent decades. In philosophy, the idea of liberation is not new; it originates from the works by Plato, where he develops the concept of freedom. Ageing is thus "assumed to free the person from their previous worries and concerns" (Holyk 2019: 32). Such conceptualization of OLD AGE is

manifested in the examples comprising the linguistic expressions, such as *freedom of choice, liberating potential*, etc.:

(43) "[...] *In my eighties that couldn't happen, no event could be crucial to my self-esteem in quite that way any more, and that was strangely liberating*" (STE, p. 155).

Projected against the SD of COMFORT, OLD AGE is conceptualized as providing warmth, joy, pleasure, appreciation, fun, yet these feelings are not common among the elderly, women particular, and are represented by the smallest number of examples (4%):

(44) "*Now, however, having become pleased with myself in other ways, I recognize the return of the comfortable warmth I knew in early youth*" (ibid., 179).

(45) "[...] it allowed experiences to be enjoyable in an uncomplicated way – to be simply fun. At no other time in my life did I enjoy myself so comfortably [...]" (ibid., 155).

(46) "*When you are older you think, you remember, you care and you appreciate. You are thankful for everything*" (ibid., 173).

However, it is also widely accepted that old age could be conceived in terms of a "crisis of capacity" (see, e.g., Charise 2012). This means that as a person ages, he or she increasingly experiences various losses, such as near relations or independence. Thus, OLD AGE is projected against the abstract domain of LOSSES (17%). Chronological years are seen as leading to the accumulation of "wealth", such as experience, wisdom, recollections, i.e. "gain perspectives" of old age (Baltes & Smith 2003: 124). However, the researchers admit that "the scientific news about prospects of survival into very old age is shifting from a focus on aspects of gain to aspects of loss" (ibid.). This claim is clearly proved by the portrayal of ageing in literature where authors dramatize this state "from the inside", conveying the irreducible complexities of subjectivity as they project the private crisis onto the pages of their novels. The words and expressions, such as *disappearance, ceased to be, to lack the energy, the loss of, no longer have, will never have, no lessons, no solutions, no discoveries, find oneself left with nothing* are used to conceptualise the SD of LOSSES:

(47) "*The most obvious thing about moving into my seventies was the disappearance*

*of what used to be the most important thing in life: I might not look, or even feel, all that old, but I had ceased to be a sexual being, a condition which had gone through several stages and had not always been a happy one, but which had always seemed central to my existence" (STE, p. 15).*

(48) "*What I mourned during that painful night was not the loss of my loving old friend who was still there, and still is, but the loss of youth: 'What she has, god rot her, I no longer have and will never, never have again.' "* (ibid., 175).

(49) "*There are no lessons to be learnt, no discoveries to be made, no solutions to offer. I find myself left with nothing but a few random thoughts" (ibid., 177).*

(50) "*We are becoming less able to do things we would like to do, can hear less, see less, eat less, hurt more, our friends die, we know that we ourselves will soon be dead [...]" (ibid., 83-84).*

OLD AGE as a concept is also profiled against the conceptual domain of an ANIMAL. This construal carries only strong negative connotations. For example, the prejudiced negative attitude towards elderly women is conceptualized with the metaphorical simile "look like a vampire-bat":

(51) "*[...] she slapped on a lot of scarlet lipstick, it would soon come off on her teeth and begin to run into the little wrinkles round the edge of her lips, making her look like a vampire bat disturbed in mid-dinner" (ibid., 75).*

The example above portrays the feeling of disgust often experienced by younger members of society when they observe desperate, often unfortunate efforts of older women to beautify themselves, similar to what they used to do when they were still young. The choice of VAMPIRE BAT as a SD encodes the societal negative attitude to the elderly women who are seen as dreadful (according to encyclopedic references, the food source of this species of bat is blood). Thus, this metaphorical unit clearly provides negative evaluation and conceptualizes the prejudiced perception of the elderly woman in ageist society.

There is also an image of the trout, taken as a SD for the negative construal of elderly women. This unit, stylistically marked as rude or informal (LDCE), is assumed to conceptualize older people who are unpleasant, annoying, and bad-tempered. This expression has been used as a pejorative, often offensive term for an elderly woman since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, as Sayers states, it "is still with us, although used with a degree of archness, an affectation of the linguistic practices of an earlier time" (2009: 191):

(52) "*Supposing I submitted something to Ian and he turned it down, I would feel that there was a sensible reason for his doing so, not just that he thought me a boring old trout [...]*" (STE, p. 152).

Old age is often associated with the image of "Other". "Othering" is a term that is used to refer to expressions of prejudice on the basis of group identities. However, it might reveal a set of common processes and conditions that propagate group-based inequality and marginality. According to Kövecses (2020), one of the common social stereotypes is that "we" group is associated with positive (or neutral) features, while the "other" with negative features, which leads to stigmatization. There is a norm or standard in each case, as well as positive and negative versions of deviations from the norm. The in-group always occupies the place of the norm. Thus, in the OLD AGE domain, "we" represents middle-aged adults, while "others" obviously portrays the elderly. Moreover, researchers from various academic fields believe (see e.g., Hogan 2001 cited in Kövecses 2020) that wise elders are positive others, while senile decadents are treated as negative others. In line with this claim, Athill depicts "*graceful, extraordinary, sweet elderly woman*", "*a lively man in his late sixties*", i.e. positive elders who are attributed with positive features, as well as "*[...] a curmudgeon (miser, skinflint, scraper, codger, chuff) [...]*", i.e. the stereotypical conceptualization of the elderly others who are ill-reputed for their miserliness, greed, bad temper. The structural CM OLDER PERSON IS THE OTHER is realized with the help of lingual means, such as *a different kind of person, great changes in being old*, etc.:

(53) "*[...]so in my youth old women were still announcing by their appearance that*

*they had become a different kind of person" (STE, p. 177).*

There seems to be enough evidence that many aspects of social and cultural life are often experienced in terms of food. Thus, Korthals believes that "Food is an engine and source of metaphorical meanings that permeates our life" (2008: 77). Food can serve as a metaphor for various TDs, such as thought, family, social habits, etc. Similarly, OLD AGE is also projected onto the SD of FOOD:

(54) "[...] *there are, I think, three reasons why being old makes it not just gratifying, but also absolutely delicious" (STE, p. 153).*

Normally, we eat food, which is pleasant to taste, which gives enjoyable experience. Such metaphORIZATION leads to the positive ageing portrayal, and OLD AGE is conceptualized as pleasant, *absolutely delicious*, i.e. *appealing to one of the bodily senses especially of taste or smell; affording great pleasure* (MWD), and this experience is satisfying for the protagonist.

Research results show that OLD AGE metaphors are also observed in examples featuring the classical generic-level orientational metaphors LIFE IS UP, DEATH IS DOWN (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 15), which derive from human physical and cultural experience, in which old age and diseases, accompanying it, force people to lie down physically. The evidence of the similarities-grounded basis of metaphoric construal of OLD AGE is that the human life cycle is first seen as moving up (middle age/adulthood), and once you are up, you start moving down (growing old). The specificational-level metaphor is OLD AGE IS DOWN, as in the following examples:

(55) "*One of them is that from up here I can look back and see that although a human life is less than the blink of an eyelid in terms of the universe, within its own framework it is amazingly capacious so that it can contain many opposites*" (STE, p. 177).

(56) "*And comfort one does need, because there's no denying that moving through advanced old age is a downhill journey*" (ibid., 179).

Cognitive reality of OLD AGE is also represented with ontological metaphors, which view abstract concepts (e.g., ideas, emotions, activities, etc.) as being entities or substances. In cognitive linguistics, container metaphors are viewed as a special type of ontological metaphors. As Benczes claims, people often "conceive of their experiences in terms of unspecified objects, substances, containers" (2002: 24). Similarly, research results demonstrate that OLD AGE is conceptualized as A CONTAINER into which one can carry something or be in it (e.g., *carry into the beginning of my old age, be in old age*). This conceptualization is further elaborated by a more specific metaphor OLD AGE IS A MATERIAL OBJECT. Accordingly, OLD AGE is conceptualized as PHYSICAL/MATERIAL OBJECT, that can "crash", "flatten", and "damage" the human body, cause "failures" in it, and this body needs to be "repaired" or "restored". This metaphor is represented in the following examples:

(57) "It took my mother two days to die, the first of them cruel as her body, ninety-five years old, crashed beyond repair" (STE, p. 65).

(58) "The doctor saw no possibility of repair to the damage, but found him physically strong, which was alarming" (ibid., 72).

(59) "[...] and a life-story that might well have flattened her. She deserves more than passing attention" (ibid., 6).

Within the domain of MATERIAL OBJECT, another conceptualization of OLD AGE is understood in terms of A STRUCTURE, which consists of parts or A BUILDING one can be led into. The examples below (60, 61) illustrate this conceptualization:

(60) "[...] but easily the best part of my old age has been, and still is, a little less ordinary" (ibid., 145).

(61) "It was ridiculous to have known nothing about her until now, but what a wonderful discovery to be pushed, or led, into in one's eighty-ninth year!" (ibid., 133).

All things considered, metaphorical construal of OLD AGE in the novel produces an alarmist negative ageist view of older adults because old age is seen as a period of deterioration and decline. This perspective may lead to undertreatment of older adults,

especially women. However, this statement is challenged by Athill who invites us to consider an alternative to this imperative and portrays old age as the age of freedom and comfort.

## **5. Conclusions**

The analysis conducted within this research proves that old age is a complex phenomenon. Social, psychological, and literary perceptions of ageing and ageing individuals depend on the attitudinal factor and are represented within the two main paradigms, successful ageing oriented at development, and that of decline, focusing on the physical harm and contributing to negative stereotypes.

The textual material clearly displays two main approaches to defining the time when one becomes old, i.e. delimiting old age by the ageing self, as well as interpreting the onset of old age by the young people. In the paper, it is emphasized that such definitions are values-based and individually determined and correspond to common social stereotypes.

Furthermore, the paper highlights some distinct tendencies in the metaphorical conceptualization of OLD AGE. The contextual-interpretative analysis facilitates the interpretation of nominative units verbalizing the corresponding metaphorical conceptual models. Besides the frequently used SDs of JOURNEY, BATTLE, DEATH, and LOSSES, OLD AGE is also profiled against the domains of ANIMAL, OTHER, and FOOD. The SD of PHYSICAL/MENTAL STATE, most commonly employed in the process of metaphoric conceptualization of OLD AGE, is represented explicitly and specified with a number of correlates, such as MISERY, DECLINE, DISEASE, UGLINESS, COMFORT, GAINS, etc. Creative associations of the author in the metaphorical construal of OLD AGE are also featured in the classical orientational metaphor OLD AGE IS DOWN when the metaphorical meaning is elaborated by cognitive highlighting of the process of ageing as moving down, i.e. growing old. Moreover, OLD AGE is conceptualized as a CONTAINER or MATERIAL OBJECT with ontological metaphors.

To sum up, the majority of SDs employed for OLD AGE metaphorical conceptualization carry negative connotations. This means that in different contexts the semantics of the lexeme "old age" can be made up of elements from different conceptual domains, although, emotional instability and physical decline prove to be recurrent SDs in its representation. It has to be pointed out that the discussion of the conceptualization of OLD AGE presented in the paper is not exhaustive and might be addressed in further research.

### **List of abbreviations**

CM – Conceptual metaphor

CMT – Conceptual metaphor theory

LDCE – Longman dictionary of contemporary English

MWD – Merriam Websters dictionary

SD – Source domain

STE – "Somewhere towards the end" (by Athill, D. (2009))

TD – Target domain

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### Résumé

The present paper examines the conceptualization of OLD AGE in the literary discourse. An attempt is made to challenge the chronological approach to defining old age with the focus on attitudes and perceptions of ageing and older adults. By applying the methods of conceptual and discourse analyses, OLD AGE in the research is approached not only as a biological phenomenon, but it also proves to be characterized by both culturally and individually loaded representations. Moreover, the paper gives insight into the metaphorical conceptualization of OLD AGE and creative associations of the author about this stage of life. Much attention is paid to the aspects of social and cultural changes in age perception, as well as subjective individual experience of ageing as encoded in nominative units. The analysis performed within the framework of CMT has demonstrated that OLD AGE is metaphorically conceptualized in a variety

of ways, encompassing structural, orientational, and ontological metaphors reflecting our everyday experience. Research findings strongly suggest the presence of negative source-domain preferences, when ageing is medicalized and associated with decline, pain, diseases, and bodily changes. Neutral representations of OLD AGE provide its temporal characterization as a stage or period in life. However, the tendency to ignore physical dimensions of ageing leads to positive conceptualization of OLD AGE, with the conceptual features of liberation, comfort, pleasure, preserved vitality and youthfulness, the period of gains and achievements, yet such examples are less common. Further research might contribute to deeper understanding of OLD AGE conceptualization in literary discourse.

**Key words:** concept, conceptual metaphor, metonymy, metaphorical conceptualization, literary discourse, gerontology, OLD AGE.

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## LEGE ARTIS

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# 1920 VS 2020 ENGLISH NEOLOGISMS: A CASE STUDY OF CONTRASTIVE SEMANTICS<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** In this paper, we contrast tendencies in English vocabulary emergence in 1920 and 2020. Using the intentional sampling method, we selected neologisms used in 1920 and 2020 (200 for each year); created fourteen semantic categories in the search for semantic parallels and analogies as well as differences and deviations in the acquired vocabulary.

**Key words:** semantic categories, semantic parallels, semantic analogies, semantic differences, semantic deviations, neologisms, social context.

## 1. Introduction

Without even realizing it, people coin countless new words every day (Böhmerová 2009; Jesenská 2016; Lehrer 2006; Mattiello 2017). To keep track of all concepts encoded in new lexemes, lexicographers compile dictionaries of neologisms during particular periods.

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<sup>1</sup> The paper is written as part of VEGA project No. 1/0769/20 'The Language of Electronic Media in the English Linguocultural Context'.

Neologisms are considered to be any innovative items of speech which are verified in the current stock of vocabulary (Bojo 2017: 33). They are "newly coined words or expressions" (Neologism, *s.a.*) that respond "to the immediate naming needs of a speech-community" (Štekauer 2002: 8) and are a bridge between culture and language, enabling us to track how culture is evolving (Algeo & Algeo 1993; McDonald 2005). The neologization process, also referred to as institutionalization (Bojo & Lančarič 2020: 58), resides in word formation (cf. Borys 2018) as well as particular social, political, economic, and cultural events that impact society. Compared to the present, the expansion of the vocabulary that emerged in 1920 was hindered by technological limitations. Whereas 1920s communication was based on telephoning and radio transmission, which mostly spread spoken language, the twenty-first century, and particularly 2020, has been mainly characterized by online communication (Crystal 2001).

The development of English language over the last century was predominantly a result of colonization. Indeed, "[in] 1910, the British Empire was at the peak of its power, with direct control over a quarter of the earth's land surface and more than a quarter of its population" (Mair 2006: 7). Imported words flourished in English vocabulary, describing newly discovered realities. As a consequence, English has become a global language for business and other fields of international communication. Britain might have lost the majority of its colonies after the Second World War but the English language continues its 'online colonization'. Tools such as social networks greatly influence the language's growth and its adoption. Gradually, the lines between standard and non-standard use of vocabulary are being blurred as mainstreamization is taking place and younger generations are bending the principles of Standard English (cf. Bex & Watts 1999).

In this study, we are expanding on a common truth that history repeats itself, however, it may do so in a more advanced way. Thus, the aim of this paper is to describe, analyse

and contrast the tendencies in vocabulary emergence in two periods (1920 and 2020) that are a hundred years apart. We are aiming to prove that identical semantic areas may be found in both examined periods (history repeats itself), however, due to greater accessibility, all the semantic categories will be supplied by a greater number of neologisms in 2020 reflecting the advancement in the socio-political context.

The article maps lexis, it observes its growth and expansion, and analyses possible similarities and differences between the periods of 1920 and 2020. The collected vocabulary is divided into semantically corresponding groups. Based on these groups, the study compares newly formed lexis and observes the emergence of vocabulary. The examined semantic categories include: 1. Agriculture, plants, and animals; 2. Art, architecture, and housing; 3. Beauty and fashion; 4. Emotions; 5. Food; 6. Hobbies and free time; 7. Lifestyle; 8. Media (excl. the Internet and social networks), 9. Medicine (excl. pandemic), 10. Other, 11. Science and technology (excl. medicine), 12. Society (incl. education and politics), 13. Travelling and tourism, 14. Work, economy, and business.

Two hypotheses will be formulated as follows: H1: each of the semantic categories introduced above will be represented by at least one neologism occurrence in both periods to demonstrate that history repeats itself (the same semantic categories reoccur through a period of time) H2: due to the dynamic character of language including occasional periods of greater accessibility and productivity of new words, all the semantic categories will be marked by a significant difference in the number of occurrences between the two examined periods.

## **2. Sociolinguistic dimensions of neologization in 1920 vs 2020**

Each century and decade are marked by breakthrough events characteristic only of that particular period. Some years are more special than others are. One can hardly believe that it has already been 100 years since the beginning of the American 'Modern Era'

Roaring Twenties, when new terms, such as *T-shirt*, *giggle water*, *flapper* became widespread (Truong 2021; Words from the 1920s., *s.a.*). Based on various social media posts, many people thought that 2020 would mark a new beginning and a clean slate in their lives, such as commencing with new activities, getting a new job or starting a family. Change instead came in the form of a novel virus that reshaped and completely changed the society and lifestyles, bringing a wealth of neologisms such as *doomscrolling*, *WHF*, and *flatten the curve* (Clayton et al. 2020) (note: WFH made it into the Merriam Webster Dictionary in April 2020).

For centuries, the popular phrase 'history repeats itself' has been a topic of the investigations of historical recurrences within different fields such as architecture (cf. Molotch et al. 2000) and management (cf. Marnet 2007). Historical recurrence is also represented in literature by authors such as Mark Twain and in philosophy by Heinrich Heine and Friedrich Nietzsche. There are recurring events in our everyday lives and when political issues and scientific and technological advancements come along, they enter the language as neologisms and then via institutionalization become traditional.

Although they are one hundred years apart, societies in 1920 and 2020 share certain characteristics showing that historical events repeat, and influencing language and the evolution of vocabulary. Many new realities that have emerged come from advancements in different areas. When discussing the 1920s, most people think about the Jazz Age, the Roaring Twenties, and the Harlem Renaissance. The 1920s symbolize cultural development and positiveness in people's lives. As promoted in the movie "The Great Gatsby" (2013), people could see the emergence of entertainment and excitement after the dark years of the First World War. The only thing they focused on was prosperity and the beginning of the new era (Murphy 2012). The society changed in the United States. The rural became the urban and the 'telephones, automobiles, records, and movies invaded America's "rural islands" (William Leuchtenburg's phrase)' (ibid., 2). The mingling between the rural and the urban unified American

society and created a middle class (Lindsey 1994). However, intellectuals such as writers, poets, artists, and musicians talked about a certain collapse of ideals in the political and economic establishment (Currell 2009). According to Currell, the major events of 1920 were:

*"Women granted national franchise. Prohibition of alcohol begins. 4,000 suspected communists and radicals arrested, including Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Marcus Garvey's First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World. Deaths of Hollywood actresses Olive Thomas and Virginia Rappe."* (ibid., 122)

Although facing a post-war period, the events in the United States in 1920 brought many contributions into English thanks to the fact that American society had started to blend many years earlier. Black and white citizens were more unified through the Harlem Renaissance, the low and high classes shared the same form of entertainment, and urban and rural differences had become less observable (American decades 2001). The blending of people was also done on an international level as 1920s was the beginning of internationalization in the USA (Gorman 2012).

In parallel, 2020 was expected to be the beginning of a new era and a new chapter in people's lives. However, the series of unfortunate events proved the opposite. The year started with barely stoppable bushfires in Australia, which involved global fundraising efforts to help save animals. This event was followed by the beginning of the global COVID-19 pandemic or the so-called 'corona crisis'. Soon after the outbreak, the killing of George Floyd, an African American, gave rise to the Black Lives Matter (#BLM) movement and was followed by riots and protests in the United States and in many other countries. Interlaced with the pandemic, 2020 brought many different events, which soon became trending and hot topics for people to discuss predominantly in social networks (Facebook, *s.a.*; Salo 2020; Twitter, *s.a.*).

Today, information spreads much faster than before; moreover, anglicisms influence more and more languages. Thanks to modern technological devices, people can

transmit their thoughts within seconds wherever they want, especially within social media, which, in the past, used to be "...an informal way of communication meant for people to connect and share their ideas" and today, they can be used for any purpose regardless of the formality (Hroteková 2021: 155). Certain parallels can be seen in the way different people influence societies. Whereas in 1920 the role models or 'influencers' used to be famous artists such as writers, philosophers, actors, or musicians who disagreed with or admired the social and economic situation (Murphy 2012), in 2020 people from the 'crowd' influenced one another through social media; thus, the spreading of words and popularizing of language creativity have become the prerogative of ordinary people as well as that of celebrities.

Technology and technological devices have played an important role in people's lives. In both years, there were many technological advancements, especially related to the use of media. There was the advent of radio and movie industry in 1920 and in 2020 there was a dramatic expansion of social media and other kinds of online communication. The first commercial radio broadcast took place on November 2, 1920 and was an immediate success that motivated and inspired other broadcasting companies to emerge, with 600 doing so within four years (People and discoveries: KDKA begins to broadcast 1998).

The major global event of 2020 was undoubtedly the COVID-19 pandemic. The writer Ernest Cline, who is one of the pioneers in LitPrg (Literary Role-Playing Game), a novelty of the literary genre introduced only in 2013, describes distance studying as a fantasy. Yet it has become the 'new normal' (a novel expression first used in the 2007-2008 economic crisis) that students face every day. The coronavirus affected health matters and other areas of people's lives. Sci-fi education has become a new normality and has led to a quick adaptation and reorganization of society (Jandrić et al. 2020). The wish to turn somebody off as they boringly speak has become a reality, and the word 'mute' has acquired a new meaning (Urban dictionary, *s.a.*).

*"The ability to mute my peers was one of my favorite things about attending school online, and I took advantage of it almost daily. The best thing about it was that they could see that you'd muted them, and they couldn't do a damn thing about it" (Cline 2011)*

Consequently, what used to be science fiction became a reality. New media have responded to the pandemic with a flood of information, which is a rich source of linguistic data (cf. Panasenکو et al. 2020: 123).

As mentioned above, besides the COVID-19 pandemic, there are many other important events that have changed and polarized the American society and indeed the whole world. Despite different opinions and perspectives on the events, one thing is certain: people are united through social networks and the Internet. As a result, vocabulary is spreading and influencing population faster than in 1920, when people's sources of information were mainly the national or local newspapers and later radio.

Table 1. Major events of 1920 and 2020 (Amadeo 2021; Brown 2015 [2021]; Currell 2009; Salo 2020; Williams 2005)

1920		2020	
June 1920	Republican Warren G. Harding elected	June 2019–May 2020	Australian bushfires
January 1920–December 1933	Prohibition of alcohol begins		Prince Harry and Megan Markle quit the Royal Family
January 1920	4,000 suspected communists and radicals arrested, including Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti	January–February 2020	The COVID-19 pandemic
August 1920	Marcus Garvey's First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World	January 2020 and August 2020 respectively	The deaths of Kobe Bryant and Chadwick Boseman
Both September 1920	The deaths of Hollywood actress Olive Thomas and actor Robert Harron	February–April 2020	The 2020 stock market crash

January 1920	The establishment of the League of Nations	January 2020	The impeachment of US President Donald Trump
Through 1920s	The Lost Generation began its transformation of American literature	May 2020–Ongoing	Black Lives Matter protests
January 1920	The first Ponzi scheme	July–December 2020	The West Coast wildfires
Through 1920	The birth of mass media	July 2020	Twitter hack

### 3. Corpus collection and research methods

The data collection was done manually, selecting lexemes from dictionaries, online databases, articles, and blogs with the keywords: vocabulary of 1920, vocabulary of 2020. While collecting the corpus, certain challenges were met as the ways of data collection for 1920 and 2020 were completely different. Most of the corpus from 1920 was collected from public sources such as newspapers (online archived versions), glossaries, and dictionaries. (Algeo & Algeo 1993; Ayto 1998; Ayto & Simpson 1992; Dictionary.com; Words from the 1920s., *s.a.*; Partridge & Beale 1984; 100 years old: New words of the 1920s, *s.a.*). The 2020 corpus was accessible through online social networks, online newspaper articles, blogs, and glossaries (About Words. A Blog from Cambridge Dictionary; Facebook; Instagram; Shariatmadari 2020; Twitter).

The greatest challenge was to find non-pandemic vocabulary for 2020, given that it had been that year's primary topic.

The pre-selected lexemes were also checked in the source *Fifty Years Among the New Words* (Algeo & Algeo 1993), which has been a source of linguistic investigation. Today there are numerous lists and databases with the most recent neologisms and nonce words such as the *Rice University Neologisms Database* and *Dictionary.com* as well as blogs of prestigious dictionaries such as *New Dictionary Words by Merriam-Webster*, *About Words. A Blog from Cambridge Dictionary*, and *Oxford English Dictionary Updates*. To capture dynamism of the language *Urban Dictionary* was

created. It is a crowdsourced and online 'people's' dictionary where one can add newly created words or render definitions for new meanings of existing vocabulary (Johns 2019).

Secondly, a selection was made of random word samples coined in 1920 and in 2020: there were 200 for each year and 400 lexemes in total. In the first stage of the research, the collected data were manually processed in the table and placed into one of fourteen categories based on their thematic appurtenances. Although some categories, namely medicine naturally belongs to science, pandemic to medicine, and the Internet to media, we decided to omit such a categorization for the following reasons: 1. The aim of the categorization is to classify the lexemes based on similar historical occurrences. As pandemic was the major event of 2020, to be impartial, we decided not to include these neologisms (coroneologisms). 2. The categorization was focused on the activities and events that are common for both periods, we omitted the Internet as a part of media since in 1920 it had not been invented yet. 3. We put medicine as a separate category to see if there are neologisms in 2020 apart from pandemic. The classification, therefore, includes these groups: science and technology (excl. medicine); medicine (excl. pandemic); work, economy, and business; lifestyle; hobbies and free time; beauty and fashion; art, architecture, and housing; travelling and tourism; society (incl. education and politics); the media (excl. the Internet and social networks); food; emotions; agriculture, plants, and animals; and 'other'. Initially, there were more categories, but they were merged based on semantic similarities, such as business and work, or beauty and fashion. Therefore, it was necessary to add the description and further specify some of the categories – such as society (incl. education and politics) – as the topic might otherwise sound too vague. Some of the lexemes might overlap in different categories. To avoid the ambiguity, we placed them into a category with the most frequently used context.

At the stage of data evaluation (the third stage of research), the contrastive method was used in the search for semantic parallels and analogies as well as differences and deviations in the acquired vocabulary. The impact of historical events on vocabulary emergence in the two periods was also compared. The significance of occurrences of the examined variables was tested statistically, using the Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula.

#### 4. Corpus analysis

To illustrate the sampling process, examples of the year–event–neologism matches are listed below.

Table 2. Examples of sampling

1920	Ponzi scheme	2
1920	Post-war period	6
1920	Discoveries of new medicine	7
2020	COVID-19 pandemic	58
2020	Prince Harry and Megan Markle quit the Royal Family	1
2020	Black Lives Matter protests	2

The results of the sampling process show the following values organized in the table and the corresponding graph. Both the table and the graph illustrate the representation of the taxonomic categories in the examined periods.

Table 3. The representation of taxonomic groups in the examined periods

	CATEGORY	1920	2020
1	Agriculture, plants, and animals	8	3
2	Art, architecture, and housing	10	15
3	Beauty and fashion	5	9
4	Emotions	7	2
5	Food	14	6
6	Hobbies and free time	26	11
7	Lifestyle	5	32
8	Media (excl. the Internet and social networks)	1	1
9	Medicine (excl. pandemic)	9	8
10	Other	13	2
11	Science and technology (excl. medicine)	51	27

12	Society (incl. education and politics)	34	52
13	Travelling and tourism	1	13
14	Work, economy, and business	28	12

Figure 1 specifies the occurrences of values in the individual taxonomic groups. It contrasts the occurrences in the 1920 and 2020 periods.

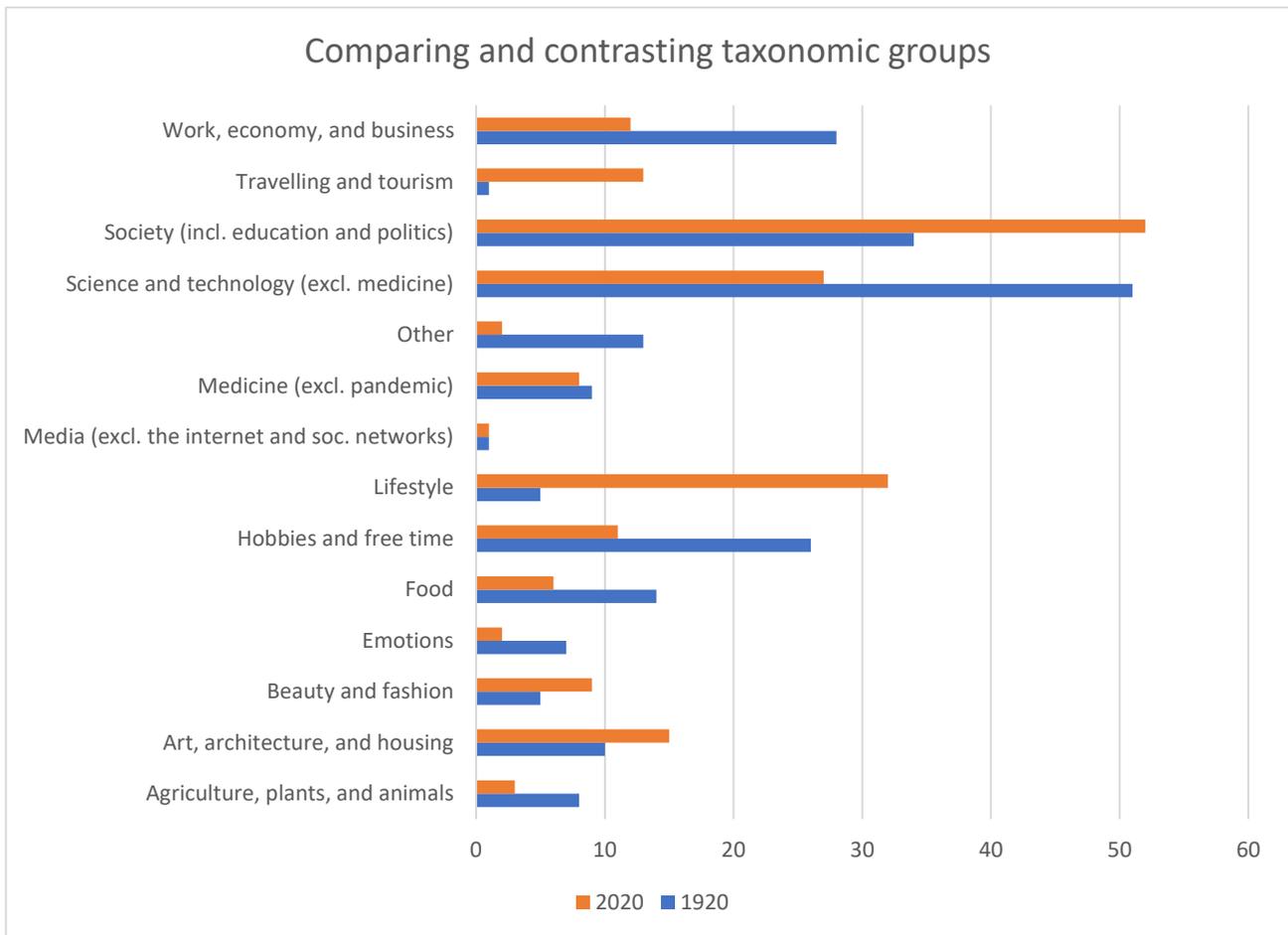


Figure 1. Comparing and contrasting taxonomic groups

Table 3 and the corresponding graph in Figure 1 show the results of the considered vocabularies from 1920 and 2020. Although there are certain recurrences (e.g., deaths of famous people, political tensions between countries, and natural disasters), it was initially assumed that there would be more significant differences in the newly coined vocabulary in the individual years given that, for instance, there was no Internet in 1920 and 2020 was not in an immediate post-war period. The numbers show that both years shared certain similarities such as a similar number of lexemes in the art

architecture and housing, and medicine category meanwhile differences in categories such as hobbies and free time, lifestyle, etc. (see further explanation in the text below). The main difference in the events is that 2020 deviated from the ongoing life due to COVID-19 pandemic and thus made it different from the previous years of the twenty-first century. In the compilation of the corpus, it was assumed that most of the vocabulary that emerged and came into use in 2020 would be COVID-19-related and that the lexemes would thus describe medical or other scientific terms from fields such as biology, physics, chemistry, and technology. As the coronavirus was a new reality, and the 'corona' terms would dominate the corpus, they were not considered. Medicine was categorised as a separate group of lexemes in order to be able to compare the vocabulary and see if there were any medical advancements disregarding the situation with COVID-19.

Each group will be described below and (where necessary) tested statistically, rendering a few examples to illustrate each category as the whole corpus sample is extensive. Chi-square statistics will be used to test the significance of the differences between the categories.

#### *4.1 Agriculture, plants, and animals*

Following the earlier-introduced assumption, the chi-square statistics tests the significance of the difference between the distributions of neologisms in 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>0</sub>:** There is an equal distribution of 'agriculture, plants, and animals' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>:** There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'agriculture, plants, and animals' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 4. Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat. agriculture, plants, and animals

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp. Fr.
Agriculture, plants, and animals 1920	8	5.5	2.50	6.25	1.14
Agriculture, plants, and animals 2020	3	5.5	-2.50	6.25	1.14
					2.273

The Chi<sup>2</sup> value is 2.273. The *p*-value is .13167. The result is *not* significant at *p* > .05. The *p*-value demonstrates that, contrary to the previously stated assumption, the distribution of agriculture, plant, and animal neologisms is not significantly different in either of the examined periods.

**Agriculture, plants, and animals** category include eight lexemes from 1920, which name new species (such as *appaloosa* and *olingo*) and the agricultural term *rice polishings*. One of the top priorities of 2020 was to promote eco-friendliness, sustainability, and eco-consciousness. People were trying to restore nature and rediscover hidden gems, yet there were only three lexemes in this category: *super bloom*, *mob grazing*, and *regenerative agriculture*, reflecting the trends of 2020.

#### 4.2 Art, architecture, and housing

**H<sub>0</sub>**: There is an equal distribution of 'art, architecture, and housing' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>**: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'art, architecture and housing' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 5. Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat. art, architecture, and housing

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp. Fr.
Art, architecture, and housing 1920	10	12.5	-2.50	6.25	0.50
Art, architecture, and housing 2020	15	12.5	2.50	6.25	0.50
					1.000

A comparable amount of vocabulary enrichment can be seen in **art**, **architecture**, and **housing**. At  $p$ -value .31731, there is not a significant difference between the occurrences in 1920 and 2020. The similar number of lexemes came into use in both periods. In 1920, there were ten lexemes, such as *window walk*, *asphalt jungle*, and *stairwell*; in 2020, there were fifteen lexemes, including terms such as *granny pod*, *collab house*, and *moon garden*.

#### 4.3 Beauty and fashion

The statistical test below tests the level of the difference between the distributions of beauty and fashion neologisms in 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>0</sub>**: There is an equal distribution of 'beauty and fashion' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>**: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'beauty and fashion' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 6. Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat. beauty and fashion

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp Fr.
Beauty and fashion 1920	5	7	-2.00	4.00	0.57
Beauty and fashion 2020	9	7	2.00	4.00	0.57
					1.143

The Chi<sup>2</sup> value is 1.143. The  $p$ -value is .28505. The result is *not* significant at  $p < .05$ . The  $p$  value  $p < .05$  shows no statistically significant differences in the occurrences of the beauty and fashion neologisms in either of the examined periods. It may be concluded that this area of vocabulary is represented relatively equally in both 1920 and 2020.

There are less than 10 lexemes in **beauty** and **fashion** terms category in both periods. Whereas 1920 (five lexemes) introduced terms for everyday objects such as *antiperspirant* and a *T-shirt*, the 2020 beauty and fashion trends (nine lexemes) were

severely marked by the pandemic with contributions such as *maskne*, *lockdown tache*, *zoomwear*, and *coronacuts* (Instagram, *s.a.*). The category of beauty and fashion neologisms was represented almost equally, with very little statistic difference in both 1920 and 2020.

#### 4.4 Emotions

The statistics below tests the significance of the difference in the distribution of emotion neologisms in 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>0</sub>**: There is an equal distribution of 'emotion' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>**: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'emotions' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 7. Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat. emotions

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp Fr.
Emotions 1920	7	4.5	2.50	6.25	1.39
Emotions 2020	2	4.5	-2.50	6.25	1.39
					2.778

The Chi<sup>2</sup> value is 2.278. The *p*-value is .09558. The result is *not* significant at *p* < .05. The *p* value (*p* < .05) shows no significantly prevalent distribution of the emotion-related neologisms in either of the examined periods. Emotion neologisms were distributed almost equally in both 1920 and 2020.

The **emotion** category includes lexemes that are emotionally coloured. Such words could be found in 1920 (seven lexemes): e.g., *icky boo*, *yippee*, and *plotz*. In 2020, there were two such terms, one for feeling (*blue mind*) and another for affirmation (*awesomesauce*) (Ayto & Simpson 1992; Instagram, *s.a.*).

#### 4.5 Food

Due to the development of society and the circumstances listed in the previous parts of this article, as regards the food category, the chi-square statistics tests the significance

of the distribution of food neologisms in the periods 1920 and 2020. The alternative hypothesis wishes obtain evidence for a significantly dominating distribution of food neologisms in 1920.

**H<sub>0</sub>**: There is an equal distribution of 'food' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>**: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'food' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 8. Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat. food

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp Fr.
Food 1920	14	10	4.00	16.00	1.60
Food 2020	6	10	-4.00	16.00	1.60
					3.200

The Chi<sup>2</sup> value is 3.2. The *p*-value is .07364. The result is *not* significant at *p* < .05. The qi-square statistics with the *p* > .05 does not provide enough evidence for the acceptance of the alternative hypothesis. Consequently, it may be stated that the distribution of food neologisms is not significantly different in either of the examined periods.

The difference in the **food** category is notable. For the past fifteen years, as people have had access to worldwide cuisine through budget travel and online shopping, the intercultural exchange of food and recipes is no longer a novelty. By contrast, there is a strong impact of globalization and immigration in 1920 as more culinary terms (fourteen lexemes) were borrowed from abroad: e.g., *daiquiri*, *piña colada*, *al dente*, *guacamole*, and *tempura*. The 2020 food neologisms tend to describe methods and trends instead of actual dishes and drinks (six lexemes); these include *walktail*, *bluicing*, and *culinary kaleidoscope* (About words..., *s.a.*). Expressed statistically, even though the counts are higher in favour of 1920, the difference between 1920 and 2020 in the production of food neologisms is not statistically significant.

#### 4.6 Hobbies and free time

The chi-square statistics below tests the significance of the difference in occurrences of the hobby and free time neologisms in 1920 and in 2020.

**H<sub>0</sub>**: There is an equal distribution of 'hobbies and free time' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>**: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'hobbies and free time' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 9. Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat. hobby and free time

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp Fr.
Hobbies and free time 1920	26	18.5	7.50	56.25	3.04
Hobbies and free time 2020	11	18.5	-7.50	56.25	3.04
					6.081

The Chi<sup>2</sup> value is 6.081. The *p*-value is .01366. The result is significant at *p* < .05. The *p* value proves a highly prevalent distribution of the hobbies and free time neologisms in 1920.

The 1920 **hobbies** and **free time** category was mostly enriched by sports and sport terms (twenty-six lexemes) such as *ski pole*, *shark bait*, *chute*, and *kayo* (Ayto 1998; Ayto & Simpson 1992; Merriam-Webster online dictionary, *s.a.*). As the particular lexemes imply, they referred to outdoor sports. This contrasts with 2020 (eleven lexemes), where most of the sports introduced were indoors: *chessboxing*, *incidental fitness*, *impact exercise*, and *functional fitness* (Facebook, *s.a.*). However, it is important to mention the contribution of entertainment to this category. The 1920 movie industry saw the emergence of *screenplay* and *screenwriter*, and in 2020 there was a new music genre (*kindie*).

#### 4.7 Lifestyle

The chi-square statistics in the category of lifestyle tests a significance of the difference in the distribution of lifestyle neologisms in the two examined periods.

**H<sub>0</sub>**: There is an equal distribution of 'lifestyle' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>**: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'lifestyle' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 10. Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat. lifestyle

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp Fr.
Lifestyle 1920	5	18.5	-13.50	182.25	9.85
Lifestyle 2020	32	18.5	13.50	182.25	9.85
					19.703

The Chi<sup>2</sup> value is 19.703. The *p*-value is < .00001. The result is significant at *p* < .05. The *p* > .05, which shows lack of evidence for the acceptance of the alternative hypothesis. Consequently, it may be stated that, in contrast to the previous assumption, the difference between the distributions of life neologisms in 1920 and 2020 is statistically significant.

As the **lifestyle** category shows, there were only five lexemes for 1920 but thirty-two for 2020, which implies that everyday life was different a hundred years ago. The difference can also be observed statistically. The gap between the counts for each period shows a greater level of significance at *p*-value < .00001. (It was implied that the result is significant at *p* < .05.) This category may include lexemes that are also part of other categories, because for some people a hobby can also be a way of living. This fact can be observed in 1920 terms such as *ritzy*, which is also applied to **travelling** and **art, architecture, and housing**; (*hand truck*, included in **hobbies** and **free time**); and *ketogenic diet*, which also appears in **food**. These are a few examples describing people's living trends. The 2020 lexemes are *house plant pamper*, which also appears in **hobbies** and **free time**; and *Japandi*, which is included in **art, architecture, and housing** (Ayto & Simpson 1992; Instagram, *s.a.*; Merriam-Webster online dictionary, *s.a.*).

#### 4.8 Media (excl. the Internet and social networks)

When comparing the evolution of vocabulary in the **media** category (excl. the Internet and social networks), besides the first commercial radio broadcasting in 1920, we found only the term *aerogram*. In 2020, there was only the term *infodemic*. It is very difficult to separate the Internet and social networks or the media from the 2020 corpus, because we are living in the digital era and almost all everyday life in 2020 took place online. It is therefore worthwhile mentioning a few examples of what terms came into use in 2020, which did not apply to the presented statistics as they are based on that year's peculiar reality. The ingeniousness of Internet users brought lexemes such as *zoomwear*, *zoombombing*, *social commerce*, *sharenets*, *doomscroll*, *digital campfire*, and *data drainers* (About words..., *s.a.*; Twitter, *s.a.*). The equal yet not highly productive distribution of the media-related neologisms in both periods does not provide enough evidence for the acceptance of the hypothesis. This category does not require further statistical analysis.

#### 4.9 Medicine (excl. pandemics)

The chi-square statistics below tests the significance of the difference of the observed values (category of medicine) between the periods of 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>0</sub>**: There is an equal distribution of 'medicine (excl. pandemic)' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>**: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'medicine (excl. pandemic)' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 11. Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat. medicine

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp Fr.
Medicine 1920	9	8.5	0.50	0.25	0.003
Medicine 2020	8	8.5	-0.50	0.25	0.003
					0.059

The Chi<sup>2</sup> value is 0.059. The *p*-value is .80837. The result is *not* significant at *p* < .05. The *p* value shows that there is no significant difference between the occurrences of

medicine neologisms in the two examined period. The medicine vocabulary was distributed almost equally in both 1920 and 2020.

Despite the major event of 2020 being the spreading of the coronavirus, there was a comparable number of lexemes in the **medicine** category (excl. pandemic). 1920 (nine lexemes) brought the names of new diseases and terms that are widely spread today, such as *Bang's disease*, *moniliasis*, and *universal donor*. The 2020 terms not related to the pandemic (eight lexemes) included *polypill*, *genetic scissors*, and *PMIS*.

#### 4.10 Other

**H<sub>0</sub>**: There is an equal distribution of 'other' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>**: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'other' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 12. Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat. other

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp Fr.
Other 1920	13	7.5	5.50	30.25	4.03
Other 2020	2	7.5	-5.50	30.25	4.03
					8.067

The **other** category comprises miscellaneous lexemes that are mainly verbs and adjectives of a descriptive character. These terms include *unscramble*, *sharable*, and *customize* from 1920 (thirteen lexemes) and *boomsplain* and *angried* from 2020 (two lexemes). The Chi<sup>2</sup> value is 8.067. The *p*-value is .00451. The result is significant at *p* < .05. There is a statistically significant difference between the occurrences of the category "other" in 1920 and 2020.

#### 4.11 Science and technology

**H<sub>0</sub>**: There is an equal distribution of 'Science and technology' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>:** There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'Science and technology' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 13 Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat. other

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp Fr.
Science and technology 1920	51	39	12.00	144.00	3.69
Science and technology 2020	27	39	-12.00	144.00	3.69
					7.385

Surprisingly, the results show that in the science and technology category, more lexemes were coined in 1920 (51 lexemes) than in 2020 (27 lexemes), excluding the 'corona' terms. The comparison of the frequency of occurrences shows statistically significant results between the occurrences of the 1920 science and technology neologisms and 2020 science and technology neologisms. The Chi<sup>2</sup> value is 7.385. The *p*-value is .00658. The result is significant at *p* < .05. As 2020 was expected to feature more science and technology lexemes, the results are intriguing. Concurrently, the values show that the hypothesis on 2020's science and technology category is invalid. The 1920 science and technology vocabulary mostly include highly scientific terms. They incorporate neologisms from biology, e.g., *intermitotic*, *saprozoic*, and *heterophile*; chemistry, e.g., *exotoxin* and *hydrosere*; mathematics, e.g., *multivariate*; physics, e.g., *quantize* and *subsonic*; and technology, e.g., *key button*, *loudspeaker*, and *spray gun* (Time traveler ..., *s.a.*). This is in contrast with the 2020 terms, which were more formed in popular culture; the scientific sub-categories of 2020 include biology, e.g., *superbloom*; the environment, e.g., *blue acceleration* and *lyfe*; and technology, e.g., *xenobot*, *screen time*, and *data drainers* (About words..., *s.a.*). The scientific trends of 2020 are mainly about environmental awareness and the digital world, unlike in 1920, when science had a more traditional profile focusing on working in laboratories, developing new substances, and the beginnings of mass production (Encyclopaedia.com, *s.a.*).

#### 4.12 Society (incl. education and politics)

The category of society tests the level of difference between the individual occurrences of the society neologisms in 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>0</sub>**: There is an equal distribution of 'Society (incl. education and politics)' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>**: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'Society (incl. education and politics)' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 8. Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat. society

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp Fr.
Society 1920	34	43	-9.00	81.00	1.88
Society 2020	52	43	9.00	81.00	1.88
					3.767

The Chi<sup>2</sup> value is 3.767. The *p*-value is .05226. The result is *not* significant at *p* < .05. The *p*-value demonstrates a significant difference between the occurrences of the society neologisms in 1920 and 2020.

The fact that society has evolved and changed can be seen in the **society** category (incl. education and politics) in the terms from 2020 (fifty-two lexemes) such as *goldfish generation*, *craftivist*, *BLM*, and *Generation Alpha*. This can be compared to 1920 (thirty-four lexemes), which described very different realities such as *deb*, *praesidium*, and *soviet*. This category also reveals the influence of other languages. The evolvement is obvious, even though (given the counts) not statistically significant. The *p*-value is .05226. (The result is not significant at *p* < .05.).

#### 4.13 Travelling and tourism

The qi-square statistics tests the significance of the difference between the distribution of travelling neologisms in 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>0</sub>**: There is an equal distribution of 'travelling' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>**: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'travelling' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 4: Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat. travelling

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp. Fr.
Travelling 1920	1	7	-6.00	36.00	5.14
Travelling 2020	13	7	6.00	36.00	5.14
					10.286

The Chi<sup>2</sup> value is 10.286. The *p*-value is .00134. The result is significant at  $p < .05$ . The *p* value ( $p < .05$ ) demonstrates that there is a significant difference between the value occurrences in 1920 and 2020. In the category of travelling, there is a significantly higher occurrence of values in 2020 than it is in 1920.

Despite the lack of travelling opportunities in 2020, there were still more lexemes in the **travelling** and **tourism** category than in 1920. *Burglary tourism*, *heritage travel*, *divorce tourism*, and *wall crawl* are lexemes that enriched 2020 vocabulary (thirteen lexemes). The only word related to travelling in 1920 was the previously mentioned adjective *ritzy*, derived from the Ritz hotel chain, which describes a travelling style rather than the type of tourism seen in 2020.

#### 4.14 Work, economy, and business

The chi-square statistics below tests whether the category of work, economy, and business neologisms is significantly prevalent in either of the examined periods.

**H<sub>0</sub>**: There is an equal distribution of 'work, economy and business' neologisms in both 1920 and 2020.

**H<sub>1</sub>**: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of 'work, economy and business' neologisms in the two examined periods.

Table 10. Chi-square goodness-of-fit formula: Statistical significance, cat work, economy, and business

	Observed	Expected	Difference	Diff. Sq.	Diff. Sq. / Exp Fr.
Work, economy, and business 1920	28	20	8.00	64	3.20
Work, economy, and business 2020	12	20	-8.00	64	3.20
					6.400

The Chi<sup>2</sup> value is 6.4. The *p*-value is .01141. The result is significant at *p* < .05. The *p* value demonstrates a significant prevalence of the work, economy, and business vocabulary in 1920.

The 1920 were a prosperous decade in American life, but 1920 was still more of a post-war year than a time of flourishing commerce. The main aim at that time was to recover economically. **Work, economy, and business** vocabulary (twenty-eight lexemes) such as *nonindustrialized, recapitalization, chain saw, shape up*, and the well-known *Ponzi scheme* investing scam featured in newspaper headlines in 1920, whereas in 2020 there were neologisms (twelve lexemes) such as *social commerce, chop, superforecaster, pub desk, and bee broker* (Ayto & Simpson 1992; Merriam-Webster online dictionary, *s.a.*; Urban dictionary, *s.a.*).

