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NATALIYA PANASENKO: A JOURNEY OF PERSISTENCE, EXCELLENCE, AND INTEGRITY



This special issue of *Lege Artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow* celebrates Nataliya Panasenko's multiple achievements in the fields of linguistics, folklore, media and literary studies. As Nataliya's colleagues, members of the editorial board, former PhD students who have all greatly benefitted from her wide-ranging scholarship, guidance and support, we felt it was time for us to express our gratitude and affection by presenting her with this collection of articles as a heartfelt gesture on the occasion of her 70th birthday.

Nataliya Panasenko possesses remarkable qualities as an educator, scholar, scientific supervisor, and Editor-in-Chief, characterized by immense stamina and the invincible desire to move ahead. This unwavering drive for progress is reflected in her broad scope of work both on the way to intellectual formation and in her contemporary professional activities.

In 1985, Nataliya successfully completed a PhD program at Kyiv Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages (now Kyiv National Linguistic University) and earned a PhD degree from Kyiv State Taras Shevchenko University. Her persistent development as a scholar involved the ensuing defence of two papers for CSs. degrees by her PhD students and numerous publications in Austria, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Canada, China, Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Indonesia, Japan, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russia, Singapore, Slovakia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, and USA.

The next significant advancement in her career occurred in 2000 as a result of her brilliant defence of the Doctoral thesis at the Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences. Subsequently, the avenue of linguistic interests expanded substantially from the comparative analysis of speech and

musical intonation to contrastive structural-semantic, onomasiological and cognitive analyses of phytonymic lexicon in Romance, Germanic, and Slavic languages.

Prof. Panasenکو's research has garnered international recognition, receiving numerous awards and honours. She has actively participated in conferences worldwide and engaged in various scholarly projects. One notable collaboration is the 'GRID' study, which explored the semantics of emotion terms across different languages and cultures. The project was initiated by the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research, in partnership with the University of Geneva and the University of Gent (Belgium) and lasted from March 2008 to 2010.

Nataliya has a wide range of research interests, including stylistics, lexicology, cognitive linguistics, media studies, text linguistics, intercultural studies, folklore (fairy tales, songs), colour, psycholinguistics, literary time, gender, and media studies. She has made a significant scholarly contribution with a total of 218 publications, which consist of 8 books, textbooks, and dictionaries, 18 articles and chapters in collective monographs, 114 articles in scientific journals, newsletters, etc., 40 scholarly papers and conference presentations, 28 abstracts, 2 published reviews, 1 script, and 7 other publications.

Prof. Panasenکو's engagement into development of modern science is invaluable. Her research in cognitive linguistics includes in-depth analysis of information processing channels, knowledge presentation methods, and the stages of human cognitive activity in phytonymic lexicon. Additionally, she has expanded onomasiological analysis of lexical units based on the work of her Research Advisor, Prof. Elena Samoylovna Kubryakova.

She proposed four plot development types in literary texts: "fork," "ring," "chain," and "fan" in 2002. These classifications have been expanded upon by Nataliya Panasenکو herself in 2017 and her followers. She introduced the terms "chronotype" and "chronomatrix" to expand the terminological basis in literary studies. She categorized chronotypes into several varieties: Model 1 – One time axis; Model 2 – Absence of time dynamics or "chronomatrix"; Model 3 – Time condensate; Model 4 – Combination of two-time axes; Model 5 – Multiple time axes; Model 6 – Spiral. This classification has been widely embraced and elaborated upon by Prof. Panasenکو's PhD students and other scholars. Among other scholarly endeavours, she also specializes in studying colour and its role in various contexts. She employs advanced computer programs to visualize the impact of colour on imagery in fiction and examines how the effective use of colours contributes to successful fundraising

campaigns. Her works on this topic have been published in Russia, Turkey, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and the USA.

Nataliya Panasenکو is not only a prolific researcher but has also dedicated considerable time and effort to sharing knowledge in the field of linguistics with a broader audience. Through her various activities, she aims to stimulate relevant research while promoting the dissemination of linguistic knowledge. She successfully advised and mentored five PhD students who defended their dissertations. She has also delivered lectures on a vast range of subjects, including English theoretical phonetics, English Stylistics, New trends in modern linguistics, Text linguistics, English lexicology, English practical phonetics, Creative writing, and Journalistic message release.

Prof. Panasenکو serves on 11 editorial boards and is actively involved in several professional organizations. Her expertise extends to prestigious associations such as the ICLA (International Cognitive Linguistics Association) since 2010, SCLA (Slavic Cognitive Linguistics Association) since 2010, CEELBAS (Centre for East European Language Based Area Studies) since 2010, and SkASE (Slovak Association for the Study of English) since 2010.

Prof. Panasenکو's interests are manifold, but we sought to narrow the scope of this issue to topics that over the course of her career have grown particular close to her heart. This issue brings together papers from renowned scholars across the globe, but above all it brings together a bunch of friends of Nataliya who want to celebrate her work and her contribution to the world of linguistics.

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SENSORY METAPHOR IN ENGLISH SLANG PHYTONYMS**Dmytro Borys** *Kyiv National Linguistic University, Kyiv, Ukraine***Received:** 26.12.2022 **Reviewed:** 20.01.2023 and 15.02.2023**Similarity index:** 0%

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Abstract: The present paper offers a cognitive perspective on sensory metaphor in English slang phytonyms, namely denominations of vegetables, fruits, and nuts. Resemblance-based metaphors relying on the mental imagery stemming from the five basic senses, namely vision, hearing, touch, taste, and smell are found to abound in slang. The linguocognitive evidence collected allows for designing a typology of visual metaphors depending on the mathematical and physical properties of the referents as well as for concluding that English slang is a highly physicalist, anthropocentrist, and somatocentrist construct.

Key words: phytonym, English slang, sensory metaphor, visual metaphor, auditory metaphor, somatosensory metaphor, gustatory metaphor, olfactory metaphor.

1. Introduction

Metaphor manifests itself as a fairly versatile strategy for conveying perceptual information (Winter 2019: 28). Sensory metaphors appeal to human senses, namely vision (visual metaphors), hearing (auditory metaphors), touch (somatosensory metaphors), taste (gustatory metaphors), and smell (olfactory metaphors). Since all sensory metaphors are based on imagery, they are, therefore, classifiable as **image metaphors**, i.e., metaphors that involve mapping conventional mental images onto other conventional mental images by virtue of their internal structure (Lakoff 1987: 219). An important prerequisite for an image metaphor to qualify as such is the availability of both a source image and a target image that the source image maps onto (ibid., 222). The nature of the images, however, varies, as they can be visual, auditory, somatosensory, gustatory, and olfactory.



The aim of the present paper is to outline a cognitive perspective on sensory metaphor in English slang phytonyms, i.e., plant names. While slang is widely regarded as a peripheral phenomenon that is complementary to standard language in all respects, it is not confined to any cultural, economic, ethical, political, social, etc. boundaries, thus providing fecund ground for cognitive research. Even if a particular word, phrase, concept, or symbol is rejected by language regulators or ethics commissioners and ends up being forcibly eliminated from the language core, it does not disappear from the collective experience altogether but persists in slang. It is equally not uncommon for a tabooed concept to develop multiple slang verbalizations in order to compensate for its forcible marginalization. Slang can also be rightfully claimed to express protest against the socially imposed behaviour patterns and pragmatic ethics, which is reinforced by "the now not uncommon double standards penetrating virtually all areas of our life" (Borys & Materynska 2020: 3). Whilst standard language is profoundly molded by language policy and language ideology, slang shapes itself and functions, rephrasing the Kantian concept of a thing-in-itself (Allais 2022: 72-73), as a lect-in-itself. Overall, slang reflects human consciousness (alongside its verbalization) "in the raw", at its most unadorned and unrestricted.

2. Theoretical framework

Nowadays, the phytonymic lexicon of any given language represents a complex bilingual hierarchy. According to Panasenko (2021), the core of the hierarchy is constituted by literary phytonyms, whereas its periphery ramifies into scientific phytonyms (provided in Latin) and common / folk phytonyms (provided in the national language). Scientific phytonyms are further divided into botanical and pharmacognostic ones (ibid.). These denominations apparently fall out of the scope of the present research, which revolves around English slang. Common / folk phytonyms also branch into sociolectal and regiolectal ones (ibid.). It is common phytonyms, or, more specifically, denominations of vegetables, fruits, and nuts used metaphorically in slang, that constitute the prime focus of my study.

English slang as a medium for the creation, conventionalization, and obsolescence of phytonymic metaphors has undergone a lengthy evolution: from the secret language of the underworld in the mid-18th c. (now known as *argot*, or *cant*), through the professional language of the informal register in the late 18th c. (at present often referred to as *jargon*), and into the highly colloquial language in the early 19th c. (Ayto & Simpson 2010). However, each subsequent understanding of slang did not supersede the previous one but rather complemented it. This has led to the current semantic paradoxicality of slang, which consists in a violation of a type-of relationship between the hyperonym (colloquial language) and its two hyponyms (*argot* / *cant* and *jargon*), since the three are

simultaneously embraced by one and the same umbrella term. The slang ambit evolution can be presented as a chronohierarchy proposed by Borys and Garmash: *1) cryptollect* → *2) (cryptollect +) professiollect* → *3) (cryptollect + professiollect +) lect* (2019: 53-54). Based on this broadest, lectal understanding, slang will be construed in the present paper as a substandard (in terms of its normativity), familiar / colloquial (in terms of its stylistic value), and informal (in terms of its register) lect (ibid.).

As slang has long been viewed as a secondary linguistic phenomenon, many of its aspects have been left out of the academic focus. It is for this reason that previous work on plant names in slang remains virtually a "terra nullius" for linguists. The scarce research into the issue includes English studies of botanical metaphors of diverse registers denoting human characteristics (Sommer 1988); American phytotoponymy incorporating slang items (Ягумова et al. 2016); dephytonymic slang phraseology (Якунина 2018); common names of medicinal plants including occasional instances of slang denominations (Panasenko 2021); semantic transfer in the domain of foodstuffs featuring sporadic slang examples (Kowalczyk 2019). Structural and semantic research into plant names is equally found in Turkish slang studies (Ersoylu 2010; Yaylağan 2015). However, none of the works above offers a cognitive perspective on sensory metaphor in English slang phytonyms.

3. Database and methodology

The paper follows a case-study design, with an in-depth analysis of sensory metaphors deducible from English slang denominations of vegetables, fruits, and nuts.

The diverse types of sensory metaphors identified in this paper are based on a selection of slang lexicon from the most comprehensive (as of now) printed dictionary of English slang, *"The concise new Partridge dictionary of slang and unconventional English"* (CNPDSUE 2008). The database is comprised of 214 senses, i.e., single conventional uses of slang items, recognized as relevant to the metaphor identification procedure.

Proceeding from *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), a metaphor can qualify as phytonymic if either one or both of its domains contain a plant name. Yet, the focus of the present study is limited to those sensory metaphors whose source domain features a phytonym, e.g., *to pick the cherry* – 'to drive through a red traffic light' (CNPDSUE 2008: 493) or *to squeeze a / the lemon* – 'to drive through a traffic light as it changes from yellow to red' (ibid., 615).

The methodology adopted in the present research includes four stages:

- 1) the selection of denominations of vegetables, fruits, and nuts used as separate words or as components of phrases from *"The concise new Partridge dictionary of slang and unconventional English"* through the continuous sampling procedure;
- 2) the application of definitional and componential analyses in order to single out those research items that imply perceived similarity / resemblance between two entities (by virtue of juxtaposing the final sense with the original one);
- 3) the categorization of the previously delimited slang phytonyms in accordance with the sensory systems involved in the perception process;
- 4) the identification of the referent's properties that are shared by the source domain and the target domain and constitute the ground for metaphorization.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Visual metaphor

Visual metaphors prove to be greatly preponderant over all the other types of sensory metaphors in English slang. The motivation behind this imbalance is simple, since more information about the external world comes to us through our eyes than through any other sense organ (Wade & Tavis 2017: 186). Although the term "visual metaphor" is now often taken to mean visual metaphor in art (Serig 2006: 229), or, more specifically, in cinema (Ortiz 2011: 1569), whence its alternative labels "film-metaphor", "cinematic metaphor", or "filmic metaphor" (ibid.), the appropriate verbalization of the terminological continuum "visual – auditory – somatosensory – gustatory – olfactory" unequivocally implies the use of the phrase "visual metaphor" to refer to all projections based on visual imagery. In the present article, I will, therefore, exploit the term "visual metaphor" to refer to any conceptual projections relying on visual perception.

The internal structure of mental images in visual metaphors heavily relies on the human visual perception of diverse mathematical (geometrical) and physical (mechanical and optical) properties of entities, the most salient proving to be shape / form, colour, size, activity / inactivity, and location. Hence, all the phytonymic visual metaphors will be classified into **visual metaphors of shape / form, colour, size, activity / inactivity**, and / or **location**. Meanwhile, the source and target mental images may be based on the projection of either one property (in which case the underlying metaphor will be called **monadic**), two properties (**dyadic**), or three properties (**triadic**).

4.1.1 Monadic visual metaphor

The present research features four types of monadic visual metaphors: **monadic visual metaphors of shape / form, monadic visual metaphors of colour, monadic visual metaphors of activity /**

inactivity, and monadic visual metaphors of location.

The **monadic visual metaphors of shape / form** in slang tend to exploit simple two- and three-dimensional geometric shapes and forms respectively, namely:

1) the crescent, as in *banana* 'a parenthesis sign on a computer keyboard' or 'the convex curvature of the bottom of a surfboard' (CNPDSUE 2008: 31); *flying banana* 'a military transport helicopter, especially the Piasecki HRP' or 'an H-21 helicopter' (ibid., 262); *Newfie banana* 'the root of the cinnamon fern' (ibid., 455);

2) the microspheroid, as in *arsenut* 'a small, hardened lump of excrement that clings to the hair around the anus'(ibid., 17); *dingleberries* 'the splattered molten particles near a weld' (ibid., 201); *dingleberry* 'a military decoration'(ibid., 201);

3) the prolate spheroid, as in *double nuts* 'double zero' (ibid., 216); *pineapple* 'a hand grenade, especially a Type 59 grenade or MK-2 hand grenade' or 'in electric line work, a spool insulator' (ibid., 497); *mango head* 'an oval-shaped head' (ibid., 419);

4) the spheroid tapering at one end (forming a bulbiform or napiform object), as in *onion church* 'the Greek Orthodox church' (ibid., 473); *swede* 'the head' (ibid., 634);

5) the spheroid, as in *hen apple* 'an egg' (ibid., 330).

In one metaphor, the visual image depends on a combination of two-dimensional simple geometric shapes, i.e., two circles separated by a line segment, as in *grapes* 'a percent sign (%) on a computer keyboard' (ibid., 303).

With regard to the complex shapes / forms supplying visual imagery, the irregular forms found in the sensory metaphors stemming from *cauliflower* 'an ear that has been damaged and deformed by blows' (ibid., 124) and *yam foot* 'a foot that is broad and splayed out'(ibid., 711) highlight deformity. In both instances, the form boundaries are blurred only to reinforce the visually perceptible dysmorphism.

A cognitive perspective on the monadic visual metaphors of shape / form evinces the following trends. Firstly, simple and regular geometric shapes / forms are more likely to serve as the basis for mental images than complex and irregular geometric shapes / forms in English slang. This could be explained by the salience of regularity over irregularity in human cognition. Experientiality per se broadly relies on regularity, since any propositional knowledge, i.e., "knowledge-that", requires categorization. The latter, in turn, is unthinkable without organizing individual perceptual and experiential information into a theoretical framework and identifying the similarities between individual entities to make inferences about the groups they belong to. Secondly, all the geometric

shapes / forms contributing to the formation of the mental images under study share the characteristic of roundedness, which means that circularity is cognitively most salient among both two- and three-dimensional figures. Thirdly, a retreat from the regularity of shape / form is seen as an abnormality.

The **monadic visual metaphors of colour** in slang heavily rely on **monochromaticity**, i.e., utilization of one basic colour irrespective of its hues, intensity, luminance, or brightness:

1) red, as in *carrot-top* 'a red-headed person' (ibid., 120); *cherry* 'the flashing red light on top of a police car' or 'a blush; a red face' (ibid., 131); *to fly the bean flag* 'to be experiencing the bleed period of the menstrual cycle' (ibid., 262); *strawberry* 'a tablet of mescaline' (ibid., 625);

2) green, as in *bean patch* 'during the Korean war, an assembly area on the northern outskirts of Masan, a seaport about 40 miles west of Pusan' (ibid., 40); *cabbage* 'money' (ibid., 112);

3) yellow, as in *banana* 'a hospital patient suffering from jaundice' or 'in American casinos, a \$20 chip' (ibid., 31); *pineapple* 'a fifty dollar note' (ibid., 497);

4) blue, as in *blueberry* 'marijuana with blue-coloured buds and a fruity flavour' (ibid., 70);

5) orange, as in *mango* 'a fifty-dollar note' (ibid., 419).

The five colours identified above belong to the category of basic colours, which include black, blue, brown, green, grey, orange, pink, purple, red, white, and yellow (Thompson 2003: 208).

Two visual metaphors are based on **luminance** involving mental projections within the dark (purple onto black) as well as light (yellow onto white) spectra.

The mental projection within the **dark spectrum** is found in two slang items: *eggplant* (CNPDSUE 2008:233) and *moulonjohn* / *mulenyam* (ibid.,445), both denoting 'a black person'. The two words designate an aubergine in their original senses. The metaphorization involves the mental image of the dark purple or brownish purple colouring of an aubergine being projected onto the mental image of the dark human skin colour.

The mental projection within the **light spectrum** is identified in the item *banana boy* 'a young white man brought up in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of Natal, later KwaZulu-Natal' (ibid., 31). However, unlike in the previous example, the metaphorization does not boil down to a projection of the mental image of the yellow colouring of a banana onto the mental image of the white human skin colour. In this instance, the explicit light spectrum (embodied in the image of a Europid as the central referent) is, for greater contrast, equally juxtaposed with the implicit dark spectrum (embodied in the image of the location characterized by the predominantly dark-skinned population, thus producing the mental

image of Negroids), emphasizing the visual salience of occasional light colour on the preponderantly dark palette.

As few as one visual metaphor is based on **polychromaticity**, which, instead of foregrounding a combination of specific colours, provides access to the sense of multiplicity, as in *fruit salad* 'a display of military medals' or 'a pooled mix of different types of pills contributed by several people and then consumed randomly' or 'a person of mixed race' (ibid., 272). Since each military medal / pill tends either to be one-coloured or to have one predominant colour (in order to be distinguished from other military medals / pills), it can be assumed that each individual element tends to be mentally pre-labelled as one-coloured; therefore, a multitude of the elements becomes a prerequisite for their multicolouredness. This, in turn, implies that English slang speakers tend to cognitively attribute a single colour to each entity.

The **monadic image metaphors of activity / inactivity** in the present research will be based on the predicativity-based verb typology designed by Chafe, who delimited states, processes, actions, and action-processes (1970: 98-101). The cognitive "activity – inactivity" opposition may be linguistically construed as the semantic "state – nonstate" opposition, the nonstate component including processes, actions, and action-processes.

In all but one slang item, the phytonymic mental imagery reflects **action-processes**, the verb associating with both the Agent (implicitly represented by a human) and the Patient (explicitly represented by a vegetable, a fruit, or a nut). The metaphoric senses thus generated include:

1) expenditure of considerable efforts on succeeding in a planned action, based on the similarity of the procedure, as in *to bob for apples* 'to remove impacted faeces by hand' (CNPDSUE 2008: 73) (cf. attempting to get hold of floating objects with one's teeth and attempting to get hold of floating objects with one's hands); *to crack the nut* 'in gambling, to make enough money to meet the day's expenses' (ibid., 466) (cf. succeeding in a physically demanding task and succeeding in a mentally demanding task); *hard / tough nut (to crack)* 'someone who is difficult to deal with, especially one with a tendency to violence' (ibid., 661) (cf. attempting a physically demanding task and attempting a mentally demanding task);

2) voluntary or involuntary expulsion of partially or fully digested material, based on the colour similarity of the product, as in *to blow beets* 'to vomit' (ibid., 68) (cf. the red of the betanin component of beetroot and the bright or dark red of vomitus); *to squeeze the lemon* 'to urinate' (ibid., 615) (cf. the transparent yellow of lemon juice and the pale yellow or amber of urine); *to strain the potatoes* 'to urinate' (ibid., 624) (cf. the turbid yellow of potato juice and the pale yellow or amber of urine);

3) voluntary or involuntary divulcation of information, based on the procedure similarity, as in *to spill the beans* 'to tell that which one is not supposed to tell' (ibid., 609) (cf. scattering multiple physical objects that will be hard to collect and spreading sensitive information that will be impossible to reconceal).

The one exception is based on the phytonymic mental imagery revealing a **process**, which expresses a change of condition or state and co-occurs with the Patient. The metaphoric sense generated is a **repeated process-based visual fallacy**, as in *beanie light* 'a flashing, rotating light on an emergency vehicle' (ibid., 40), where the rotating beams of light create a semblance of a revolving bean-shaped object, whence the vegetable-based visual metaphor. In reality, the optical illusion results from a curved mirror spinning around a stationary bulb.

Thus, the monadic visual metaphors of action-process and process are the only two types of activity / inactivity monadic visual metaphors identified in the present research. The preponderance of the monadic visual metaphors of action-process evinces the archetypical anthropocentricity of English slang (the Agent being implicitly represented by a human) as well as its users' inclination to changing the environment instead of adapting to it or harmonizing with it (the Patient being explicitly represented by a vegetable, a fruit, or a nut). The metaphorical senses obtained tend to highlight physicality, which incorporates physical endeavour (occasionally providing access to mental efforts too) and bodily functions. Interestingly, the monadic visual metaphors of activity / inactivity can be formally verbalized not only as verbs or verbal phrases expressing states, processes, actions, or action-processes but also as nouns or nominal phrases that are nonetheless convertible to verbs or verbal phrases expressing states, processes, actions, or action-processes. For instance, the mental image of a *hard nut to crack* implies multiple attempts to break it open. Similarly, the mental image of a *beanie light* evokes light revolving on a curved major axis.

