

ISSN 2218-2926

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OF UKRAINE

V. N. KARAZIN KHARKIV NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

COGNITION, COMMUNICATION, DISCOURSE

Series “Philology”

20

International on-line scholarly journal

<http://sites.google.com/site/cognitiondiscourse/home>

Published since 2010

**Included in the list of specialized scientific publications in Ukraine category “Б”
(The order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine
from 28.12.2019 No 1643).**

**Kharkiv
2020**

This special issue presents findings of researchers from Ukraine, including a Fulbright visiting scholar in the USA, and Armenia who reveal cognitive and communicative aspects of text and discourse of different genres: manipulative strategies in legal speech; contradictory concepts of irony and trauma in Schottish fiction; fantasy text characters by J.R.R. Tolkien; means of authorization in modern English magazine discourse, and stancetaking in contemporary English risk discourse and an algorithm for analyzing the narrative multimedia concept of coronavirus. The articles are based on English and Turkish as the material for their research.

For linguists, teachers, graduate students and undergraduates.

Editor-in-Chief:

Iryna Shevchenko, Doctor, Professor (V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine);
iryna.shevchenko@karazin.ua;

Vice Editor-in-Chief:

Y. V. Bondarenko, Doctor, Professor (V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine);
ievgeniia.bondarenko.2014@gmail.com;

Consultant Editors:

Ronald W. Langacker, Doctor, Professor (University of California, San Diego, United States)
 Suzanne Kemmer, Doctor, Professor (Rice University, Huston, United States)

Technical editor:

M. V. Kotov, Doctor, Associate Professor (V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine);
mykhailo.kotov@karazin.ua;

Executive secretary

A. B. Kalyuzhna, Doctor, Associate Professor (V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine);
alevtyna.kalyuzhna@karazin.ua; alevtyna_16@ukr.net;

Editorial Board:

Donka Alexandrova, Doctor, Professor (University St. Kliment Ohridski, Sofia, Bulgaria);
 A. D. Belova, Doctor, Professor (Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University, Ukraine);
 L. R. Bezugla, Doctor, Professor (V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine);
 Natalia Chaban, Doctor, Professor (University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand);
 V. E. Chernyavskaya, Doctor, Professor (Peter the Great St. Petersburg Polytechnic University, Russia);
 Elżbieta Chrzanowska-Kluczevska, Doctor, Professor (Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland);
 Margaret H. Freeman, Doctor, Professor Emeritus, Co-director (Myrrifield Institute for Cognition and the Arts, Heath, United States);
 Seda Q. Gasparyan, Doctor, Professor (Yerevan State University, Armenia);
 Alina Israeli, Doctor, Associate Professor, Department of World Languages and Cultures (American University, Washington, D.C., United States);
 V. I. Karasik, Doctor, Professor (Pushkin State Russian Language Institute, Moscow, Russia);
 Y. A. Karpilovska, Doctor, Professor (Ukrainian Language Institute, National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv, Ukraine);
 Ben O'Loughlin, Professor (Royal Holloway, University of London, United Kingdom);
 G. N. Manaenko, Doctor, Professor (North Caucasus Federal University, Stavropol, Russia);
 A. P. Martyniuk, Doctor, Professor (V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine);
 Francisco D. Matito, Doctor, Professor Titular (University of La Rioja, Logroño, Spain);
 O. I. Morozova, Doctor, Professor (V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine);
 Nataliya Panasenko, DrSci, Professor (University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, Slovakia);
 V. G. Pasyuk, Doctor, Professor (V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine);
 A. M. Prykhodko, Doctor, Professor (Zaporizhzhia National Technical University, Ukraine);
 O. V. Rebrij, Doctor, Professor (V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine);
 V. O. Samokhina, Doctor, Professor (V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine);
 L.V. Soloschuk, Doctor, Professor (V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine);
 Peeter Torop, Doctor, Professor (University of Tartu, Estonia);
 O. P. Vorobyova, Doctor, Professor (Kyiv National Linguistic University, Ukraine);
 S. A. Zhabotynska, Doctor, Professor (Bohdan Khmelnytsky Cherkassy National University, Ukraine).

Editorial Address:

4, Svobody square, Kharkiv, 61022, Ukraine
(V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine)
Faculty of Foreign Languages
Tel.: (057) 707-51-44

cognition.discourse.journal@karazin.ua

<http://www.periodicals.karazin.ua>

Internet-page: <http://sites.google.com/site/cognitiondiscourse/home>

All articles are double blind peer reviewed
Semiannual

Recommended by the Academic Council of V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University
(Minutes # 10 of June 23, 2020)

Abstracting / Indexing:

Bielefeld Academic Search Engine (BASE),
Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ),
Index Copernicus,
ERIH PLUS,
Google Academy,
ResearchBib,
Scientific Indexing Services (SIS),
Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine,
Ulrichsweb.

МІНІСТЕРСТВО ОСВІТИ І НАУКИ УКРАЇНИ
ХАРКІВСЬКИЙ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ
імені В. Н. КАРАЗІНА

КОГНІЦЯ, КОМУНІКАЦІЯ, ДИСКУРС

Напрямок “Філологія”

№ 20

Міжнародний електронний збірник наукових праць

Започаткований у 2010 р.

Включено до Переліку
спеціалізованих наукових видань України категорії “Б”
(наказ МОН України від 28.12.2019 № 1643).

Харків
2020

У цьому випуску представлений доробок українських дослідників, у тому числі стипендіата Фулбрайта в США, і Вірменії, які розкривають когнітивні та комунікативні аспекти тексту і дискурсу різних жанрів: маніпулятивні стратегії в юридичній мові; суперечливі концепти іронії і травми в шотландській художній літературі; персонажну мову фентезі Р. Р. Толкієна; засоби авторизації в сучасному англійському журнальному дискурсі, а також природу сучасного англійського дискурсу ризику і алгоритм аналізу наративного мультимедійного концепту коронавірус. Статті використовують англійську та турецьку мови в якості матеріалу дослідження.

Для лінгвістів, викладачів, аспірантів і магістрантів.

Затверджено рішенням Вченої ради
Харківського національного університету імені В.Н. Каразіна
(протокол № 10 від 23 червня 2020 р.)

Головний редактор

І. С. Шевченко, докт. філол. нук, професор (Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна, Україна);
iryana.shevchenko@karazin.ua;

Заступник головного редактора

Є. В. Бондаренко, доктор філол. наук, професор (Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна, Україна); ievgeniia.bondarenko.2014@gmail.com;

Редактори-консультанти

Роналд Ленекер, доктор наук, професор (університет Каліфорнії, Сан-Дієго, США)
Сюзанна Кеммер, доктор наук, професор (університет Райс, Х'юстон, Техас, США)

Технічний редактор

М. В. Котов, канд. філол. наук, доцент (Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна, Україна);
mykhailo.kotov@karazin.ua;

Відповідальний секретар

А. Б. Калюжна, канд. філол. наук, доцент (Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна, Україна); alevtyna.kalyuzhna@karazin.ua; alevtyna_16@ukr.net ;

Редакційна колегія

Донка Александрова, доктор філософії, професор (університет Св. Климента Охридського, Софія, Болгарія)
Л. Р. Безугла, докт. філол. наук, професор (Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна, Україна)
А. Д. Белова, докт. філол. наук, професор (Київський національний університет імені Тараса Шевченка, Україна)
О. П. Воробйова, докт. філол. наук, професор (Київський національний лінгвістичний університет, Україна)
С. К. Гаспарян, докт. філол. наук, професор (Єреванський державний університет, Вірменія)
С. А. Жаботинська, докт. філол. наук, професор (Черкаський національний університет імені Богдана Хмельницького, Україна)
Аліна Ізраелі, доктор, доцент, кафедра мов і культур світу (Американський університет, Вашингтон, США)
В. І. Карасик, докт. філол. наук, професор (Державний інститут російської мови імені О. С. Пушкіна, Москва, Росія)
Є. А. Карпіловська, докт. філол. наук, професор (Інститут української мови Національної академії наук України, Україна)
Ельжбета Кржановська-Ключевська, доктор наук, професор (Ягелонський університет, Краків, Польща)
Бен О'Лофлін, професор (університет Лондона, Ройал Холлоу, Велика Британія)
Г. М. Манаєнко, докт. філол. наук, професор (Північно-Кавказький федеральний університет, Ставрополь, Росія)
А. П. Мартинюк, докт. філол. наук, професор (Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна, Україна)
О. І. Морозова, докт. філол. наук, професор (Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна, Україна)
Наталія Панасенко, докт. філол. наук, професор (Трнавський університет св. Кирила і Мефодія, Словачія)
В. Г. Пасинок, докт. пед. наук, професор (Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна, Україна)
А. М. Приходько, докт. філол. наук, професор (Запорізький національний технічний університет, Україна)
О. В. Ребрій, докт. філол. наук, професор (Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна, Україна)
В. О. Самохіна, докт. філол. наук, професор (Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна, Україна)

Л. В. Солошук, докт. філол. наук, професор (Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна, Україна)

Пеетер Тороп, доктор філології, професор (Тартуський університет, Естонія)

Маргарет Фріман, доктор філософії, почесний професор (Веллі коледж, Лос-Анжелес, США); співдиректор (Мерифілд інститут когніції та гуманітарних наук, Хіт, США)

Наталія Чабан, доктор філософії, професор (університет Кентербері, Крайстчерч, Нова Зеландія)

В. Є. Чернявська, докт. філол. наук, професор (Санкт-Петербурзький державний політехнічний університет Петра Великого, Росія)

Адреса редакційної колегії:

Україна, 61022, м. Харків, майдан Свободи, 4
(Харківський національний університет імені В.Н. Карабіна)

Факультет іноземних мов. Тел.: (057) 707-51-44

cognition.discourse.journal@karazin.ua

<http://www.periodicals.karazin.ua>

Інтернет-сторінка: <http://sites.google.com/site/cognitiondiscourse/home>

Текст подано в авторській редакції. Статті пройшли внутрішнє та зовнішнє рецензування.

Періодичність – 2 випуски на рік

Журнал “Kognitsia, kommunikatsia, diskurs” індексовано в міжнародних базах даних:

Bielefeld Academic Search Engine (BASE),

Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ),

Index Copernicus,

ERIH PLUS,

Google Academy,

ResearchBib,

Scientific Indexing Services (SIS),

Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine,

Ulrichsweb.

МИНИСТЕРСТВО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ И НАУКИ УКРАИНЫ

ХАРЬКОВСКИЙ НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ
имени В. Н. КАРАЗИНА

КОГНИЦИЯ, КОММУНИКАЦИЯ, ДИСКУРС

Направление “Филология”

№ 20

Международный электронный сборник научных трудов

Основан в 2010 г.

Включен в Перечень
специализированных научных изданий Украины категории “Б”
(приказ МОН Украины от 28.12.2019 № 1643).

Харьков
2020

В этом специальном выпуске представлены результаты исследований украинских исследователей, в том числе стипендиата Фулбрайта в США, и Армении, которые раскрывают когнитивные и коммуникативные аспекты текста и дискурса разных жанров: манипулятивные стратегии в юридической речи; противоречивые концепты иронии и травмы в шотландской художественной прозе; речь персонажей фэнтези Р. Р. Толкиена; средства авторизации в современном английском журнальном дискурсе, а также суть современного английского дискурса риска и алгоритм анализа нарративного мультимедийного концепта коронавируса. Статьи используют английский и турецкий языки в качестве материала исследования.

Для лингвистов, преподавателей, аспирантов и магистрантов.

Утверждено решением Ученого совета
Харьковского национального университета имени В. Н. Каразина
(протокол № 10 от 23 июня 2020 г.)

Главный редактор

И. С. Шевченко, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Харьковский национальный университет имени В. Н. Каразина);
iryua.shevchenko@karazin.ua;

Заместитель главного редактора

Е. В. Бондаренко, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Харьковский национальный университет имени В. Н. Каразина);
ievgeniia.bondarenko.2014@gmail.com;

Редакторы-консультанты

Рональд Ленекер, доктор наук, профессор (университет Калифорнии, Сан-Диего, США)
Сюзанна Кеммер, доктор наук, профессор (университет Райс, Хьюстон, Техас, США)

Технический редактор

М. В. Котов, канд. филол. наук, доцент (Харьковский национальный университет имени В. Н. Каразина, Украина); mykhailo.kotov@karazin.ua;

Ответственный секретарь

А. Б. Калюжная, канд. филол. наук, доцент (Харьковский национальный университет имени В. Н. Каразина, Украина); alevtyna.kalyuzhna@karazin.ua; alevtyna_16@ukr.net;

Редакционная коллегия

Донка Александрова, доктор философии (университет Св. Климента Охридского, София, Болгария)
Л. Р. Безуглая, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Харьковский национальный университет имени В. Н. Каразина, Украина)
А. Д. Белова, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Киевский национальный университет имени Тараса Шевченко, Украина)
О. П. Воробьева, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Киевский национальный лингвистический университет, Украина)
С. К. Гаспарян, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Ереванский государственный университет, Армения)
С. А. Жаботинская, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Черкасский национальный университет имени Богдана Хмельницкого, Украина)
Алина Израели, доктор, доцент, кафедра языков и культур мира (Американский университет, Вашингтон, США)
В. И. Карасик, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Государственный институт русского языка имени А. С. Пушкина, Москва, Россия)
Е. А. Карпиловская, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Институт украинского языка Национальной академии наук Украины, Украина)
Эльжбета Кржановска-Ключевска, доктор наук, профессор (Ягеллонский университет, Краков, Польша)
Бен О'Лофлин, профессор (университет Лондона, Ройал Холлоу, Великобритания)
Г. Н. Манаенко, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Северо-Кавказский федеральный университет, Ставрополь, Россия)
А. П. Мартынюк, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Харьковский национальный университет имени В. Н. Каразина, Украина)
Е. И. Морозова, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Харьковский национальный университет имени В. Н. Каразина, Украина)
Наталья Панасенко, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Трнавский университет св. Кирила и Мефодия, Словакия)
В. Г. Пасынок, докт. пед. наук, профессор (Харьковский национальный университет имени В. Н. Каразина, Украина)

- А. Н. Приходько, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Запорожский национальный технический университет, Украина)
- А. В. Ребрий, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Харьковский национальный университет имени В. Н. Каразина, Украина)
- В. А. Самохина, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Харьковский национальный университет имени В. Н. Каразина, Украина)
- Л. В. Солощук, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Харьковский национальный университет имени В. Н. Каразина, Украина)
- Пеэтер Тороп, доктор философии, профессор (Тартуский университет, Эстония)
- Маргарет Фриман, доктор философии, почетный профессор (Вэлли Колледж, Лос-Анжелес, США); со-директор (Мэрифилд институт когниции и гуманитарных наук, Хит, США)
- Наталья Чабан, доктор философии, профессор (университет Кентербери, Крайстчерч, Новая Зеландия)
- В. Е. Чернявская, докт. филол. наук, профессор (Санкт-Петербургский государственный политехнический университет Петра Великого, Россия)

Адрес редакционной коллегии:

Украина, 61022, г. Харьков, пл. Свободы, 4
Харьковский национальный университет имени В.Н. Каразина
Факультет иностранных языков Тел.: (057) 707-51-44
cognition.discourse.journal@karazin.ua
<http://www.periodicals.karazin.ua>

Интернет-страница: <http://sites.google.com/site/cognitiondiscourse/home>

Текст дается в авторской редакции. Статьи прошли внутреннее и внешнее рецензирование.
Периодичность – 2 выпуска в год.

Журнал “Kognitsia, kommunikatsia, diskurs” индексируется в международных базах данных:

Bielefeld Academic Search Engine (BASE),
Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ),
Index Copernicus,
ERIH PLUS,
Google Academy,
ResearchBib,
Scientific Indexing Services (SIS),
Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine,
Ulrichsweb.

CONTENTS

S. Gasparyan IMPLEMENTING MANIPULATIVE STRATEGIES IN LEGAL SPEECH	13
S. Gasparyan, M. Sargsyan IN SEARCH OF IDENTITY: TRAUMA AND IRONY IN THE COGNITIVE LIGHT.....	27
D. M. Pavkin A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE ANALYSIS OF FANTASY TEXT CHARACTERS	41
S. I. Potapenko, K. I. Andriishyna LINGUISTIC MEANS OF AUTHORIZATION IN MODERN ENGLISH MAGAZINE DISCOURSE: CONSTRUCTIONIST RHETORICAL APPROACH	62
V. Ushchyna FROM STANCE TO IDENTITY: STANCETAKING IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH RISK DISCOURSE	73
S. A. Zhabotynska THE NARRATIVE MULTIMEDIA CONCEPT: AN ALGORITHM FOR THE ANALYSIS (INTERNET-MEMES ABOUT COVID-19).....	92
GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS	118

ЗМІСТ

С. Гаспарян РЕАЛІЗАЦІЯ МАНІПУЛЯТИВНИХ СТРАТЕГІЙ В ЮРИДИЧНОМУ МОВЛЕННІ.....	13
С. Гаспарян, М. Саргсян У ПОШУКАХ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ: ТРАВМА ТА ІРОНІЯ В КОГНІТИВНОМУ СВІТЛІ	27
Д. М. Павкін ЛІНГВОКОГНІТИВНИЙ ПІДХІД ДО АНАЛІЗУ ПЕРСОНАЖІВ ТЕКСТІВ ЖАНРУ ФЕНТЕЗІ.....	41
С. І. Потапенко, К. І. Андріїшина ЛІНГВАЛЬНІ ЗАСОБИ АВТОРИЗАЦІЇ В СУЧАСНОМУ АНГЛОМОВНОМУ ЖУРНАЛЬНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ: КОНСТРУКЦІЙНО-РИТОРИЧНИЙ ПІДХІД	62
В. Ущина ВІД СТАНСУ ДО ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ: ПОЗИЦІЮВАННЯ В СУЧАСНОМУ АНГЛОМОВНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ РИЗИКУ	73
С. А. Жаботинська НАРАТИВНИЙ МУЛЬТИМЕДІЙНИЙ КОНЦЕПТ: АЛГОРИТМ АНАЛІЗУ (НА МАТЕРІАЛІ ІНТЕРНЕТ-МЕМІВ ПРО COVID-19).....	92
РЕКОМЕНДАЦІЇ АВТОРАМ З ОФОРМЛЕННЯ СТАТЕЙ	118

СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

С. Гаспарян РЕАЛИЗАЦИЯ МАНИПУЛЯТИВНЫХ СТРАТЕГИЙ В ЮРИДИЧЕСКОЙ РЕЧИ	13
С. Гаспарян, М. Саргсян В ПОИСКАХ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ: ТРАВМА И ИРОНИЯ В КОГНИТИВНОМ СВЕТЕ	27
Д. М. Павкин ЛИНГВОКОГНИТИВНЫЙ ПОДХОД К АНАЛИЗУ ПЕРСОНАЖЕЙ ТЕКСТОВ ЖАНРА ФЭНТЕЗИ	41
С. И. Потапенко, К. И. Андришина ЛИНГВАЛЬНЫЕ СРЕДСТВА АВТОРИЗАЦИИ В СОВРЕМЕННОМ АНГЛОЯЗЫЧНОМ ЖУРНАЛЬНОМ ДИСКУРСЕ: КОНСТРУКЦИОННО- РИТОРИЧЕСКИЙ ПОДХОД	62
В. Ущина ОТ СТАНСА К ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ: ПОЗИЦИОНИРОВАНИЕ В СОВРЕМЕННОМ АНГЛОЯЗЫЧНОМ ДИСКУРСЕ РИСКА.....	73
С. А. Жаботинская НАРРАТИВНЫЙ МУЛЬТИМЕДИЙНЫЙ КОНЦЕПТ: АЛГОРИТМ АНАЛИЗА (НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ ИНТЕРНЕТ-МЕМОВ О COVID-19)	92
РЕКОМЕНДАЦИИ АВТОРАМ ПО ОФОРМЛЕНИЮ СТАТЕЙ	118

UDC: 811.111'42

IMPLEMENTING MANIPULATIVE STRATEGIES IN LEGAL SPEECH

Seda Gasparyan
(Yerevan State University, Armenia)

S. Gasparyan. Implementing manipulative strategies in legal speech. The article aims at exploring peculiar linguistic features of Legal English – a variety of thematically oriented language applied in the social domain. The focus is on the interaction of language and law and the linguistic maneuvering achieved by the manipulative strategies applied to the use of language. The investigation is meant to show that linguistic manipulation may stimulate the occurrence of ambiguous expressions and double-speak even in legal documents, violating the basic function of law to communicate the truth and express clear-cut ideas. The research also reveals that the use of manipulative tools aimed to achieve practical ends is directly connected with domination and control over people's perception and interpretation of objective facts. Of particular interest is the analysis of Turkishness (Turkish nation) in the legal texts of Article 301 of the Penal Code of Turkey (versions of 2005 and 2008) which, in fact is a dangerous challenge for the Turkish society, a real threat meant to endanger the fundamental right of humans to Freedom of Expression. The comparative-contrastive approach to the sources helps to reveal linguistic facts exposing the manipulative strategies implemented in the infamous Article 301 through which the Turkish political authorities try to exert a devious influence on the public and stifle dissenting opinion. The “amendments” introduced in the changed version of 2008 of Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code had nothing to do with contextual improvements and were, in fact, an attempt to delude the European Union into believing that Turkish authorities had readily accepted its advice to amend the Article. The research establishes that the prevalence of politics over law is disastrous as it obviously leads to a covert resorting of manipulative strategies in legal speech and is meant to satisfy the best interests of those in power.

Keywords intersection of language and law, legal documents, linguistic manipulation, freedom of expression, violation of human rights.

С. Гаспарян. Реалізація маніпулятивних стратегій в юридичному мовленні. Стаття спрямована на вивчення мовних особливостей юридичної англійської мови – різновид тематично орієнтованої мови, застосованої в соціальній сфері. Основна увага приділяється взаємодії мови і права та лінгвальному варіюванню, досягнутому завдяки маніпулятивним стратегіям, застосованим у використанні мови. Ця розвідка має на меті показати, що мовна маніпуляція може стимулювати виникнення неоднозначних виразів і двозначності навіть у юридичних документах, порушуючи основну функцію юридичної мови – передавати правдиві та чітко висловлені ідеї. Дослідження також виявляє, що використання маніпулятивних інструментів, спрямованих на досягнення практичних цілей, безпосередньо пов'язане з домінуванням і контролем над сприйняттям людей та їх інтерпретацією об'єктивних фактів. Особливий інтерес становить аналіз турецької ідентичності (турецької нації) у юридичних текстах статті 301 Кримінального кодексу Туреччини (версії 2005 та 2008 рр.), які насправді є небезпечним викликом для турецького суспільства, реальною загрозою для основного права людини на свободу вираження поглядів. Порівняльно-контрастивний підхід до джерел допомагає виявити мовні факти, що розкривають маніпулятивні стратегії, реалізовані в сумнозвісній статті 301, за допомогою якої турецькі політичні органи намагаються чинити негативний вплив на громадськість та придушувати інші думки. “Поправки”, внесені в змінений редакції статті 301 Турецького кримінального кодексу 2008 року, не мали нічого спільного з контекстуальними поліпшеннями і, власне, були спробою ввести в оману Європейський Союз, удаючи, що турецька влада охоче прийняла його поради внести зміни до статті. Дослідження встановлює, що переважання політики над законом є згубним, оскільки, очевидно, призводить до

прихованого вдавання до маніпулятивних стратегій у юридичній промові та має на меті задоволення інтересів влади.

Ключові слова: мовні маніпуляції, перетин мови і права, порушення прав людини, правові документи, свобода вираження поглядів.

С. Гаспарян. Реализация манипулятивных стратегий в юридической речи. Целью статьи является изучение специфических языковых особенностей юридического английского языка – разнообразного тематически ориентированного языка, применяемого в социальной сфере. Основное внимание уделяется взаимодействию языка и права и языкового лавирования, достигаемого с помощью манипулятивных стратегий, применяемых к использованию языка. Данное исследование имеет целью показать, что лингвистические манипуляции могут стимулировать появление неоднозначных выражений и двусмысленности даже в юридических документах, нарушая основную функцию права – передавать правдивые и четко выраженные идеи. Исследование также показывает, что использование манипулятивных инструментов, направленных на достижение практических целей, напрямую связано с доминированием и контролем над восприятием и интерпретацией людьми объективных фактов. Особый интерес представляет анализ турецкости (турецкой нации) в юридических текстах статьи 301 Уголовного кодекса Турции (версии 2005 и 2008 годов), которые, по сути, представляют собой опасную проблему для турецкого общества, реальную угрозу для фундаментального права людей на свободу выражения. Сравнительно-контрастивный подход к источникам помогает выявить лингвистические факты, раскрывающие манипулятивные стратегии, реализованные в печально известной статье 301, с помощью которой турецкие политические власти пытаются оказывать пагубное влияние на общественность и подавлять мнения несогласных. “Поправки”, внесенные в измененную версию 2008 года статьи 301 Уголовного кодекса Турции, не имели ничего общего с контекстными улучшениями и фактически являлись попыткой ввести в заблуждение Европейский союз, делая вид, что власти Турции с готовностью приняли его совет изменить статью. Исследование устанавливает, что преобладание политики над законом является катастрофическим, поскольку оно, очевидно, ведет к скрытому использованию манипулятивных стратегий в юридической речи и предназначено для удовлетворения интересов тех, кто находится у власти.

Ключевые слова: лингвистические манипуляции, нарушение прав человека, пересечение языка и права, правовые документы, свобода слова.

1. Introduction

In this paper, my intention is to present some of the results of the work accomplished within the scope of the research project focused on the study of anti-Armenian propaganda discourse at large. This particular piece of work aims at exploring the peculiar features of legal English – a variety of thematically oriented language largely used in a social domain of paramount importance (both local and international). Obvious is the fact that any legally significant information requires a language to be recorded in, transmitted and received. In situations relevant to different legislative provisions, it is so important that correct but not uncreative language forms are used appropriately. These applications open new vistas for linguistic investigation of legal English.

The main concern of the paper is to unfold and illuminate the characteristic properties of English which has now established itself as a reliable tool in the domain of legal communication. It is well-known that communication through language is essentially the process of conveying reality from mind to mind. To comprehend the surrounding world is first and foremost to respect the words of language and their ability to convey reality, for the latter becomes comprehensible through words. By naming things and referring to certain entities and processes via language, people expose their minds to others, aiming to convey their own ideas and recreate the objectively existing facts. It is respect towards words that helps to sense and estimate reality.

However, this mediating character of language is often being increasingly corrupted, destroyed and distorted by tyranny and propaganda. Implementing manipulation of words is a dishonest way of controlling human minds, a consistent and cunning strategy to distort truth and choose falsity and illusion instead of reality. Thus, the abuse of political power is very closely connected with the sophisticated accomplishment of the abuse of words where it finds a fertile soil

to hide and grow in, and give the latent potential of the totalitarian poison in words a good chance of gradual realization. The degradation of man through man, displayed in the acts of physical violence committed by dictatorship and tyrannical behaviour, is indeed an alarming phenomenon though, in fact, the onset of it is less alarming, as the moment when the word is deprived of its dignity is very subtle and almost imperceptible. The priority of the word, to be sure, consists in accomplishing what no other means can accomplish through words, i.e. when communication based on reality takes place (Pieper, 1992). Very often, guided by dishonest intentions, instead of communicating truth and reality, or clearly presenting accurate and understandable ideas, political and legal languages are being abused so as to achieve certain practical ends.

Thus, the present paper will be an attempt to study the manipulative strategy implemented in legal documents. The nature and functions of linguistic manipulation in legal English will be revealed with reference to certain elements in Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code. Before presenting the theoretical account of linguistic manipulation and the analysis of the data, I shall try to clarify the metalinguistic interpretation of legal language at large and legal English in particular, and then make an attempt to offer an insightful account of the legal aspect of the document mentioned. The notion and concept of manipulation will be looked into from the perspective of the intersection of language and law. In the final part of the paper I shall draw the readers' attention to the mechanisms of linguistic manipulation which help to reveal the relations of power and dominance. In the conclusive part of the work the results of the research driving us to more general observations will be presented.

2. The interaction of language and law

In this section, it is necessary to explain the main issues of the metalinguistic interpretation of legal language and legal English in particular, and then discuss the origin and means of the manipulative abuse of language in legal documents.

2.1. Concepts and methods

The interaction of language (including the variety of all linguistic elements) and law explains the enormous interest of both linguists and jurists towards the nature of legal English, its specific use, the manipulative strategies applied to the use of language and the results achieved by maneuvering. The study of the intersection of the scientific fields under investigation acquires even more importance nowadays as the expansion of economic and cultural cooperation between countries and within countries requires legal regulation, qualified assistance of lawyers and their participation in negotiations, business meetings and in preparation of documentation. Accordingly, linguistic activities in the sphere of legal relations turn out to be of special significance. Like other functional styles of speech, which are independent systems, the style of official documents, legal documents included, has certain communicative goals as well as its own consistent patterns and language characteristics common to the given style, "legal language" among them.

From a methodological point of view the present research is based on critical discourse analysis, an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice and tries to explain discourse structures in terms of properties of social interaction. In other words, the problem of linguistic manipulation in the legal domain is discussed and analysed in the present paper in terms of social and political domination and control, the struggle for power between those who maintain power through falsification and those who are trying to resist it. The comparative-contrastive method and the semantic and stylistic analysis of the language data have also been applied.

2.2. Legal language

It should be mentioned that the branch of science dealing with issues of language and law can be described by the metalinguistic notion of legal linguistics. In the middle of the last century, this

term meant a set of methods and research results connected with the relationship of language and legal norms, and met the requirements of modern linguistics. The understanding of legal linguistics has significantly expanded due to the developmental changes modern linguistics has undergone, particularly stimulation of interdisciplinary research the productivity and reliability of which is already beyond doubt.

Over the last decades, a number of scholars have tried to define what “legal language” is (Butler, 2013; Butler, 2015; Bhatia, 1993; Wydick, 2005; etc.), however most of their studies have not proven to be systematic, and the definitions offered for the language used in legal processes do not transfer all the properties and functions obtained by this style. Some scholars discuss only the written variety of legal language defining it as legal writing with its three subtypes: academic legal writing, juridical writing and legislative writing (Bhatia, 2010, p. 46). Generally speaking, the presented distinction is quite acceptable; however, obvious is the fact that this style of language is not confined to only its written form. D. Kurzon, going further in offering two terms for specific legal procedures, argues that language of the law is “the language or the style used in documents laying down the law”, whereas legal language refers to the language that is “used to talk about the law”. The latter can appear both in written form (judgments, textbooks, etc.) and the oral (formal speech, witness questioning, etc.). The oral subtype of legal language can also be referred to as law talk (Kurzon, 1989, p. 284). Whatever the case, one thing seems to be clear: professionally oriented language (written or oral) in general and legal English in particular are governed by the specialized use of certain terms and general scientific collocations which, as it were, appear to bear the basic legal message of this or that document. The specially chosen language means in legal discourse may often aim at distorting reality, formulating ambiguous and cloudy meanings and shading facts. In this case we can claim that linguistic manipulation is applied to achieve the results (legal or political) the manipulator is seeking. At first sight, the choice of different linguistic elements for manipulative purposes may seem arbitrary, and it is here that appropriate analysis and interpretation of manipulative language is important to reveal the truth.

2.3. Abuse of language as manipulation

According to Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English, manipulation is “managing or controlling somebody or something skillfully or craftily, especially by using one’s influence or unfair methods” (1980, p. 517). Unfair methods are used to gain advantage in one’s own dishonest goals, and to achieve social influence that aims, as it were, at changing people’s behaviour or perception, and this is done covertly through abusive and furtive tactics (Braiker, 2004). There can be various motivations when individual or collective manipulation is undertaken. The most important factors among them involve the need to advance one’s own purposes and personal gain at nearly any cost to other individuals or the society, the strong desire to achieve power and superiority in relation to others, to keep their minds under control in an effort to raise their perception of self-esteem (Braiker, 2004). In other words, manipulation is a social phenomenon, and is practiced communicatively and interactionally. In such a practice, the manipulator strives to exercise unjust control over others, usually against the will or against the interests of the manipulated. It is evident that manipulation as a concept gives ground to negative associations, as it violates social norms (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 360).

Means of manipulative techniques, according to George K. Simon, are diverse, and most effective among them are: lying by omission – a very subtle form of lying, widely used in propaganda; a refusal to admit that wrongdoing has occurred; selective attention when anything within the agenda is in the centre of attention whereas anything distracting the listeners’ attention from the speaker’s chosen agenda is ignored; diversion when the conversation is intentionally directed towards another topic; evasion in the case of which the responses given are neither clear nor relevant; covert intimidation when vague or implied threats are used; vilifying by masking aggressive intent, and falsely accusing the victim for defending his/her position (Simon, 1996).

It is evident that manipulation involves power – to be more precise, the abuse of power and domination. The practice of unauthorized influence, with the help of discourse, makes others believe in what the manipulator presents or does in his own interest against the interests of the manipulated (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 360).

Thus, at large, manipulation is getting what an individual or a group wants to achieve by ignoring or harming the desires of the other party or the society, aiming at domination and reproduction in different forms. Manipulation is mainly realized through the use of seemingly objective, persuasive, tricky, misleading and misdirecting language. There are numerous other manipulative techniques that are used in different communicative situations, but we have focused only on those tactics which directly or indirectly refer to verbal manipulation in legal discourse³.

Manipulation is a term of awesome inventive potential, typical of the system of linguistic manipulation (Dotsenko, 1997). As a means of communication, language not only serves the purpose of conveying information but also influences interlocutors and regulates their social, interpersonal, mental states and behaviours. From this point of view, linguistic manipulation can be defined as the manipulation of an individual and/or collective conscience and behaviour, realized through various linguistic means of natural language (Grishechko, 2013, p. 2). It is “the conscious use of language in a devious way to control others” (Fairclough, 1994, p. 2360)⁴.

Linguistic manipulation facilitates distortions of objective reality through verbal abuses and misuses, and presents illusionary subjective reality through ambiguous and blurred linguistic data in which intentionality is not quite obvious. Intentionality as one of the basic parameters of linguistic manipulation exercises a destructive effect on an individual, group or society at large. This phenomenon cannot be easily identified, as it is expressed through regular linguistic patterns (lexical elements, grammatical forms and syntactic constructions) which do not trespass the system of customary discourse, also used to realize aims and functions characteristic of non-manipulative communication. On the other hand, it turns out through analysis and interpretation that it is the same linguistic patterns of discourse that help disclose manipulative intentions.

Linguistic signs at various levels help reveal the speaker’s intentions concealed in speech due to his/her manipulative skills (Akopova, 2013, p. 3), disclose cases of abused and misused language and prove the fact that linguistic manipulation has been applied. Thus, a discourse becomes manipulative not because of the application of particular linguistic units, but because of their relationship to the manipulator’s aims and motives. The analysis of manipulative discourse shows that language itself, to a certain extent, encourages the bending of reality, distorting discourse manipulatively, offering linguistic means that make it possible to apply uncertain, vague, obscured categories to express untruth.

Discourse structures that presuppose manipulative attitudes, according to van Dijk, include emphasizing the position, power, authority or moral superiority of the speaker, the inferior position, absence of knowledge, etc. of the recipient, and focusing on the beliefs that the manipulator forces on the recipients as knowledge, through argumentation, proofs, etc., thus making them believe in its veracity while discrediting alternative ideologies, attitudes and emotions of the recipients (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 376). Thus, the manipulative language strategy is to discursively focus on social characteristics of the manipulated in order to make them accept the attitudes imposed by the manipulator.

Linguistic manipulation implies a beginning in smaller or more discrete segments of linguistic forms that connect to larger linguistic entities, which undergoing “some change, transformation, mutilation, mutation”, turn out to be relatively unexpected by the addressee (Danciu, 2014, p. 25). Manipulation via language exploits the fact that listeners or readers first of all perceive and try to understand the primary meaning of words, focusing on specially selected linguistic units and language patterns that present positive information, instead of trying to interpret the negative shades of meaning hidden between the lines.

The character of verbal manipulation preconditions the usage of ambiguous expressions and all sorts of double-speak. In this, the semantic qualities of manipulative discourse are not easy to distinguish. Strategies for control, in their turn, demand the usage of lexical elements depicting manipulative mechanisms (Linguistic Persuasion, 2017). Linguistic manipulation has proven to be: social (in welcomes, vows, petitions, etc.), volitional (in requests, solicitations, refusals, etc.), instructive and estimative (in a kind of discourse which sets interpersonal relations while impugning, acclaiming, warning against danger, etc.) (Tarasov, 1990, p. 123).

Manipulation is directly connected with domination, control and demagogic language. Manipulators (a person or a group) are experts in using these tools. They usually have a great command of language and the rhetoric of persuasion, and play a dominant role in relationships. The manipulator is not concerned with advancing rational values, they are only concerned with achieving their or a certain group's goals, and scrupulously try to present manipulative notions as concepts and ideas which seemingly share the values of those manipulated. The goal of a skilled manipulator is to control what others think. They achieve this by controlling the way information is presented to others – the public at large or certain representatives of the society. They use seemingly rational means to make an impression of being objective and reasonable. An important part of manipulation is the concealment of some information and certain points of view that the manipulator is trying to keep away from being given a fair hearing (Richard, & Elder, 2004, pp. 4-5).

Thus, it becomes clear, that the abuse and misuse of language are the basic components of linguistic manipulation. Undoubtedly, the intelligibility of reality depends on and is accomplished through language. By abusing language, politicians and law-makers often cloak even the most obvious realities in disguised, erroneous assumptions, thus violating the basic function of language to communicate the truth, and giving rise to false associations connected with untruth. It is this strategy of speech that controls their addressees and manipulates them to achieve practical ends. In other words, tyranny and propaganda, the abuse of power lead to the abuse of language (Pieper, 1992) that results in distorting and changing even the most obvious truths. This means language is being abused for the sake of achieving control and power. Inadequacy and distortion of language, i.e. using linguistic units in a confusing and misleading way, are the most marked characteristics of the abuse of language, and this dangerous process can corrupt the human mind and thought through language (Orwell, 2006). When applied, the abuse of language brings about a transformation of an original account, which means that society is presented with a biased view of the problem in question.

Linguistic manipulation involves the grammatical, lexical, syntactic, pragmatic and, most importantly, semantic aspects of language (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 376; Khudhayir, 2013, p. 4)⁵. Using manipulation through different means of language results in the authority or recognition the manipulator is seeking. The right interpretation of manipulation mechanisms and manipulative language is important because it prevents individuals, certain groups of people, and the society at large from being under some form of subjugation.

Although the possible choices of different linguistic elements (morphological, semantic and syntactic) for manipulative purposes in legal as well as political discourses may seem arbitrary, actually they are not, for choices are usually made in accordance with the speaker's consideration of different purposes. Thus, B. Johnstone is quite right to think that there cannot be truly synonymous words or truly synonymous surface structures, and if these alternative structures exist, if the grammatical set of conventions allows their existence, it must mean that they serve different functions (Johnstone, 2002). Moreover, the linguistic manipulation of people and society at large through grammar, wording or style choices can indicate a certain mode of thinking or ideology, which will, in their turn, help the manipulator realize them. It is the adequate interpretation of these linguistic choices that reveals the speaker's intentions, his way of thinking and worldview (Berariu, & Peterlicean, 2016, p. 189).

The choices aimed at linguistic manipulation, at the usage of language as a means of conveying legal and political agendas that are far from the truth are high frequency phenomena with an immense impact on the consciousness of people in the political arena in general and in the political struggle for power in particular. One of the main tasks of such discourse is influencing and managing public opinion, and this linguistic manipulation serves as a tool for inducing the public to do something (to give information, to make an act, to change behaviour) unconsciously, contrary to one's own desires, opinions and intentions (Troshina, 1990). Influencing and managing are realized through propaganda, demagogical discourse and persuasion, frequently with the help of alliterations, rhyming, rhythmization, nominalization, converse terms, neologisms, deictic units, euphemisms, dysphemisms, sophisticated lexis, barbarisms, elliptic language and inversion of essentially contested concepts; deep and shallow processing; presupposition (Kenzhekanova et al., 2015, p. 325).

The essentially contested concepts, seemingly logical, actually contrast against rational argumentation or evidence, though it is not an easy task to prove this as there is always room to support these concepts through different kinds of seemingly valid (although false) arguments put forward by the manipulator (Gallie, 1956, p. 169). Only a close linguistic analysis can reveal that such concepts are false and have been used to veil reality and truth.

Deep and shallow processing refers to the notion that a certain term is chosen deliberately considering either its semantic precision or its semantic vagueness. In other words, of relevance are the variations of semantic meaning – the clarity, precision or vagueness with which a certain piece of information or assumption is communicated (Chilton, 2008, p. 227). This approach to the question of lexis carries interesting implications for not only understanding the nature of political and legal terms, but also for clarifying the mechanism implemented in their exploitation or manipulation in the course of communication.

As far as presupposition is concerned, it is in fact one of the most important properties of discourse, for very often what is not said and asserted can be presupposed. Hence, “most shared knowledge is presupposed and not asserted, and the public can merely process some terms used in political [*or legal – S.G.*] discourse just as positive or negative” (Khudhayir, 2013, p. 9). Thus, lexical units are used in different contexts of discourse to serve certain agendas, certain aims of manipulating people through language.

3. Abuse of language in the legal domain: results and discussion

The study of mechanisms of linguistic manipulation in legal discourse will help avoid sociopsychological effects of the manipulation of discourse, demagoguery, mind-control, aggression and even violence in speech.

As legal language is formalized and logical, it is varied in its linguistic characteristic features, such as lexical, morphological, syntactic and semantic, as compared to ordinary natural language (Wydick, 2005. p. 10). These features provide consistency, validity, completeness, conciseness, clarity, precision and soundness to legal language. The study of legally specialized vocabulary, phrases and syntax should help people comprehend and communicate legal information. The general assumption is that legal writing must be Clear, Correct, Concise, and Complete (the four Cs) (Wydick, 2005. pp. 3, 10). However, the deliberately manipulated (abused or misused) legal discourse frequently hampers the comprehension and communication at large via ambiguous, indirect and masked language⁶.

The linguistic field of legal discourse is not only connected with the manipulation of discourse from a linguistic perspective, but also with certain legal, psychological, historical and cultural elements present in a legal text. The linguistic strategies are totally dependent on contextual factors or context models, and it is important to consider a certain place and time in history. Manipulation in legal discourse is the usage of a very measured technique, and in any piece of it not only the technique but also the authors' intentions and the linguistic expression of those intentions should be

scrupulously studied and interpreted by specialists and the public. Thus, any legal piece has to fit in the present and past socio-historical context.

The legal definition of manipulation gives the following meanings to the noun: “change, control, domination, employment, execution, exercise, exploitation, finagling, governance, handling, influence, machination, manoeuvring, plotting, ploy, scheming, taking advantage of, contrivance” (Legal Dictionary 2018). As evident from the synonymous explanations, many of the nouns deal with not only manipulation as an act or process in general, but with linguistic manipulation in legal discourse in particular. Change, redefinition and even contrivance of certain linguistic units in a legal document seem to trick people into reading and interpreting them in favour of the authors.

Thus, linguistic manipulation is the use of language in a way that tries to present certain strategies and objectives covertly, exerting a shrewd and devious influence especially to the advantage of the author or certain political and legal circles.

If, for an example we try to analyse the manipulative tactics exerted in Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code referring to the practical data in the versions of 2005 and 2008 of Article 301, the investigation will reveal that the basic function of law to communicate truth and express clearcut, accurate and understandable ideas has been violated in the mentioned documents through the abuse of language meant to control people and manipulate their perception and interpretation in order to achieve pragmatic goals.

Abuse and manipulation of words, vagueness and ambiguity of meaning turn out to be marked characteristics of the first (2005) version of Article 301 referring to *Denigration of Turkishness, the Republic or the Grand National Assembly of Turkey*⁷ as well as the reason why Turkish authorities were urged to make certain amendments in the wording of the document in the second (2008) version⁸.

Thus, we concentrate on the organization of linguistic units in the two specific legal documents and provide theoretical and practical linguistic interpretation of some of the language data under question.

Now let's look into the texts of both versions of Article 301 and make an attempt of analysing at least some of the linguistic elements which have been “amended”.

Article 301 (June 1, 2005)

1. *Public denigration of Turkishness, the Republic or the Grand National Assembly of Turkey shall be punishable by imprisonment of between six months and three years.*
2. *Public denigration of the Government of the Republic of Turkey, the judicial institutions of the State, the military or security structures shall be punishable by imprisonment of between six months and two years.*
3. *In cases where denigration of Turkishness is committed by a Turkish citizen in another country, the punishment shall be increased by one third.*
4. *Expressions of thought intended to criticize shall not constitute a **crime**.*

(Turkey: Article 301 2006:1)

Compare the text of this version with the Turkish text of the Article:

- (1) *Türklüğü, Cumhuriyeti veya Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisini alenen aşağılayan kişi, altı aydan üç yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.*
- (2) *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümetini, Devletin yargı organlarını, askeri veya emniyet teşkilatını alenen aşağılayan kişi, altı aydan iki yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.*
- (3) *Türklüğü aşağılamanın yabancı bir ülkede, bir Türk vatandaşı tarafından işlenmesi halinde, verilecek ceza üçte bir oranında artırılır.*
- (4) *Eleştiri amacıyla yapılan düşünce açıklamaları suç oluşturmaz.*

(İşte 301'in Yeni ve Eski Hali, Hürriyet, 08.01.2008)

Article 301 (April 30, 2008, by Article 1 of the Law no. 5759)

*Degrading Turkish Nation, State of Turkish Republic,
the Organs and Institutions of the State*

1. A person who publicly **degrades Turkish Nation, State of the Turkish Republic, Turkish Grand National Assembly, the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the judicial bodies of the State** shall be sentenced a penalty of imprisonment for a term of six months to two years.
2. A person who publicly **degrades** the military or security organisations shall be sentenced according to the provision set out in paragraph one.
3. The expression of an **opinion** for the purpose of criticism does not constitute an **offence**.
4. The conduct of an investigation into such an offence shall be subject to the permission of the Minister of Justice.

(Penal Code of Turkey 2016:99)

Madde 301- (Değişik: 30/4/2008-5759/1 md.):

- (1) Türk Milletini, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devletini, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisini, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümetini ve Devletin yargı organlarını alenen aşağılayan kişi, altı aydan iki yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.
- (2) Devletin askerî veya emniyet teşkilatını alenen aşağılayan kişi, birinci fıkra hükmüne göre cezalandırılır.
- (3) Eleştiri amacıyla yapılan düşünce açıklamaları suç oluşturmaz.
- (4) Bu suçtan dolayı soruşturma yapılması, Adalet Bakanının iznine bağlıdır.

(8965, Türk Ceza Kanunu, Kabul Tarihi, 26/9/2004, Birinci Kitap,
Genel Hükümler Birinci Kısım, Temel İlkeler,
Tanımlar ve Uygulama Alanı,
Birinci Bölüm, Temel İlkeler ve Tanımlar)

The comparative examination of language abuse in reference to certain linguistic units of the lexical level reveals the possibility of determining the viability of the amendments carried out in Article 301 (2008) as compared to Article 301 (2005).

The close reading of the two texts of the Article reveals obvious cases of language abuse in quite a number of linguistic units of the lexical level, let alone implementation of manipulative strategies in accomplishing the changes meant to amend the document: *denigration* to *degrade*, *Turkishness* to *Turkish Nation*, *The Republic* to *State of the Turkish Republic* or *State of the Republic of Turkey*, *thought* to *opinion*, *crime* to *offence*⁹. A focus on even one or two units that have undergone changes will suffice to show that the two versions of the Article are the same from the contextual point of view as the superfluity of the “amendments” proves not to have changed anything seriously in the 2008 version of the document. If we try to refer to the change of *Turkishness* to *Turkish Nation* we can see that albeit the change is visibly there, in fact, it has not introduced any contextually serious amendment into the new, 2008 version of the Article, for the basic idea expressed by the controversial and semantically ambiguous abstract noun ***Turkishness*** which by OSCE is rendered as “being a Turk” (*OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media – Review of the Turkish Penal Code*. 2005, p. 10) is almost identically displayed in the lexical combination of ***Turkish nation***. While the term ***Turkishness*** indicates a common entity sharing a common culture, peculiar to the Turks in and outside Turkey, the attributive combination ***Turkish nation***, as mentioned by Algan (2008, p. 2242), narrows the meaning of the term without directly mentioning the participants of the same culture. And we would hasten to agree with E. Tamvaki who believes that this argument reflects the ideal of pan-Turkism and demonstrates the prudence of the founders of modern Turkey to the values adopted by Atatürk a century earlier, but adhered to up until today” (Tamvaki, 2009, p. 24).