Hypothesis 1, which is based on a common assumption that history repeats itself is confirmed. In all the semantic categories which have undergone this research, a number of occurrences has been identified in both examined periods.

Hypothesis 2: the numerical data have been summarized in the table below:

Table 11. Hypothesis 2: The numerical data

	CATEGORY	1920	2020	<i>p</i> -value	Level of significance
1	Agriculture, plants, and animals	8	3	.13167	low
2	Art, architecture, and housing	10	15	.31731	low
3	Beauty and fashion	5	9	.28505	low
4	Emotions	7	2	.09558	low

5	Food	14	6	.07364	low
6	Hobbies and free time	26	11	.01366	high
7	Lifestyle	5	32	.00001	high
8	Media (excl. the Internet and social networks)	1	1	-	equal
9	Medicine (excl. pandemic)	9	8	.80837	low
10	Other	13	2	.00451	high
11	Science and technology (excl. medicine)	51	27	.00658	high
12	Society (incl. education and politics)	34	52	.05226	low
13	Travelling and tourism	1	13	.00134	high
14	Work, economy, and business	28	12	.01141	high

The hypothesis was formulated in order to test the significance of the difference between the occurrences of neologisms in both examined years as a result of the dynamic character of language. The p-values in the table demonstrate that there is not enough evidence for the acceptance of hypothesis 2. Some categories were marked by a difference between the occurrences of neologisms in 1920 and 2020 periods, however this difference did not prove to be statistically significant.

## 5. Discussion

Although the number of lexemes categorized as **pandemic** category, is not included in Table 2, it is noteworthy to comment on this extensive group. When collecting data from 2020, there were fifty-eight terms (with novel names such as *coroneologism*, *coronism*, and *convidiom*) related to pandemic (Roig-Marín 2021). However, not all of the terms were related to medicine or public health. As mentioned above, the pandemic affected people's lives and their lifestyles. The 2020 neologisms have certainly enriched English vocabulary with the emergence of expressions such as *quaranteaching* – related to teaching when quarantined; *workation* – travelling and working with the sense of a working vacation as people can travel and work from another place and not necessarily from the office as many workplaces were shut down; and *covideo* – merging work, education, and free time to refer to videos that are recorded or to video calls that are made during the time of pandemic (About words..., *s.a.*; Twitter, *s.a.*). Even though it might seem that the COVID-19 pandemic hindered

scientific and technological development (in the other areas than medicine), it, contrary to the assumption above, boosted these processes and enabled the fast development of healthcare products such as various types of sanitizers, tests, and vaccines (*COVAX*) (Twitter, *s.a*).

However, when processing the corpus, we discovered that old terms could acquire a new meaning and popularity over time. Some terms that became popular in 1920 have slightly changed their meaning, thus today's *junk mail* is not 'an unsolicited postal delivery' (Zimmer 2010) but rather 'an unwanted electronic mail'.

Another change in today's society accompanies the way people use language. Certain historical parallels show the resemblance of events such as a famous person's death, economic circumstances, and political issues. As major world events affect the emergence of neologisms, it is interesting to note that despite the fact that some of the 1920 words are slang words (e.g., *family jewels*, *palooka*, *schnook*, and *delish*) the majority of the words – e.g., *customize*, *decoder*, and *food chain* – sounded neutral or formal due to the fact that the word spreaders were mostly famous people such as politicians, actors, businessmen, and members of the intelligentsia. On the other hand, the vocabulary from 2020 is mainstream and possesses a slang-like denotation as the media use popular language and people in turn use the language of the media.

## **6. Conclusion**

Changes in lexis and the appearance of new words is a natural phenomenon in any language. Each period is characterized by certain trends including political, social, and cultural events that play an important role in creating and institutionalizing vocabulary.

In the conducted research we took two years (1920 and 2020), collected the corpus, and categorized the lexemes based on their semantic appurtenances. The sample shows that society is constantly evolving and that the selected areas are being enriched, albeit

not homogeneously, which is the result of changing priorities and the emergence of new realities.

Many of the categories have a very similar number of items, with a deviation from 1 to 10. These categories include medicine; beauty and fashion; art, architecture, and housing; media; food; emotions; and agriculture, plants, and animals. Surprisingly, those categories that were expected to deviate the most – such as media; food; and agriculture, plants, and animals – showed only a slight difference in the terminological number of items.

On the other hand, categories such as science and technology (excl. medicine) were a surprise as it was expected there would be more contributions in 2020 than in 1920. Out of the fourteen categories, there were six with a deviation of fourteen to twenty-seven lexemes. As expected, the lifestyle category from 2020 contained far more lexemes. This shows how society is evolving and changing despite the recurrence of events.

The research shows that although there is a hundred-year difference, some concepts might repeat or be constantly used as they were part of everyday values, routines, or habits of society.

## **Note**

All the tables and figures in this paper have been processed by the authors.

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## **Résumé**

The article focuses on the new vocabulary coined in particular fields in 1920 and 2020. The paper aims to compare the occurrences of neologisms in different areas and give potential reasons for prevalent distribution of neologisms in one period of time over the other. The collected corpora is categorized into 14 categories: science and technology (excl. medicine); medicine (excl. pandemic); work, economy, and business; lifestyle; hobbies and free time; beauty and fashion; art, architecture, and housing; travelling and tourism; society (incl. education and politics); the media (excl. the Internet and social networks); food; emotions; agriculture, plants, and animals; and 'other'. The article provides a detailed quantitative analysis of distributions of the neologisms, which we test statistically for the level of significance of the differences between the two tested periods of time. It has been concluded that some of the categories of social life and events differ significantly in the two examined periods under the influence of history, politics, and various social happenings. For example, the category of travelling demonstrates a significant prevalence of travelling neologisms in 2020, despite the 2020 travelling restrictions. The other categories demonstrate prevalent occurrence in either period; however, these occurrences were not proved to be statistically significant, e.g., the category of agriculture, plants and animals, which demonstrates different, though statistically insignificant, distributions of neologisms between the examined areas (in favour of 1920). Such lack of statistical evidence may provide evidence for random occurrences within the examined data set. The article, as an in-depth quantitative survey into the emergence of neologisms in two different periods of time provides the basis for further generalisations on the coinage of neologisms and their further usage within the common stock of vocabulary.

**Key words:** semantic categories, semantic parallels, semantic analogies, semantic differences, semantic deviations, neologisms, social context.

## Appendix

### Neologisms used in the article

LEXEME	YEAR	DEFINITION
aerogram	1920	a sheet of light paper folded and sealed to form a letter for sending by airmail
al dente	1920	cooked so as to be still firm when bitten (of food, typically pasta)
angried	2020	angered; troubled or perturbed as a result of anger
antiperspirant	1920	a substance that is applied to the skin, especially under the arms, to prevent or reduce perspiration
appaloosa	1920	a horse of a North American breed having dark spots on a light background
asphalt jungle	1920	a big city or a specified part of a big city
awesomesauce	1920	extremely good; excellent
Bang's disease	1920	contagious abortion of cattle caused by a brucella ( <i>Brucella abortus</i> )
bee broker	2020	a person who organises the hives from the Beekeepers to be delivered to the Growers that need the bees for a fee
BLM	2020	Black Lives Matter (BLM), international social movement, formed in the United States in 2013, dedicated to fighting racism and anti-Black violence, especially in the form of police brutality
bloomsplain	2020	to give someone an unnecessary or unwanted explanation of something; used when someone of the baby boomer generation explains something to a younger person
blue acceleration	2020	a race among diverse and often competing interests for ocean food, material, and space
blue mind	2020	a mildly meditative state characterized by calm, peace, unity, and a sense of general happiness and satisfaction with life in the moment
bluicing	2020	a process of juicing and then blending
burglary tourism	2020	an activity of going to another country to burgle someone's home
chain saw	1920	a portable power saw that has teeth linked together to form an endless chain
chessboxing	2020	a sport in which participants contest alternating rounds of chess and boxing, of four and two minutes respectively
chop	2020	to reduce an amount of money by a large amount
chute	1920	a clipped form of 'parachute'
collab house	2020	a large house in which people who work in social media live and work together
coronacuts	2020	an act of cutting one's own hair at home due to the closure of hair salons
coroneologism	2020	a neologism related to COVID-19
coronism	2020	a term that was created during COVID-19 pandemic
COVAX	2020	the vaccination of either Pfizer and Moderna, to cause immunity to the SARS-CoV-2 aka the COVID-19 aka the coronavirus
covidiom	2020	an idiom related to COVID-19 pandemic
craftivisit	2020	a person that uses craft projects as a form of protest or to advance social causes
culinary kaleidoscope	2020	a wide choice of food
customize	1920	to modify (something) to suit a particular individual or task
daiquiri	1920	a cocktail containing rum and lime juice
data drainers	2020	devices or applications that drain your data
deb	1920	a clipped form of 'débutante'
digital campfire	2020	a small group of people who communicate online, usually on a social media site
divorce tourism	2020	an activity of going to another country to take advantage of its divorce laws
doomscrolling, doomscroll	2020	a term for that feeling when you can't stop scrolling down Twitter, or reading news that you know will make you sad, anxious, or angry
exotoxin	1920	a toxin released by a living bacterial cell into its surroundings
flapper	1920	a fashionable young woman intent on enjoying herself and flouting conventional standards of behavior
flatten the curve	2020	to use public health measures to achieve a more gradual increase and decrease in the number of new cases, spreading the same total number of cases over a longer period of time, as depicted by a gently sloping curved line on a graph (during a disease outbreak)
functional fitness	2020	physical exercise involving movements used to perform everyday tasks
generation Alpha	2020	a way of referring to the group of people who were, or will be, born in the 2010s and 2020s

genetic scissors	2020	a method of cutting the DNA in a cell so that it can be repaired
giggle water	1920	alcohol used during Prohibition; often applied specifically to champagne
goldfish generation	2020	a way of referring to the group of people who have grown up with smartphones and other technology and have a poor memory and attention span as a result
granny pod	2020	a very small house, built in the garden of a relative's house, where an old person lives
guacamole	1920	a dish of mashed avocado mixed with chopped onion, tomatoes, chili peppers, and seasoning
hand truck	1920	a small hand-propelled truck
heritage travel	2020	travelling to places where your ancestors lived to learn more about their lives
heterophile	1920	of, relating to, or being an antibody circulating in blood serum that is reactive with antigen originating in a different species
hydrosere	1920	an ecological sere originating in an aquatic habitat
icky boo	1920	a baby-talk alteration of sick or sickly
impact exercises	2020	an activity of combining a sporting challenge such as running a marathon with working on a project that benefits the people who live in the same area
incidental fitness	2020	a condition of being physically strong and healthy as a result of being more active in one's daily routine, such as taking the stairs instead of the lift
infodemic	2020	a massive amount of widely and rapidly circulating information about a particular crisis or controversial issue, consisting of a confusing combination of fact, falsehood, rumor, and opinion
intermitotic	1920	existing or occurring between periods of mitotic activity
Japandi	2020	an interior design trend which combines Japanese and Scandinavian styles
kayo	1920	a knockout
ketogenic diet	1920	a diet that aims at a high production of ketones (=substances that are produced when the body breaks down fat) in the body; it consists of a 4:1 ratio of fats to proteins and carbohydrates and is said to control a number of serious illnesses
key button	1920	part to be depressed by a finger that serves as one unit of a keyboard
kindie	2020	a style of music that appeals equally to children and adults and that is mainly written and performed by independent musicians who do not work for a large music company
lockdown tache	2020	a moustache that its wearer has allowed to grow during lockdown
loudspeaker	1920	a piece of equipment that changes electrical signals into sounds, especially used in public places so that large numbers of people can hear someone speaking or music playing
lyfe	2020	any form of life, including but not limited to the human, animal and plant life we are aware of
maskne	2020	several skin conditions that can be caused by wearing a face mask or covering
mob grazing	2020	a type of farming that involves moving a large number of animals into a small area of land for a very short time before moving them to a new area and leaving the grass to recover
monoliasis	1920	candidiasis
moon garden	2020	a garden that is meant to be enjoyed by the light of the moon, or at nighttime
multivariate	1920	involving two or more variable quantities
nonindustrialized	1920	not having become industrial; not industrialized
olingo	1920	a small nocturnal mammal related to the kinkajou and the raccoon, living in tropical Central and South American rainforests
piña colada	1920	a cocktail made with rum, pineapple juice, and coconut
plotz	1920	to collapse or be beside oneself with frustration, annoyance, or other strong emotion
PMIS	2020	Multisystem Inflammatory Syndrome in children
polypill	1920	a pill containing a number of medicines that all treat the same condition
Ponzi scheme	1920	a form of fraud in which belief in the success of a nonexistent enterprise is fostered by the payment of quick returns to the first investors from money invested by later investors
praesidium	1920	a standing executive committee in a communist country
pub desk	2020	a table in a pub that someone can use as a desk instead of working at home, usually in return for an hourly or daily payment

quantize	1920	to apply quantum theory to, especially form into quanta, in particular restrict the number of possible values of (a quantity) or states of (a system) so that certain variables can assume only certain discrete magnitudes
recapitalization	1920	a process of restructuring a company's debt and equity mixture, often to stabilize a company's capital structure
regenerative agriculture	2020	a method of farming that focuses on improving and maintaining the health of the soil
rice polishings	1920	the inner bran layer of rice rubbed off in milling
ritzy	1920	expensively stylish
saprozoic	1920	feeding on dead organic matter; of or relating to nutrition in which the nutrient substances are derived from dead organic matter
screen time	2020	an amount of time someone spends looking at an electronic device with a screen, such as a computer or television
screenplay	1920	a script of a movie, including acting instructions and scene directions
screenwriter	1920	a person who writes a screenplay
shape up	1920	to develop or happen in a particular way
sharable	1920	suitable or intended for sharing with another or other
sharenets	2020	a parent who frequently shares such personal information on social media
shark bait	1920	applied to a lone or daring swimmer far out from shore
ski pole	1920	either of two lightweight poles held by a skier to assist in balance or propulsion
social commerce	2020	buying and selling of goods or services directly within a social media platform
soviet	1920	an elected governmental council in a Communist country
spray gun	1920	a device resembling a gun which is used to spray a liquid such as paint or pesticide under pressure
stairwell	1920	a shaft in a building in which a staircase is built
subsonic	1920	relating to or flying at a speed or speeds less than that of sound
superbloom	2020	the appearance of an unusually high number of wild flowers in a particular season
superforecaster	2020	someone whose job is to predict what certain events or situations are going to be like in the future, and who can do this very accurately
T-shirt	1920	a short-sleeved casual top, generally made of cotton, having the shape of a T when spread out flat
tempura	1920	a Japanese dish of fish, shellfish, or vegetables, fried in batter
universal donor	1920	a person of blood group O, who can in theory donate blood to recipients of any ABO blood group
unscramble	1920	to separate (something, such as a conglomeration or tangle) into original components
walktail	2020	a cocktail that you make in order to drink while walking on the streets; an alcoholic beverage in a to-go cup
wall crawl	2020	a tourist activity involving a visit to different walls in a city, one after the other, to look at graffiti or art painted on them
WHF	2020	an abbreviation for working from home: used to refer to a person doing their job in their home rather than travelling to an office, etc. in order to do it
window walk	1920	a railed observation platform atop a usually coastal house
xenobot	2020	a type of very small robot that can move independently, created from living cells
yippee	1920	expressing wild excitement or delight
zoombombing	2020	a type of cyber-harassment in which an individual or a group of unwanted and uninvited users interrupt online meetings over the Zoom video conference app
zoomwear	2020	a style of dress where someone wears office attire (laundered shirts, sweaters, blouses, jackets, etc.) above the waist and sweats, gym shorts, pj's or less down below

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# THE EQUIVALENCE OF TERMS DENOTING THE EMOTION CONCEPTS OF GER. *ANGST* AND A.-S. *FEAR*: A CORPUS-BASED METHOD

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**Abstract:** By applying a corpus-based method, the authors attempt to specify the Anglo-Saxon equivalent for the emotion concept *ANGST*, which expresses a particular metaphysical fear in German-speaking linguo-cultures. It has been identified that the concept of A.-S. *ANXIETY* is more equivalent to the concept of Ger. *ANGST* than A.-S. *FEAR*, although it cannot convey the whole spectrum of linguistic and cultural explicitness of *ANGST*.

**Key words:** emotion concept, *angst*, fear, anxiety, corpus-based method, conceptual metaphor.

## 1. Introduction

The study of emotion concepts, initiated in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (see, e.g., Kövecses 1990; Wierzbicka 1999), is still relevant in cognitive and culturally oriented linguistic studies. This issue correlates directly with the pressing problem of modern times – globalization. The latter encourages search for new approaches in the field of

intercultural communication, translation studies and those disciplines that lie behind the general notion of "cultural linguistics" (ethnolinguistics, linguoculturology, anthropological linguistics). Each of these areas of linguistics with its own analytical tools offers ways to solve a number of problems connected with intercultural understanding, relying on the study of the empirical basis of different languages (divergent and convergent features in languages and cultures, interlingual barriers, interlingual deviations, interlingual interference).

In our research, we stick to the understanding of concepts given by Kövecses, Lakoff, and Wierzbicka (Lakoff & Kövecses 1987; Wierzbicka 1999). These are mental structures that represent knowledge about a certain fragment of the reality. In regard to emotion concepts, it is vital to identify and systematise linguistic means and expressions denoting certain emotions. It is necessary to do so in order to be able to compare emotion concepts in different languages.

The scientifically proven idea of psychologists and linguists that even basic (universal) emotions receive a socio-cultural and ethno-cultural colouring in the process of socialisation, which affects their expression and perception in a particular language society (see, e.g., Friedlmeier et al. 2011; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2017; Mizin & Letiucha 2019; Mizin & Ovsienko 2020a; Panasenکو et al. 2013; Pinich 2017; Röttger-Rössler & Markowitsch 2009; Tissari et al. 2019), has been taken as the methodological support for identifying the cultural specificity of emotion concepts. It is the socialisation of individuals that due to the symbiotic interaction of basic emotions serves as a basis for forming derivative (social, complex) emotions, which are considered exclusively "human" (Levenson 2011). Therefore, the semantic structure of those emotion concepts that represent derived emotions contains specific socio-cultural and ethno-cultural meanings. On the language level, those meanings are reflected in the semantic structure of the names of corresponding emotions, because the fact that emotions interact and have interfaces with human cognition and language no longer provokes any debate (Schwarz-Friesel 2008: 277). At the same time, research analysing

ethno-specific emotions (emotional states and feelings) is especially promising, as the results and conclusions of such studies can provide solid evidence on how the world is perceived and what worldviews exist in a particular lingoculture (Mizin & Ovsienko 2020b: 145-146).

Complex (social) emotions result from the dynamics of the human emotional world, where emotions are constantly changing, generating numerous combinations of mutual transitions. These combinations are, in fact, the basis on which new qualities are formed, i.e. new social emotions. The latter, consisting of two, three, or more emotions, reveal their "vague" nature, i.e. the diffusion of their semantic structure, because they constitute a patchwork of basic and derived emotions. This is the reason why the number of emotions is still uncertain, despite the application of modern methods of study and technical resources (see, e.g., Cowen & Keltner 2017; Du et al. 2014).

The complexity and diffusion of social emotions leads to the fact that the individual cannot always get an understanding and accurately name the emotion or emotional state they are experiencing. Some emotions are so close that the lexical unit denoting them may differ only in one semantic feature, which makes them interchangeable in most cases. A clear example is an attempt to differentiate the emotion concepts *ENVY* and *JEALOUSY* in English-speaking linguo-cultures (see, e.g., in the British: Ogarkova 2007). In such cases, researchers use scientifically reliable methodological tools that allow identifying the semantic feature / those semantic features in the emotional "mosaic" of close emotion concepts, by which they are distinguished.

It should be noted that in cross-cultural studies the problem of defining the distinctive semantic features of those concepts, which represent close complex emotions, is complicated not only by the diffusion of emotions, but also by those specific ethno-cultural meanings these concepts contain. While translating basic emotions does not pose serious obstacles, as these emotions are clearly defined (furthermore, in almost every language, at least a European one, there are words (terms) to denote fear, anger,

joy, sadness, interest, and disgust), real "translation torments" begin with rendering complex emotions. Problems arise primarily because many terms for complex emotions are synonymous, and the translation is often provided not by professional but by "naive" translators (e.g., psychologists, psychotherapists, sociologists), who do not seek to delve into the semantics of a polysemous word, choosing simply its first meaning. However, a more complicated case is rendering ethno-specific emotions, when there are no lexical equivalents in the target language (see, e.g., Mizin & Letiucha 2019; Mizin & Ovsienko 2020a). And even in the presence of lexical equivalents in the target language, the search for an equivalent word (term) is quite problematic for those complex emotions, whose nominations are distinguished only by one, often insignificant, semantic nuance (see, e.g., Ogarkova et al. 2013).

In the absence of lexical equivalents to denote German specific emotions, representatives of English-speaking linguo-cultures (the British, Americans, and Australians) apply, as a rule, the simplest method – loan translation. Therefore, in English-speaking both academic and non-academic discourses, the German terms *Angst*, *Schadenfreude*, *Torschlusspanik*, *Sehnsucht*, *Gemütlichkeit*, *Geborgenheit*, *Fremdscham / Fremdschämen*, *Gönnen*, *Weltschmerz*, *Fernweh*, etc. are widely used, written with a lower case. But loan translation is of no help whenever it is necessary to explain to someone from a "foreign" linguo-culture the concepts hiding behind these words, i.e. to describe relevant emotions as accurately as possible. In addition, some loanwords, in particular the lexeme *angst*, remain incomprehensible and "foreign" to most recipients of the target language, without becoming widespread.

A crucial point in the descriptive translation of specific emotions from German into English is establishing those lexical equivalents that can convey the most adequate idea of these emotions in the minds of the target language speakers. The chosen equivalents should be supplemented with information that reveals the ethno-cultural authenticity of emotion concepts. The latter can constitute an important part of the emotional universe of German-speaking linguo-cultures (Germans, Austrians, and Swiss).

Therefore, it is necessary for the translator to determine the dominant (main) emotion, which must be well known to the recipient of translation, in the semantic structure of the concepts that represent them. In other words, the lexical equivalent – the name of the emotion – should evoke in the minds of target language speakers the idea of the most relevant emotional experience. The translator should be guided by the rule that emotions are inherent in people as a species, so the emotional experience of different linguo-societies largely coincide, and the lack of a linguistic denotation of a certain emotion in the target language does not mean that this emotion is unfamiliar to its speakers.

The purpose of the research is to clarify the equivalence of the terms denoting metaphysical fear in English and German using a corpus-based methodology. The analysis focuses on the emotion of metaphysical fear specific to German-speaking linguo-cultures, which is denoted by the lexeme *Angst*. This fear is described today in numerous works by psychologists, anthropologists, culturologists, philosophers, and linguists (see, e.g., Becker 2011; Fuchs & Micali 2013; Kahn 2012; Oster 2012; Wierzbicka 1999), where clear criteria for distinguishing metaphysical (existential) fear from specifically situational one have been established. In German, there are separate linguistic denotations for these two types of fear – *Angst* and *Furcht*, which is not the case in a number of other languages (e.g., Ukrainian or Russian).

During their work, translators do not automatically replace language units and constructions of the source language with the corresponding target language units (see, e.g., Slavova & Borysenko 2021). First and foremost, the translator is a researcher who is competent not only in the translation studies, but also in related academic disciplines – linguistics, literary criticism, psychology, philosophy, anthropology, culture studies, and others. With regard to difficulties faced by the translator while rendering emotions, there are at least two situations when the translator needs to support the correct choice of the equivalent (an equivalent word) of the target language with scientifically substantiated ideas: 1) if there are doubts about the accuracy of the target language of

the lexical equivalent (name of a certain emotion concept), which is recorded in bilingual dictionaries; 2) when lexical equivalents are absent in dictionaries at all.

The presence of nouns denoting fear emotions in various linguo-societies is explained by the complexity of the latter, as fear emotions demonstrate divergent manifestations of the course of emotional experience depending on the situation (e.g., intensity or phenotypic expression). Accordingly, each of these manifestations may have a separate denomination in the language. The names of different types of fear have mostly interlingual equivalents, because this emotion is basic (universal): fear is considered to be a biologically mediated reaction, which plays a significant role in the survival of the individual, as it signals danger and serves to avoid the latter. As fear can appear in different situations under different "guises", it is extremely difficult to "squeeze" it into a specific definition. There is still a heated debate about whether the concept of "fear" can be comprehended at all, because despite the fact that this emotion (emotional state / feeling) is known to everybody, it is very difficult to find common ground what is meant by this concept (Becker 2011: 7).

In the process of socialisation, more complex socially and culturally marked qualities of this emotion have been formed on the grounds of the basic instinct of fear, including metaphysical fear. The linguistic separation of metaphysical fear can be traced not only in German, but also in a number of other Germanic, Roman, and even Slavic languages (cf. French *angoisse*, Czech *uzkost*, Polish *lek*), but in the German-speaking community it plays a special ethno-cultural role (Wierzbicka 1999: 135).

Some scholars, including linguists (see, e.g., Oster 2012; Soloshenko 2018), define the English lexeme *fear* as the equivalent of the German word *Angst*. Yet others, in particular some psychologists and psychotherapists claim that the lexeme *anxiety* is the equivalent (see, e.g., Becker 2011; Kahn 2012; Smith 2021). It is noteworthy that the German word *angst* is generally uncommon, so this word is usually not taken into account.

In our opinion, the translator's decision to render *fear* with *Angst* is not quite successful, as the first lexeme overlaps the meaning of the second one. Here, translators should not forget that the word *Angst* denotes a complex and, in addition, specific emotion. In similar cases, the translator has to identify firstly the basic meaning of the lexeme *Angst*, using different dictionaries and references as well as specialised scholarly literature (in other words, to identify the main emotion in the emotional "mosaics" of the ANGST concept). Therefore, the study of the semantic structure of such a word naming the emotion should be supplemented by an analysis of its semantic structure (its actual meaning). There is ample opportunity to use corpus linguistics today, as it makes it possible to study the semantic structure of any word by analysing its typical co-occurrence in representative language corpora based on the study of the contextual environment of the word in concordance lines and statistical data on its collocates and co-occurrences.

## **2. Methods and material (language corpora)**

At the beginning of the third decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it can already be stated with confidence that the methodology of corpus linguistics produces quite scientifically objective results in the study of cultural concepts. Among the proponents of corpus linguistics, a position has been developed that texts are not only manifestations of the language system, but also of the cultural conditions and situations, which they were generated in. This makes it possible to apply the corpus-based method in revealing specific features of a certain culture. In particular, language corpora make it possible to study the distribution of those lexical units that represent culturally marked concepts, in order to identify the cultural meanings of the latter. However, researchers in this case must be sure that such words validly represent cultural concepts (Stefanowitsch 2020: 254).

There is not much discussion in academic circles as to the perception of the fact that emotion concepts are distinct cultural concepts (see, e.g., Kitayama & Markus 1997; Kövecses 2003; Schwarz-Friesel 2008; Wierzbicka 1999). In addition, there is no doubt

about the relevance of the emotion concept ANGST for representatives of German-speaking linguo-cultures (Wierzbicka 1999: 124). Therefore, to identify the most accurate equivalent of this concept in English-speaking linguo-cultures, we propose to strengthen the proper linguistic analysis of the lexemes *Angst*, *Furcht*, *fear*, *anxiety*, and *angst* by applying the corpus-based method. To this end, we should consider in more detail the basic notions of corpus linguistics, as well as its analytical tools, which are directly or indirectly involved in our research.

It is commonly known that the main benefit of corpus linguistics is that it relies on the study of language units in their implementation, i.e. in "real life" (McEnery & Wilson 2001: 1). In this context, the notion "semantic preference" is important for developing the methodology of corpus linguistics (see, e.g., Partington 2004). This notion is based on the idea that each word shows its own semantic preference, i.e. it demonstrates typical combinations with other words which are semantically consistent with it. Thus, there appear various typical combinations of words. They serve as the basis, on which the various semantic nuances of the word are formed (Kövecses 1986: 129).

In the Anglo-Saxon tradition, this combination of words has received several denominations: *collocation* (see, e.g., Firth 1957), *collocability*, or *selective restriction* (see, e.g., Leech 1982). Corpus linguistics demonstrates a clear preference for the first term, although its content has undergone certain changes. Semantic preference closely correlates with the notion "collocation", which means a statistical tendency of the words to co-occur (Hunston 2002: 12). The relevance of this notion is determined by the fact that the real units of speech and writing are not individual, i.e. separate, words, but *larger-than-word units* (see, e.g., Sinclair 1991) or *patterns* (see, e.g., Hunston & Francis 2000).

The notion "pattern" is especially common in cognitive sciences, primarily in cognitive psychology, cognitive linguistics, and psycholinguistics. However, in corpus linguistics it has occupied its separate if not its basic epistemological niche, because the primary

objective of corpus linguistics is to describe and interpret patterns (Biber & Jones 2009: 1287), which result from the use of language signs in speech.

Since the patterns are not random but cognitively motivated, this suggests that a corpus-based analysis can identify those elements in a language, which are typical, normalised, and predictable (Stubbs 2004: 111). Therefore, the corpus-based method is considered to provide a more objective view of the language than intuition (Krieger 2003; McEnery & Wilson 2001) because it is empirical, inductive, and quantitative.

Corpus linguistics involves both quantitative and qualitative analytical procedures (Biber et al. 1998: 4), offering a quantitative-based qualitative approach (Biel 2018: 26) to the study of linguistic signs. This approach has been tested in numerous linguistic studies, especially in the fields of cognitive linguistics, contrastive linguistics, cultural linguistics, and translation studies. It offers an important methodological advantage of reducing speculation in the field of linguistic studies by verifying research hypotheses using large databases. This area of knowledge uses not only material (actual corpora, list of co-occurrences, and statistics), but also conceptual tools for verification. For the latter, in addition to the above-mentioned notion of "semantic preference", no less important is the notion of "semantic prosody". The first notion is something like a semantic field, in which the collocates of the corresponding word are dominant, while the second notion is a more general characteristic of these collocates in terms of positive or negative evaluation (Oster 2012: 338). Proponents of corpus linguistics are inclined to believe that evaluation is a major component of the language (see, e.g., Hunston 2010). The very study of semantic prosody reaches a pragmatic level, because the evaluative potential of the word is not always obvious (see, e.g., Channell 2000).

The notion of "semantic prosody" is based on the assertion that the semantic structure of each word is complemented by the meanings of its collocates, i.e. the frequent contextual units with which it is combined in speech (Whitsitt 2005). The importance of this notion for corpus linguistics is underlined by the fact that in an isolated position,

i.e. out of context, it is impossible to establish a positive / negative semantic prosody of a word even at the level of intuition. It is clear that for this purpose it is necessary to analyse as many contextual uses of this word as possible. This is why corpus linguistics, including studies of semantic prosody, is dominated by the study of concordances, or rather concordance lines, in which the word query is surrounded by contexts (see, e.g., Hunston 2002).

Some scholars argue that this approach is more objective than that proposed in other linguistic fields, in particular in cognitive linguistics and Noam Chomsky's generative linguistics, where researchers often analyse "artificial" examples, which are not formed on the basis of data on the natural compatibility of words (Winter 2019: 179). However, it should be noted that concordance lines only present information, but do not interpret it. The interpretation itself is based on the intuitive insight of the researcher (Hunston & Francis 2000: 65), because the corpus is a repository (storage) of the used language (ibid., 3). Therefore, the need to interpret empirical data should not be ignored in corpus-based studies (Grondelaers et al. 2007: 150). In our research, in particular, a "manual" interpretation of concordance lines and statistical data of word forms was used in two research procedures – (1) in determining the dominant conceptual metaphors that represent the emotion concepts *ANGST*, *FURCHT*, *FEAR*, and *ANXIETY*, as well as (2) in establishing the indicators of intensity and axiological marking of each of these concepts. In applying these procedures, we are aware that the "manual" analysis of semantic prosody is considered somewhat problematic, because the axiological meaning of the lexemes studied in the concordances is difficult to determine objectively (Bednarek 2008: 122). In addition, the "manual" interpretation of concordance lines, according to some scholars (see, e.g., Winter 2019: 179), is a factor that can even delay research progress in addressing the issue of semantic prosody.

To clarify the equivalence of the terms denoting metaphysical fear in English and German one needs large corpora to reveal the factors that influence the choice of a word form (Divjak et al. 2016: 2). With regard to translation, this means that such

decisions, usually subconscious, regarding the choice of a particular word among other words with similar semantics may, in turn, affect the translator's choice of an interlingual equivalent (counterpart).

This clarification was deemed necessary due to the doubts expressed in the Introduction as to whether the English lexeme *fear* is fully equivalent to the German *Angst*. Those researchers who consider them to be equivalents primarily ignore experts' opinion on the issue of the problem of metaphysical fear. For example, in translations from Danish into English of the works of the existentialism philosophical school founder Kierkegaard, physical fear is conveyed by the English word *fear*, and metaphysical – *anxiety*: "Fear and trembling" (2013) (in the original: "Frygt og bæven") and "The concept of anxiety" (2015) (in the original: "Begrebet angst"). In addition, the fundamental studies of cognitive linguists Kövecses and Wierzbicka, in which, in fact, the study of emotion concepts through the prism of their close interaction with human cognition and language was initiated, also differentiate between physical and metaphysical fear (Kövecses 1986: 125; Wierzbicka 1999: 151).

The corpus-based method of the study involves four research stages.

**Stage 1.** Identifying common and divergent semantics of the lexemes denoting physical and metaphysical fear in English and German through a comparative analysis of their definitions. For this purpose, not only dictionaries and reference books are used, but also the definitions of these types of fear in the works of psychologists and philosophers are taken into account.

**Stage 2.** Determining the linguistic and cultural relevance of emotion concepts of Ger. ANGST / A.-S. ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, and ANXIETY by comparing the frequency data of node words Ger. *Angst*, *Furcht* and Eng. *fear*, *anxiety*, *angst* in the Google Books Ngram Viewer (GBNV) online search service by Google. This service allows creating graphs of the language units frequency on the basis of a huge number of printed sources

published during the 16-21 centuries and collected in the Google Books service. Methodologically, this procedure is based on the idea that language is a dynamic system, and changes in a language are directly correlated with socio-historical and socio-cultural changes in the language environment (linguo-culture).

**Stage 3.** Identifying typical (conventional, traditional) connections of emotion concepts ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, and ANXIETY in order to determine the dominant meanings in their semantic structure. If we extrapolate this idea to the level of language / speech, in the context of the analytical tools of corpus linguistics it is nothing else but an analysis of the semantic preference of the node words *Angst*, *Furcht*, *fear*, and *anxiety*.

At the conceptual level, such typical connections are represented by conceptual metaphors. Considering the fact that a large array of examples of contextual uses of these node words may draw attention to completely marginal or even accidental conceptual connections, we focused our study on eight conceptual metaphors relevant to the emotion of fear, identified by comparing the work of our predecessors (Kövecses 2003: 23; Lakoff et al. 1991: 140-166; Oster 2012: 337; Stefanowitsch 2006: 93), who, despite different methodological approaches, achieved essentially similar results in this regard: 1) EMOTION IS AN ENEMY; 2) EMOTION IS FIRE; 3) EMOTION IS SOMETHING INSIDE THE BODY; 4) EMOTION IS AN ILLNESS; 5) EMOTION IS A FLUID; 6) EMOTION IS A SUBSTANCE; 7) EMOTION IS A FORCE; 8) EMOTION IS A CREATURE.

The semantic preference of a word is formed not only by its left and right collocates, but also by co-occurrences, i.e. those word forms that can often be found with it in the contexts of concordance series. The quantitative indicators of the collocates and co-occurrences of the node words *Angst*, *Furcht*, *fear*, and *anxiety* are fairly objective markers that can be used to determine the relevance of each of the eight conceptual metaphors we have identified for the emotion concepts ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, and ANXIETY. The degree of relevance demonstrates which characteristics (meanings) of

physical or metaphysical fear dominate in these concepts, and this, in fact, is the basis for establishing a more accurate interlingual equivalence of the lexemes *Angst*, *Furcht*, *fear*, and *anxiety*.

For this stage, the correlation of word frequency indicators in English and German language corpora is methodologically important, as corpora in interlingual studies should be balanced (as far as possible) in terms of size, composition, and technical capabilities (set of tools). Such representative corpora can be, in our opinion, iWeb (iWeb) and Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (DWDS), because they are, firstly, freely available and have a similar size and composition, and secondly, the indices of correlation strength – *logDice* for DWDS and *MI-index* for iWeb – are to some extent related.

The iWeb corpus contains 14 billion words (22 million web pages represented by different types of discourses: Internet discourse, journalism, science, fiction). The volume of the DWDS corpus is currently more than 27 billion tokens. The basis for the automatic creation of word profiles (DWDS-Wortprofilen) is a newspaper corpus of about 3 billion tokens. These profiles provide data on the frequency of left and right collocates of query words (general list and lists for each part of speech separately – part-of-speech tagging) and co-occurrences forms. The function of automatic creation of similar profiles is also available in the iWeb corpus.

It should be noted that the *logDice* (DWDS) and *MI-index* (iWeb) indices, although developed on the basis of different techniques, serve the same purpose – to establish a typical compatibility and "weed out" a random one, so these indices can be considered, at least for the purposes of this study, essentially relevant ones. Currently, there are more than eight dozen such statistical metrics for estimating word compatibility (see more in Pecina 2009). They allow calculating the strength of the connection between the elements of phrases, based on the frequency of these phrases and their constituent words.

**Stage 4.** Comparing the concepts ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, and ANXIETY by indicators of intensity and axiological marking, as in the intercultural perspective they can serve as criteria for equivalence of cultural concepts. What is meant here is the perception of the concepts in question by representatives of the respective linguo-cultures in terms of the intensity of the emotion of fear and the dominant evaluation (the ratio of the negative and the positive). In this study, these indicators are determined by establishing the range of emotional concepts that have the closest connection with ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, and ANXIETY. By analogy with *conceptual proximity* of Oster (2012: 338), for the purpose of the present research, such concepts will be called *conceptual proximates*. Given a person's permanent desire to balance negativity and positivity in their dynamic emotional world, it can be assumed that emotions close to physical and metaphysical fears can be not only negative but also positive or ambivalent. Since fear is generally considered to be a negative emotion, the percentage of negative and/or intense conceptual proximates can be a fairly objective indicator of which of the concepts – ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, or ANXIETY – conveys emotionally "severer" (more negative) and/or deeper (more intense) fear. It should be mentioned that the identification of conceptual proximates using corpus data is in fact the establishment of semantic prosody (negative / positive / ambivalent meanings) of the node words *Angst*, *Furcht*, *fear*, and *anxiety*. Due to the "manual" evaluation procedure, our analysis is limited to those word forms that denote or characterize emotions (a sample of 100 collocates and co-occurrences with the highest frequency and strength of their connection with the node words).

### **3. Results**

The four stages of the method of the present study involve the following research procedures: 1) comparing definitions of the lexemes Ger. *Angst*, *Furcht* and Eng. *fear*, *anxiety*, *angst*; 2) comparing frequency graphs (Google Books Ngram Viewer online service) of the node words *Angst*, *Furcht*, *fear*, *anxiety*, and *angst* in order to determine the significance of emotional concepts Ger. ANGST / A.-S. ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, and ANXIETY for English-speaking and German-speaking linguo-cultures; 3) establishing

those conceptual metaphors from our list that are most relevant to each of the emotional concepts under study; 4) comparing ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, ANXIETY by indicators of intensity and axiological marking.

### *3.1 Comparative analysis of definitions of the lexemes Ger. Angst, Furcht and Eng. fear, anxiety, angst*

A dictionary definition gives information about the meaning of the concept, but such information is not devoid of certain elements of subjectivity due to the ideological priorities and methodological guidelines of lexicographers. In addition, printed dictionaries, even the most modern ones, lag far behind the dynamics of language development (archaisation of lexical units, neologisation of lexical composition, generalisation / specialisation of the meanings of lexemes).

Despite this fact, electronic dictionaries are usually compiled on the basis of printed ones. Attempts to update the meaning of words relying on digital data are not always successful. The definitions of the lexemes *Angst* and *Furcht* in the DWDS corpus may serve as an example: *Angst* – 1) banges Gefühl, Furcht; 2) Sorge [1) the feeling of fear (apprehension), fear; 2) anxiety]; *Furcht* – 'banges Gefühl, Angst' [the feeling of fear (apprehension), anxiety]. These definitions do not contain enough information about the concepts they denote, so recipients can understand that the lexemes *Angst* and *Furcht* are completely interchangeable (absolute synonyms). However, the difference between them is much more significant than the additional meaning of 'anxiety' of the lexeme *Angst*, as evidenced by their definitions in authoritative dictionaries, e.g.: *Angst* – 'great anxiety, restlessness; vague, often unfounded sense of threat'; *Furcht* – 'a feeling of threat from something definite (specific) that is associated with a desire to defend oneself or to flee' (see, for example, DKW: 73, 368). In these definitions there is a clear contrast of the compared lexemes on the semantic feature 'indefinite (subconscious, often unfounded) threat' – 'defined (specific) threat'.

The definitions of the English lexemes *angst*, *anxiety*, and *fear* also show noticeable differences in their meanings, e.g.: *angst* – 'a feeling of acute anxiety about a certain situation or someone's life' (Wiktionary); *anxiety* – 'an intense feeling of horror (fear, dread); vague foreboding'; *fear* – 'an intense emotion arising from danger, pain, or evil, which are threatening, inevitable, or visible to the individual' (NWDTEL: 41, 343). The lexeme *fear* denotes a broader concept of fear. The threat that causes such fear has a real embodiment, so in German it is appropriate to define the word *Furcht* as the lexical equivalent of *fear*. Whereas the German lexeme *Angst* has two English equivalents – *angst* and *anxiety*. It is noteworthy that neither of them shows a complete coincidence of definitions with *Angst*, i.e. the equivalence is partial.

Thus, in defining the concepts of Ger. ANGST / A.-S. ANGST, ANXIETY, on the one hand, and FURCHT, FEAR, on the other, researchers should always remember that they are opposed on the axis "metaphysical fear" (horror, anxiety, vague foreboding) – "physical fear" (real danger, threat to life). Those definitions that do not indicate this opposition are, at the very least, incorrect because they do not provide the recipient with objective information about the concepts under study. Even non-specialists in the field of psychology, in particular linguists, have no right to ignore the convincing position of psychologists on the distinction between these two types of fear.

This distinction is profound in nature as it is related to the instinct of human survival. The phenomenal foundation of the emotion of *Angst* is considered to be the conflict between bodily (physical) constraints (compression, constriction) and the urge (impulse) to escape directed against it: on the one hand, an individual feels constriction and tightness in the throat, chest, and abdomen (cf. the etymology of the noun *Angst*: Greek *anchein* – 'choke; strangle; press'; Latin *angor* – 'choking, clogging'; *angustus* – 'tight; narrow' (DWDS)); on the other hand, they feel an impulse (desire, urge) to escape to avoid threatening tightness (constriction). It is clear that the situation giving rise to such fear does not allow immediate escape, so the person is hovering in a state of diffuse anxiety with the aimless urge to move. Because of this limitation, i.e. the awareness of

the hopelessness of the situation, the impulse to flee grows stronger, which, in turn, increases the feeling of constriction. The latter can intensify the emotion of *Angst* and make it unbearable. It is this antagonism of these two sensations, which cannot be eliminated, that gives rise to the paralysing effect of *Angst*. At the same time, the fear of narrowing (constriction), unattainability, or loss of opportunities for personal self-development is a kind of existential claustrophobia, one of the types of *Angst* emotion on the existential level. This is expressed primarily by the fear of fixing (fixation) and binding. This fear makes an attempt to keep life plans as long as possible in a suspended state, since because of it every restriction is perceived as a narrowing (constriction) (Fuchs & Micali 2013: 11).

It should be noted that *Angst* is considered to be a graded phenomenon between two poles: diffuse fear (apprehension), on the one hand, and a specific fear directed at a certain object, on the other hand (Demmerling & Landweer 2007: 80). This means that on its second pole the blurred and forward-looking *Angst* reveals the characteristics of physical fear (Becker 2011: 9-10). That is, *Angst* can to some extent be transformed into *Furcht*, and vice versa. Therefore, there are situations when even an individual cannot determine exactly what they are experiencing – physical or metaphysical fear.

In view of this, linguists made repeated attempts to establish a reliable criterion according to which the emotion concepts of A.-S. FEAR and ANXIETY and Ger. ANGST and FURCHT can be differentiated. Kövecses points out, in particular, that the emotion *fear*, unlike *anxiety*, is always directed at the object (1990). The same is emphasised by Wierzbicka (1999: 124), who underlines that the German specific concept ANGST conveys a state of depression, while A.-S. FEAR is not a state. She argues that the German word *Furcht* is closer to the English *fear* than *Angst*, although the latter is more common in the German-speaking world. The objectivity of this conclusion can be verified today with the help of data on the frequency of the mentioned words.

### 3.2 Determining the significance of emotion concepts of Ger. *ANGST* / A.-S. *ANGST*, *FURCHT*, *FEAR*, and *ANXIETY* for English-speaking and German-speaking linguo-cultures (frequency graphs)

The above definitional analysis has revealed that the English lexemes *angst* and *anxiety* are equivalent to the German lexeme *Angst*. Taking into consideration that the calque ("foreign") word *angst* is uncommon in the English-speaking world, used mainly in the field of psychology (according to iWeb, its frequency is 19495 uses, while that of *anxiety* is 426858; see also Fig. 1), the position of those scholars, who believe that the English word *anxiety*, and not *angst*, is equivalent to the German word *Angst* (see, e.g., Becker 2011: 9-10), may be correct. This seems logical, since the lexeme *angst* is a calque that has lost a part of its meaning and now it differs significantly in content from the German *Angst*. It is important to note that the lexeme has lost namely the meaning that emphasised the specificity of the original lexeme *Angst*, i.e. the linguistic and cultural marking of the concept *ANGST*. That is why in some definitions, *angst* is even interpreted as emotional chaos or painful sadness (see, for example: WikiDiff). *Anxiety*, on the contrary, according to the DSM-5 nosological system (the "nomenclature" of mental disorders developed by the American Psychiatric Association) is activated by a threat that is unknown, probable or virtually indeterminate, as opposed to *fear*, which is caused by a known or understandable threat (DSM-5).

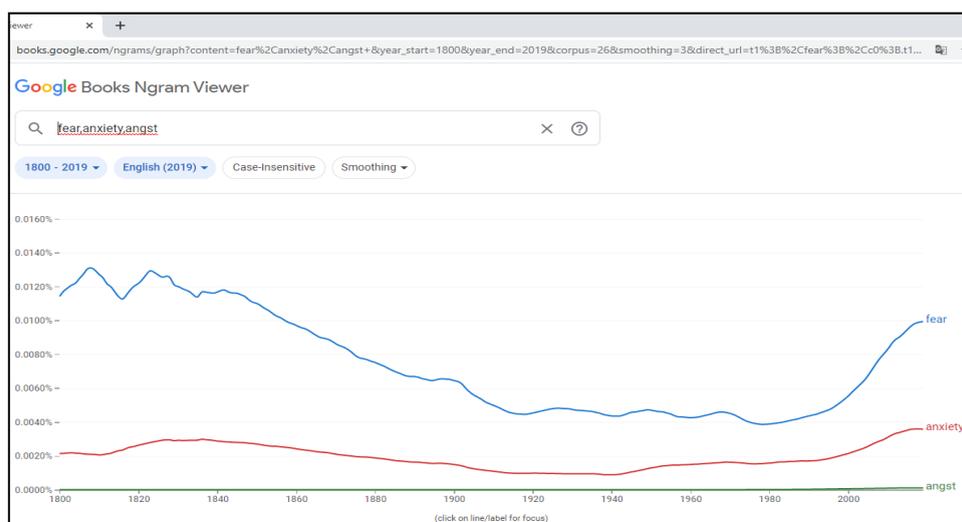


Figure 1. Graph of the frequency of the node words *fear*, *anxiety*, and *angst* according to Google Books Ngram Viewer; English; 1800–2019; smoothing 3 (GBNV)

One can assume that the significance of cultural concepts plays an important part in finding their equivalents. Some researchers define A.-S. FEAR and Ger. ANGST as equivalent concepts because they demonstrate the dynamics of increasing relevance in the respective linguo-cultures, but the graphs of frequency can demonstrate different results as for the equivalence of cultural concepts (see Fig. 2; cf. Fig. 1).

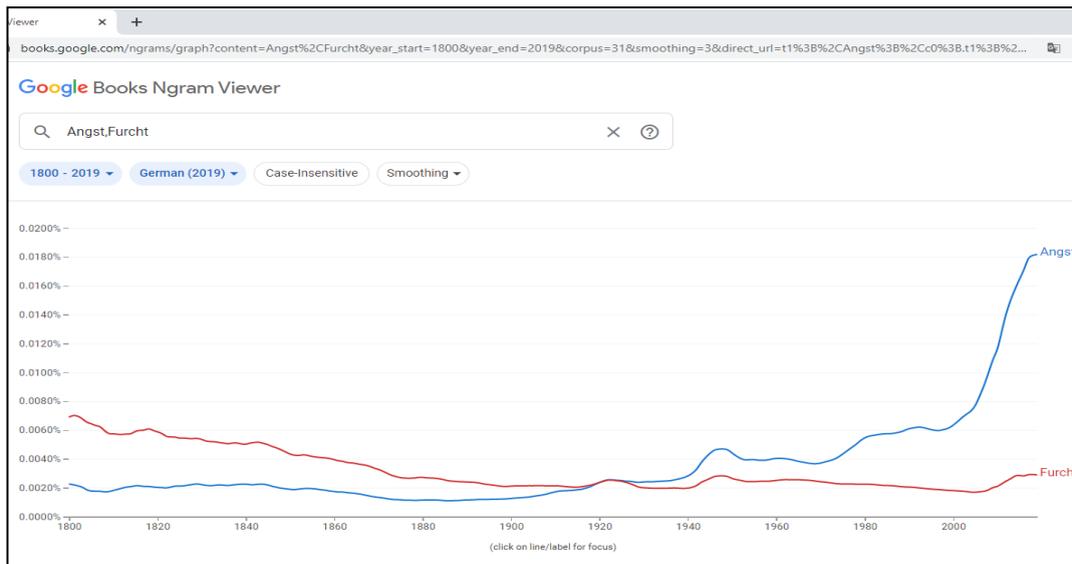


Figure 2. Graph of the frequency of the node words *Angst* and *Furcht* according to Google Books Ngram Viewer; German language; 1800–2019; smoothing 3 (GBNV)

### 3.3 Establishing the most relevant conceptual metaphors for emotion concepts ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, and ANXIETY

It has been noted above that the frequency of names of cultural concepts is considered to be a fairly objective criterion for establishing their linguistic and cultural significance. However, the logDice (DWDS) and MI-index (iWeb) indices are equally important, as they indicate the strength of the associative relationship between the concepts of the source sphere and the concepts of the target sphere within the conceptual metaphors that represent cultural concepts. In this case, it is not about conventional conceptual metaphors (the language level), but about relevant (the speech level) ones. This procedure makes it possible to determine the dominant meanings of physical / metaphysical fear in the emotion concepts of ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, and ANXIETY, which in turn creates a basis for establishing a more accurate equivalence of the lexemes *Angst*, *Furcht*, *fear*, and *anxiety*.