The **monadic visual metaphor of location** in slang relies on exploiting the imagery of **peripheral locations**, as in *apple orchard* 'a location where police wait parked, certain that they will soon witness a driving infraction' (ibid., 14). The mental image of a man-enclosed area of land traditionally adjoining a residential building is projected onto that of a naturally enclosed area, usually in the countryside, chosen by law enforcers for tracking traffic violations.

4.1.2 Dyadic visual metaphor

The dyadic visual metaphors identified fall into five types: **dyadic visual metaphors of shape / form and size**, **dyadic visual metaphors of colour and shape / form**, **dyadic visual metaphors of colour**

and location, dyadic visual metaphors of colour and size, and dyadic visual metaphors of location and activity / inactivity.

The **dyadic visual metaphors of shape / form and size**, similarly to their monadic counterparts foregrounding shape / form, tend to exploit regular two- and three-dimensional geometric shapes and forms respectively, namely:

1) the cylinder, as in *bean* 'a capsule or tablet of Benzedrine (amphetamine sulphate), a central nervous system stimulant' (ibid., 40); *Camberwell carrot* 'an exceptionally long and fat marijuana cigarette' (ibid., 114); *peanut* 'a capsule of a barbiturate or other sedative' (ibid., 486);

2) the microspheroid, as in *bunch of grapes* 'a large mess of knots in a fishing line' (ibid., 103); *grapes* 'haemorrhoids' (ibid., 303); *pea* 'in Keno, a small ball with a number between one and 80 painted on it, drawn to establish winning numbers' or 'in pool, a small tally ball used as a scoring device' (ibid., 486);

3) the spheroid, as in *Irish apple* 'a potato' (ibid., 356); *melon* 'the head' (ibid., 426); *pumpkin belly* 'the abdomen of a pregnant woman' (ibid., 519);

4) the prolate spheroid, as in *gourd* 'the head' (ibid., 301); *squash* 'the skull' (ibid., 614);

5) the crescent, as in *bunch of bananas* 'in a car, an exhaust system with individual headers that intertwine' (ibid., 103).

6) the rosette, as in *cabbage* 'the vagina' (ibid., 112).

The dyadic visual metaphors belonging to this group also evince a rare phenomenon of **regular shape / form transfer**, with the image of a spheroid (*apple*) being mentally projected onto that of a cube (*cobblestone*) or rectangular cuboid (*brick*), as in *alley apple* 'a brick or cobblestone' (ibid., 8) and *ground apple* 'a brick' (ibid., 309). The motivation behind the shape / form transfer may be explained by the fact that both the spheroid and the cuboid (the cube and the rectangular cuboid being nothing but its specific instances) are three-dimensional solid objects characterized by conspicuous symmetry: cf. the circularity and equiaxiality of the spheroid vs the rectangularity and opposite face equality of the cuboid (along with the equilaterality of the cube).

As far as irregular shapes / forms are concerned, they tend to supply the visual imagery of **deformation in compliance with the pattern "regular shape → irregular shape"**, which is nevertheless not treated as an abnormality: *derrick apple / fruit* 'in oil drilling, a nut, bolt or piece of dried mud that falls off a derrick' (ibid., 194); *to grab the apple* 'to seize tightly on the saddle horn while riding a bucking animal' (ibid., 302); *road apple* 'a piece of horse manure' (ibid., 542). All the

mental images thus produced also heavily rely on roundedness in both the source domain (sphericity) and the target domain (lumpiness).

All in all, geometric simplicity and regularity prove to be more common than geometric complexity and irregularity in the dyadic visual metaphors of shape / form and size. In spite of the emergence of the two geometric forms unattested in the monadic image metaphors, namely the simple cylinder and the complex rosette, all the regular figures involved in the formation of the mental images constructed rely mainly on roundedness. Circularity proves to be equally common in the metaphors stemming from the projection of regular-shaped objects onto irregular-shaped ones. As opposed to shape / form, size does not provide any conclusive evidence for the cognitive mechanisms of visual imagery projection.

The **dyadic visual metaphors of colour and shape / form** foreground monochromaticity relying on basic colours, namely:

1) green, as in *beany* 'a green polyester baseball cap issued to US soldiers since 1962, known officially as the Army Utility Cap' (ibid., 41); *broccoli* 'marijuana' (ibid., 92); *lettuce* 'paper money' (ibid., 398); *zucchini* 'an extended fibreglass field hut' (ibid., 720);

2) red, as in *cherry* 'the hymen' (ibid., 131); *melon hut* 'a prefabricated red field hut' (ibid., 426);

3) white, as in *daikon legs* 'short, pale and fat legs' (ibid., 184);

4) yellow, as in *contra-rotating death banana* 'a Chinook helicopter' (ibid., 159).

The preponderant shapes / forms exploited by the dyadic visual metaphors belonging to this group are characterized by **roundedness** (the **hemispheroid** for *beany* and *melon hut*; the **prolate spheroid** for *zucchini* and **(tapering at one end)** for *daikon legs*; the **crescent** for *contra-rotating death banana*; the **microspheroid** for *cherry*; the **sphere cluster** for *broccoli*) and **flatness** (for *lettuce*). In compliance with the results obtained for the monadic image metaphors of shape / form, circularity possesses the highest level of cognitive salience. However, in addition to the geometric shapes / forms identified previously, the dyadic visual metaphors of colour and shape / form make use of flatness as a two-dimensional plane property, involving the projection of the mental image of dorso-ventral flatness of leaf vegetables onto that of the complanateness of paper money.

The **dyadic visual metaphors of colour and location** all refer to persons grouped according to their skin colour:

1) brown, as in *coconut* 'a Mexican-American who rejects his heritage and seeks to blend in with the white majority' or 'a black or Indian person who is considered to have exchanged heritage and

community values for acceptance by white society' or 'an Australian Aboriginal who has adopted the values of white society' or 'a Pacific Islander' (ibid., 152);

2) yellow, as in *banana* 'an Asian-American who rejects his Asian heritage and seeks to blend into the dominant white culture' or 'a Hong Kong Chinese of European or American parentage or aspirations' or 'a New Zealand-born Chinese person' or 'a person of mixed race, with both black and white ancestors' (ibid., 31);

3) red, as in *apple* 'a native American Indian who curries favour with the white establishment by embracing white cultural values' (ibid., 14).

The visual metaphors above possess two distinctive features. Firstly, each instance showcases two colour components: the explicit one and the implicit one. The explicit colour component (brown, yellow, and red) is visually identifiable in the outward appearance and correlates with the racial category the person belongs to: Negroid or mixed (← **brown**), Mongoloid (← **yellow**), and Native American (← **red**) respectively. The implicit colour component (**white**), on the contrary, is observable only behaviourally and points to the Europid attitude of non-Europids, giving rise to the racist colour metaphor AN INCONSISTENT PERSON OF COLOUR IS BROWN / YELLOW / RED ON THE OUTSIDE BUT WHITE ON THE INSIDE. Evaluatively, this comportment is adjudged by slang users to be negative, conveying the idea of a person betraying their innate (and, therefore, imposed as inviolable) race or ethnicity. Secondly, the perfidy thus attributed to the "Caucasicized" non-Caucasians is seen as locationally reflected in the discrepancy of their outer vs inner "colour", i.e., their race or ethnicity vs character.

The **dyadic visual metaphor of colour and size** is represented by the slang item *raspberry* 'a light grazing of the skin' or 'a sore or abscess on an intravenous drug user from repeated injections in the same spot' (CNPDSUE 2008: 530). Similarly to the previous results, both projections are based on monochromaticity exploiting one basic colour (**red**) coupled with the cognitive inconclusiveness of the size parameter.

The **dyadic visual metaphor of location and activity / inactivity (action-process)** is exemplified by the compound *apple-knocker* 'an outdoor toilet' (ibid., 14). The mental image of an outbuilding containing a toilet or seat fixed over a cesspit is created with the help of its location (in the garden, at a distance from the residential building) as well as surrounding objects (apple-trees used to be very common in British and American orchards, and when the trees shed their fruit, the latter would fall from their sprawling branches, hitting the outhouse roof and producing the distinctive thumping sound). As in the case of the monadic visual metaphor of location, *apple-knocker* is classifiable as a

peripheral place. The sonic component allows for identifying *apple-knocker* as a combination of a dyadic visual metaphor of location and activity / inactivity with an auditory metaphor.

4.1.3 Triadic visual metaphor

The only type of triadic visual metaphors attested is the **triadic visual metaphor of colour, size, and shape / form**, found in the slang items *nigger toe* 'a Brazil nut' (ibid., 457); *plum* 'in pool, the plum-coloured four-ball' (ibid., 503); *pumpkin seed* 'a yellow, oblong mescaline tablet' (ibid., 519); *strawberry* 'a bruise or scrape' (ibid., 625). Yet, none of the examples yields any novel cognitive conclusions. Firstly, all the mental images rely on **basic colours** (yellow / brown, purple, yellow, and red respectively). However, one slang item, *nigger toe*, does not provide conclusive colour evidence, since the yellow kernel partially enclosed in the brown shell in the source domain is projected onto the pale (not necessarily yellow) toenail plate of a dark (not necessarily brown)-skinned Negroid in the target domain. The reason behind this is that the mental images juxtaposed in this example exploit **luminance** (in the clash of the light and dark spectra) coupled with dichromaticity (the yellow / other pale colour against the brown / other dark background). Secondly, size proves to be cognitively inconclusive in the mental images analyzed. Thirdly, the mental images projected in each case exploit the rounded and regular (in *plum* and *pumpkin seed*) or irregular (in *nigger toe* and *strawberry*) form.

4.2 Somatosensory vs auditory vs gustatory vs olfactory metaphor

Contrary to the high productivity and remarkable diversity of the visual metaphors analyzed in Section 4.1, the remaining four types of sensory metaphors, i.e., somatosensory, auditory, gustatory, and olfactory, have an extremely limited number of verbalizations in English slang, which range from four in the somatosensory metaphors to one in the auditory, gustatory, and olfactory metaphors.

Somatosensory metaphors generally appeal to one of the three broad systems of bodily perception: **interoception** (monitoring the physiological state of the body in order to maintain its internal homeostasis, including itches, thermal sensations, sensations of orgasm, heart-beat, thirst, indigestion, shortness of breath, and any form of pain), **the vestibular system** (ensuring a sense of balance as well as contributing to spatial perception and navigation), and **proprioception** (informing motor planning and guiding action with the help of the primary and secondary afferents of muscle spindles, cutaneous receptors tracking skin elasticity, and mechanoreceptors in the joints) (Ritchie & Carruthers 2015: 353-367). The only somatosensory metaphor identified in the slang items *squash* 'brain' (CNPDSUE 2008: 614), *no squash* 'irreparable brain damage' (ibid., 463), *rotten squash* 'brain damage' (ibid., 548), and *squash rot* 'the medical condition suffered by severe stroke victims' (ibid.,

614) is of haptic nature, i.e., based on the active exploration of surfaces and objects by a moving subject (Hawkins 2021: 56), which is a form of extended physical proprioception (Fleming 2019: 38). The mental image of a gourd is projected onto that of a human brain on the grounds of the fleshiness and squishiness of their texture alongside the haptically perceptible similarities in their form and weight.

Furthermore, according to Lederman and Klatzky, the diverse substance-related, structure-related, and functional properties of an object such as its function, hardness, motion, shape / form, temperature, texture, volume, and weight are haptically perceptible via one of the eight exploratory procedures: contour following, enclosure, function test, lateral motion, part motion test, pressure, static contact, and unsupported holding (1987: 345-347). With this theoretical framework in mind, the haptic metaphor above can be claimed to exploit such properties as (arranged in the order of their importance) texture, hardness, volume, shape / form, and weight with the help of the procedures of lateral motion, pressure, contour following, and unsupported holding.

Auditory metaphors appeal to the sense of hearing. The only phytonymic slang phrase employing auditory imagery is *to cut a melon* 'to fart' (CNPDSUE 2008: 181). The mental imagery depends on the auditory similarity of an abrupt swishing sound of a knife disintegrating the flesh of the fruit to the abrupt whooshing sound of flatulence produced by the anal embouchure.

Gustatory metaphors appeal to the sense of taste. The one slang item cognitively approachable through taste perception imagery is *Bubbleberry* 'in British Columbia, a hybrid variety of marijuana' (ibid., 95), which constitutes a combination of the marijuana strains *Bubble Gum* and *Blueberry*. In the former case, the gustatory mental image of the strawberry-banana-punch flavour of bubblegum is projected onto that of the fruity flavour of an indica-dominant hybrid marijuana strain based on their sweetness and aftertaste similarity. In the latter instance, the juxtaposition of the gustatory mental image of berries with that of an indica marijuana strain is also due to the perceptual sweetness and fruitiness they share.

Olfactory metaphors appeal to the sense of smell. The only example of this group of metaphors identified in the present study is *banana split* 'amyl nitrite' (ibid., 2008: 31). The olfactory mental image of a banana, which is produced by its highly volatile ester component isoamyl acetate, is projected onto that of a recreational drug colloquially known as poppers, based on the sweet and fruity odour of both substances.

5. Conclusions

The present study was designed to outline a cognitive perspective on sensory metaphor in English slang phytonyms. Sensory phytonymic metaphors are characterized by the overwhelming prevalence of visual perception over the other senses, stemming from the fact that humans obtain information about the surrounding world primarily through their eyes. For convenience of analysis, all the visual metaphors were divided into three groups: monadic (based on the projection of one property), dyadic (based on the projection of two properties), and triadic (based on the projection of three properties). Among these three, the dyadic visual metaphors prove to be most common, exploiting combinations of shape / form and size, colour and shape / form, colour and location, colour and size, and location and activity / inactivity. The less productive monadic visual metaphors foreground such characteristics as shape / form, colour, activity / inactivity, and location. Finally, only one type of triadic visual metaphors is identified in the present research, exploiting the combination of colour, size, and shape / form. The trends shared by the majority of the sensory phytonymic metaphors is the preponderance of circularity and regularity in terms of shape / form, basic colours and monochromaticity in terms of colour, periphery in terms of location as well as inconclusiveness of the size parameter.

The priority of vision over the other senses, as extensively exemplified by the image metaphor evidence analyzed, showcases the trend to primarily experience the physical aspect of the surrounding world, which requires minimum intellectual effort on behalf of the observer as its passive perceiver. Therefore, English slang proves to be a highly physicalist, anthropocentrist, and somatocentrist construct.

Abbreviations

CNPDSUE – The concise new Partridge dictionary of slang and unconventional English


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CONSTRUCTION PRAGMATICS IN A WIDER CONTEXT.

AN ADDITION TO WEN (2022)

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Abstract: This contribution reflects on Wen's (2022) proposal to develop Construction Pragmatics as a new field of research. On the one hand, this proposal is fully supported, on the other hand, this paper brings together some existing literature that can be considered as already inspiring representations of research from the perspective of Construction Pragmatics. The paper also reflects on the way pragmatics and semantics are demarcated by different authors and stresses the importance of awareness of such differences. Such an awareness is a condition for a successful integration of different research fields as is aimed at in the enterprise of Construction Pragmatics.

Keywords: Cognitive Linguistics, Construction Grammar, Construction Pragmatics, Pragmatic particles, Semantics.

1. Introduction

In *Lege artis* VII (1), Xu Wen (2022) pleaded for more research in what he calls *Construction Pragmatics*. By this label, Wen means the study of pragmatic aspects of constructions, which, according to him, "are not investigated quite enough" (ibid., 249). He clearly shares the view of Kay (2006: 696), who observed that "we have almost everything to learn about the ways pragmatic information is incorporated into grammatical constructions".

I fully support Wen and Kay's pleas for investing more work in this research line. What I want to do here is just to show that, upon closer inspection, there is already more literature available than might be thought at first sight. I also want to show that this kind of research can be seen as part of a wider movement aiming at exchange and integration of Pragmatics on the one hand and Cognitive Linguistics, including Construction Grammar, on the other.



Exchange can take place by transferring and applying theorization from one field to another. Cognitive Linguistics has abundantly shown that analogy and transfer between different domains is a strong force in everyday human cognition and we can observe similar processes in science, i.e. analogy and transfer between research domains.

A few examples may illustrate the kind of transfer meant here. Enghels and Sansiñena (2021: 7) point out with reference to the relevant literature that "dialogic exchanges can be understood as multi-sentential constructions with conventional makeup". In addition, in the same way as a construction is described in the context of a network of vertical and horizontal relations to other constructions, we need "a 'network' understanding of conversational patterns" (idem). Here, theorizing in Construction Grammar (CxG) is transferred to the research domain of Conversation Analysis and Text Linguistics.

A second example of theory transfer is provided by Panther's (2022) book *Introduction to cognitive pragmatics*. The title of the book is meant to indicate that insights from Cognitive Linguistics can be helpful for a better understanding of pragmatic interpretation processes. Panther argues, for example, that the interpretation process related to indirect speech acts can be analyzed in terms of metonymy, cf. Panther (ibid., 264): "Building on the concept of illocutionary frame [...], the target senses of indirect illocutionary acts were described [in Chapter 9 and 10] in terms of metonymic inferencing within illocutionary frames". Finally, I take the liberty to mention Foolen (2019), where the notion of *participatory sense-making*, taken from phenomenological philosophy, is proposed as helpful for understanding what takes place in conversational interpretation processes.

Exchange is one thing, integration another. The latter is more ambitious, aiming at an integrated research field. Construction Pragmatics is an example of such an ambitious enterprise, aiming at integration of Construction Grammar and Pragmatics. Both Construction Grammar and Pragmatics exist in different varieties and definitions. In Section 2, I will illustrate this variation focusing on Pragmatics. In Section 3, some literature will be put together, showing that there is already quite some literature available representing Construction Pragmatics. Pragmatic particles will be used as an example. Section 4 concludes this contribution, which wholeheartedly shares the dedication of this Special Issue to Nataliya Panasenکو, whose inspiring contributions to Cognitive Linguistics (see, for example, Panasenکو 2021) and her editorial work for *Lege artis* may continue for many years to come.

2. Pragmatics: Demarcations and subdivisions

2.1 P1 and P2 pragmatics

In a naive view on language, words and constructions have as their one and only function the representation of the world, so that language users can exchange information about that world. In the 20th century, the new discipline of pragmatics corrected this simplified view. Talking about the world always takes place in a communicative context and this is not just a fact in the background, it is a fact with strong impact on language and language use. Part of the language inventory (words, morphemes, constructions, intonation) consists of 'indexes' which help to embed the content of an utterance in the communicative context. In turn, the communicative context strongly contributes to the efficiency and clarity of communicative processes. Context is, thus, the central, defining notion of pragmatics: Linguistic Pragmatics is the study of language and language use from the perspective of communicative context.

As soon as this perspective is taken seriously, two types of questions arise. The first type of questions relates to the context: What is context, how many aspects should we distinguish within the complex concept of context, what should we include and exclude, and which cognitive processes should we assume for relating utterances to context? *Conversational implicature* (Grice 1975) is of course the classic notion when it comes to interpretations generated by the interaction of utterances and context. Sperber and Wilson (1986) and Levinson (2000) continued Grice's line of thinking, generating a lot of further discussion and publications. The second type of questions addresses properties of language: Which words, constructions, and intonation patterns have as their primary function to indicate how an utterance should be connected to the context? Where can such 'functional forms' be found in the linear order of utterances? Do languages differ in the range of functional elements they possess?

In the history of pragmatics, these two types of questions have led to two subfields of pragmatics, which have been labeled differently, for example, 'inferential pragmatics' versus 'grammatical pragmatics' (Ariel 2008). These subfields deal with somewhat different phenomena such as interpretation processes vs. coded meaning, and conversational vs. conventional implicature respectively. For ease of reference, I will use the abbreviated labels P1 (for pragmatics focusing on context and interpretation processes) and P2 (for pragmatics focusing on linguistic forms with pragmatic function). Of course, there is no fixed absolute distinction between the two, as regular patterns of interaction and inference can diachronically undergo what Schmid (2020: 163) calls 'pragmaticalization', which is "the sedimentation of conversational patterns in the linguistic system" (Schmid 2016: 551).

For some authors, pragmatics is either P1 or P2. But to be clear, and research history has confirmed this, in the practice of research these subfields should not be completely separated. On the one hand, we need analyses of all aspects of context in order to understand the function of specific linguistic means. Specific aspects of the context are apparently relevant for communication, otherwise languages would not have 'invested' in developing forms which contextualize content. (P2 research needing P1 insights). On the other hand, the available forms with pragmatic meanings can function as a heuristic for discovering those aspects of the context that play a role in communicative processes (P2 findings relevant for P1 studies). In this sense, pragmatics is a united field with context as the defining notion. This does not mean that every researcher defines pragmatics in exactly the same way. Authors differ in how broad they understand the field to be. Which aspects of the context (on the P1 side), and of the coded meaning (the P2 side) should be included or excluded? This is the question of demarcation of pragmatics to 'non-pragmatics', for example in relation to socio- and cultural linguistics on the contextual side, and to propositional content on the language side.

Let me illustrate the demarcation issue with an example. Cheng analyzed a Chinese greeting formula from a CxG perspective:

"The greeting utterance ni chi le mo? ['How are you', lit. 'Have you eaten', AF] [...] is hence a construction that pairs the meaning of greeting with its fixed form. Its form is fixed in the same way as the form of any other construction is fixed in a language. It is no different from the passive construction in English. [...] From this we see that the construction grammar approach does not have to create a separate category for this set of fixed expressions" (2019: 210).

Cheng thus stresses the unity of CxG. Coded pragmatic meaning does not require a separate treatment, it is not qualitatively different from coded propositional meaning. Cheng reserves the label 'pragmatics' for what is 'outside' coded meaning:

"The reason why the expression ni chi le mo? has been used in the relevant speech community as a way of greeting is cultural specific, and cultural specificity is not – and should probably not be – an objective of the theory of construction grammar, a theory aimed at explaining the overall architecture of human language. It is precisely here that pragmatics comes in handy, as its major objective is to study language use in context" (2019: 211).

