PRAGMATIC PECULIARITIES OF THE FINAL PHASE OF CONFLICT INTERACTION IN FICTION DISCOURSE

Olha Chernenko

Kyiv National Linguistic University, Kyiv, Ukraine

Abstract: The scope of the paper is defined as focusing on discourse studies that examine actual instances of conflict interaction within the framework of pragmatic studies. Some of the mechanisms and factors by which conflict interaction can be initiated, maintained, escalated, and terminated are reviewed. The article focuses on the main communicative and pragmatic features of discourse representation of the final phase in conflict interaction, as well as strategy and tactics analysis as an important conflict discourse issue.

Key words: conflict discourse, final conflict interaction phase, illocutionary force, perlocutionary effect, communicative strategy and tactics, verbal and non-verbal means of communication, gender differences in language use.

1. Introduction

Discourse studies encompass a broad range of approaches for explaining that language in use and verbal communication studies in modern linguistics are viewed as cognitive information exchange, which comprises pragmatic approaches as special means for the full interpretation of a speaker's verbal and non-verbal behaviour in different communicative situations (Белова 2003; Почепцов 2001; Сєрякова 2012; Dijk van 1998), including conflict interaction (Жарковская 2007; Жельвис 1995; Третьякова 2006; Фролова 2017; Gamble & Gamble 2012; Seyranyan 2016).

In modern linguistics, theoretical framework of conflict discourse analysis includes a status determination procedure of linguistic conflictology as an integrative field of studies (Фролова 2017: 172), analysis of conflict, war, and confrontation presented in the media (Chiluwa 2019; Erofeeva & Ushnikova 2017; Królikowska 2015; Panasenko et al. 2017; Panasenko et al. 2018), the pragmatic aspect of gender conflict communication (Борисенко 2003; Камінська 2018; Мартынюк 2000), the analysis of human emotional states, including the study of verbal means of aggressive communication in fictional discourse (Байков 1996; Золотаренко 2015; Кріпак 2019; Покровская 1995; Probst et al. 2018; Weizman 1997).

Different types of discourse have many a time become the object of linguistic research as well as various aspects of its analysis. Thus, much attention has been paid to manipulative discourse (Gnezdilova 2017), pragmatics and emotivity of discourse (Pinich 2017), media discourse (Panasenko et al. 2018), religious discourse (Черхава 2017) and others.

The aspects of investigation of conflict discourse as an integrative phenomenon in modern linguistics comprise pragmatic and cognitive peculiarities of conflict communication (Войцехівська 2018; Фролова 2017; Черненко 2018a; Figar 2014; Polsky & Gerschel 2011). Conflict discourse is defined as a dynamic process of verbal and non-verbal counter-directional actions of communicants in socially marked situations characterized by a confrontational discourse strategy and accompanied by negative emotions (Фадєєва 2000; Фролова 2017; Черненко 2018; Chilton 1997; Gamble & Gamble 2012; Gruber 1996). Moreover, conflict discourse is viewed as a communicative and mental activity, which includes both process and result aspects and comprises a set of its static and dynamic characteristics (Анцупов & Шипилов 1999; Войцехівська 2018; Третьякова 2006; Шевченко & Морозова 2003). Regarding its static characteristics, which are invariable, fixed components in the "cut" of the conflict discourse, the participants of the conflict, its object, conditions and circumstances of conflict communication, conflict images and the incident are highlighted. As far as

3

dynamic characteristics are concerned, the processual approach is taken into account, namely the successive stages or deployment phases of conflict communication.

Effective and ineffective conflict resolution strategies are reflected in the successive **phases** of its development, which generally comprise five commonly recognized stages, such as:

1) Pre-conflict phase/Latent phase – a potential stage, involving all the factors, which possibly arise during conflict among individuals, emergence of real contradictions between unbalanced needs, values or interests;

2) Conflict Incident phase/Perceived phase/Conflict Emergence – a conflict becomes apparent due to some "triggering event", which leads to the beginning of obvious conflict interaction, first collision of participants;

3) Conflict Escalation phase/Crisis/Initiation phase – intensification or strengthening of opponents' collision by using a wide range of different language means, "conflict drivers" (Третьякова 2006), which are regarded as carriers of conflict meaning in various situations of conflict interaction;

4) Conflict Culmination phase/ Manifest phase/ Hurting (relationship) stalemate – the peak of conflict, its maturity (Rubin 1989), citing the terminology of Gamble and Gamble, its "relationship stalemate", when communicants are aware of the need to resolve a conflict (2012: 267);

5) Conflict Final phase/ De-escalation phase/ Settlement or Conflict resolution – an aftermath stage, which often presents an ideal opportunity for negotiation and potential settlement. It is the final stage, which presupposes the end of a conflict for any reason, conflict termination, cessation of conflict actions by means of resolution, settlement, elimination or waning of a conflict situation (Анцупов & Баклановский 2005; Третьякова 2006; Черненко 2019b; Brahm 2003; Gamble & Gamble 2012; Zartman 1989). Some scholars add more characteristics to this stage by using the terms "post-conflict peacebuilding/failed peacemaking", underlying the constructive (cooperative, healthy, productive) and destructive (competitive, unhealthy, counterproductive)

conflict-management styles or strategies (Acheoah et al. 2017; Gamble & Gamble 2012; Kriesberg 2005).

It should be also mentioned that conflict communication scholars accentuate the final phase of conflict interaction as its obligatory component, regardless of the way of conflict resolution (Анцупов & Шипилов 1999; Гришина 2003; Третьякова 2006; Фролова 2017; Черненко 2019a; Brahm 2003; Gamble & Gamble 2012). Here we define the final conflict interaction phase as its outcome, which may include either resolution or dissolution of the problem; it comprises both the components of active verbal and non-verbal actions of communicants and the component of fixing the consequences of conflict interaction and is characterized by cessation of conflict communication for any reason (Черненко 2019a). The analysis of pragmatic peculiarities of the final conflict phase helps to reveal termination conflict procedures, communicative types of ending a conflict, its verbal and nonverbal characteristics as special means of conflict resolution and settlement. The pragmatic analysis of the final phase of conflict in comparison with other phases is one of the tasks for our further research.

2. Methodology and theoretical framework

The objective of this article is to complete a theoretical framework of conflict discourse studies by revealing pragmatic peculiarities of the final phase in conflict fiction discourse. It is achieved by fulfilling the following tasks: (i) to outline classification of various conflict interaction stages, (ii) to establish the main features of singling out the conflict final phase in the plane of conflict discourse, (iii) to systematize pragmatic peculiarities of discourse representation of the final phase in conflict interaction, (iv) to define the main productive and counterproductive conflict management strategies and tactics of communicants, (v) to study verbal and non-verbal means of communication in the final phase of conflict interaction, (vi) to reveal gender peculiarities of the use of linguistic means in the final phase of conflict discourse. To achieve the **aim** of the research and accomplish its tasks, a number of general scientific

methods, such as analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, as well as methods of linguistic analysis, such as contextual, pragmatic and discourse analysis and elements of the quantitative analysis method are used.

The research **material** comprises discursive fragments, singled out from fictional discourse, with a specific focus on everyday communicative situations of conflict communication in its final phase, predominantly selected from the works of British and American authors of the 20th-21st century (a total volume of about 4000 pages). As a result of continuous sampling, 400 conflict discourse fragments were selected and analyzed with a specific focus on the final phase of conflict interaction. The peculiarities of the national mentality of native speakers were not observed and analyzed separately, observations and conclusions are of a general nature.

As it has already been mentioned, the progress from one stage of conflict communication to the next is not smooth and conflicts may overlap stages several times and we proceed from the assumption that the final conflict interaction phase is the obligatory component of any conflict communicative situation, which is characterized by cessation of conflict communication for any reason. The primary concern of the article is to define the place (location) of the final conflict phase by determining the structural and pragmatic features of its positioning on the conflict curve and to describe the main conflict-management modes of handling conflict communicative situations in its final stage. Our research is based on an integrative approach, which explores conflicts as problem-solving and decision-making experiences.

As far as the problem of a final conflict phase definition is concerned, there exist two main approaches to the final phase interpretation. It is defined either as the so-called "battle phase", where the aggressive plans of conflict communicants are realized (Ішмуратов 1996; Фадєєва 2000; Frolova 2013), or "the settlement phase", characterized by the waning of the conflict situation, termination of conflict communication for any reason, irrespective of the goals, the participants of the conflict

set themselves before (Анцупов & Шипилов 1999; Кармин & Аллахвердова 1996; Brahm 2003; Cohen 2001; Gamble & Gamble 2012; Figar 2014; Polsky & Gerschel 2011). Moreover, some scholars insist on the existence of the so-called "post-conflict peacebuilding phase" (Kriesberg 2005; Zartman 1989) or "post-communicative post-conflict phase" (Третьякова 2006), which is interpreted as an aftermath stage, conflict "after effect", where consequences of conflict need to be corrected. We share the second viewpoint and, after generalizing all the information considered, we come to the conclusion that the final phase in conflict discourse can be segmented from the structural point of view.

Hence, structurally, the final phase in conflict interaction may be represented by: a) a contact form, where the termination of conflict communicative situation is reflected, regardless of the consequences of conflict communication; b) a post-conflict distant form, which is located distantly in the space of discourse and is caused by the necessity of communicants to settle consequences of a conflict communicative situation. Generally, it reflects the emotional states of communicants and implicates verbal and non-verbal means of communication with illocutionary force to harmonize the relations between communicants (Черненко 2008).

Therefore, discourse representation of the final phase in conflict interaction may be characterized by certain structural, formal, dynamic, and pragmatic features, representing the aftermath of conflict, which presupposes the end of conflict for any reason, cessation of conflict actions by means of resolution, settlement, elimination or waning of a conflict situation. Dynamic characteristics of conflict discourse development are represented in Figure 1.
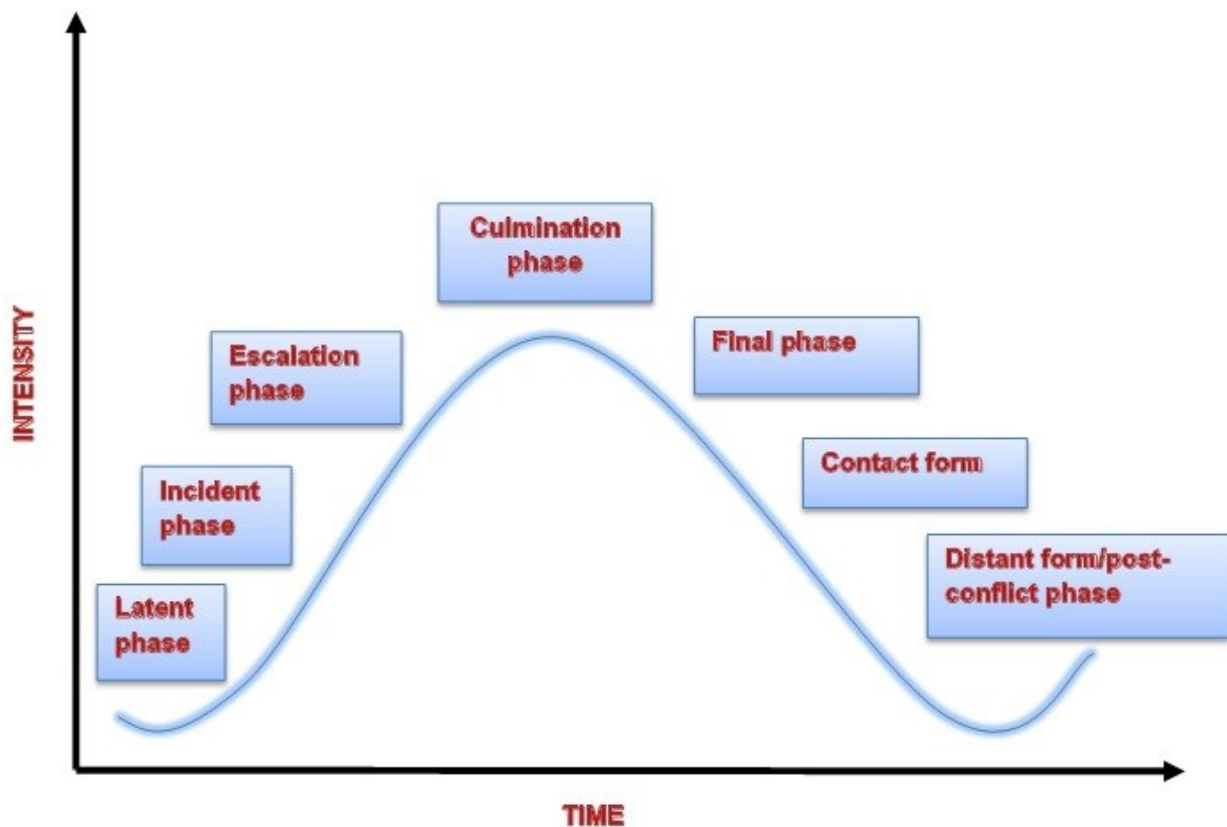
Figure 1. Classification of conflict discourse phases

The focus of this article is on the main structural, communicative and pragmatic peculiarities of the final phase of conflict interaction, which are analyzed and discussed below.

3. Structural and pragmatic criteria of singling out the final phase in conflict discourse

As far as the conflict curve or successive stages of conflict development are considered, progress from one phase to the next is not smooth; conflicts may overlap stages several times and actual conflict interaction usually does not follow a linear path. According to Brahm (2003), conflict communication evolves in fits and starts, alternatively experiencing progress and setbacks toward resolution. Therefore, the final phase of conflict interaction may be represented differently on the conflict curve, with respect to other stages of conflict development. Consequently, the final phase of conflict communication can be located in the following way:

a) Pre-conflict phase → Conflict Incident phase → Conflict Final phase;

b) Pre-conflict phase → Conflict Incident phase → Conflict Culmination phase → Conflict Final phase;

c) Pre-conflict phase → Conflict Incident phase → Conflict Escalation phase → Conflict → Culmination phase → Conflict Final phase.

In conflict discourse, the final phase may be singled out with the help of discourse markers, including both formal and pragmatic components, which is important for establishing the methods of conflict resolution.

Summing up the analysis of the dynamic aspects of conflict discourse as well as the complexity of the conflict resolution problem at its final stage, we would like to cite a fragment from the article by Brahm:

Delineating different stages is also useful in efforts to resolve conflict. By recognizing the different dynamics occurring at each stage of a conflict, one can appreciate that the strategies and tactics for participants and interveners differ depending on the phase of the conflict. Determining each party's assumptions regarding the stage of the conflict is thus important, before one can design a conflict management, transformation, or resolution strategy (2003).

According to Gamble and Gamble (2012) and Brahm (2003), the final conflict interaction phase is defined as its key stage, where "healthy" and "unhealthy" conflict-management styles and strategies are distinguished; it represents conflict resolution and presupposes analysis of structural and pragmatic features of its placement in the space of discourse. Regarding the structural arrangement of conflict discourse, the final stage in conflict discourse dynamics is represented by: a) **contact phase** – a completion of communicative conflict actions, either constructive or destructive in character; b) **post-conflict distant phase**, which is characterized by the need for full or partial normalization of relations between participants of conflict communication and contains verbal and non-verbal actions with the illocutionary force of harmonizing the relations or serves as a reflection of the emotional and psychological states of the communicants in the aftermath stage, e.g., *"Do this and I promise you our friendship is at an end."*

For a moment neither man spoke.

"You take advantage of my esteem for you," Deveril said bitterly. He hated weakness, especially his own. Yet he could not deny this man. "I shall be here at ten tomorrow. See that she is ready," he capitulated with ill grace.

Deveril departed lost in his thoughts. His anger was dulled by the confusion of his emotions. The wife he had not wanted. Yet here he was fighting Charles to return her to his side. He had deserted her…

Now he was back and fool that he was trying to put temptation in his own way. He had even risked his relationship with Charles to do so. What would he do with Byrony when she returned to him, for god's sake? He did not even want a wife!

"Damn her!" he muttered, trying to banish her image from his mind (S. Clary "The duchess and the devil", p. 171-172).

The communicative act of silence (Богданов 1987) represents the beginning of the contact phase in conflict interaction (*For a moment neither man spoke*) and a formal feature for its allocation is a paragraph. The conflict ends with a Deveril acquiescence, as he prefers to keep his relationship with Charles despite his ultimatum tactics, expressed verbally (*Do this and I promise you our friendship is at an end*). The post-conflict aftermath phase is located distantly (*Deveril departed lost in his thoughts*) and is verbalized in a stylistically marked, negative utterance (*Damn her!*), which reflects his emotional state of frustration and annoyance and represents the consequence of the conflict situation.

Thus, the communicative question about what formal and pragmatic markers enable the researcher to single out the final phase in conflict discourse becomes open in terms of the pragmatic characteristics of the conflict interaction process.

3.1 Formal markers of singling out the final phase in conflict discourse

In communicative framework, criteria of formal, structural, semantic, and graphic means serving as markers of singling out the final conflict phase in fictional discourse, presupposed by text analysis, are subordinate to pragmatic and contextual criteria.

The theoretical prerequisites for singling out the final conflict phase in conflict interaction are the definition of conflict peak as "the beginning of the end" of conflict communication (Третьякова 2006), which is its "stalemate", its "maturity" (Gamble & Gamble 2012; Mayer 2000; Rubin 1989), when communicants are aware of the need to resolve a conflict.

Formally, the beginning of the final phase in conflict fictional discourse is marked by components of the graphic design of the text, such as the paragraph, the main structural and semantic unit, which carries informative, separating, and indicative information (Мороховский et al. 1991). It often coincides with pauses, communicative silences, temporal and social deictic markers (*now*, *then*, *for two minutes*, *for an instance*, *you*, *sir*, *quite abruptly*), author's commentaries (*he had gone so far*, *the words made her feel instantly guilty*, *he had been listening in a kind of trance*, *he stood up stiffly*, *sneering*, *she saw*), etc.

The procedure for the reader is to accept the assumption of the author that a sentence, represented as a separate fragment, reflects the relationship stalemate, which illustrates the beginning of the end of the conflict with the help of microsegmentation text procedure (Мороховский et al. 1991). On a micro level presentation, the final conflict phase is represented by a micro paragraph, when the use of the sentence as a paragraph highlights its logical and expressive significance (*For a moment neither man spoke, she cut me short, a short silence followed, the words came tumbling one upon another with a rush, Rachel looked at her for a long moment, and suddenly his own quiet actions subdued her*), etc. (A. Cronin "The citadel", p. 78-79).

Therefore, formal markers, pointing out the beginning of the final phase in conflict interaction are "structure-oriented", as they help indicate the position of the final stage in the space of conflict discourse. The position of pragmatic markers is significant in creating its perlocutionary effect.

3.2 Pragmatic markers of singling out the final phase in conflict discourse

The term pragmatic markers is used as an umbrella term, which includes discourse-connecting markers as well as interpersonal attitude markers and signals the speaker's potential communicative intention (Fraser 1996). Pragmatic markers comprise a functional class of linguistic items, which serve to analyze the non-propositional part of sentence meaning and which are essential for organization and structuring of discourse and for facilitating processes of pragmatic inferences (ibid., 1996; Lewis 2006).

Due to their organizing function, the final conflict interaction phase is marked in the process of conflict discourse development with the help of the following discourse markers:

a) emotional expressive means of communication, pauses, repetitions: *David… don't…darling…please…David* (C. Kelly "She's the one", p. 165); negative-evaluative, abnormal vocabulary words, emotional-evaluative vocabulary *Damn you, you're a dirty moron, you dirty, you utter cad* (A. Cronin "The citadel", p. 93); *I'm talking to you, freak, goddamit, neither of you know me, etc.* (K. Follett "Whiteout", p. 128).

b) non-verbal means of communication, prosodic (voice characteristics in author's narration), kinetic, proximic, expressed in author's commentaries *she flashed him a glance of hatred, the tone of his voice made her blood run cold, she felt his hand on her knee, Dana stood there, paralyzed, etc.* (S. Sheldon "The sky is falling", p. 82-98).

c) utterances, expressing accusation, offence, threat, order, prescript *I can't allow you to continue this, Emily. I'll take legal action if necessary, Watch yer mouth or I'll..., how women can be so foolish?, you are to blame!, you can't interfere in my personal life, they don't have to steal, etc.* (J. Carroll "Run before the wind", p. 137-140).

d) utterances, expressing apology, defence, summarizing utterances *I'm sorry, I won't do it again, I didn't mean to be late, very well, sure…bye, Good-bye, Emily, Suit yourself, "Sorry," he muttered. It was almost a growl*, etc. (A. Bowen "Dangerous promise", p. 103-105).

e) violating P. Grice's maxims of conversation *You are on probation, Miss Stuart… be thankful you still have your job, another mistake like this one, and you're out… mess it up one more time, and you're gone* – breaking the Maxim of Quantity (B. Delinsky "An accidental woman", p. 54-56).

To sum up, consider the following example of the final phase in conflict discourse, illustrating formal, structural, organizational, and pragmatic markers of its placing in the process of conflict discourse development:

"Spare me the lecture," Bob Jonas snapped. "Frankly, I don't care what the readers like, as long as they keep buying books."

"But don't you see? That's the whole point! They're expecting warmth, romance, perhaps a little heavy breathing […]"

Bob Jonas sat down behind his desk and folded his hands atop the empty blotter. "You are on probation, Miss Stuart," he said matter-of-factly. "Another mistake like this one, and you're out."

Shelby jumped up. "You can't do this for me!" she snapped. "I handle every million-selling author you have – "

"The ones I still have, don't you mean?" he asked pleasantly. "Believe me, Miss Stuart, if it wasn't for people like Maria Martin and Valerie St John, you wouldn't be getting this second chance. But they're valuable authors, and I can't afford to take the chance of them leaving with you. So I'm telling you this instead: be thankful you still have your job. Mess it up one more time – lose Maria Martin or Valerie St John, or anyone else, and you're gone." He pushed the bestseller list off the desk into the wastebasket with a contemptuous finger. "Good day, Miss Stuart." (L. Michaels "Capture a shadow", p. 9-10).

The beginning of the final conflict phase in the extract mentioned is marked by the paragraph (*Bob Jonas sat down behind his desk and folded his hands atop the empty blotter*). Bob Jonas pauses, he wants to complete the dialogue, which is partially represented in the non-verbal kinesic marker (*folded his hands atop the empty blotter*). He resorts to threats (*Another mistake like this one, and you're out*). Shelby tries to justify herself, explaining the current situation. In spite of the fact that she rejected the manuscript of the popular author and the company losses, she is a valuable employee. She uses the utterance, expressing defence and justification (*I handle every million-selling author you have*). But Bob doesn't change his opinion (*Mess it up one more time – lose Maria Martin or Valerie St John, or anyone else, and you're gone, Good day, Miss Stuart*). The situation is also characterized by the breaking of Grice's Maxim of Quantity, the same information is repeated twice (*You are on probation, Miss Stuart… be thankful you still have your job, another mistake like this one, and you're out… mess it up one more time, and you're gone*).

Therefore, the final conflict phase is defined as a process of realization of final verbal and non-verbal actions with positive or negative consequences, which may be represented in conflict discourse either distantly or in contact position and is characterized by definite formal and pragmatic markers.

4. Pragmatic peculiarities of discourse representation of the final conflict phase

The role of the pragmatic factor affecting the usage and interpretation of utterances in discourse structure cannot be underestimated nowadays. Pragmatic competence, which reveals humans' inferential ability to process information, plays a particular role in the production and interpretation of verbal and non-verbal utterances (Infantidou 2014).

The pragmatic factor is closely connected with the use of language in the process of communication and the choice of linguistic means is motivated by the speaker's thoughts and intentions, which therefore raises questions about the status of the linguistic units required. From a linguistic point of view, in their everyday life

communicants resolve a conflict situation differently, tapping into abundant linguistic means to add expressivity to their conversation, which determines the choice of productive, as well as counterproductive conversational strategies.

According to Tretyakova (Третьякова 2006), the communicative type of conflict interaction may be defined by the results of communication, based on the speaker's illocutionary force – harmonization, disharmonization or pseudo-harmonization/conflict suppression (Черненко 2019b).

Based on the conflict interaction analysis in its final stage, we distinguish between three main communicative types of ending a conflict:

1) disconnection, which leads to disharmonization of interpersonal relations, which constitute 54% of the conflict discourse fragments analyzed and ends in physical or verbal violence, waning of conflict situation – transition from explicit to hidden form or newly growing conflicts;

2) reconciliation, which leads to harmonization of interpersonal relations, which constitute 9% of the conflict discourse fragments analyzed and ends in resolution or settlement of a conflict situation;

3) accommodation, which leads to pseudo-harmonization of interpersonal relations, which constitute 37% of the conflict discourse fragments analyzed and ends in adjustment or waning of conflict communication.

Citing the terminology of Axelrod (1997), based on "game theory", the most effective way of conflict resolution is the win-win approach, when both sides involved in a conflict situation "win the game", the conflict is handled properly and the communicants tend to look for a mutually beneficial way to resolve the disagreement (Axelrod 1997; Gamble & Gamble 2012). On the contrary, the approach "win/lose" is used to misrepresent the speaker's needs and interests and communicants use threats or promises to get others to go along with them. Finally, the approach "lose/lose"

demonstrates the relationship stalemate, which may lead to pseudo-harmonization of interpersonal relations, when neither side achieves a desirable result.

Pragmatically speaking, the communicative types of ending a conflict communication are conditioned by different pragmatic intentions, which the speakers realize in the final phase of conflict interaction, among them are the following: 1) to attain victory, to reach the goal with the help of a wide range of verbal and non-verbal means of communication irrespective of the other person's position; 2) to demonstrate disagreement, violence, disorder; 3) to cause physical/moral damage; 4) to achieve mutual understanding, to make up a quarrel; 5) to avoid "face-threatening acts", to save face; 6) to settle a conflict, to reach an agreement.

All these communicative intentions are realized through a definite set of conversational strategies and tactics as a complex of verbal and non-verbal actions aimed at achieving pragmatic goals. The aim of the speaker is determined by motivation, which appears in a concrete communicative situation as a result of preliminary evaluation of wide sociocultural context, including the pragmatic competence of the speaker. Achievement of pragmatic goals is carried out with the help of corresponding conversational strategies, which are, in their turn, realized by means of actual tactics as a dynamic use of verbal and non-verbal language means in a definite communicative frame. To represent the above mentioned information, we use the following scheme: aim → strategy → tactics → language means.

Thus, communicative strategy is a complete system of operations performed by the speaker in order to achieve a definite communicative aim in a concrete communicative situation by choosing optimal language means (Эпштейн 2008; Зернецкий 1992).

Classifications of communicative strategies vary, depending on communicative goals and situations, including the factor of interpersonal relations, communicative behaviour of the speaker, the influence of individual, situational, contextual, status and

gender factors. Thus, from the functional point of view, there are primary strategies, as the most significant strategies in terms of the hierarchy of motives and intentions at a given stage of interaction, and subsidiary strategies, which contribute to the effective organization of dialogical interaction and optimal influence on communicants (Иссерс 2008). Citing the terminology of van Dijk and Kintsch (1983), a strategy involves human actions as intentional, goal-oriented behaviour; the complexity of interaction sequences is defined as a cognitive macrostructure of intentions or purposes. Therefore, discourse analysis and understanding comprise propositional strategies, macrostrategies, local coherence strategies, schematic strategies (textual superstructures), stylistic, conversational, rhetoric, non-verbal and other strategies and the list is still incomplete (Dijk van & Kintsch 1983).

A strategy is merely a global instruction and may be realized with some degree of probability, depending on other circumstances in an action sequence. Going from the initial to the final stage in human interaction, relatively optimal final goals, which are represented in the final phase of conflict communication, may be achieved. Accordingly, strategies may be defined as **reduction**, **retrieval** and **achievement** strategies, depending on the communicative behaviour of the speaker. Thus, if the speaker resorts to the behaviour of avoidance, he adopts reduction strategies, which are the result of a change of the speaker's initial goal (Habib 1996). Achievement strategies are the result of a speaker developing an alternative plan while maintaining the initial goal. Retrieval strategies arise when the speaker is trying to rethink the situation and disagreement may be settled amicably.

4.1 Conflict-management strategies in the final phase of conflict interaction
Conflict communication is characterized by an ability to use constructive strategies to resolve conflicts. Either productive or counterproductive conflict strategies are realized in successive stages of its development, which generally comprise at least five phases of its development, such as: ***latent phase***, the emergence of real contradiction between different values, interests and needs of communicants, the object of conflict is hidden

and becomes apparent only during the second phase of conflict interaction development – the *incident* as the first collision of communicants, expressed verbally or with the help of non-verbal means of communication; initiation or *escalation phase* – escalating of collision of opponents, intensified by different carries of conflict meaning, such as negative, emotional, evaluative vocabulary, utterances, expressing threat, order, accusation, etc. The peak of conflict, its *culmination*, is realized during the next stage, when communicants consider the opportunity to resolve the conflict, either in a constructive or destructive way; *conflict settlement phase*, which is defined as conflict termination, cessation of conflict verbal or non-verbal actions, resulted in elimination, settlement, waning or resolution of a conflict communicative situation (Черненко 2019b: 128).

Conflict conversational strategies may be realized at different stages of conflict discourse development, which reflects difference between a competitive and cooperative conflict orientation, when a communicant chooses to demonstrate willingness to resolve a conflict in a mutually satisfactory way, or must defeat the opponent in order to attain victory. Conflict-handling modes are reflected in conversational strategies with one of two perspectives: competition or cooperation.
Conflict-management strategies in fictional discourse are presented in the following five main strategies, characterizing the illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect on the speaker, while the communicants condemn or perceive the other person's position: 1) *competing*, a counterproductive conflict strategy, when a person defends the position, which he believes to be correct, or simply tries to beat the other side, 2) *avoiding*, a counterproductive conflict strategy, postponing an issue until a better time or simply withdrawing from a conflict situation, 3) *accommodating*, a counterproductive conflict strategy, yielding to another point of view, 4) *compromising*, a productive conflict strategy, the option of assertiveness, seeking a quick solution in the middle ground, 5) *collaborating*, a productive conflict strategy, which requires developed conflict resolution skills based on mutual willingness to

resolve a conflict (Donahue 1997; Gamble & Gamble 2012; Georgakopoulou 2001; Liddicoat 2007; Malki 2018; Thomas & Kilmann 1990).

The main pragmatic characteristics of conflict-management strategies in the final conflict discourse phase are represented in Figure 2.
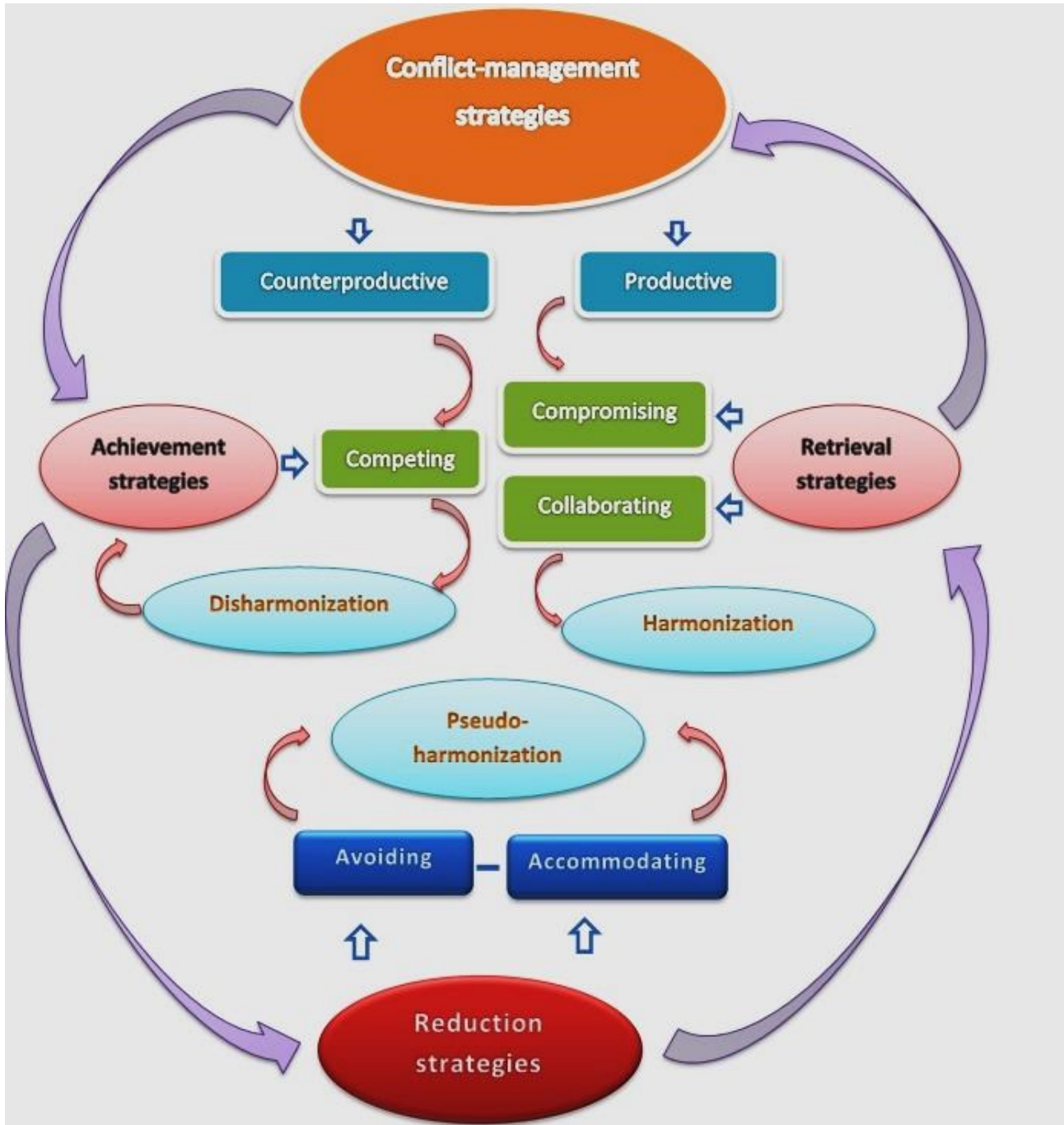

Figure 2. Pragmatic characteristics of conflict-management strategies

To illustrate the productive conflict-management conversational strategy, let us consider the following example:

"Listen, David," she said briskly. "<u>Let's stop arguing</u>. I want to talk about the girls. You're going to have to be in touch more frequently, and you've got to come to visit them soon," she added firmly. "<u>Robin is taking the separation very badly and</u> <u>needs to see you</u>."

"They can come to London next weekend," he said.

"They bloody well won't," Isabel said immediately. "I can't afford the plane fare for both of them and, even if I could, I don't want them travelling on their own. Naomi's too young. <u>Be realistic, will you?"</u>

"<u>I'll come the weekend after next</u>. The good news is I've managed to get enough money to pay off the mortgage arrears and the building society isn't going to repossess The Gables. Isn't that great?"

Isabel was stunned. They still owned the house all? That was fantastic. (C. Kelly "She's the one", p.171).

Pragmatic markers, which serve to define the conflict resolution phase, are reflected verbally and signal the speaker's potential communicative intention to resolve the conflict situation. They are represented in the utterances, expressing promise, apology, defence, summarizing utterances (*Let's stop arguing, be realistic, will you?, I'll come the weekend after next*), etc.

The conflict-management compromising strategy is realized during the final phase of conflict interaction, when parents decided to make a compromising decision about the future of their children. The mutual goal is achieved by the definite set of tactics, such as explaining, compromising tactics, argumentative expressions (*Robin is taking the separation very badly and needs to see you, let's stop arguing. I want to talk about the girls*)*, performative utterances, commissives (*I'll come the weekend after next*).

Retrieval strategies in conflict interaction may be demonstrated by the following final conflict discourse fragment:

The answer was so cool, so rich in bravado, that somehow it took the wind out of his sails.

He couldn't attack her, he couldn't ask her for proofs…

"And I'm telling you," he said in the end, slightly recovering himself, "what you'll not get."

"We'll see about it," she said. "I'll find out what my rights are. Perhaps you'll talk to a lawyer, if you won't to me."

It was a magnificent play, and had its effect.. He was disturbed, wretched.

"<u>Do as you please</u>," he said, at last "<u>I'll have nothing more to do with you</u>," and out he strode (T. Dreiser "Sister Carrier", p. 249).

The achievement strategy, demonstrated by both speakers, which corresponds to counterproductive competing strategy, leads to intermediary results. Due to situational factors, such as conflict duration, manipulative tactics, tiredness from conflict, the man changes his position, trying to collaborate, avoid and adapt at the same time, using directive (*Do as you please*) and constative utterances (*I'll have nothing more to do with you*).

Therefore, conflict-management strategies in fictional discourse vary from constructive, or productive, to destructive or counterproductive conversational strategies, depending on one of two orientations or perspectives: cooperation or competition, reflecting either assertiveness or non-assertiveness as the main types of communicative behaviour. The main conversational strategies realized in conflict communication are competing, accommodating, avoiding, compromising, and collaborating. The conflict conversational strategies, both constructive and destructive, are realized through a set of communicative tactics, such as approval, explaining, apology, defence, argument, regret and others.

The framework of communicative strategies and corresponding tactics, used by the speakers in the final phase of conflict interaction is demonstrated in Figure 3.
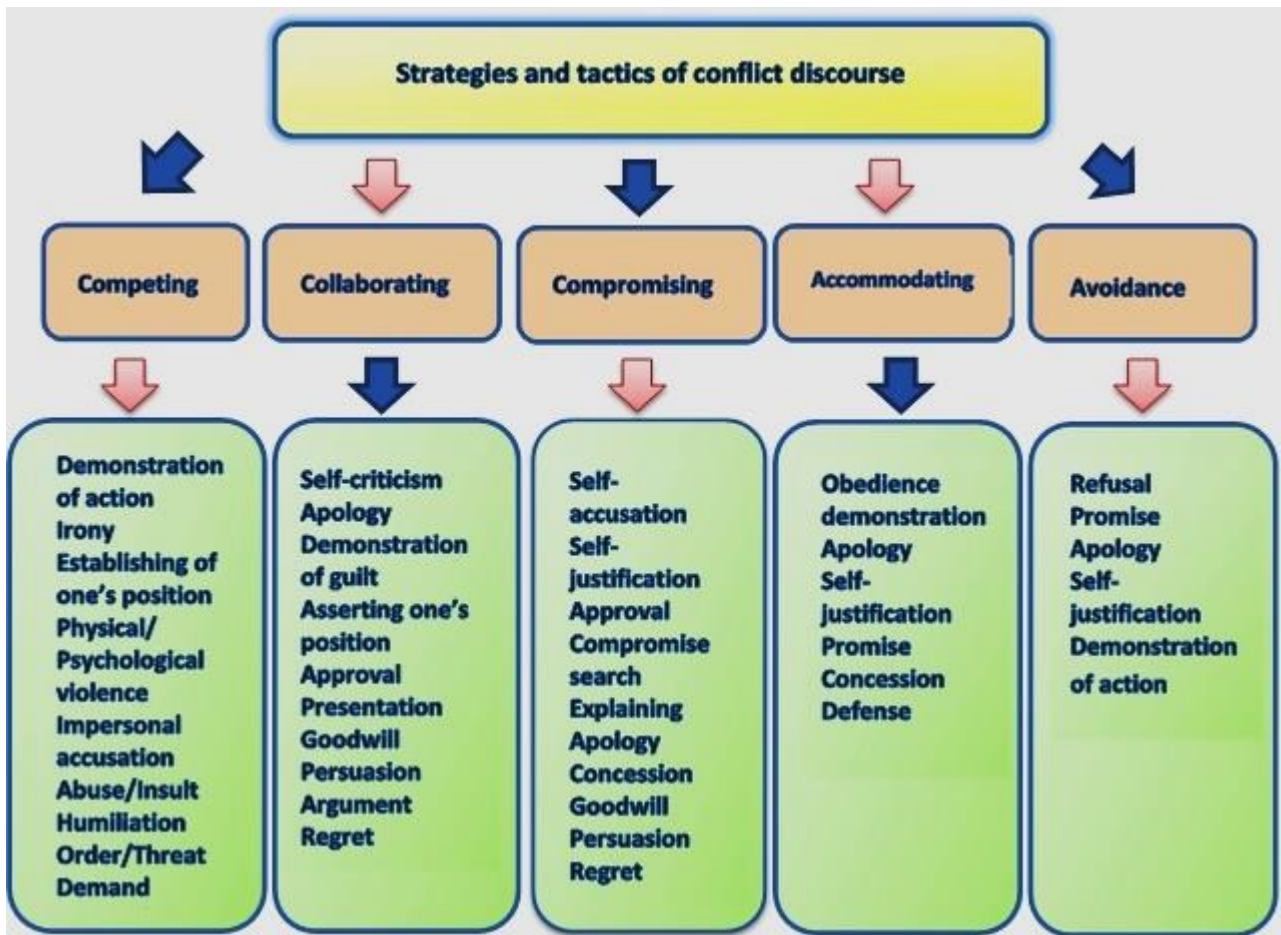
Figure 3. Strategies and tactics in the final conflict discourse phase

These counterproductive conflict strategies are characterized by the achievement of communicative behaviour by the speaker (achievement strategies, competing) irrespective of other people's goals and interests and lead to a disharmonization of interpersonal relations through the tactics of physical and psychological violence, demonstration of action, irony, asserting one's position, impersonal accusation, insult, ordering around, commandeering, all accompanied by negative emotions and often expressed non-verbally. Consider the following example:

When Dana returned to the apartment, Kemal was waiting.

Dana said: "Sit down. We have to talk. You must start obeying the rules, and these fights at school have to stop. I know the other boys are making it difficult to you, but you've got to come to some understanding with them. If you keep getting into fights, Mr. Henry is going to throw you out of school."

"I don't care."

"You have to care. I want you to have a wonderful future, and that can't happen without an education. Mr. Henry is giving you a break, but – "

"Fuck him."

"Kemal!" Without thinking, Dana slapped him across the face. She was instantly sorry. Kemal stared at her, a look of disbelief on his face, got up, ran into the study, and slammed the door shut (S. Sheldon "The sky is falling", p. 42)*.

Dana, the mother, starts the conversation with direct imperatives (*Sit down. We have to talk. You must start obeying the rules*, *you have to care. I want you to have a wonderful future*), constatives (*I know the other boys are making it difficult to you*), conditionals (*If you keep getting into fights, Mr. Henry is going to throw you out of school*), realizing the order, prescript tactics, fixing her position. In any case, expressive usage of all those imperatives impose duties on her son Kemal, softened by complex structure (*I want you to have a wonderful future*) and author's remark (*she was instantly sorry*). Kemal's position is expressed in short negative responses, containing negative sentences (*I don't care*), obscene vocabulary words (*Fuck him*), which demonstrates the tactics of insult, abuse, impersonal accusation. In the final conflict stage Dana's tactic of physical violence is expressed non-verbally, involving haptic communication, the conflict ends in physical abuse (*Dana slapped him across the face*). Kemal's tactics are realized through 'body language', kinetically coupled (*stared at her, a look of disbelief on his face, slammed the door shut*).

Productive conflict strategies are characterized by the achievement of communicative behaviour by the speaker and result in a harmonization of interpersonal relations. The main conversational strategies here are compromising and collaborating, defined as retrieval conversational strategies or perceiving other person's position. They reflect the positive participant's attitudes affecting the outcome and are represented in the final phase of conflict discourse through the tactics of self-criticism, apology, demonstration/acceptance of guilt, presentation, goodwill, persuasion, defence,

explaining and others. Such strategies always demonstrate cooperativeness as the degree to which communicants try to satisfy the other person's concerns, as illustrated in the following example:

For five minutes he skulked in the kitchen, tramping up and down, biting his lip. Then all at once he turned, dashed back to the sitting-room, where she stood, her head bent forlornly, staring into the fire. He took her fiercely in his arms. "Chris, darling!" he cried in hot repentance. "Darling, darling! I'm sorry! For heaven's sake forgive me. I didn't mean a word of it. I'm just a crazy, jealous fool. I adore you!"

They clung to each other wildly, closely. "Don't you know", she sobbed, "that I'd just die without you!"

Afterwards, as she sat with her cheek pressed against his, he said sheepishly, reaching forward for a book:

"Who is that chap Trollope anyway? Will you teach me, darling? I'm just an ignorant hog!" (A. Cronin "The citadel", p. 167)

Mutual willingness to resolve the conflict positively is reflected in the tactics of self-criticism (*I'm just a crazy, jealous fool, I'm just an ignorant hog!*), apology utterances (*Darling, darling! I'm sorry!*), intensified by simple contact repetition, (*Darling, darling! I'm sorry! For heaven's sake forgive me*), expressives (*I'd just die without you*). Emotional states and attitudes are expressed by exclamatory sentences, haptics (*He took her fiercely in his arms, with her cheek pressed against his*). In the final conflict interaction phase the communicative type 'reconciliation' is represented.

In order to reduce the level of a conflict, one of the strategies is to take an intermediate position between achievement and retrieval strategies and is characterized by the speaker's communicative behaviour of avoidance and accommodation, which result in the pseudo-harmonization of interpersonal relations or conflict suppression. Implementation of particular conversational strategies, such as accommodating and avoiding, takes place due to the tactics of obedience demonstration, apology, self-justification, concession, promise, refusal, demonstration of action, defence and others.

A conflict situation, handled by accommodating or avoiding strategy, doesn't reflect a cooperative orientation to the conflict. It is resolved in terms "agree to disagree", which leads to a waning of conflict interaction but doesn't solve the problem:

She was furious at the implication she assumed he was making.

He laughed a harsh sound that rumbled from deep in his throat. "Don't <u>women trying to get ahead in show business usually</u> <u>trade their sexual favors for whatever will help them</u>?"

<u>His other hand slipped behind her neck</u>, keeping her locked in his rough embrace.

Stephanie <u>defiantly turned to face him</u>. "<u>You've been</u> <u>reading too many gossip columns, Mr. Steel</u>."

He <u>held her a minute longer</u>, watching the sparkle that anger brought to her vivid blue eyes. "<u>Perhaps,"</u> <u>he admitted at last,</u> "<u>but only perhaps</u>."

Then as suddenly as he had taken hold of her <u>he released her</u>. "Shall we go inside and join the others?" (A. Bowen "Dangerous promise", p. 128).

The reason for the conflict here is expressed in offensive and humiliating directive (*Don't women trying to get ahead in show business usually trade their sexual favors for whatever will help them?*) used by Mr. Steel, intensified non-verbally (*his other hand slipped behind her neck*). Stephanie is trying to handle the conflict constructively, to overcome gender stereotypes she uses constative, demonstrating the tactics of defence and position fixing (*You've been reading too many gossip columns, Mr. Steel*). She is offended and it is reflected in her kinesics (*Stephanie defiantly turned to face him*) but she maintains self-control and saves face. Accommodating conflict strategy is realized through the tactics of concession and demonstration of action. Mr. Steel uses modal expressions, expressing probability (*Perhaps, he admitted at last, but only perhaps*) and demonstrates willingness to end the conflict (*he released her*). The conflict is ended, but not resolved.

To sum up, the peculiarities of conflict communication presuppose the possibility of change of conflict strategies at different stages of its development, which is a dynamic

flexible process and accordingly, implementation of definite tactics even in the frame of a chosen strategy depends on different sociolinguistic, situational, personal, interpersonal, gender and other factors, so the above mentioned list of tactics still remains incomplete.

4.2 Gender peculiarities of the final conflict interaction phase

Among different factors influencing conflict communication, the gender factor as a complex social construct, presupposing a set of individual, behavioural, cultural, speech peculiarities of males and females, is a pragmatically and communicatively meaningful one (Черненко 2015; Cameron 1992; Grace 2003; Leung 2002; Wilmot & Hocker 2007). The research of communicative strategies of male and female communicative behaviour in the final phase of conflict discourse reflects the peculiarities of cross-sex communication and provides the effective or non-effective conflict handling mechanism of males and females.

Gender differences in language use and conversational styles between women and men suggest men to be less cooperative speakers, controlling the topic of conversation, organized around mutual activities rather than relationship (Fomin & Yakimova 2016; Rees-Miller 2000; Stein & Albro 2001; Tannen 1995). They tend to use language to gain or convey information, to establish status, to involve bragging, verbal jousting, mutual insults, less polite forms of speech, to reduce eye contact with a conversational partner, to use haptic communication in conflict interaction. Realizing a competing strategy, men are more likely to use tactics of physical violence, impersonal accusation, insult, order, threat, demand (Черненко 2018b).

To exemplify the peculiarities of men's conversational styles and strategies in the final conflict stage, let's consider the following fragment of conflict discourse:

There was a silence. Ivory <u>gave</u> Andrew <u>a pale, hard glance</u>.

"<u>I don't recommend that line of talk, Manson</u>."

"You don't?" <u>A painful, hysterical sob</u> shook Andrew.

"I know you don't! But it's the truth. All the cases I've given you up till now have been child's play. But this – the first real case we've had – Oh, God! I should have known – I'm just as bad as you"

"Pull yourself together, <u>you hysterical fool</u>. You'll be heard."

"What if I am?" Another <u>weak burst of anger</u> seized Andrew.

"<u>You bungled so much – it was almost murder!</u>" (A. Cronin "The citadel", p. 107)

The competing strategy, demonstrated by both colleagues, is realized by the tactics of mutual insult (*you hysterical fool, it was almost murder*), threat (*I don't recommend that line of talk, Manson*), impersonal accusation (*You bungled so much – it was almost murder!*). A wide emotional spectrum from anger (*weak burst of anger, a pale, hard glance)* to despair (*a painful, hysterical sob*) is expressed non-verbally. Among the social and psychological factors, influencing men's communicative behavior, the most important here is social status, which Mr. Ivory, as a well-known surgeon, doesn't want to change.

Compared to men, women tend to be more cooperative and more polite speakers, both in terms of positive and negative politeness (Brown & Levinson 1978), facilitating conflict conversational interaction, avoiding intrusion, using more indirect forms of influence and building "rapport-talk rather than report-talk" (Tannen 1995). Realizing a competing strategy, women are more likely to use tactics of demonstration of actions, assertiveness, accusation, reproach, irony. Non-verbally, in conflict interaction women realize communicative tactics through eye contact, positive haptics, kinesics, proxemics, paralanguage, smile, and cry. To analyze the peculiarities of conflict communication between women, let us consider the example:

I can't allow you to continue this, Emily. <u>I'll take legal action if necessary</u>," Jennifer threatened, sounding more sure than she felt..

<u>Emily's brows creased</u>. "<u>No, you won't, Jennifer</u>," she said confidently [...]

"<u>I don't think it's necessary to put it in writing. I assume you will accept my verbal resignation</u> – effective immediately!" <u>Her face was a mask sculpted in ice</u> and the green

eyes bored into Emily with a winter chill.

"Jennifer, don't do this in haste. […]"Very well, <u>I'll be sorry to lose you Jennifer. You had the makings of a real reporter</u>."

The intercom buzzed and Emily flipped the toggle, listening to the metallic voice summoning her on the other end. "They want me upstairs. <u>No hard felling, Jennifer?</u>" she questioned <u>holding out her hand</u>.

"Good-bye, Emily." Jennifer <u>accepted the hand she offered with cool aloofness</u>. Emily was doing her job. There was little Jennifer could do to stop her. Any action she could take would only cause more furor (J. Carroll "Run before the wind", p. 96-97).

The conflict between Emily and Jennifer is based on different views concerning their journalist's duties and responsibilities. Both women chose the competing strategy; Emily's goal is to print personal correspondence in a newspaper, but Jennifer is trying to stop her, using threats (*I'll take legal action if necessary*), position fixing (*I don't think it's necessary to put it in writing*), intensified in verbal remarks (*Her face was a mask sculpted in ice, green eyes bored into Emily with a winter chill*). But Jennifer's social status is lower than Emilie's, so she is forced to retreat (*Jennifer accepted the hand she offered with cool aloofness*). The gender marked tactics in the above-mentioned conflict situation are those of minimizing losses, and women use discourse strategies and tactics that reduce inequalities in status and power and that emphasize solidarity. Emily demonstrates it, using attention-getting techniques for approval and support, hedges (*No hard felling, Jennifer?*) and body language, empathetic touch (*holding out her hand*).

According to Thune, Manderscheid, and Silbergeld, realizing the competing strategy in mixed sex conflict interaction "male-female differentials in expressive and instrumental behavior were consistent with the status-role rather than the sex-role explanation" (1980). Compared to same-sex conflict communicative situations, in mixed sex conflict interaction women increase their use of hedges, disclaimers, tag questions, intensifiers, in other words attention-getting techniques for approval and

support; they speak less due to lower status as well and thus take on more differential roles in conflict conversations with men. Consider the final conflict interaction fragment:

"I'm getting my clothes and I'm leaving, and I hope I never see you again!"

"Do that," Cade advised. "You'll look even sexier with wet clothes clinging to that curvy little body of yours. That might be exactly what it takes to win me over."

"You really have a low opinion of women, don't you?" she challenged him. "Well, I'm glad I don't have to be around you any longer. Goodbye, Mr. Steele. It was definitely not a pleasure to meet you." She whirled out of the room, almost running down the hallway to the kitchen (A. Bowen "Dangerous promise", p. 137).

The fragment illustrates cross-gender conflict communication in its final stage. The woman chooses the competing strategy, she doesn't want to lose her position, but she is forced to resist, using the position fixing tactic (*I'm getting my clothes and I'm leaving, and I hope I never see you again!, I don't have to be around you any longer*), demonstration of action (*She whirled out of the room, almost running down the hallway to the kitchen*), intensifiers in her speech (*really, definitely*) points out to a different reality, irony, reproach and impersonal accusation tactics are presented implicitly (*"You really have a low opinion of women, don't you?" she challenged him, It was definitely not a pleasure to meet you*). The man, in his turn, uses the tactics of abuse and humiliation (*You'll look even sexier with wet clothes clinging to that curvy little body of yours, That might be exactly what it takes to win me over*).

Gender differences in conflict speech are also fixed in usage of verbal and non-verbal means of communication. Verbally, male and female differences in conflict communication are observed in the use of emotional-evaluative vocabulary, stylistically marked linguistic units, taboo vocabulary, qualifiers, and linguistic means of expressing modality. Non-verbally, specific gender meaning is attached to haptic communication, touch, proxemics, smile, cry, voice quality, and eye contact:

"Very well, I'll go by myself and make your excuses."

Patches of hot, indignant <u>color bloomed on Mark's cheekbones</u>. "<u>Damn it</u>, you'll do no such thing!" he snapped, <u>half rising from his seat</u>. […]

Amanda refused to retreat from Mark's anger. She commented dryly, "<u>You know</u>, that statement would be a lot more convincing if you showed any sign of dealing with your problems at all."

Mark's <u>flush deepened</u>. Subsiding into his chair, he jerked his calculator out of his pocket and <u>slammed it down on the blotter</u>. […]

Amanda bit her lip, <u>her eyes burning</u> as she watched her husband pointedly ignore her
(L. Ward "Precious thing", p. 79).

In the above-mentioned fragment of conflict discourse the woman uses the intensifier (*very well*), the epistemic modal form (*you know*) and, the main way of expressing her negative emotions is the quality of glance (*her eyes burning*). The man expresses the same emotive state with the help of the negative vocabulary (*Damn it*), and non-verbally, involving kinesics (*half rising from his seat*, *flush deepened*, *slammed it down on the blotter*).

Having analyzed more than 500 fragments of same-sex and mixed sex conflict communicative situations we came to a conclusion, that in conflict interaction women tend to use competing, accommodation, and avoiding strategies. The competing strategy is characterized by the tactics of physical violence, impersonal accusation and insult, humiliation, threat and demand, used by men and the tactics of demonstration of action, asserting one's position, impersonal accusation and reproach, irony, used by women. Realizing collaborating and compromising strategies men tend to use tactics of goodwill and compromise whereas women seek concession. More detailed results of the study are presented in the table:

Table 1. Quantitative ratio between male and female strategies and tactics use

Male			Female		
Strategies	**Tactics**		**Strategies**	**Tactics**	
Competing	Demonstration of action	26,7%	Competing	Demonstration of action	73,3%
	Irony	40%		Irony	60%
	Position fixing	23,17%		Asserting one's position	76,83%
	Physical violence	100%		Physical violence	0%
	Psychological violence:			Psychological violence:	
	Abuse/insult	78,95%		Abuse/insult	21,05%
	Humiliation	83,33%		Humiliation	16,67%
	Accusation/reproach	20%		Accusation/reproach	80%
	Psychological pressure:			Psychological pressure:	
	Orders	75%		Orders	25%
	Threats	75%		Threats	25%
	Demands	50%		Demands	50%
Compromising	Self-justification/ apology	52,4%	Compromising	Self-justification/ apology	47,6%
	Concession	31,8%		Concession	68,2%
	Compromise search	57,1%		Compromise search	42,9%
	Explaining	50%		Explaining	50%
	Goodwill	63,7%		Goodwill	36,3%
	Persuasion	55,9%		Persuasion	44,1%
Avoiding	Refusal	25,2%	Avoiding	Refusal	74,8%
	Promise	18,7%		Promise	81,3%
	Self-justification/ apology	12,6%		Self-justification/ apology	87,4%
	Demonstration of action	10,2%		Demonstration of action	89,8%
Accommodating	Obedience demonstration	21,5%	Accommodating	Obedience demonstration	78,5%
	Self-justification/ apology	25%		Self-justification/ apology	75%
	Promise	67,5%		Promise	32,5%
	Concession	48,2%		Concession	51,8%

5. Conclusions

The results of the analysis of final conflict discourse fragments from the viewpoint of their pragmatic, structural and contextual value allow us to speak about three pragmatic types of communicative situations which reflect the results of conflict interaction:

disconnection, reconciliation, and accommodation of the speakers with perlocutionary effect of harmonization, disharmonization or conflict suppression/pseudo-harmonization of interpersonal relations.

Conflict discourse as a unity of cognitive and communicative processes, as well as personal, situational and gender factors, has been characterized by static and dynamic parameters. The analysis of static parameters allow us to single out its invariable characteristics, while dynamic components comprise successive stages of its development, including the final conflict phase which illustrates conflict resolution and contains the components of active verbal/non-verbal actions, as well as the component of establishing the conflict results.

Taking into account the position of the final conflict phase in the process of conflict interaction development, it may vary depending on the length of a conflict, contextual, situational, personal, gender factor, and may be represented by contact and distant phases, which have formal and pragmatic features, such as graphic means serving as markers singling out the final conflict phase, emotional-evaluative vocabulary, apology, justification, accusation utterances, non-verbal means of communication, making/breaking Grice's cooperative principle.

The final phase of conflict interaction is characterized by communicative strategies and tactics, serving as a means to achieve the communicative intention of the speaker. Thus, the competing strategy is realized through the tactics of the demonstration of action, irony, position fixing, physical and psychological violence, and psychological pressure. Implementation of collaborating and compromising strategies takes place due to the tactics of self-justification, apology, self-accusation or self-criticism, approval of actions, promise, asserting one's position, persuasion and argument, goodwill, and compromise search. The strategies of accommodating and avoiding are realized through the tactics of refusal, promise, apology, self-justification, obedience demonstration, and concession.

Gender factor in conflict communication is pragmatically relevant, as the quantitative analysis shows differences between male and female conversational styles in conflict discourse. In conflict interaction women tend to use competing, accommodation and avoiding strategies. The competing strategy is characterized by the tactics of physical violence, impersonal accusation and insult, humiliation, threat and demand, used by men and the tactics of demonstration of action, position fixing, impersonal accusation and reproach, irony, used by women. Realizing collaborating and compromising strategies men tend to use tactics of goodwill and compromise search, while women use tactics of concession.

Gender differences in conflict speech are expressed by using verbal and non-verbal means of communication. Verbally, male and female differences in conflict communication are observed in the use of emotional-evaluative vocabulary, stylistically marked linguistic units, taboo vocabulary, qualifiers, and linguistic means of expressing epistemic modality. Non-verbally, specific gender meaning is attached to haptic communication, touch, proxemics, smile, cry, voice quality, and eye contact.

Thus, the results of our research may be used in the next stages of conflict discourse studies, its pragmatic and cognitive peculiarities, in the perspective of their ethno-cultural, cognitive, and gender specific manifestation in English-speaking society.

References

Acheoah, J.E., Olaleye, J.I. & Acheoah, O.A. (2017). Language in conflict resolution in Africa: The discourse strategies. In *American research journal of English and literature*, 3 (1), p. 1-10.

Antsupov, A.Y. & Shipilov, A.I. (1999). *Conflictology. A manual for students.* Moscow: YUNITI. / Antsupov A.Y., Shipilov A.I. *Konfliktologiya. Uchebnik dlya vuzov.* Moskva: YUNITI. / Анцупов А.Я., Шипилов А.И. *Конфликтология. Учебник для вузов*. Москва: ЮНИТИ.

Antsupov, A.Ya & Baklanovskij, S.V. (2005). *Conflictology in schemes and commentaries*. Saint Petersburg: Piter. / Antsupov A.Ya, Baklanovskij S.V. *Konfliktologiya v skhemakh i kommentariyakh*. Sankt-Peterburg: Piter. / Анцупов А.Я., Баклановский С.В. *Конфликтология в схемах и комментариях*. Санкт-Петербург: Питер.

Axelrod, R. (1997). *The complexity of cooperation: Agent-based models of competition and collaboration*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bajkov, V.G. (1996). Agression and tolerance: Two sides of speech impact. In *Actual problems of language and speech, interpersonal and cross-cultural communication.* Kharkiv: Konstanta, p. 11-12. / Bajkov V.G. Agressiya i tolerantnost': Dve storony rechevogo vozdejstviya. In *Aktual'ni problemy vyvchennya movy ta movlennya, mizhosobovoyi ta mizhkulturnoyi komunikatsiyi.* Kharkiv: Konstanta, s. 11-12. / Байков В.Г. Агрессия и толерантность: Две стороны речевого воздействия. In *Актуальні проблеми вивчення мови та мовлення, міжособової та міжкультурної комунікації.* Харків: Константа, с. 11-12.

Belova, A.D. (2003). *Linguistic aspect of argumentation.* Kiev: Lotos. / Belova A.D. *Lingvisticheskiye aspekty argumentatsii.* Kiev: Lotos. / Белова А.Д. *Лингвистические аспекты аргументации*. Киев: Лотос.

Bogdanov, V.V. (1987). Silence as a speech act and its role in verbal communication. In *Language communication and its units.* Kalinin: Kalinin State University, p. 12-18. / Bogdanov V.V. Molchaniye kak nulevoj akt i yego rol' v verbal'noj kommunikatsii. In *Yazykovoye obscheniye i yego yedinitsy.* Kalinin: Kalininskij gosudarstvennyj universitet, s. 12-18. / Богданов В.В. Молчание как нулевой речевой акт и его роль в вербальной коммуникации. In *Языковое общение и его единицы*. Калинин: Калининский государственный университет, с. 12-18.

Borysenko, N.D. (2003). *Gender aspect of personage speech representation in English drama of the late 20ᵗʰ century.* Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Borysenko N.D. *Hendernyj aspekt reprezentatsiyi personazhnoho movlennya v anhlijs'kykh dramatychnykh tvorakh kintsya 20 stolittya.* Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya

vchenoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Борисенко Н.Д. *Гендерний аспект репрезентації персонажного мовлення в англійських драматичних творах кінця 20 століття.* Дисертація на здобуття вченого ступеня кандидата філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Bowen, A. (1982). *Dangerous promise.* New York: Superromance.

Brahm, E. (2003). Conflict stages. Beyond intractability. In *Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess*. Boulder: Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado. Available at: https://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/conflict_stages

Brown & Levinson, S. (1978). Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena. In *Questions and politeness: Strategies in social interaction.* Goody, E. (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 56-310.

Cameron, D. (1992). *Feminism and linguistic theory*. London: Macmillan Press.

Carroll, J. (1983). *Run before the wind.* New York: Candlelight Ecstasy Romance.

Cherkhava, O.O. (2017). *Reconstruction of theolinguistic religious popular discourse matrix (based on the English, German, and Ukrainian languages)*. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University Publishing Center. / Cherkhava O.O. *Rekonstruktsiya teolinhvistychnoyi matrytsi relihijno-populyarnoho dyskursu (na materiali anhlijs'koyi, nimets'koyi ta ukrayin'skoyi mov).* Kyyiv: Vydavnychyj tsentr Kyyivs'koho natsional'noho linhvistychnoho universytetu. / Черхава О.О. *Реконструкція теолінгвістичної матриці релігійно-популярного дискурсу (на матеріалі англійської, німецької та української мов)*. Київ: Видавничий центр Київського національного лінгвістичного університету.

Chernenko, O.V. (2008). *Cognitive and pragmatic peculiarities of discourse, representing the final phase in conflict interaction (a study of the 20th century English prose).* Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Chernenko O.V. *Linhvokohnityvni ta prahmatychni osoblyvosti dyskursyvnoho vtilennya zavershal'noyi fazy konfliktnoyi vzayemodiyi (na materiali anhlomovnoyi prozy 20 stolittya).*

Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya vchenoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Черненко О.В. *Лінгвокогнітивні та прагматичні особливості дискурсивного втілення завершальної фази конфліктної взаємодії (на матеріалі англомовної прози 20 століття)*. Дисертація на здобуття вченого ступеня кандидата філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Chernenko, O.V. (2019a). Conflict-management strategies in fictional discourse. In *"Ad orbem per linguas. Languages of the world": Materials of international scientific and practical conference*, March 20-22, 2019, Kyiv, Ukraine, p. 435-437.

Chernenko, O.V. (2019b). Conversational strategies in conflict discourse: Communicative and pragmatic aspect. In *Scientific messenger of the UNESCO department of Kyiv national linguistic university. Philology. Pedagogy. Psychology.* Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University, 37, p. 147-156. / Chernenko O.V. Konversatsijni stratehiyi konfliktnoho dyskursu: Komunikatyvno-prahmatychnyj aspekt. In *Naukovyj visnyk kafedry UNESCO Kyyivs'koho natsional'noho linhvistichnoho universytetu. Filolohiya. Pedahohika. Psykholohiya.* Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet, 37, s. 147-156. / Черненко О.В. Конверсаційні стратегії конфліктного дискурсу: Комунікативно-прагматичний аспект. In *Науковий вісник кафедри ЮНЕСКО Київського національного лінгвістичного університету. Філологія. Педагогіка. Психологія.* Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет, 37, с. 147-156.

Chernenko, O.V. (2018a). Linguo-conceptual aspects of the final conflict interaction phase. In *Topical issues of Romance and Germanic philology and applied linguistics: Scientific journal.* Chernivtsi: Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, 1 (15), p. 341-345. / Chernenko O.V. Modelyuvannya linhvokontseptual'noho prostoru zavershal'noyi fazy konfliktnoho dyskursu. In *Aktual'ni problemy romano-hermans'koyi filolohiyi ta prykladnoyi linhvistyky. Naukovyj zhurnal.* Chernivtsi: Chernivets'kyj natsional'nyj universytet imeni Yuriya Fed'kovycha, 1 (15), s. 341-345. / Черненко О.В. Моделювання лінгвоконцептуального простору завершальної

фази конфліктного дискурсу. In *Актуальні проблеми романо-германської філології та прикладної лінгвістики. Науковий журнал.* Чернівці: Чернівецький національний університет імені Юрія Федьковича, 1 (15), с. 341-345.

Chernenko, O.V. (2015). The role of social and psychological factors in the formation of the final conflict discourse phase. In *Scientific messenger of the UNESCO department of Kyiv national linguistic university. Philology. Pedagogy. Psychology.* Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University, 31, p. 150-157. / Chernenko O.V. Sotsial'no-psykholohichni chynnyky formuvannya zavershal'noyi fazy konfliktnoho dyskursu. In *Naukovyj visnyk kafedry UNESCO Kyyivs'koho natsional'noho linhvistichnoho universytetu. Filolohiya. Pedahohika. Psykholohiya.* Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistichnyj universytet, 31, s. 150-157. / Черненко О.В. Соціально-психологічні чинники формування завершальної фази конфліктного дискурсу. In *Науковий вісник кафедри ЮНЕСКО Київського національного лінгвістичного університету. Філологія. Педагогіка. Психологія.* Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет, 31, с. 150-157.

Chernenko, O.V. (2018b). The use of grammatical and lexical means in conflict discourse. In *"Ukraine and the world: A dialogue between languages and cultures": Materials of international scientific and practical conference*, April 11-13, 2018, Kyiv, Ukraine, p. 368-370. / Chernenko O.V. Leksyko-hramatychni zasoby vedennya konfliktnoho dyskursu. In *"Ukrayina i svit: Dialoh mov ta kultur": Materialy mizhnarodnoyi naukovo-praktychnoyi konferentsiyi*, Kviten' 11-13, 2018, Kyyiv, Ukrayina, s. 368-370. / Черненко О.В. Лексико-граматичні засоби ведення конфліктного дискурсу. In *"Україна і світ: Діалог мов та культур": Матеріали міжнародної науково-практичної конференції*, Квітень 11-13, 2018, Київ, Україна, с. 368-370.

Chilton, P. (1997). The role of language in human conflict: Prolegomena to the investigation of language as a factor in conflict causation and resolution. In *Current issues in language and society*, 3, vol. 4, p. 174-189.

Chiluwa, I. (2019). *Discourse analysis and conflict studies*. London: Sage Publications.

Clary, S.A. (1988). *The duchess and the devil*. New York: Zebra Books.

Cohen, R. (2001). Language and conflict resolution: The limits of English. In *Interactional studies review*, 3 (1), p. 23-51.

Cronin, A. (1983). *The citadel*. Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House.

Delinsky, B. (2003). *An accidental woman*. New York: Pocket Books.

Dijk, van T.A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage.

Dijk, van T.A. & Kintsch, W. (1983). *Strategies of discourse comprehension*. New York: Academic Press.

Donahue, R. (1997). *Diplomatic discourse: International conflict at the United Nations*. London: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Dreiser, T. (2008). *Sister Carrie*. Moscow: Higher School Publishing House.

Epshtein, O.V. (2008). Communicative speech strategies and ways of expressing threat in political discourse. In *Newsletter of Orenburg state pedagogical university*, 1, p. 27-33. / Epshtejn O.V. Kommunikativno-rechevyye strategii i priyomy realizatsii ugrozy v politicheskom diskurse. In *Vestnik Orenburgskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta*, 1, s. 27-33. / Эпштейн О.В. Коммуникативно-речевые стратегии и приемы реализации угрозы в политическом дискурсе. In *Вестник Оренбургского государственного педагогического университета*, 1, с. 27-33.

Erofeeva, I. & Ushnikova, O. (2017). Media text energy as collective cultural memory reflection. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, II (2), December 2017, p. 1-46. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0012

Fadyeyeva, O.V. (2000). *Strategies and tactics in conflict discourse.* Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Fadyeyeva O.V. *Stratehii i taktyky konfliktnoho dyskursu.* Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya vchenoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Фадєєва О.В. *Стратегії і тактики конфліктного дискурсу.* Дисертація на здобуття вченого ступеня кандидата філологічних наук.

Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Figar, V. (2014). Emotional appeal of conceptual metaphors of conflict in the political discourse of daily newspapers. In *Facta universitatis Serbia. Series: Linguistics and literature*, XII (I), p. 43-61.

Fisher, S. (2000). *Working with conflict: Skills and strategies for action*. Winnipeg: Zed Books.

Fomin, A.G. & Yakimova, N.S. (2016). Communication strategies in conflict discourse: Cross-cultural experimental research. In *Procedia – social and behavioral sciences*, 236, p. 65-70. Available at:

https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1877042816316548

Fraser, B. (1996). Pragmatic markers. In *Pragmatics*, 6 (2), p. 167-190.

Frolova, I.Ye. (2017). Confrontation as the English discourse strategy. In *How to draw a portrait of a bird: Methodology of cognitive-communicative language analysis: Collective monograph*. Shevchenko, I.S. (ed.). Kharkov: V.N. Karazin Kharkov National University, p. 148-207. / Frolova I.Ye. Konfrontatsiya kak strategiya angloyazychnogo diskursa. In *Kak narisovat' portret ptitsy: Metodologiya kognitivno-kommunikativnogo analiza yazyka: Kollektivnaya monografiya*. Khar'kov: Khar'kovskij natsional'nyj universitet im. V.N. Karazina, s. 148-207. / Фролова И.Е. Конфронтация как стратегия англоязычного дискурса. In *Как нарисовать портрет птицы: Методология когнитивно-коммуникативного анализа языка: Коллективная монография*; под ред. И.С. Шевченко. Харьков: Харьковский национальный университет им. В.Н. Каразина, с. 148-207.

Frolova, I.Ye. (2013). Confrontation strategy in discourse and communities of practice. In *The advanced science: Open access journal*. Torrance, Scireps Corporation, 10, p. 29-32.

Gamble, T.K. & Gamble, M. (2012). *Communication works*. 11th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Humanities/Social Sciences/Languages.

Georgakopoulou, A. (2001). Arguing about the future: On indirect disagreement in conversations. In *Journal of pragmatics*, 33, p. 1881-1900.

Gnezdilova, Ya. (2017). Autonomous metacommunicative lexicon and its specifics in manipulative discourse. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of the University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, II (1), June 2017, p. 42-89. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0002

Grace, G. (2003). *Gender: Crossing boundaries*. Wadsworth: Wadsworth publishing.

Grishina, N.V. (2003). *Psychology of the conflict*. Saint Petersburg: Peter. / Grishina N.V. *Psikhologiya konflikta.* Sankt-Peterburg: Piter. / Гришина Н.В. *Психология конфликта.* Санкт-Петербург: Питер.

Gruber, H. (1996). *Streitgespräche, Zur Pragmatik einer Diskursform.* Opladen: Leske-Budrich Publisher.

Habib, A. (1996). Communication strategies or discourse strategies in foreign language performance. In *International review of applied linguistics in language teaching*, 34 (1), Periodicals archive online, p. 49. Available at:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/234598738_Communication_Strategies_or_Discourse_Strategies_in_Foreign_Language_Performance?fbclid=IwAR04VRF1hcM3QuB3T_ePE-uzA-VqPtsoS8uLY2GkUqOWEZFIxRucttPomgw

Infantidou, E. (2014). *Pragmatic competence and relevance*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Ishmuratov, A.T. (1996). *Conflict and agreement. Fundamentals of cognitive conflict theory.* Kyiv: Naukova Dumka / Ishmuratov A.T. *Konflikt i zhoda. Osnovy kohnityvnoyi teoriyi konfliktiv.* Kyiv: Naukova Dumka. / Ішмуратов А.Т. *Конфлікт і згода. Основи когнітивної теорії конфліктів*. Київ: Наукова думка.

Issers, O.S. (2008). *Communicative strategies and tactics of Russian speech*. Moscow: LKI Publishing House. / Issers O.S. *Kommunikativnyye strategii i taktiki russkoj rechi.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo LKI. / Иссерс О.С. *Коммуникативные стратегии и тактики русской речи.* Москва: Издательство ЛКИ.

Kaminska, M.O. (2018). *Implicit negative evaluation in modern English dialogic discourse: Cognitive and pragmatic aspects.* Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Kamins'ka M.O. *Implitsytna nehatyvna otsinka v suchasnomu*

anhlomovnomu dialohichnomu dyskursi: Kohnityvno-prahmatychnyj aspekt. Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya vchenoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Камінська М.О. *Імпліцитна негативна оцінка в сучасному англомовному діалогічному дискурсі: Когнітивно-прагматичний аспект.* Дисертація на здобуття вченого ступеня кандидата філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Karmin, A.S. & Allakhverdova, O.V. (1996). *Conflictology.* Saint Petersburg: Lan'. / Karmin A.S., Allakhverdova O.V. *Konfliktologiya.* Sankt-Peterburg: Lan'. / Кармин А.С., Аллахвердова О.В. *Конфликтология.* Санкт-Петербург: Лань.

Kelly, C. (1998). *She's the one.* London: Headline.

Kriesberg, L. (2005). *Pioneer in peace and constructive conflict resolution studies.* London: Springer.

Kripak, Yu.V. (2019). *Strategies and tactics of verbal aggression in modern English dialogic discourse.* Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Kripak Yu.V. *Stratehiyi i taktyky movlennyevoyi ahresiyi u suchasnomu anhlomovnomu dialohichnomu dyskursi.* Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya vchenoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Кріпак Ю.В. *Стратегії і тактики вербальної агресії у сучасному англомовному діалогічному дискурсі.* Дисертація на здобуття вченого ступеня кандидата філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Królikowska, P. (2015). *Discourse of conflict as political genre.* Thesis for the doctor degree in philology. Łódź: Uniwersytet Łódzki. Available at:
http://dspace.uni.lodz.pl/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11089/11885/Doktorat_Dyskurs%20konfiktu%20jako%20gatunek%20polityczny_Paulina%20Kr%C3%B3likowska.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Leung, S. (2002). *Conflict talk: A discourse analytical perspective*. Available at: https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/63fb/cf1c2f0b85fe893aa6da3fb8af6614e7d6a0.pdf?_ga=2.197355759.1961801500.1568198151-1968816730.1568198151

Lewis, D. (2006). Discourse markers in English: A discourse-pragmatic view. In *Approaches to discourse particles*. Fischer, K. (ed.). Amsterdam: Elsevier, p. 43-59.

Liddicoat, A.J. (2007). *An introduction to conversation analysis*. London: Continuum.

Malki, I. (2018). Conflict resolution strategies in media discourse: The case study. In *International journal of social science studies*, 5, vol. 6, p. 24-35.