Tables 1 and 2 (see Appendix) present the collocates and co-occurrences of the query words *Angst and Furcht / fear and anxiety*, which are selected on the basis of "manual" analysis by criteria of (1) the highest statistics (logDice / MI-index indices + frequency) and (2) semantic proximity to the concepts representing the target sphere of the eight conceptual metaphors singled out above. Word forms are arranged in tables by frequency.

Data processing revealed that among the eight conceptual metaphors, only five are the most relevant to the emotion concepts of ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, and ANXIETY: 1) EMOTION IS AN ENEMY; 2) EMOTION IS AN ILLNESS; 3) EMOTION IS A SUBSTANCE; 4) EMOTION IS A FORCE; 5) EMOTION IS A CREATURE. The latter ones are unevenly represented in the conceptual structure of the studied concepts (see Table 3).

Table 3. Representation of the dominant metaphors in the conceptual structure of concepts ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, and ANXIETY (in ascending order from light to black colours)

	<b>Conceptual metaphor</b>	<b>ANGST</b>	<b>FURCHT</b>	<b>FEAR</b>	<b>ANXIETY</b>
1	EMOTION IS AN ENEMY	■	■	■	■
2	EMOTION IS AN ILLNESS	■	■	■	■
3	EMOTION IS A SUBSTANCE	■	■	■	■
4	EMOTION IS A FORCE	■	■	■	■
5	EMOTION IS A CREATURE	■	■	■	■

Table 3 clearly shows the significant similarity of the conceptual structures of the concepts of Ger. FURCHT and A.-S. FEAR, which demonstrates four complete coincidences and one incomplete one (the latter is due to the fact that in Anglo-Saxons the fear, which is nominated by the lexeme *fear* is more associated with illness than the emotion *Furcht* in the representatives of German-speaking linguo-cultures). This semantic similarity substantiates our position that the German equivalent of the English lexeme *fear* is *Furcht*, not *Angst*.

It is noteworthy that the metaphorical representation of the emotion concept ANGST shows more similarities with the concept FEAR than with ANXIETY: the comparison with FEAR revealed three complete coincidences and two partial, and with ANXIETY – one

complete coincidence, three partial, and one discrepancy. The latter concept is of a lesser linguistic and cultural significance in the English-speaking world, as it is common primarily in the field of psychotherapy, mostly associated with mental disorders and various phobias (see Appendix, Table 2). Nevertheless, it should be emphasised that the very concept of Ger. ANGST and A.-S. ANXIETY mostly conveys the meanings of existential fear (e.g., Ger. *Depression, Stress, umtreiben, lähmen, paranoid*; Eng. *depression, disorder, stress, insomnia, worry, paranoia, restlessness*). This fact provides an objective basis for concluding that the English lexeme *anxiety* is more equivalent to the German word *Angst* than *fear*.

### *3.4 Comparison of the concepts ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, ANXIETY on indicators of (1) intensity of the emotion of fear and (2) axiological marking*

In this article, the number of word forms that denote or characterize emotions / emotional states is limited to 100 collocates and co-occurrences of the node words *Angst, Furcht, fear, and anxiety* with the highest indicators of typical combinability and frequency. This restriction was introduced both in view of the "manual" procedure for determining the intensity and evaluation, and for two other reasons. First, this number of word forms is quite sufficient, in our opinion, to identify the most relevant characteristics of any concept. Secondly, technically, the automatic word profile processing in the DWDS corpus is designed for a maximum of 100 word forms, so due to proportionality as a methodological principle of the comparative analysis, we have limited the number of studied word forms in the iWeb corpus to the same number.

As intensity is a subjective emotional category based on six parameters (Sonnemans & Frijda 1995: 484), our focus is only on the strength of the emotion of fear in the concepts of ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, and ANXIETY. Each of these concepts conveys a different intensity of fear and contains a different ratio of the negative and the positive, which confirms the analysis of collocates and co-occurrences of our samples (see Appendix, Table 4, and Table 5).

The results of the data analysis of collocates and co-occurrences, which are the names of emotional conceptual proximates of the concepts *ANGST*, *FURCHT*, *FEAR*, and *ANXIETY*, are represented in percentage in Table 6. This indicator clearly shows that to the greatest extent the intensity of expression of fear is conveyed by the concepts of Ger. *FURCHT* and A.-S. *FEAR*. Since in opposition "physical fear" – "metaphysical fear" the former is considered to be more intense (see also above the conceptual metaphor *EMOTION IS A FORCE*), it is one more confirmation of our conclusion that it is the meanings of physical fear that dominate in the concepts of Ger. *FURCHT* and A.-S. *FEAR*. As for such a characteristic as evaluation, the concepts Ger. *FURCHT* and A.-S. *FEAR* show similarity, because they are perceived by representatives of the respective linguo-cultures more positively than the concepts Ger. *ANGST* and A.-S. *ANXIETY*. It is noteworthy that *ANXIETY* does not show a relevant connection with positive emotion concepts at all. Obviously, this is due to the fact that it represents mostly a medical discourse (depression, mental disorders, etc.). The other concepts under consideration – *ANGST*, *FURCHT*, and *FEAR* – correlate only with those positive emotions they are opposed to or in which fear is an existential threat. At the same time, the concept *ANGST*, like *ANXIETY*, is "severer", i.e. more negative, because it conveys not only the emotion of fear, but also a "severe" emotional state of fear and anxiety associated with depression, stress, pain, sadness. As was mentioned above, it is metaphysical fear that is characterised by such an emotional "bouquet". This means that in terms of Ger. *FURCHT* and A.-S. *FEAR* physical fear dominates, and in terms of Ger. *ANGST* and A.-S. *ANXIETY* – a metaphysical one. In view of this, the results represented in Table 6 fully confirm the conclusions made at the previous stages of our study that the emotion concept *ANXIETY* is more equivalent to the concept *ANGST* than *FEAR*. In this case, it is appropriate to define the latter as the equivalent of the German *FURCHT*.

Table 6. Indicators of intensity and axiological marking of concepts *ANGST*, *FURCHT*, *FEAR*, *ANXIETY*

Emotion concept	Intensity	Evaluation		
		Negative	Positive	Ambivalent
<b>ANGST</b>	32.4	81.1	13.5	5.4
<b>FURCHT</b>	53.1	71.9	12.5	15.6
<b>FEAR</b>	54.5	75.7	6.1	18.2
<b>ANXIETY</b>	37.1	85.2	0	14.8

#### 4. Conclusions

By applying a corpus-based method, this article has attempted to specify the Anglo-Saxon equivalent for the specific metaphysical fear widespread in German-speaking linguo-cultures, which is expressed by the emotion concept ANGST. To achieve the goal of the research, a comprehensive methodology has been developed. The latter involved the implementation of four research steps: 1) comparing the definitions of the lexemes Ger. *Angst*, *Furcht* and Eng. *fear*, *anxiety*, *angst*; 2) comparing the frequency graphs of node words *Angst*, *Furcht*, *fear*, *anxiety*, *angst* in order to determine the significance of emotion concepts Ger. ANGST / A.-S. ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, ANXIETY for English-speaking and German-speaking linguo-societies; 3) establishing the conceptual metaphors most relevant to these concepts; 4) comparing the concepts under study on the basis of the indicators of intensity and axiological marking.

The results obtained by testing this methodology have led to the rejection of the conclusion made by some linguists that the German emotion concept ANGST is equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon FEAR, as it is proved that metaphysical fear in linguo-cultures under comparison is conveyed by the concepts of Ger. ANGST and A.-S. ANXIETY, and physical one – by Ger. FURCHT and A.-S. FEAR. In this light, one can conclude that, ANXIETY is more equivalent to the concept ANGST than to FEAR. It is clear that ANXIETY, and still less FEAR, cannot convey to representatives of English-speaking communities all the linguistic and cultural specificity of the German concept ANGST.

#### Notes

All the examples are borrowed from the following corpora:

- 1) English: iWeb <https://www.english-corpora.org/iweb/>;
- 2) German: DWDS <http://www.dwds.de/ressourcen/korpora/>.

All the examples have been translated by the authors.

## List of abbreviations

A.-S. – Anglo-Saxon

DKW – Der kleine Wahrig. Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache

DSM-5 – Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders

DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache

Eng. – English

GBNV – Google Books Ngram Viewer

Ger. – German

iWeb – Word Web Corpus

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

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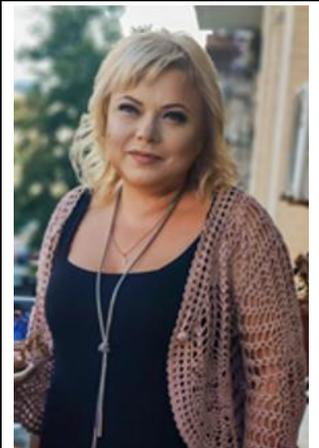
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## Résumé

By applying a corpus-based method, this article has attempted to specify the

equivalence of terms designating metaphysical fear, as the analysis of large corpora allows revealing the factors that influence an individual's decision to use a particular word form. With regard to the translation process, this means that such decisions, usually subconscious, regarding the choice of a particular word among other words with similar semantics may influence the translator's choice of an interlingual equivalent. The research methodology involves the implementation of four steps: 1) comparing the definitions of the lexemes Ger. *Angst*, *Furcht* and Eng. *fear*, *anxiety*, *angst*); 2) comparing the frequency graphs of node words *Angst*, *Furcht*, *fear*, *anxiety*, *angst* in order to determine the significance of emotion concepts Ger. ANGST / A.-S. ANGST, FURCHT, FEAR, ANXIETY for English-speaking and German-speaking linguo-cultures; 3) establishing the most relevant conceptual metaphors to these concepts; 4) comparing the concepts under study according to the indicators of intensity and axiological marking. The results obtained through this methodology make it possible to reject the conclusion made by some linguists that the German emotion concept ANGST is equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon FEAR. It has been proved that metaphysical fear in linguo-cultures under comparison is conveyed by the concepts of Ger. ANGST and A.-S. ANXIETY, and a physical one – by Ger. FURCHT and A.-S. FEAR. In this light, one can conclude that, ANXIETY is more equivalent to the concept ANGST than to FEAR. It is clear that ANXIETY, and still less FEAR, cannot convey to representatives of English-speaking communities all the linguo-cultural specificity of the German concept ANGST.

**Key words:** emotion concept, angst, fear, anxiety, corpus-based method, conceptual metaphor.

## Appendix

Table 1. Conceptual metaphors with source sphere ANGST / FURCHT  
(corpus data; logDice  $\leq$  4.0, Freq.  $\leq$  20)

	Conceptual metaphor	ANGST			FURCHT		
		The most frequent collocates and co-occurrences	log Dice	Freq.	The most frequent collocates and co-occurrences	log Dice	Freq.
1	ANGST / FURCHT IS AN ENEMY	<i>Tod</i> [death] <i>Anschlag</i> [stroke; attack; sabotage] <i>überwinden</i> [overcome; conquer] <i>Terror</i> [terror] <i>Terroranschlag</i> [terrorist attack] <i>abbauen</i> [break down; dismantle] <i>Aggression</i> [aggression] <i>besiegen</i> [defeat] <i>plagen</i> [afflict; plague] <i>weichen</i> [yield; give way] <i>vertreiben</i> [drive out] <i>verdrängen</i> [oust] <i>überwiegen</i> [outweigh; prevail] <i>bannen</i> [drive out; overcome]	<b>5.8</b> 5.9 8.8 5.9 5.9 8.2 7.7 7.3 7.4 7.3 6.8 7.1 6.7 6.8	<b>1052</b> 672 633 572 501 372 210 141 129 136 126 118 97 74	<i>Anschlag</i> [stroke; attack; sabotage] <i>Terroranschlag</i> [terrorist attack] <i>Terror</i> [terror] <i>überwinden</i> [overcome; conquer] <i>fliehen</i> [flee] <i>weichen</i> [yield; give way] <i>überwiegen</i> [outweigh; prevail] <i>flüchten</i> [flee] <i>beschleichen</i> [creep; stalk] <i>entspringen</i> [escape] <i>plagen</i> [afflict; plague] <i>bannen</i> [drive out; overcome] <i>überkommen</i> [come over; overwhelm] <i>besiegen</i> [defeat]	<b>5.8</b> 6.0 4.8 6.6 4.5 7.0 6.9 5.7 7.4 6.9 6.2 6.9 6.7 5.8	<b>409</b> 178 112 93 91 54 53 50 35 32 23 22 22 21
2	ANGST / FURCHT IS FIRE	<i>schüren</i> [poke]	<b>10.7</b>	<b>1498</b>	<i>schüren</i> [poke]	8.6	149
3	ANGST / FURCHT IS SOMETHING INSIDE THE BODY	<i>latent</i> [latent] <i>tiefsitzend</i> [deep-rooted] <i>unterschwellig</i> [subconscious; latent]	7.2 7.4 7.2	116 109 101	<i>latent</i> [latent] <i>tiefsitzend</i> [deep-rooted]	7.2 7.8	42 30
4	ANGST / FURCHT IS AN ILLNESS	<i>Schmerz</i> [pain] <i>Depression</i> [depression] <i>Stress</i> [stress] <i>umtreiben</i> [plagued] <i>lähmen</i> [paralyse] <i>lähmend</i> [paralysing] <i>krankhaft</i> [pathological] <i>paranoid</i> [paranoid]	6.0 8.3 7.3 7.8 7.7 7.2 6.2 6.1	622 343 162 147 144 103 52 46	<i>Zittern</i> [trembling; tremor] <i>Ansteckung</i> [infection; contagion] <i>umtreiben</i> [plagued] <i>lähmend</i> [paralysing] <i>lähmen</i> [paralyse]	5.6 4.6 7.2 7.2 6.8	84 41 32 30 28
5	ANGST / FURCHT IS	<i>einflößen</i> [instil]	5.9	39	<i>einflößen</i> [instil]	9.3	107

	A FLUID						
6	ANGST / FURCHT IS A SUBSTANCE	<i>verbreiten</i> [disseminate]	8.9	557	<i>verbreiten</i> [disseminate]	7.8	158
		<i>spüren</i> [feel]	7.2	254	<i>grassieren</i> [spread]	8.6	81
		<i>grassieren</i> [spread]	8.4	229	<i>schwinden</i> [disappear]	6.9	50
		<i>zerstreuen</i> [disperse]	8.3	229	<i>spüren</i> [feel]	5.0	40
		<i>schwinden</i> [disappear]	7.0	110	<i>mischen</i> [mix]	6.5	36
		<i>pur</i> [pure]	6.6	107	<i>verbergen</i> [hide]	6.1	35
		<i>verbergen</i> [hide]	6.8	105	<i>zerstreuen</i> [disperse]	7.1	20
7	ANGST / FURCHT IS A FORCE	<i>wachsen</i> [grow; increase]	<b>7.9</b>	<b>1110</b>	<i>wachsen</i> [grow; increase]	<b>6.8</b>	<b>476</b>
		<i>auslösen</i> [trigger; cause]	7.4	416	<i>groß</i> [large]	<b>6.7</b>	<b>400</b>
		<i>treiben</i> [drive; push]	7.5	356	<i>treiben</i> [drive; push]	6.6	147
		<i>verstärken</i> [strengthen]	6.6	139	<i>auslösen</i> [trigger; cause]	5.5	88
		<i>erzeugen</i> [create; generate]	6.7	136	<i>erzeugen</i> [create; generate]	5.8	47
		<i>stark</i> [strong; intense]	6.6	108	<i>verstärken</i> [strengthen]	5.8	45
		<i>verfliegen</i> [vanish; fly]	7.1	99	<i>dämpfen</i> [lessen; dampen]	6.7	41
		<i>dämpfen</i> [lessen; dampen]	6.7	91	<i>stark</i> [strong; intense]	4.6	24
8	ANGST / FURCHT IS A CREATURE	<i>nehmen</i> [take]	<b>7.2</b>	<b>1869</b>	<i>umgehen</i> [go around]	8.0	278
		<i>umgehen</i> [go around]	<b>10.1</b>	<b>1711</b>	<i>nähren</i> [feed; nurture]	8.0	93
		<i>sitzen</i> [sit]	6.4	597	<i>wecken</i> [wake (up)]	6.0	69
		<i>wecken</i> [wake (up)]	8.1	417	<i>einjagen</i> [scare; intimidate]	8.3	46
		<i>nackt</i> [naked]	7.5	277	<i>drücken</i> [press; squeeze]	5.2	45
		<i>packen</i> [seize; grip]	6.7	144	<i>verbergen</i> [hide]	6.1	35
		<i>regieren</i> [rule]	6.8	130	<i>erwecken</i> [wake (up)]	5.5	32
		<i>nähren</i> [feed; nurture]	7.2	124	<i>herrschen</i> [prevail]	5.4	27
		<i>hervorrufen</i> [provoke]	6.8	124	<i>hervorrufen</i> [provoke]	5.3	25
		<i>einjagen</i> [scare; intimidate]	7.4	112	<i>hegen</i> [foster; cherish]	5.6	24
		<i>herrschen</i> [prevail]	6.5	103	<i>packen</i> [seize; grip]	5.0	22
		<i>mitspielen</i> [join in a/the game]	6.6	93			
		<i>mitfahren</i> [go with]	6.8	79			

Table 2. Conceptual metaphors with source sphere FEAR / ANXIETY  
(corpus data; MI-index  $\leq 2.0$ , Freq.  $\leq 100$ )

	Conceptual metaphor	FEAR			ANXIETY		
		The most frequent collocates and co-occurrences	MI-index	Freq.	The most frequent collocates and co-occurrences	MI-index	Freq.
1	FEAR / ANXIETY IS AN ENEMY	<i>overcome</i> <i>death</i> <i>strike</i> <i>conquer</i> <i>confront</i> <i>persecution</i> <i>danger</i> <i>intimidation</i> <i>prejudice</i> <i>flee</i> <i>aggression</i> <i>cope</i> <i>creep</i> <i>banish</i> <i>mortal</i> <i>haunt</i>	<b>6.13</b> <b>2.77</b> <b>3.60</b> <b>5.75</b> <b>4.36</b> 5.56 2.52 6.45 4.44 3.14 4.28 2.57 3.34 4.35 3.63 3.17	<b>14488</b> <b>8626</b> <b>4256</b> <b>3538</b> <b>2071</b> 1590 1461 1411 1014 939 820 621 430 418 383 380	<i>attack</i> <i>overcome</i> <i>struggle</i> <i>cope</i> <i>combat</i> <i>battle</i>	<b>4.32</b> <b>4.87</b> <b>3.47</b> 4.97 3.63 3.04	<b>9349</b> <b>3319</b> <b>2200</b> 1805 706 475
2	FEAR / ANXIETY IS FIRE	<i>spark</i> <i>stoke</i>	3.92 5.94	1314 1088			
3	FEAR / ANXIETY IS SOMETHING INSIDE THE BODY	<i>deepest</i> <i>deep-seated</i> <i>subconscious</i> <i>innermost</i> <i>subliminal</i> <i>deep-rooted</i>	5.26 6.54 4.76 4.44 4.64 5.52	1396 350 325 133 129 117	<i>perinatal</i>	7.29	391
4	FEAR / ANXIETY IS AN ILLNESS	<i>tremble</i> <i>phobia</i> <i>paralyze</i> <i>paranoia</i> <i>freeze</i> <i>trepidation</i> <i>debilitating</i> <i>lingering</i> <i>obsession</i> <i>morbid</i> <i>anguish</i> <i>nagging</i> <i>paralyzing</i> <i>shiver</i> <i>pathological</i>	<b>7.26</b> <b>7.40</b> 6.96 5.94 2.78 6.71 4.45 3.98 2.65 5.32 4.48 5.08 8.39 4.52 4.32	<b>2842</b> <b>2306</b> 1850 898 985 521 382 382 303 296 293 287 283 238 233	<i>depression</i> <i>disorder</i> <i>stress</i> <i>suffer</i> <i>pain</i> <i>treat</i> <i>insomnia</i> <i>treatment</i> <i>relieve</i> <i>medication</i> <i>worry</i> <i>headache</i> <i>paranoia</i> <i>restlessness</i> <i>illness</i> <i>trauma</i> <i>addiction</i> <i>nausea</i> <i>cure</i> <i>schizophrenia</i> <i>palpitation</i>	<b>8.83</b> <b>7.56</b> <b>6.97</b> <b>5.03</b> <b>3.59</b> <b>3.40</b> <b>8.34</b> <b>2.68</b> <b>5.95</b> <b>3.85</b> 5.24 4.50 7.28 8.38 3.08 4.41 3.93 5.33 3.69 5.72 7.22	<b>56980</b> <b>32796</b> <b>28996</b> <b>10625</b> <b>5909</b> <b>5034</b> <b>4785</b> <b>4436</b> <b>3936</b> <b>2764</b> 1960 1483 1255 1235 1201 1188 1130 1076 808 608 528
5	FEAR / ANXIETY IS A FLUID	<i>instill</i> <i>instil</i> <i>fuel</i>	6.75 6.63 3.61	1561 1387 553	<i>sweat</i> <i>fuel</i>	3.41 3.03	289 204
6	FEAR / ANXIETY IS A SUBSTANCE	<i>mongering</i> <i>dispel</i> <i>widespread</i> <i>spreading</i> <i>sow</i> <i>palpable</i>	9.62 5.79 3.07 4.53 3.35 4.63	1184 952 845 431 366 296	<i>substance</i> <i>dispel</i> <i>dissipate</i>	2.69 3.96 3.40	980 147 126

		<i>pervasive</i>	3.76	269			
7	FEAR / ANXIETY IS A FORCE	<i>greatest</i>	<b>3.38</b>	<b>3854</b>	<i>alleviate</i>	<b>6.20</b>	<b>2124</b>
		<i>violence</i>	<b>3.18</b>	<b>2920</b>	<i>decrease</i>	<b>3.95</b>	<b>2122</b>
		<i>allay</i>	<b>9.35</b>	<b>2888</b>	<i>trigger</i>	3.96	1700
		<i>intense</i>	<b>3.60</b>	<b>2293</b>	<i>reduction</i>	3.08	1291
		<i>calm</i>	4.61	1798	<i>calm</i>	4.77	1103
		<i>alleviate</i>	4.94	1621	<i>induce</i>	4.44	1055
		<i>trigger</i>	2.63	1231	<i>lower</i>	2.72	968
		<i>motivate</i>	2.93	1156	<i>lessen</i>	5.39	936
		<i>assuage</i>	8.23	1029	<i>provoke</i>	5.17	910
		<i>overwhelming</i>	3.14	997	<i>incite</i>	4.81	471
		<i>induce</i>	3.28	857	<i>quell</i>	6.08	286
		<i>quell</i>	6.40	675	<i>elevated</i>	2.75	197
		<i>incite</i>	4.81	471			
		<i>subside</i>	4.57	450			
		<i>lessen</i>	3.44	440			
		<i>diminish</i>	2.62	415			
<i>heightened</i>	4.11	363					
<i>engender</i>	5.19	347					
8	FEAR / ANXIETY IS A CREATURE	<i>face</i>	<b>3.28</b>	<b>9234</b>	<i>arouse</i>	3.60	135
		<i>lord</i>	<b>2.99</b>	<b>4407</b>			
		<i>grip</i>	4.49	1061			
		<i>accompany</i>	2.60	709			
		<i>voice</i>	3.52	683			
		<i>exploit</i>	2.83	643			
		<i>evoke</i>	3.68	543			
		<i>arouse</i>	3.78	412			
		<i>germ</i>	4.58	483			
		<i>bodily</i>	3.29	385			

Table 4. Conceptual proximates of emotion concepts ANGST and FURCHT (corpus data)

ANGST			FURCHT		
collocates / co-occurrences	logDice ≤ 6.0	Freq. ≤ 20	collocates / co-occurrences	logDice ≤ 6.0	Freq. ≤ 20
Schrecken [horror; fear]	10.7	1777	Schrecken [horror; fear]	10.3	313
Sorge [trouble; anxiety]	9.9	1140	Hoffnung [hope]	8.8	270
Hoffnung [hope]	9.6	1134	Angst [metaphysical fear]	7.8	243
Schreck [fright; fear; horror]	10.1	1050	Mitleid [sympathy]	9.9	191
panisch [panic]	10.4	989	Misstrauen [distrust]	9.2	154
Wut [rage; fury]	8.9	571	Hass [hatred]	8.3	148
Schmerz [pain]	8.6	473	Schreck [fright; fear; horror]	9.4	122
Sehnsucht [passion; anguish]	8.7	444	panisch [panic]	9.0	94
Misstrauen [distrust]	8.5	385	Sorge [trouble; anxiety]	7.7	87
Hass [loathing]	8.2	379	Zittern [trembling; awe]	9.1	81
Wunsch [desire]	8.2	377	Freude [joy]	7.0	59
Verzweiflung [disappointment]	8.4	374	Scham [shame]	7.9	51
Depression [depression]	8.3	343	Verzweiflung [despair]	7.0	42
Scham [shame]	8.1	282	Ärger [anger; irritation]	6.6	38
Trauer [grief; sorrow]	7.9	281	Trauer [grief; sorrow]	6.5	34
Panik [panic]	8.1	253	Verwirrung [embarrassment]	7.4	30
Furcht [physical fear]	7.8	243	Sehnsucht [passion; anguish]	6.6	30
Lust [joy; desire]	7.5	218	Panik [panic]	7.4	28
Bange [fear; creeps]	7.9	215	Abscheu [disgust]	7.4	28
Aggression [aggression]	7.7	210	Schmerz [pain]	6.1	28
Unruhe [unrest; anxiety]	7.6	199	Ehrfurcht [reverence]	7.5	27
Liebe [love]	6.6	198	Zorn [anger; rage]	6.7	25
Freude [joy]	7.3	196	Spannung [tension]	6.2	25
Stress [stress]	7.3	162	Bewunderung [delight]	7.4	24
Befürchtung [apprehension]	7.4	159	Gier [greediness]	7.1	24

Entsetzen [horror]	7.1	136	Grauen [horror; disgust]	7.2	23
Ärger [anger; irritation]	6.9	121	Entsetzen [horror]	6.8	23
Zorn [anger; rage]	6.9	119	Argwohn [suspicion]	7.3	22
furchtbar [terrible; horrible]	6.8	112	Unruhe [restlessness; anxiety]	6.5	21
Schuldgefühl [a sense of guilt]	6.9	109	Neid [envy]	6.4	21
Ekel [disgust; abomination]	6.8	107	Verlangen [desire; anguish]	7.2	20
Ressentiment [resentment]	6.6	95	Ekel [disgust; abomination]	7.0	20
Nervosität [nervousness]	6.6	92			
Glück [happiness]	6.1	88			
Neid [envy]	6.3	83			
Leiden [suffering]	6.1	73			
Frustration [frustration]	6.0	61			

Table 5. Conceptual proximates of emotion concepts FEAR and ANXIETY (corpus data)

FEAR			ANXIETY		
collocates / co-occurrences	MI-index $\leq 3.0$	Freq. $\leq 500$	collocates / co-occurrences	MI-index $\leq 3.0$	Freq. $\leq 500$
anxiety	5.80	12676	depression	8.83	56980
hope	3.69	7858	stress	6.97	28996
anger	5.14	3505	fear	5.80	12671
violence	3.18	2920	suffer	5.03	10625
tremble	7.26	2842	panic	7.65	8136
worry	4.74	2523	pain	3.59	5909
panic	5.08	2485	irritability	8.62	2203
phobia	7.40	2306	frustration	5.17	1969
hatred	5.41	2145	worry	5.24	1960
shame	4.16	2072	anger	5.16	1950
guilt	4.94	2070	phobia	7.94	1834
terror	4.36	1942	nervousness	8.50	1774
loathing	8.74	1685	confusion	4.35	1481
confusion	3.60	1598	distress	5.43	1417
frustration	3.95	1538	sadness	5.99	1330
greed	5.63	1468	guilt	5.15	1320
intimidation	6.45	1411	agitation	7.49	1295
sadness	5.18	1385	restlessness	8.38	1235
hate	4.13	1218	nausea	5.33	1076
excitement	3.12	1071	depressive	7.39	1024
grief	3.91	996	grief	4.77	997
dread	5.70	995	excitement	3.76	915
embarrassment	5.25	968	insecurity	5.75	794
apprehension	5.91	800	shame	3.15	569
despair	4.47	717	palpitation	7.22	528
sorrow	4.09	699	disturbance	4.45	525
distress	3.51	679	boredom	5.61	521
resentment	4.93	649			
jealousy	4.62	579			
awe	4.06	570			
rage	3.14	566			
disgust	5.22	527			
trepidation	6.71	521			

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# TOXICITY PHENOMENON IN GERMAN AND SLOVAK MEDIA: CONTRASTIVE PERSPECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** This paper approaches toxicity as a new phenomenon in the German and Slovak media viewed from a contrastive perspective. The corpus consists of four public speeches delivered by contemporary German- and Slovak-speaking politicians who are labelled 'toxic' in online media of Germany and

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<sup>1</sup> This article is a pilot project implemented with the aim of identifying the complexities and relevant factors for further research into toxicity as a media phenomenon in Germany and Slovakia. We express our gratitude to all participants in the associative and identification experiments: professors and colleagues of the Faculty of Philology (Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany), the Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Mass Media Communication (University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, Slovakia), the Institute of Political Sciences (Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Silesia, Poland) and students of the Faculty of Translation Studies (Kyiv National Linguistic University, Ukraine) and of the Faculty of Mass Media Communication – Media Relations (University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, Slovakia), as well as politicians, public people, journalists and moderators for their time and ardour.

Slovakia. The article presents the results of associative and identification experiments for studying concept, verbal and nonverbal correlates of the so-called toxicity that can be used in further studies of typological features of 'toxic' public figures within different languages / cultural traditions.

**Key words:** toxicity, contrastive, political, media, concept, verbal, nonverbal, German, Slovak.

*Don't let negative and toxic people rent space in your head.  
Raise the rent and kick them out. (Zig Ziglar)  
Donald Trump est un bon président [Donald Trump is a good president].  
(Michel Houellebecq, Interventions 2020)*

## 1. Introduction

Toxicity is a newborn concept gaining more and more attributes every year, which form its core and periphery but we consider it as a media phenomenon. A number of cross-cultural concepts (LIFE :: DEATH (Uberman 2018; Prihodko & Prykhodchenko 2018); LIGHT :: DARKNESS (Vorobyova 2017), TIME (Kranjec & McDonough 2011)) and ethno-specific (DUŠA / SOUL) (Wierzbicka 1997); (SCHADENFREUDE / GLOATING (Mizin & Ovsienko 2020)) are popular and well-studied research objects in the field of cultural linguistics and linguo-conceptological studies (Петлюченко 2017). The first two decades of the new millennium have seen the emergence of a large number of *new concepts*, which reflect novel socio-political (BREXIT) (MacShane 2016; Morozova 2017), epidemic processes (INFODEMIC) (Panasenکو et al. 2020a), and psychological states or emotions that a modern person experiences in the turbulent era of living in social networks and the chronic stress of today's multi-tasking environment – ABUSE, GASLIGHTING, BULLYING, MISOGYNY, MONOPHOBIA, DESELFING.

We are interested in the latter group that includes the concept TOXICITY, which, given its widespread use in the media, has attained the status of an interpersonal communication phenomenon reflecting the violation of personal boundaries and psychological harm. The emergence of terms such as toxic relationships, toxic communication, ideological toxins, toxic harm, toxic environment, toxic positivity, toxic masculinity, etc. in the media space,

shows that the metaphor of toxicity, which was accurately used by the American writer Rachel Carson in 1962 in her book "Silent Spring" (cited after Carson 2020) to describe the imperceptible and incomprehensible effect of pesticides on the mood and actions of a person, is becoming a term, which is actively penetrating into the humanitarian spheres of people's lives.

This paper approaches toxicity as a new phenomenon in the German and Slovak media viewed from a contrastive perspective. All the examples in the text are given in the alphabetical order: German first, Slovak next. Toxicity is understood as an extremely harsh, malicious or harmful quality, which can be inherent in a person or their individual actions and/or statements and manifests itself in unpleasant personal attacks and harsh remarks to a communication partner (opponent) (Toxicity, *s.a.*).

The phenomenon of toxicity is becoming a widespread, albeit uneven, state of the socio-political atmosphere and can be seen "from the scale of cells to the size of a lifestyle that is activated, limited and extinguished in broader systems of power, on the one hand, destroying existing order and way of life, and supporting lifestyles, on the other" (Liboiron et al. 2018: 331). Therefore, the study of the cognitive and discursive mechanisms of verbal toxicity in the media and politics is relevant both for creating algorithms for neutralizing various types of organizational toxicity (Daniel 2020: 129) and for analyzing the interaction of communicators on the political and media plane taking into account linguistic, general semiotic, socio- and ethnospecific factors (Taylor 2014).

In this article, we seek to accumulate the research approaches of four scholars who specialize in analyzing the oral discourse of political figures in Germany, Ukraine, Latin America, Spain through language and ethnoculture (Петлюченко 2010; Petljutschenko 2018; Petlyuchenko & Chernyakova 2019), functional-semantic types of speech in the Slovak media (Panasenکو 2016; basics of media communication (Petranova 2011; Vrabec

et al. 2014), category of modality in journalism and media communication (Panasenko & Kryachkov 2020; Panasenکو et al. 2020b; Panasenکو et al. 2021), manipulation in public speeches (Stashko 2018) and media images of top officials in Ukraine and Slovakia (Stashko 2016; Stashko et al. 2020), and propose a model of toxic media communication on the basis of not closely related German and Slovak languages from a contrastive perspective. The model will be built using the deductive method based on the selection, description and comparison of concept, verbal and nonverbal characteristics of speeches of political figures who are labelled as 'toxic' in the German and Slovak media.

The research **hypothesis** is formed by several mutually exclusive approaches to the toxicity phenomenon.

Approach 1: Socio-political toxicity. This form of toxicity describes a person's addressee-oriented behavior that causes particular harm or discriminates against the addressee in the course of public communication. As a rule, it is characterized by a radical bias of the views of politicians and high-profile persons to the right or left; it is the result of attributing projections of a certain group of people and is verbally explicated in the public realm / media by using the attribute 'toxic'.

Approach 2: Personal toxicity. It is the result of addresser-addressee relations in public communication and is not associated with an addresser's political views. Toxicity is determined only by an addresser's personality, which ultimately harms those who support them. A person may not really be the most pleasant and easy to talk to, but at the same time, they will not necessarily be toxic to you. What one person would call toxicity and take personally, another would write off as character flaws of the interlocutor and not pay much attention to it. Therefore, toxicity is a relative concept, since a person cannot be born toxic or be toxic to everyone around him or her.

Approach 3: Toxicity as a means of destroying the personality of its bearer. In this case, toxicity means addresser-oriented behavior when a person behaves toxically towards himself or herself, that is, causes harm to themselves. They exhibit this behavior because it is in line with the social expectations, which they are trying to meet without realizing that it only hurts them.

In this article, we select the first approach, namely, socio-political toxicity determined by political views, because, firstly, it will facilitate the identification of public toxics, which are labelled as 'toxic' in the media discourses of Germany and Slovakia. Secondly, this will save us from the trouble of having to look for the conditions in which a toxic person interacts with other people and we will not need to trace the consequences of his or her toxicity in feedbacks when respondents directly verbalize their reactions to a particular public person's behavior and identify it as toxic.

## **2. Background and motivations of toxicity phenomenon**

The phenomenon of toxicity is investigated in psychology (Hemschemeier 2021), sociology (Kutz 2016), political studies (Liboiron et al. 2018), social communications (Lower 2016), and other humanities, and is used to describe destructive communication environments as a sociocultural development.

### *2.1 Toxicity in psychology*

German psychotherapist and RND (Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland) columnist Christian Hemschemeier was one of the first to bring the term to Germany and made a name for himself with the term "toxic relationship" as a best-selling author and in the psychological research community. In his book "Vom Opfer zum Gestalter – Raus aus toxischen Beziehungen, rein ins Leben" ["From victim to designer – out of toxic relationships into life"] (Hemschemeier 2021), he states that toxicity is a long-standing phenomenon in psychology, but the term 'toxic' has been used mostly in English-speaking

countries. As Burchardt (2021) claims, it reflects the feeling that you are in a relationship that is poisonous, where you are not doing well but you are stuck. Moreover, according to German psychologist Susanne Kraft, constant criticism, blame or degradation are signs of a toxic relationship (Wie erkennt man..., *s.a.*).

According to sociologist Angelica Kutz (2016), behavioral toxicity or 'traumatic communication' is considered as a cause of illness in companies and is closely related to the 'double bind' phenomenon (Bateson et al. 1956) when the double-biased subject perceives conflicting directions or emotional messages at different communicative levels, e.g., while love is expressed verbally, the non-verbal behavior demonstrates hate (Kutz 2016: 3).

The phenomenon of organizational toxicity is associated with identifying common causes of toxic emotions among employees in such workplace situations, which expose employees to inhumane or degrading treatment, and as a result of which employees experience fatigue and burnout, stress and anxiety (Daniel 2020: 7-16). Also, the consequences of unwelcoming working environments relate to the professional experiences of underrepresented minority (hereinafter referred to as URM) faculty members in U.S. higher education institutions, when various aspects of disparity in the identity of Black and Hispanic faculty and their social status negatively affect the health and well-being of URM faculty, as well as the ability of URM faculty to be successful at their jobs, and to flourish in academia (Zambrana 2018).

Toxic positivity as a new study object appeared in positive psychology (Halberstam 2011; Wright 2014), which is seen as such human behavior when individuals do not completely acknowledge, process, or manage the full spectrum of emotions, including anger or sadness (Panasenکو et al. 2022). Individuals who engage in a constant chase for positive experiences or states of high subjective well-being may be inadvertently stigmatizing

negative emotional conditions, such as depression, or may be suppressing natural emotional responses, such as sadness, regret, or stress. Thus, positive psychology places too much importance on upbeat thinking, while shunting challenging and difficult experiences to the side (Smith 2020).

In gender psychology, the term 'toxic masculinity' was born out of the mythopoetic men's self-improvement movement in the 1980s and 1990s; it is used to describe toxic masculinity as the behavior of 'immature' males. Over time, the common understanding of 'toxic masculinity' has evolved over the years to its current definition: harmful social norms about how men should behave that lead to misogyny, homophobia, violence, and mental health issues (Longwood et al. 2012).

Toxic masculinity is based on traditional norms of male behavior that can be directed against both individual women and men, and society as a whole. The concept of TOXICITY does not aim to discredit traditionally masculine behavior; rather it emphasizes the negative consequences of conformism, which is manifested in traditional masculine forms of behaviour as domination, arrogance, and competition (Fosbraey & Puckey 2021; Hess 2016; Manno 2020). The Cambridge Dictionary defines toxic masculinity as ideas about the way that men should behave that are seen as harmful. The manifestation of toxic masculinity is explicated in the following ideas: (1) men should not cry or admit weakness or (2) men are just naturally violent (Toxic masculinity, *s.a.*).

Psychologists have found that men who are prone to manifestations of toxic masculinity are prone to mental disorders, among which the most common is the need for emotional control, risk-taking behavior, violence, dominance, sexual promiscuity, self-reliance, high importance placed on one's job, disdain for homosexuality, and the pursuit of status, etc. (Waling 2019). In addition, the observed disorders are exacerbated in those men who display excessive self-reliance and wielding power over women (Rubin 2020).

However, one can find examples of toxic femininity in the media. For instance, a description of toxic symptoms is given in German footballer Jerome Boateng's 20.08.2021 interview 'Innereinsichten einer toxischen Beziehung mit tragischem Ende [Insights into a toxic relationship with a tragic end] where he claimed that his ex-girlfriend Kasia Lenhardt, who died seven days later, had 1) blackmailed him, 2) forced him into a relationship, 3) threatened him with ruining his career and 4) caused him to lose his children (Gantenbrink et. al. 2021).

## *2.2 Toxicity in the media*

The media being one of the major influencers can easily be utilized as a carrier of 'toxic ideologies', e.g., the Al Qaeda ideology, whose leaders and affiliates have conducted active public relations and media campaigns since the mid-1990s (Boyd 2013). Moreover, the democratic ideology of progress transforms from an ideological tonic to an ideological toxin based upon its associated deployments within a new historical context (What does this text suggest..., *s.a.*). Progress has lost its democratic aspect because "the official standard bearers of progress (the bourgeoisie) have brought into being in the present destructive forces like crises and unemployment, etc." (Wainwright & Mann 2018: 94).

Media personalities (well-known actors / actresses, athletes, business people, talk shows hosts, movie directors, religious leaders, authorities in the medical field, etc.) serve their agenda of choice indirectly influencing the masses. Toxic narratives are framed and built inside newsrooms via news from various social networks and TV channels with hate-mongering that is far more toxic than one would expect from journalists. This happens when a certain ideology / opinion is being promoted in the media without open-mindedness, respect, understanding, tolerance, and compassion towards others; it is bound to become toxic, limiting, a femininity and potentially dangerous, for example, racism, sexism and islamophobia (Astha 2020).

Toxic online content refers to such content created by any public person that promotes hate speech, extremist slogans, harassment and misinformation. Toxic and inflammatory comments online have often resulted in real life violence, from religious nationalism in Myanmar to neo-Nazi propaganda in the U.S. Following these concerns, the Conversation Artificial Intelligence team (<https://conversationalai.github.io/>) invited developers to train their own toxicity-detection algorithms and released two public data sets containing over one million toxic and non-toxic comments from Wikipedia and a service called Civil Comments with 1) a 'Very Toxic' label indicating "a very hateful, aggressive, or disrespectful comment that is very likely to make you leave a discussion or give up on sharing your perspective", 2) a 'Toxic' label meaning "a rude, disrespectful, or unreasonable comment that is somewhat likely to make you leave a discussion or give up on sharing your perspective" (Hanu et al. 2021).

The role of toxic triggers in the media space can be played by hashtags (Shkvorchenko & Koltsova 2019), for example, #StopTheSteal, which emerged after the announcement of preliminary results and the victory of Joseph Biden and became the slogan of a series of events culminating in the storming of the Capitol by supporters of the loser Donald Trump (#StopTheSteal: Timeline..., *s.a.*).

American political analyst Joseph Zompetti believes that political conversations in the USA have turned "toxic" in recent years, and the media have a role to play in contributing to the trend of divisive discourse: liberals and conservatives go about expressing what they think, and it usually includes polarizing talk, which results in an 'us versus them' mentality that divides, rather than brings people together (2015). The 24-hour news cycle contributes to this, with social platforms encouraging the social platforms which encourage people to say whatever is on their minds and to share hyperlinks without checking the veracity of the sources (Toxic talk..., *s.a.*).

Toxicity as a media phenomenon is synonymous with the concept of HATE SPEECH, which consists of public communications consisting of intentional statements or messages with discriminatory content and is essentially one form of communicative production of human inferiority through categorization (Sponholz 2018; Wachs at al. 2021).

### *2.3 Toxicity in politics*

We find the first mentions of the attribute 'toxic' in the context of political discourse in 2011 in such a rather informal source as the Urban Dictionary, which captures the opinionated viewpoint of one of the opponents of the Republicans, where toxic political discourse used to "describe the sad state of politics in America in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which is related to the increasing influence of talk radio and so-called new commentators demonstrating more vitriolic argumenting and shouting than ever. Such public figures as Sarah Palin, Rush Limbaugh, Glenn Beck, Ann Coulter, and Mike Savage allegedly create a toxic political environment making political campaigns longer and more expensive every year". We believe that such judgmental comments are also important for the reconstruction of "young concepts", in particular toxicity (Toxic political discourse, *s.a.*).

Current sociological studies in the USA show that the nation's political debate during Donald Trump's presidency grew more toxic (Rubin 2020) and 'heated' rhetoric can lead to violence and contaminate political discussions with the following features: (1) acrimony and vitriol, (2) a lot of negative campaign ads, (3) people pull out all the stops on both sides of the political spectrum, (4) making a lot of personal character attacks, (5) the dominant voices in political conversations are yelling at each other (Drake & Kiley 2019).

In addition, toxicity is embedded in multifarious relations of power, and it has the potential to invent alternative political relations: the precariousness of toxic worlds enables the formation of resistances, coalitions and practices that expand the inventory of what

politics means and does in late industrialism (Liboiron et al. 2018: 341). Toxic politics is not about 'how much' toxicant or even 'what' chemical, but the why and how it is encountered, by whom, and to what end (Shapiro et al. 2017; Watts 2017).

## *2.4 Toxicity in linguistics*

Let us consider the chronology of the appearance of the TOXICITY concept in the media, as well as its etymological and semantic constituents in German and Slovak.

### *2.4.1 First appearance as a new (media) concept*

The Oxford Dictionary chose 'toxic' as its Word of the Year 2018 that best described the mood of that year. The word also should 'have lasting potential' as a term of cultural importance. Oxford said that in 2018 its data showed a 45 percent rise in searches for the word 'toxic' on its website (<https://languages.oup.com/>). The searches began with the toxic chemical poisoning of former Russian spy Sergei Skripal and his daughter in Britain (Panasenko et al. 2018). Then, in Syria, a toxic chemical weapon attack killed at least 40 people and led to a missile strike from the United States. However, the increasingly common phrase 'toxic environment' has nothing to do with pollution. Oxford says people searched for this phrase in connection to unpleasant workplace environments, including the worldwide walkout of Google employees. They were protesting sexual wrongdoing, unequal pay and discrimination. Others wanted to know about toxic relationships, especially connected to the #MeToo movement against sex abuse and the confirmation hearing of Brett Kavanaugh as a U.S. Supreme Court Justice (Oxford's word..., 2018).

### *2.4.2 Etymological constituents of concepts TOXIZITÄT / TOXICITA in German and Slovak*

Toxicity emphasizes the mechanisms by which speech acts and discursive practices can cause harm, giving meaning to claims of harm caused by speech devoid of insults, pithets, or a narrower class categorized by Tirrell (2017) as 'deeply derogatory terms'.

To reconstruct the etymological constituents of TOXIZITÄT / TOXICITA in German and Slovak, we analyzed the etymological roots on the basis of the English, German, and Slovak languages.

For instance, the word *toxic* first appeared in English in the 1660s. It comes from the Latin word *toxicus*, which means 'poisonous'. The Latin word itself comes from the Greek term *toxikon (pharmakon)* [poison for use on arrows] (cf. Fr. *toxique* < Lat. *toxicus* [poisonous] < Lat. *toxicum* [poison] < Greek *toxikon (pharmakon)* [(poison) for use on arrows] < *toxikon*, neuter of *toxikos* [pertaining to arrows or archery]) (Toxic, *s.a.*).

In German, the noun *toxikum* (originally also *toxicon*) meaning 'Gift = poison' has been used in medicine since 1700 from Latin *toxicum, toxicon*, Greek. *toxikón (τοξικόν)* meaning '(Pfeil)gift' [(poisonous) arrow] from Greek *toxikós (τοξικός)* 'zu Pfeil und Bogen gehörig [pertaining to bow and arrows]' to Greek. *tóxon (τόξον)* 'Bogen, Geschoß, Pfeil [bow, bullet, arrow]'.

From the above-mentioned Latin stems, the German specialized language of medicine takes the compositional element *toxi-* (*tox-* before vowels) with the meaning 'Gift-, giftig [poison, poisonous]' and forms such special terms as *Toxalbumin* 'pflanzlicher Eiweißstoff mit Giftwirkung [vegetable protein with a toxic effect]' (19<sup>th</sup> century), *Toxämie* 'Zersetzung des Blutes durch Giftstoffe [decomposition of blood through poisonous substances]', *Toxidermie* [skin rash as a result of toxic effects]' (20<sup>th</sup> century), with a German ending *-isch* adjective *toxisch* 'giftig [poisonous]' (20<sup>th</sup> century), as well as *Toxin* with the suffix *-in* typical of the formation of names of substances with the meaning 'Giftstoff bakterieller, pflanzlicher oder tierischer Herkunft [poisonous substance of bacterial, plant or animal origin]' (about 1888) (Toxisch 2, *s.a.*).

The Slovak scientific term *toxický* has been used since the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the sense of 'otravný, jedovatý [poisonous]' and just as its German cognate goes back to Latin adjective *toxicus* from Latin noun *toxicum* [poison], which was borrowed from the Greek *toxikon (farmakon)* (τοξικον φάρμακον) [poison (to be applied to arrows that will be shot)] associated with a *bow, archery* from the Greek *toxon (τόξον)* 'luk [bow]' (Stručný etymologický slovník slovenčiny 2015: 619; Vel'ký slovník cudzích slov 2006).

Thus, based on the etymological analysis performed, we can conclude that the *common* motivating constituent of the concepts TOXIZITÄT / TOXICITA is their Latin stem *toxicum* → Germ. *Toxisch* / Sk. *toxický* *toxicum* [poison], which is indicative of the relationship of congruent coincidence in the etymological roots of the concept of TOXICITY in the German and Slovak languages.

#### 2.4.3 Semantic constituents of the concepts TOXIZITÄT / TOXICITA in German and Slovak

A definitional analysis of the direct and figurative meanings of the attribute 'toxisch [toxic]' in German allowed us to single out the following semantic constituents (meanings) of the concept TOXIZITÄT:

1. *toxisch* (direct meaning): a) giftig (Gebrauch: Biologie, Medizin) [poisonous (used in biology, medicine)], b) durch Gift verursacht, auf einer Vergiftung beruhend (Gebrauch: Biologie, Medizin) [caused by poison, based on poisoning (used in biology, medicine)], e.g., *toxische Krankheiten, Schädigungen* [toxic diseases, injuries];
2. *toxisch* (figurative meaning, often referring to relationships / contacts): sehr böseartig, gefährlich, schädlich, zermürend [very evil / malicious, dangerous, harmful, exhausting], e.g., *toxische Männlichkeit* [toxic masculinity], *eine toxische Beziehung beenden* [break-up of toxic relations] (Toxisch 1, *s.a.*).