This second quotation shows that Cheng extends P1 pragmatics to the cultural-historical context that played a role in the choice of exactly this expression as a greeting formula in a specific community.

2.2 Pragmatics and semantics

Like pragmatics, semantics is a field that has been demarcated by different researchers in different ways. Two main definitions can be distinguished. On the one hand, semantics is seen as the discipline that deals with all coded meaning, including coded pragmatic meaning. On the other hand, there is

the more restricted view which identifies semantics as concerned with meaning that contributes to the propositional content. Traditional semantics tended to the first, broader definition; formal (truth-conditional) semantics to the more restricted view. In recent years, however, formal semantics has expanded its formalisms to coded pragmatic meanings, which are explicated in terms of use-conditional features (cf. Potts 2007; Gutzmann 2015).

It is of course somewhat confusing for newcomers to observe that such central notions like *pragmatics* and *semantics* have no fixed use in the literature, and that a reader of linguistic texts has to be aware that those labels can be used in different ways by different authors. Even in recent publications, we find reflections on demarcations and subdivisions of the fields of semantics and pragmatics. I will illustrate this with a few quotes, taken from Cappelle (2017), Leclercq (2020), and Finkbeiner (2019).

Cappelle stresses the unity of P1 and P2: "[T]here cannot be any sharp distinction between stored aspects of language and computed aspects of language" (2017: 143). At the same time, he reserves the label semantics for propositional meaning:

"I find it useful to make a distinction between lexical or propositional semantics, which in the canonical let alone construction further specifies that the second proposition is semantically entailed by the first, and pragmatic information, which encompasses those aspects of a speaker's knowledge of a linguistic expression that are treated as falling outside the domain of lexical or propositional semantics" (ibid., 122).

Cappelle discusses the so-called Reminder Existential Construction, analyzed by Lakoff (1987: 561ff.), which typically is used in lists: *There's the cat to feed, the dog to walk, the horse to brush, ...* The question is where such knowledge about listing belongs:

"While a definitive answer awaits more careful consideration, it is clear for now that this kind of information does not belong in the Semantics (Sem) part, which Construction Grammarians like to reserve for propositional semantics (...), thematic roles, or the basic, core meaning of an item" (2017: 143).

Accordingly, Cappelle proposes this listing feature of the construction as belonging to the pragmatic part of the native speaker's knowledge of language: "There is much pragmatics that is *conventionally* linked to constructions. Semantics and pragmatics can live peacefully side by side in a single construction" (ibid., 145).

Leclercq (2020: 227) subscribes to a similar labeling of the fields of study discussed here: "I will argue that the terms semantics and pragmatics are most explanatory when defined in truth-conditional terms, and that constructionists would benefit from adopting a similar view". According to Leclercq (ibid., 231-232), "constructionists show an increasing need to distinguish between different types of

encoded content, and this difference is not accounted for by any other terms in the theory. It seems more appropriate to use the terms semantics and pragmatics in relation to this difference, which, as mentioned before, relates to truth-conditionality".

In contrast to Cappelle and Leclercq, Finkbeiner stresses the unity of conventional knowledge of language:

"To account for conventional pragmatic aspects is, by definition, not a problem for Construction Grammar, which holds a maximalist view on linguistic meaning. Under a maximalist view, the meaning side of a construction is conceptualized as including not only truth-functional aspects, but all kinds of additional aspects, such as speech act force, information structural restrictions, or genre restrictions" (2019: 173).

Against the background of this quote, the following passage, later in Finkbeiner's paper, is somewhat puzzling:

"[T]here is no doubt that even a theory of grammar needs a precise notion of pragmatics and a thorough reflection of the dividing lines between semantics, conventionalized pragmatics, and inferential pragmatics; otherwise, it cannot tell, in a systematic fashion, where grammar stops and where pragmatics starts" (2019: 179).

In the first part of this quotation, pragmatics is subdivided in P2 and P1. In the last part, pragmatics is opposed to grammar, suggesting a P1 definition of pragmatics. A few lines later, Finkbeiner (2019: 179) argues for "an integrated theory of constructional meaning which includes both semantic aspects, 'grammatical pragmatic' aspects and 'inferential pragmatic' aspects". This phrasing comes close to Cappelle's view, in that semantics is opposed to P1 and P2.

How difficult it is to handle the different definitions of pragmatics in a consistent way can also be illustrated by a quote from Wen (2022: 263): "Pragmatic information is combined in grammatical constructions, so that construction grammar and pragmatics [P2] can be integrated and studied. Construction grammar is a theory of linguistic knowledge, and pragmatics [P1] is the study of linguistic meaning in context". [P2] and [P1] have been inserted in this quote in order to indicate that *pragmatics* is used in one and the same sentence in two different ways. The reader who is acquainted with the ambiguity of the label will have no problem reading this passage, but for a beginner, this can be very confusing.

3. Construction Pragmatics: Pragmatic particles as an example

Wen (2022) mentions several aspects of linguistic structure that contribute to contextualizing utterances, and are thus objects of study for Construction Pragmatics. In this view, Construction Pragmatics (CxP for ease of reference) is a theoretical variety of P2-pragmatics, the study of coded

pragmatic meanings in the framework of Construction Grammar. One of the topics that Wen proposes to be treated in a CxP perspective is information structure. He refers to Lambrecht (1994), which is indeed an early example of application of CxG to P2-phenomena. Other interesting topics for CxP mentioned by Wen are marked constructions like the Incredulity Response Construction (*What, me worry?*, Lambrecht 1990) and the WXDY-Construction (*What's this fly doing in my soup?*, Kay & Fillmore 1999), metalinguistic expressions like *loosely speaking*, and fixed phrases which belong to typical situations, cf. Wen (2022: 255): *Good morning/afternoon; There, there; Once upon a time; I pronounce you husband and wife.*

A topic missing in Wen's overview is pragmatic particles. That is why I will use it here to illustrate my earlier claim that there is more CxP literature available than one might think at first sight. In the past, pragmatic particles (also known as discourse particles or pragmatic markers) have been studied from a variety of perspectives such as Conversational Analysis (Schiffrin 1987), Text Linguistics (Volkova 2017), and Cognitive Semantics as part of Cognitive Linguistics, where polysemy has been a focus of attention from the beginning (cf. Thijs 2021 for a good example of this type of research). In the present overview, however, we will focus on pragmatic particles research in the perspective of Construction Grammar. This implies that special attention is given to the embedding of the particles in the network of constructions.

It is appropriate to start with a quote from Fillmore, the father of Construction Grammar:

"When it comes to acknowledging parts of grammar that are inherently pragmatic, even the purest separatists are likely to accept as belonging to such a domain the special category of words known as pragmatic particles. These are the little noises, occurring more abundantly in some languages than others, that have such conventional functions as signaling that the speaker is engaged in insisting or pleading, expressing dominance or hostility, marking the boundaries in and around speech events, signaling the difference between foregrounded and backgrounded information, and so on" (Fillmore 1996: 56).

Fried and Östman (2005), both strongly involved in the development of CxG, described pragmatic particles in their respective mother tongue, Czech and Solv (a Swedish dialect spoken in Finland). As Cappelle (2017: 127) points out, Fried and Östman introduced a rather wide range of pragmatic parameters which are needed to characterize the function of the particles. These include "the type of speech act (question, request, assertion, etc.), speaker information (male/female, younger/older, etc.), specification of whether or not the particle, as used in a particular sentence type, marks a shift of discourse topic, whether or not it expects the hearer to give a more or less specific response, how formal or informal it is felt to be, whether it conveys distance, deference or camaraderie, whether the speaker is positively or negatively involved, and so on". In Fried (2021), a pragmatic use of the Czech dative is analyzed, which indicates "the speaker's assessment of the addressee's interest in what is

being talked about. [This type of dative] is thus functionally more akin to pragmatic markers, serving specific interactional needs; I will refer to these uses collectively as 'interactional datives' ".

It was Fillmore who introduced the idea of interactional frames which represent elements of communicative events, in addition or contrast to cognitive frames, which represent basic human experiences, cf. Fillmore (1987). Blyth and Koike (2014: 93) argued that "interactive frames [...] should be included in accounts of constructional meaning", and Kuzai (2020) applied this idea in his analysis of the Hebrew discourse marker '*at/a yode'a*'/'*at*' ('know.prs.m/f.sg'. 'you know'). According to Kuzai, interactional frames are the basis for what he calls 'interactional patterns, by which he means meaning attributes of discourse markers, cf. Kuzai (2020: 219): "an interactional pattern is part of speakers' knowledge of a construction, abstracted away in the course of constructionalization". Along the same line of thinking, Czulo et al. (2020) presented a CxG analysis of the interactive function of tag questions, which, in a wider sense, can also be considered as belonging to the category of pragmatic markers.

Another example of CxP description is Alm et al. who analyzed German modal particles in a constructional perspective, paying special attention to the different levels of abstraction in the constructional network:

"To account for the sentence type restrictions, we suggested that mps [modal particles] and sentence type constructions interact on several different levels: First, every particle has an individual, invariant core meaning that remains consistent between the different word classes in which that particle can be used (...). Second, there is the word-class construction of mps, the meaning of which, we argue, is not of an inherently illocutionary nature but rather operates on the interlocutors' argumentative common ground. Third, there are the form and meaning of the individual sentence type constructions. The mps can interact with both, and not always on the highest schematic level possible of the sentence type construction in question. Fourth, there are item specific interactions between specific mps and the form- and meaning features of the grammatical sentence type constructions in which they can occur, represented as item specific constructions" (2018: 28).

These few examples may suffice to show that pragmatic particles have been a productive topic for constructional pragmatic research. Of course, they will attract continued interest the more Construction Pragmatics develops.

4. Concluding remarks

Which linguistic items can be studied from the perspective of CxP is not fixed in advance. Take, as a last example, negation, which at first sight is a propositional operator par excellence. And indeed, its contribution to truth-conditional meaning has been formalized in formal semantics. But as Verhagen (2005; 2015) has shown convincingly, negation can also be considered from a CxP interactional

perspective, and in that perspective, it can be characterized as an argumentative operator in the same way as, for example, *but* and *barely*.

Wen (2022: 263) concludes his sketch of Construction Pragmatics by saying that "this new discipline has just started and is in need of further exploration". In the present paper, which is meant as a comment on and addition to Wen (ibid.), I hope to have shown that the claim that Construction Pragmatics "has just started" is too strong, but at the same time that the second part of the claim, namely that it "is in need of further exploration" is fully justified. Encouragement to follow this path can already be found in Fillmore (1996: 57), where he says: "I wish to regard the pragmatic dimension as an inherent part of every grammatical construction". Wen (2022) can therefore be read as a recent reminder of Fillmore's statement.

List of abbreviations

CxG – Construction Grammar

CxP – Construction Pragmatics

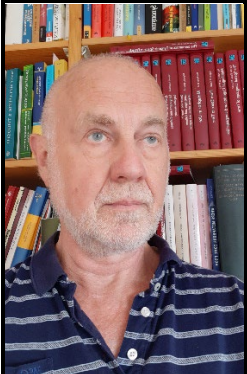
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THE NAME *NATALIA* AS AN ANTHROPONASTIC
AND TRANSONASTIC EVENTArtur Gałkowski 

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Abstract: The article develops anthroponastic and transonastic issues related to the name *Natalia* in its basic and variant forms in different language areas. Etymological data on this anthroponym are collated, discussed and supplemented by additional hypotheses as well as scientific extensions. The cognitive pseudo-knowledge of the name *Natalia* is critically examined. Its transonastic usage is also demonstrated as a proof of popularity, formal attraction and naming potential.

Keywords: *Natalia*, personal names, anthroponyms, naming, onomastics etymology, transonymisation.

To Prof. Nataliya Panasenka, whose name inspired the investigation of the properties of anthroponymic units in language, usus and discourse at the boundary of cognitive phenomena

Nous sommes d'abord serf du nom dont nous héritons. Il nous demande des comptes, et ses exigences ancrent les fluctuations de la subjectivité. Les déterminismes de la donation du nom insistent continûment, mais heureusement, certains de ces déterminismes sont contradictoires entre eux et se libèrent l'un par l'autre¹.

G. Pommier, *Le nom propre. Fonctions logiques et inconscientes*

1. Introduction

Every name given, whether it be to a woman, to a man or to a person of indeterminate gender, carries with itself a multitude of complex values that cannot be accommodated in a uniformly conceptualised denotational and connotational perspective. In this sense, a name as an attribute of identity is as much a concrete sign, easily transcending from the linguistic to the extra-linguistic space, as it is an open



card that absorbs and conveys various information about its bearer. In such a vein, one could contradict the opinion that personal names (anthroponyms) in their traditional proprial form (first or last names, surnames, nicknames, pseudonyms, codenames, etc., see Amaral & Sipavicius Seide 2022: 67-89; cfr. Alford 1988) have no meaning (see the discussion started by Mill about signification of proper names, e.g., Algeo 1973; Walkowiak 2016: 59-74). It does not have such a meaning in a lexical context, because it is essentially not a lexeme, apart from the etymological reference, which, however, usually leads to a concept expressed lexically. Instead, an anthroponym has numerous cultural meanings, which are the issue of communicative, acculturative, socio-psychological, nominative processes, assigned to specific individuals. As a result of transonymisation, an anthroponym, e.g., a forename may be used to name beings and objects other than humans, thus entering different onymic categories. Proverbially, one could still say that a name has various sides, and sometimes it may seem mysterious or even remain a secret, if the informational properties attributed to a name are identified with its bearer (person or object). As a starting point, I take after Doroszewicz (2013: 15) that given names are symbols, i.e., arbitrary signs that are endowed with special meaning and ultimately acquire the power to influence people's behaviour, attitudes and emotions.

2. Study material, objectives, methodology

In this article, I propose to take a look at the female name *Natalia*, which theoretically does not hide and has no reason to hide secrets, especially as it has been thoroughly described and discussed in onomastics and in many interdisciplinary and popularising approaches. However, primarily, I propose an analytic overview of everything that has and may have to do with the etymology of this name, historically given mainly for commemorative-religious reasons. In the modern era, the name *Natalia* has been preferred for euphoniousness and many subjective qualities and contents that are revealed by the sort of its reputation and international fashionableness. I will not answer the question of what exactly and objectively lies behind this, because it is not possible to find the key of the usage of the most popular names. It is the result of a spontaneous and unpredictable process.

Nevertheless, it can be assumed that not only certain tendencies and unfettered dissemination are behind it, but also the psychological valorisation that plays a role at the moment of naming, reflected in the use and the perception of extra-onomastic associations. It is crucial to state that in this situation we are talking about the properties that are not scientifically proven in the extra-linguistic world (the actual space of cognition, feelings, attitudes, stereotypes, connections, interactions, etc.), but expressed through language, such as the so-called "psychology of the name", the characteristics attributed to it, symbols, emblems, stories, etc. A critical look at this type of pseudo-knowledge

accompanies the discussion of the objective anthroponomastic and transonomastic properties of the name *Natalia*, which is the primary aim of this study.

Methodologically, we are using the tools of description and mainly qualitative evaluation inherent in the concept of naming in socio-onomastic terms (cfr. Coulmont 2014), assuming that names can have a para-cognitive and indicative function, sometimes also a magical one (cfr. the ancient view of the divination that involves a personal name, according to the maxim *nomen est omen*). As a matter of fact, "[m]ost people recognize that giving a name to a child is a significant social function with profound and lifelong consequences" (Nuessel 1992: 10). In this perspective, we would like to contradict the thesis that the name *Natalia* discussed here is like other opaque names, and whether opacity in general is a value of names given to specific onymic objects (in this case primarily anthroponymic, but also toponymic and chrematonymic). As Blanár (1996: 117) notes when considering Jakobson's approach to onymy, the onymic meaning (designation), which does not characterize the onymic object, but "only" classifies it into the appropriate class of proper names acts as a mediating link between the proper name and the onymic object. It is also worth remembering, as the ancient philosophers already said, that "il *nomen* è una *nota* che permette di *conoscere* qualsiasi cosa" [the *nomen* is a *note* that makes it possible to *know* anything] (Lentano 2018: 21).

3. Overview of the findings on the origin of the name Natalia and its formal irradiation

Most scientific and popular studies cite the well-founded finding that the name *Natalia* is of a classical origin and derives from the Latin word *natalis* meaning 'birth'. The term *natalis* is the result of an elliptical reduction of the expression *dies natalis* or *natalis dies* 'birth day', used to denote the actual birth of a child, but also the origin of a city, an idea, the beginning of some event. It is the genitive of the noun occurring in the same form in the nominative *nātālis*, from *nātus*, the perfect active participle of the Latin verb *nāscī*, *nāscor* 'to be born'.

It is less frequently observed that Latin *nātus*, also in the alternative and older form *gnātus* 'born, arisen, made, formed by nature, destined, intended, designed, produced' is derived from Proto-Italic **gnātos* < Proto-Indo-European **ǵnh₁tós* 'produced, given birth' < **ǵenhi-* 'to produce, give birth, beget' (<https://www.wordsense.eu/gnatus/>). Otherwise, we can specify that *gnātus* derives directly from Greek *-γενήτος* *gnētos* 'natural' and Akkadian *nasāhu* 'the act of generating, coming into being' (forming Latin *nāscor*). Latin *nātus* combined with the suffix *-alis* (< Akkadian *e-elû* 'to unify, to bind, to tie all around') carries the content: 'a bond formed from birth' (Ceccherelli 1996: 140).

The Latin base is an evident source of the name *Natalis* (see, e.g., the ancient attestation *T(itus) Flavius Natalis*, Rossoni 2014: 2154; the name was borne by St. Natalis or Natal of Milan, who lived in the 8th century, Schaubert and Schindler 2008: 527). From the model *Natalis* come different variants, particularly typical of the areas where Popular Latin had spread, in particular that of Italian language, which produced a set of anthroponyms directly linked to the original *Natalis*, such as the masculine *Natale*, *Natalio*, *Natalizio*, and the feminine *Natala*, *Natalia*, as well as their alterations *Natalina* and *Natalizia* (De Felice 1986: 272).

Even today, the use of the forename *Natalis* is recorded in *the onomastica* of many countries. For example, in Poland it was recorded in the second half of the 20th century. *Natalis* and *Natalia* have sometimes been the basis or formal inspiration for certain naming occasionalisms that have entered the Polish *anthroponomasticon*, mainly due to external influences, e.g., the male names *Natal*, *Natalian*, *Natalin*, *Natalino*, *Nataliusz*, *Nataljusz* (Rymut 1995: 296).

Many popular science studies adopt the etymology discussed herein, including further information, such as that *Natalia* meant "born for heaven" (Wernichowska 2006: 148). This is how this "birth to heaven" and thus "death" to a life of a sin was emphasised, or the "joyful" day of death, and, at the same time, birth to eternal life in the case of martyrs (De Felice 1986: 273; cfr. the emergence of the Italian surname *Natali* with its numerous variants, such as *Natale*, *Nadali*, *Natalini*, *Nadalin*, *Nataloni*, *Naletto*, *Nadin*, *Nalesso*, De Felice 1978: 176). It is significant that the anniversaries of the saints' deaths were regarded as anniversaries of the birth (see Latin *natalicia Sanctorum*, Fros & Sowa 2007: 605). It should be added that the name *Natalis* derived from the *dies natalis* of the saints may have occurred mistakenly as the name of another saint, especially where Latin was less well known. In this context, we can finally observe that *Natalis*, *Natalia* and similar in certain aspects, may originally have been attached to the forename the child received at baptism as a conventional sign.

It was only from the 4th to 5th century that the name *Natalis* and the derivatives that arose from it, including *Natalia*, began to be associated with Christmas (the day of Jesus' birth), and later as a result of the popularisation and special religious significance that this one of the most important Christian holidays acquired. Babies born on Christmas Day received their names in remembrance of the biblical event and the joy and grace the parents could provide for the newborn by naming the baby *Natale* (Italian *Natale* or *Santo Natale* 'Christmas' < Latin *Natale Domini* 'Birth of the Lord'; a kind of augural / good-sounding name, see La Stella 1993: 260) or other related names (Bubak 1993: 240; De Felice 1986: 273). In this symbolic function, the forename *Natale*, transformed over time into a surname, widespread especially in parts of central-southern Italy (*Natali* and others, see above), was also

assigned in less fortunate circumstances, namely to orphans abandoned (Italian *abbandonati*) and found (Italian *trovatelli*) on Christmas Day (see, e.g., Ciritella 2019).

Hypothetically, the spread of the Italian personal name *Natale* and its derivatives may also have been fostered by the association with *Nathanael*, a name of the Hebrew origin (literally translated as 'a gift of God', 'given by God', the basis of many forenames and surnames borne by *trovatelli*, i.e., found orphans, e.g., *Donadio*, *Donadei*, *Deodati*, *Donato* and similar names of the type called in Italian *nome benaugurale* 'a good luck name'). As stated in Rossoni (2014: 2154), in such a context *Natale* could even be the outcome of the italianisation of *Nathanael* (or *Nathan*); specifically, by a simple paremiological association in the process of changing a Jewish name into a typically Italian-sounding one.

The proliferation of the forename *Natalia*, however, occurred not in the Western but in the Eastern, Greek-Byzantine tradition, transferred directly from the classical source (popularised, among other things, through the cult of the somewhat legendary St. Natalia of Constantinople, wife of St. Hadrian of Nicodemia, today Izmid, Turkey, 3rd–4th century, see, e.g., Marinković 2004: 633; Withycombe 1950: 215; cfr. Джарылгасинова & Крюков 1986: 192-193). The name *Natalia* tended to become exoteric in the Orthodox rite, being spelled according to pronunciation: Russian *Наталья* [Natalya] / *Наталия* [Nataliya], Ukrainian *Наталія* [Nataliya] / *Наталя* [Natalya], Belarusian *Наталя* [Natallya], Serbo-Croatian *Наталија* [Nataliya], etc. The East Slavic models then gave rise to the dissemination of this female name in other languages, such as Polish. The first Polish occurrences are attested in sources from 1399 and 1423. Later on, they are very rare until the second half of the 20th century when the name *Natalia* became common (Bubak 1993: 239).