Martynyuk, A.P. (2000). Communicative gender strategies in conflict situation. In *Newsletter of V.N. Karazin Kharkov national university*, 471, p. 159-167. / Martynyuk A.P. Komunikativnyye strategii polov v konfliktnoj situatsii. In *Visnyk Kharkivs'koho natsional'noho universytetu imeni V.N. Karazina*, 471, s. 159-167. / Мартынюк А.П. Коммуникативные стратегии полов в конфликтной ситуации. In *Вісник Харківського національного університету імені В.Н. Каразіна*, 471, с. 159-167.

Mayer, B. (2000). *The dynamics of conflict resolution: A practitioner's guide*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Michaels, L. (1986). *Capture a shadow*. New York: Harlequin Books.

Morokhovskij, A.N., Vorobyova, O.P., Likhosherst, N.I., Timoshenko Z.V. (1991). *Stylistics of the English language*. Kyiv: Vyscha shkola. / Morohovskij A.N., Vorob'yeva O.P., Likhosherst N.I., Timoshenko Z.V. *Stilistika anglijskogo yazyka.* Kyiv: Vyscha shkola. / Мороховский А.Н., Воробьева О.П., Лихошерст Н.И., Тимошенко З.В. *Стилистика английского языка*. Київ: Вища школа.

Panasenko, N., Greguš, Ľ. & Zabuzhanska, I. (2018). Conflict, confrontation, and war reflected in mass media: Semantic wars, their victors and victims. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Poland, III (2), December 2018, p. 132-163. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0017

Panasenko, N., Grochalová, P., Grochalová, L. (2017). 'War' as a piece of hard news in British and Slovak media. In *European journal of science and theology*, 13 (6), p. 87-100.

Pinich, I. (2017). Pragmatics of emotionality in discourse processing: Prolegomena to ideology shaping engines. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, I (1), June 2017, p. 262-298. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0003

Pocheptsov, G.G. (2001). *Theory of communication.* Kiev: Vakler. / Pocheptsov G.G. *Teoriya kommunikatsii.* Kiev: Vakler. / Почепцов Г.Г. *Теория коммуникации*. Киев: Ваклер.

Pokrovskaya, Ya.A. (1995). Language means of rendering emotional aggression in literary text (modern English data). In *Language and emotions*. Shakhovskij, V.I. (ed.). Volgograd: Peremena, p. 232-239. / Pokrovskaya Ya.A. Yazykovyye sposoby otrazheniya emotsyonal'noj agressii v hudozhestvennom tekste (na materiale anglijskogo yazyka). In *Yazyk i emotsii.* Shakhovskij V.I. (ed.). Volgograd: Peremena, s. 232-239. / Покровская Я.А. Языковые способы отражения эмоциональной агрессии в художественном тексте (на материале английского языка). In *Язык и эмоции*. Шаховский В.И. (ред.). Волгоград: Перемена, с. 232-239.

Polsky, L. & Gerschel, A. (2011). *Perfect phrases for conflict resolution*. New York: McGraw-Hill Education.

Probst, N., Shkapenko, T., Tkachenko, A. & Chernyakov, A. (2018). Speech act of threat in everyday conflict discourse: Production and perception. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava.* Warsaw: De Gruyter Poland, 2018, III (2), December 2018, p. 204-250. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0019

Rees-Miller, J. (2000). Power, severity, and context in disagreement. In *Journal of pragmatics*, 32, p. 1087-1111.

Rubin, J. (1989). Some wise and mistaken assumptions about conflict and negotiation. In *Journal of social issues*, 45 (2), p. 195-209.

Seyranyan, M.Yu. (2016). *Conflict discourse and its prosodic structure.* Moscow: Moscow City Pedagogical University Press. / Seyranyan M.Yu. *Konfliktnyj diskurs i yego prosodicheskij stroj.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo gorodskogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta. / Сейранян М.Ю. *Конфликтный дискурс и его*

просодический строй. Москва: Издательство Московского городского педагогического университета.

Seryakova, I.I. (2012). *Somaticon of English discursive practices*. Synopsis for the thesis for the doctor degree in philology. Specialty 10.02.04 – Germanic languages and 10.02.15 – general linguistics. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Syeryakova I.I. *Somatykon anhlomovnyh dyskursyvnyh praktyk*. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy ta 10.02.15 – zahal'ne movoznavstvo. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Сєрякова І.І. *Соматикон англомовних дискурсивних практик*. Автореферат дисертації на здобуття вченого ступеня доктора філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови та 10.02.15 – загальне мовознавство. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Sheldon, S. (2000). *The sky is falling*. London: Harper Collins Publishers.

Shevchenko, I.S. & Morozova, E.I. (2003). Discourse as cognitive-communicative phenomenon. In *Newsletter of Kharkov National University V.N. Karazin*, 586, p. 33-38. / Shevchenko I.S., Morozova E.I. Diskurs kak myslekommunikativnoye obrazovaniye. In *Visnyk Kharkivs'koho natsional'noho universytetu imeni V.N. Karazina*, 586, s. 33-38. / Шевченко И.С., Морозова Е.И. Дискурс как мыслекоммуникативное образование. In *Вісник Харківського національного університету імені В.Н. Каразіна*, 586, с. 33-38.

Stein, N.L., & Albro, E.R. (2001). The origins and nature of arguments: Studies in conflict understanding, emotion, and negotiation. In *Discourse processes*, 32, p. 113-133.

Tannen, D. (1995). *You just don't understand*. New York: University of California.

Thomas, K.W. & Kilmann, R.H. (1990). *Thomas-Kilmann conflict mode instrument*. New York: XICOM.

Thune, E.S., Manderscheid, R.W., & Silbergeld, S. (1980). Status of sex roles as determinant of interaction patterns in small, mixed-sex groups. In *Journal of social psychology*, 112 (1), p. 51.

Tretyakova, V.S. (2006). *Conflict through the eyes of a linguist.* / Tret'yakova V.S. *Konflikt glazami lingvista.* / Третьякова В.С. *Конфликт глазами лингвиста.* Available at: http://www.philology.ru/linguistics2/tretyakova-00.htm

Vojtsehivska, N.K. (2018). *Conflict discourse: Structural, semantic, communicative, and pragmatic approach*. Kyiv: Dmytro Buraho Publishing House. / Vojtsehivs'ka N.K. *Konfliktnyj dyskurs: Strukturno-semantychnyj i komunikatyvno-prahmatychnyj aspekty.* Kyyiv: Vydavnychyj dim Dmytra Buraho. / Войцехівська Н.К. *Конфліктний дискурс: Структурно-семантичний і комунікативно-прагматичний аспекти.* Київ: Видавничий дім Дмитра Бураго.

Ward, L. (1990). *Precious thing*. New York: Harlequin Books.

Weizman, E. (1997). Building true understanding via apparent miscommunication: A case study. In *Journal of pragmatics*, 31, p. 837-846.

Wilmot, W.W., & Hocker, J.L. (2007). *Interpersonal conflict*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Zartman, W. (1989). *Ripe for resolution*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Zernetskij, P.V. (1992). *Speech communication in English (Communicative and functional aspect of discourse)*. Kiev: Lybid' / Zernetskij P.V. *Rechevoe obschenie na anglijskom yazyke (Kommunikativno-funktsionalnyj aspekt diskursa).* Kiev: Lyibid'. / Зернецкий П.В. *Речевое общение на английском языке (Коммуникативно-функциональный аспект дискурса).* Киев: Лыбидь.

Zharkovskaya, I.V. (2007). *Semantic and functional features of English conflict designations*. Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kharkov: G.S. Skovoroda Kharkov National Pedagogical University. / Zharkovskaya I.V. *Semanticheskiye i funktsional'nyye osobennosti angloyazychnykh nominatsij konflikta.* Dissertatsiya na soiskaniye uchyonoj stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk. Spetsial'nost' 10.02.04 – germanskiye yazyki. Khar'kov: Kharkovskij natsional'nyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. G.S. Skovorody. / Жарковская И.В. *Семантические и функциональные особенности англоязычных номинаций конфликта.* Диссертация на соискание учёной степени кандидата филологических наук. Специальность 10.02.04 – германские языки.

Харьков: Харьковский национальный педагогический университет им. Г.С. Сковороды.

Zhelvis, V.I. (1995). Some emotional peculiarities of invective communication. In *Language and communication*, 35, p. 161-169. / Zhel'vis V.I. Nekotoryye emotsiogennyye osobennosti invektivnogo obscheniya. In *Yazyk i obscheniye*, 35, s. 161-169. / Жельвис В.И. Некоторые эмоциогенные особенности инвективного общения. In *Язык и общение*, 35, с. 161-169.

Zolotarenko, T.O. (2015). *Representation of the speaker's invective behaviour in conflict discourse (a study of the novels by Stephen King)*. Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Zolotarenko T.O. *Reprezentatsiya invektyvnoyi povedinky movtsya v konfliktnomu dyskursi (na materiali romaniv Stivena Kinha)*. Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya vchenoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Золотаренко Т.О. *Репрезентація інвективної поведінки мовця в конфліктному дискурсі (на матеріалі романів Стівена Кінга)*. Дисертація на здобуття вченого ступеня кандидата філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Contact data		**Fields of interest**
Olha Chernenko CSc. (Philology) Assistant Professor, Department of German and Finno-Ugrian Philology, Kyiv National Linguistic University, 73, Velyka Vasylkivska St., Kyiv, 03680, Ukraine e-mail: ukrum2013@gmail.com		Pragmatics, discourse studies, conflictology, gender studies, nonverbalistics, emotiology, grammar.

Résumé

This article focuses on the study of the main communicative and pragmatic peculiarities of discourse representation of the final phase in conflict interaction. A unified approach to their classification is based on an assumption that the final phase of conflict communication represents realization of the communicative intentions of conflict participants as well as perlocutionary effects on the speaker and demonstrates the main consequences of conflict development. The results show that three main pragmatic models of conflict resolution may be represented in the final conflict phase: disconnection, reconciliation, and accommodation of the communicants with perlocutionary effects of harmonization, disharmonization or conflict suppression/pseudo-harmonization of interpersonal relations. The aforementioned pragmatic models are realized through a wide range of communicative strategies and tactics. The analysis of these strategies and tactics allowed the author to discover that implementation of a particular strategy, being influenced by personal, situational, interpersonal, social status, power, gender and other factors, takes place due to a definite set of tactics, such as self-justification, apology, self-accusation or self-criticism, approval of actions, promise, position fixing, persuasion and argument; the tactics of demonstration of action, perspective establishing, impersonal accusation, reproach, irony and others. Gender differences in language use in the final phase of conflict communication are observed in the use of emotional expressions – evaluative vocabulary, stylistically marked linguistic units, taboo vocabulary, qualifiers, and linguistic means of expressing modality. Non-verbally, specific gender meaning is attached to haptic communication, touch, proxemics, smile, cry, voice quality, and eye contact.

Key words: conflict discourse, final conflict interaction phase, illocutionary force, perlocutionary effect, communicative strategy and tactics, verbal and non-verbal means of communication, gender differences in language use.

Article was received by the editorial board 08.04.19;

Reviewed 19.10.19. and 20.10.19.

Similarity Index 11%

LEGE ARTIS
Language yesterday, today, tomorrow
Vol. IV. No 2 2019

THE IMAGINARY: FROM GENRE THROUGH TEXT AND LANGUAGE TO CONCEPTUAL SPACE (BASED ON J.R.R. TOLKIEN'S LITERARY WORKS)

Nataliia Chetova

Lviv Polytechnic National University, Lviv, Ukraine

Abstract: The study presents the results of multidimensional analysis of the imaginary as a key genre forming feature in fantasy, namely in the works of J.R.R. Tolkien. The analysis focuses on revealing the interaction of genre, text, language, and conceptual space in the actualization of the imaginary atmosphere through reconstruction of the peculiarities of the author's understanding and interpretation of the mentioned atmosphere in the literary works.

Key words: fantasy, imaginary, verbal means, semantic-associative field, cognitive-poetic analysis, literary concept, frame, conceptual metaphor.

1. Introduction

The perception of literary works of a certain genre begins with acquaintance with the pioneer of the genre and/or the brightest representative. A writer, who has received the world's recognition and has not lost their readers over the years, usually becomes a classic. The same has happened to J.R.R. Tolkien. However, the studies of J.R.R. Tolkien's literary legacy from the perspective of the cognitive-linguistic approach are presented by only a few fragmentary investigations – the works by Bragina (2012), Kolesnyk (Колесник 2003), Pavkin (Павкін 2002), Poveda (2004), and Zuo (2008).

The present research is relevant due to the interest of modern cognitive linguistics in the study of the writer's idiostyle, in the interrelation of the common and the individual in the specific realization of the image of the world in the literary text. Thorough study of various aspects of the realization of imaginary atmosphere in the literary text is challenging and presupposes a complex approach to the analysis of interaction between genre, text, language, and conceptual space. Development of conceptology in its linguistic and linguo-poetic dimensions in the works of Freeman (1999; 2000; 2002), Belekhova (Бєлєхова 2002), Halych (2018), Kaganovska (Кагановська 2003), Nikonova (Ніконова 2008; 2010) Nikonova and Boyko (2019), Turner (1991; 1996), Vorobyova (Воробйова 2004a; Воробьева 2004b) made it possible to study the works of J.R.R. Tolkien in unity with its creator. The recent linguistic studies (Balossi 2014; Borghi et al. 2018; Goldstone et al. 2017; Halych 2018; Hoemann & Feldman Barrett 2019; Kövecses 2018; Murphy 2019; Oosterwijk et al. 2014), according to which conceptual space as the highest level of categorization is regarded as an abstract mental system, that is determined ethnically and culturally, is complex according to its semantics and structure, and verbalized through lexical or/and phraseological units, made it possible to investigate the peculiarities of the interaction of the lingual and cognitive aspects in literary works. Thus, the analysis of the author's individual literary system contributes to a deeper understanding of the conceptual image of the world depicted in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works.

The **aim** of the paper is to reveal the linguo-cognitive peculiarities of the creation of imaginary atmosphere in the fantasy at genre, textual, lingual and conceptual levels, focusing on the literary works of the founder of the genre, J.R.R. Tolkien, by applying methods of linguistic culturology, linguistic poetics, and cognitive linguistics.

Achievement of the aim involves the solving of the following **tasks**:
- to develop the methodology of the semantic and cognitive analysis of means of lingual representation of imaginary atmosphere in the fantasy genre on the basis of the methodological principles of linguistic and cognitive scientific paradigms;

- to outline a range of contexts, where verbal means serve the creation of imaginary atmosphere, and to define their theme and volume;

- to systematize the verbal means of imaginary atmosphere according to their lexico-grammatical and semantic characteristics;

- to construct a semantic-associative field of verbal means of imaginary atmosphere representation in the fantasy genre;

- to structure the variety of factors and manifestations of imaginary atmosphere through reconstruction of the literary concepts as the central units of cognitive paradigm of the literary works and modelling of the conceptual system of the fantasy genre;

- to extract conceptual information about imaginary atmosphere through modelling the frame of the notional plane of the conceptual space of THE IMAGINARY in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works;

- to find out associations concerning imaginary atmosphere through the construction of basic and poetically transformed or reconsidered conceptual metaphors within the figurative-associative plane of the conceptual space of THE IMAGINARY in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works.

Various means of designation (words, word combinations, sentences, and text fragments) that represent imaginary atmosphere in imaginary marked contexts selected from J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works are the units of analysis.

The linguo-cognitive peculiarities of the various means of imaginary atmosphere designation that define the national and cultural knowledge and the writer's associations with imaginary atmosphere are the scope of analysis.

The hypothesis is that the imaginary in literary works is a system realized at genre, textual, lingual, and conceptual levels.

The present paper is the continuation of the research published in 2014 (Четова 2014) and (Ніконова & Четова 2016). Since then the research has been broadened and involved some additional material as well as methods to apply the approach, according to which it is possible to trace the interrelation of genre, textual, lingual, and conceptual aspects in the actualization of imaginary atmosphere in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works.

2. Material of investigation, corpus data, and methods

The material of the investigation is based on the literary works of J.R.R. Tolkien, namely: "The hobbit", "The lord of the rings" consisting of "The fellowship of the ring", "The two towers", and "The return of the king". The research is done on the basis of the following **corpus data**: 2045 text fragments – the imaginary marked contexts – were selected from 1606 pages where we analysed 700 lexical units in 15170 cases of lingual realization of imaginary atmosphere. The quantitative and qualitative data was obtained with the help of "LotrProject" site (LotrProject, *s.a.*) – visualization of J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works on the web.

The methodology of the research, solving the first and foremost task, focuses on the investigation of four interrelated dimensions of the literary works – "genre – text – language – conceptual space" and requires the application of a complex poetic-cognitive approach (Ніконова 2008) to the analysis of the literary text. It comprises methods of literature, linguistic, and conceptual analysis together with the following procedures of scientific inquiry: *hypothetical-deductive* method – for confirmation of the hypothesis about the system character of *the imaginary* in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works; *descriptive-analytical* and *inductive* methods – for revealing the regularity of functioning of lexical units; method *of full-text corpus* selection, which presupposed collection of all relevant samples drawn from all literary works under examination – for obtaining veracious results of the investigation; *quantitative* analysis of the language facts – for the identification of quantitative correlations of obtained results and comparison of the actualization of the verbal means of the imaginary and determination of their qualitative characteristics, and also for defining the general tendency of

functioning of verbal representations of the imaginary in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works.

Methodology of linguo-poetic analysis is presented with a *cultural-historical* analysis, which makes it possible to define the role of historical development of culture in the formation of the individual perception of the imaginary by J.R.R. Tolkien, *linguo-cultural* analysis, which enables us to examine the peculiarities of interrelation of language, culture, and ethnos in the literary works, *linguo-stylistic* analysis that is applied for the identification of J.R.R. Tolkien's peculiar representation of the imaginary; *interpretational-textual* analysis – for defining the imaginary marked contexts; *method of contextual* analysis – for description of the surroundings where the lexical units denoting the imaginary take place.

Among the **methods of linguistic analysis** are: the analysis of *dictionary definitions* – for explaining the set of categories and notions introduced in the investigation and for identifying the semantic structure of verbalizers of the imaginary; the method of *linguistic observation* – for the interpretation of structural, semantic, and functional properties of the verbalizers of the imaginary; *system-functional* analysis – for systematizing and classifying of the verbalizers of the imaginary; *semantic* analysis – for defining content and the amount of semantic space of the imaginary; *component* analysis with elements of *lexicographic description* – for defining the semantic content of the words involved for the actualization of imaginary atmosphere in the imaginary marked contexts, the identification of thematic words and thus the names of the literary concepts of the imaginary in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works; method of *field structuring* – for systematizing the means of actualization of the imaginary in the form of a semantic-associative field.

Conceptual analysis is presented by the complex of the following methods: *cognitive modelling* – for the construction of a model of poetic-cognitive interpretation of the imaginary in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works; method of *frame* analysis – for the

presentation of the information structured in the notional layer of the literary concepts of the imaginary in the form of frames; inventory of *the theory of conceptual metaphor* – for the construction of poetically transformed or reconsidered conceptual metaphors that reveal the author's understanding of the imaginary and form the figurative-associative layer of the literary concepts of the imaginary.

Thus, the methodology presupposes a six-step **algorithm**:

1. revealing the peculiarities of the realization of the notion "the imaginary" at the genre level in the literary works on the basis of J.R.R. Tolkien's works as the pioneer of the fantasy genre;
2. distinguishing the imaginary marked contexts as the key fragments of the imaginary textual realization in J.R.R. Tolkien's works;
3. analysis of a range of verbal means of the imaginary in the imaginary marked contexts and selection of the key elements – lexical units that can serve as the identification of the designation of the literary concepts of the imaginary;
4. investigation of the semantics of the lexical units denoting the imaginary for the construction of the semantic-associative field that is understood as a systematized set of different verbal means that are associated with the imaginary and reveal its content;
5. reconstruction of the notional and figurative-associative layers of the literary concepts of the imaginary identified on the basis of the semantic-associative field;
6. composition of the conceptual space of THE IMAGINARY as a mental formation reflecting J.R.R. Tolkien's perception and interpretation of the imaginary based on historical and cultural traditions as well as on the peculiarities of the fantasy genre initiated by J.R.R. Tolkien.

3. Results and discussion

3.1 Revealing the peculiarities of the realization of the notion of "imaginary" at the genre level

A profound review of works of researchers in the fields of philosophy, psychology, psycholinguistics, literary and linguistic studies (Morère 2014; Titlestad 2013) discloses the variety of interpretations of the imaginary by different authors, thus in philosophy this notion is explained as unreal, created by imagination, though the latter is able to reflect real and existing facts. While analysing the fragment of lingual consciousness that correlates with the imagination we take into consideration the statement of Freud (1955: 229), who defines the sphere of fancy as "the imaginary" that is understood as something created by and existing only in the imagination.

In the context of the narratological approach (Bamberg 2014) the imaginary is revealed through various elements of plot, theme, and setting. It manifests itself in all kinds of fictional types of texts, but to a different extent depending on the genre of the literary text. Though the imaginary appeared in fairy tales and myths, it obtained its prosperity in fantasy, having become its distinguishing and genre forming feature.

Having analyzed Visual Thesaurus for Imaginary (VT, *s.a.*) (Fig. 1) we observe a wide scope of meanings incorporated in the imaginary.

Figure 1. Visual Thesaurus for *imaginary*
(VT, *s.a.*: https://www.visualthesaurus.com/app/view)

A	Not based on fact; dubious	**B**	Lacking in reality or substance or genuineness; not corresponding to acknowledged facts or criteria
1	Formed or conceived by imagination	**9**	Not realistic
2	Seen in the mind as mental imagination	**10**	Contrived by art rather than nature
3	Based on or told of in traditional stories; lacking factual basis or historical validity	**11**	Not existing in nature or subject to explanation according to natural laws; not physical or material
4	Partaking of hallucination	**12**	Conceived of or imagined or hoped for
5	Creating the illusion of seeing reality	**13**	Existing in fancy only
6	Not genuine; imitating something superior	**14**	Based on or having the nature of an illusion
7	Lacking sincerity	**15**	Imagined as in a play
8	Marked by or producing illusion	**16**	Celebrated in fable or legend

An additional profound and detailed set of synonyms reflecting all possible meanings of the imaginary is given by Roget's 21ˢᵗ Century Thesaurus (*s.a.*).

Thus, in the process of investigation while analyzing literary texts, namely the works of J.R.R. Tolkien, all units of semantic content, which contain or are associated with at least one meaning of the spectrum (Borghi et al. 2018), is referred to the imaginary.

3.2 Distinguishing the imaginary marked contexts

The nature of the textual representation of imaginary atmosphere, which is in focus according to the second task of research, determines different approaches to the classification of imaginary marked contexts, depending on the theme and the volume of the context.

The thematic aspect of imaginary marked contexts is analysed with regard to the typology of contexts of textual abnormality (Короткова 2001) and reveals three groups of textual phenomena:

- abnormality of the text content that is presented by the writer as normal;
- logical contradiction and absence of the references that reflect divergence between empirical knowledge of the real world and the literary world;
- violation of the ontological congruence through physical or logical incompatibility that cause intellectual conflict or cognitive dissonance.

As a result of content compression of the imaginary marked contexts, the following thematic lines were differentiated:

1. The imaginary as the scientifically forecasted, which is presented by anachronic facts:

(1) *"White!" he sneered. "It serves as a beginning. White cloth may be dyed. The white page can be overwritten; and the white light can be broken."* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The fellowship of the ring", p. 272).

2. The imaginary as the fairy, which contains certain mythological elements:

(2) *Swords in these parts are mostly blunt, and axes are used for trees, and shields as cradles or dish-covers; and dragons are comfortably far-off (and therefore legendary)* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The hobbit", p. 26).

3. The imaginary as the hyperbolized, which is objectivized in a phantasmagorical way:

(3) *He is a skin-changer. He changes his skin; sometimes he is a huge black bear, sometimes he is a great strong black-haired man with huge arms and a great beard* (ibid., p. 135).

4. The imaginary as the cosmic or the mysterious, which is realized through mediums and messages (Poloma 2003: 115):

(4) *He was wrapped in some fair memory: and as Frodo looked at him he knew that he beheld things as they once had been in this same place* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The fellowship of the ring", p. 366).

(5) *A vision it was that you saw, I think, and no more, some shadow of evil fortune that has been or will be* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The two towers", p. 275).

5. The imaginary as the symbolic or the unconscious represented by various dreams and visions:

(6) *For he believed that the message of the dreams was a summons, and that the hour had come…* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The fellowship of the ring", p. 384).

(7) *At that he woke up with a horrible start, and found that part of his dream was true* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The hobbit", p. 71).

(8) *The dark shadow had passed, and a fair vision had visited him in this land of disease. Nothing remained of it in his memory, yet because of it he felt glad and lighter of heart* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The two towers", p. 242).

6. The imaginary as the symbolic or the cosmic, which is depicted as plausible and connected with various forecasts, forebodings, and prophecies:

(9) *Before long, so great was his speed, they could see him as a spark of fire rushing towards them and growing ever huger and more bright, and not the most foolish doubted that the prophecies had gone rather wrong* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The hobbit", p. 286).

7. The imaginary as the wished, which is possible in the nearer future:

(10) *One of the travellers, a squint-eyed ill-favoured fellow, was foretelling that more and more people would be coming north in the near future* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The fellowship of the ring", p. 168).

or utopic:

(11) *The future, good or ill, was not forgotten, but ceased to have any power over the present* (ibid., p. 287).

The utter thematic compression made it possible to differentiate three **key themes** – magic practice, mysterious circumstances, and chimerical creatures. Thus, in the following imaginary marked context we observe the realization of two key themes: magic practice (12) and chimerical creature (13):

(12) *That was Gandalf's mark, of course, and the old man was Gandalf the Wizard, whose fame in the Shire was due mainly to his skill with fires, smokes, and lights* (ibid., p. 35-36).

(13) *... Out flew a red-golden dragon – not life-size, but terribly life-like: fire came from his jaws, his eyes glared down; there was a roar, and he whizzed three times over the heads of the crowd* (ibid., p. 35-36).

The example (14) illustrates some mysterious circumstances that represent the third key theme:

(14) *A vision it was that you saw, I think, and no more, some shadow of evil fortune that has been or will be* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The two towers", p. 275).

The volume of the imaginary marked context, which is sufficient for disclosure of the theme (description of the situation), is presented by three types:

- propositional (equal to one sentence, simple or complex):

(15) *That is the business of Wizards: Wizards are always troubled about the future* (ibid., p. 75).

- composite (covering two or three sentences revealing one theme):

(16) *What you will see, if you leave the Mirror free to work, I cannot tell. For it shows things that were, and things that are, things that yet may be* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The fellowship of the ring", p. 377).

- discursive (consisting of several propositional contexts, which are united by one theme and form a micro text):

(17) *The Elder Days are gone. The Middle Days are passing. The Younger Days are beginning. The time of the Elves is over, but our time is at hand: the world of Men, which we must rule* (ibid., p. 272).

3.3 Analysis of the imaginary inventory

The special linguistic methods of *semantic, component, descriptive,* and *linguo-stylistic* analysis used while studying the means of imaginary atmosphere actualization in the imaginary marked contexts singled out from J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works enabled the solving of the third task of the research – to distinguish verbal representants of imaginary atmosphere, such as words and phrases, the semantic structure of which denotes certain imaginary aspects. Thus, presence of the corresponding components of meaning in the semantic structure of the nouns *dragons, goblins,* and *giants* in the following example (18) allows the consideration of these nouns as verbal means that are used to create imaginary atmosphere in fantasy literary works:

(18) *Not the fellow who used to tell such wonderful tales at parties, about dragons and goblins and giants and the rescue of princesses and the unexpected luck of widows' sons?* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The hobbit", p. 8).

The application of such an approach made it possible to regard the inventory of 700 imaginary atmosphere verbal means occurring in 15170 cases of context realization within 3626 imaginary marked contexts in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works, which have been systematized according to their lexico-grammatical, componential (structural), and semantic characteristics (Fig. 2), and as means of primary and secondary (tropes, stylistically marked words) designation.
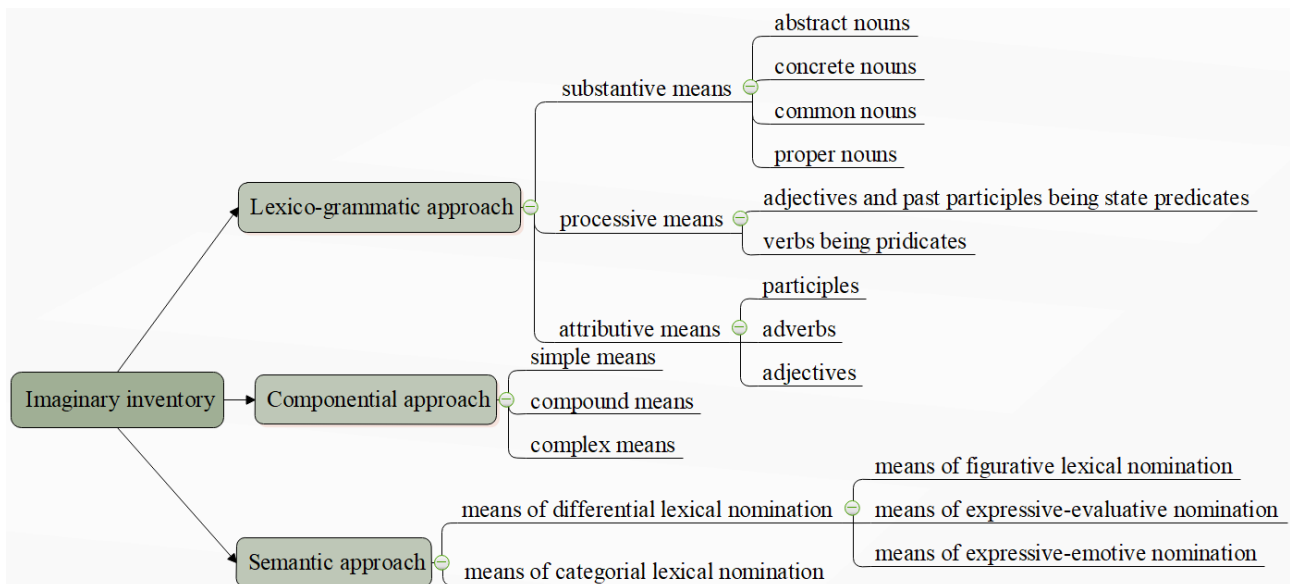
Figure 2. Approaches to investigation of the imaginary inventory
in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works

According to **the lexico-grammatical aspect** of the verbal means denoting imaginary atmosphere, i.e. parts of speech of the word-components, such types of lexical designation, as the substantive, processive, and attributive have been distinguished.

A. **The means of substantive lexical designation** of imaginary atmosphere creation are nouns, among which are:

  1. proper nouns for denoting names of: imaginary creatures: *Gollum*, *Nazgûl*, *Balrog*, space: *Orthanc*, *Isengard*, *Khazad-dum*, *Edoras*, etc.;

  2. common nouns (names): *hobbit*, *elf*, *wizard*, *troll*, *dragon*, etc.;

  3. concrete nouns (names): *lembas*, *phial*, *palantir*, etc.;

  4. abstract nouns for denoting: phenomena: *vision*, *wizardry*, *phantom*, psychic states (emotional and mental): *hallucination*, *wandering*, situation, or circumstance: *mysticism*, relations: *ringwraith*, ethic and aesthetic notions: *mystery*, *secret*, *evil*, etc.

In the following example (19) the proper noun *Middle-earth* is used to denote an imaginary space:

(19) *There are countless things still to see in Middle-earth, and great works to do*
(J.R.R. Tolkien "The return of the king", p. 150).

B. **The means of processive lexical designation** of imaginary atmosphere creation
   are verbs, adjectives, and past participles.
   1. The verbs, being predicates, express:
      • concrete action: *charm*, *bewitch*, *vanish*, *bring smb. to life*, etc.;
      • social activity:

(20) *It is not said that <u>evil arts were ever practised</u> in Gondor <…>* (J.R.R. Tolkien
"The two towers", p. 286).

      • cognitive activity: *imagine*, *dream*, *fascinate*, *seem*, etc.:

(21) *Gandalf <u>had made a special study of bewitchments with fire and lights</u>* (J.R.R.
Tolkien "The hobbit", p. 111).

      • communicative activity: *enchant*, *foretell*, *spellbind*, etc.
   2. Adjectives and past participles, being state predicatives, denote the physical or
      emotional states of the literary characters, influenced by imaginary atmosphere:
      confound, *confused*, *bewildered*, etc.:

(22) *<…> all these passed before Sam's mind until he felt <u>bewildered</u>* (J.R.R. Tolkien
"The return of the king", p. 234).

(23) *It seemed that the ring he had was a magic ring: it made you <u>invisible</u>!* (J.R.R.
Tolkien "The hobbit", p. 100).

(24) *At first Frodo <u>felt</u> as if he had indeed been <u>turned into</u> stone by the incantation*
(J.R.R. Tolkien "The fellowship of the ring", p. 152).

C. **The means of attributive lexical designation** of imaginary atmosphere creation
   are adjectives, adverbs, and participles, such as *fancy*, *imagined*, *shadowy*,
   supposed, *dreamed*, *mysterious*, *fancied*, *legendary*, *dreamlike*, *fabled*, *unreal*,
   fabulous, *mythical*, *unbelievable*, *deceptive* and the like that describe:
   1. intellectual and logical perception: *unknown*, *mysterious*, *confusing*, *unreal*,
      unusual, *imagined*, *fancied*, *dreamlike*, etc.;

2. psychological perception and proper perceptive experience: *dreadful*, *horrible*, *frightful*, *awful*, *terrifying*, *sorrowful*, *distressed*, *despairing*, etc.

The great variety and amount of verbal means denoting the imaginary through certain lexico-grammatical groups (see Table 1) prove the high frequency of usage of lingual designations with the aim not only to create the fantasy world, but also to make it almost real.

Table 1. Frequency of usage of various verbal means denoting the imaginary according to lexico-grammatical groups

Semantic group	Parts of speech			Total in group
	Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives	
Imagination	212	93	104	409
Magic	530	97	140	767
Mystery	67	40	538	645
Chimera	857	185	2604	14813
Unreal place	4993			
Unreal time	2969			
Unreal thing	3205			
Total	12833	415	3386	16634

The quantitative results of Table 1 show that in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works the imaginary is presented as an unreal place (almost one-third of all lexical units being in first place according to the frequency of usage) with unreal things (this group occupies second place) existing in an unreal time (the language units holding third position). Such a combination of verbal means depicts the imaginary image of the world through the realization of a certain configuration of time and place thus forming the imaginary chronotope of the literary work.

According to **the componential structure**, the verbal means denoting imaginary atmosphere (i.e. the number of words-components) sufficient for the disclosure of imaginary atmosphere were divided into three groups:

A. a simple lexical designation consisting of one word verbal representant: *palantir*, *dragon*, *werebear*, *Ringwraith*, *Nazgûl*, *Mirkwood*, *Middle-earth*, *Entwash*, etc.;

B. a compound lexical designation consisting of two or more words: *eleventy-one years*, *Dead Marshes*, *Tower of Cirith Ungol*, *Wizard's Valley*, *black arts*, *wizardry craft*, *Then Gandalf lit up his wand* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The hobbit", p. 77);

C. a complex lexical designation represented with a text fragment that consists of several propositional imaginary marked contexts combined with one theme:

(25) *"Moon-letters are rune-letters, but you cannot see them," said Elrond, "not when you look straight at them. They can only be seen when the moon shines behind them, and what is more, with the more cunning sort it must be a moon of the same shape and season as the day when they were written. The dwarves invented them and wrote them with silver pens, as your friends could tell you. These must have been written on a midsummer's eve in a crescent moon, a long while ago."* (ibid., p. 63).

As a result of **the semantic analysis** of imaginary atmosphere verbal means, the following two groups have been distinguished:

A. ***means of categorical lexical designation***, which have no shades of connotation:

(26) *It was a <u>phantom</u> of Saruman that we saw last night* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The two towers", p. 91).

B. ***means of differential lexical designation***, which, depending on the actualization in their semantic structure of one of the systemically determined components of the connotative aspect of meaning, i.e. emotional, evaluative, or figurative, are therefore divided into three groups of designation means:

1. expressive-emotive:

(27) *Long ago they fell under the dominion of the One, and they became Ringwraiths, shadows under his great Shadow, his most <u>terrible</u> <u>servants</u>* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The fellowship of the ring", p. 60).

(28) *A Barrow-wight had taken him, and he was probably already under <u>the dreadful spells</u> of the Barrow-wights about which whispered tales spoke* (ibid., p. 151).

(29) *For a moment the orcs quailed and <u>the fiery shadow</u> halted* (ibid., p. 344).

    2. expressive-evaluative:

(30) *There were <u>toys</u> the like of which they had never seen before, all <u>beautiful</u> and some <u>obviously magical</u>* (ibid., p. 35).

(31) *He caught fish in deep pools with <u>invisible fingers</u> and ate them raw* (ibid., p. 63).

    3. figurative lexical (including epithets, metaphors, similes):

(32) *I tarried there in <u>the ageless time</u> of that land where days bring healing not decay* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The two towers", p. 106).

(33) *Therefore be silent, and keep your <u>forked tongue</u> behind your teeth* (ibid., p. 118).

(34) *<…> it seemed empty and was not so, for <u>a shapeless fear lived within the ruined walls</u>* (ibid., p. 301).

Among the substantive, processive, and attributive means that name the components of the imaginary world we distinguished primary and secondary (tropes or stylistically marked words) means of designation.

The substantive means incorporate:

 A. Primary designation means are referred to substantives that name the imaginary:

    1. objects: generated by collective imagination: *magic wand*; invented by the author: *palantir*, *phial*, *lembas*;

    2. subjects: generated by collective imagination: *dragon*, *fairy*, *werewolf*, *wereworm*, *werebear*, *vampire*; invented by the author: *ent*, *halfling*, *balrog*;

    3. locations: *downs*, *moors*, *caves*, *tunnels*, *dales*, *wetlands*, *marshes*;

    4. span of time: *days*, *years*, *times*, *age*;

    5. qualities: *timeless*, *clockless*, *eternal*, *immortal*, *immemorial*, *secret*, *magic*, *bewitched*, *mysterious*, *strange*, *hidden*, *imagined*;

    6. phenomena: *vision*, *phantom*;

    7. processes: *foresee*, *enchant*, *confuse*, *bewilder*, *imagine*, *dream*.

 B. Means of secondary designation comprise tropes or stylistically marked designations:

A. nicknames:

   1. glorifying names: *Samwise the Brave*;

   2. humiliating names: *Gandalf Stormcrow*, *Grima Wormtongue*;

   3. cognomen glorifying names: *Smaug the Chiefest and Greatest of Calamities*;

   4. pseudonyms: *Smeagol*, *Mr.Underhill*, *Grey Piligrim*;

B. toponyms:

   1. natural: lands and regions: *Lothlórien*, *The Shire*; rivers: *Brandywine*, *Entwash*; waterfalls: *Stair Falls*; lakes and seas: *Forbidden Pool*; coasts: *Cape of Forochel*; islands: *Carrock*; woods: *Mirkwood*, *The Old Forest*; mountains: *Cloudyhead*, *Redhorn*; hills: *Weathertop*, *Ravenhill*; moors: *North Moors*; caves and tunnels: *Paths of the Dead*, *Glittering Caves*; lowlands and valleys: *Wizard's Vale*, *Deeping-coomb*; marshes: *Dead Marshes*; fields and plains: *Field of Celebrant*.

   2. artificial: dwellings: *Last Homely House*; cities and towns: *Hobbiton*; public institutions: *Houses of Healing*, *The Mill*; castles, fortresses, and towers: *Citadel*, *Tower of Cirith Ungol*; other buildings: *Black Gate*, *Brandywine Bridge*; ways and streets: *Silent Street*, *Morgul-road*; paths: *Gap of Rohan*, *Dimrill Stair*.

C. temporal designations: It belongs to the first group of AB or the second? To use small letters in the further subdivision?

   1. days: *the Elder Days*, *Wandering Days*, *the days of the Last Alliance*, *the Middle Days*, *the Younger Days*;

   2. years: *eleventy-one years*, *the Black Years*, *the swift years*;

   3. times: *Old times*, *Dark times*, *Stiff times*;

   4. age, epoch: *immemorial age*, *the Third Age*, *the Fourth Age*;

   5. events: *the War of the Ring*, *Entmoot*, *Fall of Sauron*, etc.

The processive means include:

A. the primary designation means referred to predicatives that name the actions and states concerning the imaginary:

1. verbs expressing states: physical: *shimmer*, *look*; emotional: *scare*, *heal*, *attain*, *charm*; psychical or mental: *seem*, *dream*, *believe*, *imagine*, *hallucinate*, *bewitch*, *enchant*, *fancy*, *change*, *foretell*, *mystify*, etc.
2. verbs expressing actions: *disappear*, *vanish*, *transform*, *hide*, *turn into*, etc.

B. the means of secondary designation incorporating tropes or stylistically marked designations for realizing the imaginary actions and processes:

(35) *Dreams and legends spring to life out of the grass* (ibid., p. 36).

(36) *The lord of <u>the eagles</u> of the Misty Mountains <u>had eyes that could look at the sun unblinking</u>, and <u>could see a rabbit moving on the ground a mile below</u> even in the moonlight* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The hobbit", p. 121).

(37) *Don't let him <u>turn</u> me <u>into</u> <u>anything unnatural</u>*! (J.R.R. Tolkien "The fellowship of the ring", p. 73).

The attributive means combine:

A. the primary designation means that are referred to attributes describing phenomena and states concerning the imaginary: phenomena: *unreal*, *secret*, *invisible*, *magic*, *mysterious*, *obscure*, *ghostly*; states: *wicked*, *dead*, *alive*, *bewitched*, *enchanted*, *foreseen*, etc.
B. the means of secondary designation that comprise tropes or stylistically marked designations describing states, phenomena, processes, and results of manifestation of the imaginary:

(38) *<…> some <u>cunning devilry</u>* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The hobbit", p. 271).
(39) *[Gandalf] <u>a servant of the secret fire</u>, wielder of the flame of Anor* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The fellowship of the ring", p. 344).

(40) _Saruman's face grew livid, twisted with rage, and a red light was kindled in his eyes_ (J.R.R. Tolkien "The two towers", p. 188).

(41) _You were in gravest peril while you wore the Ring, for then you were half in the wraith-world yourself, and they might have seized you_ (J.R.R. Tolkien "The fellowship of the ring", p. 234).

(42) _Those lands had changed much since the days when dwarves dwelt in the Mountain, days which most people now remembered only as a very shadowy tradition_ (J.R.R. Tolkien "The hobbit", p. 220).

(43) _He came alone, and in bear's shape; and he seemed to have grown almost to giant-size in his wrath_ (ibid., p. 334).

3.4 Investigation of the semantics of the imaginary inventory for construction of the semantic-associative field as a systematized set of different lexical units associated with the imaginary

A complex of all lexical units belonging to different morphological groups is modeled in the form of a semantic-associative field (SAF) (Бойко 2013: 116-138) "the imaginary" (Fig. 3) as all units interrelate on the basis of semantic unity (Четова 2014; Fawcett & Halliday 2015) and associative relations (Goddard & Wierzbiska 2014). According to its structural and semantic organization SAF "the imaginary", being in scope of the fourth task of research, is considered to be a macro field, as it incorporates three micro fields – "the magic" (A), "mysticism" (B), and "chimera" (C), each of which reveals certain facets of the imaginary. The core lexemes of the defined micro fields are their dominant units – the magic, mysticism, chimera, that serve as the basis for the identification of the literary concepts of the imaginary.
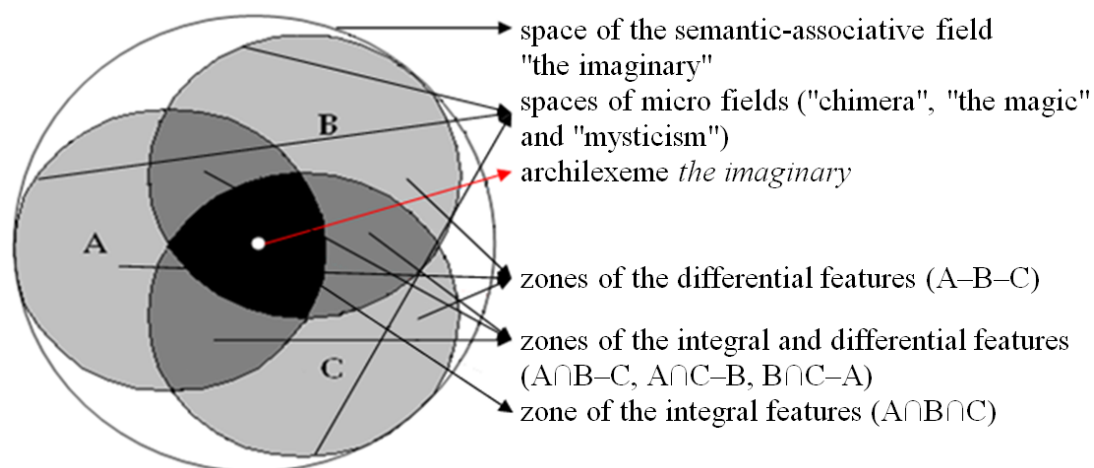
Figure 3. Interaction of the micro fields "the magic", "mysticism",
and "chimera" (after Chetova 2014: 102)

The SAF "the imaginary" shows the integral and differential features between its components – micro fields (zones A, B, and C) – which present the similarities (symbol "∩") and differences (symbol "–") in the semantic and associative content of the verbal means denoting the imaginary.

For instance, while analysing *fairy* among the verbal means of imaginary atmosphere we observe the case when all three micro fields are involved as it is an imaginary chimerical creature (C) with magic powers (A), usually represented as a very small person with wings that appears in certain mystical places (B), so we have a zone where these three fields intersect and demonstrate the integral features – A∩B∩C.

We have a partly similar situation with *palantir* as it is regarded as a magical artefact with a mystical influence, but it is not a chimeric living being. Thus, in the macro field it occupies the place of integral and differential zones – A∩B–C, as its semantic content includes the aspects of being a magical thing (A) with certain mystical features (B), but excludes being a chimeric living creature and is not associated with it (C).

The case with *Entmoot* is absolutely different being a rare gathering and meeting of Ents (a very old race that appeared in Middle-earth envisioned as shepherds of the trees

to protect the forests from various perils). As the observation proves, neither semantic nor associative contents of this verbal means contain information about the magic (A) or mysticism (B), thus it belongs to a zone with exceptionally differential features – A–B–C.

Thus, having analysed the inventory of the verbal means of imaginary atmosphere, we grouped them into three micro fields according to semantic and associative contents and into integral, transitive (integral and differential), and differential zones between these fields referring to their common and distinctive features.

3.5 Reconstruction of the model of literary concepts with their notional and figurative-associative layers

This reconstruction is preceded by the identification of literary concepts of the imaginary being the realization of the fifth task of the research that presupposes the application of a semantic and cognitive analysis of verbal means within discourse as a context-sensitive interpretation (Kuźniak 2018: 108) of imaginary atmosphere along with the methods of reconstruction and identification of the literary concepts (Ніконова 2008) as mental units of the author's understanding and explanation of the imaginary.

Thus, verbal means of imaginary atmosphere of different levels – simple, compound, and complex – are analysed with regard to their semantic and associative correlation between the name of the literary concept and its verbal representants.

In the process of analysis, we distinguish direct and indirect semantic correlation. For instance, in the following sentence

(44) *Even now he looked at the stone trolls with suspicion, wondering if <u>some **magic** might not suddenly bring them to life</u> again* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The fellowship of the ring", p. 218).

we observe direct correlation as the key element of the theme – the word *'magic'* – is used as the name of the thematic dominant unit of the imaginary marked context and as the name of the literary concept THE MAGIC. In the sentence

(45) *William never spoke for <u>he stood **turned to** stone</u> as he stooped; <...>* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The hobbit", p. 50)

where, as we understand, one of the characters is under a spell as the semantic content of the phrasal verb *'to turn to'* contains the seme 'to cast a spell' that is associated with the sphere of the magic, thus there is an indirect correlation between the key element and the thematic dominant unit, owing to which we identify the name of the literary concept THE MAGIC.

In the context of the following sentences (46), we deal with the case of associative correlation as the content of the sentences has no exact key words denoting certain phenomenon, but is associated with mysticism. Thus, the identification of the literary concept MYSTICISM is realized on the basis of the associative type of correlation between the name of the literary concept and its verbal representants.

(46) *<u>Time wore on,</u> <u>but it seemed to have little effect</u> on Mr. Baggins. <u>At ninety he was much the same as at fifty</u>* (J.R.R. Tolkien "The fellowship of the ring", p. 29).

The utter content compression of the imaginary marked contexts made it possible to define the key themes with thematic words that are potential names of the thematic dominants. The latter served the designation of the literary concepts of the imaginary. As a result, the following literary concepts of the imaginary were identified: THE MAGIC, MYSTICISM, IMAGINARY SPACE, IMAGINARY TIME, IMAGINARY SUBJECT, and IMAGINARY OBJECT.

The literary concepts of the imaginary are multidimensional mental formations that are represented as two-level models, where the notional and the figurative-associative layers interact.

The modelling of the above-mentioned layers is predetermined by the character of the information and is done through the application of a conceptual and frame analysis, as well as an analysis in terms of conceptual metaphor and semantic-associative fields.

Thus, the notional layer is composed of the conceptual components, revealed on the basis of the explicit information in the imaginary marked contexts. For example, from sentence (47) we get certain information about magic that enables to form the notional content of the literary concept THE MAGIC.

(47) *But the wizard was taking no risks. He lit up his wand* <...> (J.R.R. Tolkien "The hobbit", p. 70).

The figurative-associative layer of the literary concept is composed of a set of conceptual metaphors that present implicit information concerning certain aspects of the imaginary realised in the imaginary marked contexts. For instance, in sentence (48) magic is introduced as *'the black arts'*. Such a figurative comparison allows reconstructing the conceptual metaphor MAGIC IS AN ART.

(48) *Many became enamoured of the Darkness and the black arts;* <...> (J.R.R. Tolkien "The two towers", p. 286).

Thus, the mentioned two layers of the literary concept disclose universal knowledge about the phenomenon as well as the writer's associations, which explain his perception and interpretation of the imaginary in his literary works.

3.6 Composition of the conceptual space of THE IMAGINARY *as a mental formation reflecting J.R.R. Tolkien's perception and interpretation of the imaginary*

The system combination of the structural components of the literary concepts of the imaginary – the notional and the figurative-associative layers – forms the corresponding planes of the macro conceptual construct of the conceptual space of THE IMAGINARY in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works (Fig. 4).
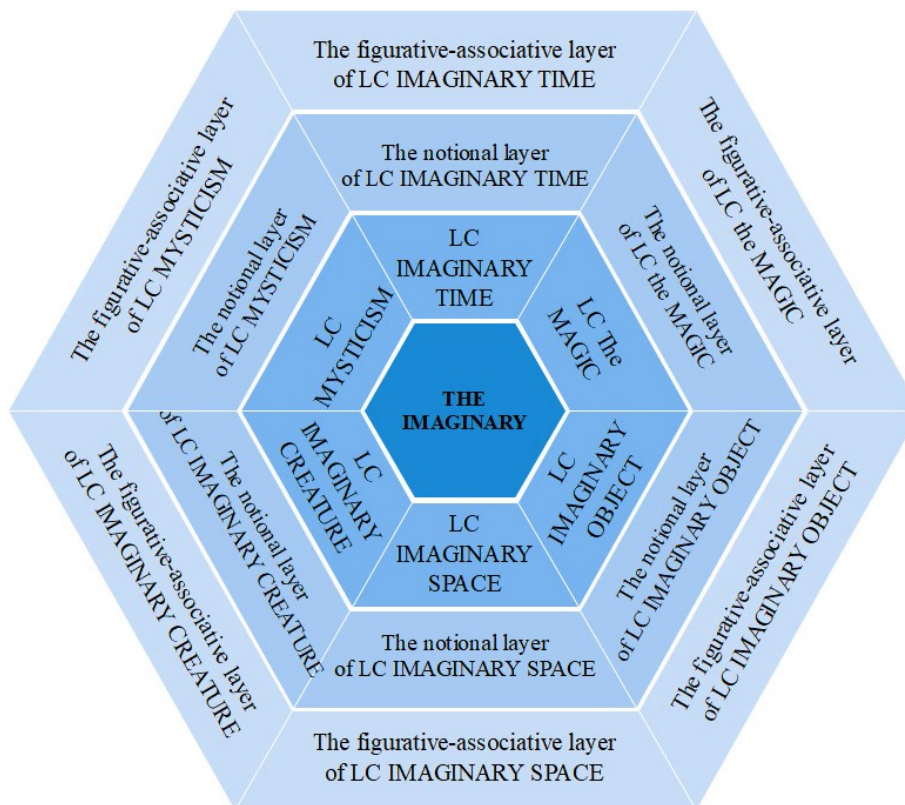

Figure 4. Structure of the conceptual space of THE IMAGINARY
in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works (after Nikonova & Chetova 2016: 89)

The notional plane of the conceptual space of THE IMAGINARY, the profound analysis of which is presupposed by the sixth task of the research, is presented as a frame that reflects the system interaction of the notional layers of the literary concepts of the imaginary and contains basic universal knowledge about the imaginary and its constituents – magic, mysticism, imaginary creatures, objects, space, and time actualized in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works. For instance, magic involves special

knowledge and skills, methods and rituals that influence the environment and creatures in an unnatural manner for reaching a certain purpose pursued by the magician.

The figurative-associative plane of the conceptual space THE IMAGINARY in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works, the deep insight of which is predetermined by the seventh task of the research, is presented as a set of conceptual metaphors and reveals the author's individual associations (Kövecses 2015; 2017) and interpretation of the imaginary and its constituents – magic, mysticism, imaginary creatures, objects, space, and time. The reconstructed associates identified as the names of the concepts-correlates in conceptual metaphors are connected with semantic and associative relations forming the complex structure of the figurative-associative plane of the conceptual space THE IMAGINARY.

As a result of grouping of all associations and their hierarchical ranking on the basis of quantitative parameters of realization (see Table 2), the following most frequent associations were identified: *danger* and *the Good / Evil* that reveal the essence of the author's associations with the imaginary in the utter laconic form: *the dangerous secret opposition between the Good and the Evil* that is actually the main theme of J.R.R. Tolkien's works.

Table 2. Hierarchy of associative attributes of the literary concepts of the imaginary according to the frequency of usage

#	Associative attribute	Frequency of realizations
1-3.	THE GOOD / THE EVIL, DANGER, SECRET	3 times each
4-18.	FATE, POWER, CONTAINER, GIFT, HORROR, LIVING BEING, BETRAYER, TALE, DREAM, TRANSFORMATION, OTHERWORLD, CURSE, DESTROYER, HEALER, MIRACLE	twice
19-84.	STARTING POINT, ATTRIBUTE, ANACHRONICITY, SAFETY, CUT-OFF, HOME, SAVAGE, ABSENCE, IMMORTALITY, WIND, ENEMY, GAME, DURABILITY, HELP, RELAY, CRUELTY, OBLIVION, RIDDLE, OMEN, MEANS, DEFENDER, WEAPON, MIRAGE, KNOWLEDGE, LIE, JEWEL, DISAPPEARING, WISDOM, COMMUNICATION, HOPE, HYPOCRITE, LOCATION, THE MAGIC, SKILL, ART, INVISIBILITY, EXTRAORDINARINESS, TRAP, SCIENCE, UNCERTAINTY, FOG, FORETASTE, BIRD, OBSCURENESS, GHOST, INFINITY, COUNTLESSNESS, VALUE, PROMPT, WEREWOLF, NONENTITY, (LAND)MARK, EMPTINESS, RIVER, MONSTER, DEATH, PROVOKER, PROPHECY, DISSOCIATIVE IDENTITY, STRENGTH, TREASURE, TEMPTATION, UNIQUENESS, BURDEN, PREDATOR, CEMETERY	once

Other frequent associations concerning the author's imaginary are: *destiny*, *healing*, *power*, *living being*, *gift* that reflect the faith of the characters and of the writer in higher powers and fate and are able to become a gift, to realize the impossible, to heal or betray, to curse, and destroy. *Transformation* and *Value* realize another group of associations with Middle-earth namely *the transformation of values*. Besides a certain contradiction between the associations (*hope* and *hopelessness*, *danger* and *safety*) that was discovered in the process of analysis of associations the mission of the main characters is described rather clearly.

4. Conclusion

Thus, a complex analysis of the genre, textual, lingual, and cognitive peculiarities of the realization of the imaginary in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works made it possible to model the linguo-cognitive configuration of the fantasy genre as a system interaction of the imaginary concepts in the IMAGINARY conceptual space, that shows J.R.R. Tolkien's peculiar understanding and interpretation of the imaginary, and its dominant sense reflects the author's individual consideration of the imaginary and consists of his attempt to approach the imaginary to the real as much as possible, to

present it as *probable*, *possible*, *believable*, to reveal it as *organic* and *credible* and to make the reader perceive it seriously as *the highest and purest form of human creativity*.

Since J.R.R. Tolkien is considered to be the pioneer of the fantasy genre and the imaginary – to be the genre-forming feature, it gives the grounds to claim that all writers-followers of J.R.R. Tolkien have adhered to the ways and means of literary realization of the imaginary from genre through text and language to conceptual space.

The applied complex multidimensional approach to the investigation of the linguistic and conceptual content of J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works is predetermined by the specificity of the literary style and genre affiliation of the material of the analysis and assumes the possibility of its application for the analysis of other categories and atmospheres embodied in the literary works of other forms and genres that is the prospect of scientific research.

List of abbreviations

SAF – semantic-associative field

VT – Visual thesaurus

References

Balossi, G. (2014). *A corpus linguistic approach to literary language and characterization: Virginia Woolf's "The waves"*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Bamberg, M. (2014). Identity and narration. In *Handbook of narratology*. Huhn, P., Meister, J.C., Pier, J. & Schmid, W. (eds.). Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter, p. 241-252.

Belekhova, L.I. (2002). *Image space of American poetry: Linguo-cognitive perspective*. Thesis for the Doctor's degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Byelyekhova L.I. *Obraznyj prostir amerykans'koyi poeziyi: Linhvokohnityvnyj aspekt*. Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya doktora filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 –

hermans'ki movy. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Бєлєхова Л.І. *Образний простір американської поезії: Лінгвокогнітивний аспект*. Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня доктора філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Borghi, A.M., Barca, L., Binkofski, F., Castelfranchi, C., Pezzulo, G. & Tummolini, L. (2018). Words as social tools: Language, sociality and inner grounding in abstract concepts. In *Physics of life reviews*. December, 6. Available at: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/30573377

Boyko, Ya.V. (2013). *Aesthetic evaluation in poetic text: Linguo-cognitive analysis (based on English romantic lyrics)*. Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Donetsk: Donetsk National University. / Boyko Ya.V. *Estetychna otsinka u poetychnomu teksti: Linhvokohnityvnyj analiz (na materiali liryky anhlijs'koho romantyzmu)*. Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Donets'k: Donets'kyj natsional'nyj universytet. / Бойко Я.В. *Естетична оцінка у поетичному тексті: Лінгвокогнітивний аналіз (на матеріалі лірики англійського романтизму)*. Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Донецьк: Донецький національний університет.

Bragina, J. (2012). *A cognitive stylistic analysis of J.R.R. Tolkien's fantasy world of Middle-earth*. Thesis for the Doctor's degree in philology. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

Chetova, N.Yo. (2014). *Linguo-conceptual space of THE IMAGINARY in the English classical fantasy (based on J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works)*. Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kherson: Kherson State University. / Chetova N.Yo. *Linhvokontseptual'nyj prostir UYAVNE v anhlomovnomu klasychnomu fentezi (na materiali tvoriv Dzh.R.R. Tolkina)*. Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Kherson: Khersons'kyj derzhavnyj

universytet. / Четова Н.Й. *Лінгвоконцептуальний простір УЯВНЕ в англомовному класичному фентезі (на матеріалі творів Дж.Р.Р. Толкіна)*. Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Херсон: Херсонський державний університет.

Fawcett, R. & Halliday, M. (2015). *The semiotics of culture and language*. London – New York – Sydney: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Freeman, M. (1999). Metaphor and metonymy as conceptual mappings. In *6th international cognitive linguistics conference, Sweden, 10-16 July, 1999: Abstracts*. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, p. 10-16.

Freeman, M. (2000). Poetry and the scope of metaphor: Toward a cognitive theory of literature. In *Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads: A cognitive perspective*. Berlin – New York: Moulton de Gruyter, p. 253-281.

Freeman, M. (2002). The body in the world: A cognitive approach to the shape of a poetic text. In *Cognitive stylistics: Language and cognition in text analysis*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing House, p. 23-48.

Freud, S. (1955). Das Unheimliche. In *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. XII, p. 229-268.

Goddard, C. & Wierzbiska, A. (2014). *Words and meanings: Lexical semantics across domains, languages, and cultures.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Goldstone, R.L., Kersten, A. & Carvalho, P.F. (2017). Categorization and concepts. In *Stevens' handbook of experimental psychology and cognitive neuroscience*. Wixted, J.T. (ed.). p. 275-317. DOI: 10.1002/9781119170174.epcn308

Halych, O. (2018). Mysterious fears: Lexical means of expressing the conceptual category of the mystic in English Gothic narration of the 18th century. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Poland, III (2), December 2018, p. 38-71. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0014

Hoemann, K. & Feldman Barrett, L. (2019). Concepts dissolve artificial boundaries in the study of emotion and cognition, uniting body, brain, and mind. In *Cognition & emotion*, 33 (1), p. 67-76. DOI: 10.1080/02699931.2018.1535428

Kaganovska, O.M. (2003). *Textual concepts of literary prose: Cognitive and communicative dynamics (A study of the mid-20-th century French novels).* Thesis for the Doctor's degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.05 – Romance languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Kahanovs'ka O.M. *Tekstovi kontsepty khudozhn'oyi prozy: Kohnityvna ta komunikatyvna dynamika (na materiali frantsuz'koyi romanistyky seredyny XX storichchya).* Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya doktora filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.05 – romans'ki movy. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Кагановська О.М. *Текстові концепти художньої прози: Когнітивна та комунікативна динаміка (на матеріалі французької романістики середини XX сторіччя).* Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня доктора філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.05 – романські мови. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Kolesnyk, O.S. (2003). *Language means of reflecting a mythic image of the world in old English epic poems and modern British fantasy novels: Linguo-cognitive aspect.* Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Kolesnyk O.S. *Movni zasoby vidobrazhennya mifolohichnoyi kartyny svitu: Linhvokohnityvnyj aspekt (na materiali davnoanhlijs'koho eposu ta suchasnykh brytans'kykh khudozhnikh tvoriv zhanru fentezi).* Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Колесник О.С. *Мовні засоби відображення міфологічної картини світу: Лінгвокогнітивний аспект (на матеріалі давньоанглійського епосу та сучасних британських художніх творів жанру фентезі).* Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Korotkova, L.V. (2001). *Semantic, cognitive and functional aspects of textual anomalies in modern English prose.* Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Korotkova L.V. *Semantyko-kohnityvnyj ta funktsional'nyj aspekty tekstovykh*

anomalij u suchasnij anhlomovnij khudozhnij prozi. Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Короткова Л.В. *Семантико-когнітивний та функціональний аспекти текстових аномалій у сучасній англомовній художній прозі*. Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Kövecses, Z. (2017). Conceptual metaphor theory. In *The Routledge handbook of metaphor*. Semino, E. & Demjén, Zs. (eds.). Oxford: Routledge, p. 13-27.

Kövecses, Z. (2018). Metaphor in media language and cognition: A perspective from conceptual metaphor theory. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, III (1), June 2018, p. 124-141. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0004

Kövecses, Z. (2015). *Where metaphors come from: Reconsidering context in metaphor.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kuźniak, M. (2018). Hot issues in cognitive linguistics. In *Language in the new millennium: Applied-linguistic and cognitive-linguistic considerations*. Uberman, A. & Dick-Bursztyn, M. (eds.). Berlin: Peter Lang, p. 95-116.

LotrProject. Available at: http://lotrproject.com/statistics/books/keywordsearch

Morère, J. (2014) Introduction: The spatial imaginary in contemporary British literature and the arts. In *Études britanniques contemporaines*, 47. Available at: http://journals.openedition.org/ebc/1770

Murphy, G. (2019). Categories and concepts. In *Noba textbook series: Psychology*. Biswas-Diener, R. & Diener, E. (eds). Champaign: DEF. p. 512-529. Available at: https://nobaproject.com/modules/categories-and-concepts

Nikonova, V.H. (2008). *Conceptual space of the tragic in Shakespeare's plays: A cognitive-poetic analysis.* Thesis for the Doctor's degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Nikonova V.H. *Kontseptual'nyj prostir trahichnoho v pyesakh Shekspira: Poetyko-kohnityvnyj analiz*. Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya doktora

filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Ніконова В.Г. *Концептуальний простір трагічного в п'єсах Шекспіра: Поетико-когнітивний аналіз*. Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня доктора філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Nikonova, V.H. (2010). Image of the world in Shakespeare's tragedies: Problem of reconstruction and modelling. In *Scientific notes of Kirovohrad Volodymyr Vynnychenko State Pedagogical University. Series "Philology" (Linguistics)*. Kirovohrad: Editing and publishing department of Kirovohrad Volodymyr Vynnychenko State Pedagogical University, 89 (1), p. 255-260. / Nikonova V.H. Kartyna svitu v trahediyakh Shekspira: Problema rekonstruktsiyi ta modelyuvannya. In *Naukovi zapysky Kirovohrads'koho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni V. Vynnychenka. Seriya "Filolohichni nauky" (Movoznavstvo)*. Kirovohrad: Redaktsijno-vydavnychyj viddil Kirovohrads'koho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho universytetu im. V. Vynnychenka, 89 (1), p. 255-260. / Ніконова В.Г. Картина світу в трагедіях Шекспіра: Проблема реконструкції та моделювання. In *Наукові записки Кіровоградського державного педагогічного університету імені В.Винниченка. Серія "Філологічні науки" (Мовознавство)*. Кіровоград: Редакційно-видавничий відділ Кіровоградського державного педагогічного університету ім. В. Винниченка, 89 (1), p. 255-260.

Nikonova, V. & Boyko, Ya. (2019). Gender-specific emotivity of Victorian female prosefrom a multidimensional perspective. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, 2019, IV(1), June 2019, p. 47-82.

Nikonova, V.H. & Chetova, N.Y. (2016). Linguo-cognitive configuration of English classical fantasy. In *Newsletter of Kyiv National Linguistic University. Series "Philology"*. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University Publishing House, 19 (1), p. 85-94. / Nikonova V.H., Chetova N.Yo. Linhvokohnityvna konfihuratsiya anhlomovnoho klasychnoho fentezi. In *Visnyk Kyyivs'koho natsional'noho linhvistychnoho universytetu. Seriya "Filolohiya"*. Kyyiv: Vydavnytstvo Kyyivs'koho

natsional'noho linhvistychnoho universytetu, 19 (1), s. 85-94. / Ніконова В.Г., Четова Н.Й. Лінгвокогнітивна конфігурація англомовного класичного фентезі. In *Вісник Київського національного лінгвістичного університету. Серія "Філологія"*. Київ: Видавництво Київського національного лінгвістичного університету, 19 (1), с. 85-94.

Oosterwijk, S., Touroutoglou, A. & Lindquist, K.A. (2014). The neuroscience of construction: What neuroimaging can tell us about how the brain creates the mind. In *The psychological construction of emotion*. Barrett, L.G. & Russell, J.A. (eds.). New York: Guilford.

Pavkin, D.M. (2002). *Fairy land image in the novels by J.R.R. Tolkien: A cognitive linguistic analysis*. Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Pavkin D.M. *Obraz charivnoyi krayiny v romanakh Dzh.R.R. Tolkiyena: Linhvokohnityvnyj analiz*. Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Kyyiv: Kyyivs'kyj natsional'nyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Павкін Д.М. *Образ чарівної країни в романах Дж.Р.Р. Толкієна: Лінгвокогнітивний аналіз*. Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

Poloma, M. (2003). *Main street mystics: The Toronto blessing & reviving Pentecostalism.* Walnut Creek: Alta Mira Press.

Poveda, J. (2004). *The imagery in J.R.R. Tolkien's fantasy of Middle-earth*. Thesis for the doctor's degree in philosophy. Alicante: University of Alicante.

Roget's 21st century thesaurus. Available at: http://thesaurus.com/browse/imaginary

Titlestad, M. (2013). The wrecking light in the literary imaginary. In *Clio: A journal of literature, history, and the philosophy of history*, 43 (1), p. 77-96.

Tolkien, J.R.R. (2001). *The fellowship of the ring*. Boston – New York: Houghton Mifflin Co.

Tolkien, J.R.R. (2006). *The hobbit*. London: Harper Collins Publishers.

Tolkien, J.R.R. (2001a). *The return of the king*. Boston – New York: Houghton Mifflin Co.

Tolkien, J.R.R. (2001b). *The two towers.* Boston – New York: Houghton Mifflin Co.

Turner, M. (1991). *Reading minds: The study of English in the age of cognitive science*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Turner, M. (1996). *The literary mind: The origins of thought and language.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Visual thesaurus. Available at: https://www.visualthesaurus.com/

Vorobyova, O.P (2004a). Cognitive poetics: Achievements and prospects. In *Newsletter of V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University*. Kharkiv: V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University Publishing House, 635, p. 18-22. / Vorobjova O.P. Kohnityvna poetyka: Zdobutky i perspektyvy. In *Visnyk Kharkivs'koho natsional'noho universytetu imeni V.N. Karazina*. Kharkiv: Vydavnytstvo Kharkivs'koho natsional'noho universytetu imeni V.N. Karazina, 635, s. 18-22. / Воробйова О.П. Когнітивна поетика: Здобутки і перспективи. In *Вісник Харківського національного університету імені В.Н. Каразіна.* Харків: Видавництво Харківського національного університету імені В.Н. Каразіна, 635, с. 18-22.

Vorobyova, O.P. (2004b). Virginia Woolf from the linguistic personality perspective: A cognitive etude. In *Languages and transformational issues.* Moscow – Tambow: Tambow State University, 2, p. 50-55. / Vorobyova O.P. Virdzhiniya Vul'f v aspekte yazykovoj lichnosti: Kognitivnyj etyud. In *Yazyki i transnatsional'nyye problemy*. Moskva – Tambov: Tambovskij gosudarstvennyj universitet, 2, s. 50-55. / Воробьёва О.П. Вирджиния Вульф в аспекте языковой личности: Когнитивный этюд. In *Языки и транснациональные проблемы*. Москва – Тамбов: Тамбовский государственный университет, 2, р. 50-55.

Zuo, X. (2008). *A cognitive stylistic analysis of "The lord of the rings"*. Master's Thesis. Wuhan: Central China Normal University.

Contact data
Nataliia Chetova
CSc. (Philology),
Associate Professor,
Department of Foreign
Languages, Lviv
Polytechnic National
University, Lviv, 73013
Ukraine e-mail:
kern_nata@ukr.net

Fields of interest
Discourse analysis of a literary text, cognitive linguistics and cognitive poetics, cognitive semantics of a literary text, cognitive modelling of literary concepts and conceptual spaces of literary texts.

Résumé

The article focuses on revealing the interaction of genre, text, language, and conceptual space in the actualization of imaginary atmosphere through the reconstruction of the peculiarities of the author's understanding and interpretation of the mentioned atmosphere in the literary works as the utter form of its manifestation. The scope of the present investigation covers the fantasy genre as one of the most fruitful literature categories of the realization of the imaginary, namely the literary works of J.R.R. Tolkien as its pioneer and brightest representative. The study is done by means of the analysis of the linguistic and cognitive properties of the original literary texts. In the process of investigation, it was found that the conceptual space of THE IMAGINARY is the highest level of abstract of the imaginary in J.R.R. Tolkien's literary works as mental formations reflecting the writer's perception and interpretation of the imaginary through the selection of appropriate verbal means that constitute the inventory of the imaginary. The space is composed of the literary concepts of the imaginary extracted from the key themes of the imaginary marked contexts actualized through a variety of verbal means. The structure of the literary concepts of the imaginary is being reconstructed in vertical (hierarchical layers: notional and figurative-associative) and horizontal (architectonics of each layer: a framework of the notional layer and a set of conceptual metaphors of the figurative-associative layer) dimensions that reveal versatile aspects of the literary phenomenon. The analysis of the interaction of genre, text, language, and conceptual space in the actualization of the key, genre-forming atmosphere reflects the complex individual approach of the writer in the creation of a

literary work, namely its image of the world, from a certain perspective. The mentioned interaction serves as the frame to develop the whole versatile interrelated system.

CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF TIME IN ENGLISH:

AN AXIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Mariia Konnova*, Natalia Babenko

Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University, Kaliningrad, Russia

*Corresponding author

Abstract: The paper focuses on historical dynamics of conceptual metaphors of time in the English language. Drawing on lexicographical and textual data from Old-, Middle-, and Modern English, we observe how gradual changes in value systems, from the Christian theocentric outlook of the Middle Ages to the modern secular egocentric worldview, trigger cognitive shifts in the source domain of metaphoric mapping.

Key words: cognitive shift, conceptual metaphor theory, culture, religious outlook, industrial revolution, Renaissance, telecommunications, value.

1. Introduction

Metaphors of time have a long-standing research record. Time differs from other metaphorically conceptualized entities by its inability to be interpreted "literally", in a non-metaphoric manner, as in our every-day worldview there is no natural taxonomic class for time (cf., Бабенко 2010; Плунгян 1997: 160).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), the foundations of which were laid in Lakoff and Johnson's pioneering book "Metaphors We Live By" (1980), has provided powerful tools to analyze various aspects of time perception and verbalization. A conceptual metaphor of time is defined as a systematic set of correspondences or "mappings" between two domains of experience – TIME as a target domain and SPACE/ MOVING OBJECT/ RESOURCE, etc. as a source domain. Metaphoric conceptualizations as

abstract cognitive processes are manifested by various concrete phenomena. It can be physical objects, e.g., calendars as visual representations of the TIME IS SPACE conceptual metaphor. It can be human behaviour, e.g., the habit of leaning slightly forward when talking about the future and backwards when talking about the past as a physical manifestation of THE FUTURE IS AHEAD, THE PAST IS BEHIND conceptual metaphors. It can be linguistic expressions, e.g., *time flies*, *passes*, *flows* as verbal representations of the TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT conceptual metaphor. Close inspection of natural language data, backed by multimodal experimental research, facilitated reconstruction of cognitive schemata that underlie human perception of time (Нильсен 2014; Evans 2013; Evans & Duffy 2017; Huumo 2017; 2018; Moore 2014; Mueller 2016; Pagán Cánovas & Jensen 2013; Radden 2011; Sinha & Enrique 2015; Tenbrink 2011; Traugott 1975; 1978). With CMT's emphasis on the role of the body as the experiential basis of conceptualization much attention is paid to the physiological underpinnings of temporal concepts, particularly, to image-schematic knowledge that is mapped from the bodily-based source domains of space and motion onto the more abstract target domain of time (Boroditsky 2018; Cai & Connell 2015; Casasanto 2016; Kranjec 2006; Kranjec et al. 2010; Kranjec & McDonough 2011; Winter et al. 2015 *inter alia*).

Culturally constructed conceptual metaphors of time have been less visible in cognitive research. These metaphors are conditioned by complex culturally embedded conceptual structures, such as systems of values and beliefs, rather than by sensory motor experience alone. Adopting Sharifian's (2017a; 2017b) approach, we will call them **cultural metaphors**. A notable example in this respect is the TIME IS MONEY conceptual metaphor. Systematic metaphorical correlation between time and money remains one of the most frequently quoted examples when CMT is being discussed. Yet, while it is taken for granted that time is perceived through the prism of material assets, little further linguistic research has been conducted in order to trace the origins of this pervasive, albeit highly culture-specific metaphorical thinking (cf., Mueller 2016). This lack of interest in "cultural roots" of metaphoric expressions for time might

be explained by the predominantly synchronic nature of conceptual metaphor analysis in general. As Musolff states, "historical investigations have not been the foremost concern of cognitive metaphor analysis so far" and the semantics of linguistic metaphors continues to be "explained ahistorically as an extension of a fundamental cognitive process" (2011: 71). Synchronic cognitive analysis of conceptual metaphors of time is by no means unjustified and superfluous: quite the opposite, it is absolutely necessary to reconstruct the fundamental mappings that shape English speakers' understanding of time. Still, cognitive analysis needs to be complemented by a historical dimension if it is expected to show more clearly the subtle interplay of language, culture and cognition.

The **aims** of the present paper are twofold, although to some extent overlapping. The first one is to investigate how changes in the system of conceptual metaphors of time are motivated by the changes in the value system held by the English-speaking socium in Britain and the USA. The focus of the paper is on the dynamics of those conceptual metaphors, which are inherently axiological, i.e. related to the hierarchy of values that are shared by a language community. We explore the sociocultural rationales that have engendered the perception of time as a valuable asset and analyze verbal manifestations of axiological metaphors in the English language. The second aim is to examine cognitive underpinnings of metaphor change, particularly to explore cognitive shifts, which at a certain point in history resulted in restructuring the source and target domains of time metaphors.

The research is conducted drawing on a wide **sample** of linguistic realizations of axiologically motivated time metaphors. These have been retrieved from a variety of lexicographical, textual and corpus sources spanning Old-, Middle- and Modern English periods (see section 2.3. Data and methodology). The main **unit of analysis** is a linguistic metaphor, its scope varying from a combination of two notional words, one of them being Nomen Temporalis, to a set of sentences that constitute a sustained metaphor.