Thus, due to the manipulation implemented in the change of *Turkishness* to *Turkish nation* makes it rather problematic to interpret *denigration of Turkishness* (*degrading Turkish nation* in the version of 2008) and decide how and under which circumstances the article could be applied. The wording in both the cases is politically incorrect as it violates the human right of freedom of expression. This has been borne out by the vivid case of the bestselling Turkish novelist Elif Shafak who faced unjust trial in 2006 albeit she could not be accused directly for either physical or verbal action against the state. However, she was acknowledged responsible and tried for the remarks of her fictional character in the novel *'The Bastard of Istanbul'* where one of the personages says: *"I am the grandchild of genocide survivors who lost all their relatives to the hands of Turkish butchers in 1915, but I myself have been brainwashed to deny the genocide because I was raised by some Turk named Mustafa"*. The case against Shafak did not surprise either the publishers or the readers of her book as they had no doubts that this kind of attitude awaited any good writer the asperity of whose voice could be raised and heard in Turkey. Elif Shafak herself was sure that the underlying reason for the charges she had to face was that she had been very active on taboo topics and the Armenian Genocide in particular. She had no doubt that the Turkish authorities would never understand her position of supporting an open and democratic society in Turkey particularly that the intolerance and aggression against freedom of expression was officially documented in Article 301 of the Penal Code of her country.

Elif Shafak's case was not a single one. There were numerous other court cases and prosecutions (more than a thousand). In 2006 five journalists were charged with insulting the judicial institutions of the State; they had criticized a court order to shut down a conference on the Ottoman Armenian casualties in the Ottoman Empire during WWI. The charges potentially presupposed up to a 10-year term of imprisonment. As the statute of limitation had run out, exceeded, the charges against four of them were dropped by the court on April 11, 2006, while the fifth, Murat Belge, was acquitted only on June 8, 2006.

These and many other cases show that the use of the terms *Turkishness* and *denigrating Turkishness* is intended to be against dissenting opinion, against people who try to find the historical truth about Turkey. As far as the conceptual meanings of the terms *Turkishness* and *Turkish Nation* are concerned, they both emphasize nationality conditioned by race, religion, language, culture, aims and purposes. In the same way, they both refer to people, tribe, kin in a group or collective of people with common characteristics such as language, tradition, customs, habits and ethnicity, in fact a cultural-political community that has become conscious of its autonomy, unity, and particular interests¹¹.

Thus, being the same from the point of view of their semantic meaning and content *Turkishness* and *Turkish Nation* do not represent different distinct notions (Tamvaki, 2009, p. 26), and although the drafters claimed that *Turkishness* is abstract and its replacement with the concrete wording *Turkish Nation* would *broaden the frontiers of freedom of expression* (Algan, 2008, p. 2242), it actually did not.

The change of the word *denigration* (in the version of 2005) to *degrade* (in the version of 2008) didn't improve the contextual situation in Article 301 either, for both these elements have been chosen to stand for one and the same Turkish word-combination *aşağılayan kişi* (*with the non-finite form aşağılayan used attributively*) which appears in the Turkish texts of both the versions. The part of speech transformation in both the translation variants is obvious: the non-finite form + noun construction has been substituted for a noun (*denigration*) in the 2005 version and for a verb (*to degrade*) in the 2008 version. However obvious is also the fact that this kind of changes the necessity of which occurs in the process of translation are quite acceptable unless they violate the idea conveyed by that very content. In *denigration* the presence of the prefix *de-* which is usually used to signify the opposite, in this word plays the role of an intensifier which enhances the meaning expressed by the root (*nigrare* – to blacken), while in *degrade* it stands to express the reverse of the meaning *grade*. These elements are different not only from the point of view of their

part of speech reference but also their semantic structure, let alone the racial implications the word *denigration* has. However stylistically both are negatively charged, and the pragmatic goal the law-makers pursue is in both cases the same – to prevent people make use of their right to express their thoughts freely.

Thus, it is not difficult to see that the use of *Turkish Nation* in *degrade Turkish Nation* (the 2008 version) instead of *Turkishness* in *denigrating Turkishness* (the 2005 version) has not introduced any essential amendment into Article 301 which still remains to be an invincible obstacle for the Turkish society on its way to freedom of expression.

4. Conclusion

The investigation of the political implications of the legal domain shows that language is a very important tool in the realization of legal processes aimed at serving the regulation of social behaviour. The performance of legal services should necessarily be based not only on skills for resolving disputable questions and controversies but also professional knowledge to prevent eventual cases.

Politics tends to comprehend and interpret law as a means through which to fulfill certain political interests and achieve certain political goals, as in the case of Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code. This means that law prevents a political solution to a problem and serves as an obstacle on the way to justice, while politics effectuates the solutions at the expense of law. However, the rule of the independence of law requires that neither law-makers, nor those who apply it, can be guided by the principle of their political preferences when judging opponents. Differentiation of them can by no means be based on the radical opposition of friends *vs* enemies, for this is sure to lead to strict separation of “ours” and “yours”¹² in public.

When politics prevails over law, legal documents tend to resort to a manipulation of language in order to meet unjust political needs, to be in the best interests of the dominating group over the interests of the one dominated. Linguistic manipulation does not reveal its viewpoints about the distortion of reality or injustice, and its efficiency depends on concealing the truth. Respectively, the revelation of manipulative linguistic means and tools will eventually help to avoid incorrect interpretation of legal documents, demagogy, unjust court decisions and even aggression and violence.

Albeit the Turkish judicial branch tries hard to interpret Article 301 in favour of the public and society, those changes seem to have only been meant to *throw dust* in the eyes of the European Union and veil the law-makers’ actual intention of keeping free human thought in check. The use of unacceptably broad and vague words leaves room for ambiguity and double standards. The strategic enforcement of manipulation of one of the basic human rights in and through language in both versions of Article 301 is quite obvious.

As far as the right to freedom of expression is concerned, the changes introduced in the amended version of the Article are absolutely inadequate to meet the requirements of the Court’s settled case-law. The solution to the problem seems to be not only a change in the law in general and in the Article in particular but first of all – a change in mentality.

Today, ten years after the article was “amended”, it is evident that this version has not affected or has affected to a very little extent the decrease of the number of charges against those who are accused of the breach of the Article, and the reason for that is the implementation of linguistic manipulation in the document, which creates very serious obstacles on the way to full practice of freedom of expression in Turkey.

In more plain words, the state bodies in Turkey remain to be politically partial, and their understanding of freedom of expression is not in line with that of the European Court of Human Rights. The Article is still a nationalist tool in the hands of Turkish authorities to stifle dissenting opinion.

Interesting is the fact, that among the members of the United Nations, practically no other country finds it appropriate to maintain legislation equivalent to Article 301; does this reveal the constructed nature of the national identity within the Republic of Turkey and that it is impregnated with unsustainable anomalies? If so, action to extricate such a broad state-sponsored derogation is imperative.

NOTES

1. The language characteristics of legal English have been discussed in (Gasparyan, & Kharatyan, 2018)
2. The currently distinguished contact areas of language and law are: communication in court, legal reasoning seen through the prism of language properties, investigations in legal practice with the help of linguistics, the impact of language on legal processes, linguistic requirements for legal formulations, etc.
3. Illegitimate manipulative influence may also be exercised through non-verbal means, such as pictures, photos, cartoons, videos which are more typical of mass media manipulation – the next domain most accused of using manipulative techniques (besides political and legal discourses).
4. N. Fairclough explains that using language in a devious way means using it in a way which hides one's strategies and objectives.
5. Van Dijk T. A. states that “general strategies of manipulative discourse appear to be largely semantic, i.e. focused on manipulating the content of text and talk” (Van Dijk, 2006).
6. This is the reason why legal style has been labelled as “reader-unfriendly” by B. Butler in *Strategies for Clarity in Legal Writing* (2013, p. 32).
7. This version of Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code was adopted on June 1, 2005. Cf. (Leicht, 2006)
8. The second version was adopted on April 30, 2008. Cf. (Algan, 2008).
9. For the details of the changes in the document see (Gasparyan, 2018, pp. 333-353).
10. It was the first Turkish novel (first written in English and translated into Turkish in 2006) that directly presented details of the Armenian Genocide. At the first hearing Shafak was acquitted, and the case was dropped as the prosecutor could see no elements of the crime envisaged in Article 301. Cf. (Algan, 2008, p. 2239). However, later it was taken to a higher court and aggressive authorities managed to overturn the decision.
11. By comparison, a nation is more impersonal, abstract, and overtly political than an ethnic group. Cf. (James, 1996; Hroch, 1996, pp. 35-44).
12. The terminological use of the pronouns has been borrowed from (Cerar, 2009).
13. The detailed analysis of all the changes of Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code has been summed up in: Gasparyan S., Paronyan Sh., & Muradian G. (2019) *The Use and Abuse of Language in the Legal Domain*. Montreal: Arod Books.

REFERENCES

- Akopova, A. (2013) Linguistic Manipulation: Definition and Types. *IJCRSEE*, 1(2), 78-82.
- Algan, B. (2008). The Brand New Version of Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code and the Future Freedom of Expression Cases in Turkey. *German Law Journal*, 09(12), 2237-2252. Retrieved December 12, 2018 from <https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=fmWMKxkAAAAJ&hl=da>
- Berariu, E. C., & Peterlicean, A. (2016). The Power of Language in Political Discourse. *Multicultural Representations. Literature and Discourse as Forms of Dialogue*, 4, 188-194. Retrieved October 10, 2018 from <https://old.upm.ro/ldmd/LDMD-04/Lds/Lds%2004%2027.pdf>
- Bhatia, V. K. (1993). *Analyzing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings*. London: Longman.
- Bhatia, K. L. (2010). *Textbook on Legal Language and Legal Writing*. Universal Law Publishing. Retrieved September 12, 2018 from <https://www.amazon.com/Textbook-Legal-Language-Writing/dp/8175348941>
- Braiker, H. B. (2004). *Who is Pulling your Strings? How to Break the Cycle of Manipulation?* NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Butler, B. D. (2013). Strategies for Clarity in Legal Writing. *Clarity. Journal of the International Association Promoting Plain Legal Language*, 70, 31-37. Retrieved November 12, 2017 from <http://www.clarity-international.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Clarity-no-70-web-bookmarked.pdf>

- Butler, B. D. (2015). *Developing International EFL/ESL Scholarly Writers*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. Retrieved November 15, 2018 from <https://www.oreilly.com/library/view/developing-international-efles/9781501500855>
- Cerar, M. (2009). The Relationship between Law and Politics. *Annual Survey of International & Comparative Law*, 15(1), Article 3. Retrieved November 10 from <https://digitalcommons.law.ggu.edu/annlsurvey/vol15/iss1/3/>
- Chilton, P. (2008). Political Terminology. In R. Wodak, & V. Koller (Eds.). Series: *Handbooks of Applied Linguistics [HAL]: Handbook of Communication in the Public Sphere*. Vol.: 4 (p. 225-242). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Mouton. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110198980>. Retrieved April 1 from <https://www.degruyter.com/view/books/9783110198980/9783110198980.3.225/9783110198980.3.225.xml>.
- Danciu, V. (2014). Manipulative Marketing: Persuasion and Manipulation of the Customer through Advertising. *Theoretical and Applied Economics*, 2(591), 129-34.
- Dotsenko, E. (1997). *Psihologija manipuljacii: fenomeny, mehanizmy i zashhita* [Psychology of Manipulation: Phenomena, Mechanisms and Protection]. Moscow: CheRo, MGU Publ.
- Fairclough, N. (1994). Manipulation. In *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (p. 2360). Kidlington: Pergamon Press.
- Gallie, W. B. (1956). Essentially Contested Concepts. *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society. New Series*, 56, 167-198. Retrieved November 12, 2017 from <https://www.scribd.com/document/233573988/Gallie-W-B-1956a-Essentially-Contested-Concepts-Proceedings-of-the-Aristotelian-Society-Vol-56-1956-Pp-167-198>
- Gasparyan, S., & Kharatyan, L. (2018). Legal English. The UN Convention on Genocide as a Domain-Specific Text. *Armenian Folia Anglistika. International Journal of English Studies*, 1-2(18), 72-85.
- Gasparyan, S. (2018). Manipulation of Ideas in and through Language. In B. Krivokapic, D. Covic, & N. Danilovic (Eds.). *Law 2018: Current Problems of Law and Legal Science* (pp. 333-353). Belgrade: ICIM Publishing. Retrieved from http://www.meste.org/L2018_files/Zbornik.pdf
- Gasparyan, S., Paronyan, Sh., & Muradian G. (2019). *The Use and Abuse of Language in the Legal Domain*. Montreal: Arod Books.
- Grishechko, O. (2013). Communicative Effect Achieved through Speech Acts of Manipulation. *IJCRSEE*, 1(2), 144-151.
- Haraszi, M. (2005). Review of the Draft Turkish Penal Code: Freedom of Media Concerns. Retrieved April 1, 2020 from: <https://www.osce.org/fom/14672?download=true>
- Hroch, M. (1996). Nationalism and National Movements: Comparing the Past and the Present of Central and Eastern Europe. *Nations and Nationalism*, 2(1), 35-44.
- James, P. (1996). *Nation Formation: Towards a Theory of Abstract Community*. London: Sage.
- Johnstone, B. (2002). *Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kenzhekanova, K., Zhanabekova, M., & Konyrbekova, T. (2015). Manipulation in Political Discourse of Mass Media. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 4(6), 325-332.
- Khudhayir, S. (2013). *Manipulation of Meaning in Political Discourse*. Retrieved September 13, 2017 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309419661_Manipulation_of_Meaning_in_Political_Discourse
- Kurzon, D. (1989) Language of the Law and Legal Language. In C. Lauren and N. Marianne (Eds.). *Special Language: From Humans Thinking to Thinking Machines* (p. 283-290). Clevedon-Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.
- Leicht, J. (2006). World Socialist web site. *ICFI*. Archived from the original on July 25, 2008
- Linguistic Persuasion (2017) // *Wikibooks. Open Book for an Open World*. Retrieved November 15 from https://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Linguistic_Persuasion

- SCF. (February 15, 2018). Murat Belge, a Renowned Turkish Academic, Leaving Turkey as ‘Scholar at Risk. Retrieved from <https://stockholmcf.org/murat-belge-a-renowned-turkish-academic-leaving-turkey-as-scholar-at-risk/>
- Orwell, G. (2006) *Politics and the English Language*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
- Pieper, J. (1992) *Abuse of Language. Abuse of Power*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press.
- Richard, P., & Elder, L. (2004). *The Thinker’s Guide to Fallacies: The Art of Mental Trickery and Manipulation*. Foundation for Critical Thinking. Retrieved December 14, 2017 from www.criticalthinking.org
- Simon, G. K. (1996). *In Sheep's Clothing: Understanding and Dealing with Manipulative People*. Michigan: Parkhurst Brothers Publishers Inc.
- Tamvaki, E. (2009). *A Law and Literature Approach to Oppression of Identity in Turkey*. Retrieved December 12, 2017 from <https://www.academia.edu/969531/A-law-and-literature-approach-to-oppression-of-expressing-identity-in-Turkey>
- Tarasov, E. (1990). *Linguistic Manipulation: Methodology and Theory*. Moscow: Moscow University Press.
- Troshina, N. N. (1990). Stilisticheskiye parametry tekstov massovoy kommunikatsii i realizatsiya kommunikativnoy strategii subyekta rechevogo vozdeystviya [Stylistic Parameters of Mass Communication Texts and Realization of the Communication Strategy of the Subject of Speech Manipulation]. In *Rechevyye vozdeystviye v sfere massovoy kommunikatsii* [Speech Manipulation in Mass Communication]. Moscow: Nauka Publ. Pp. 62–68. (In Russian)
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse and Society*, 17(2), 352-371. Retrieved May 10, 2018 from <https://lg411.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/discourse-analysis-full.pdf>
- Wydick, R. C. (2005). *Plain English for Lawyers*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.

SOURCES FOR ILLUSTRATIONS

Legal Dictionary (2018) The Free Dictionary by Farlex.

< <https://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/> >

Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English (1980) Oxford: OUP.

Seda K. Gasparyan – Doctor of Sciences (Philology), Professor, Corresponding Member of The National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Honoured Researcher of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan State University (1, Alex Manoogian st., Yerevan, 0025, Armenia, RA); e-mail: sedagasparyan@ysu.am; ORCID ID 0000-0003-1170-4989.

Сєда Керобівна Гаспарян – доктор філологічних наук, професор, член-корр. Національної академії наук Республіки Вірменія, Заслужений діяч науки Республіки Вірменія, Єреванський державний університет (1, вул. Алека Манукяна, Єреван, 0025, Вірменія); e-mail: sedagasparyan@ysu.am; ORCID ID 0000-0003-1170-4989.

Сєда Керобовна Гаспарян – доктор филологических наук, профессор, член-корр. Национальной академии наук Республики Армения, Заслуженный деятель науки Республики Армения, Ереванский государственный университет (1, ул. Алека Манукяна, Ереван, 0025, Армения); e-mail: sedagasparyan@ysu.am; ORCID ID 0000-0003-1170-4989.

UDC: 811.111-26

**IN SEARCH OF IDENTITY:
TRAUMA AND IRONY IN THE COGNITIVE LIGHT**
Seda Gasparyan, Mariana Sargsyan
(Yerevan State University, Armenia)

S. Gasparyan, M. Sargsyan. In search of identity: trauma and irony in the cognitive light. For many decades Scottish Literature has produced characters that fitted well within the atmosphere of despair and inferiority undergone by the Scottish nation in the course of its history. The question of identity being at its heart, Scottish Literature has revealed a specific feature consisting in the frequent occurrence of traumatized, dual and split personalities. These are protagonists who in the force of Scotland's history are traumatized and symbolize Scotland's remarkable tradition of despair and the feeling of inferiority and powerlessness. However, a closer look at the contemporary Scottish female writing permits to take a new angle for exploring identity. Our approach accounts for the role of irony and humor that the characters provide. The fact of incongruity / trauma vs. irony/ creates a basis for insightful explorations of the dual essence of identity in A.L. Kennedy's and J. Galloway's writing in the light of such counter-concepts as emotional fulfillment vs. isolation, feminist vs. domestic expectations. Thus, our research within the frames of "Caledonian polysyzygy" aims at showcasing how and in what ways the cognitive study of the ironic component can contribute to the revelation of different aspects of identity crisis and survival. The features of the expression of irony are brought out with the help of cognitive metaphor, hyperbole, comparison, etc. It is argued that irony is based on the author's vision of the world and is characterized by the presence of explicit and hidden meanings which accounts for the clash between the vision and the reality. It is established that irony, a crucial aspect in the works of the mentioned authors, is a multi-layered cognitive and discursive phenomenon that aims to highlight the collision between thinking and reality.

Keywords: cognitive linguistic approach, identity, irony, Janice Galloway, A. L. Kennedy, trauma.

С. Гаспарян, М. Саргсян. У пошуках ідентичності: травма та іронія в когнітивному світлі. Протягом багатьох десятиліть у шотландській літературі створювалися персонажі, які добре вписувалися в атмосферу відчаю і неповноцінності, якої протягом своєї історії зазнала шотландська нація. Шотландська література, орієнтуючись на проблему ідентичності, розкриває специфічну особливість, яка полягає в частій появі травмованих, двоїстих і роздвоєних особистостей. Це герої, які відповідно історії Шотландії є травмованими і символізують відчай, почуття неповноцінності і безсилля. Однак більш уважний погляд на сучасну шотландську жіночу прозу дозволяє по-новому поглянути на проблему ідентичності. Наш підхід пояснює роль іронії, яка забезпечується персонажами і ходом їх думок і дій. Несумісність травми і іронії створює основу для дослідження двоїстої сутності ідентичності в прозі А. Л. Кеннеді і Дж. Геллоуей з точки зору таких контр-концептів, як емоційне задоволення проти домашньої відособленості, фемінізм проти побутових обов'язків. Наше дослідження в рамках "каледонської полісізігії" направлено на те, щоб показати яким чином когнітивне вивчення іронії сприяє розумінню різних аспектів проблеми виживання і кризи ідентичності шотландської нації. Виявлення особливостей іронії за допомогою когнітивної метафори, гіперболи, порівняння тощо дозволяє стверджувати, що іронія заснована на авторському баченні світу, і наявність в ній явних і прихованих значень пояснює зіткнення ідеалізованого бачення і реальності. У статті встановлюється, що іронія, як найважливіший компонент творів згаданих авторів, є багатшаровим когнітивним і дискурсивним феноменом, через який підкреслюється протистояння мислення і реальності.

Ключові слова: ідентичність, іронія, Дженіс Галлоуей, А. Л. Кеннеді, лінгвокогнітивний підхід, травма.

С. Гаспарян, М. Саргсян. В поисках идентичности: травма и ирония в когнитивном свете. В течение многих десятилетий в шотландской литературе создавались персонажи, которые хорошо вписывались в атмосферу отчаяния и неполноценности, которой в течение своей истории подверглась шотландская нация. Шотландская литература, ориентируясь на проблему идентичности, раскрывает специфическую особенность, заключающуюся в частом появлении травмированных, двойственных и раздвоенных личностей. Это герои, которые в силу истории Шотландии, травмированы и символизируют отчаяние, чувства неполноценности и бессилия. Однако более внимательный взгляд на современную шотландскую женскую прозу позволяет по-новому взглянуть на проблему идентичности. Наш подход объясняет роль иронии, обеспечивающей персонажами и ходом их мыслей и действий. Несовместимость травмы и иронии создает основу для исследования двойственной сущности идентичности в прозе А. Л. Кеннеди и Дж. Гэллоуэй с точки зрения таких контр-концептов, как эмоциональное удовлетворение против домашней обособленности, феминизм против бытовых обязанностей. Наше исследование в рамках “Каледонской полисизигии” направлено на то, чтобы показать каким образом когнитивное изучение иронии способствует пониманию различных аспектов проблемы выживания и кризиса идентичности шотландской нации. Выявление особенностей иронии с помощью когнитивной метафоры, гиперболы, сравнения и т. п. позволяет утверждать, что ирония основана на авторском видении мира, и наличие в ней явных и скрытых значений объясняет столкновение идеализированного видения и реальности. В статье устанавливается, что ирония, как важнейший компонент произведений упомянутых авторов, является многослойным когнитивным и дискурсивным феноменом, через который подчеркивается противостояние мышления и реальности.

Ключевые слова: идентичность, ирония, Дженис Галлоуэй, А. Л. Кеннеди, лингвокогнитивный подход, травма.

1. Introduction

The paper *aims* at the study of the cognitive function of irony in fiction. The material is based on the contemporary Scottish female writing. The underlying argument is that the theme of identity in contemporary Scottish female writing can be interpreted with the help of counter-concepts of *emotional fulfillment vs. isolation* and *feminist vs. domestic expectations*. The clash between the counter-concepts brings forth the effect of irony. It is argued that irony is based on the author's vision of the world and is characterized by the presence of explicit and hidden meanings which accounts for the clash between the vision and the reality. On the large scale, the paper demonstrates that irony deeply lies within the idea of dualism that has traditionally been used to describe the deranged protagonists. The framework of “Caledonian antisyzygy” (Smith, 1919) and the recently introduced notion of “Caledonian polysyzygy” (Kelly, 2009) provide a new ground for taking a new look on the issue of identity from female perspective. The objectives of the research are: 1) to discuss the notions of identity and trauma in the frames of such concepts as *emotional fulfillment vs. isolation* and *feminist vs. domestic expectations*, 2) to highlight the role of irony in interpreting the mentioned concepts from the female perspective, 3) to discuss the cognitive features of irony in A.L. Kennedy's and J. Galloway's fiction.

The present research anchors on the previous research initiated by the authors (Gasparyan, Sargsyan, & Madoyan, 2017) and is aimed to further expand on the cognitive aspects of text creation and interpretation.

2. Research background

According to many critics, Scottish literary tradition holds a predilection for the desperate and the deranged protagonists who are “rarely, if ever, fully in control of their existences and morbidly aware of the fact” (Wallace, 1993, pp. 217-218). Also, G. Wallace argues that these protagonists fit well within the atmosphere of despair and inferiority that Scottish nation has undergone in the course of history. This definition seems a most appropriate one for describing Scottish Literature and most protagonists.

Unarguably, the question of identity having at its heart, Scottish Literature, has given rise to another peculiarity consisting in the frequent occurrence of traumatized, dual and split personalities. Gifford states about a trend in recent Scottish fiction that still uses the traditional dualism (Gifford, 1988). Smith's term "Caledonian antisyzygy" describes an essential psychological condition or worldview which is a quintessential aspect of the Scottish temperament. The term is fully applicable to all the spheres of the Scottish life (religion, politics and other realities), involving "the existence of contradictions and contrasts inherent to Scotland's political and ecclesiastical history which have been marked by upheavals and aptitude for adaptability which is also reflected in literature" (Smith, 1919, pp. 4-20). The contrast, the dualism and the trauma have resulted in a split of Scottish personality. This partly accounts for the loss of the vernacular language which in turn resulted in the division of thoughts and feelings.

The state of dualism would continue to be a dominant line if it were not for the Scottish Renaissance of the 1920s and 30s, when a new surge of writing emerged. According to Kravitz, the protagonists moved beyond the sense of doubleness, and the predominant theme of fiction became the sense of *alienation* from social values and *alienation* from oneself (Kravitz, 1998; March, 2002, pp. 108-153). A closer look at the contemporary Scottish female writing particularly permits to take a new angle to explore the theme of alienation and consequently the issue of identity. In some writings we can easily observe the occurrence of new dualism or incongruity expressed in trauma vs. irony, which creates a new agenda for insightful explorations of the dual essence of identity, particularly in A. L. Kennedy's and J. Galloway's writings. This agenda incorporates a cognitive approach in the light of such counter-concepts as emotional fulfillment vs. isolation, feminist vs. domestic expectations, which make up a whole unity with two opposite poles pulling together. In this respect the notion of Caledonian antisyzygy loses its relevance, giving way to the notion of 'polysyzygy' to proliferate. Polysyzygy, according to Kelly's definition, supposes "multiple alignments, plural connections, a web of interlinked ideas and words" (Kelly, 2009), which practically provides a new ground for understanding the multilayered structure and the polyphonic nature of Scottish women writers, who raised and introduced into the text interesting issues about sexuality, gender and nation.

In the late 1970s and 80s Alasdair Gray and James Kelman through experimentation with alternative narrative and linguistic structures redirected the existing urban Glaswegian trend. Scottish novel became synonymous with working-class urban novel, strongly different from that of English middle-class. Working-class features are more important because they are more identifiably Scottish than their anglicized urban middle-class counterparts. The working-class is identified hugely with the Scottish identity (March, 2002, pp. 108-153). C. L. March concludes that the works created by Kelman "gave working-class Scots confidence in identity by championing the Scottish language and suggesting that the role of the language was long marginalized". The Scottish writing of that period did not only include innovations of style, syntax and narration, but was also a means of extracting underlying questions and concerns of urban and rural areas (March, 2002, pp. 108-153).

Building on the innovative approach as introduced by James Kelman and Alasdair Gray, Alison L. Kennedy and Janice Galloway investigate the lives of urban Scottish women opposing to the male vision of identity. Galloway's and Kennedy's novels and short stories center around women who desperately try to build their identity and find their signification. This trend makes it possible to consider these women as writers in the male-dominant social and literary Scottish tradition. The literary traditions of Kelman and Gray have been transformed to exposing the gender issue which is a powerful driving force for the characters. Both writers present women struggling hard to define their roles within the expectations of urban working-class life. Galloway's and Kennedy's works have gained acclaim for the 'reimagination' of Scotland, where the gender issue is the cornerstone for the contemporary Scottish experience to open from within and reveal what has long been disregarded during the previous decades of Scottish writing. For

Galloway the 'symbolic' presence of women in male-authored books is indicative of a notion that women were not interesting themselves and that art did not concern itself with "them", and she confesses that it took her long to identify 'them' with 'us/me' (March, 2002, p. 108).

Galloway and Kennedy have been hailed for creating 'an important' voice in Scottish fiction, a fearful and outraged woman's voice. Ali Smith comments that "this voice created a terrible dilemma of identity"¹ within Scottish culture and the imposition of a masculine literary tradition that has always excluded that voice. By writing, women writers, "through feminism, reveal the fictional women who know societal traps, see the potential lives they feel they ought to have, but are unable to escape from cultural confines" (March, 2002, p. 110).

The conflict between domestic and feminist expectations dwelt upon in many works presents women as confused and in constant search for harmony between self-respect and happiness in relations. It seems that balance between dominant masculine cultural expectations and feminist expectations is unattainable, hence women are alienated. Women struggle to fulfill the role expected of them by their families or partners, but they fail to do so. The paradox of the confrontation of the individual with the society has provided prolific ground for the development of irony or humor, which leading female writers often resort to. Both humor and irony involve cognitive and rational processes, which, as it were, help protagonists fight against the rooted social values.

3. The cognitive study of irony

According to Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms (RDLT), *irony* is a "mode of discourse for conveying meanings different from, and usually opposite to, the professed or ostensible ones". Several kinds of irony can be distinguished, though they fall into two main categories: situational and verbal. All irony, however, "depends for its effectiveness on the belief in and exploitation of the difference and distance between words or events and their contexts."² (RDLT, 2006, p. 123).

Irony has long attracted the attention of researchers, thanks to which various approaches to the study of this phenomenon have been put forward. In the XX century irony became an object of close attention of not only literary scholars, philosophers, psychologists, but also linguists. At the beginning of the XXI century researchers were attracted by the intellectual side of irony – the cognitive aspects of its production and sense perception by the recipient (Kotjurova, 2007). The cognitive potential of irony in fiction is realized in the vertical context – a system of norms and rules for the reflection and reception of facts of the surrounding reality on the mental level; irony is explicated on the structural-semantic and pragmatic levels, while the phenomenon itself is realized in various cognitive models, primarily in logical contradictions.

The cognitive potential of irony is determined by the worldview of the discourse participants reflected mentally in the form of cultural and historical information, socio-cultural norms, individual characteristics of the communicants themselves. Successful discursive situation, in particular, the specificity of ironic communication, depends in many respects on the conventional nature of the relationship between the addresser and the addressee, their shared background knowledge.

From a linguistic point, the cognitive potential of irony in literary speech is based on the ability of words to actualize their polyphonic nature (the ability of simultaneous realization of the semantic, stylistic and associative capacities of the word in one and the same context) (Gasparyan, 2008) and expressiveness (the ability of a linguistic unit to express the variety of emotional and evaluative relations of the subject of speech), which adds to the semantic globality of the literary text. Indeed, the realization of irony would be impossible if words in a piece of literature were devoid of the aptitude of expanding their semantics.

The main mechanism for the existence of irony in an artistic discourse is the play of meanings. In this play, truth is expressed not by the direct meaning of the utterance, but the opposite, implied by the author indirectly and expressed in various linguistic forms. Thus, literary

discourse is a kind of communication between the author, the reader and the text. This communication is extremely rich in meanings and shades of meanings, revealing the interaction of the author's intentions, the complex of possible reader reactions and the text structure.

Irony is not contained in the statement itself or in a separate word, but becomes understandable to the reader from the context or the situation constructed by the author. The prosody plays a crucial role in the emergence of the ironic meaning. Other markers of irony in the text of a work of verbal art can be violations of style, repetitions, direct instructions in the text ("he smiled ironically"), facial expressions or rhetoric (raised eyebrows, smirk). Irony is a complex phenomenon relying on the cognitive perception of the author, who has a certain linguistic picture of the world. The effect of the ironic context in a piece of literature largely depends on the cultural and historical conditions and individual psychological characteristics of the reader's personality, as well as the structural and communicative features of a particular utterance (Potyomina, 2010).

At the present stage, most researchers propose to distinguish two concepts: irony as a stylistic device and irony as a result – an ironic meaning created by a number of different language means whose interaction ensures the unity of the text. It is this latter type that contributes to the development of the polyphonic nature of postmodernist texts and thus merits our special attention.

4. Cognitive modeling of irony in J. Galloway's narrative technique

Irony is well established in the history of Scottish fiction, as Gifford explains. He suggests that the ironic modes of expression in the XIX century were due to the failure to sustain convincing serious projections of the Scottish heroic identity and the very nature of the Scottish society. He lists two basic ways in which ambiguity and irony functioned in the "fiction of Scottish social degeneration" of the period: firstly as a parody of the insipid hero and secondly as "the contrast of two sets of cultural values, embodied in the confrontations of the traditional and the modern alienated protagonist, the two entangled in positions of mutual moral and social destruction." (Gifford, 1988). The latter of these is in some ways applicable to *The Trick is to Keep Breathing* by J. Galloway, where there is an ongoing clash between the protagonist's and the social values. Unarguably the narrative technique of the debut novel violates all the norms of traditional literature. The broken syntax and fractured narrative hinder a fluid reading of the text creating the impression of several texts merged into one. Every clash between the protagonist's expectation and the imposed values can be regarded as a separate story or fragment of life, story in a story, linked with each other through the thread of irony that turns the text into an organic unity.

Joy Stone is struggling desperately against herself and the society. The young woman is almost at the brink of destroying herself because of the burden of numerous traumas she has experienced throughout her life, the last blow being the unexpected death of Michael, with whom she was having an illicit relation.

"Joy", the name of the protagonist itself, is indicative of the incongruity. The feelings of exultation and extreme happiness the word 'joy' is associated with at the semantic level are incompatible with the feelings of grief and melancholia that the traumatized protagonist feels. While "Stone", her surname, metaphorically hints at the state of misery and malaise she is experiencing as a result of numerous traumas.

Because of the permanent expanding of inferiority complex, Joy begins to perceive the surrounding world through the prism of irony. Her thoughts and her judgments acquire ironic interpretation throughout the text. In force of Joy's ambivalent attitude, life manifests itself in the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS MOTION where the sub-schemas *Movement is Up and Stasis is Down* are realized (Lakoff, & Johnson, 1980). Joy is afraid of stasis, and we witness this on different pages throughout the *Trick* (*Stasis scares me; I go stiff when I stop, I have to get a lot of*

moving around out of my system now), while “stillness keeps me contained, I prefer it busy, so I do not get bored”.

However, at some point Joy confesses: “I am *too tired to force myself to stay in one place*” (Galloway, 2015, p. 39), which indicates her inability to take control of her thoughts and actions. Thus, the image schema *Life is Motion* involving sub-schemas MOVEMENT IS UP and STASIS IS DOWN is in constant conflict, because of the discrepancy between the protagonist’s thoughts and the reality. The cognitive model of irony³ can thus be presented as follows:

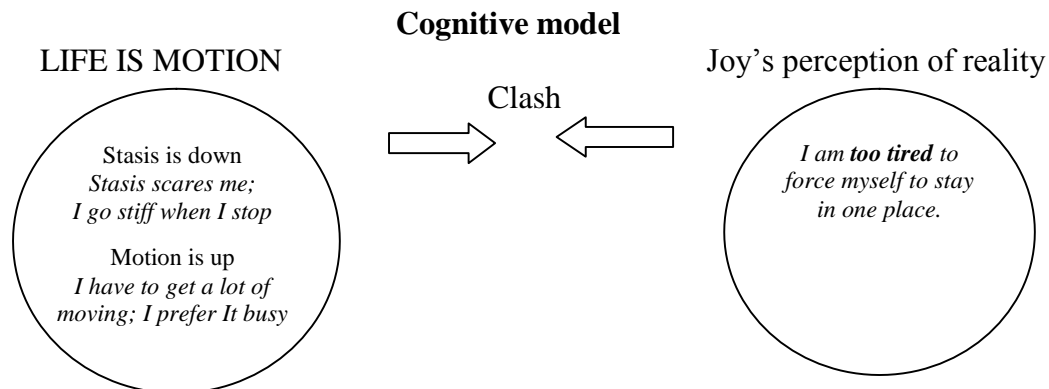


Figure 1. Cognitive modelling of the ironic use of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS MOTION

In this model we can observe the clash between Joy’s thoughts and the reality, which hints about her fragility and the lack of determination to orient herself in the reality and take full control of her actions.

The concepts of TIME and LIFE and their conceptualization in TIME/LIFE IS MOTION schema can be interpreted from two different perspectives. From one perspective, the passing of the time is considered as a change-bringing, healing and consoling phenomenon, but from the other, it takes too long and wastes too much time to get your pain soothed, and waiting does not always result in healing. To approach this dilemma from both perspectives, let us firstly mention that the universal concept of *time as being a healer* can be found in almost every culture, which uses personification to imply that *Time* as an event can cause changes, heal the wounds and relieve the pain, or, in particular, take up the role of the agent and perform an action.⁴ The reflections of the metaphor TIME IS A CHANGER/HEALER can be noticed throughout the narration. Joy, is one among the others, who subconsciously admits the truth of the concept. Random questionings of the relevance of time scattered across the pages of the novel demonstrate that Joy believes in her final recovery (*I have to put up with this. Time passes in little ways, things alter for no reason* (p. 96); *Sometimes all that happens is passing time* (p. 196); *I used to spent a lot of time waiting. Women do. Women have this tendency to think things will be better if they wait longer* (Galloway, 2015, p. 193).

Joy is surrounded by people who are holders of the same idea of TIME IS A CHANGER / HEALER (Lakoff, & Turner, 1989, pp. 40-41). The society that gives such a central role to *TIME as solver of all the problems*, evaluates TIME as a limited and very valuable commodity which should not be wasted⁴. Thus Joy is in dilemma as she finds herself entrapped in the numerous discourses that control her: she wants to rely on the common assumption that time heals, on the other hand, she hates wasting time in idleness and wants to take actions to improve her situation (*It’s always OK, just a matter of waiting. I get nervous waiting; Time is not a healer*). The existence of too many discourses realized through the conceptual metaphors TIME IS A HEALER / CHANGER vs. TIME IS A THIEF results in the clash between Joy’s life and the reality.

Irony in postmodernism is radical, skeptical, it undermines stereotypes, banalities and habits of people. *The Trick*, a vivid example of postmodern text, exploits various techniques to provoke criticism to the established mode of life and the way people think, and this criticism is voiced not straightforwardly, but rather through covert irony. Irony for Joy can be regarded as a means of self-assertion. It helps the protagonist get rid of the overwhelming feeling of discontentment and failure:

*I like routines. You can get **cosy** in a **rut**. You can pretend things are the same when they are not. Knowing I need to live with lies makes me more anxious, depressed and guilty. This way I need the routines more.* (Galloway, 2015, p. 156)

This passage reveals Joy's conformist character, but at the same time it covertly expresses the ironic message containing the clash between what is 'to feel cosy' in reality and what it is like to feel 'cosy' in a rut. The cognitive model of '*cosy in a rut*' looks as follows:

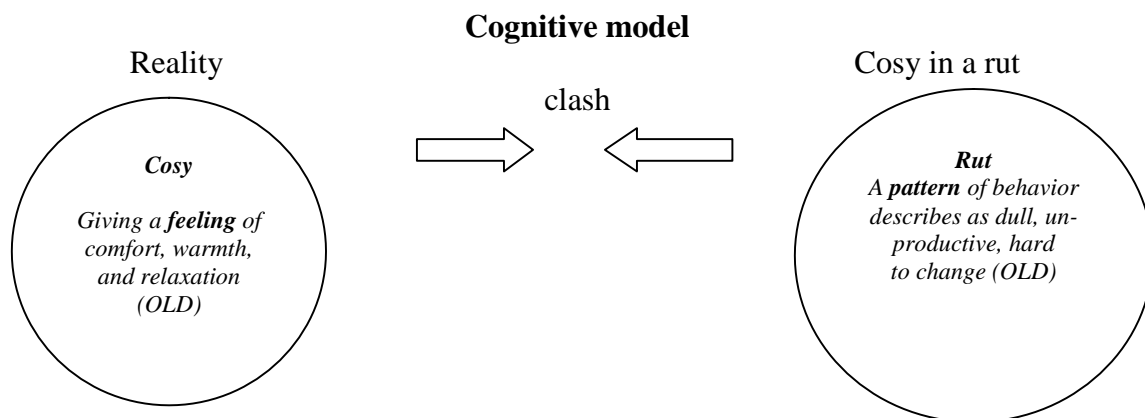


Figure 2. Cognitive modeling of the ironic use of "Cosy in a rut"

'*Cosy in a rut*' reveals Joy's conformist, timid and non-rebellious type of personality with no definite aims in life. The irony of this utterance lies in the binary opposition of the semantics of the two words – '*cosy*' (*giving a feeling of comfort, warmth, and relaxation*) and '*rut*' (*a habit or pattern of behaviour that has become dull and unproductive but is hard to change*) which hardly fits within the boundaries of common sense and thus questions Joy's sanity. The discussed case of irony identifies the relation between the thinking and the reality.

As mentioned above, irony in postmodernist works is one of the means employed for self-assertion. The ironic disposition helps the characters get rid of discontentment and failure often by voicing criticism and questioning the existing values. Irony is a tool to lift the dialectic controversies that exist between the reality, the desired and the possible. In *The Trick*, for instance, the critical disposition towards authorities of social or religious institutions is palpable through the deviation of the norms of narration and fragmentation which by and large are aimed at enhancing the ironic effect. This is clearly seen in the text, when Joy attends the service at church rendered to support Michael's bereaved family. The fragmented representation of the church minister's speech and Joy's interpretation of the whole process bring the confrontation between Joy and the society to the fore and indicate the day by day deepening of the abyss between her feminist and social expectations:

THE SERVICE HAS BEEN ONE OF
JOY AND CELEBRATION AS
WELL AS SORROW

*I noticed he rolled his eyes
unpleasantly*

THROUGH THE SORROW IS
UPPERMOST IN OUR HEARTS, AS
WE CLOSE, LET US THINK OF
WHAT MICHAEL FISHER
BROUGHT TO OUR LIVES. BUT
MORE ESPECIALLY IN THESE
MOMENTS OF SILENCE

*and his arms began to
stretch out toward the front
rows*

EXTEND OUR SYMPATHIES, OUR
HEARTS AND OUR LOVE

*the arms stretching further
like Jesus commanding
Lazarus*

ESPECIALLY OUR LOVE

*a split-second awareness that
something terrible was about
to about to
happen*

TO HIS WIFE AND FAMILY

Half way into the silence for Norma Fisher, my arms were weightless. The rest came piecemeal as the moral started to compute (Galloway, 2015, pp. 78-79).

In this case, the deviation is an interesting pairing of discourses presented in the form of columns. It helps the reader get a visual image of the confrontation: the left column demonstrates the authoritative discourse of the Church delivered by Rev Dogsbody (*church minister's name is evidently an imagined one, coloured with ironic overtones too*) and presented in the narration in capital letters stressing the authoritative voice of the church; on the right are Joy's disjointed and unfinished comments that predict the worst to come (*something terrible was about to about to happen*): Joy acknowledges her illicit status as mistress, for the minister has a word for the widow and Michael's family only (TO HIS WIFE AND FAMILY). Reflecting upon the aftermath of that ceremony,

1. *The Rev Dogsbody had chosen this service to perform a miracle.*
2. *He'd run time backwards, cleansed, absolved and got rid of the ground-in stain.*
3. *And the stain was me. I didn't exist. The miracle had wiped me out (Galloway, 2015, p. 79).*

Joy is questioning the doctrines of an institution that preaches love and defense for the miserable and the rejected ones. There is an aggressive and self-destructive bitterness within the confines of her thinking. She compares her signification with that of a *stain* (irony realized through deliberate understatement by comparing objects of different classes), which was wiped out as something temporary and unnecessary. The service in the church "hails" the moment of her extreme alienation not only from the community, but from her own self. This is the moment the young woman realizes

she has no social position – no parents, no boyfriend or husband, no children, no particular vocation or fulfilling career.

The irony in respect to social expectations is largely based on hyperbole, i. e. the deliberate exaggeration of quality, quantity, size or dimension. Joy exaggerates the societal expectations which transformed her into an unProtestant:

I can't think how I fell into this unProtestant behaviour. I used to be so good all the time.

where good= productive/ hardworking/wouldn't say boo

where good= value for money

where good= not putting anyone out by feeling too much, blank, unobtrusive

where good= neat, acting in a credit-worthy manner

where good= patient, thoughtful, uncomplaining

I wanted people's approval. Good girls reap rewards.

All I wanted to be civilized and polite. I wanted to be no trouble. I wanted to be brave and discreet" (Galloway, 2015. pp.81-82).

At the beginning of the story she is depicted as a conformist type of personality and she teaches her students the same way. However the burden of the societal expectations and her failure to meet them have left her with broken will and no power to resist. The explicit exaggeration of the quality of "being good" and her failed desire to comply the accepted norms of behavior hints at the emotional and evaluative overtone of the utterance which gives birth to the ironic meaning.

Her thunder against social institutions is voiced in her conversations with the health authorities, whom she ironically refers to as Dr One, Two, Three, etc. In her letter to Marianne, Joy writes:

I'm not feeling too good right now... I've seen three different doctors in the past fortnight, none twice. Dr Four says I need ECT, Dr Two thinks I need a good holiday and a career move, Dr Three thinks I take too much caffeine – a bit less and I'd be fine. Also a Dr Five turned up and suggested maybe we could have a chat. A CHAT. They increased everything sedative. This means my hands and legs take me by surprise occasionally: I have to remind myself they are attached. Yesterday Dr Four bumped into me in the corridor and didn't know who I was. It struck me after as pretty profound. Anyway, they think maybe I should stay a while longer. This is probably what the anti-depressants are for. (Galloway, 2015, p. 179)

Joy understands that doctors are unhelpful and indifferent to her and not able to offer any long-term solution to her problem. The irony is aimed to reveal the poor quality of mental health services and is suggestive of the incapability of psychoanalytical theories and pills to relieve human sufferings. The apparent demonstration of this incapability and Joy's failure to meet the social expectations is seen in Tony's joke:

Q. How many psychiatrists does it take to change a light bulb?

A. One. But the light bulb must really want to change. (Galloway, 2015, p. 173).

In some way or other no matter how fragile the protagonist is, by challenging the institutional and social values she also tries to change the society that seems so callous to her, and this is perceivable for the reader through irony which in the novel is largely dependent on the clash between Joy and society around their incompatible values.

Joy considers drugs useless and ironically refers to the pills she takes as "*Red and yellow pills: two thirds of a traffic light*" (Galloway, 2015, p. 87). First of all, irony here is visualized by the graphical means, by the insertion of a colon (:) between the two parts of the utterance, which points out the metaphor underlying it: the comparison of the pills to the traffic lights is much

indicative of the aimlessness of Joy's life, where *green*, not surprisingly, is missing. She is always stuck in between and is withheld by either the yellow or red light. Ironic disposition towards maleruled institutions (church, hospital, school) is a means to survive and remain true to herself. Irony for Joy is a shield protecting her from extreme alienation and snowballing depression. Humor and irony are those features of the text that provide the space, the life buoy between the character and the society giving the chance to overcome the crisis.

5. Trauma and alienation through irony in A. L. Kennedy's *What Becomes*

A. L. Kennedy is another prolific master of short fiction, whose writing, according to critics, has a "measure of intellectual skepticism, where intelligence, political and moral, are combined with each other with an exquisite emotional sensitivity" (Dunnigan, 2000, p. 145). Her stories in *What Becomes* concentrate on the issues engaged with introspection, fear, domestic violence, guilt, obsession, with traumatic memories of the past, claustrophobia and alienation caused by the lack of communication. Her characters speak rarely which accounts for the excessive presence of free indirect narration and allows the narrator to manipulate with irony to reveal the traps in which the characters find themselves.

Engaging cases of irony can be discerned in A. L. Kennedy's *Saturday Teatime*, where the story dwells upon the hopelessness and despair of human existence, which are often intermingled with the constant striving for happiness. The protagonist questions the reason of her existence and draws pessimistic conclusions about the inevitability of death. In the meanwhile, she recalls her childhood traumas, hard relationship between her mother and father who used to be quite aggressive. The story stands out for the fragmentary writing, lacking a single storyline. It is built on the free indirect narration, and through those abrupt, unrelated and emotionally tinged break-ins a woman slowly opens before us: "*the solitary solitary, there on the lookout for fun*", as she would refer to her own self. Irony, at times cynical, at times gloomy, is most obviously discernable in the *Container* metaphor (Lakoff, & Johnson, 1980)⁶.

The burden of the past failures and numerous traumas makes the protagonist shift her own values and consider happiness as something material which can be bought and even increased through "floatation and relaxation". In pursuit of her happiness the protagonist buys an hour of relaxation in the floatation tank (a typical attribute of modern consumeristic culture), a container that promised to ensue an amount of happiness.