The simultaneous Romance and Slavic influences, meanwhile, give rise to adaptations of this anthroponym in the Western European languages such as German, English, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, French and more, creating a variant with an inflected final *-a* in *-e*, written with an *-h-*: *Natalie* vs. *Nathalie*. The final *-e* is not pronounced in French, producing a variant that is again beginning to wander across Europe and the world, gaining particular recognition after the success of Gilbert Bécaud's song "Nathalie" (1964). The French *Nathalie* (*Natalie*) was particularly liked by the Russians and the people of the former USSR in general, especially since the content and musical context of the song refers to suggestive images and motifs from Moscow and Russia. The song had a huge impact on Russia at that time, thus bringing it closer to France and the West, creating a trend in the frequent choice of the fashionable adaptation *Натали* (*Natalie*).

The forename *Natalia* has come into use on the basis of predilection and a certain phonematic attractiveness in many languages. It is strictly reserved for women and is recognisable as very "feminine", "subtle", "pretty", "graceful" (some of the subjective terms among the informants interviewed). Today, the origin of this name has virtually no bearing on its choice when naming newborn girls, although the etymology is relatively clear to speakers of Romance languages such as Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. It is rare today to honour the birth of a daughter at Christmas by giving her a name evoking this festival in the Christian calendar, even more so in a secular context.

Similar euphonious considerations determine the prevalence of a hypocoristic variant that was produced in Russian, e.g., *Hamauua* (Natasha), being, incidentally, one of the most common names of the East Slavic origin in the global *anthroponomasticon* (owing its popularity also to the heroine of the same name in Lev Tolstoy's novel "War and Peace", 1868/1969; cfr. La Stella 1993: 260; Umińska-Tytoń 1986: 108).

The penetration of the forename *Natalia* in many languages, which allow for hypocoristic creativity, was significantly influenced by the ease of producing original diminutives and their attractiveness in use, for example in the Polish area, which is confirmed both by the bearers of this forename themselves and by the people giving it to their daughters. In the Polish repertoire among the diminutive alternations of *Natalia* one can note, among others, *Natalka*, *Natka*, *Nata*, *Nala*, *Nalcia*, *Nalunia*, *Nalusia*, *Naluś*, *Talka*, *Tala*, *Taleczka*, *Taluńka*, *Taluśka* (Domin 1982: 188). We can compare it with a similar creativity in Russian: *Натальюшка*, *Натаня*, *Наташа*, *Таша*, *Наша*, *Ната*, *Натуля*, *Натуня*, *Натуся*, *Туся*, *Наля*, *Нала*, *Таля*, *Тала*, *Талюша*, *Тата*, *Татуся* (<http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?pe=x&word=%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%8F>; cfr. Петровский 1984: 163). In the Polish *onomasticon*, as noted by Rymut (1995: 296-297), other forms also appeared occasionally, some differing only in spelling, inspired by the primary *Natalia* / *Nathalie* and the secondarily popularised *Natasza* [Natasha], e.g., *Nataliana*, *Natali*, *Nattali*, *Natalie*, *Natalisa*, *Natalja*, *Natalla*, *Natascha*, *Natacha*, *Natella*, *Nathalia*, *Natylija*, *Natia*).

4. Statistic data, motivational inspiration, pseudo-knowledge about the name *Natalia*

The anthroponym *Natalia*, as a feminine name, is certainly timeless and universal, still very trendy today in many language areas – in its multiple variants and alterations. This is confirmed by a number of onomastic studies, as well as statistic data cited in dictionaries and compilations. Table 1 shows which values of the occurrence of the name *Natalia* (and equivalents) have been recorded throughout the 20th and 21st centuries in different countries.

Table 1. Occurrences of the name *Natalia* in different countries. Source: Own processing

Country	Name form	Quantity	Additional information	Source
Argentina	<i>Natalia</i>	144,750	2014 figures. Frequency: 1/295.	Natalia forename..., <i>s.a.</i>
Brazil	<i>Natalia</i>	231,771	2014 figures. Distribution: 3 ^d place in the world. Frequency: 1/924.	ibid.
Croatia	<i>Natalija</i>	4,456	20 th /21 th c.	Čilaš Šimpraga, Ivšić Majič & Vidović 2018
	<i>Nataša</i>	7,472	20 th /21 th c.	ibid.
	<i>Natalia</i>	480	20 th /21 th c.	ibid.
	<i>Natali</i>	931	20 th /21 th c.	ibid.
	<i>Natalie</i>	107	20 th /21 th c.	ibid.
Czech Republic	<i>Natalie</i>	34,809	2014 figures. Frequency: 1/306.	Natalia forename..., <i>s.a.</i>
England	<i>Natalie</i>	95,091	2014 figures. Frequency: 1/585.	ibid.
France	<i>Nathalie</i>	369,670	2020 figures. Record year: 1966, with 31,412 births of girls named Nathalie. It is the 6 th most given name since 1900.	Popularité de..., <i>s.a.</i>
Italy	<i>Natalia</i>	15,491	481 st place. Similar values in De Felice 1986.	Mappa del nome..., <i>s.a.</i>
Izrael	<i>Natalie</i>	12,484	2014 figures. Frequency: 1/673.	Natalie forename..., <i>s.a.</i>
Moldova	<i>Natalia</i>	49,519	2014 figures. Distribution: Highest density in the world. Frequency: 1/72.	ibid.
Poland	<i>Natalia</i>	302,557	Data as of January 2022; ranked 18 th for female names; as a first name ranked 3 rd in the world for distribution. Frequency: 1/237.	Lista imion... 2022; Natalia forename..., <i>s.a.</i>
	<i>Natasza</i>	8,937	177 th place for female names; as a first name.	ibid.
	<i>Natali</i>	105	1160 th place for female names; as a first name.	ibid.
Russia	<i>Наталья / Наталия (Natalya, Natalia, Nataliya)</i>	171,603	2014 figures. Distribution: 2 nd place in the world. Frequency: 1/841.	Natalia forename..., <i>s.a.</i>
Spain	<i>Natalia</i>	90,750	2014 figures. Frequency: 1/513.	ibid.
Ukraine	<i>Наталія / Наталя (Nataliya, Natalya, Natalia)</i>	482,498	2014 figures. Distribution: 1 st place in the world. Frequency: 1/94.	ibid.
USA	<i>Natalie</i>	211,157	2014 figures. Frequency: 1/1,717.	ibid.

The compiled statistics confirm the fairly high fashionableness of the forename *Natalia* and its equivalents and variants in the world. As reported by *Natalia forename...*, there were 1,821,927 women with this name living across the globe in 2014, the highest number being in Ukraine.

Meanwhile, what causes the name *Natalia* and its equivalents or variants to be given to new-born girls – either at baptism or as a result of a secular decision? The seemingly religious motivation is no longer valid. Indeed, the fact is that parents looking for a name for their offspring come across sources

that report, for example, names inspired by Christmas, carrying a good omen, as if in an ancient act associated with *dies locustris* or *Nominalia* (see Lentano 2018: 177).

The reference to Christmas may appeal to the public perception, but it is in fact subjective and relative. Christmas itself has today become secularised and commercialised to an advanced degree. Likewise, all pseudo-knowledge about names, which today can easily be found in non-scientific collections, lexicons, treasuries, and lists published in the traditional manner or on numerous websites. The titles of these sources sometimes contain much-talked-about phrases, such as "portraits of names", "magic of names", "peculiarities of names", "secrets of names", "esotericism of names", "numerology of names" (see, e.g., Huchla 2001; Noszczyk 2004; Urbański 2006; Wernichowska 1992; 2006; 2009; Winczewski 2006; cfr. Graf 2021). Although such rather amateurish works should be approached with a great deal of criticism and distance, it cannot be ruled out that they influence the choice of a child's name.

The forename *Natalia*, like many others, is the subject of fanciful theories that, for example, its bearer is "an incorrigible dreamer; dreams of careers, honours and tributes; sensitive by nature, endowed with a creative imagination; a little unrealistic in everyday life; generally kind to people", while elsewhere: "does not succumb to influence; has a discerning mind and diverse interests; increases her horizons under the influence of the years; her rich inner life is often incomprehensible to others" (according to many repeated subjective opinions, e.g., in Huchla 2001; Noszczyk 2004; Wernichowska 1991; 2006). Poetic statements can also be found, e.g., proclaiming that "*Natalia* [...] / Sleeps with the window open in winter, likes high mountains, / hates warm countries, / and dies in deep old age, famous for her virtues / and strictest manners" (Iłakowiczówna 1996: 80). Adding to this, symbols are designated to the name *Natalia*, with the assignments being random, arbitrary and not justified in any way, e.g., planet – Mercury, element – earth, metal – silver, stone – sapphire, colour – violet or blue, number – 2 or elsewhere 7, plant – orchid or valerian. Such data create a kind of fiction into which, however, enthusiasts of mysticism and "onomancy" (fortune telling based on a person's name, see Smith 1967: 166-167) look, just as one reaches for dream books, zodiacal predictions, fairy tales, etc.

From a sociological point of view, we are dealing here with the effect of influence, which can occasionally contribute to a decision on the choice of a name. Meanwhile, the "knowledge" attributed to the name *Natalia* or any other personal name may indicate that the forename, seen as a linguistic sign, actually lacks lexical meaning. Intentionally, pseudo-cognitive representations can be attributed to it, which have nothing to do with cognitive values in the linguistic and cultural sense.

As Malec (2001: 97) notes, the popularity of forenames is influenced both by tradition with its historical and cultural conditions, and by fashion, i.e., transient, changeable customs, periodic preferences for certain names associated with new events and trends in culture. As for the onym *Natalia*, as has already been shown, its demand in modern times was quite high. Nowadays it is decreasing, but this is also due to the fact that today's people are often looking for an original name that is not too common and, above all, not associated with former generations. Nevertheless, in terms of name connotation profile (Doroszewicz 2013: 61), the anthroponym *Natalia* maintains quite significant associations and values, e.g., it is combined with the category of intellect (Doroszewicz & Stanisławiak 1999: 99), as well as activity, intuition, health (see the discussion on the forum: https://www.goldenline.pl/grupy/Kobiety_zdrowie_uroda/natalia-dies-natalis-domini/nataliato-brzmi-dumnie,112948/).

The currently limited popularity of the name *Natalia* is evidenced by its "sociability" index (French *la socialibilité*, Coulmont 2014: 46-49). It is relatively advanced in onomastic culture, which does not guarantee the originality of the name choice. The current trend in naming is for a first name not to be repeated too often in a given age group.

5. The name *Natalia* in its broad socio-onomastic function

Within the anthroponymic sphere, the name *Natalia*, with its equivalents and variants in different language areas, may be an element of double names, occupying the first or second place in the structure (e.g., *Natalia Maria* or *Maria Natalia*), but also of religious names given during special ceremonies and acts (e.g., at confirmation and upon taking religious vows), while in the secular world, the forename *Natalia* is primarily the basis of surnames, nicknames and pseudonyms. Table 2 shows examples of the use of the name *Natalia* or derivatives in several anthroponymic subcategories.

Table 2. *Natalia* in anthroponymic subcategories. Source: Own processing

Anthroponymic subcategory	Selected language area	Remarks
Confirmation name in the Roman Catholic tradition	Polish	The adopting of the name <i>Natalia</i> justified by the existence of at least three patron saints, one of them Polish, Blessed Natalia Tułasiewicz, Martyr (1906–1945).
Nun names	French	Marie de Sainte Nathalie (Jeanne Marie Guerguin, 1864–1900).
Surnames inspired by the onymic family of <i>Natalia</i>	Italian	In Italy: 269 occurrences of the surname <i>Natalia</i> ; 11,412 – <i>Natali</i> (medieval origin).
Insurgent pseudonym	Polish	"Natalia" (Halina Marczak-Oborska, fighter in the Warsaw Uprising during the Second World War 1919–1982).
Sport nickname	Canadian	Ring name of the Canadian wrestler Natalie Katherine Neidhart.
Artistic nickname	French	Natoo (Nathalie Odzierejko, born in 1985, an Internet celebrity, vlogger and actress).

The use of the name *Natalia* has its limitations within anthroponymy, meanwhile there is practically no such restriction in naming other objects, ranging from places to company names or titles of artistic works, and thus in the wide spectrum of toponymy and chrematonymy. Table 3 shows examples from these ranges of onymic categories and subcategories, starting with toponyms and then moving on to chrematonyms formed using the onomastic unit *Natalia* (some of the sources consulted: Лучик 2014; Rymut 2007; Stewart 1970).

Table 3. Transonymisations of the name *Natalia*. Source: Own processing

Category	Name form	Object	Remarks
Toponymy	<i>Natalia</i>	Names of 2 villages in Poland	Directly from the name <i>Natalia</i> ; in historical records also <i>Natalja</i> (see Rymut 2007: 358).
	<i>Natalin</i>	Names of 9 villages in Poland	Derivative of the name <i>Natalia</i> (see Rymut 2007: 358).
	<i>Natolin</i>	Names of 10 villages in Poland	Derivative from the personal name <i>Natalia</i> with an inflection of -a- in -o- (see Rymut 2007: 358).
	<i>Наталія</i>	A settlement in Western Ukraine	Directly from the name <i>Наталія</i> .
	<i>Натплин</i>	Speleonym (cave name) in Ukraine (off the Odessa coast)	Derivative of the personal name <i>Наталія</i> [Natalya] or the surname <i>Наталин</i> [Natalin].
	<i>Наталієвка</i>	Name of a village in Moldova	Derivative of the name <i>Наталія</i> .
	<i>Nathalia</i>	Name of a town in Northern Victoria, Australia	https://www.google.pl/maps/place/Nathalia+Victoria+36.0602,145.0498365,11z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x6ad8bf316bdb4a8f:0x40579a430a095d0!8m2!3d-36.0572607!4d145.2039322
	<i>Natalia</i>	Name of a town in Texas, the USA	https://www.google.pl/maps/place/Natalia,+Texas+78059,+Stati+Uniti/@29.1941212,-98.8756587,14z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x865c3595ad683739:0x9a812455c9fc5bc!8m2!3d29.189684!4d-98.8625269
	<i>Natalie</i>	Name of a town in Pennsylvania, the USA	https://www.google.pl/maps/place/Natalie,+Pennsylvania+17851,+Stati+Uniti/@40.8173391,-76.4805185,14z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x89cf6019477efc43:0x4a259890c6d762e9!8m2!3d40.8173085!4d-76.4630088
Phytonymy	<i>Natalia</i>	Plant species name	https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/page/163915#page/281/mode/1up
Urbanonymy	[Villa] <i>Natalia</i>	Name of a 19 th century villa in Florence, Italy	https://www.google.com/maps/place/Villa+Natalia/@43.7955441,11.2593056,17z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x132a55741cd36b6f:0x7a3692712b43d19e!8m2!3d43.7955441!4d11.2614943
Hodonymy	<i>rue Nathalie</i>	Street name in Laval, Québec, Canada	https://www.google.com/maps/place/Rue+Nathalie,+Laval,+QC,+Kanada/@45.5730968,-73.8253721,17z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x4cc924366b577499:0x6ce1ba3551bca5b0!8m2!3d45.5730968!4d-73.8231834
	<i>ul. Natalii</i>	Street name in Lodz, Poland	Polish <i>Natalii</i> is a genitive form of <i>Natalia</i> .
	<i>Natalie Street</i>	Street name in Brookfield, Australia	https://www.google.com/maps/place/Natalie+St,+Brookfield+VIC+3338,+Australia/@-37.7068208,144.5471155,17z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x6ad6933dd8c909b1:0xe714740d3ace2f8c!8m2!3d-37.7068208!4d144.5493042
Chrematonymy	<i>Natalia</i>	Name of many ships	https://www.vesselfinder.com/it

	<i>Die Puppe Natalia</i>	Anthroponymised name of a toy doll	https://www.etsy.com/pl/listing/954323986/die-puppe-natalia
	<i>Natalie</i>	Commercial name of climbing rose	https://www.rozeogrodowe.pl/pl/p/Roza-pnaca-NATALIE/2933
	<i>Natalie</i>	Commercial name of a sofa	https://www.arredamentitraiano.com/mobili-torino/exco-sofa-natalie-divano-in-tessuto-241
	<i>Nathalie</i>	Name of a wedding dress	https://www.emie-saint-germain.fr/robes-de-mariee/robe-de-mariee-nathalie
	<i>Natalia</i>	Brand name for relaxation products	https://nataliaspzoo.pl/content/4-o-nas
	<i>Natalia Natalie Nathalie, etc.</i>	Name of many companies, restaurants, establishments, hotels, bars, clubs, etc.	Numerous sources also attested to inscriptions in the field (sign names in linguistic landscape, see Smith 1967: 206-207).
Ideonymy	<i>Natalia</i>	Title of an artistic work (here: a picture)	https://www.fizdi.com/natalia-art_7948_60295-handpainted-art-painting-10in-x-16in/
Medionymy	<i>Natalia</i>	Finnish movie from 1979, directed by Matti Kassila	
	<i>natalie.mu</i>	Name of a Japanese popular culture website	https://natalie.mu/
Astronymy	[448] <i>Natalie</i>	Asteroid name (discovered in 1899)	NASA Astrophysics Data System (ADS), https://articles.adsabs.harvard.edu/full/1941PA.....49..243R/0000248.000.html

As can be seen, the data found as a sample of possible occurrences indicate that the name *Natalia* and its equivalents/variants are commonly used in various onymic categories. This forename is here a direct or indirect source of naming motivation, carrying with it a story of mainly sociological importance, thus referring to persons or a specific anthroponymic entity from the stock commonly available to onymy in different linguistic areas.

6. Conclusion

The name *Natalia* is an onymic sign with a relatively large range, as measured by historical and current occurrences. It has entered common onomastic culture as a classical forename that has been subjected to "religionisation" and then secularisation, particularly where the religious context did not play or no longer plays a significant role, which is essentially appropriate to the use of the current anthroponymy. The classical name *Natalia* has sparked the emergence of numerous equivalents and variants in many languages, as well as derivative forms, including hypocoristical ones, which have produced almost separate naming groups (e.g., the East Slavic diminutives of the "affectionate" (Italian *vezzeggiativo*) derivative *Natasha* / *Наташа*: *Natashen'ka*, *Natashechka* / *Наташенька*, *Наташечка*). The legibility, and at the same time the etymological complexity of the name *Natalia*, builds up a certain story, which may have a potential and subconscious meaning today in the choice of this name for a new-born child, but also in other nomination acts, pertaining to various objects, e.g., places in urban topography or companies and products in commercial communication. The pseudo-cognitive knowledge of the forename *Natalia*, bordering on esoteric discourse, on the other

hand, contributes nothing to the space of its functioning as a linguistic sign. Instead, it is an element of mass culture that various disciplines, including onomastics, should deal with today. One can disregard all the incoherent divination and symbolism arbitrarily given to a first name, thus proving the thesis of the lack of lexical meaning of proper names in the onymic resource of language. However, this is worth tackling because of the sheer interest that "onomancy" arouses in public perception. This still requires in-depth research. Finally, it should be noted that the anthroponomastic and transonomastic use of the name *Natalia* and all individuals formally belonging to its "proprial family" is a cultural event that can be similarly illustrated by many other anthroponyms, e.g., derived from the repertoire inspired by festivities in different socio-religious traditions.

Notes

1. We are first of all serfs of the name we inherit. It calls us to account, and its demands anchor the fluctuations of subjectivity. The determinisms of the giving of the name insist continuously, but fortunately, some of these determinisms are contradictory to each other and are liberated by each other (G. Pommier. *Le nom propre. Fonctions logiques et inconscientes*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2013: 94; trans. AG). All the quotations in the text as well as the examples from non-English-language are translated by the author.


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GARDEN AS A LINGUISTIC CULTURAL SYMBOL**Vladimir Karasik** *Pushkin State Russian Language Institute, Moscow, Russia***Received:** 25.09.2022 **Reviewed:** 02.12.2022 and 28.01.2023**Similarity Index:** 5%

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Abstract: The paper deals with symbolic properties of the concept GARDEN as presented in English and Russian world-views. Culturally, gardens are opposed to forests and are correlated to parks, and various types of food and flowers growing. Perceptive characteristics of a garden in the English world-view are mostly connected with it as part of home adjoining a house, whereas in Russian descriptions of gardens we can often see abandoned old gardens as symbols of a lost happy life. Evaluative features of a garden allude to the Biblical description of paradise.

Keywords: garden, symbol, concept, notion, image, value.

*To Nataliya Panasenکو
cordially*

1. Introduction

Garden as a phenomenon of culture has a long and interesting history and is variously reflected in the language. A symbolic approach to the description of linguistic units consists in explaining the images connected with certain objects and values, which determine our attitude to such images. Symbols make the reality meaningful. Culturally, a garden is opposed to a forest. In this respect, the idea of a garden is its association with the territory cultivated by people and opposite to wild nature. It has an initial symbolic meaning of domesticated nature as opposed to forest, or wood, which is taken as nature in its primordial essence. Cultivated gardens are opposed to parks, on the one hand, and various types of specialized food and flowers growing, such as vegetable gardens, greenhouses, orangeries, vineyards, etc., on the other hand. A garden as a cultural phenomenon has been thoroughly reflected in the Humanities (Агапкина 2009; Лихачев 1998). A linguistic cultural description and explanation



of reality nowadays is usually presented in the analysis of concepts reflected in the language.

The aim of the present paper is to analyze the concept GARDEN in various texts on the material of English and Russian. The rationale of my study may be expressed in the following suggestions: there are general and specific properties in conceptualization of garden in English and Russian, such properties vary in certain types of discourse and correspond to certain values of English and Russian world-view.

2. Material and methods

The material of the study comprises definitions of the concept GARDEN taken from English and Russian dictionaries, textual fragments (sentences) given in the linguistic corpora (British National Corpus and National Corpus of the Russian Language), excerpts from the Bible, proverbs and aphorisms including the word "garden" in English and Russian. The methods used are semantic, contextual and interpretative analysis – explanation of definitions and contextual meaning of the words "garden" and "сад" in English and Russian in everyday communication and in religious and fictional discourse. Associative dictionaries have also been used to find out symbolic meaning of the words compared.