With respect to theoretical tenets, this research directly builds on and expands earlier work in CMT (Evans 2013; Kövecses 2010; 2018; Kövecses et al. 2019; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; 1999; 2003; Lakoff & Turner 1989) while putting the main emphasis on the investigation of diachronic processes that have affected the system of English time metaphors over the centuries. We believe the research to be relevant for the further development of present-day metaphor studies as it aims to go beyond CMT in its classical Lakoffian version to interrelated areas of Historical Semantics (Нильсен 2014; Коннова 2017; Чупрына 2000) and Cultural Linguistics (Mischler 2009; Musolff 2011; 2015; Sharifian 2008; 2017a; 2017b; Zykova 2016).

2. Time and its conceptual metaphors

Conceptual Metaphor Theory has revolutionized the study of temporal metaphors in language. Although the concept of time has always generated considerable and abiding interest, it was Lakoff and Johnson's seminal book on metaphors "we live by" (1980), which prompted extensive research into the cognitive nature of metaphorical thinking about time. The reason behind the remarkable consistency, with which CMT is applied when various aspects of time metaphors are studied, is the highly complex nature of time. It is one of those abstract domains that cannot be perceived by any of the five senses and as such cannot be spoken of in its own, purely "temporal" terms. Time remains incomprehensible unless related to a directly perceivable phenomenon and therefore it is usually interpreted in terms of some other conceptual entity. Conceptual metaphors, which are treated by CMT followers as cognitive operations of relating two experiential spheres by way of analogy, allow the mind to represent vague, abstract domains of knowledge that are, like time, neither perceptual nor sensorial in nature. To quote Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 177):

"Many aspects of our experience cannot be clearly delineated in terms of the naturally emergent dimensions of our experience. This is typically the case for human emotions, abstract concepts, mental activity… Though most of these can be experienced directly, none of them can be fully comprehended on their own terms. Instead, we must understand them in terms of other entities and experiences, typically other kinds of entities and experiences".

In cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor itself is understood metaphorically – as a 'mapping' from a more concrete and better structured source domain (e.g., SPACE) to a more abstract and less experientially grounded target domain (e.g., TIME). The mapping that represents the structural identity between two domains takes the form *A* (target domain) is *B* (source domain), e.g., TIME IS A LANDSCAPE WE MOVE THROUGH. Metaphor is thus viewed as a mode of conceptual representation rather than solely a linguistic phenomenon. As Lakoff claims (1993: 208):

"The metaphor is not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason. The language is secondary. The mapping is primary, in that it sanctions the use of source domain language and inference patterns for target domain concepts. The mapping is conventional, that is, it is a fixed part of our conceptual system".

Viewing metaphors as specific mental mappings across two conceptual domains – a source domain and a target domain – Lakoff and other conceptual metaphor theorists stress that a cross-domain mapping deals in relational structures and inferences and not just single elements. The resulting fixed set of ontological correspondences between entities in two conceptual domains enables speakers to perceive one mental space in terms of another.

Another relevant feature of CMT is the systematicity of metaphors. Metaphoric expressions are viewed not as a set of random and disconnected linguistic units but as realizations of a common cognitive scheme. Linguistic metaphors, both novel and conventional, are reflections of underlying conceptual mappings.

Since Lakoff and Johnson's 1980 analysis, conceptual metaphors of time have attracted a lot of scholarly attention. Metaphor has been widely recognized as the main cognitive mechanism that structures the abstract concept of time. Most researchers have focused on the study of spatial metaphors (Boroditsky 2018; Cai & Connell 2015; Casasanto 2016; Huumo 2017; 2018; Moore 2014; Radden 2011; Sinha & Enrique 2015; Traugott 1975; 1978, *inter alia*). Other metaphor types have until now received far less attention. Among the rather understudied metaphors we should mention those that are

axiologically motivated. These are conceptual metaphors that touch upon the system of values shared by members of a linguistic community.

This lack of scholarly attention seems unjustified if we consider the crucial role that values fulfill in shaping the way we perceive the world. Value can be broadly defined as a goal that guides a person in their life and sets the standards of their behaviour. Within the broad range of human activities there does not exist a condition where no values are present. Values pervade everything. They determine the meaning of the world as a whole, as well as the meaning of every event and every action. As Lossky and Marshall (1935: 27) justifiably claim, "even the smallest change introduced into the world by any agent has a value and is undertaken only on the ground and for the sake of some value moments".

Values differ by content, universality, hierarchy, intensity. In the present study, we will, following Lossky and Marshall (1935) and Vyzhletsov (1996) distinguish between an absolute value and multiple relative values. Lossky and Marshall (1935: 103) define absolute value as "a value unquestionably justified in itself, and, consequently, possessing the character of goodness from any standpoint, in any relation, and for any subject". For all sentient beings the only all-embracing absolute intrinsic value is represented by the absolute fullness of being that is given in God (ibid., 57). This primary absolute positive value "possesses within itself the meaning that justifies it, makes it an object of approval, gives it the absolute right to be realized and preferred above everything else" (ibid., 99). All other values are secondary and exist only in correlation with the absolute fullness of being, which contains within itself "the coincidence of value and existence" (ibid., 80). Relative or derived values possess the character of goodness only in a certain relation or for certain subjects, while for other subjects and in any other relations they are necessarily connected with evil. Relativity of these values stems from the fact that they inevitably have in them some degree of evil so that one and the same value might give rise to different and even opposing rules and norms of social activity.

With regard to culturally embedded metaphors of time, the distinction between absolute value and relative values will be taken into account when analyzing the source domains of conceptual metaphors of time. Depending on differing cultural rationales, source domains may be centred around either an absolute value (as it will be demonstrated in Section 4.1) or relative values (as it will be shown in Section 4.2).

Axiologically relevant conceptual metaphors are to a great extent rooted in a particular culture and may be viewed as constituent elements of cultural cognition. The latter, according to Sharifian, "embraces the cultural knowledge that emerges from the interactions between members of a cultural group across time and space" (2017a: 38). Cultural cognition is stored and communicated via language, which "acts both as a memory bank and a fluid vehicle for the (re-)transmission of cultural cognition and its component parts" (ibid.). Cultural cognition is dynamic. To quote Sharifian (2008: 244):

"Members of a cultural group negotiate and renegotiate their cultural cognition across generations, vertically, and, horizontally, through a multitude of communicative events. The notion of cognition here encompasses complex systems that are dynamic and ever evolving, rather than a fixed set of representations that extend to a cultural group".

The dynamic nature of cultural cognition makes the need for historical data on metaphors an imperative for researchers. As Allan (2006: 175) notes, "Many of the metaphors pervasive in everyday language are products of their time, and cannot therefore be accounted for without reference to culture".

3. Data and methodology

Our **sample** consists of 750 verbal realizations of axiologically motivated conceptual metaphors of time retrieved from a variety of sources. We examined conceptual metaphors of time and their linguistic manifestations by means of **lexical method** as outlined by Kövecses (2015; Kövecses et al. 2019). We used lexicographic sources (monolingual and bilingual dictionaries of Middle- and Modern English, thesauri, collocation dictionaries, dictionaries of slang, terminological dictionaries) to obtain lexical information that pertains to Nomina Temporalis used metaphorically in

axiologically charged contexts. Our sample was then supplemented by examples extracted from diverse texts spanning Old-, Middle- and Modern English periods. We also analyzed examples taken from the Corpus of Historical American (COHA). Example sentences, phrases and collocations were identified as metaphoric by applying to them the metaphor identification procedure worked out by the Pragglejaz Group (2007; Steen 2007).

The reason why we drew on such heterogeneous sources was the complexity of the aims we wanted to achieve. The process of diachronic change, both cognitive and semantic, is gradual and far from straightforward. It is hardly possible to "detect" minute changes in temporal metaphors by drawing on homogenous linguistic data (solely dictionaries, or texts, or corpora). All examples in our sample, whether they are highly conventional metaphoric expressions taken from Middle English Dictionary or novel metaphoric coinages in Shakespeare's plays, complement each other and help reconstruct a fuller picture of changing metaphors of time.

With respect to methodological background, this research draws on the CMT in its culturally oriented version (Kövecses 2002; 2010; 2015; 2017). We take as a basic premise that conceptual domains, which are involved in cross-domain mapping, represent structured meaningful wholes. These are "coherent organizations of our experiences in terms of natural dimensions (parts, stages, causes, etc.)" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 117). Following Kövecses (2017), we treat domains as consisting of frames. Frames involve more specific and conceptually richer information than domains and capture the various aspects of the latter. The frames in a domain consist, in their turn, of roles and relations between the roles.

In the following sections of the paper, we dwell on the historical dynamics of conceptual metaphors, which over the centuries have determined the way English speakers conceive time and its inherent value. Drawing on linguistic data from Old-, Middle-, and Modern English, we observe how gradual changes in value systems, from

the Christian theocentric outlook of the Middle Ages to the modern secular egocentric worldview, trigger cognitive shifts in the source domain of metaphoric mapping. Building upon CMT we focus upon cognitive shifts, which result in restructuring the source and target domains of conceptual metaphors. We look at how the replacement of the pivotal concept of GIVER in the source domain of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor by that of the OWNER gives rise to such metaphors as TIME IS MONEY. We concentrate on how more recently the telecommunications revolution has been responsible for yet another shift in the source domain of metaphoric mapping resulting in a new conceptual metaphor TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY. We argue that it is in the analysis of the historical "roots" of conceptual metaphors where metaphor studies reach into the broad areas of the Humanities and social sciences, providing an insight into the interrelated processes of conceptual dynamics and linguistic change.

4. Metaphorizing time within changing cultural context

4.1 Christian temporal outlook: Conceptual metaphors of creation and gift

When one says that time is commonly conceptualized as something highly valuable, one should bear in mind that the axiological contours of time in the English-speaking community worldview were shaped under the profound influence of Christianity. For over a millennium, Christianity conditioned conceptual boundaries within which the value and purpose of time were generally perceived.

The "restructuring" of the Anglo-Saxon temporal outlook began in the 7th century, when gradual Christianization of Germanic tribes, which had migrated to the British Isles from mainland Europe, caused a qualitative shift in the way Anglo-Saxons perceived time. That was the Anglo-Saxon "conversion period," a pivotal epoch that saw a mostly pagan society converted into a largely Christian one. As Herman (2017: 48-49) states:

"Christianity became the dominant religion and a driving force of change to both the political

and social structure and the culture of Anglo-Saxon England; it was a religion infused with Classical, Mediterranean, and Late Antique influences, which was transmitted through the aegis of the Church, both directly from the papal mission from Rome and more indirectly and somewhat repurposed from the efforts of the Irish Church".

Under the influence of Christianity, time lost the divine status that had been ascribed to it in the pagan worldview. Anglo-Saxons converts to Christianity regarded time as a creation of He who was the Almighty Maker of heaven and earth, of things visible and invisible (Nicene Creed: 1). The deep and far-reaching shift in temporal thinking, which was entailed by Christianity, led to fundamental transformations in the temporal language. Chupryna (Чупрына 2000: 123-125) observes that the lexemes *hwīl*, *mǣl*, *sǣl*, *fyrst*, *niht* were replaced by previously far less frequent words *tīd*, *tīma* ("time"). In the pre-Christian epoch, these words occupied a peripheral place among linguistic units employed to name temporal phenomena and as such were devoid of associations stemming from the archaic cultural experience of Anglo-Saxons. This made them more suitable to express a new, Christian time concept.

The cultural shift was manifested in the emergence of new axiologically motivated conceptual metaphors of time, namely TIME IS GOD'S CREATION and TIME IS GOD'S GIFT. Originating from the Christian worldview, these metaphors differ in the conceptual domains from which analogies for time are drawn. Let us take a closer look at both of these metaphoric mappings and at some of their representative linguistic manifestations.

4.1.1 The TIME IS GOD'S CREATION conceptual metaphor and its linguistic manifestations in Old- and Middle English texts

In the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION metaphor, time is regarded in terms of things that have been created by God. A cross-domain conceptual mapping takes place. It results in the structure of the source domain CREATION being projected onto that of the target domain TIME.

Linguistic manifestations of the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION conceptual metaphor

have been present in English texts since the Old English period. While musing about time Old English writers did not follow the course of modern rationalist thinking. The logic behind their words and images did not separate the concrete from the abstract, the symbol from the reality symbolized (Лосский 2004). In the examples below, which are taken from King Alfred's (849-899) translation of Saint Augustine's "Soliloquies" and the Anglo-Saxon Hymnarium, time's coming into being and its existence are described in terms of things that are "established" and "governed" by the great Ruler: (1) *Ðu recst þæt gear and redst þurh þæt gewrixle þara feower tyda, þæt ys, lencten and sumer and herfest and winter* (Soliloquies, 53) (*You rule the year, and govern it through the turning of the four seasons, that is, spring and summer and autumn and winter*)*;* (2) *Nihte and dæg ðú ðe gewissast and tídena ðú selst tída* (Hymn. Surt. 6, 6) (*Maker of all, eternal King, you bring about day and night and give the seasons in their times*).

In the cited examples, time is conceptualized not as an abstract entity without beginning or end but as something that that was created ("set" or "established") as an element of the universe. Time, which is perceived as years (OE *gear*), seasons (OE *tíde*), nights (OE *nihte*), and days (OE *dæg*), is not independent or "self-governing". The second and the third example show that time is ruled by its Creator, who governs the year (OE *Ðu recst þæt gear* and *redst þurh þæt*) and brings about days and nights (OE *Nihte and dæg ðú ðe gewissast*).

In Middle English texts linguistic realizations of the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION metaphor are both numerous and diverse. Verbs of creation, i.e. the ones that actualize such meanings as "to shape", "to set", "to form", collocate with various Nomina Temporalis. Among them, there are those denoting seasonal time (e.g., *summer*, *winter*), time in astronomy (e.g., *night*, *day*), and subjective "event-time" (e.g., *moment*, *hour*). Consider the following sentences (all examples below come from the Middle English Dictionary): (1) *þou madest alle þe termes of þe erþe; soomer and veertyme, þou formedest hem* (a 1382 WBible [1] [Bod 959], Ps. 73, 17) (*Thou hast set all the*

borders of the earth: thou hast made summer and winter); (2) *He is king of blis.. þat* *deliþ þe dai fram niȝt* (a 1325 Earth 4/78) (*He is the king of bliss who divides the day from the night*); (3) *He which departeth dai fro nyht Of sevene daies made a weke* (a 1393 Gower CA [Frf 3] 7.961) (*He who separates the day from the night of seven days the week has made*); (4) *It lonyȝt nought to ȝow.. to knowyn tymys, momentys, and stoundys queche þe fadyr of heuene hatz reseruyd in his power* (1500 [1410] Dives and P. 1. 140) (*It is not for you to know the times, moments and hours, which the Heavenly Father has put in his power*).

There were other areas of temporal experience that were profoundly influenced by Christianity. With its focus on eternity and "the world to come" (Matthew 12: 32; Mark 10: 30; Luke 18: 30) the Christian doctrine was instrumental in shaping the Middle English perception of history. The archaic notion of time as an ever repeating cycle of recurring events was replaced by the linear directional conception of history. For the first time, the biblical conception of time presented Western man "with a purposive, goal-directed interpretation of history" (Montgomery 1975: 42). Historical time acquired its beginning in the world's creation, culminated with the Crucifixion and Resurrection and was to end with the Second Coming, Judgment Day, and the universe's consummation:

> *"Christianity established the concept of linear (irreversible) time, which has since dominated ideas of time in Western culture. The Christian belief in the birth, Crucifixion and death of Christ as unique, unrepeatable events made people regard time as a linear path that stretches between past and future"* (Lee & Liebenau 2000: 44).

The birth of Christ, seen as a pivotal point in human history, marked the beginning of the present time, which in Middle English was referred to as the "days of salvation" (ME *halwende daies*). In Middle English texts, a variety of set phrases refer to the new Christian era, among them *the yeer of Crist*, *the yeer of grace*, *the yeer of our Lord*, *the yeer of Incarnacioun*. Some examples that illustrate the point are given below: (1) *Alfred þis noblemon as in þe ȝer of grace he nom Eyȝte hundred & sixty & tuelue þe*

kinedom (c1325 [c1300] Glo. Chron. A [Clg A. 11] 5324) (*Alfred the nobleman in the year of grace eight hundred seventy two took the kingdom*); (2) *In the ʒere fro the Incarnacion of our lorde anno Mllxxij was i-belde the castell of oxonforde* (c 1460 Oseney Reg. 5/6) (*In the year of our Lord's Incarnation MLLXXIJ the fortress of Oxford was built*).

Word combinations like *the yeer of grace*, *the yeer of our Lord* do not simply name a year in secular history. They possess an inherent allusive capacity, which allows them to refer the audience to the starting point of the Christian era (ME *Incarnacioun*). Implicitly, they place personal and social events into the broad context of sacred history.

The Christian conception of history is not restricted to time alone. The everlasting realm of eternity unfolds beyond the finite stretch of physical time. In Middle English texts eternity is very often referred to in temporal terms, being called "a day that never ends" (*dæʒ, þe næfre ne endæþ*), "the day without a night" (*dei wið-ute nihte*, *day wiþ oute nyht*), everlasting life "without time" (*wiþ-outen tyme*). Consider the following examples: (1) *On þam life is an <u>dæʒ, þe næfre ne endæþ</u>* (c 1175 Bod. Hom.) (*In that life there is the day that never ends*); (2) *Bring mi soule in to þe lyht, þer is <u>day wiþ oute nyht</u>* (c1325 Iesu suete is 180) (*Bring my soul into the light where there is day without night*).

4.1.2 The TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor and its verbalizations in Middle- and Modern English texts

The second of the two key conceptual metaphors that present time as value is TIME IS GOD'S GIFT. In Middle and Early Modern English texts, its realizations frequently take the form of short prayers, which are embedded in personal wishes accompanying greetings and farewells. In communicative contexts of the kind, temporal lexemes (e.g., *day*, *night*, *hour*, *year*) function as objects within predicate groups whose main verbs are all synonyms of the word "to give" (e.g., *to send*, *to grant*, *to give*, *to spare*). Very often, as in the examples below, the speaker specifies the quality of time with such

attributes as *good* or *fair*: (1) *God seend vs a ffayre day*! (1450 God be oure [Magd-Ocharter Misc. 306] 1, 6) (*God send us a good day*); (2) *I prey Gode gyf yow goode nyght!* (c 1475 Mankind [Folg V. a. 354] 156) (*I pray God to give you a good night!*).

The conceptual metaphor TIME IS GOD'S GIFT encompasses diverse facets of temporal experience, structuring both existential and "qualitative" dimensions of time. We encounter realizations of this metaphoric mapping in contexts that refer, on the one hand, to how the entire human lifespan is perceived and, on the other hand, to how every single day and events "within" it are regarded. Let us have a look at the sentences below: (1) *Ezechye to deth-ward peyned And yet god addyd ouer xv yere* (a 1475 Ldirige [2] [Dc 332] 356) (*Hezekiah was dying and yet God added fifteen years*); (2) *Man deieþ on manye wise Þe time þat God him sett here Fulfilled is day and ȝeere* (a 1500 Sidrak & B. [Lnsd 793] 2758) (*A man dies in many ways at the time that God has set him and the days and years are fulfilled*). In these examples, the authors reflect upon human destiny. Fifteen years of life that come after what should have been the end for the dying king of Judah Hezekiah are metaphorically described as being *added* by God. The definite point in time when a person's physical existence is to end is referred to as being *set*.

In Middle English realizations of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT metaphor, temporal lexemes are used not only in their literal meaning. Metonymically reinterpreted linguistic expressions, such as the noun *timing* and the phrase *time and space* (both conveying the meaning of "opportunity"), are also employed, proving that it is usually not the abstract "empty" time but the "event time" that is conceptualized. Consider the following 14th and 15th century examples: (1) *I thanke þe lord.. þat hath grauntyd me tyme and space to lyve and byde thys* (a 1475 Ludus C.164/ 52) (*I thank the Lord who has granted me an opportunity to live and wait for this*); (2) *God...giue me seli timinge To thaunen ðis werdes bigininge* (a 1325 [c 1250] Gen. & Ex. 31) (*God give me opportunity to begin this word*).

The source domain GIFT is a complex mental entity that contains several subordinate constituent elements (frames) from which additional, logically inferable, information is drawn. When the elements of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain of TIME, the knowledge that speakers have about the elements of the source domain gives rise to a rich set of correspondences, or entailments. From the GIFT source domain onto the TIME target domain the following frames are mapped: (1) the actional MANAGEMENT OF THE GIFT frame; (2) the teleological PURPOSE OF THE GIFT frame; (3) the axiological VALUE OF THE GIFT frame. In this article, we will, for lack of space, consider only the first of these entailments and its linguistic manifestations in Middle English.

The notion that the gift of time should be properly administrated and used well is central to the MANAGEMENT OF THE GIFT frame. This inference finds its explicit expression in English texts as early as in 1150, as it is articulated in the following example taken from a mid-12th century homily: *Uten we beon carfulle Þæt ure time mid idelnysse us ne losige* (a1150 Vsp. D. Hom. 33Pyc.:34) (*Let us be careful so that we do not lose our time in idleness*). In the cited example, the speaker appeals to his listeners to lead a careful and prudent life (*Uten we beon carfulle*). This plea comes out of concern that time might be misspent or, metaphorically, lost because of idleness (*mid idelnysse*).

Significantly enough, time is not yet generally perceived as individual inviolable property. Conversely, it is widely viewed as a special kind of talent (in its biblical sense, see Matthew 25: 14-30), which is lent for temporary use. Consider the following 14th century example, in which the concept of TIME and, metonymically, of ACTIVITY is inextricably linked to the concept of RESPONSIBILITY: *Ʒe sulle we ʒiue acuntis of al Þat we habbiÞ ibe here... of al Þi time fram ʒer to ʒere* (a1325 Þe grace of godde) (*We shall account for everything that we have done here, for all the time from year to year*).

The mounting concern that the gift of time might be irretrievably lost leads to the idea of the "misuse of time" being additionally emphasized. Linguistically, it is expressed in 14th century texts by synonymous verb collocations *wasten time*, *lōsen time*, *lęsen time*. The latter often takes the form of Past Participle – *lōre(n)*, *lōrn(e)*. Consider the following examples: (1) *Þet uolk …late louieÞ to soupi and to waki be niȝte and wasteÞ Þane time ine ydelnesse* (1340 Ayenb. 52/19) (*Those people love to feast late and to celebrate during the night and waste their time in idleness*); (2) *Lordynges the tyme wasteth nyght and day* ([c1390] Chaucer CT.ML. [Manly-Rickert] B.19-20) (*Lords waste the time both during the night and during the day*); (3) *Time lorn aȝen comen ne may* (1372 Ffor lore of p. 62) (*Lost time will not come again*); (4) *Noman mai his time lore Recovere* (a 1393 Gower CA 3.577) (*None can recover their lost time*).

In 15th century texts, the meaning of the above cited verb combinations is frequently modified by adverbs of manner, e.g., *in vayn*, *in vanytees*, *with oute profite*: (1) *Þei goon synginge & lawhinge, spendinge her tymes in vanytees* (a1425 *Orch.Syon* [Hrl 3432] 346/15) (*They sing and laugh and spend their time in vanity*); (2) *Be war also of hering of tithinges, for þei vnquieten þe hert and..wastith þe tyme with oute profite* (c1460 *Tree & Fruits HG* [McC 132] 104/24) (*Beware of listening to idle talk because it brings worry to the heart and wastes time needlessly*).

Within the GIFT source domain the MANAGEMENT frame is inseparably connected to that of PURPOSE. When mapped onto the TIME target domain, the latter allows speakers to draw relevant teleological inferences about the ultimate aim of time on earth. With regard to everlasting afterlife and the eternal Giver, who grants the gift of days and years and is going to fairly judge the use of these, time is regarded as a short trial period, which is allotted to prepare for the realm of eternity. Let us have a look at the following 14th century example: *Chese Þe good part while Þou hast tyme* (1400 7 Gift HG 154) (*Choose the good part while you have time*).

The appellative force of a heartfelt request to "choose the good part" is intensified by

highlighting the notion of "limit", which is actualized by the temporal conjunction *while* ("as long as"). What is thus of particular importance is that temporal existence is conceptualized within a very broad context of eternity. The latter is perceived not in terms of neutral mathematical infinity but rather in terms of everlasting individual existence, either "life everlasting" or "eternal damnation". It is, therefore, such kind of very specific eternity that puts mortal life into perspective and emphasizes time's immense value. Middle English authors express this idea using the attributive phrase *precious time*. Consider the following example: *Þe ilke Þet ham ... to moche to ydele worddes, hi zecheÞ grat harm.. Vor hy leseÞ Þane time precious* (1340 Ayenb. 52/19) (*Those who tell too many idle words do great harm because they lose their precious time*).

In the Modern English period, the conceptual metaphor TIME IS GOD'S GIFT has been of continuing importance to speakers of English. However, the degree of relevance it attained varied greatly throughout the 16th–20th centuries. During the first part of this long and heterogeneous period (from the 16th century to mid-19th century) Christianity remained a living faith. It continued to shape perceptions and attitudes of the English speaking community to time, which was widely regarded as a gift of inestimable worth. Awareness of everyone's ultimate and inescapable destiny foregrounded the teleological dimension of time thus activating the PURPOSE OF THE GIFT frame. Implications of time being "finite" resulted in a certain degree of anxiety, which, in its turn, prompted moral calls to action. Consider the following illustrative example from an early 18th century private letter. The idea of time's scarcity is expressed in the form of a laconic yet clearly emphatic statement that "time is short": *… so, Christians, do all the good ye can, brethren, for the time is short, Death is coming, don't let him surprise ye with one opportunity neglected, for in the grave all our thoughts perish, that is, all our designs, projects, and resolutions to be good, sober, charitable, to do such a kindness for such a one, to apply such a relief to such a poor soul, and the like, are all over* (John Byrom to Mrs. Brearecliffe, January 23rd 1730; Selections from the journals and papers of John Byrom, 1950: 119).

In 18th–19th century texts, linguistic realizations of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor often take the form of conventionalized set expressions, most of which have their origins in the corresponding Old and Middle English word combinations (e.g., *God grant*, *God give*, *God send*, *God bless*). Time reference of such fixed word combinations differs. Some refer to the sphere of the planned future, both immediate and remote, e.g., *if it please God*, *please God*, *God willing*, *God grant*. Other set phrases, namely, those expressing gratitude and relief (e.g., *thank God*, *Heaven be thanked*) are mostly used in the context of past events. Despite their clichéd character, they are not devoid of their initial meaning and thus not fully automatic or mechanical.

4.1.3 Conceptual metaphors TIME IS GOD'S CREATION, TIME IS GOD'S GIFT in 20th–21st century texts

Throughout the second part of the Modern English period, namely in the late 19th–20th century the scope of linguistic metaphors that are based on the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION, TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual mappings continues to narrow. Nowadays it is mostly limited to religious discourse and scientific texts whose subject matter is religion and its role in culture and history. One comes across numerous realizations of the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION metaphor in popular science publications and academic articles, both in-depth and concise, that explore the Christian view of time. Consider the following fragment of a dictionary entry: *God… established the cycle of days and seasons* by which time is known and reckoned and *possesses the power to dissolve them* according to *his eternal purposes* (Elwell 2001: 774).

While realizations of the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION metaphor are most frequent in scholarly narratives, manifestations of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual mapping tend to occur in non-academic contexts. They are predominantly found in religious texts (sermons, homilies) whose objective is to make recipients (readers, listeners) aware of time's preciousness, thus changing their attitude to time from carefree to responsible. Religious texts, in which the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT metaphor finds its

linguistic expression, are characterized by directive modality. The latter is realized in the form of imperative constructions (commands, requests, proposals, and prohibitions), subjunctive and interrogative sentences as well as rhetorical questions. Axiological entailments of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor are usually explicit. Consider the following example: *Time is the most precious gift we have. With time, everything is possible. The gifts we are born with need time to be birthed. As God gifts us more time every morning, we must give thanks, and use it wisely. <…> Time is a precious gift, a rare gem, a priceless commodity. Use it wisely* (Iyabo 2019).

The superlative degree form of the positively charged evaluative attribute *precious* as well as two metaphoric clichés (*a rare gem, a priceless commodity*) is used not only to accentuate time's great value but also to foreground its primary purpose. The latter is articulated by a modal phrase (*we must give thanks, and use it wisely*) which further on takes the form of an imperative (*Use it wisely*). This reinforces the speaker's point of view, bringing to the fore the PURPOSE frame.

4.2 Time and money: "Economic" metaphors of time

This part of the article dwells upon conceptual metaphors of time whose source domains centre around material values. These metaphors are TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY, and TIME IS MONEY. The section opens with a brief overview of major sociocultural factors that altered the way English speakers perceived time in the late Middle English period. We analyze cognitive shifts in the structure of the source domain of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor. We then focus upon linguistic manifestations of TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY, and TIME IS MONEY conceptual metaphors. These conceptual metaphors are generally thought to be deeply entrenched in the English-speaking community's worldview. The wide use of their linguistic manifestations in the English language does not require additional evidence. We therefore examine only the lesser known among their verbal realizations. As in Section 4.1, special emphasis is placed on the diachronic aspect of linguistic analysis. We start from the earliest verbalizations

of the TIME IS A RESOURCE metaphor (section 4.2.1). We continue with "economic" metaphors of time in Early Modern English basing our analysis on linguistic metaphors retrieved from William Shakespeare's plays (4.2.2). Section (4.2.3) looks at how the TIME IS A COMMODITY conceptual metaphor affected the way people spoke about labour in 18th century British North America. Finally, section (4.2.4) briefly examines the changes in the metaphoric conceptualization of time in the late 20th century.

4.2.1 Origins of the TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY, TIME IS MONEY conceptual metaphors

Linguistic communities in Western Europe experienced gradual change in their value systems in the late Middle Ages. The central emphasis shifted away from the absolute value that is inherent in the divine realm and was placed on the human realm and earthly material values. Rapid advances in material culture, proliferation of money economy, growing interest in astronomy, the invention and widespread use of the mechanical clock all prompted the establishment of a humanistic temporal paradigm during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. This new worldview was not yet purely secular but it was also no longer essentially religious. Time was conceptualized through the lens of material assets and its value was assessed as that of a resource or commodity.

Within this new conceptual framework, which one might call economic, the point of reference for assessing time's value and purpose changed. The concept of ETERNITY was gradually consigned to the periphery of English speakers' conventional worldview. Time ceased to be regarded as a means for obtaining everlasting life and became a means for gaining various kinds of material goods. To quote Menzies (2000: 78-79):

"With the coming of modernity, history (and related time reckoning) became separated from the spiritual frame of personal salvation and applied increasingly to material ends, for example forecasting weather for harvest, or calculating interest on loans. When the mechanical clock came on the scene in the 14th century, the transformation of time was further advanced. Not only was craftspeople's work timed by the clock but the clock hour of standardized equal length gradually replaced horary prayers as the prime unit of time".

The use of time to increase one's own individual material wealth resulted in the gradual shift in the source domain of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor. The central GIVER frame was suppressed, while the formerly peripheral RECIPIENT frame was highlighted. This brought in a new OWNER frame, which became the core element of all "possession" metaphors of time, be it TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY, or TIME IS MONEY.

The initial stage of the above described cognitive shift dates back to the Middle English period. Linguistic realizations of the TIME IS A PERSONAL POSSESSION metaphor, first attested in the 14th century texts, analogize time to a certain kind of substance or a thing, which one may, at will, "keep" (ME *kepen time*), look for and "find" (ME *fynden time and space*), and even "win" (ME *wynne tyme*). Consider the following late 14th–early 15th century examples: (1) *We bisecheþ..þin help..vor to do attachie þulke misdoeres..where & whenne þt jon* <u>*mai kepe time*</u> (1344 *Anc.Pet.* [PRO] SC 8-192.9580) *(We implore you to help arrest those villains, where and when you have time);* (2) *Somtyme it is wit To spende a tyme, a* <u>*tyme for to wynne*</u> (1425 [c1385] Chaucer *TC* [Benson-Robinson] 4.1612) (*Sometimes it is wise to spend time to win time*).

It is in this period that time comes to be perceived as "subservient" to its possessor and as such able of being forced to move faster, if desired. The idea of time losing its "independence" finds its linguistic realization in the late 14th century set phrase *driven awei* (*forth*) *the time*, which literally refers to an action of "chasing time away". Consider the following sentence: *Lat us speke of lusty lif in Troie That we han led, and* <u>*forth the tyme dryve*</u> (1425 [c1385] Chaucer *TC* [Benson-Robinson] 5.394) (*Let us speak about the jolly life that we led in Troy and by doing this drive forth the time*).

The gradual entrenchment of the TIME IS A RESOURCE metaphor was facilitated by the proliferation of usurious (i.e. money lending) practices. The essence of usury was all about "proper" (in economic terms) use of time. Despite the fact that "during much

of human history, the notion of taking interest on a loan made to one's fellow was considered inherently evil and immoral" (Lewison 1999: 330), the charging of interest on borrowed funds continued throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. During the later medieval and Tudor period "money lending was an essential part of the local and regional economies of England" (McIntosh 1988: 557). Usury was condemned by medieval codes, laws, and precepts, both by those that were issued by the Church and by lay authorities. One of the reasons behind usury prohibition was its perception as the sale of time. Usury meant charging interest for the time that money was on loan, therefore, as John Duns Scot (†1308) summarized it in early 14th century, any sale of time was usury. English theologian Thomas of Chobham (†1230) stated that "the usurer sells his debtor nothing that belongs to him, but only the time that belongs to God [*sed tantum tempus qoud dei est*]" (Le Goff 1988: 40).

Widespread use of temporal metaphors in discussions of the legitimacy of usury contributed, albeit not deliberately and probably against the will of those who used them, to establishing a new, "monetary" concept of time. The clear metonymic association between time and money that was formed during this period enabled 14th century speakers to conceptualize moneylenders as similar to some sort of "time administrators". This analogy is reflected in the 14th century compound words *time settere* ("creditor"), *time settinge* ("the extending of credit"). These words may actualize a somewhat sinister connotation, as exemplified by the following sentence: *Þet wors is þe <u>time-zettere</u> ontrewe, huanne he yziȝþ þet uolk mest nyeduol* (1340 *Ayenb.* [Arun 57] 36/6) (*Worst of all acts the deceitful creditor when he abuses people in need*).

A close and well-established association between time and money facilitates a change in the meaning of the lexeme *time*. Semantic narrowing results in it developing a new specialized meaning of "crediting period". This terminological meaning is realized both in the compounds *time-settere*, *time-settinge* and in some verbal collocations, e.g., *to zelle to tyme* ("to sell on credit"), *to sellen tymes* ("to sell credit"): *I seyde to þee*

þat summe of hem lene to vsure, not for to ben iholde open vsureris, but in manye sotile wysis by her couetis þei <u>sillen tymes</u> to her neiȝboris in lenynge of her good (a1425 *Orch. Syon* [Hrl 3432] 291/3) (*I say to you that some of them lend money in a usurious way, but in order not to be considered usurers they do so in many cunning ways, selling times to their neighbours by lending their goods*).

In the example cited above, omission of the preposition *to* shows that time is conceived as something directly affected by economic (monetary) operations, as something that can be equaled to money and thus exchanged or, simply, sold. One may therefore assume that within the communicative context of 15th century money lending, time was regarded as a commodity.

4.2.2 "Economic" perception of time in Early Modern English period: Linguistic realizations of the TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY conceptual metaphors in W. Shakespeare's texts

Conceptual metaphors based on the concept of POSSESSION initially originated as temporal "reflections" of the late Middle English changing cultural and economic realities. However, it was only in early Modern English that the TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY, and TIME IS MONEY conceptual metaphors became entrenched. Substantial evidence of the gradual expansion of these conceptual mappings is provided by metaphors of time in Shakespeare's works. Not only does William Shakespeare extensively employ the already existing realizations of the above-mentioned metaphors but he also frequently coins novel metaphoric expressions. In this subsection, we will analyze verbal realizations of the TIME IS A RESOURCE conceptual mapping in Shakespeare's writings.

When one examines Shakespearean temporal metaphors, one notices that time is often presented as something that is owned or possessed by a particular individual. Consider the following examples: (1) *Take <u>thy fair hour</u>, Laertes. <u>Time be thine</u>* ("The tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark", 1604; Act I, Sc. II); (2) *The ripest fruit first falls, and*

so doth he; / His time is spent ("King Richard the Second", 1596; Act II, Sc. I); (3) *Let every man be master of his time / Till seven at night* ("The tragedy of Macbeth", 1606; Act III, Sc. I); (4) *That you your self may privilege your time / To what you will, to you it doth belong* (Sonnet 58, 1609).

In (1) time is metaphorically equated to a possession by way of double repeating 2nd person possessive pronouns *thy* (*thy hour*), *thine* (*time be thine*). In (2) a similar pattern is actualized but for a slightly different purpose: within the conceptual structure activated by the noun *time* only one frame is foregrounded, that of LIFETIME. Thus, "*His time is spent*" means that time allotted to the hero as his lifetime is over or – metaphorically – *spent*. In (3) the notion of possessing time is coupled with the idea of controlling it; this complex conceptual entity is expressed by the noun metaphor *master of one's time*. In (4) the idea of ownership, emphasized by the verbal metaphor *to you it doth belong*, is additionally highlighted by a fivefold referral to the possessor of time by means of the personal pronoun *you*.

In all of the examples cited above, the OWNER frame is actualized along with that of MANAGEMENT. The reason behind such co-occurrence is the associative link that exists between the concepts of POSSESSING and MANAGING in the source domain. Owners not only possess certain assets but also exploit them to the best advantage. In Shakespeare's plays, we regularly come across references to time as something that is distributed by its owner. Time is metaphorically described as being *spent*, *expended*, consumed by the speaker (speakers) themselves as well as *bestowed* on or *given* (granted) to someone else.

In Shakespeare's texts, the MANAGEMENT frame appears to be highly elaborate. When talking about the resource of time being drawn on, the playwright frequently specifies the way it is used – either efficiently and carefully or indiscriminately and improperly. The latter type is particularly diverse. Alongside employing customary metaphors that became part of accepted usage in the late Middle English period (e.g.,

to waste time, *to lose time*), Shakespeare coins novel creative extensions of conventional metaphors. Take the following examples: (1) The common voice, I see, is verified / Of thee, which says thus: <u>*We trifle time away*</u> ("King Henry the Eighth", 1611; Act V, Sc. III); (2) *If thou shouldst <u>dally half an hour</u>, his life, / With thine ... stand in assured loss* ("The tragedy of King Lear", 1606; Act III, Sc. VI); (3) *Many a duteous and knee-crooking knave... <u>wears out his time</u>* ("The tragedy of Othello, moor of Venice", 1605; Act I, Sc. I).

The way the MANAGEMENT frame is actualized in Shakespeare's texts gives an insight into the mechanical medium of time keeping that prompted the general preoccupation with the idea of efficient time management to a considerable extent. By the "mechanical medium" we mean a mechanical clock (both privately and publicly owned) that witnessed an upsurge of popularity in Elizabethan England and whose introduction turned out to become not only a technological but also a social innovation. By Shakespeare's lifetime, modern hour-reckoning and striking clocks became a necessity for the city-dwellers' increasingly complex way of life (Kinney 2004). The clock "controlled the busy mart, regulating its hours, merchants, practices, and bookkeeping; established international trading, and instilled a kind of Puritan ethic of budgeting time, making time, saving time, banking time" (ibid., 91). Clocks are regularly mentioned in Shakespeare's writings and sometimes the playwright alludes to clocks in his creative realizations of the TIME IS A RESOURCE metaphor.

Take the first example – king Henry the Six's soliloquy in the eponymous history play: "O God! methinks it were a happy life…" ("The third part of King Henry the Sixth", 1591; Act II, Sc. V). The whole monologue is structured by a seven-fold repetition of a temporal quantifier "*So many hours* (*days*, *weeks*, *years*)", preceded by the adverbial phrase "*How many hours* (*days*, *years*)" repeated four times. The king is talking about "dividing the times" and then using the periods of hours, days, months, and years appropriately. What one sees here is a philosophy of happiness based on proper time management and timekeeping. The latter is symbolically alluded to by an image of a

110

clock, carving out whose dials the hero would willingly spend his time on. Note, however, that a private mechanical clock, which in the late 16th century was considered an accessory of the wealthy and the privileged, is replaced by a solar clock.

Consider another example – a short line from "Twelfth night; or what you will": *[Clock strikes.] OLIVIA. <u>The clock upbraids me with the waste of time</u>* ("Twelfth night; or what you will", 1602; Act III, Sc. I).

In Olivia's remark, it is the personified clock whose striking reminds the heroine – metaphorically "upbraids" her – that she is wasting her time. The clock is thus metonymically perceived as embodied, tangible time.

Finally, consider the third example – the prison-scene soliloquy in the history play "King Richard the Second": "I wasted time, and now doth time waste me..." ("King Richard the Second", 1596; Act V, Sc. V). In this soliloquy the hero and the clock switch places, the latter replacing the former as its mirror image. The clock is metaphorically conceived as an elaborate machine that measures not only time but life itself, the latter's flow corresponding to functioning of the clock mechanism.

When considered a human property, the "embodied" time was attributed characteristics of a physical object. Time, equal to material resources, was described as something that can be handled and controlled. Take the following creative metaphors that manifest the notion of time being purposely affected by a human being – split into tiny parts (example 1), stretched out and even added weights to (in 2): (1) *He that will <u>divide a minute into a thousand parts, and break but a part of the thousand part of a minute</u> in the affairs of love, ... I'll warrant him heart-whole* ("As you like it", 1601; Act IV, Sc. I); (2) *I speak too long, but 'tis <u>to peize the time, / To eke it, and to draw it out in length,</u> / To stay you from election* ("The merchant of Venice", 1597; Act III, Sc. II).

The notion of embodied and "objectified" time lies beneath yet another conceptual

metaphor, namely the TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY. During the mapping procedure, frames and roles that constitute elements of the source domain COMMODITY are projected onto the target domain of TIME. This conceptual metaphor is almost identical to the above examined TIME IS A RESOURCE. Both enable the speakers to perceive time as something belonging to its owner, something that can be drawn on and exploited at its possessor's will. The main difference between the two is a greater emphasis on the monetary value of the resource in the TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor. Consider the following example from "The merry wives of Windsor": *There is money; spend it, spend it; spend more; spend all I have; only* _give me so much of your time in exchange of it_ *as to lay an amiable siege to the honesty of this Ford's wife* ("The merry wives of Windsor", 1601; Act II, Sc. II). In this line, Ford literally offers Falstaff money to buy the time Falstaff would spend on achieving Ford's goal. Although Ford does not overtly employ the "purchasing terminology", he makes his meaning clear by his very actions. He accompanies his words by eloquently putting money on the table in front of Falstaff. In doing so he pays not as much for the latter's assistance but for his time.

In Shakespeare's works, one comes across various manifestations of the TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor. The playwright uses novel creative linguistic metaphors to express the notion of time's value. In Shakespeare's texts units of time, usually hours, have an estimated financial worth and can be sold or purchased. Nomina Temporalis collocate with words from the financial sphere (e.g., *to buy*, *to purchase*, *to sell*, *to prize*). Unlike the above cited line from "The merry wives of Windsor", these linguistic metaphors have no direct "literal" associations. Yet their very presence in Shakespeare's plays testifies to time's increasing economic relevance: (1) *Though* _his right arm might purchase his own time, / And be in debt to none_ ("The life of Timon of Athens", 1608; Act III, Sc. V); (2) _If this right hand would buy two hours' life..._ ("The third part of King Henry the Sixth", 1591; Act II, Sc. VI); (3) *See here these movers that* _do prize their hours / At a crack'd drachma_! (ibid., 1608; Act I, Sc. V).

It should be mentioned, however, that despite the proliferation of "monetary" temporal metaphors and their gradual entrenchment in the English language, their meaning was not always confined to the sphere of finance and commerce. In some cases, they served as a means to foreground other, axiologically relevant metaphysical entailments, which linked the concept of earthly time to that of eternity. Consider Sonnet 146, where the lyrical hero addresses his soul, voicing an appeal to use the fleeting hours of life (metaphorically, "to sell" them) on overcoming the inevitable death and reaching (metaphorically, "buying") eternity: *Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;/ Within be fed, without be rich no more,/ So shall thou feed on death, that feeds on men,/ And death once dead, there's no more dying then* (Sonnet 146).

4.2.3 Cultural specificity of the TIME IS A COMMODITY conceptual metaphor: The case of indentured servitude

In the 17th and 18th centuries, time, along with work and money, was a major factor in shaping European economic and technical progress. The newly emerging middle classes subscribed to beliefs of punctuality, orderliness, and diligence, which were often found lacking in the lower orders. With laziness widely criticized, it was the profitable ordering of the day that was advocated. Clocks and watches, the glamorous symbols of technology of the 18th century, "were eulogised as expressions of order and dependability" (Perkins 2001: 12). It was the industrial revolution that made time a valuable resource, the more efficient use of which increased productivity and thus profitability. In business, time became inextricably linked to money as money was made by providing the most output per unit of input and that included the input of time (Stalk & Hout 1990: 149).

All these factors contributed to the "economic" conceptual metaphors TIME IS A RESOURCE, TIME IS A COMMODITY, and TIME IS MONEY achieving permanent acceptance in the English speaking community and establishing themselves firmly in the exceedingly complex network of temporal metaphors. Although lodging in both British and American conceptual worldviews, these conceptual metaphors were

given peculiar linguistic articulation depending on cultural and social differences between the two nations. Due to space limitations, we will dwell on just one case of extra-linguistic influence contributing to the conventionalization of the "economic" metaphors of time. We will consider the impact of indentured servitude in the USA on the TIME IS A COMMODITY conceptual metaphor entrenchment in American English.

The term "indentured servant", applied to employees within a system of unfree labor, was used to refer to an employee who was bound by a signed (or a forced) contract to work for a particular employer for a fixed time. When the contract was completed, indentured laborers were given their freedom. Indentured servitude was extremely common in British North America since it was often the only way for poor Europeans to pay for a costly ship passage to the American colonies. It has been estimated that more than one-half of all white immigrants to the American colonies between the 1630s and 1783 were indentured. It was only in 1865 when indentured servitude was made illegal in the United States.

The contract often enabled the employer to sell the labour of an indenturee to a third party. When this happened it was frequently not labour that was regarded as being sold, but time. Numerous 18th and 19th century advertisements testify to the fact that linguistic realizations of the TIME IS A COMMODITY conceptual metaphor were regularly used when the sale of indentured service was discussed. Consider the following examples from American newspapers of the time (capitalization retained as in original texts; examples quoted after: Thornton 1962: 898): (1) *To be sold for five years, The Time of a hearty young Man, who is a good Sailor* (Boston-Gazette, Nov. 20, 1769); (2) *He has twelve years to serve. I bought his time* (Runaway advertisement, Maryland journal, May 4, 1784); (3) *German Passengers just arrived in the ship Holland, from Hamburg, whose time is to be agreed for* (Gazette of the United States, Philadelphia, Oct. 7, 1795).

All the above given advertisements are linguistic manifestations of the TIME IS A COMMODITY mapping. The speakers – in our case, these are employers who placed the advertisements in local newspapers – clearly intended to sell (or buy) labour but conceptualized it in temporal terms. This testifies to the fact that by the mid-18th century the TIME IS A COMMODITY metaphor had been so deeply entrenched that the process of de-metaphorization began, enabling speakers to understand temporal metaphors literally.

4.2.4 Technological progress and the evolution of the TIME IS A COMMODITY conceptual metaphor in the 20th century

By the end of the 19th century, the ideas of saving and compressing time had been "stamped into the psyche of Western civilization" (Rifkin 1987: 4). In Britain and the USA, time is nowadays regarded as "a premium, a rare resource that is used to shape and mold the social life of the nation in ever more sophisticated ways. Modern man has come to view time as a tool to enhance and advance the collective well-being of the culture" (ibid.).

In the 20th century, continued pressures for higher productivity and time-saving technological innovations, made time an ever more important resource. Plagued by a constant scarcity of time, society becomes time hungry rather than 'time affluent', boosting demand for further timesaving and contributing to the telecommunications revolution (Kellerman 1989: 43).

"Technological and manufacturing innovations saw the concept of time become closely aligned with that of organizational progress. Time, like the individual, became a commodity of the production process, for, in the crucial equation that linked acceleration and accumulation, a human value could be placed upon time" (Hassard 2002: 886).

The last decades of the 20th century saw the advent of the new information age and the new "network society", governed by digital electronic technologies. The rapid spread of the latter resulted in industrialism, which had been dominating the world's leading economies for almost two centuries, being replaced and subsumed by a completely new

socio-cultural paradigm. This new social structure is characterized, as Castells (2004: 36) formulates it, by "timeless time":

"The relationship to time is defined by the use of information and communication technologies in a relentless effort to annihilate time by negating sequencing. This is done, on the one hand, by compressing time (as in split-second global financial transactions or the effort to fight 'instant wars'), and, on the other, by blurring the sequence of social practices, including past, present, and future, in a random order, as in the electronic hypertext, or in the blurring of life-cycle patterns, both in work and in parenting" (Castells 2001: 37).

The central conceptual mechanism that governs time comprehension in this new 'technocentric' temporal model takes the form of the TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY metaphoric mapping. Realizations of this conceptual metaphor start cropping up in everyday language, as it is represented by the Corpus of Historical American (COHA), in 1980-1990s. Chronologically, the first among its verbal manifestations is a set phrase *computer time*. It is a polysemous expression. It can metonymically refer to time spent at a computer, e.g., *The chains buy in bulk, everything from insurance and <u>computer time</u> to ordinary supplies* (The nation 1979/12/15). It can also refer to the internal time of a computer system, e.g., …*five-minute animation, with 16 images per second, that might take 100,000 years of <u>computer time</u>* (Smithonian, 1990). The latter sense is metaphorical: the expression *computer time* refers to some particular type of time – that, which is inherent to the realm of computer mediated reality.

At the turn of the millennium, advances in Internet technology facilitated the entrenchment of the TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY metaphor in the conceptual worldview of the English-speaking communities in the UK and the USA. Its verbal realizations, e.g., *Internet time*, *cybertime*, *digital time*, *virtual time*, all name a specific kind of time. This is 'hyperfast', 'immediate', 'hurried', 'rapid' time. Semantic analysis of the immediate context in which such phrases as *Internet time* usually occur demonstrates that in its new 'virtual' mode time is perceived as an integral element of a new cyber-reality and as such it is seen as congenial to other virtual entities. Consider the following manifestations of the TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY conceptual metaphor: (1) *All the clichés about <u>Internet time</u> running <u>at hyperspeed</u> are true* (PC

116

World, 1997); (2) *The Internet just has speeded everything up into <u>Internet time</u>* (CBS_Morning, 2004).

Telecommunications innovations of the recent decade have brought forward a combination of telephones and computers in the form of smartphones, thus introducing a new form of time – a phenomenon that sociologist Agger (2011: 119-124) calls "iTime", suggesting that "iPhones create iTime and fundamentally alter the boundaries between public and private and day and night":

> *"Time morphs into iTime as connection and diversion dominate one's waking hours. iTime is mobile time, time that is portable as well as elastic. ...Mobile time is not only elastic in the sense that it extends into 'private' time; it is densely compressed, weighing heavily on the person who always has too much to do, not enough time to do it".*

The neologism *iTime* is indicative of the fact that there are crucial on-going changes in the way speakers of English perceive and structure their time. Agger's words suggest that the TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY metaphor is able to produce novel verbal realizations, which construe the ever changing reality of our life that is at the present moment more computer mediated than ever before.

5. Discussion and conclusions

One of the most challenging questions facing cognitive linguists has been the relationship between language, culture and cognition. The subtle interplay of these diverse yet overlapping phenomena can be studied, among other strategies, by "exploring features of human languages that encode culturally constructed conceptualizations of human experience" (Sharifian 2017a: 54).

This article traced gradual changes in the complex system of conceptual metaphors of time in English speakers' worldviews. Our aim was to shed additional light on a relatively understudied area of metaphor research, namely on axiologically bound metaphors, i.e. metaphors, which shape our perception of time as something valuable. Drawing on lexicographical, textual and corpus data, we examined conceptual shifts

that brought about changes in the source domains of conceptual metaphors of time.

The analysis of Old-, Middle- and Modern English time metaphors in Section 4.1 has shown that for a very long period the axiological contours of the TIME concept in the English worldview were defined by the conceptual metaphors TIME IS GOD'S CREATION and TIME IS GOD'S GIFT. These metaphoric mappings were based on deeply held beliefs that were shared by most members of the English speaking community. These conceptual metaphors had a major influence on language users' attitude to time and served as axiological guidelines in various life situations. The source domains CREATION and GIFT, though different in their ontology, were both structured around the common concept of the ALMIGHTY CREATOR. When mapped onto the target domain of TIME, source domains resulted in the latter becoming inextricably linked to the concept of ETERNITY. It is this concept that provided a wider temporal background, against which the value of time was assessed. Linguistic realizations of the TIME IS GOD'S CREATION, TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphors are broadly represented in English texts dating from the 12th to the 19th century. They take the form of both novel metaphors and conventionalized expressions. The 20th century witnesses the scope of Christian conceptual metaphors narrow, their realizations now being mainly confined to religious discourse.

In Section 4.2 we traced the origins of the TIME IS MONEY/ A COMMODITY/ A RESOURCE conceptual metaphors and analyzed the sociocultural factors that prompted their development in the late Middle English and Early Modern English periods. We demonstrated that gradual changes in the value system of the English-speaking community brought about changes in the source domains of conceptual metaphors of time. In the source domain of the TIME IS GOD'S GIFT conceptual metaphor the pivotal GIVER concept was replaced by the formerly peripheral OWNER concept. This cognitive shift was caused by a confluence of factors. The most relevant among them was the process of the medieval theocentric worldview giving way to the anthropocentric cultural paradigm. Social and economic factors, such as advances in

material culture and the proliferation of the money economy, also played a role. The cognitive shift was gradual: although its beginnings date back to the late 13th century, it was not until the mid-16th century that conceptual metaphors based on the POSSESSION frame became common to most members of the English speaking community. In Section 4.2.2 we demonstrated how conventional metaphors TIME IS MONEY/ A COMMODITY/ A RESOURCE were elaborated on in literary works of William Shakespeare. In Section 4.2.3 we analyzed the case of the TIME IS A COMMODITY metaphor becoming an effective means to conceptualize manipulation with and exploitation of unfree labor of indentured servants in 18th century North America.

The late 20th century telecommunications revolution was conducive to yet another conceptual metaphor of time coming into being – TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY. Within the conceptual boundaries of this metaphoric mapping time is conceived as an element of computer-mediated reality – hyperfast, homogenous, unaffected by, and alienated from natural cycles and rhythms.

By analyzing historical changes in conceptual metaphors of time in the English language, we ventured to go beyond CMT in its classical version to the area of Cultural Linguistics, thus offering a new insight as to how conceptual dynamics, prompted by sociocultural factors, can both bring about language change and be manifested in it.

Abbreviations

CMT – Conceptual metaphor theory

COHA – Corpus of historical American

OE – Old English

ME – Middle English

References

Agger, B. (2011). iTime: Labor and life in a smartphone era. In *Time and society*, 20

(1), p. 119-136.

Allan, K. (2006). On groutnolls and nog-heads: A case study of the interaction between culture and cognition in intelligence metaphors. In *Corpus-based approaches to metaphor and metonymy*. Stefanowitsch, A. & Gries, S.T. (eds.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 175-189.

Babenko, N.G. (2010). Poetics of chronotope in Russian literature: A case of interpretation revisited. In *Poetics of chronotope: Linguistic mechanisms and cognitive underpinnings*. Berestnev, G.I. (ed.). Vilnius: Lithuanian Language Institute, p. 24-35. / Babenko N.G. Poetika khronotopa v russkoj literature: Opyt interpretatsii. In *Poetika khronotopa: yazykovye mekhanizmy i kognitivnyye osnovaniya.* Berestnev G.I. (otv. red.). Vil'nyus: Institut Litovskogo Yazyka, s. 24-35. / Бабенко Н.Г. Поэтика хронотопа в русской литературе: Опыт интерпретации. In *Поэтика хронотопа: Языковые механизмы и когнитивные основания*. Берестнев Г.И. (отв. ред.). Вильнюс: Институт Литовского Языка, 2010, с. 24-35.

Boroditsky, L. (2018). Language and the construction of time through space. In *Trends in neurosciences*, 41 (10), p. 651-653.

Cai, Z.G. & Connell, L. (2015). Space-time interdependence: Evidence against asymmetric mapping between time and space. In *Cognition*, 136, p. 268-281.

Casasanto, D. (2016). Temporal language and temporal thinking may not go hand in hand. In *Conceptualizations of time*. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, B. (ed.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 169-186.

Castells, M. (2004). Informationalism, networks, and the network society: A theoretical blueprint. In *The network society: A cross-cultural perspective*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, p. 3-45.

Castells, M. (2001). *The Internet galaxy. Reflections on the Internet, business, and society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chupryna, O. (2000). *Representations of time in ancient language and consciousness*. Moscow: Prometey. / Chupryna O.G. *Predstavleniya o vremeni v drevnem yazyke i soznanii.* Moskva: Prometej. / Чупрына О.Г. *Представления о времени в древнем языке и сознании.* Москва: Прометей.

Corpus of historical American English. Available at: https://corpus.byu.edu/coha/

Elwell, W.A. (2001). *Evangelical dictionary of theology*. Baker Book House Company.

Evans, V. (2013). *Language and time: A cognitive linguistics approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Evans, V. & Duffy, S. (2017). The top trumps of time: Factors motivating the resolution of temporal ambiguity. In *Language & cognition*, 9 (2), p. 293-315.

Hassard, J. (2002). *Essai*: Organizational time: Modern, symbolic and postmodern reflections. In *Organization studies*, 23 (6), p. 885-892.

Herman, M. (2017). The more things change, the more they stay the same: Decorative continuity in early Anglo-Saxon England. In *Stasis in the medieval West?* Bintley, M.D.J., Locker, M., Symons, V., Wellesley, M. (eds.). New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, p. 47-68.

Huumo, T. (2018). Moving along paths in space and time. In *Journal of linguistics*, 54 (4), p. 721-751. DOI: 10.1017/S0022226717000366

Huumo, T. (2017). The grammar of temporal motion: A cognitive grammar account of motion metaphors of time. In *Cognitive linguistics*, 28 (1), p. 1-43.

Iyabo, O. (2019). *Time – the most precious gift.* Available at: https://www.driyabo.com/2017/07/07/time-the-most-precious-gift/

Kellerman, A. (1989). *Time, space and society*. Dodrecht – Boston – London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Kinney, A. (2004). *Shakespeare's webs: Networks of meaning in Renaissance drama*. Routledge: New York, London.

Konnova, M.N. (2017). *Dimensions of time: Language, mind and culture*. Kaliningrad: Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University Publishing House. / Konnova M.N. *Vektory vremeni: Yazyk, soznaniye, kul'tura*. Kaliningrad: Izdatel'stvo Baltijskogo federal'nogo universiteta imeni Immanuila Kanta. / Коннова М.Н. *Векторы времени: Язык, сознание, культура*. Калининград: Издательство Балтийского федерального университета имени Иммануила Канта.

Kövecses, Z. (2017). Levels of metaphor. In *Cognitive linguistics*, 28 (2), p. 209-370.

Kövecses, Z. (2010). Metaphor and culture. In *Acta universitatis sapientiae,*

philologica, 2 (2), p. 197-220.

Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kövecses, Z. (2018). Metaphor in media language and cognition: A perspective from conceptual metaphor theory. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, 2018, III (1), June 2018, p. 124-141. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0004

Kövecses, Z. (2015). Surprise as a conceptual category. In *Review of cognitive linguistics*, 13 (2), p. 270-290.

Kövecses, Z., Ambrus, L., Hegedűs, D., Imai, R. & Sobczak, A. (2019). The lexical vs. corpus-based method in the study of metaphor. In *Metaphor and metonymy in the digital age: Theory and methods for building repositories of figurative language.* Bolognesi, M., Brdar, M. & Despot, K. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p.149-173.

Kranjec, A. (2006). *Extending spatial frames of reference to temporal concepts: An embodied perspective*. New York: City University of New York.

Kranjec, A., Cardillo, E.R., Schmidt, G.L. & Chatterjee, A. (2010). Prescribed spatial prepositions influence how we think about time. In *Cognition*, 114, p. 111-116.

Kranjec, A. & McDonough, L. (2011). The implicit and explicit embodiment of time. In *Journal of pragmatics*, 43, p. 735-748.

Lakoff, G. (1993). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In *Metaphor and thought.* New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 202-251.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (2003). *Metaphors we live by.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to Western thought*. New York: Basic Books.

Lakoff, G. & Turner, M. (1989). *More than cool reason*. Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press.

Le Goff, J. (1988). *Your money or your life. Economy and religion in the Middle Ages*. New York: Zone Books.

Lee, H. & Liebenau, J. (2000). Time and the Internet at the turn of the millennium. In *Time and society*, 9 (1), p. 43-56.

Lewison, M. (1999). Conflicts of interest? The ethics of usury. In *Journal of business ethics*, 22 (4), p. 327-339.

Losskiy, V.N. (2004). *Essay on mystical theology of the Eastern Church. Dogmatic theology*. Kiev: St. Leo, the Pope of Rome Publishing House. / Losskij V.N. *Ocherk misticheskogo bogosloviya vostochnoj tserkvi. Dogmaticheskoye bogosloviye*. Kiev: Izdatel'stvo im. sv. L'va, papy Rimskogo. / Лосский В.Н. *Очерк мистического богословия Восточной Церкви. Догматическое богословие*. Киев: Издательство им. св. Льва, папы Римского.

Lossky, N.O. & Marshall, J.S. (1935). *Value and existence*. London: George Allen & Unwin.

McIntosh, M. (1988). Money lending on the periphery of London, 1300-1600. In *Albion: A quarterly journal concerned with British studies*, 20 (4), p. 557-571.

Menzies, H. (2000). Cyberspace time and infertility: Thoughts on social time and the environment. In *Time and society*, 9 (1), p. 75-89.

Middle English dictionary. Available at: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med

Montgomery, J.W. (1975). *The shape of the past: A Christian response to secular philosophies of history*. Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship.

Moore, K.E. (2014). *The spatial language of time (Human cognitive processing 42)*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Mueller, S. (2016). TIME IS MONEY – everywhere? Analyzing time metaphors across varieties of English. In *Metaphor and communication.* Gola, E. & Ervas, F. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 79-104.

Mischler, J.J. (2009). The embodiment / culture continuum: A historical study of conceptual metaphor. In *Formulaic language (Volume 1): Distribution and historical change*. Corrigan, R., Moravcsik, E.A., Ouali, H. & Wheatley, K. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 257-272.

Musolff, A. (2011). Metaphor in discourse history. In *Historical cognitive linguistics*. Winters, M.E., Tissari, H. & Allan, K. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 70-90.

Musolff, A. (2015). Metaphor interpretation and cultural linguistics. In *Language and semiotic studies*, 1 (3), p. 35-51.

Nilsen, Ye. (2014). *Essays on diachronic linguistic conceptology: Evolution of temporal lexemes in English*. Saint Petersburg: Saint Petersburg State University of Economics. / Nil'sen E.A. *Ocherki diakhronicheskoj kontseptologii: Evolyutsiya temporal'nykh nominatsij v anglijskom yazyke*. / Нильсен Е.А. *Очерки диахронической концептологии: Эволюция темпоральных номинаций в английском языке.* Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Санкт-Петербургского государственного экономического университета.

Pagán Cánovas, C. & Jensen, M.F. (2013). Anchoring time-space mappings and their emotions: The timeline blend in poetic metaphors. In *Language and literature*, 22 (1), p. 45-59.

Perkins, M. (2001). *The reform of time: Magic and modernity*. Pluto Press: London – Sterling.

Plungian, V.A. (1997). Time and times: The category of number revisited. In *Logical language analysis. Language and time*. Arutyunova, N.D. & Yanko, T.Ye. (eds.). Moscow: Indrik, p. 158-169. / Plungyan V.A. Vremya i vremena: K voprosu o kategorii chisla. In *Logicheskij analiz yazyka. Yazyk i vremya.* Arutyunova N.D., Yanko T.E. (otv. red.). Moskva: Indrik, s. 158-169. / Плунгян В.А. Время и времена: К вопросу о категории числа. In *Логический анализ языка. Язык и время*. Арутюнова Н.Д., Янко Т.Е. (отв. ред.). Москва: Индрик, с. 158-169.

Pragglejaz Group (2007). MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse. In *Metaphor and symbol*, 22 (1), p. 1-39.

Radden, G. (2011). Spatial time in the West and the East. In *Space and time in language*. Brdar, M., Omazić, M., Takač, V. P., Gradečak-Erdelijić, T. & Bulijan, G. (eds.). Frankfut am Mein: Peter Lang, p. 1-40.

Rifkin, J. (1987). *Time wars: The primary conflict in human history*. New York: Henry

Holt and Company.

Selected English Letters (XV–XIX Centuries). (1913). Arranged by Duckitt, M. & Wragg, H. Available at: http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/12515

Selections from the journals and papers of John Byrom – poet-diarist-shorthand writer 1691-1763. (1950). Talon, H. (ed.). London: Rockliff Salisbury Square.

Sharifian, F. (2017a). Cultural linguistics. In *Ethnolinguistic*, 27, p. 33-61.

Sharifian, F. (2017b). *Cultural linguistics: Cultural conceptualisations and language.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Bemjamins.

Sharifian, F. (2008). Distributed, emergent cultural cognition, conceptualisation, and language. In *Body, language, and mind (Volume 2): Sociocultural situatedness*. Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 241-268.

Sinha, C. & Enrique, B. (2015). Space, time, and space-time: Metaphors, maps and fusions. In *The Routledge handbook of language and culture*. Sharifian, F. (ed.). New York: Routledge, p. 309-324.

Stalk, G. & Hout, T.M. (1990). *Competing against time: How time-based competition is reshaping global markets*. New York: The Tree Press.

Steen, G. (2007). Finding metaphor in discourse: Pragglejaz and beyond. In *Culture, language, and representation*, 5, p. 9-25.

Tenbrink, T. (2011). Reference frames of space and time in language. In *Journal of pragmatics*, 43, p. 704-722.

Thornton, R.H. (1962). *An American glossary*. Vol. 2. New York: Ungar.

Traugott, E.C. (1975). Spatial expressions of tense and temporal sequencing: A contribution to the study of semantic fields. In *Semiotica*, 15 (3), p. 207-230.

Traugott, E.C. (1978). On the expression of spatio-temporal relations in language. In *Universals of human language 3*. Ferguson, C.A., Greenberg, J.H., & Moravcsik, E. (eds.). Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 369-400.

Vyzhletsov, G.P. (1996). *Axiology of culture*. Saint-Petersburg: Saint-Petersburg State University Publishing House. / Vyzhletsov G.P. *Aksiologiya kul'tury*. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel'stvo Sankt-Petersburgskogo Universiteta. / Выжлецов Г.П. *Аксиология культуры*. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Санкт-Петербургского университета.

Winter, B., Marghetis, T. & Matlock, T. (2015). Of magnitudes and metaphors: Explaining cognitive interactions between space, time, and number. In *Cortex*, 64, p. 209-224.

Zykova, I. (2016). The phraseological meaning construal in the traditional vs. cognitive culture-oriented perspectives. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, 2016, I (2), December 2016, p. 253-286. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2016-0015

Contact data		Fields of interest
Contact data Mariia Konnova DrSc., (Philology), Associate Professor, Institute of Humanities, Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University 56a, Chernyshevsky str., Kaliningrad, 236000, Russia e-mail: mkonnova@kantiana.ru		**Fields of interest** Cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor theory, categorization, cognitive poetics
Contact data Natalia Babenko DrSc., (Philology), Professor, Institute of Humanities, Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University 56a, Chernyshevsky str., Kaliningrad, 236000, Russia e-mail: NBabenko@kantiana.ru		**Fields of interest** Temporal language and reasoning, semantic change, literary chronotope.

Résumé

Within the field of metaphor studies, conceptual metaphors of time have a long-standing research record. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has provided powerful tools to analyze various aspects of temporal reasoning. With CMT's emphasis on the role of the body as the experiential basis of conceptualization much attention is paid to the physiological underpinnings of temporal concepts, particularly, to image-schematic

knowledge that is mapped from the bodily-based source domains of space and motion onto the more abstract target domain of time. Culturally constructed conceptual metaphors of time have been less visible in cognitive research. The current research explores the ways that conceptual metaphors of time are motivated by complex culturally embedded conceptual structures, such as hierarchies of values and beliefs shared by the English-speaking socium. Drawing on lexicographical, textual, and corpus data from Old-, Middle-, and Modern English, we trace gradual changes in value systems – from the Christian theocentric outlook of the Middle Ages to the modern secular egocentric worldview – that trigger cognitive shifts in the source domains of metaphoric mapping. We look at how the replacement of the pivotal concept of GIVER in the source domain of the TIME IS A GIFT OF GOD conceptual metaphor by that of the OWNER gave rise to such metaphors as TIME IS MONEY. We demonstrate that the ever-growing demand for time saving and the telecommunications revolution caused yet another shift in the source domain of metaphoric mapping resulting in a new conceptual metaphor TIME IS A VIRTUAL ENTITY. We argue that it is in the analysis of the historical "roots" of conceptual metaphors where metaphor studies reach into the broad areas of the Humanities thus providing a remarkable insight into the interrelated processes of conceptual dynamics and linguistic change.

Key words: cognitive shift, conceptual metaphor theory, culture, religious outlook, industrial revolution, Renaissance, telecommunications, value.

LEGE ARTIS
Language yesterday, today, tomorrow
Vol. IV. No 2 2019

TWITTER-BASED MULTIMODAL METAPHORICAL MEMES PORTRAYING DONALD TRUMP

Alla Martynyuk*, Olga Meleshchenko

V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Kharkiv, Ukraine

*Corresponding author

Abstract: The present study focuses on multimodal conceptual metaphors with the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain in Twitter-based political memes. The source and target domains of such metaphorical memes are cued (exclusively or partially) in visual and verbal semiotic modes where verbal texts anchor the images guiding their interpretation. Expressing a strong critical stance, the analysed memes are designed to elicit negative inferences and emotional attitudes.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, emotional attitude, inference, multimodality, political Internet meme, Trump.

1. Introduction

Donald Trump has probably been the most controversial personality on the US political scene. A businessman and reality TV star of no previous political experience in the past, Trump was able to win the 2016 presidential election and become the 45th president of the United States. Although it is hard to assess the true role of social media in his unexpected victory, many scholars note that his personal Twitter account had a significant effect on the outcome of the elections (Ahmadian et al. 2017: 52; Belt 2018: 112; Cornfield 2017; Enli 2017; Galdieri et al. 2018: 2; Johnson 2016; Williams 2017). They state Trump's Twitter has had an agenda-setting impact on the US politics (EB, *s.a.*), constituting a powerful arena for construing and maintaining his image (Enli 2017: 59). Further, despite his eccentric and unconventional rhetoric being subject to

constant debate, the 45th American president stays among the most popular personalities on Twitter, with more than 60 million followers from all over the world (DJT, *s.a.*). Numerous Internet users from different countries, of various cultural and social backgrounds are attracted to Trump's Twitter account, where they enter into communication with the president by responding to his tweets.

The majority of studies focusing on Trump's discourse on Twitter investigated how his communication style contributed to the victory in the presidential election and influenced people's views in general. In this line of thought, Cornfield (2017) analyses Trump's Twitter-savvy techniques and populist stance, by which the Trump campaign solicited support. Enli (2017) investigates Trump's tweets during the 2016 campaign claiming that his tweeting style is marked by amateurism that strengthens the image of an authentic candidate. Schneiker (2018) studies the image Trump created on Twitter during his campaign and the first 100 days of his presidency, which she dubs a "superhero anti-politician celebrity" (ibid., 210). Ott (2017) concentrates on Trump's tweeting style, characterising it as simple, impulsive, and uncivil. Pérez-Curiel and Limón Naharro (2019) focus on the study of Trump's propaganda mechanisms on Twitter during the first 100 days of his presidency. Painter and Rizzo (2018) use a computer-assisted quantitative content analysis to investigate the tone of the 2016 US presidential primary candidates' rhetoric on Twitter. They maintain that Trump's rhetoric was vague in terms of policy details, extensively hyperbolic, and less realistic in tone compared to his Democratic opponents. Fromm et al. (2018) study the topics of Trump's tweets during primaries and find that most of his tweets were about parties, other politicians, and the media. Lovett et al. (2019) analyse President Trump's tweeting behaviour and reveal the following strategies: denying, delegitimising, advertising, interpreting, misleading, using emotional language, insulting/belittling, ideologically extremising, mockery/sarcasm, personalising, and threatening. Gershberg (2018) argues that Trump employs a paranoid style on Twitter by promoting conspiratorial fantasies. Goroshko and Poliakova (2018) conclude that persuasiveness in Trump's Twitter discourse is achieved through such linguistic means as imperative

constructions, short sentences and slogans, future tense forms, elliptical sentences, and metaphor.

Another line of research concerning Trump embraces the studies of the Internet memes featuring the president. These studies predominantly deal with multimodal or visual instantiations found on social media including Twitter. Denisova (2019), investigating memes that circulated on Twitter on the eve of the election day mocking and criticizing Trump and Clinton, singles out three features of memetic communication in the US, which include persistent curation of memes, reliance on media agenda, and carnavalization of political discussion.

Among the studies dealing with the Internet memes featuring Trump, which are not based on Twitter, Ross and Rivers (2018) apply critical discourse analysis, thus revealing how humour, delegitimisation strategies, and intertextuality are intertwined in Internet memes, transmitting a negative image of the president. Heiskanen (2017) focuses on memes that called attention to Trump's contradictory or incongruous statements commenting on his policy positions. Lamerichs et al. (2018) pay special attention to alt-right memes framing Trump and contend that during the 2016 American presidential elections memes were powerful and persuasive media, adopted by the alt-right to defame and ridicule the political opponents and glorify Trump as the ultimate saviour.

However, despite such close attention to Trump's discourse and Trump's image on social media from scholars of various fields of research, there has been no detailed investigation of the Internet memes employed by Trump's Twitter users in response to Trump's tweets and representing his metaphorical image.

The aim of this research is to reconstruct the cognitive models underpinning typical Twitter-based multimodal metaphorical memes portraying Trump in order to reveal

their socio-pragmatic implications. A closer look is taken at the following three aspects:

1. The source domains that are recruited to metaphorically depict Trump.

2. The interface of the verbal and visual modes in structuring the source and target domains of the memes.

3. The critical political stance of the memes; inferences and emotional attitudes that can be triggered by particular source domains.

The innovative aspect of this study stems from bringing together the methodological tools of the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), multimodal studies, and political discourse analysis to investigate a metaphorical Internet meme portraying Trump on his own Twitter account. It is enhanced by the view of the meme as a unit of monomodal/multimodal Internet communication that embodies a communicative action of its creator who is motivated by the need to respond to a tweet from Trump, express a particular political stance, and get a response from other Internet users. This view not only highlights the creative nature of a multimodal conceptual metaphor that exploits affordances of different semiotic modes, combining them in unexpected ways (El Rafaie 2015: 13), but also puts a multimodal conceptual metaphor into a socially and culturally specific communicative context, where it entails evaluative inferences and acquires emotional value, thus affecting its recipients. Therefore, it allows us to look at the socio-pragmatic "effects" of conceptual metaphors, ignoring what is seen as "a major debt of CMT" (Kövecses 2017: 345).

This article is organised as follows. The Introduction gives an overview of related papers, sets the aim of this paper, sheds light on its innovative nature and describes its structure. Section 2 discusses the notion of meme and reveals the fundamental features of political Internet memes as well as their role in political Internet discourse. Besides, it focuses on the conceptual and multimodal metaphor research as well as on the application of its tools in investigating multimodal metaphorical memes portraying Trump. This section also features the criteria applied to select the sample and explains

the methodological procedure of the research. Section 3 discusses the results of the analysis of eight multimodal metaphorical memes each of which instantiates a specific category of memes represented by the sample. Finally, the conclusion sums up the results and outlines some prospects for further research.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Political Internet memes from a linguistic perspective

According to Merriam-Webster Dictionary (MWD, *s.a.*), a **meme** is "an idea, behavior, style, or usage that spreads from person to person within a culture". The term "meme" was coined in 1976 by the biologist Richard Dawkins in his book "The selfish gene" to introduce the concept of a replicating entity in culture. To name the new concept, Dawkins made use of the Greek word *mimēma* ("that which is imitated" (Lexico, *s.a.*)) and abbreviated it to "meme" in order to make it sound like "gene" (2006: 192). In Dawkins' interpretation, a meme is a unit of cultural transmission, which propagates itself "by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation" (ibid., 192). Among the examples of memes, the scientist lists material things like catch-phrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots, building arches, as well as such abstract notions as the idea of God (ibid., 192). Dawkins claims that memes are subject to a heavy competition for human attention, in which some of them spread exponentially ousting the "weaker" ones. Those memes of high survival value are characterised by stability that encompasses the following three qualities (ibid., 17; 194-195):

- longevity – memes of high longevity tend to become more numerous because they have longer time available for making copies of themselves;
- fecundity – the higher the speed of replication is, the more copies are produced;
- copying-fidelity – accuracy of replication contributes to breeding more copies.

Dawkins' approach has met with some criticism for applying a biological metaphor to cultural phenomena, since, as Shifman (2014: 11-12) puts it, reducing culture to

biology narrows and simplifies complex human behaviours. Despite that, the meme concept "has been enthusiastically picked up by Internet users" (ibid., 13). Back in the 1960s, McLuhan (1994: 7) famously claimed, "the media is the message", meaning that the new forms of electronic means of communication affect the structure and meaning of the message. Nowadays this statement has become even more relevant since Internet platforms like Twitter enable users to communicate by means of texts, which combine resources of various semiotic modes (Мелещенко 2018: 48). Consequently, one of the most popular trends of Twitter communication is creating and using Internet memes to express messages. As Shifman (2014: 15) argues, "Internet memes can be treated as (post)modern folklore, in which shared norms and values are constructed through cultural artifacts such as Photoshopped images or urban legends".