And who doesn't like being happy? Happy's why I am here. I am trying something new that should increase my happiness. This time it's floatation and relaxation. I've walked in and bought an hour of both (p. 57). Happy is something that she has "*walked in and bought an hour of*". "... (t)his is something I'll enjoy: floating, relaxing, unwinding, enjoying the benefits of salted water" (Kennedy, 2010, p. 57).

The irony is compounded by the naturalistic description of the pleasure and Kennedy's concentration on this episode: *There's only myself in a peaceful setting, peaceful cupboard, with an hour to reflect on the knowledge that I must have more money than sense* (Kennedy, 2010, p. 59). The protagonist sharing the values of the consumerist culture is inclined to think that everything can be bought and sold, even happiness. She is ready to exchange money for happiness. This excessive concern with material possessions and pleasures makes people spend lesser and lesser time on introspection and assessing their real needs.

The association of the container – the floatation tank ("*a warm, wet, safe cupboard*") which was expected to effuse "*an amount of happiness*") – with happiness ends the moment when the door shuts leaving the tank in darkness (*as dark as nasty thinking* (Kennedy, 2010, p. 59). The uncontrolled flow of past memories violently crashes upon her mind and the tank turns into a dark horrifying container of her past traumas and memories. Sinister thoughts start creeping into her

head; she wonders how “*this must seem only snug and homely, buoyant*”. The container, which promised snug and homely feelings, suddenly engenders “*overtones of drowning, suggestion of creatures that rise from unlikely depths, hints of noise underneath the silence, eager*”. The feeling of solitude and the fact of being trapped in a container overwhelms her with thoughts. In silence she has to face the monster awakening inside her and making her completely powerless.

Lack of communication and alienation are the central themes of *What Becomes*. The state is typical of both male and female characters. In *Edinburgh*, Kennedy’s play with language again results in irony and parody of modern trends embracing pseudo-psychological ‘supportive workshops’ which promise everything, from healing all sorts of disease to solving all problems and artificial food flavors and food substitutes containing numerous arcane materials that promise complete thriving.

The story written in the third person gets sometimes disrupted by the indirect narrative of the main character. Seeing the cork board at the back of the shop shaggy with leaflets that advertised books about Spirit Guides, organic food and imitation bacon Peter thinks to himself:

I haven’t got an Inner Child, I’d have known it by now if I did. Likewise with the Spirit Animals – I am not playing host to some interior bloody zoo. And a Spinning Trance would not bring me insight and Reiki would not make me glad. Reiki – that’s the one where someone thinks about touching you and you think about it too and then you presumably both have to keep thinking that all your thinking isn’t an utter waste of time. It’s like paying an electrician for thinking he might fix your lights. (Kennedy, 2010, p. 38).

For Peter, as is the case for most of characters in *What Becomes*, communication is full of dangers, speaking makes people more vulnerable, and misunderstandings augment traumas and make the gap grow still further. It is in Kennedy’s style to “deliberately focus on mundane things transfiguring the ordinary until it becomes symbolic of something universal.”⁷ Peter’s trivial intervention into the third person narrative performs this symbolization. It ironizes people’s inclinations for finding fast solutions involving substitution of real communication and affection with pseudo, artificial interventions. People’s lives are devoid of most ordinary communication, and they even try to reach out to their surroundings, they might be regarded as annoying, strange or even “*senile*” (Kennedy, p. 41). Isolation, that has become a social norm, is typically demonstrated in the conversation between Peter and the shop assistant about an elderly woman (hyperbolically referred to as “*four-hundred-year-old*” (Kennedy, 2010, p. 40)) who inquired what she should do with strawberries: “*It occurred to him that the woman might simply have wanted a company, a chat. If you were lonely enough, you might do that*” (p. 41).

Another wrinkled issue that is highlighted by A. L. Kennedy is the alienation not only from the society, but from one’s biological type. The narrator with a subtle sense of irony justifies the character, saying that from a small shopkeeper like Peter, *trapped with fruit and vegetables for hours every working day it would not be fair to expect he should then go home and cook them, force them down. All of the peeling and cutting and fussing and boiling and chewing and swallowing, it was too much* (Kennedy, 2010, p. 39). So the powdered staff with an impressive range of flavors has come to substitute the real organic food. Peter says: “*but normal human beings could only be expected to tolerate three flavors: Strawberry, Nothing and Chicken. I think Nothing’s my favorite*”. The narrator spares no space to enumerate all the chemical elements contained in the stuff: *numerous arcane materials upon which he was apparently meant to thrive*, for Peter believed that he might have been undernourished previously.

Kennedy’s concentration on the minute details of her characters’ lives draws our attention to the problem of filling the space produced by the lack of communication. And here again cases of irony abound, like the choice of spending spare time on television programs “*about Hitler and sharks*” and going to bed at “*nine o’clock*” (Kennedy, 2010, p. 43).

6. Concluding remarks: Polysyzygy at work in Scottish female fiction

The discussed works by Galloway and Kennedy demonstrate fragmentary writing which is evoked by the multiplication of narrative voices in the text and the overlapping of several layers of utterances. Fragmentary writing is displayed as plural, complex, polyphonic, composed of multiple interconnected voices, identities, flashbacks. The polyphonic nature of the works is enhanced by an array of typographical techniques which reshape the page: scribbles in the margins, side-by-side columns of text, different typefaces, text modifications and so on. The plurality of voices seems to be closely tied to fragmentation and non-linearity, typographical experimentation, also explicitly conveyed by the insistence on architectonic figures and metaphor. The whole arsenal of innovative techniques are put to work to enhance the clash between female and societal expectations, fulfillment and disappointment, which uncovers how women are isolated, alienated, and confined to inferior roles because of the failure to meet those imposed expectations.

Another important feature of the discussed works is the play: play with values, words, signs, quotations, involving the reader into that play. The text is born spontaneously and unconsciously through the play. Putting in Bakhtinian terms, there is a constant exchange of text with life, text with text. In postmodernism, the boundary between literature and life is blurred, and this gives the impression of “incompleteness and incompleteness of the creative process” (Bakhtin, 1984).

Irony, the crucial element of postmodernism, relies on the cognitive perception borne out by a certain language picture of the world. The effect of irony in fiction in many ways depends on cultural and historical conditions. Irony is a multilayered cognitive and discursive phenomenon which in the works of the discussed authors aims to intensify the clash between thinking and reality. It demonstrates that women, despite fragility and the inferior role, are able to think, analyze and criticize. Scottish female writing also demonstrates the harsh confrontation between female expectations and the immutable patriarchal order. Moreover, irony in the works of the mentioned female authors is indicative of the constant confrontation of values which results in alienation and isolation though not confined to its depiction only. It is through irony that a web of interrelated issues, such as self-assertion, introspection, dignity, criticism, adaptation to reality, shift of value systems, interpersonal connections, etc. are brought to the surface. This speaks of the multilayered and multifunctional aspect of the contemporary Scottish female writing aimed at discussing the possibilities of transformation and adaptation in the rapidly changing world. In the light of the mentioned, the notion of “Caledonian polysyzygy” proves its relevance to discussing a wider scope of issues underlying Scottish fiction.

Notes

1. Smith, Ali. “*Four Success Stories*”, Chapman 74-5 (Autumn / Winter 1992).
2. The word *irony* originates from the Greek comedy character called the *eiron*, who was a dissembler, who spoke in understatements and deliberately pretended to be less intelligent than he was, yet triumphed over the *alazon*—the self-deceiving and stupid braggart (see in Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, 1957). In most of the modern critical uses of the term “irony” there remains the root sense of dissembling or hiding what is actually the case; not, however, in order to deceive, but to achieve special rhetorical or artistic effects (Abrams M. H. *Glossary of Literary Terms*, Seventh Edition, Thomson Learning 1999 (134:135)).
3. The cognitive models of irony follow the analysis by R. de Mendoza in *Metonymy and cognitive operations. Defining Metonymy in Cognitive Linguistics*. Ed. R. Benczes, A. Barcelona and F. J. Ruiz de Mendoza. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins 2011 (104-123) and Mapping concepts: Understanding figurative thought from a cognitive-linguistic perspective. *Spanish Journal of Applied Linguistics* 27, (1), 2014 (187:207) cited in Matute L. B. (Universidad de La Rioja, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2014)
4. “EVENTS ARE ACTIONS” conceptual metaphor, in *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*, Lakoff and Turner, 1989, p 40.
5. This is manifested in the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A THIEF, *ibid*: pp. 35-42.

6. According to Lakoff and Jonson (1980: 29-30), people, as physical beings, are bounded and set apart from the rest of the world by the surface of their skins, and they experience the rest of the world as outside them. Each of us is a container, with a bounding surface and an in-out orientation. We project our own in-out orientation onto other physical objects that are bounded by surfaces. Thus we also view them as containers with an inside and outside. Rooms and houses are obvious containers. Moving from room to room is moving from one container to another, that is, moving *out of one room* and *into* another. But even where there is no natural physical boundary that can be viewed as defining a container, we impose boundaries – marking off territory so that it has an inside and a bounding surface – whether a wall, a fence, or an abstract line or plane.
7. Kennedy A. L. in *Encyclopaedia of the British Short Story*, by Andrew Maunder, Second Edition, NY, 2013.

REFERENCES

- Bakhtin, M. M. (1984). Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics. In C. Emerson (Transl., Ed.). *Theory and History of Literature*. (Vol. 8). Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dunningan, M. S. (2000). A.L. Kennedy's Longer Fiction: Articulate Grace. In A. Christianson, & A. Lumsden (Eds.). *Contemporary Scottish Women Writers* (pp. 144-156). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press,
- Gasparyan, S. K. (2008). *Lingvopoetika obraznogo sravnenija*. [The Linguopoetics of Figurative Simile]. Yerevan: Lusakn Publishing House (in Russian).
- Gasparyan, S. K., Sargsyan, M. S., & Madoyan G. G. (2017). Syntactic and Rhythmic Properties of Representing the Concept of "Loneliness" in K. Mansfield's Short Stories. *Cognition, Communication, Discourse*. 14. 45-53. doi: 10.26565/2218-2926-2017-14-04
- Gifford, D. (1988). Myth, parody and dissociation: Scottish Fiction 1814–1914. In D. Gifford (Ed.) *The History of Scottish Literature* (Vol. 3). Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Kravitz, P. (1998). As It Never Was. Introduction. In P. Kravitz (Ed.). *The Picador Book of Contemporary Scottish Fiction*. London: Picador.
- Kelly, S. (2009). Introduction. In Kelly Stuart (Ed.). *Headshook: Contemporary Novelists and Poets Writing on Scotland's Future*. London: Hachette Scotland.
- Kotjurova, I. A. (2007). Kognitivnyj analiz realizacii ironii v publicistike (na materiale nemeckih statej politicheskoj tematiki) [Cognitive aspect of irony's realization in journalism (on the material of German press article on politics)]. *Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta*. 9(2). 170-175 (In Russian)
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors We Live by*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G., Turner, M. (1989) *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press.
- March, L. C. (2002). *Rewriting Scotland. Welsh, McLean, Warner, Banks, Galloway, and Kennedy*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- Smith, G. G. (1919). *Scottish Literature, Character and Influence*. London: Macmillan Publishing.
- Oxford Living Dictionaries (OLD). English. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/> (Accessed 29 October 2018)
- Potyomina, S. M. (2010). Polifunkcional'nost' ironii. [Polyfunctionality of Irony]. *Bulletin of I. Kant Russian State University. Philological Sciences*, 8. 134-137 (in Russian)
- Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms (RDLT). https://www.uv.es/fores/The_Routledge_Dictionary_of_Literary_Terms.pdf (Accessed 10 October 2018)
- Wallace, G. (1993). Voices in Empty Houses: The Novel of Damaged Identity. In G. Wallace, & R. Stevenson (Eds.). *The Scottish Novel since the Seventies* (pp. 217-218). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

SOURCES FOR ILLUSTRATIONS

Galloway, J. (2015). *The Trick is to Keep Breathing*. London: Vintage.

Kennedy, A.L. (2010). *What Becomes*. London: Vintage.

Seda K. Gasparyan – Doctor of Sciences (Philology), Professor, Corresponding Member of The National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Honoured Researcher of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan State University (1, Alex Manoogian st., Yerevan, 0025, Armenia, RA); e-mail: sedagasparyan@ysu.am; ORCID ID 0000-0003-1170-4989.

Сєда Керобівна Гаспарян – доктор філологічних наук, професор, член-корр. Національної академії наук Республіки Вірменія, Заслужений діяч науки Республіки Вірменія, Єреванський державний університет (1, вул. Алека Манукяна, Єреван, 0025, Вірменія); e-mail: sedagasparyan@ysu.am; ORCID ID 0000-0003-1170-4989.

Сєда Керобовна Гаспарян – доктор филологических наук, профессор, член-корр. Национальной академии наук Республики Армения, Заслуженный деятель науки Республики Армения, Ереванский государственный университет (1, ул. Алека Манукяна, Ереван, 0025, Армения); e-mail: sedagasparyan@ysu.am; ORCID ID 0000-0003-1170-4989.

Sargsyan Mariana S. – PhD (Philology), Associate Professor, Yerevan State University and Head of Laboratory for British Literature and Linguocultures (1, Alex Manoogian st., Yerevan, 0025, Armenia, RA); e-mail: marianasargsyan@ysu.am; ORCID 0000-0003-3054-1871.

Саргсян Маріана С. – кандидат філологічних наук, доцент, Єреванський державний університет, керівник лабораторії Британської літератури і лінгвокультури (1, вул. Алека Манукяна, Єреван, 0025, Вірменія); e-mail: marianasargsyan@ysu.am; ORCID 0000-0003-3054-1871.

Саргсян Мариана С. – кандидат филологических наук, доцент, руководитель лаборатории Британской литературы и лингвокультуры, Ереванский государственный университет (1, ул. Алека Манукяна, Ереван, 0025, Армения); e-mail: marianasargsyan@ysu.am; ORCID 0000-0003-3054-1871

UDC 811.111: 821.111

A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE ANALYSIS OF FANTASY TEXT CHARACTERS

Dmytro Pavkin

(Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University, Cherkasy, Ukraine)

D. M. Pavkin. A cognitive linguistic approach to the analysis of fantasy text characters. This article aims to suggest a procedure of analyzing fantasy text characters focusing on their evaluative component. The said procedure is based on the methodology of cognitive linguistics, namely the basic frames theory. Basic frames are schematic mental structures that form the backbone of our informational system. The frames consist of propositional schemas containing static and dynamic characteristics of a character under scrutiny. The empirical data of the research are represented by descriptions of characters in a series prototypical for fantasy genre – legendarium by J. R.R. Tolkien which includes the novels *The Silmarillion*, *The Hobbit*, and *The Lord of the Rings*. In his books, the writer created not only an alternative universe with its geography and mythology but also versatile characters who belong to different “races” – Elves, Men, Hobbits, Dwarves, Ents, and Orcs. The race affiliation of a protagonist exposes his/her peculiar traits of character, worldview, and way of life making it easier for the writer to describe them. So analyzing the evaluation of characters one should take into consideration both common features shared by all representatives of a race portraying it as a homogeneous entity – eidos (a holistic non-segmented image) and unique individual features of the protagonist – logos (an image where its constituents are singled out). Consequently, the evaluation of a character may be mathematically represented as a summary coefficient equal to the ratio of logical and eidetic coefficients. The former is calculated as the ratio of positive and negative propositions describing the personal qualities of a protagonist, the latter is the ratio of positive and negative propositions describing the race to which the character belongs. The article contains a detailed analysis of the six races of Tolkien’s legendarium and two representatives of each race which enabled to outline their generalized portraits and determine summary evaluations which makes it clear that some characters are “better” and some are “worse” than average representatives of their race.

Key words: basic frame, character, eidetic aspect of description, evaluation coefficient, fantasy genre, logical aspect of description, propositional schema.

Д. М. Павкін. Лінгвокогнітивний підхід до аналізу персонажів текстів жанру фентезі. У статті запропоновано процедуру аналізу оцінного складника образів персонажів текстів жанру фентезі. Ця процедура передбачає використання методологічного доробку когнітивної лінгвістики, зокрема теорії базисних фреймів. Останні є ментальними структурами, які утворюють скелет інформаційної системи мислення людини. Фрейми складаються з пропозиційних схем, які містять статичні й динамічні характеристики досліджуваних персонажів. Аналізований жанр репрезентовано текстами трьох романів Дж. Р. Р. Толкієна (“Сильмарилліон”, “Хоббіт” та “Володар перснів”). У своєму легендаріумі письменник не лише створив вторинний всесвіт зі своєю географією та міфологією, а й наповнив його різноманітними антропоморфними істотами, які належать до шести “рас” – ельфів, людей, хоббітів, гномів, ентів та орків. Відповідно, аналізуючи оцінний компонент персонажу, треба враховувати не лише його персональні характеристики (логічний ракурс опису), а й риси, світогляд і переконання, притаманні всій расі (ейдетичний ракурс опису). Ми пропонуємо обчислювати загальну оцінку кожного образу у вигляді підсумкового коефіцієнта, який дорівнює частці логічного та ейдетичного коефіцієнтів. Перший виводиться зі співвідношення позитивних і негативних оцінок особистих характеристик персонажів, другий – зі співвідношення позитивних і негативних оцінок характеристик раси загалом. Стаття містить детальний аналіз оцінного компоненту шести рас легендаріуму та двох представників кожної з них. У результаті було реконструйовано узагальнені портрети рас і персонажів та визначено їхню підсумкову оцінку. Як засвідчив аналіз, окремі

персонажі можуть бути “кращими” або “гіршими”, ніж пересічний представник відповідної раси.

Ключові слова: базисний фрейм, ейдетичний ракурс зображення, жанр фентезі, логічний ракурс зображення, оцінний коефіцієнт, персонаж, пропозиційна схема.

Д. М. Павкин. Лингвокогнитивный подход к анализу персонажей текстов жанра фэнтези. В данной статье предлагается процедура анализа оценочной составляющей образов персонажей текстов в жанре фэнтези. Эта процедура основана на использовании методологического аппарата когнитивной лингвистики, в частности теории базисных фреймов – ментальных структур, образующих скелет информационной системы мышления человека. Фреймы состоят из пропозициональных схем, под которые подводятся статические и динамические характеристики исследуемых персонажей. Анализируемый жанр представлен текстами трёх романов Дж. Р. Р. Толкиена (“Сильмариллион”, “Хоббит” и “Властелин колец”). В своем легендарииуме писатель не только создал вторичный мир со своей географией и мифологией, но и населил его разнообразными антропоморфными существами, принадлежащими шести “расам” – эльфам, людям, хоббитам, гномам, энтам и оркам. Соответственно, при анализе оценочного компонента персонажа необходимо учитывать не только его персональные характеристики (логический ракурс описания), а и черты, мировоззрение и убеждения, свойственные всей расе (эйдетический ракурс описания). Мы предлагаем рассчитывать общую оценку персонажа в виде итогового коэффициента, равного частному логического и эйдетического коэффициентов. Первый выводится из соотношения положительных и отрицательных оценок личных характеристик персонажей, второй – из соотношения положительных и отрицательных оценок характеристик расы в целом. Статья содержит детальный анализ оценочного компонента шести рас легендарииума и двух представителей каждой из них. В результате были реконструированы обобщенные портреты рас и персонажей и определена их итоговая оценка. Как показал анализ, отдельные персонажи могут быть “лучше” или “хуже” среднестатистического представителя соответствующей расы.

Ключевые слова: базисный фрейм, жанр фэнтези, логический ракурс описания, оценочный коэффициент, персонаж, пропозициональная схема, эйдетический ракурс описания.

1. Introduction

The system of literary images, notably characters, is a hallmark of fiction texts (Barthes, 1989; Valgina, 2003 et al). Such images are to be analyzed considering their evaluation since the latter is called to manifest the author’s attitude to the described events and to convey his / her ideological message to the reader. It is especially true of Tolkien’s novels the characters of which have been continuously studied by scholars. Hitherto their research has been mostly carried out within the framework of literature studies (Gopman, 1992; Tihomirova, 2003; Sytnyk, 2009; Safonova, 2016; Fontenot, 2019) while a linguistic approach did not commend itself to the academia unless it was focused on the spatial image Tolkien created in his novels (Pavkin 2002).

This article **aims** to suggest a procedure of cognitive linguistic analysis of literary text characters, namely those of fantasy texts represented by Tolkien’s legendarium which includes *The Silmarillion*, *The Hobbit*, and *The Lord of the Rings*. Such analysis focuses on the evaluative component of the characters crucial for this literary genre.

The topicality of the present paper is stipulated by the methodology used in it. Here methods of cognitive linguistics are applied to analyze fiction texts which is the approach practiced by cognitive poetics (Tsur, 1992; Freeman, 2002; Vorobiova, 2004).

The **object** of the study is the characters of novels by Tolkien. The **subject matter** of this article is the evaluative component of these characters. The **empirical data** of the research are represented by 1748 character descriptions that contain propositions. The descriptions are obtained through continuous sampling from the three novels (*The Silmarillion*, *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings*) which constitute Tolkien’s legendarium.

2. Methodology

To analyze the features of the characters propositional and frame modeling was applied having basic frames conception of Zhabotynska as its foundation (Zhabotinskaja, 2010). The scholar argues

that the informational system of a human is structured with a mental network consisting of propositional schemas which reveal major types of relations between an object and its features or between several objects. The schemas are grouped into frames called basic since they expose most general principles conditioning categorization and arrangement of information about the surrounding world.

In the article, the propositions describing characters of the legendarium and their features were presented with the number of propositions indicated in brackets. First, the descriptions of races were offered, and then two of their representatives were analyzed. Propositions were grouped according to positive (+), negative (-) or neutral (0) assessment they possess in the novels. As often as not the assessment is conditioned by the context the latter being a concrete situation, a twist of the plot or the value system pertaining to the novels (Pavkin, 2004, p. 113). For instance, stamina of the Elves who represent the Good is assessed positively: *the hobbits began to find it hard to keep up with the swift tireless feet of the Elf* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 223), while the corresponding feature of the evil Orcs is assessed negatively since they use it to pursue and slay other creatures: *Orcs will often pursue foes for many leagues into the plain* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 351). Quantitative analysis of the descriptions based on identifying the most frequent features of the characters allowed to draw conclusions as to the typical nature of those features. Such conclusions are presented as the “generalized portrait” of a race or a protagonist containing their most frequently used (and thus quintessential) characteristics.

The novelty of the methodological approach forwarded in the article lies in the application of mathematical calculations to expose the summary evaluation of the characters. This was done in recognition of their twofold nature – both as an individual and a representative of a “race”. Using the terms introduced by Losev (Losev, 1990) I called these aspects of characterizing a protagonist “logical” and “eidetic”. Each race of Tolkien’s universe (Elves, Men, Hobbits, Dwarves, Ents, and Orcs) manifests some common features shared by all its representatives and portraying it as a homogeneous entity – eidos (a holistic non-segmented image). Coincidentally, being the representative of a certain race every character possesses some unique individual features – logos (an image where its constituents are singled out). Thus, the general evaluation of a character was presented as a summary coefficient equal to the ratio of logical and eidetic coefficients. The former represents the ratio of positive and negative propositions (neutral propositions are disregarded) describing the personal qualities of a protagonist, the latter is the ratio of positive and negative propositions describing the race to which the protagonist belongs. For instance, the logical coefficient of Legolas the Elf equals +49 (98 positive propositions divided by 2 negative ones). The eidetic coefficient of the Elves is +6.1 (86 divided by 14). Thus, his summary coefficient is +49: +6.1 = +8.

3. Results and discussion

Having its roots in mythology and folklore, fantasy is often defined as a fairy tale for adults full of miraculous events and incredible adventures in time and space that do not fit into our perception of the real world, but always have a happy end (Fantasy). In fantasy texts “the fictitious past when the events of the plot unraveled is displayed to the reader as if it were the real present” (Lotman, 1992, p. 235). As story-tellers in Mallorca put it starting their tales, “it happened and it didn’t” (see Turaeva, 1999, p. 19). Batsevych calls such texts “reframing” ones (Batsevych, 1999, p. 29) since they ruin a conventional – for the reader – image of the world.

Tolkien is rightly considered to be the founder of fantasy. His works, sometimes said to be “outside literary tradition” (Shippey, 1997, p. 145), are nevertheless universally recognized to be prototypical for this genre (Pavkin, 2011) establishing a canon and blazing a trail for the next generations of writers to follow. In his novels, he depicted Fairy Land – a whole secondary world of Arda whose history is carried through Three Ages from the moment of its creation till the Dominion of Men. Then “the mythological (unhistorical) development is substituted by real History

epitomized by men and their deeds” (Gakov, 1995, p. 557) which spells an end to the magic in Fairy Land. In the course of this “demagication”, Fairy Land comes through a series of transformations and its regions change their shape and features including terrain, buildings, flora, and fauna. No less peculiar are the characters that inhabit Tolkien’s Arda.

Conventionally, “a character” is any person or creature depicted in a fiction text (Lotman, 1998, p. 139). As Barthes argues (Barthes, 1989, p. 138), a character possesses two types of features. Descriptive features help to gauge his/her disposition, emotional condition, and mental state. Informative features allow to identify people in time and space. Being seemingly minute and of little import (like an indication of the character's age) the latter act as catalysts creating an illusion of authenticity of the events thus enrooting imaginary into real.

According to Lotman, a character’s profile is a paradigm composed by a set of differential and integral parameters (Lotman, 1998, p. 52). The former amount to a set of binary oppositions which counterpose it to other characters. The latter take into account group(s) of characters it belongs to. Thus, a character is holistic only as an abstraction, “on the top level”. On the lower ones, it ramifies into a number of independent substructures. They may not necessarily contradict each other yet such architecture of the character presupposes that whatever it does is predictable and unexpected at the same time (ibid, p. 63). This is true even in case the author consciously tries to make a character clear-cut and unequivocal as an antithesis to “permanent volatility of life” (ibid, p. 66). These considerations are relevant to the analysis of characters featuring in Tolkien’s legendarium.

Tolkien succeeded in creating not only alternative geography and mythology but also versatile and many-faceted characters. The protagonists of Tolkien’s novels belong to different peoples which the author calls “races”. Each of these differs from the others not only physically; Tolkien’s world displays linguistic and cultural polyphony (White, 2002, pp. 300-301). Races manifest peculiar traits of character, worldview, and way of life making it easier for the writer to describe them. As Lewis remarked, “much that in a realistic work would be done by ‘character delineation’ is here done simply by making the character an elf, a dwarf, or a hobbit. The imagined beings have their insides on the outside; they are visible souls” (Lewis, 2018).

Sometimes Tolkien’s characters are branded unbelievably good or inveterately evil, yet this opinion seems far-fetched. Firstly, most positive characters sport some weaknesses: goodly Men succumb to the dreadful lure of the Ring, Elves and Dwarves have problems overcoming age-long enmity towards each other. Moreover, a number of these may come to hatch evil plots. Secondly, some characters are hard to definitely refer to positive or negative. For instance, *The Silmarillion*, among other things, describes the fortunes of Fëanor the Elf, who pursues the Dark Lord Morgoth trying to avenge his father, whom Morgoth murdered, and recapture Silmarils, the jewels that Morgoth stole. Yet the terrible Oath that he swore to bind himself and his sons to the cause leads to kinslaying and treachery which eventually ruin his House and place the Silmarils out of his kin’s reach. In *The Lord of the Rings* Boromir, the son of the Steward of Gondor, urged by a laudable and noble desire to save his country attempts to seize the Ring from Frodo threatening to end the latter’s Quest in disaster. Yet he repents and atones for his guilt defending to the last Frodo’s kin and friends against overwhelming odds. Smeagol / Gollum, another character present in *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit*, “switches sides” several times and finally captures the Ring only to destroy it in the Fire of Doom which Frodo would never have done by himself. In Tolkien’s novels precious and magical artifacts, one of which is evil incarnate (the Ring) and the others are totally untainted and blessed (the Silmarils), often serve a kind of a touchstone helping to gauge the nature and intentions of each protagonist since anyone who comes into contact with them reacts differently and this reaction is very often determined by the race a character belongs to.

As the analyzed data show, features characters possess correspond to predicates of propositional schemas that belong to two basic frames.

Propositional schemas of the action frame inform about what the characters do.

The thing frame is represented by five propositional schemas. Predicates of the quantity schema (SOMEBODY is THAT MUCH-quantity) inform about the number of characters belonging to a certain race. Predicates of the quality schema (SOMEBODY is SUCH-quality) contain information about the age and size of characters, their physical and spiritual/mental characteristics as well as the sound they produce. Predicates of the mode of existence schema (SOMEBODY exists SO-mode) convey the physical, financial and psychic state of the characters. Predicates of the location schema (SOMEBODY is THERE-location) inform about the place where a character lives. I found it necessary to expand the conventional list of schemas (Zhabotinskaja, 2010) with a new, evaluation schema (SOMEBODY is SUCH-evaluation), related to four types of evaluation. The emotive evaluation contains general approval or disapproval of a character expressed by the notions GOOD :: BAD. Aesthetic evaluation is represented by the scale BEAUTIFUL :: UGLY. Mode evaluation assesses a protagonist through the feelings (s)he evokes. Only positively connoted notions were identified in the analyzed data, such as CHARMING, FUNNY, AMAZING, MYSTERIOUS, UNFATHOMABLE. Utility evaluation which is based on a person's activity aimed at changing the environment in the analyzed data is represented exclusively by negatively assessed notions LITTLE KNOWN, HELPLESS, DANGEROUS.

Further follows the detailed analysis of the features the characters of Tolkien's legendarium display in the novels.

Elves [227 propositions]

/+/
[196]: spiritual/mental characteristics [100]: wise [14]: *the wisdom of the Eldar* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 105); create beautiful things [11]: *invented their magic and their cunning craft, in the making of beautiful and marvellous things* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 166); have wide and precious knowledge [9]: *Great became their knowledge and their skill; yet even greater was their thirst for more knowledge, and in many things they soon surpassed their teachers* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 60); love the sea and always feel longing for it [9]: *In water they had great delight, and those that came at last to the western shores were enamoured of the sea* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 53); love the stars [8]: *they have ever loved the starlight* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 48); love nature [8]: *They were lovers of the green earth* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 519); kind, not cruel [8]: *we had not the heart to keep him ever in dungeons under the earth, where he would fall back into his old black thoughts* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 268); skilled in magic [6]: *Elf-minstrels, who can make the things of which they sing appear before the eyes of those that listen* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 421); verbally adept creatures delighting in languages [6]: *the Eldar were beyond all other peoples skilled in tongues* (Tolkien 1977, p. 141); amiable [4]: *Many Elves and many of their friends* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 257); fond of traveling [4]: *they wandered in the great forests* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 166); hospitable [3]: *If ever you are our guests at home, we will treat you better* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 91); cheerful [3]: *as merry as children* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 238); helpful [2]: *The Elvenking is my friend, and he has succoured the people of the Lake in their need, though they had no claim but friendship on him* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 264); generous [2]: *And they brought to Numenor many gifts: birds of song, and fragrant flowers, and herbs of great virtue* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 263); able to read thoughts [1]: *For they did not move or speak with mouth, looking from mind to mind* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 325); forgiving [1]: *There long shall ye abide and yearn for your bodies, and find little pity though all whom ye have slain should entreat for you* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 88); know the tongue of birds [1]: *The Elvenking had received news from his own messengers and from the birds that loved his folk* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 253); **physical characteristics [39]:** immortal [11]: *the Elves die not till the world dies* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 42); strong [7]: *the might of the Elves was still great in those days* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 294); have a wholesome influence on other creatures and the environment in general [6]: *The dwarves then noticed that they had come to the edge of a ring where elf-fires had been. <...>it seemed that some good magic lingered in such spots, which the spiders did not like* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 164); able to hide easily [5]: *Elves (even more than*

hobbits) could walk when they wished without sound or footfall (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 90); quick [3]: *Still elves are light-footed, their going was swift* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 254); enduring [3]: *the hobbits began to find it hard to keep up with the swift tireless feet of the Elf* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 223); keen-eyed [3]: *You have the keen eyes of your fair kindred, Legolas* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 131); do not age physically [1]: *they themselves change little* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 404); **actions [18]**: work skillfully as smiths [9]: *In Eregion the craftsmen of the Gwaith-i-Mirdain, the People of the Jewel-smiths, surpassed in cunning all that have ever wrought* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 286); fight evil [5]: *And here in Rivendell there live still some of his chief foes: the Elven-wise, lords of the Eldar from beyond the furthest seas. They do not fear the Ringwraiths, for those who have dwelt in the Blessed Realm live at once in both worlds, and against both the Seen and the Unseen they have great power* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 235); sail skillfully [4]: *most of all they sailed in their swift ships on the waters of the Bay of Elvenhome* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 61); **sound [15]**: have wonderful voices and sing beautifully [15]: *the sound of voices so various and so beautiful* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 91); **aesthetic evaluation [9]**: beautiful in appearance [9]: *They were a race high and beautiful the older Children of the world: fairest of the children of the world* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 519); **age [6]**: ancient and ageless [6]: *so old and young* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 96); **emotive evaluation [5]**: magnificent [5]: *like kings, terrible and splendid* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 238); **mode evaluation [3]**: mysterious, unfathomable [3]: *Go not to the Elves for counsel, for they will say both no and yes* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 93); **psychic state [1]**: simultaneously sad and merry [1]: *and so gay and sad, as it were* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 96);

/- [31]: **spiritual / mental characteristics [16]**: distrustful [7]: *If they have a fault it is distrust of strangers* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 166); aren't interested in other races [4]: *The Elves have their own labours and their own sorrows, and they are little concerned with the ways of hobbits, or of any other creatures upon earth* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 94); eventually get tired of living [3]: *And those that endure in Middle-earth and come not to Mandos shall grow weary of the world as with a great burden, and shall wane, and become as shadows of regret* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 88); dislike dwarves [2]: *for they did not love dwarves* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 167); **psychic state [10]**: sad [10]: *their love of the Earth and all the world is more single and more poignant therefore, and as the years lengthen ever more sorrowful* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 42); **actions [2]**: slay their kindred [2]: *Ye have spilled the blood of your kindred unrighteously and have stained the land of Aman* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 88); **quantity [2]**: few in number [2]: *the Firstborn decrease* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 257); **utility evaluation [1]**: dangerous: *were more dangerous* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 166).

As the analyzed data show, 86% propositions have a positive assessment and 14% – negative. The eidetic coefficient of the Elves' evaluation is +6.1. They are depicted as wise, magnificent and beautiful creatures who delight in the sea, stars, and nature in general. They enjoy singing and making poetry, but at the same time are mighty warriors fighting evil wherever they see it. The Elves have a wholesome influence on their environment including other creatures and races, yet they are not interested in the latter. Their immortality and ever growing burden of years fill them with sorrow.

Legolas the Elf [122 propositions]

/+ [119]: **spiritual/mental characteristics [57]**: loves nature [12]: *Legolas took a deep breath, like one that drinks a great draught after long thirst in barren places. 'Ah! the green smell!' he said. 'It is better than much sleep* (Tolkien, 1987, p. 26); amiable [7]: *with this Dwarf, my friend, I came with the Lord Aragorn. But now we wish to see our friends* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 182); likes to sing [7]: *Legolas lay still, looking up at the sun and sky with steady eyes, and singing softly to himself* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 168); loyal [6]: *'My heart bids me go on,' said Legolas. 'But we must hold together. I will follow your counsel.'* (Tolkien, 1987, p. 28); fearless [5]: *there was not a heart among them that did not quail, unless it were the heart of Legolas of the Elves* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 70); loves the sea [4]: *I will pass the wide waters lonely sailing. Long are the waves on the Last Shore falling, Sweet are the voices in the Lost Isle calling* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 289); cheerful [4]: *The*

storm had troubled him little, and he alone of the Company remained still light of heart (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 305); has wide knowledge [2]: *Legolas told them tales of Lothlorien that the Elves of Mirkwood still kept in their hearts, of sunlight and starlight upon the meadows by the Great River before the world was grey* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 353); loves stars [2]: *The heart of Legolas was running under the stars of a summer night in some northern glade* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 398); loves animals [2]: *But Legolas asked them to take off saddle and rein. 'I need them not,' he said, and leaped lightly up, and to their wonder Arod was tame and willing beneath him, moving here and there with but a spoken word: such was the elvish way with all good beasts.* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 42); is able to prophesy the future [2]: *'Yet seldom do they fail of their seed,' said Legolas. 'And that will lie in the dust and rot to spring up again in times and places unlooked-for. The deeds of Men will outlast us, Gimli.'* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 182); is fond of languages [1]: *It is a fair song in our woodland tongue; but this is how it runs in the Westron Speech* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 353); kind [1]: *The thought of those merry young folk driven like cattle burns my heart* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 27); wise [1]: *Few can foresee whither their road will lead them, till they come to its end* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 95); chivalrous [1]: *'Legolas is right,' said Aragorn quietly. 'We may not shoot an old man so, at unawares and unchallenged, whatever fear or doubt be on us* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 96); **physical characteristics [37]:** keen-eyed [14]: *'You have the keen eyes of your fair kindred, Legolas,' he said; 'and they can tell a sparrow from a finch a league off* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 131); doesn't need sleep [6]: *and he could sleep, if sleep it could be called by Men, resting his mind in the strange paths of elvish dreams, even as he walked open-eyed in the light of this world* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 31); light-footed [5]: *With that he sprang forth nimbly, and then Frodo noticed as if for the first time, though he had long known it, that the Elf had no boots, but wore only light shoes and his feet made little imprint in the snow* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 305); has a wholesome influence on other creatures and the environment in general [5]: *But Arod, the horse of Rohan, refused the way, and he stood sweating and trembling in a fear that was grievous to see. Then Legolas laid his hands on his eyes and sang some words that went soft in the gloom, until he suffered himself to be led* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 70); enduring [4]: *Only Legolas still stepped as lightly as ever, his feet hardly seeming to press the grass, leaving no footprints as he passed; but in the waybread of the Elves he found all the sustenance that he needed* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 31); quick [3]: *Then swift as a runner over firm sand he shot away, and quickly overtaking the toiling men, with a wave of his hand he passed them, and sped into the distance* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 306); **actions [11]:** shoots well with a bow [9]: *'Praised be the bow of Galadriel, and the hand and eye of Legolas!' said Gimli, as he munched a wafer of lembas. 'That was a mighty shot in the dark, my friend!'* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 404); travels much [2]: *'we wandered in ages long ago,' said Legolas* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 352); **age [5]:** ancient [5]: *'It is old, very old,' said the Elf. 'So old that almost I feel young again, as I have not felt since I journeyed with you children'* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 94); **aesthetic evaluation [4]:** beautiful in appearance [4]: *for Legolas was fair of face beyond the measure of Men* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 181); **mode evaluation [2]:** mysterious, unfathomable [2]: *There was also a strange Elf clad in green and brown* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 253); **emotive evaluation [2]:** magnificent [2]: *His head was dark, crowned with sharp white stars that glittered in the black pools of the sky behind* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 403); **sound [1]:** has a wonderful voice: *In a soft voice hardly to be heard amid the rustle of the leaves above them he began* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 353);

/-/ [3]: utility evaluation [2]: dangerous [2]: *Legolas is dangerous* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 103); **spiritual/mental characteristics [1]:** hot-tempered: *'I am an Elf and a kinsman here,' said Legolas, becoming angry in his turn* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 362).

As the analysis reveals, the image of Legolas possesses many features typical of his race in general – he is an ancient, beautiful, and mysterious Elf who adores nature, stars, and the sea. He is a good singer and an excellent shot with keen eyes, a tireless traveler and a loyal friend. Yet sometimes he can lose his temper and become angry. Positive and negative propositions describing him number 98% and 2% respectively making the logical coefficient of Legolas' evaluation equal

+49. His summary coefficient equals +8 (+49: +6.1) which turned out to be higher than his race's eidetic coefficient. Evidently, Legolas is "a better protagonist" than an average Elf.

Finrod Felagund the Elf [27 propositions]

/+ [26]: spiritual/mental characteristics [17]: loyal [4]: *Finrod the faithful* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 61); wise [4]: *Wisdom was in the words of the Elven-king* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 141); is able to prophesy the future [2]: *he knew that the oath he had sworn was come upon him for his death, as long before he had foretold to Galadriel* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 169); loves music [2]: *he took up a rude harp which Bëor had laid aside, and he played music upon it such as the ears of Men had not heard* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 140); kind [2]: *Long Felagund watched them, and love for them stirred in his heart* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 140); helpful [1]: *between Cirdan and Finrod there was friendship and alliance* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 120); chivalrous [1]: *Then Finrod was greatly troubled, but he was silent, for he could not defend himself, save by bringing charges against the other princes of the Noldor* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 129); is able to read minds of others [1]: *Felagund discovered also that he could read in the minds of Men such thoughts as they wished to reveal in speech* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 141); **physical characteristics [3]:** strong, powerful [3]: *For Felagund strove with Sauron in songs of power, and the power of the King was very great* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 171); **actions [2]:** travels much [2]: *he had great love of wandering and he came even into Ossiriand* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 124); **financial state [2]:** wealthy [2]: *Finrod had brought more treasures out of Tirion than any other of the princes of the Noldor* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 114); **aesthetic evaluation [2]:** beautiful in appearance [2]: *King Finrod Felagund, fairest and most beloved of the house of Finwë* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 174);

/- [1]: spiritual/mental characteristics [1]: too proud: *I should find at least a few to follow me, and should not go hence as a beggar* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 170).

The analyzed data describe Finrod Felagund is a powerful, wise, and very rich king of Elves who is loyal to his cause and can sometimes prophesy the future. Positive propositions (96%) greatly dominate over the negative (4%). The logical coefficient of Finrod's evaluation is +24. The summary coefficient of his image equals +4 (+24: +6.1), lower than is symptomatic of his race, which makes him "a worse character" than an average Elf.

Men [214 propositions]

/+ [151]: spiritual/mental characteristics [77]: amiable [13]: *Yet many of the Edain had delight in the friendship of the Elves, and dwelt among them for so long as they had leave* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 47); loyal [12]: *they are true-hearted* (4, 33); valiant [10]: *true and valiant* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 28); lettered and having deep knowledge [9]: *And the loremasters among them learned also the High Eldarin tongue of the Blessed Realm, in which much story and song was preserved from the beginning of the world; and they made letters and scrolls and books, and wrote in them many things of wisdom and wonder in the high tide of their realm* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 262); wise [7]: *their sons increased in wisdom* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 149); independent [5]: *but we desire only to be free, and to live as we have lived, keeping our own, and serving no foreign lord, good or evil* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 35); love animals and are able to understand their language [5]: *These people are kindly to beasts* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 35); *were believed to understand the languages of beasts and birds* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 161); intelligent [4]: *they were eager of mind* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 148); kind, not cruel [3]: *bold but not cruel* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 33); helpful [3]: *they rode to our aid and destroyed our enemies that had seized our northern provinces* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 287); hospitable [2]: *We welcomed guests kindly in the better days* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 35); have retentive memory [2]: *long in memory* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 148); emotional [2]: *quick to anger and to laughter* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 148); **physical characteristics [28]:** mighty warriors [23]: *tall men and fair women, valiant both alike, golden-haired, bright-eyed, and strong* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 287); keen-eyed and quick-eared [4]: *They were believed to have strange powers of sight and hearing* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 161); enduring [1]: *The servants of Morgoth pursued them with*

hatred, and their ways were long and hard (Tolkien, 1977, p. 259); **actions [15]**: sail skillfully [8]: *Above all arts they nourished shipbuilding and sea-craft, and they became mariners whose like shall never be again since the world was diminished; and voyaging upon the wide seas was the chief feat and adventure of their hardy men* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 262); fight evil [7]: *Men of Westemne: they were foes of the Dark Lord* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 157); **emotive evaluation [15]**: magnificent [15]: *Therefore they grew wise and glorious, and in all things more like to the Firstborn than any other of the kindreds of Men* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 261); **size [8]**: tall [8]: *and they were tall, taller than the tallest of the sons of Middle-earth* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 261); **mode evaluation [3]**: mysterious, unfathomable [3]: *I didn't know that any of the Big People were like that* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 233); **financial state [3]**: wealthy [3]: *and they drank and they feasted and they clad themselves in silver and gold* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 267); **aesthetic evaluation [2]**: beautiful in appearance [2]: *They were fair of face* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 507);

/-/ [63]: **spiritual/mental characteristics [55]**: fear death [12]: *But the fear of death grew ever darker upon them, and they delayed it by all means that they could; and they began to build great houses for their dead, while their wise men laboured unceasingly to discover if they might the secret of recalling life* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 266); too proud [7]: *They are proud and wilful; they were called the King's Men, and they grew proud and were estranged from the Eldar and the Valar* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 252); greedy [7]: *But those that lived turned the more eagerly to pleasure and revelry, desiring ever more goods and more riches* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 266); fickle, wayward [6]: *Men, being set amid the turmoils of the powers of the world, would stray often, and would not use their gifts in harmony* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 42); cruel [5]: *with spilling of blood and torment and great wickedness, men made sacrifice to Melkor* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 273); easily seduced by evil [5]: *Men came into the world in the time of the Shadow of Morgoth, and they fell swiftly under his dominion; for he sent his emissaries among them, and they listened to his evil and cunning words, and they worshipped the Darkness* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 259); distrustful [5]: *Men now fear and misdoubt the Elves* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 288); overconfident [4]: *Yet even so it was Gondor that brought about its own decay, falling by degrees into dotage, and thinking that the Enemy was asleep, who was only banished not destroyed* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 286); stubborn [2]: *and some grew wilful* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 265); evil [2]: *a darkness lay upon the hearts of Men* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 141); **psychic state [4]**: sad [4]: *it is laden with the sadness of Mortal Men* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 112); **physical characteristics [2]**: have weaker health than other races [2]: *But Men were more frail, more easily slain by weapon or mischance, and less easily healed; subject to sickness and many ills* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 104); **actions [1]**: rebel against gods: *And the Numenoreans began to murmur, at first in their hearts, and then in open words, against the doom of Men* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 264); **aesthetic evaluation [1]**: ugly in appearance: *These Men were short and broad, long and strong in the arm; their skins were swart or sallow, and their hair was dark as were their eyes* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 151).

As the analysis demonstrates, positively and negatively charged propositions number 71% and 29% respectively. The eidetic coefficient of the Men's evaluation is +2.5. They are portrayed as loyal friends always ready to lend a helping hand and mighty warriors fighting evil. Men are magnificent and independent people skillful in the art of sea-faring. But there is a negative side to them: they are too proud, fickle, greedy, and cruel race, easily swayed by evil and living in the constant fear of death.

Aragorn the Man [162 proposition]

/+/ [144]: **spiritual/mental characteristics [50]**: loyal [14]: *I cannot desert my friends while hope remains* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 40); helpful [6]: *'He cannot stand alone!' cried Aragorn suddenly and ran back along the bridge. 'Elendil!' he shouted. I am with you, Gandalf!'* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 345); amiable [5]: *A day draws near that I have looked for in all the years of my manhood, and when it comes I would have my friends beside me.'* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 306); stout-hearted [5]: *In that hour I looked on Aragorn and thought how great and terrible a Lord he might have become in the strength of his will, had he taken the Ring to himself* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 186); just [4]: *the mercy and justice of the King* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 305); has wide knowledge [4]: *He*

knew many histories and legends of long ago, of Elves and Men and the good and evil deeds of the Elder Days (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 203); prudent [4]: 'When have I been hasty or unwary, who have waited and prepared for so many long years?' said Aragorn (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 200); has retentive memory [2]: 'The heirs of Elendil do not forget all things past,' said Strider (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 214); sympathizing [2]: he gave you only understanding and pity (Tolkien, 1981, p. 299); hospitable [1]: 'Well, father, what can we do for you?' said Aragorn, leaping to his feet. 'Come and be warm, if you are cold!' (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 45); courageous [1]: Then Aragorn halted and went to look what it might be. 'Does he feel no fear?' muttered the Dwarf (Tolkien, 1981, p. 71); kind [1]: he has a golden heart (Tolkien, 1981, p. 302); wise [1]: wisdom sat upon his brow (Tolkien, 1981, p. 304); **physical characteristics [28]**: mighty warrior [15]: Aragorn smote to the ground the captain that stood in his path, and the rest fled in terror of his wrath (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 346); quick-eared [6]: I have quick ears, ' he went on (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 175); enduring [5]: For I have not slept in such a bed as this, since I rode from Dunharrow, nor eaten since the dark before dawn.' (Tolkien, 1981, p. 178); keen-eyed [2]: 'Yes,' said Strider, whose keener sight left him in no doubt (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 200); **emotive evaluation [17]**: magnificent [17]: high and glad of face, kingly, lord of Men (Tolkien, 1981, p. 304); **actions [17]**: travels much [9]: But I may say that I know all the lands between the Shire and the Misty Mountains, for I have wandered over them for many years (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 177); heals the sick [6]: and he has the healing hands (Tolkien, 1981, p. 302); fights evil [2]: that the hour had come at last when the heir of Elendil should come forth and strive with Sauron for the mastery (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 384); **age [12]**: long liver [12]: I shall have life far longer than other men (Tolkien, 1981, p. 308); **size [9]**: tall [9]: a Man, lean, dark, tall (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 182); **mode evaluation [7]**: mysterious, unfathomable [7]: Only he does not altogether like mysterious vagabonds of my sort (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 176); **aesthetic evaluation [4]**: beautiful in appearance [3]: a young lord tall and fair (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 367);

/-/ [18]: **spiritual/mental characteristics [8]**: too proud [8]: 'It is not clear to me that the will of Theoden, even though he be lord of the Mark, should prevail over the will of Aragorn son of Arathorn' (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 115); **utility evaluation [7]**: dangerous [7]: And Aragorn is dangerous (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 103); **psychic state [3]**: sad [3]: And may I sleep deep, and forget for a while my grief! I am weary in body and in heart (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 373).