3. Garden as a linguistic concept. Notional properties

Concepts understood as quants of emotionally charged experience (or knowledge) have repeatedly attracted scholars' attention (Воркачев 2014; Карасик 2002; Колесов 2019; Красавский 2001; Пименова 2004; Слышкин 2004; Степанов 1997; Стернин 2008). Certain properties of concepts are taken in our research community for axioms: 1) concepts belong to mental sphere of people, 2) they may have a linguistic realization, though not necessarily, but the most important concepts are always expressed in words and phraseological units, 3) concepts are focal points between a person and the culture, 4) thematically, concepts are organized into multidimensional systems usually called world-views, or maps / pictures of the world, or concept spheres, 5) their structure may be presented as a combination of notional, perceptive, and evaluative components (several linguists include here a symbolic component, too), 6) their history comprises three stages of their development: a) the fact or idea which gave birth to a concept, b) the concretization of a mental object in its definition and perceptive and metaphorical images, c) evaluative expansion of its content leading to simplification and extrusion of its notional details.

Describing a garden as a concept, we begin with its lexical definition. *Oxford English Dictionary* gives us a detailed description of the concept:

Garden – 1. An enclosed piece of ground devoted to the cultivation of flowers, fruit, or vegetables; often preceded by some defining word, as flower-, fruit-, kitchen-, market-, strawberry-garden, etc. 2. Ornamental grounds, used as a place of public resort, usually with some defining word, as Botanic(al), Zoological Gardens, etc. 3. transf. Applied to a region of remarkable fertility. The Garden of England: a name given to various counties, esp. Kent and Worcestershire. 4. to cultivate one's garden [after Voltaire *Candide* (1759), 'Il faut cultiver notre jardin'], to attend to one's own affairs. 5. Colloq. phr. everything in the garden is lovely, the situation is perfectly satisfactory; all is well. 6. to lead (someone) up the garden (-path), to lead on, entice; mislead, deceive. colloq. (OED, *s.a.*)

In *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, a certain distinction between British and American understanding of the concept is emphasized:

Garden – 1. [countable] *British English* the area of land next to a house, where there are flowers, grass, and other plants, and often a place for people to sit [= yard *American English*]. 2 [countable] *American English* part of the area next to a house, which has plants and flowers in it (LDCE, *s.a.*).

In *Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language* compiled by V.I. Dahl the noun *сад* [garden] is explained in connection to the verb *сажать* [to set, to plant] and is explained in the following way:

Сад – участок земли, засаженный старанием человека деревьями, кустами, цветами, с убитыми дорожками и разного рода и вида затеями, украшениями. Сад бывает плодовый, или потешный, для прогулок; огород же, овощник, для разводки полезных, более съедомых растений. Сады садить, огороды городить. Сад поздно зацветает к смерти хозяина. Хоть его в сад посади, и сад привянет [A garden is a piece of land planted by human efforts with trees, bushes, flowers, with stoned paths and all sorts of amusement and decorations. The garden may be with fruit, or for amusement, for walking; a garden, a vegetable garden, for planting healthy, more edible plants. Gardens are planted, vegetable gardens are enclosed. The garden blooms late to the death of the owner. Even if he is put in the garden, the garden will fade] (Даль, 2020).

The concept САД is defined in *The Dictionary of the Contemporary Russian Literary Language* with specifications:

Сад – 1. Участок земли, засаженный деревьями, кустами и цветами (обычно с проложенными дорожками); деревья, цветы, растущие на этом участке. 2. Городской сад. Сад для отдыха городского населения. Увеселительный сад. В дореволюционное время — сад с увеселительными заведениями. Ботанический, Детский, Зоологический сад [Garden – 1. A plot of land planted with trees, bushes, and flowers (usually with paved paths); trees, flowers growing on this site. 2. City garden. Garden for urban recreation. Pleasure garden. In pre-revolutionary times – a

garden with entertainment establishments. Botanical, Children's, Zoological garden] (Большой академический словарь...).

We can see that in English and Russian the concept GARDEN coincides in the following explanatory notes: 1) an enclosed place of ground, 2) with cultivated plants in it. The difference in conceptualization of the garden in the languages compared is in specification of plants: Russian gardens must include trees (there is a distinction between "сад" [garden] and "огород" [vegetable garden]) whereas English and American gardens have mostly flowers. To denote the place with fruit trees, English-speaking people use the word "orchard". In both languages, the idea of a garden as a place specially organized for having a rest there is explicit.

It should be mentioned that the inner form of the word "garden" in English as well as "Garten" in German and "jardin" in French stems from the Indo-European root 'gher-/ghor-' (to enclose) corresponding to Russian "город / град" (city, town).

4. Garden as a linguistic concept. Perceptive properties

To determine an image as a perceptive element of a concept we have to analyze the context of the word presented in sentences and word combinations expressing its basic and subsidiary properties. The British National Corpus (<https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc>) has many examples of the word "garden".

The description of gardens may be grouped under the following items. Back yard gardens are part of a common semi-detached house territory:

The blast – triggered when Alan lit his gas oven – had ripped off his clothes. Most of his red-brick semi lay in pieces in the garden around him.

A garden is part of a well-to-do person's residence:

The cost of living is similar to Australia, but homes are even cheaper. A three-bed, detached house with swimming pool, garage, big garden and large loft with sea views recently fetched 25,714.

We stayed at Rosetta Cottage, a period furnished Victorian villa on the seafront at Cowes, Isle of Wight. It is very comfortable, tastefully furnished, and set in its own garden, in which Winston Churchill's father Randolph proposed to his mother Jennie.

Two years ago, he pumped 1.7 million into developing an ambitious garden park and leisure centre in the grounds of the 1,000-year-old estate.

In a garden there are no empty spaces:

...you don't have to be an expert to make a super garden. Every little bed and gap is packed with plants.

Usually there are flowers planted in the garden:

Since then dahlias have become one of the best loved of all garden flowers.

However, there may be big trees planted in a garden:

Don't mention trees to Kim Basinger's neighbours. Residents of exclusive Woodland Hills, California, are fuming after the sexy star bought six giant maple trees and had them re-planted in her back garden. One irate neighbour says: 'She hired a huge crane to swing the trees over her house into the garden.' But the crane was so heavy the road caved in leaving a massive hole.

Gardens usually have fences around them:

People fled in terror yesterday as a crashed petrol tanker exploded in a fireball, sending 7,000 gallons of blazing fuel roaring up the street. [...] Horrified residents escaped over back garden fences as the flaming petrol cascaded down the street.

There is a gate to a garden (often made of metal):

Two-year-old Adam Rippon was freed by firemen after he got his head caught in the garden gate.

There are special instruments and utilities for gardening:

Here's a great idea with bags of usefulness. Get the Tidi Noir, a light, plastic bag, for garden debris.

People have to know how to maintain gardens:

Ground cover plants help make a garden easy to maintain and they curb weeds.

People may keep fowl in their back garden:

A farmer is doing a roaring trade – selling turkey chicks for Christmas. Hard-up families are buying them at 3.60 each to fatten up at home. And farmer Dennis Reynolds says the cost of making the birds plump enough for a feast is chicken feed – especially when supermarket meat can cost 1 per lb. Dennis, 42, of Tonna, West Glamorgan, said: 'They are quite happy in a back garden and are not fussy eaters.'

Gardens may suffer from bad weather:

The superstar's Coral Gables mansion was battered by gale force winds which left windows smashed and wrecked her garden.

People keep gardens to have a rest there:

And we would go for walks together or just sit in the garden, talking.

Sitting in an English garden / Waiting for the sun / If the sun don't [sic] come you get a tan / From standing in the English rain (Beatles).

A garden is regarded as a paradise:

A kestrel swooped for a refreshing stop at a waterfall in a little garden paradise high above a busy South London road.

According to the British Medical Journal, 'If you want to be happy for a night get drunk, for a year get married, and for a lifetime get a garden'.

The descriptions presented correspond to dictionary definitions and show that gardens are common in England and make a usual environment of everyday life.

Textual illustrations of the concept GARDEN in Russian have been taken from the "National Corpus of the Russian Language" (www.ruscorpora.ru). A general view of a garden includes fruit and flowers:

...на экране появилась симпатичная картинка: небо, сад и девочка с корзиной, которая собирает в неё красные яблоки (Ю. Смирнова). [... a nice picture appeared on the screen: the sky, a garden, and a girl with a basket, who fills it with red apples.] (Trans. V.K.)

Мы пошли в фруктовый сад, и там этот гость оборвал какую-то редкостную сливу, плоды которой были у дяди на счету (Н. Лесков). [We went out into the orchard, and our guest picked there some rare plum, any piece of them was cherished by Uncle.]

Большая терраса вела из дому в сад, перед террасой красовалась продолговатая клумба, покрытая розами; на каждом конце клумбы росли две акации, ещё в молодости переплетённые в виде винта покойным хозяином (И. Тургенев). [A large terrace connected the house with the garden, and in front of it there was an oblong flowerbed covered with roses; two acacias were on the sides of it, they had been twined by the late owner in the form of an external screw.]

A garden has a special odour:

– Где мы? – спросила Галя, когда птица с быстротой молнии опустила её на землю, прямо в роскошный, чудно благоухающий сад (Л. Чарская). [Where are we? – Galya asked, when the bird let her down in a flash-like way into a luxurious wonderful fragrant garden.]

Они цвели в разное время года и суток, перед дождём и по вечерам одуряюще пахли, бабушка радовалась каждому из них, выходила в сад, подолгу смотрела, разговаривала с цветами и

никому не разрешала до них дотрагиваться, но охотно раздаривала: никто не уезжал от неё с пустыми руками (А. Варламов). [They blossomed in various time of the year and the day, and they gave a stupefying odour before the rain and in the evening, and our granny enjoyed all of them, she went out in the garden, looked at them for a long time, talked with flowers, and let nobody touch them, but was happy to give them one left her empty-handed.]

A garden is surrounded by a fence:

У Ивана Карловича был большой фруктовый сад, мы перелезали через забор, пробежали по саду, опять через забор – и мы на дедушкином дворе (А. Рыбаков). [Ivan Karlovich had a big orchard, we used to climb over the fence, run in the garden, came back over the fence again – and returned to our granddad's yard.]

Сад был огорожен с трех сторон на случай пожара плетнем, в длину и ширину примерно по 80 метров (Д. Дроздов). [The garden was enclosed by a wicker fence from three sides to prevent fire, about 80 meters widthwise and lengthwise.]

A description of a garden often includes some notes about its maintenance:

Сразу скажем: создать сад, которому не требуется уход, невозможно! (Т. Ефимова). [To put it right away: it is impossible to make a garden with no maintenance.]

Как уже говорилось, любой сад требует хоть и малого, но всё же ухода (В. Усков). [As it has been mentioned, one should take at least some little effort to keep up any garden.]

Секрет талантливого садовника – используя четыре-пять видов, создать эффектный сад (В. Иршенкова). [The secret of a gifted gardener is to make a glamorous garden using four or five kinds of plants.]

Тогда мы взяли лопаты и пошли с Мишкой в сад сажать деревья (В. Медведев). [Then Mishka and I took the spades and went to the garden to plant trees.]

We often see descriptions of old and derelict gardens:

Разговор был в углу сада у ветхой изгороди, в изгороди прорехи и дыры, там – брошенный сад и брошенный дом (А. Слаповский). [They were talking at the corner of a garden near a dilapidated fence full of jags and holes, and there loomed a forsaken garden and abandoned house.]

Пустошь и ту можно превратить в цветущий сад, если она наследственная; а бесхозный [Barren land may be turned into a flourishing garden if it is inherited, and a flourishing garden if it is derelict, will become a wasteland.] *цветущий сад – превратится в пустошь* (Ю. Давыдов).

Высокие окна выходят в дремучий сад с давно умолкнувшим фонтаном посередине (И. Грекова). [Tall windows look at a jungly garden with a dead fountain in the middle.]

People use a garden as a place to have a rest there and enjoy its beauty:

Они тотчас же уединились с ним в комнате Анненского, долго читали какую-то рукопись, потом сошли в сад, где, по случаю прекрасной погоды, был приготовлен стол для чаепития – с простенькой скатертью и дюжиной разнокалиберных чашек (К. Чуковский). [They immediately had secluded at Annensky's room, read some manuscript there, and after that went out to the garden to have tea as the weather was good, the tea table was ready for them with a simple cloth on it and a dozen of different size cups.]

Муромский принял своих соседей как нельзя ласковее, предложил им осмотреть перед обедом сад и зверинец и повёл по дорожкам, тщательно выметенным и усыпанным песком (А.С. Пушкин). [Muromsky had received his neighbours in the most cordial way; he offered them to have a look at his garden and zoo and guided them on carefully brushed out and sanded roads.]

Gardens may be sold and bought:

Вам уже известно, вишнёвый сад ваш продаётся за долги, на двадцать второе августа назначены торги, но вы не беспокойтесь, моя дорогая, спите себе спокойно, выход есть... (А. Чехов). [As you know the cherry orchard is to sell so as sold to pay the debts, the auction will take place on the 22nd of August, but you should not worry, dear, take it easy, we shall get out...]

A garden as a symbol of a lost happy life is described in Russian philological investigations (Евдокимова et al. 2017; Сарсенова 2012). A garden may be described as a living or dead creature: *Зимняя ночь тянулась долго-долго, и чёрные окна пустой дачи угрюмо глядели на обледеневший неподвижный сад (Л. Андреев). [A winter night seemed endless, and black windows of an empty country house gloomily looked at the icy immovable garden.]*

One should pay attention to the difference in the image of a garden in Russia and in the West:

На российских просторах мини-садики мы практически не встречаем: это вам не обычный сад-огород на шести сотках загородной "фазенды" (А. Лысиков). [We can find practically no mini-gardens here in Russia: it is not our usual six hundred square meters large vegetable garden in our country house humorously called "fazenda".]

In both English and Russian languages and cultures, we can see images of a garden as cultivated enclosed territory with flowers and fruit. English gardens are parts of the homes, they adjoin the houses, whereas in Russia they are often separate from a living place except the descriptions of aristocratic estates. English people take their gardens as something very dear and comfortable.

Descriptions of gardens in Russian often have a nostalgic tint, old abandoned gardens are shown as symbols of a lost happy life.

To check the data obtained I have compared the reactions of English and Russian speaking people to the stimulus "garden" as reflected in associations presented in the Internet (<https://wordassociations.net/en>) and <http://thesaurus.ru/dict>.

Associative reactions in English include the following words: **nouns** – *Kew, Covent, Busch, cypress, gardener, Kensington, gardening, allotment, orchard, Williamsburg, terrace, parks, cottage, botany, parkway, woodland, flower, Tampa, coaster, villa, park, kitchen, palace, fruit, tea, roller, landscape, Doubleday, suburb, arboretum, walk, brewery, Eden, Jamestown, Madison, boulevard, garden, Orlando, horticulture, fields, amusement, attraction, cultivar, Tao, lawn, howl, bay, planting, hedge, Carroll, fountain, parkland, dive, resort, theme, grotto, greenhouse, Hampstead, patio, ride, stroll, mater, weeds, shrub, rooftop, vegetable, yew, tulip, Florida, hose, conservation, cabbage, pavilion, promenade, courtyard*; **adjectives** – *botanic, horticultural, square, zoological, beautiful, ornamental, walled, vegetable, planted, ripe, cultivated, sunken, lush, blooming, elementary, spacious, fragrant*.

Russian data are to some extent different: **nouns** – *огород* [vegetable garden], *деревья* [trees], *яблоки* [apples], *цветы* [flowers], *фрукты* [fruit], *абрикосы* [apricots], *беседка* [pavilion], *в деревне* [in the village], *в цвету* [blossoming], *весна* [spring time], *виноград* [grapes], *вишня* [cherry], *дача* [country house], *дерево* [tree], *дом* [house], *зелень* [greenery], *красота* [beauty], *культура* [culture], *курорт* [resort], *лес* [forest], *любовь* [love], *Мичурин* [Michurin], *на даче* [in the country house], *над морем* [at the sea side], *невеста* [bride], *Нескучный* [Neskuchny], *овощи* [vegetables], *палисад* [paling], *парк* [park], *при доме* [around the house], *пулемет* [machine gun], *с персиками* [with peaches], *Семирамиды* [Semiramis]; **pronouns** – *мой* [my]; **adjectives** – *вишневый* [cherry], *цветущий* [blooming, blossoming], *яблоне́вый* [apple], *фруктовый* [fruit], *густой* [thick], *зеленый* [green], *зимний* [winter], *огромный* [huge], *весенний* [spring], *вырублен* [cut out], *детский* [kindergarten], *живой* [alive], *запущенный* [desolate], *колхозный* [kolkhoz], *красивый* [beautiful], *райский* [paradise], *тенистый и густой* [shady and thick], *хороший* [good], *яблоко* [apple], *яблони* [apple trees], *яблоня* [apple tree], *ягоды* [berries]; **verbs** – *цветет* [blooming, blossoming], *иметь* [have], *расцветает* [blossoming], *садить* [plant], *трясти* [shake].

English and Russian images of a garden coincide in naming typical garden trees and plants and their view, but differ in the pictures of places: in English and American cultures, a garden is often a proper name of a certain location, whereas in Russia it is mostly associated with a country life and fruit

grown there.

5. Garden as a linguistic concept. Evaluative properties

Values encoded in concepts may be analyzed in their explicit manifestation when we take the texts specially produced and kept in memory to express norms of behavior and stereotypes of world-views. These are legends, myths, parables, proverbs and sayings, aphorisms, jokes and anecdotes, and personal narratives.

A garden is one of most well-known symbols dealt with in the Bible. It was the place specially created by God for all the creatures to live in peace and harmony:

Now the Lord God had planted a garden in the east, in Eden; and there he put the man he had formed (Genesis, 2:8).

The Lord God made all kinds of trees grow out of the ground – trees that were pleasing to the eye and good for food. In the middle of the garden were the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Genesis, 2:9).

The Lord God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it (Genesis, 2:15).

So, the Lord God banished him from the Garden of Eden to work the ground from which he had been taken (Genesis, 3:23).

We can see that the garden of the God was the best place on the earth, and Adam, the first human being, was chosen to take care of it. After Adam and Eve were banished from paradise, the primary symbolic meaning of it is a nostalgic desire to come back there. A garden in the Bible is referred to as a burial place:

And Manasseh slept with his fathers and was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza, and Amon his son became king in his place (Kings, 21:18).

The symbolic meaning of this connection between garden and death seems to be coming back to the earth, which gives life to trees and all the living beings; it is the ever-lasting circle of life.

The Middle East climate makes people value water. The following connection in the words of a famous prophet is significant:

And the Lord will continually guide you, / And satisfy your desire in scorched places, / And give strength to your bones; / And you will be like a watered garden, / And like a spring of water whose waters do not fail (Isaiah, 58:11).

The symbolic meaning of a watered garden is life in its blossom. A well-known saying "*Man should build a house, plant a tree and raise a son*" is often repeated and has a deep symbolic meaning. Building a house means that a person should realize himself in his occupation or profession, planting a tree is a metaphor describing one's contribution to future generations' prosperity, and in this respect, a tree and a garden coincide, and raising a son is reaching a personal immortality. Nowadays the phrase refers both to men and women. It is interesting to mention that in the Bible we can see a certain consequential mode of behavior: a person should first build a house, then plant a vineyard and only after that marry a woman (Sotah, 44a:6). Thus, building a house is a preliminary basic thing to be fulfilled, and planting a vineyard should follow it, it is a certain stage of development a person should aspire to reach, and finally there comes family life.

Gardening requires time, and the fruit yielded by trees as well as grapes yielded by vineyards come not immediately but after a certain period of time. Thus, the symbolic meaning of working and reaching the result is realized in parables and proverbs about harvesting. In the commentary to the treatise in Talmud we can find an excellent explanation:

Just as my ancestors planted for me, I too am planting for my descendants (Taanit, 23a:15).

The symbol of a garden in this respect is a contribution a person should make into the history of mankind.

The proverbs usually express recommendations of behavior formulated in succinct sentences with images connected with everyday life. It was surprising for me to find out that there are very few proverbs both in English and in Russian dealing with the concept GARDEN. The word "garden" (and its synonyms) in such texts is a metaphor or a comparison.

A garden is a treasure, which can be lost:

It is easy to rob an orchard when none keeps it (Engl.)

One should take care of the things one possesses. We have to know that our efforts to cultivate a garden are often energy consuming:

A house built and a garden to grow never brought what they cost (Scot.).

This rather pessimistic observation is a kind of warning to romantic enthusiasts in any enterprise they take part in.

An interesting proverbial note can be seen in the following sentence:

Every man is sociable until a cow invades his garden (Irish).

The idea is that people are not very friendly when their property is at risk.

There happen to be weeds in a garden, and this fact is reflected in the proverb:

A man of words and not of deeds is like a garden full of weeds.

This comparison is directed to express a recommendation to practice what one promises.

In Russian, we find other observations:

Каков сад, таковы и яблоки. [Like the garden, like apples.] *Каков уход, таков и плод.* [Like attendance, like the fruit.] *Каков сад, таков и садовник.* [Like a garden, like the gardener.]

These proverbs show the connection between conditions and consequences.

The fact that an allusion to a garden is so rare in proverbial phrases requires a special study. But it is important to mention that aphorisms about garden and gardening in English are very numerous. According to the Internet resources (<https://www.backyardboss.net/171-inspirational-gardening-quotes-and-sayings>, <https://proverbicals.com/garden>) there are 170 sentences dealing with this topic. An aphorism differs from a proverb in the following points: it is not anonymous, it often lacks a vivid image and expresses some paradoxical ideas, it expresses not a recommendation of behavior, but an observation of human nature, and it belongs to communication of philosophers whereas proverbs have no authors, they usually have a rememberable image, they teach everyone what they should do in certain typical situations, and they belong to folklore expressing the worldview of common people.