The properties of successful replicators mentioned by Dawkins have been boosted by the Internet (ibid., 17). Therefore, the following features are particularly characteristic of an **Internet meme** (ibid., 18-22):

- gradual propagation from individuals to society – Internet memes pass along from person to person, but gradually scale into a shared social phenomenon, as the content spread by individuals can achieve mass levels within hours;
- reproduction via copying and imitating – Internet memes reproduce by imitation, in the process of which they are often altered by users who prefer to create their own versions of them;
- diffusion through competition and selection – adaptability of Internet memes to the sociocultural environment determines their competition and selection patterns.

In contemporary scholarship, the term "Internet meme" does not have an accepted definition and is interpreted as:

- "any artifact (a film, spoof, rumor, picture, song, etc.) that appears on the Internet and produces countless derivatives by being imitated, remixed, and rapidly diffused

by countless participants in technologically mediated communication" (Dynel 2016: 662);

- "(a) a group of digital items sharing common characteristics of content, form, and/or stance, which (b) were created with awareness of each other, and (c) were circulated, imitated, and/or transformed via the Internet by many users" (Shifman 2014: 41);

- "multimodal artifacts remixed by countless participants, employing popular culture for public commentary" (Milner 2013: 2357);

- "a relatively complex, multi-layered, and intertextual combination of (moving) image and text that is disseminated by the active agency of internet users, becoming popular among them" (Laineste & Voolaid 2016: 27).

These definitions highlight different characteristics of the Internet meme from similarity in form and content (as favoured by Shifman (2014)), active participation of users in their creation and modification (as accentuated by Dynel (2016), Shifman (2014), and Milner (2013)) to multimodal semiotic structure (as emphasised by Milner (2013) as well as Laineste and Voolaid (2016)).

Bearing in mind the characteristics of virality and of the Internet environment stated above, we adopt Castaño's (2013: 97) definition of the Internet meme, as "a *unit of information* (idea, concept or belief), which *replicates* by passing on via *Internet* (e-mail, chat, forum, social networks, etc.) in the *shape* of a hyper-link, video, image, or phrase". This working definition seems to be suitable since it captures the asymmetry between an idea (a meaning) and the multiple/multimodal forms it takes in the process of dissemination, which is crucial for cognitive and multimodal linguistics. Besides, this definition avoids narrowing the term and is, consequently, universal, including both monomodal and multimodal units of information on the Internet, altered and non-altered, representing a group or single. However, it is important to note that we do not draw a distinction, as, for example, Shifman (2014: 56) does, between memes and

virals, with the former representing a collection of texts that always undergo some modification and the latter being single cultural units that propagate by imitation as exact copies. For now, we side with Castaño (2013) who considers these two phenomena to be memes, and regard the differentiation between memes and virals as a prospect for further research.

Internet memes function in various spheres of communication including politics. **A political Internet meme** is one of the most complex and powerful tools of communication, as it, on the one hand, can inform, entertain or educate, and, on the other hand, is an effective means of persuasion and propaganda (Axelrod 2016; Denisova 2019; Haddow 2016; Lamerichs et al. 2018). Agreeing with Ross and Rivers (2018: 287) that "the discursive intention of many memes is to express a particular viewpoint or idea", we point out that a political Internet meme translates a highly emotional evaluative view on a certain political entity – idea, event, or personality – which already happens to be in the focus of attention of the Internet community. Moreover, it seeks to shape people's attitudes towards this political entity, triggering shared and unshared emotional and rational motivation experience.

Metaphorical memes, portraying Trump on his Twitter, fully meet the qualifications of a unit of political communication. Firstly, their content belongs to the sphere of politics since they construe an image of a political leader, the president of the US. Secondly, being replies to Trump's tweets, these memes are involved in the interaction between any American as a "person on the street" (though Twitter makes it possible for English speakers of any sociocultural background to get involved in communication) and the president as a representative of the highest US political institution.

A critical analysis of the current literature on the issue (Castaño 2013; Dynel 2016; Laineste & Voolaid 2016; Lamerichs et al. 2018; Miltner 2014; Ross & Rivers 2018; Shifman 2007; 2014; Zenner & Geeraerts 2018; Yus 2019) allows us to reveal the

following fundamental features of political Internet memes, which we present in order of importance:

1. Multimodality. Although political Internet memes can be purely verbal, in most instances they are viewed as artifacts existing in the forms of photographs or videos, or combinations of verbal and visual semiotic signs (Laineste & Voolaid 2016; Milner 2013; Yus 2019; Zenner & Geeraerts 2018). Thus, Internet memes can be treated as multimodal texts within the interdisciplinary approach of multimodal studies where a "mode" is understood as a "socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for making meaning" (Kress 2010: 79). In communication, the image, writing, music, gesture, and oral speech are regarded as modes (ibid.). Twitter-based multimodal political memes, as a rule, consist of images and written speech, probably one of the most widespread combinations of modes (see Bateman 2014).

2. Intertextuality. As a rule, memes are based on phenomena (represented by verbal, visual, or musical texts), which are clearly recognisable by members of the same cultural group. This characteristic makes them intertextual. Intertextuality refers to the absorption and transformation of other texts (Kristeva 1980: 66) by a political Internet meme through such intertextual devices as quotation, reference, plagiarism, allusion, parody, and pastiche (Пьеге-Гро 2008). Intertextuality of Internet memes is enhanced by modern software that offers easy and quick ways of copying texts, images, or their fragments.

3. Dependence on the current context. Since political Internet memes mostly emerge as a reaction to some current political issue, personality, or important event, their understanding depends on the addressee's background knowledge of the political situation (see Castaño 2013: 97; Yus 2019: 109). A meme is understood and appreciated if it is based on a phenomenon, which is still within the memory of the recipients. Absence or lack of background knowledge leads to the recipients' failure to understand all the implications drawn by an Internet meme.

4. Emotional colouring. Extensive use of such stylistic devices as hyperbole, contrast, litotes, metaphor, and metonymy fills political Internet memes with images triggering emotions. Memes also exploit the power of image to convey and evoke emotions by depicting people who experience certain emotional states (Мартынюк 2015: 69). Furthermore, memes containing vivid metaphoric images are powerful means of persuasion, because they affect the emotional sphere of a recipient indirectly (Popa 2015: 84), bypassing their rationality capable of critical evaluation of the situation.

5. Humour. Some political Internet memes are humoristic in nature (Ross & Rivers 2018; Shifman 2014). It is universally acknowledged that humour is based on the awareness of incongruity, which arises when two incompatible ideas are brought together (see Koestler's (1964) bisociation theory, Suls's (1972) two-stage incongruity-resolution model and their application in handling humoristic political insults (Martynyuk 2017) or modern Anglophone jokes (Samokhina & Pasynok 2017)). Incongruity in political Internet memes often aims at mocking politicians, which makes memes very close to political cartoons.

6. Simplicity of the structure: the simpler the structure, the easier it is for a user to modify the meme and share it. This characteristic is mostly typical of videomemes. As Shifman (2014: 81-82) suggests, simple visual construction of topics contributes to spreading content, because when people understand something quickly they are prone to share it. Thus, simple framing in a political Internet meme facilitates its understanding for the average Internet user. Further, political memes also tend to be simple in form, since such simplicity makes the imitation easier (ibid.).

7. Anonymity surrounding their creation and distribution. As Ross and Rivers (2018: 293) point out, "creators of Internet memes can liberally share their political views regardless of how offensive, inaccurate, or unpopular they are as a direct result of not being linked to authorship and thus accountability." Therefore, Internet users are free

in their choice of the language and images that can express bitter criticism of a politician, bypassing the censorship characteristic of the traditional media.

Taken together, the features listed above make a political Internet meme a perfect weapon in expressing and shaping public opinions to promote a particular viewpoint (for an overview of viewpoint studies see Alexiyevets 2017). This becomes even more relevant to metaphorical political memes since one of the most important properties of conceptual metaphors is that they can create virtual realities (Kövecses 2018: 137). This feature reinforces the ability of political Internet memes to influence public opinions.

2.2 Multimodal metaphorical foundations of political Internet memes

Quite a number of political Internet memes rest on metaphors, which, being easily recognised transnationally (Forceville 2008: 463), are extensively used "to represent the unknown, unresolved or problematic in terms of something more familiar and more easily imaginable" (El Rafaie 2003: 84). Thus, it comes as no surprise that metaphors are extensively used to portray such a controversial politician as Trump. Whereas, on the surface, metaphors can be perceived as embellishing entities, they are rooted in the conceptual level of cognition. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), our conceptual system is in many ways metaphorically structured. This assumption laid the groundwork for the CMT, launched by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and developed in a number of successive works (Gibbs 2011; Johnson 1987; Kövecses 2002; Lakoff 1987; 1993). This theory challenged the traditional views of metaphor as a trope, shaping the idea of metaphor as a conceptual phenomenon (for recent research into conceptual metaphor see Davydyuk & Panasenko 2016; Kövecses 2017; 2018; Morozova 2017).

As Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5) claim, "the essence of **metaphor** is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another." This understanding is based on the cognitive operation of conceptual mapping, where the target conceptual structure (target domain/concept) is identified in terms of the source conceptual

structure (source domain/concept), which is, as a rule, a more concrete mental entity (Kövecses 2002: 6; Lakoff 1993: 210). Metaphorical mappings are sets of systematic correspondences between the source and the target conceptual structures (Kövecses 2002: 6), which are partial and unidirectional (ibid., 6; 91). That is, only a part of the source domain is utilised in every conceptual metaphor, resulting in highlighting some of the aspects, whereas the other aspects are hidden (ibid., 79-80). At the same time only the source domain can be mapped onto the target domain and not the other way round (ibid., 6).

Since a metaphor is "primarily a matter of thought and action and only derivatively a matter of language" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 153), it can be translated in any semiotic mode. Metaphors can be cued in written or spoken language, images, music, gesture, or gaze, or their combination, which makes these metaphors multimodal. Though multimodal conceptual metaphor research encompasses such fields of study as gesture (McNeill 1992; 2005; Mittelberg & Waugh 2009; Muller & Cienki 2009) and music (Forceville 2009a; Zbikowski 2009), the majority of works in this field deal with images and their combination with language in such multimodal genres as advertising (Forceville 1996; 2008; Pérez-Sobrino 2017) and political cartoon, both static (Bounegru & Forceville 2011; El Rafaie 2009; Forceville & van de Laar 2019; Teng 2009) and animated (Popa 2015).

Multimodal metaphors are "metaphors whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes" (Forceville 2009: 24). According to Forceville (2008: 469), a multimodal metaphor should meet the three primary criteria:

- given the context in which they occur, the two phenomena engaged in a metaphor belong to different categories;
- the two phenomena can be slotted as target and source respectively, and captured in an "A is B" format that forces or invites an addressee to map one or more features or connotations from source to target;

- the two phenomena are cued in more than one sign system, sensory mode, or both.

In this study, the concept of a multimodal metaphor is understood in El Rafaie's (2009: 181) sense of the term, where she extends Forceville's definition, given above, to include the cases where "target and source are partially represented in different modes", since most of the analysed memes fit this definition.

Compared to monomodal metaphors, multimodal instantiations are considered to be more emotionally coloured (Morozova 2017: 272) and more powerful in their impact on the addressee since the signs of different semiotic modes used together can modify meanings occurring in each semiotic mode in such a way that the set of possible meanings is multiplied (Lemke 1998: 92).

2.3 Data and methodology

Our sample consists of 150 multimodal metaphorical Internet memes featuring Trump, which were manually collected from the memes used as replies to Trump's tweets on his Twitter account @realDonaldTrump. Each of the eight Internet memes analysed in Section 3 instantiates a specific category of memes represented by this sample.

The chosen memes appeared on Trump's Twitter in the period between September 1, 2018 and July 1, 2019. This particular period of time was selected because it covers the midpoint of Trump's presidency and includes such important events affecting Trump's reputation as the Midterm elections to the US Senate and Congress (November 6, 2018), Trump's State of the Union Address (February 6, 2019), and his announcement to run a re-election campaign (June 18, 2019). Thus, tackling the multimodal memes-responses to Trump's statements allows registering the reaction (positive or negative) of the international Internet community to the activity of the US president as well as reconstructing his metaphorical image as perceived by Twitter users.

The following criteria were applied to the sample selection:

1. The memes pertain to the category of multimodal Internet memes – those incorporating both image and written text.

2. In all the memes, the metaphor is applied to the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain (in this study we follow the convention in research literature of using SMALL CAPITALS to indicate names of domains/concepts (e.g., see Forceville 2009: 30).

3. The target and source of the metaphorical memes are exclusively or partially represented in different modes (in El Rafaie's (2009) understanding of the term "multimodal metaphor").

Relying on the methodological tools of CMT, enriched by the multimodality studies, we use the following methodological procedure to handle our sample:

1. Describing the semiotic structure of an Internet meme.

2. Construing and labelling a multimodal metaphor, embodied by a meme, based on the "A is B" model.

3. Revealing semiotic resources (modes) recruiting the target and source domains. Most of our examples represent metaphors of a hybrid type (the term first introduced by Forceville (2002: 217)), where the target and the source have been physically integrated. One can recognise both, but cannot "disentangle" them; they form a single gestalt (2016: 247).

4. Disclosing how the verbal text and image interact in a multimodal metaphor to produce meaning. To reveal the interface of the image and language we employ Barthes' notion of anchorage opposed to relay (1977: 38). In his interpretation, anchorage occurs when the text is used to direct the recipients through the maze of possible meanings, to "remote-control" them to a pre-determined meaning. In the case of relay, the text advances the image by supplying meanings not found in the image itself (ibid., 40-41).

5. Interpreting a multimodal metaphor, which boils down to discovering which features (connotations, values, attitudes, or emotions) associated with the source are projected

onto the target (Forceville 2016: 244). In our case, interpretation involves disclosing the features mapped from a source domain onto the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain.

6. Clarifying if the meme involves any other multimodal tropes besides the metaphor, how these tropes are cued, and how they interact with the metaphor.

7. Revealing the critical stance that a meme entails through juxtaposing the features projected on the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain and the features expected from an efficient political leader. Predicting inferences and emotional attitudes, a multimodal metaphorical meme can possibly evoke.

3. Results and discussion: Trump's metaphorical images and their implications

The results of our study show that the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain is mapped in terms of such elaborations (non-conventional specifications (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 67-69) of the PERSON source domain as CONMAN, BRIDE, CLOWN, and CHILD; the OBJECT source domain – MACHINE (SHIP), PUPPET, FOOD (Spam), and the INSECT source domain – PARASITE.

The first example instantiates multimodal metaphorical memes with the PERSON source domain. This particular meme is a reply to the president's tweet *Drug makers and companies are not living up to their commitments on pricing. Not being fair to the consumer, or to our Country!*
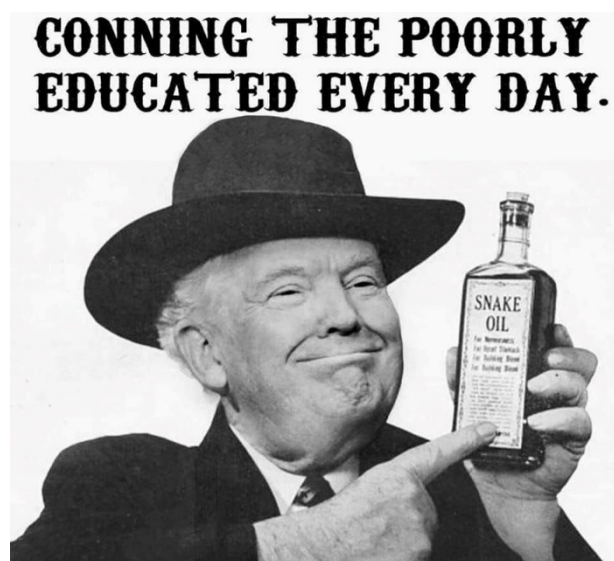

Figure 1. Metaphorical portrayal of Trump as a SNAKE OIL SALESMAN (Silvers 2019)

The meme consists of a black-and-white photo representing Trump wearing a dark suit with a black tie and a cowboy hat. He is holding a bottle in his left hand and pointing to this bottle with the index finger of the other hand. His facial expression conveys satisfaction. The bottle has the inscription *SNAKE OIL*. Another caption is placed at the top of the picture: *CONNING THE POORLY EDUCATED EVERY DAY*.

Such semiotic structure of the meme allows us to construe the TRUMP-PRESIDENT IS A SNAKE OIL SALESMAN multimodal metaphor. Though it is a case of hybrid metaphor where target and source create a gestalt (the images of Trump and the snake oil salesman are physically inseparable), we can still "disentangle" them for the purposes of analysis. The target domain is cued visually – by the photo-image of a person looking like Trump. The source structure is recruited partially visually (by the black-and-white photo-image styling Trump as a travelling salesman skilled in deception (consider the facial expression) in the Western United States) and partially verbally. As for the interface of the image and the language, the inscriptions *SNAKE OIL* and *CONNING THE POORLY EDUCATED EVERY DAY* serve as verbal anchors, narrowing possible interpretations of the image and specifying the source domain as A SNAKE OIL SALESMAN.

However, these inscriptions may be dispensable for those recipients who are not familiar with American culture, since this multimodal metaphor is based on the allusion to the 1940s advertisement of snake oil featuring a man with a bottle similar to the photo in the meme. In the US culture, snake oil has come to symbolize fraud (Gandhi 2013) and a snake oil salesman is associated with "someone who deceives people in order to get money from them" (Cambridge dictionary, *s.a.*).

The definition of a snake oil salesman allows us to attribute to Trump such a quality as being DECEPTIVE, reinforced by such traits of a typical salesman as GREEDY, SLICK, CROOKED, FICTITIOUS (WAN, *s.a.*). Obviously, these attributes are incompatible with the features expected from a worthy political leader. Consequently, the recipients can

143

draw inferences that Trump does not qualify for the president since he is giving empty promises and taking advantage of his presidency in order to make money and strengthen his power at the expense of ordinary Americans. In addition, the vivid negative image of the trickery SNAKE OIL SALESMAN, well satisfied with taking advantage of people who take his promises at face value, aims to evoke a strong negative emotional attitude towards Trump.

Another example of multimodal metaphors elaborating the PERSON source domain is a reply to Trump's tweet *The Russian Witch Hunt Hoax, started as the "insurance policy" long before I even got elected, is very bad for our Country. They are entrapping people for misstatements, lies or unrelated things that took place many years ago. Nothing to do with Collusion. A Democrat Scam!*

Figure 2. Metaphorical portrayal of Trump as PUTIN'S BRIDE
(Lade Sade 2018)

This meme consists of the image of Trump in a bridal gown sitting in an armchair against the dark background and the verbal inclusions *TIME, Russian Bride of the Year,*

DONALD TRUMP, and *VLADIMIR PUTIN'S BLUSHING BRIDE.* It is well known that the "Time" magazine publishes issues announcing "Person of the Year" – the world's most influential individual of the year in a particular sphere. The words *Russian Bride of the Year* suggest a parodic allusion to Trump's 2016 "Time" magazine cover, representing him as Person of the Year.

The meme actualises the TRUMP-PRESIDENT IS PUTIN'S BRIDE metaphor that refers to the alleged support of Trump by Russia in the 2016 presidential election. The target domain of this multimodal metaphor is cued partially in the visual mode and partially verbally – by the photo of Trump and the verbal inclusion *DONALD TRUMP* that labels the image. The source domain is also represented visually (consider the bridal gown and veil) as well as verbally – by nominations *Bride* and *BLUSHING BRIDE*, which actually repeat the information found in the image, and also *Russian* and *VLADIMIR PUTIN'S*, which reinforce the image, directing the recipients towards the meaning chosen by the creator of the meme.

The relations between Trump and Putin are metaphorised as those of BRIDE and GROOM. The meme exploits a recurrent metaphorical scenario of the political discourse – POLITICAL PARTNERSHIP IS A MARRIAGE (Forceville & van de Laar 2019: 302). It is noteworthy that in the memes of this type Trump is always depicted as a woman. This metaphorical mapping highlights such features of the BRIDE source domain as MAIDEN, TIMID, ROMANTIC (WAN, *s.a.*) and projects them onto the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain. It is obvious that in the US that is recognized to be a masculine culture (Hofstede et al. 2010), where "men should be assertive, ambitious, and tough, whereas women are supposed to be tender and to take care of relationships" (ibid., 155), the features highlighted in this metaphorical mapping are incongruent with the vision of a political leader. This incongruity becomes even more striking in the context of the Republicans' moral code that promotes the Strict Father Morality (Lakoff 2002). Thus, the recipients have all the cues necessary to infer the message of the Twitter user who criticises Trump for being weak in the US – Russia relations and, employing the image

of a BRIDE, provokes a negative emotional attitude towards him as a weak and dependent political leader.

The next example is a reply to Trump's tweet *The mainstream media has refused to cover the fact that the head of the VERY important Senate Intelligence Committee, after two years of intensive study and access to Intelligence that only they could get, just stated that they have found NO COLLUSION between "Trump" & Russia:*

Figure 3. Metaphorical portrayal of Trump as a CHILD THROWING A TANTRUM
(Pissed off Parker 2019)

In this meme the text written in white letters with a black contour (using the font "Impact") is superimposed on the image at the top and bottom of the picture (Zenner & Geeraerts 2018: 175-176). It comprises a caricature image of Trump sitting on the floor with a cell phone, from which twitter birds and exclamation marks are flying out. The text, superimposed on the image, reads, *"ATTENTION EVERYONE! TWITTER TANTRUM IS NOW IN PROGRESS!"*

We label this multimodal metaphor TRUMP-PRESIDENT IS A CHILD THROWING A TANTRUM. The target domain is represented visually as the caricature depicts a man

with Trump's facial features and the well-known gimmick – specifically styled blonde hair. The source domain is cued by the same image, since Trump is depicted in a pose characteristic of small children – shouting, with a furious face and flaming hair accentuating the heat of emotion. The inscription *TANTRUM* contributes to the source domain as it has the meaning of "an uncontrolled outburst of anger and frustration, typically in a young child" (Lexico, *s.a.*). Labelling the situation represented by the caricature, the verbal element prompts its right interpretation, functioning as an anchor and directing the recipients towards the intended reading.

The features projected from the source domain onto the target – NAUGHTY, CRYING, CHILDISH, MISCHIEVOUS (WAN, *s.a.*) – are incompatible with those expected from a leader, who is to be CHARISMATIC, RESPECTED, INFLUENTIAL (WAN, *s.a.*). The critical stance of this meme is that Trump behaves on Twitter in a childish way. The meme is designed to elicit an inference that Trump does not meet the expectations for the president, accompanied by a negative emotional attitude triggered by the colourful pictorial image of a naughty child.

The next metaphorical meme employs the CLOWN source concept, elaborating the PERSON domain. From an interactional aspect, this meme is an answer to Trump's tweet *I hope the people over at the Fed will read today's Wall Street Journal Editorial before they make yet another mistake. Also, don't let the market become any more illiquid than it already is. Stop with the 50 B's. Feel the market, don't just go by meaningless numbers. Good luck!*

Figure 4. Metaphorical portrayal of Trump as a KU KLUX CLOWN
(Live on Stage 2018)

The meme consists of Trump's Photoshopped image in a clown's makeup, the words *Ku Klux Klown* at the top of the picture and abbreviation *GOP* on the badge in the lower right corner, which stands for the Republican Party also referred to as the Grand Old Party. Taken together, these perceptual stimuli translate the TRUMP-PRESIDENT IS A KU KLUX CLOWN multimodal metaphor.

The target conceptual structure is recruited partially visually – by the Trump's Photoshopped image – and partially verbally – by the abbreviation *GOP*. As for the source structures, this metaphor has two source domains – CLOWN and KU KLUX KLAN, which are activated by the pun word *KLOWN*. The word *klown* is a blend of *Klan* and *clown*. *Klan*, in the verbal context of *KU KLUX KLOWN*, is associated with the Ku Klux Klan – an American right-wing organisation advocating white nationalism and anti-immigration, which historically used physical assault and murder against those it opposed (EB, *s.a.*). The other association, resulting from the homophone features of *klown* and *clown* and supported by the Trump's pictorial image (makeup, clown nose, and dishevelled ginger hair) activates the CLOWN source domain. Thus, the KU KLUX KLAN domain is cued verbally, while the CLOWN domain – partially visually and partially verbally with the text guiding the interpretation of the image.

This metaphorical mapping entails the projection of the attributes from both the source domains onto the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain. Obviously, the KU KLUX KLAN source domain supplies such attributes that are highly negative from the ethical point of view as RACIST, NAZI, NOTORIOUS, VIOLENT (WAN, *s.a.*). It is a bit more difficult to predict, which attributes will be highlighted in the CLOWN source domain for people of different backgrounds. Firstly, the word *clown* can hint at Trump's past as a reality TV star, performer, and entertainer, since one of its meanings is "a comic entertainer" (Lexico, *s.a.*). Secondly, in the current political discourse of the US, the word *clown* is often used to accentuate Trump's eccentric behaviour in line with another definition of the word – "to behave in a silly or funny way" (LDCE, *s.a.*). Thirdly, in the context of American mass culture, the image of a CLOWN is associated with creepy, scary clowns from horror movies, who are cruel and ruthless creatures. Anyway, the attributes mapped onto the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain from the KU KLUX KLAN source domain (RACIST, NAZI, NOTORIOUS, VIOLENT (WAN, *s.a.*)) and from the CLOWN source domain (INSANE, PSYCHO, COMICAL, MURDEROUS, GROTESQUE, DEMONIC, CLUMSY, SINISTER, SILLY, SCARY, RIDICULOUS, ECCENTRIC (WAN, *s.a.*)) are incompatible with the attributes expected from a political leader. Thus, this meme conveys a strong critical stance and can initiate all kinds of negative inferences as for Trump's adequacy as the president and negative emotional attitudes towards him, ranging from disapproval to contempt and even hate.

In the following example, the metaphorical meme rests on the OBJECT source domain. It is a reply to Trump's tweet *Fake News has it purposely wrong. Many, over ten, are vying for and wanting the White House Chief of Staff position. Why wouldn't someone want one of the truly great and meaningful jobs in Washington. Please report news correctly. Thank you!*

Figure 5. Metaphorical portrayal of Trump as a SINKING SHIP
(Yvette with a Y 2018)

This meme depicts a sinking ship named *TRUMP* with a Russian flag. There are red hats with Trump's catchphrase *Make America Great Again* floating around the ship. There is the abbreviation *U.S.S.* standing for United States Ship (MWD, *s.a.*) on the side of the ship and also the abbreviation of Trump's catchphrase *MAGA* on the cockpit. Taken together, these pictorial and verbal perceptual stimuli bring about the TRUMP-PRESIDENT IS A SINKING SHIP multimodal metaphor. The target domain is exclusively represented in the verbal mode (*TRUMP, Make America Great Again, MAGA*), whereas the source is cued visually and verbally (*U.S.S.*). As in the previous examples, the verbal text directs the recipients to the pre-determined meaning of the image.

The ship image can be seen as a variety of the JOURNEY metaphor, in which political leaders are supposed to lead the country in the "right direction" (Forceville & van de Laar 2019: 302). Since the ship is sinking, the political leader cannot lead the country. Thus, such an attribute as FAILING is mapped onto the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain. As FAILING is opposed to PROMINENT (WAN, *s.a.*), an attribute expected from an efficient leader, the meme has a strong critical stance, suggesting an inference that Trump's policies as well as his presidency will fail. In addition, it evokes a negative emotional attitude toward Trump as a leader associated with failure.

Another widespread portrayal of Trump is based on the PUPPET domain. The analysed meme is a reply to Trump's tweet *While my (our) poll numbers are good, with the Economy being the best ever, if it weren't for the Rigged Russian Witch Hunt, they would be 25 points higher! Highly conflicted Bob Mueller & the 17 Angry Democrats are using this Phony issue to hurt us in the Midterms. No Collusion!*

Figure 6. Metaphorical portrayal of Trump as PUTIN'S PUPPET
(Chefjoeygibsonrivas 2019)

This meme shows Putin pulling the strings of a puppet with Trump's facial features (the meme is animated as it is a GIF – Graphics Interchange Format). The verbal label *TRUMP THE PUPPET* is placed at the top of the image. Such semiotic structure of the meme construes the TRUMP-PRESIDENT IS PUTIN'S PUPPET multimodal metaphor. The target and source are cued in two modes – verbal and visual. The verbal mode actually repeats the information given by the image fixing its meaning. Such features of a PUPPET as SURRENDERED, CONQUERED, NOMINAL, ACCEPTING, SCRIPTED (WAN, *s.a.*) are mapped onto the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain. Similar to the image of PUTIN'S BRIDE, the image of PUTIN'S PUPPET conveys a strong negative stance, since it highlights the features that are incompatible with those of a top political leader of the American nation. The metaphorical meme suggests inferences and evokes emotions that can shape negative attitudes towards Trump and his political party.

One more source domain engaged in metaphorical memes portraying Trump on his Twitter is that of FOOD. The instantiation given below is a reply to the president's tweet *Two Fantastic People! My friends from the very beginning. Thank you D&S.*

Figure 7. Metaphorical portrayal of Trump as SPAM
(BRing 2019)

The meme shows tinned meat shaped as Trump's face profile and a can of Spam with the inscription *SPAM with Real Hormel BACON*. The meme represents the multimodal metaphor that is labelled TRUMP-PRESIDENT IS SPAM. The target domain is exclusively cued in the visual mode. The source domain is cued partially visually (by the image of chopped meat and its tin) and partially verbally (by the text on the tin *SPAM with Real Hormel BACON*). As in the previous examples, the text labels the image directing its interpretation by the recipients.

The concept of SPAM is deeply ingrained in the Western culture and is viewed as the symbol of everything that is wrong with American processed food. A block of fatty and salty pork, Spam became a subject of derision during World War II, when it was one of the most affordable meals (OEFDA 2012: 342). Consequently, SPAM (canned meat) is associated with such features as FAKE, UBIQUITOUS, FALSE, POORLY (WAN,

s.a.) and all these features, highlighted by the metaphorical mapping, are projected onto the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain.

Since *spam* is a polysemantic word, for some recipients it can activate another source domain, that of COMPUTER TECHNOLOGIES, against which *spam* is interpreted as "irrelevant or unsolicited messages sent over the Internet, typically to a large number of users, for the purposes of advertising, phishing, spreading malware, etc." (Lexico, *s.a.*). This source domain gives rise to a metonymy based on the EFFECT FOR CAUSE relationship (Kövecses & Radden 1998: 56). It characterises Trump as A SENDER OF IRRELEVANT MESSAGES, implying criticism for his extensive usage of Twitter.

Both the metaphor and the metonymy contribute to devaluation of Trump as a political leader, entailing negative inferences and evoking negative emotional attitudes.

The next meme rests on the INSECT source domain and is a reply to Trump's tweet *One thing has now been proven. The Democrats do not care about Open Borders and all of the crime and drugs that Open Borders bring!*
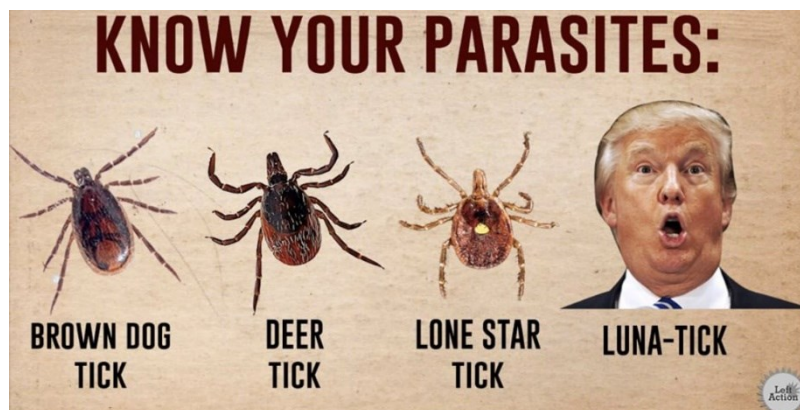

Figure 8. Metaphorical portrayal of Trump as a LUNATIC TICK
(Burgess 2019)

The meme contains images of three kinds of ticks, i.e. parasitic insects, and a photo of Trump, placed in one line with the insects. There is the text *KNOW YOUR PARASITES*, located above the images, and also captions *BROWN DOG TICK, DEER*

TICK, and *LONE STAR TICK* put under the images of ticks and *LUNA-TICK* – under Trump's photo, respectively.

We can assume that this meme gives rise to the TRUMP-PRESIDENT IS A LUNATIC TICK multimodal metaphor. The target is exclusively represented in the visual mode – by the photo of Trump. The source domain is cued partially in the visual mode – by the images of ticks – and partially in the verbal mode – by the nominations (*PARASITES, BROWN DOG TICK, DEER TICK, LONE STAR TICK*, and *-TICK*). The images of the ticks and of Trump are of the same size and aligned with one another. This alignment contrasts the images making the metaphor more powerful. Similar to the above memes, the words guide the interpretation of the images.

In the process of mapping, such features of ticks as PARASITIC, BITING, SUCKING, INFECTIOUS, CRAWLING, RESISTANT, POISONOUS, HUNGRY (WAN, *s.a.*) are projected onto the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain. They obviously oppose the features of the prototypical president.

The pun word *luna-tick*, which is a homophone of *lunatic* meaning "an extremely foolish or eccentric person" (Lexico, *s.a.*), evokes another source domain, that of PERSON (LUNATIC), and highlights qualities like INSANE, MAD, DANGEROUS, CRAZY, INCOMPETENT, DISGUSTING, DUMB, DISTORTED, RIDICULOUS, ILL (WAN, *s.a.*), which are incompatible with the image of the president. Using this meme, the Twitter user criticises Trump for making money on the US citizens, and expresses doubt about Trump's sanity. Consequently, the meme entails inferences of Trump's inadequacy as the president accompanied by negative emotional attitudes, evoked by the images of LUNATIC and PARASITE INSECT.

4. Conclusions

In this paper, we have investigated multimodal metaphors portraying Donald Trump in recurrent political memes employed as replies to Trump's tweets on his Twitter

account. The examples discussed constitute multimodal metaphors, in which the highlighted features of such source domains as PERSON (CONMAN, BRIDE, CLOWN, and CHILD), OBJECT (MACHINE, PUPPET, and FOOD), and INSECT (PARASITE) are mapped onto the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain. Several multimodal metaphors recruit two source domains (CLOWN and KU KLUX KLAN, PARASITE INSECT, and LUNATIC PERSON). Within the semiotic structure of some multimodal memes, metaphor interacts with metonymy: TRUMP-PRESIDENT is metaphorically mapped as SPAM FOOD and metonymically – as A SENDER OF A SPAM ELECTRONIC MESSAGE.

All the analysed memes share such fundamental features of a means of political Internet communication as dependence on the current context, emotional colouring, simplicity, and anonymity. Most memes demonstrate intertextual nature instantiating allusions, including parodic ones. As for the humour, though all the analysed metaphors are based on incongruities, highlighting the features incompatible with those expected from an efficient politician, these incongruities might elicit emotions other than enjoyment: puzzlement, disapproval, contempt, or disgust.

The target and source domains of the multimodal metaphorical memes are cued exclusively or partially in the verbal and visual modes. While the visual mode prevails, the images alone are too vague to interpret. The verbal text anchors the images, labelling them and in this way guiding their identification and interpretation, specifying the source structures, and highlighting their particular features. Thus, the image and verbal text of multimodal metaphorical memes interact through the anchorage in which the text pre-determines the meaning of the image.

In all of the instances, the multimodal metaphors map negative features. These negative mappings involve such attributes as DECEPTIVE, SKILFUL, GREEDY, SLICK, CROOKED, FICTITIOUS (the SNAKE OIL SALESMAN source domain), MAIDEN, TIMID, ROMANTIC (PUTIN'S BRIDE), NAUGHTY, CRYING, CHILDISH, MISCHIEVOUS (CHILD), RACIST, NAZI, NOTORIOUS, VIOLENT (KU KLUX KLAN), INSANE, PSYCHO, COMICAL, MURDEROUS,

GROTESQUE, DEMONIC, CLUMSY, SINISTER, SILLY, SCARY, RIDICULOUS, ECCENTRIC (CLOWN), FAILING (SINKING SHIP), SURRENDERED, CONQUERED, NOMINAL, ACCEPTING, SCRIPTED (PUPPET), FAKE, UBIQUITOUS, FALSE, POORLY (SPAM), PARASITIC, BITING, SUCKING, INFECTIOUS, CRAWLING, RESISTANT, POISONOUS, HUNGRY (PARASITE INSECT), INSANE, MAD, DANGEROUS, CRAZY, INCOMPETENT, DISGUSTING, DUMB, DISTORTED, RIDICULOUS, ILL (LUNATIC). Some of these attributes directly depreciate the president's competence (the CLOWN, LUNATIC, and SPAM source domains).

These negative mappings entail further inferences of Trump's inadequacy as a US president. In addition, negative metaphorical images fusing affordances of the visual and verbal modes are apt to evoke strong negative emotional attitudes towards Trump, which multiplies the potential of the Internet memes to influence other Twitter users.

Further investigation should take a closer look at other tropes in multimodal political memes. Another fruitful aspect of research involves revealing the interaction between Trump's communicative strategies instantiated in his multimodal tweets and Twitter users' responsive strategies.

List of abbreviations

CMT – Conceptual metaphor theory

DJT – Donald John Trump, twitter.com/realDonaldTrump

EB – Encyclopaedia Britannica

LDCE – Longman dictionary of contemporary English

MWD – Merriam-Webster dictionary

OEFDA – The Oxford encyclopaedia of food and drink in America

WAN – Word Associations Network

References

Ahmadian, S., Azarshahi, S. & Paulhus, D.L. (2017). Explaining Donald Trump via communication style: Grandiosity, informality, and dynamism. In *Personality and individual differences*, 107 (1), p. 49-53.

Alexiyevets, O. (2017). Prosody of the viewpoint in political discourse. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, II (1), June 2017, p. 4-41. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0001

Axelrod, E. (2016). *The role of memes in politics*. Available at:

http://www.brownpoliticalreview.org/2016/03/role-memes-politics/

Barthes, R. (1977). Rhetoric of the image. In *Image. Music. Text*. London: Fontana Press, p. 32-51.

Bateman, J.A. (2014). *Text and image: A critical introduction to the visual/verbal divide*. London: Routhledge.

Belt, T.L. (2018). Can we at least all laugh together now? Twitter and online political humor during the 2016 election. In *The role of Twitter in the 2016 US election*. Galdieri, C.J., Lucas, J.C. & Sisco, T.S. (eds.). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 97-117.

Bounegru, L. & Forceville, C. (2011). Metaphors in editorial cartoons representing the global financial crisis. In *Visual communication*, 10 (2), p. 209-229.

BRing. Twitter post. June 13, 2019. Available at:

https://twitter.com/BRing00297510/status/1139258586025082882

Burgess, S. Twitter post. January 1, 2019. Available at:

https://twitter.com/sunkist111/status/1080155066043170816

Cambridge dictionary. Available at: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/

Castaño, C.M.D. (2013). Defining and characterizing the concept of Internet meme. In *Revista CES psicología*, 6 (2), p. 82-104.

Chefjoeygibsonrivas. Twitter post. June 28, 2019. Available at:

https://twitter.com/rivas_joey/status/1144465411427012611

Cornfield, M. (2017). Empowering the party-crasher: Donald J. Trump, the first 2016 GOP presidential debate, and the Twitter marketplace for political campaigns. In

Journal of political marketing, 16 (3-4), p. 212-243. DOI: 10.1080/15377857.2017.1345836

Davydyuk, Yu. & Panasenko, N. (2016). Figuring the male and female: Fire and water in Bradbury's (science) fiction. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, I (1), June 2016, p. 4-74. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2016-0001

Dawkins, R. (2006). *The selfish gene*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Denisova, A. (2019). *Internet memes and society: Social, cultural, and political contexts*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge.

Dynel, M. (2016). "I has seen image macros!" Advice animal memes as visual-verbal jokes. In *International journal of communication*, 10, p. 660-688. Available at: https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/9d9b/cba859e3d74a343cd9e69e78fbe083236626.pdf

El Rafaie, E. (2015). Cross-modal resonances in creative multimodal metaphors: Breaking out of conceptual prisons. In *Multimodality and cognitive linguistics*. Pinar Sanz, M.J. (ed.). Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, p. 13-26.

El Rafaie, E. (2009). Metaphor in political cartoons: Exploring audience responses. In *Multimodal metaphor*. Forceville, C. & Urios-Aparisi, E. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 172-196.

El Rafaie, E. (2003). Understanding visual metaphors: The example of newspaper cartoons. In *Visual communication*, 2 (1), p. 75-96.

Encyclopedia Britannica. Available at: https://www.britannica.com/

Enli, G. (2017). Twitter as arena for the authentic outsider: exploring the social media campaigns of Trump and Clinton in the 2016 US presidential election. In *European journal of communication*, 32 (1), p. 50-61.

Forceville, C. (2002). Further thoughts on delimiting pictorial metaphor. In *Theoria et historia scientiarum*, 6 (1), p. 213-227.

Forceville, C. (2008). Metaphor in pictures and multimodal representations. In *The Cambridge handbook of metaphor and thought*. Gibbs, R.W. (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 462-482.

Forceville, C. (2009). Non-verbal and multimodal metaphor in a cognitive framework: Agendas for research. In *Multimodal metaphor*. Forceville, C. & Urios-Aparisi, E. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 19-42.

Forceville, C. (2016). Pictorial and multimodal metaphor. In *Handbuch sprache im multimodalen kontext*. Klug, N.-M. & Stöckl, H. (eds.). Berlin – Boston: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 241-260.

Forceville, C. (1996). *Pictorial metaphor in advertising*. London: Routledge.

Forceville, C. (2009a). The role of non-verbal sound and music in multimodal metaphor. In *Multimodal metaphor*. Forceville, C. & Urios-Aparisi, E. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 383-400.

Forceville, C. & van de Laar, N. (2019). Metaphors portraying the right-wing Dutch politician Geert Wilders in political cartoons. In *Populist discourse: Critical approaches to contemporary politics*. Hidalgo-Tenorio, E., Benítez-Castro, M.A. & De Cesare, F. (eds). London: Routledge, p. 292-307.

Fromm, J., Melzer, S., Ross, B. & Stieglitz, S. (2018). Trump versus Clinton: Twitter communication during the US primaries. In *Network intelligence meets user centered social media networks*. Alhajj, R., Hoppe, H.U., Hecking, T., Bródka, P. & Kazienko, P. (eds.). Cham: Springer, p. 201-217.

Galdieri, C.J., Lucas, J.C. & Sisco, T.S. (2018). Introduction: Politics in 140 characters or less. In *The role of Twitter in the 2016 US election*. Galdieri, C.J., Lucas, J.C. & Sisco, T.S. (eds.). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 1-6.

Gandhi, L. *A history of 'snake oil salesmen'*. August 26, 2013. Available at: https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/08/26/215761377/a-history-of-snake-oil-salesmen?t=1556627261032

Gershberg, Z. (2018). Rhetoric in a transmedia storytelling campaign: How Trump deployed the paranoid style in 2016. In *The presidency and social media: Discourse, disruption, and digital democracy in the 2016 presidential election*. Schill, D. & Hendricks, J.A. (eds.). New York – London: Routledge, p. 174-188.

Gibbs, R.Jr. (2011). Evaluating conceptual metaphor theory. In *Discourse processes*,

48, p. 529-562.

Goroshko, O. & Poliakova, T. (2018). Persuasiveness in political discourse on Twitter. In *Psycholinguistics*, 24 (2), p. 29-46. DOI: 10.31470/2309-1797-2018-24-2-29-46

Haddow, D. (2016). *Meme warfare: How the power of mass replication has poisoned the US election*. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/04/political-memes-2016-election-hillary-clinton-donald-trump

Heiskanen, B. (2017). Meme-ing electoral participation. In *European journal of American studies*, 12 (2). Available at: http://journals.openedition.org/ejas/12158. DOI: 10.4000/ejas.12158

Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G.J. & Minkov, M. (2010). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind. Intercultural cooperation and its importance for survival*. 3rd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Johnson, M. (1987). *The body in the mind.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Johnson, S. *Donald Trump tweeted himself into the White House*. November 10, 2016. Available at: https://theconversation.com/donald-trump-tweeted-himself-into-the-white-house-68561

Koestler, A. (1964). *The act of creation*. London: Hutchinson.

Kövecses, Z. (2017). Levels of metaphor. In *Cognitive linguistics*, 28 (2), p. 321-347. DOI: 10.1515/cog-2016-0052

Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A practical introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kövecses, Z. (2018). Metaphor in media language and cognition: A perspective from conceptual metaphor theory. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, III (1), June 2018, p. 124-141. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0004

Kövecses, Z. & Radden, G. (1998). Metonymy: Developing a cognitive linguistic view. In *Cognitive linguistics,* 9 (1), p. 37-77.

Kress, G. (2010). *Multimodality: A social-semiotic approach to contemporary communication.* London: Routledge.

Kristeva, J. (1980). *Desire in language: A semiotic approach to language and art*. Roudiez, L.S. (ed.), Gora, T., Jardine, A. & Roudiez, L.S. (transl.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Lade Sade. Twitter post. December 16, 2018. Available at:

https://twitter.com/Ladesade/status/1074474128629854208

Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. (1993). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In *Metaphor and thought*. Ortony, A. (ed.). 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 202-251.

Lakoff, G. (2002). *Moral politics: How liberals and conservatives think*. 2nd ed. Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by.* Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. & Turner, M. (1989). *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lamerichs, N., Nguyen, D., Puerta Melguizo, M.C., Radojevic, R. & Lange-Böhmer, A. (2018). Elite male bodies: The circulation of alt-right memes and the framing of politicians on social media. In *Participations. Journal of audience and reception studies*, 15 (1), p. 180-206.

Laineste, L. & Voolaid, P. (2016). Laughing across borders: Intertextuality of internet memes. In *European journal of humour research*, 4 (4), 26-49. DOI: 10.7592/EJHR2016.4.4.laineste

Lemke, J.L. (1998). Multiplying meaning: Visual and verbal semiotics in scientific text. In *Reading science: Critical and functional perspectives*. Martin, J.R. & Veel, R. (eds.). London: Routledge, p. 87-113.

Lexico. Available at: https://www.lexico.com/

Live on Stage. Twitter post. December 18, 2018. Available at:

https://twitter.com/super_one21/status/1075271997578506240

Longman dictionary of contemporary English. Available at:

https://www.ldoceonline.com/

Lovett, J., Christensen, D. & Curiel, J.A. (2019). *The Trump Twitter presidency and branding the news*. Available at:

https://static1.squarespace.com/static/577aa2e459cc68071cff0249/t/5c475774bba223672037e971/1548179317794/LovettChristensenCuriel_SPSA_TrumpTwitter.pdf

Martynyuk, A.P. (2015). Cognitive-communicative instruments of analyzing verbal influence. In *Science and education a new dimension. Philology*, III (15), Iss. 68, p. 67-70. / Martynyuk A.P. Kognitivno-kommunikativnyj instrumentarij analiza rechevogo vozdejstviya. In *Science and education a new dimension. Philology*, III (15), Iss. 68, s. 67-70. / Мартынюк А.П. Когнитивно-коммуникативный инструментарий анализа речевого воздействия. In *Science and education a new dimension. Philology*, III (15), Iss. 68, p. 67-70.

Martynyuk, A. (2017). The art of metaphoric political insult within the cognitive framework. In *Language – literature – the arts: A cognitive-semiotic interface*. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska, E. & Vorobyova, O. (eds.). Frankfurt am Main – Bern: Peter Lang Edition, p. 245-261.

McLuhan, M. (1994). *Understanding media: The extensions of man.* Cambridge – Massachusetts – London: The MIT Press.

McNeill, D. (1992). *Hand and mind: What gestures reveal about thought.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McNeill, D. (2005). *Gesture and thought.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Meleshchenko, O.O. (2018). Semiotic structure of tweet-texts (exemplified by Donald Trump's Twitter). In *Science and education a new dimension. Philology*, VI (46), Iss. 159, p. 48-51. / Meleshchenko O.O. Semiotychna struktura tvit-tekstiv (na materiali Tviteru Donal'da Trampa). In *Science and education a new dimension. Philology*, VI (46), Iss. 159, s. 48-51. / Мелещенко О.О. Семіотична структура твіт-текстів (на матеріалі Твітеру Дональда Трампа). In *Science and education a new dimension. Philology*, VI (46), Iss. 159, p. 48-51.

Merriam-Webster dictionary. Available at: https://www.merriam-webster.com/

Milner, R.M. (2013). Pop polyvocality: Internet memes, public participation, and the Occupy Wall Street movement. In *International journal of communication*, 7, p. 2357-2390.

Miltner, K.M. (2014). "There's no place for lulz on LOLCats": The role of genre, gender, and group identity in the interpretation and enjoyment of an Internet meme. In *First Monday*, 19 (8). Available at:

https://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/5391/4103#20

Mittelberg, I. & Waugh, L.R. (2009). Metonymy first, metaphor second: A cognitive-semiotic approach to multimodal figures of thought in co-speech gesture. In *Multimodal metaphor*. Forceville, C. & Urios-Aparisi, E. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 329-356.

Morozova, O. (2017). Monomodal and multimodal instantiations of conceptual metaphors of Brexit. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava.* Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, II (2), December 2017, p. 250-283. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0017

Muller, C. & Cienki, A. (2009). Words, gestures, and beyond: Forms of multimodal metaphor in the use of spoken language. In *Multimodal metaphor*. Forceville, C. & Urios-Aparisi, E. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 297-328.

Ott, B.L. (2017). The age of Twitter: Donald J. Trump and the politics of debasement. In *Critical studies in media communication*, 34 (1), p. 59-68.

Painter, D.L. & Rizzo, K. (2018). The verbal tone of the 2016 presidential primaries: Candidate Twitter, debate, and campaign speech rhetoric. In *The presidency and the social media: Discourse, disruption, and digital democracy in the 2016 presidential election*. Schill, D. & Hendricks, J.A. (eds.). New York – London: Routledge, p. 143-157.

Pérez-Curiel, C. & Limón Naharro, P. (2019). Political influencers. A study of Donald Trump's personal brand on Twitter and its impact on the media and users. In *Communication & society*, 32 (1), p. 57-75.

Pérez-Sobrino, P. (2017). *Multimodal metaphor and metonymy in advertising*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Piegay-Gros, N. (2008). *Introduction to intertextuality*. Moscow: LKI Publishing house. / P'ege-Gro N. *Vvedenie v teoriyu intertekstual'nosti*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo LKI. / Пьеге-Гро Н. *Введение в теорию интертекстуальности*. Москва: Издательство ЛКИ.

Pissed off Parker. Twitter post. February 9, 2019. Available at: https://twitter.com/BlueHopewell/status/1094255794982313984

Popa, D.E. (2015). Multimodal metaphors in political entertainment. In *Multimodality and cognitive linguistics*. Pinar Sanz, M.J. (ed.). Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, p. 79-95.

Ross, A.S. & Rivers, D.J. (2018). Internet memes as polyvocal political participation. In *The presidency and the social media: Discourse, disruption, and digital democracy in the 2016 presidential election*. Schill, D. & Hendricks, J.A. (eds.). New York – London: Routledge, p. 285-308.

Samokhina, V. & Pasynok, V. (2017). Anthroponymic world in the text of the Anglophone joke. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, II (2), December 2017, p. 284-355. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0018

Schneiker, A. (2018). Telling the story of the superhero and the anti-politician as president: Donald Trump's branding on Twitter. In *Political studies review*, 17 (3), p. 210-223. DOI: 10.1177/1478929918807712

Shifman, L. (2007). Humor in the age of digital reproduction: Continuity and change in Internet-based comic texts. In *International journal of communication*, 1, p. 187-209. Available at: http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/viewFile/11/34

Shifman, L. (2014). *Memes in digital culture.* Cambridge – Massachusetts – London: The MIT Press.

Silvers, T. Twitter post. January 7, 2019. Available at: https://twitter.com/SilverT48/status/1082395902998994944

Suls, J.M. (1972). A two-stage model for the appreciation of jokes and cartoons: An information processing analysis. In *The psychology of humor: Theoretical perspectives*

and empirical issues. Goldstein, J.H. & McGhee, P.E. (eds.). New York – London: Academic Press, p. 81-100.

Teng, N.Y. (2009). Image alignment in multimodal metaphor. In *Multimodal metaphor*. Forceville, C. & Urios-Aparisi, E. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 197-211.

The Oxford encyclopedia of food and drink in America (2012). Smith, A.F. (ed.). 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Trump, D.J. Available at: https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump

Williams, C.B. (2017). Introduction: Social media, political marketing and the 2016 U.S. election. In *Journal of political marketing*, 16 (3-4), p. 207-211. DOI: 10.1080/15377857.2017.1345828

Word Associations Network. Available at: https://wordassociations.net/en

Yus, F. (2019). Multimodality in memes: A cyberpragmatic approach. In *Analyzing digital discourse: New insights and future directions*. Bou-Franch, P. & Blitvich, P.G.-C. (eds.). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 105-131.

Yvette with a Y. Twitter post. December 12, 2018. Available at:
https://twitter.com/radiochick841/status/1072966529732542471

Zbikowski, L. (2009). Music, language, and multimodal metaphor. In *Multimodal metaphor*. Forceville, C. & Urio-Apparisi, E. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 359-381.

Zenner, E. & Geeraerts, D. (2018). One does not simply process memes: Image macros as multimodal constructions. In *Cultures and traditions of wordplay and wordplay research.* Winter-Froemel, E. & Thaler, V. (eds). Berlin – Boston: Walter de Gruyter, p.167-194. DOI: 10.1515/9783110586374-008

Contact data		Fields of interest
Contact data Alla Martynyuk DSc. (Philology), Professor Professor at Mykola Lukash Translation Studies Department of V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University. 4 Svobody Sq., Kharkiv, Ukraine 61022 e-mail: allamartynyuk@ukr.net		**Fields of interest** Discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, gender studies
Contact data Olga Meleshchenko PhD student at Mykola Lukash Translation Studies Department of V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University. 4 Svobody Sq., Kharkiv, Ukraine 61022 e-mail: olga.o.meleshchenko@gmail.com		**Fields of interest** Cognitive linguistics, multimodal discourse analysis

Résumé

This article analyses multimodal conceptual metaphors in Twitter-based political memes with the TRUMP-PRESIDENT target domain. The sample, selected from Trump's personal Twitter account, comprises 150 multimodal metaphorical Internet memes that are Twitter-users' replies to Trump's tweets. The research has adopted Forceville's and El Rafaie's understanding of a multimodal metaphor as well as Barthes' notion of anchorage opposed to relay in order to reveal the interface between the text and image, which is a typical combination of modes in the analysed memes. The source and target domains of the memes are cued (exclusively or partially) by means of the visual and verbal semiotic modes, with the texts anchoring the images and in such a way directing the recipients towards their intended interpretation. The mappings of Trump's metaphorical image recruit the PERSON (SNAKE OIL SALESMAN, BRIDE, CLOWN, and CHILD), OBJECT (MACHINE (SINKING SHIP), PUPPET, and FOOD (SPAM)), and INSECT (PARASITE) source domains. In the semiotic structure of some multimodal memes, metaphor relies on two source domains or interacts with metonymy creating images

that trigger several possibilities of interpretation. Some metaphorical memes represent an allusion, including a parodic one, to a politically relevant situation. The metaphorical and metonymical mappings highlight the exclusively negative features, which are incongruent with those expected from an efficient political leader. These negative mappings entail inferences of Trump being unable/unsuitable/not deserving to hold the position of the US president because of his poor moral or professional qualities. In addition, negative metaphorical images aim at evoking intense negative emotional attitudes towards Trump.

LEGE ARTIS
Language yesterday, today, tomorrow
Vol. IV. No 2 2019

COGNITIVE MAPPING OF THE CONTEMPORARY GERMAN MATRIMONIAL CONFRONTATIONAL DISCOURSE

Iryna Osovska*, Liudmyla Tomniuk

Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Chernivtsi, Ukraine

*Corresponding author

Abstract: The article presents a method of cognitive mapping using an example of reconstruction of conceptual system of contemporary German matrimonial confrontational discourse that reproduces collective cognitive space of German matrimonial couples. The basic principle of the proposed methodology allows following up a holistic mental representation of this segment of family discourse in a statistically verified conceptual structure and the system of correlations between its elements.

Key words: discourse practice, family discourse, matrimonial discourse, confrontational communication, conceptual system, cognitive space, collective cognitive space, linguoquantitative method.

1. Introduction

Present-day linguistic studies are focused on systemic organization of the individual's thinking. As Prihodko and Prykhodchenko claim, "cognitive processes in our mind are usually connected with our vision and understanding of outer world in general and our place in it in particular" (2018: 164). Mental background of any activity is reconstructed by researchers as both separate concepts containing specified knowledge, conceptual spheres, and fields united by common logical-semantic or substantive content, and conceptual systems as discursive-relevant formations of concepts representing certain relevant spaces of an individual. In this case, we agree

with Halych, who states that "different mental structures that are realized by a language are formed as a result of studying the world and experiencing it" (2018: 39).

According to Starzyńska and Budziszewska (2018: 291), discourse "authoritatively decides on whether to include or exclude particular contents from archives of social knowledge". Modern variety of interpretations of the phenomenon of discourse generally allows us to determine our position as a socially linguistic one within the functional approach, the methodological principle of functionalism, the anthropocentric principle of language that "is integral in the communication of social realities" (Radzi et al. 2018: 38) as well as speech consideration. Therefore, we treat *discourse* as a functional ethno-cultural space of a particular society, represented by a certain verbalized practice in a certain socio-communicative sphere. In this research, we define *discourse* using a strictly linguistic meaning of the term, as a linguistic unit of communication, which reflects differentiated diversity of the world's picture and includes typical situations of social interaction, participants, social norms and conventions, and cultural representations.

Since one of the social constructs significantly influencing the behavior of a person is the whole family and marital relationship as an element of it in particular, then, on the background of the research direction explicitly declared in the title, the notion of a collective cognitive family/marital space as a particularly structured set of knowledge and representations that all the individual family/marital social group (as a discursive community) members possess. Family/marital collective cognitive space is an integral part of the individual cognitive space, and *family discourse* (FD) in general and *matrimonial discourse* (MD) as its component, in particular, the sphere of interaction of the individual and the social-collective.

Typical ideas of marital relationships turn into representation of stereotypical interaction situations in the family as a small social group, modeled in the memory as objects of the MD concept space, the basis of which is specific configuration of its

autochthons – the concept system – "interfield formation, where a certain set of concepts is situationally arranged according to the principle of logical activity and, as a result, is included in the system of the highest order, an ensemble of nationally marked mental units of linguoculture – the concept sphere" (Приходько 2008: 237).

The above mentioned may be considered appropriate for realization of cognitive bases of the mechanism of forming and functioning family/marital cognitive collective space that is a mental basis of *family discourse* – interactive mental and verbal activity of the family members as a small group of German ethnocultural society performed daily to ensure vital activity of people through implementation of practical tasks in social reproductive process.

Accordingly, the **relevance** of the study is determined by orientation of modern linguistic studies within the cognitive-discursive paradigm on objective determination of complementarities of mental and verbal resources of discursive practices, which enables to describe their mental conditionality. Cognitive-discursive approach to the study of family/marital discourse practice allows presenting its information archive and reveal the basics of German national mentality, by comparing its cognitive representation, verbal reproduction, and discursive realization.

The mental resource of a certain discursive practice is represented by a specific conceptual system that can be modeled using the *technique of cognitive mapping*. Its application on the background of FD variations may result in cognitive maps – of matrimonial (communication between husband/partner and wife/partner) and parental (intercourse of communicants with the status roles of father/mother and son/daughter), and siblings discourse (communication between brothers/sisters). These layouts of statuses and roles are conducive to strategically variable interactions that change due to their communicative intention and, in turn, their scenarios become fixed and consolidated in the form of experience to be put into practice again by virtue of special verbal manifestations in typical situations. Acknowledging the fact that the relation

between cooperation (harmony) and conflict (disharmony) stems from two intrinsic constituent parts of life in general as well as the entire system of social relations, it is pertinent to regard them as the principal vectors of the FD assuming the existence of diverse participants with potentially different intentions and purposes and the thematization of various aspects of reality. However, it is absolutely clear that the functions of communicative activity are in evidence in every case of the FD, they do not exist in an isolated form, and their part is rather dominant. Communicative activity includes such functions as atmosphere maintenance, information transfer, prompting a partner, clarifying a current state of affairs, contradicting a current state of affairs. Respectively, the dominant communicative function generated through cognitive process of understanding a certain situation from a global perspective can acquire the status of the classification constant, which is the global strategy of a communicative event within the scope of the mutual activity of an addressee and an addresser. The elucidated material enables us to categorize cooperative and confrontational FD as mode types of German FD. Cooperative FD can be characterized by consistency or neutrality of communicants' intentions that are inextricably linked by actions and aimed at accomplishment of mutual purposes and the realization of a common aim, which includes cooperation, help, support, and protection. Confrontational FD can be characterized by divergence between initial intentions of communicants, open or implicit clash between the parties and/or can be aimed at verbalization of any conflict of interests or values. Global cooperation and confrontation strategies provide modern perspective and insight into pragmatics of a family as a community and are developed within the framework so as to ensure that intersubjective interaction enables communicants to achieve their mutual purposes formed against the backdrop of the family institution that is actualized in a particular type of discourse.

Mental grounds of MD presented in one of our articles (Osovska 2015), validated the fact that the formation of the so-called We-position is the pre-requisite for cooperation of a couple, as a result of which communicative spaces of subjects are installed in the interactive We-space based on the ability to acknowledge the individual's personal

concerns and simultaneously align their behavior with personal concerns as well as the ones belonging to the individual's partner. The research confirmed the importance of observing social conventions and values, the possibility of fulfilling daily living needs, financial needs as well as the existent feelings and emotions that maintain cooperative atmosphere within the framework "marriage – partnership".

The **aim** of this research follows from the information mentioned above and intends to determine the structure of the collective cognitive space of modern German matrimonial group members, relevant for confrontative communication, as well as reproduction of this structure in the cognitive map of contemporary German matrimonial confrontational discourse (CGMCD) – a specific discursive conceptual configuration.

The research materials can be defined as a wide and multi-faceted array of ways, in which German family communication is implemented integrating private and intimate aspects of a person's life. It is pertinent to note that this communication turns out to be the most problematic when it comes to its recording. Although the corpus of the basic research materials consists of oral exchanges, film, and TV shows scripts, it is worth mentioning that the transcripts of oral real life communication are definitely deemed to be the most objective empirical materials, since they make up for the drawbacks of imitation, predictability, the conceptual idea, and rhythmical recurrence of the text as well as the simulation of characters' speech. However, it is virtually impossible to collate the samples of real life communication within a family due to the distinct ethical or legal aspects (owing to the fact that the German society puts a strong emphasis on discretion and attaches importance to the protection of people's personal space from any kind of invasion), temporal prolongation, and "an observer's paradox", which can be paraphrased as devaluation of speaker's authenticity from the moment of acquiring the roles of informants. The perception of transcribed versions of oral discourse can prove rather challenging, since the focal point shifts from content to form. This condition is the uppermost reason for turning the collated fragments of oral discourse

into written texts without confining them to any rigid transcription framework, although meeting all the literary requirements in terms of spelling and grammar. Basically, the study presents the method of visual and audio observation followed by verbal recording of uttered facts aiming at their subsequent analysis. The scope of the above mentioned approach encompasses about 20 hours of impromptu exchanges and interaction of three married couples (dealing with the matrimonial and parental types of the cooperative and confrontational modes of the FD); the couples represent different age groups, namely H. (between 25-30 years of age – Frankfurt upon the Main), R. (between 45-55 years of age – Braunschweig), and L. (between 75-80 years of age – Göttingen). Their friendly relationship with the authors of the article enabled them to witness and record maximally natural behavior of the participants. All the couples consented to the condition that required their communication to be recorded. The bulk of the corpus of the research materials is comprised of the situations taken from contemporary German films and TV shows, the story lines of which coincide with the theme of our research and amount to 120 hours in total length. Taking into account the entire production procedure, which encompasses processing the text-transcript recorded by the authors together with the team of highly qualified and competent native speakers, reproducing the text with the help of actors' performance, where each actor's approach revives the static text, bringing in a multitude of situationally pertinent components that turn the text into a certain discourse element, the elucidated materials can be regarded as relevant samples of the MD.

The situations that are described as conflicts include communicative events that usually consist of one or several thematically completed sequences. The contemporary German MD reflects prevalence of interactions comprised of several remarks (turns) of communicants that function as independent communicative events and, as the rule, have some kind of situational attachment to a con-situation, thus being tightly interwoven. The overall amount of analyzed materials is comprised of 253 communicative events of real life exchanges and 1523 communicative events retrieved

from the scripts of films and TV shows. The average duration of each communicative event is 5 minutes.

2. Methodology: The technique of cognitive mapping

The process of communication investigation gives a person a unique opportunity of self-consciousness structure cognition (Желтухина & Доброниченко 2015: 173). Taking this into consideration, the main target of cognitive linguistics is to "help revealing not only what is universal about the language lying at the core of a plethora of interpretations, but also what is particular about its construal grounded in the socio-cultural interaction" (Sharapkova et al. 2019: 179). The attempts of scientists to represent complex mental processes are reflected in the suggestion of various types of structures, such as interpretation frames and cognitive maps (Минский 1979; Осовська 2013; Приходько 2008; Ращупкина 2009; Axelrod 1986; Goffman 1983). The latter, though differently understood by the researchers, but being aimed mainly at representing the global picture of the communicants' programs, represent the mental frames of discursive practices of the linguistic-cultural community and reveal the established way of comprehending a certain segment of its members' activities (Tametyan et al. 2018; Volskaya et al. 2018).

Creation of complete presentation of the CGMCD concept system, reflected in the cognitive map, requires the determination of its "skeleton" – the autochthon concepts and the partial outline of the corpus of CGMCD allochthons as discursive variables. At that, the adequate methodological approach was to define the synthesis of ***conceptual analysis***, corpus linguistics techniques, and ***linguoquantitative methods***. This enables to observe complete mental representation of CGMCD as a conceptual system in a statistically verifiable conceptual structure and a system of correlations among its elements.

Modeling a CGMCD cognitive map includes several stages: 1) defining basic situational markers that outline the communicative frame as a CGMCD situational

"skeleton"; 2) determining the CGMCD allochthons as a general complex of possible information elements; 3) determining autochthons as regular elements of the CGMCD through the procedures of statistical verification of actuals; 4) finding quantitatively significant dependencies (subordination, consequence, causation, and interconnection) of autochthons, that show interconcept correlation within the CGMCD; 5) formulation of the so-called CGMCD integrators – its uniting presupposition elements (Осовська 2013: 97-108).

Stage 1 is substantiated by the fact that the actualization of the CGMCD semantic space is provided with an adequate situational framework in all types of interactions. On the other hand, due to anthropocentricity, deictic characteristics of dialogue discourse and understanding of the action transformations as a continuum of "causal chains", from which consciousness of the interpreter "pulls out separate links" (Croft 1991: 159), this situational framework can be outlined in basic coordinates that present its participants, namely family members, global strategic purposes, as well as localization of space and time of a certain communicative event within the FD. The latter is localized due to common household and can be temporarily defined based on the repetitive periods of a person's lifestyle (leisure) as well as a set of social and cultural traditions (weekdays, holidays, vacations at work/school). All these factors lay the foundation for situational predictability of the FD.

Stage 2 requires additional explanation. Regarding the lexical semantic space as combination of means used for verbal interpretation of a particular conceptual space, it is possible to figure out all the regular and occasional concepts represented in the FD. The proviso for such an undertaking is that the core component of the conceptual space in question is compared to a verbal unit that is evocative of this concept and can activate the concept in a native speaker's mind. This aim can be attainable on condition that all the objectivators of the concept are collated. Regularly recurring concepts form framework of a particular conceptual system.

Conceptual analysis of CGMCD enables to define it as an open discourse, which has a high ability to borrow concepts that characterize other discourses (business discourse, service industry discourse, medical, legal youth, and academic discourse, etc.). This feature of the open discourse can obviously be explained not only by specification of different types of knowledge of different perspectives of human and linguistic existence of personality in it, but also by virtue of "boundless flexibility of communicative space of social culture, in which a creative linguistic personality tends to go beyond the norms, conventions and, conditions, using different strategies and tactics of verbal arrangement of mental information in his communicative creativity" (Приходько 2008: 242).

The holistic theory as a methodological basis of modern cognitive linguistics combines formats of presentation of the semantic and the conceptual, considering language as the main means of categorization and conceptualization of the world, an open cognitive system that interacts with general mental capabilities. Cognitive structures are deep thought-based entities, discovery of which can only be done through the study of meanings of language units (Тукаева 2009: 862), because "a lexical meaning is a concept activated by the word in thought" (Жаботинская 2013: 76). Raczaszek-Leonardi mentions that "being physically present in interactions, as utterances in dialogues, language is a part of co-action" (2018: 282).

Without questioning the statement that concepts are segmented by conceptual, figurative, and value cognitive features, we believe that fragments of colloquial language and film scripts within the CGMCD gives an opportunity to examine, first of all, the conceptual side, in which fixedness of concepts is determined by certain verbal means, the set of which forms concepts expression plan. Any mental formation is constantly in relations and dependences, and therefore determination of the algorithm for the exteriorization of concepts in the space of the text (meaning all the samples of the analysed material) enables not only to implement their profile, but also to construct the concept system of the CGMCD.

Verbal representation of concepts leads to the need of identifying their agents (known as objectivators, explicators, nominants, verbalizators, conceptual qualifiers, etc.) – the latter appear to be verbal units that provide the conceptual basis of the CGMCD, despite the fact that communicative and pragmatic parameters for defining qualifying senses of the lingual units are quite subjective both from the side of the communicants, and from the perspective of the investigator. Agents of concepts can be presented explicitly or implicitly, and "any particular agent of the concept – a word, a phraseological unit, a syntagma, etc., – is not an isolated unit, but a part of general system of agents, which can be represented in the form of an associative semantic field" (Бобкова 2007: 8). Explication of concepts in the form of a system of agents is performed by a speaker (husband/wife), who builds a chain of proposals, objectifying the concept.

The laws of logic and causal links lose their explanatory power, as soon as weak implicational structures occur in the text that is inevitably used for verbal recording of discourse – for example, metaphorical nominations containing a significant emotional component. The solution of the problem of implicit meanings categorization, if there is no alternative, requires ***introspective analysis*** (Комарова 2013: 332; Talmy 2007), which enables to distinguish discursively significant meanings of certain language means (Sie: *Jetzt sehe ich schwarz für unsere Zukunft* – [She: *Now I do not believe in our future*]; Er: *Ich habe die Nase voll von Geschrei*) – [He: *Constant quarrels drive me up the wall*]). Consequently, in order to isolate the constants of the CGMCD concept system, an inventory of the CGMCD texts was made, the objectivators of concepts (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) were fixed, the classification of which into semantic domains allowed defining a matrix of concepts as the basic (a cluster of meanings) within the CGMCD.

As long as the frequency of particular verbals can indicate a certain relevance and regularity of certain conceptual configurations, elements of statistical analysis were used enabling to determine the statistical significance of a) domain presentation in the CGMCD text, and b) certain concepts in the selected domains at Stage 3 of the study

to give the status of autochthons to certain concepts from other fields (medical, law, youth, business, academic, service sector and so on). Selected lexemes represent elementary meanings in consciousness; the names of domains formed – generalized concepts that semantically combine all the elements of a group that, "through their presentation in the family interaction, indicate the points of meanings condensation" (Осовська 2016: 58).

The need to distinguish between natural and random phenomena causes applying quantitative analysis. Verification of data using the techniques of calculating the χ^2-criterion and contingency coefficient K allows us to select the main meaning dominants, categorial units of the basis of its concept system from the set of fixed allochthons – conceptual variables presenting atypical knowledge quanta, regular autochthons of CGMCD concept system – by determining the correspondences between the frequency distributions of concept agents of a certain domain in the CGMCD texts and specific concepts in statistically significant domains.

Traditional study of fullness of conceptual structures is based, as a rule, on the definition of frequency of lexemes that designate certain elements or nominal characteristics of a concept. However, quantitative techniques, in particular, one of the basic methods for verifying hypotheses in linguistics – the chi-square (χ^2) criterion, enable to determine existence of correspondences or discrepancies between distributions of frequencies of quantities under observation (Левицкий 2012: 156), actually verifying their regularity of this discursive environment.

Relation between the features is confirmed by the χ^2 index, which is larger than the critical value, and its degree is determined by Chuprov mutual contingency coefficient K (ibid., 160). Exceeding the value of χ^2 testifies to the prevalence of empirical use of the domain over the theoretical expectations, confirming its selective character and, consequently, its importance for the CGMCD.

A similar procedure determines the value of χ^2 for all allochthons agents within each of the distinguished domains. As a result of such calculations, the most significant concepts for each of the predefined statistically significant domains are determined in the CGMCD text. The detected concepts are autochthons of CGMCD.

However, this result is not the final stage of the study of the CGMCD conceptual structure, since only "the analysis of the concepts connectivity, <...> enables to construct the picture of the world that is characteristic of everyday consciousness" (Чернейко 2001: 59). Before starting this phase of the study (Stage 4), some explanation should be provided. Thinking of the connectivity motivation by semantic properties, cognitivity of relations between the objects of reality and the closeness of the words related in their meaning placed in the text (Вдовиченко 2008: 15), lead to the assumption that consideration of their co-occurrence, "neighbourhood" in the CGMCD text may reproduce a fragment of linguistic picture of the world, on the background of which the concept space of CGMCD is realized. Determining the pairs of autochthons, among which there is a statistically verified relation, proves to be relevant and logical for this representation. This relation can be detected using the *correlation analysis*, which states correlation (statistical) dependence characteristic of linguistic phenomena and, in our case, allows detecting the FD autochthons in the text fragments, the agents of which are observed in co-occurrence.

The simple linear Pearson correlation (r) assumes that, as the values of some feature increase, the value of another one either increases or decreases in a certain order. If the values of both features are characterized by the increase, then a positive correlation is stated, but if it is characterized by a reverse relationship, there is a negative correlation (Осовська 2019: 214). Correlation coefficient values can range from +1 to -1, indicating the degree of relation between the phenomena: the closer the value approaches zero, the lower the dependence; the sign in this case denotes the nature of the relation (Тулдава 1987: 82-84).

Statistically significant pairs of autochthons (**PENDELN ≡ STRESS** ('**SWING ≡ STRESS**'), **SCHLAMPIGKEIT ≡ NORMVERLETZUNG** ('**UNTIDINESS ≡ RULEBREAKING**'), **ENTFREMDUNG ≡ VERWANDTE** ('**ALIENATION ≡ RELATIVES**')) indicate certain dependencies in the mental space of the German married/cohabiting couple, but do not explain it. Having detected the conceptual correlation, we turn to the qualitative *logical semantic analysis* and to the phenomenon of cognitive inference (Johnson-Laird 1983; Levinson 1983) – cognitive operations for obtaining deductive knowledge (Грайс 1985: 221), which enable to explain it.

The analysis of speech fragments, performed according to the above defined principles, enables to assert that the palette of inter-concept correlation is confined to four main types of relations – inclusion, consequence, causation, and mutual exclusion. These relations are based on the logical regularities symbolically designated by the schemes "X includes/implies Y" (≡), "Y follows X" (→), "X causes Y" (=>), "X or Y" (↔) (Осовська 2013; Приходько 2008).

The presented types of relations show all the statistically verified inter-conceptive correlations stated in the CGMCD texts. On Stage 5 of the research, the set of them allows formulating relevant for CGMCD integrators – presuppositions, discursive unifying representations, which essentially are cognitive foundations of communicative activity of an individual as a member of the family group within a certain linguoculture. The CGMCD integrators (the term seems to be apt due to its sense of a unifying rule) known as the elements of cognitive basis, fundamental stereotypical core of knowledge, or common cognitive foundation formulate basic discourse adequate mental elements, indicator of similarity of their world picture, subconsciously available in the CGMCD communicants-participants (Tametyan et al. 2019).

According to the contents principle, integrators can be differentiated into contextual integrators, integrators-problems, integrators-causes, and integrators-solutions.

Contextual integrators characterize the presupposition, the general married-life atmosphere; integrators-problems denote problem areas, spheres of discrepancies in the ideas of communicants; integrators-causes point to concrete actions or events that may cause a change in the communicative-discursive modus; integrators-solutions designate the views on the variants of solutions to problems (Осовська 2013: 282-290).

Including the social intragroup structure of thinking of the married group members on the basis of texts produced by them in the described method, it is possible to identify common elements integrating the CGMCD within the network – concepts as cementing elements in national consciousness that influence the process of linear strategic deployment of the communicative event, and their correlations – in the structure of thinking. All information obtained results in the cognitive map – a schematically presented information archive.

3. Results and discussion. Cognitive mapping of CGMCD

Our previous FD investigations state that "family as one of the standard elements of environment gaining the most meaningful and emotional value as a result of the historical and cultural development became one of the symbols of human consciousness" (Osovska 2018: 3). The basic structure of a modern German family can be represented by two dichotomous structural systems: **filiation/parental relations** (relations between parents and children) and **conjugal/matrimonial relations** (relations between partners), typical of any modern family in general as well as a German family, in particular. Let us briefly focus on linguocultural analysis of the latter.