In the analyzed examples, Aragon is portrayed as a magnificent and unfathomable Man, a stout-hearted and loyal friend who, as a mighty warrior, is always ready to come to the rescue in the fight against the evil. Yet sometimes his pride masters him causing Aragorn to become a dangerous adversary to face. Positive and negative propositions describing him number 89% and 11% respectively thus the logical coefficient of Aragorn's evaluation equals +8.1. Dividing it by eidetic coefficient of the race (+2.5) we determine his summary coefficient as +3.24, higher than the eidetic one, making him "a better Man" than average.

Eomer the Man [37 propositions]

/+/ [28]: **spiritual/mental characteristics [16]**: wise [3]: If Eomer had not defied Wormtongue's voice speaking with your mouth (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 126); loyal [3]: 'I owe much to Eomer,' said Theoden. 'Faithful heart may have forward tongue' (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 126); amiable [3]: And Eomer answered: 'Since the day when you rose before me out of the green grass of the downs I have loved you, and that love shall not fail' (Tolkien, 1981, p. 306); helpful [2]: You may go; and what is more, I will lend you horses (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 41); emotional [2]: And then wonder took him, and a great joy; and he cast his sword up in the sunlight and sang as he caught it (Tolkien, 1981, p. 150); quick to learn [1]: I spoke only as do all men in my land, and I would gladly learn better (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 40); chivalrous [1]: Loth am I to begin a battle of one hundred against three (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 41); courageous [1]: Valour in arms is yours, and you win high honour thereby (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 185); **physical characteristics [8]**: mighty warrior [8]:

South strode Eomer and men fled before his face (Tolkien, 1981, p. 150); **size [2]**: tall [2]: *Then one rode forward, a tall man, taller than all the rest* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 34); **emotive evaluation [2]**: magnificent [2]: *and all there assembled rose and drank to the new king, crying: 'Hail, Eomer, King of the Mark!'* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 315);

/-/ [9]: spiritual/mental characteristics [9]: hot-tempered [4]: his fury had betrayed him (Tolkien, 1981, p. 148); distrustful [3]: *'Now we feel the peril that we were warned of. Have we ridden forth to victory, only to stand at last amazed by an old liar with honey on his forked tongue?'* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 185); too proud [2]: *Eomer's eyes blazed, and the Men of Rohan murmured angrily, and closed in. 'I would cut off your head, beard and all, Master Dwarf, if it stood but a little higher from the ground' said Eomer* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 35).

In the novels, Eomer is a wise and emotional Man, a loyal friend and a mighty warrior. Among his shortcomings are his hot temper, excessive pride, and distrust of strangers. His positive characteristics (76%) are thrice as numerous as the negative ones (24%), so his evaluation's logical coefficient equals +3.2. His summary coefficient is +1.28 which is lower than the eidetic coefficient of his race (+2.5) testifying to the fact than he is "worse" than an average Man.

Dwarves [158 propositions]

/+/ [104]: actions [48]: work skillfully as smiths and masons [35]: Dwarves are said to be cunning folk with stone; and the Dwarves could make of it a metal, light and yet harder than tempered steel (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 141); travel seeking for job [6]: *traveling and labouring and trading about the lands* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 512); trade [5]: *all things that they desired they could obtain in traffic* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 331); teach smith craft [2]: *Fathers would beg us to take their sons as apprentices, and pay us handsomely* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 22); **spiritual / mental characteristics [36]**: valiant [10]: *the halls of Khazad-dum were too deep and strong and filled with a people too numerous and valiant for Sauron to conquer from without* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 439); friendly to other races [9]: *But the Naugrim gave their friendship more readily to the Noldor in after days than to any others of Elves and Men* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 92); resistant to evil [5]: *the thoughts of their hearts are hard to fathom, nor can they be turned to shadows* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 288); quick to learn [4]: *the Dwarves were swift to learn* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 92); loyal [3]: *fast in friendship* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 246); have broad knowledge about the world [3]: *for they have many strange tales and beliefs concerning themselves and their fate in the world* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 439); hate Orcs [2]: *they hated the Orcs* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 204); **physical characteristics [10]**: enduring [10]: *and they suffer toil and hunger and hurt of body more hardily than all other speaking peoples* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 44); **financial state [8]**: wealthy [8]: *To the treasure of my people no man has a claim* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 263); **age [2]**: long lived [2]: *and they live long, far beyond the span of Men* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 44);

/-/ [54]: spiritual / mental characteristics [50]: secretive [19]: the Dwarves were secret (Tolkien, 1977, p. 113); greedy [11]: *The only power over them that the Rings wielded was to inflame their hearts with a greed of gold and precious things* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 446); hot-tempered and revengeful [6]: *and there is no knowing what a dwarf will not dare and do for revenge or the recovery of his own* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 199); don't appreciate living creatures [6]: *They will love first the things made by their own hands, rather than things that live by their own life* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 45); hostile [3]: *fast in enmity* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 95); jealous [2]: *Dwarves take only one wife or husband each in their lives, and are jealous, as in all matters of their rights* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 449); don't like Elves and Men [2]: *they hated the Eldar no less, and the Exiles most of all* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 204); *Men of old lusted after their wealth and the work of their hands, and there has been enmity between the races* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 512); stubborn [1]: *stubborn* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 44); **quantity [3]**: few in number [3]: *It is because of the fewness of women among them that the kind of the Dwarves increases slowly* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 449); **aesthetic evaluation [1]**: unlovely in appearance: *unloveliness of the Naugrim* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 113).

As we can surmise from the analysis, 66% have a positive assessment and 34% – negative. The eidetic coefficient of the Dwarves' evaluation is +1.94. Their typical portrait describes them as unparalleled smiths, valiant and enduring warriors able to resist evil. At the same time, they are secretive, greedy, hot-tempered, and revengeful.

Thorin Oakenshield the Dwarf [74 propositions]

/+ [23]: **spiritual / mental characteristics** [16]: respectable [4]: *an enormously important dwarf in fact no other than the great Thorin Oakenshield himself* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 10); loyal [4]: *"Nonsense!" said Thorin, recovering his dignity. "We cannot leave them"* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 216); decent [3]: *decent enough dwarves like Thorin* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 49); hates Orcs [2]: *that you are enemies of goblins and are not up to any mischief in my lands* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 119); loves music [1]: *It was a beautiful golden harp, and when Thorin struck it the music began all at once, so sudden and sweet that Bilbo forgot everything else* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 13); eloquent [1]: *If he had been allowed, he would probably have gone on like this until he was out of breath, without telling any one there anything that was not known already* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 16); amiable [1]: *I wish to part in friendship from you* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 288); **financial state** [5]: wealthy [5]: *all the treasure is yours* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 257); **physical characteristics** [1]: strong: *Thorin wielded his axe with mighty strokes, and nothing seemed to harm him* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 283); **age** [1]: long liver: *my eyes don't see as well as they used a hundred years ago* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 142);

/- [51]: **spiritual / mental characteristics** [51]: greedy [15]: *And already, so strong was the bewilderment of the treasure upon him, he was pondering whether by the help of Dain he might not recapture the Arkenstone and withhold the share of the reward* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 275); stubborn [13]: *he is quite ready to sit on a heap of gold and starve* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 270); hot-tempered [11]: *"You! You!" cried Thorin, turning upon him and grasping him with both hands. "You miserable hobbit! You undersized-burglar!" he shouted at a loss for words, and he shook poor Bilbo like a rabbit* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 274); revengeful [5]: *Take him, if you wish him to live; and no friendship of mine goes with him* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 275); arrogant [2]: *Thorin looked and walked as if his kingdom was already regained and Smaug chopped up into little pieces* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 198); doesn't like Elves [2]: *Nor at all with the people of the Elvenking, whom I remember with small kindness* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 264); too proud [2]: *Thorin indeed was very haughty, and said nothing about service* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 10); likes to smoke [1]: *found Thorin with his feet on the fender smoking a pipe. He was blowing the most enormous smoke-rings* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 12).

The analyzed data depict Thorin Oakenshield as a respectable, decent, loyal, and wealthy Dwarf, whose shortcomings are quite numerous, though. He is greedy and stubborn, hot-tempered and arrogant. His negative descriptions prevail over positive ones (69% and 31% respectively). His evaluation's logical coefficient is -0,5. Thorin's summary coefficient is nevertheless positive (+0.25) since his race's eidetic coefficient (+ 1.94) is positive and ranks higher than his personal one. Yet, on the whole, Thorin is a "worse Dwarf" than average.

Gimli the Dwarf [43 propositions]

/+ [32]: **spiritual / mental characteristics** [21]: valiant [5]: *Torment in the dark was the danger that I feared, and it did not hold me back* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 395); courteous [5]: *Then Gimli bowed low. 'Nay, you are excused for my part, lord,' he said* (Tolkien, 1981, p.); amiable [3]: *Legolas and Gimli, who had now become fast friends* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 388); loyal [3]: *'I will go with you even on the Paths of the Dead, and to whatever, end they may lead,' said Gimli* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 64); helpful [2]: *'We must follow the Orcs, if there is hope that any of our Company are living prisoners'* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 17); wise [2]: *There will always be some folk, big or little, and even a few wise dwarves like Gimli, who need you* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 183); eloquent [1]: *Gimli alone could find fit words to speak of them. 'And never before has a Dwarf claimed a victory over an Elf in a contest of words,' said he* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 317); **physical characteristics** [11]:

enduring [7]: *we are all too tired – except, no doubt, our sturdy dwarf* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 408); strong [2]: *He is stout and strong* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 143); keen-eyed [1]: *He had keen eyes in the dark* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 342); quick-eared [1]: *There are no goblins near, or my ears are made of wood* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 351);

/-/ [11]: **spiritual / mental characteristics [6]**: stubborn [3]: *This was not at all to the liking of Gimli. ‘The agreement was made without my consent,’ he said.* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 361); distrustful [2]: *Gimli was uneasy. ‘What do you know of these horsemen, Aragorn?’ he said. ‘Do we sit here waiting for sudden death?’* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 33); hot-tempered [1]: *Gimli rose and planted his feet firmly apart: his hand gripped the handle of his axe, and his dark eyes flashed.* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 35); **дїя [4]**: doesn’t ride a horse [4]: *I would sooner walk than sit on the back of any beast so great, free or begrudged* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 41); **utility evaluation [1]**: dangerous: *you are dangerous yourself in your own fashion* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 103).

Created by Tolkien generalized portrait of Gimli shows him like a strong and enduring Dwarf, a valiant and loyal friend, although sometimes he is distrustful and hot-tempered. Positive and negative propositions describing him number 74% and 26% respectively making the logical coefficient of Gimli’s evaluation equal +2.8. Gimli’s summary coefficient equals +1.44 (+2.8: +1.94) which is rather close to the race’s eidetic coefficient. We may conclude that Gimli is what can be called a typical Dwarf.

Hobbits [109 propositions]

/+/ [54]: **spiritual / mental characteristics [29]**: cheerful [8]: *jolly hobbits* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 58); love quiet and order [6]: *a district of well-ordered business* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 14); peaceful [4]: *At no time had Hobbits of any kind been warlike, and they had never fought among themselves* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 14); modest [3]: *Hobbits are an unobtrusive* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 10); are able to find their way underground [2]: *they do not easily lose their sense of direction* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 70); like gifts and celebrations [2]: *They were hospitable and delighted in parties, and in presents, which they gave away freely and eagerly accepted* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 11); courteous [1]: *‘The Halflings are courteous folk, whatever else they be,’ said Faramir* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 267); valiant at need [1]: *they are valiant* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 314); amiable [1]: *The Big Folk and the Little Folk were on friendly terms* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 161); kind [1]: *kind Bolgers* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 58); **physical characteristics [17]**: are able to hide promptly [7]: *They possessed from the first the art of disappearing swiftly and silently* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 10); enduring [5]: *could survive rough handling by grief foe, or weather in a way that astonished those who did not know them well* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 15); keen-eyed and quick-eared [3]: *They are quick of hearing and sharp-eyed* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 10); nimble [1]: *they are nonetheless nimble and deft in their movements* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 10); swiftly recover from injuries [1]: *recover wonderfully* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 70); **mode evaluation [4]**: amazing [2]: *Hobbits really are amazing creatures* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 72); charming [1]: *charming hobbits* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 58); funny [1]: *absurd hobbits* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 58); **age [2]**: ancient [2]: *very ancient people* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 10); **aesthetic evaluation [2]**: good-looking [2]: *good-natured faces* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 2);

/-/ [33]: **utility evaluation [16]**: little known [15]: *Only the Elves still preserve any records of that vanished time, in which Men appear seldom and Hobbits are not mentioned at all. Yet it is clear that Hobbits had, in fact, lived quietly in Middle-earth for many long years before other folk became even aware of them* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 11); helpless [1]: *helpless hobbits* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 58); **spiritual / mental characteristics [13]**: simple-minded [3]: *We are plain quiet folk and have no use for adventures* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 4); are not interested in learning [3]: *A love of learning (other than genealogical lore) was far from general among them* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 11); do not practice magic [2]: *But Hobbits have never, in fact, studied magic of any kind* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 10); like to smoke [2]: *it is an art which we have not practised for more than a few generations* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 163); don’t like to travel [2]: *The Bree-folk, Big and Little, did not*

themselves travel much (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 162); too garrulous [1]: *‘These hobbits will sit on the edge of ruin and discuss the pleasures of the table, or the small doings of their fathers, grandfathers, and greatgrandfathers, and remoter cousins to the ninth degree, if you encourage them with undue patience’* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 163); **quantity [2]:** few in number [2]: *since they have become rare* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 2); **physical characteristics [2]:** rather fat [2]: *they are inclined to be fat and do not hurry unnecessarily* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 10);

/0/ [22]: spiritual / mental characteristics [6]: are fond of eating and drinking [4]: *and eat, and drink, often and heartily, being fond of simple jests at all times, and of six meals a day* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 11); like bright colours [2]: *They dressed in bright colours, being notably fond of yellow and green* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 11); **location [6]:** live underground in holes [6]: *All Hobbits had originally lived in holes in the ground* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 15); **size [6]:** small [6]: *They are a little people, about half our height, and smaller than the bearded Dwarves* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 2); **physical characteristics [4]:** their legs are furry [4]: *they wear no shoes as their feet grow natural leathery soles and thick warm brown hair* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 15).

As we see, positive, negative, and neutral propositions number 49%, 31%, and 20% respectively. As the neutral propositions are not covered by our calculations eidetic coefficient is found equal +1.6. Hobbits are described as simple-minded and cheerful hole-dwellers who are fond of celebrations which give them a good chance to indulge in eating and drinking. They live largely unnoticed by other races and are rather helpless because of their peaceful disposition and small size.

Bilbo Baggins the Hobbit [166 propositions]

/+ / [91]: spiritual / mental characteristics [71]: loves quiet [21]: *Sorry! I don't want any adventures, thank you* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 6); hospitable [9]: *‘I am just about to take tea: pray come and have some with me.’ A little stiff perhaps, but he meant it kindly* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 7); amiable [7]: *Also he would have liked to have a few private words with these people that seemed to know his name and all about him, although he had never been them before* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 50); courageous [6]: *Bilbo began to feel there really was something of a bold adventurer about himself after all* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 165); kind [4]: *He was a kindly little soul* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 288); cheerful [4]: *he had many a merry jest and dance, early and late, with the elves of the valley* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 298); peaceful [4]: *It was a terrible battle. The most dreadful of all Bilbo's experiences, and the one which at the time he hated most* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 281); is not that simple as he seems [3]: *he has more about him than you guess, and you will find that out before long* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 135); loyal [3]: *But I don't think I ought to leave my friends like this, after all we have gone through together* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 271); loves adventures and travels [2]: *Then something Tookish woke up inside him, and he wished to go and see the great mountains, and hear the pine-trees and the waterfalls, and explore the caves, and wear a sword instead of a walking-stick* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 15); eager for new knowledge [2]: *‘What are moon-letters?’ asked the hobbit full of excitement. He loved maps, and he also liked runes and letters and cunning handwriting* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 53); loves celebrations [2]: *Then Bilbo longed to escape from the dark fortress and to go down and join in the mirth and feasting by the fires* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 261); courteous [2]: *‘You have nice manners for a thief and a liar,’ said the dragon* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 220); loves nature [1]: *You will notice already that Mr. Baggins was not quite so prosy as he liked to believe, also that he was very fond of flowers* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 5); sharp-witted [1]: *for they saw that he had some wits* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 165); **physical characteristics [19]:** can move noiselessly [10]: *he crept noiselessly down, down, down into the dark* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 212); keen-eyed [6]: *Bilbo had the sharpest eyes among them* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 142); quick-eared [2]: *He sat nearest to the door with one ear cocked for any beginnings of a sound without, his other was alert or echoes beyond the murmurs of the dwarves* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 229); enduring [1]: *a hobbit full of courage and resource far exceeding his size* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 210); **mode evaluation [1]:** funny: *Just look! Bilbo the hobbit on a pony, my dear!* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 49);

/-/ [18]: **spiritual / mental characteristics [11]**: likes to smoke [5]: *he blushed to think how proud he had been yesterday morning of the smoke-rings he had sent up the wind over The Hill* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 13); rather simple-minded [4]: *“Don’t be a fool Mr. Baggins if you can help it”* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 115); unhasty [1]: *There’s no hurry, we have all the day before us!* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 4); easily forgets things [1]: *He did not remember things very well, unless he put them down on his Engagement Tablet* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 6); **utility evaluation [5]**: helpless [5]: *He could not get into any tree, and was scuttling about from trunk to trunk, like a rabbit that has lost its hole and has a dog after it* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 99); **physical characteristics [2]**: rather fat [2]: *“He is too fat to get through key-holes yet!”* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 50);

/0/ [57]: **size [29]**: small [29]: *little Bilbo* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 59); **spiritual / mental characteristics [14]**: is fond of eating [13]: *“I am so dreadfully hungry,” groaned Bilbo, who was suddenly aware that he had not had a meal since the night before the night before last* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 96); likes green color [1]: *With that the hobbit turned and scuttled inside his round green door* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 6); **location [11]**: lives underground in a hole [11]: *he had done on his feather-bed in his own little hole at home* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 110); **physical characteristics [3]**: his legs are furry [3]: *running as fast as his furry feet could carry him down the lane* (Tolkien, 1993, p. 30).

The analyzed examples describe Bilbo Baggins as a merry, kind, hospitable and peaceful Hobbit who loves quiet life in his hole, but unexpectedly leaves it in search of adventures although he realizes he is quite helpless in emergencies. Positive, negative, and neutral propositions describing him number 54%, 11%, and 35% respectively. Logical coefficient of his evaluation is +4.9 and his summary coefficient is +3.06 (+4.9:+1.6). Evidently, he is a “better Hobbit” than average.

Samwise Gamgee the Hobbit [140 propositions]

/+ [88]: **spiritual/mental characteristics [83]**: loyal [21]: *But he had stuck to his master all the way; that was what he had chiefly come for, and he would still stick to him. His master would not go to Mordor alone. Sam would go with him* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 246); caring [15]: *Sam’s mind was occupied mostly with his master hardly noticing the dark cloud that had fallen on his own heart. He put Frodo in front of him now, and kept a watchful eye on every movement of his, supporting him if he stumbled, and trying to encourage him with clumsy words* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 238); courageous [8]: *He climbed out and went to the farmer’s side. Black Riders would have to ride over him to get near the waggon* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 106); loves animals [7]: *I would have travelled lighter and brought no animal, least of all this one that Sam is fond of* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 315); helpful [6]: *‘I can carry enough for two,’ said Sam defiantly* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 190); incisive [6]: *he seemed to sense that there was something odd about his master’s mood and that the matter was beyond argument* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 222); is fond of stories [5]: *Sam will know more about that. He’s in and out of Bag End. Crazy about stories of the old days he is, and he listens to all Mr. Bilbo’s tales* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 32); loves trees [3]: *‘For you little gardener and lover of trees,’ she said to Sam* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 391); likes to sing [2]: *Sam and Pippin sat near, and they began to hum, and then to sing softly* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 99); likes quiet [2]: *He scratched his head, and for a moment had a passing wish that Mr. Frodo could have gone on living quietly at Bag End* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 109); cheerful [2]: *but being a cheerful hobbit he had not needed hope, as long as despair could be postponed* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 246); kind [1]: *Sam was gentler than his words* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 224); careful [1]: *Something warned him to be careful and not to reveal that he had overheard the debate* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 241); amiable [1]: *Both father and son were on very friendly terms with Bilbo and Frodo* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 30); peaceful [1]: *It was Sam’s first view of a battle of Men against Men, and he did not like it much* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 269); strong [1]: *Fury at the treachery, and desperation at the delay when his master was in deadly peril, gave to Sam a sudden violence and strength that was far beyond anything that Gollum had expected* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 335); resolute [1]: *Sam’s plain hobbit-face grew stern, almost grim, as the will hardened in him, and he felt through all his limbs a thrill, as if he was turning into some creature of stone and*

steel (Tolkien, 1981, p. 259); **physical characteristics [4]:** quick-eared [3]: *he had attended with his keen hobbit ears to all the soft woodland noises about them* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 281); keen-eyed [1]: *With his keen hobbit-eyes he saw that many more Men were about* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 268); **mode evaluation [1]:** mysterious: *I am learning a lot about Sam Gamgee on this journey. First he was a conspirator, now he's a jester. He'll end up by becoming a wizard — or a warrior!*' (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 220);

/-/ **[44]: spiritual / mental characteristics [41]:** distrustful [24]: *but Sam was not daunted, and he still eyed Strider dubiously. 'How do we know you are the Strider that Gandalf speaks about?' he demanded* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 184); hot-tempered [8]: *Sam had been getting more and more impatient and angry at this conversation. These last words were more than he could bear, and bursting into the middle of the ring, he strode up to his master's side* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 273); too garrulous [5]: *A day or two later a rumour (probably started by the knowledgeable Sam) was spread* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 32); rather simple-minded [4]: *Sam's slow but shrewd mind* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 247); **psychic state [2]:** frightened [2]: *'Mr. Frodo, sir!' cried Sam quaking. 'Don't let him hurt me, sir! Don't let him turn me into anything unnatural!'* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 73); **physical characteristics [1]:** awkward: *Sam is an excellent fellow, and would jump down a dragon's throat to save you, if he did not trip over his own feet* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 114);

/0/ **[8]: spiritual / mental characteristics [6]:** is fond of eating and drinking [6]: *Neither Frodo nor Sam refused anything that was offered, nor a second, nor indeed a third helping* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 285); **size [2]:** small [2]: *a small hobbit* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 220).

As the analyzed data reveal, Sam is a loyal and caring servant who loves animals and trees and is always ready to come to his master's rescue. His shortcomings include his hot temper, distrust of others, and rather garrulous disposition. Positive, negative, and neutral propositions number 63%, 31%, and 6% respectively. The logical coefficient of Sam's his evaluation is +2 and his summary coefficient is 1.25 (+2: +1.6). The latter is quite close to his race's eidetic coefficient making him a typical representative of Hobbits.

Ents [85 propositions]

/+/ **[42]: spiritual / mental characteristics [18]:** wise [4]: *One felt as if there was an enormous well behind them, filled up with ages of memory and long, slow, steady thinking* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 66); love other creatures [3]: *the Ents gave their love to things that they met in the world* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 79); loving husbands [3]: *For many years we used to go out every now and again and look for the Entwives, walking far and wide and calling them by their beautiful names* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 80); love trees [3]: *for the Ents loved the great trees; and the wild woods* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 79); hate Orcs [2]: *For there was a great inrush of those evil-eyed – blackhanded – bowlegged – flinthearted – clawfingered – foubellied – bloodthirsty, those vermin of orcs* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 318); don't forgive treachery [2]: *There is no curse in Elvish, Entish, or the tongues of Men bad enough for such treachery. Down with Saruman!* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 89); incisive [1]: *These deep eyes were now surveying them, slow and solemn, but very penetrating* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 66); **age [10]:** ancient [10]: *we old Ents* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 71); **physical characteristics [10]:** strong [3]: *There is a great power in them* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 170); have unfathomable eyes [3]: *and all had the same eyes: not all so old or so deep as Treebeard's, but all with the same slow, steady, thoughtful expression* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 84); invulnerable [3]: *an Ent can be stuck as full of orc-arrows as a pincushion, and take no serious harm; they cannot be poisoned, for one thing; and their skin seems to be very thick, and tougher than bark; It takes a very heavy axe-stroke to wound them seriously* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 172); don't die of age [1]: *None have died from inside, as you might say* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 78); **actions [6]:** travel much [4]: *But we Ents went on wandering, and we only came to the gardens now and again* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 79); take care of woods [2]: *We keep off strangers and the foolhardy* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 71);

/-/ **[36]: quantity [13]:** few in number [13]: *What a pity there are so few of us!* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 78); **physical characteristics [8]:** slow, unhasty [7]: *we are not a hasty folk* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 78); deceptive in appearance [1]: *They were quite hollow, indeed they were falling all to pieces, but as quiet and sweet-spoken as a young leaf. And then there are some trees in the valleys under the mountains, sound as a bell, and bad right through* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 71); **psychic state [5]:** sad [5]: *They seem slow, queer, and patient, almost sad* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 85); **utility evaluation [4]:** dangerous [4]: *An angry Ent is terrifying* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 172); **spiritual / mental characteristics [6]:** passive [3]: *We Ents do not like being roused* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 89); hate fire [1]: *without even the bad excuse of feeding the fires, that has so angered us* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 89); secretive [1]: *For they do not belong here and know little of Elves and Men* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 152); evil [1]: *they have become queer and wild. I should be terrified of meeting them* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 170);

/0/ **[7]: physical characteristics [7]:** resemble trees [5]: *The Ents were as different from one another as trees from trees: some as different as one tree is from another of the same name but quite different growth and history; and some as different as one tree-kind from another, as birch from beech; oak from fir* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 83); different in appearance [2]: *many shapes, and colours, the differences in girth; and height, and length of leg and arm; and in the number of toes and fingers (anything from three to nine)* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 83).

In the analyzed data, positive, negative, and neutral propositions number 49%, 42%, and 7% respectively. The eidetic coefficient equals +1.2. Ents are ancient and wise “shepherds of trees” resembling the latter in appearance. They are unhasty, somewhat passive, and full of sadness since they lost their wives and cannot have children any longer.

Fangorn the Ent [76 propositions]

/+/ **[50]: spiritual/mental characteristics [28]:** loves singing [5]: *singing that song put me in mind of old times* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 81); disposed favorably to Elves [4]: *I have good will to Elves* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 191); wise [3]: *he is wise* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 103); loves trees [3]: *Many of those trees were my friends creatures I had known from nut and acorn* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 77); amiable [3]: *We have become friends in so short a while that I think I must be getting hasty* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 191); doesn't forgive treachery [2]: *He seemed rather grimly delighted with the business and was laughing to himself when he went to get his bathe and drink* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 179); incisive [2]: *The Old Ent looked at them long and searchingly* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 190); hates Orcs [2]: *I am against altogether these Orcs, and their masters* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 76); loves his wife [2]: *Very fair she was still in my eyes, when I had last seen her* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 71); kind [1]: *he is wise and kindly nonetheless* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 103); careful [1]: *For I am not going to tell you my name, not yet at any rate* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 68); **age [14]:** ancient [14]: *he is the oldest of the Ents, the oldest living thing that still walks beneath the Sun upon this Middle-earth* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 102); **size [5]:** tall [5]: *He stood and stretched his great arms and legs and breathed deep* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 174); **physical characteristics [3]:** tireless [2]: *I do not easily get tired* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 69); strong [1]: *He began to pull down a bit more of the walls, in a leisurely sort of way, just to amuse himself* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 175);

/-/ **[16]: physical characteristics [9]:** slow, unhasty [9]: *“Don't be hasty” is his motto* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 175); **spiritual / mental characteristics [4]:** hot-tempered [3]: *I have become too hot* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 77); passive [1]: *I have not troubled about the Great Wars* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 75); **utility evaluation [2]:** dangerous [2]: *Fangorn was dangerous* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 103); **psychic state [1]:** sad: *Pippin could see a sad look in his eyes* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 90);

/0/ **[10]:]: physical characteristics [7]:** has unfathomable eyes [4]: *These deep eyes were now surveying them, slow and solemn, but very penetrating* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 66); resembles a tree [3]: *Whether it was clad in stuff like green and grey bark, or whether that was its hide, was*

difficult to say. At any rate the arms, at a short distance from the trunk, were not wrinkled, but covered with a brown smooth skin (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 66).

Described by the analyzed examples Fangorn is a wise and ancient creature looking like a tree. He is sad and unhasty, but can be moved to anger when he sees treachery or harm done to nature; then he can become really dangerous. Positive, negative, and neutral propositions describing him number 66%, 21%, and 13% respectively. The logical coefficient of his evaluation is +3.1 and his summary coefficient is +2.58 (+3.1:+1.2), more than twice as much as his race's coefficient which makes him "a better Ent" than average.

Bregalad the Ent [10 propositions]

/+ [9]: spiritual / mental characteristics [5]: kind [1]: *Quickbeam is a gentle creature* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 173); loves birds [1]: *I like birds, even when they chatter* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 87); loves trees [1]: *the fall of trees that he had loved* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 87); doesn't forgive treachery [1]: *he hates Saruman all the more fiercely for that* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 73); cheerful [1]: *Quickbeam often laughed* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 86); **size [2]:** tall [2]: *'Yes, a tall grey Ent is there,' said Legolas* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 164); **age [1]:** ancient: *rowan-trees that took root when I was an Enting, many many years ago in the quiet of the world* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 87); **physical characteristics [1]:** quick: *he can move like a wind when he is roused* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 173).

/- [1]: psychic state [1]: sad: *said Bregalad, softly and sadly* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 87).

The author depicted Bregalad as a kind and cheerful Ent who loves birds and trees. Positive and negative propositions describing him number 90% and 10% respectively, so the logical coefficient of his evaluation is +9. His summary coefficient is 7.5 (+9 :+1.2), make him "a better Ent" than Fangorn and much better than an average Ent.

Orcs [48 propositions]

/- [44]: spiritual / mental characteristics [21]: cowardly [4]: *the orcs were dismayed by the fierceness of the defence* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 339); cannot stand and hate sunlight [3]: *Seldom will Orcs journey in the open under the sun; evil things that came in the Great Darkness that they cannot abide the Sun* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 27); are scared of and hate Elves [3]: *the glitter of cruel stars in the terrible elf-countries, the dream of which was a cold fear to all his kind* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 224); hot-tempered [2]: *There was a quarrel, I guess: it is no uncommon thing with these foul folk* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 24); treacherous [2]: *they are not trusty servants* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 93); ruthless [2]: *and their dark lord filled them with a lust of ruin and death* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 96); evil [1]: *And some are large and evil: black Uruks of Mordor* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 338); revengeful [1]: *if they have a fallen captain to avenge* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 351); arrogant [1]: *'Do you wish to see the greatness of our army? We are the fighting Uruk-hai'* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 145); hate all living creatures, even their race [1]: *And these creatures, being filled with malice, hating even their own kind, quickly developed* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 511); hate even their creator [1]: *And deep in their dark hearts the Orcs loathed the Master whom they served in fear, the maker only of their misery* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 50); **physical characteristics [10]:** enduring, tireless [5]: *Though Orcs will often pursue foes for many leagues into the plain* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 351); strong [3]: *black orcs of great strength* (Tolkien, 1981, p. 414); acute sense of smell [1]: *Orcs were as keen as hounds on a scent* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 359); keen-eyed in darkness [1]: *not too dark for the night-eyes of Orcs* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 402); **quantity [6]:** numerous [6]: *There are Orcs, very many of them* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 338); **aesthetic evaluation [4]:** ugly in appearance [4]: *and thus did Melkor breed the hideous race of the Orcs in envy and mockery of the Elves* (Tolkien, 1977, p. 50); **size [3]:** large [3]: *And some are large and evil: black Uruks of Mordor* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 338);

/0/ [4]: actions [4]: use swords and bows in battle [4]: *They were armed with short broad-bladed swords* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 18); *the orcs can shoot their arrows far across the stream* (Tolkien, 1987a, p. 397).

As the analysis revealed, negative and neutral propositions number 92% and 8% respectively. Since the latter are not considered while calculating the eidetic coefficient, it equals -100. The writer pictures Orcs as ugly, cowardly and ruthless creatures, full of hatred for everything and everyone around.

Ugluk the Orc [35 propositions]

/- [35]: spiritual / mental characteristics [23]: hates Men [6]: *'The cursed horse-boys have got wind of us'* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 54); cruel [6]: *We have ways of paying for tricks that you won't like* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 51); arrogant [4]: *We came out of Isengard, and led you here, and we shall lead you back by the way we choose* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 49); rude [4]: *Pippin fell down, and Ugluk dragged him up by his hair again* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 51); revengeful [2]: *when we get back, someone else will die too* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 49); distrustful [1]: *I don't trust you little swine.* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 49); **physical characteristics [6]:** strong [4]: *Ugluk sprang forwards, and with two swift strokes swept the heads off two of his opponents* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 50); enduring [2]: *From there straight to the downs, then along the river to the forest. And we march day and night* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 50); **sound [4]:** harsh voice [4]: *'Orders.'* *said a third voice in a deep growl* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 48); **size [1]:** large: *In the twilight he saw a large black Orc* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 50); **aesthetic evaluation [1]:** ugly in appearance: *that ugly fellow* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 50).

In the novels, Ugluk is a cruel, arrogant, rude and strong fighting Orc, hating Men. Since negative propositions describing him number 100%, so the logical coefficient of Ugluk's evaluation is -100 which is equal to his races eidetic coefficient and consequently his summary coefficient.

Grishnakh the Orc [15 propositions]

/- [15]: spiritual / mental characteristics [6]: treacherous [2]: *'Then you'll fly off with our prisoners, and get all the pay and praise in Lugburz, and leave us to foot it as best we can through the Horse-country'* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 49); cruel [2]: *I'll cut you both to quivering shreds* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 51); arrogant [1]: *They might agree with me, with Grishnakh their trusted messenger* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 49); hot-tempered [1]: *Grishnakh began to lose his temper* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 51); **sound [4]:** evil, unpleasant voice [4]: *sneered a voice, softer than the others but more evil* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 49); **aesthetic evaluation [3]:** ugly in appearance [3]: *Grishnakh's great head and hideous face between them* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 58); **physical characteristics [2]:** strong [2]: *The strength in his long arms and shoulders was terrifying* (Tolkien, 1987b, p. 52).

The analyzed data present Grishnakh as a cruel, ugly, strong and treacherous Orc with a very unpleasant voice. All propositions describing him are negative, so his coefficients (both logical and summary) are identical (-100).

4. Conclusions

The processed data allow for the following inferences:

As the analysis revealed, characters of Tolkien's legendarium are depicted by indicating their 15 characteristic features. The most frequently used one is spiritual/mental characteristics which is quite natural for a fiction book called to raise moral issues and shape an ethical code of behavior for the readers to follow. The proportion of these characteristics used for describing different characters and races normally fluctuates around the figure of 60% sometimes soaring over 90% (as is the case with the images of Thorin Oakenshield and Sam Gamgee). A peculiar trend was identified regarding the percentage of spiritual/mental characteristics in relation to the total number of propositions portraying a protagonist: the fewer the quantity of propositions is the greater is the proportion of such characteristics. Evidently, the writer needs a whole scope of features to give a detailed description of the principal protagonists and (especially) races invented by him. The supporting characters that do not require such a multidimensional portrayal are depicted by a few rough strokes of Tolkien's paintbrush exhibiting only their noteworthy personality traits.

The second prominent feature the characters and, most significantly, races manifest is their physical characteristics. Their importance is the hallmark of fantasy genre novels which abound in diverse anthropomorphic species. To reveal the exterior peculiarities each race possesses the author gave their detailed description which proved especially expedient in the case of Ents – probably the queerest peoples inhabiting Arda.

It is maintained in the article that analyzing protagonists of Tolkien's novels one should consider the race they belong to since it conditions their character and actions, consequently the evaluation each of them has. Detailed analysis of the six races of Tolkien's legendarium and two representatives of each race enabled to outline their generalized portraits and calculate coefficients of their evaluation – both as individuals (logical aspect) and as “specimens” of the race they belong to (eidetic aspect). The summary coefficient takes into account these two aspects and makes it clear that some characters are “better” and some are “worse” than an average representative of their race.

The prospects for further research in the field lie in analyzing the whole scope of characters featuring in Tolkien's legendarium as well as in analyzing characters of fantasy novels by other writers.

REFERENCES

- Barthes, R. (1989). Ot proizvedeniya k tekstu [From a literary work to a text]. In: R. Barthes *Izbrannye raboty: Semiotika. Pojetika [Selected works: Semiotics. Poetics]* (pp. 413-423). Moscow: Progress Publ.
- Batsevych, F. (1999). Refreiminhovyi dyskurs: shliakhy ruinvannia kartyn svitu [Reframing discourse: ways to ruin images of the world]. *Aktualni problemy mentalinhvistyky: Naukovyi zbirnyk*, 29-33 (in Ukrainian).
- Fantasy*. Retrieved from: <http://www.bse.sci-lib.com/letter/022.shtml>
- Fontenot, M. N. (2019). *Exploring the People of Middle-earth: Nerdanel, Called the Wise*. Retrieved from: <https://www.tor.com/2019/02/21/exploring-the-people-of-middle-earth-nerdanel-called-the-wise/>
- Freeman, M. (2002). The body in the word: A cognitive approach to the shape of a poetic text. In: E. Semino, & J. Culperer (Eds.). *Cognitive Stylistics: Language and Cognition in Text Analysis* (pp. 23-47). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publ.
- Gakov, V. (1995). Tolkien J. R. R. In: V. Gakov (Ed.). *Jenciklopedija fantastiki [Encyclopedia of science fiction]* (pp. 556-558). Minsk: IKO “Galaksias” Publ.
- Gopman, V. L. (1992). Knigi objazany horosho konchat'sja... [Books ought to have a good ending...]. In: Tolkien J. R. R. *List raboty Melkina i drugie volshebnyie skazki [Leaf by Niggle and other fairy stories]* (pp. 297-299). Moscow: RIF Publ.
- Lewis, C. S. (2018). *The Dethronement of Power. CS Lewis' Response to Critics of The Lord of the Rings*. Retrieved from: <https://earthandoak.wordpress.com/2018/01/06/cs-lewis-response-to-critics-of-the-lord-of-the-rings-the-dethronement-of-power/>
- Losev, A. F. (1990). *Filosofija imeni [Philosophy of the name]*. Moscow: MGU Publ.
- Lotman, Yu. M. (1992). *Kul'tura i vzryv [Culture and explosion]*. Moscow: Genesis Publ.
- Lotman, Yu. M. (1998). Struktura hudozhestvennogo teksta [Structure of a literary text]. In: Yu. M. Lotman *Ob iskusstve [On art]* (pp. 14-285). Saint Petersburg: Iskusstvo – SPB Publ.
- Pavkin, D. M. (2002). *Obraz Charivnoyi Krayiny v romanax J. R. R. Tolkiyena: lingvokognityvnyj analiz [The image of Fairy Land in J. R. R. Tolkien's novels: a cognitive linguistic analysis]*. Unpublished candidate dissertation thesis, Bohdan Khmelnytsky State University, Cherkasy, Ukraine (in Ukrainian).
- Pavkin, D. M. (2004). Emotivna otsinka obrazu prostoru (na materialy romaniv J. R. R. Tolkiyena) [Emotive evaluation of the spatial image (a study of J. R. R. Tolkien's novels)]. *Visnyk Cherkaskogo universitetu. Filologichni nauky*, 60, 112-120 (in Ukrainian).
- Pavkin, D. M. (2011). Chy pysav J. R. R. Tolkien fentezi, abo teoriya zhanriv u svitli prototypnoyi semantyky [Did J. R. R. Tolkien write fantasy, or theory of genres against the background of

- prototypical semantics]. *Vitchyznyana filologiya: teoretychni ta metodychni aspekty vyvchennya*, 2, 91-99 (in Ukrainian).
- Safonova, O. (2016). *Obraz mifologicheskogo drakona v tvorchestve J. R. R. Tolkina* [The image of mythological dragon in works by J. R. R. Tolkien]. *Vremya nauki*, 1, 26-33 (in Russian).
- Shippey, T. (1997). *Tolkien kak poslevoennyiy pisatel* [Tolkien as a post-war writer]. *Znanie – sila*, 12, 143-148 (in Russian).
- Sytnyk, N. V. (2009). *Fentezi J.R.R. Tolkina: arhetypovyy vymir hudozhn`oyi struktury*. [J. R. R. Tolkien's fantasy: an archetypal dimension of the literary structure]. Unpublished candidate dissertation thesis, V. I. Vernadsky Tavria National University, Simferopol, Ukraine (in Ukrainian).
- Tihomirova, E. (2003). *Misce osoby`stogo kvestu Aragorna v metakvesti Seredzem'ya* (na materialy tekstiv Dzh. Tolkina) [Aragorn's personal quest as a part of metaquest of Middle-earth]. *Mandrivets. Naukovi zapysky pry Ky`yevy-Mogy`lyans`kij akademiyi*, 4, 45-50 (in Ukrainian).
- Tsur, R. (1992). *Toward a Theory of Cognitive Poetics*. Amsterdam etc.: Elsevier Science Publ.
- Turaeva, Z. Ja. (1999). *Lingvistika teksta na ishode vtorogo tysyacheletija* [Text linguistics at the end of the second millennium]. *Visnyk Kyivskoho linhvistychnoho universytetu. Seriya "Filolohiia"*. Vol. 2, # 2, 17-25 (in Russian).
- Valgina, N. S. (2003). *Teorija teksta* [Theory of the Text]. Moscow: Logos Publ.
- Vorobiova, O. P. (2004). *Kohnityvna poetyka v Ukraini: napriamy doslidzhen* [Cognitive poetics in Ukraine: research trends]. *Materialy mizhnarodnoyi naukovoyi konferentsiyi: Aktualni problemy romano-hermanskoj filolohii v Ukraini ta Bolonskyi protses*. Chernivtsi, 37-38 (in Ukrainian).
- White, M. (2002). *Tolkien: Biografiya* [Tolkien: A Biography]. Moscow: Eksmo Publ.
- Zhabotinskaja, S. A. (2010). *Lingvokognitivnyj podhod k analizu normativnyh processov* [Cognitive linguistic approach to the regulatory processes analysis]. *Visnyk Kharkivskoho natsionalnogo universitetu im. V.N. Karazina*, 928, 6-20 (in Russian).

SOURCES FOR ILLUSTRATIONS

- Tolkien, J. R. R. (1977). *The Silmarillion*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Tolkien, J. R. R. (1981). *The Lord of the Rings, Part Three: The Return of the King*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Tolkien, J. R. R. (1987a). *The Lord of the Rings, Part One: The Fellowship of the Ring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Tolkien, J. R. R. (1987b). *The Lord of the Rings, Part Two: The Two Towers*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Tolkien, J. R. R. (1993). *The Hobbit or There and Back Again*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Dmytro Pavkin – Phd in Linguistics, Associate professor, Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University (81, Shevchenko Boulevard, Cherkasy, 18000, Ukraine); e-mail: zlata-78@ukr.net; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9321-9591>;

https://scholar.google.com.ua/citations?user=_ojIqEcAAAAJ&hl=uk

Дмитро Павкін – кандидат філологічних наук, доцент, Черкаський національний університет імені Богдана Хмельницького (81, бульвар Шевченка, Черкаси, 18000, Україна); e-mail: zlata-78@ukr.net; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9321-9591>;

https://scholar.google.com.ua/citations?user=_ojIqEcAAAAJ&hl=uk

Дмитрий Павкин – кандидат филологических наук, доцент, Черкасский национальный университет имени Богдана Хмельницкого (81, бульвар Шевченко, Черкасы, 18000, Украина); e-mail: zlata-78@ukr.net; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9321-9591>;

https://scholar.google.com.ua/citations?user=_ojIqEcAAAAJ&hl=uk

UDC 811.111'42:165.194:808.5

**LINGUISTIC MEANS OF AUTHORIZATION
IN MODERN ENGLISH MAGAZINE DISCOURSE:
CONSTRUCTIONIST RHETORICAL APPROACH**

S. I. Potapenko

(Kyiv National Linguistic University, Ukraine)

K. I. Andriishyna

(O. Dovzhenko Hlukhiv National Pedagogical University, Ukraine)

S. I. Potapenko, K. I. Andriishyna. Linguistic Means of Authorization in Modern English Magazine Discourse: Constructionist Rhetorical Approach. The article discusses the linguistic means of authorization in English magazine discourse. It proposes a definition of authorization and its discursive realization with the implementation of rhetorical canons and ways of persuasion. The linguistic means of authorization is represented by constructions which due to the fusion of form and meaning or form and function reflect the authorship – individual, institutional or collective. The paper distinguishes two types of constructions: deictic indicating individual authorization and impersonal pointing to the institutional authorship. With respect to the referential meaning of its constituents, deictic constructions fall into orientational fixing the author's place in the environment: somatic relating to the author's body; perceptual rendering visual, auditory or tactile modalities; locational referring to the author's whereabouts. Constructions denoting an author's activity refer to different spheres: cognitive; communicative; professional. Constructions referring to social relations reveal the addressor's roles in two domains: immediate surroundings, covering family, friends, household as well as the wide public life encompassing politics and economics. Constructions appealing to pathos evoke evaluation, emotions or human needs uniting the author and readers. Constructions rendering institutional authorization represent the authors' distance from the contents by four subtypes of subjective constructions: nominal, pronominal, predicative referring to event participants as well as discursive. Moreover, the functioning of deictic and impersonal constructions as authorization devices is subordinated to disposition with differing frequency. The collective authorship, which can be bi- and multiple, results from the interaction of constructions rendering individual and institutional authorization.

Key words: authorization, construction, disposition, magazine discourse, pathos, rhetoric.

С. І. Потапенко, К. І. Андріїшина. Лінгвальні засоби авторизації в сучасному англomовному журнальному дискурсі: конструкційно-риторичний підхід. Стаття присвячена вивченню лінгвальних засобів авторизації в англomовному журнальному дискурсі. Запропоновано визначення авторизації, встановлено підпорядкованість її дискурсивної реалізації риторичним канонам і способам впливу, диференційовано її індивідуальний та інституційний різновиди, експліковані лінгвальними засобами, що представлені дейктичними й безособовими конструкціями; розкрито послідовність і частотність уживання дейктичних і безособових конструкцій у різних блоках статей сучасного англomовного журнального дискурсу. З урахуванням семантики складників дейктичні конструкції поділяємо на підгрупи, що позначають орієнтування автора, його діяльність, суспільні відносини або апелюють до пафосу. Орієнтувальні конструкції фіксують взаємодію автора з навколишнім середовищем. Конструкції на позначення діяльності розшаровуються на три підгрупи, які відбивають різні аспекти активності автора: когнітивні, комунікативні, професійні. Конструкції на позначення суспільних стосунків розкривають соціальні ролі автора у двох сферах: безпосереднього оточення, що вміщує родину, друзів і власний побут, та широкого суспільного простору, що охоплює політику й економіку. Конструкції, що апелюють до пафосу, звернені до оцінок, емоцій, потреб автора або читачів. Конструкції на позначення інституційної авторизації відбивають відстороненість

автора від повідомлюваного трьома різновидами суб'єктних конструкцій – іменниковими, займенниковими, предикативними з референцією до учасників подій, а також дискурсивними конструкціями. Колективна авторизація реалізується взаємодією виокремлених конструкцій на позначення індивідуальної і інституційної авторизації у статтях з двома та більше зазначеними авторами.