Thus, we see that the Duden Dictionary records the figurative meaning of the attribute 'toxisch' as a negative psychological quality of a person, where we distinguish the following concept constituents (semes) of the concept TOXIZITÄT: 1) 'Böse [evil]', 2) 'Gefahr [danger]', 3) 'Schaden [damage]', 4) 'Zermürbung [wearisomeness]'.

The analysis of the attribute 'toxický [toxic]' in Slovak allowed us to distinguish the following semantic constituents (meanings) of the concept TOXICITA:

(1a). *toxický* (direct meaning): <Sk. toxický příd. spôsobující otravu, otravný, jedovatý: toxické látky; toxický účinek, toxický vplyv; toxické choroby; toxicky přísl.: toxicky pôsobiť na niečo ako jed (Slovník slovenského jazyka 1964: 552) / Eng. toxic adj. poisonous, toxic substances; toxic effect, toxic influence; toxic diseases; toxic; adv. toxic acting on something like poison.

Though for our study we have chosen German and Slovak, we find it possible to give the definition of the word *toxic* in Czech because in the definitions given in the dictionary, we see some additional meanings, which are important for us, i.e. disruption and damage:

(1b). *toxický* (direct meaning): 'lo. toxický příd. <ř> jedovatý, otravný: biol. toxické latky způsobující porušení buňky, popř. poškození organismu; toxicky přfsi.; toxicnost, -i ž toxicita (Akademický slovník cizích slov 1997) / Eng. toxic, adj. additive, annoying: biol. toxic substances causing cell disruption or damage to the organism; toxic adv.; toxicity.

Based on the definition of the direct meaning of the attribute 'toxický [toxic]' provided in Slovak (1a) and Czech (1b) dictionaries, we distinguish two concept attributes in the Slovak concept TOXICITA: 'narušenie [disruption]', 'poškodenie [damage]'.

Thus, our definitional analysis of German and Slovak (and partially Czech) dictionaries show that 1) the meaning of the attribute 'toxický' as a negative psychological trait of a person has not yet been recorded as a figurative meaning in Slovak dictionaries, 2) the concept TOXICITA is still at the stage of assimilation in the Slovak linguistic culture although in the Slovak media discourse, this figurative meaning is used quite extensively as an exact metaphor for conveying the negative image of Slovak politicians, 3) congruent coincidences can be identified in the arsenal of the two concepts in the common attribute damage → Germ. Schaden / Sk. poškodenie.

### 3. Aims, methods, and materials

This section presents the methods, corpus, program of the two-way comparative study of the spoken language of German- and Slovak-speaking politicians who are labelled 'toxic' in the media using a *tertium comparationis* model, associative and identification experiments.

The media discourses of Germany and Slovakia are the **object-matter** of our study; the verbal and nonverbal markers of toxicity in the speeches of public figures within the German and Slovak media discourses are the **subject-matter** of the analysis. The study aims to identify common and distinctive means of verbal and nonverbal expression of toxicity in the speeches of German and Slovak politicians who are labelled as 'toxic' in the media of the two countries.

We proceed from the fact that a person cannot be born toxic or be toxic to everyone around them. What some perceive as a manifestation of toxicity, others may perceive as a manifestation of strength, courage, or unique thinking (leadership). Thus, we attempt to introduce the chemical term 'toxicity' into the linguistic realm and adapt it for further use in the study of the communicative strategies of conflicting linguistic personalities in different types of discourse (politics, science, business, etc.).

### *3.1 Methods and program of our research*

In general, the study was carried out using the etymological and definitional analysis of the concept TOXICITY in German and Slovak, associative and identification experiments, as well as a contrastive comparison of the data obtained.

#### *3.1.1 Associative experiment*

In order to reconstruct the concept features of the TOXICITY in the German and Slovak media, an associative experiment was conducted involving ten native speakers of German and ten native speakers of Slovak. The participants of the experiment received four prompt questions (stimuli), which they had to answer in a free narrative essay and without hesitation: 1) which kind of human behavior is toxic from the viewpoint of Germans / Slovaks; 2) which German / Slovak politicians (men/women) are labelled as toxic in the German / Slovak media; 3) which other public figures besides politicians are characterized as toxic in the German / Slovak media; 4) how toxicity is reflected in the words, voice, and gestures. The time and extent of the written responses to the proposed stimuli was not limited. Thus, we identified the nuclear, medial and peripheral zones of the concept TOXICITY in German and Slovak and selected the most frequent attributes for the following identification experiment (see Appendix A for samples of a free narrative essay in Slovak and German).

#### *3.1.2 Identification experiment*

The aim of the identification experiment was to determine the verbal, vocal, and gesture correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Alexander Gauland (since 2019, he has been honorary chairman of the AfD) and Alice Weidel (since September 2017, co-chair of the AfD parliamentary group and opposition leader) (Germany), and Igor Matovič (founder and leader of the conservative right-wing Obyčajní ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti [Ordinary people party] and Petra Krišťúfková (since 2016, member and vice-president of the National Council of the Slovak Republic from *Sme Rodina* [We are family] movement)

(Slovakia), who are labelled as toxic in the online media in Slovakia and Germany. For example, a Google search query for the phrase 'toxisch / giftig + Alexander Gauland' shows 7,840 results, 'toxisch / giftig + Alice Weidel' – 30,400, 'toxický / jedovatý + Igor Matovič' – 11,700, 'toxický / jedovatý + Petra Krištúfková' – 1,950. All these politicians are members of right-wing radical parties in Germany and Slovakia.

The identification experiment included 28 speakers of German and 28 speakers of Slovak, for which a Google form questionnaire was designed. The participants were to fill in the questionnaire with information about themselves, carefully read the preliminary notes, which briefly described the attributes of a toxic person, as well as the objectives of the experiment: 1) how correlates of toxicity are manifested in the oral discourse (in speech and gestures) of German and Slovak politicians; 2) what can serve as a marker of 'toxicity' in 1) words, 2) voice, 3) gestures (see Appendix B for a sample questionnaire).

### *3.1.3 Contrastive comparison*

The contrastive analysis of the spoken language of German- and Slovak-speaking politicians who are labelled as 'toxic' required a common comparison platform – *tertium comparationis* based on the concept of TOXICITY – formed by three levels of comparison: 1) the concept level (comparing concept correlates of toxicity in German vs Slovak media discourse); 2) the verbal level (comparing utterances / phrases of German and Slovak politicians containing verbal markers of toxicity); and 3) the nonverbal level (comparing voice, gestures, and facial expressions of German and Slovak toxic politicians).

### *3.2 Language corpus and programme*

The following speeches of German and Slovak politicians were used for the identification experiment: 1) Alexander Gauland (Aktuelle Stunde zur Eskalation in #Idlib und den Folgen für #Europa, Rede von Alexander Gauland (AfD) [Current hour on the escalation in Idlib and the consequences for Europe, speech by Alexander Gauland (Alternative for

Germany)] (duration: 5.18 min), 2) Alice Weidel (Rede von Alice Weidel (AfD) zum Bevölkerungsschutzgesetz im Bundestag am 16.04.21 [Speech by Alice Weidel (Alternative for Germany) on the Civil Protection Act in the Bundestag on April 16, 2021] (duration: 6.49 min) (Germany); 1) Igor Matovič (Minister práce Milan Krajniak a premiér Igor Matovič o nových opatreniach po rokovaní vlády [Minister of Labor Milan Krajniak and Prime Minister Igor Matovič on new measures after the government talks], 25.03.2020 (duration: 46.59 min); 2) Petra Krištúfková (Petra Krištúfková po tlaku odstupuje z pozície splnomocnenkyne [Petra Krištúfková resigns after pressure from the post of plenipotentiary], 21.06.2020) (duration: 24.07 min) (Slovakia).

We identified the German / Slovak politicians who are described as toxic in the media as follows: 1) the politicians in question can be identified in Germany / Slovakia, 2) the source (media resource) that describes politicians as 'toxic' can be traced and documented; 3) the sources are (3.1) news and journalistic materials, opinion-forming or alternative media, (3.2) personal blogs of psychologists, sociologists, political experts or analysts, (3.3) search queries with a combination of the name of the politician or public figure in Slovakia and Germany with the attribute '*toxisch / toxický*'; 4) availability of sufficient video footage (and text transcripts) from sessions of the German / Slovak Parliament to analyze the 'toxicity' attributed by to media to individual politicians.

In our study, we faced challenges in disaggregating the Slovak material by gender due to the fact that a) the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Slovak National Council (Parliament) are male politicians (Boris Kolar, Gabor Grendel, Juraj Seliga, etc.), b) women in the Slovak Parliament make up fewer than one-fifth of the parliament members. Members of this fifth are mostly passive, do not pass laws, usually have no speeches or amendments to laws, and are not especially visible.

## 4. Results and discussion

In this section, we present the results of the associative and identification experiments aimed at identifying common and distinctive concept, verbal and nonverbal correlates of toxicity in the German and Slovak media discourses.

### *4.1 Concept correlates of toxicity in German vs Slovak media discourse (results of the associative experiment)*

The associative experiment enabled us to determine different and similar concept correlates of toxicity in German vs. Slovak media discourse in each of the four thematic groups: 1) toxic behavior, 2) toxic words, 3) toxic voice, and 4) toxic kinesics. In each of the thematic groups, the attributes were distributed as follows into nuclear, medial, and peripheral zones.

#### *4.1.1 Concept correlates of toxicity in the German media discourse (results of the associative experiment)*

The associative attributes of the German concept TOXIZITÄT totalling 48 units, identified using the method of free narrative essays, were distributed into four thematic groups as follows: 1) toxic behavior – 16 attributes, 2) toxic words – 12 attributes, 3) toxic voice – 11 attributes, 4) toxic kinesics – 9 attributes.

In the thematic group 'toxic behavior', one attribute 'männlich [masculine]' falls into the nuclear zone and reflects the relationship of toxicity that German speakers associate with harmful male social behavior and misogyny. The medial zone of this group consists of four attributes: 'aggressiv [aggressive]', 'narzisstisch [narcissistic]', 'übertrieben [exaggerated]', 'stur [stubborn]'. The peripheral zone of the German concept TOXIZITÄT is formed by 11 attributes: 'dumm [stupid]', 'egoistisch [egoistic]', 'egozentrisch [egocentric]', 'kategorisch [categorical]', 'manipulativ [manipulative]', 'opportunistisch [opportunistic]', 'rücksichtslos [reckless, unceremonious]', 'selbstgerecht [self-confident]',

'sexistisch [sexist]', 'unehrlich [dishonest]', 'zufrieden mit sich selbst [pleased with oneself]'. We see that the medial and peripheral zones of the thematic group 'toxic behavior' are formed by negatively perceived attributes, while the nucleus is assessed as neutral and determined by the masculine gender of the toxic person.

In the thematic group 'toxic words', one attribute 'rassistisch (Worte) [racist (words)]' falls into the nuclear zone and reflects the relationship of verbal units perceived by the addressee as toxic with the 'racial inequality' and the decisive influence of racial differences in the oral discourse of German politicians in the media. Eleven attributes form the peripheral zone of the German concept TOXIZITÄT without the transitional medial zone: 'abwertend (Worte) [derogatory (words)]', 'antisemitisch (Worte) [anti-Semitic (words)]', 'beifallheischend (Worte) [fishing for approval (applause) (words)]', 'demagogisch (Rhetorik) [demagogic (rhetoric)]', 'diskriminierend (Wörter / Worte) [discriminatory (words)]', 'einfach (Sätze) [simple (sentences)]', 'homophob (Worte) [homophobic (words)]', 'manipulativ (Worte) [manipulative (words)]', 'menschenfeindlich (Worte) [misanthropic (words)]', 'Schimpfworte [swearing]', 'von Stärke und Pathos handelnde (Worte) [charged with pathos and force (words)]'.

Thus, the nuclear and peripheral zones of the thematic group 'toxic words' are formed by a common set of negatively perceived attributes, while one neutral attribute 'beifallheischend (Worte) [fishing for approval (applause) (words)]' is associated with the intentions of the most toxic addresser, who is constantly in a state of expectation of approval and uses words that will draw applause, for example, 'Eingriffe in die Bürgerrechte [encroachments on civil rights]'. This technique is purely manipulative and is practiced by AfD members.

In the thematic group 'toxic voice', the attribute 'laut (Stimme) [loud (voice)]' forms the nuclear zone and reflects the relationship of vocal toxicity with strong sounding or a strong

increase in the volume of the toxic voice. The remaining ten attributes, as in the thematic group 'toxic words', form the peripheral zone without a transitional medial zone: 'langsam (Tempo) [slow (tempo)]', 'deutlich wie ein Geschichtenerzähler oder für taube stumme Ausländer (Diktion) [spoken exaggeratedly clearly by the narrator or as for deaf and dumb foreigners (diction)]', 'schnell (Tempo) [fast (tempo)]', 'aggressiv (Stimme) [aggressive (voice)]', 'kreischend (Stimme) [shrill (voice)]', 'schreiend (Stimme) [screaming (voice)]', 'hoch (Stimme) [high (voice)]', 'krätschend (Stimme) [screaming loudly (voice)]', 'kratzende (Stimme) [raspy (voice)]', 'unmelodisch (Stimme) [non-melodic (voice)]'.

We see that the nucleus is assessed as neutral and is associated with a subjective measure of the strength of sounds perception – loudness, which can depend on both the social status of the toxic person (leader) and his or her emotional state (anger). The peripheral zone of the 'toxic voice' thematic group is formed by negatively perceived speech attributes such as tempo, timbre, diction, melody, etc., while one parameter may have diametrically opposite attributes (langsam vs. schnell [slow vs. fast] (pace)).

In the thematic group 'toxic kinesics', the nuclear zone is formed by two attributes 'geballt (Fäuste) [clenched (fists)]' and 'übertrieben (alles) [exaggerated (everything)]', which reflect the relationship of gestural toxicity with exaggerated gesticulations and an aggressive form of the hands folded into fists. The remaining seven attributes, as in the 'toxic voice' thematic group, form the peripheral zone without a transitional medial zone: 'angespannt (Körperhaltung) [tense (posture)]', 'monoton (Gestik) [monotonous (gestures)]', 'unpassend (Gestik) [inappropriate (gestures)]', 'verkniffen (Gesicht) [distorted (face)]', 'wenig (Gestik) [insignificant (gestures)]', 'wild herumfuchteln (Hände) [wildly waving (arms)]', 'zusammengezogen (Augenbrauen) [frowning (eyebrows)]'.

Thus, the nucleus of this group is associated with the factor of excessive / exaggerated non-verbal accompaniment of toxic politicians' speech, with the periphery of the thematic group 'toxic kinesics' being formed by such negatively perceived attributes of non-verbal manifestations of a toxic person's behaviour as gestures, facial expressions, posture, etc., while the same parameter can have diametrically opposite attributes assessed as toxic ('wenig (Gestik) vs. herumfuchtelnd (Hände) [little (gestures) vs. strong gesticulation (hands)]').

#### *4.1.2 Concept correlates of toxicity in the Slovak media discourse (results of the associative experiment)*

Associative attributes of the Slovak concept TOXICITA totalling 54 units, identified by the method of free narrative essays, were distributed into four thematic groups as follows: 1) toxic behavior – 13 attributes, 2) toxic words – 16 attributes, 3) toxic voice – 8 attributes, 4) toxic kinesics – 17 attributes. In each of the thematic groups, the attributes were distributed into nuclear, medial and peripheral zones.

In the thematic group 'toxic behavior' of the Slovak concept TOXICITA, two attributes 'manipulácia [manipulating]' and 'narcistický [narcissistic]' fall within the nuclear zone and reflect the relationship of toxicity, which Slovak speakers associate with harmful behavior and heightened self-esteem, self-praising and vulgarisms, lack of empathy and not admitting one's errors and failures. The medial zone of this group consists of one attribute 'konfliktné prehlbovanie a hľadanie nových konfliktov [conflicting, deepening and seeking new conflicts]'. The peripheral zone is formed by ten attributes: 'drzý [bumptious]', 'falošný [fake]', 'kontaminuje (celý priestor) [polluting (the whole space)]', 'obťažujúci [annoying]', 'ohováranie [slanderous, defamatory]', 'otravný [meddlesome]', 'prehnaný [overwhelming]'.

We see that the medial and peripheral zones of the thematic group 'toxic behavior' are formed by negatively perceived attributes, whereas the nucleus is assessed as trivial, elementary, petty defamatory and primitive aggressive. Both Slovak speakers pollute the media space with their marginal conflicts with everybody, their low political and diplomatic competence, and their inability to disengage from gossiping.

In the thematic group 'toxic words' of the Slovak concept TOXICITA, three attributes 'degradovanie (ostatných) [degrading (others)]', 'kritizovanie (ostatní neustále) [criticizing (others constantly)]' and 'ohováranie (hanobenie) [slanderos (defamation)]' fall within the nuclear zone thus reflecting political incompetence, populism, contempt of the audience and 'godliness' in the oral discourse of Slovak politicians in the media. The medial zone of this group is formed by two attributes 'nepravda (otázky) [fallacious (matter)]' and 'provokujúce (komentáre) [provocative (comments)]', 'uštipačnosť (komentáre) [biting (comments) (snide, poisonous, mocking, acute)]'. The other 11 attributes form the peripheral zone: 'samochvála [praising (oneself)]', 'útočenie (verbálne) [attacking (verbally)]', 'nepriзнание (chyby) [not recognizing (mistakes)]', 'nevďačný [ungrateful]', 'drsnosť (vyjadrovania) [harsh (expressions)]', 'poukazovanie (na nedostatky ostatných) [pointing (to the shortcomings of others)]', 'zveličovanie [exaggerating]', 'priamočiarosť [straightforwardness]', 'rozprávanie (o sebe) [speaking (about oneself)]', 'nadávky (vulgarizmy) [vulgar (vulgarisms)]', 'ironický [ironic]'.

Thus, the nuclear, medial and peripheral zones of the thematic group 'toxic words' of the Slovak concept TOXICITA are formed by a common set of negatively perceived attributes with a large number of exaggerations, instances of irony, and vulgarisms. These elements provoke the Slovak public and leave behind the feeling of impunity and impotence.

In the thematic group 'toxic voice' of the Slovak concept TOXICITA, one attribute 'nahlas (hlas, smiech) [loud (voice, laughter)]' forms the nuclear zone and reflects, as with

German politicians, the relationship of voice toxicity with a strong increase in sound / voice loudness. The other seven attributes form the peripheral zone without a transitional medial zone: 'ironický (hlas) [ironic (voice)]', 'krik (hlas) [screaming (voice)]', 'manipulatívny (hlas) [manipulating (voice)]', 'modulácia (hlas) [modulating (voice)]', 'prehnané (intonácia) [exaggerated (intonation)]', 'zdôraznenie negatívneho kontextu (hlas) [emphasizing negative context (voice)]', 'tichý (hlas) [quiet (voice)]'.

We see that, as with German politicians, the nuclear attributes in the 'toxic voice' group of Slovak toxics is associated with the physical parameter of loudness, which can be influenced by the social and emotional factors of the speaker. The peripheral zone of the 'toxic voice' thematic group is formed by such negatively perceived speech attributes as intonation, and voice, while for one parameter the attributes can be diametrically opposite '(nahlas (hlas) vs. tichý (hlas) [loud (voice) vs. quiet (voice)]'.

In the thematic group 'toxic kinesics' of the Slovak concept TOXICITA, the nuclear zone is formed by three attributes 'falošný (smiech) [false (laughter)]', 'falošný (úsmev) [false (smile)]', 'klamlivý drzý (pohl'ad) [deceiving impudent (look)]', 'skrývanie skutočných pocitov (pohl'ad) [hiding real feelings (gaze)]', which reflect the relationship of gestural toxicity with false mimic non-verbal effects such as laughter, smile, and gaze. The medial zone of this group is formed by four attributes 'invázia do intímneho životného priestoru iného (gestá) [invading the intimate living space of another (gestures)]', 'prenikanie do územia iného (gestá) [intrusion into the territory of another (gestures)]', 'zaberá veľa miesta v komunikácii (držanie tela) [taking up a lot of space in communication (posture)]', 'prehnane široké (gestá) [far from the body (gestures)]', which demonstrate a possible correlation of toxicity with the violation of the communication partner's personal space.

The remaining nine attributes form the peripheral zone: 'prešpekulovaná (mimika) [well thought out (mimics)]', 'expresívne (mimika) [expressive (mimics)]', 'ďaleko od seba

kolená (držanie tela) [knees spread apart (posture)], 'honosný (gestá, telo) [ostentatious (gestures, body)], 'oduševnený (pohl'ad) [soulful (look)], 'priamy (pohl'ad) [direct (look)], 'strecha z vašich prstov (gestá) [Merkel diamond, Triangle of power (gestures)], 'zdôraznenie negatívnych významov (mimika) [emphasizing negative meaning (facial expressions)], 'zdvihnutý ukazovák (gestá) [raised index finger (gestures)].

Thus, the nucleus of this group is associated with false mimic kinemes (laugh, smile, and look), the medial zone reflects the relationship of toxicity with the violation of the communicants' personal boundaries, and the periphery of the thematic group 'toxic kinesics' is formed by such negatively perceived attributes of non-verbal manifestations of toxicity as facial expressions, gestures, gaze, posture, etc., while the same parameter can be characterized by an opposite pair of attributes perceived as toxic, for example, 'skrývajúce skutočné pocity (pohl'ad) [hiding real feelings (glance)]' vs. 'oduševnený (pohl'ad) [soulful (look)]'.

#### *4.1.3 Different and similar concept correlates of toxicity in German vs Slovak media discourse*

The contrastive analysis of the concept correlates of toxicity in German vs. Slovak media discourse has revealed similarities and differences of the four thematic groups. For example, we noted a relationship of complete coincidence in the thematic group 'toxic behavior' in the attribute 'narzisstisch [narcissistic]' / 'narcistický [narcissistic]'. The contrasting attribute in this group is 'ohovárajúci [slandering, defamatory]', which is a sign of toxic behavior among Slovak politicians.

In the thematic group 'toxic words', the use of harsh words and vulgarisms is a common feature; contrasting for German toxic politicians is the attribute 'beifallheischend (Worte) [fishing for approval (applause) (words)]', for Slovak toxic politicians – 'ohováranie (hanobenie) [slandering (defamation)]'. In the thematic group 'toxic voice', the physical

parameters of loudness and exaggerated intonations, which are perceived negatively by all native speakers of German and Slovak, are common voice markers of toxicity among politicians.

In the thematic group 'toxic kinesics', common for toxic politicians in Germany and Slovakia is the exaggerated use of gestures and facial expressions, contrasting for German toxic politicians is the attribute 'verkniffen (Gesicht) [distorted (face)]', for Slovak politicians – 'strecha z vašich prstov (gestá) [Merkel diamond (gestures)]'.

Furthermore, in each language group, the experts named politicians and public figures with 'toxic' attributes, with the range of toxic individuals represented in the German media discourse being rather wide – including primarily right-wing politicians, but also, for instance, Conservatives and Greens: (politicians) Alexander Gauland, Alice Weidel, Beatrix von Storch, Björn Höcke, Jörg Meuthen, Lutz Bachmann, Armin Laschet, Claudia Roth; (other public figures) Attila Hildmann, Dieter Bohlen, Josef Ackermann, Klaus Esser. The toxicity of Slovak politicians is represented by a narrower circle of persons: (politicians) Igor Matovič, Petra Krištúfková, Ľuboš Blaha; (sport personalities) Dominika Cibulková, Boris Valábik, (other public figures) Jasmína Alagič, Zuzana Plačková, Alena Pallová, Iveta Malachovská.

#### *4.2 Verbal correlates of toxicity in German vs Slovak media discourse (results of the identification experiment, verbal level)*

The identification experiment allowed us to establish different and similar verbal correlates of toxicity in German vs Slovak media discourse.

#### 4.2.1 Verbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Alexander Gauland (Germany)

The participants in the experiment identified Alexander Gauland as a toxic figure, because his manner of speaking (88.9%), the use of words (66.7%), gestures and facial expressions (22.2%) are perceived as toxic.

For instance, Alexander Gauland manipulates the German federal government and Foreign Minister Heiko Maas that did not clearly condemn Turkey's aggressive war in Syria, which is contrary to international law, by using the derogatory word 'Germ. Anbiederei / Eng. curry favour' (from German *anbiedern* = cling to, rub into trust, solicit friendship), which literally means "curry favor = to seek to gain favour by flattery or attention" ('curry favour': MWOD): Turkey accepts refugees instead of Germany, and for this the German government seeks to gain favor of Turkey by flattery or attention.

Thus, the manipulation lies in the fact that Gauland exposed Maas before the elections to the public as a bad foreign minister, but not in the fact that Maas himself is being manipulated like a puppet: Germ.: *"...Die Türkei führt in Syrien einen völkerrechtswidrigen Angriffskrieg...Die Provinz Idlib ist syrisches Staatsgebiet, nicht türkisches. Mit seinem Tweet gestand der Bundesaußenminister der Türkei en passant das Recht zu, mit ihren Truppen in Syrien zu stehen...Und als Krönung spricht der Außenminister einem Aggressor sein Mitgefühl aus. Diese Anbiederei zeigt, wie erpressbar wir durch den Flüchtlingsdeal geworden sind..."* [Eng.: "Turkey is waging a war of aggression in Syria that is contrary to international law ... The Idlib province is Syrian national territory, not Turkish. With his tweet, the Federal Foreign Minister recognized en passant Turkey's right to deploy its troops in Syria ... And to top it off, the Foreign Minister expressed his condolences to the aggressor. This attempt to curry favor shows how vulnerable to blackmail we have become as a result of the refugee deal ... "].

His words are toxic because he often taints the image of the German federal government and Foreign Minister Heiko Maas using words spoken with strength and pathos, e.g., Germ.: *"deutsche Grenzen schützen!"* [Eng.: "protect German borders!"] (60.7%), manipulative words, for example, Germ.: *"Anbiederei"* [Eng.: "curry favor"] (50.0%) and words of approval / demagogic rhetoric, e.g., Germ.: *"die Bundesrepublik macht sich mit diesem Handel erpressbar"* [Eng.: "the Federal Republic makes itself vulnerable to blackmail with this deal"] (46.4%) (see Fig. 1).

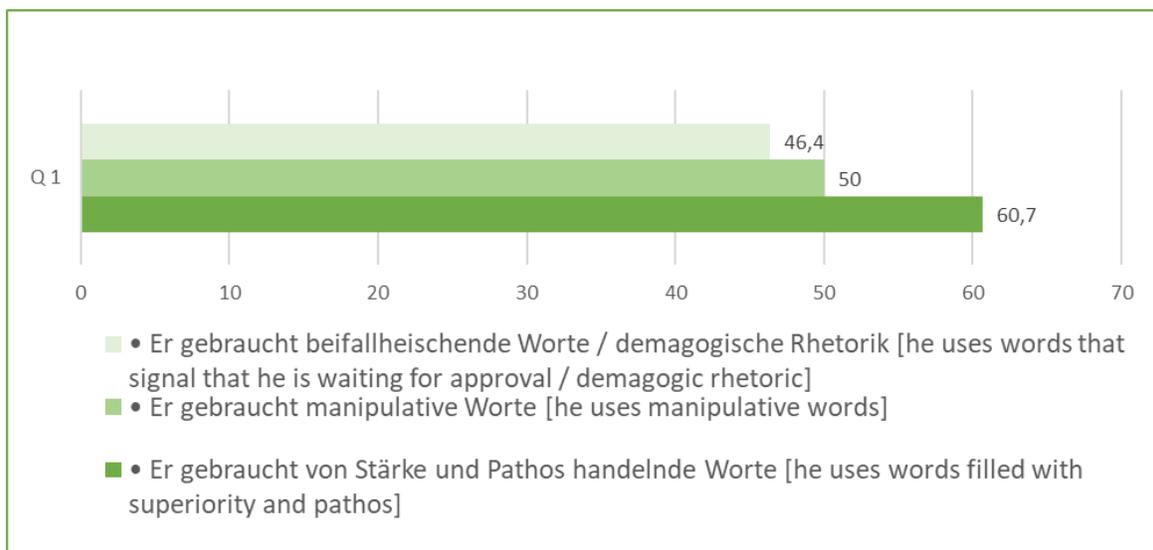


Figure 1. The recurrent verbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Alexander Gauland (Germany)

#### 4.2.2 Verbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Alice Weidel (Germany)

All the manipulative tactics of public toxic politicians, in particular, right-wing radical Alice Weidel, have one thing in common: the harm they cause to the person and the people around them. The harm can be public (image tainting) and personal (moral harm). The participants in the experiment identified Alice Weidel as a toxic figure because her manner of speaking (88.9%), the use of words (77.8%) and her appearance (22.2%) are perceived as toxic. The analyzed speech of Alice Weidel in the Bundestag is generally characterized by experts as damaging the image of the current German Chancellor Angela Merkel and her policy on combating the pandemic.

Toxicity in Alice Weidel's speech is explicated with words dealing with strength and pathos (lofty words), which elevate the tone of the whole speech and make it sound, e.g., Germ.: "*...Noch nie hat es eine Bundesregierung gewagt, in so wenigen Sätzen so viele Angriffe auf die Grund- und Freiheitsrechte der Bürger, auf Rechtsstaatlichkeit und demokratische Prinzipien unterzubringen wie in diesem Gesetzentwurf*" [Eng.: "Never before has a federal government dared to include so many attacks on the basic freedoms of citizens, on the rule of law and democratic principles in so few sentences as in this draft law..."] and exaggerated drama of events, e.g., Germ.: "*...Wir sagen dazu: Ausgangssperren sind unverhältnismäßig und verfassungswidrig!*" [Eng.: "We say, curfews are disproportionate and unconstitutional..."].

Alice Weidel blackens the picture and thus creates a toxic image of the "apocalypse", e.g., Germ.: "*...der Mittelstand zugrunde geht, der Arbeitsmarkt durch staatliche Dauerintervention zerstört wird, dass Innenstädte veröden, dass eine ganze Schülergeneration verloren geht und dass das Kultur- und Vereinsleben stirbt. Zahllose Geschäfte werden nie mehr öffnen. Generationen alte Familienbetriebe verschwinden für immer!*" [Eng.: "...the middle class is perishing, the labor market is being destroyed by permanent state intervention, inner cities are becoming deserted, a whole generation of schoolchildren is being lost and cultural and club life is dying. Countless stores will never open again. Generation-old family businesses will disappear forever!..."].

Alice Weidel uses manipulative words such as 'interference with civil rights' to accuse Angela Merkel of neutralizing local and administrative courts that overturned her infringements on the rights of German citizens during the quarantine period, e.g., Germ.: "*...Sie misstrauen den Gerichten, den berufenen Kontrolleuren staatlichen Handelns. Deswegen stellen Sie die Amts- und Verwaltungsgerichte durch Zentralisierung kalt – möglicherweise, weil diese nämlich eben zuletzt einige Ihrer Eingriffe in die Bürgerrechte gekippt haben*" [Eng.: "You distrust the courts, the appointed inspectors of state action.

That is why you are neutralizing the local and administrative courts through centralization – possibly because they have recently overturned some of your encroachments on civil rights..."].

Experts also consider Alice Weidel's rhetoric to be highly toxic and demagogic, which is expressed in unprovoked and blistering attacks on Angela Merkel in the name of the German people without substantive answers, e.g., Germ.: "*...Sie misstrauen den Bürgern; deswegen wollen Sie sie tagsüber gängeln und nachts einsperren. Sie misstrauen den Ländern und Kommunen...Dieser Rückfall in den autoritären Ungeist geht vom Kanzleramt aus und von Ihnen, Frau Bundeskanzlerin*" [Eng.: "You distrust the citizens; that's why you want to peg them during the day and lock them up at night. You distrust the federal states and municipalities ... This return to the authoritarian mischief comes from the Chancellery and from you, Ms. Chancellor!..."]. Accusing Angela Merkel of authoritarianism is a distortion of the truth and pure demagoguery, which arouses thunderous applause only from fellow AfD party members.

Like her AfD party colleague Alexander Gauland, Alice Weidel uses rhetoric words, which can be perceived as toxic because she taints Angela Merkel's image as a democratic politician using words spoken with strength and pathos, e.g., Germ.: "*Angriffe auf die Grund- und Freiheitsrechte der Bürger*" [Eng.: "attacks on the fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizens"] (67.8%), manipulative words, e.g., Germ.: "*Eingriffe in die Bürgerrechte*" Eng. ["interference with civil rights"] (53.6%), demagogic rhetoric, e.g., Germ.: "*dieser Rückfall in den autoritären Ungeist*" [Eng.: "this relapse into the authoritarian demon"] (46.4%) (see Fig. 2).

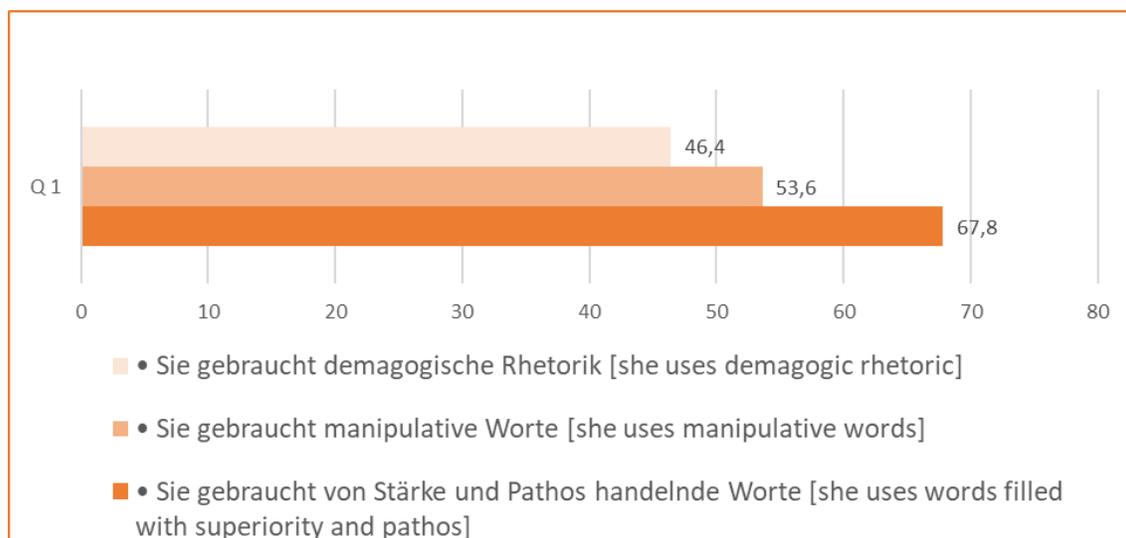


Figure 2. The recurrent verbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Alice Weidel (Germany)

#### 4.2.3 Verbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Igor Matovič (Slovakia)

The participants in the experiment generally identified Igor Matovič as a toxic figure because his use of words (60.7%), manner of speaking (57.1%), gestures and facial expressions (46.4%) are perceived as toxic.

A wide use of derogatory words makes his speech toxic, e.g., Sk.: *"Ak štát zavlažuje (financuje) všade, tak pri sociálnej pomoci sa takto správa hlúpy štát."* [Eng.: "If the state irrigates (finances) everywhere, then the stupid state behaves in this way with social assistance."] (64.3%). In this example, we see metaphor (epithet) of evaluative character; to name someone or something stupid is always insulting. The speaker is not afraid and has no remorse for insulting the whole country.

In some cases, the politician sounds extremely cynically speaking about working senior people, whom he mercilessly and indiscriminately makes potential victims of COVID-19. The implication of the example given below is as follows: if you are old, you are doomed; you will die; thus, die and give way to younger people: Sk.: *"Pracujúci seniori nech zostanú doma. Keď na tú chorobu (COVID-19) ochorejú, majú 100x väčšiu*

*pravdepodobnosť, že na ňu zomrú, ako keď ju dostanú mladí ľudia.*" [Eng.: "Working seniors should stay at home. When they get the disease (COVID-19), they are 100 times more likely to die from it than when young people get it."]. The situation is aggravated by the fact that he understands that he is malicious, but nevertheless he persists on his opinion. Sk.: *"Ja v tejto situácii budem v pohode za zlého, lebo byť za zlého pre tých, ktorí tomu nerozumejú, je pre tých ľudí, ktorí tomu rozumejú ako byť za zodpovedného."* [Eng.: "I'll be fine with being the bad guy in this situation, because being the bad guy for those who don't understand means being the responsible guy for those people who do understand".] (57.1%), words that signal that he is constantly waiting for approval, etc. Very often, he is cunning, pretending that he needs approval and support, but in fact, he sticks to his point of view, e.g., Sk.: *"Ja sa sám seba pýtam, či je úplne správne, že vám, novinárom odpovedáme na úplne všetky otázky, lebo mám pocit, že v minulosti to tak nebolo zvykom. Keď to robíme náhodou zle, tak nám to povedzte, aby sme to robili inak."* [Eng.: "I ask myself whether it is quite right that we answer all of your questions to you, journalists, because I feel that this has not been the case in the past. If we happen to do it wrong, tell us to do it differently."]. The next statement is a good example of hypocrisy: people should be at work notwithstanding Corona crisis. But what was done to support families when due to the lockdown everything was closed? Nothing. Sk.: *"Majú byť ľudia doma s deťmi bez akéhokoľvek príjmu? Asi to správne nie je."* [Eng.: "Should people stay at home with their children even if they lose income? Probably it is not right."] (42.9%) (see Fig. 3).

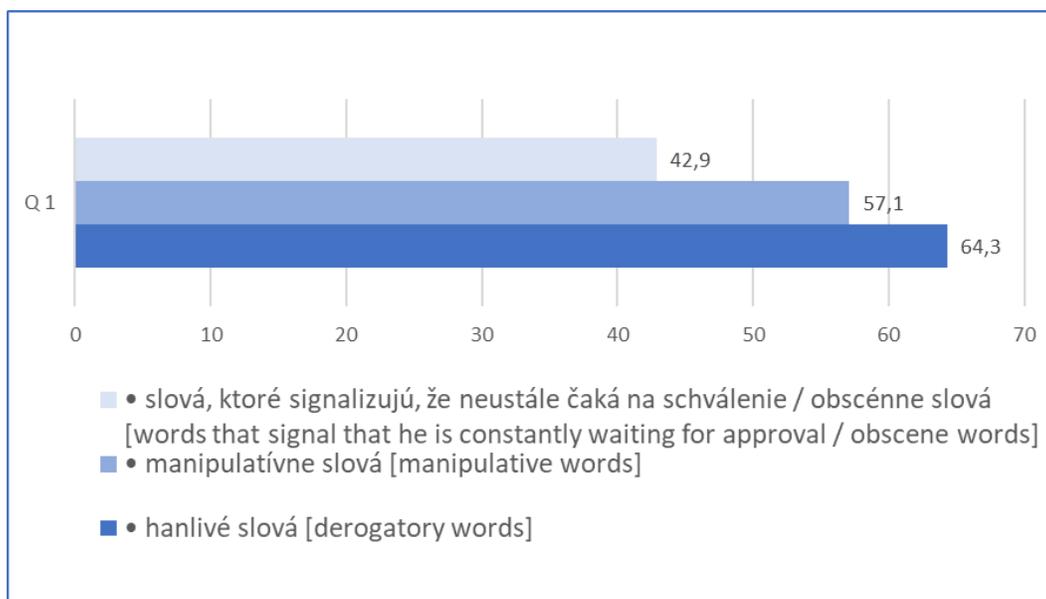


Figure 3. The recurrent verbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Igor Matovič (Slovakia)

#### 4.2.4 Verbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Petra Krištúfková (Slovakia)

Slovak politician Petra Krištúfková was characterized in the experiment as a toxic political figure who shows her toxicity through her manner of speaking and delivery (46.4%), words (35.7%) and the appearance (28.6%).

Her words are toxic because she most often uses manipulative words, like self-esteem, e.g., Sk.: *"je to zrkadlom toho, že si robím prácu dobre"* [Eng.: "it reflects the fact that I am doing my job well"]; speaking about Marián Kočner, who is now in prison for corruption and crimes, she shifts responsibility onto the media – Sk.: *"bol v médiách a vy (médiá) ste mu dávali moc"* [Eng.: "he appeared in the media and you (the media) gave him the power"] (53.6%), words full of superiority and pathos, e.g., Sk.: *"po rozvode mojich rodičov, nastalo v mojom živote obdobie rebelstva"* [Eng.: "after my parents' divorce, there was a period of rebellion in my life"]; being reprimanded for her friendship with Marián Kočner's wife, with whom she spent some time on their yacht, she changes the topic and passes from their cruise to her children – Sk.: *"žijem len pre svoje dcéry"* [Eng.: "I dedicate my life only to my daughters"] (50.0%), demagogic rhetoric / simple

sentences, e.g., Sk.: *"nechcem riešiť vaše slová, ktoré mi vy vkadáte do úst"* [Eng.: "I do not want to deal with your words that you are trying to put in my mouth"] (28.6%) (see Fig. 4).

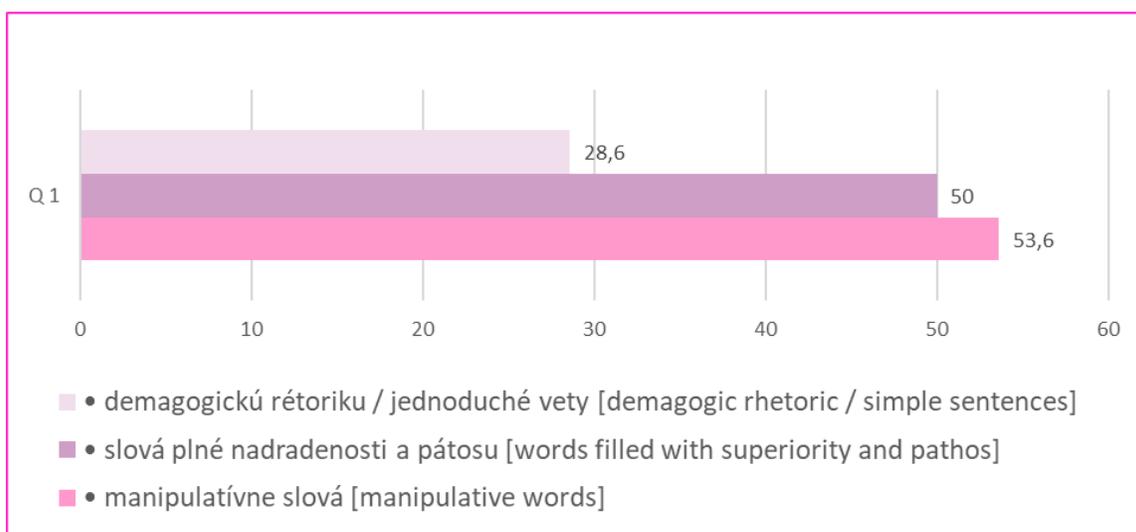


Figure 4. The recurrent verbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Petra Krišťúfková (Slovakia)

The participants of the experiment added a large number of their variants of toxicity in the oral discourse of Petra Krišťúfková, which were not in the experimental questionnaire and which, in their opinion, are associated with attributes reflecting the female dominant of toxicity: 1) a large number of pauses in hesitation, e.g., Sk.: *"dlhé ticho"* [Eng.: "long silence"]; Sk.: *"zvuky bez významu"* [Eng.: "sounds without meanings"]; Sk.: *"Možete mi zopakovať otázku?"* [Eng.: "Could you repeat your question?"]; 2) interruptions of the interlocutor, e.g., Sk.: *"nechajte ma dohovoriť"* [Eng.: "let me finish"]; Sk.: *"už som na to odpovedala"* [Eng.: "I have already given you the answer"]; 3) attacks with counter questions, e.g., Sk.: *"Ani vy ste nevedeli, kto on bol, inak by ste mu ten priestor (mediálny) nedávali. Všetak?"* [Eng.: "Even you did not know what kind of person he was. Otherwise you wouldn't have given him that much media space. Right?"]; Sk.: *"A za kým som mala ísť?"* [Eng.: "And who should I follow after?"]; 4) evasive words that can cause regret or admiration in the interlocutor, e.g., Sk.: *"Nechcem energiu venovať tomuto lynčovaniu"*

[Eng.: "I do not want to waste my energy to this lynching"]; Sk.: "*neznášal ma*" [Eng.: "he detested me"], etc.

#### *4.2.5 Different and similar verbal correlates of toxicity in German vs Slovak media discourse*

The contrastive analysis of the recurrent verbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Igor Matovič (Slovakia) vs. Alexander Gauland (Germany) has revealed similarities and differences in each of the language subgroups. For instance, we noted relations of coincidence in the use by the two politicians of manipulative words as a means of verbal toxicity (cf. 50.0% / 57.1%), which coincides with the nuclear feature identified in the associative experiment 'shortened and simplified representations of complex facts for manipulating others'.

The distinctive features of verbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Igor Matovič (Slovakia) vs Alexander Gauland (Germany) are determined by the German politician's inclination to use words dealing with strength and pathos (e.g., Germ.: "*Wir müssen endlich unsere Grenzen gegen illegale Migration schützen! Wenn die europäischen Außengrenzen nicht zu schützen sind, dann müssen wir die deutschen Grenzen schützen!*" [Eng.: "We finally have to protect our borders against illegal migration! If the European external borders cannot be protected, then we must protect the German borders!"]), while the Slovak politician prefers to express his assessment using derogatory or obscene words (see Fig. 5).

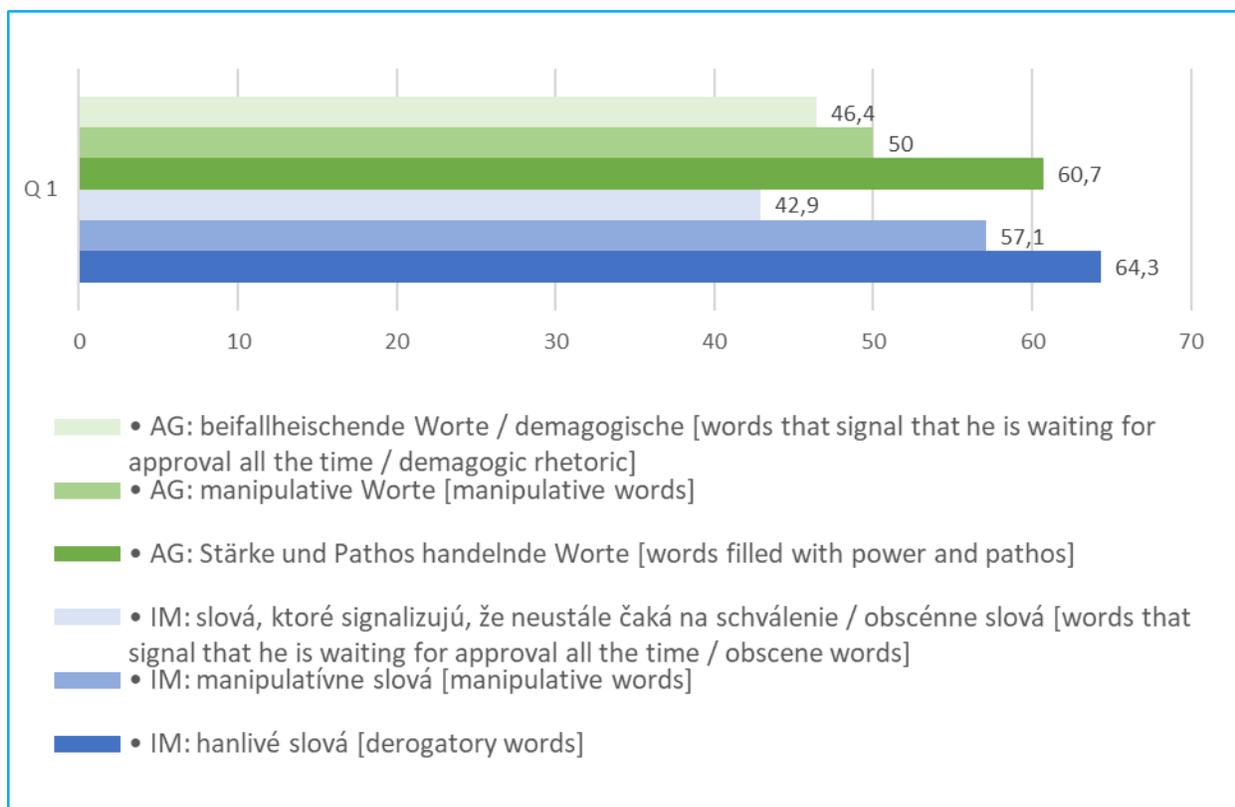


Figure 5. Verbal level of comparison (male gender): The recurrent verbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Igor Matovič (Slovakia) vs Alexander Gauland (Germany)

In the future, feedback signals in the form of disapproving reactions / hoots from the hall of deputies from other factions (opponents of the AfD) may become the object of a separate study of reactions to public toxicity, e.g., 1) Dr. Johann David Wadehul [CDU/CSU]: Germ.: "*Aber das ist gegen die eigenen Bürger und nicht gegen eine fremde Macht!*" [Eng.: "But that is against our own citizens and not against a foreign power!"]; 2) Christoph Matschie [SPD]: Germ.: "*Was für ein Unfug!*" [Eng.: "What nonsense!"]; 3) Germ.: "*Zuruf vom BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN: Quatsch!*" [Eng.: "Call from BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN: Nonsense!"]; 4) Thorsten Frei [CDU/CSU]: Germ.: "*So ein Schwachsinn!*" [Eng.: "What bullshit!"]; 5) Germ.: "*Gegenruf der Abg. Britta Haßelmann [BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN]: Ja klar, Sie sind blank bei dem Thema!*" [Eng.: "Countercall from MP Britta Haßelmann [BÜNDNIS 90 / DIE GRÜNEN]: Yes, of course, you are blank on the topic (=You don't know diddly-squat!)"], etc.