Before using the above-mentioned methodological guidelines and focusing on the objective determination of the mental grounds for the CGMCD, it is obviously pertinent to flesh out general social perception of a modern German couple.

Having passed the stages of the 17th century individualism (development of freedom in relations, growth of marriage age, duration of marriage, exogamy, neolocalism, relatively equal management of one's owned money or the earned money), the 18th century sentimentalism (identification of love and marriage, ethnicity and identity; subjectivity; self-identification), German romanticism at the turn of the 20th century (marriage for love, psychic and erotic "interdependence" of partners), marriage for love acquires the status of the basis of the universal marriage model.

Love and partnership are the main regulatory concepts for the coexistence of individuals. Furthermore, "love, friendship, and family are eternal values, which are reflected in different cultures and religions in a specific way" (Panasenko et al 2018: 63). Still the concept **PARTNERSCHAFT ('PARTNERSHIP')**, is now becoming particularly relevant to modern German linguistic space. The concept in question requires certain number of communicative competences, namely authenticity, openness, sincerity, communicative abilities, verbalization of expectations, desires and dissatisfaction listening to instead of categorical attempt to realize their rights, sincerity instead of social closure, freedom for one's own development, responsibility for relationships. Partnership is a unity of two rational subjects capable of compromising (Burkart 2001: 431). Socially symmetrical, in most cases, relationship of the conjugal (from Latin *conjiugare* – to connect) couple only symptomatically show an asymmetric status in a couple with a difference in social background and age, as democratic social background has ultimately replaced stereotypical ideas about dependence of a woman and a dominant position of a man with ideas about parity and equality. Nowadays the social roles of spouses in the German society "vary depending on age and family stage" (Lee 2017: 85).

Relationships of a couple are both private and personal, and socially normalized – with certain institutionalized structures, rules, and norms. According to the conclusions that can be drawn from Gern's research on the shift in the gender roles of men and women, representing the German society of the 20th century, men and women who adhere to a

particular set of rules and standards of the German society should be regarded as representatives of different domains of life. Men are usually "preoccupied with activities happening within the scope of public domain but during evening time they take active part in private life domain, whereas women represent exclusively the domain of family life" (Gern 1992: 18). In stark contrast to Gern's theory, Willi (1978) and John (2017: 22) do not tend to demarcate confines of the roles of men and women in marriage, on the contrary, they view a family as "a unique type of co-evolution, which bears resemblance to a kind of art demonstrating common growth". It is pertinent to note that such scholars as Klein (2018), Knop (2019), and Alemann (2017) also dedicate their scientific work to investigation and elucidation of Germans' perception of a family as a social institution and a small social group, its functions, roles of spouses in the diachronic aspect, and the status of a family within the structure of modern German society.

Numerous sociological studies provide new and deeper insights into the forms of family relations in German society and prove the diversity in these relations. (Helfferich 2017: 27). German society demonstrates **heterogamous** (*Lebensgemeinschaft von Mann und Frau* ('heterosexual marriage')) and **homogamous** (*gleichgeschlechtliche Lebensgemeinschaft/Partnerschaft* ('same-sex marriage')*, homosexuelles (lesbisches, schwules) Paar* ('homosexual couple (lesbian, gay)')*, Homoehe* ('gay marriage')) types of partners (examples hereinafter are in the authors' translation). Tendency toward homogamy, not sexual, but age and educational one, is emphatically confirmed (Burkart 2008: 179; Hill & Kopp 2013; Lexikon zur Soziologie, s.a.). This, however, does not apply to nationality: globalization processes contribute to unceasing increase in the number of bicultural couples (BMFSFJ, *s.a.*). First of all, it can be attributed to increase in the trend towards the so-called sham marriage in Germany, especially one particular type of false marriage aimed at acquisition of a legal living permit by a partner who wants to reside on the territory of Germany but represents a nation that is not part of the EU (*aufenthaltsrechtliche*

Scheinehe) (Kern-Eimann: 2003; Vorwurf "Scheinehe". Die Kehrseite des Rechts auf Familiennachzug, s.a.).

Civil marriages (*nichteheliche Lebensgemeinschaft* ('extramarital union')*, "wilde Ehe"* ('civil marriage')*, Kohabitation* ('sexual relation')*, Konkubinat(spaar)* ('cohabitation')*, Konsensualpaar* ('cohabitation on mutual agreement')), being a premarital phase, or an alternative to marriage are quite adequately perceived by society. The decision on civil marriage has different reasons; there are different types of couples: those who did not manage to marry (*verhinderte Paare* ('partners, who were not destined to be together')), divorced couples (*Scheidungsfamilie* ('officially divorced family')*, Trennungsfamilie* ('family, members of which broke up')*, Teilfamilie* ('incomplete family')), for whom civil marriage is only a biographical transient phase (*geschiedene, "gebrannte Kinder"* ('divorced, "children, who got burned"')), classical free marriages, in which partners wittingly refuse to register their relationship (*freie Ehe* ('open marriage')), free relationships, in which partners try to avoid marriage-like structures (*freie Partnerschaft* ('open relationship')), unmarried couples, for whom living together is a trial (*Versuchsehe* ('experimental marriage')). There are willful opponents (*Ehe-Gegner* ('those, who do not believe in marriage')) and investigators (*Ehe-Tester* ('tester of marital relationship')). Un-marriage can be a moratorium, expectation of readiness, or a conscious position in the process of achieving certain material well-being.

It is illustrative of modern Germany that there is observed an increase of a number of unisexual relationships, tolerantly accepted by the society, that are officially allowed since 2001 and have the same legal provision like heterogamous ones (Mathias-Bleck 2006: 242). However, it should be noted that a particular kind of relationship between partners should be regarded as a principal factor that determines the attitude of the representatives of German society to the types of interpersonal relationships in general (Schneider 2015: 75).

As we can see, the problem zone of a German couple is not in the plane of institutional fixation, since alternative and traditional forms gradually become legally equal. One can only talk about the loss of institutional validity of marriage, and therefore, the problem already revolves within the rational choice theory – practical solution: as soon as marriage provides benefits, activation of this process will begin. Even in this sphere, German society demonstrates a deep rational analysis of contributions and benefits (Осовська 2013: 36).

The application of the above-described cognitive mapping method allows stating such features of the CGMCD cognitive background. CGMCD, as a cognitive-communicative activity and a territory of meeting and interaction of individuals in certain social and psychological conditions (Томнюк 2017: 75), is situationally highlighted by the participants with the status roles Ehemann/Partner – Ehefrau/Partnerin ('man/partner – woman/partner'), a global confrontation strategy, chronotropic characteristics of free time and family residence.

In the conceptual space of the CGMCD 123 concepts that form domains are recorded, 7 of them demonstrate statistical significance (see Table 1).

Table 1. Statistical significance of the domains in the CGMCD

Domains	Nouns		Verbs		Adjectives		Total
	χ^2	K	χ^2	K	χ^2	K	χ^2
Animated life					1,16		1,16
Character traits	**27,66**	**0,01**	**---**		**15,09**	**0,01**	*42,75*
Family affiliation	**4,85**	**0,01**	**8,69**	**0,02**	**4,89**	**0,01**	*18,43*
Feelings and emotions	**5,59**	**0,02**	**27,03**	**0,03**	**5,98**	**0,02**	*38,60*
Financial and operational Activities	3,39		0,26				3,65
Inanimate nature, Supernatural	3,70						3,70
Locality	2,43						2,43
Mental activity	5,76	0,03	0,30	0,03	5,92	0,03	11,98
Physical activity	**10,36**	**0,02**	**29,89**	**0,02**	**16,36**	**0,02**	*56,61*
Physiology and physiological Needs	2,13						2,13
Politico-economical, legal and social conditions	1,37						1,37

Professional activity	**9,80**	**0,02**	**6,23**	**0,02**	**8,68**	**0,02**	*24,71*
Rest and leisure			0,99				*0,99*
Service industry			0,13				*0,13*
Sexual relationship						0,01	*0,01*
Social activities and Cooperation	**12,24**	**0,02**	**7,54**	**0,02**	**6,23**	**0,02**	*26,01*
Substances			0,05				*0,05*
Temporality					1,24		*1,24*
Universal meanings	0,93		---		2,43		*3,36*
Values and conventions	**44,45**	**0,04**	**4,48**	**0,01**	**5,25**	**0,01**	*54,18*
Verbal activity			0,04				*0,04*
Total	*134,66*		*85,63*		*73,23*		*293,52*

Contingency coefficient $\chi^2 = 293,52$; K = 0,13

In the specified domain, 27 statistically significant concepts are determined. In human's thoughts, a complex of these concepts represents the world as a conceptual system, while discourse is a peculiar platform for their implementation (Томнюк 2018a: 5). They form the basis of the CGMCD, influence the process of its linear development and provide us with the image of its structure and interaction of system elements in its mental background (see Table 2).

Table 2. Statistical significance of concepts in the domains of the conceptual space of the CGMCD

Domain	The most significant concepts χ^2/K
Character traits	UNPÜNKTLICHKEIT ('LACK OF PUNCTUALITY') (44,27/0,07), VERSCHWENDUNG ('WASTEFULNESS') (31,24/0,06), UNZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT ('UNRELIABILITY') (30,19/0,06), UNZUFRIEDENHEIT ('DISSATISFACTION') (21,43/0,05), SCHLAMPIGKEIT ('UNTIDINESS') (11,34/0,03), UNDANKBARKEIT ('UNGRATEFULNESS') (11,01/0,03)
Physical activity	VERNICHTUNG ('DESTRUCTION') (5,68/0,02), GEWALT ('VIOLENCE') (5,44/0,02)
Professional activity	STRESS ('STRESS') (20,11/0,05), TERMIN ('MEETING') (12,12/0,03), PENDELN ('SWING') (11,14/0,03)
Values and conventions	NORMVERLETZUNG ('RULE BREAKING') (32,63/0,06), EIGENTUM ('PROPERTY') (20,44/0,05), UNGESUNDE LEBENSWEISE ('UNHEALTHY LIFESTYLE') (16,36/0,04), SCHEIDUNG ('DIVORCE') (11,16/0,03), UNORDNUNG/CHAOS ('MESS/CHAOS') (4,97/0,02)
Social activities and cooperation	STREIT/KONFRONTATION ('QUARREL/CONFRONTATION') (21,52/0,05), ENTFREMDUNG ('ALIENATION') (12,06/0,03), HINDERNIS ('OBSTACLE') (5,96/0,02)
Family affiliation	VERWANDTE ('RELATIVES') (6,31/0,02), PARTNER ('PARTNER') (5,49/0,02)
Feelings and emotions	ÄRGER/HASS ('FURY/HATRED') (21,63/0,05), BETRUG ('DECEIT') (16,48/0,04), SCHULD ('FAULT') (11,91/0,03), VERACHTUNG

	('DISRESPECT') (11,21/0,03), ENTTÄUSCHUNG ('DISAPPOINTMENT') (5,63/0,02), VERLUST ('LOSS') (5,41/0,02)

The study shows that CGMCD is a complex many-leveled hierarchic system, the structure organization of which is represented as "network inside of network" (arranged on such levels as concept → domain → conceptual system). CGMCD is structured by seven domains: character traits, physical activity, professional activity, values and conventions, social activities and cooperation, family affiliation, feelings and emotions. Each of them includes a set of concepts-autochthons, which are the constants of collective cognitive space and represent knowledge and ideas of German people about the institution of family, in particular, interaction of members of a matrimonial group in a situation of confrontation. Seven domains are the spheres, which usually lead to a conflict situation, break harmony in relation of a German family. In the course of conducting the analysis of these domains, we tend to agree with Hass, namely with the conclusion she comes to in her research on the culture of conflicts and the reasons for conflict formation in German families and in society in general (2014: 19-86). The scientist concludes that the grounds for family conflicts are generated not only by such internal factors as the psychological discrepancies in partners' characters, but also by a number of external factors, such as the backdrop of the political, historical and cultural experience of the society that spouses live in (ibid., 12). Thus, studying these factors is one of the tasks of the research in confrontational family discourse. Table 2 illustrates that the factors, which lead German family to misunderstanding are some abstract notions of individuality-spirituality (feelings and emotions, family relations, personality traits). As Zheltukhina puts it, the key issue of communication is a mechanism, which transforms an individual process of information exchange and perception into significant social process of personal and mass influence (2014). Quite often (as proved by the frequency of actualization of the concept VERSCHWENDUNG (χ^2=31,24)), the subject of dispute between the members of CGMCD is a financial part of life, which is represented as a step-by-step process of self-fulfillment in society. This includes work, which determines individual's position

in society, social activity, and relations with other people, and as a result, financial reward for fulfillment of person's, couple's, or family's needs. Let us consider a conceptual side of each domain of CGMCD and items and issues of reality, which become the subjects of dispute in German marriage. They are:

– From the domain **"character traits"** the anti-concepts objectify the moral and the anthropomorphic plan of **UNDANKBARKEIT ('UNGRATEFULNESS')** (Sie: *Du verdammter Scheißkerl, du **undankbarer** <...>*) – [She: *You, damned dullard, you're **ungrateful**! <...>*], **SCHLAMPIGKEIT ('UNTIDINESS')** (Sie: *Nicht nur im Zimmer, in deiner Seele herrscht **Unordnung**! Wie kann man denn so **schlampig** sein!*) (Barbara) – [She: *Not only in your room, but also in your soul is a **mess**! How can you be so **untidy!**];* **UNPÜNKTLICHKEIT ('LACK OF PUNCTUALITY')** (Er: *Ich muss leider deine **Unpünktlichkeit** betonen. Was? Wieder **den Termin verpasst**?*) (Was bleibt) – [He: *Unfortunately, I have to focus on your **lack of punctuality**. What? Have you **missed the meeting** again?*], **VERSCHWENDUNG ('WASTEFULNESS')** (Er: *Das war **verschwenderisch**!*) – [He: *It was **wasteful!**],* **UNZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT ('UNRELIABILITY')** (Sie: *Ich kann mit dir nie **sicher** sein! Ich kann mich nicht auf dich **verlassen**!*) – [She: *I can not be **sure** of you! I can not **rely on** you!*], **UNZUFRIEDENHEIT ('DISSATISFACTION')** (Er: ***Nie** bist du **zufrieden**, das ist schon zum Kotzen!*) – [He: *You are **never satisfied**. I'm already sick of it!*].

Judging from the afore-cited examples, we can conclude that the manner of behavior that generates conflicts stems from reluctance to accept such characteristic traits of a partner as ingratitude, messiness, unpunctuality, extravagant lifestyle, lack of reliability, which, in turn, provoke dissatisfaction.

– From the domain of **"physical activity"** the objectified concepts are **GEWALT ('VIOLENCE')** (Sie: *Der hat mich **verprügelt***) – [She: *He **beat** me!*], **VERNICHTUNG ('DESTRUCTION')** (Er: *Ich werd dich **vernichten**! Ich werde dich **zunichtemachen**!*) (Die Brücke am Ibar) – [He: *I'll **destroy** you! I'll **grind** you **to dust**!*].

The examples verify that a conflict can be accompanied by violence.

– From the domain of **"professional activity"** the following concepts are objectified **TERMIN ('MEETING')** (Er: *Ich schufte für dich,* ich *plage mich mit diesen* **Terminen** *von morgens bis abends, und du <...>*) – [He: *I work like crazy for you! I am fed up with these* **meetings** *from morning till night, but you <...>*], **STRESS ('STRESS')** (Sie: *Der Tag war* **anstrengend***, ich wurde hin und her* **gerissen***)* (Die fremde Familie) – [She: *The day was so* **tense***! I was* **busy as a beaver!***], **PENDELN ('SWING')** (Er: *Dieses* **Pendlerleben** *macht mich kaputt*) – [He: *This* **life of a 'pendulum'** *kills me*].

Obviously, negative emotions can also be stirred due to a person's professional responsibilities, namely tight meeting schedules, inevitability of long commutes to one's workplace, constant stress, and pressure at work.

– From the domain of **"values and conventions"** the concepts that are objectified include **NORMVERLETZUNG ('RULE BREAKING')** (Sie: *Man* **macht** *so was* **nicht***! Man benimmt sich* **anständig** *in solcher hochkarätigen Gesellschaft! Was* **erlaubst** *du dir überhaupt! Ist das jetzt auch schon ein* **Verbrechen***? Du bist der* **Verbrecher***! Seit langem* **vernachlässigst** *du deine* **Erziehungspflicht***, damit kann ich mich nicht zurechtfinden!*) (Vater, Mutter, Mörder) – [She: ***It doesn't work like that****! In such a high-class developed society, one should* **behave decently***!* ***What do you think you're doing****? Is this a* **crime** *as well? You are a* **criminal***! During long time you* **neglect** *your* **duty** *to* **raise a child***, I can't bear it.*], **SCHEIDUNG ('DIVORCE')** (Er: *Dann bleibt nur eine Lösung –* **die Scheidung***)* (Gier) – [He: *So,* **divorce** *is the only solution.*], **UNORDNUNG/CHAOS ('MESS/CHAOS')** (Sie: *Alles unvorbereitet und unüberlegt! Ich kann nicht so* **chaotisch** *leben.*) – [She: *Everything is so thoughtless and unprepared! I can not live in such a* **chaos***], **UNGESUNDE LEBENSWEISE ('UNHEALTHY LIFESTYLE')** (Er: *Wie viel kann man essen, du isst nicht mehr, du* **frisst***! Trinker bist du,* **Alkoholiker***! Ich hab dich gewarnt, diese* **Trinkerrunde** *bringt*

189

zu nichts!) (Kokowääh) – [He: *How can you eat so much? You **eat like a horse**! You are **drunkard, alcoholic**! I warned you that this **company of alcoholics** would do you wrong!*], **EIGENTUM ('PROPERTY')** (Er: *Du bist **Inhaberin**, die Verantwortung liegt auf dir, Deine Mutter, diese alte Kuh, hat ihm alles **vererbt**! Darum geht's überhaupt nicht, unser **Budget** wird es auf keinen Fall verkraften!*) (Oh boy) – [He: *You are the **owner**, so you are responsible for everything! Your mother, the black sheep of our family, **gave** him all her **inheritance**! In a nutshell, we are **as poor as a church mouse**!*].

The examples above prove that violation of a general set of social standards and conventions connected with people's lifestyle and observance of legal relations in German society can generate confrontation.

– From the domain of **"social activities and cooperation"** the objectified concepts comprise **ENTFREMDUNG/FEINDLICHKEIT ('ALIENATION/ENMITY')** (Sie: *Ich bin meiner Familie **entfremdet**; Du bist mir **fremd** geworden*) (Liebesjahre) – [She: *I become an **alien** to my family; You have become an **alien** to me*], **STREIT/KONFRONTATION ('QUARREL/CONFRONTATION')** (Sie: *Gemeinsam einsam – darunter leiden wir, unser **Krieg** zermürbte mich; Ewige **Streitigkeiten** ist das, was uns gelingt*) – [She: *Lonely together – that's what we suffer from, our **fight** has exhausted me! The eternal **quarrels** – all that we can do*], **HINDERNIS ('OBSTACLE')** (Sie: *Ich frage mich warum ich Möglichkeit der Teilhabe an Freizeit, Mobilität und Konsum durch euch **eingeschränkt** habe?*) – [She: *I ask myself why I have **limited** my free time, my mobility and consumption because of you?*].

Obviously, the confrontation between partners leads to alienation, animosity, and certain personal limitations.

– From the domain of **"family affiliation"** the objectification of the following concepts was observed **PARTNER ('PARTNER')** (Er: *Sag mal, so ohne **dich** – fehlt mir da denn etwas? **Du** ärgerst mich ununterbrochen*) – [He: *So, tell me, do I lack something without **you**? **You** are constantly annoying me!*], **VERWANDTE ('RELATIVES')** (Er: *Dein **Vater**, der alte Geck <...> Warum muss man immer die **Deinigen** überschätzen und die **Meinen** vernachlässigen?! Ich will, dass du mit deiner **Sippe** moglichst wenig zu tun hast; Ich war fertig, mit ihm und seiner ganzen albernen, selbstgefälligen **Sippschaft** einen halben Tag durchhecheln; Wenn du mit mir auf längere Zeit hättest glücklich werden mögen, solltest du noch damals Rücksicht auf mein **Familienerbe** nehmen!; Ich habe mit dieser Heirat gegen den **Sittenkodex** verstoßen! Ich wurde Versager, eine Schande für die ganze **Familie**, ein ewiger Schandfleck; Kein Mensch jubelt, wenn seine **Familie** ihn abgeschrieben hat!; Ich bin deinetwegen gegen die **Familienratentscheidung** getreten*) – [He: *Your **father**, who isn't the sharpest knife in the block. Why do we always have to pay more attention **to your relatives** and neglect **my own**? I want you to put **them** on the back burner. I was so tired to gossip with him and all his stupid, complacent **relatives**. If you were happy with me even then, you would accept my **family heritage**. By this marriage I violated **the code of ethics**! I became a loser and a shame for the whole **family**. No one is happy being forgotten by the **family**! For the sake of you I opposed the decision made by the **members of my family** <...>*].

This domain validates that in most cases confrontation involves not only a married couple but also their extended family circle.

– From the domain of **"feelings and emotions"** there is a palette of concepts with negative axiology **BETRUG ('DECEIT')** (Sie: *Ach, diese blöde Kuh! Du hast mich wieder **betrogen***) – [She: *You are sly as a fox, you **cheated** me again!*], **ENTTÄUSCHUNG ('DISAPPOINTMENT')** (Sie: *Du hast mich völlig **enttäuscht**, ich kriege es nicht mehr hin; Unsere Gutbürgerlichkeit ist **zum Kotzen**!*) (*Wer, wenn nicht wir*) – [She: *You finally **disappointed** me, I can't stand it anymore; I'm already*

sick of our conservatism!], **VERLUST ('LOSS')** (Sie: *Ich* **verpasste** *meine besten Jahre, ich habe sie einfach* **verloren**) – [She: *I* **missed** *the best years of my life, I just* **lost** *them*], **ÄRGER/HASS ('FURY/HATRED')** (Sie: *Dein Gefühl für Familienbeziehungen* **nervt** *mich. Du sprichst nie respektvoll von mir, du hast mich völlig vernachlässigt; Ich* **hasse** *dich, deine Eltern und alles, was mit dir verbunden ist!*) – [She: *Your attitude to family relationships* **irritates** *me. You never talk about me with such respect, you despise me; I* **hate** *you, your parents and everything connected with you!*], **VERACHTUNG ('DISRESPECT')** (Sie: *Bist du* **etwa der Prinz** *aus regierendem Hause? Ich bin die Firma. Ich bin der kreative Kopf. Ich mach aus Scheiße Gold! Na und, was kannst du denn? Wirst du mich* **etwa** *im Stich lassen?* **Echt stark**, *so baut man Vertrauen auf!*) – [She: *Are you* **Hamlet without the prince**? *I'm cool as a cucumber! I am creative. I go for the gold! And what can you do?* **Have you been** *keeping me out of trouble?* **Well, well** ... **Cool**. *I wouldn't trust you farther than I could throw you!*], **SCHULD ('FAULT')** (Er: *Verdammt, willst du mir jetzt die* **Schuld** *geben, dass er vom Dach gesprungen ist?*) – [He: *Dammit, do you want to* **accuse** *me of him jumping from the roof?*].

The examples clearly demonstrate that such feelings as deception, disappointment, loss, rage, hatred, contempt, and guilt actively emerge within the emotional field of a marital conflict.

On the basis of the statistical analysis it is possible to assume that knowledge about individual (reasoning and physical activity, character trains), interpersonal (feelings and emotions), group (family relations), out-of-group (social values and conventions, social and professional activity) is relevant to CGMCD.

Obvious spheres of *harmonious instability* of a German couple are socially condemned concepts, such as breaking norms, bad habits, and divorce. Ownership and substantive rights acquire particular significance in the CGMCD. In cohabitation, lack of punctuality, organization, wastefulness, unreliability, dissatisfaction, inaccuracy, and

ingratitude are treated unfavourably and become a cause of confrontation. Anger, adultery, contempt, disappointment, and loss are considered to be a sensual basis of emergence or result of a family conflict. According to the research on family structures and grounds for their alteration in German society conducted by Nave-Herz, difference in spouses' manners of behavior can also turn into a major source of conflicts welling up within modern German families, since German husbands usually follow the instrumental pattern of conduct, whereas German wives are typically expressive in their manner of behavior (2019: 14). Taking into consideration a range of human feelings verbalized in the family discourse, it should be noted that "not every evaluative judgment, formed in a person's mind, becomes transformed into an utterance (Bigunova 2019: 8)". It may also be a result of psychological gap between genders "as the sociocultural characteristics of natural differences between a man and a woman" (Petlyuchenko & Chernyakova 2019: 86) and difference in the spiritual worlds of the partners, as "people communicate by the means of language about the same world, but meanwhile different individual cognitive worlds are created" (Томнюк 2018b: 61).

Confrontation is connected with physical violence, aggression, and destruction. It should be noted that there is a certain difference between male and female aggression on a psychological level, the knowledge of which can help a husband and a wife avoid conflict situations, because "the emotional sphere of an individual, as well as the ways of its manifestation, is characterized by gender differentiation" (Nikonova & Boyko 2019: 49). Starzyńska and Budziszewska describe this differ ence (2018: 303):

Masculine aggression is not considered as an emotional reaction to the personal harms: It is a purely rational decision, helped by the natural vocation for the solitary fight, to accept the responsibility and fight back. The beneficiary of this decision is the whole society. <...> Female aggression, on the other hand, is always the result of emotional trauma, it is purely personal.

Professional factors, the most relevant of which are getting to work, business meetings, and professional stress in general are sufficient reasons for emergence of the conflict. A partner and relatives are important for communicants in social context.

Logicosemantic analysis of the contexts considering discursive realizations of significant concepts (calculated by the coefficient of Pearson simple linear correlation *r*) enables to state co-occurrence of the concepts, determined by the relations of subordination and implication:

a) stated on the basis of **hyper-hyponymic relations** in the domain: **UNDANKBARKEIT ('UNGRATEFULNESS')** ≡ **"character traits"** (Er: *Deine ganze **Sippe** ist ein Konglomerat von **Undankbaren** und Hochnäsigen!*) – [He: *All your **relatives** are **ungrateful** and arrogant!*], **VERSCHWENDUNG ('WASTEFULNESS')** ≡ **"character traits"** (Sie: *Wirfst du mir etwa **Geldverschwendung** vor?*) – [She: *Do you blame me for **extravagance**?*], **GEWALT ('VIOLENCE')** ≡ **"physical actions"** (Er: *Ich werde dich **umbringen**! Ich **geb** dir gleich einen!*) – [He: *I'll **kill** you! Now I **will punish** you!*], **ENTTÄUSCHUNG ('DISAPPOINTMENT')** ≡ **"feelings"** (Sie: *Das war unerwartet, **Enttäuschung** schlich in mein Herz*) – [She: *It was unexpected, **disappointment** broke my heart*], **PENDELN ('SWING')** ≡ **"professional activity"** (Er: *Es gibt keinen Ausweg, ich muss **pendeln**, ich kann keine **Arbeit** hier vor Ort finden*) – [He: *There's no way out, I have to **ride** here and there, I can not find a **job** here*], **STRESS ('STRESS')** ≡ **"professional activity"** (Er: *Und wenn ich das in diesem **Stress** nicht schaffe, wird mein **Vertrag** nicht weiter laufen*) – [He: *And if I'm not up to the job in this **stress**, my **contract** will be terminated.*], **STREIT ('QUARREL')** ≡ **"social activity and collaboration"** (Er: *Wenn das Bad bis Abend nicht in Ordnung ist, gibt's wieder **Streit***) – [He: *If by the evening the bathroom is not cleaned, we will have an **argument** again*], **SCHEIDUNG ('DIVORCE')** ≡ **"(anti)value"** (Er: *Hier **scheiden unsere Wege** und ich finde das klasse!*) – [He: *Here our ways of life **have different directions**, and I think, this is wonderful*], **UNGESUNDE LEBENSWEISE ('UNHEALTHY LIFESTYLE')** ≡ **"(anti)convention"** (Er: *Du kannst bald durch die Tür nicht mehr, du **fette** Sau!*) – [He: *You won't be able to go through the door soon, you're **fat as a beached whale***], etc.

The analyzed examples illustrate the fact that modern Germans equally adopt convergent attitudes towards certain one-domain notions such as violation of law and unhealthy lifestyle or stress and daily commutes to their workplace etc.

b) stated on the basis of **intradomain conceptual correlation**: **UNGESUNDE LEBENSWEISE ≡ NORMVERLETZUNG ('UNHEALTHY LIFESTYLE ≡ RULE BREAKING')** (Sie: *Du **trinkst**, du **rauchst**, du schreist mich an – ist es denn **nomal**?*) – [She: *You **drink alcohol**, you **smoke** and shout at me – is that **OK**?*], **PENDELN ≡ STRESS ('SWING ≡ STRESS')** (Er: *Wieder dasselbe – **Zugverspätung**, Chefgeschrei, keine Lust auf Arbeit, überall **Stress**, jetzt noch du mit deinen Vorwürfen!*) – [He: *Same again – the **train's delayed**, the chef's shouting, no desire to work, **stress** is everywhere, and you are still upbraiding me!*];

c) stated on the basis of **interdomain conceptual correlation**: **UNDANKBARKEIT ≡ NORMVERLETZUNG ('UNGRATEFULNESS ≡ RULE BREAKING')** (Sie: *In **Ordnung** wäre es wenn du **dankeschön** sagen würdest*) – [She: *Everything would be **fine** if you said **"Thank you**!"*], **SCHLAMPIGKEIT ≡ NORMVERLETZUNG ('UNTIDINESS ≡ RULE BREAKING')** (Sie: *Deine **Schlampigkeit**, die macht mich einfach **sauer**, das ist einfach **nicht normal**!*) – [She: *Your **untidiness** just **banging** me, it's just **not normal**!*], **UNPÜNKTLICHKEIT ≡ NORMVERLETZUNG ('LACK OF PUNCTUALITY ≡ RULE BREAKING')** (Er: *Du solltest dich **anständiger benehmen** und **pünktlich** vor dem Haus stehen!*) – [He: *You should **behave more decently** and stand in front of the house **in time**!*], **VERSCHWENDUNG ≡ NORMVERLETZUNG ('WASTEFULNESS ≡ RULE BREAKING')** (Sie: *Das ist ja **unerhört**, so **viel Trinkgeld** zu geben, bist du etwa Milionär; Du kommst mit dem **Geld nicht zurecht**, du kriegst keinen Euro frei mehr!*) – [She: *It's just **unbelievable**, giving **so much tips**, are you a millionaire? You **do not know how to deal with money**, you will not get any euro anymore!*], **ENTFREMDUNG ≡ VERWANDTE ('ALIENATION ≡ RELATIVES')** (Sie: *Deine **Familie** ist mir **fremd**, sie wird mich auch nicht aufnehmen*) – [She: *Your **family is alien** to me, they will not accept me*],

NORMVERLETZUNG ≡ VERWANDTE ('RULE BREAKING ≡ RELATIVES') (Er: *Wenn dein **Vater** was **Blödes sagt**, muss ich wieder schweigen?!*) – [He: *If your **dad says something fool**, do I keep silent again?!*], **SCHULD ≡ PARTNER ('FAULT ≡ PARTNER')** (Sie: ***Du** bist selber **schuld**!*) – [She: ***Blame yourself**!*], **PARTNER ≡ UNZUFRIEDENHEIT ('PARTNER ≡ DISSATISFACTION')** (Sie: *Ich habe keine Arbeit, die Mutter im Krankenhaus, und da noch **dein** gemeiner **Betrug**, das war entgültige **Enttäuschung**!*) – [She: *I do not have a job, mom is in the hospital, and **your** sly **lie**, it was a final **disappointment**!*], **EIGENTUM ≡ PARTNER ('PROPERTY ≡ PARTNER')** (Er: *Das **Haus gehört mir**!*) – [He: ***The house belongs to me***], **VERWANDTE ≡ UNZUFRIEDENHEIT ('RELATIVES ≡ DISSATISFACTION')** (Sie: *Dein **verrückter Vater** hat mich angefasst und <…>*) – [She: *Your **crazy dad** grabbed me and <…>*].

Besides, there can be observed a common way of viewing the notions that come from different domains, for instance, such character traits as ingratitude, messiness, unpunctuality, and extravagant lifestyle, which are regarded as violation of discrepancy in a certain standard (or a number of standards); relatives that fail to meet some standards usually provoke dissatisfaction and can even be condemned to the status of strangers; a partner is confronted with accusations; a premium is placed on the right of property ownership.

The material shows (though it is not confirmed by the statistical data) the quantitatively sufficient (enough) frequency of emphasis of intersection zones of the domain **"professional activity"** with the concepts of other domains, for example: **"feelings and emotions" (UNSICHERHEIT ('UNCERTAINTY'))** and **"temporality" (ZEITMANGEL ('LACK OF TIME'))**. This verity leads to the shift of corresponding negative attitude to the concept **(BERUF ('PROFESSION'))**, which, without demonstrating any negative connotation, reveals its indirect negative character.

The sequent conceptual dependencies are not found, obviously, because the CGMCD does not show any temporal conceptual priorities – neither subjective nor sensual ones.

Due to the cause-and-effect principle, there are such static verifiable dependencies in CGMCD: **PENDELN => UNPÜNKTLICHKEIT ('SWING => LACK OF PUNCTUALITY')** (Er: *Wieder **Zugverspätung**, Ärger, Beschuldigung – ich sei unerläßlich **unpünktlich**!*) – [He: ***Train's delayed** again, anger and accusation - I'm bound **to be late**!*], **NORMVERLETZUNG => ÄRGER ('RULE BREAKING => FURY')** (Er: *Du kannst **schreien** solange du willst, ich werde sowieso im Haus **rauchen***) – [He: *You can **shout** as much as you want, I will still be **smoking** in the house*], **STREIT/KONFRONTATION => SCHEIDUNG/TRENNUNG ('QUARREL/CONFRONTATION => DIVORCE/SEPARATION')** (Er: *Ständige **Streitereien** machen mich kaputt, wir brauchen Zeit. Ich kann nicht mehr, ich **ziehe aus**; Ich habe die Nase voll von **Geschrei**, mein nächster Schritt ist **Scheidung***) – [He: *Constant **quarrels** drive me up the wall, we need time. I can not stamd it anymore, **I'm moving**; I'm tired of **screaming**, **divorce** is my next step*], **STREIT/KONFRONTATION => GEWALT ('QUARREL/CONFRONTATION => VIOLENCE')** (Er: *Du blöde Ziege, ich wird dir **den Hals umdrehen**, wenn du so weiter **schreien** wirst!*) – [He: *You're play dumb, **I'll twist your neck** if you continue **to cry**!*], **UNGESUNDE LEBENSWEISE => GEWALT ('UNHEALTHY LIFESTYLE => VIOLENCE')** (Sie: *Du hast alles versaut, du **Alkoholiker**! Ich konnte dich **umbringen**!*) – [She: *You spoiled everything, you are **an alcoholic**! I could **kill** you!*], **ENTFREMDUNG => SCHEIDUNG/TRENNUNG ('ALIENATION => DIVORCE/SEPARATION')** (Sie: *Du bist mir **fremd** geworden, ich **haue ab***) – [She: *You became a **stranger** to me! I'm **leaving you***], **ENTFREMDUNG => BETRUG ('ALIENATION => DECEIT')** (Er: *Wir sind einander **fremd** geworden, da ist **sie** aufgetaucht*) – [He: *We became **strangers** to each other and here **she** appeared*], **HINDERNIS => GEWALT ('OBSTACLE => VIOLENCE')** (Er: *Du hast mir den Weg **gesperrt**, da hatte ich keinen Ausweg. Du hast diesen **Schlag** verdient*) – [He: *You **stood on my way**, I had no way out. You deserve this **blow**!*], **UNGESUNDE**

LEBENSWEISE => HINDERNIS/VERHINDERUNG ('UNHEALTHY LIFESTYLE => OBSTACLE/PREVENTION') (Sie: *Du darfst nicht so viel **rauchen**, du **kriegst** was Schlechtes letztendlich*) – [She: *You shouldn't **smoke** so much, you will **catch** something bad in the end*], **VERSCHWENDUNG => HINDERNIS/VERHINDERUNG ('WASTEFULNESS => OBSTACLE/ PREVENTION')** (Er: *Ich kann nicht mehr diese **Vergeudung** ertragen <...> Du **kriegst kein** Cent mehr!*) – [He: *I can't stand this **wastefulness** <...> You will **not receive a single cent anymore!** <...>*], **BETRUG => SCHEIDUNG/TRENNUNG ('DECEIT => DIVORCE/SEPARATION')** (Sie: *Du hast mich **betrogen**! Nach dem, was du gemacht hast, **scheiden** unsere Wege. Jetzt sehe ich schwarz für unsere Zukunft*) – [She: *You cheated me! After all you have done, our paths **diverge**. Now I do not believe in our future*], **BETRUG => ENTTÄUSCHUNG ('DECEIT => DISAPPOINTMENT')** (Sie: *Mit dieser **Beziehung** hast du mich endgültig **enttäuscht***) – [She: *By these **relationships** you finally **disappointed** me*], **BETRUG => VERACHTUNG ('DECEIT => DISRESPECT')** (Sie: *Ich schätze dich **gering**, nachdem du dich mit dieser **Schlampe** so kompromittiert hast*) – [She: *I **despise** you after you dishonored yourself with this **prostitute***]. Some of them form cause-and-effect chains (for example, **SCHLAMPIGKEIT => NORMVERLETZUNG => STREIT => TRENNUNG ('UNTIDINESS => RULE BREAKING => QUARREL => SEPARATION'))**, because they are determined by compatibility in real life. Table 3 below illustrates the most significant concepts in the conceptual space of the CGMCD.

Table 3. Statistical significance of inter-conceptive correlations in the conceptual space of the CGMCD

The most significant concepts	UNDANKBARKEIT ('UNGRATEFULNESS')	SCHLAMPIGKEIT ('UNTIDINESS')	UNPÜNKTLICHKEIT ('LACK OF PUNCTUALITY')	VERSCHWENDUNG ('WASTEFULNESS')	UNZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT ('UNRELIABILITY')	UNZUFRIEDENHEIT ('DISSATISFACTION')	GEWALT ('VIOLENCE')	VERNICHTUNG ('DESTRUCTION')	TERMIN ('MEETING')	STRESS ('STRESS')	PENDELN ('SWING')	NORMVERLETZUNG ('RULE BREAKING')	SCHEIDUNG ('DIVORCE')	UNORDNUNG/CHAOS ('MESS/CHAOS')	UNGESUNDE LEBENSWEISE ('UNHEALTHY LIFESTYLE')	EIGENTUM ('PROPERTY')	STREIT/KONFRONTATION ('QUARREL/CONFRONTATION')	HINDERNIS ('OBSTACLE')	ENTFREMDUNG ('ALIENATION')	PARTNER ('PARTNER')	VERWANDTE ('RELATIVES')	BETRUG ('DECEIT')	ENTTÄUSCHUNG ('DISAPPOINTMENT')	VERLUST ('LOSS')	ÄRGER/HASS ('FURY/HATRED')	VERACHTUNG ('DISRESPECT')	SCHULD ('FAULT')
UNDANKBARKEIT ('UNGRATEFULNESS')												0,97															
SCHLAMPIGKEIT ('UNTIDINESS')												0,96													0,86		
UNPÜNKTLICHKEIT ('LACK OF PUNCTUALITY')											0,91	0,99															
VERSCHWENDUNG ('WASTEFULNESS')												0,89						0,76							0,93		
UNZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT ('UNRELIABILITY')																											
UNZUFRIEDENHEIT ('DISSATISFACTION')																				0,67	0,87						
GEWALT ('VIOLENCE')													0,98		0,66		0,69	0,93	0,97							0,89	
VERNICHTUNG ('DESTRUCTION')																											
TERMIN ('MEETING')																											
STRESS ('STRESS')											0,94																
PENDELN ('SWING')																											
NORMVERLETZUNG ('RULE BREAKING')														0,56	0,90					0,91					0,87		
SCHEIDUNG ('DIVORCE')														0,98		0,84						0,79					
UNORDNUNG/CHAOS ('MESS/CHAOS')																											
UNGESUNDE LEBENSWEISE ('UNHEALTHY LIFESTYLE')																											
EIGENTUM ('PROPERTY')																											
STREIT/KONFRONTATION ('QUARREL/CONFRONTATION')																				0.93							
HINDERNIS ('OBSTACLE')																											
ENTFREMDUNG ('ALIENATION')																				0,90	0,99						
PARTNER ('PARTNER')																											0,84
VERWANDTE ('RELATIVES')																											
BETRUG ('DECEIT')																							0,96				
ENTTÄUSCHUNG ('DISAPPOINTMENT')																										0,69	
VERLUST ('LOSS')																											
ÄRGER/HASS ('FURY/HATRED')																											
VERACHTUNG ('DISRESPECT')																											
SCHULD ('FAULT')																											

df=25 P=0,01 r=0,49

Statistically significant pairs of concepts illustrate the fact that modern Germans attach great importance to disapproval of unhealthy lifestyle and violation of standards and, in turn, tend to be confrontational when the issues are brought up; they consider divorce to

be the logical consequence of alienation and disagreements and view rage as a normal response to violation of standards. Betrayal or cheating can usually evoke disappointment and contempt leading to divorce. Obstruction and confrontation can result in violence.

The statistical analysis testifies to the abstraction, absence of intersections of the domain **"professional activity"** with other ones, except **"character traits"**, where dependence between punctuality and the professional success is recorded. The domain **"character traits"** has no statistically significant intersections with the domain **"physical activity"** that indicates lack of apparent connections between certain features of character and relevant confrontation development of situation of a communicant's physical action, or understanding unconventionality of any violence.

Consequently, it can be assumed that some particular domains and their components of a similar status demonstrate the coordination relations: **KARRIEREFRAU ↔ KINDER ('CAREER WOMAN ↔ CHILDREN')** (Sie: *Nur wenn ich mich als **Frau gegen** ein **Kind** entscheide, dann bin ich **unnormal**?!*) – [She: *If I am a **woman who is against a child**, does it mean that I am **abnormal**?*], **ZUSAMMENLEBEN ↔ STRESS ('COHABITATION ↔ STRESS')** (Er: *Innerhalb weniger Jahre haben wir **alles** auf einmal **vollstressig hingekriegt**: sich beruflich etabliert, einen Haushalt aufgebaut, die Kinder erzogen, für die Rente versorgt*) – [He: *For several years we **have been dealing with everything in entire stress**: carrying about career, starting a household, bringing up children, taking care of retirement*].

As we can observe, the issues of choosing between carving out a career and having children as well as opting for the stress of living together as a family are still topical.

Summarizing the above mentioned dependencies, in can be assumed that context integrators, outlining the CGMCD general background, state significance of breaking social norms, conventions and values, presence of negative feelings and emotions concerning the partner and other family members for family confrontation (see Fig. 1). In

other words, couple confrontation arises on the basis of breaking social norms by the partner (38%), causes negative sensations and emotions (33%), creates a conflict family atmosphere (9%), and destroys personal comfort (5%).
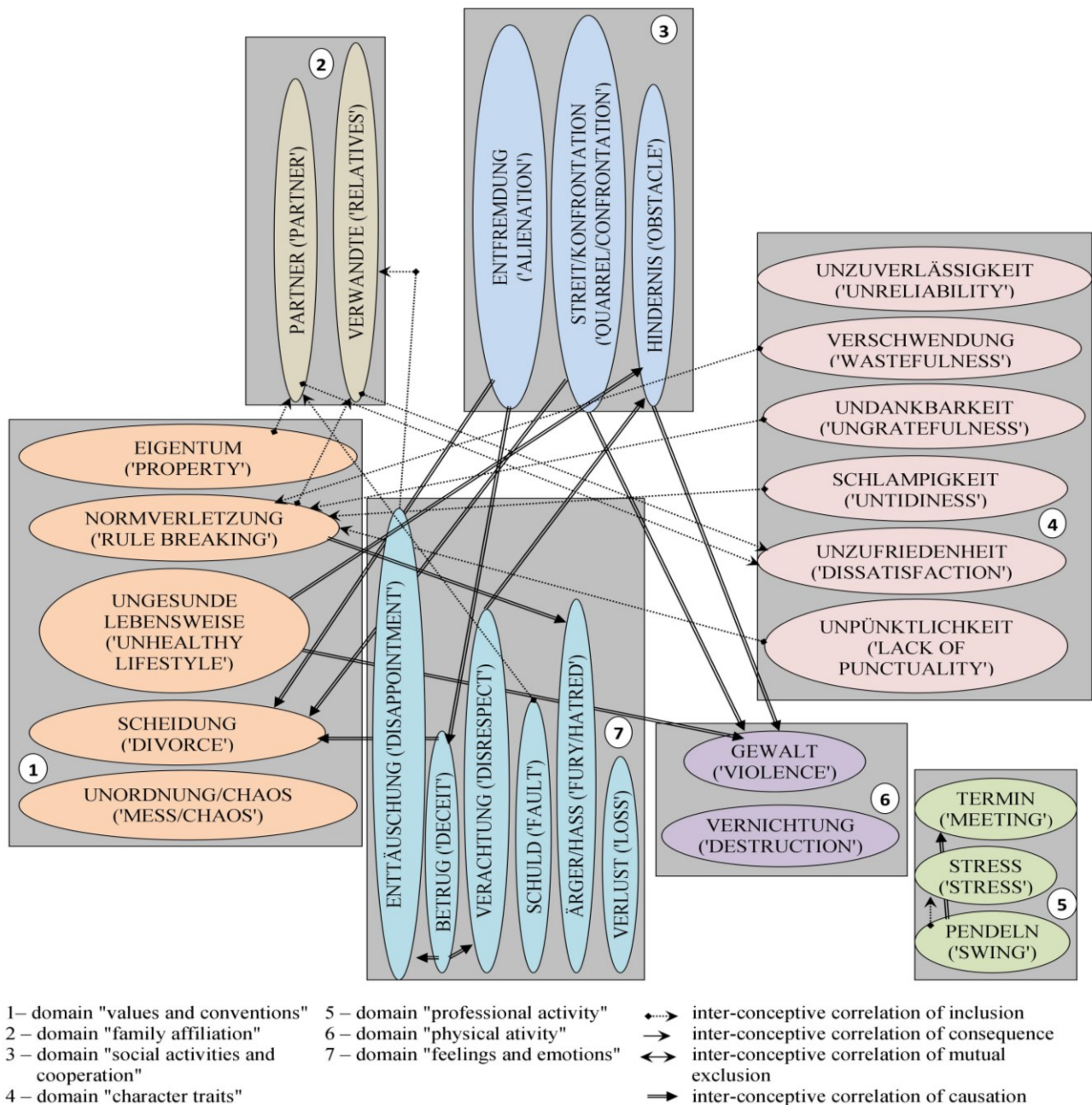

Figure 1. Cognitive mapping of CGMCD

Integrator-problems (ingratitude, inaccuracy, lack of punctuality, wastefulness, bad habits, irresponsibility concerning other family members, estrangement, hostility, dissatisfaction with the partner, contempt, disappointment caused by his/her faults,

adultery; dissatisfaction with other members of families) state stereotypical grounds for CGMCD. Integrator-reasons – preventing improper actions and inadequate behaviour of the partner, showing negative reactions to uncoordinated actions (expenditures, deeds, speech acts), resistance to violence and, as a result, estrangement, dissatisfaction, intention to divorce, and emotional experience – cause development and escalation of conflict.

Within them the strategic intragroup (sensual indifference, subjective blocks on the way to communicative balance restoration), tactical (unacceptability of the procedures of intentions realization, style and modus of the partner's communication), subjective out-of-group (outer influence of a human factor on the atmosphere in the family and family members personalities), and objective social (unfavourable social factors – economic crises as transformation of the strategies of development) are differentiated. It should be noted that simultaneous possession of assets and financial resources by the speakers with the Ehemann/Partner ('man/partner') or Ehefrau/Partnerin ('woman/partner') status does not gain the status of an integrator-problem due to the legally established principle of family property. These conclusions are based on the fact that although VERMÖGEN is an autochthon and couples put a premium on property rights, it is never used in combination with the autochthons related to the domains of "physical action" or "social activity". Thus, a spouse does not express any desire to change something in a current state of affairs.

Correspondingly, the CGMCD demonstrates a set of rational integrator-solutions, which, as a rule, presuppose both "dividends" and "expenditures" of each party: the work or dwelling change with more advantages (within the intra-family objective); innovations implementation, reforms of relationships in the aspect of the sensual and the household or its imitation due to diplomatic and milder speech acts, change of image, self-development as the means to rise one's own competitiveness (within the intra-family subjective) making, support or activation of relations with other relatives, search and attraction of the associates to one's way (within out-of-family subjective

integrators-solutions). Pressure and sanctions on the partner, which, due to convention of respect to the personality and consideration of his/her opinion, cause, as a rule, only escalation and deepening of a conflict, are typical for CGMCD.

In case of inability to reach a state of global or temporary consensus, the entire CGMCD space will be subject to a global transformation, since integrator-solutions will turn out irrelevant as well as the context integrators.

4. Conclusions

The research performed enables to assert that the CGMCD cognitive system is an indispensable part of individual cognitive space of a human being – a complex hierarchically structured self-regulating system of formation and development of human experience. The main conceptual constants of its varieties, determined by its strategic-role divergence (CGMCD being one of them), are segments of a specific concept system. Including the structure of thinking of the married group members in the confrontation situation on the basis of texts produced by them, we tried to identify the elements integrating the CGMCD in the structures of thinking – concepts-autochthons that create a matrix, a framework, affect the process of linear strategic development. CGMCD autochthons, like cores of a cognitive map, indicate apparent spheres of harmonious instability of a German couple primarily sensual (ingratitude, inaccuracy, lack of punctuality, unreliability, wastefulness, adultery), as well as professionally determined (stress, getting to work), and social (breaking the norms) ones, which may result in disappointment, contempt, hostility, and violence.

Cognitive maps are complemented with 30 significant autochthon configurations, fixing certain marital-relevant dependencies in consciousness of a representative of the German ethnospace. Schematically represented in the cognitive maps, they are reflected in the integrators – relevant prototypic presuppositions being cognitive factors of communicative activity. Integrators of the CGMCD confirm that confrontation within a married couple arises on the basis of breaking norms by the partner causes

negative personal feelings and emotions, brings about general conflict family atmosphere, destroying personal comforts.

The prospects of further research in this regard may be associated with an in-depth analysis of elements and structure of the conceptual space of both the varieties of FD and other discursive practices based on the proposed methodology, in comparative linguocultural dimension, in particular.

Abbreviations

CGMCD – Contemporary German matrimonial confrontational discourse

FD – Family discourse

MCD – Matrimonial confrontational discourse

MD – Matrimonial discourse

References

Alte neue Ungleichheiten? Auflösungen und Neukonfigurationen von Erwerbs- und Familiensphäre. (2017). Alemann, A. v., Beaufays, S. & Kortendiek, B. (eds.). Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich.

Axelrod, R. (1976). *The structure of decision: Cognitive maps of political elites*. Princeton: University Press.

Barbara (video). Available at: https://www.alleskino.de/barbara-film-2012-stream.html

Bigunova, N. (2019). Cognitive pragmatic regularities in communicative manifestation of positive evaluation. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Poland, IV (1), June 2019, p. 2-46. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2019-0001

Bobkova, Yu.G. (2007). *Concept and methods of its actualization in the individual style of V.P. Astaf'eva (based on cycle "Notches")*. Synopsis for thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.01 – Russian language. Perm': Perm State Humanitarian Pedagogical University. / Bobkova Yu.G. *Kontsept i sposoby ego*

aktualizatsii v idiostile V.P. Astaf'eva (na materiale tsykla "Zatyosy"). Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskaniye uchyonoj stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk. Spetsial'nost' 10.02.01 – Russkij yazyk. Perm': Permskij gosudarstvennyj gumanitarno-pedagogicheskij universitet. / Бобкова Ю.Г. *Концепт и способы его актуализации в идиостиле В.П. Астафьева (на материале цикла "Затеси")*. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук. Специальность 10.02.01 – Русский язык. Пермь: Пермский государственный гуманитарно-педагогический университет.

Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend. Gender Datenreport. 4.3.2. Erste Partnerschaft: Alters- und Bildungshomogamie. Available at: https://www.bmfsfj.de

Burkart, G. (2008). *Familiensoziologie*. Konstanz: UTB.

Burkart, G. (2001). Geschlecht und Liebe. Überlegungen zu einer Soziologie des Paares. In *Geschlechtersoziologie. Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 41, p. 431-453.

Chernejko, L.O. (2001). Metalinguistics: Chaos and order. In *Newsletter of Moscow State University*. Series 9. Philology, 5, p. 39-52. / Chernejko L.O. Metalingvistika: Khaos i poryadok. In *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*. Serija 9. Filologiya, 5, s. 39-52. / Чернейко Л.О. Металингвистика: Хаос и порядок. In *Вестник Московского университета*. Серия 9. Филология, 5, с. 39-52.

Croft, W.A. (1991). *Syntactic categories and grammatical relations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Die Brücke am Ibar (video). Available at:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3HAvkmx-HAY

Die fremde Familie (video). Available at: https://v-s.mobi/amp/die-fremde-familie-drama-de-2011-1:28:28

Goffman, E. (1983). The interaction order. In *American sociological review*, vol. 48, p. 1-17.

Familienleitbilder in Deutschland: Kulturelle Vorstellungen zu Partnerschaft, Elternschaft und Familienleben. (2015). Schneider, N.F., Diabaté, S. & Ruckdeschel, K. (eds.). Opladen; Berlin; Toronto: Verlag Barbara Budrich.

Familienvorstellungen im Wandel: Biblische Vielfalt, geschichtliche Entwicklungen, gegenwärtige Herausforderungen. (2018). Klein, S. (ed.). Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich.

Gern, C. (1992). *Geschlechtsrollen: Stabilität oder Wandel? Eine empirische Analyse anhand von Heiratsinseraten.* Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Gier (video). Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N63r0tU3TLo

Grajs, G.P. (1985). Logic and speech communication. In *New in foreign linguistics*, 16, p. 217-237. / Grajs G.P. Logika i rechevoye obshcheniye. In *Novoye v zarubezhnoj lingvistike*, 16, s. 217-237. / Грайс Г.П. Логика и речевое общение. In *Новое в зарубежной лингвистике*, 16, с. 217-237.

Haas, R. (2014). Von der Faszination der 'Urgemeinschaft' oder Erfahrungsbewegungen im Modellprojekt "Konfliktkultur". In *Für eine Konfliktkultur in Familie und Gesellschaft: Kommunikation in interkulturellen und interreligiösen Übergangsräumen*. Institut für Kulturanalyse e.V. (ed.). Bielefeld, Transcript, S. 19-86.

Halych, O. (2018). Mysterious fears: Lexical means of expressing the conceptual category of the Mystic in English Gothic narration of the 18th century. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava.* Warsaw: De Gruyter Poland, III (2), December 2018, p. 38-71. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0014

Helfferich, C. (2017). *Familie und Geschlecht: Eine neue Grundlegung der Familiensoziologie*. Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich.

Hill, P. & Kopp, J. (2013). *Familiensoziologie. Grundlagen und theoretische perspektiven*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.

John, A. (2017). *Das Gelingen der Liebe: Jürg Willis Konzept der partnerschaftlichen Koevolution als Beitrag für die Ehetheologie*. Würzburg: Echter, Freiburg/Schweiz: Academic Press Fribourg.

Johnson-Laird, P.N. (1983). *Mental models*. Cambridge: CUP.

Kern-Eimann, S. (2003). *Das neue Ehebild des EheschlRG: Eine Untersuchung anhand der Scheineheregelungen*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Knop, J. (2019). *Beziehungsweise: Theologie der Ehe, Partnerschaft und Familie*. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet.

Kokowääh (video). Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XcnnKQCFBIU

Komarova, Z.I. (2013). *Methodology, method, procedure and technology of scientific studies in linguistics*. 2nd ed. Moscow: Flinta-Nauka. / Komarova Z.I. *Metodologiya, metod, metodika i tekhnologiya nauchnykh issledovanij v lingvistike*. 2 izd. Moskva: Flinta-Nauka. / Комарова З.И. *Методология, метод, методика и технология научных исследований в лингвистике*. 2-е изд. Москва: Флинта-наука.

Lee, H. (2017). *Diversity in family formation: An intercultural comparative study of Germany and South Korea*. Bochum: Ruhr-Universität Bochum.

Levinson, S.C. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: CUP.

Levitskij, V.V. (2012). *Semasiology*. 2nd ed. Vinnitsa: Nova kniga. / Levitskij V.V. *Semasiologiya*. 2 izd. Vinnitsa: Nova kniga. / Левицкий В.В. *Семасиология*. 2-е изд. Винница: Нова книга.

Lexikon zur Soziologie. (2011). Fuchs-Heinritz, W., Lautmann, R., Rammstedt, O. & Wienold, H. (eds.). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.

Liebesjahre (video). Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y0eVStH1BaE

Mathias-Bleck, H. (2006). *Jenseits der Institution: Lebensformen auf dem Weg in die Normalität*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag.

Minsky, M. (1979). *The frames for knowledge perception*. Moscow: Energy. / Minskij M. *Frejmy dlya predstavleniya znanij*. Moskva: Energiya. / Минский М. *Фреймы для представления знаний*. Москва: Энергия.

Nave-Herz, R. (2019). *Familie heute: Wandel der Familienstrukturen und Folgen für die Erziehung*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Nikonova, V. & Boyko, Y. (2019). Gender-specific emotivity of Victorian female prose from a multidimensional perspective. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today,*

tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava. Warsaw: De Gruyter Poland, IV (1), June 2019, p. 47-82.

Oh boy (video). Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SahpNqdJiSg

Osovska, I. (2015). Cognitive map as representative of discourse conceptual system. In *Scientific notes of Mykola Hohol Nizhyn State University. Philology.* Nizhyn: Mykola Hohol Nizhyn State University, issue 1, p. 237-242. / Osovs'ka I. Kohnityvna karta yak reprezentant kontseptosystemy dyskursu. In *Naukovi zapysky Nizhyns'koho derzhavnoho universytetu imeni Mykoly Hoholya. Filolohichni nauky.* Nizhyn: Nizhyns'kyj derzhavnyj universytet imeni Mykoly Hoholya, knyha 1, s. 237-242. / Осовська І. Когнітивна карта як репрезентант концептосистеми дискурсу. In *Наукові записки Ніжинського державного університету імені Миколи Гоголя. Філологічні науки.* Ніжин: Ніжинський державний університет імені Миколи Гоголя, книга 1, с. 237-242.

Osovska, I. (2019). Cognitive mapping in a research of mental resource discourse. In *Topical issues of Romanic and Germanic philology and applied linguistics: Scientific journal*, 2 (18), p. 212-223. / Osovs'ka I. Kohnityvne kartuvannya v doslidzhenni mental'noho resursu dyskursu. In *Aktual'ni problemy romano-hermans'koyi filolohii ta prykladnoyi linhvistyky: Naukovyj zhurnal*, 2 (18), s. 212-223. / Осовська І. Когнітивне картування в дослідженні ментального ресурсу дискурсу. In *Актуальні проблеми романо-германської філології та прикладної лінгвістики: Науковий журнал*, 2 (18), с. 212-223.

Osovska, I. (2013). *Contemporary German-speaking family discourse: Mental and verbal resource*. Chernivtsi: Publishing house "RODOVID". / Osovs'ka I. *Suchasnyj nimets'komovnyj simejnyj dyskurs: Mental'nyj i verbal'nyj resurs*. Chernivtsi: Vydavnychyj dim "RODOVID". / Осовська І. *Сучасний німецькомовний сімейний дискурс: Ментальний і вербальний ресурс*. Чернівці: Видавничий дім "РОДОВІД".

Osovska, I. (2018). The analysis of semiotics of family language as a verbalized area of family discourse. In *Proceedings of the 1ˢᵗ annual conference "Technology transfer:*

Innovative solutions in social sciences and humanities" (March 29, 2018, Tallinn, Estonia), p. 3-6.

Osovska, I. (2016). The key concepts of modern German parental discourse. In *Science and education a new dimension. Philology*. Budapest, IV (17), issue 78, p. 57-61. / Osovs'ka I. Klyuchovi kontsepty suchasnoho nimets'komovnoho parental'noho dyskursu. In *Science and education a new dimension. Philology*. Budapest, IV (17), issue 78, p. 57-61. / Осовська I. Ключові концепти сучасного німецькомовного парентального дискурсу. In *Science and education a new dimension. Philology*. Budapest, IV (17), issue 78, p. 57-61.

Panasenko, N., Grochalová, P. & Grochalová, L. (2018). The topic 'wedding' in British and Slovak journalism of emotional type. In *European journal of science and theology*, 14 (3), p. 63-75.

Perebyjnis, V.I. (2002). *Statistic methods for linguists*. Vinnytsya: Nova knyha. / Perebyjnis V.I. *Statystychni metody dlya linhvistiv*. Vinnytsya: Nova knyha. / Перебийніс В.I. *Статистичні методи для лінгвістів*. Вінниця: Нова книга.

Petlyuchenko, N. & Chernyakova, V. (2019). Charisma and female expressiveness: Language, ethnoculture, politics. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Poland, IV (1), June 2019, p. 83-132.

Prihodko, A.M. (2008). *Concepts and concept systems in the cognitive-discursive paradigm of linguistics*. Zaporizhzhya: Prem'yer. / Prihodko A.M. *Kontsepty i kontseptosystemy v kohnityvno-dyskursyvnij paradyhmi linhvistyky*. Zaporizhzhya: Prem'yer. / Приходько А.М. *Концепти і концептосистеми в когнітивно-дискурсивній парадигмі лінгвістики*. Запоріжжя: Прем'єр.

Prihodko, A.I. & Prykhodchenko, A. (2018). Frame modeling of the concepts of LIFE and DEATH in the English Gothic worldview. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Poland, III (2), December 2018, p. 164-203. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0018

Raczaszek-Leonardi, J. & Vallee-Tourangeau, F. (2018). Language as a part of action: Multidimensional time-scale integration of language and cognition. In *Psychology of language and communication*, 22 (1), p. 281-286. DOI: 10.2478/plc-2018-0012

Radzi, N.S., Dato, B. & Kesumawati, A.B. (2018). The discursive construction of modern masculine identities in contemporary Malaysia. In *GEMA online journal of language studies*, 18 (3), p. 36-56. https://doi.org/10.17576/gema-2018-1803-03

Raschupkina, K. (2009). Frame means of representing interactive relations in educational discourse (based on materials from the English language discourse). In *Issues of cognitive linguistics*, 3, p. 76-82. / Raschupkina K.S. Frejmovyj sposob reprezentazii interaktivnykh otnoshenij v uchebnom diskurse (na material anglijskogo yazyka). In *Voprosy kognitivnoj lingvistiki*, 3, s. 76-82. / Ращупкина К.С. Фреймовый способ репрезентации интерактивных отношений в учебном дискурсе (на материале английского языка). In *Вопросы когнитивной лингвистики*, 3, с. 76-82.

Sharapkova, A., Loginov, E. & Manerko, L. (2019). Conceptualizing the mental sphere in discourse: From Enlightenment philosophy to Mark Twain. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, 2019, IV (1), June 2019, p. 170-240.

Starzyńska, A. & Budziszewska, M. (2018). Why shouldn't she spit on his grave? Critical discourse analysis of the revenge narratives in American popular film from the developmental point of view. In *Psychology of language and communication*, 22 (1), p. 287-306. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2478/plc-2018-0013

Talmy, L. (2007). Introspection as a methodology in linguistics. In *Proceedings of the* 10th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference (July 27-31, 2007, Krakyw, Poland). Available at:

https://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~talmy/talmyweb/Handouts/introspection2.pdf

Tameryan, T. Yu., Zheltukhina, M.R., Slyshkin, G.G., Abakumova, O.B., Volskaya, N.N. & Nikolaeva, A.V. (2018). Metaphor in political media discourse: Mental political leader portrait. In *Online journal of communication and media technologies*, 8 (4), p. 377-384.

Tameryan, T.Yu., Zheltukhina, M.R., Sidorova, I.G. & Shishkina, E.V. (2019). A stereotype component in the structure of ethnocultural archetype (on Internet-blogs). In *The European proceedings of social & behavioural sciences,* 200, p. 1716-1722. doi: https://dx.doi.org/10.15405/epsbs.2019.03.02.200 ISSN: 2357-1330.

Tomniuk, L.M. (2018a). *Modern German prison discourse (cognitive-semantic aspect)*. Synopsis for thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Chernivtsi: Yuriy Fed'kovych Chernivtsi National University. / Tomnyuk L.M. *Suchasnyj nimets'komovnyj tyuremnyj dyskurs (kohnityvno-semantychnyj aspekt).* Avtoreferat dysertatsiyi na zdobuttya vchenoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Chernivtsi: Chernivets'kyj natsional'nyj universytet imeni Yuriya Fed'kovucha. / Томнюк Л.М. (2018). *Сучасний німецькомовний тюремний дискурс (когнітивно-семантичний аспект)*. Автореферат дисертації на здобуття вченого ступеня кандидата філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Чернівці: Чернівецький національний університет імені Юрія Федьковича.

Tomniuk, L.M. (2018b). Tattoo as a nonverbal expression of a prisoner's individuality in modern German language criminal discourse. In *International academy journal web of scholar*. Warsaw: Scientific Educational Center RS Global Sp. z O.O., 2 (20), p. 61-65. / Tomnyuk L.M. Tatuyuvannya yak neverbal'nyj proyav movnoyi osobystosti v'yaznya u suchasnomu nimets'komu rozmovnomu zlochynnomu dyskursi. In *International academy journal web of scholar*. Warsaw: Scientific Educational Center RS Global Sp. z O.O., 2 (20), s. 61-65. / Томнюк Л.М. Татуювання як невербальний прояв мовної особистості в'язня у сучасному німецькому розмовному злочинному дискурсі. In *International academy journal web of scholar*. Warsaw: Scientific Educational Center RS Global Sp. z O.O., 2 (20), c. 61-65. Available at: https://fc.vseosvita.ua/000vrl-6332.pdf

Tomniuk, L.M. (2017). The main point of the literary discourse in cognitive-discursive paradigm of modern linguistics. In *Proceedings of the international scientific and practical conference "Modern philological research: Communicative-cultural aspect"*, Kyiv, November 3-4. Kherson: Hel'vetika Publishing House, p. 75-78. / Tomnyuk

L.M. Sutnist' khudozh'oho dyskursu u kohnityvno-dyskursnij paradyhmi suchasnoyi linhvistyky. In *Materialy mizhnarodnoyi naukovo-praktychnoyi konferentsiyi "Suchasni filolohichni doslidzhennya: Komunikatyvno-kul'turnyj aspekt"*, Kyyiv, 3-4 lystopada. Kherson: Vydavnychyj dim "Hel'vetyka", s. 75-78. / Томнюк Л.М. Сутність художнього дискурсу у когнітивно-дискурсній парадигмі сучасної лінгвістики. In *Матеріали міжнародної науково-практичної конференції "Сучасні філологічні дослідження: Комунікативно-культурний аспект"*, Київ, 3-4 листопада. Херсон: Видавничий дім "Гельветика", с. 75-78. Available at: http://molodyvcheny.in.ua/files/conf/fil/18nov2017/24.pdf

Tukaeva, G.S. (2009). Research potential of cognitive structures. In *Newsletter of Bashkir University*, 14 (3), p. 861-865. / Tukayeva G.S. Issledovatel'skij potentsial kognitivnykh struktur. In *Vestnik Bashkirskogo universiteta*, 14 (3), s. 861-865. / Тукаева Г.С. Исследовательский потенциал когнитивных структур. In *Вестник Башкирского университета*, 14 (3), с. 861-865.

Tuldava, Yu.A. (1987). *Problems and methods of quantitative-systemic research of the lexis.* Tartu: The State University of Tartu. / Tuldava Yu.A. *Problemy i metody kvantitativno-sistemnogo issledovaniya leksiki.* Tartu: Tartuskij gosudarstvennyj universitet. / Тулдава Ю.А. *Проблемы и методы квантитативно-системного исследования лексики*. Тарту: Тартуский государственный университет.

Vater, Mutter, Mörder (video). Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Idw_agny9k

Vdovichenko, A.V. (2008). *Parting with the language. Critical retrospective review of the linguistic knowledge.* Moscow: Saint Tikhon's Orthodox University. / Vdovichenko A.V. *Rasstavaniye s yazykom. Kriticheskaya retrospektiva lingvisticheskogo znaniya.* Moskva: Isdatel'stvo Pravoslavnogo Svyato-Tikhonovskogo gumanitarnogo universiteta. / Вдовиченко А.В. *Расставание с языком. Критическая ретроспектива лингвистического знания.* Москва: Издательство Православного Свято-Тихоновского гуманитарного университета.

Volskaya, N.N., Tameryan, T.Yu., Zheltukhina, M.R., Boeva-Omelechko, N.B., Komleva, L.A. & Knyazeva, Ye.G. (2018). Literary translation as cognitive overlap

between foreign and native languages. In *Modern journal of language teaching methods (MJLTM),* 8 (8), August, p. 19-27.

Vorwurf "Scheinehe". Die Kehrseite des Rechts auf Familiennachzug. Available at: https://forum-recht-online.de/wp/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/FoR1402_46_Schoenes-Jueschke.pdf

Was bleibt (video). Available at: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2180587/

Wer, wenn nicht wir (video). Available at: https://www.alleskino.de/wer-wenn-nicht-wir-2011.html

Willi, J. (1978). *Therapie der Zweierbeziehung.* Reinbek: Rowohlt.

Zhabotinskaya, S.A. (2013). Name as a text: A conceptual network of lexical meaning (analysis of the name of emotion). In *Cognition, communication, discourse*, 6, p. 47-76. / Zhabotinskaya S.A. Imya kak tekst: Kontseptual'naya set' leksicheskogo znacheniya (analiz imeni emotsii). In *Kognitsiya, kommunikatsiya, diskurs*, 6, s. 47-76. / Жаботинская С.А. Имя как текст: Концептуальная сеть лексического значения (анализ имени эмоции). In *Когниция, коммуникация, дискурс*, 6, с. 47-76.

Zheltukhina, M.R. (2014). Interkulturelle semantische und pragmatische Parallelen im modernen Mediendiskurs: Der funktionale Aspekt. In *Beiträge zur Interkulturellen Germanistik (BIG): Interkulturalität unter dem Blinckwenkel von Semantik und Pragmatik*, Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, S. 257-275. Available at: http://d-nb.info/1051458595

Zheltukhina, M.R. & Dobronichenko, Ye.V. (2015). Wedding media communication: Event – announcement about an event – design of an event notification. In *Monograph. Dialogue of cultures: Concepts of linguistics and linguodidactics development*. Kirilova, Ye.K. & Bessonova, Ye.V. (eds.). Moscow: Moscow State National Research University of Civil Engineering, p. 173-182. / Zheltukhina M.R. & Dobronichenko Ye.V. Svadebnaya mediakommunikatsiya: Sobytiye – soobscheniye o sobytii – modelirovaniye povestvovaniya o sobytii. In *Monografiya. Dialog kul'tur: Kontseptsii razvitiya lingvistiki i lingvodidaktiki*. Kirilova Ye.K. & Bessonova Ye.V. (red.). Moskva: Natsional'nyj issledovatel'skij Moskovskij gosudarstvennyj stroitel'nyj universitet, s. 173-182. / Желтухина М.Р. & Доброниченко Е.В. Свадебная

медиакоммуникация: Событие – сообщение о событии – моделирование повествования о событии. In *Монография. Диалог культур: Концепции развития лингвистики и лингводидактики*. Кирилова Е.К. & Бессонова Е.В (ред.). Москва: Национальный исследовательский Московский государственный строительный университет, с. 173-182.

Contact data		Fields of interest
Contact data Iryna Osovska DrSc. (Philology), Professor at the Chair of Germanic, General, and Comparative Linguistics. Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University. Sadova Street 5a, 58001, Chernivtsi, Ukraine e-mail: i.osovska@chnu.edu.ua		**Fields of interest** Linguistics, cognitive linguistics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, concept studies
Contact data Liudmyla Tomniuk CSc. (Philology), Senior Lecturer at the Chair of Germanic, General, and Comparative Linguistics. Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University. Sadova Street 5a, 58001, Chernivtsi, Ukraine e-mail: l.tomniuk@chnu.edu.ua		**Fields of interest** Linguistics, cognitive linguistics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, concept studies

Résumé

The notion of collective cognitive space of modern German lessons is in the focus of the study. The goal is to objectively establish its constants and structure that are relevant to the matrimonial confrontational discourse (MCD). The method of cognitive mapping is used: it allows us to observe complete mental representation of the MCD in a statistically verified conceptual structure and in the system of correlations between

its elements. We performed the following procedures: a) inventory of the text of the MCD, fixation and grouping to the semantic fields (domains) of the concepts' objective items; b) installation through linguistic statistic methods of significant domains, concepts of autochthons and their pairs; c) distribution of pairs by logical semantic analysis on the correlation of subordination, testing, causation and mutual exclusion; d) reproduction in the cognitive map of the MCD of the established nomenclature of concepts and their correlations. It is stated that the collective cognitive space of the modern German matrimonial pair involves 123 concepts, 27 of which are autochthons that form 30 significant interconceptual connections. They certify that knowledge of mental and physical activity, features of the character, feelings and emotions, family relationship, social values and affiliations, social and professional activities is relevant for the MCD. The obvious spheres of harmonious instability of German couples are violations of norms, destructive habits, and divorce. Self-realization and major rights of clients are particularly important. In common life, it is not likely to perceive and convince confidentiality of inaccuracy, non-sincerity, non-punctuality, mismanagement, bad habits, irresponsibility towards other members of a family; alienation, loyalty, dissatisfaction of partner, neglect, disappointment, clashes with one's interests, treason. The most significant basis of the couple's conflict considered to be evil, betrayal, contempt, annoyance, loss.

LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow
Vol. IV. No 2 2019

AFFECTIVE-DISCURSIVE PRACTICES OF ANGER AND INDIGNATION IN THE SUSTAINABILITY OF VICTORIAN IDEOLOGY

Iryna Pinich

Kyiv National Linguistic University, Kyiv, Ukraine

Abstract: The study rests on the assumption that the sustainability of power distribution in the Victorian society dwells on the ratio of anger and indignation feeling rules in the affective-discursive practices of the times and beyond. The article substantiates the conjecture about the discursive prevalence of indignant distancing practices pertinent to the dominant social groups and the lack of enthusiasm in the display of negative judgment of anger that is enough to incense the outrage of rebel among the subordinated.

Key words: affective-discursive practices, moral judgment, anger, indignation, feeling rules, discourse of power, Victorian ideology, linguoideologeme.

1. Introduction

According to van Dijk, the knowledge and attitude organizing role of ideologies lies in legitimate guiding prepotency to establish "social practices that define domination" (1998: 167). Correspondingly, an *ad hoc* basis for sustaining the distribution of powers in a society is grounded on socially shared model structures constructed and monitored by ideologies. The coordination of attitudes and beliefs about social norms is prerequisite to the maintenance of socially shared rules both within dominant and dominated ideological discourses.

Nevertheless, the interrelation of power and knowledge construction via direct propositional verbal injunction is frequently questioned (Larrain 2013: 10; Searle 1995: 60-64). In-group social cohesion is claimed to be underpinned by the cathectic power of ideologies, where "emotional cohesion" takes over "deliberative reasoning" (Thagard 2006) in articulating ideological position statements. Consequently, the commonality of knowledge and beliefs in ideologies dwells on moral reasoning that forms a milestone in putting forward specific codes of the admitted conduct. Therefore, right and wrong behaviour in a broad sense is ideologically preconditioned and is based on the moral convictions of individuals (cf. Silva 2007: 4). Moral reasoning though is mainly unconscious, emotionally stipulated, or employs affective tagging to the standard patterns of inference and argumentation (Harman et al. 2010: 207-208). Therefore, moral emotions are recognized as the foremost means for ideology proliferation and further manipulation (Brady et al. 2017; Constantino 2017).

Among moral emotions, the aggression triad of anger, disgust, and contempt are associated with the collective action in the maintenance of intergroup confrontation (Bar-Tal et al. 2007; Sabucedo et al. 2011) to exhibit a clear condemnation of their adversaries. Anger as a prototypical moral emotion can be most likely triggered by injustices (Haidt 2003: 854), therefore, it is forefronted in the current research into Victorian ideology sustainability. The action is ignited by the common fervour of enthusiasm and in-group pride, which stipulates the outward vent of negative judgments against moral transcendence or the violation of the fixed order of things. As far as the polyvalence of discursive architecture involves an equal representation of discourses of both power and resistance (Foucault 1978: 100), indignation, which is recognized to be a combination of all the three emotions of aggression and associated with the discourse of the dominant, is taken as the other emotional experience model of the Victorian power balance.

The emotional factor of ideologically preconditioned social practices identifies dominant emotional communities with the determined "emotional repertoires" (Lutter

2015: 49). The repertories are coded in the models of social conduct and are exposed in the systems of emotion display rules "streamlining the inference required on the part of the audience" (Kravchenko 2017: 134) and vividly portrayed among other in fiction narration. Fictional texts deliver ready-made verbal messages of instructive and proactive character by displaying and setting the standards of mainstream emotional patterns and divulging them further. The crystallization of dominant emotional experiences yields their conventionalization and reproduction in different contexts, testifying to their productivity akin to "grammatical productivity of word forming processes" (cf. Menzel & Degaetano-Ortlieb 2017: 186). Linguoemotionologies as systems of emotion values (Rosenwein 2010: 11) evolve continuously, and, consequently, are not strictly defined by the periodization in history. Accordingly, the study of dominant emotional patterns defining Victorian ideology includes the periods stretching beyond the years of Queen Victoria's reign and encompasses the pre- and post-Victorian times. The fictional texts retrieved from the CLMET 3.1 (The Corpus of Late Modern English) (De Smet et al. 2015) cover the period from the 1780s to the 1920s and amount to 23 novels of the pre-Victorian period, 57 novels of the Victorian period, and 17 novels of the post-Victorian times.