Ключові слова: авторизація, диспозиція, журнальний дискурс, конструкція, пафос, риторика.

С. И. Потапенко, К. И. Андришина. Лингвальные средства авторизации в современном англоязычном журнальном дискурсе: конструкционно-риторический подход. Стаття посвящена изучению языковых средств авторизации в англоязычном журнальном дискурсе. Предложено определение авторизации, установлена подчинённость её дискурсивной реализации риторическим канонами и способам влияния, дифференцированы индивидуальный и институционный виды, эксплицированные языковыми средствами, включающими дейктические и безличные конструкции соответственно, раскрыта последовательность и частотность использования дейктических и безличных конструкций в различных текстовых блоках статей современного англоязычного журнального дискурса. С учётом семантики составляющих элементов дейктические конструкции классифицированы на четыре подгруппы, указывающие на ориентирование автора, его деятельность, общественные отношения и апеллирующие к пафосу. Конструкции, указывающие на ориентирование автора, фиксируют его взаимодействие с окружающей средой. Конструкции, обозначающие деятельность, распадаются на три подгруппы, которые отражают различные аспекты активности автора: когнитивные, коммуникативные, профессиональные. Конструкции, представляющие общественные отношения, раскрывают социальные роли автора в двух сферах: непосредственного окружения, т. е. семьи, друзей и быта, и широкого общественного пространства, охватывающего политику и экономику. К пафосу конструкции апеллируют через оценки, эмоции и потребности автора или читателей. Конструкции для обозначения институционной авторизации отражают отстраненность автора от сообщаемой информации тремя видами субъектных конструкций – именных, местоименных, предикатных с референцией к участникам событий, а также дискурсивными конструкциями. Коллективная авторизация реализуется взаимодействием конструкций, указывающих на индивидуальную и институционную авторизацию, в статьях с двумя и больше авторами.

Ключевые слова: авторизация, диспозиция, журнальный дискурс, конструкция, пафос, риторика.

1. Introduction

Authorization as a category of the author's manifestation in Modern English magazine discourse is represented by constructions which due to fusion of form and meaning or form and function create an effect of authorship – individual, institutional or collective – in terms of ethos as an author's self-representation and pathos associated with the audience's evaluations, emotions or needs. Individual authorization is represented by a single author. Institutional one is manifested by a group of anonymous writers. Collective authorization is based on cooperation of a group of authors.

Authorization as a degree of manifestation of authorship of magazine text was formed as a result of transformation of the category of author under the influence of genre specificity of texts. In this research paper the author is distinguished as a creator of texts (Barthes, 1993) and the authorship as the addressee status in relation to the work (Schönert, 2009).

The gradual stratification of the author's characteristics made it necessary to highlight the category, which would cover all the characteristics of the manifestation of the authorship of the text: the performer (Antiquity), the anonymous, the pseudo-author, the collective authorship (Middle Ages), the creator (Renaissance), the author's image, his legitimization (18th century), the immanent author (Classical Realism), the displacement of the author, the narrator (20th century). All mentioned types of authors are reflected in the following classification of authorization – individual, institutional and collective.

Modern understanding of individual authorization is most closely connected with the concepts of the performer, the creator, the author's image, narrator with his own worldview, principles, judgments, biography and creativity (Bohnenkamp, 2002; Scholz, 1999; Schönert, 2009). Author's anonymity and pseudo-authorship are early manifestations of institutional authorization. Their spread was as a result of replacement of form "I" with "he". To be accepted by the public, the writer did not have to show his individuality, the most important thing was the information itself not its presenter. The formation of the collective authorship marked by the coexistence of several authors who work on one text together, forming a corporate letter (Haynes, 2005; Selbmann, 1994; Woodmansee, 1994), began in medieval manuscripts with much more difficult dynamics than in individually written texts (Minnis, 1993).

The development of mass media has led to the formation of a category of media authorization, which reflects the extent of the lingual reveal of authors of media texts, exercising a certain influence on the audience. Most noticeable media authorization as the integration category is represented in English magazines that publish informative articles with different types of authorization depending on how many people participate in the creation of the media texts as well as the way the authorship at the end of the information product is indicated.

Authorization in magazine discourse forms a continuum, which covers three main kinds of authorship: individual, represented by a single author in the American news magazine *Time*; institutional, which transmits the position to the publication as a whole, and therefore the editorial office deliberately does not indicate the authors of the published materials: this is accepted, for example, in the famous British magazine *The Economist*; collective, when multiple authors work and cooperate in a certain social group (Fairclough 1995; Renkema, 2004). Articles with collective authorization, which can have two to eight authors working in collaboration with one responsible author, are widely spread in American news magazine *Time*.

In **Section 1** of this paper, we address different kinds of authorization – individual, institutional and collective. **Section 2** presents the constructionist and rhetorical facet of authorization. **Section 3** gives the classification of the English magazine discourse linguistic means of authorization, that are represented by constructions entrenched in speakers' memory as unities of form and meaning or form and function. The paper distinguishes two types of constructions, namely deictic indicating individual authorization and impersonal pointing to the institutional authorship. **Section 4** provides the distinctive features of dispositional arrangement of English magazine articles and functioning of individual and institutional constructions in different sections of the articles. In **Conclusions**, we summarize the results obtained and give some tentative perspectives for further studies in this field.

2. Method

Studies of the ways of verbalizing different types of authorization in magazine discourse rely on the ideas of construction grammar (Goldberg, 2003; Tomasello, 2000) claiming that language is a repertoire of constructions, i. e. more or less complex patterns that integrate form and meaning in conventionalized or non-compositional ways (Goldberg, 2005; Potapenko, 2017; Tomasello, 2000) and canons of rhetoric (Aristotle, 1991, 2010; Burke, 2014).

In the authorization aspect, the construction has authorship indication values wider than the meaning of the words that form it. The rhetorical aspect of the research provides an account of canons of text structure, which covers invention, the point which the author establishes bona fides, grabs the audience's attention hoping to keep it; elocution, verbalization of ideas with the help of linguistic means, represented by constructions; disposition, linear arrangement of selected linguistic means (Burke, 2016; Enos, 2006, 2011; Leith, 2012).

Thus, the constructionist and rhetorical facet of authorization is represented at two textual planes: In particular, an inventive-elocutionary, or nominative, plane with the contents named by

constructions as unities of two or more elements functioning as a whole and a dispositional plane providing for the constructions' linear patterning in texts.

On the first, inventive-elocutionary plane we reveal the main idea and topic of the articles supported by the key words in headings and texts. Thus, the topic of the murder of the main Russian opposition figure in the article under the title "*Boris Nemtsov's murder reveals Russian weakness – not strength*" (Time 16.03.2015) is revealed, based on such key words of the article: famous person *Boris Nemtsov* and a common noun *murder*, which indicates bloodshed; toponym *Russia*, which names a specific country.

Dispositional plane of the study is aimed at identifying the properties of the arrangement and functioning of deictic and impersonal constructions in the sections of the articles (Dijk, 1985; 1986, 1991) with individual, institutional, or collective authorization.

On the dispositional plane of research, we differentiate formal sections of headline, introduction and conclusion and four semantic sections, namely informative, background, argumentative and commentary. The difference between the dispositions of individual and institutional articles is manifested in the following sections: argumentative one in the articles with individual authorization and background section in the texts with institutional authorship.

The application of a cognitive rhetorical technique has made it possible to identify and classify constructions indicating individual and institutional authorization and establish peculiarities of their usage in the sections of the articles with different types of authorization.

3. Linguistic means of authorization

In the English magazine discourse linguistic means of authorization are represented by constructions entrenched in speakers' memory as unities of form and meaning or form and function.

The paper distinguishes two types of constructions, namely deictic indicating individual authorization and impersonal pointing to the institutional authorship. Individual authorization is represented by deictic constructions implementing three types of author's self-identification: personal, indicated by combination of the first person singular pronoun with verbs or the corresponding possessive pronoun with a noun; inclusive, reflected by interaction of the first person plural pronoun with verbs or of the corresponding possessive pronoun with nouns; empathic, transmitted by the interaction of the second person pronouns with verbs or corresponding possessive pronouns with nouns.

3.1. Deictic constructions

Among 300 deictic constructions presented in the research according to their lexicogrammatical status we differentiate: nominal constructions (*my girls*), for example, *Grief seemed to reshape my girls at a molecular level* (Time 25.05.2015, 58); verbal constructions (*I think*), for example, *I think the initiative to adopt such a resolution should come from Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin* (Time 13.02.2017, 22).

With respect to referential meaning of its constituents, deictic constructions fall into several types: *orientational* (64 constructions), *denoting activity* (68 constructions), *social relations* (87 constructions) and *appealing to pathos* (81 constructions).

Oriental constructions, fixing the author's place in the environment, include somatic, perceptual and local.

Somatic constructions are related to the author's body or its parts:

- (1) *Paula Pell stops short and grabs my shoulder* (Time 30.11.2015, 118-119)

In example above (1), the somatic construction my shoulder, correlating with the verb *grab*, describes the author's acquaintance with a famous person (*Paula Pell*).

Perceptual constructions render visual, auditory or tactile modalities:

- (2) *I saw crosses that the Klan had put up, an announcement about a Klan meeting* (Time 15.01.2018, 32)
- (3) *I heard Dr. King speak when I was 15* (Time 15.01.2018, 32)
- (4) *LG has a new smart refrigerator with a door that turns transparent when I touch it* (Time 10.04.2017, 55)

In examples (2, 3, 4), various kinds of perception are indicated by constructions *I saw*, *I heard*, *I touch*.

Local constructions refer to the author's whereabouts:

- (5) *When I finally sat down to dinner with one Paris resident I had seen almost nothing of since the Nov. 13 assault on our city* (Time 30.11.2015, 136)

In example (5), the construction *our city* transmits the author's affiliation with the residents of the capital of France.

Constructions denoting author's activity pertain to different spheres, namely cognitive conveying his / her thinking; communicative reflecting his / her interaction with the characters of the article; professional emphasizing the common occupation of the author and readers. Thus, constructions denoting the author's enterprise refer to their cognitive, communicative or professional activities:

- (6) *I knew Boris very well* (Time 16.03.2015, 16)
- (7) *Without a word, they sum up what we talk about when we talk about love* (Time 23.05.2016, 55)
- (8) *I've been writing about politics longer than I played sports* (30.11.2015, 35-36)

In examples (6, 7, 8), various activities of the author are marked by deictic constructions *I knew*, *we talk*, *I've been writing*, *I played sports* respectively.

Constructions referring to social relations reveal the addressor's roles in two domains. They are immediate surroundings, covering family, friends, household and wide public life encompassing politics and economics. Thus, social constructions reveal author's roles of interaction with family, friends, household, society, politics, and economics:

- (9) *I'll eventually end up, just some place where my family will never find me* (Time 10.04.2017, 55)
- (10) *I worry about what this is doing to my marriage* (Time 7.11.2016, 63)
- (11) *In the meantime, I will continue to explore my relationship with Roomba* (Time 10.04.2017, 55)

In examples (9, 10, 11), the author demonstrates his relations with other people. The construction *my family* denotes the author's family, the construction *my marriage* indicates his marital status, the construction *my relationship* demonstrates the use of a household item represented by a robot named Roomba.

Author's household activity can be reflected by the construction *I've done vacuuming* like in the next example (12):

- (12) *I've done so much vacuuming in my life* (Time 10.04.2017, 55)

In the wide public sphere, the deictic constructions reproduce such varieties of activities: social (*our private lives*), economic (*our economy*), and political (*our next President*):

- (13) *Although social media makes our private lives more public, it also makes us more self-absorbed and isolated from fellow citizens* (Time 10.04.2017, 18)
- (14) *Greenspan, central bankers themselves have become the major player in global markets – something that has introduced huge, unknown risks into our economy* (Time 31.10.2016, 24)
- (15) *We are about to experience a radical change in American politics: a woman may well be our next President* (Time 7.11.2016, 24)

In example (13), the author comments on the impact of social media on people's privacy. In example (14), he points to the economy at the level of the state (USA), and in example (15) the construction *our next President* reveals the author's connection to the US population around a figure of the following American president.

Constructions appealing to pathos evoke evaluation, emotions, and human needs uniting author and readers. Constructions appealing to evaluation characterize the author's attitude to the described events by linguistic means, which reflect reality in the aspect of assessment:

- (16) *And by imitation, he (my son) became my little dictator* (Time 23.05.2016, 22)

In example (16), the construction *my little dictator* negatively assesses the author's son.

An appeal to emotions, that motivate, organize, and redirect human perception, thinking, and action, is carried out through emotive constructions, like in the following examples (17, 18):

- (17) *I will just have to guess at the logic behind my devotion to Roomba* (Time 10.04.2017, 55)
- (18) *And Paul, I love you too* (Time 25.05.2015, 53)

Magazine texts with individual authorization appeal to the basic needs of a person: safety, love, respect, self-realization (Maslow, 1970). In the following example (19), the deictic construction *I need to know* conveys the author's need for self-realization in line with promoting trends in women's fashion:

- (19) *When I need to know how to#dresslikeoman, I call my friend Brenda, who is a professor at the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York City* (Time 20.02.2017, 55)

3.2. Impersonal constructions

Constructions rendering institutional authorization represent authors' distance from the contents embodied by subtypes of subjective constructions: nominal, pronominal, and predicative subjective constructions referring to event participants, as well as discursive ones. In the research we distinguish 154 impersonal constructions: among them there are 62 subjective nominal constructions, 35 subjective pronominal constructions, 33 subjective predicative constructions, and 24 discursive constructions (14 appealing to evaluation and 10 – emotions).

Subjective nominal constructions fall into collective, plural, and indefinite referring to anonymous sources.

Subjective collective noun-verbal constructions combine collective nouns with verbs of perception (*government sees*) and physical activity (*Economist went to press*):

- (20) *Because the government sees what it calls "web cleansing" as necessary to prevent access to terrorist information, everyone in Xinjiang is suppressed to have a spy-wear app on their mobile phone* (The Economist 2.06.2018. 19-22)

In the example above (20), the government's activity is conveyed by the construction with the collective noun *government* and verb of perceptual semantics *see*.

Subjective plural noun-verbal constructions consist of nouns in the plural referring to sets of social actors at different levels of ethnic, professional, and universal generalization being combined with verbs of cognitive (*politicians know*) and communicative (*Germans tell*) semantics:

- (21) *Politicians and users want to know more about how Facebook will adequately safeguard people's privacy and offer enough transparency about how it operates* (The Economist 14.04.2018, 21-22)
- (22) *Some experts believe setting the young on a better financial path would also shorten recessions and help mitigate income inequality* (The Economist 30.11.2015, 42)

In examples (21, 22), subjective plural noun-verbal constructions name the average degree of unity of politicians and Internet users (*politicians and users*) and experts (*some experts*).

The greatest degree of unity is reflected by ethnonyms in the plural:

- (23) *Germans tell pollsters they mostly agree with these measures* (The Economist 4.04.2015, 47)

In example (23), subjective plural noun-verbal construction *Germans tell* with ethnonym *Germans* and the verb of communicative semantics *tell* demonstrates unity of the whole nation.

Subjective pronoun-verbal constructions split into impersonal and negative types. Subjective impersonal pronoun-verbal constructions with indefinite pronouns and nouns or verbs of cognitive, perceptual, physical semantics expand the circle of participants:

- (24) *He wraps his power in legal procedure, but everyone knows that the prosecutors and courts answer to him* (The Economist 28.10.2017, 9)

In example above (24), the subjective pronominal construction *everyone knows* points out the general awareness of people.

Subjective negative pronoun-verbal constructions combining indefinite pronouns with verbs referring to cognitive and physical activity eliminate an action performer:

- (25) *While nobody knows what will follow, few people in Russia's elite expect the succession to happen constitutionally or peacefully* (The Economist 28.10.2017, 19-21)

In example (25), the subjective negative pronoun-verbal construction *nobody knows* transmits the general ignorance of people regarding further development of events.

Subjective predicative constructions with verbs of attitude and comparison (*it seems; it looks as if*) reflect an impersonal view of event participants:

- (26) *The House of Lords is more effective than it seems* (The Economist 2.06.2018, 73 74)
- (27) *It looks as if the creators may now call Greece 's bluff* (The Economist 13.06.2015, 50 51)

In the given examples (26, 27), the subjective predicative construction *it seems* conveys uncertainty about the activities of *the House of Lords* of the British Parliament and the subjective predicative construction *it looks as if* gives an impersonal evaluation of events described in the article events.

Discursive constructions structuring texts consist of the pronoun *it* in the subject position and the compound nominal predicate with emotive and evaluative units characterizing the information given in the previous or following utterance, concealing either the subject or object of evaluation:

- (28) *The danger is that, with inflation falling and India enjoying a boost from cheaper energy, the country 's leaders duck the tough reforms needed for lasting success. That would be a huge mistake* (The Economist 21.02.2015)

In example above (28), the demonstrative pronoun *that* guides the reader to the previous text, informing about the actions of Indian leaders, which are characterized by the language unit *huge mistake* with negative meaning.

Thus, in modern English magazine discourse the individual authorization is presented by the deictic constructions and the institutional authorization – impersonal ones.

4. Dispositional arrangement of linguistic means of authorization

Arrangement and functioning of deictic and impersonal constructions as authorization devices is subordinated to disposition. In English magazine articles with individual and institutional authorization disposition has both common and distinctive features. Its similarity is represented by formal sections of headline, introduction and conclusion, as well as two semantic parts, namely informative one and commentary (Dijk, 1985). The biggest difference between the dispositions of individual and institutional articles is manifested in the following sections:

- an argumentative one in the articles with individual authorization and
- a background section in the texts with institutional authorship.

With respect to the number of dispositional sections, articles with individual and institutional authorization follow two models. They are extended, with six sections, and non-extended, with three, four or five sections. Individual authorization is reflected by constructions with differing frequency. In the headline, introduction and conclusion sections the dominant constructions are orientational and social indicating the author's place in the described events. The most construction-rich sections are informative and argumentative ones reflecting the place and activity of the addressor in the described events. The smallest number of constructions occurs in commentary sections since they are filled with other people's opinions.

The articles with institutional authorization are characterized by the dominance of subjective nominal constructions representing author's views from distance. Subjective collective and plural noun-verbal constructions referring to groups are common in headlines, introductions, conclusion sections. Subjective impersonal pronoun-verbal constructions expanding the circle of participants and concealing the information source, as well as subjective predicative constructions, indicating the position of a magazine as a whole are common in the informative and background sections. Commentary textual sections widely employ subjective indefinite nominal constructions referring to anonymous information sources.

Collective authorship, which can be bi- and multiple, results from the interaction of constructions rendering individual and institutional authorization.

5. Conclusions

There are three types of authorization in modern English magazine discourse: individual, which is represented by a single author; the institutional one is manifested by a group of anonymous writers; the collective one is based on the cooperation of a group of authors.

The cognitive rhetorical aspect of authorization is represented on two textual planes: an inventive-elocutionary, or nominative, plane with the contents named by constructions as unities of two or more elements functioning as a whole and a dispositional plane providing for the constructions' linear patterning in texts. On the inventive-elocutionary plane of the English

magazine discourse, linguistic means are represented by constructions entrenched in speakers' memory as the unities of form and meaning or form and function.

The paper distinguishes two types of constructions: deictic indicating individual authorization and impersonal pointing to the institutional authorship.

With respect to the referential meaning of its constituents, deictic constructions fall into orientational fixing the author's place in the environment: somatic relating to the author's body; perceptual rendering visual, auditory or tactile modalities; local referring to the author's whereabouts.

Constructions rendering institutional authorization represent the authors' distance from the contents by four subtypes of subjective constructions: nominal, pronominal, predicative referring to event participants as well as discursive.

The functioning of deictic and impersonal constructions as authorization devices is subordinated to disposition. With respect to the number of dispositional sections, magazine articles with individual and institutional authorization follow two models: extended, with six sections, and non-extended, with three, four or five sections.

Individual authorization is reflected by constructions with differing frequency. The most construction-rich sections are informative and argumentative reflecting the place and activity of the addressor in the described events. The articles with the institutional authorization are characterized by the dominance of subjective nominal constructions representing the author's views from distance in the informative and background textual sections.

The collective authorship, which can be bi- and multiple, results from the interaction of constructions rendering individual and institutional authorization.

Further linguistic studies in this domain can focus on the cognitive rhetorical analysis of individual, institutional, collective authorization in other types of media discourse: newspaper, Internet, radio and television.

REFERENCES

- Andriiushyna, K. I. (2019). *Linhvalni zasoby avtoryzatsii v suchasnomu anhlomovnomu zhurnalnomu dyskursi: kohnityvno-rytorychnyi aspekt*. [Linguistic Means of Authorization in Modern English Magazine Discourse: Cognitive Rhetorical Aspect]. Unpublished candidate dissertation, Kyiv National Linguistic University, Kyiv, Ukraine. (in Ukrainian).
- Aristotle. (1991). *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aristotle. (2010). *Rhetoric*. New York: Cosimoclassics.
- Barthes, R. (1993). The death of the author. In D. Graddol, & O. Boyd-Barrett (Eds.). *Media texts, authors and readers: a reader* (pp. 166-171). Clevedon, England; Philadelphia: Multilingual matters Ltd, The Open University.
- Bohnenkamp, A. (2002). Autorschaft und Textgenese. In H. Detering (Ed.). *Autorschaft. Positionen und Revisionen* (pp. 62-79). Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Burke, M. (2014). Rhetoric and poetics: the classical heritage of stylistics. In M. Burke (Ed.). *The Routledge handbook of stylistics* (pp. 11-31). New York: Routledge.
- Burke, M. (2016). Discourse implicature, Quintilian and the Lucidity Principle: rhetorical phenomena in pragmatics. *Topics in Linguistics*, 17(1), 1-16. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/topling-2016-0001>
- Dijk, T. A. van. (1985b). Structures of news in the press. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.). *Discourse and Communication* (pp. 69-93). Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Dijk, van T. A. (1986). News schemata. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.). *Studying Writing. Linguistic Approaches* (pp. 155-186). Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Dijk, van T. A. (1991). The interdisciplinary study of news as discourse. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.). *Handbook of Qualitative Methods in Mass Communication* (pp. 108-120). London: [Routledge](https://www.routledge.com).

- Enos, R. L. (2006). Arrangement. In Th. O. Sloane (Ed.). *Encyclopedia of rhetoric* (pp. 49-53). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Enos, T. (2011). *Encyclopedia of rhetoric and composition: communication from ancient times to the information age*. New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: Arnold Publishers.
- Goldberg, A. E. (2003). Constructions: a new theoretical approach to language. *TRENDS in cognitive sciences*, 7(5), 219-224.
- Goldberg, A. (2006). *Constructions at Work: The Nature of Generalization in Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haynes, C. (2005). Reassessing "genius" in studies of authorship. *Book History*, 8, 287-320.
- Leith, S. (2012). *You Talkin' to me? Rhetoric from Aristotle to Obama*. London: Profile Books.
- Maslow, A. H. (1970). *Motivation and Personality*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Minnis, A. J. (1993). The Medieval concept of the author. In D. Graddol, & O. Boyd-Barrett (Eds.). *Media texts, authors and readers: a reader* (pp. 161-166). Clevedon, England; Philadelphia: Multilingual matters Ltd, The Open University.
- Potapenko, S. I. (2017). Constructions in English: from paradigmatic to syntagmatic relations. *Literatura ta kultura Polissia. Serija: Filolohichni nauky*, 89, 172-180.
- Renkema, J. (2004). *Introduction to Discourse Studies*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Schönert, J. (2009). Author. In P. Hühn, J. Pier, W. Schmid, & J. Schönert (Ed.). *Handbook of Narratology* (pp. 1-13). Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Selbmann, R. (1994). *Dichterberuf: zum Selbstverständnis des Schriftstellers von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart*. Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges.
- Scholz, B. F. (1999). Al ciato alsemble matum pater et princeps. Zur Rekonstruktion des früh modernen Autorbegriffs. In F. Jannidis (Ed.). *Rückkehr des Autors. Zur Erneuerung eines umstrittenen Begriffs* (pp. 321-351). Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Tomasello, M. (2000). First steps toward a usage-based theory of language acquisition. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 11(1/2), 61-82.
- Vorozhbitova, A. A. (2010). Lingual rhetoric paradigm as integrative research prism in philological science. *European Researcher*, 2(1), 183-190.
- Woodmansee, M. (1994). *The construction of authorship: textual appropriation in law and literature*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

DATA SOURCES

- The Economist 21.02.2015
- The Economist 4.04.2015
- The Economist 13.06.2015
- The Economist 28.10.2017
- The Economist 14.04.2018
- The Economist 2.06.2018
- Time 16.03.2015
- Time 25.05.2015
- Time 30.11.2015
- Time 23.05.2016
- Time 31.10.2016
- Time 7.11.2016
- Time 13.02.2017
- Time 20.02.2017
- Time 10.04.2017
- Time 15.01.2018

Potapenko Serhiy Ivanovych – Doctor of Linguistics, Professor, Kyiv National Linguistic University (73, Velyka Vasylkivska Street, Kyiv, 03680, Ukraine); e-mail: serhiy.potapenko@ndu.edu.ua

Потапенко Сергій Іванович – доктор філологічних наук, професор, Київський національний лінгвістичний університет (73, вул. Велика Васильківська, Київ, 03680, Україна); e-mail: serhiy.potapenko@ndu.edu.ua

Потапенко Сергей Иванович – доктор филологических наук, профессор, Киевский национальный лингвистический университет (73, ул. Большая Васильковская, Киев, 03680, Украина); e-mail: serhiy.potapenko@ndu.edu.ua

Andriishyna Kateryna Ivanivna – PhD in Linguistics, Lecturer, O. Dovzhenko Hlukhiv National Pedagogical University (24, Kievo-Moscowska Street, Hlukhiv, 41400, Ukraine); e-mail: katandrii@gmail.com

Андріюшина Катерина Іванівна – кандидат філологічних наук, викладач, Глухівський національний педагогічний університет ім. О. Довженко (24, вул. Києво-Московська, Глухів, 41400, Україна); e-mail: katandrii@gmail.com

Андрюшина Катерина Ивановна – кандидат филологических наук, преподаватель, Глуховский национальный педагогический университет им. А. Довженко (24, ул. Киево-Московская, Глухов, 41400, Украина); e-mail: katandrii@gmail.com

Cognition, communication, discourse.
 2020, 20: 73-91.
<http://sites.google.com/site/cognitiondiscourse/home>
 DOI: 10.26565/2218-2926-2020-20-05

UDC 811.111[42+27](043.3)

**FROM STANCE TO IDENTITY:
 STANCETAKING IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH RISK DISCOURSE**

Valentyna Ushchyna

**(Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University, Lutsk, Ukraine;
 University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA)**

V. Ushchyna. From stance to identity: Stancetaking in contemporary English risk discourse. The study focuses on stancetaking – an intersubjective and context-bound discursive activity that unites micro- and micro-properties of discursive interaction. The purpose of this work consists in discovering discursive ways of situational identities construction in contemporary English risk discourse as a result of stancetaking on risk. The theoretical background for this research comprises post-structuralist and socio-constructionist approaches to discourse analysis, establishing a new, socio-cognitive, direction in discourse studies. Contemporary English risk discourse serves a situational environment for investigating stancetaking in this work. It is approached as a discursive phenomenon of two types – a risk discourse proper (communicative situation of risk) and a discourse about risk (metacommunicative situation of risk). Discursive framework of communicative situation of risk reveals cognitive, pragmatic, and interactional dynamics of stancetaking in the conditions of *in situ* discussion of eventual stances (decisions) on risks. The inquiry resulted in determining the stance-takers' situational identities, ranging from risk-averse to risk-taking subjects. Investigation of conversational patterns and discursive dynamism of stance alignment enabled identification and characterization of interactional mechanisms of stancetaking in situations of risk. Explorations of stancetaking in *ex situ* discursive conditions of metacommunicative situations of risk shed light onto socio-semiotic potential and pragmatic-rhetorical patterns of stancetaking. Complex analysis of the stance-takers' language output provided a basis for establishing a typology of their situational identities, constructed in mediated discourse situations – layman, expert, mediator whose strategic speech behavior depends upon the balance of epistemic and affective components in their respective stances.

Key words: communicative situation, identity, interaction, metacommunicative situation, risk discourse, stance, stancetaking.

В. Ущина. Від стансу до ідентичності: позиціонування в сучасному англomовному дискурсі ризику. Увага у роботі зосереджена на позиціонуванні – міжсуб'єктній та контекстно-залежній дискурсивній діяльності, що об'єднує мікро- та макро- особливості дискурсу. Мета статті полягає у розкритті дискурсивного конструювання ситуативних ідентичностей в англomовному дискурсі ризику як результату позиціонування суб'єктів дискурсивної взаємодії стосовно ризику. Теоретичним підґрунтям дослідження стала низка пост-структуралістських та соціo-конструкціoністських підходів до аналізу дискурсу, об'єднаних соціoкогнітивною дискурсологією – новим напрямом дискурсивних студій. Сучасний англomовний дискурс ризику слугує ситуативним контекстом для вивчення позиціонування. Дискурс ризику тлумачиться як феномен двох типів – власне дискурс ризику (комунікативна ситуація ризику) та дискурс про ризики (метакомунікативна ситуація ризику). Розкриття когнітивних, прагматичних та інтеракційних особливостей позиціонування здійснено завдяки аналізу динаміки дискурсивної взаємодії учасників комунікативної ситуації ризику в умовах безпосереднього прийняття рішень стосовно ризику. У результаті виокремлено ситуативні ідентичності учасників ситуації ризику, що варіюються в діапазоні від обережного до схильного до ризику суб'єкта. Аналіз конвєрсаційних поведінкових паттернів та дискурсивної динаміки узгодження стансів дозволив виявити і схарактеризувати інтеракційні механізми позиціонування. У *ex situ* умовах метакомунікативної ситуації ризику фокус уваги змістився на соціo-семіотичний

потенціал та прагма-риторичну специфіку позиціонування, що дозволило виокремити характерні для такої дискурсивної взаємодії ситуативні ідентичності – суб'єкт-експерт, суб'єкт-дилетант та суб'єкт-медіатор, мовленнєва поведінка яких залежить від збалансованості епістемічного та афективного компонентів у складі їхніх стансів.

Ключові слова: дискурс ризику, ідентичність, інтеракція, комунікативна ситуація, метакомунікативна ситуація, позиціонування, станс.

В. Ущина. От станса к идентичности: позиционирование в современном англоязычном дискурсе риска. Внимание работы сосредоточено на позиционировании – интерсубъектной и контекстно-зависимой дискурсивной деятельности, объединяющей микро- и макро- особенности дискурса. Целью статьи является раскрытие дискурсивного конструирования ситуативных идентичностей в англоязычном дискурсе риска как результата позиционирования субъектов дискурсивного взаимодействия относительно риска. Теоретическим основанием исследования послужила совокупность пост-структуралистских и социо-конструкционистских подходов к анализу дискурса, объединенных социокогнитивной дискурсологией – новым направлением дискурсивных изысканий. Современный англоязычный дискурс риска в этой работе стал ситуативным контекстом для изучения позиционирования. Дискурс риска рассматривается как феномен двух типов – собственно дискурс риска (коммуникативная ситуация риска) и дискурс о риске (метакоммуникативная ситуация риска). Раскрытие когнитивных, прагматических и интеракционных особенностей позиционирования осуществлено с помощью анализа динамики дискурсивного взаимодействия участников коммуникативной ситуации риска в условиях непосредственного принятия решений касательно риска. В результате выделены ситуативные идентичности участников ситуации риска, варьируемые в диапазоне от осторожного до склонного к риску субъекта. Анализ разговорных поведенческих паттернов и дискурсивной динамики согласования стансов позволил определить и охарактеризовать интеракционные дискурсивные механизмы позиционирования. В *ex situ* условиях метакоммуникативной ситуации риска фокус внимания переместился на социо-семиотический потенциал и прагма-риторическую специфику позиционирования, в результате чего выделены ситуативные идентичности, характерные для такого дискурсивного взаимодействия – субъект-эксперт, субъект-дилетант и субъект-медіатор, речевое поведение которых зависит от сбалансированности эпистемического и аффективного компонентов в структуре их стансов.

Ключевые слова: дискурс риска, идентичность, интеракция, коммуникативная ситуация, метакоммуникативная ситуация, позиционирование, станс.

1. Introduction

Professor Scott F. Kiesling (University of Pittsburgh, USA) once half-jokingly pronounced a phrase that became life-changing for me as a researcher: “I see stance almost everywhere. Everything is stance”. Ever since, I have never ceased investigating stance-taking in all complexity of its discursive manifestations. This brought me to understanding its specifically remarkable role in the discourse of risk where stance-taking is equaled to choosing a decision on risk, and sometimes it is the discursive activity of a stance-taker that makes risk be risk.

The active linguists' interest to stance and stancetaking (Biber, & Finegan, 1989; Du Bois, 2007; Englebretson, 2007; Jaffe, 2009; Johnstone, 2009; Kiesling, 2018; Morozova, 2011; Myers, 2010) can be explained by the shift of their attention from the speech behavior of individual speakers to the patterns of their discursive interaction. The term *stance* was initially introduced by Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan in their article *Styles of stance in English: Lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect* (1989, p. 124) as “the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message”. In further explorations of stance, scholars notified its dynamicity, interactionality, and indexicality (Morozova, 2011; Du Bois, 2007; Irvine, 2009; Kiesling et al., 2018).

As an interdisciplinary concept, stance embraces individual and social, linguistic and extra-linguistic aspects of discursive interaction. It was formulated on the grounds of previous research of such diverse linguistic categories as *modality* (Bybee et al., 1994; Palmer, 1979;

Papafragou, 1997; Prykhodko, 2003), *evidentiality* (Aikhenvald, 2015; Chafe, 1986; Kshanovkij, 2015), *evaluation* (Arutyunova, 1999), *assessment* (Martin, 2005), *emotionality* (Scherer, 2005; Shakhovskij, 2010; Vorobjova, 2006), *affect* (Biber, & Finegan, 1989; Ochs, 1993), *footing* (Goffman, 1981), *position* (Davies, & Harré, 1990), *perspective* (Berman, & Slobin, 1994; Chafe, 2003).

Stancetaking is a contextually sensitive phenomenon. In this work, different facets of stancetaking were studied in the context of the English *risk discourse* which can be roughly defined as a communicative activity of the English language speakers associated with discussing various aspects of risk. Never before, the notion of *risk* received such a close attention from sociologists (Beck, 1999; Luhmann, 2005), psychologists (Ilyin, 2012; Slovič, 2010) media researchers (Sandman, 1992; Schehr, 2005), and linguists (Fillmore, & Atkins, 1992; Ushchyna, 2018; Yefimova, 2000; Zinn, 2010). As well as never before was risk communication so broad-based and urgent, which makes this research timely and crucially important.

Thus, the purpose of this work consists in discovering discursive ways of situational identities construction in contemporary English risk discourse through disclosing the versatility and multifacedness of cognitive, pragmatic and sociolinguistic features of discursive stancetaking. The study unites two focal points – (1) stancetaking of a risk-taker in a process of self- and other-identification in the discourse and by means of discourse and (2) risk discourse as a situational context for stancetaking.

2. Theoretical background and methodology

Taking into consideration “a methodological shift in philosophical orientation away from the metaphor of our minds as machines for representing the world through our ideas toward the metaphor of our beliefs as aspects of the vocabularies in which we justify ourselves to one another” (Koopman, 2011, p. 64), this study coherently combines two philosophical styles of thought – representational (static) and practical (dynamic) (Rorty, 1979).

In linguistics, such philosophical integration (Martyniuk, 2009; Morozova, 2008) can be found in interpreting discourse as both a process and a result (Krasnykh, 2001; Shevchenko, 2015). Paradigmatic milestones of these methodological perspectives do not compete, but rather offer the research instruments that allow an investigator to effectively focus on various aspects and properties of discourse without drastic methodological limitations. Such methodological combination is characteristic for socio-cognitive discourse analysis (van Dijk, 2008) – a new direction in discourse studies that serves a theoretical framework for this research.

Socio-cognitive discourse analysis rests on a non-classical interpretation of subjectivity and post-structuralist tradition of discourse studies. The socio-constructionist interpretation of “subject”, “self” or “persona” (Bamberg et al., 2011; Davies, & Harré, 1990; Gergen, 1991) is fundamental to the research of stance. In accordance with it, subjectivity, as well as intersubjectivity of stance are constructed in discourse and by means of discourse. Moreover, discourse activity of an individual subject is inseparably connected to his / her world perceiving activity, which is on the one hand cognitive, and on the other – social, i. e. impossible in isolation from other participants of life exertion.

As such, *a stance subject*, or *a stance-taker*, is inseparably intertwined with the term *identity* in its socio-constructivist interpretation (Berger, & Luckmann, 1966; Bucholtz, & Hall, 2004; Taburet-Keller, 1998). According to this reading, identity is characterized by constructiveness, dynamicity, and fragmentarity. It can be not only constructed but also perceived through manifold of stances, taken by the speakers in different situations of communication. Among the diverse approaches to identity in psychology (Ericsson, 1994; Davies, & Harré, 1990), sociology (Joseph, 2004; Tabouret-Keller, 1998), and linguistics (Benwell, & Stokoe, 2006; Bucholtz, & Hall, 2004; Matuzkova, 2014), its simultaneously static and dynamic character as well as dialectics of its existence on both individual and social levels of human life, are central for this research. Individual

and collective identities constructed by the discourse participants by means of accumulating their stances in similar discourse situations are known as “*contextual*” (Crystal, 2010, p. 50), or “*situational*” (De Fina, 2011, p. 268) identities.

As a situational context for stancetaking *risk discourse* is defined on the basis of its thematic orientation (Demyankov, 2002). It is the theme of *risk* that is seen as the fundamental feature of risk discourse when approached from a situational perspective (Arutyunova, 1999; van Dijk, 2008; Fairclough, 1998). Our understanding of discourse as both a process and a result found its application in distinguishing two types of risk discourse – risk discourse proper (communicative situation of risk) and discourse about risk (meta-communicative situation of risk). The methodological structure of the study comes from this division. It is also relevant for *stancetaking* (process) and *stance* (result) demarcation.

According to Kiesling et al. (2018, p. 687), stance is “the discursive creation of a relationship between a language user and some discursive figure, and to other language users in relation to that figure. This discursive figure can be an interlocutor, a figure represented in the discourse, the animator, ideas represented in the discourse, or other texts”. For example, in the following statements “*I know*” [SBC_Risk]) or “*I don’t know*” [SBC_Risk]), the speaker informs his / her listener about his / her knowledge concerning the object of interaction (epistemic stance). While in the statements “*that’s really interesting*” [SBC_Deadly Diseases]) and “*I’m just happy*” [SBC_Raging Bureaucracy]) the speaker is constructing his / her affective stance. In the former sentence, the reference to the object of stancetaking is realized via demonstrative pronoun *that*, and a positive evaluation is expressed through the predicative “*really interesting*”. In the latter utterance, the speaker explicates his emotional state “*I’m just happy*”. All the above statements contain the information about one or the other component of a previously formed stance, presenting rather the result than a process.

The representatives of dynamic, or practice-based, approach to discourse analysis (De Fina, 2011; Du Bois, 2007; Englebretson, 2007; Morozova, 2008) focus on the interactionality and intersubjectivity of stancetaking. According to this view, the central role is given to interaction as an inherent component of stancetaking, e.g.: “*Do you agree? “I agree,” Joanna said. I just think we have to consider all the options.*” (Cook, 2001, p. 345). In this fragment, the speakers are engaged in discussing their stances on the object of stancetaking. The interactive exchange consisting of a question “*Do you agree?*” and a reply “*I agree*” presents an adjacency pair in which stance alignment takes place. The stance-taker not only acknowledges the presence of her interlocutor, but also aligns her stance with the stance of her communicative partner. Initially agreeing with the previously declared stance, further Joanna mildly disagrees, verbalizing her disalignment in the following remark (*I just think we have to consider all the options*). It can be stated that while stance predicate “*think*” belongs to stance-expressing language resources, stance predicate “*agree*” functions as a stance-constructing one.

Therefore, there are five dimensions of stance in the focus of this investigation – cognitive, pragmatic, interactional, social and speech – and five corresponding methodological principles of their discursive analysis. Cognitive dimension correlates with the principle of interpretation of the situational context as a cognitive and subjective structure (Dijk, 2008) or mental model (Givón, 2005) enabling social sense-construing through conceptualisation and categorization. Pragmatic dimension gives consideration to the conditioning of situational (contextual) identities as well as the speakers’ stances by their pragmatic purposes, contextual properties and formal specifics of discourse interaction. Interactional dimension encapsulates inherent interactionality of stance. It represents not only the situational specificity of speech behavior of communication participants in a certain situation but also their intersubjective contextual constructs, consisting of their cognitive projections of knowledge, beliefs and expectations about this situation. Social dimension correlates with the principle of social normativity of communication, including the interlocutors’ awareness of each other’s social statuses and status-related communicative rights and obligations. Speech

dimension typifies interrelation of formal linguistic structure of stancetaking and situational context of interaction.

3. Methods and data

Being a complicated and multifaceted discourse activity, stancetaking requires complex methods for its comprehensive analysis.

Textual actualization of the risk discourse situation (both CSR and MSR) or at least one of the components of their linguistic cognitive models (scenario and frame respectively) served as the main criteria for data selection. Lexical units of risk (*risk, hazard, danger, peril, jeopardy, safety* etc.) or the words denoting distinguished ontological features of the situation of risk (*uncertainty, choice, chance, possibility of gains and losses*) were used as the topical and nominative markers of the situation of risk. The data were taken from authentic sources including corpora (Contemporary American English COCA and Santa Barbara Corpus SBC), the fragments of literary (72 text pieces, total amount of 7215 words, gathered from the 2000-2018 British and American novels) and media (Internet publications concerning risk gathered in 2007-2020 – (1) personal narratives where stances on risk were manifested verbally (45 personal narratives, total amount 6352 words); (2) expert reports and journalist analytical pieces concerning various risks (63 articles, total amount 60 140 words) discourse.

The next step consisted in analyzing discursive dynamics of stancetaking behaviour in the communicative situation of risk (CSR) with the main focus on its cognitive and pragmatic specificity. The methods, used in this stage, allowed embracing of both subjective and intersubjective nature of stancetaking. First of all, based upon the method of ethnographic speech behavior by Hymes (“ethnography of speaking” – Hymes, 1972) the main components of the English communicative situation of risk were distinguished and systematized. Methodology of mental spaces by J. Fauconnier (Fauconnier, 1994) was used for linguistic-cognitive analysis of the stancetaking dynamics approached as the process of decision making in CSR.

Pragmatic and interactional components of stancetaking in CSR were studied by means of sociolinguistic methods of conversation analysis (Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1999), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 2003; Linell, 2009), and interpersonal pragmatics (Arundale, 2013; Locher, 2010). Adjacency pair served a unit for analysis at this stage. Besides, method of dialogic syntax (Du Bois, 2010) was used for determining and visualizing the interactionality of stancetaking. And finally, the tools of Membership Categorization Analysis (Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 2007) served the purposes of analyzing situational distribution of communicative roles stance-takers may fulfill in CSR and, thus, enabled defining typical contextual identities constructed in CSR as a result of stancetaking.

In the following stage of the study, socio-semiotic and pragma-rhetorical features of stancetaking in the MSR were analyzed. Since stance is a discursive construct, representing a stance-taker’s attitude towards the object of stancetaking, based upon its epistemic and affective evaluation, a complex discourse analysis of stancetaking in MSR was carried out according to the following scheme: (1) first of all epistemic and affective components of stancetaking in MSR were analyzed; (2) based upon this analysis types of collective identities were distinguished; (3) stancetaking strategies used in MSR were determined and analyzed. Correspondingly, methodology of narrative discourse analysis (Benwell, & Stokoe, 2006; Swan, & Linehan, 2001) and integrated methodology of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1998; Wodak, & Meyer, 2009) were used to disclose the socio-semiotic potential of stancetaking in metacommunicative situation of risk.

4. Results and discussion

Stancetaking is a complex discursive activity which can be seen as a “semiotic production” (Silverstein 2005, p. 6), engaging numerous participants, variable resources (language including),

and different levels of social organization. While taking their stances, the speakers simultaneously are engaged in the multiplex and elaborate discursive interaction that inevitably involves discussion of opposing views, adjustment of contrasting ideas, and conforming to conflicting ideologies.

4.1. Stancetaking in communicative situation of risk: cognitive, pragmatic, and interactional perspectives

Stancetaking in the CSR is both a mono-subjective and a multi-subjective discursive activity, carried out in interaction of speakers that presumably have different social statuses and fulfill different communicative roles. Let me demonstrate the course of the immediate stance-taking activity in a communicative situation of risk on the example of conversational interaction taken from the work of modern American fiction, serving a literary simulation of real discursive actions:

- (1) S₁: *Mercado sips his beer and frowns. "I don't know. Sounds awfully risky."*
 S₂: *"It is, but it's a risk I'm willing to take. For a fee."*
 S₁: *"I don't know. I'll have to think about it."*
 S₂: *"It's no sweat for you, Mickey. Except for the cash."*
 S₁: *"How much?"*
 S₂: *"A hundred grand."*
 S₁: *"That's pretty steep."*
 S₂: *"It'll take four men."*
 S₁: *"That's a lot of money."*
 S₂: *"You want him dead or not?"*
 S₁: *"I'll think about it."* (Grisham, 2019, p. 375).

Participants of the given communicative situation are two criminals named Mercado (S₁ – subject₁) and Mikey (S₂ – subject₂). Their occupation as well as the equality of their social statuses define the general tonality (Halliday, 1985), conversational structure (Hymes, 1972) of the described communicative situation, and specificity of the deployed linguistic resources (e.g., the use of elliptical sentences, abundance of slangy expressions *no sweat, grand, pretty steep*). The object of stance-taking (O) can be defined as “risk of committing a murder”, though it remains unknown to the reader until it is mentioned at the very end of the dialogue. Instead of direct nomination, the reference to *risk* as the object of the communicants’ stance-taking is realized through the indexical pronoun “*it*”. Mercado’s (S₁) intention (RISK AIM) is to persuade Mickey to take the risk. While Mickey (S₂) sees it as the RISK SOURCE. Consequently, the stances of two interlocutors on the same problem are different – S₂ takes a “pro-risk” stance, while S₁ takes an “anti-risk” one. A negative evaluation of the possible risky actions is articulated by S₁ in his stance-expressing comment “*I don't know. Sounds awfully risky*” where the explicit evaluative judgment “*awfully risky*” is introduced by the epistemic statement with uncertain modality “*I don't know*”. S₂ expresses his stance in a stance-aligning utterance “*It is. But it's a risk I'm willing to take*” where “*It is*” serves the purpose of interactional alignment with the previous turn, and expresses his apparent consent with his interlocutor’s stance. The statement manifesting S₂’s stance is found in the next sentence; it begins with the contradictory particle “*but*” and an explicit declaration of his pro-risk stance “*But it's a risk I'm willing to take*”, enhanced by the addition in a parceled construction “*For a fee*”.

Analysis of this conversational exchange illustrates that the act of discursive stancetaking comprises the actions of stance construing, stance perceiving, stance evaluation and stance alignment. Together these actions lead to self- and mutual identification. This proves both inherent subjectivity and intersubjectivity of stancetaking. Discursively manifested stances reflect not only the interlocutors’ individual views and positions but pose their reactions to previously uttered words

or fulfilled actions. They also demonstrate the level of agreement / disagreement and accommodation / non-accommodation, resulting in alignment / disalignment of their stances.

Stancetaking in CSR as a mono-subjective activity. Stance-taking in CSR consists in speakers' tendency to take comparable stances and, as a result, to construct distinctive personal identities (risk-taking / risk-averse) in resembling situations of communication. As it were, stances comprise epistemic and affective components where epistemic express information about the origin of the speaker's knowledge concerning the object of stance-taking (evidentiality) as well as the subjective reflexivity of the current situational context (modality). Affective components indicate the speaker's emotions, feelings, assessments, and attitudes towards the stance object and towards other communicative participants and their stances.

Linguistic and cognitive features of stancetaking in CSR are inseparably connected with its hypothetical nature. Therefore, the dynamics of its development was reconstructed with the help of mental spaces analysis (Fauconnier, 1994). Mental spaces are assemblies constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action. They are structured by frames and cognitive models. Mental spaces are connected to long-term schematic knowledge, such as the schemas (scenarios) of a situation of risk, a university lecture or a birthday party, and they are constructed and modified with the unfolding and processing of thought and discourse.