#### 4.3 Nonverbal correlates of toxicity in German vs. Slovak media discourse (results of the identification experiment, nonverbal level)

The identification experiment allowed us to establish different and similar nonverbal correlates of toxicity in German vs Slovak media discourse.

##### 4.3.1 Nonverbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Alexander Gauland (Germany)

The recurrent analysis of the identification experiment data shows that Alexander Gauland's manner of speaking is toxic because he speaks overly clearly (57%), slowly (42%), loudly (35.7%) (see Fig. 6).

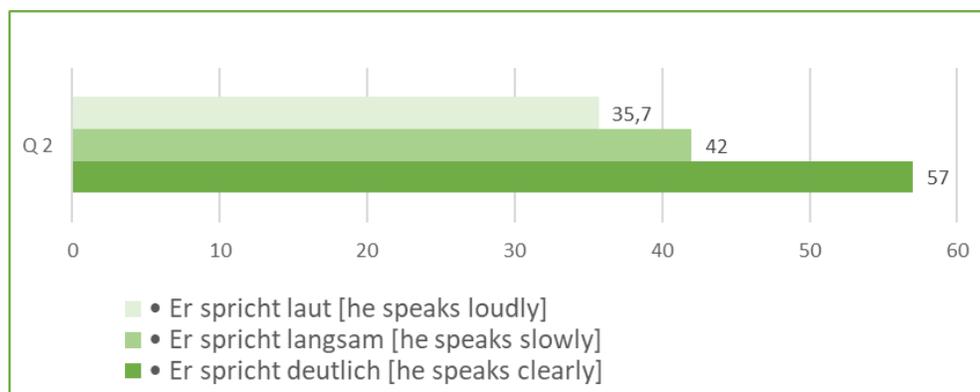


Figure 6. The recurrent voice correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Alexander Gauland (Germany)

The gestures and facial expressions of Alexander Gauland are also considered as toxic because he has few gestures (60.7%), tense posture (46.4%), and monotonous gestures (28.6%) (see Fig. 7).

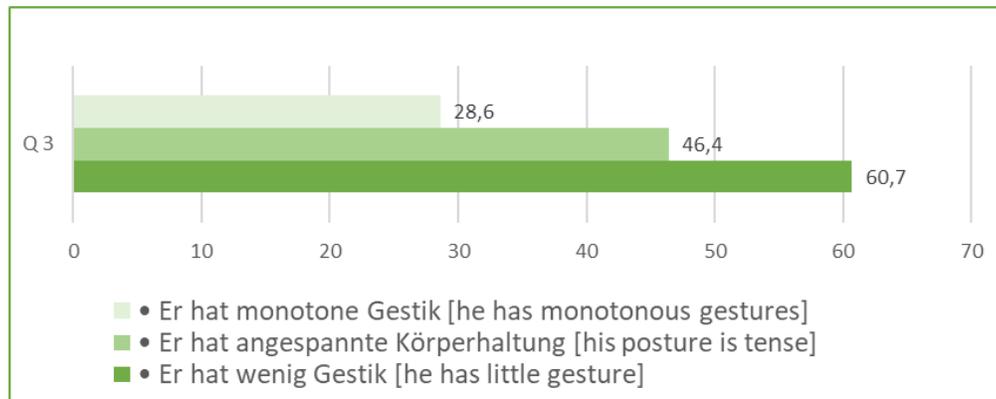


Figure 7. The recurrent gestures and facial correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Alexander Gauland (Germany)

We also established that Alexander Gauland does not use 1) homophobic and swear words, 2) fast speech turning to screaming, 3) clenched fists and waving gestures as verbal and nonverbal correlates of toxicity.

#### 4.3.2 Nonverbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Alice Weidel (Germany)

The recurrent analysis of voice correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Alice Weidel shows that her manner of speaking is perceived as toxic because she speaks loudly (67.8%), overly clearly (60.7%), and aggressively (42%) (see Fig. 8).

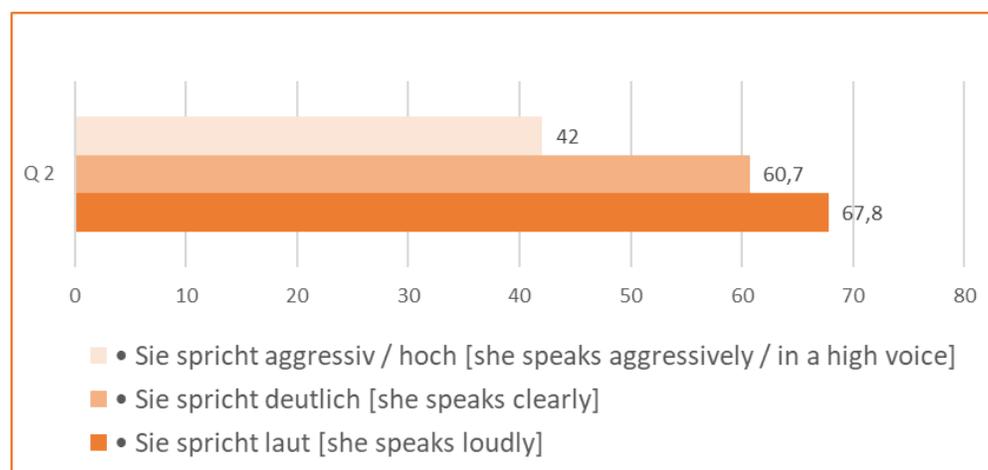


Figure 8. The recurrent voice correlates of toxicity in the oral Alice Weidel (Germany)

The gestures and facial expressions of Alice Weidel are also considered as toxic because she has a distorted face (71.4%), tense posture (50.0%), and wildly waving gestures (28.6%) (see Fig. 9).

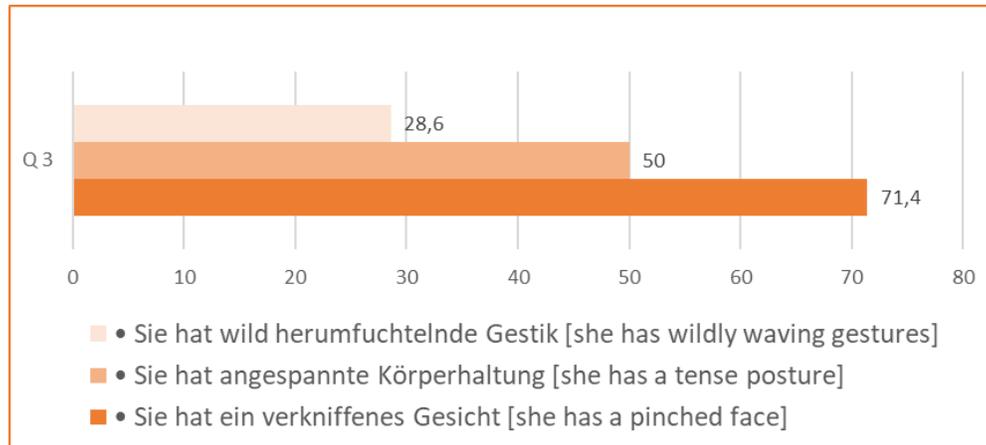


Figure 9. The recurrent gestures and facial correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Alice Weidel (Germany)

We also found that Alice Weidel does not use 1) homophobic and swear words, 2) creaking voice, 3) clenched fists, puckered eyebrows as verbal and nonverbal attributes of toxicity.

#### 4.3.3 Nonverbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Igor Matovič (Slovakia)

The recurrent analysis of the identification experiment data showed that Igor Matovič's manner of speaking is toxic because he speaks aggressively (57.1%), exaggeratedly clearly (59%), loudly (35.7%) (see Fig. 10).

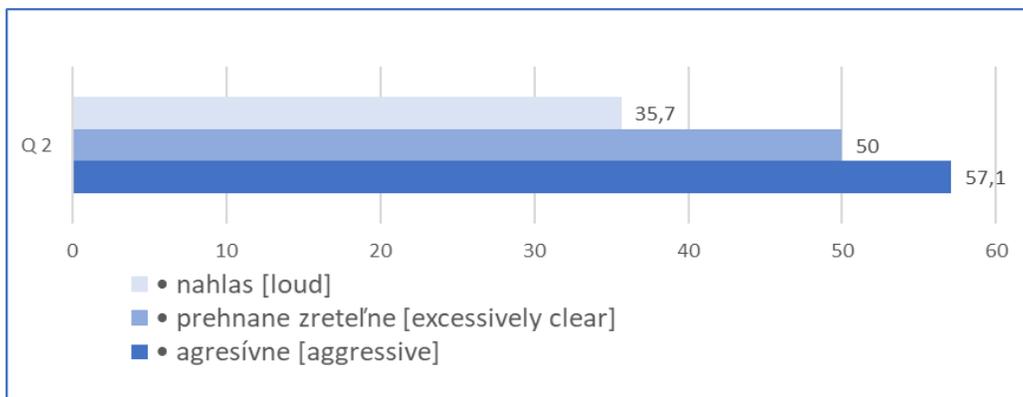


Figure 10. The recurrent voice correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Igor Matovič (Slovakia)

In addition, his gestures and facial expressions are considered toxic because he uses exaggerated gestures / facial expressions (42.9%), excessively spreads his arms (32.1%), and has a tense posture (28.6%) (see Fig. 11).

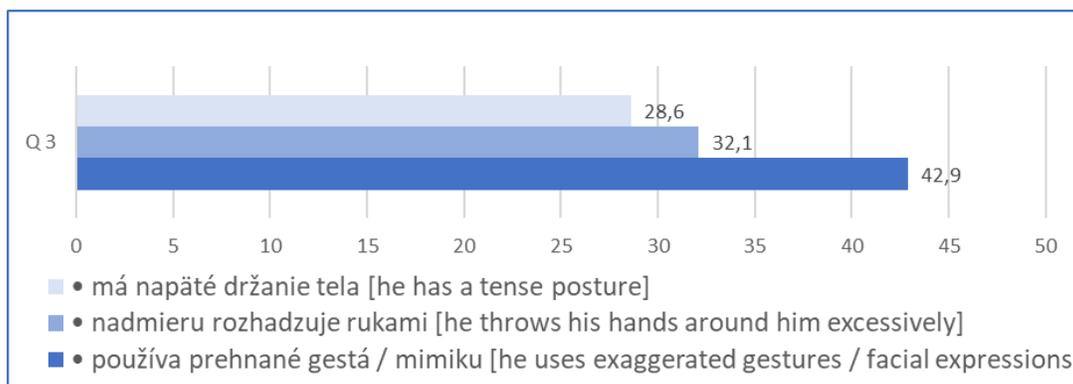


Figure 11. The recurrent gestures and facial correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Igor Matovič (Slovakia)

At the same time, the experts noted that in oral discourse, Igor Matovič rarely uses 1) gestures and facial expressions: uses few gestures (3.6%) and 2) squeaky, slow, fast speech (3.6%) and does not use 3) anti-Semitic, homophobic, racist words (0%) as verbal and nonverbal correlates of toxicity (see Fig. 12).

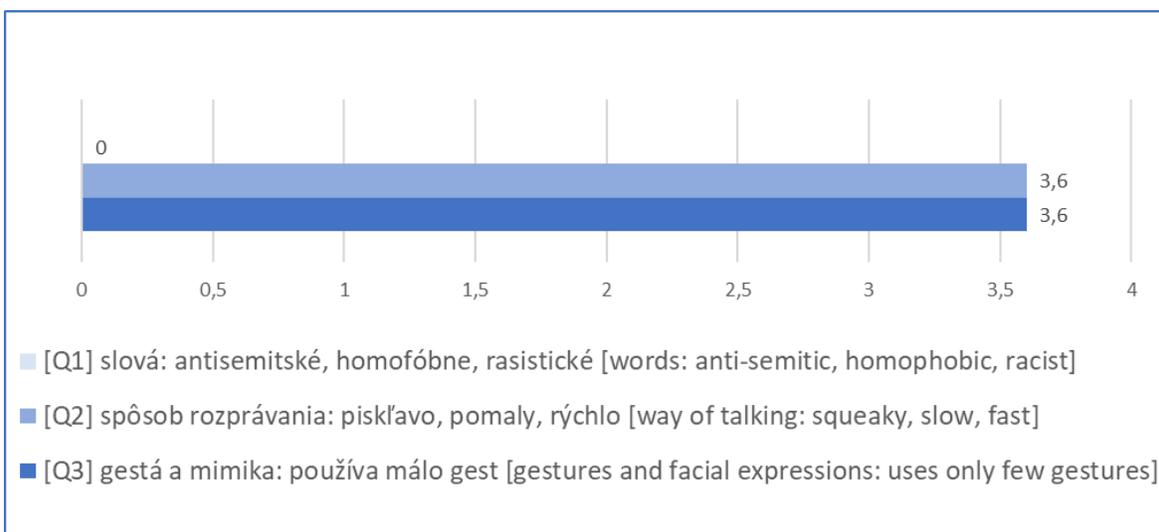


Figure 12. Rarely used verbal and nonverbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Igor Matovič (Slovakia)

#### 4.3.4 Nonverbal correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Petra Krištúfková (Slovakia)

The recurrent analysis of the identification experiment data showed that Petra Krištúfková's manner of speaking is toxic because she speaks aggressively (42.9%), in an overly accentuated manner (39.3%), in a high voice (35.7%) (see Fig. 13).

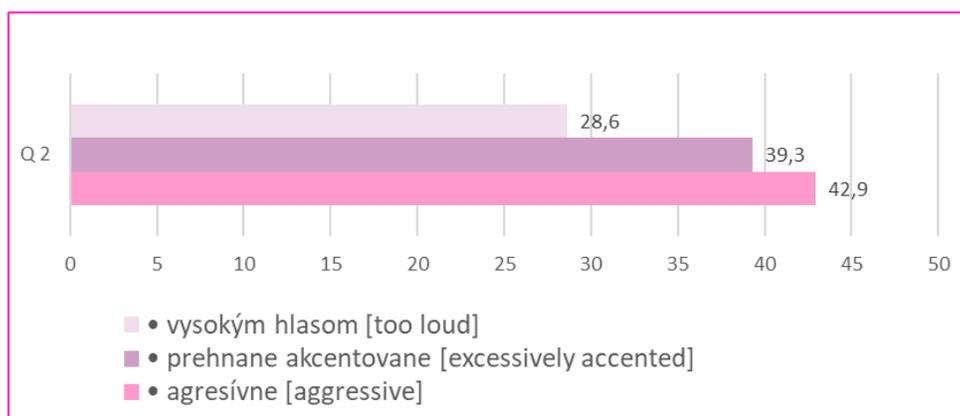


Figure 13. The recurrent voice correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Petra Krištúfková (Slovakia)

The participants of the identification characterize Petra Krištúfková's gestures and facial expressions as toxic because she has a tense posture (42.9%), uses few gestures (28.6%), and monotonous gestures (21.4%) (see Fig. 14).

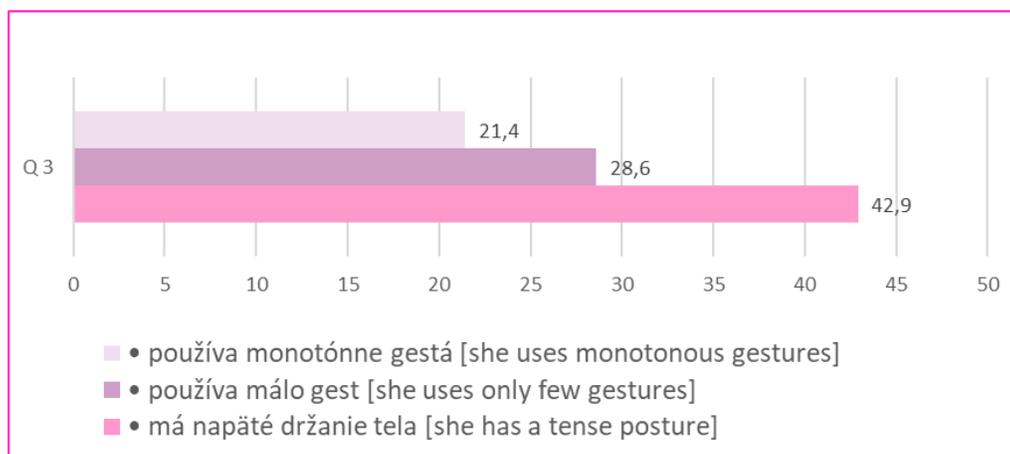


Figure 14. The recurrent gestures and facial correlates of toxicity in the oral discourse of Petra Krištúfková (Slovakia)

We also established that Petra Krištúfková does not use 1) derogatory, anti-Semitic, racist words, 2) hoarse speech, and 3) fists clenched as verbal and nonverbal correlates of toxicity.

#### 4.3.5 Different and similar nonverbal correlates of toxicity in German vs. Slovak media discourse

The contrastive analysis of the nonverbal correlates of toxicity in German vs. Slovak media discourse displayed a significant commonality of vocal toxicity, which is associated with voice parameters such as aggressiveness and loudness, as well as excessive hand activity, regardless of the gender of the toxic person.

## 5. Conclusions and final discussion

Our contrastive analysis of the oral speech of German and Slovak politicians who are labelled as toxic in the media of the two countries allows us to draw the following conclusions about toxicity correlates, which we analyzed at the conceptual level, verbal and nonverbal levels using two experiments.

We found that there are more similarities / overlaps between toxic politicians in Germany and Slovakia, both in the verbal expression of toxicity and their nonverbal accompaniment, than differences between them. In our opinion, this conclusion is logical, since the motivational base of political discourse is dominant and, accordingly, the set of verbal and nonverbal means will be common for German and Slovak politicians; in particular, both groups of politicians use manipulative methods of influencing the addressee as toxic means, conduct an aggressive verbal strategy using a loud voice and a large number of hand gestures. Such a set of toxicity correlates fully coincides with the persuasive basis of political discourse – influencing the addressee with the aim of convincing or calling for some action. Unlike other components of political communication (agonality, aggressiveness, and persuasiveness), toxicity as a behavioral and communicative model is ultimately aimed at causing psychological (emotional) harm in direct or indirect forms.

In this article, we sought to answer the question of which attributes of toxicity as properties of (some) chemical elements, compounds and biogenic substances that adversely affect living organisms and human health are transferred from the specialized languages of medicine and chemistry and conceptualized as a destructive psychological property of a person in everyday language.

To this end, we developed the following model of psychological toxicity, which is based on a prototypical scenario of chemical toxicity, the attributes of which are metaphorized in the language and the media.

Let us compare two models of toxicity in their direct ('chemical toxicity') and figurative ('psychological toxicity') meanings:

(Model 1: CHEMICAL TOXICITY): Chemical toxicity destroys the physical constituents of a person and causes them PHYSICAL HARM.

(Model 2: PSYCHOLOGICAL TOXICITY): Psychological toxicity destroys the moral constituents of a person and causes them MORAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL, and sometimes PHYSICAL HARM.

In Model 1, the carriers of chemical toxicity – toxins – are poisonous elements (gases, liquids, or solids), after entering the human body, cause the disruption of human life (poisoning, disease) and, as a result, its physical destruction / death.

In Model 2, the carriers of psychological toxicity are such utterances / implicit meanings – 'verbal / semantic toxins' – and/or actions – 'behavioral toxins' – of people that lead to the destruction of the personality / image of the addressee and, as a result, to his/her moral destruction.

Thus, the transfer of the meaning 'toxic poison' to 'toxic human behavior' or 'toxic utterance' is carried out based on the following general concept attributes: 1) the type of 'poison' / 'toxin' (a word, behavior, or a created situation (spread of rumors, fakes, etc.)), 2) the effect of the poison / toxin, and 3) the consequences of exposure to poison / toxin.

Factors such as the susceptibility of addressees to toxicity, its relativity, the extent of coverage of the target audience, and types of harm are subject to final discussion.

**Susceptibility to toxicity.** The main condition for the perception of statements, behavior and situations as toxic is the addressee's susceptibility to toxicity. If the addressee, while interacting with a toxic addresser, uses the following types of communicative antidotes: 1) commitment and adherence to their values and ideals, 2) awareness-building in the community, or 3) the addressee is toxic themselves (e.g., Donald Trump is immune to

toxic situations since he himself is assumed as toxic), then the toxicity of the addresser will not affect them, and they will not be drawn into a toxic situation.

**Relativity of toxicity.** When analyzing the discursive practices of toxic (media, political) persons, it should be noted that a public figure may not be the most pleasant and easy to communicate with, but at the same time, these people will not necessarily be toxic for everyone or for an individual recipient. What one calls toxic and takes personally, others will blame on character flaws of the communicant and will not pay much attention to. Therefore, toxicity is a relative concept – a person cannot be born toxic or be toxic to everyone around him/her.

**Extent of toxicity coverage and types of harm.** The interpretation of toxicity as a media phenomenon should take into account the extent to which the target audience is affected by the behavior and statements of toxic media persons, for example, one person (interviews, debates), group of people (communities in the social networks, informal associations), or wider communities (political movements, opposition parties, independent media). At the same time, the types of harm caused by the creation of a media toxic effect can affect both the psychological state of the addressee (aggressiveness, irritability, resentment) and his or her gender (binary / non-binary identities), age (ageism) and professional (labor discrimination) identities.

The proposed methodology, results, and conclusions of the study of the toxicity phenomenon can be used in further research not only in media communication, but also in the study of typological features of toxic public figures within different languages / cultural traditions and development of antitoxic communication skills. This study opens new approaches in the linguistic interpretation of various ideal types such as toxic, charismatic, authoritarian, genius, hedonist, etc. through the prism of their language and discourse.

## Notes

All the examples in the text as well as the quotations from non-English-language publications are translated by the authors: German – by Nataliya Petlyuchenko, Slovak – by Dana Petranová and Nataliya Panasenko.

## Abbreviations

AfD – Alternative für Deutschland

CSU / CDU – Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern e. V. / Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands

Fr. – French

Germ. – German

Lat. – Latin

MWOD – Merriam-Webster online dictionary

RND – Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland

Sk. – Slovak

SPD – Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands

URM – underrepresented minority

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#### Résumé

This paper approaches toxicity as a new phenomenon in the German and Slovak media viewed from a contrastive perspective. The corpus consisted of public speeches delivered by contemporary German- and Slovak-speaking politicians who are labelled 'toxic' in the media of Germany and Slovakia. The article offers the results of associative and identification experiments conducted to study concept, verbal and nonverbal correlates of toxicity, which can be used in further research of typological features of toxic public figures within different languages / cultural traditions. The authors propose a model of toxic media communication from the contrastive perspective, which is built using the deductive method based on the selection, description and comparison of concept, verbal and nonverbal characteristics of the speech of political figures who are labelled as 'toxic' in the German and Slovak media. We found that there are more similarities / overlaps between toxic politicians in Germany and Slovakia, both in the verbal explications of toxicity and their nonverbal accompaniment, than differences between them. This conclusion complies with the motivational base of political discourse, which is dominant and, accordingly, the set of verbal and nonverbal means will be common for German and Slovak politicians; in particular, both groups of politicians use manipulative methods of influencing the addressee as toxic means, conduct an aggressive verbal strategy using a loud voice and a large number of hand gestures. Such a set of toxicity correlates fully coincides with the persuasive basis of political discourse – influencing the addressee with

the aim of convincing or calling for some action. Unlike other components of political communication (agonality, aggressiveness, and persuasiveness), toxicity as a behavioral and communicative model is ultimately aimed at causing psychological (emotional) harm in direct or indirect forms. The results of this study can be used in further research not only in media communication, but also in the study of typological features of toxic public persons within different languages / cultural traditions and development of antitoxic communication skills.

**Key words:** toxicity, contrastive, political, media, concept, verbal, nonverbal, German, Slovak.

## Appendix A

### **Samples of the free narrative essay for the reconstruction of the concept attributes of toxicity in the Slovak and German media (associative experiment)**

(**German**). M.T.-S., M, DaF-Lektor, 40 <...*Toxisches Verhalten ist das Verhalten, dass besonders den Adressaten der Kommunikation verletzt oder diskriminiert. Auch eine niederschwellige Verletzung ist damit gemeint. Dazu gehört Misgendering, sexistische, ausschließende Aussagen, die über den GesprächspartnerIn abgelassen werden. Letztendlich provoziert solches Verhalten eine Antwort, die höchstwahrscheinlich auch toxisch sein wird... Alexander Gauland, Alice Weidel, Dieter Bohlen... rassistische, antisemitische, homophobe und andere diskriminierende Wörter/Worte...hohe Stimme, krätschende, kratzende Stimme, keine melodische Stimme ...eher weniger Gestik, oder eine sehr monotone unpassende Gestik sagt das Eine, zeigt mit Händen – etwas völlig anderes, unstimmiger Ausdruck...>*

(**Slovak**). OŠ, F, Lector, 45 <...*Sú to otravní, drží ľudia, stále upriamujú pozornosť iba na seba, hovoria o sebe, ostatní ich nezaujímajú, nevážia si iných ľudí, potláčajú jedinečnosť ostatných ľudí, vyžadujú neustálu pozornosť. Keď sa hovorí o nich, spozornejú, keď sa hovorí o iných, nezaujímajú ich to...Igor Matovič... Bývalá tenistka Dominika Cibulková, Podľa mňa aj moderátorka Iveta Malachovská, bývalý hokejista, v súčasnosti expert RTVS na hokej Boris Valábik – neviem, či sú v médiách takto označovaní ...Slová: hovorí o sebe, poukazuje na nedostatky iného, znevažuje iných, seba vychvaľuje, neprizná si chybu, nepoďakuje, stále kritizuje, preháňa, má uštipačné poznámky, je direktívny...Hlas: toxický človek*

*kričí... Gestá: gestami zasahuje do teritória iného – gestá príliš ďaleko od tela, gestikuluje so zdvihnutým ukazovákom. Robí strechu z prstov čo znamená, že len jeho názory sú najlepšie, názory ostatných ľudí nestoja za reč. Toxický muž sedí s kolenami ďaleko od seba, v komunikácii zaberá veľa miesta, rozloží si veci aj do teritória iného človeka. Summa summarum – toxicky kontaminuje celý priestor tak, akoby bol iba on sám na svete...>*

## Appendix B

### Sample questionnaire for the discursive assessment of toxicity correlates in the speech and gestures of German and Slovak politicians, who are labelled as toxic in the media (identification experiment)

**Experiment 1.** Discursive assessment of toxicity correlates in the speech and gestures of German and Slovak politicians, who are described as toxic in the media.

<p><b>Alexander Gauland</b> (since 2019 he has been honorary chairman of the AfD) (Germany)</p> <p>Photo available at: <a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2019-01-23-Alexander_Gauland-Maischberger-1521.jpg">https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2019-01-23-Alexander_Gauland-Maischberger-1521.jpg</a></p>	<p><b>Alice Weidel</b> (since September 2017 co-chair of the AfD parliamentary group and opposition leader) (Germany)</p> <p>Photo available at: <a href="https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alice_Weidel">https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alice_Weidel</a></p>	<p><b>Igor Matovič</b> (since 2011 founder and leader of the conservative right-wing of Ordinary People party) (Slovakia)</p> <p>Photo available at: <a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Igor_Matovi%C4%8D">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Igor_Matovi%C4%8D</a></p>	<p><b>Petra Krišťúfková</b> (since 2016 a member and vice-president of the National Council of the Slovak Republic for the My Family Movement) (Slovakia)</p> <p>Photo available at: <a href="https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Default.aspx?sid=poslanci/poslanec&amp;PoslanecID=922">https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Default.aspx?sid=poslanci/poslanec&amp;PoslanecID=922</a></p>
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#### Information about the participant of the experiment (Please be sure to complete!)

1. Name:
2. Place of birth, native language:
3. Specialty:
4. Political beliefs (if any):

#### Preliminary remarks:

People are *toxic* if they: 1) ignore your privacy and do things that do not concern them without any legal grounds; 2) do not feel guilty and are unable to admit mistakes; 3) they are attentive to your feelings and needs only when it serves their interests; 4) provoke quarrels over insignificant matters although the issue could be easily clarified with a short conversation; 5) they lie, manipulate and distort facts to protect their interests whether it makes sense or not; 6) subject others to emotional pressure and make them believe

that they are to blame; 7) elevate their stature by repeatedly mentioning that they know supposedly important people, etc.

**Assignment:**

In our experiment, we want to answer the questions:

1) How correlates of toxicity are manifested in the oral discourse (speech and gestures) of Slovak politicians and 2) what can serve as a marker of "toxicity" in 1) words, 2) voice, 3) gestures.

1. Please watch the following excerpt from \*\*\* speech:

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=t-ycJZeB2HI>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=NojUSr9MHA8>

This person is considered toxic because... (Mark the variant that you believe is correct! Several variants are possible!):

- his/her words are toxic.
- his/her manner of speaking is toxic.
- his/her gestures and facial expressions are toxic.
- his/her speech is toxic.
- his/her appearance is toxic.

Add your own variant \_\_\_\_\_

2. Please watch the excerpt from \*\*\* speech once again:

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=t-ycJZeB2HI>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=NojUSr9MHA8>

Mark the relevant variant!

**1. His/her words are toxic because...**

- he/she uses derogatory words.
- he/she uses anti-Semitic words.
- he/she uses words that signal that he/she is waiting for approval all the time.
- he/she uses discriminatory words.
- he/she uses demagogic rhetoric.
- he/she uses simple sentences.
- he/she uses homophobic words.
- he/she uses manipulative words.
- he/she uses misanthropic words.
- he/she uses racist words.
- he/she uses obscene words.
- he/she uses words filled with superiority and pathos.

Add your own variation \_\_\_\_\_

**2. His/her manner of speaking is toxic because...**

- he/she speaks aggressively.

- he/she speaks super clearly.
- he/she speaks in a high voice.
- he/she speaks in a raspy voice.
- he/she speaks hoarsely.
- he/she speaks with a squeal.
- he/she speaks slowly.
- he/she speaks loudly.
- he/she speaks quickly.
- he/she is screaming.
- he/she speaks immelodiously.

*Add your own variant* \_\_\_\_\_

### ***3. His/her gestures and facial expressions are toxic because...***

- he/she has a tense posture.
- his/her fists are clenched.
- his/her gestures are repetitive.
- his/her gestures / facial expressions are exaggerated.
- his/her gestures are inappropriate.
- he/she has few gestures.
- he/she has waving gestures.

*Add your own variant* \_\_\_\_\_

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## LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

Vol. VI. No 2 2021

# COGNITIVE RHETORIC OF EFFECT: RESPONSIBILITY IMPRESSION IN RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN PRESIDENTS' INAUGURALS

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**Abstract:** This paper reveals that in the inaugurals of Russian and Ukrainian presidents of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the overall pattern of creating a responsibility effect reconstructed in terms of compulsion image schema consists in a leader's progression from a submissive role of a target of answerability to its source or a vehicle of shared responsibility with one address ending up with impressions of over-responsibility and irresponsibility.

**Key words:** responsibility effect, compulsion, image schema, target of responsibility, source of responsibility, Agonist, Antagonist, force dynamics.

## 1. Introduction

Though the American tradition of inaugurating a president has been adopted by the countries of the former Soviet Union striving to demonstrate their acceptance of the civilised world's democratic rules, their incoming leaders enrich that framework with local ideas aimed at creating impressions shared by the audience. One of them is responsibility pervasive in Russian President Vladimir Putin's three inaugurals out of four, in the addresses delivered by Ukrainian Presidents Viktor Yanukovich and Volodymyr Zelensky. The popularity of this idea-turned-impression in the post-Soviet leaders' inaugurals seems to be brought about by two main causes. First, it is the

influence of Soviet-era discourse in general (Petlyuchenko & Chernyakova 2019: 117) and of the well-known trick called the 'Russian / Soviet solution' to the problem of political responsibility in particular. It is shuffled off, displaced, delegated, or otherwise vicariously attributed when nobody is answerable for anything except the President (Duff 2006). Second, reference to responsibility is meant to depict the presidents as worthy figures since when we are "responsible" others see us as individuals who do what they say they are going to do: it is less about what you DO and more about who you ARE (Tooley 2016). The incorporation of the local idea into the global framework of "inaugurals as symbols of democracy" (Mekouar 2021: 1) prompts the research question concerning analysis of the transformation of the concept of responsibility into the corresponding impression throughout particular speeches.

To uncover the way a president's responsibility idea is spelled out in the inaugural introduction transforms into the corresponding impression the paper draws on the cognitive-rhetorical approach. It combines Cognitive Semantics, seeking to understand how we conceptualise, imagine, and reason, on the one hand, and rhetorical theory, trying to understand how we conceptualise, imagine, and reason in particular situations, on the other hand (Oakley 2005: 444). Cognitive rhetoric studies linguistic devices and strategies, employed by the senders of "practical purpose" messages with the aim of affecting the recipients' viewpoint and way of thinking (Kwiatkowska 2012: 9). This approach relates verbal influence to a number of cognitive structures and procedures: image schemas (Turner 1991: 57), force dynamics (Oakley 2005: 445), conceptual metaphor (Hamilton 2012: 203), conceptual integration (Gomola 2012: 289), Ronald Langacker's construal theory embedded into the persuasion appeals of ethos, pathos, and logos (Browse 2018). However, in its current form the approach seems to lack a unified conception, which is supposed to combine the cognitive procedures with the traditional rhetorical canons of invention (selection of arguments), disposition (arrangement of content), elocution (verbalisation of arguments), memory, and delivery (Fedoriv 2016: 7) with the last two merging into a stage of performance due to the development of contemporary technologies.

The combination of the rhetorical canons with force dynamics and image schemas, i.e. the structures of sensorimotor origin underlying the formation of an individual's conceptual system, results in the emergence of the cognitive rhetoric of effect (Potapenko 2016), developing the traditions of ethos treated as self-representation (Baumlin 2006: 278). This type of rhetoric deals with the linguistic means forming a particular textual impression, which is usually named in the Introduction to a speech. The approach has been applied to the study of the impressions of modesty and determination in President Obama's first inaugural and the 2009 speech before a joint session of the Congress (Potapenko 2012: 245); effects of freedom celebration and freedom defence in the inaugurals by J.F. Kennedy and J.W. Bush respectively (Potapenko 2016: 245), etc. The **aim** of this paper is to unravel how the inaugurals of Russian and Ukrainian leaders of the 21<sup>st</sup> century create the impression of responsibility announced at the outset. The **tasks** of the paper are as follows: to define and point out inaugurals with an effect-forming structure; to outline the experiential method of cognitive linguistics; to formulate the cognitive rhetorical approach based on the combination of the experiential method with the rhetorical canons and to single out cognitive rhetorical variants of responsibility implementation in the inaugurals by Putin, Yanukovich, and Zelensky.

## 2. Methods and material

The rhetoric of effect **method** employs the stages of invention, disposition, elocution, and performance. The last one embraces two steps: preliminary, revealing the choice of speech genre and the intended idea-turned-impression affecting the subsequent stages of text production; and closing, determining the achievement of the planned effect.

The **material** of the research comprises three inaugurals by Putin (Путин 2000; 2012; 2018), one address by Yanukovich (Янукович 2010), and one speech by Zelensky (Зеленський 2019). The choice of these inaugurals at the preliminary step is explained by their effect-forming structure: the Introduction offers a responsibility statement,

which is pursued throughout the whole address. In other inaugurals, presidents may refer to responsibility once or twice relating it to a subtopic which is not involved in creating an answerability impression.

Among the speeches of the second type is Putin's 2004 address, which refers to responsibility twice, setting it aside by a participial construction. Instead, he focuses on the development of democracy and continuing transformations in his country:

(1) Rus. – *"Мы часто повторяем: в России глава государства отвечал и будет отвечать за все. Это по-прежнему так. Но сегодня, глубоко понимая меру собственной, личной ответственности, хочу подчеркнуть: успех и процветание России не могут и не должны зависеть от одного человека или от одной политической партии, одной политической силы"* (Путин 2004).

Eng. – "It is often said here that the head of state in Russia answers and will always answer for everything. This is still the case. But today, although I have a deep awareness of my own personal responsibility, I nevertheless want to emphasize that Russia's success and prosperity cannot and should not depend on one single person or one political party, or political force alone" (Putin 2004).

The noun *ответственность* "responsibility" occurs in the participial construction *глубоко понимая меру собственной, личной ответственности* "although I have a deep awareness of my own personal responsibility" which downplays the importance of his personal answerability. Instead, in one of the coordinate clauses the speaker focuses on the prosperity of the country expressed by the phrase *успех и процветание России* "Russia's success and prosperity".

Though throughout his inaugural, President Medvedev refers to the citizens responsible for their individual success and to the responsible political forces, the statement of his personal answerability opens up the conclusion with no further development of the idea:

(2) Rus. – *"Я хорошо осознаю, какой груз ответственности ложится на мои плечи, и рассчитываю на нашу совместную работу"* (Медведев 2008).

Eng. – "I am very conscious of the weight of responsibility that will fall upon my shoulders, and I count on our work together" (Medvedev 2008).

Similarly, the 5<sup>th</sup> president of Ukraine does not aim at creating a responsibility effect. He refers to answerability only twice promising to free some of the rebels from criminal liability (3) and reminds the audience that everybody is to blame for the statehood crisis (4) without positioning himself as a responsible politician:

(3) Ukr. – *"У відповідь гарантую, по-перше, звільнення від кримінальної відповідальності тих, на чийх руках немає крові українських воїнів та мирних людей"* (Порошенко 2014).

Eng. – "In response, in the first place, I am ready to exempt from criminal liability those who did not murder Ukrainian warriors or civilians".

(4) Ukr. – *"В тому, що Україна прийшла до кризи державності, є частка відповідальності кожного з нас"* (Порошенко 2014).

Eng. – "Each of us is in part responsible that Ukraine faces the crisis of statehood".

The English translations of Medvedev's and Putin's addresses necessary for interpreting the Russian originals are taken from the Kremlin site (Medvedev 2008; Putin 2000; 2004; 2012; 2018) while Ukrainian leaders' inaugurals are rendered into English by the authors of the paper.

The first – inventive – stage of analysis, concerning the study of the content of a speech, comprises two steps: perspectivational and relational. They are based on dictionary definitions of the words naming the idea-turned-impression with an application of the experiential method of cognitive linguistics, or experiential linguistics (Zlatev 2016: 568). It states that our abstract understanding and reasoning are based on the structures taken from experience (Johnson 1987: xvi).

The *perspectivational* step determines the point of view, from which particular content is represented. The relational step reconstructs the conceptual structure underlying the idea-turned-impression with an application of image schemas and force dynamics. Image schemas as recurring dynamic patterns of our perceptual experience help us make sense of that experience and reason about it (Johnson 2005: 19) while force dynamics as a fundamental semantic category allows us to think and talk about events and relations in the physical domain as well as in epistemic and social domains (Talmy 2000: 209). Force dynamics primarily underlying causal and concessive relations reflects the internal state of two entities traditionally named by terms beginning with capital letters: Agonist, i.e. the focal force, and its opposite, Antagonist. Both of them are characterised by tendencies either to rest or to motion, or, in more general terms, to action or inaction (ibid., 413). The comparison of those tendencies reveals differences between various entities in terms of dominance, subordination, or progress.

Being gestalt structures, which grasp a simultaneous interaction of several entities (Johnson 1987: xix), image schemas offer an external view of a depicted situation. Their comprehensive cognitive nature is enhanced by their arrangement according to the order of an individual's orientation in the environs and in the conditions of the task treated as the first phase of intellectual behaviour leading to the selection of a plan of action (Færch & Gabriele 1983: 23). From the orientational perspective the constituents of image schemas differ in the degree of salience triggered by their position in one of the four main sets arranged relative to the human body as the centre of conceptualisation: somatic, perceptual, spatial, and dynamic split into those for motion and force (Potapenko 2016: 246-248).

Unlike force dynamics rendering internal states of two opposing entities the image schemas for force – BLOCKAGE, RESTRAINT REMOVAL, ENABLEMENT, DISABLEMENT, ATTRACTION, COMPULSION (Johnson 1987: 126) – represent the external interaction of source and target with the vector indicated by the name of a schema. Nearly all the schemas for force reflect the source's dominance over the target.

The only exception is the COUNTERFORCE schema with two strong force centres colliding face-to-face with the result that neither can go anywhere (ibid., 46). In this case, the prominence of source and target seems equal representing an Agonist and an Antagonist with approximately equal tendencies to motion incurring an unpredictable outcome.

Prominent sources with vectors of differing directions underlie the formation of ENABLEMENT, ATTRACTION, and COMPULSION image schemas rendering an Agonist's inner tendency to motion. The source of ENABLEMENT schema defined as a sense of power (ibid., 47) is positioned inside a moving entity, with the COMPULSION schema the source is behind the target while with ATTRACTION it is ahead of the target. The BLOCKAGE source, associated with an Agonist's tendency to motion, is more salient than the target, related to an Antagonist's tendency to rest since its activity is hampered. The source of RESTRAINT REMOVAL renews the activity of the target, initially perceived as an Antagonist with a tendency to rest, while DISABLEMENT represents the least prominent target devoid of any energy or ability to act, i.e. an Antagonist inclined to rest.

The pre-conceptual relations discussed above are used at the perspectivational step of analysis to reconstruct the idea-turned-impression drawing on the dictionary entries of the nouns denoting responsibility in Russian and Ukrainian.

The definition of the Russian noun *ответственность* "responsibility" rests on the semantic features '*необходимость*' "necessity" and '*обязанность*' "duty":

(5) Rus. – "*Необходимость, обязанность отдавать кому-н. отчет в своих действиях, поступках*" (ОТВЕТСТВЕННОСТЬ 2017).

Eng. "Necessity, duty to give account of one's actions, deeds".

In image-schematic terms, the noun *ответственность* "responsibility" refers to the target of COMPULSION, which captures the experience of being moved by external forces (Johnson 1987: 45). This role is indicated by the semantic features '*необходимость*' "necessity" and '*обязанность*' "duty", with the latter understood as *круг действий, возложенных на кого-нибудь и безусловных для выполнения* "the range of actions assigned to someone and unconditional to perform" (ОТВЕТСТВЕННОСТЬ 2017).

Similar semantic features are found in the definition of the Ukrainian noun *відповідальність* denoting responsibility (6):

(6) Укр. "*покладений на когось або взятий на себе обов'язок відповідати за певну ділянку роботи, справу, за чийсь дії, вчинки, слова*" (Словник української мови, *s.a.*).

Eng. "a duty to answer for a certain sphere of activity, one's actions, deeds, words somebody entrusted with or takes over".

The semantic features '*обов'язок*' "duty" and '*відповідати*' "to answer" portray a responsible subject as a target of external influence or his/her own will.

At the *relational* step of the inventive stage image schemas and force dynamics are used to explain the framing of a responsible subject from the opposite perspectives: internal, revealing a tendency to motion or rest, and external, representing him/her as a source or target of COMPULSION. In force-dynamic terms, the definitions of the units denoting responsibility in the two languages foreground reference to duty underscoring the responsible subject's actual Antagonist role with a tendency to secondary motion conditioned by the actions of the Agonist.

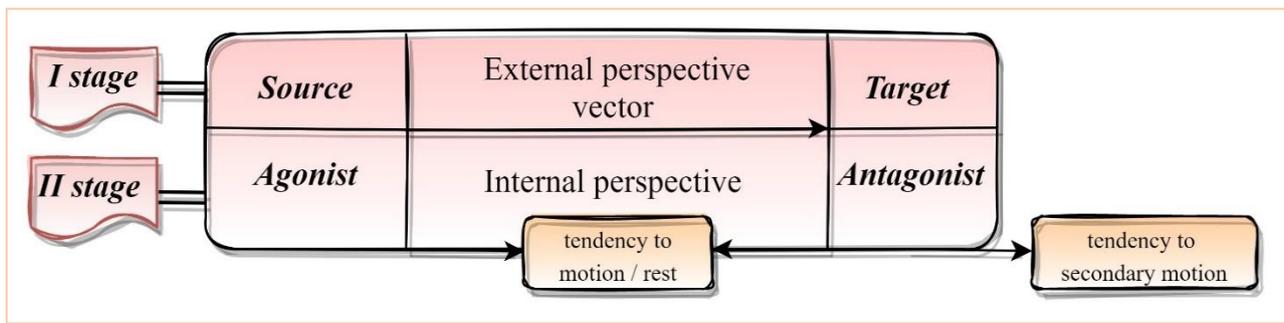


Figure 1. Procedures based on COMPULSION image schema

No doubt, the sensorimotor model of the conceptual structure of responsibility idea-turned-impression based on dictionary definitions is quite skeletal being enriched in the course of text production and its analysis.

The second – dispositional – stage of revealing impressions produced by the speeches under analysis consists in pinpointing the sections in which the intended effect is formed. It is done two ways: directly, i.e. by the nouns, verbs and adjectives referring to responsibility, or indirectly, i.e. by the verbs with the meaning of COMPULSION.

The third – elocutionary – stage of analysis deals with the distribution of the units, referring to the source and target of responsibility-COMPULSION in separate textual sections.

The closing step of the performative stage concerns drawing conclusions about the responsibility effect taking into account the speaker's source and target roles, their intensification, reflected in over-responsibility, or mitigation, rendered by shared responsibility.

### 3. Results

The combination of rhetorical canons with the cognitive structures of sensorimotor origin hypothesised by a number of renowned scholars (Johnson 2005: 15; Oakley 2005: 443; Talmy 2000: 409; Zlatev 2016: 559) is applied to the analysis in the following way. Invention as the choice of an idea transforming into an impression is

reflected in the Introductions while disposition and elocution are implemented in the text bodies drawing on the COMPULSION image schema and force-dynamic relations.

### *3.1 Responsibility idea in the Introductions*

In the inaugurals under analysis, the idea of responsibility is usually outlined in the Introductions reflecting its importance for the speaker and giving clues about the way it is supposed to be implemented in the text.

The use of the personal deictic *Я* "I" implying responsibility (Stashko et al. 2020: 359) and leadership skill (ibid., 364) together with the verb *понимаю* "am aware" underscores Putin's Agonist role in the effect-introducing statement (7) of his first inaugural. This role seems less prominent in the introductions to the inaugurals of 2012 (8) and 2018 (9) because of the absence of the pronoun *Я* "I":

(7) Rus. – *"Я понимаю, что взял на себя огромную ответственность, знаю, в России глава государства всегда был и будет человеком, который отвечает за все, что происходит в стране"* (Путин 2000).

Eng. – "I understand that I have taken on a great responsibility, and I know that in Russia the head of state has always been and will always be the person who is responsible for everything in the country" (Putin 2000).

(8) Rus. – *"Вступая в должность Президента Российской Федерации, понимаю всю свою ответственность перед Родиной"* (Путин 2012).

Eng. – "As I take office as President of the Russian Federation, I am aware of my great responsibility before our country" (Putin 2012).

(9) Rus. – *"<...> особенно остро осознаю свою колоссальную ответственность перед каждым из вас, перед всем нашим многонациональным народом, ответственность перед Россией — страной грандиозных побед и*

*свершений, перед тысячелетней историей российской государственности и нашими предками"* (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "<...> I am keenly aware of the immense responsibility towards each and every one of you, and towards our entire multi-ethnic nation. I am aware of my responsibility towards Russia, a country of magnificent victories and accomplishments, towards the history of the Russian state that goes back centuries and towards our ancestors" (Putin 2018).

In the cited passages Putin's Agonist role is additionally underscored by qualifying *responsibility* as an Antagonist, i.e. an opposing force, by the units *огромный* "great", *весь* "great", and *колоссальный* "immense" in the introductory sections to his three inaugurals. The Antagonist's immobility implies its importance since entities of such enormous size move very slowly if ever. Moreover, further analysis of the speech reveals correlation between the meaning of the units characterising responsibility at the outset and the way the texts form the intended impression. The adjective *огромный* "great" from the Introduction to the 2000 inaugural (7) relates to one more reference to answerability by the verb *отвечать* "to be responsible" (7). The attribute *колоссальный* "immense" with a more intense meaning is linked to four other reiterations of the noun *ответственность* "responsibility" in the 2018 address (9). The pronoun *весь* "great" has no repetition support in the 2012 speech (8).

The interaction of modifiers with the number of repetitions of the units referring to responsibility also seems to reflect the leader's frame of mind. The big strain of being a novice is implied by the attribute *огромный* "great" in the year 2000 (7), which is quite natural because of being the first term in office. A bigger strain is rendered in 2018 by the attribute *колоссальный* "immense" (9). The pronoun *весь* "great" (8) expresses a more or less neutral stance in the 2012 address.

Another important change in the Introductions to Putin's inaugurals is the way the source of responsibility compelling the president to act is denoted. It is represented by

the country (Rus. *страна*) in 2000 (7), by the Motherland (Rus. *Родина*) in 2012 (8) though these distinctions are not retained in the translations, which apply the noun *country* in both cases. The three consecutive sources named in the Introduction to the 2018 inaugural (9) are the people denoted by the phrase *перед каждым из вас, перед всем нашим многонациональным народом* "towards each and every one of you, and towards our entire multi-ethnic nation" followed by history of Russia (Rus. *история российской государственности*), and ancestors (Rus. *предки*).

The portrayal of Putin's internal and external states in the Introductions is supposed to produce a favorable impression on the audience: externally he is poised as a target of an enormous responsibility-COMPULSION source while internally he is an Agonist with a tendency to motion ready to overpower the indicated source.

The Introduction to Ukrainian President Yanukovich's speech does not qualify the responsibility he undertakes by any modifiers. In lieu of it, he combines references to responsibility and humility (10), a popular sentiment in the Western political world, underscores his submission to the people and to God naming them as primary sources of his responsibility-COMPULSION:

(10) Ukr. – *"Що я відчував, тримаючи руку на святому Пересопницькому Євангелії? Відповідальність і смиренність. Перед народом України, який у ході вільного волевиявлення віддав за мою кандидатуру більшість голосів. Перед всевишнім, волею якого я вступаю на посаду Української держави в такий непростий час"* (Янукович 2010).

Eng. – "What did I feel, placing a hand on the Holy Gospel? Responsibility and humility. Before the people of Ukraine, who in free voting supported my candidature by the majority of votes. Before the Lord due to whose will I am entering office of the Ukrainian leader at such a complicated time".

The Introduction to the inaugural of the sitting Ukrainian President Zelensky intensifies his responsibility by the repetition of the term (11, 12) though without a return to it in the text body:

(11) Ukr. – *"Це не моя, це наша спільна перемога. І це – наш спільний шанс. За який ми несемо спільну відповідальність"* (Зеленський 2019).