Since ways of expressing emotions range from non-verbal to verbal mechanisms, it may perplex the identification of an emotional experience in communication Yet, the vantage point of fiction discourse implies the explicit verbalization of an emotion either by communicating its manifestation or interpreting/negotiating it in the fictional interaction of the characters, which "gives access to cognitive and conceptual structures as stable representations of the world entrenched in the mind" (Vorobyova 2017: 429). Being totally aware of numerous verbal strategies of emotion thematization (cf. Fiehler 2002; Foolen 2012), we will focus only on the verbal labels of *anger* and *indignation*, leaving figurative expressions, metaphors, and description of attendant circumstances defining an emotion out of the scope of the present research.

The study argues that the demonstration of the recognized patterns of anger and indignation outlines the dominant affective-discursive practices of the times. The paper is aimed at testing the assumption about the deficit of enthusiasm in negative moral judgment displayed in anger discursive practices as compared to the expected prevalence of the passivity of indignant disapprobation pertinent to the discourse of power.

2. Methods

The study dwells on the standpoints of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that recognizes language as a medium and a tool for ideology production, distribution, and consumption (Fairclough 1995: 70-83). The ideology critique is undertaken in the current paper among other forms of critique associated with CDA to investigate the influence of semiosis on social distribution of power. Sense generating practices, therefore, are believed to involve language use for particular social activities, for representing social statuses, and constructing social identities. Texts serve a specific semiotic dimension for ideology "interpellation", as defined by Althusser, exposing individuals to beliefs already fixed by ideology (Larrain 2013: 60) and proliferating a "discursive subjectivity" (O'Halloran 2017: 4) through the topics commonly spoken and written about.

The paper argues that "feeling rules" underlying ideologies (Hochschild 1979) are likewise communicated in texts and constitute shared knowledge about the content of emotions and the recognized patterns of their display rules. According to the hypothesis tested in the study, dominant emotional repertoires in a society ignite and favour ideology transitions promulgating the ideological fervour of a donor ideology to a rising ideology. The assumption is based on the recognition of preeminent "emotional coherence" in making judgments as well as moral and practical reasoning (Thagard 2006: 18) for further affiliation with a social group. The manifestation of emotionally conditioned ideology transitions are assumedly displayed in the co-occurrences of lexical representations of emotional reactions and the respective ideologemes.

Text versions of fiction novels in the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts will be subject to content analysis aided by KH Coder software that enables searching and quantitative analysis functionalities along with qualitative data exploration. Word association mining will be implemented as a text mining technique (Kwartler 2017: 53) to observe prospective trends of the co-occurrence of significant terms in the electronic texts of the novels. Further, analysis of the co-occurrence networks (Higuchi 2015: 50) of the lexical units *anger* and *indignation* will be performed for feature extracting in the word associations. The findings of the corpus processing will be approached within the analytical framework of cognitive linguistics (cf. Голубкова 2017; Arppe et al. 2010) to interpret the transformation in the conceptual structure of the emotions, and critical discourse analysis to observe through the sightings of language patterns the social practice of the language in organizing the objective reality (cf. Haider 2017; Wang 2013).

An in-depth analytical investigation of the undercurrent mechanisms of Victorian ideology sustainability favoured by the other-condemning moral emotions involves the following procedural stages of analysis in this study:

1. Pre-processing of the fictional texts (manually retrieved from the CLMET 3.1 corpus) with the help of KH Coder to further make use of word analysis tools. Then, the word association is run to extract the co-occurring terms (see Fig. 1). Filtering the results by the part of speech reduces the list of word associations to nouns only, sorted out and displayed in the order according to Jaccard coefficient value and amounting to top 30 occurrences for the convenience of mapping and further interpretation of the co-occurrence networks. The coefficient determines associations between words in the documents of the corpus. The strongest Jaccard coefficients manifest the strongest co-occurrences (edges) among all possible combinations with the target words *anger* and *indignation*. Stronger edges prompt the conceptual proximity to the target words and enable further critical analysis of their associations.
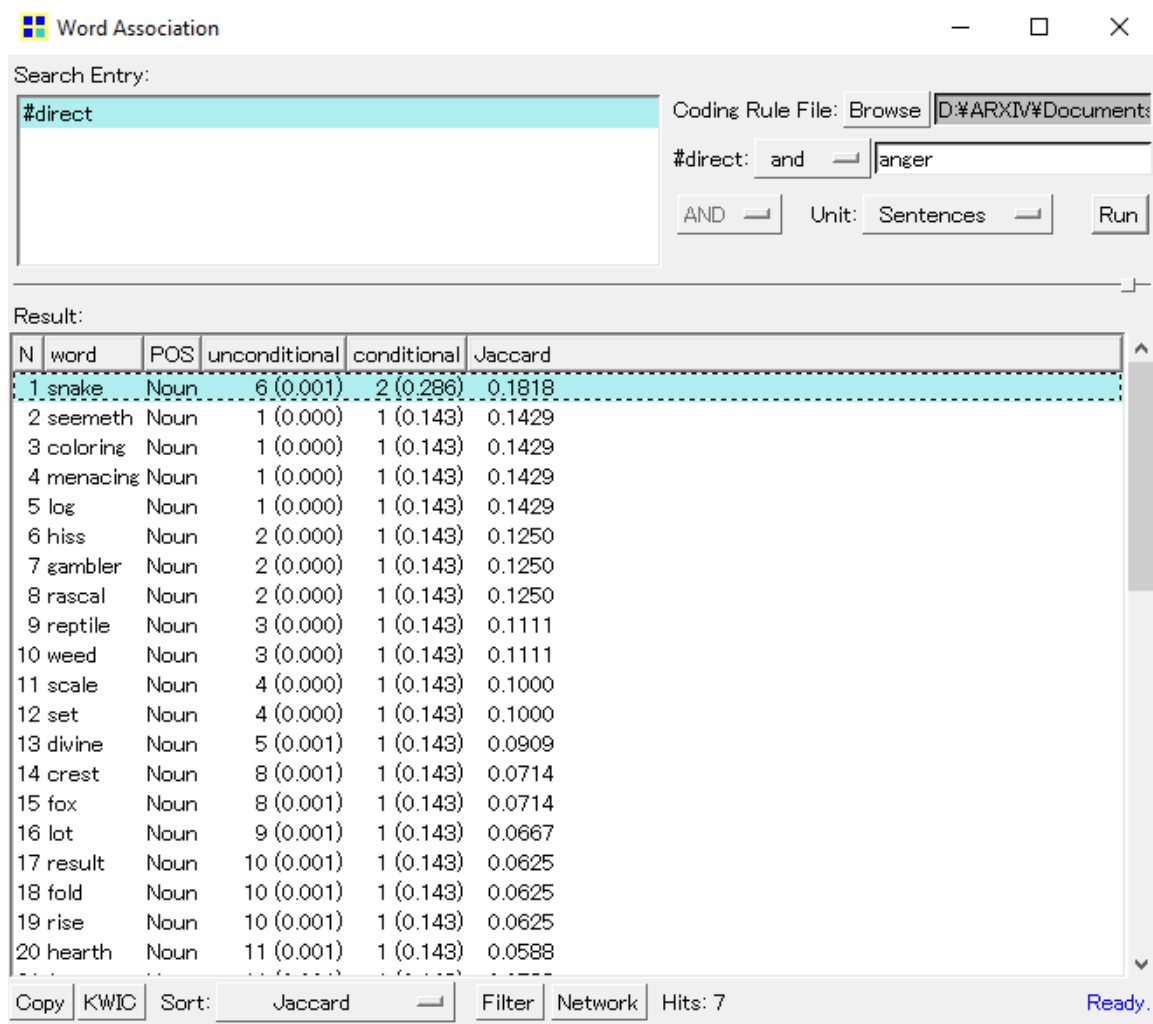
Figure 1. An interface of a shortened term document matrix for the lexeme *anger* generated with the help of KH Coder

2. The highest-ranking Jaccard coefficient nouns co-occurring with the lemmas in the novels of the respective timespan are extracted and arranged in the charts to further observe the dynamics of the absolute indicators throughout the periods under analysis. The trends displayed in the absolute frequency of the lemma occurrences together with the scope of their linkage are considered to reveal the traces of *anger*/*indignation* operationalization in the fictional literature. The ranges between the weakest and strongest edges are established to observe the dynamics of manipulation with the terms in the maintenance of power balance. The graphs generated with the help of graph tools are based on the representative instances of the lemma frequencies and their network linkages.

3.   Along with that, the generated co-occurrence networks for the studied lemmas undergo additional configuring for specifying associations between significant words (nodes) and their co-occurrences (edges). Setting the specifications enables mappings of words with similar appearance patterns (defined by the strongest Jaccard coefficient) with a higher degree of association marked by thicker lines and thinner lines used for weaker co-occurrences (see Fig. 2).
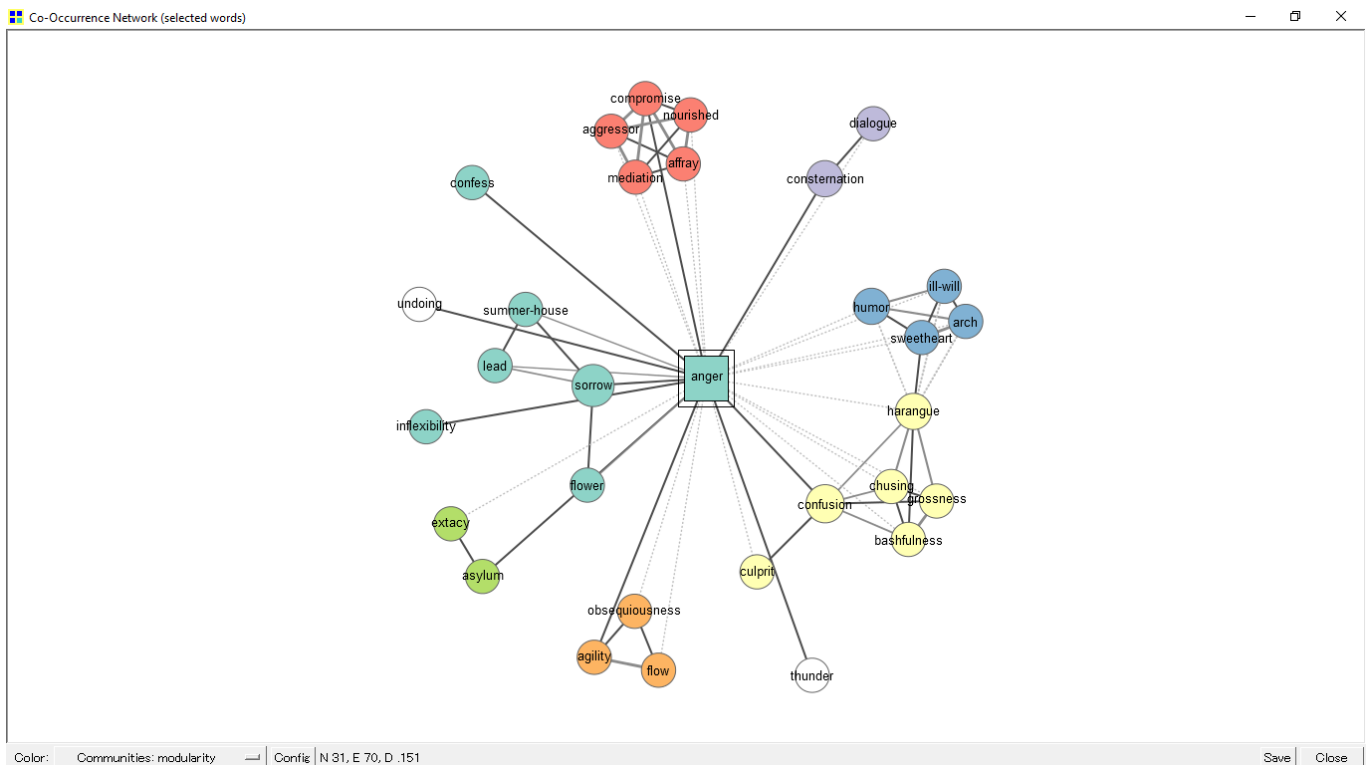
Figure 2. A sample of a co-occurrence network generated with the help of KH Coder

4.   The choice of colour mode for displaying edge betweenness communities helps detect and picture the edges closely associated among themselves into sub-graphs (communities), each community of a different colour, with solid lines used to exhibit connections within a sub-graph and broken lines to show connections to the other communities.

5.   Selecting the option of highlighting the minimum spanning tree (based on Prim's method to set the strength of co-occurrences), edges other than the minimum spanning tree are deleted so that the drawing shows the specified edges with thick lines of a

darker colour. Finally, the adjustment to avoid overlapping labels (that makes use of the "wordcloud" package of R) is implemented to make the display easy to read.

6.   Extracting meaning in the co-occurrences networks is done involving fragments of quantitative/qualitative content analysis (cf. Krippendorff 2004: 87-89). A manifest analysis as a quantitative technique is implemented for decontextualization of meaning units (Bengtsson 2016: 11) – significant nodes that exhibit strong association to the lexicalized emotional dominants *anger* and *indignation*. The deductive reasoning design of the study entails investigating term cohesion for the purpose of observing the trends of the other-condemning emotion patterns favouring ideologeme penetration and transition from religious ideology to the secular ideologies of POLICY & LAWMAKING, CRIME & PUNISHMENT, MONEY & FINANCE, SOCIAL STANDING, FAMILY, GENDER, EDUCATION, WAR & WARCRAFT, and MORALITY & PRECEPTS.

7.   A psychological account of the emotions proliferating ideological changes is tested by the re-contextualization of the significant nodes in the corpus, conducted with the help of KWIC (Key Words in the Context) tool of KH Coder. The co-occurring individual words, phrases, and clauses retrieved in this way are grouped into sub-categories to trace the conjectural modulations in the conceptual structure of the emotions. The sub-categories of emotion elicitors, emotion content, display patterns, action and motivation tendencies, and accountability undergo a close analysis to observe the minute changes in the conceptual structure of *anger* and *indignation*. The inferences along with qualitative content analysis are made to arrive at a plausible conclusion on the preeminence of conceptual transformation in ideological shifts within the Victorian ideology.

3. Righteous anger monopolization in the sustenance of power relations

Arguing the altruistic nature of humans, Haidt (2012) claims the intrinsic need of modern people to unite, transcending egotism of self-benefit. The efficiency of such

commonality renders any in-group behaviour pro-social even in making judgments and reproaches. Yet, the recognition of the outward display of anger across the different layers of social structure is highly questionable in the modern western society.

Anger as a moral emotion can carry additional functions of social cohesion defined by different accounts of the phenomenon and its types. A socio-functional approach to anger establishes its high-cost direct aggression toward the perpetrator if the target of moral violation is self (Molho et al. 2017). In the taxonomy of CAD (Contempt, Anger, Disgust) hypothesis theory by Rozin et al. (1999), anger is associated with the autonomy ethics as distinguished by Shweder et al. (1987) and entails moral judgment as regards individual choice and liberty (Rozin et al. 1999: 575).

Notwithstanding the claim that anger is a negatively valenced other-directed emotion with the primary emphasis on the perception of actual or potential self-harm (Tangney et al. 2007), it is also among the explanatory behaviours of collective political actions. Anger can serve as a significant facilitator of inter-group confrontation (Sabucedo et al. 2011: 28) with "low extent of orientation to the interests of other party" (Panasenko et al. 2018: 134) and as a unifier of in-group members governed by the judicial power of anger (Tavris 1989: 50). Therefore, the function of anger is not viewed as a mere primordial aggressive reaction to goal-stoppers (Ekman 1999: 48) or one's unhappiness (Tissari et al. 2019: 302-303) that should be policed and kept under control in children and adults.

A constructive anger as a technique of emotion management (Lama & Ekman 2008: 109) and a righteous anger as an expression of justified moral condemnation are both self-beneficial, other-conscious, and other-oriented. The double-directedness of the emotion involves both an other-focused direct or indirect aggressive reaction to transgressions against self, and an other-conscious inward recognition of necessary maintenance of retribution for injustices (Lamb 2003: 932). Subsequently, the regulatory force of anger renders its power among the members of a society as a justice

"signaling device" (Rosenwein 1998: 2) that operates within the opposition of the authority of anger and the susceptibility to anger.

3.1 The dynamics of the sanctioning function of anger

The authoritative approval of anger expression as well as its disproval is fixed in the display rules, which carry a discourse-forming function of sustaining power balance within a social structure. The distinction between those in power and the dominated groups is delineated by the acceptance/non-acceptance to express anger (Tavris 1989: 198). The long history of the emotion in the Western society (cf. Rosenwein 1998) contributed to the cultural repression of anger among the subordinated (beginning with the 16th century), along with the monopolization of royal anger by aristocracy, as can also be observed in the novel fragment dating back to 1794 (retrieved from CLMET 3.1):

*Against Mr. Tyrrel, as the tyrannical and unmanly murderer of Emily, those who **dared not venture the unreserved avowal of their sentiments** muttered curses, deep, not loud; while the rest joined in an universal cry of abhorrence and execration. He stood astonished at the novelty of his situation. **Accustomed** as he had been **to the obedience and trembling homage of mankind**, he had imagined they would be perpetual, and that **no excess on his part would ever be potent enough to break the enchantment*** (W. Godwin "The adventures of Caleb Williams").

Higher social status privilege in expressing anger (Park et al. 2013) was endowed as a virtue in observance and endorsement of justice. The lordly righteous anger was an indicator of wrongful social relations and served a trigger of restoring the balance that was compatible with the Christian ideal of rulership since the medieval period (Althoff 1998: 61). The retributive view of anger is explicated in the dictionary entry of Webster's Complete Dictionary of the English Language, where anger, which can be excessive but not necessarily criminal, is equated to displeasure, usually with a desire to punish for what is considered as wrong toward either self or others (1886: 82). Further, the zealous anger, calibrated by the ethics of restraint, became the subject of mimicry for the middling class of the 18th and 19th centuries, whose major goal lay in aspiring to gentility and respectability of the Victorian peerage and gentry. Therefore,

righteous anger display occupied the central place in the dominant emotional scenarios of the times.

The acceptability of civilized anger both in the pre-Victorian and Victorian fictional discourse renders the feeling in three ways as regards power-related issues: 1) as a righteous retributive *divine* and *stern anger;* 2) as a forceful implacable *reptile's anger* and revengeful anger still to be subdued; and 3) as an indecent *clownish* anger, experiencing which can result in a *ruin*, being *friendless among men*, getting *into quandary of disgust*, suffer *trouble*, *vicissitude*, *sorrow*, or *dread the exposure*, and *pass unnoticed and unrepelled*.

A trend of channelling anger into a major sanctioning function directed its cohesive potency primarily to the domineering group in sustaining the recognized patterns of emotional behaviour within a two-party punishment system. An unauthorized anger demonstration meanwhile and the fearsome consequences of social chastisement projected the other emotional script compatible with the subjects of anger. With a significant increase of the middle class part though, the anger-monopolists' capacity underwent gradual restriction chiefly by the current moral ideology.

The repression of the "expressive component" of anger recognized as a key feature of Victorian etiquette prescriptions (Kövecses 2010: 167) translated to an emotional check (Stearns 1994: 17) at all the "stages" of anger conceptualization (Kövecses 2003: 11). As an ideological modulator, Victorian anger exhibited substantial changes in its conceptual structure as compared with the schemata of emotional behaviour in the pre-Victorian and post-Victorian times. The trends displayed in the absolute frequency of the lemma occurrences together with the scope of its linkage demonstrate the pertinence of anger manipulations throughout the periods under analysis (see Graph 1).
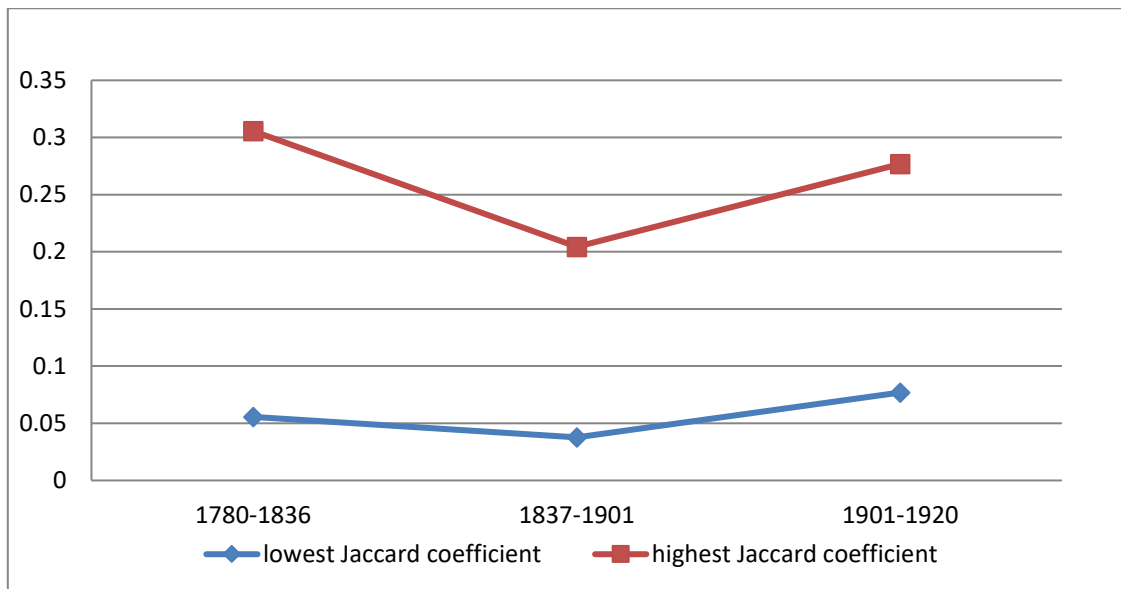
Graph 1. The range of *anger* co-occurrence with the highest-ranking Jaccard coefficient words in the British fiction discourse between 1780 and 1920

The highest-scoring Jaccard index representative nodes with the lemma *anger* for the pre-Victorian novel corpus range between 0.0556 and 0.2500 (see Appendix A), as compared to the range from 0.0377 to 0.1667 for the Victorian novel corpus (see Appendix C), and 0.0769 to 0.2000 for the post-Victorian novels (see Appendix E). The relevance of the emotion is conspicuous in the number of novels where the lemma occurs. For the pre-Victorian period, 20 novels out of 23 in the corpus exhibited the *anger* lemma use. For the Victorian period, 43 novels out of 57 in the corpus made use of the lemma. Finally, 15 post-Victorian novels out of 17 in the corpus contained the node *anger*. The fluctuation in the co-occurrences dynamics attests to a general tendency of placating and further restoring anger to major ideology drivers. The data evinces a mirroring and distributive functions of verbal representation of the emotion in "organizing and channelling anger" (Thurman 2006: 12) for further retention of the existent power distribution across the society.

3.2 Transformations in the conceptual structure of ANGER

The shift in the ideological function of anger is also discernible through the verbal representation of anger elicitors, anger display (involving anger control and the loss of control), and retribution realized in action motivation. A general tendency of displaying

anger mollification and the secularization of the emotion in the novels of the late 18th and early 19th centuries is substituted by the re-establishment of the hostile reaction depiction in the fiction discourse of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The refinement of **anger display** in the pre-Victorian and Victorian fictional discourse is represented in the conspicuous equilibrium of unrestrained exhalation of the emotion and the observance of its exile. Succumbing to anger as a socially recognized judgmental tool is displayed in a conscious feeling of righteousness in its outward display (*delighted in chagrin and anger*, *frown for anger*, *general and undisguised condemnation*, *no consciousness of innocence to recoil from the detestation of mankind*, *mind visible in every feature*, *disdain*, *majestic sternness of his rebuke*, *revengeful anger*, *upbraid with anger*) that could even *take the form of prejudice*. An unobstructed vent of the emotion (*anger got the mastery of her for the time*, *effusion of contempt and anger*, *swell of passion*, *avalanche of anger*, *infestation*, *empty his mind of ill-will*, *never kept his anger*, *a feeling of anger succeeded*, *not in nature to keep anger*, *grin of anger*, *redden with anger*, *work off anger*), and its theatricality (*feigned affectation of anger*, *a white heat of anger that mimics the pallor of a fainting fit*) prescribe the recognition of anger authorization across the society, meanwhile displaying its wrongful nature that needs voluntary abatement.

Etiquette regulations of demonstrating excessive anger are observed in the recognition of its indecency (*expression of supernatural barbarity*, *uncontrollable fit of rage*, *an immense anger possessed her*, *intense anger interfered with the action of the heart*, *vengeance that never looks for the future*) and in a deliberate placation or masking of the feeling (*avoid raising a spirit of opposition*, *overcome anger*, *conquer his anger*, *dared not venture the unreserved avowal of their sentiments*, *muttered curses*, *sullen detestation*, *restrain with the greatest ease*, *appease gathering wrath and holy indignation*, *regained his usual philosophic tone*, and *waited for this paroxysm of anger to subside*).

Similarly, the **actions motivated** by anger in the pre-Victorian period as well as in the early Victorian times seek propitiating the emotion. Forceful inhibition of anger results in sorrow and shame at its exposal (*excuse for hasty words of personal anger*, *blushes arose from anger*, *come on a deadly swoon*, *was not too proud to acknowledge his error*) or withdrawal and diffidence (*obsequiousness*, *appeasing*, *consternation*, *pray for death or forgetfulness*, *humbled from his late anger*, *retired from the multitude*, *forget revenge*) as well as a desire to restore the honour (*vindicate my character and disposition*, *seeking to pay her outmost penalty*) rather than seeking any punitive action. The outmost mastery in holding the emotion back translates to the excellency of pitying those who could elicit anger (*more in pity than in anger*, *more indulgent lamentation than reproach*, *altered expression from stern anger to pity*).

However, the late Victorian times recognize *anger melting into something more than pity*, whereas in the post-Victorian period the emotion is *not one of pity /.../ nor of peculiar anger*. Moreover, action-motivating force of anger in the later half of the 19th and the early 20th centuries is also distinguishable by an enthusiastic riotous nature with *minds full of lurid images and resentments*, *revolts (against Nature and against God)*, *remonstrance*, and *revenge* not devoid of *perspicacity*, *abusing and bullying the companion*, with a *hail storm of savage blows*, *conflicting*, and *parting in anger*. A *pagan anger* that needed a *sacrifice to propitiate it*, and the relief, which came with a *volley of the most terrific oaths and rapping that out*, made *it gone*. Subsequently, a *combat anger* appeared the one *that sleeps so long and then attacks an enemy in cold blood*.

The anger of mature Victorians and further in the post-Victorian times is no longer a subject of severe condemnation: it gains the features of a natural phenomenon (Stearns 1994: 30) and, therefore, can be classified as both 1) a justice-seeking social phenomenon (*just anger*, *sincere anger*), and 2) a vital part of human existence, rightful or erroneous (*natural anger*, *senile anger*, *mistaken anger*, *violent anger*, *stupid anger*, *sulky anger*, and *weak*, *feeble anger*).

Demonstration of anger in the post-Victorian novels is associated with less circumscribed practices (*a life in which telegrams and anger counts*, *continued to feel his anger*, *eyes glowed with anger and resolution*, *eyes grew steady with anger*, *brows were drawn down darkly, his eyes looked /.../ as if they might blaze up with anger*, *anger would spring up magically*, *anger detached itself and grew in force*, *hot with anger*, *stupefaction of relief that had in it an element of anger*, *anger was like paroxysm*, *his philosophy left him, and surely anger took its place*, *grief and anger grew and grew within him*), and the observable emancipation of the emotion (*her eyes darkening with anger*, *an expression of anger and mortification in her face*, *her bosom rose and fell with anger*, *all her startled anger felt something of the old spell*). Anger output is directed both at adversaries (*with all my strength rolled him over*) and inanimate objects (*pushed back the table with the movement of anger*, *striking the ground with his hand in anger*). Yet, caveats to uncivilized conduct are still visible in the possible consequences (*struck him impotent and ludicrous*, *feeling ashamed and an utter fool*) when anger gradually subsides (*all ended in a feeling of a good-will*, *all the anger gone out of him*, *her anger faded*, *her anger passed away*).

Despite the outward anger display subdued in *taunts*, *face* expression, *in which there hung a red shadow of anger*, or *muttering words of violent hate and anger*, or disguised by *masking anger by compassionate grief*, some instances of in-group reciprocity incurred by anger are observed too: *nerves of everybody like raw wound*, *each behaved as if he were controlling temper in the most difficult situation*, or *lead his followers to victory*. Furthermore, in the post-Victorian period a fear-inducing power of anger is exhibited in hedonism and the ability of anger to multiply: *taking only what gives pleasure, repaying the rest with anger*, *dread his anger*, *with no wish to offend*, *thought twice before raising the anger of so accomplished a swordsman*, *reacting on his anger intensified it threefold*.

Anger-eliciting factors similarly vary throughout the timespan between the late 18th and early 20th centuries. Whereas the pre-Victorian fictional discourse displays

outwardly social injustices triggering anger (*abuse of the power of crown*, *ready instrument of royal vice*, *nobility*, *salary*, *cruelty*, *shameful assault*, *affray*, *injury*, *immorality*) or personal features and behaviour deemed to censure (*arrogance*, *determination*, *pliability*, *aggressor*, *betrayer*, *delinquents*, *perpetrator*, *pesterer*, *rascal*) as well as the attributes of a dispute involving anger-like feelings (*contradiction*, *opponent*, *clishmaclavers*), the Victorian novels display the dominance of mostly secular anger elicitors. Subsequently, unmannerly behaviour traced in a contradictory recognition of its manifestation can equally derive anger: *extravagance* and *stinginess*, *sullenness*; *interruptions* and *silence*; *maternal authority* and *silly credulity*; *unification against doctrine*, *ambition* and *civil and political indifference*; *pretense*, *telling untruths*, and *impertinence*; *disgraceful contest*, *personal attacks* and *martyrdom*; *rashness*, *careless boldness in manner and address* and *miserable attempts to repair wrongs*; *unkind words and looks*, *rudeness of speech*, *uncharitable conclusions*, and *mollifying anger*.

Mature Victorians' elicitors of anger are distinguished by a flashback to pre-Victorianism with the socially related issues anchoring the emotion: *crime*, *fate*, *wealth*, *humiliation*, *interference*, *meanness of tactics*, *social ideal attacked*, *trouble*, *disobeyance*, *remonstrance*, *delay*, *wounded pride*. Interestingly though, in post-Victorian novels anger is caused along with displeasure at injustices of social practices (*doctor not fetched*, *furtive earnings*, *extras*, *limit of twelve thousand pound exceeded*) and transgressing the precepts (*bursting into the wedding*, *coming here*, *personal criticism*, *talking of being stout*, *their behaviour*, *saying so*) by dissatisfaction with a romance or by jealousy (*snub*, *parting*, *buzzing her round*, *jealousy and suspicion*, *not saying a lady asked to come up*, *sacrificing herself and him*, *talking to her*, *Mistress released*, *flirtation*).

3.3 Anger in galvanizing ideology transitions

Significant changes in the ideological thinking of the Victorian times are linked to the changes in the traditional and habitual patterns of thinking. And since judgmental

attitude is an indispensable element of an ideology, it constitutes the point of departure of the ideological shifts. In search of revision of the old forms of thought, anger is critical and capable of imbuing its subjects with moral and physical courage for a decisive social action.

Justified anger as a catalyst in ideology transitions is based on the revision of the expediency of social practices and the redefinition of power relations in a social structure. Coupled with the pride of in-group belonging and the cathectic power of just retribution (*poured forth such a storm of anger /.../ as might have made even an uninterested by-stander tremble*; *his determination /.../ sprang full-grown into existence in a sudden access of passionate anger and blind rage*), anger can be endowed with a significant cohesive force, while the action motivation could subsequently trigger the diffusion of righteous outrage seeking to restore justice (Sabucedo et al. 2011: 32). All-pervasiveness of anger can, therefore, anchor a whole-range ideologeme transition in its interconnection with various social practices.

Meanwhile, the distinguished practice of channelling the emotion into the anticipated pursuits in the Victorian era involves continuous fluctuation of its ideological fervour in various social spheres. The ideological ignition facilitated by anger yields the amplification of the regulative power of a rising ideology in its correlation to particular aspects of social life that defines its manipulative function "connected with numerous extralingual factors" (Volkova 2017: 413).

The intensification of a regulative function of Victorian ideology kindled by the rightful anger is represented via discursive manifestations as displayed in the lemma co-occurrences with the linguoideologemes relating to the most significant social structures and institutions of the times. The co-occurrence of the emotion word *anger* with the terms related to other ideologies betrays the "metapragmatic organization of the discourse" (Gnezdilova 2018: 48), which in its turn facilitates the interpretation of the complex and unstable Victorian ideological structuring of the society.

The word associations with RELIGION in the pre-Victorian fiction corpus are represented less frequently in the linkage of *anger* to full religious linguoideologemes (lexical units directly referring to doctrinal statement of Christianity and its practices): *convent*, *divine anger*, *lamentation*, *supplication*; as compared to partial linguoideologemes naming different aspects of Christian ethics: *compassion*, *benevolence*, *prudence*, *rectitude*, and *virtue*; *avarice*, *pusillanimity*, *temptation*, and *vice*. Nevertheless, direct reference to religious ideology in the Victorian fictional discourse (*curate*, *convent*, *preacher*, *clergyman*, *prayer*, *penitential hymns*, *immortal soul*, *devil*, *charit*y, *virtue*, *sin*, *atheist*) displays the reinforcement of the religious component in the institutional power dynamics. The subsequent deterioration of the category in the post-Victorian times is represented by the lack of co-occurrences with religious linguoideologemes.

Gradual reduction of the correlation of anger with political ideology is observed throughout the period of the late 18th through the early 20th centuries. The interconnection of anger with POLICY & LAWMAKING in the pre-Victorian fictional texts involves linkage to full political linguoideologemes conveying notions directly referring to politics: *clishmaclavers*, *debate*, *delegate*, *election/s*, *opponent*, and *politics*. The correlation critically dwindles down in the Victorian novels, leaving only scarce *recrimination*, *diplomacy*, and *establishment*, as compared to the absence of any respective linguoideologemes in the post-Victorian fiction corpus.

The MORALITY & PRECEPTS interrelation with anger is retained in the fictional texts of the corpus throughout the period. Word associations in the pre-Victorian novels are observed in the nodes that stand for full and partial moral linguoideologemes (*civility*, *complaisance*, *compliment*, *courtesy*, *fault*, *manner/s*, *morals*, *public opinion*, *principles*; *charge*, *chastisement*, *condemnation*, *impertinence*, *imprudence*, *judgment*, *reproach*, *reproof*). The list is subsequently extended by the acquired linguoideologemes *canter*, *denunciation*, *fault*, *prejudice*, *punishment*, and *stinginess* in the Victorian fiction where anger is interrelated to *conduct*, *etiquette*, *manner*,

respect, and *tone*. In the post-Victorian fiction the prominence is given to manners of conduct or their lack (*uncivilized*) represented in the full linguoideologemes denoting *civility*, *deference*, *grace*, and *honour*.

Similarly, the relevance of the ideologeme *anger* to judicial and economic issues is preserved throughout the period. The connection of linguoideologemes to the preconditioned use of the lemma *anger* discloses the penetration of the sentiment into the social spheres of CRIME & PUNISHMENT (*accusation*, *assault*, *attorney*, *crime*, *culprit*, *delinquents*, *justice*, *magistrate*, *murderer*, *perpetrator*, *prisoner*, *suitor*, and *victim*) and ECONOMY & FINANCE (*business*, *profit*, *salary*, *sum*, *trade*) in the pre-Victorian as well as in the Victorian and post-Victorian discourses. The discernible tendency in the networks of terms is the ongoing definitizing of the categories from the pre-Victorian through the post-Victorian times with the prevailing full linguoideologemes: economic (*bank-note*, *dower*, *enterprize*, *money*, *penny*, and *account sheets* and *pound*) and judicial (*court*, *murder*, *penalty*, *perjury*, *persecution*, *punishment*, *superintendent*, *victim*, and *policeman* and *suspicion*).

The correlation of SOCIAL STATUS with *anger* in the pre-Victorian fiction discourse is observed in word associations with the linguoideologemes representing various social strata (*cottager*, *courtiers*, *duke*, *gentry*, *king*, *ladyship*, *magistracy*, *peasant*, *prince*, *resignation*, *servants*, *slave*, *squirearch*, and *yeoman*). Similarly, the Victorian texts in the corpus demonstrate the antithetical reference to the social positions of the dominant (*king*, *count*, *margravine*, *nobleman*, *master*, *gentleman*, and *fellow-magistrate*) and the dominated (*nursemaid*, *beggar*, *servant*, *pageant*, *miner*, *farmer*), whereas the post-Victorian novels exhibit the paucity of status linguoideologemes (*king*).

FAMILY ideologemes are equally related to anger practices from the late 18th to the late 19th centuries as displayed in the co-occurrence networks. The shift of the interest from the domestic matters is observed in the early 20th century when romantic relations

are significantly forefronted. In the pre-Victorian fiction, word associations with kinship terms predominantly representing relatives by blood (*father*, *mother*, *son*, *sister*, *brother* as well as *hearth* and *marriage*) are further extended to the list of relatives by marriage in the Victorian texts (*kinsman*, *wife*, *family*, *husband*, *home*, *lass*, and *kin*) added to blood relatives (*babe*, *daughter*, *child*, *uncle*, *father*, and *mother).* The correlation of the lemma anger with ROMANTICISM is observed in the post-Victorian texts with associated terms pointing at relationships (*caresses*, *couple*, *flirtation*, *heart*, *romance*, and *wedding*) and body parts (*arm*, *bosom*, *breast*, *face*, *figure*, *finger*, *hand*, *lip*, and *shoulder*), which is characteristic of anger expanding the circle of affective practices outside the family circle.

Indicatively, the positive dynamics of the *anger* co-occurrences with the linguoideologemes representing WAR & WARCRAFT testify to the changeable and fluid nature of discourses pertinent to manipulative power mechanisms. The general tendency to placating *anger* in the pre-Victorian and early Victorian times, preconditioned by the all-pervasive nature of the emotion across various social spheres gave little impetus to the military issues (*arrow*, *service*, and *sword*). However, the novels of the second half of the 19th century and of the early 20th century exhibit the abundance of military terms related to anger. The linguoideologemes can be grouped into weapons (*arrows*, *daggers*, *sticks and stones*, *sword*, and *weapon*), military ranks (*admiralty*, *colonel*, *captain*, *Secretary*), military activities (*besieging*, *victory*), military constructions (*bastion*, *defenses*), and military transport (*ship*).

4. Indignation as an elevated disapprobation in the third-party punishment system

The establishment of utilitarian retributive justice by the early 19th century translated to the regular maintenance of the third-party punishment role performed entirely by the authorities (Conley 1986: 519). The tendency yielded the revision of anger distribution across the groups and signalled the efficiency of statutory regulation by an "independent bystander" (Zhou et al. 2017: 54). Therefore, resigning from direct anger

led to a gradual reduction of its conceptual structure, that earlier involved "realization, condemnation, indignation, and retribution" (Thurman 2006: 46), opting out retributive practices. Subsequently, the reinforcement of the regulative force of the non-beneficiary party of the state entailed the cultivation of a different kind of disapprobation observed in indignation.

The distinction, however, proved diffuse as the ethics of autonomy prevailed over the ethics of community, and the indignation authorization remained within the dominating group prone to combine anger with indirect aggression of indignation. Correspondingly, the dictionary definition equates indignation to "elevated disapprobation of what is flagitious in character or conduct" (Webster's Complete Dictionary of the English Language 1886: 682), to anger mingled with contempt, disgust, or abhorrence and excited by what is indign, unworthy, base, or disgraceful (ibid.).

4.1 The dynamics of the sanctioning function of indignation

The assumption on the "anger – indignation" interrelation is supported by comparing the dynamics of absolute indicators for the *indignation* lemma in the pre-Victorian and Victorian fiction texts (see Graph 2) to the dynamics of indicators for the *anger* lemma in the novels of respective periods (see Graph 1).
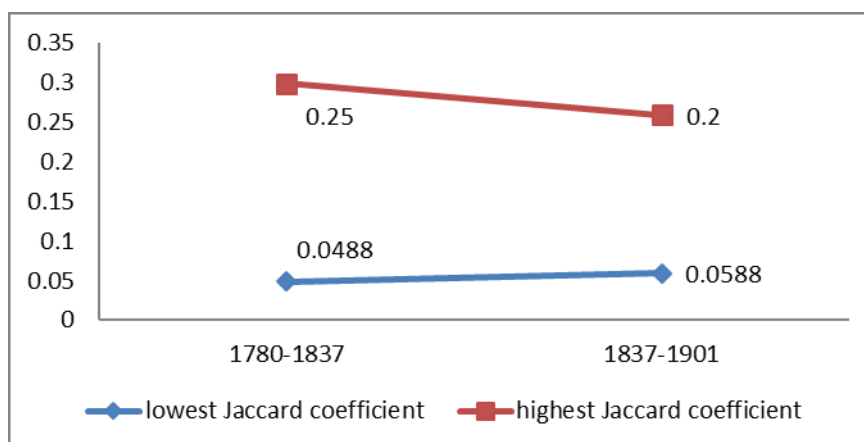
Graph 2. The range of *indignation* co-occurrence with the highest-ranking Jaccard coefficient words in the British fiction discourse between 1780 and 1901

As regards the range of anger co-occurrence with the highest-ranking Jaccard index nouns, *indignation* shows similar indicators for the late 18th and early 19th century fiction texts (between 0.565 and 0.25), whereas the indicators for *indignation* in the Victorian period are higher (between 0.0588 and 0.2) as compared to those for *anger* (between 0.0377 and 0.1667).

Nevertheless, there is a strong tendency for negative dynamics of the Jaccard indices range for *indignation*, and a general decline of the lemma *indignation* frequency is noted. The lemma exhibited its occurrence in 19 pre-Victorian novels out of 23, and in 42 Victorian novels out of 57, as compared to 9 occurrences in the post-Victorian novels out of 17. The number of central node hits and the range of linkages significantly decreases in the fiction texts of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (see Appendices D and F) so that the frequency of the lemma does not exceed 7 hits and the number of nodes is not bigger than 26. Poor linkage and low frequency therefore prevent us from defining the representative range of the lemma occurrences for the post-Victorian period.

4.2 Transformations in the conceptual structure of INDIGNATION

The recognition of the regulative function of indignation in the pre-Victorian times exhibits the power of its moral judgment as seen in the fiction corpus. The observable dichotomy of sustaining the rightful indignation (*resentment*, *disagreement*, *disdain*, *exclusion*) as well as its expiation (*atonement*, *escape*, *suppression*) underpins the categorial significance of indignation in structuring the society similarly to anger, into the indignation-authorised and subjectivised.

The concurrent emotional experiences of *wrath*, *rage*, *disgust*, *abhorrence*, *irritation*, *horror*, and *shock* testify to strong, anger-related disapprobation of offences, wrongdoings, and one's sinful behaviour. **Action and state motivation** betray direct disapprobation, seeking either physical or verbal retribution *(attempting a deep*

revenge, determined to mortify him, a violent struggle eminently commenced, fiercely pushed him back, put his hand upon his sword, went up and kicked him, threw it on the ground, turned with renewed violence, thirst for vengeance, threatening to resort to stronger actions, bold and direct charge, gave power to liberate her, ready to pour forth execrations, rebuking him, charging her with blackest ingratitude). Distancing is yet another contemptuous way to repel one's wrongful conduct (*quitted house in silent indignation, resolve to speed her departure, preserved the same calm and serene demeanour, exclusion of all conversation, rid themselves from his nearer approach, willingly retired from the public scene*) as well as hoping for God's retribution (*wish the curse of God might light on them*) and taking time to make a decision (*hesitated for some moments in confusion, remained silent, placed myself /.../ close to watch and draw inferences, engrossed by his thoughts*).

The demonstration of superiority in experiencing the elevated disapprobation associates it with: 1) supreme, just, and indulgent indignation which is *holy, sacred, highest, great* and *honest, universal, silent, spiritual, not irritated*; and 2) equally intense and instantaneous punitive indignation that is *unmeasured, fiercest, imprudent, dire, uncontrollable, unspeakable, impetuous, threatened, strong, flaming, immediate, utmost, sudden, bitter*.

The cause of indignation lies in condemning compelling social injustices. **Elicitors** of indignation in the pre-Victorian fiction discourse trigger censure against the harm and unfairness caused by either wrongful perpetration similarly to anger (*aggressors, thieves, villain, detestable cruelty, murderer, acts of despotism, profligacy, all the wicked of the world, fraud*) or indecent traits or behaviour as in contempt (*arrogance, insensibility, malevolent allusion to her farther, unworthy action, haughtiness of his behaviour, ingratitude, mean action, insolence, the violence with which he overacted his part, repetition of insult, fierceness, increasing reserve, neighbour's character, nous calumny, falsehood, unmeaning acknowledgements, vices, recrimination*). Moreover, self-indignation is observed in the situations, to which the experiencer is a

hostage when *bent upon staying to make his own entertainment*, *engaged to a man whose actions she condemned*, *employed in such a company*, *having retained my resentment towards him*, *listening to such idle scandal*, *soliciting their approbation*, *telling the truth*, *familiarly coupled with him*, *suspecting her of coquetry*, or *feeling guilt*.

The **display** of indignation as noted in the pre-Victorian fiction shows scarce signs of reducing its intensity (*vented with indignation*, *glowing with indignation*, *express indignation*, *pour out vengeance and indignation*, *manifest signs of indignation*, *face kindled with indignation*, *feet of rapid emotion*, *burning with indignation and energy*, *considerable difficulty in appeasing indignation*, *flashed gleams of indignation*). Conversely, an outward demonstration of strong condemnation highlights the readiness to resort to scolding for moral violation or to active punishment, multiplying the intensity of indignation (*dislike increased into disgust*, *uproar of indignation*, *his pride seemed rising to resent*, *raised the indignation thousand-fold*, *indignation increased with every moment*, *deafening noise of indignation*, *ecstasy of indignation*). Some intermittent cases of self-policing show feeble attempts at the appeasement of indignation (*a remorse that stung his conscience and exterminated his peace*; *the more he struggled, the more desperate his situation appeared*; *terrified for the consequence of the indignation*).

Victorian indignation acquires the features of humanness marked by status (*noble*, *Her Majesty's*, *gentlemen's*, *lady's*), gender and age (*womanly*, *boyish*, *young*), decency (*moral*, *honest*, *virtuous*, *righteous*, *just*, *scathing*), civility and delicacy (*repressed*, *suppressed*, *cold*, *silent*, *sombre*, *half-jesting*, *somnolent*, *hesitating*), passion (*quick*, *fiery*, *unkindly*, *vehement*, *inexpressible*, *unkindly*, *blushing*, *ranging*, *hot*), intensity (*growing*, *burning*, *superb*, *wrathful*, *extreme*, *great*, *general*, *strongest*), and pity (*hearty*, *scornful*, *bitter*). In the post-Victorian fiction the transformation of the conceptual structure of indignation resulted in gradual reduction of civility matters forefronting its natural character which rendered *moral indignation absurd*, *half-*

forgotten in the corner of the mind, that stood for *feigned virtuous indignation, girlish* yet *quick, growing, tremendous, generous*, and *passionate.*

Indignation-eliciting factors in Victorianism serve as triggers of contempt for indecent surrounding and of strong condemnation for undermining the precepts of personal conduct and etiquette (*broken privacy, misconduct, disgrace, treatment, judgment, laughing, behaviour of certain young men, language so misleading, clumsiness, accusation, great lamentation over the child's absence, parental inconsistency, powerful sophistries, beverage, extravagance, witnessing of an actual skirmish, cognisance of her surroundings, prisoners, plight in which I came back (afoot, weary, shoeless), rupture of marriage*). Harm and unfairness less frequently become the cause of indignation, comprising criteria for assessing the manners and skills of a transgressor (*a display of faults, malefactor, falsehoods and frauds, loan, misadventure, incompetence, blundering, impertinence, distrust to the veracity*). Subsequently, in the post-Victorian fictional texts the tendency led to a gradual shift to the issues of misbehaviour, public exposal, unprofessionalism, gender, and nationality affiliation (*conduct, serious laches, at the spectacle of any person, disobeying her, unsuccessful driver, her sex, and nationality*).

The patterns of indignation display in the Victorian fiction discourse demonstrate a whole-scale tendency to the refinement of expressing the feeling (*desired to express a nobler indignation, indignation getting the better of reticence and charity, irresistible avalanche of indignation, sobs of indignation were growing too demonstrative, cherish the germs of indignation, a forced, exaggerated sentiment, refined and lingering torture*). Along with the unobstructed vent of indignation (*giving loose to indignation, flurried with indignation, expressing strong indignation, keep reproving in her indignation, indignation of all around, give vent to indignation, look resolutely, a flask in the eyes, shaking and snarling with indignation, gave way to an air of annoyance and indignation*), the propitiation of the emotion took place (*devour my own righteous indignation, compress into one face self-abasement and burning indignation, expiation*

of her credulous incaution) together with self-policing (*brought an anguish of self-accusation, sickness and bitter fluid of tears, hand fell on her knee, low cry of measureless despair, a wail of anguish*), as did contemptuous distancing from censured injustices and violations (*kept me silent, consumed with indignation and a strange sense of dishonour, took refuge in obstinate silence*).

The action tendency that indignation spurs as observed in the Victorian novel corpus seeks to strike a balance between a motivation for retribution and an attempt at placating the feeling. The resentment at injustices either deliberately inflames the feeling (*tell the judge and the jury how much money you've been paid for your impudence, telling every story which could add to her indignation, involve them in a skirmish, kept a slow fire of indignation, rose in her heart mighty indignation, the weak should be protected from the cruel craft of unscrupulous, the world should revolt, delivered his mighty speech, penetrating power of words, brain produces scathing sentences*) or inspires the retributory action (*indignation nerved my arms, unequal struggle, behaved with an irritable malice, the passionate indignation of the great majority of workers knew no bounds, indignation took the extreme form, worked off her indignation, kept his eyes upon the speaker as if he accused them*). Equally, the contemptuous dismissal of the transgressor (*pointing with an imperious hand towards the door, threatened to order me out of the kitchen*) or willful escape or withdrawal from the scene (*rose and was about to clap my hat upon my head and burst away, merely walked to the window, spent a few seconds in biting my lips, natural enough she should choose to continue tete-a-tete no longer*) exhibit the complexity of moral disapprobation.

The appeasement of indignation in the fictional texts of the Victorian novel appears in the desire to placate the intensity of the feeling (*preach temperance and moderation, atone for dereliction of duty, for her sake he seized, would not give way to pity or indignation, felt no more indignation, keep in her indignation, restrained the rising indignation, indignation of which she became ashamed, controlled herself, thinking to*

atone for his misconduct, my indignation rapidly cooled, I must still conceal /.../ my indignation, smothered my pride and suppressed my indignation, indignation died away) or to redirect and mask it (*instead of feeling indignation, check the rest from any spirit of enterprise, taking advantage of her natural indignation, impart to her the consolation, didn't turn away with a delicate indignation*).

Channelling indignation can also be inferred in the post-Victorian novels (*the right combination of indignation and acuteness, blood hot, brain cool, met him with equal indignation, thrash boys then and there upon some pretext invented, indignation went thrilling through the words, required the combined eloquence /.../ to confute the indignation, any scrap of indignation that has been reposing peacefully, she ferrets out and brushes it into a general heap*).

The equilibrium of regulative force of indignation can be deduced from the pages of the fiction novels of the Victorian times. On the one hand, the moral judgment arising from injustices imposes restrictions on the personal conduct and yields fearsome disapproval (*indignation in the crowd nearly cost him his life*; *looked to his dismay*; *trembling trouble of grief*; *a fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation*; *withdrew astonished, mortified, and discomforted*; *look back like a lamb)* or evokes respect in the eye of the beholder (*like to feel her indignation, respect this outburst of indignation*). On the other hand, there are instances of its low effect on self-policing that prove indignation laughable and wrongful (*evoke neither shame nor indignation*; *laughed good-humouredly /.../ at the burning, blushing indignation*; *indignation turned him into a Pharisaical judge*).

4.3 Indignation in galvanizing ideology transitions

The interplay of discursive strategies by silencing or voicing the issues of primary significance is substantiated and maintained through the modification of the judgmental practices involved. Indignation display patterns are one of the efficient mechanisms of manipulation. Defining and forefronting the elicitors of indignant

disapprobation, channelling the action motivated by the experience, or modulating the very patterns of the emotion display, all add to the generalization of the Foucauldian "rule of the tactical polyvalences of discourses" (Foucault 1978: 100). It follows that the multiplicity of discursive elements and the simultaneity of their co-occurrence constitutes the interaction of dominant and dominated discourses. The tendency to ideology transitions can be elicited, though, from a general incline to particular spheres of social cooperation.

The modulating function of indignation is noticeable through the dynamics of its correlation to the verbal indices of the most salient social institutions of religion, family, education, ethics, economics, politics, law, and military. Observably, the correlation of the lemma with the lexical units representing some of the relevant ideologies is loosening by the end of the analysed period or is only explicitly present in some periods of Victorian ideology reign.

Equal reference to doctrinal and ethical issues of RELIGION is demonstrated in both the pre-Victorian and Victorian discourses. Full propositional religious linguoideologemes in the pre-Victorian fiction texts (*Christianity*, *church*, *clergyman*, *divinity*, *God*, *parish*, *pew*, *sermon*, and *vicar*) are mainly ecclesiological and liturgical terms along with lexical items denoting virtues (*prudence* and *temperance*). The Victorian novels display the co-occurrence of the *indignation* lemma mainly with the verbal indices of ethical issues of Christianity (*forbearance*, *gratification*, *moderation*, *temperance*, *penance*, and *despondency*, *evil*, *lament*, *sin*, *temptation*, and *vice*) as compared to the nouns denoting liturgical (*Christian*, *church*, *priesthood*, *reverend*) and bibliological (*Nazarene*, *devil*) notions. However, the reference of the lemma to religious ideology is not evinced in the fictional texts of the early 20th century.

The association between the term *indignation* and family issues in the pre-Victorian novels (represented predominantly in the names of blood relatives) is also observed in the connection to the Victorian family hearth displayed in the household items

(*cookery*, *door*, *drawing-room*, *house*, *kitchen*, and *window*). A further narrowing of the networks back to close family ties (*mother*, *sister*, and *boy*) is identified in the early 20th century fiction. The POLICY & LAWMAKING linguoideologemes exhibit their connection to the lemma only in the late 18th and early 19th century fictional texts (*Corn Laws*, *senate*, *statesmanship*, *Political Economy Club*). The other two social spheres – that of education (*breaking*, *disobedience*, *encouraging*, *forbidding*, *parental inconsistency*) and gender (*boy*, *girl*, *man*, *lad*, *woman*, *womanhood*) – with the reference to *indignation* are pertinent only to the Victorian era as represented in the linkage of the nodes.

The political issue of social standing represented in the respective lexical items designating SOCIAL STATUS evinces its tendency to interconnection with the central node *indignation* in a pendulum manner. The notable specifics of the association networks displays an apparent dichotomy of discourses of the dominant (*bishop*, *countess*, *gentry*, *lord*, *judge*, *magistrate*, *Majesty*, *monarch*, *sir*, *squire*, *queen*) and dominated (*attendant*, *coachman*, *employees*, *Negro*, *tradesman*, *working men*) only in the Victorian texts. Meanwhile, the pre-Victorian and post-Victorian fiction novels demonstrate preeminently an incline to the indignation-authorized (*crown*, *king*, *master*, *noble*, *squire*, and *Emperor*, *millionaire*, and *queen*). The economic issues retain a loose association with *indignation* throughout the period, where the lexical items represent predominantly capital management (*money*, *possession*, *retailer*; *penny*, *loan*, *profit*; and *deferred payment*).

The interrelation of MORALITY & PRECEPTS with *indignation* projects the centrality of the issue throughout the period under analysis. The lexical items that designate manners (*manner*, *behaviour*, *conduct*), and conduct sanctions (*accusations*, *appeal*, *denunciation*, *judgment*, *rebuke*, *reproof*) are present in the co-occurrence networks for all the pre-, post-, and Victorian texts. A larger network association with etiquette matters is observed in the Victorian fiction discourse (*act of gracious kindness*, *carriage of umbrellas*, *clothes*, *hair*, *hat-lifting*, *special distinction*, *respect*,

reticence, *taste*, *tete-a-tete*). That notwithstanding, only the late 18th and the 19th century literary works demonstrate the outward dichotomy of the recognized and condemned behavioural patterns. Indicatively, the noticeable antinomy of the rightful (*compassion*, *eloquence*, *fidelity*, *honesty*, *loyalty*, *pity*) and the wrongful (*immorality*, *indulgence*, *ingratitude*, *misconduct*, *volubility*) in the pre-Victorian fiction discourse, in the Victorian fiction texts appears biased mainly to the disapproved conduct (*breaking*, *misgivings*, *derelictions*, *sophistry*, and *carelessness*).

Apparently, word associations of *indignation* with verbal indices for CRIME & PUNISHMENT is linked to the procedures of court hearing (*accusation*, *court*, *delinquent*, *mob*, *murder*, *murderer*, *police*, *recrimination*, *sentence*, *victim*) in the pre-Victorian discourse, and retribution in the Victorian and post-Victorian discourses (*arrest*, *cell*, *cognisance*, *defendant*, *evidence*, *guard*, *malefactor*, *murder*, *pillory*, *policeman*, *prison*, *persecution*, *sergeant*, *vilified*, and *execution*). Warfare matters in their correlation with *indignation* are represented in the co-occurrences generated for the pre-Victorian and Victorian fictional texts with anger taking over WAR & WARCRAFT in the post-Victorian discourse. The military issues disclosed in the verbal signs relate to weapon (*poniard*, *sword*, and *armour*, *firearm*), military men (*archer*, *cavalier*, and *general*, *sentinel*, *footmen*, *captain*), tactics (*assault*, *attack*, *armed invasion*, *victory*, and *march*), and the ethics of war (*betrayer*, *revenge*, *vengeance*, and *avenging angel*).

5. Conclusions

The preeminence of affective-discursive practices in ideology sustainability places moral emotions amongst the fundamental elements of ideology proliferation. Other-condemning moral judgments eliciting anger and indignation lay the cornerstone of social power distribution across the class structure of the Victorian society. Serving as essential facilitators of inter-group confrontation, the disapprobation attitudes possess an explanatory force for the mechanisms of maintaining the balance between the anger/indignation-authorised and subjectivised in the discourses of power and

resistance. The interplay of antinomic discourses in the fictional realm substantiates the polyvalent character of the strategic structure of discourse. Therefore, the prevalence of the distinguished models of dominant emotional repertoires calls the rise of the ones in disguise.

The appeasement of an intense aggressive reaction to moral transgressions that seek instant retribution, facilitates the mechanisms of the observance and endorsement of justice by the authorised within the third-party punishment system. The prosocial disinterestedness of a bystander translates to the apprehended modulation of the high-cost direct aggression of anger. Deliberate placation of anger in the pre-Victorian and Victorian discourses favours the recognition of indignant superiority, nobility, and civility of the dominant. However, the regulative function of indignation firstly taking over anger gradually subsides under the precepts of Victorian morality trying to counterpoise the punitive urge and the attempts at placating the feeling or the willful withdrawal of a contemptuous kind. As a result, the naturalization of the disapprobation in the post-Victorian fictional discourse entails gradual reduction of interest to civility matters, forefronting the anger full of enthusiasm and revengeful fervour as a preeminent reaction to injustices.

Refinement and etiquette regulation of anger-like emotion demonstration in the Victorian novels betrays the general tendency for the conceptual reorganization of the other-condemning emotions. Notably, in the pre-Victorian fictional discourse the ratio of the unobstructed vent of indignation to the concurrent regulation of anger exhalation turns just the opposite in the late Victorian times. Subsequently, the post-Victorian anger display acquires the features of pagan naturalism no longer subject to policing. Similarly, the motivation of actions ensuing from the anger-like emotions undergoes noticeable transformations throughout the period. The indignant disapprobation seeking either physical or verbal retribution as exhibited in the pre-Victorian texts gradually subsides, whereas the earlier withheld direct aggression of angry condemnation finds no obstruction of retaliation in the post-Victorian times.

Equivalently, the anger-indignation eliciting factors in the late 18th and early 19th centuries that relate predominantly to social injustices and personal indecency fall under a large-scale secularization in the Victorian times. Finally, the restoration of justice-related matters eliciting anger, which is characteristic of the post-Victorian fictional discourse, results in redirecting indignant disapprobation against unprofessionalism, misbehaviour, and public exposal to gender and nationality affiliation issues.

The trends of disapprobation channelling observed in the pre-, post-, and Victorian discourses mirror significant ideological shifts in the society. The co-occurrence of the lemmas *anger* and *indignation* with the lexical items representing salient ideologies of the times yields findings on ideological transitions incurred by the fervour of the other-condemning emotions. The circulation of relevant ideologies summoned under the consolidating notion of Victorian ideology evinces the wane of the religious ideology and the fading of the political ideology in governance and legislature along with the gradual rise of the military ideology. Meanwhile, the ideological core is based on the system of shared attitudes and beliefs projected by the outstanding social institutions of economy, law, ethics, labour market, and social standing.

The modulating function of the other-condemning emotions lies in forefronting the most relevant propositional elements of the ideologies, providing for their salience, further substantiality, and natural circulation. Therefore, within the ideology of MORALITY & PRECEPTS, civility and etiquette sanctions in the late 18th and the 19th centuries give way to manners in the post-Victorian times. Similar trends are observable within the system of CRIME & PUNISHMENT with the shift from the ethical issues of criminal offence and court hearings in the early period to persecution and retribution in the later years of the period. Highlighting education and gender in the Victorian fictional discourse ranks on a par with giving stress to military tactics and the ethics of war.

The word association networks evince a clear-cut distinction between the anger/indignation-authorised and subjectivised, dominant and dominated, civilized and indecent or recognized and condemned. The antinomic representation of the social structure through the affective-discursive practices of anger and indignation, prompted by the revision of the alignment of social forces in the Victorian era, demonstrates a notable bias to the prevalence of the dominant by the early 20th century.

Abbreviations and notes

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis.

CLMET 3.1 – The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3.1.

KH Coder – a free software for quantitative content analysis or text mining.

KWIC – Key Words in the Context tool of KH Coder.

REFERENCES

Althoff, G. (1998). Ira regis: Prolegomena to a history of royal anger. In *Anger's past: The social uses of an emotion in the Middle Ages*. Rosenwein, B.H. (ed.). Ithaca – London: Cornell University Press, p. 59-74.

Arppe, A., Gilquin, G., Dylan, G., Hilpert, M. & Zeschel, A. (2010). Cognitive Corpus Linguistics: Five points of debate on current theory and methodology. In *Corpora* 5 (1), p. 1-27.

Bar-Tal, D., Halperin, E. & de Rivera, J. (2007). Collective emotions in conflict situations: Societal implications. In *Journal of social issues,* 63 (2), p. 441-460.

Bengtsson, M. (2016). How to plan and perform a qualitative study using content analysis. In *NursingPlus open 2*, p. 8-14. DOI: 10.1016/j.npls.2016.01.001

Brady, W.J., Wills, J.A., Jost, J.T., Tucker, J.A. & Van Bavela, J.J. (2017). Emotion shapes the diffusion of moralized content in social networks. In *Psychological and cognitive sciences*, 114 (28), p. 7313-7318. DOI: 10.1073/pnas.1618923114

Conley, C.A. (1986). Rape and justice in Victorian England. In *Victorian studies*, 29 (4), p. 519-536.

Constantino, S. (2017). Psychology: Moral contagion online. In *Nature human behaviour*, 1 (8): 0159. DOI: 10.1038/s41562-017-0159

De Smet, H., Flach, S., Tyrkkö, J. & Diller, H.-J. (2015). *The Corpus of Late Modern English (CLMET), version 3.1: Improved tokenization and linguistic annotation*. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Freie Universität Berlin, Tampere University, Ruhr-Universität Bochum.

Dijk, T.A. van. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage Publications.

Ekman, P. (1999). Basic emotions. In *Handbook of cognition and emotion*. Dalgleish, T. & Power, M. (eds.). New York: John Wiley & Sons, p. 45-61.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language.* London – New York: Longman.

Fiehler, R. (2002). How to do emotions with words: Emotionality in conversations. In *The verbal communication of emotions. Interdisciplinary perspectives.* Fussell, S.R. (ed.). Mahwah – London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, p. 79-106.

Foolen, A. (2012). The relevance of emotion for language and linguistics. In *Moving ourselves, moving others: motion and emotion in intersubjectivity, consciousness and language*. Foolen, A., Lüdtke, U. M., Racine, T. P. & Zlatev, J. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 347-368. DOI: 10.1075/ceb.6.13foo

Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality*: *Volume I: An introduction*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Gnezdilova, Ya. (2018). Metapragmatics of academic written discourse. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava.* Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, III (1), June 2018, p. 46-79. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0002

Golubkova, E.E. (2017). Corpora in linguistic research. In *Magic of INNO: New dimensions in linguistics and linguodidactics*. Vol. I. Moscow: MGIMO-University, p. 394-399. / Golubkova E.E. Vozmozhnosti ispol'zovaniya korpusov v tselyakh ligvisticheskogo issledovaniya. *Magiya INNO: Novyye izmereniya v lingvistike i lingvodidaktike*. T. I. Moskva: MGIMO-Universitet, s. 394-399. / Голубкова Е.Е.

Возможности использования корпусов в целях лингвистического исследования. *Магия ИННО: Новые измерения в лингвистике и лингводидактике*. Т. I. Москва: МГИМО-Университет, с. 394-399.

Haider, A.S. (2018). Using Corpus Linguistic techniques in (Critical) Discourse Studies reduces but does not remove bias: Evidence from an Arabic corpus about refugees. In *Poznan studies in contemporary linguistics*, 55 (1), p. 89-133. DOI: 10.1515/psicl-2019-0004

Haidt, J. (2003). The moral emotions. In *Handbook of affective sciences*. Davidson R.J., Scherer, K.R. & Goldsmith, H.H. (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 852-870.

Haidt, J. (2012). *The groupish gene: Hive psychology and the origins of morality and religion (video)*. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NQ192d4c4S0

Harman, G., Mason, K. & Sinnott-Armstrong, W. (2010). Moral reasoning. In *The moral psychology handbook*. Doris, J.M. (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 206-246.

Higuchi, K. (2015). *KH Coder 2.x reference manual*. [E-Reader version]. Available at: http://khcoder.net/en/manual_en_v2.pdf

Hochschild, A.R. (1979). Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. In *American journal of sociology*, 85 (3), p. 551-575.

Kövecses, Z. (2003). *Metaphor and emotion: Language, culture, and body in human feeling.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kövecses, Z. (2010). Cross cultural expressions and experience of anger. In *International handbook of anger: Constituent and concomitant biological, psychological, and social processes.* Potegal, M., Stemmler, G. & Spielberger, Ch. (eds.). New York: Springer, p. 157-176.

Kravchenko, N. (2017). Illocution of direct speech acts via conventional implicature and semantic presupposition. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava.* Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, II (1), June 2017, p. 128-168. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0004

Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Kwartler, T. (2017). *Text mining in practice with R.* Hoboken: Wiley.

Lama, D. & Ekman, P. (2008). *Emotional awareness: Overcoming the obstacles to psychological balance and compassion*. New York: Holt Paperbacks.

Lamb, Sh. (2003). The psychology of condemnation: Underlying emotions and their symbolic expression in condemning and shaming. In *Brooklyn law review*, 68 (4), p. 929-958. [E-Reader version]. Available at:

http://brooklynworks.brooklaw.edu/blr/vol68/iss4/2

Larrain, J. (2013). *Ideology and cultural identity: Modernity and the third world presence*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Lutter, Ch. (2015). Preachers, saints and sinners: Emotional repertoires in high Medieval religious role models. In *A history of emotions, 1200-1800*. Liliequist, J. (ed.). New York: Routledge, p. 49-64.

Menzel, K. & Degaetano-Ortlieb, S. (2017). The diachronic development of combining forms in scientific writing. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, II (2), December 2017, p. 185-249. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0016

Molho, C., Tybur, J.M., Güler, E., Balliet, D. & Hofmann, W. (2017). Disgust and anger relate to different aggressive responses to moral violations. In *Psychological science*, 28 (5), p. 609-619. DOI: 10.1177/0956797617692000

O'Halloran, K. (2017). *Posthumanism and deconstructing arguments: Corpora and digitally-driven critical analysis*. London – New York: Routledge.

Panasenko, N., Greguš, Ľ. & Zabuzhanska, I. (2018). Conflict, confrontation, and war reflected in mass media: Semantic wars, their victors and victims. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow*. *The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Poland, III (2), December 2018, p. 132-163. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0017

Park, J., Kitayama, S., Markus, H.R., Coe, C.L., Miyamoto, Y., Karasawa, M. & Ryff, C.D. (2013). Social status and anger expression: The cultural moderation hypothesis. In *Emotion*, 13 (6), p. 1122-1131. DOI: 10.1037/a0034273

Rosenwein, B. (2010). Problems and methods in the history of emotions. In *Passions in context*, 1 (1), p. 1-32.

Rosenwein, B.H. (1998). Introduction. In *Anger's past: The social uses of an emotion in the Middle Ages*. Rosenwein, B.H. (ed.). Ithaca – London: Cornell University Press, p. 1-6.

Rozin, P., Lowery, L., Imada, S., & Haidt, J. (1999). The CAD triad hypothesis: A mapping between three moral emotions (contempt, anger, disgust) and three moral codes (community, autonomy, divinity). In *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 76 (4), p. 574-586.

Sabucedo, J.M., Durán, M., Alzate, M., & Barreto, I. (2011). Emotions, ideology and collective political action. In *Universitas psychologica*, 10 (1), p. 27-34.

Searle, J.R. (1995). *The construction of social reality*. New York: The Free Press.

Shweder, R.A., Mahapatra, M. & Miller, J. (1987). Culture and moral development. *The emergence of morality in young children*. Kagan, J. & Lamb, S. (eds.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 1-83.

Silva, R. (2007). *Democracy is morality or ideology?* [E-Reader version]. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/811682/Democracy_is_a_Morality_or_Ideology

Stearns, P.N. (1994). *American cool: Constructing a twentieth-century emotional style.* New York: NYU Press.

Tangney, J.P., Stuewig, J. & Mashek, D.J. (2007). Moral emotions and moral behavior. In *Annual review of psychology*, 58, p. 345-372. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.psych.56.091103.070145

Tavris, C. (1989). *Anger: The misunderstood emotion.* New York – London: A Touchstone Book.

Thagard, P. (2006). *Hot thought: Mechanisms and applications of emotional cognition*. Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.

Thurman, R.A.F. (2006). *Anger.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tissari, H., Vanhatalo, U. & Siiroinen, M. (2019). From corpus-assisted to corpus-driven NSM explications: The case of Finnish *viha* (anger, hate). In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava.* Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, 2019, IV (1), June 2019, p. 290-334.

Volkova, L. (2017). Pragmatic markers in dialogical discourse. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava.* Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, II (1), June 2017, p. 379-427. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0010

Vorobyova, O.P. (2017). 'Haunted by ambiguities' revisited: In search of a metamethod for literary text disambiguation. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava.* Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, II (1), June 2017, p. 428-496. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0011

Wang, D. (2013). Applying Corpus Linguistics in Discourse Analysis. In *Studies in literature and language*, 6 (2), p. 35-39. DOI: 10.3698/j.sll.1923156320130602.4002

Webster's complete dictionary of the English Language (1886). Goodrich, Ch.A., Porter, N. & Mahn, C.A.F. (eds.). London: George Bell & Sons.

Zhou, Y., Jiao, P. & Zhang, Q. (2017). Second-party and third-party punishment in a public goods experiment. In *Applied economics letters*, 24 (1), p. 54-57. DOI: 10.1080/13504851.2016.1161709

Contact data		**Fields of interest**
Iryna Pinich, CSc. (Philology), Associate professor at Prof. G.G. Pocheptsov Chair of Germanic and Finno-Ugrian Philology, Kyiv National Linguistic University, Velyka Vasylkivska Street, 73, Kyiv, Ukraine e-mail: ipinich@hotmail.com		Critical discourse analysis, emotionology, language and ideology, philosophy of language.

Résumé

The paper discusses the potence of the ideological fervour of anger and indignation intrinsic to the dominant affective-discursive practices of the late 18th through the early 20th centuries. The maintenance and procurement of the most significant aspects of ideological enterprises collectively summoned under the notion of Victorian ideology make the focus of the analysis. The article argues that the other-condemning moral emotions substantiate the polyvalence of strategic organization of the discourse by facilitating the mechanisms of intergroup confrontation and in-group cohesion. The sustainability of social hierarchisation through the moral judgment of anger and indignation involves the ensuing focalization of the relevant social issues of ethics, social layering, and retribution for moral transgression. The corpus-based study evinces the trends for channelling the emotions by modulating their conceptual structure. Therefore, the difference in eliciting factors, emotion display rules, action and state motivation tendencies, and accountability models are observed during the pre-Victorian, Victorian, and post-Victorian periods as has been noted in the co-occurrence networks of the emotion terms in the fiction texts. The salience of either affective behaviour of disapprobation distinguishes the bias to the respective facet of the social power balance. Earlier in the period, the indignation mingled with righteous anger is congenial to the higher status affective practices; further in the Victorian times it undergoes secularization to give way to anger of the resentful subordinated in the early 20th century. The alleged incline in the social structure ignited by the other-condemning emotions is represented in the word associations of the emotion terms correlation with the lexical units that represent the relevant features of fading and rising ideologies. Notably, the core of Victorian ideology encloses the worldviews delivered by the dominant institutions of economics, social standing, and jurisprudence, whereas the wane of religious and political ideologies gives rise to the relevance of the evolving military matters.