Due to the prognostic essence of statements in the situation of risk, epistemic stance stipulates the problematic nature of judgments based not so much on the knowledge or experience as on hypothetical presumptions (Figure 1). Conditional connectives "*if*" and "*when*" or prepositional phrases such as "*in case of*" serve as space-builders for hypothetical mental spaces. The linguistic formulation of discursive actions in the given fragment allows tracing the dynamics of stance-taking in CSR:

- (2) *"If* [space-builder] *you help me,*" he [pro-risk subject = stance subject x] *said, "I'll make it worth the risk."*
"Yes, you will," I [anti-risk subject = stance subject y] *said. "But what happens if* [space-builder] *I decide not to get involved?"*
"They'll come after us," he *said.*
He shook his head, "Can't take that chance." (Zandri, 2019, p.121).

The first statement in this exchange sets out a frame about a possible action in which at least two people are involved: '*x wants y to do something that y does not like*'. From our pre-existing and pre-structured background cultural knowledge we can make an assumption about the situational frame of this piece as well as about the roles of its participants as they are highlighted in it (the risk-willing speaker *x* and the risk-averse speaker *y*).

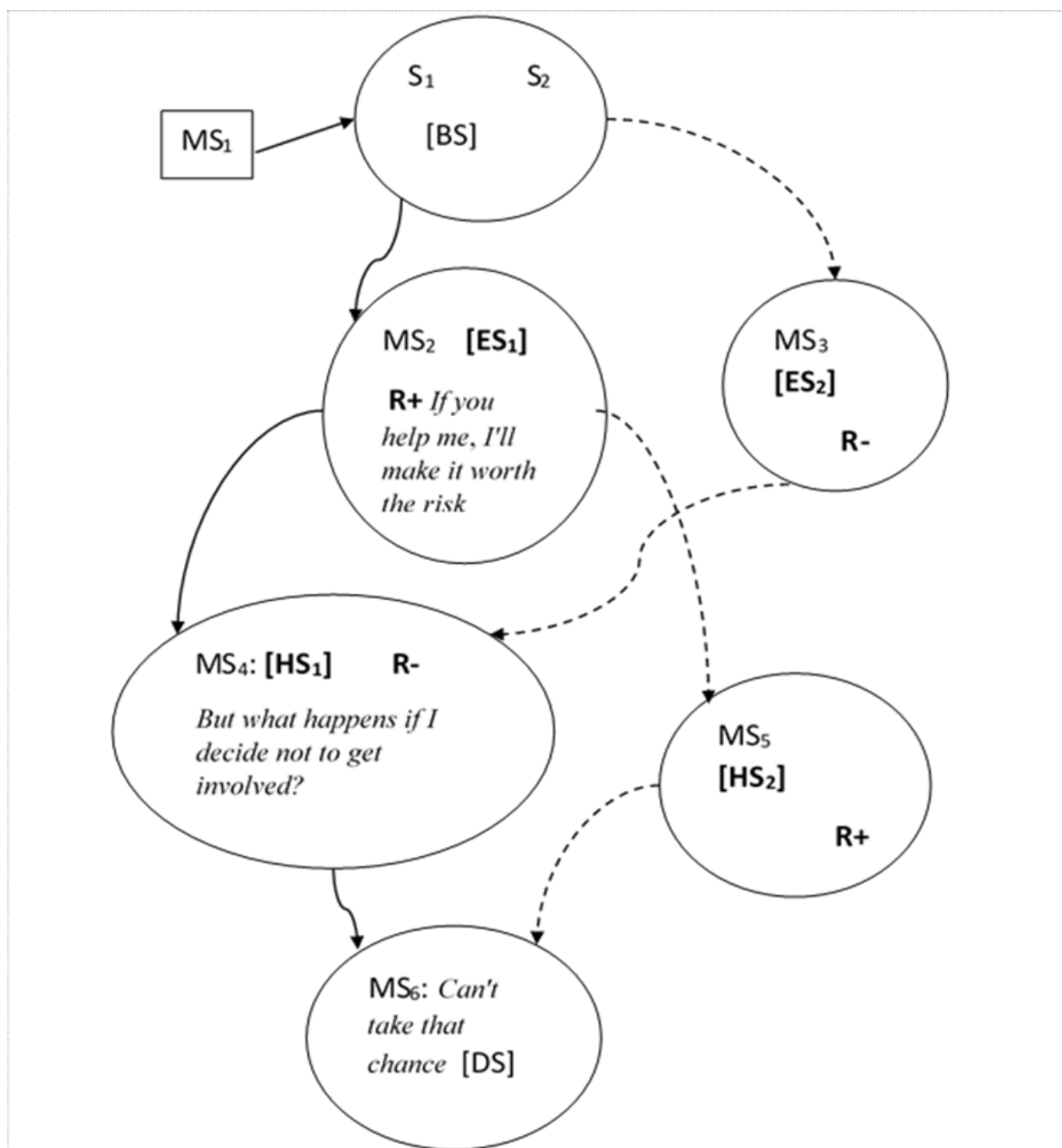


Figure 1. Reconstruction of mental spaces development in CSR

Default information is linked to the frame of communicative situation of risk and presents the base mental space (BS) (Figure 1) containing elements x and y associated with two interlocutors – subjects of stance-taking – discussing the topic of “risk” as the object of their stance-taking discursive activities. Presumably, these elements have been linked to other frames by background knowledge and previous meaning construction in the conversation. Through the space-builder *if* the same sentence also sets up two more mental spaces, which I call “expectation spaces” – ES_1 and ES_2 as there are two possible ways of the expected situation development: y either takes the risk, or refuses from it (“*If [space-builder] you help me,*” he [*pro-risk subject = stance subject x*] said “*I’ll make it worth the risk.*”).

A new sentence sets up new mental spaces: the stance-taker y acknowledges her interlocutor’s pro-risk stance “*Yes, you will*” (stance alignment) but then questions the benefits of their possible future actions, implying the consequences of risk-averse behavior (“*But what happens if [space-builder] I decide not to get involved?*”). By this, the speaker constructs two new mental spaces

(hypothetical spaces HS₁ i HS₂), through the question *what happens?* and the following space-builder *if*. One of these mental spaces (HS₁) contains eventual refusal from the potential risky action (*I decide not to get involved*), while the other one (HS₂), though not verbalized, implies her possible consent to take a risk. The risk-averse stance taken by the stance-subject *y* in the given CSR is expressed in the negative grammatical construction *Can't take that chance*, which sets out another mental space – decision space DS. As decision spaces usually have an ambiguous and prognostic character, verbalization of stances concerning decisions in the CSR is often found in the statements denoting uncertain or future actions.

Due to the inherent uncertainty and probabilistic nature of the situation of risk, pragmatic specificity of affective stance-taking in the CSR is determined not only by its hypothetical essence but also by its axiological bipolarity. Hence, the emotions that typically accompany the stance-taking speech activity of the CSR participants can be positive (contentment, joy, enthusiasm, fervor) as well as negative (fear, anxiety, disappointment, anger), which influences their decisions on risk. E. g.:

- (3) *I shuffle through some papers. I examine a brochure from a rival office-construction company. [...] Then, at last, **my pulse beating quickly**, I find the little key on his key ring. I stare at it for a moment, thinking: Do I really want to do this? Do I really want to risk? [...] But I'm here, I'm on a mission. At last swiftly, I bend down and unlock his secret desk drawer, **my hand trembling so much that I have to try three times**. (Kinsella 2018: 293).*
- (4) *“As he crossed the landing and slipped up the stairs **he felt the thrilling rush of adrenaline that always came to him when he was about to do a job**.” (Follet 1992: 54).*

In fragment (3), the emotions of the risk-taker are described as utterly perturbing, causing corresponding bodily reactions: *my pulse beating quickly*, *my hand trembling*. Such perceptual counteraction of one's organism is characteristic for the emotions of anxiety and fear a person may experience at the moment of running a risk. In fragment (4), similarly, the affective reaction of a risk-taker at the moment of committing a risky action is pictured, but the emotional coloring of his body's somatic answer is opposite to the former one: *he felt the thrilling rush of adrenaline that always came to him when he was about to do a job*. His feelings are described as quite enjoyable (*thrilling*) and well-known to a risk-taker who characteristically enjoys the “*rush of adrenaline*”. He obviously is familiar with them from his previous experience, which is expressed by means of *always* – an adverb denoting regularity of the action.

Therefore, stance-taking in the CSR is characterized by hypothetical epistemic and bipolar affective assessment, conversationally verbalized in stance-takers' interaction and influencing their decisions. Correlation of modality and evidentiality versus emotions and affect in the process of cognitive-linguistic structuring of stances in the CRS are constitutive for constructing corresponding **situational identities**, varying from the risk-averse subjects to risk-lovers (including such diverse varieties as cautious or cowardly subjects, prudent and rational risk-takers, noble heroes, gamblers, and adrenalin seekers).

4.2. Interactionality of stancetaking in CSR

Another important feature of stancetaking is its interactional nature known as stance alignment (Du Bois, 2007). This analytical framework sheds light on the interactional complexity of stancetaking as a multi-party process.

It was discovered that alignment in CSR can be either consonant (concordant, harmonious, compatible) or dissonant (conflict, non-harmonious, disagreeing). Linguistic expression of consonant stances is based on similar epistemic and affective evaluations of the situation, while verbalization of dissonant stances, on the contrary, represents discordant evaluations, divergent views and clashing tastes. The situational identities can be changed in the process of discursive

interaction when two or more opposing stances encounter. For instance, a new stance may appear or a subordinate stance becomes a dominant one. Speech behavior of the communication partners is conditioned by their interaction environment. Interrelation of stance alignment and surrounding context influences linguistic and cognitive dynamics of stancetaking, motivating creation of new interactional circumstances that, in its turn, influence further speech behavior of all the communication participants. Thereafter, an interaction in the situation of risk can be held either as a concerted / persuasive cooperation or as a persuasive / coercive conflict.

The following interactional discursive mechanisms are used by the interlocutors for alignment of their stances: recirculation, feedback, indexical involvement and emotional resonance. These mechanisms have reverse causal and recurrent nature. To illustrate the recurrence of stancetaking we used the “lamination” metaphor by Ch. Goodwin (Goodwin, 2013, p. 9). “Laminated” structure of stancetaking means that stance is a conversationally multi-layered construct enabling a variety of speech actions in the process of its discursive construction and re-construction: repetitions, corrections, questions etc.). All of these speech operations in Goodwin’s terms facilitate certain conversational complementation (“adding”, “gluing”, “lamination”) of new stances (“layers”) to already existing ones. Laminated structure is fairly “transparent” which allows “seeing” all the layers through. While layering, stances transform, though stay “readable” and interpretable, e.g.:

- (5) [SS₁] “*Yes, I know it’s revenge, and I even figured out what that stupid name on my Canadian passport means. No wonder you wouldn’t tell me the name on the phone. I mean, my God – Zeus Rache – how did we come up with that?” [conversational turn 1]
 [SS₂]: “*David was looking directly at him. “Abe, we didn’t come up with that name. I did. I’m sorry you don’t like it.”* [conversational turn 2]
 [SS₁]: “*I’m Czech, remember, and from Sudenland. So, I speak German. I know that “susse rache” means sweet revenge. Couldn’t you come up with a better name? And what makes you so goddamn angry that you’d risk it all now? You are risking your friends and family, too.” [conversational turn 3]
 [SS₂]: “*I probably should have let you participate in the decision, but it’s too late now, I’m sorry.”* [conversational turn 4] (Brandin, 2009, p. 103).**

Conversational exchange in the above fragment consists of four turns. Participants of this dialogue (SS₁ i SS₂ – stance subjects) are discussing the risks of the planned revenge. They are quite aware of the possible losses (*you’d risk it all now; you are risking your friends and family*) in case they decide to take a risk. Their stances are dissonant, and their interaction is emotionally intensive “persuasive conflict”: one speaker (SS₁) takes an anti-risk stance, while the other one (SS₂) is pro-risk. The object of discussion (and, thus, of stancetaking) is the name “Zeus Rache”, translated from German as “sweet revenge” (*susse rache*). This is the name given to one of the participants, Abe, in his Canadian passport, against his will or wish. Abe is a stance-taker who is risk-resilient (SS₁). Risky subject (SS₂), however, not only verbalizes his stance concerning the Abe’s pseudo (*we didn’t come up with that name. I did*) but he also shows his understanding of his interlocutor’s affective stance (*I’m sorry you don’t like it*), further explicates his own emotions and awareness of his guilt (*I’m sorry*) for taking a non-collegial pro-risk decision, which excluded Abe’s opinion (*I probably should have let you participate in the decision, but it’s too late now, I’m sorry*). This exchange is an illustration of inherent interactionality of stance and the operation of the **emotional resonance mechanism** in the process of stance alignment.

In his utterance in turn₁ SS₁ informs about his epistemic stance using the verb *to know* – “*Yes, I know it’s revenge*”. He expresses his dissatisfaction by the pseudonym, involuntarily assigned to him: he uses derogatory epithet *stupid* and demonstrative pronoun *that* that fulfills the iconic function of deictic estrangement – “*that stupid name*”. The reader only finds out about the hidden meaning later, implied in stylistic antonomasia, used in the speaker’s utterance manifesting his

epistemic stance: “*I know that “susse rache” means sweet revenge*”. Besides, spelling out the implications of the borrowing, the speaker refers to risk as an object of stance-taking. He makes it prominent by means of repeated and varied mentions: *that stupid name; you wouldn’t tell me the name; Zeus Rache*, which can be interpreted as an accentuating tactic, a discursive tool for putting the speaker’s stance through to the interlocutor, drawing his attention to the problems which are important for the stance-taker. Numerous markers of epistemic stance (*I know, I figured it out, I mean, no wonder*) used by Abe, are linguistic means of assertive modality demonstrating his certainty in his own righteousness. Abe (SS₁) aligns his stance with his partner’s stance by means of *yes*, a pragmatic marker of conversational concurrence. Fulfilling a responsive function, *yes* is a tool of **feedback mechanism** of discursive interaction. It not only unites preceding and succeeding turns in a wholesale coherent discursive structure consisting of the speakers’ conversational reactions to each other’s utterances, but it also signifies the ability of an antecedent utterance to generate the contents of the subsequent one.

In conversational turns_{2,3} SS₂ attempts to persuade SS₁ in the righteousness and total safety of his stance concerning the name choice. To do so he uses interactional **mechanism of recirculation** – repetitive use of stance-constructing language resources. This mechanism is actualized in discourse by means of securing the conversational (Schegloff, 1999), or discursive (Jaffe, 2009) coherence, appearing as a lexical and grammatical cohesion (Halliday, 1985), repetitions, and syntactical parallelism.

Let me illustrate the agency of recirculation mechanism with the help of “diagraph” (Du Bois, 2010) – a graphical means for dialogue transcription:

Diagraph (1): SS ₁ “ <i>How did</i>	<i>We</i>	<i>come up with that?”</i>
SS ₂ “ <i>Abe,</i>	<i>we didn’t</i>	<i>come up with that name. I did”.</i>

The given diagraph shows that SS₂ uses almost exactly the same words as his interlocutor. He even repeats the syntactic structure, adding only a pronominal address *Abe* and a noun object *name*. Thus, the speaker re-uses certain elements from the previous utterance, or recirculates it. The words “*How did we come up with that?”* are updated by (a) grammatical negation *didn’t*, fulfilling the pragmatic function of disagreement and (b) affirmative remark *I did* in which inclusive pronoun *we* is purposefully substituted by an exclusive *I*. As a result, the “recirculated” utterance gets a new meaning, which leads to constructing a completely different stance.

Besides, in the original text “we” and “I” are highlighted by italics – a graphical means of reproduction of oral intonation emphasizing in a written text. Contraposition of these personal pronouns is treated as an exertion of the interactive **mechanism of indexical involvement**: on the background of nearly full recirculation of lexical and grammatical linguistic resources only the elements indexing the actual performer of the discussed action (*I* vs *we*) are changed. Usually, the mechanism of indexical involvement is realized through speakers’ marking of their conversational roles “speaker – listener” (by means of the personal pronouns *I, you, we* etc.), their social statuses (by means of the address terms, titles and formulas (*Mr., Mrs.* etc.; forms of reference – *he, they, his mom, my friend* etc.; proper names), as well as spatial and temporal deixis (by means of demonstrative pronouns, articles, geographical names, and lexis denoting time).

Therefore, interactional mechanisms of stancetaking are engaged in transformation of the communicative partners’ stances. At the same time, in the process of discursive interaction, the original situational identities of communicants remain unique and recognizable. However, while accumulating (“laminating”), transformed stances provide speakers with new knowledge not only

about each other but also about the surrounding world, correspondingly influencing the process of self- and other-identification.

4.3. Stancetaking in metacommunicative situation of risk: socio-semiotic and pragma-rhetorical perspectives

The specificity of stancetaking in metacommunicative situation of risk is framed by the pattern of speakers' engagement in this situation – instead of immediate interaction with other participants in CSR, they inform about earlier taken stances in the *ex situ* conditions of MSR in their personal narratives, editorials and/or expert accounts / articles, published in media. In fact, the object of stancetaking in MSR is one of the components of CSR that took place before. Such a complex design of stancetaking in metacommunicative situation of risk presupposes multilayered structure of its spatio-temporal parameters. According to Michael Silverstein (2005, p. 6),

what actually happens is that people use language and perilinguistic semiotics on particular occasions of discursive interaction; however, such usage on any particular occasion bears the potential relationship to discourse on some other occasion or occasions in a phenomenally different spatio-temporal envelope. This in effect draws two or more discursive occasions together within the same chronotopic frame, across which discourse seems to “move” from ordinary to secondary occasion, no matter whether “backward” or “forward” in orientation within the frame.

In other words, MSR is chronotopically inhomogeneous discursive event uniting several occasions, enveloped in different spatio-temporal “coating”. Therefore, stancetaking in MSR is an activity of a meta-discursive character, and manifested stances are meta-discursively premeditated. Communicants do not take their decisions on risks directly, instead they inform of them with a greater or lesser certainty (epistemic stance) as well as with greater or lesser emotionality (affective stancetaking) (Ushchyna, 2014; 2015) ulteriorly. E.g.:

- (6) “I’m 100 % convinced that regular cell phone use constitutes serious, long term and even short term health risks and dangers simply because there is too much science conducted by the brightest and the least-financially invested in these technologies to suggest otherwise” (Cohen, 2011).
- (7) “I’m not sure, but recent developments suggest the world’s increasing use of the internet could be affecting more than just the part of the brain relied on for memory” (Cohen, 2011: comment_Clarke).

In sentence (6), the author informs about his stance on the risk of mobile phones with a high degree of confidence and self-assurance (*I’m 100 % convinced that cell phones constitute serious, long term health risks*). In sentence (7), the stance-taker is doubting the validity of his own statement concerning the risk of Internet use (*I’m not sure, but [...] the world’s increasing use of the internet could be affecting [...] the brain*), thus, acknowledging his insufficient epistemic status (Heritage, 2012) in a given discourse situation.

Linguistic formulation of stances in MSR greatly depends on the type of text (personal narrative, expert report, or journalistic article) in which stance subjects construct their collective situational identities. They also build upon circumstances of communication, including the author’s wish and need to advocate his / her right to possess the information or alternately to disassociate himself / herself from it.

Giving their accounts of former risk-taking experience in personal narratives published online, the stance-takers usually construct **lay identities** (lay – non-expert, non-specialist in a given area). He / she lives in a space of public discursive practices that can be seen as the area where

various discourses, stances, subjects and their identities meet, where individual and social stretches of human existence intersect. Discursive subjectivity of a personal narrative presumes explicit author self-identification which makes stancetaking in it highly subjective and emotional, e. g.:

- (8) *We are being called to jeopardize our own health and safety to treat our community. It is disgusting. I wish more attention would be given to us on the front lines and the situation we face. We live in the richest country in the world and yet we don't have the tools to perform our job safely. This virus is terrifying.* (Lee, 2020)

The fragment above is taken from the personal story of a nurse working with COVID-19 patients in one of California hospitals. Her stance on risk is not verbalized explicitly. She is taking her daily risk not because she is willing to do so but because of her professional duties. Being a RISK SUBJECT she still avoids marking her personal agency in this forced risk-taking event, mentioning her passive role in it (the use of an inclusive *we* and a passive grammatical construction *We are being called to jeopardize our own health and safety to treat our community*). The speaker's "*own health and safety*" is framed as the RISK OBJECT, while coronavirus, derogatorily marked by means of deictic '*this*', is portrayed as a SOURCE OF THREAT (*This virus is terrifying*). She sees herself and her colleagues as VICTIMS of risk and the country's authorities (though only implied in a statement "*We live in the richest country in the world and yet we don't have the tools to perform our job safely*") as the offender. Instead of manifesting her stance on *risk*, the speaker expresses her stance towards the very act of "being made to take the risk" in an emotionally colored evaluative statement "*It is disgusting*". Affective component is predominant in her discursive structuring of stance, while her epistemic stance is formulated only vaguely. Her stance is the stance of a person who not only understands the dangers of her job, but also is aware of who is to blame for it.

In **expert** discourse, though, the epistemic component of stance becomes more prominent. Instead of emotions, the authors of expert articles focus their attention on pointing out their expert knowledge and high epistemic competence in certain areas of expertise, e.g.:

- (9) *The estimated economic cost of risk-related disorders in 2001 in Germany was about EUR 3000 million. These data prove that new solutions for OSH have to be developed in order to adequately manage the changes in the world of work. The need to identify and anticipate emerging risks related to occupational safety and health has been emphasized on several occasions at the European level* (Brun, 2007, p. 13).

The above fragment was taken from the expert report concerning risks associated with occupational safety. One can find numerous linguistic markers of the author's high epistemic status (e.g. references to research data *these data prove that*; numbers *EUR 3000 million*; technical abbreviations *OSH*) and linguistic competence (e.g. complex syntactic structures, abundant use of terms *economic cost, risk-related disorders, occupational safety*). At the same time, in this piece of discourse, we have not found even a single marker of affective stance. Taken together, these features indicate the positive correlation between stancetaking in MSR and the level of subjectivity. In expert articles and reports, where the author is not personally involved into the described situation, the level of subjectivity is rather low and stancetaking is predominantly epistemic. Therefore, expert identity, constructed in mediated risk discourse consists of non-affective, non-emotional, or "faceless" stances.

Constructing mediators' identities in analytical articles about risks, journalists not only represent their stances on given problems but they also fulfill their important social function – being a linking link between experts (government, politicians, researchers) and lay citizens (general, ordinary public). They advise their readers on matters of risk, warn them about possible hazards, help them find appropriate decisions, criticize the stances of other journalists

and experts. Having access to wide audiences, mediators also get a special role in society: publicly proclaiming their stances, they influence the process of meaning-making, and so become agents of social semiosis.

Regardless general societal requirements to journalistic impartiality, media people often cannot escape emotional statements and judgmental evaluations, e.g.:

- (10) *Fears about health risks rose dramatically in Japan on Tuesday with the news of a greater radiation release and renewed warnings to remaining residents within 20 miles to stay indoors. Thyroid cancer is the most immediate risk of radiation and the Japanese government made plans to distribute potassium iodine pills to prevent it* (Marchione, 2011).

The author manifests his stance concerning the heightened radiation level in Japan. He not only makes an epistemic evaluation of the associated health risks (*Thyroid cancer is the most immediate risk of radiation*), but he also offers his judgment of Japanese people as a collective risk subject. Dwelling on the fear washed over Japan he uses intensifying adverb *dramatically* (*Fears about health risks rose dramatically*) that functions as a qualifier of a panicky emotional state of Japanese society. Such affective wording reflects the author's attitude towards the events, as well as his ability to influence the interpretations of his recipients. Unlike in personal narrative, the author of the journalistic piece (article, editorial) tries to hide his / her own affective reactions, concentrating on the other people's emotions instead. In such a way they try to remain unbiased, distancing themselves from direct evaluations and judgments.

Thus, linguistic expression of affective stance in MSR, as well as its emotional intensiveness is determined by the level of the stance-taker's personal engagement into the communicated event: lay stances tend to be emphatic, stances constructed by experts are more likely to be faceless, and, finally, mediators' stances can be both. Epistemic stancetaking in MSR correlates with the level of knowledge of stance-takers about the object of communication and their certainty / uncertainty in inferred propositions.

5. Conclusions

Investigating of stancetaking in contemporary English risk discourse was fulfilled in socio-cognitive paradigm of discourse analysis that addresses discourse activities in all their multiplicity and diversity. Complex approach to this multidisciplinary problem allowed discovering specifics of mutual identification of the English language speakers in different situational and cultural conditions. This research has also disclosed the socio-semiotic potential of stance as a discursive formation uniting micro- and macro-levels of social interaction.

It was established that stance is a contextually dependent and interactively formed discursive construct containing information about the speakers' knowledge of the stancetaking object (epistemic component of stance) and their emotional attitudes towards it (affective component of stance). Accumulating, stances form unique situational identities that incorporate the stance-takers' linguistic, cognitive, and sociolinguistic repertoires. Any native speaker of a language is also a representative of his / her culture and ideology which can be discernible in his / her stancetaking. A stance-taker as well as his / her situational identity is a product of their discursive interaction, and thus, their identities profoundly depend upon situational circumstances of communication.

Stancetaking in the English risk discourse, produced either in situational conditions of immediate (communicative situation of risk) or mediated (meta-communicative situation of risk) interaction, is characterized by specific linguistic, cognitive, and pragmatic features. It has both subjective and inter-subjective nature.

In communicative situations of risk, stancetaking consists in dynamic construction of situational identities that are indexically interrelated with the stances a person is inclined to take and verbalize in similar discursive situations. The constructed identities may vary from risk-averse subject (cautious) to a risk-taker (risky). These identities are determined by recursive iterations of epistemic and affective elements of stancetaking in the process of decision-making under the immediate circumstances of situation of risk. Inter-subjectively, stancetaking in CSR can be either consonant (a concerted / persuasive cooperation) or dissonant (a persuasive / coercive conflict). While aligning their stances, the participants of CSR deploy the following interactional mechanisms: recirculation, feedback, indexical involvement and emotional resonance.

In metacommunicative situation of risk, discursively built identities include expert, lay and mediator that have rather a collective than a personal character. The epistemic stances they build can be certain or uncertain, while their affective stances can be either emphatic or faceless. Experts' stances are predominantly based on assertive epistemic reasoning, and are devoid of emotionality, or faceless. Lay people' stancetaking is more emphatic, than epistemic. Mediators' stances are characterized by wide variability – they can be certain or uncertain, emphatic or faceless. Experts, lay stance-takers and mediators utilize an array of specific linguistic resources in the process of their stancetaking to achieve their communicative goals. The stance-formulating means they use, attest not only to their individual views and positions but index collective voices of media and/or institutions they represent. Thus, their choices are not incidental but have a socio-indexical or socio-semiotic value.

List of Abbreviations:

CSR – Communicative Situation of Risk

MSR – Metacommunicative situation of risk

SBC – Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English. Retrieved from

<https://www.kaggle.com/rtatman/santa-barbara-corpus-of-spoken-american-english>

REFERENCES

- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2015). *The Art of Grammar. A Practical Guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Arundale, R. B. (2013). Conceptualizing 'interaction' in interpersonal pragmatics: Implications for understanding and research. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 58, 12-26.
- Arutyunova, N. D. (1999). *Yazyk i mir cheloveka [Language and a Human World]*. Moskva: Yazyki russkoy kultury Publ.
- Bamberg, M., de Fina, A., & Schiffrin, D. (2011). Discourse and Identity Construction. In S. J. Schwartz (Ed.). *Handbook of Identity Theory and Research*. Retrieved from http://www.clarku.edu/~mbamberg/Material_files/Discours%20and%20Identity%20Construction.pdf
- Beck, U. (1999). *World Risk Society*. London: Polity Press.
- Benwell, B., & Stokoe, E. (2006). *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Berman, R. A., & Slobin, D. I. (1994). *Relating Events in Narrative: A Crosslinguistic Developmental Study*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Biber, D., & Finegan, E. (1989). Styles of stance in English: Lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect. *Text*, 9, 93-124.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2004). Language and identity. In A. Duranti (Ed.). *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 369-394). Malden: Blackwell.

- Bybee, J., Perkins, R., & Pagliuka, W. (1994). *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Chafe, W. (1986). Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing. In W. Chafe, & J. Nichols (Eds.). *Evidentially: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology* (pp. 261-272). Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Chafe, W. (2003). The analysis of discourse flow. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 673-687). Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Clark, H. (1986). *Using Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, R. (1997). *Chromosome 6*. New York: Putnam's Sons.
- Cook, R. (2001) *Shock*. New York: Putnam's Sons.
- Crystal, D. (2010). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*, 20(1), 43-63.
- De Fina, A. (2011). Discourse and Identity. In Dijk, T.A., van (Ed.). *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (pp. 263-282). London: Sage.
- Demyankov, V. Z. (2002). Politicheskij diskurs kak predmet politologicheskoy filologii [Political discourse as an object of political philology]. *Politicheskaya nauka. Politicheskij discours: istoriya i sovremennyye issledovaniya*, 3, 32-43
- Dijk, T.A. van. (2008). *Discourse and context: A sociocognitive approach*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Du Bois, J. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (Ed.). *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction* (pp. 139-182). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Du Bois, J. (2010). *Towards a Dialogic Syntax*. Retrieved from http://www.lattice.cnrs.fr/IMG/pdf/DuBois_forthcoming_Towards_a_Dialogic_Syntax---DRAFT_2-2-1.pdf
- Englebretson, R. (2007). Stancetaking in discourse: An Introduction. In R. Englebretson (Ed.). *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction* (pp. 1-25). Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Erikson, E. (1994). *Identity and the Life Cycle*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co.
- Fairclough, N. (1998). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London, New York: Longman.
- Fauconnier, G. (1994). *Mental Spaces: Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fillmore, Ch. J., & Atkins, B. T. (1992). Toward a frame-based lexicon: the semantics of RISK and its neighbors. In A. Lehrer, & F. E. Kittay (Eds). *Frames, Fields and Contrasts* (pp. 75-102). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Fillmore, Ch. J. (1982). Frame semantics. In Linguistic Society of Korea (Ed.). *Linguistics in the Morning Calm* (pp. 111-138). Seoul: Hanshin.
- Gergen, K. J. (1991). *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Givón, T. (2005). *Context as Other Minds. The Pragmatics of Sociality, Cognition and Communication*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Goodwin, Ch. (2013). The Cooperative, transformative organization of human action and knowledge. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 46(1), 8-23.
- Gumperz, J. J. (2003). Interactional Sociolinguistics: A Personal Perspective. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 503-517). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). Context of situation. In M. A. K. Halliday, & R. Hasan (Eds.). *Language, Context and Text* (pp. 3-14). Geelong: Deakin University Press.
- Harré, R. (2003). The discursive turn in Social Psychology. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 688-706). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Heritage, J. (2012). Epistemics in action: Action, formation and territories of knowledge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45(1), 1-29.
- Hymes, D. (1972). Models of the interaction of language and social life. In J. Gumperz, & D. Hymes, (Eds.). *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication* (pp. 35-71). New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
- Ilyin, Y. P. (2012). *Psihologiya riska. [Psychology of Risk]*. Sankt-Peterburg: Piter Publ.
- Irvine, J. T. (2009). Stance in a colonial encounter: How mr. Taylor lost his Footing. In A. Jaffe (Ed.). *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (pp. 53-71). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jaffe, A. (2009). Introduction: the sociolinguistics of Stance. In A. Jaffe (Ed.). *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspective* (pp. 3-28). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Johnstone, B. (2009). Stance, style, and the linguistic individual. In A. Jaffe (Ed.) *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (pp. 29-52). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Joseph, J. (2004). *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kiesling, S. F., Pavalanathan, U., Fitzpatrick, J., Han, X., & Eisenstein, J. (2018). Interactional Stancetaking in Online Forums. *Computational Linguistics*, 44(4), 689-718.
- Koopman, C. (2011). Rorty's Linguistic Turn: Why (More Than) Language Matters to Philosophy. *Contemporary Pragmatism Editions*, 8(1), 61-84.
- Krasnykh V. V. (2001). *Osnovy psiholingvistiki I teoriiy komunikatsiyi: kurs lektsiy* [Basics of Psycholinguistics and Communication Theory: A Course of lectures]. Moskva: Gnozis Publ.
- Kshanovskij O. C. (2015). Diyeslivni formy z evidentsiynym znachennyam u suchasnij perskij movi. [Verbal forms with evidential meaning in the modern Persian language]. *Visnyk Kyivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu im. Shevchenka. Skhadni movy i literatury*, 1(25), 20-24. (in Ukrainian).
- Linell, P. (2009). *Rethinking Language, Mind and World Dialogically: Interactional and Contextual Theories of Human Sense-Making*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Locher, M. (2010). *Interpersonal Pragmatics*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Luhmann, N. (2005). *Risk: A Sociological Theory (Communication and Social Order)*. New Brunswick (N.J.) – London: Aldine Transaction.
- Martin, J. R., & White, P. R. (2005). *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Martynyuk, A. P. (2009). Razgranicheniye discursa i teksta s pozitsiy integratsionnogo podhoda. [Distinction between discourse and text from the positions of integrational approach]. *Visnyk Kharkivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni V. N. Karazina. Romano-hermanska filolohiya. Metodyka vykladannya inozemnykh mov*, 866(59), 49-55 (in Russian).
- Matuzkova, Y. P. (2014). *Identichnost' i lingvokultura: metodologiya izucheniya: [monographiya]. [Identity and Linguistic Culture: Methodology of Research: monograph]*. Odessa: Izd-vo KP OGT Publ.
- Morozova, O. I. (2008). Diyalnisnyj styl myslennya u lnhvistychnykh doslidzhennyakh [Dynamic style of thinking in linguistic research]. *Visnyk Kharkivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni V. N. Karazina. Seriya: Romano-hermanska filolohiya. Metodyka vykladannya inozemnykh mov*, 811(55), 41-45 (in Ukrainian).
- Morozova, O. I. (2011). Stance: pozytsiya sub'yekta dyskursyvnoyi diyalnosti. [Stance: position of the subject of discursive activity]. *Visnyk Kyivskoho natsionalnoho lnhvistychnoho universytetu. Seriya: Filologiya*, 14(1), 87-93 (in Ukrainian).

- Myers, G. (2010). Stance-taking and public discussion in blogs. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 7(4), 263-275.
- Ochs, E. (1993). Indexing gender. In A. Duranti, & Ch. Goodwin (Eds.). *Rethinking Context* (pp. 335-358). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, F. R. (1979). *Modality and the English Modals*. London, New York: Longman.
- Papafragou, A. (1997). *Modality: a case-study in semantic under determinacy*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Prikhodko, A. N. (2003). Vyskazyvaniye v modalno-epistemicheskom aspekte. [A statement in modal-epistemic aspect]. *Kultura narodov prichernomorya: (naucnyy zhurnal / Krymskiy nauchnyy tsentr NAN Ukrayiny)*, 42, 21-27 (in Russian).
- Rorty, R. (1979). *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on Conversation*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sandman, P. (1992). Mass media coverage of technological and environmental risks: A survey of research in the United States and Germany. *Public Understanding of Science*, 1, 199-230.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1999). Discourse, pragmatics, conversation, analysis. *Discourse Studies*, 1(4), 405-435.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2007). A tutorial on membership categorization. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39, 462-482.
- Schehr, R. C. (2005). Conventional risk discourse and the proliferation of fear. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 16(1), 38-58.
- Scherer, K. R. (2005). What are emotions? And how can they be measured? *Social Science Information*, 44(4), 695-729.
- Shakhovskiy, V. I. (2010). *Emotsiyi: dolingvistika, lingvistika, lingvokulturologiya. [Emotions: Pre-linguistics, Linguistics, Linguistic Culture]*. Moskva: Knizhnyy dom LIBROKOM Publ.
- Shevchenko, I. S. (2015). Discurs kak kognitivno-kommunikativnyy fenomen, edynits y i kategorii [Discourse as cognitive-communicative phenomenon: units and categories]. *Lingvisticheskie issledovaniya: sbornik statej EGU*, 5, 146-158 (in Russian)
- Silverstein, M. (2005). Axes of evals: Tokens versus type interdiscursivity. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 15(1), 6-22.
- Slovič, P. (2010). *The Feeling of Risk*. New York: Routledge.
- Stallings, R. A. (1990). Media discourse and the social construction of risk. *Social Problems*, 37(1), 80-95.
- Swan, D., & Linehan, C. (2001). Positioning as a means of understanding the narrative construction of self: A story of lesbian escorting. *Narrative Inquiry*, 24, 517-638.
- Tabouret-Keller, A. (1998). Language and identity. In F. Coulmas (Ed.). *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (pp. 315-326). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ushchyna, V. (2014). Stancetaking in the discourse on risk: Identities construed. In D. Glynn, & M. Sjölin (Eds.). *Subjectivity and Epistemicity. Corpus, discourse, and literary approaches to stance* (pp. 215-237). Lund: Lund University Press.
- Ushchyna, V. (2015). Epistemic stance and the linguistic realization of expert identities in risk communication. In M. Boguslawska-Tafelska, & A. Drogosz (Eds.) *Towards the Ecology of Human Communication* (pp. 33-50). Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Ushchyna, V. A. (2016). *Pozytsiyuvannya subyekta v suchasnomu anhlomovnomu dyskursi ryzyku. [Stancetaking in contemporary English risk discourse]*. Unpublished doctor dissertation, Kyiv National Linguistic University, Kyiv, Ukraine (in Ukrainian).
- Ushchyna, V. (2018). Manipulative use of RISK as a stance in political communication. *Discourse and Society*, 29(2), 198-221.
- Vorobjova, O. P. (2006). Ideya rezonansu v lingvistychnykh doslidzhennyakh [The idea of resonance in linguistic research]. In O. O. Taranenko (Ed.). *Mova. Lyudyna. Svit. Do 70-ricchya prof. M.P. Kocherhana* (pp. 72-86). Kyiv: Vyd. tsentr KNLU Publ.

- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage.
- Yefimova, N. N. (2000). *Ontologizatsija kontsepta "risk" v angliyskoy frazeologiyi*. [Ontologization of the concept of "risk" in the English phraseology]. Unpublished candidate dissertation thesis, Irkutsk State Linguistic University, Irkutsk, Russia (in Russian).
- Zinn, J. O. (2010). Risk as Discourse: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. *Proceedings of CADAAD (Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines) Forum*, 4(2), 106-124.

SOURCES FOR ILLUSTRATIONS

- Brandin, D. (2009). *The Horns of Moses*. New York, Bloomington: iUniverse.
- Brun E., & Malczarek, M. (2007). Expert forecast on emerging psychological risks related to occupational safety and health. *European Risk Observation Report*. Luxemburg: European Agency for Safety and Health at Work.
- Cohen, T. (2011). Mobile phones could be 'health time bomb': More than 200 academic studies link use with serious illnesses. *Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2059223/Mobile-phones-health-time-bomb-studies-link-use-illnesses.html>
- Grisham, J. (2019). *The Guardians*. New York: Doubleday.
- Haseeb, T. (2012). *Why do I take fewer risks as I grow older?* Available at: <http://www.intekworld.com/a-personal-story-on-risk-taking/>
- Kinsella, S. (2018). *Surprise me*. New York: The Dial Press.
- Lee, E. (2020). Nurses Share Coronavirus Stories Anonymously in an Online Document. In *The New York Times*. March 25. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/25/business/media/coronavirus-nurses-stories-anonymous.html>
- Marchione, M. (2011). Fears of Health Risks Rise amid Japan Crisis. *The Washington Post*. March 15, 2011. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/03/14/AR2011031404013.html>
- Zandri, V. (2019). *The caretaker's wife*. Hoboken NJ: Polis Books.

Valentyna Ushchyna – Doctor of Philology, Professor, Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University (13, Volia Avenue, Lutsk, Ukraine, 43025, Ukraine); Fulbright visiting scholar, Department of Linguistics, Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pittsburgh, USA (Fulbright grant 2019-2020). v.ushchyna@gmail.com

Валентина Антонівна Ущина – доктор філологічних наук, професор, Східноєвропейський національний університет імені Лесі Українки (13, проспект Воли, Луцьк, 43025, Україна); запрошений фулбрайтівський науковець, факультет лінгвістики, Школа мистецтв і наук імені Дітріха, університет міста Пітсбурга, США (грант імені Фулбрайта 2019-2020). v.ushchyna@gmail.com

Валентина Антоновна Ущина – доктор філологічних наук, професор, Восточноєвропейський національний університет імені Лесі Українки (13, проспект Воли, Луцьк, 43025, Україна); пригласенный фулбрайтівський дослідник, факультет лінгвістики, Школа мистецтв і наук імені Дітріха, університет міста Пітсбурга, США (грант імені Фулбрайта 2019-2020). v.ushchyna@gmail.com

УДК 811.112.2

НАРРАТИВНЫЙ МУЛЬТИМЕДИЙНЫЙ КОНЦЕПТ: АЛГОРИТМ АНАЛИЗА

(на материале интернет-мемов о COVID-19)

С. А. Жаботинская

(Черкасский национальный университет имени Богдана Хмельницкого,
Черкассы, Украина)

С. А. Жаботинская. Нарративный мультимедийный концепт: алгоритм анализа (на материале интернет-мемов о COVID-19). В статье, выполненной в русле лингвоконцептологии и когнитивной теории номинации, решаются актуальные для этих направлений проблемы значения и способов его обозначения. Общее понятийное пространство, конституируемое значениями вербальных и вербально-пикторальных мемов о COVID-19 (украино- и русскоязычный материал) рассматривается как нарративный концепт и структурируется по определенной методике, позволяющей воссоздать его онтологию, с присущей ей тематическими сегментами, имеющими различную степень акцентированности. Интернет-мемы на тему коронавируса анализируются в плане их содержания (интегрируемого в тематические сегменты нарративного концепта) и в плане их формы. В качестве когнитивных техник создания содержания мемов рассматриваются наращивание, развертывание, сталкивание и связывание. Семиотическими техниками создания мема как знака являются прямые и переносные номинации. Последние используют внутреннюю форму знака, его внешнюю форму или внутреннюю и внешнюю формы в их взаимодействии. Тема создания мема как знака дополняется рассмотрением смеховых техник гиперболизации, парадоксализации и абсурдизации, интегрируемых в содержание мема. В фокусе исследования находится нарративный концепт КОРОНАВИРУС как целевая сущность, имеющая свою интерпретацию и специфические способы означивания. Отдельной темой является концепт КОРОНАВИРУС как коррелят, используемый для характеристики ряда прочих понятий.

Ключевые слова: интернет-мемы, коронавирус, нарративный концепт, онтология концепта, когнитивные и семиотические техники создания мема, смеховой эффект

С. А. Жаботинська. Нарративний мультимедійний концепт: алгоритм аналізу (на матеріалі інтернет-мемів про COVID-19). У статті, виконаній у руслі лінгвоконцептології та когнітивної теорії номінації, вирішуються актуальні для цих напрямів проблеми значення та способів його позначення. Загальний поняттєвий простір, конституїований значеннями вербальних і вербально-пикторальних мемів про COVID-19 (україно- та російськомовний матеріал) розглядається як нарративний концепт і структується за спеціальною методикою, яка дозволяє відтворити його онтологію, із притаманними їй тематичними сегментами, що мають різний ступінь акцентованості. Інтернет-мемі на тему коронавірусу аналізуються в плані їхнього змісту (інтегрованого в тематичні сегменти нарративного концепту) і в плані їхньої форми. У якості когнітивних технік створення змісту мемів розглядаються нарощування, розгортання, зштовхування та зв'язування. Семіотичними техніками творення мема як знака є прямі та переносні номінації. Останні вживають внутрішню форму знака, його зовнішню форму та внутрішню й зовнішню форми у взаємодії. Тема створення мема як знака доповнюється розглядом сміхових технік гіперболізації, парадоксализації та абсурдизації, інтегрованих у зміст мема. У фокусі дослідження перебуває нарративний концепт КОРОНАВИРУС як цільова сутність, що має особливу інтерпретацію і специфічні способи позначення. Окремою темою є концепт КОРОНАВИРУС як корелят, уживаний для характеристики низки інших понять.

Ключові слова: інтернет-мемі, коронавірус, нарративний концепт, онтологія концепту, когнітивні й семіотичні техніки створення мему, сміховий ефект.

S. A. Zhabotynska. The narrative multimedia concept: an algorithm for the analysis (internet-memes about COVID-19). This research, done from the standpoint of linguistic concept-study and cognitive theory of naming, discusses the problems of meaning and its manifestations relevant for these two fields. The general conceptual space, constituted by the meanings of verbal and verbal-pictorial memes about COVID-19 (the data in Ukrainian and Russian) is considered as a narrative-based concept and structured via application of a particular methodology, which helps to build an ontology of this concept with its inherent thematic segments that have different degrees of accentuation. Internet-memes about COVID-19 are analyzed with regard to their content (integrated into the thematic segments of the narrative-based concept), and with regard to their form. It is maintained that the cognitive techniques for creating the memes' meanings include elaboration, extension, questioning and combining. The semiotic techniques that create the meme as a sign split into direct and indirect. The latter employ the inner form of a sign, its outer form, and the combination of both. The topic of creating the meme as a sign is extended with the discussion of hyperbole, paradox and absurdity as "laughter-evoking" techniques integrated into the meme's content. In focus, is the KORONAVIRUS narrative-based concept as the target entity with its particular interpretation and its specific ways of manifestation. A satellite topic is the KORONAVIRUS concept as a source utilized in characteristics of other entities.

Key words: internet-memes, coronavirus, narrative concept, ontology of the concept, cognitive and semiotic techniques for creating memes, laughter-evoking effect.

1. Введение

2020 войдет в современную историю как год коронавируса, пандемия которого повлекла за собой непредвиденные негативные последствия и изменила привычный уклад жизни в большинстве стран мира. Защитной психологической реакцией общества на негативные события стал юмор, который, как регулятор эмоций, может “вести к ослаблению отрицательных чувств, таких как тревога, напряжение, подавленность, гнев” (Kulikov, 2009, p. 11). Ныне юмор переместился в виртуальное пространство Интернета, где откликом на пандемию коронавируса стал поток мемов, представленных словесно и/или пикторально. Подобно тому, как ген является переносчиком, репликатором наследственной информации материального плана, мем выступает в качестве переносчика идей. Мем есть своего рода комплексная идея, приобретающая запоминающуюся знаковую форму, которая, циркулируя в медиaprостранстве, стремится к созданию многочисленных копий в общественном сознании (Brodie, 1996; Rushkoff, 1996). Интернет-мемы на тему коронавируса представляют различные аспекты связанных с ним событий.

Лингвистическое исследование интернет-мемов о коронавирусе *актуально* в силу целого ряда причин. Прежде всего, оно органично вписывается в контекст современной лингвоконцептологии как одного из ответвлений когнитивной лингвистики, связанного с реконструкцией концепта путем анализа его семиотических (прежде всего вербальных) репрезентаций. Концепт КОРОНАВИРУС является комплексной информационной сущностью, содержание которой, сформированное в общественном сознании, воплощено в данном случае мемами как мультимедийным (вербально-пикторальным) средством. При этом нарратив (история) о коронавирусе, реализуется не одним, а множеством коротких “мемо-текстов”. Уяснение их семиотической природы становится необходимым дополнением темы “значение – способ его обозначения”, являющейся ключевой для когнитивной теории номинации. В случае мемов способ обозначения, объективации информации связан со смеховым эффектом, когнитивные и семиотические техники создания которого также требуют понимания и объяснения. Комплексная методика исследования нарративных (представленных множественными нарративами) концептов, предполагающая установление их содержания и определение способов его означивания, пребывает в настоящее время в стадии разработки. Вкладом в неё является и данное исследование, *цель* которого состоит в формировании и апробировании алгоритма, применимого для лингвокогнитивного анализа конкретного нарративного концепта, имеющего в настоящее время широкий общественный резонанс.

В более простых терминах, цели и задачи данного исследования можно обозначить несколькими вопросами: 1) О чем говорят нам украиноязычные и русскоязычные мемы, какой совокупный образ восприятия болезни социумом они рисуют? 2) Как сделаны сами мемы: какая информация и как именно представлена в каждом из них? 3) Как происходит означивание этой информации, то есть как создается сам мем-знак? 4) Почему мем смешной, что его делает таковым? Почему одни мемы смешнее других?

Структура статьи обусловлена последовательностью решаемых в ней задач. Сначала излагаются теоретические положения, необходимые для разработки методики лингвокогнитивного исследования нарративного мультимедийного концепта. Далее дается описание фактического материала и процедуры его анализа, согласно с разработанной методикой. Затем следует изложение результатов исследования. В заключительных выводах подводятся итоги и намечаются перспективы дальнейших студий.