Eng. – "This is not my victory. It is our common victory. And it is our common chance. And we bear our common responsibility for it".

(12) Ukr. – *"Від сьогодні кожен з нас несе відповідальність за країну, яку ми залишимо своїм дітям"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "Since now each of us bears responsibility for the country we are going to leave to our children".

It is in the Introduction that Zelensky refers to his responsibility-COMPULSION shared with the people, which comes later in Putin's inaugurals and occurs in the conclusion to Yanukovich's address. The current Ukrainian leader shifts responsibility onto his fellow-citizens by the adjective *спільний* "common" in the collocation *спільна відповідальність* "common responsibility" (11) and by the distributive quantifier *кожен* "each of us" (12). The latter sounds more involving than the adjective *спільний* "common" since it offers a zoomed-in perspective of the population picking out a single instance of a set (Radden & Dirven 2007: 125). In this respect, Zelensky appears close to the Russian leader with his tendency to shift answerability onto the people imparting them with the role of assistants. Moreover, the idea of common responsibility comes third in Zelensky's inaugural after common victory and chance (11), which implies its background role. It does not reemerge in the speech giving way to the ideas of unity and struggle against the establishment.

Therefore, this paper discusses the transformation of the responsibility idea into a textual effect in the speeches by Putin and Yanukovych drawing on the use of linguistic units referring to COMPULSION and their textual distribution.

### *3.2 Dispositional and elocutionary implementation of responsibility effect*

With the inventive stage mainly reflected in the Introductions reconstructed above the analysis of the presidents' inaugurals in this section concerns two rhetorical stages discussed together: dispositional, aimed at the analysis of the composition of inaugurals drawing on the linguistic means referring to responsibility-COMPULSION; elocutionary, meant to single out the lexical units emphasising a responsible subject's source and target roles.

#### *3.2.1 Russian president's strategy of responsibility*

President Putin's three inaugurals under discussion differ in the order of primary sources of responsibility-COMPULSION identified in the section known in rhetoric as narration: it follows the Introduction and sets out the area of arguments and facts (Leith 2012: 82). The sources of responsibility-COMPULSION encouraging the president to act encompass abstract political notions with the needs of the people trailing behind in the 2000 and 2012 addresses though the 2018 speech foregrounds the units referring to his compatriots.

In the text body of the 2000 inaugural, further sources encouraging the president as a target of responsibility-COMPULSION include his predecessor's bequest (13) and his compatriots (14):

(13) Rus. – *"Первый Президент России Борис Николаевич Ельцин, покидая Кремль, сегодня вспомнил об этом – произнес слова, которые многим запомнились. Он сегодня повторил в этом зале: "Берегите Россию". Именно в этом я вижу главную президентскую обязанность"* (Путин 2000).

Eng. – "The first President of Russia, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, recalled this today, as he leaves the Kremlin, with words that many will remember. He repeated today in this hall: Take care of Russia. This is precisely what I see as the primary responsibility of the President" (Putin 2000).

(14) Rus. – *"Я также рассчитываю найти в этом патриотическом деле помощь сограждан России, всех, кому дорога судьба нашего Отечества"* (Путин 2000).

Eng. – "I also expect to get help in this patriotic effort from the citizens of Russia and from all those who hold dear the future of our Motherland" (Putin 2000).

The combination of reference to fellow compatriots and a group named by the phrase *всех, кому дорога судьба нашего Отечества* "all those who hold dear the future of our Motherland" with the noun *помощь* "help" (14) promotes the president from the target of responsibility-COMPULSION to the source of shared responsibility obliged to take care of Russia as well as an Agonist with a tendency to motion accelerated by the population's assistance. In addition, the sources encouraging the president to act include the country's past usually located behind the experiencer (Evans 2004: 193) being emphasized by a five-time reiteration of the noun *история* "history" and its derivatives (15-17) combined with the unit *память* "memory" (17):

(15) Rus. – *"Сегодня действительно исторический день, я хочу на этом еще раз сконцентрировать внимание. В самом деле, впервые за всю историю нашего государства, за всю историю России впервые верховная власть в стране передается самым демократическим, самым простым образом <...>"* (Путин 2000).

Eng. – "Today truly is a historic day; I want to draw attention to this once more. Really, for the first time in Russia's history, power is being transferred in the most democratic and simplest way <...>" (Putin 2000).

(16) Rus. – *"Путь к свободному обществу не был простым и легким, в нашей истории были и трагические, и светлые страницы"* (Путин 2000).

Eng. – "The road to a free society has been neither smooth nor simple. We have both tragic and great chapters in our history" (Путин 2000).

(17) Rus. – *"Здесь, в Кремле, – средоточие нашей национальной памяти, здесь, в стенах Кремля, веками вершилась история нашей страны"* (Путин 2000).

Eng. – "The Kremlin is a focal point of our national heritage. Here, within the walls of the Kremlin, the history of our nation has been made for centuries" (Putin 2000).

The president's pride in the country's present encouraging his responsibility indicated in the Introduction is underscored by the adverb *впервые* "for the first time" (15) emphasising the importance of the current moment in Russian history. The adverb correlates with the adjective *светлый* "great" in the collocation *и трагические, и светлые страницы* "both tragic and great chapters" (16). The semantics of these two units correlate with the meanings of the noun *путь* "road" (16) and of the verb *вершить* "make" (17) representing the country's history in terms of motion.

In the narration section of Putin's 2012 inaugural the encouraging sources of responsibility-COMPULSION span three utterances (18-20):

(18) Rus. – *"Её интересы, безопасность, благополучие граждан страны всегда были и всегда останутся для меня превыше всего"* (Путин 2012).

Eng. – "Russia's interests and the security and prosperity of our people have always been and always will be my utmost priority" (Putin 2012).

(19) Rus. – *"Сделаю всё, чтобы оправдать доверие миллионов наших граждан"* (Путин 2012).

Eng. – "I will do everything to justify the trust that millions of our citizens have placed in me" (Putin 2012).

(20) Rus. – "*Считаю смыслом всей своей жизни и своим долгом служение Отечеству, служение нашему народу, поддержка которого вдохновляет и помогает решать самые сложные и трудные задачи*" (Путин 2012).

Eng. – "I see the whole sense and purpose of my life as being to serve our country and serve our people, whose support gives me the inspiration and help I need to resolve the greatest and most complex tasks" (Putin 2012).

The first source of responsibility-COMPULSION in the narration section of 2012 inaugural is the abstract notion of non-specified Russian interests (Rus. *интересы*), followed by the security issues (Rus. *безопасность*) and prosperity (Rus. *благополучие*) of the people denoted by the noun *граждане* "people" (18). The sources of responsibility also comprise the citizens' trust denoted by the collocation *доверие миллионов наших граждан* (19), the Fatherland, and its people designated by the word combinations *служение Отечеству, служение нашему народу* (20). Against this backdrop, the transition paragraph (20) promotes the president from the target of responsibility-COMPULSION to a shared source due to the combination of the verb *помогать* "help" with the phrase *решать самые сложные и трудные задачи* "to resolve the greatest and most complex tasks".

The disposition of Putin's 2018 speech falls into three sections with each of them opened up by the noun *ответственность* "responsibility".

The first – narration – section (21) alters the order of responsibility sources, which encouraged the president in the preceding addresses. The citizens pop up in the first place being followed by an entire multi-ethnic nation and the state's history:

(21) Rus. – *"От всего сердца благодарю граждан России за вашу сплоченность, за веру в то, что мы можем многое изменить к лучшему. Еще раз хочу сказать спасибо – спасибо за тот уровень искренней поддержки, который вы, граждане России, оказали мне на выборах президента нашей страны. Считаю его огромным политическим капиталом и надёжной моральной опорой. В этой поддержке — вера и надежда на то, что Россия и дальше будет укреплять свое могущество, а люди будут жить лучше. Такая поддержка важна и для отстаивания наших позиций на международной арене, и для решительных действий ради глубоких позитивных перемен внутри страны"* (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "I would like to thank the citizens of Russia for their unity, for believing that together we can change many things for the better. Let me extend my gratitude to you one more time. Thank you for the sincere support I received from the citizens of Russia at the presidential election. I view this support as a huge political asset and a reliable moral backing. This support is a sign of faith and a sign of hope that Russia will continue to build up its strength while its people will live better. This support is also essential for asserting our positions on the international stage and for taking resolute action for promoting far-reaching, positive change within the country" (Putin 2018).

The importance of citizens as a source of responsibility-COMPULSION is spelled out by a three-time repetition of the appreciation speech act expressed by the verb *благодарить* "thank" and the noun *спасибо* "gratitude" (21). The gratitude speech act *спасибо за тот уровень искренней поддержки* "Thank you for the sincere support" is followed by a three-time reiteration of the noun *поддержка* "support". These speech acts gradually promote the president from a target of responsibility-COMPULSION to its source instead of the shared answerability, which in the previous speeches was expressed by the units denoting people's assistance.

Unlike the preceding inaugurals where Russia serves as a source of responsibility-COMPULSION the 2018 address endows the president with this role positioning the country as his target (22):

(22) Rus. – *"Россия должна быть современной и динамичной, должна быть готова смело принимать вызовы времени и так же энергично отвечать на них, чтобы последовательно наращивать свое лидерство в тех сферах, где мы традиционно сильны, и уверенно, кропотливо, собрав волю в кулак, работать там, где мы еще должны будем добиться нужных для нас результатов, там, где сделано еще явно недостаточно "* (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "Russia must be a modern and vibrant country ready to take up the challenges of time and respond to them with all its energy in order to consistently build up its leadership in areas where our positions have been traditionally strong. At the same time, we need to work with confidence and diligence and to harness all our willpower in areas where we have yet to achieve the results we aspire to, where a lot has yet to be done" (Putin 2018).

The president's promotion from the target of responsibility-COMPULSION to its source is indicated by the verbs with the meaning of obligation used in a number of consecutive word combinations (22): *должна быть современной и динамичной* "must be a modern and vibrant country"; *должна быть готова смело принимать вызовы времени и так же энергично отвечать на них* "ready to take up the challenges of time and respond to them with all its energy", *должны будем добиться нужных для нас результатов* "have yet to achieve the results we aspire to".

The second *responsibility* section of the 2018 inaugural addresses political forces and civil society movements called on to share answerability by the form *нами* of pronoun *мы* "every one of us". It positions the people as assistants with the president acting as a source of shared responsibility-COMPULSION underscored by the verb *требовать* "must":

(23) Rus. – "*<...> Перед нами напряженная работа, которая потребует участия всего российского общества, деятельного вклада каждого из нас, всех ответственных политических и гражданских сил, объединенных искренней заботой о России*" (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "*<...> Every one of us, all responsible political forces and civil society movements, united by the fact that they sincerely care for Russia, must be proactive in these efforts*" (Putin 2018).

In the extract above (23) and in the following paragraphs of the inaugural, which are removed from this paper for the sake of space, the president shares the role of the source of responsibility-COMPULSION together with political forces and civil society movements giving an impetus to the development of a free society capable of achieving breakthroughs; prepares to mark the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Russian Constitution and stresses the unconditional primacy and priority of the rights and freedoms of Russian citizens.

The third *responsibility* section addresses the local authorities:

(24) Rus. – "*Особая ответственность, разумеется, у государственной и муниципальной власти. Люди справедливо хотят, чтобы проблемы, которые их беспокоят, решались без проволочек, чтобы к их предложениям, замечаниям и требованиям относились с должным вниманием, чтобы такие понятия, как репутация, честь, отзывчивость, открытость, стали нормой жизни для представителей всех уровней власти*" (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "State and municipal authorities have a special responsibility. People have every right to expect matters that cause them concern to be resolved without delay, to have their proposals, observations, and demands treated with due attention, so that such things as reputation, honour, generosity, and openness become a norm of life for the officials at all levels of government" (Putin 2018).

The local authorities are depicted as the target answerable to three kinds of sources of responsibility-COMPULSION arranged with respect to the degree of their priority (24): population, indicated by the combination of the noun *люди* "people" with the predicative group *справедливо хотят* "have every right to expect"; their proposals, observations, and demands denoted by the units *предложения, замечания и требования*; abstract norms of life embracing reputation, honour, generosity, and openness referred to by the units *репутация, честь, отзывчивость, открытость*.

In the subsequent paragraphs (25, 26) the president serves as a transmitter of responsibility-COMPULSION from entrepreneurs to society and from the preceding generations to young people:

(25) Rus. – *"Мы должны расширять пространство свободы для предпринимателей и ученых, для людей творческого труда и активных, неравнодушных граждан, для всех, кто стремится к обновлению"* (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "We must give more freedom to entrepreneurs and researchers, to creative and active people who care, and to all who want to reinvent the world" (Putin 2018).

(26) Rus. – *"Рассчитываю, <...> что молодые люди будут верны ценностям правды и справедливости, которые через всю свою жизнь пронесли наши старшие поколения, их знания, закалка, мудрость, опыт наставников, безусловно, будут востребованы"* (Путин 2018).

Eng. – "I hope that young people will remain true to the values of truth and justice that guided the older generation, and that the knowledge, experience and wisdom of the preceding generations will be relevant for today's young, for all people" (Putin 2018).

The verb *должны* "must" (25) transmits entrepreneurs' and researchers' urge to society while the predicate *будут верны* "will remain true" (26) positions young people as a target answerable to the president-intermediary and forefathers, referred to by the constructions *старшие поколения* "older generation" and *мудрость, опыт наставников* "experience and wisdom of the preceding generations".

It is evident that Putin's three responsibility inaugurals share one strategy: first he is portrayed as a target of COMPULSION and then promoted to the role of its source or a vehicle of shared answerability uniting him with the audience.

### 3.2.2 Ukrainian President Yanukovich's three types of responsibility

President Yanukovich's only inaugural (2010) is quite different from Putin's responsibility addresses. As has been noted, first he mingles answerability with humility (10) and then installs himself as a nation-wide source of responsibility-COMPULSION moving to over-responsibility and irresponsibility in the international affairs section with a single reference to shared answerability in the conclusion.

Unlike Putin, who in his first inaugural (2000) draws on the encouraging historical sources of responsibility-COMPULSION, the former Ukrainian head begins the narration section of his address with reference to negative sources, i.e. the country's deplorable plight implying its internal tendency towards rest and even demise:

(27) Ukr. – *"Країна перебуває у вкрай складній ситуації – відсутність державного бюджету на поточний рік, колосальні борги по зовнішніх запозиченнях, бідність, розвалена економіка, корупція – ось далеко не повний перелік бід, з яких складається українська реальність"* (Янукович 2010).

Eng. – "The country is in an extremely grave situation characterised by the absence of state budget for the current year, huge debts on the external

borrowings, poverty, tumbledown economy, corruption. It is an incomplete list of misfortunes Ukrainian reality consists of".

The tendency of the responsibility-COMPULSION sources to rest thereby creating a negative impression of the country is rendered by the attribute *вкрай складна* "extremely grave" in the construction *вкрай складна ситуація* "an extremely grave situation"; by the noun *відсутність* "absence" in *відсутність державного бюджету* "absence of the state budget"; by the adjective *колосальні* "huge" in *колосальні борги по зовнішніх запозиченнях* "huge foreign debts"; by the attribute *розвалена* "tumbledown" in *розвалена економіка* "tumbledown economy" (28).

However, Ukraine's tendency to rest and demise outlined in the narration section is confronted in the text body by a president who as a responsibility-COMPULSION source sets various targets at the national level into motion (28-32):

(28) Ukr. – *"Попри це, я вважаю, що державу можна не лише врятувати від соціально-економічного колапсу, але й швидко вивести на шлях прискореного розвитку <...>"* (Янукович 2010).

Eng. – "However, I believe that it is possible not only to rescue the state from a socio-economic collapse, but also to take it along the lane of speedy development".

(29) Ukr. – *"Першочергове завадання на цьому шляху – реформування системи влади і, перш за все, Кабінету Міністрів, перетворення його у команду професіоналів, а не політичних офіціантів <...>"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "The urgent task on this way is the reformation of the system of government beginning with the Cabinet of Ministers which must be transformed into a team of professionals instead of "political servants" ".

(30) Ukr. – *"У зв'язку з цим я закликаю Верховну Раду підтримати мої зусилля <...>. Це місце для сильної опозиції, яка повинна контролювати дії Уряду і Президента. Але, в першу чергу, це – місце для сильної і стабільної парламентської більшості"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "I call on the Verkhovna Rada to support my efforts. It is the place for a powerful opposition, which must control the activities of the Government and the President. It is the place for a powerful and stable parliamentary majority".

(31) Ukr. – *"Така співпраця матиме вирішальне значення для невідкладного реформування влади, судочинства, внесення змін до Конституції"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "Such collaboration will have a decisive role in the urgent reformation of government, law-making, and amending the Constitution".

(32) Ukr. – *"Ефективна співпраця між Президентом, Парламентом і урядом розчистить дорогу до швидкого економічного прогресу"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "An effective collaboration of President, Parliament, and Government will clear up a way for rapid economic progress".

The cited passage (28-32) suggests that Yanukovych is quicker in installing himself as a source of responsibility-COMPULSION than the Russian president and he does it without paying lip service to citizens' assistance. In the premise (28), the verb *врятувати* "rescue" positions the president as an Agonist with a tendency to motion passed over to the state he is going to lead. This role is rendered by the word combination *швидко вивести на шлях прискореного розвитку* "to take it along the lane of speedy development". The premise is supported by argumentative utterances (29-32) meant to prove the president's roles of the responsibility-COMPULSION source and of an Agonist with a tendency to motion. He sets different state institutions into motion: the Cabinet of Ministers (29), the Parliament (30), argues for the Constitution amendments (31), and attends to the country's economic progress (32).

The inaugural portrays the new Cabinet of Ministers as an Antagonist with a tendency to motion by the construction *команда професіоналів* "a team of professionals" (29) contrasting it with the previous government depicted as a target of COMPULSION and an Antagonist with an internal tendency to rest by the phrase *політичні офіціанти* "political servants" with the noun referring to submissive people. The Parliament (*Verkhovna Rada*) is positioned as a target of the president's responsibility-COMPULSION by the verb *закликаю* "call on" (30) while the construction *повинна контролювати* "must control" surprisingly represents the president as a target of responsibility-COMPULSION on the part of the opposition portrayed as a source. However, the construction *місце для сильної і стабільної парламентської більшості* referring to a powerful and stable parliamentary majority depicts the president as an Agonist with a tendency to motion, which is also underscored by the adjective *сильний* "powerful".

Yanukovych's impact on the state bodies is supposed to result in their consolidation expressed by the noun *співпраця* "collaboration" used twice (31, 32). The consequence of those institutions' tendency to motion is rendered by the adjectives *вирішальний* "decisive" and *невідкладний* "urgent" (31) as well as by the verb *розчистить* "clear up" (32) professing the expected outcomes by the units *дорога* "way" and *прогрес* "progress" related to motion.

The over-responsibility impression is left by the section (33-34) concerning Ukraine's international competition founded on the imaginary successes of the president's activities outlined above:

(33) Ukr. – *"Відповідно, ми зможемо успішно конкурувати в сучасному світі лише за умови, якщо впритул займемося індустрією знань <...>"* (Янукович 2010).

Eng. – "Accordingly, we will be able to compete in the contemporary world only on condition we engage in the industry of knowledge".

(34) Ukr. – *"Я розумію, що наздогнати індустріально розвинуті країни вкрай складно. Однак можливо"* (ibid.).

Eng. – "I understand that to catch up with the industrially developed countries is extremely difficult though possible".

The over-responsibility effect (33) results from Yanukovych's promotion to the COMPULSION source dealing with the target represented by the contemporary world (33). That target has a higher tendency to motion than Ukraine with its potential for rest and demise, which is acknowledged by the speaker (34).

The irresponsibility impression is created by a play on words in the section dwelling on the formation of a global entity named *Єдиний Світ* "One World" (35) which in the Ukrainian original is homonymous to the abbreviation *ЄС* "European Union":

(35) Ukr. – *"На мою думку, виклики, які стоять перед міжнародною спільнотою, диктують потребу об'єднуватися у якомога ширшому форматі. Людству, і Україні в тому числі, потрібен ЄС у глобальному прочитанні. Я маю на увазі Єдиний Світ як силу, здатну гарантувати планеті мирне співіснування різних цивілізацій, енергетичну, екологічну, продовольчу безпеку <...>"* (Янукович 2010).

Eng. – "In my opinion, the challenges facing the international community dictate a necessity to unite in a wider format. The humanity, together with Ukraine, requires an EU of global dimensions. I mean a Unified World as a force capable of providing the planet with peaceful coexistence of various civilisations, energetic, ecological, and food security".

The idea of consolidating in a wider format of a Unified World seems utterly utopian (35). This is not a proposal, which should be made by the responsible president of a country with a tendency to rest bordering on destruction.

It is only in the inaugural's conclusion (36) that Yanukovych turns to shared responsibility. He appeals to the nation's assistance, to the support of the international community, which reveals the weakness of his position, and again to God, a device borrowed from American presidents' inaugurals:

(36) Ukr. – *"Я сподіваюсь на вашу підтримку, а також на підтримку міжнародної спільноти, яка прагне бачити нашу країну сильною і стабільною. І нехай у цьому праведному устремлінні наш допоможе Господь!"* (Янукович 2010).

Eng. – "I count on your support as well as the support of the international community which looks forward to seeing our country strong and stable. And let God help us in this just aspiration!"

Throughout the entire speech, Yanukovych's Agonist role is characterised by a tendency to motion. It is emphasised by his self-representation as a source of responsibility-COMPULSION bringing into action all other national bodies of power. However, an attempt to expand that role to the international arena fails being in stark contrast to the deplorable state of the country. It results into an impression of over-responsibility when he hopes that Ukraine will catch up with the wider world and irresponsibility, or fake responsibility, when he suggests setting up new international bodies.

#### **4. Discussion**

In the inaugurals of Russian and Ukrainian presidents responsibility turns out to be a rhetorical topos, or "archetypal plot" (Sergeant 2020: 81), enabling the incoming leaders to tower over the background of total irresponsibility in their countries.

The inaugural implementation of the responsibility idea-turned-impression consists in naming it in the Introduction with a subsequent transformation into an effect in concert with the ancient ethos, or modern rhetoric of effect. This process is best captured by two cognitive structures of sensorimotor origin. First, it is the COMPULSION image

schema, coding the experience of being moved by external forces. Second, it is the Agonist's and Antagonist's tendencies to motion, or activity, and rest, or inactivity, representing an individual's inner state.

The overall pattern of implementing the responsibility idea-turned-impression in the discussed inaugurals consists in the presidents' progression from the submissive role of a target to the source or vehicle of shared responsibility with the arrangement of those components and their names brought about by the contemporary rhetorical canon of performance and the leader's personality.

The preliminary phase of the performance stage takes into account the place of the address in the sequence of inaugurals and the current state of the country. Out of the three first-time inaugurals discussed in the paper those of Putin and Zelensky draw on the encouraging sources of responsibility-COMPULSION. They encompass the history of Russia and a common victory with a common chance respectively. Yanukovych's address is based on the discouraging source of a ruined country with a tendency to rest. However, it is only Yanukovych who refers to God as a source of responsibility-COMPULSION blessing the president's activity.

At the dispositional level the speaker as a target of responsibility-COMPULSION is represented in the introductory and narration sections of Putin's and Yanukovych's inaugurals. The president's source role dominates throughout Yanukovych's entire speech, alternates in Putin's addresses with shared responsibility, which in its turn serves as the backbone of the responsibility section in the Introduction to Zelensky's inaugural.

The elocutionary level of analysis reveals differences in responsibility importance for the presidents, or rather their teams, rendered by the frequency of the corresponding units and their derivatives throughout the speeches. It turns out to be significant for Putin's 2012 and 2018 addresses with reference to responsibility occurring two and four times respectively. It also appears important for Yanukovych's speech full of the

units referring to COMPULSION, which results in an impression of over-responsibility and irresponsibility since it fails to match the state of a tumbledown country with the world's progress. The idea under discussion seems least important for Zelensky who dwells on it only in the Introduction, which gives grounds to believe that his address is not aimed at forming a responsibility impression.

From an ideological perspective the democratic form of an inaugural address tones down some features of the outlook of the presidents who were raised in totalitarian societies, which influences their modern idiogenres, a phenomenon borrowed from literary semantics (Изотова 2014). Those features include Yanukovych's totalitarianism implied by the dominance of his source role in responsibility-COMPULSION and his attempts at over-responsibility and irresponsibility in the international section of the speech. Putin's authoritarian features are revealed by his preference for shared responsibility expressed by the units denoting help and by his four-time reference to responsibility represented as an independent entity throughout the 2018 address. Zelensky's discussion of answerability only in the Introduction to his speech reveals little interest in this remnant of the Soviet past on his part.

The construction of the responsibility effect in the presidents' inaugurals is summarized in Figure 2 in the Appendix.

## **5. Conclusions**

Cognitive rhetoric of effect as a modern variant of ancient persuasion appeal of ethos concerning self-representation combines the pre-conceptual structures of sensorimotor origin with the traditional canons. They concern the selection of arguments (invention), their arrangement (disposition), verbalisation (elocution), and performance emerging due to the contemporary technological support of memory and delivery.

The experiential method of cognitive linguistics employed in the paper draws on the pre-conceptual structures of sensorimotor origin, which encompass image schemas and

force dynamic relations. The former reconstruct the transformation of the responsibility idea into an impression in terms of interaction between the source and the target of COMPULSION. The latter reveal the inner state of responsible individuals and enable us to compare their progress with that of other entities. The cognitive rhetorical procedures employed in the paper are applied to the inaugurals with an effect-forming structure: the Introduction offers a responsibility statement pursued throughout the whole address. The cognitive experiential methodology reveals the transformation of an idea formulated by the rhetor at the outset of his speech into an impression meant to linger with the audience. Three basic variants of responsibility implementation in inaugurals have been found: first, from the role of a target to that of a source of COMPULSION; second, from the source of COMPULSION to the vehicle of shared responsibility; third, from the source of national responsibility-COMPULSION to the global scale.

The three basic variants of responsibility implementation mingle differently in the effect-forming speeches under analysis. Putin's three responsibility addresses share one strategy: first, he is portrayed as a target of COMPULSION; second, he is promoted to the role of the COMPULSION source or represented as a vehicle of shared answerability being united with the audience. Yanukovich's address rests on four sorts of answerability: first, he mitigates it combining with humility; second, he installs himself as a nation-wide source of responsibility-COMPULSION; third, he indulges in over-responsibility and irresponsibility in the international affairs section; fourth he ends up with shared responsibility appealing to the population, the international community and God. Zelensky is least concerned about the responsibility idea dwelling on it only in the Introduction though from different perspectives: shared and zooming-in.

The analysis of linguistic rhetorical means creating responsibility impression in Russian and Ukrainian presidents' inaugurals reveals discrepancies between the democratic aims of the genre and the older leaders' authoritarian frame of mind with little interest in the ideas of the Soviet era on the part of the younger president.

## Note

The translations of the extracts from the inaugurals by Petro Poroshenko, Victor Yanukovich and Volodymyr Zelensky have been performed by the authors.

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## **Résumé**

This paper suggests a cognitive-rhetorical procedure of disclosing public speeches' intended impressions. On the one hand, it applies the experiential method of cognitive linguistics relating our abstract understanding and reasoning to the pre-conceptual structures of sensorimotor origin comprising image schemas and force dynamics. On the other hand, it draws on the rhetorical canons of invention (selection of arguments), disposition (content arrangement), elocution (verbalisation), and performance (speech delivery). The implementation of the responsibility idea in Russian and Ukrainian presidents' inaugurals consists in coming out with it in the Introduction with its subsequent transformation into an effect explained by cognitive rhetoric of effect rooted in ancient ethos. The underlying mental processes are best captured by two cognitive structures of sensorimotor origin: the COMPULSION image schema, coding an experience of being moved by external forces, and the tendencies to motion and rest of Agonist and Antagonist, representing individuals' inner states and allowing comparison of the energy applied by various entities. Being reconstructed in terms of image-schematic relation of COMPULSION the textual implementation of responsibility idea-turned-impression rests on the distribution of the units denoting pressure, its source, and target. The application of the procedure to the analysis of linguistic means of creating responsibility impression in Russian and Ukrainian presidents' inaugurals reveals that the leaders are depicted differently throughout the speeches. Introductory and narrative sections portray them as targets of responsibility-COMPULSION with the source represented by the state, its history or population at large referred to in a varying order. Meanwhile, text bodies endow the leaders with the role of a COMPULSION source shifting responsibility onto the nation, social groups, state bodies or sharing it with the audience with one address ending up with impressions of over-responsibility and irresponsibility.

**Key words:** responsibility effect, compulsion, image schema, target of responsibility, source of responsibility, Agonist, Antagonist, force dynamics.

## Appendix

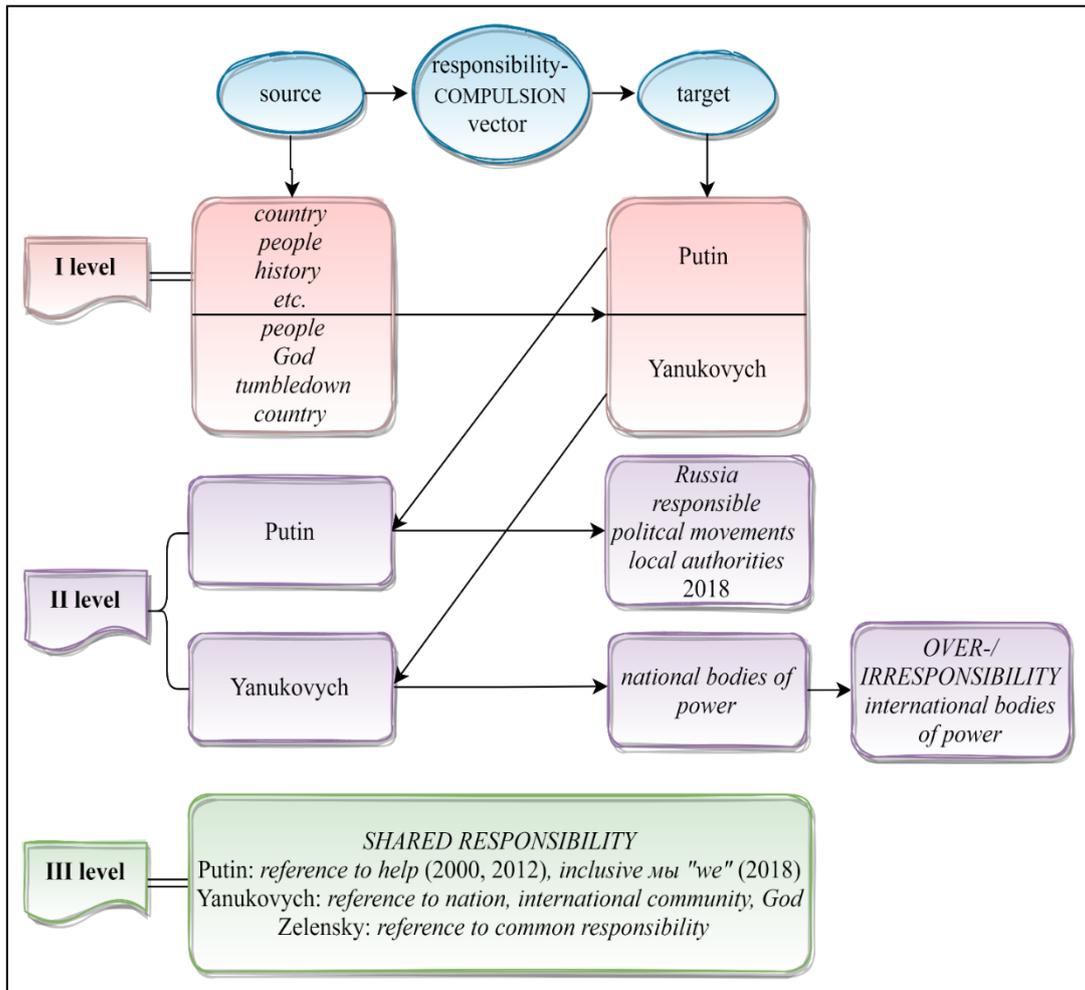


Figure 2. Construction of responsibility effect in the presidents' inaugurations

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## LEGE ARTIS

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# SELECTED FEMALE KINSHIP TERMS IN POLISH, ENGLISH, AND CHINESE: A CONTRASTIVE PERSPECTIVE

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**Abstract:** The study is aimed at depicting how the family relationships of selected female members, i.e. mothers, grandmothers, daughters, sisters, are reflected in languages under investigation. A contrastive semantic analysis of the lexicon, including idiomatic expressions and proverbs, will expose similarities and differences between Polish, English, and Chinese. The research study attempts to point to and highlight the culturally conditioned motivations. In the analysis, the standard variety of Chinese (Potonghua – Mandarin Chinese and Romanisation to pinyin) is considered.

**Key words:** kinship terms, female, lexicon, idioms, proverbs, contrastive semantics.

## 1. Introduction and methodology

Language and culture are inextricably tied together; one conditions the other. As noted by Skandera:

*"it is generally accepted that a language, especially its lexicon, influences its speakers' cultural patterns of thought and perception in various ways, for example through a culture-specific segmentation of the extralinguistic reality, the frequency of occurrence of particular lexical items, or the existence of keywords or key word combinations revealing core cultural values" (2007: v)*

The present article discusses the intricacies of relations between culture and language embodied in linguistic means of expression. The focus of analysis is the lexicon of family relations, in particular that designating females. The position of mothers, daughters, and sisters is analysed from the semantic perspective reflected in the lexical stock in English, Polish, and Chinese. However, in order to be able to see the rationale behind the meanings expressed in the languages under consideration, it seems essential to first briefly outline the family as a social group, to embed it in the linguo-social context, the various relations within this group, and the gender roles traditionally ascribed to its members. It has to be stressed that the present paper is not aimed at showing a detailed social structure, nor is it focused on socio-demographic analysis. The cursory outline of the family relations and gender roles serves the purpose of sketching out the background and possible motivation for numerous phrases and expressions rooted in the contrasted languages (see Section 2. *Defining family*). The concepts of family and diverse gender roles are presented on the basis of the available literature on the topic (Asano-Cavanagh 2017; Chan & Shaw 2016; Chia et al. 1997; Choi & Peng 2016; Satyen et al. 2020; Simlat-Žuk 2015; Smart 2006; Tang & Tang 2001; VanLear 2009; Woodhams et al. 2015; Young & Willmott 1957, 1973).

Within a family structure, irrespective of the location of the family, members are addressed by particular names referring to the roles and relations within the social unit under consideration. The concept is addressed in Section 3 entitled *Kinship terms*. An important observation has been made by experts researching kinship terms, who claim that the terms show/reflect basic human relations (Faubion 2006; Radcliff-Brown 1952; Turner 1987; Underhill 2011; Wallace & Atkins 1960). Kinship terms seem to be not only "genealogically constrained", but they also refer to individuals and objects/phenomena outside the kinship network (Hirschfeld 1986), for instance 'mother tongue', 'sister state', etc., the latter examples created as metaphorical extensions of basic kinship terms. It is also essential to note that certain kinship terms, including 'mother', are considered to be semantic primitives and cultural keywords (Goddard 2005; Wierzbicka 1992, 1997).

Societies as well as particular language and culture communities have their own, frequently unique, ways of understanding and interpreting the reality they live in. Some of them are universal to humankind, others are culture-specific, and this feature is often mirrored in the language used to describe the world they live in and the phenomena that surround them and affect their daily living (Sharifian 2011, 2017).

The discussion that is the central part of the considerations in the present article (Section 4 *Female kinship terms in English, Polish, and Chinese*) aims to show how female family members are depicted in English, Polish, and Chinese, and whether the images that emerge from the analysed lexical units: phrases, idioms, and proverbs found in the compared languages are equivalent, or if female family members are differently perceived by the language and culture communities under consideration. In each section devoted to a single kinship term, i.e. 'mother', 'grandmother', 'daughter', and 'sister', the expressions and phrases with the said lexemes are presented and compared, while the following subsections are aimed at showing proverbs in which the abovementioned items are a constitutive element. Semantic similarities and differences are brought up and briefly discussed. The analysis of the material gathered from numerous lexicographic (printed as well as online) sources has shown that 'mother' is by far the most productive kinship term of the group under analysis. This clearly supports its position as a cultural keyword and a semantic primitive.

## **2. Defining family**

People have a natural, innate tendency to gather in groups. Solitary living is a relatively uncommon incidence. It is the family that appears to be the basic social group in human societies all over the globe. As noted by VanLear "family is the primal relational experience for most people" (2009: 599).

Family is defined by Oxford English dictionary as

*"a group of people living as a household, traditionally consisting of parents and their children, and also (chiefly in early use) any servants, boarders, etc.; any household consisting of people who have long-term commitments to each other and are (usually) raising children; such a group as a fundamental social unit or institution" (OED, s.a.)*

A different sense of the same term is presented as follows: "a group of people consisting of one set of parents and their children, whether living together or not. In wider sense: any group of people connected by blood, marriage, adoption, etc." (Family, s.a.).

Smart (2006: 189-195) succinctly characterises family as a social phenomenon and a basic form of daily existence. This social construct can be analysed from a number of perspectives. Families have been considered as either homogenous groups of individuals living together, with a clear division of duties, precisely outlined social roles and frequently with a single head of household. They have also been regarded as tangible or abstract networks that are tied by interpersonal relations and commitments rather than a formal structure. It has to be noted, however, that "the family is a naturalized concept, by which it is meant that it is taken-for-granted as natural – notwithstanding how much families differ and change" (ibid., 189). This point of view is also supported by VanLear who states, on the basis of statistics in the USA, that with the gradually increasing divorce rate

*"single-parent and blended families have become as commonplace as the traditional nuclear family with a father, mother, and biological children. Likewise, the rise of long-term cohabitation has created a social unit, sometimes called a common-law marriage<sup>1</sup>, that has also challenged traditional conceptions of family. Laws protecting children have also led to increasing numbers of children being removed from their biological parents and adopted or placed in foster care. Likewise, there are cross-cultural variations in what constitutes a family and what a family looks like. Polygamy is accepted in some cultures or subcultures but not in others. Different cultures have different traditions for where to draw the boundaries of the extended family. All of these variations have political and legal implications" (2009: 599)*

In its earliest stage of sociological analysis (Family, socialization..., 1955), the family in the United Kingdom and the United States was perceived not as a natural collectivity but a social system instead. As summarised by Smart, the family was portrayed as "the

handmaiden of larger social forces, and its core function was to produce socially appropriate (well socialized) citizens of the next generation to take their place in the economy and wider society" (2006: 190). Women, men, and children were seen as having different family roles and functions that suited the needs of the society. Hence, men were the breadwinners and the heads of the household, while the unpaid duties of women consisted in caring for their children and their homes. Attention was given to the ideal of the nuclear family.

Young and Willmott (1957) concentrated on changing family life and focused more on the extended family profile, sustaining the intergenerational links as well as placing families within the communities of the neighbourhood. The post-war period of the 1950s brought about changes in the structure and perceptions of the family, with the working-class family pictured as "a site of warmth and mutual support between husband and wife" attempting to "retrieve it from the widespread belief [...] that it was a wretched place, dominated by male violence, drunkenness, grime, and relentless childbirth" (Smart 2006: 191). Young and Willmott (1957) claimed there were fewer broken homes as compared to earlier decades.

The 1970s saw another change of the family model and a new type of family emerged. As noted by Smart after Young and Willmott (1973), "this family was described as home-centered or "privatized," as nuclear rather than part of an extended kinship network, and, most significantly, as having much less segregated roles for husbands and wives" (2006: 190). All these viewpoints, however, were male-dominated. With the rise of the feminist approach in the UK and the USA in the 1970s, the vision of a family as a "companionate" and democratic institution was challenged. Instead of the idea of the symmetrical family, the studies showed that women started to move to the labour market, which did not reduce their workload in household chores. While wives accepted additional duties, husbands did not take over women's housework or childcare.

With time, the abovementioned roles have evolved as well as diversified. Women are no longer confined to their households as housewives. The gender roles have also been significantly transformed in the modern society. Irrespective of the attitude taken to define what a family is and what the concept stands for, certain gender roles are identifiable, many of which are frequently of a culturally-induced nature.

Simlat-Žuk (2015) claims that the contemporary society and a new type of social relations have encouraged a novel way of defining a family. What has been changing is the character of family ties, which results in the emergence of family forms alternative to the nuclear family model (two parents and one or two children) or an extended family. Such forms include, among others: singles (male or female), single parents, various forms of cohabitation<sup>2</sup>, DINKS relationships (i.e. *Double Income No Kids*), as well as patchwork families<sup>3</sup>, to mention the most typical types. The relationships created between family members in such alternative family formats are not weaker or less intensive than in the case of the traditional models. As observed and pointed out by Bielińska-Gardziel (2009), in Poland the advocates of liberalism and feminism have noticed a crisis of the traditional family and the loosening of family ties (cf. Osovská & Tomniuk 2019; Panasenko 2013). In their view, however, these processes are not worrying; instead, they are a natural stage of development of the contemporary society. Gender issues also affect language forms, as exemplified by urbanonymy (see, for example, Gałkowski 2020).

The system adopted in China is that of patriarchy. Choi and Peng stress the fact that:

*"Men's dominance over women in Chinese society was traditionally based on a rigid system of sex segregation that reserved the public realm for men, secluding and confining women to the domestic sphere [...]. The Chinese character for "wife" graphically depicts her as a domestic figure (*neiren*): it represents a female figure with a broom (婦). Although the Communist revolution encouraged women's participation in production, thus dramatically reducing the "outside/inside" segregation of the sexes, to date none of the reforms have fundamentally altered the fact that the domestic sphere is women's responsibility" (2016: 5)*

Male dominance in families is also discussed by Evans (2008). To exemplify this point further, Choi and Peng (2016: 3) refer to Yao, a forty five-year-old security guard from Hunan, who was a helpful and caring husband. He got involved in many household chores, and his wife had a decisive voice in decisions made for their family. His case is quoted as an exception to the rule, i.e. the traditional 'male dominance' and 'female subordination'.

Considering the traditional family structure, a household was commonly shared by three generations, which also had to perform the traditional roles of providing care for the elderly and the young. Choi and Peng claim that "the cultural ideal of the large, extended Chinese family, consisting of at least three generations – the patriarch and his wife, his married sons and their wives, and their grandchildren" is no longer valid (ibid.). The exodus of rural workers into cities in order to take up jobs to support their families has resulted in villages being inhabited by young children and elderly grandparents. This migration of villagers to urban areas breaks the foundation of traditional peasant patriarchy:

*"the advantage and control men have over women, derived from the exclusion of women as full members of their natal families before marriage and their confinement to the domestic realm after marriage. Parents traditionally favored sons over daughters, because sons were the successors to the family name, lineage, and bloodline and were expected to support their parents in old age. Parents invested more in sons than daughters in the terms of education, housing, and land, because sons were a form of old-age security, while daughters were viewed as only temporary members of the household on whom the parents could not count. When a daughter married, she had to move to live with or near her husband's family and transfer her allegiance to them, a practice variously termed "patrilocal residence," "patrilocality," or "virilocal marriage." The saying that describes a married daughter as "water splashing out," the labeling of daughters as "a loss" (*peibenhuo*), and the custom of having the mother's face look toward the outward door when giving birth to daughters all symbolized the outsider status of a Chinese daughter in her natal family. It is also no coincidence that the Chinese character for "marry" (*jia* 嫁) represents a female figure outside the family" (ibid., 4)*

However, the one-child policy has brought about some transformation to daughters' second-class status in families. It is now legitimate for women (only-child daughters) to live close to or with their parents after marriage and care for their elders (Unger 1993), however patrilocality is still more of the norm. Also, the migrations of marriages

to urban areas contribute to the process of sharing parental and household duties. Because peasants moving to cities earn low wages, both spouses are forced to earn a living, and since they cannot afford paid child care, their household chores and parental duties must be shared (Choi & Peng 2016). This appears to be a compromise to the traditionally ascribed gender roles. Diversity of gender roles and socio-cultural attitudes in Chinese society are discussed in various research studies (e.g., Chan & Shaw 2016; Chia et al. 1997; Satyen et al. 2020; Tang & Tang 2001; Woodhams et al. 2015).

Asian cultures as well as related forms of behaviour differ from those predominant in the Western World countries. Asano-Cavanagh notes with reference to the Japanese society, that:

*"Japanese parents tend to raise their children according to traditional gender roles. [...] Researchers have drawn attention to the strong relationship between the way in which men and women are discursively portrayed in media and speakers' ideals of how men and women are supposed to behave in society [...]. The images and symbols used in the media industry act as socialising agents for influencing people's assumptions in terms of appropriate appearance and attitude for males and females. Unlike its English counterpart cute, kawaii is repeatedly utilised by the media to reinforce femininity in young girls. Thus, the expressions that appear in the public media reflect and consequently reinforce cultural assumptions shared by the members of that society. Advertising conveys messages about gender roles, and these messages need to be viewed in light of cultural expectations, and the values of the target audience" (2017: 213)*

Having briefly addressed the family as a form of social organisation and interaction, we will now turn our attention to how its various members are portrayed in language and how their roles are fixed in language use. As it has been noted above, there is certain diversity across cultures which undoubtedly can have its reflection in language use. We will attempt to show if the differences are indeed observable at the level of language and linguistic expression.

### **3. Kinship terms**

Radcliff-Brown identifies kinship as "a system of dyadic relations between person and person in a community, the behavior of any two persons in any of these relations is

regulated in some way and to a greater or lesser extent by social usage" (1952: 289). Faubion states that kinship is "socially universal, this is probably the most basic of institutional modalities of human organization" (2006: 313).

As noted by Wallace and Atkins, the meaning of kinship terms

*"has traditionally been rendered [...] by a simple and direct procedure: each term is matched with a primitive English term (e.g., "mother"), with a relative product of two or more primitive English terms (e.g., "mother's brother"), or with a group of such primitive and/or relative product terms. Each primitive English term and each English relative product denotes an English "kin-type" (1960: 58)*

In their analysis, the experts applied the method of componential analysis, assuming that "each kinship term can be decomposed into a set of primitive kin-types and their combinations. The primitive kin-types are represented as features" (Baik & Chae 2010: 349). These early attempts at providing the conceptual or the psychological meanings of the lexicon in question were later verified, examined, and developed by other researchers. Romney and D'Andrade (1964) introduced a set of 10 features, which however, did not account for the relations between younger and older family members. Hirschfeld discussed kinship terms with reference to genealogy and cognition. He noted that kinship terms cannot be considered only with reference to genealogical constraints; they are not "limited to some culturally specific subset of genealogically related individuals" (1986: 217). Instead, "the terms referring to persons within a kinship network thus defined also are used to refer to individuals (and frequently things) outside it" (ibid.).

Researchers have attempted to account for meanings entrenched in lexical units of this type as well as relations between those meanings from a variety of angles. Nevertheless, irrespective of the approach adopted for the meaning and matrix analysis, kinship terms share some universal features, which are mirrored in linguistic expressions available in human languages. We will try to address them in the analysis of female kinship terms.

While discussing cultural linguistics, Sharifian states that "many features of human languages are entrenched or embedded in cultural conceptualisations" (2017: 2) and they motivate the use of human languages. Individual examples of the cultural conceptualisations take the form of cultural schemas, cultural categories, and cultural metaphors.

It is interesting to note after Sharifian that

*"as a central aspect of cultural cognition, language serves [...] as a "collective memory bank" of the cultural cognition of a speech community. Many aspects of a speech community's language are shaped by elements of cultural cognition that have prevailed at different stages in the history of that community and that have left traces in subsequent linguistic practice. In this sense, language can be viewed as a primary mechanism for "storing" and communicating cultural cognition, acting both as a memory bank and a fluid vehicle for the (re-)transmission of cultural cognition" (2017: 5)*

Cultural cognition, in its turn, offers a foundation for understanding cultural conceptualisations and the way they are realised in language. Moreover, cultural conceptualisations can be exemplified or reflected in other aspects of human lives, including art, literature, cultural events, folk songs, rituals, emotions as well as non-verbal behaviour.

Cultural categories and subcategories can be described as "patterns of distributed knowledge across the cultural group" (Sharifian 2011: 5) or referred to as "those culturally constructed conceptual categories [...] that are primarily reflected in the lexicon of human languages" (Sharifian 2017: 7). It has to be noted that kinship terms are regarded as one of the abovementioned categories and subcategories. Other instances include colours, emotions, attributes, foodstuffs, events, etc.

Cultural schemas and subschemas reflect beliefs, rules, norms, and expectations of behaviour in addition to "values relating to various aspects and components of experience"; while cultural metaphors are "cross-domain conceptualisations grounded in cultural traditions such as folk medicine, worldview<sup>4</sup>, or a spiritual belief system" (ibid.).

It has to be stressed, after Sharifian, that

*"Cultural conceptualisations are developed through interactions between the members of a cultural group and enable them to think as if in one mind, somehow more or less in a similar fashion. These conceptualisations are negotiated and renegotiated through time and across generations. Both inter-generational discourse and intra-generational discourse often reflect such negotiative processes. Discourse may be used as a tool for maintaining cultural conceptualisations through time"* (2011: 5)

Within the group of cultural conceptualisations, the following can be listed (ibid.): event schemes, role schemas, image schemas, proposition-schemas as well as emotion schemas. For the purpose of the present study, we shall shortly consider role schemas. They are defined by Augoustinos and Walker as "knowledge structure that people have of specific role positions in cultural group" (1995: 39). As noted by Sharifian, various cultural schemas and categories can be formed in diverse cultural groups about the same role. An instance is provided of Aboriginal Australians for many of whom:

*"the word for 'mother' evokes a role category, which would extend well beyond the biological mother and among certain Aboriginal people it may even include some male members of the extended family, such as an uncle [...]. The associated role schemas often involve knowledge about obligations and responsibilities between children and the person referred to as 'mother' "* (2011: 9)

It is also important to note after Turner (1987; quoted in Underhill 2011: 57) that kinship relations are "a central conceptual domain for all human beings, although different cultures configure that conceptual domain quite differently". It is, therefore, 'mother' that will be considered first in the following discussion in Section 4 (*Female kinship terms in English, Polish, and Chinese*).