In aphorisms about gardens and gardening we can find the observations about our life in general. Thus, a garden becomes a symbol of the world we inhabit.

A garden is a symbol of joy and happiness:

If you have a garden and a library, you have everything you need (M.T. Cicero).

God Almighty first planted a garden. And indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures (F. Bacon).

No occupation is so delightful to me as the culture of the earth, and no culture comparable to that of the garden (Th. Jefferson).

I grow plants for many reasons: to please my eye or to please my soul, to challenge the elements or to challenge my patience, for novelty or for nostalgia, but mostly for the joy in seeing them grow (D. Hobson).

The lesson I have thoroughly learnt, and wish to pass on to others, is to know the enduring happiness that the love of a garden gives (G. Jekyll).

Flowers always make people better, happier, and more helpful; they are sunshine, food, and medicine for the soul (L. Burbank).

Gardens make people understand what we are. They are symbols of our essence:

Show me your garden and I shall tell you what you are (A. Austin).

I cultivate my garden, and my garden cultivates me (R. Breault).

In search of my mother's garden, I found my own (A. Walker).

There is no gardening without humility. Nature is constantly sending even its oldest scholars to the bottom of the class for some egregious blunder (A. Austin).

I plant a lot of trees. I am a great believer in planting things for future generations. I loathe the now culture where you just live for today (P. Keith).

A garden is always a series of losses set against a few triumphs, like life itself (M. Sarton).

To appreciate a garden, one should love it. A garden is a symbol of love:

I think the true gardener is a lover of his flowers, not a critic of them (R. Farrer).

The glory of gardening: hands in the dirt, head in the sun, heart with nature. To nurture a garden is to feed not just on the body, but the soul (A. Austin).

Keep love in your heart. A life without it is like a sunless garden when the flowers are dead (Anonymous).

I have never had so many good ideas day after day as when I worked in the garden (J. Erskine).

The phrases about weeds belong here, too:

Weeds are flowers too, once you get to know them (A. Milne).

What is a weed? A plant whose virtues have never been discovered (Ralph W. Emerson).

A weed is but an unloved flower (E. Wilcox).

A flower falls, even though we love it; and a weed grows, even though we do not love it (Dogen).

To keep a garden on must work hard there. A garden is a symbol of effort and care:

A garden requires patient labor and attention. Plants do not grow merely to satisfy ambitions or to fulfill good intentions. They thrive because someone expended effort on them (L. Bailey).

It will never rain roses: when we want to have more roses we must plant more trees (G. Eliot).

Gardens are not made by singing 'Oh, how beautiful,' and sitting in the shade (R. Kipling).

Gardening requires lots of water — most of it in the form of perspiration (L. Erickson).

Remember that children, marriages, and flower gardens reflect the kind of care they get (H. Jackson Brown, Jr.).

It is impossible to live without sacrifice, effort and hardships – life is not a garden where only flowers grow (I.A. Goncharov).

Gardening gives people hopes to be realized, thus it is a symbol of hope:

Gardening simply does not allow one to be mentally old, because too many hopes and dreams are yet to be realized (A. Armitage).

There's something about taking a plow and breaking new ground. It gives you energy (K. Kesey).

One of the most delightful things about a garden is the anticipation it provides (W. Johns).

However, there are few pessimistic commentaries on gardening. Actually, such phrases express the ideas of killing the joy of gardening:

A vegetable garden, in the beginning, looks so promising and then after all little by little it grows nothing but vegetables, nothing, nothing but vegetables (G. Stein).

Commentators turn any garden into herbarium (D. Quiller).

Reasoning about gardening and symbols expressed here show us that gardens make people understand our inseparable connection with nature and its harmony.

6. Conclusion

Garden as a cultural symbol is variously conceptualized in the language. Its notional properties as specified in dictionary definitions are expressed in the features "an enclosed placed of ground with cultivated plants in it". Culturally, gardens are opposed to forests and are correlated to parks, on the one hand, and various types of food and flowers growing, on the other hand. Perceptive characteristics of a garden in the English worldview are mostly connected with it as part of home adjoining a house, whereas in Russian descriptions of gardens we can often see abandoned old gardens as symbols of a lost happy life. Evaluative features of a garden allude to the Biblical description of paradise. Proverbs show gardens as the property to be taken care of. Aphorisms depict a garden as the symbol of the world we live in, as a source of joy and happiness, a picture of our essence, something we should love and cherish, a symbol of effort and care, and, sometimes, something frail and vulnerable.

Notes

All the examples in the text as well as the quotations from non-English-language are translated by the author.

List of abbreviations

LDCE – Longman dictionary of Contemporary English


OED – Oxford English dictionary

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INTERTEXTUALITY IN MEDIA TEXTS

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Abstract: The article highlights one of the semantic text categories, intertextuality, with the aim of specifying precedent texts and means of their functioning in the media text. Media texts are selected in order to show how intertextuality is formed in different functional-semantic types of speech – narration, description and argumentation. Figures that introduce precedent texts can be considered as markers of intertextuality, which include the media text header complex, epigraph, quotation, allusion and visualized intertextuality.

Keywords: media text, text categories, intertextuality, intertextuality markers, functional-semantic types of speech.

1. Introduction

Traditionally, all the text categories are divided into structural and semantic ones. This study focuses on intertextuality, one of the best-studied semantic categories, which refers to the presence of "the text within the text." My aim is to conduct an intertextual analysis of different media texts, which constitute monological functional-semantic types of speech (FST), i.e., narration, description, and reasoning. This analysis helps to reveal intertextual associative links and the means by which they are introduced. Precedent texts form different inclusions and serve as specific markers of intertextuality. These markers are limited to five types and are presented by the media text header complex, epigraph, citations and allusions, inclusions from the semiotic systems. The last marker is often referred to as visual or visualized intertextuality; it is widely used in printed and digital media in the form of visual jokes, memes, caricatures, and the like.

¹ I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Nataliya Panasenko, to whom this Special issue is dedicated, for providing me with Slovak examples and for her constant support in writing this article.



By selecting media texts that form three groups of FST of speech, I seek to find out which of the markers prevails in narration, description and reasoning; what precedent texts are most popular; how intertextual links are formed. In order to solve these tasks, I use semantic, textual, contextual, semiotic and some other types of analysis.

2. Media text and its varieties

Media text is a crucial element of media communication, serving as a carrier of various pieces of information, which has specific verbal and nonverbal features and addressees. In their book *Media text in the mirror of linguistics*, which provides a comprehensive analysis of media text, including its definition, typology, and various analytical approaches used to study it, Panasenکو and Greguš note that "[s]cholars from all over the world have considered media texts from the point of view of a wide variety of schools and directions: sociolinguistics, functional and media stylistics, theory of discourse, content analysis, cognitive linguistics and rhetorical criticism" (2022: 128).

It is a basic category of media linguistics, a relatively new science that studies the language of the media, taking into account socio-cultural factors and linguistic-media technologies that affect large audiences. Media linguistics is closely related to linguistic and non-linguistic disciplines such as text linguistics and lexicology, pragmatics and media culture, stylistics and media education, gender studies and others.

Kazak (2014) describes universal and culturally specific characteristics of a media text, including such idiosyncratic features as its mass character, openness of the text at the content/semantic, compositional, and sign levels, semiotic integrity, and intertextual openness. Valgina suggests that a media text typology can be based on informational, functional-stylistic, structural-semiotic, or communicative features, and that at their intersection, one and the same text can be assigned to different groups (Валгина 2004: 113).

McQuail (2013) identifies the fundamental characteristics of media texts: they are co-created by readers, gender-stylized, employ various forms of narration (such as first-person narrative and entrusted narrative), can be encoded in a different way, are polysemantic, and are related to other texts, i.e., they can possess intertextuality.

Media texts can be classified based on either linguistic or extralinguistic parameters. Emotional and analytical journalism are two such classifications, each with a specific set of journalistic messages

presenting dialogical and monological FST of speech (Панасенко 2020; Panasenko 2016). The basic subdivision of monological FST is into narration, description, and reasoning. In the examples presented below, I will demonstrate how intertextuality is reflected in different journalistic messages.

Another approach to the classification of media texts belongs to Kazak (Казак, *s.a.*), who takes into account such features as the effectiveness of communication (communicatively successful/unsuccessful texts), contact (distant/interactive communication), forms of creating and disseminating information (oral/written texts and their variations), formality/informality of communication, and others.

3. Text categories: basic notions

Text categories are a special type of category, which characterizes segments larger than a sentence. Text categories reflect a text's most general and essential features and represent steps in the cognition of its ontological, gnoseological, and structural signs. The description and study of text categories require both taxonomic (classificational) and qualitative approaches (Тыраева 1986: 80).

Conventionally, text categories are subdivided into structural and semantic ones. The first group includes coherence, cohesion, integrity, and segmentation, reflecting text structure and types of connections between text segments. The second group is considerably larger and reflects a text's semantic features.

Panasenko and Greguš (2022) provide a detailed analysis of all the categories, accompanied by an extensive list of references. Here I will mention just a few categories that are arguably most important for a media text analysis and illustrate their importance with some recent publications. These include emotivity (Foolen 2022; Mizin et al. 2021; Mizin et al. 2023; Pinich 2017; Panasenko & Petrovičová 2022; Panasenko et al. 2023), evaluation (Bigunova 2019; Pieš 2022; Prihodko et al. 2020), informativity / information value (Panasenko & Greguš 2022), literary space (Panasenko 2018), literary time and temporality (Кухаренко 2018; Yamaguchi 2016), modality (Panasenko & Kryachkov 2020; Panasenko et al. 2020), and intertextuality, which is the object of this study (Москвин 2013; Самохина & Рыжкова 2017; Чернявская 2016). Let us now discuss the category of intertextuality and its basic features.

4. Intertextuality, its understanding, varieties, and markers

Intertextuality is one of the fundamental semantic categories, which has attracted scholars' attention since 1967, when Julia Kristeva introduced the term in her article dedicated to the jubilee of Bakhtin, explaining that "every text contains explicit or open quotes, since it is not created from scratch, i.e., it incorporates other texts and is a replica in its direction" (Кристева 2000: 432). However, Kristeva, as Kukhareenko argues (Кухаренко 2018: 158), did not limit herself to lexical and syntactic levels; she reached the text level, and the text immediately became incomplete and open. As a representative of poststructuralism, she insisted that the text is an open structure, since traces of other texts are found in any text, and the text itself cannot be deciphered, i.e. it is not self-sufficient. Thus, as mentioned above, the most common understanding of intertextuality is "the text within the text."

Arnold (Арнольд 2014: 392-393) understands intertextuality in a broad semiotic sense, and the text as a message in any, not necessarily verbal code, that serves to transmit and store information and generate new meanings. Taking into account the semiotic interpretation of intertextuality, Shakhovsky specifies its functions, such as suggestive, style-forming, inductive, cognitive, associative-shaped, pragmatic, etc., with the text-forming function being the most important (Шаховский 2015: 60).

Intertextuality can also be found in media texts, where it manifests itself in a specific way because the media are very diverse, and apart from printed texts radio, TV, and the Internet should be taken into account. Printed media, abounding in photographic illustrations, memes, cartoons, graphic works, etc., very often contain so-called visual intertextuality, examples of which are presented below. By discussing this category in media texts, we enter the multilingual textual landscape of mass communication, one of the most intense spheres of speech consumption in terms of sociolinguistics, functional stylistics, discourse theory, content analysis, cognitive linguistics, and rhetorical criticism (Добросклонская 2008: 10). Given the fundamentals of media text composition and content, it can also be considered an open text.

In discussing intertextuality, one is bound to mention its varieties or classes. Genette (1982) offered five classes of intertextuality: intertextuality proper, paratextuality, metatextuality, hypertextuality and architextuality. This typology of intertextual relationships was later applied to journalism and media texts. Each class was accompanied by its functional principle. Briefly, intertextuality proper is the "co-presence" of two or more texts in a text; paratextuality is the relationship of the text to its title, epigraph, epigraph, etc.; metatextuality is a commentary and often critical reference to its pretext;

hypertextuality is ridicule and parody with one text of another; and architextuality is understood as a genre connection of texts (after Головкин 2014 and Genette 1982).

Chernyavskaya (2016: 77-78) offers two models of intertextuality: a broad or radical model and narrower one, i.e. the opposite of literary and linguistic concepts of intertextuality. The analysis of modern studies of intertextuality as a theory of interaction between texts reveals that intertextuality is treated as a universal property of the text in general, or as a specific quality of certain texts (a class of texts).

Another important feature of intertextuality worth mentioning is its markedness. If it is a "text within a text", it should be marked in some way. Chernyavskaya explains that "marking implies the presence of linguistic signals of intertextual dialogue at the phonetic, lexical, syntactic, stylistic and compositional levels" (Чернявская 2016: 94). The concentration of these markers belonging to different linguistic levels in one place leads to foregrounding, which in stylistics of decoding implies such a contextual organisation that keeps the reader's attention focused on important elements of the message, establishes semantically and hierarchically relevant relations between them, enhances the emotional, estimative, and expressive power of the text, contributes to the transmission of implication, irony and different modal shades (Арнольд 2014: 368).

Inclusions of quotations, proverbs and sayings, allusions, etc. violate the homogeneity of the textual fabric, appear as an alien element that breaks the smooth texture, and thus immediately attract the reader's attention. Let us now take a closer look at some of these markers in detail and illustrate them with examples from various media texts.

4.1 Media text header complex

Unlike the title in a literary text, the header of a media text is usually viewed as a complex and is defined as "a structural-semantic unit of elements that not only precede it, but are also meaningfully and conceptually related to the main body of a given text. The elements of the header of the complex are traditionally the following: headline, overhead, thematic name of the page, subheading and internal headings" (Прохорова 2018: 195).

As mentioned above, there is a wide variety of media texts, advertising being one of the most popular ones. Unlike literary titles, headlines in advertising have a number of specific functions. As Owen Fay's points out in his article "20 Types of Headlines Every Marketer Needs to Know" (2022) the

following headlines reflect them: direct headlines, indirect headlines, pain point headlines, announcement headlines, how-to headlines, question headlines, command headlines, reasons headlines, emotional headlines, pun headlines, brand name headlines, "best" headlines, two-part headlines, relational headlines, location-specific headlines, numerical headlines, testimonial headlines, alternative headlines, do this now headlines and clickbait headlines. We see that some of the headlines are associated with text categories (evaluation, emotivity, anthropocentricity, topophone, etc.); they are like beacons that illuminate the most important text fragments and serve as signals for addressee orientation (see Panasenکو et al. 2021).

Fay gives a detailed explanation of each type, calls the headline the driving factor in turning a user into a lead and conversion, and talks about the strategic and targeted headlines (Fay 2022). Each of the headlines on his list has a specific function. Prokhorova (Прохорова 2018: 196-198) highlights five main functions of the media text header complex: 1. Graphic highlighting function (design). 2. Informative function, because the elements of the header complex are specific signals of the semantic fullness of the media text. 3. The compressive function, related to the ability of the header complex of the media text to convey the meaning in a compressed form. 4. The emotive function, consisting in the creation of an emotional background, which is possible due to the fact that all the components of the header complex are actively connected with an evaluative-expressive field of influence on the reader. 5. The polyphonic function, which is achieved as the header complex is used in creating the dynamics of the media text and its polyphonic structure. The use of a quote as a headline attracts the reader's attention, and in order to understand and interpret the headline correctly, they must be intertextually competent and possess knowledge that will help them extract and decode the information correctly.

The headline media complex sometimes performs multiple functions, as in Katy Waldman's cultural commentary in *The New Yorker* (26.05.2021. <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/the-rise-of-therapy-speak>): "The Rise of Therapy-Speak. How a language got off the couch and into the world". These headlines introduce the analysis of the specific type of therapy and perform an informative function. It is the text that combines argumentation with description.

Book or film reviews always attract the reader's attention by directing them to the source of the analysis, e.g., *Inside, Reviewed: Bo Burnham's virtuoso portrait of a mediated mind* – the review of the film *Inside* in *The New Yorker* by Rachel Syme (5 June 2021).

Very often the headline contains an allusion to the world-famous masterpiece, such as "Real-life Alice and her curious adventure with a royal admirer" (source: Malvern Jack, *The Times*, 30/12/2020), which refers readers to Lewis Carroll's book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*.

Sylvia Plath published an article in the *New York Times* that she classified as "opinion" (see Fig. 1).



Figure 1. The publication of Sylvia Plath.

Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/1982/04/18/opinion/letter-to-a-demon-by-sylvia-plath.html>

As defined by Wikipedia, "a demon is a malevolent supernatural entity. Historically, belief in demons or stories about demons occur in religion, occultism, literature, fiction, mythology, and folklore, as well as in media such as comic books, video games, films, and television series" (Demon, among others). The author communicates with this being, fights it and finally spits in its eye. Although this is a reference to mythology, in this case the demon can be seen as something bad and evil, an obstacle to be overcome: "*My first victory was accepting this job, the second, coming up and plunging into it before my demon could say no, I wasn't good enough, the third, going to class after a night of no sleep & desperation, the fourth, facing my demon last night with Ted & spitting in its eye*" (ibid.).

4.2 Epigraph

Epigraphs, as quotations placed at the beginning of texts, are among the first words the reader encounters, and because they are atypical, highlighting deliberate authorial and referential choices, they demand both immediate and sustained responses from the reader, who is encouraged to seek to understand the purpose of the epigraph.

Epigraphs are well studied. As Arnold points out, they are a specific type of quotation inclusion. They have multidirectional information links: they explain the title, refer to the context from which they are taken, and to the one that precedes them. Together with the title, they take a strong starting

position, but unlike the title, they are optional, which increases their informativity (Арнольд 2014: 355). Epigraphs can be sourced from classical texts, statements by well-known politicians, works of popular culture, art, fiction, poetry, and the Bible. Every epigraph always has its author or source.

While epigraphs are more common in fiction, especially in classical literature, they can also be found in media texts, depending on the type of journalism. In emotionally charged media texts, such as feuilletons, essays and some articles, epigraphs can clue the reader in to the main idea of the piece.

Here is an example of an epigraph to the article about a white journalist who writes about Mexican migrants.

The image shows a text box with a light orange background. Inside, the text reads: "Stop telling authors what they can write. The only limit is imagination" in a dark blue serif font. Below this, the name "Kenan Malik" is written in an orange script font.

Figure 2. Epigraph to the article. Source: "The Guardian", 09.02.2020.

This article is a good example of analytical journalism displaying the category of evaluation in reasoning. The author looks into the issue of 'cultural appropriation', denouncing those who criticize writers and artists for 'overstepping' the bounds of what is allowed in a particular culture, with the epigraph summarizing the overall theme of the article.

4.3 Citations and allusions

As is known, texts which are repeatedly referred to are called precedents (a term coined by Yury Karaulov). Quotations are always marked in a specific way: italics, quotation marks, different fonts. A quotation must have some valuable information for the people who use it; it must teach them some wisdom, valuable experience, or contain some universal philosophical ideas. In other words, a quotation must be worthy of being quoted by a large number of people and be recognisable to readers.

Literary journalism abounds in quotations. Tyler Malone in his article "Thinking is a sickness of the eyes" about Alberto Caeiro, the imaginary shepherd-poet created by the Portuguese writer Fernando Pessoa, we come across many quotations: lines from John Keats's poetry, references to Oscar Wilde's paradoxes and those of the author himself: "I don't agree with myself, but I absolve myself", quotations from Hamlet's soliloquy "To be or not to be" and many others

(<https://www.poetryfoundation.org/articles/153999/thinking-is-a-sickness-of-the-eyes>). This article is a good example of a literary essay, including reasoning and description, allusions and quotations.

Unlike quotations, allusions are not marked. Allusions as lexico-phraseological stylistic devices are veiled references to a cultural, historical or literary fact or figure, made by the author, who relies on the reader's knowledge of these facts. Decoding it requires certain erudition on the part of the reader. Sometimes the allusion is used in the title of a book or article. The sources of quotations and allusions are practically identical: the Bible and the works of world-famous writers, folklore, myths and legends, extracts from the speeches of political leaders, proverbs and sayings.

Consider an example from a tabloid. In the editorial entitled "Close the Pandora's Box" (see Fig. 3) Editor-in-Chief writes: "*My sme Pandorinu skrinku neotvorili. Už dávno otvorená bola*". – We have not opened the Pandora's box. It has been open for a long time.

The image shows the title of an editorial in a tabloid. The text is written in a bold, red, italicized serif font. It is arranged in two lines: "Zatvorte Pandorinu" on the top line and "skrinku!" on the bottom line. The text is enclosed within a thin red rectangular border.

Figure 3. The title of the editorial. Source: Attelier 05.2023.

Here is an illustration of a Greek mythology allusion. In some instances, the tabloids' information can be compared to the curses kept inside of Pandora's box.

Another interesting example of allusion can be found in the same magazine in an article by Lucia Škripcová entitled "Crucio!"

The image shows the title of an article. The word "CRUCIO!" is written in a large, stylized, 3D font that resembles metallic letters. The letters are a light green or silver color with a metallic sheen and are set against a dark purple background. The font is bold and has a gothic or medieval feel.

Figure 4. The title of the article. Source: Attelier 05.2023.

It is a description and, to a large extent, an advertisement for the computer game "Hogwarts Legacy". "Crucio" as one of the most unforgivable curses is not only the title. It is also used in the game together with "Imperio" and "Avada kedavra", other commands and curses. This article takes the reader into the world of Hogwarts and the time when the first books about Harry Potter were published.

4.4 Visual intertextuality

When discussing intertextuality in media texts, not to be overlooked is "the inclusion of texts from other semiotic systems, i.e. verbal descriptions of works of painting, music and other types of art" (Арнольд 2014: 416).

Chernyavskaya refers to visual or visualized intertextuality as intericonicity, which occurs when a subsequent verbal text is created based on an original, precedent text of a visual nature, such as a painting, cartoon, or poster. In these cases, a new meaningful and semantic unity is built on the interpretation of existing visual images. The resulting textual and – more broadly – sign interaction can be represented as visualized intertextuality (Чернявская 2016: 100).