2. Методика анализа нарративного мультимедийного концепта: теоретические предпосылки

Теоретические предпосылки исследования связаны с определением понятия нарративного концепта как структурированного целого, с характеристикой техник создания обозначений этого концепта (когнитивных и семиотических), а также со способами активации присущего мемам смехового эффекта. Кроме того, принимается во внимание роль представленной в нарративном концепте информации как целевой, основной или же как коррелятивной, используемой для репрезентации иного целевого концепта.

2.1. Нарративный концепт и его онтология

Согласно определению, предложенному в (Zhabotynskaya, 2017), нарративный концепт включает информацию, извлекаемую из множественных данных – текстовых сообщений (присутствующих в них дескрипций) на конкретную тему, обозначение которой становится именем концепта. Информация, полученная из всего массива текстовых сообщений и конституирующая нарративный концепт, “является своего рода мета-текстом, обладающим референциальной и реляционной когерентностью: в нём фигурирует, повторяясь, определенный набор текстовых референтов (актантов), вступающих между собой в определенные отношения в рамках определенных событий, заданных в границах пространства-времени” (Zhabotynskaya, 2017, p. 232-33). Понятие нарративного концепта опирается не столько на узкое лингвистическое понимание нарратива как текста-истории, повествующего о причинно-следственной цепочке событий, сколько на его широкое понимание, закрепившееся в социальных науках (Herman, 2009, p. 105; Ryan & Thon, 2014, p. 3). Здесь под нарративом понимается прежде всего способ организации значения, активируемого вербальным текстом.

В информационном, содержательном плане нарративный концепт, как и любой иной концепт (имеющий иные средства своей манифестации), есть *конструкт / construal* (Langacker 2008, p. 55) – субъективный образ воспринимаемой реальности, который не отражает ее буквально, а интерпретирует ее в соответствии с мировидением творца этого образа. Понятие конструкта является центральным в теории образов и восприятий (*image theory*), разрабатываемой в политической психологии (Herrmann, 2013). В лингвистике аналогом теории образов может быть концептология, изучающая концепты как содержательный план языковых / речевых единиц.

И теория образов, и концептология задаются вопросом об особенностях структуры образа / концепта. Ответ на этот вопрос может быть предложен с позиций теории онтологий – раздела инженерии знаний, изучающего категории предметов, относящихся к некоторой предметной сфере, или домену. Продукт теории в виде определённой понятийной модели, структурирующей конкретную предметную сферу, также называется онтологией. Таковая представляет собой “каталог предметных типов, которые существуют

в целевом домене D в представлении индивида, использующего язык L для описания домена D” (Sowa, 2001). Предметные типы, используемые для описания этого домена, должны приближаться к его естественным, природным категориям (Mineau, 2000, p. 145). В этой интерпретации понятие онтологии совместимо с классической лингвокогнитивной трактовкой понятия фрейм в работах Ч. Филлмора: фрейм есть система концептов, связанных таким образом, что для понимания любого из них мы должны понимать целостную структуру, в состав которой они входят (Fillmore, 1982, p. 111). В то же время, фреймом называют не только структурированную информацию (фрейм¹), но и саму информационную структуру (фрейм²), то есть способ организации, упорядочивания фрейма¹. Во избежание смешивания понятий, в структурировании информации, практикуемом в когнитивной лингвистике, целесообразно использовать термин *онтология концепта* для обозначения конкретной, определенным образом структурированной информации, а термин *фрейм* – для обозначения самого способа структурирования информации.

В лингвокогнитивной концепции, названной “семантика лингвальных сетей” (Zhabotynskaya, 2013; 2018) отмечается, что фрейм как способ структурирования информации может быть представлен *фреймом-сетью* и *фреймом-матрицей*. В сети эксплицированы понятийные узлы и связи между ними. В матрице эксплицированы только узлы, а соответствующие связи остаются имплицитными, что может иметь место прежде всего при упорядочивании информации, значительной по объему и требующей достаточно широких обобщений. И в сети, и в матрице информация, содержащаяся в узлах, может разворачиваться ‘вглубь’, то есть специфицироваться. При этом возникают многоуровневые структуры – сети-в-сетях или матрицы-в-матрицах, где различные иерархически организованные концептуальные уровни определяются как *концептуальное пространство* (вся структурируемая информация), *домены* (понятийные узлы концептуального пространства), *парцеллы* (понятийные узлы домена) и *информационные кванты* (понятийные узлы парцеллы, обобщающие информацию, данную в конкретных дескрипциях). Для воссоздания онтологии нарративного концепта, объективированного множественными дескрипциями, может быть использована многоуровневая матрица (см., например, (Zhabotynskaya, 2017; Zhabotynska & Velivchenko, 2019)).

Анализируемый нарративный концепт КОРОНАВИРУС, будучи концептуальным пространством, формируемым значениями интернет-мемов, также может быть упорядочен с помощью многоуровневой матрицы, позволяющей идентифицировать в массиве информации определенные тематические сегменты – домены, их парцеллы и тематические кванты. Интерпретативная сущность концепта КОРОНАВИРУС как конструкта кроется не только в составе его информационных сегментов, отражающем восприятие события нарраторами (авторами мемов), но и в фактуальной акцентированности этих сегментов, демонстрируемой количеством соответствующих мемов.

В составе нарративного концепта его тематические сегменты обозначаются мемами, которые имеют, как правило, референтное, целевое значение, то есть они объективируют собственно тему КОРОНАВИРУС. В то же время, некоторая часть мемов, обозначающих те или иные тематические сегменты нарративного концепта, являются по своему значению коррелятивными: в них тема коронавируса привлекается для описания иных, не связанных с ним напрямую явлений. Анализ мемов первой и второй групп требует несколько иных процедур анализа, которые будут рассмотрены автономно.

2.2. Нарративный концепт как целевая сущность

Рассмотрение нарративного концепта как целевой информационной сущности предполагает уяснение того, как формируется содержание мемов, как оно означает, и каким образом в мемах возникает смеховой эффект.

2.2.1. Тематические сегменты нарративного концепта: когнитивные техники в значениях мемов. В значениях мемов тематические сегменты нарративного концепта КОРОНАВИРУС представлены с привлечением различных когнитивных техник. К ним относятся наращивание, развертывание, сталкивание и связывание информации (Zhabotynska & Slyvka, 2020). Эти когнитивные техники, упоминаемые в различных лингвокогнитивных школах (в теории концептуальной метафоры, когнитивной грамматике и теории концептуальной интеграции), имеют различные варианты интерпретации.

Впервые наращивание, развертывание, сталкивание и связывание были описаны Дж. Лакоффом и М. Тернером (Lakoff & Turner, 1989) как способы создания поэтических метафор на основе конвенциональных концептуальных метафор. При *наращивании* (*elaboration*) существующий элемент имеет необычное использование. При *развертывании* (*extending*) к конвенциональной метафоре добавляется новый элемент. *Сталкивание* (*questioning*) ставит под сомнение границы нашего обыденного понимания важных понятий. *Связывание* (*combining*) имеет место при формировании сложных, комплексных метафор (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, pp. 67-70). Упомянутые способы преобразования конвенциональных метафор могут быть выведены за пределы собственно метафорической сферы и отслежены в прочих вербальных феноменах, что продемонстрировано, к примеру, более широкими значениями, вкладываемыми в термины “наращивание” и “развертывание” в когнитивной грамматике Р. Ленекера (Langacker, 2008). Под *наращиванием* (*elaboration*) он понимает спецификацию концепта путем добавления к нему новых деталей. Например, *грызун* → *крыса* → *большая рыжая крыса* → *большая рыжая крыса с дурным запахом изо рта*. При наращивании схемное (обобщённое) и специфицированное значения остаются кореферентными, то есть они касаются одной и той же сущности (Langacker, 2008, p. 56). Схожее понимание термина встречается в теории концептуальной интеграции, где *наращивание* (*elaboration*) трактуется как “заполнение паттерна” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 48-49). *Развертыванием* (*extending*) Р. Ленекер считает ассоциативное взаимодействие не-кореферентных концептов, связанных отношениями смежности (метонимично) или подобия (метафорично) (Langacker, 2008, p. 250).

В работе (Zhabotynska & Slyvka, 2020) термины “наращивание”, “развертывание”, “сталкивание” и “связывание” используются для анализа модификаций, демонстрируемых значением речевого акта (позитивного эмотива) в текущем пространстве дискурса. При этом упомянутые термины приобретают следующие широкие толкования: (а) *наращивание* – спецификация информации о референтной сущности как таковой; (б) *развертывание* – добавление информации, согласуемой с рамкой обстоятельств, сопутствующих данной сущности (например, информации причинно-следственного плана); (в) *сталкивание* – добавление информации, не согласуемой с рамкой обстоятельств, сопутствующих данной сущности; (г) *связывание* – объединение автономных информационных фрагментов. Эти когнитивные техники работы с информацией взаимосвязаны: они образуют структурное единство, используемое для характеристики референта, остающегося проминантным на определенном участке текста – Рисунок 1 (Zhabotynska & Slyvka, 2020, p. 123-124).

Используя упомянутые когнитивные техники для анализа того, какие модификации претерпевает целевая информация в меме, можно утверждать, что она специфицируется путем *наращивания*, дополняется сведениями о конгруэнтных или неконгруэнтных сопутствующих обстоятельствах путем *развертывания* и *сталкивания*, а также объединяется с иной информацией автономного плана путем связывания. Подобно тому, как это имеет место в работе (Zhabotynska & Slyvka, 2020), целевая информация, соответствующая тематическому сегменту концепта КОРОНАВИРУС, рассматривается как ядро, а добавляемая к нему информация – как спутник (термины У. Манна и С. Томпсона

(Mann & Thompson, 1988)). При построении общей онтологии нарративного концепта создание тематических рубрик осуществляется путем обобщения ядерных концептов мемов.

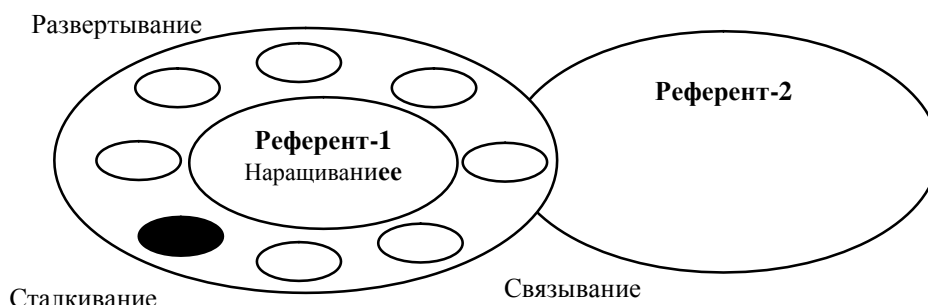


Рис. 1. Корреляция наращивания, развертывания, сталкивания и связывания (Zhabotynska & Slyvka, 2020, p. 124)

Для более четкого уяснения содержания терминов, применимых для анализа контента интернет-мемов о коронавирусе, необходимо дать краткий иллюстративный комментарий.

Наращивание: основным содержанием (ядром) мема является понятие, которое получает спецификацию, конкретизируется в меме, содержащем сателлиты^S, соотносимые с ядром^N как его атрибуты, его разновидности или части. То есть сателлиты включаются в ядро. Например, мем, относящийся к теме “маски и защитные костюмы”: *Модный показ в 2020.* (Фото человека в защитном комбинезоне и маске) *Представляем вам новый лук от Gucci^S. Этот костюм^N защитит^S вас от любых вирусов. А маска^N продемонстрирует отличный вкус^S в стиле.* (Фото человека в средневековом противочумном костюме) *А этот лук^N сделали в Dolce&Gabbana^S. Благодаря свободному плащу вам не будет жарко^S. А маска^N не пропустит вирусы^S!* Все сателлиты добавляют характеристики к одному и тому же референту “костюм и маска”.

Развёртывание: основным содержанием (ядром) мема является понятие, к которому добавляется смежное с ним понятие из таких категорий, как место, время, причина, следствие, адресат, бенефактив, инструмент, помощник, пациент и т. п. Ядро и сателлит автономны, между ними существуют отношения не включения, а смежности. При этом ядро^N, является первичным (целевым) понятийным фокусом, а сателлит^S, является вторичным понятийным фокусом, дополняющим ядро. Например, мем, относящийся к теме “последствия карантина”: *(Фото матери с маленькой дочкой^N). Мама, а кто мой папа^S? – Не знаю, он был в маске^S* (в паре “ребенок – отец” ребенок, как следствие карантина, есть целевой, ядерный концепт).

Сталкивание есть разновидность развертывания с той лишь разницей, что смежное понятие-сателлит диссонирует с описываемой ситуацией. Например, мем, представляющий тему “боязнь коронавируса”: *(Фото двух беседующих мужчин). “Не бойтесь умереть^N от коронавируса?” – “У меня ипотека^S. Меня откачают^S”.* Ожидаемыми ответами могли бы быть “Не боюсь. Меня вылечат^S” или “Боюсь, ибо меня могут не откачать^S”, что иллюстрировало бы развертывание по линии “следствие^N – причина^S”. При сталкивании упомянутая причина “выпадает” из круга привычных, ожидаемых смежных сущностей.

Связывание объединяет два автономных понятия, которые по своей природе не являются смежными, но могут обрести эту смежность и”: *Сдам квартиру^S с удобствами^S: гречка^N, макароны^N, туалетная бумага^N.* В меме объединяются темы дефицитного товара и сдачи квартир в аренду, которые не являются исконно смежными.

Преобразование информации в меме, осуществляемое с помощью различных когнитивных техник, сопровождается применением семиотических техник, используемых для создания знака как транслятора необходимого значения.

2.2.2. Тематические сегменты нарративного концепта: семиотические техники создания мемов. Мемы, воплощающие нарративный концепт, являются самостоятельными знаковыми единицами. Как и любой знак, они представляют собой единство значения и формы. Значение мемов, будучи ментальной сущностью, соответствует определенному тематическому сегменту нарративного концепта. Форма мемов, активирующая их значение, представлена двумя ипостасями: внутренней формой и внешней формой. Внутренняя форма есть фрагмент значения, явленный в знаке и дающий доступ к значению как информации в мышлении. Внешняя форма есть материальный носитель внутренней формы. В интернет-мемах он может быть вербальным и/или пикторальным. Таким образом, тема обозначения значения требует рассмотрения особенностей внутренней и внешней формы знака.

Фрагмент значения, представленный во **внутренней форме** мема, может соотноситься с этим значением непосредственно (быть его конститутивной частью) или же опосредованно – путем привлечения вспомогательного номинативного ресурса. В первом случае имеет место прямая номинация, во втором – переносная. Переносная номинация включает: *метонимию* (внутренняя форма знака связана с его значением отношением природной смежности); *аналогию* (внутренняя форма мема связана с его значением отношением природного сходства между сущностями, принадлежащими к одной категории), *метафору* (внутренняя форма мема связана с его значением отношением воображаемого подобия между сущностями, принадлежащими к разным категориям), *понятийное расширение* (внутренняя форма мема связана с его значением как вид и род) и *понятийное сужение* (внутренняя форма мема связана с его значением как род и вид). В мультимедийных мемах пикторальный компонент может иллюстрировать переносный вербальный компонент определенного типа, а может и служить основным репрезентантом переносной номинации, в частности – метонимической и метафорической.

Материальный носитель, или **внешняя форма** мема (вербальная и/или пикторальная), как правило, служит средством объективации внутренней формы (прямой или переносной). Однако в ряде случаев внешняя форма мема приобретает самостоятельную значимость в процессе создания знака. Его переносное значение формируется с опорой на материальную форму слова или жанра, а также на прецедентные феномены – известные литературные и кинематографические произведения. Переносная номинация может быть также **комплексной** – включать использование и внутренней, и внешней формы знака.

Мемы как знаки, созданные по определенным семиотическим ‘технологиям’, предназначены для создания смехового эффекта.

2.2.3. Создание смехового эффекта в мемах. В многочисленных работах, посвященных психологии смеха и требующих отдельного обзора, выходящего за рамки данной статьи, отмечается, что “юмор предполагает мысль, образ, текст или случай, в некотором смысле нелепый, странный, необычный, неожиданный, удивительный и неординарный” (Martin, 2007, p. 6). При этом все формы юмора, по-видимому, берут начало в базовой структуре игры (Martin, 2007, p. 5). Развивая эту мысль при исследовании анекдота, А. П. Мартынюк отмечает, что стереотипная информация всегда типизирована, предсказуема и воспринимается автоматически, на подсознательном уровне. “Несоответствие стереотипу, наоборот, включает сознание и заставляет индивида реагировать на происходящее. Игровая рамка анекдота, которая предполагает настрой

коммуникантов на юмористическую тональность общения, ориентирует адресанта на смеховую реакцию на подобное несоответствие” (Martyniuk, 2007, р. 23). Фактор несоответствия остается константой и в интернет-мемах. Между тем, уже беглый взгляд на материал исследования позволяет увидеть в мемах несоответствия как минимум трех основных информационных типов, которые можно назвать гиперболизацией, парадоксализацией и абсурдизацией.

Как известно, *гипербола* связана с чрезмерным преувеличением с целью усиления впечатления (Ozhegov, 1983, р. 117). *Парадокс* есть странное мнение или высказывание, расходящееся с общепринятыми мнениями и научными положениями (Ozhegov, 1983, р. 434). *Абсурд* есть нелепость. Абсурдно то, что противоречит здравому смыслу или расхожей истине, т. е. противно тривиальному разуму, логике или человечности. Общее в абсурде и юморе – отрицание здравого смысла, трезвой рассудительности (Comte-Sponville, 2001). Применяя соответствующие термины для характеристики смеховых техник, можно определить их таким образом:

Гиперболизация: в наращивании, развертывании, сталкивании и связывании информация, относящаяся к сателлиту, получает чрезмерное преувеличение. Например, в меме на тему дефицита товаров: (Наращивание) *Судя по всему, в Сиднее из-за коронавируса умер первый человек. В его доме было найдено 500 консервных банок с едой, 100 кг макарон, 75 кг риса, 200 рулонов туалетной бумаги и 30 литров антисептика, которые он на всякий случай купил в приступе паники. Все это рухнуло и похоронило дебила заживо.*

Парадоксализация: в наращивании, развертывании, сталкивании и связывании информация, относящаяся к сателлиту, является необычной и неожиданной. Например, в меме на тему ношения маски: (Сталкивание) *“Давид Маркович, а шо вы без маски, когда кругом коронавирус?” – “И шо вы думаете, если я надену маску, то он меня не узнает?”*

Абсурдизация: в наращивании, развертывании, сталкивании и связывании информация, относящаяся к сателлиту, есть нелепой, лишённой здравого смысла. Например, в меме на тему дистанционной работы на карантине: (Развертывание) (Рисунок пассажиров, сидящих в салоне самолета) *Уважаемые пассажиры! Говорит ваш пилот. Из-за коронавируса я работаю из дома.*

Сформулированные выше положения относительно когнитивных, номинативных и смеховых техник создания мемов касаются тех случаев, когда мемы используются для репрезентации целевой темы КОРОНАВИРУС. В то же время, эта тема может быть и коррелятивной, что требует применения отдельной группы положений для ее анализа.

2.3. Нарративный концепт как коррелят

Мемы, в которых тема коронавируса используется для характеристики иных, не связанных с ним напрямую сущностей, относятся к определенным тематическим сегментам нарративного концепта КОРОНАВИРУС. Установление этих сегментов позволяет сформировать ряд концептов, которые принимают участие в формировании так называемых коррелятивных диапазонов – по аналогии с метафорическими диапазонами по З. Кёвечешу (Kovecses, 2002, р. 64). Коррелятивный диапазон включает один или несколько коррелятов при одном референте. Коррелятивные диапазоны в мемах не обязательно метафоричны. Их анализ позволяет понять, какие именно понятия осмысляются в терминах коронавируса, и почему такое осмысление становится возможным.

Упомянутые теоретические положения используются при разработке процедуры анализа нарративного концепта КОРОНАВИРУС, представленного в корпусе фактических данных.

3. Анализ: нарративный концепт КОРОНАВИРУС в интернет-мемах

Описание анализа предваряет характеристика корпуса фактических данных и процедуры их исследования. Далее реконструируется онтология нарративного концепта КОРОНАВИРУС, который рассматривается как целевой и как коррелятивный концепт.

3.1. Фактический материал и процедура его анализа

Корпус фактических данных включает 200 мемов, отобранных методом сплошной выборки из интернет-ресурса, локализованного с помощью поисковых слов “мемы о коронавирусе” (см. линк в конце статьи). Использованный интернет-ресурс содержит многочисленные отсылки к соответствующим украиноязычным и русскоязычным источникам, которые в ходе поиска данных обрабатывались подряд. Количество обработанных источников превышает 50. Для анализа отбирались только те мемы, которые были вербальными (содержащими украиноязычный или русскоязычный текст) или вербально-пикторальными (содержащими и текст, и визуальную репрезентацию). Повторяющиеся мемы не фиксировались.

Процедура обработки корпуса фактического материала включала такие этапы:

- Выявление связанных с коронавирусом понятий, представленных в мемах, тематическая стратификация этих понятий и построение онтологии нарративного концепта КОРОНАВИРУС с использованием многоуровневой матрицы.
- Количественный анализ мемов, соотносимых с различными тематическими сегментами онтологии и определение степени акцентированности этих сегментов.
- Разбиение фактического материала на две части: ту, где объективируемая мемами информация является целевой, и ту, где она является коррелятивной. Рассмотрение каждой из этих частей по-отдельности.
- В той части данных, где информация о коронавирусе является целевой, референтной: определение способов ее репрезентации с учетом когнитивных техник наращивания, развертывания, сталкивания и связывания; выявление способов ее обозначения с учетом номинативных техник, использующих внутреннюю и внешнюю формы знака; отслеживание техник создания смехового эффекта.
- В той части данных, где информация о коронавирусе является коррелятивной: установление перечня понятий, для описания которых употребляется разноплановая информация о коронавирусе.

Данная процедура анализа позволяет не только установить суть содержания концепта КОРОНАВИРУС в том виде, как он представлен в коллективном сознании пользователей Сети, но и понять подоплеку создания мемов как “смеховых” мультимедийных знаков.

3.2. Онтология нарративного концепта КОРОНАВИРУС

На основе исследования корпуса данных можно утверждать, что онтология концепта КОРОНАВИРУС представлена такой иерархической системой понятий: Домен 1. ВИРУС. *Парцеллы:* 1.1. Вирус как таковой. 1.2. Происхождение. 1.3. Страны. 1.4. Пандемия. 1.5. Вирусологи. Домен 2. БОЛЬНЫЕ. *Парцеллы:* 2.1. Болезнь. Симптомы. 2.2. Пребывание в больнице. 2.3. Лекарства. Вакцина. Домен 3. ЗДОРОВЫЕ. *Парцеллы:* 3.1. Группы риска. 3.2. Боязнь болезни. 3.3. Паника. Дефицит товаров. Домен 4. ПРОФИЛАКТИКА БОЛЕЗНИ. *Парцеллы:* 4.1. Тесты. 4.2. Температурный скрининг. 4.3. Мытье рук, дезинфекция. 4.4. Дистанцирование. 4.5. Маски, костюмы. 4.6. Защитные препараты и средства. Домен 5. КАРАНТИН. *Парцеллы:* 5.1. Карантин. 5.2. Закрыты сервисы. 5.3. Ограничения на выход из дома. 5.4. Самоизоляция. *Тематические кванты:* 5.4.1. Самоизоляция. 5.4.2. Полезность изоляции. 5.4.3. Занятия. 5.4.4. Психологическое состояние. 5.5. Семья. 5.6. Дети. 5.7. Дистанционная работа. 5.8. Дистанционная учеба. 5.9. Последствия карантина. (Таблица 1).

**Онтология нарративного концепта КОРОНАВИРУС,
представленного в интернет-мемах**

Тематические сегменты нарративного концепта	Всего мемов	%	Референты		Корреляты	
			Кол-во	%	Кол-во	%
1. ВИРУС	23	11,5	16	8,0	7	3,5
1.1. Вирус как таковой	7		3		4	
1.2. Происхождение	4		4		-	
1.3. Страны	9		7		2	
1.4. Пандемия	2		1		1	
1.5. Вирусологи	1		1		-	
2. БОЛЬНЫЕ	9	4,5	6	3,0	3	1,5
2.1. Болезнь. Симптомы	3		1		2	
2.2. Пребывание в больнице	2		1		1	
2.3. Лекарства. Вакцина	4		4		-	
3. ЗДОРОВЫЕ	45	22,5	39	19,5	6	3,0
3.1. Группы риска	1		1		-	
3.2. Боязнь болезни	16		12		4	
3.3. Паника. Дефицит товаров	28		27		2	
4. ПРОФИЛАКТИКА БОЛЕЗНИ	37	18,5	32	16,0	5	2,5
4.1. Тесты	4		3		1	
4.2. Температурный скрининг	1		1		-	
4.3. Мытье рук, дезинфекция	5		3		2	
4.4. Дистанцирование	4		4		-	
4.5. Маски, костюмы	18		16		2	
4.6. Защитные препараты и средства	5		5		-	
5. КАРАНТИН	86	43,0	83	41,5	3	1,5
5.1. Карантин	3		2		1	
5.2. Закрыты сервисы	2		2		-	
5.3. Ограничения на выход из дома	11		11		-	
5.4. Самоизоляция	34		32		2	
5.4.1. Самоизоляция	9		7		2	
5.4.2. Полезность изоляции	6		6		-	
5.4.3. Занятия	15		15		-	
5.4.4. Психологическое состояние	4		4		-	
5.5. Семья	4		4		-	
5.6. Дети	9		9		-	
5.7. Дистанционная работа	9		9		-	
5.8. Дистанционная учеба	5		5		-	
5.9. Последствия карантина	9		9		-	
ВСЕГО	200	100	176	88,0	24	12,0

Как показывают результаты количественного анализа (таблица 1), из пяти тематических доменов наиболее акцентированным является домен 5. КАРАНТИН (86 мемов, или 43,0% от их общего числа). Достаточной степенью проминантности обладают домены 3. ЗДОРОВЫЕ (45 мемов, или 22,5%) и 4. ПРОФИЛАКТИКА БОЛЕЗНИ (37 мемов, или 18,5%). Среди парцелл, конституирующих домены, наиболее акцентированы: 5.4. Самоизоляция (34 мема, из которых 15 посвящены занятиям во время самоизоляции), 3.3. Паника. Дефицит товаров (28 мемов), 4.5. Маски, костюмы (18 мемов), 3.2. Боязнь болезни (16 мемов) и 5.3. Ограничение на выход из дома (11 мемов). Тем самым определяются относящиеся к коронавирусу темы, которые становятся наиболее частыми объектами шуток.

Большинство мемов объективируют целевые понятия, связанные с собственно темой коронавируса (176 мемов, или 88,0%). Мемы, в которых тема коронавируса является коррелятивной, относительно немногочисленны (24 мема, или 12,0%).

3.3. КОРОНАВИРУС как целевой концепт

При формировании информации, представляющей тематические сегменты нарративного концепта КОРОНАВИРУС, используются **когнитивные техники** наращивания, развертывания, сталкивания и связывания информации, которые могут быть представлены следующими примерами.

Наращивание:

- (1) 3.3. Паника. Дефицит товаров. (Фото рулона туалетной бумаги) *Не трогай. Это на Новый год.* (Спецификация ценности товара).
- (2) 4.1. Тесты. *В Україну прийшли нареши́ті тести для визначення хворих на коронавірус! На них витратили 200 млн. доларів! Ось вони: ВІ БОЛЕЕТЕ КОРОНАВИРУСОМ? ДА. НЕТ (выбрать нужное)* (Спецификация тестов).
- (3) 5.4. Самоизоляция – психологическое состояние. *Психиатр из Турции поделился информацией. “Когда вы находитесь на домашнем карантине, общаться со своими домашними животными, цветами и бытовой техникой НОРМАЛЬНО. Не нужно обращаться к нам по этому поводу. Вам нужна помощь только тогда, когда они начинают общаться с ВАМИ. Спасибо”.* (Спецификация признаков психического расстройства).

Развертывание:

- (4) 1.3. Страны. *Вчені інституту вірусології підтвердили, що коронавірус майже не вражає українців. Із жалості, чисто по-людськи. Куди нам іще вірус...* (Страна + Причина умеренного распространения вируса в стране).
- (5) 3.3. Паника. Дефицит товаров. *Внимание! Сегодня ночью над городом будет летать вертолет и разбрасывать гречку и туалетную бумагу. Не закрывайте окна.* (Дефицит + Источник получения дефицита).
- (6) 4.5. Маски, костюмы. *Хто знає, на вулицю вже можна ходити в бахілах чи ще ні?* (Бахилы + место ношения бахил).

Сталкивание:

- (7) 1.5. Вирусологи. *Откуда у меня в друзьях столько вирусологов? Нормальные же политологи были.* (Вирусологи + Их предыдущее занятие).
- (8) 2.3. Лекарства. Вакцина. *Узбекские ученые пытались создать вакцину против коронавируса, но у них опять получился плов.* (Вакцина + Результат работы над ней)

- (9) 3.2. Боязнь болезни. Метро. Поезд. Час пик. Туча народу. Внезапно находящийся в вагоне китаец громко чихает, и народ отшатывается в стороны, оставляя вокруг распространителя иноземной заразы большой кусок свободного места. Китаец озирается по сторонам и с грустью и усталостью в голосе говорит: “Да бурят я! Бурят!” (Боязнь вируса + Носитель вируса).

Связывание:

- (10) 3.3. Паника. Дефицит товаров. (Фото отца, помогающего сыну учить уроки) *Через 15 лет: мой сын, решая задачу по математике: “Пап, а зачем Андрей покупает 167 рулонов туалетной бумаги?” – (Я) “Тебе не понять”* (Дефицит товаров в период пандемии + внесение этой информации в школьные учебники будущего).
- (11) 3.3. Паника. Дефицит товаров (Фото докторской колбасы) *Теперь без туалетной бумаги.* (Дефицит товаров + Улучшение качества колбасы, в которой этот товар якобы использовался).
- (12) 5.4. Самоизоляция – занятия. Как определить ведьму? 1485: не тонет в воде. 2020: не толстеет на карантине (Занятия: еда + Магия, предохраняющая от ожирения)

При формировании содержания мемов когнитивные техники используются с различной степенью интенсивности (таблица 2).

Таблица 2

**Нарративный концепт КОРОНАВИРУС в интернет-мемах:
когнитивные техники конструирования информации о референтных сущностях**

Тематические домены: кол-во мемов / Техники	ВИРУС	БОЛЬНЫЕ	ЗДОРОВЫЕ	ПРОФИ-ЛАКТИКА	КАРАНТИН	ВСЕГО
Наращивание	4	5	9	17	37	72
Развертывание	9	-	19	14	30	72
Сталкивание	3	1	5	1	14	24
Связывание	-	-	6	-	2	8
ВСЕГО	16	6	39	32	83	176

По данным Таблицы 2, наиболее частотным в корпусе данных является использование наращивания и развертывания (по 72 мема) с существенно меньшей репрезентативностью сталкивания (24 мема) и незначительным представителем связывания (8 мемов). Схожий баланс в использовании когнитивных техник наблюдается и в пределах пяти доменов, с некоторыми отличиями в доменах ВИРУС и ЗДОРОВЫЕ, где развертывание используется чаще, чем наращивание.

При создании мемов транслируемая ими информация передается либо прямым, либо переносным означиванием, относящимся к **семиотическим техникам**. Использование прямой номинации дано в примерах (1) – (12). Из способов переносного означивания с привлечением **внутренней формы знака** в исследуемом материале выявлены метонимия, аналогия и метафора, иллюстрируемые следующими примерами.

Метонимия:

- (13) 2.2. Пребывание в больнице. Звонок в Минздрав: “Наталья Андреевна, как больной с подозрением на коронавирус?” – “Нормально, Алексей Самбурович. Положили в отдельную палату. Назначили специальную диету”. – “Что за диета?” – “Кормим печеньем” – “Почему печеньем?” – “В щель между полом и дверью больше ничего не пролазит”. (Развертывание / Диета > Полная изоляция больного).
- (14) 3.3. Паника. Дефицит товаров. Компания “Укргречка” розглядає можливість покупки контрольного пакета акцій Майкрософт уже цього тижня. (Развертывание / Покупка акций > Обогащение производителей дефицита).
- (15) 4.5. Маски, перчатки, бахилы. Думала, что самой неудачной покупкой 2020 года были зимние сапоги. А нет, оказывается – губная помада. (Наращивание / Бесплезность помады > Ношение маски).

Аналогия:

- (16) 2.1. Болезнь. Симптомы. Самое сложное в эти дни отличить похмелье от коронавируса. (Наращивание / Симптомы похмелья = симптомы болезни).
- (17) 5.4.3. Самоизоляция – занятия. Нарешті почала жити, як королева Великобританії. Вихожу на балкон і машу людям рукою. (Наращивание / Поведение особы на самоизоляции = Поведение королевы).

Метафора:

- (18) 1.3. Страны. У тебя коронавирус? – Да. – Из Китая? – Обижает, чистая Италия! (Наращивание / Вирус = Товар).
- (19) 4.3. Мытье рук, дезинфекция. Після третього протирання айфона спиртом Siri попросила сала з хлібом та квашеного огірка. (Наращивание / Дезинфицируемый предмет = Пьющий человек).
- (20) 5.4.1. Самоизоляция. Вот и живем в год крысы: 1. Сидим дома по норам. 2. Сносим еду в норы и там ее едим. 3. Увидев человека, прячемся (Наращивание / Люди на самоизоляции = Крысы).

Примерами метонимического и метафорического значения, переданного пикторально, являются (21) – (23).

<https://hr-portal.ru/story/15-memov-pro-karantin-samoizolyaciyu-i-distancionnoe-obuchenie>

Дети из начальных классов возвращаются в школы, после окончания короны в 2040 году

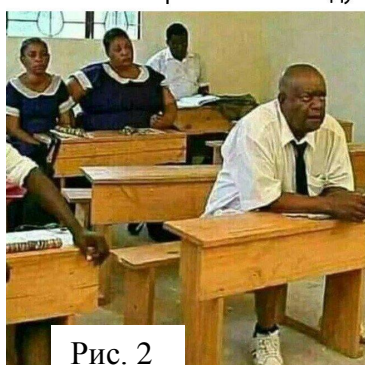


Рис. 2

<https://ololo.tv/koronavirus-net-ne-strashno-v-seti-mnozhsya-memy-o-covid-19/>

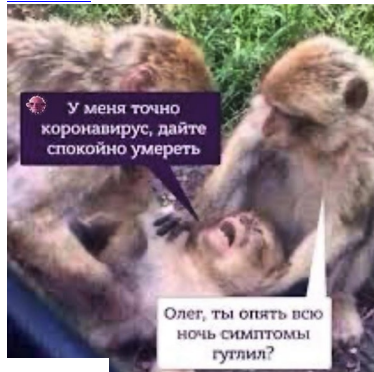


Рис. 3

<https://argumenti.ru/society/2020/04/659004>

После карантина поеду на море. Так и вижу себя, стоящей на берегу под крики чаек.

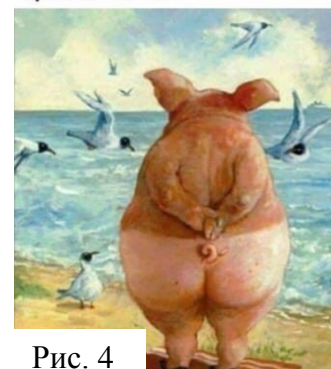


Рис. 4

- (21) 5.1. Карантин. (Картинка великовозрастных мужчин и женщин, сидящих за партами) *Дети из начальных классов возвращаются в школы, после окончания карантина в 2040 году.* (Наращивание / Великовозрастные ученики > продолжительность карантина: метонимия) – Рис. 2.
- (22) 3.2. Боязнь болезни. (Фото двух мартышек, откачивающих третью). *Откачиваемая мартышка: “У меня точно коронавирус. Дайте спокойно умереть”. Один из спасателей: “Олег, ты опять всю ночь симптомы гуглил?”* (Наращивание / Боязнь болезни у неумных людей = Боязнь болезни у мартышек: метафора) – Рис. 3.
- (23) 5.9. Последствия карантина. (Картинка стоящей свинки, которая смотрит на море) *После карантина поеду на море. Так и вижу себя стоящей на берегу под крики чаек.* (Наращивание / Человек после карантина = Толстая свинка : метафора) – Рис. 4.

Из **внешних форм**, используемых в переносной номинации, в корпусе данных были отслежены форма слова, форма жанра и прецедентные произведения художественной литературы и кино. Задействованные формы слова являются многозначными (полисемичными или омонимичными), и их использование допускает одновременное наличие у слова двух разных смыслов. Используемые жанры имеют характерный стилевой канон, который заимствуется мемом, пародирующим этот канон. Кроме того, мем может пародировать известный литературный текст, используя его лексику, стиль и персонажей. Персонажами мемов могут также становиться герои известных фильмов. Примеры использования упомянутых внешних форм даны ниже.

Слово-полисемант:

- (24) 3.2. Боязнь болезни. *В связи с угрозой распространения коронавируса в московском метро временно закрыта станция Китай-город* (Развертывание / Значение многозначного слова).
- (25) 5.4.1. Самоизоляция. *Сказали: сиди дома. Сижу. А потом думаю: “Да кто меня видит?” Легла.* (Развертывание / Значение многозначного слова).
- (26) 4.6. Защитные препараты и средства. (Фото: беседа врача с пациентом) *Врач: “Пейте три раза в день” – Пациент: “Хорошо, а какие таблетки?” – Врач: “А таблетки здесь при чем?”* (Сталкивание / Значение многозначного слова).
- (27) 5.7. Дистанционная работа. *РАБОТА НА УДАЛЕНКЕ.* (Сообщение) *Добрый вечер. Олег, где макет альбома?? Вы обещали сделать его до обеда!!!* (Ответ) *Добрый вечер. Я еще не обедал...* (Сталкивание / Значение многозначного слова).

Слова-омонимы:

- (28) 4.5. Маски, костюмы. (Фото Илона Маска и разноцветных масок). Надпись: *“I-Mask \$ 399”* (Наращивание / Значение омонима).
- (29) 5.3. Ограничения на выход из дома. (Картинка: дорожный знак с изображением слона, перечеркнутого по диагонали красной линией) Надпись: *Не слоняйтесь* (Наращивание / Значение омонима).
- (30) 5.4.4. Психологическое состояние. *Проставьте ударение. Карантин в коронавирус – отличный способ передохнуть (Это был короткий тест на то, оптимист вы или пессимист)* (Наращивание / Значение омонима).

Жанровая форма:

- (31) 1.2. Происхождение вируса. *Дай человеку рыбу – и он будет сыт один день. Дай человеку летучую мышь – и он отправит на карантин весь мир.* (Сталкивание / Форма афоризма).
- (32) 4.5. Маски, костюмы. (Фото двух врачей, склонившихся над лежащим пациентом с целлофановым пакетом на голове. Подпись под фото: *САМОЛІКУВАННЯ МОЖЕ БУТИ ШКІДЛИВИМ ДЛЯ ВАШОГО ЗДОРОВ'Я*)
Врач: *“Больной, вы слышите меня? В какой аптеке вы купили эту маску?”* (Развертывание / Форма рекламы).
- (33) 5.4.1. Самоизоляция. *Одинокий в карантине мужчина ищет одинокую в карантине женщину для совместного проведения карантина.* (Связывание / Форма объявления).
- (34) 5.6. Дети. *Вначале сотворил Бог небо и землю. И увидел он, что это хорошо. А потом воззрел Бог на землю, и вот она растлена, ибо всякая плоть извратила путь свой на земле. И в 2020-м его терпение иссякло. И наслал Бог на землю коронавирус, дабы истребить людей с земли. И вошли люди в двухнедельный карантин, надеясь на спасение. И стали познавать друг друга. И подумал Бог, что не истребит людей, ибо через 9 месяцев их будет еще больше. И закрыл Бог садики и школы, и все образовательные учреждения, дабы дети были дома, а у родителей пропало желание делать новых детей* (Развертывание / Форма библейской притчи).

Форма прецедентного литературного произведения:

- (35) 5.9. Последствия карантина. *Во глубине своих квартир / Храните гордое терпенье. / Съедем мы гречку, хлеб и сыр / И макароны, и варенье.../ На волю выйдем мы опять, / Запреты рухнут! И свобода / Нас встретит радостно у входа... / В двери бы только не застрячь...* (Развертывание / Пародия на стихотворение А. С. Пушкина “Во глубине сибирских руд”).

Герои прецедентного литературного произведения:

- (36) 3.3. Паника. Дефицит товаров. *Бэрримор, что это за шум? – Население скупает туалетную бумагу, сэр. – Но зачем? – Гречка оказалась не очень, сэр.* (Сталкивание / Герои детективной повести Конан Дойля “Собака Баскервилей”).

Герои прецедентного кинопроизведения:

- (37) 5.9. Последствия карантина. (Фото актера Юрия Яковлева в роли царя Ивана Васильевича Грозного) *После нерабочих дней: Иван Васильевич вспоминает профессию* (Наращивание / Герой фильма Л. Гайдая “Иван Васильевич меняет профессию”).

При переносной номинации в некоторых случаях техники использования внутренней и внешней формы знака применяются одновременно, результатом чего становится **смешанный тип** переносной номинации, представленный в следующих примерах.

Слово-полисемант + Метафора:

- (38) 1.1. Вирус как таковой. *Если коронавирус дойдет до Мытищ, то его раскоронуют местные воры.* (Наращивание / Метафорическое значение слова-полисеманта – ВИРУС = ВОР В ЗАКОНЕ).

Слова-омонимы + Метафора:

- (39) 1.4. Пандемия. (Картинка панды, которая ест бамбук). *Так вон оно что. Панда в течение суток в среднем ест 12 часов. Человек во время карантина ест, как панда. Поэтому это называется пандемия.* (Развертывание / Метафорическое значение слова-омонима – ЧЕЛОВЕК НА КАРАНТИНЕ = ПОСТОЯННО ЖУЮЩАЯ ПАНДА).

Герой литературного произведения + Аналогия:

- (40) 5.4.2. Полезность изоляции. *Тридцать лет и три года лежал Илья Муромец на печи. Такого подвига самоизоляции еще не знала Русь.* (Наращивание / Аналогия – ЧЕЛОВЕК НА САМОИЗОЛЯЦИИ = БЫЛИННЫЙ ГЕРОЙ).

Герои кинопроизведения + Аналогия:

- (41) 3.1. Группы риска. (Кадр из фильма “Кавказская пленница” Л. Гайдая: Трус /Г. Вицин/, Балбес /Ю. Никулин/ и Бывалый /Е. Моргунов/ в ожидании укула) Трус читает в газете: *“Коронавирус особенно бурно развивается в организме, ослабленном никотином, алкоголем и...”* – Бывалый: *“Короче, Комаровский”...* (Наращивание / Аналогия – ЛЮДИ ИЗ ГРУППЫ РИСКА = ПЬЮЩИЕ И КУРЯЩИЕ ГЕРОИ ФИЛЬМА).

В корпусе данных доля мемов, созданных с применением различных семиотических техник вторичной номинации, составляет 61 пример из 176 (34,66%) (таблица 3). К наиболее используемым техникам относятся метафора и метонимия внутренней формы знака (12 и 11 единиц соответственно) и многозначная словесная форма (24 единицы), одно из значений которой может быть метафоричным (дополнительные 4 единицы). В пределах тематических сегментов нарративного концепта КОРОНАВИРУС использование переносной номинации для создания мемов наиболее показательно в домене ВИРУС, где переносная номинация фиксируется в более чем 2/3 примеров. В доменах ЗДОРОВЬЕ и ПРОФИЛАКТИКА мемы, созданные средствами прямой и переносной номинации демонстрируют примерный баланс, а в домене КАРАНТИН доминируют мемы с прямой номинацией.

**Нарративный концепт КОРОНАВИРУС в интернет-мемах:
семиотические техники создания знака**

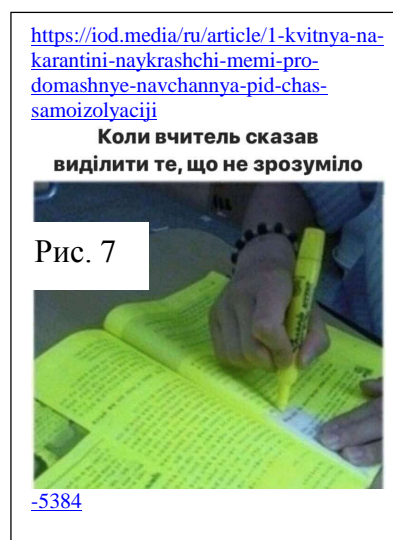
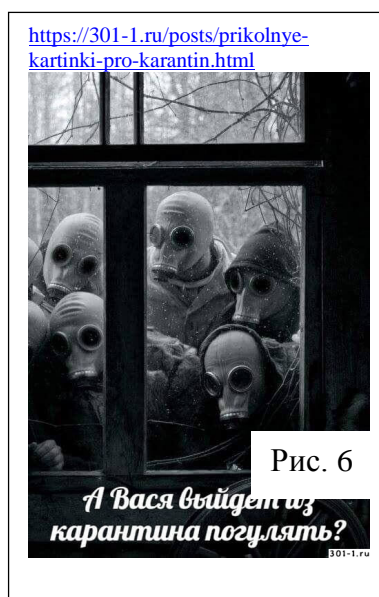
Тематические домены: кол-во мемов / техники	ВИРУС	БОЛЬНЫЕ	ЗДОРОВЫЕ	ПРОФИ-ЛАКТИКА	КАРАНТИН	Всего
ПРЯМАЯ НОМИНАЦИЯ	5	2	26	21	61	115
ПЕРЕНОСНАЯ НОМИНАЦИЯ	11	4	14	11	21	61
<i>Внутренняя форма</i>	7	1	4	6	7	25
Метафора	7	-	1	1	3	12
Аналогия	-	1	-	-	1	2
Метонимия	-	-	3	5	3	11
<i>Внешняя форма</i>	1	2	8	4	12	27
Слово / знак	-	1	4	3	6	14
Жанр	1	1	-	1	1	4
Прецедентный художественный текст	-	-	1	-	4	5
Прецедентное кинопроизведение	-	-	3	-	1	4
<i>Смешанный тип</i>	3	1	2	1	2	9
Слово + Метафора	3	-	1	-	-	4
Прецедентный художественный текст + Аналогия	-	1	-	1	-	2
Прецедентное кинопроизведение + Аналогия	-	-	1	-	2	2
ВСЕГО	16	6	40	32	82	176

При создании мемов **смеховой эффект** обеспечивается гиперболизацией, парадоксализацией и абсурдизацией их содержания, проиллюстрированными ниже.

Гиперболизация:

- (42) 5.3. Ограничение на выход из дома (Фото собаки, лежащей на диване в изнеможении). *Знакомьтесь. Это Шарик. Шарик единственная собака в многоэтажке. Шарик сегодня гулял 60 раз.* (Развертывание / Прямая номинация).
- (43) 5.6. Дети. “Ну, как у вас с детьми на карантине?” – “Устали очень, не высыпаемся, времени на себя вообще нет”. – “А Лена как?” – “Лена – это я. Петя выглядит еще хуже”. (Наращивание / Прямая номинация).
- (44) 5.9. Последствия карантина. ТЕСТ: Как закончится наш карантин? 1) + 10 кг, 2) беременность, 3) алкоголизм, 4) развод, 5) все ответы верны (Наращивание / Прямая номинация).

Во многих случаях гиперболизация представлена в меме пикторально, что особенно присуще мемам на тему боязни вируса, защитных средств и детей на карантине, к примеру:



- (45) Боязнь болезни. *Китаец в салоне кашлянул* (Фото летящего самолета, крылья которого облеплены людьми) (Наращивание / Прямая номинация) – Рис. 5.
- (46) Маски, костюмы. (Фото толпы в противогазах и защитных костюмах) Толпа: “А Вася выйдет из карантина погулять?” (Наращивание / Прямая номинация) – Рис. 6.
- (47) 5.8. Дистанционная учеба. *Коли вчитель сказав виділити те, що незрозуміло* (фото ученика, закрашивающего желтым цветом все страницы книги) (Наращивание / Прямая номинация) – рис. 7.