### *3.1 Semantic primitives – cultural keywords: 'Mother'*

As rightly noted by Lee:

*"Conventional ways of saying things are subtle indices of cultural preoccupations and values, subtle because their automatic, routine, habitual nature renders them largely out of awareness for members of the culture, just as any other routine behavioural pattern, socially acquired in the course of enculturation, may remain out of awareness until violated in some way by cultural rebels, visitors or novices"* (2007: 471)

Not surprisingly, diverse cultures have different ways of addressing issues and concepts unique to their identity. There are also language-specific names which refer to explicit things and phenomena characteristic of a given language community. Wierzbicka (1997) also points out that every nation has its own social institutions and traditions, whose names are present in the mother tongue but they are absent from other languages. There are, however, certain concepts, values, attitudes, and notions that are universally shared by communities across cultures. The linguistic means applied to name them are cultural keywords. While discussing cultural keywords, Wierzbicka states that analyzing them might guide individuals "to the center of a whole complex of cultural values and attitudes" (1997: 17). Cultural keywords are defined by Goddard as "highly salient and deeply culture-laden words which act as focal points around which whole cultural domains are organized" (2005: 78).

Wierzbicka points out that "kinship terminologies can be explicated across language and culture boundaries because there are certain universal human concepts, relevant to kinship, which have apparently been lexicalised in the ordinary vocabulary of almost all human languages. The concepts in question are 'mother' and 'father' " (1992: 332). 'Mother' and 'father' are semantic primitives. As noted in Wierzbicka in reference to kinship terms:

*"the concepts of (biological) 'mother' and 'father' play an important role in the semantic system of a language even if the words for 'father' and 'mother' are also used in this language in a classificatory sense. This is manifested, among other things, in the existence of numerous words whose meaning is based on these concepts" (ibid., 333)*

She also states: "The English word *mother* is used as a religious title (as in *Mother Superior*), as well as a term for birth giver, but words such as *step-mother*, *mother-in-law*, *orphan*, *maternity*, or *motherhood* are derived semantically, quite unambiguously, from the sense 'birth giver'. This in itself constitutes a proof [...] that the sense 'birth giver' is a separate (and of course primary) sense of the English word *mother*" (ibid.).

According to the principles of Natural Semantic Metalanguage description, Wierzbicka (1996: 155) provides her own definition of 'mother'. As a criticism to Lakoff's (1987) model, her definition comprises the biological, sociological, and psychological modules of the concept in question, and reads as follows:

*X is Y's mother.* =

- (a) at one time, before now, Y was very small
- (b) at that time, Y was inside X
- (c) at that time, Y was like a part of X
- (d) because of this, people can think something like this about X:  
'X wants to do good things for Y  
X doesn't want bad things to happen to Y'

The above theoretical issues have outlined the concept of family terms and the core status of the cultural keywords. The considerations to follow will attempt to discuss how the female kinship terms are exemplified in the phraseology (expressions, idioms, and proverbs) of the compared languages.

#### **4. Female kinship terms in English, Polish, and Chinese**

The lexicons of most human languages contain expressions, proverbs, and idioms that comprise kinship terms. The following discussion will not address the componential analysis of individual kinship terms. Instead, in the discussion to follow, an attempt will be made to show how family members are presented in the lexicon of the contrasted languages, i.e. in phrases as well as idioms, and proverbs. The presentation starts with an English term and its Polish as well as Chinese equivalents shall be provided, if they exist. Semantic parallels as well as observed differences will be noted, should they manifest themselves.

##### *4.1 Mother (Eng) – matka (Pl) – 母亲 (mǔ qīn) (Chn)*

The term 'mother' (Mother (a), *s.a.*) is defined in Oxford English dictionary (OED, *s.a.*) with reference to numerous senses. In the present discussion only selected senses will

be discussed; most of those that are marked as obsolete and offensive will not be analysed. The one pertaining to the present research and the most prototypical is related to human beings, and reads as follows: "The female parent of a human being; a woman in relation to a child or children to whom she has given birth; (also, in extended use) a woman who undertakes the responsibilities of a parent towards a child, esp. a stepmother" (Mother (a), *s.a.*). The dictionary adds the following explanatory note on the use of the term:

*"Mother is frequently preceded by a possessive (as 'my mother') or used as a form of address (where, except occasionally in poetic language, my is commonly omitted); it is also used without possessive [...] in the manner of a proper name (this usage was, in the middle of the 19th cent., regarded as unfashionable or vulgar, and later as colloquial)" (ibid.)*

At present, more colloquial equivalents of the term are preferable and in more current use, including *mum*, *mam*, *mom*, *mummy*, *ma* or *mama*. As a form of address, *mother* is now viewed as formal or archaic.

Similarly, a Polish source defines 'mother', i.e. *matka*, first of all, as a woman who has given birth to a child and usually raises it (WSJP 2018). As forms of address, customarily *mama* for 'mom' or 'mum' and *mamusia*, *mamunia*, or *mateczka* for 'mummy' are used, the former of which is neutral while the others express much more endearment or show greater affection.

Moreover, as highlighted by Bartmiński, in "the Polish linguistic worldview, the mother occupies a high position in the axiological, family-oriented, national, and religious sense. MATKA (MOTHER) is a rich concept, based on a rich experiential basis, common to many cultures and languages" (2009: 132).

The Chinese 母亲 (*mǔ qīn*) signifies "mother" (Mother (b), *s.a.*). According to an online source (*ibid.*), 母 is a character as old as the first writing evidences in China. Dating back to the Shang dynasty (1600–1046 BC), this character was found on oracle

bone inscriptions – 甲骨文 (jiǎ gǔ wén). It has the original meaning of a female. It resembled a kneeling female with her hands crossed and two additional lines which were meant to be her breasts. Therefore, the meaning of the character was a fertile woman, able to breastfeed her babies.

Names for mother include also: 母 (mǔ) – mother, 生母 (shēng mǔ) – birth mother, 妈妈 (mā mā) – mama, mother, mommy, 妈 (mā) – mom, mother, 亲妈 (qīn mā) – biological mother, one's own mother, 宝妈 (bǎo mā) – a mom (mother of a young child), 老妈 (lǎo mā) – mother, mom, 姆妈 (mǔ mā) – mother, mom (dialect), 娘 (niáng) – mother, 老娘 (lǎo niáng) – my old mother, and 𪛗 (jiě) – mother.

As noted in OED (*s.a.*), apart from its main prototypical meaning presented above, the term 'mother' refers also to "the female parent of an animal", and in this sense it is frequently applied to domesticated or farm animals. The term also designates "a female ancestor, esp. with reference to Eve, frequently as **our first mother**". Moreover, the expression is "used as a respectful (or mock-respectful) form of address to an elderly woman, esp. to one of little means or education. Also used (instead of *Mrs*) before the surname (or occasionally the forename) of such a person". Such use, however, is now chiefly regional and considered to be archaic. 'Mother' is also used with reference to a mother-in-law and it is typically applied as a form of address (mainly in the USA).

When preceded by 'the' the term describes "womanly qualities (as taken to be inherited from the mother); maternal qualities or instincts, esp. maternal affection". In colloquial language, but also regionally, 'mother' is used by a father while addressing or referring to "the mother of his children".

Interestingly, in colloquial use, 'mother' stands for "a female owner of a pet, esp. of a dog".

Another sense of 'mother' is expressed when considering "a quality, institution, place, etc., that produces, protects, nurtures, or sustains people, ideas, etc.". Here the following subsenses of the term can be listed:

- a. "A quality, condition, event, etc., that gives rise to or is the source of something. Also: a place regarded as engendering or nourishing something. Chiefly with *of*, or as a title", e.g., *necessity is **the mother of invention***;
- b. "The earth regarded as the source, nurturer, or sustainer of humanity", i.e. ***Mother Earth***;
- c. "A country, city, etc., in relation to its natives. Also: a river in relation to those who inhabit its banks. In later use frequently prefixed to the name of a country, river, etc."; e.g., ***Mother England***;
- d. "The Christian Church; (hence) any particular Christian church. Frequently in ***holy mother***";
- e. Now obsolete: "A university, college, etc., in relation to its past or present members". Compare ***Alma Mater*** – a given person's former school, college, or university;
- f. "Nature regarded as a fundamental, esp. protecting or nurturing, force. Chiefly personified in ***Mother Nature***";
- g. "A city, country, institution, etc., from which another originates as an offshoot; spec. a city or country in relation to its colonies. Also prefixed to the name of a country, etc."

In scientific or technical applications, mainly in biology, anatomy, geology, etc., 'mother' designates "the source of a material substance or object; a main stem or channel from which branches arise; a structure that gives rise to similar structures; the parent stock on which something grows" (OED, *s.a.*); in other words, metaphorically such substance or object is likened to the giver of life, the supplier of nutrition or sustenance for growth and development.

It is also worthy of note that in traditional Chinese medicine, especially in acupuncture, 'mother' stands for "an organ of the body regarded as the source of nourishment of the

next corresponding organ in the five element cycle [...]; an organ to which treatment may be given in order to heal or 'tonify' another organ" (ibid.).

With reference to record-making, 'mother' is "a disc with grooves that is made from the plating of an electrotyped master matrix and is used to make a stamper for gramophone records, compact discs, etc." (OED, *s.a.*).

Both (Eng) *Mother Earth* and (Eng) *Mother Nature* also have their Polish and Chinese equivalents. In Polish *Matka Ziemia* and *Matka Natura* respectively are exact equivalents of the English terms, and they signify the earth and nature which are the basis of human life and the source of all goods (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 235). In Chinese, as noted in an online dictionary (<https://www.mdbg.net/chinese/dictionary>), the above expressions are represented as follows:

(Eng) *Mother Earth* – (Chn) 大地 / 大方 (dà dì / dà fāng) (characters are not related to 'mother') 大 (dà) – big, great vast; 地 (dì) – earth, ground, region; 方 (fāng) – a square, rectangle; a region (Mother Earth, *s.a.*).

(Eng) *Mother Nature* – (Chn) 造化 (zào huà) – good luck / Nature (as the mother of all things) (characters are not related to 'mother') 造 (zào) – to construct, build; 化 (huà) – change, reform (Mother Nature, *s.a.*).

As noted after Bartmiński (2009: 148), Polish dictionaries also provide other meanings of the Polish *matka* ('mother') which are derived from the basic, prototypical meaning. They refer to:

"2. 'the female of animals; the one that has off spring'; 3. 'in some insects, e.g. bees: the female capable of reproduction; the queen'; 4. 'something that supplies sustenance, nurturance, care etc. (e.g., mother-earth, mother ship)'; 5. 'the title of certain nuns, especially those with higher functions'; 6. 'the most important player, e.g. in rounders'; 7. inf. 'one's own wife, an elderly woman, usually in the country'. (Newer dictionaries, e.g. ISJP, 2000; USJP, 2003, add: 'the female who has given birth to and usually raises a child'.)" (ibid.)

Let us now consider the lexicon of the compared languages in search for phrases, idioms, and proverbs featuring 'mother' as their constitutive element.

OED (*s.a.*) notes that in numerous compounds in English, 'mother' is used attributively with the sense "of or relating to a mother", e.g., ***mother arms, mother heart, mother-mind, mother-smile***, etc. It can also be used with the sense "inherited or learned from one's mother, native", as in ***mother dialect, mother speech, or mother-temper***.

In Chinese, after an online dictionary (<https://www.mdbg.net/chinese/dictionary>), (Eng) ***mother tongue*** is represented by characters 母语 (mǔ yǔ) – mother, female (mǔ); language, words (yǔ). We can also refer to it as 本族语 (běn zú yǔ) – native language / mother tongue, which in literal translation means: 本 (běn) – root, origin; 族 (zú) – a family clan, ethnic group, tribe; 语 (yǔ) – language, words (Mother Tongue, *s.a.*).

In appositive use, the term 'mother' is applied with the sense "that is the source or origin of others, or (occasionally) that fulfils a protective or nurturing role", as in ***mother colony, mother-lodge***, or "designating an animal that is a mother, or (more generally) is of breeding age", e.g., ***mother cat, mother cow, mother sheep***, etc. The term is also used with the sense "designating a woman or female figure who is a mother". In medicine and biology, this term designates "a structure which gives rise to similar, often smaller, structures", e.g., ***mother nucleus***.

Similarly, Room defines 'mother' as "properly a female parent; hence, figuratively, the origin of anything, the head or headquarters of a religious or other community, the source of something" (2002: 795). Hence, (Eng) ***mother tongue*** designates a native language; (Eng) ***mother wit*** is "native wit; a ready reply; the wit that 'our mother gave us' " (*ibid.*, 796).

OED (*s.a.*) lists a colloquial saying (Eng) ***does your mother know you're out?*** defining it as "a jeering or condescending question addressed to a person whose behaviour is

regarded as juvenile or inappropriate". There seems to be no equivalent phrase in Polish or Chinese.

If the food tastes or is (Eng) *just like mother makes*, it has "the good qualities of home cooking, exactly to one's taste" (OED, *s.a.*). In Polish, the equivalent is a popular expression *jak u mamy* (literally: just like at Mother's place<sup>5</sup>) which conveys the same favourable opinion of the taste, i.e. good quality of the produce.

(Eng) *To be mother* means "to serve out food or drink, spec. to the person who pours the tea". In Polish, the lexeme *matkować (komuś)* (lit. 'to mother (someone)') means to substitute for someone's mother, to take care of someone, care for someone like a mother (WSJP 2018), while the figurative meaning ascribed to the expression is (Pl) *mieć nad czymś pieczę*, i.e. to be responsible for something, to have something under one's care (WSPA 2004: 728). The same is expressed by the expression (Pl) *być komuś, dla kogoś matką* ('be a mother to someone') (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 235). Therefore, the Polish meaning range is wider and not only food-related.

In Chinese, 母仪天下 (*mǔ yí tiān xià*) – to be a motherly model of the whole nation – is said of the Empress. This could be compared to someone described as the 'Mother of the Nation', or the religiously worshipped figure such as in Polish *Maryja, Królowa Polski*, i.e. the Mother of God, considered the Queen of Poland. Here it also relates to (Chn) 国母, i.e., empress dowager / first lady, which is comprised of the characters 国 (*guó*) – country, nation and 母 (*mǔ*) – mother (literally: country/nation mother) (Chen 1991: 502). This expression is culturally-conditioned as it reflects the reality in China and has no parallels in English or Polish

It needs to be pointed out that in Polish the expression *matka Polka* ('mother Pole') represents a symbol of a Polish woman, a mother, a patriot, a protector of family values

(Kłosińska et al. 2018: 235). (Pl) *Matka dzieciom* ('a mother for children') (ibid.) describes a woman who devotes all of her time to her children.

(Eng) *To be old enough to be someone's mother / father* means "to be as old as someone's parents. (Usually a way of saying that a person is too old)" (Spears 1997: 11). The phrase is used to discuss the age of a person. Its Polish counterpart – *ktoś mógłby być czyimś ojcem / matką* ('someone could be someone else's father/mother') expresses the same unfavourably oriented opinion about the age of the person under consideration.

If someone is said to be (Eng) *tied to one's mother's apron strings*, they are "dominated by one's mother, dependent on one's mother" (Spears 1997: 84). In Polish, this meaning is rendered by the expression *Trzymać się maminej spódnicy / maminego fartuszka* ('to hold on to one's mother's skirt / mother's apron') (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 571). The Polish source also notes immaturity, childishness, and lack of independence as the meanings ascribed to the phrase.

(Eng) *To have imbibed something with one's mother's milk* means "to have learnt or experienced something from early childhood on; to be accustomed to something already as a child at home" (Pirainen 2012: 153). A similar meaning is expressed by the Polish equivalent *wyssać coś z mlekiem matki* ('to suck something in with one's mother's milk'). The Polish source adds an additional meaning, namely "to have inherited some traits, skills from the ancestors, from the mother" (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 235).

In Chinese, mother's milk is evoked in the idiom 乳臭未干 (rǔ xiù wèi gān) – "smell of mother's milk not yet dried", which indicates that someone is still immature and inexperienced / still wet behind the ears

(<https://www.mdbg.net/chinese/dictionary?page=worddict&wdrst=0&wdqb=mother>).

There is no reference, unlike in the English and Polish examples above, to inheriting certain features or knowledge accumulated since early childhood. It is, however, equivalent to the Polish phrase *mieć mleko pod nosem* ('to have milk under one's nose'), which means to be inexperienced, immature, and/or young (Bąba & Liberek 2002: 394; Kłosińska et al. 2018: 251). The Polish phrase makes no direct reference to 'mother', though this may be implied.

In Polish there is a humorous religion-related expression containing the lexeme 'mother'. Poles are known to be quite religious and observe many celebrations and holidays commemorating the Mother of God. Hence a witty extension was coined which is connected with the day when salary is paid; such a day is called (Pl) *Matki Boskiej pieniężnej* ('(the day of) Mother of God (patron of) money') (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 235). Another expression of Polish origin, i.e. *Więcej was matka nie miała?* ('didn't you mother have more of you?') (ibid.) is used in colloquial language. It expresses surprise at an unexpectedly large number of people who have turned up for a meeting, event, etc. in one place. Both of the examples are language- and culture-specific.

#### 4.1.1 'Mother' in proverbs

It has been widely discussed in the literature on the subject that proverbs are the embodiment of the cultural mindset of a culture and language community (Bartmiński 2009; Kochman-Haładaj 2021; Manser 2007; Mieder 2004; Petrova 2003, 2019; Stashko 2017; Stone 2006; Uberman 2020, etc). Schipper notes that available definitions of a proverb highlight the following characteristics: "(1) its concise fixed artistic form; (2) its evaluative and conservative function in society; (3) its authoritative validity; and (4) its anonymous origin" (2010: 22).

Paremiologists agree that each culture "gravitates around its own system of values" (Petrova 2019: 292). In the contrastive-semantic analysis to follow, our aim is, therefore, to show if these values expressed in proverbs extracted from the Polish,

English and Chinese corpora are similar or distinct, and to what extent the cultural conceptualisations overlap.

The focus on gender in proverbs has been researched by numerous scholars (Jędrzejko 2010; Kochman-Haładaj 2021; Schipper 2010; Skuza 2012; Świerczyńska 1994, 2019; to mention but a few). In her consideration on the proverbs related to women, Schipper points out that:

*"Proverbs about women tend to reflect the old habit of setting 'us' against 'them', not in terms of culture but in terms of sexual embodiment. It is true that today for the first time in history men and women are being equally educated and doing the same jobs, but this truth holds only for the happy few, globally speaking. We have to be aware of the numerous impediments invented and cherished over the centuries, and all over the world, to prevent this from happening. It is quite significant that many proverbs tend to sketch equal access to education and roles as a most unwelcome or even nightmarish scenario" (2010: 13)*

The equality is not always welcome. It is important to note that proverbs about women also say a lot about men in particular societies. Nevertheless, Schipper states that:

*"proverbs wholeheartedly acknowledge procreation as an indispensable female quality, and motherhood as a crucial domain of life. [...] Being able to give birth is apparently considered so unique that numerous proverbs express not only respect but also fear vis-à-vis this awesome creativity" (ibid., 16)*

The features and qualities of a mother are present in maxims of numerous languages the world over. There are numerous proverbs which are built on the principle of comparing a certain notion or characteristic to the other one which is its creator, i.e. one leads to the other. Instances of proverbs, predominantly English, structured *X is the mother of Y* are presented and discussed below.

(Eng) ***Absence is the mother of disillusion*** is a proverb considered to be a regional expression in the USA, and it means that "a period of separation may enable you to consider people or things more objectively and see them in a truer but less favourable light" (Manser 2007: 1). No Polish or Chinese proverb has been noted with the equivalent meaning.

(Eng) *Covetousness is the mother of mischief and ruin* (Stone 2006: 81) clearly is a criticism of greediness and materialism, which produce unfortunate results.

(Eng) *Diligence is the mother of good luck* means that "a man's success in life will be proportionate to his efforts" (ODP 2008: 135); "those who work hardest are most likely to enjoy good fortune" (Manser 2007: 56).

(Eng) *Experience is the mother of wisdom* means that one "cannot attain great wisdom or knowledge other than by practical experience and learning from your mistakes" (ibid., 95).

(Eng) *Necessity is the mother of invention* (ODP 2008: 355) has a direct Polish equivalent – *Potrzeba jest matką wynalazków* ('necessity is the mother of inventions') (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 385). The proverb means that a difficult situation or a lack of something forces an individual to look for new solutions to the issue.

However, the proverb (Pl) *Nadzieja matką głupich* ('hope is the mother of fools') (ibid., 268) is not as complementary, since it describes a situation in which someone trusts in something or someone else too much, without objectively assessing the circumstances. It could be compared to the English maxim *Trust is the mother of deceit* (Stone 2006: 444). However, in the latter, being dishonest as resulting from receiving extensive and undeserved trust is foregrounded, which is not the case in the Polish proverb.

(Eng) *Sloth is the mother of poverty* is a criticism of laziness: "the less work you do, the less money you will earn" (Manser 2007: 245). In Polish, the proverb with the equivalent meaning makes no reference to the mother figure. Instead, different imagery is employed where gold and stones are evoked: (Pl) *Kto się nie leni, robi złoto z kamieni* (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 210) ('he/she who is not lazy/idle makes gold out of a stone'). This means that when you fail, you have to try again to reach the set goal. Also,

hard work and its rewards seem to be indicated in the Chinese proverb 失败是成功之母 (shī bài shì chéng gōng zhī mǔ), which means "Failure is the mother of success" (<https://www.mdbg.net/chinese/dictionary?page=worddict&wdrst=0&wdqb=mother>).

In the following part of the discussion, various proverbs containing the lexeme *mother* are discussed. Their internal structure, however, does not follow the pattern *X is the mother of Y*, listed in the first part of this section.

(Eng) *Praise the child and you make love to the mother* (ODP 2008: 405-6) means, as noted by Manser (2007: 226), that "parents – especially mothers – are pleased and flattered by compliments paid to their children". This proverb has the Polish counterpart *Kto dziecko chwali, ten matkę po sercu głaszcze* (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 110) ('he/she who praises a child, strokes the mother's heart'). Similarly, (Pl) *Dziecko za rączkę, matkę za serce* (Świerczyńska 2019: 43) ('[catch/grab/hold] a child by the hand, his/her mother by the heart') might suggest that a mother's heart melts when her child is praised, treated generously or with great attention, care, and fondness. Schipper (2010: 131) notes the English equivalent of the proverb – *If you take the child by the hand, you take the mother by the heart*. A similar proverb in English, provided by Świerczyńska (2019: 43), makes no reference to the mother, but a nurse is mentioned instead: *Many kiss the child for the nurse's sake*.

It is important to stress that respect for elders is essential in raising next generations. The children who see how older people are treated are likely to replicate this pattern of behaviour in the future, as illustrated by the Polish maxim *Kto nie słucha ojca, matki, będą go bić własne dzieci* (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 110) ('he/she who does not obey his/her father and mother will be beaten by his/her own children'). Apparently, respect shown to one's parents is a precondition for prosperity in the future: (Pl) *Słuchaj ojca, matki; da Bóg i dostatki* (ibid., 116) ('obey your father and mother; God will give you affluence/wealth').

Virginity is portrayed as desirable and important; lack of chastity and care has far-reaching consequences and results in pregnancies. In support of this belief, Schipper (2010: 97) quotes the following proverb from American English: *An impatient virgin becomes a mother without being a bride*, which additionally stresses misbehaviour before marriage. The wedding celebration is shown as an important day in a girl's life, full of emotions not only for the bride but also for her mother: (Eng) *All brides are child brides in their mother's eyes* (ibid., 99).

(Eng) *Every river runs to its mamma* (Schipper 2010: 128) points to the prominence of mothers in everyone's life. A maxim highlighting the importance of mothers is noted by Fergusson in the following words: (Eng) *An ounce of mother is worth a ton of priest*, and their influence is stressed by the proverb (Eng) *The mother's side is the surest* (1983: 177), semantically close to (Pl) *Nie ma jak u mamy*. Uniqueness of a mother is highlighted by the Polish proverb *Drugiej matki nie znajdziesz* (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 106) ('You will not find a second mother'). Exceptional maternal qualities and endless love for one's children are accentuated in (Eng) *God could not be everywhere, therefore he decided to make mothers* (Schipper 2010: 128). Mother's love, care, and protectiveness are found in the English saying *When the boy's foot is broken, he finds his mother's yard* (ibid., 129).

Every mother believes her children to be the best: (Eng) *There is only one pretty child in the world and every mother has it*; (Eng) *Every mother thinks it is on her own child the sun rises* (Schipper 2010: 131). In Polish, this is expressed by the proverb *U swej matki każdy gładki* (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 116) ('everyone (every child) is well-fed for one's own mother'). Similarly, a Chinese proverb says 母不嫌儿丑 (mǔ bù xián er chǒu) meaning "all mothers love their children, no matter how ugly their faces may be" (Chen 1991: 502).

The unparalleled trust is exemplified by the English proverb (of Irish origin) *Give your love to your wife but tell your secrets to your mother* (Schipper 2010: 129). Mothers also tend to be overprotective and worry about their offspring, as exemplified by (Eng) *You can't weigh worries but many a mother has a heavy heart* (ibid., 132). The Chinese proverb 养儿不知娘辛苦 (Yǎng er bu zhī niáng xīn kǔ) – *The child knows not what trouble it has given its mother* (Scarborough 1875: 358) is comparable in meaning.

Many Polish proverbs employ the imagery related to the care, love, and happiness embodied by the mother. It is a universal trait of mothers to love their children unconditionally. This truth is expressed by the Polish proverb *Dla każdej matki mile jej dziatki* (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 105) ('every mother loves her children'). The Chinese proverb 母亲眼里无丑儿 (mǔ qīn yǎn lǐ wú chǒu er) similarly notes that "every baby is beautiful in the eyes of its mother" (Chen 1991: 502); also 母疼其儿 (mǔ téng qí er) "the mother always has warm affection for her children" (ibid.). Love, however, cannot mean that a mother lets her children do whatever they wish; therefore, punishment is introduced for mischief or misbehaviour, as exemplified by the proverbs (Pl) *Błogosławione są matki, co za złe karzą swe dziatki* (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 104) ('blessed are the mothers who punish their children for mischief '); or (Pl) *Matka tłucze, ale uczy* (ibid., 112) ('a mother beats, but she teaches'). However, no matter what the child does or how badly he/she behaves, their mother will always love them. This feature is noted in the Chinese examples 母亲向着孩子 (mǔ qīn xiàng zhe hái zi) – "a mother will usually stand up for her children (no matter what they have done)" (Chen 1991: 502) as well as 母子无隔宿之恨 (mǔ zǐ wú gé sù zhī hèn) – "no mother in the world can be angry with her son for long" (ibid.). Well-behaved children are also compared to a mother's treasure in (Pl) *Dobre dziatki to skarb matki* (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 106) ('good children are a mother's treasure'). If children are loved and well taken care of, they are happy and care-free. Such an image is manifested in the proverb (Pl) *Gdzie u dzieci matka, tam i główka gładka* (ibid., 107) ('when/if children

have a mother, they have sleek heads'). It has to be noted that in Chinese culture sons are more precious to their mothers. This is exemplified by the following instance: (Chn) 母爱幼子 (mǔ'ài yòu zǐ) – "a mother dotes on her youngest son; most mothers are much kinder to their youngest sons than they are to the others" (Chen 1991: 502).

Mothers are caretakers and mostly responsible for raising children. This is evidenced by the Polish proverb *Dziecię matka piastuje, a sierotę Bóg* (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 106) ('a child is taken care of by his/her mother, an orphan by God'). (Pl) *Do ludzi po rozum, do matki po serce* (ibid., 105) ('[turn] to people for wisdom, to mother for heart') is a maxim showing mothers' protectiveness and care as well as profound love for their children. (Pl) *Od matki dobre i ostatki* (ibid., 114) ('from a mother also the last of the food is good') means that riches are not as significant as a mother's love and protection. The Chinese idiom 母慈子孝 (mǔ cí zǐ xiào) – "a kind mother brings up children dutiful to their family" (Chen 1991: 502) focuses on proper upbringing and children's responsibility for their families.

(Pl) *Pokorne cielę dwie matki ssie* ('a humble calf sucks at two mothers') (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 44) praises modesty; it is more profitable to be humble rather than arrogant or insolent. The English equivalent, which is a Biblical extension, makes no reference to any kinship terms; instead, prosperity is foregrounded as compensation for good behaviour, i.e. *The meek shall inherit the earth* – "humility will ultimately be rewarded" (Manser 2007: 186). Its Polish equivalent is 'Błogosławieni cisi; albowiem oni posiadają/odziedziczą ziemię').

The immensity of mother care, love, and devotion is accentuated in the proverb (Eng) *A mother can take care of ten children, but sometimes ten children can't take care of one mother* (Schipper 2010: 137). It shows that caregiving is the core of any mother's life. In Polish, the proverb which foregrounds parental love employs the imagery of a father figure and male descendants instead, i.e. *Jeden ojciec dziesięciu*

*synów wychowa, a dziesięciu synów jednego ojca nie mogą* (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 108) ('one father will raise ten sons, but ten sons cannot raise one father').

A Chinese proverb notes that a large family is quite hard to keep and take care of: 儿多母苦, 盐多菜苦 (er duō mǔ kǔ, yán duō cài kǔ), which means that "just as too much salt makes food taste bad, too many children make a mother's life hard" (Sun 2011).

Another English proverb says *A child that has lost his mother, his help is behind* (Schipper 2010: 138). It stresses the fact that losing one's mother is a serious issue, a disaster, especially when the child is still young, as mothers in general, in most social and cultural contexts, devote more attention to their children, hence their influence on their children's future behaviour is more pronounced. This is especially visible in early childhood.

Losing one's mother is a catastrophe for every child. Even punishment exerted by one's mother is better than praise by one's stepmother. This truth is exemplified in the following Polish proverb *Lepiej jak matka bije, niż macocha głaszcze* (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 110) ('it is better to be slapped by one's mother than stroked by one's stepmother'). Nobody can substitute for a mother, even if the attitude provided by the person is not as harsh as one's mother's.

A mother loves her children, and children should love and respect their mother. This is exemplified by the Polish proverbs *Matka miła, choćby biła* (ibid., 112) ('a mother is dear, even if she slaps [you]'); *Macochy się bój, matkę kochaj, szanuj obie* (ibid., 111) ('fear your stepmother, love your mother, respect both'). The latter additionally stresses the fact that a stepmother is never as kind as one's birth parent.

Great anxiety about sons is reflected in the Chinese proverb 儿行千里母担忧 (Er xíng qiānlǐ mǔ dānyōu) – "when children travel far, mothers worry"

(<https://baike.baidu.com/item/儿行千里母担忧/6686637>). As observed by Schipper (2010: 133), who provides the alternative version *A mother worries about her son when he is travelling far away*, the proverb shows that sons are more likely to take hazardous decisions than their female siblings and are in more danger. Similarly, as already noted above with reference to love and care, the maxim 母爱幼子 (mǔ'ài yòuzǐ) ("a mother dotes on her youngest son; most mothers are much kinder to their youngest sons than they are to the others") foregrounds the youngest son's status in the family.

The son is often the source of pride and wealth for the Chinese family. This is exemplified by the idiom 母以子贵 (mǔ yǐ zǐ guì) meaning that "the mother won honor through her illustrious son; a wealthy son makes his mother become respected everywhere" (Chen 1991: 502).

A strong mother-son relation is exemplified by the Irish saying (Eng) *A boy's best friend is his mother and there's no spangle<sup>6</sup> stronger than her apron string* (Schipper 2010: 134). In Chinese, this bond is illustrated by the proverb 长子不离宗堂，幺儿不离娘房 (Zhǎngzǐ bùlí zōng táng, yāo er bu lí niáng fang) – *Near the ancestral home the eldest must reside; near to his mother's room the youngest must abide* (Scarborough 1875: 357). Schipper (2010: 134) provides a more modern English version of the proverb, i.e. *The eldest son should not leave the family home; the youngest does not leave his mother's room*. This proverb, however, also points to possessiveness.

It is universally believed that men are brought up to be strong and independent, but breaking the close relation with one's mother appears to be difficult, as depicted by the American proverb *Mother' darlings make but milk-porridge heroes* (ibid., 136). A man in such a relationship is named in Polish *maminsynek* ('mammy's boy'). The relations between mothers, sons, and sons' female friends or wives are a point of consideration in several maxims. The mother should not interfere in her son's

relationships. This is demonstrated by the English proverb (of Irish origin) *The boy's best friend is his mother, until he becomes himself his sweetheart's best friend* (ibid., 134). Sometimes, however, the relations are tense, as shown in this Chinese proverb: 宠妻别母子不孝, 替儿嫌妻母不贤 (Chǒng qī bié mǔzǐ bùxiào, tì er xián qī mǔ bù xián) – *He is unfilial who loves wife more than mother; she is unwise who hates for him her son's wife* (Scarborough 1875: 359). Schipper (2010: 135) lists this proverb in the following English form: *The son who loves his wife more than his mother is unfilial; the mother who joins the son in hating his wife is not good.*

Relationships between mothers and daughters are also the topic of many proverbs. (Eng) *The daughter of a good mother will be the mother of a good daughter* (ibid.) shows a universal truth of virtue being passed down from generation to generation as well as the fact that kind treatment of a young person makes him/her a kind person in the future. It is the mother who exerts the most influence on bringing up children; even an unsuitable father does not influence the daughter: (Eng) *Choose a good mother's daughter, though her father were the Devil* (ibid., 136). (Eng) *He that would the daughter win, must with the mother first begin* (Manser 2007: 134) seems to explain the following truth: "if you want to win a young woman's affections or persuade her to marry you, it is important to make a favourable impression on her mother". Stone (2006: 80) provides a variant of the proverb: (Eng) *He who would win the daughter must first win her mother.*

(Eng) *Like mother, like daughter* (of Latin origin: "Qualis mater, talis filia"), a variant of (Eng) *Like father, like son* (of Korean origin) (ODP 2008: 183) describes a similarity of appearance and/or behaviour; "daughters tend to resemble their mothers in character and behaviour" (Manser 2007: 183). The source also notes the synonymous maxim (Eng) *As is the mother, so is the daughter*. In Chinese 有其父/母必有其子女 (yǒu qí fù/mǔ bì yǒu qí zǐ/nǚ) – "like father/mother like son/daughter": 父 (fù) – father, 子 (zǐ) – son / 母 (mǔ) – mother, 女 (nǚ) – daughter; both variants are possible;

the meaning is also explained referring to the animal kingdom, i.e. "like cow, like calf" (DTTEW 2012: 179). Also the Chinese idiom 十朵菊花九朵黄, 十个女儿都像娘 (shí duǒ jú huā jiǔ duǒ huáng, shí gè nǚ'ér dōu xiàng niáng), which means literally "ten chrysanthemums, nine (of them) yellow, ten daughters, they all resemble the mother" – 形容女儿的很多方面都像母亲 (xíng róng nǚ'ér de hěn duō fāng miàn dōu xiàng mǔ qīn), stresses the similarity between mothers and daughters (Sun 2011).

Mieder (2004) states that both proverbs (Eng) *Like mother, like daughter* as well as (Eng) *Like father, like son* have been current in the English language since the early sixteenth century. In Polish, the proverb *Jaka matka, taka natka* (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 235) ('like mother, like tops (leaves)') means that children are similar to their mother. An analogous Polish proverb refers only to mother-daughter similarity of appearance, character, etc., i.e. (Pl) *Jaki bochen, taka skórka, jaka matka, taka córka* (ibid.) ('as is the loaf, so is the crust, as is the mother, so is the daughter'). The source adds that the meaning refers to the fact that children take after their parents' personalities, especially their vices (ibid., 49). The Chinese proverb: 十朵菊花九朵黄, 十个女儿都像娘 (shí duǒ jú huā jiǔ duǒ huáng, shí gè nǚ'ér dōu xiàng niáng) noted above means that the daughter is in many respects like her mother (Sun 2011). Thus, it can be considered equivalent to English *Like mother, like daughter* and Polish *Jaka matka, taka córka*. As stated by Schipper (2010: 61), the general resemblance of daughters to mothers referred to in the proverbs above is expressed by the English *The child follows the womb*, where the mother is implied, but not mentioned directly.

(Eng) *A dram of mother's wit is better than a pound of school smarts* (Stone 2006: 477) is a compliment paid to the life knowledge of mothers, who are viewed as more experienced in comparison to teachers in schools. The proverb with the same meaning in Polish is *Dobra matka więcej nauczy niż sto nauczycieli* (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 105) ('a good mother will teach more than a hundred teachers').

(Eng) *Step on a crack, break your mother's back* means that "it is unlucky to walk on the cracks between paving slabs on the sidewalk; a childish superstition, or used in a children's game" (Manser 2007: 252).

The English proverb *Children suck the mother when they are young and the father when they are old* (Stone 2006: 65) seems to clearly specify the family roles – the mother takes care of the family members and the father is the breadwinner responsible for finances in the household.

The remaining female kinship terms to be discussed below are jointly far less productive in terms of lexicon than the lexeme *mother* presented above.

#### 4.2 Grandmother

A grandmother (Grandmother (a), *s.a.*) is defined in the online Oxford English dictionary as "1. a. The mother of one's father or mother; b. *figurative* A person or thing from which another person or thing is ultimately derived; (also) the original and outstanding example of something; 2. A female ancestor" (OED, *s.a.*).

In Chinese, there are various names to represent 'grandmother' (Grandmother (b), *s.a.*). They vary depending on the lineage, some are formal, some informal, etc. The online dictionary (*ibid.*) lists the following sets of characters designating 'grandmother': 奶奶 (nǎi nai) – (informal) grandma (paternal grandmother) / (respectful) mistress of the house, 姥姥 (lǎo lao) – (coll.) mother's mother / maternal grandmother, 外婆 (wài pó) – (coll.) mother's mother / maternal grandmother, 老娘 (lǎo niáng) – my old mother, maternal grandmother, 祖母 (zǔ mǔ) – father's mother, parental grandmother, 王母 (wáng mǔ) – (literary) paternal grandmother, 老老 (lǎo lao) – maternal grandmother / same as 姥姥.

There are relatively few phrases listed in OED with the lexeme *grandmother*. One of them, noted as obsolete, i.e. *this beats my grandmother* (OED, *s.a.*) used to be applied to talk "of something that excites astonishment". The originally American phrase *your (my) grandmother!* is "said in response to something with which one disagrees". No Polish or Chinese equivalents can be identified for the quoted phrases.

(Eng) *To shoot one's granny / grandmother* is a phrase labelled as American in origin and means "to fancy you have discovered what was well known before".

*Grandmother's footsteps* or *grandmother's steps* is a chiefly British expression for "a children's game in which one player turns round often and without warning with the aim of catching the other players stealthily creeping up to touch him or her on the back" (OED, *s.a.*). In Polish an imagery of a witch is employed instead, as the game is called *Raz, dwa, trzy, Baba Jaga patrzy* ('one, two, three, a witch is looking').

In Polish, the exclamation *Jak babcię Kocham!* (WSJP 2018) ('as I love grandma') is a form of imploring that is used to strengthen the utterance and make it more credible.

#### 4.2.1 Proverbs related to grandmothers

A grandmother is typically associated with love and patience bestowed on her grandchildren. There is the Polish saying *Pan Bóg nie mógł być wszędzie, więc stworzył babcię i dziadka* ('God could not be everywhere, so he created a grandmother and a grandfather'). The proverb has a very similar equivalent in Dutch, i.e. *God cannot be everywhere, that's why he created grandmothers* (Schipper 2010: 150). The maxim has its equivalent in English; however, a member of the younger generation, i.e. the mother, is featured: *God could not be everywhere, therefore he decided to make mothers* (ibid., 128).

In Chinese, this is confirmed by the proverb 姥姥疼外孙，自然的事 (lǎo lao téng wài sūn, zì rán de shì), which notes that it is normal for grandmas to love their

grandchildren, and it covers the meaning "Grandma loves dearly her grandsons, it's a natural thing" (Cuī & Sūn 2006: 182).

In the Western culture, grandparents are said to be permissive with their grandchildren and tend to spoil them. In Chinese culture the same is true as the proverb states *A grandmother always thinks that she cannot do enough to show her love for her grandchildren* (Schipper 2010: 149). However, grandchildren may not always be as attached to and fond of their grandparents, which is represented by the proverb (Chn) 姥姥家的狗，吃完了就走 – (lǎo lao jiā de gǒu, chī wán le jiù zǒu), meaning "Grandma's dog leaves as soon as it's finished eating" (Cuī & Sūn 2006: 182). As noted by the authors, this proverb is frequently used by grandparents when playfully talking about their grandkids' visits.

The elderly are reputed with wisdom and experience. (Eng) *Don't teach your grandmother to suck eggs* is "a caution against offering advice to someone wiser and more experienced than oneself" (ODP 2008: 491). As explained by Manser, the meaning is "do not presume to give advice or instruction to those who are older and more experienced than you" (2007: 78). In Polish, there is no exact equivalent; however, there is a saying, which employs the imagery of a father, conveying the same meaning, i.e. (Pl) *Nie ucz ojca dzieci robić* ('don't teach a father to make babies') (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 581).

(Pl) *Gdyby babcia miała wąsy, toby była dziadkiem* ('if a grandmother had a moustache, she would be a grandfather') (ibid., 602) is a saying meaning that something is impossible to happen, it is unreal and will never come true. Alternative, though less frequently used, kinship terms employed in the proverb are *ciocia* ('auntie') and *wujaszek* ('uncle').

### 4.3 Daughter in phrases

Daughter (Daughter (a), *s.a.*) is obviously "a girl or woman in relation to either or both of her parents; a person's female child" (OED, *s.a.*). In addition, the term refers to a female animal in a similar relation; but also to "a female descendant; a female member of a tribe, clan, or to other ethnic group; a woman or girl regarded in terms of her relation to her place of birth or residence". Another sense provided by the lexicographic source is "a woman viewed in relation to a person who, or thing which defines, shapes, or influences her; a woman regarded as the product of a particular event, circumstance, or influence" (*ibid.*).

In Chinese, according to an online source (Daughter (b), *s.a.*), the following meaning can be read from the characters representing 'daughter': 女儿 (*nǚ ér*), where (*nǚ*) stands for "woman", and (*ér*) denotes "child" (*ibid.*).

(Eng) *A daughter language* is "a language which has been derived from an older one" (Gulland & Hinds-Howell 1986: 133), such as Romance languages from Latin. In Polish or Chinese, no similar phrase can be identified.

(Pl) (*Nieodrodna*) *córka Ewy* (Kopaliński 2001: 266) ('Eve's daughter' in the colloquial sense of 'a chip off the old block') compared to the first woman, Eve of Eden, describes a person who is inquisitive, seductive, and tempts others. In English, the phrase is equivalent in meaning and form to the Polish phrase quoted above. As noted in OED (*s.a.*), (Eng) *daughter of Eve*, or (Eng) *Eve's daughter* mean "a girl or woman, esp. (with allusion to Eve's part in the biblical story of the Fall of Man) one who is weak-willed, lascivious, or susceptible to temptation". Euphemistically, (Eng) a *daughter of joy* stands for "a prostitute" (OED, *s.a.*); in Polish, the meaning is rendered by the phrase *Córa Koryntu* ('a daughter of Corinth') (WSJP 2018). No Chinese equivalents can be noted, as the expressions are of biblical and mythological origin attributed to the Western cultures.

In Polish, there is the expression *mieć córkę na wydaniu* (ibid.) ('to have a daughter [who is] ready to marry'), which refers to her prospects of getting married.

(Eng) *Devil's daughter* is an expression describing "a shrew" (Room 2002: 336), while (Eng) *the devil's daughter's portion* refers to "the scandalous impositions once practised in these ports [Dover and Harwich] on sailors and casual visitors" (ibid.). The phrase (Eng) *to kiss the gunner's daughter* means "to be flogged on board ship" (ibid., 659). As further explained by Room, "at one time sailors in the Royal Navy who were to be flogged were tied to the breech of a cannon" (ibid.). No equivalents can be noted in Polish for the above expressions, as the reference is clearly culturally-based and pertaining to naval tradition. It has to be noted, however, that, in Polish, there are expressions *diabelskie nasienie* (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 271) (literally: 'devil's seed') or *diabelski / czarci / szatański pomiot* (ibid., 376) (literally: 'devil's / Satan's litter') that could be considered similar in meaning to (Eng) *devil's daughter* mentioned above, neither of which however mentions 'a daughter' in particular. Both of them metaphorically evoke the imagery of descendants and refer to someone who is evil or something that is nasty, annoying, or unpleasant.

Two further expressions, as noted by Room, i.e. (Eng) *Duke of Exeter's daughter* (2002: 371) and (Eng) *scavenger's daughter* (ibid., 1048), are names given to instruments of torture in the Tower of London. Again, as they are specific to the English culture, no equivalents for them are found in the contrasted languages.

#### 4.3.1 Daughter in proverbs

*Daughter* is a lexeme present in proverbs, but they are not very numerous in any of the languages under consideration in the present discussion.

(Eng) *My son is my son till he gets him a wife, but my daughter's my daughter all the days of her life* (ODP 2008: 460) or its variant (Eng) *A son is a son till he gets him a wife, a daughter's a daughter all of her life* mean that "men tend to neglect or lose

contact with their parents after marriage, whereas women maintain the bonds of filial affection and loyalty throughout their lives" (Manser 2007: 248). This is not confirmed in the Chinese proverb, which states that 女儿出嫁心向外 (nǚ ér chū jià xīn xiàng wài), i.e. "a daughter faced out of the family as soon as she was married off" (Chen 1991: 178-179).

Świerczyńska (2019: 243) notes a pair of synonymous Polish proverbs. The first one is *Ożeń syna kiedy zechcesz, a wydaj córkę kiedy możesz – Marry your son when you will, your daughter when you can*. In Chinese, a similar approach seems to be adopted, as reflected by the proverb 女大不中留 (nǚ dà bù zhòng liú) "a grown daughter can't be kept unmarried / a grown up daughter is hard to keep" (Chen 1991: 179).

The second, (Pl) *Kto nie ma córek, ten nie ma dzieci* ('who does not have daughters, does not have children') (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 110) is a Polish proverb praising the help received from female descendants. This proverb is specific to Polish culture. As noted above, in Chinese culture, sons are valued more and hold a privileged position in families.

As it has been presented earlier in the discussion on mothers, the English proverb *The daughter of a good mother will be the mother of a good daughter* (Schipper 2010: 135) praises appropriate upbringing. Also (Eng) *Like mother, like daughter* (ibid.) highlights the resemblance of appearance and similarity of character, and this saying has its equivalent in Polish: *Jaka matka, taka córka* ('like mother, like daughter'). Also, a proverb widespread in Europe advises a man intending to enter a relationship with a woman to consider what her mother is like before deciding: (Eng) *Have a [good] look at the mother before you take the daughter* (ibid., 136).

According to Schipper (2010: 27), a Chinese proverb reads: *If the father doesn't behave like a father, the daughter should still behave like a daughter*. This represents the respect for one's parents and the elderly.

In Chinese culture, unfortunately, giving birth to daughters is not wholeheartedly welcome in families. This is illustrated in the following proverbs: (Chn) 痴男胜过巧女 (chī nán sheng guò qiǎo nǚ) *A stupid son is better than a crafty daughter* (Scarborough 1875: 365) as well as (Chn) *It is a blessing to bear a son, a calamity to bear a daughter* (Schipper 2010: 88). This is confirmed by the following maxim as well: 望女成凤 (wàng nǚ chéng fèng) (Daughter (c), *s.a.*), which literally reads "to hope one's daughter becomes a phoenix" and expresses hope that "one's daughter is a success in life" (*ibid.*).

Rumour has it that women spend a lot of money on clothes, shoes, and other expensive accessories. An English proverb notes that daughters have their needs, and they can be costly: (Eng) *Two daughters and a back door are three arrant thieves* (Fergusson 1983: 264). Spending money appears to be a universal female trait, yet it is not represented in a comparable form in Polish or Chinese.

(Eng) *Admiration is the daughter of ignorance* is a proverb, which means that "people often admire others about whom they only have incomplete knowledge" (Manser 2007: 2).

#### 4.4 Sisters

A sister is (Sister (a), *s.a.*), by definition, "a female sibling or other relative" (OED, *s.a.*). In Polish, the term 'sister' is used, by extension, to refer to nurses as well as nuns (WSPA 2004: 1021). Similarly, in English, as noted by OED (*s.a.*), 'sister' is used in nursing and religious senses to designate "a female member of a religious order, society, sisterhood, or guild, spec. a nun. Also, as a form of address".

In Chinese, there is no character for 'sister'; instead there are terms 姐姐 (jiě jie) "older sister" and 妹妹 (mèi mei) "younger sister" (Sister (b), *s.a.*).

Phrases, idioms and proverbs related to the lexeme under consideration are not very numerous, as evidenced by the instances presented and discussed below.

(Eng) *Sob sister* is now considered a "dated nickname for a female journalist who writes the answers to readers' personal problems, so called because of the tear-provoking sentimentality involved" (Room 2002: 1100).

Now obsolete in use, as annotated in OED (*s.a.*), (Eng) *sisters of the Bank*, as well as (Eng) *sister of the scabbard* referred to prostitutes. The phrases are of English origin and are not found in the other contrasted languages.

(Eng) *Sister in (at) arms* (*ibid.*) is a phrase used mainly figuratively to refer to "any woman considered in relation to another or others, as fighting on the same side or for the same cause".

(Eng) A *sister from another mister* originated in the USA and is mainly used in American slang to stand for "a very close female friend" (*ibid.*). There are no equivalents for the phrase in Polish or Chinese.

It has to be noted that when 'sister' is used in the adjectival position, it describes the objects, actions, etc. in question as closely related or situated in close vicinity, e.g., *sister island*, *sister kingdom*, *sister colony*, *sister state*, *sister dialect*, *sister language*, *sister line*, etc. (*ibid.*).

It is interesting to note that, in Chinese, a variety of written language referred to as 女书 (*nǚ shū*) can be identified. It is the script created and used solely by women and is considered the cultural heritage of women in the Jiangyong region in the Hunan province. It is a unique phenomenon unparalleled by any other such instance in the world. Its origin is related to the so-called 'sworn sister' (结拜 *jié bài*), i.e. relationships

created between women, especially at a young age (Liu 2015). Hence, the expression 天下妇女，姐妹一家 (tiān xià fù nǚ, jiě mèi yī jiā), which comes from 女书 (nǚ shū), refers to sisterhood and means "women in the world are like sisters in the family" (Liu 2004: 253). The words are an inscription on a coin, which is considered as the oldest known artefact with text in 女书 (nǚ shū), the coin (Figures 1 and 2 below) is known as an 'engraved mother coin' – 雕母钱 (diāo mǔ qián), which proves the script was in use in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.