The highest-ranking Jaccard coefficient nouns co-occurring with the lemma *anger* in the pre-Victorian narrative fiction (1780-1836)

Title	Author	Year	Hits	Nodes	Word POS (N)	Unconditional	Conditional	Jaccard
Cecilia	Burney, F.	1782	26	171	harangue	10 (0.000)	2 (0.077)	0.0588
The Adventures of Caleb Williams	Godwin, W.	1794	6	39	instigation	1 (0.000)	1 (0.167)	0.1667
The mysteries of Udolpho	Radcliffe, A.	1794	6	26	multitude	1 (0.000)	1 (0.167)	0.1667
Nature and Art	Inchbald, E.	1796	12	85	gesture	2 (0.001)	2 (0.167)	0.1667
The monk	Lewis, M.G.	1796	10	30	pusillanimity	1 (0.000)	1 (0.100)	0.1000
The Parent's Assistant, or Stories for Children	Edgeworth, M.	1796 - 1801	11	48	injury	7 (0.000)	2 (0.182)	0.1250
Maria, or the Wrongs of Woman	Wollstonecraft, M.	1798	3	20	impatience	3 (0.001)	2 (0.667)	0.5000
Tales from Shakespeare	Lamb, Ch., Lamb, M.	1807	18	105	face	39 (0.006)	3 (0.167)	0.0556
Adventures of Ulysses	Lamb, Ch.	1808	4	28	sceptre	1 (0.001)	1 (0.250)	0.2500
Sense and Sensibility	Austen, J.	1811	5	36	disquiet	1 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.2000
Pride and Prejudice	Austen, J.	1813	13	65	compassion	14 (0.001)	2 (0.154)	0.0800
Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus	Shelley, M.	1818	6	23	utterance	2 (0.000)	1 (0.167)	0.1429
Ivanhoe	Scott, W.	1819	7	38	transient	1 (0.000)	1 (0.143)	0.1429
Annals of the Parish	Galt, J.	1821	4	24	solidity	1 (0.000)	1 (0.250)	0.2500
The Provost	Galt, J.	1822	4	57	individual	1 (0.001)	1 (0.250)	0.2500
Liber Amoris, or the New Pygmalion	Hazlitt, W.	1823	2	6	disdain	1 (0.000)	1 (0.500)	0.5000
Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner	Hogg, J.	1824	7	48	acrimony	1 (0.000)	1 (0.143)	0.1429
Vivian Grey	Disraeli, B.	1826	4	20	mastery	2 (0.000)	1 (0.250)	0.2000
Eugene Aram	Bulwer-Lytton, E.	1832	4	6	deliverer	2 (0.000)	1 (0.250)	0.2000
The Last Days of Pompeii	Bulwer-Lytton, E.	1834	7	52	snake	6 (0.001)	2 (0.286)	0.1818

Red colour for the occurrences of the lemma ≥20
Blue colour for the occurences of the lemma ≥10
Green colour for vast networks with the frequency of the lemma <10 and nodes >40
The Jaccard index of the representative instances (coloured) ranges from 0.0556 to 0.2500

The highest-ranking Jaccard coefficient nouns co-occurring with the lemma *indignation*
in the pre-Victorian narrative fiction (1780-1836)

Title	Author	Year	Hits	Nodes	Word POS (N)	Unconditional	Conditional	Jaccard
Cecilia	Burney, F.	1782	34	208	disgust	23 (0.001)	4 (0.118)	0.0755
The Life and Perambulations of a Mouse	Kilner, D.	1783-84	1	15	operation	1 (0.001)	1 (1.000)	1.0000
The Adventures of Caleb Williams	Godwin, W.	1794	35	112	perseverance	8 (0.001)	2 (0.057)	0.0488
The mysteries of Udolpho	Radcliffe, A.	1794	30	177	disgust	5 (0.000)	2 (0.067)	0.0606
Nature and Art	Inchbald, E.	1796	3	26	acknowledgment	1 (0.000)	1 (0.333)	0.3333
The monk	Lewis, M.G.	1796	7	16	police	1 (0.000)	1 (0.143)	0.1429
The Parent's Assistant, or Stories for Children	Edgeworth, M.	1796-1801	18	65	spectator	16 (0.001)	2 (0.111)	0.0625
Maria, or the Wrongs of Woman	Wollstonecraft, M.	1798	8	43	pulse	1 (0.000)	1 (0.125)	0.1250
Tales from Shakespeare	Lamb, Ch., Lamb, M.	1807	1	6	vice	2 (0.000)	1 (1.000)	0.5000
Adventures of Ulysses	Lamb, Ch.	1808	1	1	manner	10 (0.007)	1 (1.000)	0.1000
Sense and Sensibility	Austen, J.	1811	10	38	critique	1 (0.000)	1 (0.100)	0.1000
Pride and Prejudice	Austen, J.	1813	8	34	volubility	1 (0.000)	1 (0.125)	0.1250
Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus	Shelley, M.	1818	7	48	murmur	3 (0.001)	2 (0.286)	0.2500
Ivanhoe	Scott, W.	1819	8	38	repulse	1 (0.000)	1 (0.125)	0.1250
Ayrshire Legatees	Galt, J.	1821	2	10	delinquent	1 (0.000)	1 (0.500)	0.5000
Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner	Hogg, J.	1824	13	82	imputation	1 (0.000)	1 (0.077)	0.0769
Vivian Grey	Disraeli, B.	1826	8	36	statesmanship	1 (0.000)	1 (0.125)	0.1250
Theresa Marchmont, or the Maid of Honour: A Tale	Gore, C.G.F.	1834	5	44	abuse	1 (0.001)	1 (0.200)	0.2000
The Last Days of Pompeii	Bulwer-Lytton, E.	1834	7	49	reluctance	1 (0.000)	1 (0.143)	0.1429

Red colour for the occurrences of the lemma ≥20
Blue colour for the occurences of the lemma ≥10
Green colour for vast networks with the frequency of the lemma <10 and nodes >40
The Jaccard index of the representative instances (coloured) ranges from 0.0488 to 0.2500

The highest-ranking Jaccard coefficient nouns co-occurring with the lemma *anger*
in the Victorian narrative fiction (1837-1901)

Title	Author	Year	Hits	Nodes	Word POS (N)	Unconditional	Conditional	Jaccard
Venetia	Disraeli, B.	1837	4	15	certainty	1 (0.000)	1 (0.250)	0.2500
Alice	Bulwer-Lytton, E.	1838	2	9	enthusiast	1 (0.000)	1 (0.500)	0.5000
Barnaby Rudge	Dickens, Ch.	1839	7	96	chasm	1 (0.000)	1 (0.143)	0.1429
Vanity Fair	Thackeray, W.	1843	24	75	steadiness	1 (0.000)	1 (0.042)	0.0417
Windsor Castle	Ainsworth, W.	1843	4	6	deliverer	2 (0.000)	1 (0.250)	0.2000
Dombey and Son	Dickens, Ch.	1844	14	57	consoler	1 (0.000)	1 (0.071)	0.0714
Jane Eyre	Brontë, Ch.	1847	7	24	recrimination	1 (0.000)	1 (0.143)	0.1429
Wuthering Heights	Brontë, E.	1847	13	35	credulity	1 (0.000)	1 (0.077)	0.0769
Agnes Grey	Brontë, A.	1847	6	53	hymn	1 (0.000)	1 (0.167)	0.1667
The Tenant of Wildfell Hall	Brontë, A.	1848	32	179	despair	18 (0.001)	3 (0.094)	0.0638
Mary Barton	Gaskell, E.	1848	14	90	flirtation	1 (0.000)	1 (0.071)	0.0714
Olive	Craik, D. M. M.	1850	18	59	rudeness	1 (0.000)	1 (0.056)	0.0556
Tom Brown's Schooldays	Hughes, Th.	1857	2	14	reproach	1 (0.000)	1 (0.500)	0.5000
The Woman in White	Collins, W.	1859-60	15	44	heat	15 (0.001)	2 (0.133)	0.0714
The Clever Woman of the Family	Yonge, Charlotte Mary	1865	4	7	rejoinder	1 (0.000)	1 (0.250)	0.2500
Alice's Adventures in Wonderland	Carroll, L.	1865	2	12	scream	2 (0.001)	1 (0.500)	0.3333
The Moonstone	Collins, W.	1868	9	17	contempt	10 (0.001)	2 (0.222)	0.1176
Lorna Doone	Blackmore, R.	1869	20	82	sorrow	31 (0.003)	3 (0.150)	0.0625
The Caged Lion	Yonge, Ch. M.	1870	6	27	lunacy	1 (0.000)	1 (0.167)	0.1667
The Adventures of Harry Richmond	Meredith, G.	1870	21	74	coolness	1 (0.000)	1 (0.048)	0.0476
A Pair of Blue Eyes	Hardy, Th.	1873	6	10	rashness	1 (0.000)	1 (0.167)	0.1667
Far from the Madding Crowd	Hardy, Th.	1874	5	36	allusion	1 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.2000
Daffodil and the Croxaxicans	Webster, A.	1884	2	5	misadventure	1 (0.000)	1 (0.250)	0.2500
Flatland	Abbott, E.A.	1884	1	5	insight	1 (0.000)	1 (1.000)	1
Tarantella	Blind, M.	1885	12	65	despair	11 (0.002)	2 (0.167)	0.0952
Marius the Epicurean	Pater, W.	1885	10	56	furiousness	1 (0.000)	1 (0.100)	0.100
The Autobiography of Christopher Kirkland	Linton, E.L.	1885	9	78	sullenness	1 (0.000)	1 (0.111)	0.1111
She	Haggard, H. R.	1887	7	31	smite	1 (0.000)	1 (0.143)	0.1429
The Autobiography of a Slander	Edna Lyall	1887	1	7	belongings	1 (0.001)	1 (1.000)	1.0000
The Time Machine	Wells, H. G.	1888	1	6	advantage	1 (0.000)	1 (1.000)	1.0000
Sylvie and Bruno	Carroll, L.	1889	1	6	violence	4 (0.000)	1 (1.000)	0.2500
Derrick Vaughan	Edna Lyall	1889	3	9	card	2 (0.001)	1 (0.333)	0.2500
New Grub Street	Gissing, G.	1891	13	35	lukewarmness	1 (0.000)	1 (0.077)	0.0769
The Odd Women	Gissing, G.	1893	12	26	reality	1 (0.000)	1 (0.083)	0.0833
The Prisoner of Zenda	Hope, A.	1894	5	22	demand	1 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.2000
The Lost Stradivarius	Falkner, J. M.	1895	1	6	snow	4 (0.002)	1 (1.000)	0.2500
The Amazing Marriage	Meredith, G.	1895	4	12	injustice	2 (0.000)	1 (0.250)	0.2000
The Christian	Caine, H.	1897	10	29	persecution	1 (0.000)	1 (0.100)	0.1000
The War of the Worlds	Wells, H.G.	1897	2	16	entrance	1 (0.000)	1 (0.500)	0.5000
Moonfleet	Falkner, J. M.	1898	4	19	lass	1 (0.000)	1 (0.250)	0.2500
Rupert of Hentzau	Hope, A.	1898	11	41	favorite	1 (0.000)	1 (0.091)	0.0909
Red Potage	Cholmondeley, M	1899	14	47	impatience	5 (0.001)	2 (0.143)	0.1176
The History of Sir Richard Calmady	Kingsley, M.	1901	38	107	revolt	17 (0.001)	2 (0.053)	0.0377

Red colour for the occurrences of the lemma ≥20
Blue colour for the occurences of the lemma ≥10
Green colour for vast networks with the frequency of the lemma <10 and nodes >40
The Jaccard index of the representative instances (coloured) ranges from 0.0377 to 0.1667

Appendix D

The highest-ranking Jaccard coefficient nouns co-occurring with the lemma *indignation* in the Victorian narrative fiction (1837-1901)

Title	Author	Year	Hits	Nodes	Word POS (N)	Unconditional	Conditional	Jaccard
Venetia	Disraeli, B.	1837	7	44	ridicule	1 (0.000)	1 (0.143)	0.1429
Alice	Bulwer-Lytton, E.	1838	3	6	diviner	2 (0.000)	1 (0.333)	0.2500
Barnaby Rudge	Dickens, Ch.	1839	15	85	tradesman	7 (0.001)	2 (0.133)	0.1000
Windsor Castle	Ainsworth, W.	1843	1	1	look	52 (0.008)	1 (1.000)	0.0192
Vanity Fair	Thackeray, W.	1843	7	40	banishment	1 (0.000)	1 (0.143)	0.1429
Dombey and Son	Dickens, Ch.	1844	15	68	self-abasement	1 (0.000)	1 (0.067)	0.0667
Jane Eyre	Brontë, Ch.	1847	5	23	temperament	1 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.2000
Wuthering Heights	Brontë, E.	1847	5	11	cookery	1 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.2000
Agnes Grey	Brontë, A.	1847	5	47	perusal	1 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.2000
Mary Barton	Gaskell, E.	1848	6	13	counsellor	4 (0.000)	2 (0.333)	0.2500
The Tenant of Wildfell Hall	Brontë, A.	1848	25	120	abhorrence	6 (0.000)	2 (0.080)	0.0690
Olive	Craik, D. M. M.	1850	3	8	expression	18 (0.002)	1 (0.333)	0.0500
Tom Brown's Schooldays	Hughes, Th.	1857	2	8	furniture	3 (0.000)	1 (0.500)	0.2500
The Woman in White	Collins, W.	1859 -60	14	54	banging	1 (0.000)	1 (0.071)	0.0714
The Clever Woman of the Family	Yonge, Ch. M.	1865	13	87	avenue	1 (0.000)	1 (0.077)	0.0769
The Moonstone	Collins, W.	1868	5	9	fatigue	3 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.1429
Lorna Doone, a Romance of Exmoor	Blackmore, R.	1869	17	89	beverage	1 (0.000)	1 (0.059)	0.0588
The Caged Lion	Yonge, Ch. M.	1870	5	31	ordeal	1 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.2000
The Adventures of Harry Richmond	Meredith, G.	1870	5	19	sarcasm	4 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.1250
A Pair of Blue Eyes	Hardy, Th.	1873	5	54	judgement	1 (0.200)	0.2000	0.2000
Far from the Madding Crowd	Hardy, Th.	1874	4	12	denunciation	1 (0.000)	1 (0.250)	0.2500
Daffodil and the Croaxaxicans	Webster, A.	1884	4	28	veracity	1 (0.000)	1 (0.250)	0.2500
We Two	Edna Lyall	1884	38	143	harshness	6 (0.000)	3 (0.091)	0.0833
Tarantella	Blind, M.	1885	2	11	change	17 (0.003)	1 (0.500)	0.0556
The Autobiography of Christopher Kirkland	Linton, E.L.	1885	3	35	signal	1 (0.000)	1 (0.333)	0.3333
She	Haggard, H.R.	1887	1	4	guess	1 (0.000)	1 (1.000)	1.0000
The Autobiography of a Slander	Edna Lyall	1887	3	19	document	1 (0.001)	1 (0.333)	0.3333
Diary of a Nobody	Grossmith, G., Grossmith, W.	1888	1	1	sir	13 (0.003)	1 (1.000)	0.0769
Three Men in a Boat	Jerome, J. K.	1889	3	31	movement	1 (0.000)	1 (0.333)	0.3333
Sylvie and Bruno	Carroll, L.	1889	3	1	burst	5 (0.001)	1 (0.333)	0.1429
Derrick Vaughan, Novelist	Edna Lyall	1889	2	6	profit	2 (0.001)	1 (0.500)	0.3333
New Grub Street	Gissing, G.	1891	5	2	laughter	15 (0.001)	1 (0.200)	0.0526
Catherine Furze	Rutherford, M.	1893	1	2	astonishment	3 (0.000)	1 (1.000)	0.3333
The Odd Women	Gissing, G.	1893	8	19	sketch	1 (0.000)	1 (0.125)	0.1250
Marcella	Ward, M. A. H.	1894	11	54	whit	1 (0.000)	1 (0.091)	0.0909
The Prisoner of Zenda	Hope, A.	1894	1	5	neck	4 (0.001)	1 (1.000)	0.2500
The Amazing Marriage	Meredith, G.	1895	2	28	spitfire	1 (0.000)	1 (0.500)	0.5000
The Christian	Caine, H.	1897	5	13	dishonor	4 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.1250
Moonfleet	Falkner, J. M.	1898	1	6	struggle	6 (0.001)	1 (1.000)	0.1667
Red Potage	Cholmondeley	1898	5	23	frill	1 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.2000
Rupert of Hentzau	Hope, A.	1898	2	2	reproof	2 (0.000)	1 (0.500)	0.3333
The History of Sir Richard Calmady	Kingsley, M.	1901	8	32	cognisance	1 (0.000)	1 (0.125)	0.1250

Red colour for the occurrences of the lemma ≥20
Blue colour for the occurences of the lemma ≥10
Green colour for vast networks with the frequency of the lemma <10 and nodes >40
The Jaccard index of the representative instances (coloured) ranges from 0.0588 to 0.2000

The highest-ranking Jaccard coefficient nouns co-occurring with the lemma *anger*
in the post-Victorian narrative fiction (1901-1920)

Title	Author	Year	Hits	Nodes	Word POS (N)	Unconditional	Conditional	Jaccard
The Grand Babylon Hotel	Bennett, A.	1902	1	2	fellow	21 (0.004)	1 (1.000)	0.0476
Five Children and It	Nesbit, E.	1902	2	14	aid	1 (0.000)	1 (0.500)	0.5000
Way of All Flesh	Butler, S.	1903	2	7	inquisitiveness	1 (0.000)	1 (0.500)	0.5000
The Island Pharisees	Galsworthy, J.	1904	9	23	relief	5 (0.001)	2 (0.222)	0.1667
Gulliver of Mars	Arnold, E. L. L.	1905	6	26	patronage	1 (0.000)	1 (0.167)	0.1667
Where Angels Fear to Tread	Forster, E. M.	1905	3	9	good-will	1 (0.000)	1 (0.333)	0.3333
The Man of Propery	Galsworthy, J.	1906	16	54	bosom	12 (0.002)	2 (0.125)	0.0769
The Old Wives' Tale	Bennett, A.	1908	8	11	evenness	1 (0.000)	1 (0.125)	0.1250
A Room with a View	Forster, E. M.	1908	4	4	frown	1 (0.000)	1 (0.250)	0.2500
They and I	Jerome, J. K.	1909	1	4	pleasure	8 (0.001)	1 (1.000)	0.1250
The Brown Mask	Brebner, P. J.	1910	6	17	swordsman	1 (0.000)	1 (0.167)	0.1667
Howards End	Forster, E. M.	1910	14	32	telegram	16 (0.002)	5 (0.357)	0.2000
The Wisdom of Father Brown	Chesterton, G. K.	1914	7	35	advance	1 (0.000)	1 (0.143)	0.1429
The Extra Day	Blackwood, A.	1915	1	11	evasion	1 (0.000)	1 (1.000)	1.0000
The Happy Foreigner	Bagnold, Enid Algerine	1920	2	4	gear	1 (0.000)	1 (0.500)	0.5000

Red colour for the occurrences of the lemma ≥20
Blue colour for the occurences of the lemma ≥10
Green colour for vast networks with the frequency of the lemma <10 and nodes >40
The Jaccard index of the representative instances (coloured) range from 0.0769 to 0.2000

Appendix F

The highest-ranking Jaccard coefficient nouns co-occurring with the lemma ***indignation*** in the post-Victorian narrative fiction (1901-1920)

Title	Author	Year	Hits	Nodes	Word POS (N)	Unconditional	Conditional	Jaccard
The Grand Babylon Hotel	Bennett, A.	1902	1	7	concoction	1 (0.000)	1 (1.000)	1.0000
Way of All Flesh	Butler, S.	1903	5	20	jacket	1 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.2000
Where Angels Fear to Tread	Forster, E. M.	1905	7	26	acuteness	1 (0.000)	1 (0.143)	0.1429
The Man of Propery	Galsworthy, J.	1906	1	2	horror	5 (0.001)	1 (1.000)	0.2000
The Old Wives' Tale	Bennett, A.	1908	5	10	universality	1 (0.000)	1 (0.200)	0.2000
A Room with a View	Forster, E. M.	1908	2	4	tear	6 (0.001)	1 (0.500)	0.1429
They and I	Jerome, J. K.	1909	3	19	odds	1 (0.000)	1 (0.333)	0.3333
Howards End	Forster, E. M.	1910	3	3	cow	7 (0.001)	1 (0.333)	0.1111
The Wisdom of Father Brown	Chesterton, G. K.	1914	1	8	idler	1 (0.000)	1 (1.000)	1.0000

Red colour for the occurrences of the lemma ≥20
Blue colour for the occurences of the lemma ≥10
Green colour for vast networks with the frequency of the lemma <10 and nodes >40
The range of the representative instances (coloured) cannot be defined

LEGE ARTIS
Language yesterday, today, tomorrow
Vol. IV. No 2 2019

URBAN TOPONYMY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY:
A CASE OF LAW-ENFORCED DECOMMUNIZATION
OF STREET NAMES IN POLAND

Mariusz Rutkowski

University of Warmia and Mazury, Olsztyn, Poland

Abstract: In April 2016, the Polish Parliament passed a law on decommunization. Its objective was to eliminate from Polish public space the names commemorating communism. The paper discusses the names, which were earmarked for change and presents means of implementing these changes. The study is grounded in the methodology of critical toponymy and onomastic discourse analysis. It reveals interconnections between names and politics, authority, discourse and collective memory.

Keywords: urban toponymy; critical toponymy; onomastic discourse analysis; street names; name changing; naming policy; urban discourse; collective memory.

1. Introduction

The original dimension of the scientific descriptions of space has already been changed, especially when it comes to social as well as human sciences. Space, understood as the environment of specific human actions, turns into a "place": a space, which has been culturally and socially tamed and cultivated (Tuan 1977). What turns this physical yet unspecified space into a place are linguistic elements such as proper names. The process of naming is recognized as a typical social action whose aim is to perpetuate the desired ideologies. Geographical names (toponomy) apart from organizing space when it comes

to the indicative dimension (Rutkowski 2000; Zilliacus 1997), also influence the symbolic as well as the discursive dimensions.

The contemporary toponymic research does not ignore this particular fact. The study is not confined to the linguistic dimension whose purpose is to define the origin as well as the etymology of the given names together with their semantic motivation. The contemporary toponymic research considers the previously mentioned names as signs of social action with the ascribed functions, going beyond the process of denoting objects (Gammeltoft 2016; Kostanski & Puzey 2016; Zelinsky 1997). Exposing the hidden connections between the names understood as linguistic signs and their social dimension, namely the discursive actions, seems to be interesting. Names are believed to be elements of symbolic action – such as any other linguistic elements. Apart from becoming a communication tool (in this context, of orientation in space), they also become an instrument of symbolic power (Jordan 2012).

Proper names are regarded as preferred values carriers, especially within a particular community, and these values have an impact on both social identity as well as social memory (Connerton 1989; Erofeeva & Ushnikova 2017). Naming practices, particularly those determining the official terminology-connected sphere, play a fundamental role in the process of shaping collective memory. The community establishes as well as exhibits the pillars of its identity through the practice of commemorating particular people, events, institutions, and other objects.

Politicians, whether intentionally or not, name objects in space according to their values, worldviews, philosophy, and the way they present history. The most visible example of such practices, which could be interpreted as symbolic reinforcement of power by using names, is giving names to regions, towns, streets, squares, and buildings (Madlome 2019). It bears resemblance to the physical marking of space (by erecting monumental buildings

or statues); however, it takes place on the symbolic plane. Many examples from the past and present times illustrate this, starting with Antiquity (*Caesarea*, *Alexandria*, *Constantinople*), to the communist regimes in the USSR (*Stalingrad*, *Kaliningrad*, *Leningrad*), and in Vietnam (*Saigon* renamed *Ho Chi Minh City*). As researchers point out, a change of a geographical name is in itself politically attractive: "Political leaders and public officials are increasingly willing to view toponyms strictly in terms of their exchange value rather than the use value they acquire as an integral part of the public sphere" (Rose-Redwood & Alderman 2011: 3).

A change in power, especially a major one, yielding a change in a political system, "naturally", so to say, invites name changes (Alford 1988). This is what happened in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc, where, after WWII, communism was enforced. The new order of values, worldviews, and beliefs, which was to be officially implemented, needed reinforcement and perpetuation. Proper names served the purpose ideally, because they created the world of alternative values, symbols, and heroes. Introducing new names, the communist regime could identify those who were important and meritorious enough to become a name donor for a city, street, or any other space object. Consequently, public space in the Eastern Bloc was filled with names of the Communist Party leaders, communist politicians and activists, army or its formations (divisions, regiments, etc.), military commanders, social actions, and initiatives as well as general names of values represented in the Communist Party propaganda in all these countries (Azaryahu 1996; Light et al. 2002).

After 1945, Poland found itself within the Soviet sphere of influence. Political power was seized by communist activists, fully subservient to Soviet Russia (Davies 2005; Kemp-Welch 2008). Not only was the political system changed, but also the name of the state: the historical name *Rzeczpospolita Polska* ('the Republic of Poland') was replaced by *Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa* ('the Polish People's Republic'). Street names were

changed in all the cities and these had to be names propagating and reinforcing (symbolically) the communist power. Consequently, for over half a century, Poles had lived in the space with the most important sites bearing names with a strong propagandist load. The most frequent street names in Poland in the years 1945-1989 commemorated the following: *Feliks Dzierżyński*, *Bolesław Bierut*, *Generał Karol Świerczewski*, *Julian Marchlewski*, *Armia Czerwona* ('the Red Army'), *Marceli Nowotko*, *Hanka Sawicka*, *Marian Buczek*, *Obrońcy/Bohaterowie Stalingradu* ('Defenders/Heroes of Stalingrad') and *22 Lipca* ('July 22', the date of the proclamation of the Soviet-backed communist administration), *1 Maja* ('May 1', International Workers' Day, redefined as communist workers' holiday). Poles, physically and symbolically, were surrounded by the communist ideology.

Beginning with the year 1989, in Poland, and later throughout Eastern Europe, the communist regime was replaced by democracy. The changes in the political system created an opportunity for changing names. The newly elected authorities, in a bottom-up and spontaneous fashion, initiated the process of renaming streets, thus creating a new symbolic space and reestablishing the presence of individuals and events erased from the collective memory by the communist authorities. The personalities most obviously associated with the communist system were quickly forgotten and replaced by new heroes: both historical, such as Józef Piłsudski (considered to be the father of the independent Polish Republic re-established in 1918, whose name was removed by the communists), as well as more recent, such as Pope John Paul II, iers of the Polish Resistance*, victims* of *Stalinist and communist* repressions, and opposition activists (in the years 1945-1989). The urban space (in its toponymic dimension) was being gradually "regained" and organized according to the new principles and values, including the earlier, pre-communist, values. This process took place in all the countries of the former Eastern Bloc (see Azaryahu 1997; Czepczyński 2009; Light 2004; Light & Young 2010; Palonen 2008; Peterson 1977). The "purging" of names in the 1990s restored the balance and created a

system (both symbolic and axiological), with which the majority of the population could identify[1]. According to Hałas (2004: 149):

"this is symbolically the end of the history. In the pool of names introduced in the post-communist times and in all the renaming practices, one cannot see any indicators of consistent ideologization of names. In name-giving practices, one can see liberal trends of abandoning ideological associations and symbolism pertaining to collective identity defined by historical memory".

As we are going to see, such assessments were premature and overoptimistic. New political changes in Poland brought back ideology-driven name-giving practices. Hunting down the remaining communist symbols were to develop into a systemic and countrywide trend and finally eliminate these symbols from urban space.

2. Objective, method, and material

The principal **objective** of this article is to present the process of changing Polish public space place names (mainly, street names), which has been enforced by the authorities focused on adjusting the symbolic space to both the historical as well as the ideological policies supported by the government. The basic **methods** of this particular description will determine critical toponymy (Beyer et al. 2019; Puzey 2016; Rose-Redwood & Alderman 2011; Vuolteenaho & Berg 2009). The most important assumptions of this particular method pertain to interconnections between geographical names and issues such as power, politics, domination as well as social identity and collective memory. In fact, the contemporary toponymic research cannot be separated from the social and political as well as the economic factors (Light & Young 2015).

In addition, the research in the field of critical toponymy is targeted at showing the political practices, which concern the process of managing space in the authoritarian way together with acts of domination. Power manifests itself at the symbolic level through the process of naming space (Madlome 2019). The space having its particular name becomes

the environment for social activity. Moreover, the names themselves update the ascribed value system if used on a regular basis. In addition, collective memory undergoes a similar procedure.

Proper names discussed here in the social context take us to another mainstream methodology: **critical discourse analysis** (CDA), different variants of which were presented by van Dijk (2005, Fairclough (1992; 2003), and Wodak (1996). This methodology assumes that language communication (discourse) is grounded in social, political, and ideological practices (frequently implicit). Hence, social practice can be revealed through a variety of language analyses. In this approach, discourse is not an isolated text structure but a complex phenomenon of communication, and the cultural and ideological determinants it encompasses are usually expressed only indirectly. This ideological message can be revealed through different levels of analysis: lexico-semantic, grammatical (syntactic), textual, and, as in the case of this analysis, onomastic. The objective of such an application of CDA is discovering interdependencies (usually indirect and implicit) between textual and discourse structures on the one hand, and social, political and ideological on the other. As it turns out, proper names can also serve as a tool in social practices.

I suggest looking on proper names not only as linguistic signs but also as social constructs, often highly ideologically marked, entering numerous textual and discourse relationships. Such names, street names inclusive, build both formal and denotative/connotative or metaphoric/metonymic series, and in many cases play a key role in the (re)construction of social reality. When critical discourse analysis becomes narrowed down to the level of names, a specific sub-methodology emerges, i.e. **onomastic discourse analysis**. Its theoretical assumptions are discussed by Rutkowski and Skowronek (2010; forthcoming). Social practices through the use of proper names are omnipresent. They are well visible in marketing and branding, political communication, as well as in naming space, which is

demonstrated in this paper. Social reality, which surfaces in street names, constitutes an important dimension of public discourse, in which there is a conflict between the tendencies to change and to preserve the former system, between the tendencies to an instrumental treatment of space and to its "liberation", between the central and the local. The discourse, when construed in such a way, feeds directly into collective memory, because street names, by their very nature, represent the aspects which are most important for a given community, and which shape this community in terms of axiology and identity. This paper demonstrates how political power aims at taking ownership of the local space and imposing a prescribed system of values, and how it is achieved through substitution of names.

The analysis of the above-mentioned process will be done in accordance with the social symbolic activity (the discourse). The dynamics of the social process understood as a conflict between the imposed changes in the form of a political directive (an act of parliament), on the one hand, and the social feedback ("inhibiting" the changes), on the other, will be presented (Panasenko et al. 2018). Street names, considered as socially important elements, allow for combining the toponymic research or, more broadly speaking, the linguistic research with the social and cultural geography understood on the basis of the contemporary standards. This particular dimension related to urban space has been well documented recently in various studies (Hoelscher & Alderman 2004; Madden 2018; Rose-Redwood et al. 2019; Wanjiru 2016).

The above-mentioned **methodological perspectives** appear to be compatible with the framework of critical toponymy defined as the unifying method, which integrates interdisciplinary perspectives on geographical names.

In this article, street names will be discussed. The city is considered to be a significant semiotic space related to symbolism ("city-text") and all the social practices are treated as

elements of urban discourse (Boyle & Rogerson 2001; Lees 2004; Parker 2000). Proper names and toponyms understood as linguistic signs in particular, constitute its important layer. The necessity of providing such methodological assumptions is supported by the previous studies related to street names in terms of discourse as well as ideology (Boyle & Rogerson 2001; Lees 2004; Rutkowski 2017). The research has shown the influence of political and ideological factors on the process of changing the urban nomenclature worldwide, especially in post-colonial, post-socialist, and post-Apartheid areas. Based upon these assumptions, the processes of changing street names in Bucharest (Light et al. 2002), Mostar (Palmberger 2017), Berlin (Azaryahu 1997), New York (Rose-Redwood 2008), Nairobi (Wanjiru 2016), Durban (Bass & Houghton 2018), and Cracow (Drozdzewski 2017) were described. On the one hand, all the research conducted puts emphasis on the importance of particular street names for certain local communities due to the fact that the process of naming organizes local space. On the other hand, the findings highlight the importance of the political aspect related to identity as well as collective memory. This particular article approaches the problem of the above-mentioned discrepancies. The linguistic content is represented by a set of street names, which have been intended for replacement on the basis of the decommunization act.

The key issue is connected with the concepts of denotation as well as connotation of proper names (Rutkowski 2012). Commemorating street names (only these will be discussed below) are exceptional in this respect. They refer to specific designations which can be found in the city space (communication strings), in the meantime owing their connotations to other proper names whose designations should be commemorated. The first – denotative – layer (*name – street*) will not be taken into account in this article. However, the second – commemorating – dimension will be taken into consideration due to the fact that it promotes certain attitudes as well as ideologies. The connotations related to the commemorated person (less frequently, institutions or events) determine the propaganda aspect of the whole name. Therefore, the Polish authorities intend to eliminate

the names whose connotative values are somehow connected with the communist ideology. The problems with whether a given name relates to communism connotatively or not will be discussed further in the article.

This paper presents both the names earmarked for change and the justification for such change. The IPN (Institute of National Remembrance, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej), a special institute established to preserve historical memory, indicated 943 streets across Poland, the names of which should be changed under the 2016 act. On its website, the IPN lists 101 examples of names that violate the act and adds historical comments explaining why a given name is considered unacceptable[2]. The paper further discusses examples of names earmarked for change and the ways local authorities implemented the new legal acts.

The name-changing practices had to involve the verification of the compliance of existing names with the general guidelines of the act. In other words, when actually applied to specific names, the vague and wide-encompassing statement that any propagation of communism by commemorating individuals, dates, or events associated with this system is prohibited had to be verified. Consequently, local authorities were forced to decide whether a given honoree promotes the communist system or not. In some cases, the matter was obvious because of the actions or achievements of specific individuals. However, it was more complicated if, for instance, the names commemorated general values, which, in themselves, are not associated with communism. The association is created by a conventional link to historical events connected with the implementation of communism in Poland. The street or square name *Zwycięstwa* ('Victory') serves a good example. In many cities, it was the name given to the main street and the renaming of the latter raised questions: is victory exclusively associated with the communist system or is its scope wider, encompassing universal values as well? Even if this name, introduced after 1945, was automatically linked to defeating Nazi Germany in WWII, and even if it was the

original justification, is not victory (in opposition to defeat, failure, or loss) a general value worth preservation in urban toponymy? Such doubts accompanied the process of name changing across Poland.

The presentation of the names to be replaced will be supplemented by the new names, "correct" in the IPN's opinion. Thanks to naming space engineering, there appeared (by the authorities' decision) a new inventory of individuals, dates, and events, which are to symbolize new, desirable social values and attitudes. Such actions triggered violent responses in many Polish cities. The violence was grounded not only in malice or general resistance to the values enforced, but also in pragmatism, sentimentality about the old names, and unwillingness to change them.

The process of renaming streets is illustrated by examples coming from many Polish cities. The focus is on the process of change itself and its specific realizations instead of on the systemic changes in the selected cities. The most typical ways of renaming streets are listed and some of them discussed in detail. The data come from an inventory of street names available at the website of the Polish Central Statistical Office.

The changes of street names presented in this paper offer an insight into the nature of social and local conceptualization of urban space. My objective is to focus on the process of implementing changes, especially, on the differences in how the city space is perceived by representatives of central authorities (the Parliamentary act is the legal basis of the discussed processes), local authorities, and ordinary residents. The city space becomes thus a symbolic site where a number of perspectives clash: historical policy and ideology, collective memory, local identity as well as orientation and spatial location (Hebbert 2005; Hoelscher & Alderman 2004; Norton 2000; Rose-Redwood et al. 2010). These incompatible points of view and different categorizations of space resulted in a conflict that surfaced in many Polish cities as resistance to the top-down instructions to introduce

order, which in practice meant destruction of the old and familiar system of symbols and implementing the new and unfamiliar ones. This is why we focus on the social actions, which reflect this conflict. They prompt several questions. Who does cultural urban space belong to? Who can decide on the symbolic dimension of a city? To what degree should politicians and local authorities take "the voice of the people" into consideration, and to what degree can they implement the process, justified from their point of view, of removing the traces of the now-defunct communist system? In the light of these questions, urban toponymy appears to be a special bearer of memory and local identity as well as a socially significant form of commemoration and celebration of what (and who) is important (Hebbert 2005). A street name is, in this context, one of the more prominent ways of commemoration in space.

3. Results

In 2015, as a result of parliamentary elections, the power in Poland was seized by the party Prawo i Sprawiedliwość ('Law and Justice'; the abbreviation PiS is used hereafter) with Jarosław Kaczyński as its leader. As a rightwing and conservative party, which has built its political status by fusing nationalist and Christian traditions with social interventionism, the PiS openly declares its anticommunism. Among many other activities, such as establishing state institutions, aimed at creating new collective identity and historical memory, the PiS passed a special Act of Parliament prohibiting propagation of communism or any other totalitarian system by naming buildings or any public facilities (Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland. 1.04.16, item 744).

The act was passed by the Parliament of Poland on April 1, 2016. It reads that "names of buildings, any public facilities such as roads, streets, bridges, or squares, given by local government units cannot commemorate individuals, organizations, events, or dates making reference to communism or any other totalitarian system, or in any other way to propagate such a system"[3]. Under this act, local authorities are put in charge of renaming

these public space objects, which glorify communism. If local authorities refrain from implementing the changes within twelve months, the names are to be changed within following three months by the province governor, who supervises local authorities and represents the state government. Such a "violent" legal solution created a situation, in which the central authorities have a tool to enforce the replacement of "unsuitable" names. The act did not clearly define, which names were "correct" and which were "incorrect" or "unacceptable". It only generally stipulated that names propagating communism are those, which "make reference to individuals, organizations, events, or dates standing for the repressive, authoritarian and subservient system of power in Poland, in the years 1944–1989". In case of doubts as to the connotations of a given name, a local authority should consult the IPN.

3.1 Communism: Who and what is connoted? Name categories to be changed

As mentioned above, the IPN earmarked 943 streets across Poland for renaming. Prior to the act of April 1, 2016, these streets bore different names. An exemplary list of over a hundred names was presented by the IPN on its website[4]. These names can be grouped into the following categories:

      a. personal names;

      b. names of military formations;

      c. names of institutions and initiatives;

      d. dates and anniversaries;

      e. names of values, attitudes, and models of behaviour.

In what follows, these categories are discussed in detail and supported with examples coming from all over Poland.

3.1.1 Personal names

Naming streets after individuals is the most widespread model of the street-naming practice in Poland. Streets named in this fashion perform a commemorative function and

constitute linguistic monuments of individuals deserving special commemoration. Naming a street using an individual's first name and surname is one of the highest forms of glorifying him/her in Polish culture (Rutkowski 2016a).

Consequently, in the above-mentioned IPN list, the personal names constitute the largest group of the names to be changed. However, the strength of association between the name "donor" and the communist system varies. Some individuals are directly and without any doubt linked to communism. These include the Communist Party activists, ideologists, and members of the government and state administration: Edward Gierek, Władysław Gomułka, Władysław Hibner, Jan Krasicki, Julian Marchlewski, Karl Marx (Karol Marks in Polish), Marceli Nowotko, Hanka Sawicka. Furthermore, there are the military leaders who participated in implementing communism, such as Zygmunt Berling, Captain Diaczenko, Michał Rola-Żymierski. It has to be stressed that in this group of names we can find some characters artificially manufactured by communist propaganda. For example, Franciszek Zubrzycki aka "Mały Franek" ('Little Frank') was a member of the Polish Workers' Party and a leader of its underground military organization People's Guard during WWII. By the post-war communist propaganda, he was presented as the first leader of a partisan detachment and the myth was reinforced by naming streets after him.

The IPN, however, equally resolved to rename the streets associated with individuals whose link with communism was less direct and obvious. They were neither party activists nor politicians nor soldiers, but they were either people whose work or activities were used by communist propaganda or those whose achievements have become associated in the common awareness with the times of communism in Poland. One of such individuals was Wincenty Pstrowski, a miner, who, due to his productivity at work, became a paragon of a model worker or "shock worker" (someone who is especially productive and thus contributes to the strengthening of the communist state more than others). Another shock

worker was Stanisław Sołdek. He was a Gdansk shipyard worker as well as the co-initiator and winner of a propagandist productivity competition in the shipbuilding industry. *Sołdek Street* was also to be renamed. Yet another example is Leon Kruczkowski, a Polish writer, an author of a number of books and dramas, and it is as a writer that he is remembered by the general public. The IPN in its justification for removing his name from the public space emphasizes that Kruczkowski was a Communist Party member, president of the communist Union of Polish Writers, and lists his positions in the political system of the Polish Peoples' Republic. However, because he was seen as a prominent figure in Polish culture apart from being a Party activist or a communist, inhabitants of some Polish cities protested against erasing his name.

3.1.2 Names of military formations

The IPN's list of the toponyms to be altered includes names of the armies and formations, which could be treated as symbols of enforcing the communist system. A "special role" has been assigned to the Red Army, that is the Soviet Army, which, as a result of warfare against Nazi Germany, entered occupied Poland in 1945. In the post-war Polish propaganda, this entering of the Soviet Army was depicted as "liberation" of Poland from the German occupation. The competing, right-wing account (associated with the PiS, among others) interprets these actions not as liberation but as a new occupation of Poland, this time by Soviet Russia. Following this approach, the true liberation took place only in 1989, with the first democratic elections. In its justification, the IPN writes that when the Red Army entered Poland, "a new era of Polish nation martyrdom had begun", and that the presence of Soviet troops "abounded in acts of violence and violation of law, affecting Polish citizens as well, with Polish lands ransacked and destroyed"[5]. There was a great number of streets named after the Red Army: before 1989, there were over 70 such streets. Even after the renaming in the 1990s, there were still about a dozen left and earmarked for change by the act of 2016.

In 1945, the Polish troops formed in the Soviet Union and totally subordinated to Soviet commanders entered Poland, hand in hand with the Red Army. Both the name of the troops as a whole, *Ludowe Wojsko Polskie* ('the Polish People's Army'), and its abbreviation, *LWP*, as well as names of particular formations, were earmarked for change. They include, for example, the street names after the Polish 1st Tadeusz Kościuszko Infantry Division: *1. Dywizji Piechoty (im. Tadeusza Kościuszki)* and its variants: *I DP (im. T. Kościuszki)* and *Dywizji Kościuszkowskiej*. Other names from this group include, for instance, *1 Armii WP* ('1st Army'), *2 Armii WP* ('2nd Army'), *1 Korpusu Pancernego* ('1st Armoured Corps'), and *1 Batalionu Platerówek* ('1st Emilia Plater Independent Women's Battalion').

Streets commemorating Polish underground formations of socialist and communist background were to be renamed, too. Two such toponyms were identified: *Gwardii Ludowej* ('People's Guard') and *Armii Ludowej* ('People's Army or Peasants' Army').

The instruction to change names of the indicated army formations has a stipulation, though. It seems that the IPN was aware that the ban to commemorate Polish soldiers fighting in WWII was controversial. Thus, a subtle distinction was made between an army formation and common soldiers. Thus, we find explanations on the IPN website that one must distinguish the "communist nature" of the army formations, which were created by the Soviet system with the objective to implement communism in Poland, from the fate of "common soldiers" who, according to IPN representatives, deserve honouring and commemoration. That is why there was a suggestion that if local authorities wanted to commemorate "common soldiers", they could modify existing names by adding the word *żołnierze* ('soldiers'), for example, changing the name *ul. 1 Dywizji Piechoty* ('1st Infantry Division Str.') to *ul. Żołnierzy 1 Dywizji Piechoty* ('Soldiers of the 1st Infantry Division Str.'). The word *soldiers* was supposed to direct the interpretation of the street name from a formation linked with the communist system to the fate of common people. In some

cases, local authorities actually followed this suggestion, which is discussed later on in this paper.

3.1.3 Names of institutions and initiatives

In the Polish Peoples' Republic, street names also commemorated the public institutions whose objective was to introduce and reinforce the communist system. Such names include *ul. Krajowej Rady Narodowej* ('State National Council Str.'; a political authority, which established the legal foundations of the communist system in Poland), *ul. Polskiego Komitetu Wyzwolenia Narodowego* ('Polish Committee of National Liberation Str.'; an executive governing authority established by J. Stalin), *ul. Polskiej Partii Robotniczej* ('Polish Workers' Party Str.'), *ul. Planu 6-letniego* ('Six-Year Plan Str.'; a centralized plan adopted by the communist government in the years 1950-1955 aimed at industrialization and development of socialism), *ul. Związku Młodzieży Polskiej* ('Union of Polish Youth Str.', abbr. ZMP; a Stalinist youth organization, subordinated to the Communist party), *ul. Walki Młodych* ('Youth Struggle Str.', a title of a magazine published by Polish communists in the years 1943–1990).

3.1.4 Dates and anniversaries

There is a tradition in Poland of naming streets after dates of historic events. In the times of the Polish People's Republic, there were a number of dates incorporated in toponyms across the country and related to the events pivotal to communist mythology and view of history. These were: July 22 (the date when, according to the communist propaganda, the Polish Committee of National Liberation was established; a state holiday known as National Independence Day) and May 9 (Victory Day in the USSR and other communist countries, unlike May 8, celebrated in Western Europe and marking the surrender of Nazis).

Finding a justification for renaming streets named after May 1 and commemorating the international Workers' Day, or Labour Day, was more problematic. On the one hand, it used to be one of the most important state holidays in the socialist countries, with compulsory parades expressing support for the communist system. On the other hand, abolishing the widely acceptable workers' day would be questionable. That is why the name *1 Maja* ('May 1') is not in the INP list of the names to be changed. However, the May Day holiday was counterbalanced by the newly established May 3 holiday, which commemorates the first Polish Constitution of 1791 and a Catholic holiday related to the worship of Mary. Consequently, in many Polish cities, streets named *3 Maja* ('May 3 Str.') appeared next to streets named *1 Maja* ('May 1 Str.').

Similarly, the IPN resolved to change the names pertaining to the anniversaries of establishing the Polish People's Republic, such as *X-lecia PRL* or *X-lecia Polski Ludowej* ('10th anniversary of Polish People's Republic'). The structure *...-lecia PRL* itself, referring to any anniversary in the Polish People's Republic, was also to be removed.

On the local level, apart from the dates mentioned above, there were several street names commemorating the dates when the Soviet Army entered different Polish cities. These dates, obviously non-identical for different cities, were described in the communist propaganda as the dates of liberation. Removing these names, however, often caused grassroots opposition, mainly because for the inhabitants of these cities such dates really stood for the liberation from the German occupation, and not for an introduction of new, communist terror brought by the Red Army or the Polish People's Army. I will return to this topic later in the paper.

3.1.5 Names of values, attitudes, and models of behaviour
The Polish People's Republic's propaganda used street names to perpetuate some values and models of behaviour. Such names could express these values and models directly or

metonymically, i.e. by reference to collective paragons (Light et al. 2002). The latter was a common way to glorify the desirable models of behaviour. Such names include: *Przodowników Pracy* ('Shock Workers' Str.'; commemorating socialist work competition and especially productive workers, who were used as a symbol of socialist reforms in economy, cf. W. Pstrowski and S. Sołdek discussed in section 3.1.1), *Pionierów* ('Young Pioneers' Str.'; a youth organization of the Soviet Union), *Obrońców Pokoju* ('Defenders of Peace Str.') or *Spółdzielczości Pracy* ('Cooperatives' Str.'). Values that ranked highly in the communist propaganda were also used directly as street names, for example: *ul. Pokoju* ('Peace Str.'; in the communist propaganda, the Soviet Bloc was depicted as the defender of world peace while Western countries, especially the USA, were presented as those seeking war and military confrontation), *ul. Pracy* ('Work Str.'), *ul. Wyzwolenia* ('Liberation Str.'), *ul. Zwycięstwa* ('Victory Str.').

3.2 Introducing new names

The act of April 1, 2016 gave local authorities twelve months to replace unsuitable names. Once the renaming date had expired, the names not changed by local authorities were to be changed by local representatives of the state government. The vast majority of street names, which could be interpreted as propagating the communist regime, were changed at the local level. In some cases, however, local authorities either could not decide on the new name or did not consider the names earmarked for change as indeed propagating communism. In such cases, the representatives of the state government imposed new names, which occasionally resulted in appeals to courts. Consequently, in some cases, courts decided whether a street name should be changed or not.

Although the details of the implementation of the new law were not identical in different cities, often reflecting local traditions and mentality, it is possible to single out several patterns in the actions of municipal officials. While the new law intended to promote renaming, municipal officials and inhabitants alike tried to minimize the scope of the

imposed changes. This was because they did not look on the street names as symbols, but took a pragmatic perspective of a "common citizen": street names provide for the "intersection of hegemonic ideological structures with the spatial practices of everyday life" (Azaryahu 1996: 311). From this standpoint, renaming meant not only a mental change and the need to get accustomed to a new name, but made it necessary to change one's residential address and all the relevant documents. For city councils and municipal institutions, it also involved the necessity to change all the street nameplates bearing the old name, replacing signboards, if necessary, and updating addresses wherever they were stored. All this meant real economic costs. Additionally, there was also natural conservatism or even *retrotopia* (cf. Bauman 2017), a tendency to preserve the old world or the world, as we know it. All this resulted in social resistance to the enforced decommunization of the public space.

3.3 How to modify a name and yet to keep it intact? New justifications for street names
One can venture an opinion that the act of April 1, 2016 encountered the resistance coming from both city dwellers and officials representing them. In the first place, people were used to toponyms naming their city space. Secondly, renaming streets was also a challenge for post offices, delivery agencies, and mapmakers who needed rapid updates. Considering the above, attempts to resist renaming and preserve the former names were very frequent. One of the strategies was to "purify" the toponym of its communist connotations through giving it a new justification. For example, if a street was named after an individual or concept associated with communism and originally the name was intended to glorify the communist system and ideology, a change of justification would break the link between the name and communism. Such superficial renaming can be theoretically classified as a change in a name's denotation: the former denotation was "removed" and replaced by a new one, while the name form was kept intact.

This strategy was frequently applied to streets named after significant dates. For instance, the name *ul. 22 Marca* ('March 22 Str.') was left intact in Gdynia and Sopot but the justification was changed: up to that point it had celebrated the entry of the Soviet Army and the liberation of the city from the German occupation; conversely, the new denotation commemorated the Day of Polish-Hungarian Friendship established by President Lech Kaczyński. In Sosnowiec, the toponym *ul. 27 Stycznia* ('January 27 Str.') was retained with a modified justification: now the name refers to the liberation of the city from the Nazis instead of the previous reference to the entry of the Red Army. Analogically, in Tarnowo Podgórne, *ul. 25 Stycznia* ('January 25 Str.') does not commemorate the "liberation" but the end of WWII. The local authorities argued that "for the local community, the date January 25 does not symbolize the communist system but the end of the war, as does May 8 for the rest of Europe. This is when the German occupants stopped killing Tarnowo Podgórne's inhabitants"[6]. Such interpretation was approved by the IPN. In Poznan, changing the name *ul. 23 Lutego* ('February 23 Str.') developed into a conflict between the local and state authorities. February 23, 1945 is the date of the surrender of the last point of Nazi resistance in the city. The city council initially did not change this name arguing that it does not propagate communism but commemorates the end of the German occupation in Poznan. The local representative of the state authorities, however, changed the name because, according to him, it did glorify communism and the Red Army (which was engaged in the fights with Germans in Poznan). The city council appealed to the provincial court, which set the judgement aside. The courts of higher instances have upheld the city council's decision. Consequently, the street bears the name after February 23 and, following the court's interpretation, it propagates not communism but the end of the war in Poznan.

In many cities of Lower Silesia (e.g., Głogów, Karpacz), *Ulica Obrońców Pokoju* ('Defenders of Peace Str.') was interpreted as propagating communism because it commemorated the World Congress of Intellectuals in Defence of Peace held in 1948 in

Wroclaw. This event, organized by Soviet and Polish communists and directed against the "American imperialism", falsely dignified the Soviet Union and other communist countries as supporters of peace. The IPN itself points out that the name does not have to be changed if the local authorities approve of a new justification for this name: "The justification of a new name should indicate real defenders of real peace after whom the street will be named. The new justification can, for example, make reference to the efforts of the Polish government to maintain peace in 1939"[7]. Local councils followed this suggestion and thus, in Głogów, the justification reads: "the street name Defenders of Peace commemorates all those who have fought for peace, in the past and today"[8], which means that it does not propagate communism but makes reference to universal human values.

The name *Ulica Pionierów* ('Pioneers' Str.') was subject to analogical reinterpretations in a number of Polish cities. The IPN included it in the list of the names to be changed on grounds of the available dictionary definitions of the word *pioneer*. The latter has three meanings in Polish dictionaries: i) a person or group that originates or helps open up a new line of thought or activity or a new method or technical development; ii) one of the first to settle in a territory; iii) a member of the Young Pioneers organization in the USSR[9]. The IPN's explanation makes it clear that the street name should be changed only if it pertains to the third sense, because in that case it propagates communism. Many local authorities adopted street name justifications based on the first or second dictionary meaning (e.g., Gdynia, Wrocław, Koszalin, Gliwice, Orneta, Mielno).

Even popular street names such as *Wyzwolenia* ('Liberation Str.'), *Przyjaźni* ('Friendship Str.'), *Wolności* ('Freedom Str.'), or *Zwycięstwa* ('Victory Str.') caused interpretative problems. On the level of language, these names make reference to general values or events with clearly positive associations. They were, however, abused by the communist propaganda; consequently, their usage was narrowed down. Thus, victory meant the Red

Army's victory over Nazi Germany in 1945, liberation equaled the entry of the Soviet Army into Poland, and friendship was limited to the "eternal" Polish-Soviet friendship. If local authorities wanted to keep such names unchanged, they were forced to adopt new justifications, which would clearly indicate a different denotation of these words. In Białystok, for example, the name *ul. Zwycięstwa* ('Victory Str.') no longer refers to the victory of the Soviet Union and the Allies over Nazis in 1945, but to the victory of the Polish forces over the Soviet Union in 1920. Therefore, the same name has acquired the opposite axiological effect: instead of glorifying the victory of the Soviet Union, it commemorates its defeat.

The street name *ul. Anieli Krzywoń* ('Aniela Krzywoń Str.') provides an interesting case. Aniela Krzywoń was a Polish soldier, a private in the Emilia Plater Independent Women's Battalion of the Polish Army, which, during the WWII, fought together with the Soviet Army. She died in the Battle of Lenino while rescuing injured soldiers from a burning truck. She was awarded the USSR's highest honour for bravery, the title *Hero of the Soviet Union*, as the only Pole and the only woman who was not a Soviet citizen. Many streets, schools, and organizations were named after her across Poland. In the context of decommunization, a question appears: is she commemorated as a soldier of the army, which introduced communism in Poland, and the Hero of the Soviet Union, or a heroic soldier ready to sacrifice her life to save others? The city councils differed in their answers to this question. In Opole, the street was renamed to commemorate Inka, a heroine of Polish anti-Soviet underground movement, the legacy of which the PiS readily claims to carry on. In other cities, as for example, in Białystok, the name remained unchanged but a new justification was added to emphasize that it commemorates a Polish soldier and a prisoner in Siberia, not a Hero of the Soviet Union.

As can be seen from the examples discussed above, denotation and connotation, which are the two levels at which proper names can function, come into conflict. The new

justifications of the names are in fact their new denotations, as the new objects are named by the same language structure (an analogous situation is presented in the next section). However, the cases in which a name connotes communism are more interesting from a linguistic point of view. For example, even common words such as "victory", "friendship", or "liberation" have been assigned a connotative load because, as a result of many decades of their propagandist use as proper names, they turned to be directly associated with the Soviet Army and the enforced Polish-Soviet alliance. Their meaning has been narrowed down and semantic values have been limited. The new justifications highlight their broader and primary meanings, thus new names restore the original sense of words. Thus, when these words were used in the function of proper names, they reclaimed their primary connotative value.

3.4 Same name, different person

A similar strategy, i.e. retaining the name form but changing its denotation, was applied to streets named after individuals. A way to minimize the changes was to replace the former honoree with a different individual but bearing the same name. Such changes were adopted in a number of Polish cities, especially in Warsaw, where the following names were altered: *ul. Juliana Bruna* ('Julian Brun Str.'; 1886-1942, a Polish and Soviet writer and communist activist) to *ul. Giordana Bruna* ('Giordano Bruno Str.'; a 16th-century philosopher, burnt alive for heresy by the Inquisition)[10], *ul. Józefa Feliksa Ciszewskiego* ('Józef Feliks Ciszewski Str.'; 1876-1938, a Polish communist activist) to *ul. Jana Ciszewskiego* ('Jan Ciszewski Str.'; 1930–1982, a sport journalist), *ul. Anastazego Kowalczyka* ('Anastazy Kowalczyk Str.'; 1908–1943, a Polish communist activist) to *ul. Jana Kowalczyka* ('Jan Kowalczyk Str.'; 1833–1911, a Polish astronomer), *ul. Lucjana Rudnickiego* ('Lucjan Rudnicki Str.'; 1882-1968, a Polish communist activist) to *ul. Gen. Klemensa Stanisława Rudnickiego* ('General Klemens Stanisław Rudnicki Str.'; 1897–1992, an officer of the Polish Army in the West), *ul. Jana Kędzierskiego* ('Jan Kędzierski

Str.'; 1900-1958, a Polish communist activist) to *ul. Apoloniusza Kędzierskiego* ('Apoloniusz Kędzierski Str.'; 1861–1939, a Polish painter).

Other Polish cities followed the same pattern. For example, in the cities where there was a street named after Janek Krasicki (1919–1943, a communist youth activist), it was renamed to honour Ignacy Krasicki (1735–1801, a bishop, poet, and playwright). In this way, the honoree was changed while the street name remained intact in its short form – *ul. Krasickiego* ('Krasicki Str.'). The strategy was adopted in such cities as: Sosnowiec, Siemianowice Śląskie, Lwówek Śląski, Opoczno, Płońsk, Baranów Sandomierski, Więcbork, Kolbuszowa, Mielec, Dębica, Błażowa, Śmigiel, Grajewo, Wierzbica, Koronowo[11].

3.5 A common word instead of a proper name

A similar effect has been achieved in the cases when streets were named after individuals whose surnames were the same as common words. All that was needed to keep them intact was to change their official justification. Thus, in Sosnowiec, *ul. Adama Śliwki* ('Adam Śliwka Str.'; a communist activist) was changed to *ul. Śliwki* ('Plum Str.') and *ul. Jana Gacka* ('Jan Gacek Str.') to *ul. Gacka* ('Bat Str.'; *gacek* is a dialect word for *bat*). For the habitants, these changes may also be interpreted as humorous because of their new semantic values (Rutkowski 2016b; Samokhina & Pasynok 2017).

3.6 New names, new heroes

As a result of the act of April 1, 2016 and its wide scope, in almost every Polish city new street names have appeared. What were the trends in naming strategies? Did it really bring back the remembrance of the heroes either forgotten or intentionally erased by the communist regime, as was the intention of lawmakers and as it was explicitly expressed in the IPN's instructions?

Although the process of renaming took a slightly different course in different cities and was more or less ideologically biased[12], today one cannot find a single city free of names associated with a new kind of heroes. Communist heroes were most often replaced by individuals or groups of people who, during WWII, represented the Polish rightist underground and who, in the times of Stalinism, opposed the new system in a more or less open way. Interestingly, the most outstanding individuals and organizations, such as Józef Piłsudski, the Home Army, generals of the Polish Armed Forces in the West (Władysław Anders, Władysław Sikorski, Kazimierz Sosnkowski), and generals of the Home Army (Okulicki, Komorowski, Rowecki) have already been honoured as part of an earlier renaming campaign in the years 1989-2016. Similarly, "new heroes" such as the victims of the 2010 Polish Air Force Tu-154 crash[13], especially Lech and Maria Kaczyński, the presidential couple, have also been honoured right since the PiS gained the majority in the Parliament and even before the act of April 1, 2016 was passed (over 50 names in different cities). A separate category of names pertains to individuals or whole groups who, from the communist perspective, were called "the enemies of the people" and "bandits" for their armed resistance to the newly established communist government. The current – rightwing – perspective depicts them as patriots and cursed soldiers. The name *Żołnierze Wyklęci* ('Cursed Soldiers') appears 90 times in Polish urban toponymy. Another name applied to refer to clandestine organizations is *Żołnierze Niezłomni* ('Indomitable Soldiers'), which is used 29 times as a name of streets, squares, or roundabouts across Poland.

Apart from the group names, some iconic individuals, often members of the above-mentioned "cursed soldiers", were added to the new list of the deserving. The most honoured person is Witold Pilecki (1901-1948), a Polish cavalry officer, a soldier of the Home Army, who, after WWII, was sentenced to death by the communist regime and subsequently executed. There are as many as 183 streets, squares, and roundabouts named after him. Danuta Siedzikówna "Inka" (1928-1946), who was also sentenced to death and

executed by the communist authorities, is another icon of the anti-communist underground resistance: 39 streets were named in tribute to her.

As the names of all the better-known and deserving individuals had already been used, and yet the act of April 1, 2016 enforced changes, less recognized names had to be utilized. Thus, streets were named after lower-rank officers. This is best visible in Warsaw, where the former communist names were changed to commemorate the following soldiers: Colonel Władysław Belima-Prażmowski, General Witold Urbanowicz, Major Hieronim Dekutowski "Zapora", Captain Zbigniew Dunin-Wasowicz, Major Adolf Pilch "Dolina", Major Tadeusz Furgalski "Wyrwa", Major Marian Bernaciak "Orlik", Major Józef Jagmin, General Stanisław Bułak-Bałachowicz, Kazimierz Kardaś "Orkan", Andrzej Romocki "Moro", and Colonel Maciej Kolankiewicz "Kotwicz". They all represent either the Polish military forces supporting their Western Allies or the anti-communist underground resistance. It can be said that they have symmetrically replaced the soldiers who supported the Soviet Army.

Other honorees in Warsaw include the composers and musicians Przemysław Gintrowski and Jacek Kaczmarski, known as "The Solidarity Bards", whose patriotic songs were very popular in the 1980s. There are also streets, which commemorate victims of the communist regime: Grzegorz Przemyk, an 18-year-old killed in 1983 by the Citizens' Militia, and Stanisław Pyjas, a student killed in 1977 probably by the communist Secret Services. The street *Bohaterów z Kopalni Wujek* ('Heroes of the Wujek Mine Str.') is named in tribute to the nine miners of the mine "Wujek" killed by the communist Citizens' Militia on December 16, 1980 during strikes and protests against the Martial Law. It is worth noting that the former name of this street was *Wincentego Pstrowskiego*, after another miner, a shock worker and a symbol of the communist competition and productivity discussed in section 3.1.1.

The patrons of the streets, as can be noticed, are intended to change the vector of collective memory. Besides, they bring the new, axiological markedness, namely, steadfastness, struggle for independence and anti-Communism. The connotations that refer to the altered names are usually the evaluative opposite of the previous connotations introduced in 1945-1989.

4. Discussion and findings

The present study shows the connection between the theoretical assumptions of critical toponymy and the empirical findings based on contemporary linguistic content. Proper names are not treated here as linguistic signs only. They are perceived as both means of social action and discursive practices within urban toponymic discourse. Proper names have become the subject matter of a dispute between the political authorities imposing changes and the local people who are inhibiting the process of their implementation. On the discursive surface, the street names become a kind of *dispositif* (Giraut & Houssay-Holzschuch 2016).

The process of renaming urban space enforced by the act of April 1, 2016 discussed above has symbolic objectives. The aim of the act was not only to replace one kind of (unwanted) symbols by another, consonant with the currently dominating ideology. Its aim was also shaping historical awareness and, consequently, the collective identity of the whole society (Drozdzewski 2014). On the one hand, by using new names, the new authorities show the values that are considered important from the point of view of the new historical policy. On the other hand, the forceful removal of the former names, of the traces of the now-defunct communist system becomes a symbolic "obliteration" or "erasing" of the old spatial signs, which, retained for decades, were part of people's lives.

"The renaming of streets opens a space in which the symbolic struggles over remembrance and erasure are anchored in specific sites that serve as places of memory" (Rose-Redwood

2008: 446). However, action by force has a different impact than grassroots movements and active citizenship as it evokes associations with an oppressive state. This is the way in which the state imposes new heroes and new values over its citizens, destroying and nullifying the former order. This is the way – by force and top down – in which a new symbolic order and, consequently, a new historical policy are constructed.

The context of historical policy is of special relevance here. The new Polish government is very sensitive to the subject of protecting the good image of Poland and Poles, especially in relation to WWII and cases of disgraceful behaviour of Polish citizens towards Jews at that time. In the context of anti-Semitic acts both during WWII and later, the names, which pay tribute to heroic deeds of Poles towards Jews, gain a special meaning. It has to be emphasized that, during German occupation, Poland was the only country, in which helping Jews was punished by death; yet, there were many examples of often successful attempts of hiding and saving Jews. In this context, the story of the Ulma family has a symbolic status. In their house in the village of Markowa near Łańcut (south-eastern Poland), Józef and Wiktoria Ulma were hiding two Jewish families for two years. When subsequently denounced to the authorities, Józef, pregnant Maria, and all their six children were murdered by German gendarmes on March 24, 1944. This event, referred to as the Crime in Markowa, is frequently recalled in Polish public discourse as evidence of heroic behaviour of Poles during German occupation. The Ulma family have also been commemorated in urban toponyms: in Warsaw, Ostrołęka, Łańcut, Więcbork, and Sompolno there are streets, and in Rzeszów a roundabout named after the Ulma family.

Tribute to individuals, events, and values via urban toponymy, especially in street names, is a way of introducing the former into wide communication. Furthermore, it is one of the highest forms of paying honours in the Polish tradition. Only highly respected individuals were worthy of such commemoration. That is why removing names propagating the communist system from public space can be interpreted as an attempt to restore the

axiological order and is received with understanding and consent. However, while the removal of communist names is accepted, the next step – introduction of new names – frequently meets resistance. The point is that the new names and the new heroes promoted by the government are far from general acceptance and approval. Especially controversial are names associated with WWII and the underground resistance movement because many people, including historians, find their drastic methods of fight morally ambiguous. Many people also look on some members of the underground resistance as bandits robbing Polish villages in the post-war years, when the new authorities were trying to introduce some order. The names of the lately deceased politicians, especially President Lech Kaczyński and other victims of the 2010 Polish Air Force Tu-154 crash are not widely accepted either[13].

Street names are not only some kind of language monuments. They are also landmarks encountered in daily basis and, thus, a powerful bearer of meanings. Heroes, dates, or models of behaviour become naturally preserved in social awareness and, consequently, they develop into a "natural" aspect of the Polish identity and collective memory. The systemic renaming analyzed in this paper can be undoubtedly interpreted as an attempt not only to clear the public space of the remnants of communism but also to "manually control" the collective memory of the nation. Broadly speaking, the process may be regarded as the manifestation of the symbolic dominance that was mentioned by Bourdieu (1991). The new collective memory as well as the authorized version of the history are being created through the use of names understood as linguistic signs. Consequently, the practice of "reading" the Polish city has changed to a great extent (Palonen 1993).

The current research on critical toponymy makes it clear that place names are more than innocent spatial references and they are embedded in social power relations (Alderman & Inwood 2013). However, this statement does not undermine a purely "physical" conceptualization of urban names and their function of helping orientation in urban space.

The reactions of residents and local authorities described above suggest an alternative way to perceive urban toponymy. It pertains to the conceptualization of these names not only as bearers of memory, but as established, familiar, and stable signs of orientation in space. Urban space is both symbolic and material (Anderson & Tolia-Kelly 2004; Jackson 2000). That is why people perceive this space as their own: personal, familiar, and domesticated. They take a pragmatic stance instead of an ideological one. It is this "duality" of urban space – ideological, on the one hand, and locational and pragmatic, on the other – that has become the source of resistance against the enforced top-down changes. The grassroots opposition against changing street names was not ideology-driven (with a few exceptions), that is, did not mean resistance to decommunization as such. What constituted the real reason for the conflict was the fact that a new ideological network was being imposed (from the state level) over the existing network of socially and culturally important places in urban space (to the local level). Introducing changes in space names, even if generally approved, turns out to be a very delicate issue, because in each case it affects the fragile yet socially important order. At the same time, stability and permanence of the symbolic spatial arrangement proved to be an important value for local residents, who perceived the attempted change as a legally sanctioned "violation" of their cultural space. This aspect should always be taken into account by politicians who consider introducing changes in space names.

When considering street names from the perspective of discourse analysis, at least two observations can be made. Firstly, street names as part of urban toponymical discourse exist between a local community as their users, on the one hand, and centralized political authorities as a dominating but alien element, on the other. In this paper, the struggle of the local community for the right to decide the quality of this discourse was presented. Those who have the power to give names, have also the power to shape collective memory and impose discourse itself. Secondly, one can also look on names as part of an even broader public discourse: historical or political. From this perspective, it becomes

apparent how the process of name changing described in the paper is directed at changing the discourse profile. Additionally, from the point of view of onomastic and critical discourse analyses, it is relevant that most new names bear a heavy ideological load. Like the former, communism-related names, they reinforce the ideology of fighting, martyrdom, death for the fatherland, and heroism, but make reference to different heroes (e.g., a series of names connected with the "cursed soldiers"). Thus, the new Polish urban toponymy complies with the Romantic paradigm, which is one of the prevailing patterns of interpretation of history, and, above all, it gives primacy to history over the present times.

Notes

1. The process of name changing was especially dynamic in the years 1989-1992, at the beginning of the democratic changes. Later it subsided. According to Hałas (2004: 132), the numbers of communism-related names to be replaced across Poland in the given years were as follows: in 1989 – 298 names, in 1990 – 1135 names, in 1991 – 273 names, in 1992 – 123 names, in 1993 – 66 names, in 1994 – 27 names, in 1995 – 2 names, and in 1996 – 1 name.

2. See the IPN web page: https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/upamietnianie/dekomunizacja/zmiany-nazw-ulic/nazwy-ulic/nazwy-do-zmiany

3. The quoted fragments of the act come from the *Journal of laws of the Republic of Poland* (Dziennik Ustaw 1.04.16, item 744); available at: http://www.dziennikustaw.gov.pl/du/2016/744/1

4. On the IPN official website, there is the tab "Decommunization of the public space", which takes us to another tab, "Names-to-change". The latter lists examples of names and explanations, why a given name violates the act of April 1, 2016. (cf. https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/upamietnianie/dekomunizacja/zmiany-nazw-ulic/nazwy-ulic/nazwy-do-zmiany).

5. Available at: https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/upamietnianie/dekomunizacja/zmiany-nazw-ulic/nazwy-ulic/nazwy-do-zmiany/39770,ul-Armii-Czerwonej.html

6. Available at: http://www.tarnowo-podgorne.pl/fileadmin/pliki/AgaRz/25_Stycznia/4_28_12_2017_odp_zmiana_nazwy_ulicy.pdf, DOA November 23, 2018

7. Available at: https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/upamietnianie/dekomunizacja/zmiany-nazw-ulic/nazwy-ulic/lista/38513,ul-Obroncow-Pokoju.html

8. Available at: https://polskatimes.pl/jak-miasto-przechytrzylo-pis-ulica-zmienila-nazwe-na-taka-sama/ar/12631514?najstarsze

9. Available at: https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/upamietnianie/dekomunizacja/zmiany-nazw-ulic/nazwy-ulic/lista/38514,ul-Pionierow.html

10. While the two surnames differ in the Nominative (Julian Brun vs. Giordano Bruno), the street names in Polish require the Genitive. In this case, both names have an identical form in the Genitive, which is *Bruna*. Thus, the short form of the street name remains unchanged: *ul. Bruna*.

11. In everyday usage, the short form is typically used and it contains only the surname. The full form, with the first name, is used only in official documents.

12. The bias was clearly connected with the structure of local city councils: if they were dominated by the majority party PiS, then they followed the directions of the party ideologues more enthusiastically. In many cities, a significant resistance to new names emerged; therefore, the changes, always highly ideologically biased, were implemented only as a result of the state authorities' intervention.

13. On April 10, 2010 the Polish Air Force Tu-154 crashed near the city of Smolensk, Russia, killing all the 96 people on board. The victims were President of Poland Lech Kaczyński and his wife Maria, and many members of the political establishment. The event has become a turning point in the latest Polish history. The rightwing parties, especially the PiS, have adopted a narration with heroic and epic undertones, and depict it as a political assassination resulting from a Polish and Russian plot. For a large part of

the Polish society such an interpretation is unacceptable and is treated either as a political tactic of the PiS or as resulting from Jarosław Kaczyński's personal revenge or even trauma after his twin brother's tragic death. The issue of the Smolensk crash remains an important topic in the political discourse concerning the current situation in Poland.

14. This lack of wide acceptance is clearly connected with the fact that President Lech Kaczyński's twin brother, Jarosław Kaczyński is the controversial leader of the PiS.

List of abbreviations

IPN – Instytut pamięci narodowej (Institute of national remembrance)

PiS – Prawo i sprawiedliwość (Law and justice)

References

Alford, R.D. (1988). *Naming and identity. A cross-cultural study of personal naming practices*. New Heaven: HRAF.

Alderman, D.H. & Inwood, J. (2013). Street naming and the politics of belonging: Spatial injustices in the toponymic commemoration of Martin Luther King Jr. In *Social & cultural geography*, 14 (2), p. 211-233.

Anderson, B. & Tolia-Kelly, D. (2004). Matter(s) in social and cultural geography. In *Geoforum*, 35 (6), p. 669-674.

Azaryahu, M. (1996). The power of commemorative street names. In *Environmental planning D: Society and space*, 14, p. 311-330.

Azaryahu, M. (1997). German reunification and the politics of street names: The case of East Berlin. In *Political geography*, 16 (6), p. 479-493.

Bass, O. & Houghton, J. (2018). Street names and statues: The identity politics of naming and public art in contemporary Durban. In *Urban forum*, 29 (4), p. 413-427.

Bauman, Z. (2017). *Retrotopia*. London: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Boyle, M. & Rogerson, R. (2001). Power discourses and city trajectories. In *Handbook of urban studies*. Paddison, R. (ed.). London: Sage, p. 402-416.

Chudzik, K. (2017). How the city outsmarted the Law and Justice party. The street changed its name into the same name. In *Polska. The times*, 31.10.2017. / Chudzik K. Jak miasto przechytrzyło PiS. Ulica zmieniał nazwę na taką samą. In *Polska. The times*, 31.10.2017. Available at: https://polskatimes.pl/jak-miasto-przechytrzylo-pis-ulica-zmienila-nazwe-na-taka-sama/ar/12631514?najstarsze

Connerton, P. (1989). *How societies remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Critical toponymy: Place names in political, historical and commercial landscapes. (2019). Beyer, H., Brenzinger, M., du Plessis, T. & Raper, P.E. (eds.). Bloemfontein: SUN Media.

Czepczyński, M. (2009). *Cultural landscape of post-socialist cities. Representations of power and needs*. London: Ashgate.

Davies, N. (2005). *God's playground: A history of Poland.* Norfolk: Oxford University Press. Vol. II.

Drozdzewski, D. (2014). Using history in the streetscape to affirm geopolitics of memory. In *Political geography*, 42, p. 66-78.

Drozdzewski, D. (2017). Locating the geopolitics of memory in the Polish streetscape. In *The political life of urban streetscapes: Naming, politics, and place*. Rose-Redwood, R., Alderman, D. &. Azaryahu, M. (eds.). Abingdon: Routledge, p. 114-131.

Erofeeva, I. & Ushnikova, O. (2017). Media text energy as collective cultural memory reflection. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow*. *The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava.* Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, II (2), June 2017, p. 1-46. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0012.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Doing discourse analysis. Textual analysis for social scientists*. London: Routledge.

Gammeltoft, P. (2016). Names and geography. In *The Oxford handbook of names and naming*. Hough, C. (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 502-513.

Giraut, F. & Houssay-Holzschuch, M. (2016). Place naming as dispositif: Toward a theoretical framework. In *Geopolitics*, 21 (1), p. 1-21.

Hałas, E. (2004). Historical politics and collective memory. Street names changes after the communism. In *Change or stagnation?* Marody, M. (ed.). Warsaw: Scholar, p. 128-152. / Hałas E. Polityka historyczna i pamięć zbiorowa. Zmiany nazw ulic po komunizmie. In *Zmiana czy stagnacja?* Marody M. (ed.). Warszawa: Scholar, s. 128-152.

Hebbert, M. (2005). The street as a locus of collective memory. In *Environment and planning D*, 23, p. 581-596.

Hoelscher, S. & Alderman, D.H. (2004). Memory and place: Geographies of a critical relationship. In *Social & cultural geography*, 5 (3), p. 347-355.

Institute of national remembrance (web site). / *Instytut pamięci narodowej* (strona internetowa). Available at: https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/upamietnianie/dekomunizacja/zmiany-nazw-ulic/nazwy-ulic/nazwy-do-zmiany

Jackson, P. (2000). Rematerializing social and cultural geography. In *Social & cultural geography*, 1 (1), p. 9-14.

Jordan, P. (2012). Place names as ingredients of space-related identity. In *Oslo studies in language*, 4 (2), p. 117-131.

Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland. 1.04.16, item 744. Available at: http://www.dziennikustaw.gov.pl/du/2016/744/1

Kemp-Welch, A. (2008). *Poland under communism: A Cold War history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kostanski, L. & Puzey, G. (2016). Trends in onomastics: An introduction. In *Names and naming: People, places, perceptions and power*. Puzey, G. & Kostanski, L. (eds.). Bristol: Blue Ridge Summit, p. xiii-xxiv.

Lees, L. (2004). Urban geography: Discourse analysis and urban research. In *Progress in human geography*, 28 (1), p. 101-107.

Letter of Mayor of Tarnowo Podgórne. / *List Wójta Gminy Tarnowo Podgórne.* Available at: http://www.tarnowo-podgorne.pl/fileadmin/pliki/AgaRz/25_ Stycznia/4_28_12_2017_odp_zmiana_nazwy_ulicy.pdf

Light, D. (2004). Street names in Bucharest, 1990–1997: Exploring the modern historical geographies of postsocialist change. In *Journal of historical geography*, 30 (1), p. 154-72.

Light, D., Nicolae, I. & Suditu, B. (2002). Toponymy and the communist city: Street names in Bucharest, 1948-1965. In *GeoJournal*, 56 (2), p. 135-144.

Light, D. & Young, C. (2010). Reconfiguring socialist urban landscapes: The 'left-over' spaces of state-socialism in Bucharest. In *Human geographies*, 4 (1), 5-16.

Light, D. & Young, C. (2015). Toponymy as commodity: Exploring the economic dimensions of urban place names. In *International journal of urban and regional research*, 39 (3), p. 435-450.

Madden, D.J. (2018). Pushed off the map: Toponymy and the politics of place in New York City. In *Urban studies*, 55 (8), p. 1599-1614.

Madlome, S.K. (2019). Naming as a tool for cultural domination: A case of toponym use in South-Eastern Zimbabwe, In *Critical toponymy: Place names in political, historical and commercial landscapes*. Beyer, H., Brenzinger, M., du Plessis, T. & Raper, P.E. (eds.). Bloemfontein: SUN Media, p. 35-40.

Norton, W. (2000). *Cultural geography: Themes, concepts, analyses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Journal of laws of the Republic of Poland. 1.04.16, item 744 / *Dziennik ustaw*, 1.04.16, item 744. Available at:

http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20160000744/T/D20160744L.pdf

Palmberger, M. (2017). Nationalizing the streetscape: The case of street renaming in Mostar, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. In *The political life of urban streetscapes: Naming, politics, and place*. Rose-Redwood, R., Alderman, D. &. Azaryahu, M. (eds.). Abingdon: Routledge, p. 168-184.

Palonen, K. (1993). Reading street names politically. In *Reading the political, exploring the margins of politics.* Palonen, K. & Parvikko, T. (eds.). Tampere: The Finnish Political Science Association, p. 103-121.

Palonen, E. (2008). The city-text in post-communist Budapest: Street names, memorials, and the politics of commemoration. In *GeoJournal*, 73 (3), p. 219-230.

Panasenko, N., Greguš, Ľ. & Zabuzhanska, I. (2018). Conflict, confrontation, and war reflected in mass media: Semantic wars, their victors and victims. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Poland, III (2), December 2018, p. 132-163. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0017.

Parker, S. (2000). Tales of the city: Situating urban discourse in place and time. In *City*, 4 (2), p. 223-246.

Peterson, C.B. (1977). Nature of Soviet place names. In *Names*, 25 (1), p. 15-24.

Puzey, G. (2016). Renaming as counter-hegemony: The cases of Noreg and Padania. In *Names and naming: People, places, perceptions and power*. Puzey, G. & Kostanski, L. (eds.). Bristol: Blue Ridge Summit, p. 165-184.

Rose-Redwood, R.S. (2008). From number to name: Symbolic capital, places of memory and the politics of street renaming in New York City. In *Social & cultural geography*, 9 (4), p. 432-435.