Парадоксализация:

- (48) 1.2. Происхождение вируса. *Четыре миллиарда лет назад появилась первая жизнь на Земле. 200 тысяч лет назад появился первый человек. Развивается цивилизация. Медицина достигает успехов в лечении многих болезней. Человечество подумывает о заселении других планет. Какой-то китаец жрет летучую мышь.* (Сталкивание / Переносная номинация – форма летописи)
- (49) Ограничение на выход из дома. (Фото человека, выгуливающего на поводке свинью и остановленного милицией) *Хозяин свиньи: “Клянусь, що він п’ять хвилин тому гавкав”* (Сталкивание / Прямая номинация)
- (50) 5.5. Семья. *На третий день карантина мать четырех детей изобрела вакцину от коронавируса* (Развертывание / Прямая номинация).

Парадоксальный компонент мема может быть обеспечен визуальными средствами. Например:

<https://www.ukrinform.ru/rubric-culture/2909780-posle-tretego-protirania-ajfona-spiritom-siri-poprosila-sala-s-hlebom-memy-pro-koronavirus.html>



Від постійного миття рук, найшов шпаргалку за 1987 рік.

Рис. 8

<https://opentv.media/veselaya-samoizolyatsiya-top-20-shutok-i-prikolov-pro-koronavirus-v-ukraine-foto>

Вторая неделя карантина с мужем. Решила ему что-нибудь связать



Рис. 9

https://pikabu.ru/story/dstantsionnoe_obuchenie_7481816

Будни дистанционного обучения



Рис. 10

- (51) 4.3. Мытье рук, дезинфекция. *Від постійного миття рук знайшов шпаргалку за 1987 рік* (Фото руки с написанной на ней шпаргалкой) (Развертывание / Прямая номинация) – Рис. 8.
- (52) 5.5. Семья. *Вторая неделя карантина с мужем. Решила ему что-нибудь связать* (Фото женщины, вяжущей спицами петлю для повешенья (Наращивание / Метонимия) – Рис. 9.
- (53) 5.8. Дистанционная учеба. *Будни дистанционного обучения.* (Фото статуи Давида работы Микеланджело) *Содержание дистанционной лекции.* (Фото вертикально стоящего прямоугольного камня с половыми признаками) *То, что запомнили студенты.* (Наращивание / Прямая номинация) – рис. 10.

Абсурдизация

- (54) 3.2. Боязнь болезни. *В метро. “Кхе-кхе-кхе” – “Мужчина, вы кашляете, у вас коронавирус!!” – “Спокойно! У меня открытая форма туберкулеза!” – “Фух. Слава Богу.”* (Сталкивание / Прямая номинация)
- (55) 3.2. Боязнь болезни. *В банк зашли двое в масках – началась паника. Потом выяснилось, что это ограбление. Все сразу успокоились.* (Сталкивание / Прямая номинация)
- (56) 5.3. Ограничение на выход из дома. (Фото двух милиционеров, один из которых целится из пистолета) *Один милиционер другому: “Не стреляй. Он вроде за хлебом”* (Развертывание / Прямая номинация)
- (57) 5.4.1. Самоизоляция. *Где вы планируете провести это лето? – В июне-июле будем дома, а в августе хотим пойти в магазин.*

Абсурдизация поддерживается также визуальными средствами:

Рис. 11



<https://www.056.ua/news/2701528/i-smeh-i-slezy-top-25-memov-pro-koronavirus-i-karantin-ot-dnepran>



Рис. 12

<https://ukranews.com/news/690875-koronavirus-v-memah-shutkah-i-prikolah-pomogaet-perezhit-karantin>

Эксперты рекомендуют придерживаться привычных ежедневных ритуалов, даже если вам приходится работать из дома.



Рис. 13

- (58) Лекарство. Вакцина. Ученые нашли лекарство от коронавируса, но не могут его открыть (Фото баночки с вьетнамским бальзамом). (Развертывание / Многозначная форма слова) – Рис. 11.
- (59) 4.5. Маски, костюмы. Фото правоохранителей в масках, которые стоят над лежащими на земле задержанными). Правоохранитель: “Лежать!” Задержанный: “Мужики, где вы маски покупали?” (Развертывание / Прямая номинация) – Рис. 12.
- (60) 5.7. Дистанционная работа. Фото одетого человека, держащегося в ванной комнате за трубу, на которой висит штора. Человек в наушниках, прикрепленных к телефону, в который он смотрит) Эксперты рекомендуют придерживаться привычных ежедневных ритуалов, даже если вам приходится работать из дома (Развертывание / Прямая номинация) – Рис. 13.

Гиперболизация, парадоксализация и абсурдизация используются создателями мемов в разной мере (см. таблицу 4). Парадоксализация преобладает.

Таблица 4

**Нарративный концепт КОРОНАВИРУС в интернет-мемах:
смеховые техники:**

Тематические домены: кол-во мемов / Техники	ВИРУС	БОЛЬНЫЕ	ЗДОРОВЫЕ	ПРОФИ-ЛАКТИКА	КАРАНТИН	ВСЕГО
Гиперболизация	1	1	11	6	19	38
Парадоксализация	14	2	21	25	54	116
Абсурдизация	1	3	7	1	10	22
ВСЕГО	16	6	39	32	83	176

Несмотря на то, что среди мемов есть более и менее ‘смешные’, сказать наверняка, чем это обусловлено, довольно сложно. По линии содержания мем может быть сделан более смешным посредством введения в него какого-то неожиданного преувеличенного, парадоксального или абсурдного элемента, который специфицирует информацию или о самой целевой сущности (при наращивании), или о ее конгруэнтном / неконгруэнтном контексте (при развертывании), или же об иных сущностях, с которыми можно объединить данную (при связывании). В то же время, успеху мема может сопутствовать и его семиотическая компонента – удачная метонимия, аналогия или метафора, особенно если таковые имеют визуальное подкрепление в картинках или фото, также имеющих собственную смеховую семиотику.

Наблюдения, касающиеся репрезентации коронавируса как целевого концепта являются в определенной степени действительными и при его рассмотрении как коррелята, используемого для описания иных сущностей, не связанных с коронавирусом как таковым.

3.4. КОРОНАВИРУС как коррелятивный концепт

В 24 выявленных нами примерах использования темы коронавируса как коррелята фигурируют определенные тематические сегменты нарративного концепта. Это 1.1. Вирус как таковой (4 мема), 1.3. Страны (2 мема), 1.4. Пандемия (1 мем), 2.1. Болезнь. Симптомы (3 мема), 2.2. (Пребывание в больнице (1 мем), 3.2. Боязнь болезни (4 мема), 3.3. Паника. Дефицит товаров (2 мема), 4.1. Тесты (1 мем), 4.3. Мытье рук, дезинфекция (2 мема), 4.5. Маски, костюмы (2 мема), 5.4.1. Самоизоляция (2 мема). Эти понятия могут быть систематизированы с учетом тех категорий референтных объектов, на которые они проецируются. К таковым можно отнести власть, бомонд, семью, инструмент манипуляции, новые привычки, новое оружие и год 2020.

Наиболее репрезентативным референтным доменом является ВЛАСТЬ, имеющая семичленный диапазон понятий, проецируемых на этот домен. В корпусе данных власть представлена прежде всего конкретным лицом – мэром Киева Виталием Кличко, известным своим активным вкладом в организацию карантина. С этим связано его мемовое прозвище – *Квентин Карантино* (по аналогии с формой имени известного американского кинорежиссера Квентина Тарантино). С Виталием Кличко связаны также три другие мема, использующие вторичную номинацию с привлечением многозначного слова:

- (61) 1.1. Вирус как таковой. (Фото: Разговор В. Кличко с А. Меркель). А. Меркель: *“Весь мир боится коронавируса”. Кличко: “А я не боюсь. У меня Касперский стоит”.*
- (62) 4.1. Тесты. В. Кличко: *Мы закупили тесты на коронавирус. Вопросы не сложные.*
- (63) 5.4.1. Самоизоляция. *Алло! А можно заказать 100 мотков izolенты? – Мужчина, зачем вам столько? – Мне для самоизоляции. – Виталий Кличко, это вы?*

В мемах о коронавирусе объектом подтрунивания становится также правительство Эстонии, жители которой традиционно считаются медлительными, и в этот раз также “запоздавшими” с карантином, перенесенным с более ранней болезни на нынешнюю:

- (64) 1.3. Страны. *Эстония объявила карантин из-за свиного гриппа.*

В мемах о власти ирония может сменять сарказм, связанный с недовольством властью и стремлением поменять правителей:

- (65) 2.1. Болезнь. Симптомы. *Ищу больного китайца, который чихнет в парламенте... Высокое вознаграждение гарантирую...*

- (66) 1.4. Пандемия. *Говорят, ацтеки и инки жертвовали своих вождей в качестве подношения богам во время эпидемий. Ни на что не намекаю, просто красивый обычай...*

К референтному домену власти примыкает домен БОМОНД с одночленным коррелятивным диапазоном, включающим название вируса, с формой которого – словами *корона* и *вирус* – и осуществляется метафорическая игра:

- (67) 1.1. Вирус как таковой. *Коронавирус в России* (фото Киркорова, Баскова, Зверева и Галкина в короне).

Референтный домен СЕМЬЯ обнаруживает трехчленный коррелятивный диапазон, где один из связанных с коронавирусом концептов проецируется на понятие “жена”, а два других – на понятие “муж”:

- (68) 1.3. Страны. *Если жена вела себя плохо, ее отправляют в Милан.*
 (69) 4.5. Маски, костюмы. *Перша смерть від коронавірусу в Україні. Муж прийшов додому не в тій масці* (Фото мужчины в маске из кружевных женских трусиков).
 (70) 4.5. Маски, костюмы. (Фото мужчины в перчатках, который работает за компьютером. Поверх перчаток одето обручальное кольцо). *Когда боишься жену больше, чем вируса.*

Достаточно разветвленный – шестичленный – коррелятивный спектр имеет референтный домен ИНСТРУМЕНТ МАНИПУЛЯЦИИ, где в качестве такого инструмента используется для запугивания окружающих симуляция симптомов болезни (пример 71), не всегда воспринимаемая за чистую монету (72), симуляция заболевания, требующего якобы госпитализации (73), а также симуляция самоизоляции с приятелями в гараже как оправдание перед супругой (74):

- (71) 3.2. Боязнь болезни. *Остановит ГАИ, спросит: “Пили?” Отвечайте: “Да, вчера с китайцами. Дыхнуть?”*
 (72) 3.2. Боязнь болезни. *Пошел в магазин. Очередь в кассу огромная. Громко чихнул и произнес: “Долбаный Ухань, зачем я только жрал этих крыс?” “Становись в очередь”, ответили из очереди. – “Мы все из Ухани”.*
 (73) 2.2. Пребывание в больнице. *Всего за \$ 1000 мы приезжаем к вам на работу в спецкостюмах, на глазах у шефа увозим вас на автомобиле скорой помощи с диагнозом подозрение на коронавирус. В стоимость услуги входит 2-х недельное проживание в охотничьем домике на берегу озера, прокат снаряжения, охота, рыбалка, егерское обслуживание.*
 (74) 5.4.1. Самоизоляция. *Ты сволочь!! Где ты две недели пропал? – Дорогая, не поверишь. Степаныч чихнул, так мы у него в гараже на карантине были.*

Привычки, выработавшиеся во время карантина, вызывают ассоциацию с НОВЫМИ ПРИВЫЧКАМИ, которые может приобрести общество. Соответствующий референтный домен имеет четырехчленный коррелятивный спектр, где дважды упоминается мытье рук, акцентируется важность туалетной бумаги, а также польза дефицита для проверки качества товара:

- (75) 4.3. Мытье рук, дезинфекция. *Всем, кто жалуется на то, что вкус шаурмы изменился: это потому, что работники теперь моют руки. Просьба отнестись с пониманием, скоро все вернется на свои места.*
- (76) 4.3. Мытье рук, дезинфекция. *Так, ну руки мыть научились. Нужен еще какой-то вирус, чтобы включить поворотники.*
- (77) 3.3. Паника. Дефицит товаров. *“В любой непонятной ситуации покупайте туалетную бумагу” (Конфуций).*
- (78) 3.3. Паника. Дефицит товаров. *Сейчас самое время, чтобы поехать в супермаркет и узнать, какие макароны и гречку не разобрали. Какая марка настолько мразотная, что ее не берут даже под страхом смерти.*

Мемы рассматривают коронавирус как НОВОЕ ОРУЖИЕ (пример 79) и предлагают удалить из сети программу ГОД 2020 как инфицированную:

- (79) 2.1. Болезнь. Симптомы. *Если человек с коронавирусом надует шарик и лопнет его в толпе, это будет считаться терактом?*
- (80) 1.1. Вирус как таковой. *А можна видалити 2020 рік і встановити заново? Це версія з вірусом.*

Анализ фактического материала может быть обобщён в ряде выводов и заключений.

4. Заключительное обсуждение

Как верно отметил М. Минский, “Шутки на самом деле не являются такой уж смешной вещью, – они отражают стремление человека к разумности, достижение которой связано с подавлением абсурда” (Minsky, 1984, p. 179). Эти слова абсолютно справедливы для сложившейся в мире ситуации, когда благополучный, размеренный и налаженный уклад жизни общества был разрушен коронавирусом, абсурд появления и стремительного распространения которого проявился на фоне всеобщей веры в могущество современной медицины. Пандемия коронавируса как событие в физическом мире дала “вулканический” по своей мощности выброс информационных продуктов – профессиональных (медицинских), институциональных (регулятивных), медийных (интерпретативных) и пр. Среди таких информационных продуктов особое место занимают шутки обо всем, что связано с коронавирусом. В своей массе они конституируют ‘метатекст / метанарратив’ со своими собственными персонажами: коронавирусом, больными, врачами и теми, кто старается избежать болезни, выполняя все строгие нормы карантина, последствия которого невозможно предсказать наверняка. И по своему содержанию, и по своей коммуникативной направленности такой ‘метанарратив’ необычен: используя юмор, он иронизирует над неожиданными трудностями, которые переживает социум, и стремится смягчить остроту их психологического восприятия. В этом плане шутки о коронавирусе по их коммуникативной направленности можно совокупно отнести к разговорным (неконвенциализованным) эмоциям, направленным на поддержку адресата и апеллирующим к его ‘разумности’, способной справиться с абсурдом происходящего.

В начале статьи ее цели и задачи были сформулированы в форме нескольких вопросов, суть которых была такова: (а) что собой представляет общее информационное пространство, портретируемое массивом украино- и русскоязычных интернет-мемов о коронавирусе; (б) как формируется содержание конкретного мема, интегрируемого в это общее информационное пространство; (в) как содержание конкретного мема облекается в знаковую форму – вербальную или вербально-пикторальную и (г) почему мем смешной (или, по крайней мере, задуман как смешной). Такое исследование интернет-мемов, обращенное не к их коммуникативной функции, а к их когнитивно-семиотической природе, отвечает

направленности лингвокогнитивных студий, где в равной мере важны и понимание информационной специфики образа, существующего в человеческом сознании, и понимание того, какими знаковыми средствами этот образ создается, дабы быть успешно ретранслированным в социальной среде. В данной статье предложены возможные ответы на все эти вопросы. При этом релевантность соответствующих теоретических постулатов была проиллюстрирована соответствующим анализом эмпирических данных.

Систематизация содержания 200 интернет-мемов позволила реконструировать нарративный концепт КОРОНАВИРУС как коллективный образ, присутствующий в сознании пользователей сети. Из пяти направлений темы КОРОНАВИРУС (вирус, больные, здоровые, профилактика болезни и карантин, каждое из которых получает дальнейшее тематическое разветвление) создателям мемов, судя по количеству таковых, наибольший дискомфорт причиняет карантин, особенно самоизоляция. Прочими направлениями, акцентированными выше среднего, становятся паника и дефицит товаров, защитные маски и костюмы, боязнь болезни и ограничение на выход из дома. Совокупный нарративный концепт, полученный в результате упорядочивания содержания всех проанализированных мемов, есть конструкт – образ, существующий в коллективном сознании украинско- и русскоязычных авторов мемов. Не исключено, что аналогичный нарративный концепт, реконструированный на основе анализа англоязычных интернет-мемов (или же мемов на каком-либо другом языке) даст несколько иную картину, обнаруживающую вариативность как в тематических сегментах нарративного концепта (таких сегментов может быть больше и меньше), так и в акцентированности этих сегментов (количество обозначающих их мемов может быть больше или меньше). Тем самым компаративный анализ, осуществленный по разработанной методике, может обнаружить межкультурные различия в идиоэтнических картинах мира.

Конкретный интернет-мем, являющийся одним из знаков нарративного концепта КОРОНАВИРУС, как и всякий знак, имеет значение и форму. Значение мема – его содержание, вписывающееся в качестве составляющей в информационное пространство нарративного концепта КОРОНАВИРУС, – формируется наращиванием, развертыванием, сталкиванием и связыванием информации. В исследованном корпусе данных выявлено доминирование наращивания и развертывания информации. Возможно, корпус аналогичных данных на иных языках выявит иные приоритеты. Значение интернет-мема облекается в семиотическую форму – вербальную или вербально-пикторальную. Семиотическая форма может быть прямой, если при означивании не привлекаются дополнительные сущности, отсылающие к информации за пределами данной. Таких форм в корпусе материала выявилось две трети. В одной трети семиотических форм интернет-мемов была использована переносная номинация, основанная на использовании внутренней формы знака как фрагмента его значения (выявлены метонимия, аналогия и метафора), на использовании внешней формы знака (многозначного слова, жанровой формы, прецедентных произведений литературы и кино) и на использовании внутренней и внешней формы знака в комплексе (в частности, привлечение метафорического значения многозначного слова). Разработанная в статье методика анализа интернет-мемов как знаковых форм позволяет использовать ее в компаративных студиях, а также в исследованиях мемов другой тематики.

Смеховой эффект как необходимая составляющая мема в исследованном материале касался только его информационного аспекта: гиперболизация, парадоксализация и абсурдизация рассматривались как элементы, интегрируемые в наращивание, развертывание, сталкивание и связывание информации, присутствующей в значении мема. В корпусе данных доминировала парадоксализация. При этом связь смеховых техник с когнитивными подробно не рассматривалась. В то же время, учитывая мультимедийную природу мема, нельзя сказать, что смеховой эффект обладает локализованностью, ибо к когнитивно-иницированным смеховым техникам может быть добавлена визуализация,

обладающая своим набором средств смехопорождения. Тем самым вопрос о том, что делает мем смешным остается, по сути, открытым: смешным его делает создатель, виртуозно владеющий когнитивными и семиотическими (вербальными и визуальными) техниками порождения знака.

Тема коронавируса, став резонансной, стала также и прецедентной – используемой для описания иных аспектов социального бытия – власти, семьи, социальных манипуляций и новых общественных привычек, появившихся в 2020, чья информационная версия оказалась с вирусом, который, однако, заслуживает изучения. И не только в медицинском и социальном планах, но и в планах лингвокогнитивном и лингвoseмиотическом.

ЛИТЕРАТУРА

- Brodie, R. (1996). *Virus of the mind: the new science of the meme*. New York: Hay House Inc.
- Comte-Sponville, A. (2001). *Dictionnaire philosophique*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
- Fauconnier, G., & Turner, M. (2002). *The way we think: Conceptual blending and the mind's hidden complexities*. New York: Basic Books.
- Fillmore, Ch. (1982). Frame semantics. In The Linguistic Society of Korea (Ed.). *Linguistics in the Morning Calm* (pp. 111-137). Seoul: Hanshin Publishing Co.
- Herman, D. (2009). *Basic elements of narrative*. Malden MA: Wiley-Blackwell. Retrieved from <https://download.e-bookshelf.de/download/0000/5988/06/L-G-0000598806-0002339491.pdf>
- Herrmann, R. K. (2013). Perceptions and image theory in international relations. In L. Huddy, D. O. Sears, & J. S. Levy (Eds). *The Oxford handbook of political psychology* (p. 334–363). Oxford University Press.
- Kovecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kulikov, L.V. (2009). *Predislovie k russkomu izdaniyu. Martin R. Psikhologiya yumora: per. s angl. pod red. L.V. Kulikova* [Preface to the Russian edition. Martin R. Psychology of humor: transl. from English / L.V. Kulikov (Ed.)] (pp. 11-14). SPb: Piter.
- Langacker, R.W. (2008). *Cognitive grammar: a basic introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mann, W. C., & Thompson, S. A. (1988) 'Rhetorical structure theory: Towards a functional theory of text organization'. *Text*, 8, 243-281.
- Martin, R.A. (2007). *The psychology of humor: an integrative approach*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Academic Press.
- Martynyuk, A. P. (2007). Kognitivnye mekhanizmy sozdaniya smekhovogo effekta v angloyazychnom anecdote [Cognitive mechanisms for creating a laughable effect in an English-language joke]. *Kul'tura narodov prichernomor'ya*, 110 (2), 22–24.
- Mineau, G. (2000). The engineering of a CG-based system: fundamental issues. In B. Ganter & G. W. Mineau (Ed.). *Conceptual structures: logical, linguistic, and computational issues* (pp. 140–56). Berlin: Springer Verlag.
- Minsky, M. (1984). Jokes and the logic of the cognitive unconscious. In L.Vaina, & J. Hintikka (Eds). *Cognitive constraints on communication*. Dordrecht: Springer., 175-200. doi https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-010-9188-6_10
- Ozhegov, S. I. (1983). *Slovar' russkogo yazyka / pod red. N.Yu. Shvedovoy* [Russian dictionary / N. Shvedova (Ed.)]. M.: Russkiy yazyk.
- Rushkoff, D. (1996). *Media virus! Hidden agendas in popular culture*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Ryan, M. L., & Thon, J.-N. (2014). Storyworlds across media: Introduction. In M.-L. Ryan, & J.-N. Thon (Eds). *Storyworlds across media: toward a media-conscious narratology* (pp. 1–24). Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Sowa, J. F. (2001). *Building, sharing, and merging ontologies*. Retrieved from <http://www.jfsowa.com/ontology/ontoshar.htm>
- Zhabotynskaya, S. A. (2013). Imya kak tekst: kontseptual'naya set' leksicheskogo znacheniya (analiz imeni emotsii) [The name as a text: a conceptual network of lexical meaning (analysis

- of the name of emotion)]. *Cognition, communication, discourse*, 6, 47–76. doi: <https://doi.org/10.26565/2218-2926-2013-06-04> (in Russian)
- Zhabotynskaya, S.A. (2017). Narrativnye politicheskie kontsepty: metodika lingvokognitivnogo analiza [Narrative political concepts: methods of cognitive linguistic analysis]. *Kontsepty i kontrasty: monografiya* / N.V. Petlyuchenko (Ed.). Odessa: Izdatel'skiy dom "Gel'vetika", 30-40 (in Russian)
- Zhabotynskaya S. A. (2018). Generativizm, kognitivizm i semantika lingval'nykh setey [Generative linguistics, Cognitive linguistics, and Semantics of Lingual Networks]. *Doctrina multiplex, veritas una. Uchen` bagato, isty`na odna*: Kyiv: Ky`yiv, un-t im. B. Grinchenka. 99–141 (in Russian)
- Zhabotynska, S., & Velivchenko, V. (2019) New media and strategic narratives: the Dutch referendum on Ukraine – EU Association Agreement in Ukrainian and Russian Internet blogs. *European Security*, 28(3), 360–381. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2019.1648253>
- Zhabotynska, S., & Slyvka, N. (2020). Emotive speech acts and their discourse modifications in the literary text. *Discourse and Interaction*. 13(1), 113– 36. doi <https://doi.org/10.5817/DI2020-1-113>

ИСТОЧНИКИ ИЛЛЮСТРАЦИЙ

Мему о koronaviruse [Memes about coronavirus]. Retrieved from

https://www.google.com.ua/search?q=%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BC%D1%8B+%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%BE+%D0%BA%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%80%D1%83%D1%81&hl=ru-ua&tbm=isch&tbs=rimg:CQmDOrOMIG1ZImDyMtGTrDVCTPzkeZLmrWT5IbbSLq_120AfpycgdofbfaKSDh6RAsY_105jyNmopmFoJfMP_15aiM7uY1zD7cowPJRjZ0SvxwvpxXsirqjHHEdHe59tLxLL_1c_12mzSNwZkmagqEgnyMtGTrDVCTBHF9WcXrKIWS0SCfzkeZLmrWT5ETLWoJg8TbQtKhIJbbSLq_120AcRiUXym3pj4qAqEgnpycgdofbfaBElh4VZWdhnESoSCaSDh6RAsY_10EeayPEXRYcBgKhIJ5jyNmopmFolRjwxqzyrUVcMqEglfMP_15aiM7uREZYpNdY5fMEioSCY1zD7cowPJREWkNcGr0A2k9KhIJZ0SvxwvpxURjF9U2YSsiZoqEgnsirqjHHEdHRGsxnztreKe4ioSCe59tLxLL_1c_1EXBLR_1FUbwwNKhIJ2mzSNwZkmagRVBQkt_1M8dPth_1uCeRHMf1Ts&tbo=u&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiI0rz_z9npAhVK-yoKHWMI1BagQuIBegQIARA6&biw=1366&bih=576&dpr=1

Zhabotynska Svitlana – Doctor of Linguistics, Professor, Bohdan Khmel'nitsky National University of Cherkasy (81 Shevchenko Blvd., Cherkasy 18031, Ukraine); e-mail: saz9@ukr.net; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9841-6335>

Жаботинська Світлана Анатоліївна – доктор філологічних наук, професор, Черкаський національний університет імені Богдана Хмельницького (Бульвар Шевченка, 81, Черкаси, 18031, Україна); e-mail: saz9@ukr.net; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9841-6335>

Жаботинская Светлана Анатольевна – доктор филологических наук, профессор, Черкасский национальный университет имени Богдана Хмельницкого (Бульвар Шевченко, 81, Черкасы, 18032, Украина); e-mail: saz9@ukr.net; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9841-6335>

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

General information

“Cognition, communication, discourse” (CCD) is an on-line open-access journal in Linguistics and languages, Literature, and Philology (UDC Subjects 80, 81, 82). Both its editorial team and the choice of authors are international.

Aims and scope. CCD focuses on language as an instrument for construing meaning, exchanging information and a form of social practice. It focuses on high-quality doctoral and post-doctoral research in cognitive linguistics, linguistic pragmatics, including cognitive pragmatics, corpus linguistics, discourse analysis and on interdisciplinary approaches in neighboring research areas such as semantics, conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics.

Our aim is to publish innovative content, which contributes to cognitive and communicative linguistic theories drawing attested data from a wide range of languages and cultures in synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Alongside full-length articles, the journal welcomes discussion notes and book reviews on topics which are at the cutting-edge of research.

Mission. CCD presents a forum for linguistic research on the interaction between language and cognition, structures and strategies of discourse, communication studies.

The journal is aimed at linguists, teachers, graduate and post-graduate students who are doing their researches in Philology and conjoint spheres.

Article formats: Research article, Book review.

Language of publication: English, multiple. Summaries in English, Ukrainian, Russian.

Reviewing. CCD is a double-blind peer-reviewed journal. All research articles in this journal undergo rigorous double-blind peer review, based on initial editor screening and refereeing by anonymous referees. The journal is committed to meeting high standards of ethical behaviour approved by the Ethical Code of The Scientist of Ukraine (Етичний кодекс ученого України) and by the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) (<https://publicationethics.org/about>) at all stages of the publication process.

The editorial board reserves the right to reject an article that does not meet the established requirements or the subject matter of the journal. In case of rejection of the article, the editorial board gives the author a reasoned conclusion.

The term of reviewing the article does not exceed 2 months. The author is to make necessary changes in his / her material in two-weeks' time.

An article which was not recommended for publication by the reviewer is not accepted for reconsideration. The text of the negative review is sent to the author by e-mail.

Publishing ethics. In accord with the principles of academic integrity, all articles undergo the process of plagiarism checking using modern software and plagiarism online detector “Strikeplagiarism.com” (owner “Plagiat.pl”). The system establishes similarity coefficient 1 (the percentage of text that determines the level of borrowing found in certain sources, consisting of text fragments, containing at least 5 words) and similarity coefficient 2 (percentage of text that determines the level of borrowing found in certain sources that consist of text fragments containing at least 25 words). The recommended indicators of originality of articles are:

- similarity coefficient 1 – no more than 20%,
- similarity coefficient 2 – no more than 5%.

The editorial board of the journal takes the final decision on the presence of plagiarism or the lawfulness of borrowings found by the anti-plagiarist system.

Submission. Submission of the article is understood to imply that the article neither has been published before nor is being considered for publication elsewhere. The manuscript should be submitted by e-mail to the following address: cognition.discourse.journal@karazin.ua with a copy sent to the editor-in-chief (iryna.shevchenko@karazin.ua), executive secretary (alevtyna.kalyuzhna@karazin.ua) and technical editor (mykhailo.kotov@karazin.ua).

Content arrangement of the paper

- Title of the paper in English (12 pts, bold, CAPITAL letters, align center).
- Name and surname of the author(s) (12 pts, align center).
- Institution, place, country (12 pts, align center).
- Abstract with key words (minimum 250 words or 1800 signs, 11 pts).
- Titles of the chapters (12 pts, bold).
- Text of the paper (12 pts).
- Notes if any.
- Abbreviations if any.
- References and Sources for illustrations (if any) (12 pts, bold, CAPITAL letters, align right).
- Contact details – name(s) of the author(s) with their academic degree(s), name and address of the affiliated organization, e-mail(s) and ORCID(s) of the author(s).

Text format

All materials should be Times New Roman, 12, font 1; indentation 1,0 cm, margins: left – 2 cm., right – 2 cm., top & bottom – 2.5 cm. The first lines in all sections are not indented.

Manuscripts may be submitted as email attachments in Microsoft Word 97-2003/2010 (author's name.doc/docx) if they do not contain unusual fonts. If special symbols are used their fonts should be sent separately.

Contributions should be in English, may include multilanguage examples. Spelling should be either British or American English consistently throughout the paper. If not written by a native speaker of English it is advisable to have the paper checked by a native speaker.

Papers should be reasonably divided into numbered sections and, if necessary, sub-sections.

The title is preceded by the universal decimal classification (UDC) bibliographic code.
Example:

UDC code (left on top)

TITLE (TIMES NEW ROMAN, 12, BOLD, CAPITAL LETTERS, CENTERED)

First Author Name and Surname (Times New Roman, 12, Bold)

(Affiliation, City, Country)

Next Author Name and Surname (Times New Roman, 12, Bold)

(Affiliation, City, Country)

Abstract: (in English, Ukrainian, Russian, Times New Roman, 11)

Author's name & surname. Title of the article (bold). An abstract is a brief, comprehensive summary of the contents of the article; it allows readers to survey the contents of an article quickly. The abstract should normally be a single paragraph *between 200 and 250 words* (minimum 1800 signs, key words included). A good abstract is accurate, nonevaluative, coherent and readable, clear and concise. It uses verbs rather than their noun equivalents and the active rather than the passive voice; uses the present tense to describe conclusions drawn or results with continuing applicability; uses the past tense to describe specific variables manipulated or outcomes measured. An abstract for a *theory-oriented paper* should describe: how the theory or model works and/or the principles on which it is based; what phenomena the theory or model accounts for; and its linkages to empirical results. An abstract for a *methodological paper* should comprise the general class of methods being discussed; the essential features of the proposed method; and the range of application of the proposed method. Given the small amount of words allowed, each word and sentence included in your abstract needs to be meaningful. In addition, all the information contained in the abstract must be discussed in the main body of the paper.

Keywords: List five to ten pertinent keywords specific to the article; use singular nouns.

1. Introduction

The body of a manuscript opens with an introduction that presents the specific problem under study and describes the research strategy. The structure of the introduction should necessarily comprise the author's aims / tasks / objectives, the subject-matter and the material of the study.

Exploring the importance of the problem the article should state how it is related to previous work in the area. If other aspects of this study have been reported previously, how does this report differ from, and build on, the earlier report?

Describe relevant related literature. This section should review studies to establish the general area, and then move towards studies that more specifically define or are more specifically related to the research you are conducting. Your literature review must not be a series of quotations strung together; instead it needs to provide a critical analysis of previous work.

State hypotheses and objectives, their correspondence to research. The statement of the hypothesis should logically follow on from your literature review and you may want to make an explicit link between the variables you are manipulating or measuring in your study and previous research. The present tense is used to state your hypotheses and objectives.

Sections and subsections of the paper. Divide your article into clearly defined sections. Any labeled sections / subsection should be numbered (i. e., 2. or 2.1, 2.2 if necessary) and given a brief heading marked in bold (Times New Roman, 12 without full stops at the end). Each heading should appear on its own separate line.

A good paragraph should contain at least the following four elements: transition, topic sentence, specific evidence and analysis, and a brief concluding sentence. A transition sentence acts as a transition from one idea to the next. A topic sentence tells the reader what you will be discussing in the paragraph. Specific evidence and analysis support your claims that provide a deeper level of detail than your topic sentence. A concluding sentence tells the reader how and why this information supports the paper's thesis.

2. Method

The Method section describes in detail how the study was conducted, including conceptual and operational definitions of the variables used in the study. It also permits experienced investigators to replicate the study.

The method section should be written in paragraph form with as little repetition as possible. This section will often be broken down into subsections such as participants, materials and procedure. The subsections you use will depend on what is useful to help describe and explain your experiment.

In the method section of the paper you should use the past tense since you are describing what you did; for example, e.g. *An experiment was performed...*, *The participants were instructed to ...* .

3. Results

This section describes but does not explain your results; it provides the reader with a factual account of your findings. You can, however, draw attention to specific trends or data that you think are important. Your aim in your Results section is to make your results as comprehensible as possible for your readers.

If you are presenting statistical results, place descriptive statistics first (means and standard deviations) followed by the results of any inferential statistical tests you performed. Indicate any transformations to the data you are reporting; for example, you may report percentage correct scores rather than straight scores. Raw data and lengthy whole transcripts of qualitative data should be put in the appendices, only excerpts (descriptive statistics or illustrative highlights of lengthy qualitative data) should be included in the results section.

In the results section you will need to use both the past tense and the present tense. The past tense is used to describe results and analyses; for example, *The knowledge scores were analyzed ...*, *The results indicated ...* .

The present tense is used with results that the reader can see such tables and figures; for example, *The data of growth rate in Table 3 illustrates how ...* .

Authors should refer in the text to all tables and figures used and explain what the readers should look for when using the table or figure. Focus only on the important point the readers should draw from them, and leave the details for the readers to examine on their own. Each table and figure must be intelligible without reference to the text, so be sure to include an explanation of every abbreviation (except the standard statistical symbols and abbreviations).

Give titles to all tables and figures, number all tables sequentially as you refer to them in the text (Table 1, Table 2, etc.), likewise for figures (Figure 1, Figure 2, etc.).

4. Discussion

If necessary an article may have more sections and subsections.

All examples are italicized. One word or word-combination examples are given within the body of a paragraph.

Sentence or textual examples, preferably numbered through the article, are given in separate paragraphs in italics (their source is given straight) with indentation 1,0 cm for the whole paragraph and separated from the previous / following text by one blank line. Example:

- (1) *"I'm Prendergast," said the newcomer. "Have some port?"*
"Thank you, I'd love to." (Waugh, 1980, p. 46).

5. Conclusions

This section simply states what the researcher thinks the data mean, and, as such, should relate directly back to the problem/question stated in the introduction. By looking at only the Introduction and Conclusions sections, a reader should have a good idea of what the researcher has investigated and discovered even though the specific details of how the work was done would not be known. After moving from general to specific information in the introduction and body paragraphs, your conclusion should restate the main points of your argument.

Conclusions should finish up with an overview of future possible research.

Acknowledgments (not obligatory and not numbered paragraph). Identify grants or other financial support (and the source, if appropriate) for your study. Next, acknowledge colleagues who assisted in conducting the study or critiquing the manuscript. End this paragraph with thanks for personal assistance, such as in manuscript preparation.

Footnotes should be avoided. Any essential **notes** should be numbered consecutively in the text and grouped together at the end of the paper.

In-text citations. The journal uses APA-6 format. If you are directly quoting from a work and the author is not named in a signal phrase, you will need to include the author, year of publication, and the page number for the reference: (Почепцов, 1976, p. 15; Leech, 1985, pp. 373-4).

If the quotation includes the author's last name, it is simply followed by the date of publication in parentheses; if no last name is mentioned in the text it is given in parentheses. For example: According to Jones (2005), "Students often had difficulty using Gerunds and Infinitives, especially when it was their first time" (p. 156). Or "Students often had difficulty..." (Jones, 2005, p. 156).

If you cite a work of two to five authors (use '&' within parentheses; use 'and' outside parentheses): (a) Becker and Seligman's (1996) findings contradicted this result. This result was later contradicted (Becker & Seligman, 1996). (b) Medvec, Madey, and Gilovich (1995) examined

the influence of “what might have been” thoughts on satisfaction among a group of Olympic medalists.

In case of six or more authors, cite only the last name of the first author, followed by “et al.” and the year of publication: Barakat et al. (1995) attempted to ...

APA-6 In-Text and Parenthetical Citation Examples

Quote with author’s name in text	Smith (2019) states that, “...” (p. 112).
Quote with author’s name in reference	This is quoted as, “...” (Smith, 2019, pp. 112-4).
Paraphrasing with author’s name in text	Smith (2019) stated these facts, too.
Paraphrasing author’s name in reference	This fact has been stated (Smith, 2019).
No author – give title of work abbreviated to first major word	This book is true (<i>Long</i> , 2019).
<i>Italics for books & journals</i> , “quotation marks” for articles & web pages	This article is true (“Long,” 2019).
Citing entire website – put URL	This has evidence (www.pubmed.gov).
Quote from website – use paragraph number	According to, “...” (Smith, 2019, para. 4).
More than one author with same last name	P. L. Smith (2018) and J. M. Smith (2019)
Source has more than one author in text	Smith and Lee agree that (2019)
Source has more than one author in reference	This is agreed upon (Smith & Long, 2019).
Citing more than one work	We all agree (Smith, 2019; Lee, 2018).
Citing more than one work by same author published in the same year	We all agree (Smith, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c) Smith (2019a) believes
	It has been reported ... (Smith, 2019c)

The quotations longer than three lines should constitute a separate block, indented 1.0 cm paragraph(s), single spaced, font 12 pts, italics, with no quotation marks, e.g., Kövecses (2018, p. 133) writes:

In sum, the intratextual use of conceptual metaphor does not necessarily produce metaphorically homogenous discourse. In most cases, a variety of different conceptual metaphors is used in particular media and other texts.....

For such quotations their author may be cited in a parenthesis below, not italicized, e.g.:

In sum, the intratextual use of conceptual metaphor does not necessarily produce metaphorically homogenous discourse. In most cases, a variety of different conceptual metaphors is used in particular media and other texts. This is a natural phenomenon, given the nature of conceptual metaphors as based on the general structure of concepts (i.e., that the concepts have various aspects and we use the conceptual metaphors to comprehend those aspects) (Kövecses, 2018, p. 133).

Quotation marks. Single quotation marks should be used for the translation of non-English words, e.g., *cogito* ‘I think’.

Double quotation marks should be used in all other cases, i.e., direct quotations in running text.

Please always use rounded quotation marks (“. . .”) not "straight" ones.

Dashes. Spaced EM dashes are used as parenthetical dashes (“text – text”). Please do not use double hyphens.

Unspaced EN dashes (-) should be used between inclusive numbers, e.g., 153-159, 1975-1979.

Italics should be used for:

- Words, phrases, and sentences treated as linguistic examples.
- Foreign-language expressions
- Titles of books, published documents, newspapers, and journals
- Drawing attention to key terms in a discussion at first mention only. Thereafter, these terms should be set straight.
- Emphasizing a word or phrase in a quotation indicating [emphasis mine]

Bold or underlining may be used sparingly to draw attention to a particular linguistic feature within numbered examples (not in the running text).

Please keep the use of italics and boldface type to an absolute minimum. CAPITAL LETTERS and SMALL CAPS should not be used for emphasis.

Punctuation. Please use a serial comma (an Oxford comma or a Harvard comma) placed immediately before the coordinating conjunction (and or or) in a series of three or more terms as in “France, Italy, and Spain” (with the serial comma), but “France or Spain” (two terms only).

Put a comma before ‘which’ to introduce attributive clauses (“Tom’s book, which he spent ten years writing, is now a best seller.”). Do not use a comma to introduce questions and prepositional phrases (“in which”).

Abbreviations. List of Common Latin Abbreviations for APA Style

Abbreviation	Meaning	Used inside of parentheses only
cf.	“compare” or “consult” (to contrast information)	Never put a comma after “...in (cf. Zeller & Williams, 2007)”.
e.g.,	“for example,” (<i>exempli gratia</i>)	Always put a comma after: “Some studies (e.g., Macmillan, 2009)...”
etc.	“and so on” / “and so forth”	Put a comma before if used to end a list of at least two other items: “(chemistry, math, etc.). In other cases, do not use a comma “(biology etc)”.
i.e.,	“that is,” (<i>id est</i> ; specific clarification)	Always put a comma after: “(i.e., first, second, or third)”
vs.	“versus”	Put a full stop after: “(low vs. high)”, do not italicize.
ibid.	“ <i>ibidem</i> ” for citations	Not used in APA to refer again to the last source previously referenced. Instead give each citation using author’s names as usual.

References (Times New Roman 12, bold, caps, not numbered)

A reference list (usually about 30 authors, preferably of the last decade) must comprise all the references cited in the text of your paper, listed in alphabetical order at the end of the paper and not numbered. Each reference in the reference list needs to contain all of the bibliographic information from its source (citation style APA-6). In each new item, its first line is aligned right, other lines (if any) are indented 1,0 cm. Please make your URL and DOI active.

For materials in Latin:

Books (authored work) & e-books:

Langacker, R. W. (2008). *Cognitive grammar: A basic introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chandler, D. (1998). Semiotics for beginners. Retrieved September, 1, 2018, from <http://www.users.aber.ac.uk/dgc/Documents/S4B> or DOI: xxxx

Book chapter:

Haybron, D. M. (2008). Philosophy and the science of subjective well-being. In M. Eid & R. J. Larsen (Eds.). *The science of subjectivewell-being* (pp. 17-43). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

E-book not from a database and without a DOI: in the URL field include the full URL or the homepage URL. Leave out Place and Publisher:

Austen, J. (1853). *Pride and prejudice: A novel*. Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=ZXY1CwAAQBAJ&lpg=PP1&dq=pride%20and%20prejudice&pg=PT4#v=onepage&q=pride%20and%20prejudice&f=true>

E-book from a Library database: In the URL field include the URL but remove the details:

Best, A., Hanhimaki, & Schulze, K. E. (2015). *International history of the twentieth century and beyond* (3rd ed.). Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com>

Journal articles:

Gibbs, J. P. (1989). Conceptualization of terrorism. *American Sociological Review*, 54(3), 329-340. DOI: XX.XXXXXX or Retrieved month, day, year, from journal URL.....

On-line news paper article:

Brody, J. F. (2007, December 11). Mental reserves keep brain agile. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com>

Several volumes in a multivolume work:

Koch, S. (Ed.). (1959-1963). *Psychology: A study of science* (Vols. 1-6). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Reference book:

Vanden Bos, G. H. (Ed.). (2007). *APA dictionary of psychology*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Print journal article. Article titles use sentence style capitalization, i. e., capitalize the first word of the title and subtitle (after a colon, if there is one), and any proper nouns (names). Journal / magazine and newspaper titles use headline style capitalization, i. e., capitalize each significant word but not articles and prepositions. In the year field for reference type Article in press enter the words: (in press). Where relevant, enter data in either the DOI or URL:

Wilson, S., Spies-Butcher, B., & Stebbing, A. (2009). Targets and taxes: Explaining the welfare orientations of the Australian public. *Social Policy & Administration*, 43, 508-525. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9515.2009.00676.x>

Fennimore, D. L. (1981). American neoclassical furniture and its European antecedents. *American Art Journal*, 13(4), 49-65. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org>

Webpage, with author but no date:

Flesch, R. (n. d.). *How to write plain English*. Retrieved October 3, 2017, from http://www.mang.canterbury.ac.nz/writing_guide/writing/flesch.shtml

Webpage with corporate author (an organisation or group):

New Zealand Government. (2008). *Digital strategy*. Retrieved April 12, 2009, from <http://www.digitalstrategy.govt.nz/>

Dissertation. Print / Hardcopy format

Knight, A. (2001). *Exercise and osteoarthritis of the knee* (Unpublished master's dissertation). Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand.

Thesis or dissertation, online from an institutional repository or a website

Thomas, R. (2009). *The making of a journalist* (Doctoral thesis, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10292/466>

Conference paper in regularly published proceedings, retrieved online:

Houzel, S., Collins, J. H., & Lent, R. (2008). The basic nonuniformity of the cerebral cortex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 105, 12593-12598. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0805417105>

Film / movie

Scorcese, M. (Producer), & Lonergan, K. (Writer / Director). (2000). *You can count on me* [Motion picture]. United States: Paramount Pictures.

Blogpost:

Author, A. A. (2019, December 12). Title of post [Description of form]. Retrieved from <http://www.xxxx>

For more details go to:

EndNote for PC: A comprehensive guide to the reference management software EndNote. Retrieved October 3, 2019, from http://aut.ac.nz.libguides.com/endnote/APA_and_EN_Books

For materials in languages other than English:

Standard format: Author, Initials. (year). *Title of book* (Edition if later than first e. g. 3rd ed.) [Title translated into English]. Place of publication: Publisher.

Book:

Piaget, J. (1966). *La psychologie del'enfant* [The psychology of the child]. Paris, France: Presses Universitaires de France.

Bennahmiasm, J.-L., & Roche, A. (1992). *Des verts de toutes les couleurs: Histoire etsociologie du mouvementecolo* [Greens of all colours: history and sociology of the ecology movement]. Paris: Albin Michel.

Journal articles (brackets contain an English translation of the article's title, not the journal):

Janzen, G., & Hawlik, M. (2005). Orientierung im Raum: Befunde zu Entscheidungspunkten [Orientation in space: Findings about decision points]. *Zeitschrift für Psychologie*, 213(4), 179-186. doi:10.1026/0044-3409.213.4.179

Zhabotynska, S. (2018). Dominantnist` ukrayins`koyi movy` v umovax bilingvizmu: nejrokognity`vni chy`nny`ky` [Dominance of Ukrainian in the bilingual setting: neurocognitive factors.]. *Visnyk Kharkivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni V. N. Karazina*, 87, 5-19 (in Ukrainian)

E-materials:

Zagurenko, A. A. (2002). Ekonomicheskaya optimizatsia [Economic optimization]. *Neftyanoe khozyaistvo*, 11. Retrieved from <http://www.opus>

Conference papers:

Zagurenko, A. A. (2002). Osobennosti proektirovaniya [Features of design]. *Trudy 6 Mezhdunarodnogo Simpoziuma: Novye tekhnologii*. Kyiv, 267-272 (in Russian).

Dissertations:

Zagurenko, A. A. (2002). *Ekonomichna optymizatsia*. [Economic optimization]. Unpublished candidate dissertation, National Teachers' Training University of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine (in Ukrainian)

Dissertation thesis (abbreviations: dokt./kand.):

Zagurenko, A. A. (2002). *Ekonomichna optymizatsia*. [Economic optimization]. Unpublished candidate dissertation thesis, National Teachers' Training University of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine (in Ukrainian)

For transliteration use <http://translit.kh.ua> (from Ukrainian) and <http://www.translit.ru> (from Russian). Use <http://apareferencing.ukessays.com/generator/> to create reference list according to APA citation style.

DOIs. When DOIs are available, include them in the reference information. Place the DOI at the end of the reference, and don't add a period at the end of it. Here's an example:

Author, A. A. & Author, B. B. (Date of publication). Title of article. *Title of Journal*, volume number, page range. <http://doi.org/10.0000/0000>

SOURCES FOR ILLUSTRATIONS (bold, CAPS, not numbered)

All textual examples cited in the article should have full bibliographic information about their sources listed in alphabetical order and not numbered (citation style APA-6).

Author's research profile. All articles are followed by the author's research profile in English, Ukrainian, Russian, containing information about his/her name and surname, title, position, affiliation and work address, e-mail, ORCID. Example:

Vakhovska Olha Volodymyrivna – PhD in Linguistics, Associate Professor, Kyiv National Linguistic University (73, Velyka Vasylkivska St., Kyiv, 03680, Ukraine); e-mail: vakhovskayaolga@gmail.com; ORCID: 0000-0002-7720-0970.

SCHOLARLY JOURNAL
COGNITION, COMMUNICATION, DISCOURSE

International on-line scholarly journal. 2020, # 20
Series "Philology"

English and multilanguages

Computer version

L.P. Z'abchenko

Journal web-site

V.O. Shevchenko

61022, 4, Svobody sq., Kharkiv, Ukraine
V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University