Visual intertextuality is widespread in the media. As researchers note, any significant event in the life of a country, such as elections, the resignation of the government or the toxicity of some politicians (Petlyuchenko et al. 2021), usually provokes an avalanche of caricatures, grotesque cartoons and so-called visual jokes. Former British Prime Minister Boris Johnson was called a liar by the *New York Times* (see Fig. 5).



Figure 5. An article about Boris Johnson.

Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/08/world/europe/boris-johnson-lies-britain-parliament.html>

The cartoon shows him as Pinocchio, a popular fairy tale character whose nose grew when he was lying (see Fig. 6) (a case of a fairy tale allusion).

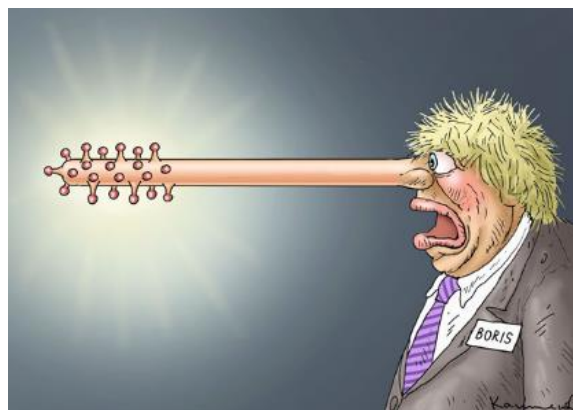


Figure 6. A caricature of Boris Johnson. Source: <https://nazory.pravda.sk/kresba/clanok/547043-kamensky-30-3-2020/>

It is interesting to note that these two figures have different dates of publication, different countries of origin, but the essence is the same: someone is labelled a liar.

When the COVID-19 pandemic broke out, people were initially in a state of shock. Later, optimism prevailed, and visual jokes mushroomed in many countries.

An artist from Morocco, Sanouni Imad, depicts the spread of the coronavirus in Italy as the attack on the Leaning Tower of Pisa (see Fig. 7).

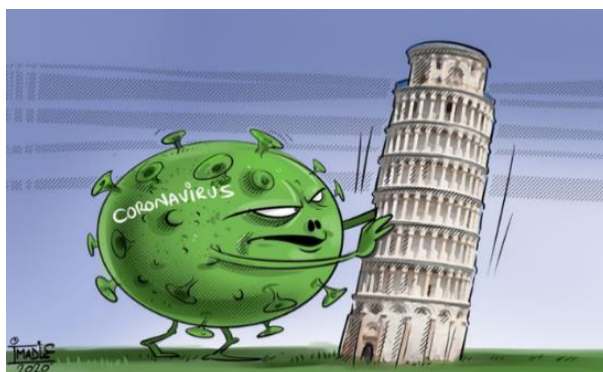


Figure 7. COVID-19 attacks the tower of Pisa.

Source: <https://www.irancartoon.com/site/daily/political/the-coronavirus-in-italy-sanouni-imad-morocco>

The cartoon can be interpreted as representing the defeat of COVID-19, as the Leaning Tower symbolizes the human ability to defy nature; it began to lean during its construction in the 12th century and it still stands in its place, attracting millions of tourists from all over the world (a good example of an allusion to a cultural-historical event).

The Bible is known to be one of the most popular sources of quotations and allusions. In some cases, it can also be seen as a source of visual intertextuality. The same artist, Sanouni Imad, depicts Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden (see Fig. 8).

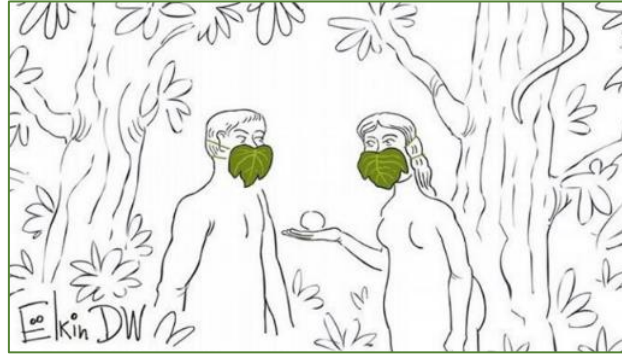


Figure 8. Adam and Eve in heaven.

Source: <https://www.irancartoon.com/site/daily/political/the-coronavirus-in-italy-sanouni-imad-morocco>

If in Genesis 3 Adam and Eve used fig leaves to cover their nakedness, during the pandemic they had to use them as masks to protect themselves and survive (a good example of a biblical allusion).

Sisyphus is a figure from Greek mythology who was famously punished by Hades "to roll an immense boulder up a hill only for it to roll down every time it neared the top repeating this action for eternity" (Sisyphus, *s.a.*). This myth has been reflected in art throughout history, with Sisyphus often depicted struggling with a large stone across the hill or rock. For example, Titian's painting "*Sisyphus*" (Fig. 9) captures this struggle in vivid detail.



Figure 9. *Sisyphus* by Titian (1548–49), Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

There have been many artistic interpretations of the image of Sisyphus. The one below may have appeared either at the beginning or at the height of the pandemic, which explains why its message is rather pessimistic (see Fig. 10) (a metaphorical allusion to a Greek myth).

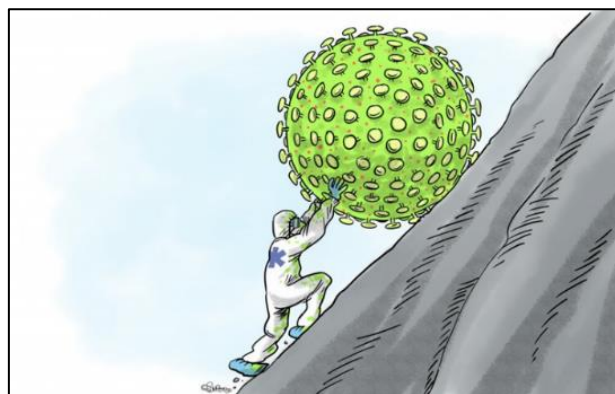


Figure 10. Sisyphus labour. Source: <https://joy-pup.com/ua/joke-ua/sharzhi-i-karikaturi-pro-koronavirus/>

The cartoon published on April 16, 2020 depicts a healthcare professional fighting against the coronavirus. Sisyphus labor is traditionally understood as very hard and futile; similarly, the work of medical workers initially appeared to be of the same character.

The examples above show how many interpretations and meanings visual intertextuality can have. In order to understand the image, one must have a sum of cultural knowledge in order to penetrate deeply into the context of the media text or its visual equivalent.

5. Concluding remarks

The analysis of media texts belonging to various types of journalism – literary, emotive and analytical – shows that intertextuality is represented in them in a specific way. As a semantic text category, intertextuality has markers that include the media text headline complex and epigraph, which occupy strong text positions, quotations and allusions. In media texts, unlike fiction, it is possible to single out visual intertextuality.

The number and location of these markers is related to the type of journalistic messages. The literary essay, which combines first-person narration with description and argument, is traditionally rich in quotations. The editorial, an example of emotional journalism, usually includes a striking headline, which can be treated as an allusion to well-known facts or world-famous sources. In the editorial, the headline can be emotional, or it can be a pun or question headline, with a stylistic or associative function. Book or film reviews (description with reasoning) are rich in quotations and allusions. The epigraph is very rarely used in journalism. It is usually a quotation from a famous politician or journalist.

A specific feature of intertextuality in media texts is visualised intertextuality based on semiotic principles. It is an illustration in the text (photo of the hero), cartoons or mems, which can be treated as an allusion to some historical events, ancient mythology and world culture. In order to decode the message hidden in all types of intertextuality, the reader should have a sum of knowledge that allows for a correct interpretation of the message.


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**ECONOMIZATION IN INFORMAL ELECTRONICALLY MEDIATED
COMMUNICATION: ELLIPSES AND SENTENTIAL ALPHABETISMS****Daniel Lančarič** *Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia***Received:** 12.02.2023 **Reviewed:** 20.02.2023 and 25.02.2023**Similarity Index:** 0%

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Abstract: The paper looks at the phenomenon of sentential alphabetisms and the combination of economization processes applied to their production. The term alphabetism is used as a broad category to cover acronyms and initialisms which both result from acronymization processes. The focus is on sentential alphabetisms and their unacronymized equivalents with the aim to verify the assumption that economization in a significant number of cases involves a combination of processes at the lexical level (acronymization) and the syntactic level (syntactic ellipsis).

Keywords: acronymization, economization, electronically mediated communication, sentential alphabetism, syntactic ellipsis.

1. Introduction

With the emergence of electronically mediated communication, everyday informal language has become an increasingly important subject of linguistic research. The demand for thorough exploration has led to a new branch of linguistic science, computer linguistics. The scope of computer linguistics is dominated by language treatment on the Internet and other new electronic media. Hand in hand with progress in technology and constant linguocultural changes, internet communication is constantly evolving. Much of the print media has been replaced by electronic media, mostly stored online. As a result, many new communicative genres have also emerged in which readers become more communicatively involved, engaging in numerous interactions by leaving comments on social networks or writing their own blogs in response to various communicative situations (Lančarič et al. 2022).



Many types of new media are characterised by a high degree of spontaneity and communicative interactivity. A typical example of this is the interactive written chat, in which an immediate reaction of the participant is required. This form of communication loses stability, which is characteristic of standard written speech and approaches oral speech in its dynamics. At the same time, written chat moves away from direct face-to-face speech by the reduction of stimuli, since visual and auditory signals drop out, and non-verbal signs, such as gesticulation, mimics and paralinguistic signals are completely or partially absent (e.g., tone, voice, etc.) (cf. Crystal 2001; Hudcovičová 2021; Šušol 2009).

The demand for immediate response on one hand, and the absence of extralinguistic and paralinguistic means on the other has diverted communication from regular to more alternative forms of expressing communicative intention. The absence of extralinguistic and paralinguistic means is mostly compensated for by the use of pictograms, emoji, and the multiplication of keyboard characters (e.g., multiplication of punctuation marks in order to express emotions). The demand for immediate reaction is in turn manifested, for example, by a minimalist application of diacritics, contracted forms, as well as the shortening and use of pictograms.

There is no doubt that, depending on the context, many of these compensatory and economizing tools compensate for full, longer forms. Their application can be motivated by such functional aspects of language, in which language units acquire a certain character of originality. The use of non-standard abbreviations such as alphabetisms enables the communicant to express their unconventional attitudes, playfulness, and joy from the production of nonce expressions. Simplification can have a cryptographic function or it can be used as a tool for euphemization or anonymization. In this paper, however, these language means will be considered instruments of economization and their other functions will not be regarded. More specifically, the paper focuses on sentential alphabetisms (the joint category of acronyms and initialisms) and their structure in informal electronically mediated communication.

The new, alternative forms of communication establish the assumption that any treatment of language units as separate categories is merely illustrative and that language levels are interrelated. The mutual relation among the language levels postulates the fact that the lexical and syntactic levels cannot be treated in isolation and their mutual cooperation needs to be considered thoroughly.

In the present research, the primary focus is laid on the economization of unacronymized equivalents to sentential alphabetisms. Sentential structures often undergo multiple economizations. The presence

of syntactic ellipses is used as a distinctive variable with the aim to verify the assumption that a significant proportion of sentential alphabetisms combine economization at the lexical level (acronymization) and the syntactic level (syntactic ellipsis).

2. Corpus and methodology

This quantitative corpus-based research examines a sample of 4500 alphabetism entries previously introduced in *Dictionary of English abbreviations* and codes in informal online communication compiled by Lančarič & Pavlík (2013). The raw data comprise one-lexeme alphabetisms, e.g., *NRG* (energy), lexical, non-sentential acronymized clusters, e.g., *NQT* (newly qualified teacher) and sentential acronymized clusters, e.g., *NTDW* (nothing to do with). The sentential acronyms are extracted and analysed further. The criteria for distinguishing the sentential from the lexical and other non-sentential clusters are the following:

(1) The full non-acronymized form contains a subject and a predicate (Greenbaum & Quirk 1990: 13), e.g., *AASHTA* (As always, Sheldon has the answer).

(2) The full form does not contain a subject and / or a predicate where it would normally be anticipated, e.g., *AUDI* (<...> accelerates under demonic influence). (Further discussed in the section on ellipsis).

(3) The full non-acronymized form is a non-finite verbless clause: two questions may arise over this category, namely supposing the verb is traditionally introduced as central to a regular sentence structure, why are the structures which do not contain verbs referred to as clauses? According to Biber et al. (2003), the logic behind this is their syntactic functioning, in that they have their syntactic roles. The second question concerns defining verbless clauses, i.e., what exactly can be considered a verbless clause? Biber et al. provide several examples: *Although not a classic, this 90-minute video is worth watching.*, *Every day, if possible, allot time at your desk to sorting and filing.* These verbless structures can be treated as adverbials with the ellipsis of the verb *be* and the subject (ibid., 260-262). In this research though, I diverge from this regular perception of verbless clauses and establish a category in which verbless clauses will be considered any clusters which may be treated as clauses but which operate without a verb, e.g., *DMNO* (Dude man no offence).

(4) The subject is naturally unexpressed: unexpressed subjects can be found in directives which typically operate as subjectless imperatives (Greenbaum & Quirk 1990: 241), e.g., *ALTG* (Act locally, think globally). Here, the unexpressed subject results from the imperative structure and function of the clause.

(5) The cluster is an exclamation. As Greenbaum and Quirk put it, exclamatives are largely restricted to the "wh" types of clauses (e.g., *What a beautiful day!*) (1990: 244-245). In this category, though, I also divert from the regular perception and consider an exclamation to be any clause or sentence

which, in its character, is exclamative, e.g., *X-(Just died!)* This category may overlap (4) since, in a broad sense, exclamations and directives share some features.

(6) The cluster is an interrogative clause, e.g., *ATAB* (Ain't that a bitch?).

(7) The head noun is post-modified by a dependent clause, e.g., *FAWC* (For anyone who cares).

(8) The cluster contains a subordinate clause, e.g., *WYGISWYPF* ← *What you get is what you pay for* with the subordinate clause "*What you get*".

(9) The cluster is a Latin, potentially-sentential acronymized structure, e.g., *NB* (Nota bene).

Based on the above-mentioned criteria, a dataset of 2460 sentential alphabetisms was compiled. Pilot research of 100 entries (n=100) was conducted and the preliminary excerpt was tested for the presence of elliptical structures. The examined data demonstrated the presence of elliptical structures in 30 sentential alphabetisms, which is considered a significant proportion. Based on these preliminary findings, it is safe to assume that similar values will be detected in the dataset of 3306 entries. As a result, the following hypothesis was formulated: The ratio of elliptical sentential alphabetisms against the non-elliptical sentential alphabetisms is 1 to 3. The goodness-of-fit statistics will be used to test the hypothesis.

3. A review of theories

3.1 Economization in informal, electronically mediated communication

Economization and its impact on the production of abbreviated expressions in electronically mediated language has recently gained popularity in linguistic research. It is addressed directly or indirectly in Mattiello's *Extra-grammatical morphology in English: abbreviations, blends, reduplicatives, and related phenomena* (2013), and Maierová's *Alphanumeronyms in digitally mediated communication* (2019). Maierová also deals with the processes of the lexicalisation and institutionalisation of abbreviations in digitally-mediated communication in her work *Lexikalizácia a inštitucionalizácia abreviatúr v digitálne sprostredkovanej komunikácii* (2021). The following works also represent important contributions to this issue: *The influence of economizing factors of speech on the lexical and phonological structure of linguistic units* (Lančarič & Pavlík 2016) and *Structural lexical reduction in informal online communication* (Lančarič & Bojo 2020). The latest monograph of this type is *Jazyk elektronických médií v lingvokultúrnom kontexte angličtiny* (Lančarič et al. 2022), whose authors have made a linguistic analysis of electronically mediated language in terms of the economization of specific linguistic units, while also examining a number of interesting occasionalisms and their communicative functions. Stylistic issues in social media posts are discussed in the paper *A new future for English stylistics?* by Hroteková (2021); Kabát (2022) describes ways to translate acronyms in software texts. The issue of electronically mediated communication has also

been explored at length in a number of works by Crystal, such as *Language and the Internet* (2001), *A glossary of netspeak and texspeak* (2004), *The language revolution* (2004), and *Internet linguistics: A student guide* (2011). The title of Crystal's publication, *Txtng the gr8 db8* (2008), also points to the creative nature of the neologisms with which the author is concerned.

The economization of Internet language can be attributed to what Zipf (1999) describes as the psychobiological mechanism of least effort, i.e., the innate human tendency to perform the most comprehensive communicative act with the least possible physical and cognitive effort. Thus, during normal and conscious communication we tend to express our ideas as efficiently as possible, which means that once the object of the communication is selected from the thought continuum, it is encoded into the most structurally appropriate and length-appropriate units.

Economization occurs at all levels of the language, including simple words, complex lexemes, and sentences. On the level of simple words, economization is most frequently manifested by clipping (Bojo 2016: 25). This is a process in which part of the original word is omitted. Although the formation is generally unpredictable (Lappe 2010), we can distinguish several basic types of clipping: final (e.g., *digi* ← *digital*), initial (e.g., *nywhere* ← *anywhere*), central (e.g., *itslf* ← *itself*), and combined (e.g., *tec* ← *detective*). There are, of course, other types of clipping that are difficult to classify in any of the above categories. An innovative three-level taxonomy of clippings is outlined by Borys in his work *Clipping in English slang neologisms* (2018).

3.2 Alphabetisms

3.2.1 Lexical alphabetisms

Alphabetisms are abbreviations created as a string of consecutive graphemes. Such elements are pendants of the original and simultaneously existing lexemes. In this paper, the term "alphabetism" is used as an umbrella term for both initialism and acronym.

On the phonetic level, initialisms have only a spelling form while on the orthographic level most of them typically represent all of the words of the motivating unabbreviated lexeme (e.g., *MMOG* ← *massively multiplayer online game*; *NPC* ← *non player character*). In contrast, initialisms such as *SCPI* (Standard commands for programmable instruments) omit some words of the motivating lexeme, especially grammatical ones. Sometimes, such alphabetic clusters refer to another pre-existing lexeme from which they differ in meaning (e.g., *World Wide Web* → *WWW* ← *World Wide Wait*) or they may refer to themselves, within the boundaries of the expression they form (e.g., *PHP* ← *PHP Hypertext Preprocessor*).

As for acronyms, they usually consist of the initial letters of the individual constituents of the motivating lexeme. These letters form syllables and behave orthoepically as unabbreviated words (e.g., *PIN* ← *personal identification number*). Some, however, include other graphemes of the motivating complex lexeme in addition to the initial letters to achieve syllabic pronunciation, or alternatively, some initial letters are omitted (e.g., *BASIC* ← *Beginner's All-Purpose Symbolic Instruction Code*; *AID* ← *Agency for International Development*). In addition, recursive acronyms refer to themselves within their morphological boundaries (e.g., *CAVE* ← *Cave Automatic Virtual Environment*; *VISA* ← *Visa International Service Association*). In some cases, the association between an acronym and another formally corresponding word is based on metaphor or metonymy (e.g., *GIRL* ← *guy in real life*; *SITCOM* ← *single income, two children, oppressive mortgage*) (cf. Borys & Materynska 2020; Lančarič & Pavlík 2016: 29-40).

3.2.2 Sentential alphabetisms

In the domain of virtual communication, most initialisms have a sentence structure. They are called sentential alphabetisms and have many different communicative functions. They can be used to express notification (e.g., *GFN* ← *Gone for now*), they can have the function of a recommendation (e.g., *RBTL* ← *read between the lines*) or to ask for something (e.g., *TMB* ← *Tweet me back*; *PTB* ← *Please text back*). Sometimes they are used to express greeting (e.g., *BBBG* ← *Bye bye be good*; *CYT* ← *See you tomorrow*) or gratitude (e.g., *TIA* – *Thanks in advance*), etc. Some sentential alphabetisms include numerals (e.g., *B4N* ← *Bye for now*). Like ordinary sentences, sentential alphabetisms can have the status of a declarative, interrogative, exclamative or imperative sentence.

Based on our corpus we have determined full sentential alphabetisms (e.g., *IDC* ← *I don't care*; *URSKTM* ← *You are so kind to me!*; *YTTM* ← *You talk too much*), elliptical sentential alphabetisms (e.g., *BRB* ← *Be right back*; *DR* ← *Didn't read*; *WTT* ← *Want to trade*), sentential alphabetisms with indefinite construction (e.g., *TBC* ← *To be continued*; *TBDL* ← *To be discussed later*), sentential alphabetisms with participial construction (e.g., *LFM* ← *Looking for member*; *EAK* ← *Eating at keyboard*), sentential alphabetisms with adverbial subordinate clause function (e.g., *AIR* ← *as I remember*; *ICYDK* ← *in case you didn't know*; *IYDM* ← *if you don't mind*), and sentential alphabetisms of fixed phrases (e.g., *GNA* ← *Good night all!*; *HRU* ← *How are you?*; *SUL* ← *See you later*; *E123* ← *Easy as one, two, three*) (cf. Lančarič & Pavlík 2013).

The above examples suggest that the structure of such units is the result of the interaction of the lexical and grammatical levels of language. Despite the fact that an interactive written chat loses its stability as it approaches oral speech, the tendency towards the fixedness of the sentence and its

potential reproducibility, similar to that of phraseologisms, is evident. Most of the examples thus indicate the tendency of graphemes to reflect the grammaticalized structure of the English sentence.