Rose-Redwood, R. & Alderman, D. (2011). Critical interventions in political toponymy. *ACME: An International e-journal for critical geographies*, 10, p. 1-6.

Rose-Redwood, R., Alderman, D. & Azaryahu, M. (2010). Geographies of toponymic inscription: New directions in critical place-name studies. In *Progress in human geography*, 34 (4), p. 453-470.

Rose-Redwood, R., Vuolteenaho, J., Young, C. & Light, D. (2019). Naming rights, place branding, and the tumultuous cultural landscapes of neoliberal urbanism. In *Urban geography*, 40 (6), p. 747-761.

Rutkowski, M. (2012). *Dictionary of proper names metaphors and connotations*. Olsztyn: IFP UWM. / Rutkowski M. *Słownik metafor i konotacji nazw własnych*. Olsztyn: IFP UWM.

Rutkowski, M. (2016b). Humorous names in the light of incongruity theory. In *Problems of onomastics / Voprosy onomastiki / Вопросы ономастики*, 13 (1), p. 129-139. Available at:

http://onomastics.ru/sites/default/files/doi/10.15826/vopr_onom.2016.13.1.007.pdf

Rutkowski, M. (2017). Names in discourse – in the light of secondary orality. In *Poznan Polish studies. Linguistic series*, 24 (1), p. 145-158. / Rutkowski M. Nazwy w dyskursie – w kontekście koncepcji wtórnej oralności. In *Poznańskie studia polonistyczne. Seria językoznawcza*, 24 (1), s. 145-158.

Rutkowski, M. (2016a). Polish names. In *Oxford handbook of names and naming*. Hough, C. (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 183-184.

Rutkowski, M. (2000). Toponymy of climbing space: Names within the Polish climbing community. In *Names. A journal of onomastics*, 48 (2), p. 115-125.

Rutkowski, M. & Skowronek, K. (2010). Discourse onomastics: Its scope, problems and research methods. In *Proper names in society. Vol. 1*. Łobodzińska, R. (ed.). Łask: Leksem, p. 87-95. / Rutkowski M. & Skowronek K. Onomastyka dyskursu: Zakres, problematyka i metody badawcze. In *Nazwy własne a społeczeństwo. T. 1*. Łobodzińska R. (red.). Łask: Leksem, s. 87-95.

Rutkowski, M. & Skowronek, K. (forthcoming). *Onomastic discourse analysis*. Cracow: AGH. / Rutkowski, M. & Skowronek, K. (w druku). *Onomastyczna analiza dyskursu*. Kraków: AGH.

Samokhina, V. & Pasynok, V. (2017). Anthroponymic world in the text of the Anglophone joke. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, II (2), December 2017, p. 284-355. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0018.

van Dijk, T. (2005). Critical discourse analysis. In *Handbook of discourse analysis*. Tannen, D., Schiffrin, D. & Hamilton, H.E. (eds.). Malden: Blackwell, p.352-371.

Vuolteenaho, J. & Berg, L.D. (2009). Towards critical toponymies. In *Critical toponymies: Contested politics of place naming*. Berg, L.D. & Vuolteenaho, J. (eds.). Burlington: Ashgate, p. 1-18.

Wanjiru M.W. (2016). Street toponymy and the decolonisation of the urban landscape in post-colonial Nairobi. In *Journal of cultural geography*, 34 (1), p.1-23.

Wodak, R. (1996). *Disorders of discourse*. London: Longman.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Zilliacus, M. (1997). On the function of proper names. In *You name in. Perspectives on onomastic research*. Pitkänen, R.L. & Mallat, K. (eds.). Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, p. 14-20.

Zelinsky, W. (1997). Along the frontiers of name geography. In *Professional geographer*, 49 (4), p. 465−466.

Contact data		**Fields of interest**
Mariusz Rutkowski Professor, PhD Hab. in Linguistics University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, Poland Institute of Polish Philology and Speech Therapy, ul. Obitza 1 10-725 Olsztyn, Poland e-mail: rutkow@uwm.edu.pl		Onomastics, discourse analysis, cultural linguistics, collective memory, metaphor and metonymy, sociolinguistics.

Résumé

In the times of communist regime in Poland (1945-1989), many street names commemorated communist activists, important events, and symbolic dates. Such a system

of urban naming supported communism symbolically, because the names people were using in everyday navigation in the city space eventually became a "natural" social, political, and axiological reference point. After the fall of communism in 1989, most such names were changed; however, the Polish Parliament passed the act of 1 April, 2016 forcing the local councils to change the remaining names that could be interpreted as propagating communism. 943 street names across Poland were identified as propagating communist symbols and, as such, were deemed unacceptable. Such enforcement of changes almost thirty years after the collapse of the communist system and actual cleansing of the cultural space from communist symbols was, in many cases, difficult to understand and met with resistance. In many cities, both the residents and the local authorities made efforts to introduce as few changes as possible. This paper demonstrates which names were identified as propagating communism. Further, local reactions to the top-down forceful decommunization are described and the new names are presented. The processes described in the present study constitute a good starting point for a discussion on the issues connected with urban naming and its multidimensionality. Such naming is, on the one hand, a bearer of symbolic content and a monument of collective memory. On the other hand, it is also a collection of names facilitating city space navigation. It was the clash of these two perspectives that resulted in a social and cultural conflict.

A COGNITIVE-PRAGMATIC PERSPECTIVE ON APOLOGIES IN ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN DISCOURSE

Iryna Shevchenko*, Volodymyr Gutorov

V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Kharkiv, Ukraine

*Corresponding author

Abstract: Apologies are interactional social-cultural discourse rituals rooted in intersubjectivity. Their corrective and preventive cognitive-pragmatic types have different scenarios. As conventional hybrid expressive-and-requestive speech acts, they have pragma-semantic subtypes, which realize negative politeness. English and Ukrainian apologies share common cognitive-pragmatic types but differ in pragma-semantic subtypes and linguistic realization.

Key words: apology, cognitive-pragmatic paradigm, intersubjectivity, frame scenario, English, Ukrainian.

1. Introduction

In a civilized society, apologies play a crucial role in maintaining communication; they correspond to social values and norms, and contribute to their preservation. As a sociocultural phenomenon, apologies are ethnically and culturally specific. Scholars of various disciplines have undertaken extensive research of apologies. In psychology and cultural studies, the nature and forms of apologizing have been of pivotal interest since the 1980s. In psycholinguistics, Enright (2001), Kramer-Moore and Moore (2003), Tangney et al. (2014) studied apology extensively and demarcated its types depending on the psychological state of the speaker.

In linguistics, especially in pragmatics, Owen (1983) initiated the analysis of apologies as an element of remedial exchanges, while Coulmas (1981) treated them as a case of conversational routine. Brown and Levinson (1987) brought a new perspective into the studies of apologies and treated them in terms of politeness principles as a negative politeness strategy.

Following the cross-cultural view of apologies, initiated by Blum-Kulka (1989), researchers experimentally described their striking differences throughout various cultures and languages, and interpreted their specific characteristics in most European languages such as English, German, French, Russian (Ратмайр 2003; Beeching 2019; House 2005; Wierzbicka 1987). Most theoreticians declare that routine patterns such as apologies are inherently social (Goffman 1971). The data and results they obtained provide a basis for our study of apologies in English and Ukrainian.

In cognitive pragmatics, Burenko (Буренко 2008) and Shevchenko (Шевченко 2013) suggested cognitive models of apologies and singled out their main subtypes. Still apologies lack explanation in terms of a shared interpersonal engagement, which is a manifestation of intersubjectivity in discourse. Commonalities, social norms and conventions, common beliefs, and the like all create a core common ground, on which intention- and cooperation-based pragmatics is built. However, this core common ground appears to be missing such theoretic perspectives as shared knowledge and joint attention. So what seems to be necessary here is a shift in emphasis from semantic and pragmatic to a cognitive basis of communication. This is where intersubjectivity explains the process of apologizing.

In this paper, we aim to combine cognitive-pragmatic and intersubjective approaches to apology, and to elaborate the typology of speech acts of apologies: their cognitive-pragmatic types and pragmatic-semantic subtypes in English *vs* Ukrainian discourse.

Theoretically, this mixed approach is rooted in the social-cultural nature of apology, which is equally valid for both cognitive and pragmatic research paradigms.

2. Methods and material

This study is based on the analysis of 1600 utterances of apology found in the discourse of English and Ukrainian fiction, namely drama and novel of the 19th–21st centuries. Methodologically, we take an intersubjective perspective (Martynyuk 2017; Zlatev et al. 2008) on cognitive and pragmatic issues of apology. This paradigm is underpinned by understanding communication against a psychological, social, pragmatic, and cultural background, which explicates its difference in various ethnic discourses. Our analysis is underpinned by discourse studies (Карасик 2017; Dijk van 2008), politeness theories (Brown & Levinson 1987), pragmatics (Senft 2014), and cognitively oriented approaches to pragmatics (Carston & Wilson 2019), which postulate the unity of cognitive and pragmatic aspects of discourse. It is within the network of connections between the cognitive and pragmatic aspects that apology reveals its intersubjective nature.

As a starting point, we first provide some basic facts on the universal social-cultural, intentional, and intersubjective properties of apologies. Then with the help of intentional analysis, we establish types and subtypes of apologies, and reveal the pragmatic nature of apologies as hybrid speech acts and as discursive means of negative politeness. Introducing a more recent cognitive-pragmatic vector of analysis and using semantic analysis, cognitive modeling, the method of dictionary definitions, and componential analysis to describe the verbalized concept of APOLOGY, we highlight the conceptualization of apologies, define their cognitive scenarios, and single out their cognitive-pragmatic types and pragmatic-semantic subtypes universal for English and Ukrainian discourses. From a cross-cultural perspective, we engage comparative analysis to identify ethnic, cultural, and linguistic properties of the speech acts of apology in English *vs* Ukrainian and describe specific English *vs* Ukrainian apologies

in fiction discourse. Finally, we draw some tentative conclusions and make suggestions for broadening the cognitive-pragmatic analysis of related problems.

3. Results and discussion

Current investigations of apology from the cognitive-pragmatic perspective are rooted in the Foucaultian idea of discourse as a form of social practice. Schmid gives a survey of various cognitive-pragmatic theories of language (2012: 5-6). In his generalization, cognitive pragmatics aims to identify "the general cognitive-pragmatic principles and processes that underlie and determine the construal of meaning-in-context" (ibid., 4). We argue that discourse is an integral phenomenon, a mental-and-communicative activity, a unity of the process and result. Discourse generates social relations and at the same time is their product. In our analysis, we proceed from an integral understanding of discourse:

Discourse is a multidimensional cognitive–communicative–linguistic gestalt system, which is specified by the unity of three aspects: the construction of ideas and beliefs (a cognitive aspect), the interaction of interlocutors in certain social-cultural contexts/situations (a social-pragmatic aspect), and the use of signs, verbal and para-verbal (a linguistic aspect). Various discourse aspects are inseparable: pragmatic and social-cultural aspects have cognitive-psychological basis, while cognitive ones are rooted in communicative experience, therefore they are divided only for heuristic purposes (Шевченко 2017: 115-116)[1].

The latest behavioural and neurophysiologic evidence stimulated the search for new intersubjective explanation of human communication, the intentional foundations for its cultural conventions. Franc and Trevarthen (2012: 278) call it "a new psychology of human sympathy" – the harmonization between persons' conscious intentional states.

Bourdieu suggested the term 'habitus' for a certain kind of 'embodied attitude' to the affordance of social interaction. As an intricate part of a social structure, 'habitus' serves to sustain social relations. It explains the difference of social practices, shared activities, and communicative roles, which determine the use of apologies: "Life-styles are thus the systematic products of habitus, which, perceived in their mutual relations

through the schemes of the habitus, become sign systems that are socially qualified (as 'distinguished', 'vulgar' etc.)" (1984: 172).

3.1 Intersubjectivity and intentionality of apologies

Apologies are conventional practices, which belong to the productive forces of a lifestyle.

Individuals engaging in social encounters come with histories, perspectives, moods, affiliations, and so on. They are never neutral when they engage in interactions and participate in each other's sense-making. Meanings span individuals, and are often created and transformed in interactions (Jaegher et al. 2017: 515-516).

In discourse, apologies perform a meta-communicative function, which is aimed at facilitating communication on the whole, at the regulation of the interpersonal and social aspects of speech interaction in accordance with social and cultural norms, communicative politeness and cooperation principles (Шевченко 2015). In stimulating human communication, this function draws on participants' mutual attention and intersubjectivity. Stern (2007: 36) claims that "intersubjectivity is not simply a capacity, it is a condition of humanness from phenomenological point of view".

As Traugott (2003: 124) states, intersubjectification "... is the development of markers that encode the Speaker's (or Writer's) attention to the cognitive stances and social identities of the Addressee". In most general terms, perceptual intersubjectivity can be defined as the phenomenon of two or more subjects focusing their attention on the same external target. Individual perceptual intersubjectivity episodes may be individuated in terms of their targets, present in the immediate context shared by the participants of the interaction. Targets can be objects, events, spatial locations (for example, a certain point to go to), or directions (for example, a way in which to go). The term 'object' should be understood in a wide sense to refer to any animate or inanimate entity that occupies a position in space-time, for example, a toy or a person (Zlatev et al. 2008: 118).

Apologies bear specific intentionality, which depends on what is conceptualized in discourse. Communication involves expressing and recognizing speaker – hearer intentions, but as Haugh (2009: 91) puts it, "… the situation is actually much more complex than the standard conceptualization of communication in pragmatics allows" because a focus on intentions underestimates the complexity of cognition that underpins interaction (ibid.). In particular, the intention of avoiding the feeling of guilt by apologizing is of interactive origin. In auto-communication with one's *alter ego* a person is likely to realize various intentions: to ask and answer questions, produce exclamations, but not to apologize. Gibbs (2004: 19) claims that "intentions need not be viewed only as private mental acts that precede human action, but can profitably be understood as emergent properties of social interactions and thus are not necessarily located in individual minds".

Unlike most intentionally performed speech acts (such as directives, representatives), in ritualistic speech acts, intentions are rather subconscious. The awareness of speech etiquette and politeness principles as a component of communicative competence underlying apologies is acquired in the course of socialization and applied mostly automatically. In apologies, speaker – hearer inter-intentionality, viewed as a major form of intersubjectivity (Roussillon 2014), is realized subconsciously.

In psychology, emotions coordinate mental activity and provide its flexibility. Emotions serve as triggers of apology. Apologizing is preceded by negative emotions such as shame, which is the generic phenomenon, and its subtype guilt, a kind of moral shame (Изард 2002). Guilt is a long-term and more intense feeling than shame, which is temporary and less intense. The emotion of guilt is experienced until the moment of apology, i.e. before the newly acquired tranquility appears.

Apology is successful when certain intersubjective conditions are met. Apologizing, the speaker seeks to achieve changes in the psychological tone of their relationship with the hearer: the speaker aims to reach the goal of returning/maintaining a friendly

tone of communication and verbalizes a request about depriving them (the sender) of guilt, cancelling punishment for their malicious actions, which is recognized as erroneous (Буренко 2008). For example:

(1) *… I returned to my room, and had barely shut the door when a tentative knock sounded at it. "<u>Excuse me, please. I am sorry to disturb.</u>" The voice belonged to a tall, thin foreigner – German, or Swiss, perhaps… "<…> do you maybe know where we can get for ourselves some hashish, without somebody cheating us <…>" I did know, of course.* (G.D. Roberts "Shantaram").

In the situation above (1), the speaker (a foreigner) aims at meeting the supposed expectations of the other (a native British) and transmits his own intentionality with double politeness (*excuse, sorry*) resulting from the lack of his communicative competence in English. Nevertheless, the inter-intentionality, which underlies this exchange, is achieved due to the hearer's life experience (*I did know*); and speech contact, as further dialogue shows, is established.

Izard (Изард 2002) argues that an immediate cause of guilt lies in wrongdoing. But the moral values of speakers of different cultures and epochs are diverse: what is 'wrong' for some of them may be acceptable for others. Accordingly, the feeling of guilt cannot arise without the internalization of social and ethnocultural norms, standards, and traditions of social behavior. Psychological research of externalization of shame and guilt by Tangney et al. (2014) suggests that the pain of shame may have constructive potential, and causing the feeling of guilt at the same time motivates a desire to get rid of its burden. This motivation explains the interaffectivity, which is another side of the intersubjectivity of apologies (alongside interintentionality).

The ethical and psychological content that reflects the subjective factor of apology – feelings of guilt and shame, conscience and norms of politeness – is of sociocultural character. Universally speaking, it is predetermined by the core moral values and

general norms regulating social behavior. Their violation is estimated as conflict behaviour – demonstration of disrespect, authority, or power (Panasenko et al. 2018). In view of their ethno-cultural nature, apologies correspond to the moral norms, behavioural patterns and speech etiquette of a definite culture, which explains their socio-cultural variability. In situation (2), the 19th century upper-class etiquette demands the use of overtly polite apologies, often marked by intensifiers (*pray*):

(2) *Pray excuse me, Lady Bracknell, for interrupting you again,* but it is only fair to tell you that according to the terms of her grandfather's will Miss Cardew does not come legally of age till she is thirty-five. (O. Wilde "The importance of being Earnest")

Apology is a highly conventionalized speech act, specified by extralinguistic social-cultural conventions. Apologies function in situations of violation of etiquette norms as meta-communicative means of regulating the emotional tone of interaction. Apologies are both conventional and non-conventional. The pragmatic convention is based on intersubjectivity; it is situationally aimed at cooperative communication, and depends on the communicants' interactive experience. According to Searle, with the help of such acts a person expresses his feelings and attitudes (1975: 215). In the case of apology, it is a sense of guilt, regret, or shame, as well as attempts to change reality: to avoid conflict, to restore friendly relations between the speaker and the hearer.

In conventional situations of stereotypical communicative behavior, verbal means of apology become ritualized etiquette formulas that perform meta-communicative functions. Speech etiquette includes socially determined and nationally specific rituals regulating rules of speech behaviour in situations of establishing, maintaining and terminating participants' contact in accordance with their status, roles, and personal relationships in official or informal situations (Martínez-Flor & Beltrán-Palanques 2014). In fictional discourse, this is embodied in speech stereotypes (so-called *colloquial formulas, stereotypical sentences,* and *situational clichés*).

Stereotyped utterances exist in the form of ready-made phrases in the assortment of human vocabulary thinking, but pop up in memory in a particular situation <...>. Stereotyped utterances are an involuntary reaction to an external stimulus – the situation. (Матевосян 2018: 201).

The conventional nature of apologies predetermines the use of speech stereotypes, which have fixed lexical and semantic properties, and realize the pragmatic function of apologizing regardless of the context or situation. As Matevosyan puts it, in the structure of linguistic consciousness, these stereotypes belong to a cultural linguistic layer of consciousness, and in a specific stereotypical situation, they reflexively float up in memory and are holistically reproduced in speech. A number of such stereotypical utterances are limited by the volume of human operational memory; and their use is reduced to a set of particular conversational situations (Матевосян 2018: 205).

In speech stereotypes, the intersubjective nature of interaction is best revealed. Linguistic stereotypes are characterized by conventionality, etiquette origin, and idiomaticity; the latter manifests itself in the attachment of a particular stereotype to a particular communicative situation (the corresponding terms are: 'pragmatic idioms' (Матюхина 2004), 'social formulas', 'formulas that structure discourse' (Makkai 1972), 'speech act idioms' (Scollon & Scollon 1983: 27-42).

Speech stereotypes are characterized by stable syntactic structure and lexical meaning, grammatical stability, stereotyped functioning, and situational correlation:

A speech stereotype is a speech idiom, which has a functional potential, being minimized, to reflect the entire formula of a communicative situation, and it is not conceived outside the communicative situation, i.e. it has a grammaticalized communicative meaning and serves a unit of interactional impact. Such units also control the process of perception (Третьякова 2015: 201-208).

Accordingly, speech stereotypes of apology are of meta-communicative, etiquette nature, and correspond to the cultural and psychological stereotypes of the epoch being mental reflection of routine interactional situations. In fictional discourse, speech stereotypes of apology take predicative and non-predicative forms, full and elliptical

sentences; their cross-cultural invariant forms are: imperatives (*Excuse me! Pardon!*); phrases (*By your pardon*); full and elliptical interrogations (*Can/Will you forgive me?*); full or elliptical declarative sentence with lexemes of apology (3), with modal verbs – intensifiers (4):

(3) *I'm <u>sorry</u>, he said, it's nothing. I don't like rats, that's all.* (G.D. Roberts "Shantaram");

(4) *If I am in the wrong, my dear, <u>you must excuse me</u>, for nobody can help the frailty of an overscrupulous conscience.* (J. Gay "The beggar's opera").

Under the influence of guilt or feeling that their behaviour does not correspond to norms, the speaker uses apologies in order to minimize or neutralize the damage, caused or probable, to the hearer. The relative size of damage depends on the participants' social relations, and the response to apology may be zero or typically verbal (Ратмайр 2003: 51-53) depending on their interaffectivity. In the example below the speaker – hearer interaffectivity is marked by the diminutive *dearie:*

(5) <u>*Beg pardon*</u>, *<u>dearie</u>, she said. I wouldn't 'a sat on you, only the buggers put me there. They dono 'ow to treat a lady, do they? She paused, patted her breast, and belched. <u>Pardon</u>, she said. I <u>ain't meself, quite</u>.* (G. Orwell "Nineteen eighty-four").

In situation (5), the speaker strives to neutralize the awkwardness by shifting the blame onto others (*the buggers*) and by giving mitigating circumstances for the damage (*I ain't meself*).

3.2 Apologies as hybrid speech acts
Speech acts of apology are traditionally defined as behabitives, expressives, satisfactives, performatives, or directives. Rathmayr (Ратмайр 2003) and Aleksenko (Алексенко 2004) first mentioned the combination of two pragmatic functions in

apologies, which are both expressives that reveal the internal state of the speaker and directives, mainly a subclass of requestives.

In Goffman's (1971: 63) parlance, expressives are 'interpersonal rituals' of two kinds: 'supportive interchanges' and 'remedial interchanges'. The former serve to support cooperative relations, which corresponds to preventive apologies. The latter are performed as face redress, they account for the previous act of misbehaviour and ask for apology (as corrective apologies do).

The perlocution of apologies depends upon a number of felicity conditions: 1) the speaker understands the inappropriateness of their deed; 2) the speaker wants to persuade the hearer that their misdeed was unintentional; 3) the speaker is willing to accept the guilt; 4) the speaker attempts to return to the state of affairs which preceded a certain misdeed (Ратмайр 2003: 64-66). Therefore, a further analysis of apologies needs a more detailed instrument. For this end, we use a speech act model introduced in (Шевченко 2013), based on nine aspects united into three blocks. This model is intended for both direct and indirect speech acts; its theoretic principles enable the analyst to take into account both the speaker's and the hearer's intentions, as well as their joint attention to the topic of communication.

The approach to speech act modeling suggested in this paper is based on understanding the speech act as a system of hierarchically organized heuristic levels. On the whole, human communication is a unity of the content, means of its expression, and conditions of realization; each of them finds its correspondence in speech act configuration. The higher and more general speech act level comprises three blocks: anthropocentric, meta-communicative, and central speech act block. At its lower level, each speech act block consists of three aspects (ibid., 310-323), they are:

➢ the anthropocentric block (speaker, hearer, and their intentions);
➢ the meta-communicative block (situation, context, and communicative principles);

➤ the central speech act block (proposition, locution, and illocution).

All these aspects are interconnected and jointly produce a certain illocution resulting in a definite perlocution, which presents a reaction to this speech act. In this model, speech act aspects are interdependent as shown in Fig. 1 below:
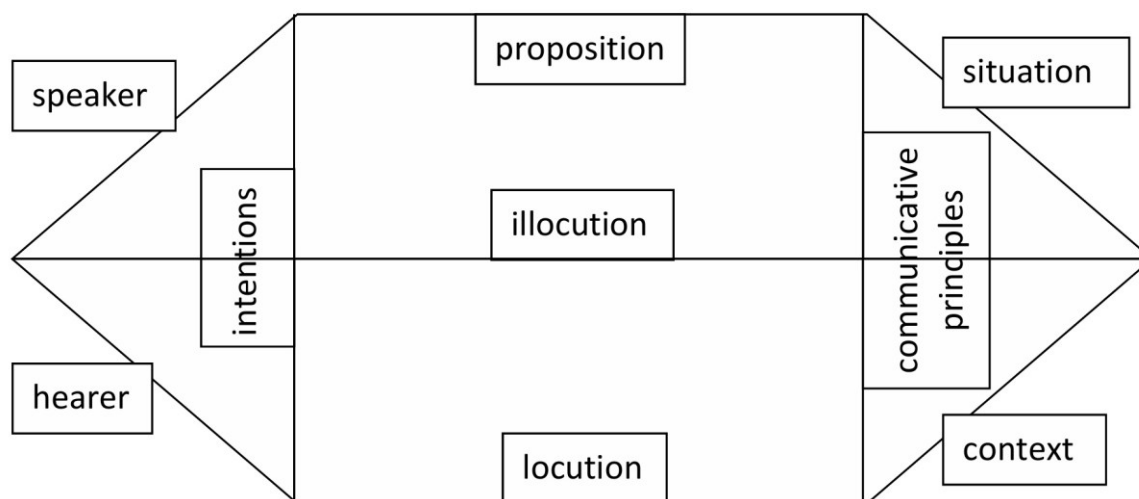

Figure1. Speech act model (Шевченко 2013: 315).

In the following pages, we will apply this model for explicating the speech act of apology.

Apology is an immanent member of politeness category and depends upon the speaker's and hearer's social statuses and situational roles. In English discourse, the speech act of apology is indifferent for the parameter of gender (Meier 1998: 219). Apologies demonstrate both quantitative and qualitative variation by the parameter of interlocutors' status relations: speakers of lower status use more detailed apologies even in case of minor misdeeds, while speakers of higher status use emotional apologies four times fewer (ibid., 220).

Speech act intention is a decisive aspect of apology, an embodiment of the participants' inner state; here it is aimed at smooth communication. The speaker intends both to get

rid of the feeling of guilt or avoid it and to encourage the hearer towards forgiveness. The hearer intends to receive due redress for the damage from the speaker. As Roussillon (2014: 39) puts it, the intention of one interlocutor also aims at exploring the intention of the other: "The intersubjective dialectic is thus a dialectic of inter-intentionality, it being at the level of supposed intentions that exchange is established". In the intentional aspect of apology, the focus on communicative principles and locution of the utterance is more important than its proposition as follows from the ritualized stereotypical nature of apologies.

According to the aspect of situation, Burenko (Буренко 2008) has defined three types of apologies: *meta-communicative* apologies, which function in situations of violation of politeness principles, *conventional* apologies used in situations of minor violations of etiquette, and *essential* apologies used to make amends for causing serious offence.

The aspect of communicative principles in speech acts of apology is determined by ethos, i.e. the emotional character of verbal interaction as the general communicative style, which characterizes the linguistic-cultural community. This aspect of apology reflects mainly politeness principles, since apologizing is one of the speech conventions dictated by courtesy and etiquette typical for a certain society.

In apologies, the aspect of locution is determined by the degree of the speaker's guilt and the official/informal tone of communication (Fraser 1981: 259). According to the classification of predicates based on the relations of verbs and situations speech acts of apology correspond to predicates of state, or static situations (*I am sorry, I am ashamed*), and predicates of achievement, or dynamic situations of change (for example, naming the action: *beg pardon,* or imperative: *excuse me*).

The propositional aspect of apology is the content of an utterance. The propositions of apology fall into a few groups, or 'strategies', and their combinations (Blum-Kulka 1989: 289-291): (a) requesting for or inducing apology by expressing one's feelings of

shame and guilt; (b) explanation of the reason of one's misdeed; (c) offering mitigating circumstances. In the example below, the speaker uses all these strategies to apologize for his untimely visit:

(6) *I am monstrous glad to see you – (a) sorry (b) I could not come before – (a) beg your pardon, (b) but I have been forced to look about me a little, and settle my matters; (c) for it is a long while since I have been at home, and you know one has always a world of little odd things to do after one has been away for any time; ...* (J. Austen "Sense and sensibility").

Further detailed analysis of the propositional aspect of apologies reveals their typical semantic patterns:

➢ requests for apology including means of expression of shame and guilt – formalized expressions, in which the apology is expressed explicitly (*Sorry, Excuse me, I apologize for ...*);

➢ taking responsibility for the misdeed: self-accusation (*My mistake; my fault; I'm to blame*); stating that the harm done to the hearer was involuntary (*I did not mean to offset you*); justifying the hearer's reaction to the speaker's misdeed (*You are right to be angry*); explicit respect of the hearer's feelings (*I hope I did not upset you*);

➢ apologies, which provide an explanation for the causes of guilt or give mitigating circumstances for the speaker's misbehaviour:

(7) *'Hullo!' she said in a deep bass voice, 'how are you? Sorry if we're late. Circumference ran over a fool of a boy'.* (E. Waugh "Decline and fall");

➢ apologies, which offer a remedy or refund for the damage the speaker has done to the hearer:

(8) *'I am very sorry, mother, that I should inherit this unfortunate slowness of apprehension', said Nicholas, kindly; 'but I'll do my best to understand you, if you'll only go straight on'.* (Ch. Dickens "Nicholas Nickleby");

➢ apologies, in which the speaker promises to abandon malicious actions in future since he/she does not want to feel guilty again:

(9) *Forgive me therefore, a little innocent raillery; but I promise you I will never mention his name any more.* (H. Fielding "The history of Tom Jones, a foundling").

The illocution of apology embraces two components – emotional and incentive. It is modified by contexts and situations of discourse. The emotional illocutionary component is intensified by markers-modifiers, such as: adverbs (*terribly, very, awfully so*); emotional expressions/exclamations (*Oh, oh lord*); double intensifiers or repetitions of intensifying adverbs (*I am very dreadfully sorry*). The incentive illocutionary component is intensified by the marker *please* (*Please forgive me*), which is equally typical for directives.

To summarize, in the case of apology, there is a combination of two stereotypical situations: expressing the speaker's emotions and request for apology, which suggests the hybrid expressive-and-directive nature of apologies (Буренко 2008; Шевченко 2013).

The concept of the *hybrid* came to linguistics from biology, where it is defined as a blend, a new offspring resulting from a combination of the qualities of two organisms of different taxonomic groups – breeds, varieties, and species (McCarthy 2006). In hybrid speech acts, within the framework of one proposition, two different speech acts are realized simultaneously (for example, questions and requests), being blended into a new complex speech act with explicit lexicalization. Burenko (Буренко 2008: 4) argues that judging by the parameters of intention, situation, illocution, perlocution, the speech act of apology is

a hybrid speech act, which, according to the psychological grounds of apology, combines two equal dominant illocutions – the expression of the psychological state of guilt and shame (emotional component), and encouragement of the hearer to apologize to the speaker (incentive component).

3.3 Apologies as politeness strategies

In terms of the politeness principle, apologies serve to keep balance of participants' wants in discourse and aim at redressing face threatening acts, which are potentially disruptive to speaker-hearer relations. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), people generally make use of face-redressive strategies to mitigate the degree of face threat imposed by their actions. In situations of apologizing it is the speaker's negative face that is under threat as a result of the feeling of guilt for their misdeed. Apologies belong to negative face-redressive strategies, which focus on hearer's negative face needs, i.e. independence of action and thought. By offering apologies, the speaker minimizes the magnitude of imposition and intends to maintain territory and self-esteem, and to get rid of guilt.

Conventional apologies are politeness formulas. Schlund (2014: 271) defines politeness formulas as recurring linguistic elements stereotypically associated with politeness. Their form is motivated by their function and the major function of politeness lies in the establishment, maintenance, and negotiation of social distance relations (ibid., 272). In discourse, the spatial metaphor of communicative distance underpinned by two basic human needs: 'coming together' *vs 'noli me tangere'* lies in the basis of positive and negative politeness, where the latter aims at social 'estrangement' and the former aims at 'rapprochement' (House 2005: 18). In Brown and Levinson's model (1987), apology occurs in three negative politeness strategies: N2, N5, N6.

Negative politeness strategy "Question, hedge" (N2) is verbalized by two tactics: interrogation and mitigation. Below, the example from Robert Steele combines them both:

(10) …*will you excuse me a moment* *while I give my necessary orders for your accommodation?* (R. Steele "Conscious lovers").

Negative politeness strategy "Give deference" (N5) is expressed by the tactics of attracting attention (*sir*) and submission, for example:

(11) *Sorry to disturb you, sir, but I've got to take this one to see the Governor.* (E. Waugh "Decline and fall").

Negative politeness strategy 'Apologize' (N6) is most frequently realized by four tactics: recognition of the harm done to the hearer (*I'm awfully sorry for not recognizing you*)*;* recognition of speaker's unwillingness to harm the hearer (*I don't want to bother you*); providing explanations for the speaker's misdeed (*Pardon me, I knew not what I did*)*;* requesting an apology using stylistic means of enhancing an apology (such as repetitions) promising to avoid misbehaviour in the future (*forgive me now, and I'll never do that anymore*). In fictional discourse, the only tactic realized both directly and indirectly is the request for apology. All others are exclusively indirect.

In **non-conventional situations**, apologies' intentions vary from maintaining the interlocutor's face to threatening it, and thus are polite or impolite. In the former case, the indirect utterance of apology lacks corresponding lexemes used explicitly. It serves a negative politeness strategy intensified by indirectness, which Brown and Levinson (1987) treat as a separate negative politeness strategy, and Kravchenko and Pasternak (2018: 152) specify as a 'lack of precision', 'the use of empty signifiers', 'conditional clauses'. In the example below, the indirect apology only contains the explanation of the misdeed (*The word slipped from my lips*) and mitigating circumstances (*I did not mean it indeed*):

(12) *'The word slipped from my lips, I did not mean it indeed,' urged Kate.* (Ch. Dickens "Nicholas Nickleby").

In face threatening situations, apologies are obviously insincere. They realize sarcasm or mock politeness by performing a face-threatening act. As Terkourafi (2008: 70) puts it, "… impoliteness occurs when the expression used is not conventionalized relative to the context of occurrence; it threatens the addressee's face <...> but no face-threatening intention is attributed to the speaker by the hearer". For example, Lord Goring, notorious for his *bon mots*, escapes from a serious talk with his father Lord Caversham by offering a joke as an excuse – the answer, which infuriates his father:

(13) Lord Goring: *Well, the fact is, father, this is not my day for talking seriously. <u>I am very sorry, but it is not my day</u>.*
Lord Caversham: *What do you mean, sir?* (O. Wilde "An ideal husband").

Lord Goring's speech in (13) is overtly impolite. In Culpeper's (2009) parlance, this is a bald on-record 'negative impoliteness': the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's negative face wants (condescend, scorn, or ridicule as well as being contemptuous or not treating the other seriously emphasize the speaker's relative power) (ibid.). Such impolite apologies are mainly style-dependent and typical for certain writers, Oscar Wilde among them.

3.4 Cognitive-pragmatic types of apology
In the process of communication, apologies serve to get rid of guilt in different stages of interaction. They function both as a reaction to the existing feeling of guilt and as a way of preventing the appearance of this feeling.

Using the criterion of chronotope, Burenko (Буренко 2008) singles out two cognitive-pragmatic types of apology: the **corrective type,** i.e. reaction to the previous misdeed or misbehavior, on the one hand, and the **preventive type**, i.e. apologies, which prevent the feeling of guilt in future. These cognitive-pragmatic types of apology are intentionally different: in the former, the speaker expresses regret about the previous

misdeed, and in the latter, aims at preventing the emergence of guilt being guided by their knowledge of socio-cultural norms of etiquette.

Corrective and preventive speech acts are based on the concept of APOLOGY. In the English language, this concept is nominated by *apology (n)* and members of the lexico-semantic group of words of apology with the nucleus consisting of the nouns *apology*, *excuse*, *forgiveness*, *pardon*. According to the semantic analysis in Burenko (Буренко 2008), APOLOGY is construed by meanings, which include a plea for forgiveness, protection/justification of one's misdeed, admission/mitigation of guilt (central for APOLOGY), as well as expressing sympathy, repentance, or regret (peripheral for the concept).

Apologizing takes place between the speaker and the hearer. This highlights the dynamic nature of APOLOGY, conceptualized as a cognitive scenario including both guilt and apologizing. According to Burenko (ibid.), in cognitive scenarios of APOLOGY of corrective and preventive types the slots of guilt and apologizing are connected by different vectors: a prospective one in the former and a retrospective one in the latter. According to the intersubjective perspective used in our study we focus on the speaker – hearer interaffectivity and claim that cognitive scenarios of the two types of apologies have similar final points (relief from the feeling of guilt) but different starting points: in corrective apologies, it is the feeling of actual guilt (Fig. 2):
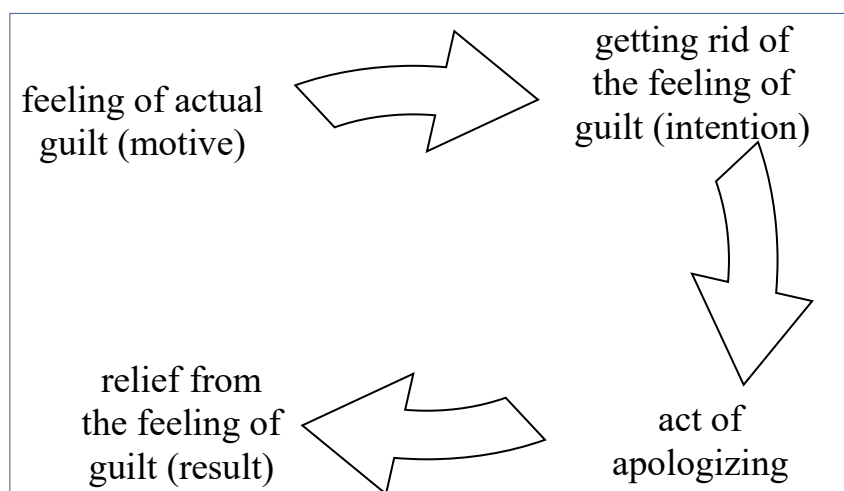

Figure 2. The cognitive scenario of corrective apology

On the contrary, in the cognitive scenario of preventive apologies the feeling of guilt is only potential as presupposed by the speaker's knowledge according to previous social and cultural experience (Fig. 3):
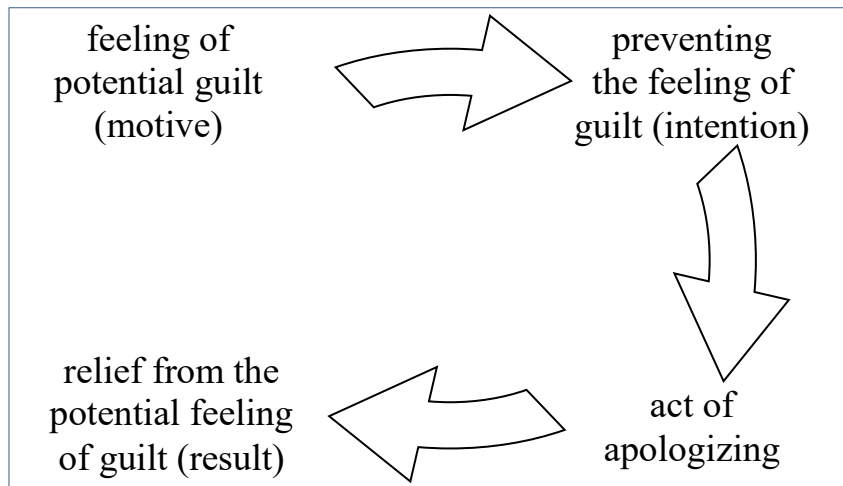
feeling of potential guilt (motive)	→	preventing the feeling of guilt (intention)
relief from the potential feeling of guilt (result)	←	act of apologizing

Figure 3. The cognitive scenario of preventive apology

The preventive cognitive-pragmatic type of apology is indivisible while the corrective one has further subtypes (Буренко 2008). Among them, at least three are found both in English and Ukrainian. They are: (a) requesting forgiveness, (b) naming one's emotional state, (c) offering excuses (argumentation).

(a) A request for forgiveness is a pragmatic-semantic subtype of apology corresponding to the performative formula: [*I ask you to forgive my doing smth. bad*], where *smth.* is a previous action. In this hybrid speech act, the incentive illocutionary force prevails.

 (b) Naming one's emotional state is a pragmatic-semantic subtype of apology, which displays the speaker's pains about the harm he caused to the hearer. Its performative formula is: [*I feel sorry because I have done smth. bad*], where *smth.* is a previous action. Most such apologies are realized by declarative sentences bearing lexemes of apology. In these hybrid apologies, the expression of the speaker's emotional state prevails.

(c) Offering excuses (argumentation) is a pragmatic-semantic subtype of corrective apologies, which corresponds to the performative formula *[I didn't mean to do smth. bad]*, where *smth.* is a previous misdeed or misbehaviour. In such speech acts, the emotive illocutionary force dominates over the incentive one. They are both realized indirectly. As a rule, the meaning of apology is inferential. It is deduced from the context and situation.

Pragmatically, the two types of apology vary as to their felicity conditions. In the corrective type or apology, the content condition lies in the speaker's expression of their emotional state, i.e. their feeling of guilt resulting from the previous damage done to the hearer. The preparatory condition for a felicitous corrective apology demands that its proposition is true to life. As a sincerity condition, the speaker wants to make up for their guilt and at the same time to induce the hearer to give their pardon. In the corrective type or apology, its essential condition, in accord with its illocutionary aim, is the speaker's intention to be relieved of their feeling of guilt and make the hearer excuse them.

In the preventive type of apology, the content condition lies in the expression of the speaker's emotional state (they are worried by possible negative after-effects of their violation of etiquette norms). The preparatory condition suggests a veritable proposition of the speech act. A sincerity condition lies in the speaker's want to prevent the feeling of guilt for a possible breech of the norms of etiquette. An essential condition is the speaker's intention to verbalize his/her emotional state not to let the feeling of guilt appear.

4. Apologies in cross-cultural perspective

Modern European cultures share certain general discourse practices, apologies included. Viewed as a socio-cultural phenomenon and routine behavior, apologies are universal, but the expression of any cultural universality in various societies may differ dramatically. In the case of apologies, their ritualistic nature in a certain ethnic society

depends on a set of values, formal and informal norms, and 'folkways' governing people's everyday behavior (Schaefer & Lamm 1989: 61-87). Both in English and Ukrainian, apologies function as politeness strategies though their linguistic forms and frequencies in discourse vary. In the following section, we first systematize the main cognitive-pragmatic characteristics of apologies in English and then describe their specific features in Ukrainian as compared to English. In section 3, we explicated the common features, which apologies share in the two discourses, so in section 4.2 below, we shall only exemplify different Ukrainian apologies in their linguistic and ethno-cultural perspectives.

4.1 Apologies in English discourse

In **corrective** cognitive-pragmatic types of English apologies, the most salient are requests for apology, nominations of the speaker's emotional state, excuses, confessions of guilt, promises to correct one's future behaviour.

In English speech acts of apology, the most frequent speech stereotype is *I am sorry.* Among requests for apology utterances with the verbs *beg, ask, apologize,* and the noun *apology* (*I owe you an apology*) dominate. Indirectly requests for apology are mostly implemented by yes-no questions (*Will you do smth.? Do you do smth.? Can you do smth.?*), which serve as a request for the possibility of obtaining pardon.

Speech acts nominating the speaker's emotional state are a pragmatic-semantic variety of apology often intensified by the modal verb-intensifier *should.* A high degree of emotion is achieved through the use of a wide range of adverbial markers (*very, deeply, so, really, awfully*).

The pragmatic-semantic subtype of the admission of guilt corresponds to the performative formula [*I admit I did smth. wrong*], where *smth.* is a previous action. Such speech acts as *"It was my fault"* realize the illocution of an apology indirectly.

Various pragmatic-semantic subtypes form clusters of apologies, which comprise two or three utterances in one speaker's move. Such clusters reach up to one-tenth of all apologies in English discourse.

In **preventive** apologies, their characteristic feature is a substantial prevalence of apologetic lexemes *forgive*, *pardon* with the modal verb *can* in the present or future tense forms (*Will you excuse me for a moment?*). In discourse, such apologies are accompanied by adverbs-intensifiers *very*, *awfully*, and the like.

In present-day English discourse, the use of *pardon* is typical in interrogative sentences (in yes-no questions, in formally declarative sentences with interrogative intonation, in elliptical sentences), in combination with the modal verbs *have* and *ought*: *I have to ask pardon; I ought to beg your pardon*; with a performative verb in the present continuous form: *Begging your pardon*.

4.2 Apologies in Ukrainian discourse

The hybrid expressive-and-directive nature of apologies explains, on the one hand, their cognitive similarity and, on the other, their social and linguistic difference in European languages. As ritualistic speech acts, they all serve to express and maintain the degree of civility prescribed by the cultural norms of a particular society. In modern culture studies, these norms are treated through cultural standards. As Fink et al. claim (2005: 3), cultural standards are "the underlying norms of thinking, sensing, perceiving, judging, and acting that the vast majority of individuals in a given culture is considering as normal for themselves and others". In a broad perspective, cultural standards help reveal specific empirical background of a particular culture and communication based on their historical past and ethnic psychology, and realized in discourse by lexis, grammar, and communicative strategies of a particular language.

According to Culpeper (2009), "Culture is a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioral conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people,

and that influence each member's behaviour and each member's interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behavior". Gutorov (Гуторов 2010: 113) specifies the role of violations of cultural norms of certain ethnic groups as a trigger for conflicts, which, in their turn, stipulate apologies:

Culture as a way of life organization in its ontological essence is a product of human activity, on the one hand, and on the other, an immanent hypostasis that refracts in its nature conventional, humanitarian categories in their discursive expression. Therefore, a violation of the cultural situation is fraught with conflicts in social and cultural consciousness...

Fink et al. (2008: 12-13) characterize Ukrainian culture as hierarchy oriented, having a flexible attitude to communicative rules, with a high degree of uncertainty. This explains a greater diversity of linguistic forms of apology (due to the system of singular/plural 2nd person verb forms, reflexive verbs) as well as more loose usage of speech formulas and stereotypes, colloquial included, in Ukrainian as compared to English. According to the grammatical nature of Ukrainian as an inflectional language, the most common form of imperative is the 2nd person; the choice of the singular or plural verb form depends not only on how many persons the speaker is addressing but rather on the degree of the speaker's respect to the hearer/s (the plural pronominal and verb forms are more polite, they are used when addressing one's senior or superior). When dealing with more than one person, plural forms of imperative/apology are the only option being neutral in respect to the politeness principle.

In a linguistic perspective, Ukrainian apologies as compared to English ones mainly differ in their forms and functions. Ukrainian apologies vary in the degree of politeness. In **corrective** cognitive-pragmatic type, the most frequent utterances of apologies are realized by the verbs of apologizing *вибачати, пробачати,* and colloquial *звиняти* ('forgive', 'cuse'). They name the misdeed (Ukr. – *ми повелися справді дещо безцеремонно.* Eng. – 'we were really a little bit unceremonious') and are followed by the explanation of reasons for one's guilt (Ukr. – *ми не чекали зустріти тут людину.* Eng. – 'we did not expect to meet a person here'), for example:

(14) Ukr. – *Пробачте, ми повелися справді дещо безцеремонно, але ми не чекали зустріти тут людину* (О. Тесленко "Дьондюранг").

Eng. – 'Forgive us, we really were somewhat unceremonious but we did not expect to meet a human here.

In a shorter version, the same semantic pattern comes down to an apology and an explanation of reasons for one's guilt. In the example below, the hearer highlights his lower status and his lack of cultural knowledge. In Ukrainian as contrasted to English, colloquial forms of apology contain a reflexive verb form (1st person singular) with the suffix *-ся/сь* '-self': *звиняюсь*, *вибачаюсь* '[I] apologize myself':

(15) Ukr. – *Куди кидаєш, там діти купаються! – Вибачаюсь! Дикі ми…* (О. Гончар "Берег любові").

Eng. – 'Where are you throwing it, children are bathing there! – I'm sorry! Uncouth we are ... '.

Another semantic pattern of apology broadly used in Ukrainian is the utterance of apologizing followed by a mitigating circumstance for the misdeed:

(16) Ukr. – *Ліза скрикнула. 'Вибач, я не хотів. Ходи до мене'. Я притягнув її ближче до себе* (К. Циганчук "Коли приходить темрява", p. 148).

Eng. – 'Lisa screamed. 'Sorry, I did not want to. Come to me'. I drew her closer to me'.

In the Ukrainian category of aspect, as distinct from English verbs of common and continuous aspect, there are two corresponding sets of perfective – imperfective forms. The former ones are stylistically neutral for imperatives, while the latter mark colloquial speech, i.e. Ukr. – *вибач/вибачте – вибачай/вибачайте,* which are 2nd person singular/plural perfective – singular/plural imperfective verb forms for Eng. – 'excuse'. Schlund (2014: 285-287) claims that in Slavic languages the imperfective

aspect expresses positive politeness and indicates positive effect for the hearer. Such imperfective verb forms are typical for colloquial Ukrainian apologies, for example:

(17) Ukr. – *Вибачайте, пане, – мовила Регіна, стоячи на однім місці, – не моя сила була упередити вас...* (І. Франко "Перехресні стежки").
Eng. – 'Excuse me, sir, said Regina standing in one place, it was not in my power to warn you …'.

In Ukrainian, apologies – mock politeness strategies are less frequent than in English. Morphologically the imperative verb forms in such mock apologies are both singular and plural, though the former prevail as in the example below where the jailer jokes about his attitude to the imprisoned girl:

(18) Ukr. – *Мусив, але не здійнялася рука будити її з такою претензією: перепрошую, подруго Волошко, я забув зодягти вам кайдани* (В. Шкляр "Троща", p. 203).
Eng. – 'I had to, but the arm did not rise to wake her up with such a claim: I apologize, my friend Voloshko, I forgot to put you into the chains.'

Cross-cultural differences also arise from the division of the Ukrainian verbal system into 2nd person singular and plural forms. As Schlund writes, Slavic are speech communities of proximity so number is probably most often associated with linguistic politeness (2014: 287), namely, the plural forms are considered more polite and used when addressing a hearer superior in age or position. In particular, in **preventive** apologies, a specific Ukrainian pragmatic-semantic subtype of apologizing for one's rude or unpleasant utterance, not found in the English language, is a combination of the 2nd person plural or singular form of the verbs *пробачати, дарувати, перепрошувати* inf. ('excuse, ask for pardon') with a lexeme *слово* ('word'), for example, Ukr. – *пробачте на слові, даруйте на слові, перепрошую на слові,* Eng. – 'forgive me for my word'. To some extent it corresponds to Eng. *forgive my saying so*

as in *"I said I'd tell you, only, if you'll <u>forgive my saying so, I shouldn't be too soft with 'im, sir. We know 'im of old. 'E's a sly old devil…"</u>* (E. Waugh "Decline and fall"). The Ukrainian lexeme *слово* 'word' serves an over-explicit marker of a negative politeness strategy. In this case, being in mid-position within the speaker's move or a simple sentence (19), this phrase serves a phatic element not aimed at the hearer's verbal reaction:

(19) Ukr. – *Твій жаль...нагадує дурного – <u>прости на слові</u> – Павлуся історію* (І. Франко "Перехресні стежки").

Eng. – 'Your sorrow ... reminds of a stupid – <u>sorry for the word</u> – Pavlusya's history'.

Preventive apologies are mostly followed by the speaker's reason for hypothetical guilt. They comprise the 2nd person perfective/imperfective plural verb forms: *вибачте/вибачайте* 'forgive [me]':

(20) Ukr. – <u>*Вибачте, я переб'ю*</u>: *його дівчину звали Альоною?* (К. Циганчук "Коли приходить темрява", р. 68).

Eng. – <u>Excuse my interrupting</u>, was his girl-friend's name Al'ona?'

(21) Ukr. – *Я давно бажав поговорити з вами по щирості, то вже <u>вибачайте, що скористаю з сеї нагоди</u>* (І. Франко "Перехресні стежки").

Eng. – 'I have long wanted to speak with you sincerely, so <u>I apologize that I will take advantage of this opportunity</u>'.

In preventive speech acts, the speaker often combines apologizing with reasons for the potential misdeed (22) or with the promise to redress for the present inconvenience in future (23):

(22) Ukr. – *Розумію, – протягнула вона й відразу ніби помстилася. – Ну, більше я нічого не зможу вам розповісти. <u>Вибачайте</u>. – Вона встала.* (К. Циганчук "Коли приходить темрява", р. 157).

Eng. – 'I see, – she drawled languidly as if getting her revenge immediately. – Well, that's all, folks. <u>Sorry</u>, – she got up'.

(22) Ukr. – <u>*Вибач, Стефцю*</u>, *– сказав я. – Поїдемо влітку. Вже як подружня пара* (В. Шкляр "Троща", р. 397).
Eng. – '<u>Sorry, my dear Stefka</u>, – I said. – We're going there this summer. As a married couple already.

To make preventive apologies more polite the speaker uses indirect speech acts. Among them there is hedging, i.e. omitting utterances or their parts. In Brown and Levinson's (1987) classification, they are negative politeness strategies. In example (23) the speaker apologizes because he has to interrupt the conversation and leave at once but explicitly he only gives the reasons for his immediate leaving:

(23) Ukr. – *У нас починається тренування. Ми отримуємо за це гроші й не можемо спізнюватися, тож <u>вибачте</u>* (К. Циганчук "Коли приходить темрява", р. 130).
Eng. – Our practice is starting. We're getting paid for that and can't be late, hence, <u>sorry</u>.

Finally, in Ukrainian as contrasted to English, the corrective and preventive subclasses of apologies are able to function as meta-discursive acts, i.e. not aimed at a positive or negative response, but rather serving a polite hedging. Meta-discursive apologies address a virtual hearer –God – by directly naming him, and contain the verb in the 2nd form singular: (Ukr. – *прости нам, Боже; нехай Бог простить*. Eng. – 'Lord, forgive us'; 'let God excuse'). In Ukrainian discourse, such meta-discursive apologies were typical in the 19th–20th centuries but are less frequent in the 21st century:

(24) Ukr. – *Се ще б і нічого, <…> та тільки ж у них усе так, <u>прости господи</u>, без толку.* (Л. Українка "Над морем").

Eng. – 'It would be nothing, <...> but they have everything like that, <u>let the Lord excuse,</u> with no sense'.

Both in English and Ukrainian, apologies function as mock politeness. Such speech acts are non-conventional. Their meaning is context dependent as in example (25), where the murderer uses over-polite forms as a sarcastic apology:

(25) Ukr. – *<u>Я прошу дарувати мені, що не вітаю вас вашою рідною мовою</u>. Але боюся, що моя нечиста вимова вразить вашу любов до рідного слова.* (Ю. Смолич "Господарство доктора Гальванеску", p. 92).
Eng. – '<u>I do beg your pardon for not greeting you in your own language</u>. I'm afraid that my impure pronunciation will be offensive to your love of the mother tongue'.

In example (25), the author renders Doctor Hal'vanesku's exquisite French with equally stylish Ukrainian words stirring up the feeling of evil premonition (Ukr. – *прошу дарувати мені, моя нечиста вимова вразить* …. Eng. – 'I do beg your pardon, my impure pronunciation will be offensive …').

The most frequent clusters of apologies both in English and Ukrainian are [nomination of the emotional state + a request for apology] and [confession of guilt + request for apology]. Other subclasses are ethnically and culturally specific according to the meta-discursive nature of these speech acts based on social values, moral norms, and folkways of a particular society, linguistic properties of a particular discourse, and the system of corresponding discourse strategies.

4. Conclusions and perspectives

In this paper, we have addressed the cognitive-pragmatic properties of apologies in English and Ukrainian discourse in terms of intersubjectivity underpinned by the achievements of cognitive, psychological, social, pragmatic, and cultural theorists. The methods of speech act modeling, intersubjective meaning construction, establishing

cognitive scenarios of apologies and their cross-cultural description ensure credibility of the results of our analysis.

As for the nature of apologies, they have proved to be interaction rituals rooted in the intersubjectivity of discourse. From a pragmatic point of view, they serve to combine at least two intentions thus forming conventional hybrid expressive-and-requestive speech acts. At the same time, apologies realize negative politeness strategies in discourse, they maintain appropriate speaker-hearer relations, and facilitate communication. Understanding of apology in terms of scenarios revealed its two cognitive-pragmatic types: corrective and preventive ones.

From a cross-cultural perspective, our integral cognitive-pragmatic approach has revealed significant coincidences between apologies' conceptual and pragmatic properties. English and Ukrainian apologies demonstrate common cognitive-pragmatic types but different subtypes and their linguistic realization.

On the whole, we argue that as a form of intersubjective behaviour apologizing depends on social norms and cultural standards, which underlie different strategies and linguistic forms of apology in particular national discourses. It seems promising to broaden the scope of national discourses used for cross-cultural analysis of apologies and deepen the analysis of psychological, social, cultural, and linguistic issues of speech rituals cooperating with international scholars.

List of abbreviations

inf. – infinitive

smth. – something

Notes

[1]All Ukrainian examples and Russian quotations in this article have been translated into English by the authors.

References

Aleksenko, S.F. (2004). *Variability of the intonation model of the utterance-apology in speech communication (experimental phonetic research based on English dialogical speech).* Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Aleksenko S.F. *Variativnost' intonatsionnoj modeli vyskazyvaniya-izvineniya v rechevoj kommunikatsii (eksperimental'no-foneticheskoye issledovaniye na materiale anglijskoj dialogicheskoj rechi).* Dissertatsiya na soiskaniye uchyonoj stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk. Spetsial'nost' 10.02.04 – germanskiye yazyki. Kiyev: Kiyevskij natsional'nyj lingvisticheskij universitet. / Алексенко С.Ф. *Вариативность интонационной модели высказывания-извинения в речевой коммуникации (экспериментально-фонетическое исследование на материале английской диалогической речи).* Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук. Специальность 10.02.04 – германские языки. Киев: Киевский национальный лингвистический университет.

Austen, J. *Sense and sensibility*. Available at:

https://www.gutenberg.org/files/161/161-h/161-h.htm

Beeching, K. (2019). Apologies in French and English: An insight into conventionalisation and im/politeness. In *Journal of pragmatics*, 142, p. 281-291. DOI: 10.1016/j.pragma.2019.01.014

Blum-Kulka, S. (1989). The CCSARP Coding Manual: The role of conventionality in indirectness. In *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies.* Blum-Kulka, S., House, J. & Kasper, G. (eds.). Norwood: Ablex, p. 273-294.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. Cambridge: Harward University Press. Available at:

https://monoskop.org/images/e/e0/Pierre_Bourdieu_Distinction_A_Social_Critique_of_the_Judgement_of_Taste_1984.pdf

Brown, P. & Levinson, S. (1986). *Politeness: Some universals in language use*. London – New York, etc.: Cambridge University Press.

Burenko, T.M. (2008). *Cognitive-pragmatic characteristics of the speech act of apology in the English discourse* of the 16th-21st centuries. Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kharkiv: V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University. / Burenko T.M. *Kohnityvno-prahmatychni kharakterystyky movlennyevoho aktu vybachennya v anhlijs'komu dyskursi 16-21 stolit'*. Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya kandydata filolohichnykh nauk. Spetsial'nist' 10.02.04 – hermans'ki movy. Kharkiv: Kharkivs'kyj natsional'nyj universytet imeni V.N. Karazina. / Буренко Т.М. *Когнітивно-прагматичні характеристики мовленнєвого акту вибачення в англомовному дискурсі XVI-XXI століть*. Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата філологічних наук. Спеціальність 10.02.04 – германські мови. Харків: Харківський національний університет імені В.Н. Каразіна.

Carston, R. & Wilson, D. (2019). Pragmatics and the challenge of 'non-propositional' effects. In *Journal of pragmatics*, 145, p. 31-38. DOI: 10.1016/j.pragma.2019.01.005

Coulmas, F. (1981). 'Poison to your soul'. Thanks and apologies contrastively viewed. In *Conversational routine.* Coulmas, F. (ed.). Trier: L.A.U.T, p. 69-91.

Culpeper, J. (2009). *Impoliteness: Using and understanding the language of offence.* Available at: http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/projects/impoliteness/

Dickens, Ch. *Nicholas Nickleby.* Available at:
https://www.gutenberg.org/files/967/967-h/967-h.htm

Dijk, T.A., van. (2008). *Discourse and context: A sociocognitive approach*. Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press.

Enright, R. (2001). *Forgiveness and choice*. Washington: American Psychological Association.

Fielding, H. *The history of Tom Jones, a foundling*. Available at:
https://www.gutenberg.org/files/6593/6593-h/6593-h.htm

Fink, L., Gruttauer, S. & Thomas, A. (2008). *Beruflich in der Ukraine. Trainingsprogramm für Manager, Fach- und Führungskräfte.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Fink, L., Kölling, M. & Neyer, A.-K. (2005). The cultural standard method. In *EI working papers / Europainstitut*, 62. Vienna: Europainstitut, WU Vienna University of Economics and Business, p. 3-28.

Franc, B. & Trevarthen, C. (2012). Intuitive meaning. In *Moving ourselves, moving others: Motion and emotion in intersubjectivity, consciousness and language*. Foolen, A., Lüdtke, U., Racine, T. & Zlatev, J. (eds.). Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins, p. 261-304.

Franko, I. *Crossing paths*. / Franko I. *Perekhresni stezhky*. / Франко I. *Перехресні стежки*. Available at: https://www.ukrlib.com.ua/books/printit.php?tid=658

Fraser, B. (1981). On apologizing. In *Conversational routine*. Coulmas, E. (ed.). The Hague, Paris: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 259-271.

Gay, J. *Beggar's opera.* Available at:
http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/2421/pg2421-images.html

Gibbs Jr., R. (2004). *Intentions in the experience of meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in public*. New York: Harper & Row.

Gutorov, V. (2010). Fictitiousness as an interpretational problem in various discourses. In *Journal of V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University*, 897 (62), p. 109-114. / Gutorov V. Fiktsional'nost' kak interprpetatsional'naya problema v razlichnykh diskursakh. In *Visnyk Kharkivs'koho natsional'noho universytetu imeni V.N. Karazina*, 897 (62), s. 109-114. / Гуторов В. Фикциональность как интерпретационная проблема в различных дискурсах. *Вісник Харківського національного університету імені В.Н. Каразіна*, 897 (62), с. 109-114. Available at: http://foreign-languages.karazin.ua/resources/ec607d572b317b6b3a9c93f1ee19596c.pdf

Haugh, M. (2009). Intention(ality) and the conceptualization of communication in pragmatics. In *Australian journal of linguistics*, 29 (1), p. 91-113. DOI: 10.1080/07268600802516301

Honchar, O. *The coast of love.* / Honchar O. Bereh lyubovi. / Гончар О. *Берег любові.* Available at: https://www.ukrlib.com.ua/books/printit.php?tid=532&page=2

House, J. (2005). Politeness in Germany: Politeness in Germany? In *Politeness in Europe.* Hickey, L., Stewart, L. & Stewart, M. (eds.). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, p. 13-28.

Izard, C.E. (2002). *Psychology of emotions.* Saint Petersburg: Peter. / Izard K.E. *Psikhologiya emotsij.* Sankt Peterburg: Piter. / Изард К.Э. *Психология эмоций.* Санкт Петербург: Питер.

Jaegher, H., Pieper, B., Clénin, D. & Fuchs, Th. (2017). Grasping intersubjectivity: An invitation to embody social interaction research. In *Phenomenology and the cognitive sciences*, 16, p. 491-523. Available at:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305079613_Grasping_intersubjectivity_an_invitation_to_embody_social_interaction_research

Karasik, V.I. (2017). *Linguistic plasticity of communication.* Volgograd: Paradigma. / Karasik V.I. *Yazykovaya plastika obscheniya.* Volgograd: Paradigma. / Карасик В.И. *Языковая пластика общения.* Волгоград: Парадигма.

Kramer-Moore, D. & Moore, M. (2003). Pardon me for breathing: Seven types of apology. In *ETC: A review of general semantics*, 60 (2), p. 160-169. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/42578290

Kravchenko, N. & Pasternak, T. (2018). Claim for identity or personality face: The Oscar winners' dilemma. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, 2018, III (1), June 2018, p. 142-178. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0005

Makkai, A. (1972). *Idiom structure in English.* The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter.

Martínez-Flor, A. & Beltrán-Palanques, V. (2014). The role of politeness in apology sequences: How to maintain harmony between speakers. In *Estudios de linguistica inglesa aplicada*, 14, p. 43-66. DOI: 10.12795/elia.2014.i14.03

Martynyuk, A. (2017). "Now that the magic is gone" or toward cognitive analysis of verbal/co-verbal communication. In *Cognition, communication, discourse*, 15, p. 51-72. Available at:

https://sites.google.com/site/cognitiondiscourse/vypusk-no15-2017/martynyuk-a-p

Matevosyan, L.B. (2018). The stereotypical layer of linguistic consciousness as a component of the communicative model. In *Doctrina multiplex, veritas una. Collection of articles in honor of I.R. Buniyatova's anniversary*. Kyiv: B. Hrinchenko University, p. 196-206. / Matevosyan L.B. Stereotipnyj plast yazykovogo soznaniya – sostavlyayuschaya kommunikativnoj modeli. In *Doctrina multiplex, veritas una. Uchen' bahato, istyna odna: Zbirnyk prats' do yuvileyu I.R. Buniyatovoyi*. Kyyiv: Universytet imeni B. Hrinchenka, s. 196-206. / Матевосян Л.Б. Стереотипный пласт языкового сознания – составляющая коммуникативной модели. In *Doctrina multiplex, veritas una. Учень багато, істина одна: Збірник праць до ювілею І.Р. Буніятової*. Київ: Університет імені Б. Грінченка, с. 196-206.

Matyukhina, Yu.V. (2004). *The development of a phatic meta-communication system in the English discourse in the 16th-20th centuries*. Thesis for the candidate degree in philology. Speciality 10.02.04 – Germanic languages. Kharkiv: V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University. / Matyukhina Yu.V. *Razvitie sistemy faticheskoj metakommunikatsii v anglijskom diskurse XVI-XX vv*. Dissertatsiya na soiskaniye uchyonoj stepeni kandidata filologicheskich nauk. Special'nost' 10.02.04. Khar'kov: Khar'kovskij natsional'nyj universitet imeni V.N. Karazina. / Матюхина Ю.В. *Развитие системы фатической метакоммуникации в английском дискурсе XVI-XX вв.* Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук. Специальность 10.02.04 – германские языки. Харьков: Харьковский национальный университет имени В.Н. Каразина.

McCarthy, E.M. (2006). *Handbook of avian hybrids of the world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Meier, A.J. (1998). Apologies: What do we know? In *International journal of applied linguistics*, 8 (2), p. 215-231.

Orwell, G. *Nineteen eighty-four*. Available at:
http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks01/0100021.txt

Owen, M. (1983). *Apologies and remedial exchanges. A study of language use in social interaction*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Panasenko, N., Greguš, Ľ. & Zabuzhanska, I. (2018). Conflict, confrontation, and war reflected in mass media: Semantic wars, their victors and victims. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava.* Warsaw: De Gruyter Poland, 2018, III (2), p. 132-163. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0017

Rathmayr, R. (2003). *Pragmatics of apology: A comparative study on the material of the Russian language and Russian culture*. Moscow: Languages of Slavic culture. / Ratmajr R. *Pragmatika izvineniya: Sravnitel'noye issledovaniye na materiale russkogo yazyka i russkoj kultury.* Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskoj kultury. / Ратмайр Р. *Прагматика извинения: Сравнительное исследование на материале русского языка и русской культуры.* Москва: Языки славянской культуры.

Roberts, G.D. *Shantaram*. Available at:

https://epdf.pub/shantaramee71a398439207ad80538be5ff5b789774351.html

Roussillon, R. (2014). Intersubjectivitè et inter-intentionnalitè. In *Enfances & psy*, 1 (62), p. 39-49. Available at: https://www.cairn.info/revue-enfances-et-psy-2014-1-page-39.htm

Schaefer, R.T. & Lamm, R.P. (1989). *Sociology*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Schlund, K. (2014). On form and function of politeness formulas. In *Journal of politeness research*, 10 (2), p. 271-296. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/264881733_On_form_and_function_of_politeness_formulas

Scollon, R. & Scollon, S. (1983). Face in interethnic communication. In *Ethnic communication*. Richards, T. & Schmidt, T. (eds.). London: Sage, p. 156-188.

Searle, J.R. (1975). Indirect speech acts. In *Syntax and semantics*, *Vol. 3: Speech acts*. Cole, P. & Morgan, J.L. (eds.). New York: Academic Press, p. 58-82.

Senft, G. (2014). *Understanding pragmatics*. London – New York: Routledge.

Shevchenko, I.S. (2013). Apologies as a component of a foreign language communicative competence. In *Modern fundamental theories and innovative practices of foreign language learning at higher educational institutions*. Pasynok, V.H. (ed.). Kharkiv: V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, p. 310-323. / Shevchenko I.S. Vybachennya yak skladova inshomovnoyi komunikatyvnoyi kompetentsiyi. In

Suchasni fundamental'ni teoriyi ta innovatsijni praktyky navchannya inozemnoyi movy u VNZ. Pasynok V.G. (red.). Kharkiv: Kharkivs'kyj natsional'nyj universytet imeni V.N. Karazina, s. 310-323. / Шевченко І.С. Вибачення як складова іншомовної комунікативної компетенції. In *Сучасні фундаментальні теорії та інноваційні практики навчання іноземної мови у ВНЗ.* Пасинок В.Г. (ред.). Харків: Харківський національний університет імені В.Н. Каразіна, с. 310-323.

Shevchenko, I.S. (2017). Conceptualization of communicative behavior in discourse. In *How to make a portrait of the bird: Methodology of a cognitive-communicative language analysis.* Shevchenko, I.S. (ed.). Kharkiv: V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, p. 106-147. / Shevchenko I.S. Kontseptualizatsiya kommunitkativnogo povedeniya v diskurse. In *Kak narisovat' portret ptitsy: Metodologiya kognitivno-kommunikativnogo analiza yazyka.* Shevchenko I.S. (red). Khar'kov: Khar'kovskij natsional'nyj universitet imeni V.N. Karazina, s. 106-147. / Шевченко И.С. Концептуализация коммуникативного поведения в дискурсе. In *Как нарисовать портрет птицы: Методология когнитивно-коммуникативного анализа языка.* Шевченко И.С. (ред.). Харьков: Харьковский национальный университет имени В.Н. Каразина, с. 106-147.

Shevchenko, I.S. (2015). The correlation of the informational and phatic functions as a problem of ecolinguistics. In *Cognition, communication, discourse*, 10, p. 114-132. / Shevchenko I.S. Sootnosheniye informativnoj i faticheskoj funktsij kak problema ekolingvistiki. In *Cognition, communicateon, discourse,* 10, s. 114-132 / Шевченко И.С. Соотношение информативной и фатической функций как проблема эколингвистики. In *Cognition, communication, discourse*, 10, с. 114-132. Available at: https://doi.org/10.26565/2218-2926-2015-10-08

Shklyar, V. (2017). *The Doomsday*. Kharkiv: Knyzhkovyj klub "Klub Simejnoho Dozvillya". / Shklyar V. *Troscha*. Kharkiv: Knyzhkovyj klub "Klub Simejnoho Dozvillya". / Шкляр В. *Троща*. Харків: Книжковий клуб "Клуб Сімейного Дозвілля".

Schmid, H.-J. (2012). Generalizing the apparently ungeneralizable. Basic ingredients of a cognitive-pragmatic approach to the construal of meaning-in-context. In *Cognitive*

pragmatics. Handbooks of pragmatics. Schmid, H.-J. (ed.). Vol. 4. Berlin, etc.: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 3-22.

Smolych, Yu. (2017). The estate of doctor Hal'vanesku. In *Shooting on the stairs. Crime fiction of the 1920s.* Kyyiv: Tempora, s. 75-200. / Smolych Yu. Hospodarstvo doktora Hal'vanesku. In *Postril na skhodakh. Detektyv 20-kh rokiv.* Kyyiv: Tempora, s. 75-200. / Смолич Ю. Господарство доктора Гальванеску. In *Постріл на сходах. Детектив 20-х років.* Київ: Темпора, с. 75-200.

Steele, R. (1952). The Conscious lovers. In *Eighteenth-century plays.* New York: Random House, p. 109-178.

Stern, D.N. (2007). Applying developmental and neuroscience findings on other-centered participation to the process of change in psychotherapy. In *On being moved. From mirror neurons to empathy. Advances in consciousness research.* Bråten, S. (ed.). Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins, p. 35-47.

Tangney, J.P., Stuewig, J. & Martinez, A.G. (2014). Two faces of shame: The roles of shame and guilt in predicting recidivism. In *Psychological science*, 25 (3), p. 799-805. DOI: 10.1177/0956797613508790

Terkourafi, M. (2008). Towards a unified theory of politeness, impoliteness, and rudeness. In *Impoliteness in language: Studies on its interplay with power in theory and practice.* Bousfield, D. & Locher, M. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 45-74.

Teslenko, O. *D'ondyuranh.* / Teslenko O. *D'ondyuranh.* / Тесленко О. *Дьондюранг.* Available at: https://www.litmir.me/bd/?b=116099

Traugott, E. (2003). From subjectification to intersubjectification. In *Motives for language change.* Hickey, R. (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 124-139.

Tretyakova, T.P. (2015). On the linguistic interpretation of modern stereotypes. In *Newsletter of A.S. Pushkin Leningrad State University. Philology*, 1 (7), p. 201-208. / Tret'yakova T.P. O lingvisticheskoj interpretatsii sovremennykh stereotipov. In *Vestnik leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. A.S. Pushkina. Filologiya,* 1 (7), s. 201-208. / Третьякова Т.П. О лингвистической интерпретации современных

стереотипов. In *Вестник ленинградского государственного университета им. А.С. Пушкина. Филология,* 1 (7), с. 201-208.

Tsyhanchuk, K. (2016). *When darkness comes*. Kharkiv: Knyzhkovyj klub "Klub Simejnoho Dozvillya". / Tsyhanchuk K. *Koly prykhodyt' temryava*. Kharkiv: Knyzhkovyj klub "Klub Simejnoho Dozvillya". / Циганчук К. *Коли приходить темрява*. Харків: Книжковий клуб "Клуб Сімейного Дозвілля".

Ukrainka, L. *Above the sea*. / Ukrayinka L. *Nad morem*. / Українка Л. *Над морем*. Available at: https://www.l-ukrainka.name/uk/Prose/NadMorem.html

Waugh, E. *Decline and fall.* Available at: https://gutenberg.ca/ebooks/waughe-declineandfall/waughe-declineandfall-00-h-dir/waughe-declineandfall-00-h.html

Wierzbicka, A. (1987). *English speech act verbs: A semantic dictionary*. London: Academic Press.

Wilde, O. *An ideal husband*. Available at: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/885/885-h/885-h.htm

Wilde, O. *The importance of being Earnest. A trivial comedy for serious people*. Available at: https://www.gutenberg.org/files/844/844-h/844-h.htm

Zlatev, J., Brinck, I. & Andrén, M. (2008). Stages in the development of perceptual intersubjectivity. In *Enacting intersubjectivity: A cognitive and social perspective on the study of interactions*. Morganti, F., Carassa, A. & Riva, G. (eds.). Amsterdam: IOS Press, p. 117-132.

Contact data		**Fields of interest**
Iryna Shevchenko, DrSc. (Philology), Professor Chair of ESP and Translation, V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, 4, Svobody sq., Kharkiv, Ukraine, 61022 e-mail: iryna.shevchenko@karazin.ua		Discourse studies, historical pragmatics, cognitive pragmatics, cognitive linguistics, historical cognitive linguistics

Contact data		Fields of interest
Contact data Volodymyr Gutorov, CSc. (Philology), Associate Professor Chair of General and Applied Linguistics, V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, 4, Svobody sq., Kharkiv, Ukraine, 61022 e-mail: gutorov@karazin.ua		**Fields of interest** Discourse studies, translation studies, English for specific purposes.

Résumé

This paper focuses on the cognitive-pragmatic properties of apologies in English and Ukrainian discourse viewed in terms of intersubjectivity. The analysis is underpinned by understanding communication against a psychological, social, pragmatic, and cultural background, which reveals the intersubjective nature of apologies and explicates their difference in ethnic discourses. A complex of methods used to study apologies comprises semantic and pragmatic analyses, conceptual modeling, and comparative study to identify ethnic, cultural, and linguistic properties of apology in English versus Ukrainian. First, we analyzed apology in terms of intersubjectivity or experience sharing and revealed the interaffective conditions for successful apologies. Then we described apology as a combination of intentions and illocutions: expressing the speaker's emotion of guilt and requesting forgiveness. We claim that apology is a ritualistic stereotypical conventional speech act of a hybrid expressive-and-directive nature possessing a blend of emotional and incentive illocutions. We model this speech act as a unity of aspects: speaker, hearer, their intentions, locution, illocution, proposition, context, situation, communicative norms. Specific pragmatic-semantic patterns of apologies depending on these aspects are described. A comprehensive analysis of apologies in terms of politeness principles reveals their role as discourse strategies of negative politeness or negative impoliteness. Cognitive-pragmatic properties of these speech acts are rooted in the concepts of GUILT and APOLOGY, and conceptualized in their scenarios; they define corrective and preventive subtypes

of apologies. Finally, in English vs Ukrainian discourse, the corrective and preventive pragmatic-semantic subtypes of apology are singled out. From a cross-cultural perspective, it is argued that English and Ukrainian apologies demonstrate common cognitive-pragmatic types but different linguistic realization. Specific Ukrainian apologies are marked by reflexive and perfective verb forms not found in English.