Figure 1. The coin from the Taiping Rebellion / the Taiping Civil War. Available at: <https://www.easyatm.com.tw/wiki/女書>



Figure 2. The sketch of the coin from the Taiping Rebellion / the Taiping Civil War. Available at: <http://history.people.com.cn/BIG5/n1/2017/0904/c372329-29513805.html>

#### 4.4.1 Proverbs on sisters

Proverbs on sisters are hard to find in English or Chinese; in Polish, however, the proverb *Siostra mężowa – głowa wężowa* ('the husband's sister is a snake head') (Kłosińska et al. 2018: 608), and alternatively *matka mężowa* ('mother-in-law') (Hermann & Syjud 2008: 112), is applied with reference to those women. They are usually considered unkind and treacherous, hence compared to a snake full of venom, i.e. ill will towards a sister(daughter)-in-law. A very similar view is held in the Chinese culture, as the following proverb seems to testify: *The elder sister of one's husband is as authoritative as one's mother-in-law, and the younger sister is as terrible as the King of Hell* (Schipper 2010: 312).

As noted by WSPA (2004: 1022), (Pl) *Cierpliwość jest bliźniaczą siostrą cierpienia* literally means 'patience is the twin sister of suffering'. Hence a relation in a family is figuratively used with reference to phenomena that often occur together.

It appears evident from the few instances above that 'sister' is not very frequently employed in phrases, idioms or proverbs in the contrasted languages.

### 5. Concluding remarks

The world all humans live in is just one. However, the ways to talk about its laws, phenomena, people, and their experiences are unlimited. All humans seem to be alike, yet the communities and societies they create are unique and diverse, just as diverse are the countless customs, beliefs, and patterns of behaviour adopted within the above mentioned groups of people. To differentiate between them even further, there exist the means of expression such communities use to communicate, whether verbal or non-verbal. Moreover, the structures of those social groups vary: some are hierarchical, while others are based on the notion of equality. Different members of such assemblies perform various, diverse roles. However, irrespective of the type of group, culture adopted and cultivated or the language spoken, in each community it is the mother who

is 'the giver of life', who brings the children to the world and takes care of them. Without a mother, there can be no children brought to life, there is no next generation.

As noted by ample exemplars analysed in the preceding discussion, this female kinship term is very productive. The number of phrases, idioms, and proverbs where the lexeme *mother* is featured is very extensive, and obviously only selected instances could be quoted in the present paper. It has to be pointed out as well that the other terms put together, i.e. *grandmother*, *daughter* as well as *sister*, in total do not come up to the number of examples found for *mother*.

Interestingly, in the history of language copious instances of derogatory terms for women can be identified. In many patriarchal societies the image of women is that of deceit or low life. Such a negative picture, however, is hardly ever evolved with reference to mothers or grandmothers. They are commonly associated with love and protection, care and devotion. Those are the key features highlighted in a substantial number of illustrative examples (phrases, idioms and proverbs alike).

The compared languages, i.e. English, Polish, and Chinese, unanimously mirror the care, attention, and love of mothers and grandmothers for their children and grandchildren. All mothers believe their children to be the best and the most beautiful. Any ill-will or misbehaviour towards their children is likely to end in trouble for the perpetrator. Mothers can be overprotective but the good of their children is always their top priority. This might entail punishing the misbehaved children, as well. A mother is the one who provides wide-ranging care of her children to such an extent that not having a mother is compared to a catastrophe.

Grandmothers dote upon their grandchildren and are compared to a God-sent emissary. Owing to their age, they are reputed for experience and wisdom. However, grandmothers are also famed for being too permissive with their grandchildren, thus contributing to spoiling them.

Universally, as can be noted from the many examples analysed, daughters are similar to their mothers in that the former copy the patterns of behaviour and conduct of the latter. However, it has to be stressed that, in Chinese, a strong tendency to favour sons over daughters can be identified, which is a clear evidence of a culture-specific context. Sons have a privileged position in their families, and this feature is reflected by the proverbs listed in the discussion. Interestingly, also in Chinese, where a specific type of sister-like relationships ('sworn sisters') can be identified in the Hunan province, sisterhood is presented as a strong bond among women in this exact community. Even those women who are not tied by blood have held a specific type of unity and developed a script used by females only. No similar phenomenon has been noted either in English or in Polish, which makes *nüshu* not only culture- but also area-specific.

From the considerations above it becomes apparent that those female figures who have a more significant role in the household are mentioned more frequently in the lexicon of a given language. This might explain a relatively low turnout for *sister* or *daughter* as compared to *mother* in the vocabularies of the respective compared languages. The mother has a predominant role in the raising and wellbeing of the family and also, indirectly, the society. Semantic differences, or lack of equivalents, can be observed for the semantics in the *sister-* or *daughter-*related expressions, but where *mother* is a key element, most meanings seem to be universally shared by English, Polish, and Chinese.

## Notes

1. The underlining, in this and the following quotes, has been introduced by the authors to reflect the original italicised forms.
2. Cohabitation exerts a certain form of economic influence and/or independence, frequently on women. More on the issue case be found in Lundberg et al. (2016).
3. Patchwork families are "complex networks of differentially related individuals" (Gyuris et al. 2020: 993). A patchwork family is created when new families are formed of members who have been in other relationships before. Moreover, and most

importantly, in patchwork families "full siblings, maternal and paternal half-siblings, and non-related children are raised together, and sometimes, genetically-related children are separated" (ibid.).

4. Bartmiński notes that worldview is commonly understood as follows:

*"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" (2009: 213)*

Compare also Panasenko (2014) or Underhill (2012). More discussion devoted to the concept is in Uberman (2020).

5. All the literal translations from Polish and Chinese in this article are made by the authors.

6. Spancel is "a rope tie used to hobble cattle during milking" (Schipper 2010: 311).

### **List of abbreviations**

Chn – Chinese

DTTEW – Dictionary of ten thousand English words recited from memory

Eng – English

ISJP – Inny słownik języka polskiego (A different/other Polish language dictionary)

OED – Oxford English dictionary

ODP – The Oxford dictionary of proverbs

Pl – Polish

USJP – Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego (A universal Polish language dictionary)

WSJP – Wielki słownik języka polskiego PWN ze słownikiem wyrazów bliskoznacznych (A comprehensive Polish language PWN dictionary with synonyms)

WSPA – Wielki słownik polsko-angielski (A comprehensive Polish-English dictionary)

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## Résumé

Humans are not solitary by nature; therefore, people have always lived in certain social groups, of which a family seems to be the most basic. Members of families assume various roles and they depend on the cultural background in which a given community is raised and developed. However, irrespective of the fact whether the family is extended or nuclear, full or single-parent, traditional or same-sex, etc. when children are born, they are always brought into the world by a mother. The way individual concepts are reflected in language is conditioned by the cultural mindset and the worldview held by a particular language and culture community. Certain features of worldview can be considered universal, while others are culture-specific and thus mirrored in the language that community members use. As can be observed from the

analysis of the female kinship terms 'mother', 'grandmother', 'daughter', and 'sister' in English, Polish, and Chinese, numerous similarities are present in the contrasted languages. The lexeme *mother* is the most productive. The meanings embedded in the considered phrases, idioms, and proverbs highlight the love, care, and devotion that mothers abundantly show towards their children. Mothers are responsible for children's upbringing and wellbeing, which can sometimes take the form of giving punishment, too. However, a mother loves her children even if they misbehave and considers them the most beautiful. Grandmothers are known to be permissive and spoil the grandchildren, but they are also portrayed as experienced and full of the wisdom accumulated during their life. Daughters are shown as resembling their mothers, though there is a visible bias in the way male and female descendants are represented in Chinese. Sons in the latter culture enjoy a privileged position in their families, as evidenced by proverbs quoted in the discussion. This is a clearly culture-specific approach that is not shared universally, as such imagery is not illustrated by English or Polish lexicon.

**Key words:** kinship terms, female, lexicon, idioms, proverbs, contrastive semantics.

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## LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

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# RHETORICAL PROSODY IN ENGLISH POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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**Abstract:** The article reports on a study of the rhetorical prosodic characteristics in English political discourse. The paper draws on the results made in the course of the auditory analysis of public speeches delivered by British politicians. The work presents an overview of political discourse and political rhetoric as well as proves that the prosodic parameters may be regarded as effective means of political discourse rhetorical presentation and persuasion.

**Key words:** political discourse, public communication, victory speech, rhetoric, prosody, auditory analysis, invariant prosodic model.

*He who wants to persuade should put his trust  
not in the right argument, but in the right word.  
The power of sound has always been greater  
than the power of sense.*

*Joseph Conrad*

## 1. Introduction

Contemporary political communication is constantly changing and being enriched with new means of representation and persuasion the audience. The viewpoint presentation, rhetorical expression, general turn-taking conditions, the public speaker-audience relationships, and other aspects of political speech acquire a great importance in current social practice. This became the reason of rhetoric revival in our culture, a discipline that since ancient times has served to educate a comprehensively developed, socially active, and humanistically educated personality.

In present-day increasing interest in political life, public figures are often perceived and judged by their capability to present their political message in a convincing way. Successful politicians are those who have credible stories to tell, who can involve the audience with the drama of the present by explaining in simple terms what is right and wrong and who can convince the listeners that they are better than their opponents (Charteris-Black 2011). Persuasive presentations constitute basic units, rhetorical features for the speaking style they adopt, e.g., when addressing the nation or when participating in parliamentary debates, etc.

It is quite natural that within the general problem of political speech study the results of experimental-phonetic research of political speeches' prosodic features are called for, playing an important role. Recent developments demand a new look into this problem. As a result of politicians' use of typical intonation models of speech (their variant realizations due to the pragmatic direction of speeches, context, etc.), a certain communicative influence is achieved. Thus, the aim of the proposed paper is to determine and analyse the affective appeal of rhetorical prosody and its contribution to political discourse implementation.

## **2. Background studies**

The study of rhetorical prosody in English political discourse involves the analysis of the essence of political discourse, rhetoric and political rhetoric, and rhetorical prosody. This approach is based on the theoretical assumption that language should be considered within the historical, ideological, sociocultural, psychological, and other contexts in which it occurs (Chilton 2004; Fedoriv 2016; Vasko 2019; Wodak 2014). It is highly relevant in the research of spoken political discourse.

### *2.1 Political discourse and political rhetoric*

It is generally recognised that politics as a sphere of human activity by its nature is a set of speech actions that are objectified within the status-role communication of

politicians and citizens (Семенюк & Паращук 2010: 204), and belongs to the category of perfect forms of human communication (Серякова 2012: 175). Charteris-Black argues that:

*"Politics is concerned with acquiring, maintaining and sustaining power: it is about how resources are allocated and how social actions are harmonised to predetermined purposes. Language is the lifeblood of politics: it's debatable whether language would have developed in the first place without politics and certain that politics would never have developed without language. But the more skilled politicians become in self-representation, the greater the pressure on them to convince followers that they and their policies can be trusted. Politics is about building trust, but, with an increasing awareness of the potential for manipulation of public opinion and "massaging" of consent through focus groups, trust has become a rare commodity in democracies.[sic]" (2011: 4)*

Therefore, political discourse as a set of formations of different genres, concentrated around a particular political event, aims to justify and defend the right to power in society (Семенюк & Паращук 2010: 204). According to van Dijk (1997: 12), political discourse is a text or talk of professional politicians or political institutions; president, prime ministers, other members of government, parliament or political parties at local, national, or international levels. It should be pointed out here that political discourse is a public discourse based on the political picture of the world, aimed at its formation, change, and use to induce people to a definite political activity (Павлова 2010: 16). Its field of activity is predetermined by the sphere of politics, characterized by a specific set of communication situations, typical models of speech behaviour, certain topics, a set of intentions and speech strategies. It concerns basic components of politics such as problems of power, conflict / control, and domination.

Also, political power is based on the flesh and blood presence of a leader who can charm and inspire followers (Charteris-Black 2011: 27). Chilton summarises the legitimising purpose of political discourse as follows:

*"[...] political discourse involves, among other things, the promotion of representations, and a persuasive feature of representation is the evident need for political speakers to imbue their utterances with evidence, authority and truth, a process that we shall refer to in broad terms, in the context of political discourse, as 'legitimation'. Political speakers have to guard against the operation of their audience's 'cheater detectors' and provide guarantees for the truth of their sayings." (2004: 23)*

Therewith, the fundamental function of political discourse, as it is mentioned by Sheygal (Шейгал 2004: 34), is to use it as an instrument of political power, that is, the struggle for power, obtaining power, its preservation, implementation, stabilization, or redistribution. This global function of political discourse is realized due to the following functions: *informing* (the process of dissemination of information about the state of affairs in society); *influence and persuasion* (the process of reporting views, opinions, judgments, information by political leaders and authorities, accompanied by reasoned evidence of their justice and significance for the population); *manipulation* (the process of imposing ideas, points of view, opinions, which the addressee deems to be untrue, but advantageous for him/herself).

The specific characteristic of public political discourse, according to Pavlova (Павлова 2010: 2), is its pragmatic focus on public opinion managing, on the formation of a certain assessment of information in a mass addressee, and a given emotional reaction to it.

As a result, politics can be regarded as an effort for power with a purpose of setting specific political, social, or economic ideas into practical application and political discourse as the use of language to achieve this purpose (Saeed et al. 2020). In this context, a political leader seeks to persuade people to achieve his purpose and uses different persuasive strategies and means.

Speaking about the role of language in politics, it should be noted that language is a means of implementing a state policy, as well as a means by which humanity creates history, accumulates historical knowledge, often subjecting it to interpretation, reinterpretation, and rethinking (Антонова 2013). The public word of a political leader often becomes a political action at the moment of its actualization and, at the same time, the stimulus that interprets / reinterprets it in a given historical period. Barthes and Howard say:

*"This object in which power is inscribed, for all of human eternity, is language, or to be more precise, its necessary expression: the language we speak and write. [...] all speech is a classification, and that all classifications are oppressive. [...] To speak, and, with even greater reason, to utter a discourse is not, as is too often repeated, to communicate; it is to subjugate: the whole language is a generalized rection. [...] Once uttered, even in the subject's deepest privacy, speech enters the service of power" (1979: 4-5).*

This idea is expressed by Cramer who mentions:

*"Politicians need to convince people to elect them, if they want to be successful. Nowadays there are various channels through which to reach potential followers, all of which have one thing in common: they use language to communicate. The possibilities vary from written texts published through different online media channels to podcasts and official speeches made in public and with press attendance. One presentation of a speech that is always highly attended is usually the first one given after a head of state is elected. Prior to this, during an election campaign, politicians need to convince a certain number of people in order to win the election. After the politician is elected, everybody, even those who voted for someone else, listen to the new leader of a country to figure out what this election could bring about." (2020: 1)*

It should also be noted that political communication is distinguished by the fact that the phenomena of "oratory" and "rhetoric" are present in it as mandatory features. Modern politicians use special rhetorical techniques to create a certain vision of the world in the audience and to influence / manipulate this vision.

As is well known, classical work on rhetoric was not confined to the political sphere. The attitude to the rhetoric and rhetorical tradition of antiquity had undergone significant changes that range from interest to a complete unacceptability. An exceptional interest in rhetoric was observed in the Middle Ages, the rhetorical tradition and research on argumentation began to be viewed negatively in the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is about the revival of rhetoric as a unit of theoretical thought, namely the neo-rhetoric.

A review of literature shows that contemporary scholars have further extended the sphere of application of rhetorical studies, often believing that "[r]hetoric is employed at every moment when one human being intends to produce, through the use of signs or symbols, some effect on another" (see Condor et al. 2013: 264). However, it is still

commonly supposed that "the essential activities of rhetoric are located on a political stage" (ibid.). Rhetoric is absolutely central "because public discussion and debate are essential in a democracy, and because leaders are obliged to rule the sovereign people by means of constant persuasion" (ibid., 262).

In contrast to classical rhetoric, which is understood as the theory and skill of oratory, neo-rhetoric, as noted by Chernyavskaya (Чернявская 2006: 24), expands the scope of its scientific interests to all the analysis methods using the language of communicative and pragmatic situations of persuasion, influence, and manipulation of consciousness. It touches on pragmatics and communicative linguistics by its research tasks. We can take as a basis the following definition of rhetoric that reflects its essence at present:

*"Rhetoric is a theory and practice of optimizing speech communication, its effectiveness, and efficiency by the influential and persuasive speech and the appropriate use of all means and methods, both linguistic and extralinguistic, to achieve the communication goal" (ibid., 25).*

Studying the principles of rhetorical and ideological criticism, Pavlyuk (Павлюк 2007: 11) expresses the idea that rhetoric as a theory of text and communication is associated not only with persuasive speech, but also with any example of perfect speech, an excellent work or just any utterance in its "instrumental" function.

Thus, if considering the way of rhetoric development from the ancient tradition to modern humanitarian theories, it is possible to distinguish, according to Pavlyuk (ibid., 11), several quite independent and equally important meanings of this phenomenon. So, rhetoric is:

- 1) a method of use and a set of language means subordinated to the achievement of certain goals;
- 2) author's strategies of influence, features of argumentative texts, characteristic for a certain sphere (presidential rhetoric, judicial rhetoric, etc.);
- 3) a set of genres of oral speech and public speeches;

4) the science of persuasive speech;

5) modern linguistic theory that studies the text in connection with its intentions and functions.

It is also worth mentioning that the whole classical tradition of rhetoric from the sophists to the enlightenment wrestled with the relationship between persuasion, truth and morality, carrying a deep suspicion of the power of language (Chilton & Shäffner 2002: 1). It is important to emphasize that the basic characteristics of rhetoric are its universal principles of construction of public speech, which do not depend on the specific field of speech communication. Rhetoric is fundamentally based on the fact that speech is not merely a means of transmitting a message, but rather a means used by a politician to communicatively convince his/her audience. It can be considered as the art of persuasion through speech and is based on three Aristotelian rhetorical appeals: ethos, pathos, and logos. For him, ethos has to deal with the authority and the speaker's knowledge in the presented subject, pathos is about the audience's emotions, and logos is concerned with the logical argumentation (Аристотель 2000). Considering political discourse as persuasive, we can state that traditional rhetorical principles, logos and pathos become strategies adopted by a speaker in a particular situation to achieve a 'communicative' objective, which is to persuade. In this respect, we insist here on prosody, which is used for cohesion and structuration, globally and on lower linguistic levels of this discourse, mainly when it is based on reason (logos) and conveys emotion in order to remain in the domain of empathy.

Political rhetoric is "an art of articulating and promoting one's political interests through influence in the public sphere by symbolic manipulation of signs and symbols, including language, images, and the staging of events" (Encyclopaedia of political communication 2008: 717). Research on political rhetoric focuses on real-world contexts of political engagement, namely the rhetorical strategies adopted by social movements, protests groups, etc. Most empirical studies of political rhetoric continue

to focus on political communication, including parliamentary debates, political campaigns and marketing, and high-profile speeches, texts, or films and historical documents. Popular awareness of Barack Obama's rhetorical skill has led to a recent revival of academic attention to the oratory styles of particular political leaders (Chanturidze 2018; Condor et al. 2013: 266-267; Cramer 2020; Humeniuk 2019). Besides, political studies are also marked by a revived interest in the images of political leaders (Stashko et al. 2020), in charismatic political rhetoric and, consequently, in the prosodic specifics of charismatic political discourse (Петлюченко 2009; Petlyuchenko & Chernyakova 2019) and political image (Постникова 2003).

Political speech is a pervasive longstanding genre of political rhetoric (Charteris-Black 2011) because it is a communication designed to persuade. It has received profound scientific attention over the centuries and many linguistic, rhetorical, cognitive methodologies have been developed to approach its various aspects (Bonnefille 2011; Charteris-Black 2011; Fahnestock 2011; Gronbeck 2004; Martin 2015). Distinguishing political speech types is caused by the following factors, namely: the place of speech presentation, the speech topic, and the audience. The primary purposes of political speeches are to influence, educate, inform, persuade, incite, or entertain people. Speech can be seen as a means of establishing and maintaining social relationships, expressing feelings, and presenting ideas and policies in any society. A number of speeches are made to address the people before elections; these speeches could also be referred to as pre-election special addresses. It is expected that a candidate that wins an election should address the people that have voted him to power with a victory speech.

A victory speech is considered as epideictic and which is usually delivered at a certain important official occasion and marks a crucial moment in the history of a country. It is the election night speech of the winning candidate, which presents his/her first reaction to the election results. The main purposes of a victory speech are expressing gratitude to all those who have supported the candidate throughout the campaign and

those who voted for him/her; reminding people of the key ideas of the election campaign, presenting the new future ahead (Chanturidze 2018: 31) and revealing emotions aroused by the event.

What is important here is that well-known political speeches share a rhetorical purpose of appealing to the audience to do something. This is because they are presented with a very high degree of modality, the attitude towards reality in the speaker's representation (Kenzhekanova 2015; Panasenko et al. 2020), namely "the more convinced a politician sounds about his/her own ideas and beliefs, the more convincing he is likely to be" (Charteris-Black 2011: 10). Also, modality implies a degree of confidence of the speaker that will demonstrate the level of knowledge, from which the seriousness of the impression produced by political performance of the addressee will depend (Kenzhekanova 2015: 196).

It should also be mentioned that political speeches are rather vivid and emotional due to the rhetorical figures as markers of the rhetorical power of public speech (Артюхова 2015: 23), created on the principle of deviation of language forms from the standard to enhance emotional expression and influence on the listener (Павлюк 2007: 34-54). They are subdivided into *independent* (rhetorical question, rhetorical exclamation, rhetorical address, ellipsis, and parenthesis) and *dependent* (repetitions, inversion, antithesis, climax). The stated vision of the problem of political speech organization and rhetorical means interaction can be a theoretical basis for an extended study of political speech rhetorical and prosodic organization.

## 2.2 Rhetorical prosody

One of the most remarkable developments of the last years is that research in linguistics is concerned increasingly with the role of discourse-level prosody in interpreting speech. As is known (Pennington 1996), prosodic phenomena constitute an important source of information on the text type, specificity of its segmentation, connotative,

pragmatic, communicative, modal, and stylistic meanings, etc. Prosody can strengthen the meanings expressed by the lexical-and-syntactical means, or act independently (Алексієвєць 2002: 32-33). Besides, prosody plays an important role in the speech influence on consciousness, because it possesses great influential potential and can affect the person's emotional state (Калита 2001: 85). It can express different shades of meanings, attract involuntary attention due to loudness, pitch variations, etc.

The results of studies on speech interaction (Блох & Фрейдина 2017; Чикилева 2005; Alexiyevets 2017; Polieieva & Vasik 2020; Wichmann 2000), on the basis of different discourses, prove that prosody is a conscious and intentional means of influence in speech. Kovalyov (Ковалев 2008) argues that it is one of the most important linguistic means of expression in language, and its analysis helps to establish the features of contextual-situational and pragmatically oriented expressions, as well as their relevance to the conditions of discourse. So, the speaker should know exactly how to deliver his ideas in a way that moves audiences and leaves long lasting impressions.

Prosodic structures refer to both voice and speech cues of the speaker. They include characteristics such as pitch, emphasis and accentuation, tempo and pauses, loudness and voice quality or their combinations, but also (non) fluencies of the speaker, to express certain meaning, attitude, or persuasion. Many works on nonverbal communication research have generally strengthened the opinion that such features have a vital communicative role. In their work, Vroomen, Collier, and Mozziconacci write:

*"A speaker may indicate, through prosodic means, to which information the listener should pay particular attention (accentuation, emphasis), and he may provide cues about the syntactic organization of the utterance (phrasing). The communicative function of prosody is most readily associated with the expression of emotion and attitude." (1993: 577)*

Speeches are powerful because of the way a politician uses rhetorical devices to deliver his message. Rhetoric uses figures of speech, persuasive strategies, and prosodic markers to elevate language and make it more engaging, memorable, and convincing.

Thus, one of the communicative and functional purposes of prosodic units is the formation and actualization of political discourse. Considering prosody through the prism of context, it should be mentioned that the prosodic characteristics of political speech reflect a variety of semantic, rhetorical, and situational contexts that can influence the speech. In the course of the analysis of the research corpus of materials, prosodic means, which are consciously aimed at the realization of influence, were considered apart and in interaction with lexical and grammatical means. The study of prosody from the outlined perspective means that the focus is on the dependence of the prosodic organization of the speech text on the dynamics of its delivery.

Some past research has mostly confirmed that prosodic features are associated with the persuasiveness of the speaker and the change of the audience's attitude. According to Touati (1993), to persuade and to gain votes seems to demand more refined rhetoric and richer prosody. For instance, fluency, pitch variations, higher loudness, and faster tempo are associated with greater persuasiveness.

A high potential of prosodic features is in the realization of the Aristotelian strategies, particularly the speaker's ethos (credibility, trustworthiness, honesty, benevolence), which has since antiquity been central to the process of persuasion. All prosodic features may contribute to the speaker's credibility (ethos), can create certain disposition on audience (pathos), but can also be essential for understanding the argument (logos) (Kišiček 2018). Prosody and its components are of primary importance in rendering rhetorical strategies and tactics in political discourse. It is an important feature in communication, and the way a speaker uses the various elements

of prosody in public speaking may affect listeners' perceptions and thus the speaker's credibility.

Phoneticians claim that one of the main factors of prosodic influence is utterance accentuation accomplished due to the position of the accented elements on the communicatively important words in the intonation group, the accentuation of every word in the syntagm is also frequent. Numerous works on prosody (Блох & Фрейдина 2017; Фомиченко 1985; Чикилева 2005; Wichmann 2000) prove that persuasion of the audience is realized with the help of variations of pitch level, loudness, tempo, and timbre. A high level of persuasion is achieved by the repetition of falling tones in a combination with a wide pitch range, a diversity of melodic scales (Regular Descending Stepping, Broken Descending Stepping, Regular Descending Sliding, Regular Ascending Stepping, Level, etc.) and terminal tones (High Fall, Low Fall, Low Rise, Mid-Level, Fall-Rise, etc.), an alteration of the fast and slow tempo with loudness variations (Постникова 2011). Herewith, accidental rise is in focus as an important rhetoric prosodic means for actualizing some communicative moves in the research (Savchuk 2019). Loudness is an important marker of public speech, which is characterized by increases on key words and utterances in order to attract the listeners' attention (Федорів 2010: 79-80). Speech tempo along with pitch and loudness is a significant sound factor of the text creation. Considering the importance of the time parameter of intonation, Svetozarova (Светозарова 1982) asserts that time extent of speech units is a required condition of their existence. Pauses, being consciously or unconsciously generated by the speaker's psychic energy, complement oral speech with certain connotations and implications that allow him/her to express thoughts and emotions more clearly (Kalyta 2018). Besides that, a rhetorical pause is a relevant marker of political discourse. Rhetorical pauses serve to emphasise "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. Furthermore, rhetorical pauses can be used to reinforce the significance of the

emotional impact of speech on the audience involved to obtain the effect of a more pronounced rhythmic pattern (Polieieva & Vasik 2020). Rhythm is also a fundamental component of rhetorical discourse strategies, a sensitive and subtle indicator of rhetorical techniques regulating an impact on the audience (Vasik 2016: 192). It is presented in political discourse due to lexical repetitions, syntactical and accentual-melodic parallelism.

So, pitch, melody, tempo, and pitch range can contribute to the strength of an utterance. Word emphasis, rhythm, and loudness can also be very important. The most active rhetoric prosodic features are the stress and the increase of loudness, as well as speech tempo variations and emphasis due to internal boundary pauses. The components mentioned above act mainly in certain combinations, namely: accent – loudness – tempo, accent – loudness – pausation among others. Prosodic organization acts as a shell, "packaging" of oral speech, optimizing the auditory perception and speech impact. Obviously, prosody is a powerful means of speech influence. By presenting the addressee with the vision of the world, it allows managing the perception of objects and situations, to impose their positive or negative assessment.

### **3. Data analysis and discussion**

There is without doubt a current interest in investigating political speech prosodic organization. An important step in this process is the auditory analysis carried out in accordance with the developed methodological procedures.

#### *3.1 Methodology*

The proposed study of rhetoric prosody in political discourse, taking into account contextual conditionality, determined the choice of the interdisciplinary approach that combines the conceptual apparatus and methodology of such areas as pragma and sociolinguistics, including pragma and sociophonetics, discourse analysis, and theory

of speech. The interdisciplinary approach allows us to consider a wide range of social, pragmatic, and ideological factors involved in the implementation of political speech.

The programme and methods of the experimental-phonetic research of rhetorical prosodic means in political discourse based on the purpose and objectives of the work, as well as in accordance with the principles of an interdisciplinary approach to the study, anticipated a sequence of the following stages:

- 1) selection of speech material, establishing the naturalness of its sound, determining the pragmatic orientation and rhetorical means;
- 2) conducting auditory analysis of speeches by auditors-phoneticians;
- 3) linguistic interpretation of the results of the auditory analysis.

The first stage of the research is aimed at selecting the speech material (British Prime Ministers' speeches; the paper is objectively limited to B. Johnson's victory speech analysis) as well as at establishing the natural sound of speeches, determining the pragmatic orientation and rhetorical means. The second step covered the traditional procedures of the auditory analysis and registration of its results. The third stage of the analysis envisaged the linguistic interpretation of the results of the auditory analysis, their generalisation, and verbal description of the experimentally obtained intonation invariant and variant realizations.

The auditory analysis of the intonational characteristics is an important element in determining the character of prosody interaction with other linguistic levels that take part in the text structuring. In the course of the auditory analysis the following perceptual gradations of every characteristic were used (Калита 2001: 97-98):

- 1) pitch level (low, mid, high);
- 2) pitch range (narrow, narrowed, mid, widened, wide);
- 3) terminal tones: Fall (low, mid, high), Rise (low, mid, high), Level (low, mid, high), Fall-Rise, Rise-Fall, Fall-Rise-Fall;

- 4) scales: Level Scale (low, mid, high), Descending Scale, Ascending Scale, Stepping Scale, Sliding Scale, Scandent Scale;
- 5) loudness: low, decreased, normal, increased, high;
- 6) tempo: slow, decelerated, moderate, accelerated, fast;
- 7) pauses: very short, short, mid, long, very long.

The experimental material data set has been offered to the informants-native speakers for analysis. The overall results of the rhetorical act of Boris Johnson's election victory speech presentation are suggested in Table 1<sup>1</sup> in the Appendix.

In the course of further experimental research the experts mentioned that the proposed material is characterized by the high degree of natural sounding of public political speeches declared in official situations for large audiences. The speech of Boris Johnson was delivered after his Conservative party had won a landslide majority in the December 2019 general election, at the Queen Elizabeth II Centre in central London. According to the results of the experimental material considered by the informants, it is identified as a victory speech as well as a political institutional discourse, because the speaker belongs to the political elite and he should follow the certain strict norms of discourse organization. As is known, any communicative act contains informative and pragmatic components. The informants mentioned that Boris Johnson's speech has the same elements and includes the informative in the form of the main priorities of his work and the pragmatic component in the form of his intention to influence the listening audience.

It was established that the main issues of the British Prime Minister's speech were problems corresponding the contemporary historical moments of the Conservative party activity, namely:

***election victory** – "I of course want to congratulate absolutely everybody involved in securing the biggest Conservative majority since the 1980s";*

***Brexit** – "Get Brexit done!"; "Because we politicians have squandered the last three-and-a-half years in squabbles about Brexit, we have even been arguing about arguing, about the tone of our arguments. I will put an end to all that nonsense and we will get Brexit done on time by the 31 January";*

***the priorities in further activity, like health care, education, investments in infrastructure and science** – "At the same time, this one nation Conservative government will massively increase our investment in the NHS. The health service that represents the very best of our country with a single beautiful idea, that whoever we are – rich, poor, young, old – the NHS is there for us when we are sick. And every day that service performs miracles. That is why the NHS is this one nation Conservative government's top priority"; "Colossal new investments in infrastructure and science, using our technological advantages to make this country the cleanest, greenest on earth, with the most far-reaching environmental programme";*

***strengthening the government responsibility** – "It is a great and heavy responsibility, a sacred trust, for me, for every newly-elected Conservative MP, for everyone in this room and everyone in this party";*

***ecological problems** – "And you the people of this country voted to be carbon-neutral in this election – you voted to be carbon-neutral by 2050".*

At the next stage of the experimental-phonetic research, a board of auditors-phoneticians carried out an auditory analysis of the speech material. The data obtained helped reveal the typical rhetoric-prosodic models of political discourse.

### 3.2 Data analysis

Every speech has certain formal aspects, such as a greeting or an expression of gratitude to special listeners or to the people who are standing close to the speaker. Very often there are also people who "have to" be addressed or thanked who are rivals or disliked predecessors of the speaker. In this case the speaker has to be sensitive in order to find the right words (Cramer 2020).

Boris Johnson begins his victory speech with greetings and delight with the election results. It is expressed by the interaction of all linguistic means (lexical (*glorious, new, colossal*), grammatical (the superlative form of adjectives: *the cleanest, greenest on earth*), stylistic (repetitions: *we did it, we pulled it off; a new dawn rises on a new day and a new government*; gradation: *we pulled it off, we broke the deadlock, we ended the gridlock, we smashed the roadblock*), as well as by intonation. It should also be mentioned that a complex nature of the interaction of linguistic means in expression of utterance meaning is considered as a complex intensifier represented by the following types: lexical + phonetic; grammatical + phonetic; lexical + grammatical + phonetic and the like (Алексієвeць 2002: 33).

In a further study, we examined that Boris Johnson is confident with the usage of rhetorical figures, both independent and dependent. He uses various "rules of three" very often. As is known, "the rule of three" is a principle in English writing and speaking that suggests that things that come in three are inherently more effective than other numbers of things. A series of three is often used to create a progression in which the tension is created, then built up, and finally released. Examples include Julius Caesar's "*Veni! Vidi! Vici!*", David Cameron's "*a more competitive, a more open, a more flexible Europe*". "The rule of three" is a well-known feature of public speaking.

(1) "<sup>1</sup>We pulled it off| <sup>2</sup>didn't we| – <sup>3</sup>we pulled it off.|| <sup>4</sup>We <sup>1</sup>broke the <sup>2</sup>deadlock,| <sup>5</sup>we <sup>1</sup>ended the <sup>2</sup>gridlock,| <sup>6</sup>we <sup>3</sup>smashed the <sup>4</sup>roadblock.||" (Johnson 2019).

(2) "<sup>1</sup>In this glorious, | <sup>2</sup>glorious pre-breakfast moment, | <sup>3</sup>before a 'new<sup>ξ</sup> \\_dawn |<sup>4</sup>ris<sup>ξ</sup>es on a ↑new \`day | <sup>5</sup>and a 'new \\_government, | <sup>6</sup>I want first of all to pay tribute to good colleagues | <sup>7</sup>who lost their seats | <sup>8</sup>through no fault of their own | <sup>9</sup>in the elections just gone by.||" (ibid.).

In the first example (1), the intonation groups 4-6 illustrate "the rule of three". The syntagms *We 'broke the \\_deadlock, | we 'ended the \\_gridlock |* are realized in a widened pitch range and the same melodic pattern, namely a checked scale in combination with a Low Rising tone, moderate tempo, and normal loudness. The syntagm *'we<sup>ξ</sup> \`smashed the \\_roadblock* is actualized with the help of a wide range due to a significant increase of the pitch level in a combination with moderate tempo and increased loudness, so that the speaker highlights an important word. In addition, this combination of intonation parameters indicates a high level of orator's emotional excitement. The final intonation group of three is realized at a high pitch level, in a wide pitch range, with the help of moderate tempo and in a zone of increased loudness. The checked scale combined with a High Falling tone and the presence of an internal non-boundary pause before the keyword enhances the action effect. Also, it should be mentioned that adding some energy by pronouncing *<sup>4</sup>We 'broke the \\_deadlock, | <sup>5</sup>we 'ended the \\_gridlock, | <sup>6</sup>'we<sup>ξ</sup> \`smashed the \\_roadblock||* without any conjunctions or prepositions (asyndeton) and repeating certain combinations of sounds /lɒk; lɒk; blɒk/ within this chain are able to actualize this utterance as more stressed and tense.

Similarly, Example 2 demonstrates the application of "the rule of three". It is marked by the use of a lexical unit that emphasizes the idea of a new government. The persuasive potential is strengthened by such intonation means as accentuation, accidental rise, pausation and tempo as well as timbre. The intonation group *<sup>3</sup>before a*

'new<sup>300</sup> \dawn| has a wide range with a rising pre-head, a checked High Level Scale and ends in a low falling terminal tone which together with an internal non-boundary pause before it aims to emphasize the beginning of a new period in one nation history. The next intonation group <sup>4</sup>'rises on a ↑new `day|, where the speaker continues to develop the idea mentioned above, is characterized by a high level at its beginning, an accidental rise on the repeated word *new* and ends with a High Fall. The intonation group <sup>5</sup>and a 'new \government,| is the most important in the chain. It has a wide pitch range, High Level Scale and low falling tone at the end. Moderate tempo and increased loudness accompany the rhetoric realization of "the rule of three" principle.

When delivering a speech, Boris Johnson uses a number of anaphoric parallel constructions (dependent rhetorical figure) with the repeated initial part:

(3) "**And 'I, and \we,** | will 'never take your su'ppor<sup>ξ</sup>t for \granted.||

**And 'I will \make it;**<sup>ξ</sup> **'I will 'make my 'mission to \work** | 'night and `day, | 'flat-out to 'prove you \right | in 'voting for 'me this \time, | and to 'earn your su'ppor<sup>ξ</sup>t in the \future.||

**And 'I say to \you** | that in this e'lection your \voice<sup>ξ</sup> 'has 'been \heard | – and about `time too.||" (Johnson 2019).

The repeated first person singular pronoun *I* helps the speaker stress personal responsibility. On the prosodic level syntactic parallelism is accompanied with the parallelism of suprasegmental units, namely: Low Pre-Head + checked High Level Scale + Low Fall; Low Pre-Head + Regular Descending Stepping Scale + Low Fall. It supports the notion that "repeating certain phrases contributes towards making the ideas contained in them seem 'common sense' " (Jones & Wareing 1999: 39). In long speeches word-repetition can be used to hold the speech together but also to emphasize

moral values (Beard 2000: 39) or other important phenomena. So, the use of repetitions and "the rule of three" serve to express the sense of determination and strength.

The results of the analysis show that speaking about Brexit, Boris Johnson uses asyndeton, or enumeration without any conjunction:

(4) "*No ,ifs,| 'no ,buts,| 'no ,maybes | – leaving the European Union as one United Kingdom, taking back control of our ,laws,| ,borders,| ,money,| our ,trade,| ,immi'gration ,system,| de'livering on the 'demo'cratic ,mandate| of the ,people.||*" (Johnson 2019).

So, the examples demonstrate the actualization within short intonation groups and a wide pitch range with checked High Level Scales and Low Rising tones, accelerated tempo with increased loudness that makes the message more energetic, stressed, and tense.

Other dependent rhetorical figures are actualized in the following phonoblock or phonopassage (Sokolova et al. 1991) within six intonation groups in a wide pitch range and a high pitch level:

(5) "*It is a 'great and 'heavy re'sponsi ,bility,| a 'sacred<sup>§</sup> ,trust,| for ,me,| for 'every ↑newly-e'lected Con'servative 'M ,P,| for 'everyone in this ,room| and 'everyone in this ,party.||*" (ibid.).

The initial syntagm contains the keyword *responsibility*, the importance of which is highlighted due to the Low Fall with decelerated tempo, increased loudness, and regular rhythm; other words are marked by intensive accentuation. It is supported with the adjacent intonation group *a 'sacred<sup>§</sup> ,trust*, actualized with the help of a checked High Level Scale, an internal non-boundary pause before the most important word here

*trust*, realized with Low Fall accompanied by decelerated tempo and normal loudness. Then the informants noted the increase of the idea expressed with asyndeton. Its prosodic pattern is Low Pre-Head + Low Rise; Low Pre-Head + Broken Descending Stepping Scale + Low Fall; Low Pre-Head + High Level Scale + Low Rise; Low Pre-Head + High Level Scale + Low Fall.

In the course of the analysis, the informants noted that a combination of rhetoric figures stresses the message's importance and at the same time attracts the audience's attention. Thus, the following fragment demonstrates the use of apposition, chain repetition, paronomasia and parallel constructions:

(6) "And ,you, | the 'people of this ,country, | ,voted | to be 'carbon- ,neutral | in this e ,lection | – 'you ,voted | to be 'carbon- ,neutral by '20 ,50. || And ,we'll `do it. || You also 'voted to be 'Corbyn- ,neutral by ,Christmas by the ,way, | and we'll 'do<sup>ξ</sup> 'that ,too. " || (ibid.).

The beginning of the fragment is marked by the use of apposition to highlight the importance of the British people. Then repetition of *you voted* implemented differently three times: 1 – within separate intonation groups and 2 – within a short intonation group actualized with Low Fall-Rise which sounds rather vivid; 3 – within a widened intonation group with a stress on *voted*. All these realisations are characterised by moderate tempo and normal loudness.

Paronomasia is known as a rhetorical device that can be defined as a phrase intentionally used to exploit the confusion between words having similar sounds but different meanings. It is a playing on words that sound or look like similar: 'carbon- ,neutral – 'Corbyn- ,neutral. This pun contains the element of satire here and makes the fragment more emotionally coloured.

Also, to stress the importance of the information parallel constructions are used: *And ,we'll`do it.|| ... and we'll`do<sup>ξ</sup>'that`too.||* The first is realised in wide pitch range with the help of an ascending-descending pitch movement within the intonation group with a High Fall at the end in the combination with increased loudness and accelerated tempo. On the contrary, the second intonation group is actualised with normal loudness and moderate tempo. The other rhetoric characteristics are High Level Scale, an internal boundary pause, and Low Fall.

The final part of the victory speech performs the appealing function when the speaker encourages the audience in their coordinated work to improve the country:

(7) "<sup>11</sup>*Let's`go`out<sup>ξ</sup>and get`on with it.||*

<sup>3</sup>*Let's u'nite this`country.||*

<sup>4</sup>*Let's`spread`opportu`nity|<sup>5</sup>to`every`corner of the`U,K|<sup>6</sup>with su`perb`edu`cation,|<sup>7</sup>su`perb`infra`structure,|<sup>8</sup>and<sup>ξ</sup>tech`nology.||*

<sup>9</sup>*Let's`get`Brexit`done.||<sup>10</sup>But`first, my`friends,|<sup>11</sup>let's get`breakfast`done.||"*

(ibid.).

The use of the combination of rhetoric figures, particularly anaphoric parallel constructions with a repeated initial part, chain repetition, and playing on words allows the speaker to make the repeated information more valuable, to influence the audience with his readiness to take leadership, with responsibility for the country, with priorities for the British people. This was reached, first of all, due to moderate tempo and increased loudness. Besides, to convince the listeners the politician adopts other rhetoric prosody. Regarding the distribution of scales, it should be mentioned that checked High Level and Descending Stepping Scales dominate in this excerpt, which is characterized by the intensification from utterance to utterance with the climax in the following syntagms <sup>6</sup>*with su`perb`edu`cation,|<sup>7</sup>su`perb`infra`structure,|<sup>8</sup>and<sup>ξ</sup>*

*tech`nology*. ||<sup>9</sup>*Let's`get`Brexit`done*.||. The third intonation group of this phonoblock (<sup>3</sup>*Let's`u'nite`this`country*.||), which expresses an appeal for the country unification, is realised in a middle pitch range, slightly decelerated tempo, and regular rhythm. At the same time, this utterance is actualised with a Regular Descending Stepping Scale that finishes with High Fall, which is an important factor to stress the speaker's point of view. The following intonation groups 4-7 are made prominent by falling-rising terminal tones realised on a high pitch level and within a wide pitch range. The High Fall-Rise is also considered here as a rhetorical prosodic maker. The intonation group <sup>8</sup>*and`tech`nology* is a peak in the chain and the used internal non-boundary pause before the word *tech`nology*, actualised with the falling tone of the middle pitch level, highlights the importance of the top priorities of the newly-elected Conservative government.

The analysis of Boris Johnson's victory speech shows that it is impregnated with rhetorical figures and principles (the rule of three, rhetorical questions, various lexical and syntactic manoeuvres) and the prosodic means are all ways of arousing audience interest and retaining the attention of the hearer. These rhetorical patterns are markers of "persuasive power", which characterise Boris Johnson's style of persuasion. It proves the idea that "successful leaders do not take audience attention for granted but hail their potential followers through a rich and varied range of rhetorical strategies: it is the combined effect of a variety of rhetorical strategies that constitutes the language of leadership" (Charteris-Black 2011: 12).

#### **4. Conclusions**

The results of the investigation support the idea about the importance of the interdisciplinary approach in the rhetorical analysis of discourse prosodic organisation. The use of the mentioned approach and the theoretical generalisation of scientific knowledge allowed us to conduct this experimental-phonetic research of rhetorical

prosody in political discourse. The role of prosody in political discourse is extremely significant, since it brings emotional energy to the speech's rhetorical presentation and allows realising a politician's individuality.

The fulfilled study has proved that the problem of rhetorical prosody in political speech is a pivotal and complicated phenomenon. The result of political communication depends on a number of factors such as the level of the orator's awareness and his social status, communicative situation, the use of rhetorical strategies, rhetorical linguistic and phonetic means, in particular.

The carried out investigation based on B. Johnson's victory speech enabled us to establish the intonation models typical of different rhetorical figures actualisation in political speech of this type usually delivered when the winning candidate presents his/her reaction to the election results. As to the invariant prosodic pattern it can be characterised by the following parameters, namely: short intonation groups, widened pitch range, the variety of pitch level, phrasal accentuation, checked High Level and Descending Stepping Scales, Falling (High, Mid, Low) terminal tone, varied tempo (moderate-accelerated), varied loudness (normal-increased), short internal boundary and internal non-boundary pauses, and regular and well-organised rhythm. Interacting in the utterances they form different complexes. The data obtained allow us to assume that the prosodic parameters may be regarded as effective means of political discourse rhetorical presentation and persuasion.

Furthermore, studying rhetorical prosody in the dynamics of discourse, we can discover information not only about the very prosody, but also about the speaker, the hearer, as well as about the nature of their relationship and the features of the verbal communication culture.

It should be noted that the results of the carried out experimental-phonetic research contribute to our knowledge about the realization of English political discourse in the context of prosodic markers which, being combined with other linguistic means, trigger the structuring of information in text. The outcomes may be used in similar scientific investigations as well as in mastering the skills of public political speech.

## Notes

1. Table 1 in Appendix presenting the results on the basis of data obtained is done by the authors.

## Glossary of intonation symbols

'm	put before the syllable with main stress
,m	put before the syllable with secondary stress; partially stressed syllable
\m	the Low Fall
`m	the High Fall
,m	the Low Rise
´m	the High Rise
∨m	the Fall-Rise
^m	the Rise-Fall
↑m	Accidental/Special Rise
↘m	the stressed syllable of the Sliding Scale
↗m	the stressed syllable in the Scandent Scale
∞	internal non-boundary pause
∞	very short pause
	short pause
	long pause

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## Résumé

This paper reports on a study of rhetorical prosodic characteristics in English political discourse. This work includes an overview of theoretical approaches to political discourse and political rhetoric studies as well as rhetorical prosody. The study of rhetoric prosody in political discourse determined the choice of interdisciplinary approach that combines the conceptual apparatus and methodology of such areas as pragma and sociolinguistics, including pragma and sociophonetics, discourse analysis, and theory of speech. It is mentioned that in order to conduct the study of rhetorical prosody in political discourse the author used the methodology of an experimental-phonetic research, which was carried out in three stages. The political speeches

delivered by British politicians served as the material of the study. The conducted experimental investigation of rhetorical prosody in political discourse helped reveal and describe the intonation patterns typical of different rhetoric figures actualization in victory speech, which is considered as epideictic and is usually delivered at a certain important official occasion and marks a crucial moment in the history of a country. Also, it was found that the effective presentation of victory speech is caused by the rational choice of rhetoric as well as adequate use of prosodic means for its organization. It is stressed that Boris Johnson uses a number of prosodic features, which characterise his style of persuasion. The determined prosodic parameters may be regarded as effective means of political discourse rhetorical presentation and persuasion. The results of this research can be used in discourse studies, applied phonetics, political linguistics, and political communication.

**Key words:** political discourse, public communication, victory speech, rhetoric, prosody, auditory analysis, invariant prosodic model.

## Appendix

Table1. Results of the rhetorical act of Boris Johnson's election victory speech presentation

COMMUNICATIVE SITUATION	
<b>Conditions</b>	A victory speech after Boris Johnson's Conservative party had won a landslide majority in the December 2019 general election Location: the Queen Elizabeth II Centre in central London
<b>Audience</b>	Participants of the meeting & the Conservative party
SPEECH PRESENTATION	
<b>Articulation / intonation</b>	Clear articulation Expressive intonation Non-monotonous voice Adequate prominence and focus Varied loudness Varied speech tempo
<b>Gestures / mimics / clothes</b>	Vivid gestures Business-like clothes style Positive non-verbal look

<b>style / general impression</b>	
<b>Text usage</b>	Manuscript speech / half-prepared speech
<b>Audience interaction</b>	Relation to audience Choosing the right communicative level Ability to interact with audience
<b>Rhetorical strategies and tactics of persuasion</b>	Solemn aim of the speech Detraction strategy (offense tactic) Enhancement strategy (self-presentation tactic) Strategy of theatricality (motivation, information, cooperation, promise tactics)
<b>SPEECH STRUCTURE</b>	
<b>Introduction</b>	Address to the audience & greeting. Preview of major ideas of speech
<b>Body</b>	The speech is divided into subtopics: 1 – Victory congratulations 2 – Address to those who voted for Conservatives 3 – Information about goals 4 – Conservative government's top priority 5 – Consolidation as One Nation
<b>Conclusion</b>	Speech form of conclusions is the visualization of the future and an appeal for action
<b>RHETORICAL MEANS OF EXPRESSION</b>	
<b>Rhetorical figures</b>	Independent Rhetorical question Rhetorical exclamation Rhetorical address Ellipsis Parenthesis
	Dependent Repetitions Inversion Antithesis Climax

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