3.3 Ellipses

The traditional mismatch in definitions of ellipsis allows for speculation on how to define this linguistic phenomenon. A comprehensive definition of ellipsis and the history of the term's origins are provided in the article *The elusive ellipsis – the complex history of a vague grammatical concept in need of empirical grounding* (Menzel 2016). Some consider ellipses as structures in which an element is omitted (ellipted). Yet, the problem of ellipsis requires further considerations. In terms of omissions and replacements in their full equivalent, a parallel may be observed between lexical abbreviations and syntactic ellipses. In both cases, a full unabbreviated form needs to exist (Šipošová & Bojo 2016: 22-24). As a result, an ellipsis is what Halliday and Hasan (1976: 362) define as "a substitution for zero". To explain the "zero", such structures are considered elliptical which a speaker still finds natural and non-defective. Aelbrecht (2010) studied the meaning of elliptical structures and introduced the feature of recoverability. He defines ellipses as instances which can be inferred from the context. Interestingly, he sees the ellipsis as a mismatch between the form, the phonemic structure, and interpretation, and claims that the interpretation is much richer than other two. Interpretation requires a larger context of the situation to make the ellipsis fully recoverable (ibid., 2). Contextual recoverability is also emphasized by Allerton (2016), Bojo (2013) and Carter and McCarthy (2006), who elaborated on the spoken and the written discourse, yet emphasized the fact that the two should not be strictly separated (Allerton 2016: 265-267). Allerton's approach to recoverability and the inference of meaning from context was in agreement with Biber et al. (2003) who distinguish between the textual and the situational ellipsis. To him, textual ellipses are linguistic structures whose meaning is recoverable from the surrounding text, whereas the recoverability of situational ellipses requires a larger situational context. In general, recoverability is conditioned by grammatical, textual, and semantic links which enable the speakers to understand and interpret the elliptical utterances. If there are no existing semantic links, speakers tend to create their own links. The situational type of ellipsis is also considered by Barton and Progovac (2005) who explore ellipses in non-sentential structures. The non-sentential character underlines the importance of the situation. The recoverability of ellipses and the inference of meaning in non-sentential structures largely depend on the whole of a communicative situation (ibid., 73-75). On the other hand, Biber et al. (2003) focused their exploration on sentential ellipses. They introduced a detailed classification of elliptical structures and distinguished ellipses according to various factors, such as situations and clause-element roles. Their classification is adopted to the research criteria and used in this paper as follows:

(1) Ellipses of a subject: The subject of a declarative clause is omitted, e.g.,

A: *What's concubine?*

B: *(I) Don't know, get a dictionary.*

Alphabetism example: *H2CUS*

Example of its unacronymized equivalent: *(I) hope to see you soon.*

(2) Ellipses of initial operators in questions, e.g., *Oh, (are) you serious?*

Alphabetism example: *nm, u?*

Example of its unacronymized equivalent: *not much (do) you?*

(3) Ellipses of a subject and operator (in interrogative clauses), e.g., *(Do you) know what I mean?*

Alphabetism example: *KWIM*

Example of its unacronymized equivalent: *(Do you) know what I mean?*

(4) Medial Ellipses: an operator is omitted in the middle of a sentence, e.g., *How (are) ya doin'?*

Alphabetism example: *PIR*

Example of its unacronymized equivalent: *Parent(s) (is / are) in room* (Biber et al. 2003: 441-443).

(5) Instances of textual and situational ellipsis where the meaning can be inferred from the surrounding of the omitted structure in the unacronymized equivalent, e.g., *ITTT* and its unacronymized equivalent *You telling the truth?* The surrounding context of the sentence suggests that the omitted element will be the verb to be in the auxiliary function: *(Are) you telling the truth?* Similarly, in the elliptical sentential alphabetism *TTYT* – *Talk to you tomorrow* the alphabetism operates with a parallel, non-acronymized structure. The non-acronymized structure is elliptical because it requires a subject (a noun or pronoun) recoverable from the surrounding text or situation.

5. Research and results

As introduced in Chapter 2, the dataset of sentential alphabetisms and their unacronymized equivalents will be tested for the presence of elliptical structures according to the criteria listed in Chapter 3.3. A sample of the dataset is provided below (see Table 1).

Table 1. Sample of the dataset (non-elliptical and elliptical sentential alphabetisms and their equivalents – acronymized and unacronymized). Source: Own processing

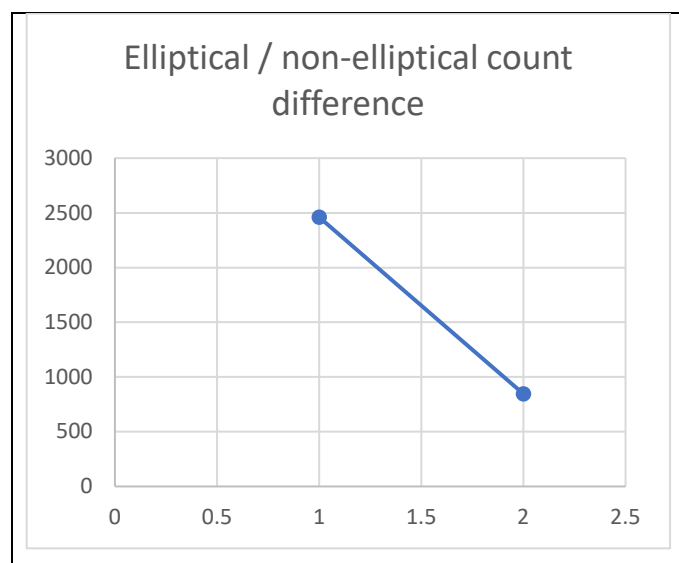
Non-elliptical sentential alphabetisms	Elliptical sentential alphabetisms
FMTEYEWTK – Far more than everything you've ever wanted to know.	YTTT – You telling the truth?
GIGATT – God is good all the time.	YGTI – You get the idea?
XLNT – Excellent!	X-(– Just died.
HAWTLW – Hello and welcome to last week!	WIWH – Wish you were here!
WWYC – Write when you can!	WYD – What you doing?
RU-OK – Are you ok?	UR – U are.
UNOIT – You know it.	U8 – You ate?
TYG – There you go!	TYLE – Took you long enough!
TTWIG – That's the way it goes.	TTYT – Talk to you tomorrow.

SWYP – So, what's your problem?	SYDWBY – See ya, don't wanna be ya.
ST&D – Stop texting and drive!	STBY – Sucks to be you!
RUUP4IT – Are you up for it?	RTTSD – Right thing to say dude!
RTBM – Read the bloody manual!	ROTBA – Reality on the blink again.
PWAS – Prayer wheels are spinning.	PWOMS – Parent watching over my shoulder!
POAHF – Put on a happy face!	YWTLM – You want to love me?
OUSU – Oh, you shut up!	OTTOMHAROOB – Off the top of my head and rolling out of bounds.
ONNA – Oh no, not again!	OTFL – On the floor laughing.
NWCDP – Nothing we could do partner!	NTN – No thanks needed.
NTYMI – Now that you mention it.	NPAA – No problem at all.

The following values were detected (see Table 2, 3 and Graph 1):

Table 2. The total of sentential alphabetisms. Source: Own processing

Sentential Total	3306
Sentential non-elliptical count	2460
Sentential elliptical count	846



Graph 1. The difference in counts between elliptical and the non-elliptical sentential alphabetisms. Source: Own processing

The difference between the expected and observed counts is tested by the Chi-square goodness-of-fit statistics. It was decided that a 1:3 ratio of elliptical sentential structures would be significant enough to demonstrate a strong presence of elliptical tools in sentential alphabetisms.

H0: The elliptical unacronymized equivalents and the non-elliptical unacronymized equivalents of sentential alphabetisms are present in a ratio other than 1:3.

H1: The ratio of elliptical unacronymized equivalents and the non-elliptical unacronymized equivalents of sentential alphabetisms is 1:3.

Table 3. The Chi² value is 89.205. The p-value is < .00001. The result is significant at p < .05.
Source: Own processing

	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Expected</i>		<i>Difference</i>	<i>Difference Sq.</i>	<i>Diff. Sq. / Exp. Fr.</i>
Sentential non-elliptical	2460	2204		256.00	65536.00	29.74
Sentential elliptical	846	1102		-256.00	65536.00	59.47
						89.205

In 3306 cases, ellipses in the unacronymized equivalents were tagged in 846 unacronymized sentential equivalents. Non-elliptical structures were tagged in 2460 unacronymized equivalents. The occurrence of the elliptical sentential equivalents was lower than presumed after conducting the pilot research. The statistical chi-square test was applied, giving the following results: The Chi² value is 89.205. The real counts were significantly disproportional (lower) to the expected counts. The p-value < .00001 indicates the level of significance. Based on the lack of evidence for falsifying H₀, the alternative H₁ hypothesis cannot be accepted. It is safe to make the generalisation that the unacronymized equivalents of sentential alphabetisms are marked by elliptical structures. However, their occurrence is merely random and statistically insignificant.

6. Conclusion

The aim of the research featured in this paper was to explore two distinct linguistic phenomena, namely alphabetisms and ellipses. The term alphabetism was used as a joint category for acronyms (usually pronounced as one word) and initialisms (usually spelled out). The research focused on alphabetisms and their unacronymized equivalents with the aim to prove the assumption that a significant proportion of alphabetisms undergo multiple economizations at the lexical and syntactic levels.

The acronymized sentential clusters were tested for the presence of ellipses in their unacronymized equivalents. The level of significance was set at 1:3. If at least 1 out of 3 unacronymized euquivalents of sentential alphabetisms are simultaneously marked by a syntactic elliptical process, the multiple economizations could be considered significant and a generalisation could be made that such instances are frequent or even regular.

The research was conducted as a quantitative corpus-based analysis. The corpus of 4500 entries was examined and a dataset of 3306 sentential alphabetisms was extracted. One of the major limitations of the research was the identification of sentential alphabetisms and distinguishing them from other

non-sentential word clusters. To cope with this limitation a detailed guideline of what is considered sentential alphabetism was introduced.

Further investigation was aimed at identifying the proportion of elliptical sentential alphabetisms. Instances of syntactic ellipsis were detected in 846 cases against the 2460 non-elliptical cases. The chi-square goodness of fit statistics was used to identify the difference between the expected (1/3) values and the observed (846/2460) values. The result demonstrates the χ^2 value 89.205. The p-value is $< .00001$. This result does not provide enough evidence for the falsification of H_0 and subsequent acceptance of H_1 . The interpretation of the results may be that the occurrence of the sentential alphabetisms and their unacronymized pairs which undergo the process of syntactic ellipsis is significantly lower than expected. Taking into consideration the stylistic value of some acronymized sentential alphabetisms, a generalisation may be made that the presence of elliptical structures in the unacronymized equivalent may partly be due to the sub-standard nature of these equivalents.

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'LOVE' IS ALL YOU NEED: AN ATTEMPT
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Abstract: The paper claims a cyclic evolvement of the multidimensional concept LOVE incurred by gradual changes in the degree of salience of critical parameters that the construal of love involves. A comprehensive account of modifications in the concept organization invites an alternative set of tools for emotion knowledge processing. Therefore, the aptness of configuration space as a tool for the analysis of concept elaborateness is tested with the purpose to establish a valid system of parameters profiling the cognized experience of various kinds of love.

Keywords: multidimensional concept, LOVE, configuration space, operational space, parameters.

*Peace among men, waveless calm at sea,
Rest from winds, slumber for our grief.
(Plato ca. 385–370 B.C.E.)*

1. Introduction

In the times of persistent displeasure, tension, and disdain, LOVE as discussed in Plato's Symposium (ca. 385–370 B.C.E./1991) stands out as a vulnerable and antiquated phenomenon long-awaiting for its recognition, praise, and glory. The contextual evolvement of the concept displayed in Diotima's ladder of love (ibid.) delivers an abstraction over the development of one's individual feelings from a sensual desire to revelation, wisdom, and contemplation of sublime beauty. In the view of Modern Epistemology, though, the interconnections between individual and collective emotional forces, both self-serving and self-giving, enable social and political processes on a global scale (Athanasidou et al. 2008). Therefore, among 'affective disruptions' mobilizing changes in the society (See further Schutze et al. 2022), there is an urge for temperance and justice which epitomize love and cement 'affective milieus' to secure stability, sustainable development, and flourishing.



The need for knowledge and practice in realizing the art of love (Fromm 1956) yields the revision of the concept and further cultivation of unity in the disintegrated society. The virtuous feeling put on the world's agenda by researchers must bring the forgotten emotional experience of respect, harmony, beauty, and truth to the fore of scholarly and overall international concerns to keep in check the contemptuous sway of malice and to broadcast the most humane feeling of love.

There is little denial that fundamental linguistic studies on the concept LOVE (Kövecses 1991a; 1991b; 2004: 26-29; Panasenko 2012; 2013a; 2013b; Wierzbicka 1992: 143-147; 2019) substantiate representative and formative value of emotional language in the concept construal and discourse coherence. Nevertheless, numerous incarnations of the experience find their elucidation predominantly in the study of romantic feelings, whereas other kinds of love are frequently an object of philosophical, psychological, theological, and sociological interdisciplinary research (see Enright et al. 2022; Koprowski 2014; Tan 2021: 89-105). That notwithstanding, the most recent historical account of agapeic LOVE by Wierzbicka (2019) unveils putative dynamics of the concept evolvement from a preferential to an all-embracing one fostered by the biblical discourse.

We would like to go further by assuming the cyclic nature of the concept evolvement attended by contextual changes defining the categories that hold the concept together within a particular period of history. The formative categories come to the fore and fade away or dissolve in the course of the concept existence. The far-reaching implications of the claim seek an in-depth analysis of multiple discourses at different stages of language development, an endeavor that by far exceeds the goal of the paper. The current aim therefore is to demonstrate the viability of the hypothesis and introduce an alternative tool for analyzing the rises and falls of concrete conceptual aspects of LOVE in all the grandeur of its all-consuming nature.

In what follows the study claims that 'love is essentially a matter of ideas' (Solomon 2016: 6) and the essence of love although has experiential and libidinal roots is shaped and defined discursively, conceived of and cultivated through the ideas. The ideas, which get reified in the realms both perceptible by senses and transmitted in language signs, build up the structures of the conceptual system, manifest themselves and get sedimented in conventional language means.

Thus, the paper's core objectives involve: 1) establishing regularities in metaphorical conceptualization of LOVE via a simultaneous analysis of critical literature and a corpus-based study; 2) elaborating on an alternative comprehensive approach for the concept analysis that applies to different kinds of love and transcends the linear perspective of cognitive modelling; 3) introducing the tools of configuration and operational space for a higher-level abstraction over the nature of LOVE; 4) setting a preliminary inventory of parameters for construing an operational space of a particular case of emotional experience. The material under analysis is retrieved from the Corpus of Early Modern English Texts (CLMET 3.1) and covers the period between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 20th century. A random choice of nine fictional texts, three printed at the end of the 18th century, three in the middle of the 19th, and three at the beginning of the 20th century is called to provide objective results of the analysis. All texts are in the electronic format suitable for further computer analysis of concordances containing the term *love*.

The theoretical point of departure in unveiling the archeology of the concept is the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (see Kövecses 2020), which claims a connection between the influential contextual factors and the schematicity of the concept. According to the theory, a "contextualist view" (ibid., 116) involves four relevant types of context that shape the concept in discourse: (i) the situational context, including the physical environment, the social situation, and the cultural situation; (ii) the discourse context, including the surrounding discourse, and the knowledge of the conceptualizers; (iii) the conceptual-cognitive context which encompasses the metaphorical conceptual system, the ideology, knowledge about past events, and interests and concerns; and (iv) the bodily context, which assumes the influence of bodily conditions.

The paper argues the power of metaphorical and metonymic roots of the concept LOVE which aid the process of cognizing the abstract notion. Thus, like many other notions regarded as non-figurative, and despite the literal meanings of love, the understanding of true love, self-giving love, maternal love, or patriotic love is primarily facilitated by metaphorical correspondences. These correspondences highlight mappings between the source and target domains, similar to those observed in the psychological literature, such as the connection between passionate love and drugs, or companionate love and growing vines (see Haidt 2006: 125).

Nevertheless, the extensive power of LOVE positioning it as an 'axial' ideologeme (see Pinich 2020: 22) strands out from source domains inputs which themselves pertain to abstract categories and establish their own conceptual systems with both abstract and non-abstract source domains. This intrinsic feature

of the concept calls for a qualitative analysis of the metaphorical range of LOVE to come up with an alternative, holistic view of emotion construal encompassing every possible manifestation of love.

2. An overarching understanding of love

Integrative properties of LOVE derive in the multitude of relations the concept manages to embrace. A lexicological account of the term evinces that the very range of meanings the word possesses extends from adoration towards God and affection arising out of kinship or friendship to sexual attraction or desire, strong predilection, and intense emotional attachment to something (*American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*; *Cambridge Academic Content Dictionary*; *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus*; *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online*). The semantics equally regards the lover and the object of affection or emotional attachment, thus expanding the focus of experience from intrasubjective to interobjective (see Sammut et al. 2010) metonymically.

From a psychological perspective, most theories of emotions: cognitive (Scherer 1999), biological (Damasio & Carvalho 2013), and social-constructionist (Russell & Barret 1999) agree on a number of key ontological characteristics of emotions that involve three major scopes: objectivity, experientiality, and purposiveness/consequentiality. A componential profile of romantic love, though, as suggested in Sternberg's triangular theory of love (1986) in the view of the author himself only narrows down the understanding of the feeling. Originally, intimacy, passion, and commitment which form the metaphorical vertices of the tripartite model, even with a significant componential extension by behavioural systems of attachment, caregiving, and sex (Mikulincer & Shaver 2019) still leave the model biased.

An attempt at compensating for the deficiency of the triangular structure that is undertaken in the duplex theory of love (Sternberg 2006) aims at espousing the discursive aspects of the concept construction. The dynamism of the concept evolution is also aided by the modifying potency of wisdom, intelligence, and creativity synthesized (WICS) which are argued to favour the trajectories of the components of the feeling over time. Thus, the multidimensional view of the phenomenon produces a comprehensive model of love that takes the shape of a prism, but metaphorically secludes the feeling within itself as a purely internalistic experience measured according to its intrinsic properties and a degree of compatibility with other triangles, stories, and styles of thinking.

In philosophy, nonetheless, despite the recognition of extensive individualization of love severed from authority, sciences, techniques, arts (Barthes 1977: 2) and a large-scale commodification of the feeling

(Fromm 1956: 87) which metaphorically undergoes the procedures of investment, accounting, and receipt of dividends; an ever-growing cleavage between the romantic feeling and unmeasurable parental, compassionate or agapeic love is being bridged by novel approaches to the phenomenon. The declaration of the motivational force of love driving evolutionary changes (Burunat 2016), boosting individual cognitive skills and knowledge production in communal epistemic practices (Candiotto 2018), and cultivating cultural evolution (Pape 1997) forefronts the definitive nature of love in sense production and social construction.

Similarly, a cognitive account of LOVE evinces an integral view of the concept. Thus, a finite number of inherent concepts central to the conceptual structure of ROMANTIC LOVE such as, AFFECTION, ENTHUSIASM, INTEREST, INTIMACY, and LONGING, is believed to be complemented by other related concepts extending beyond the core of the network (Kövecses 1986: 74). Among the latter are not only LIKING and SEXUAL DESIRE but also RESPECT, ADMIRATION, DEVOTION, KINDNESS, CARING, ATTACHMENT, and FRIENDSHIP. Each of the related concepts is linked to LOVE to a different extent highlighting different facets of emotional experience associated with love. Furthermore, when causal emotions (HAPPINESS or ANGUISH) are admitted in the network, it becomes even more wide-spread exhibiting a pre-wired nature of love and its ubiquitous character.

In the view of contemporary revision of the concept LOVE, and heading beyond solely in-body experiential understanding of the metaphorical interpretation of reality, a conceptual network matrix of LOVE should provide an all-pervasive account of the matter that permeates the space in three relative dimensions: *directionality*, *perceptuality*, and *intentionality* (See Table 1).

Table 1. Configuration space parameters for the conceptual matrix of LOVE
Source: Own processing (Pinich 2020)

CONCEPT DIMENSIONS								
DIRECTIONALITY			PERCEPTUALITY			INTENTIONALITY		
PROFILES & PARAMETERS								
DYNAMISM	AGENTIVITY	SELECTIVITY	AFFECTABILITY	BENEFICIALITY	ACTIONALITY	PROCESSUALITY	CAUSALITY	EVENTUALITY
inwardness ∴ outwardness	person ∴ community	electiveness ∴ inclusive- ness	enjoyment ∴ distress	egotism ∴ altruism	everyday occurrence ∴ remarkable occasion	activity ∴ passivity	romanticism ∴ pragmatism	imagination ∴ reality
closeness ∴ distance	antagonism ∴ unity	reciprocity ∴ alienation	happiness ∴ un- happiness	advantage ∴ mercy	pertur- bability ∴ impertur- bability	goal pursuit ∴ succumbence to Providence	benevolence ∴ care	worldliness ∴ divinity
self- ∴ multi- directionality	complemen- tarity ∴ entirety	equality ∴ inequality	gradation ∴ moderation	conditio- nality ∴ unconditio- nality	manifestation ∴ disguise		construction ∴ destruction	existence ∴ expectation

Each of the dimensions is a dynamic complex framework that provides for generating and arranging the knowledge of perceptual experience towards the object of affection accompanied by infatuation of constructive/destructive nature.

Directionality of love makes one of the major profiles of the concept and assumes *dynamism* of self-transcendent experience, *agentivity*, and *selectivity* (conscious or subconscious). *Perceptuality* yields a physiological response of emotional experience through which the emotion is felt while concurrently discovered through its associated thoughts, beliefs, desires, and / or actions. And *intentionality* anchors teleologicalness of relation between love, the elements of the system (an individual's body and their behaviour), and affairs in the world in their concurrent concept construction and modification.

The system of parameters for each of the dimensions is complex and is schematically presented in the form of oppositions that indicate the span of possible meanings the concept can be construed through. Case specific combinations of relevant parameters outline an operational space of a particular experience of love or a different kind of love. Every dimension is consistently expounded on in the following sections through the analysis of defining categories within the scope of love.

3. The abundant generosity of love: The category of directionality

The expansion of LOVE in its metaphorical manifestations within a complex conceptual system is argued to arise from the lack of its specific source domains and the source input obtained in other domains similarly to the concept FRIENDSHIP or LIFE (Kövecses 1995). Consequently, the fluidity of the system engenders an embrace of or overlaps with other domains providing for the fuzziness of the concept boundaries. Consider such source domains as UNITY, CLOSENESS/INTIMACY, BOND, INVESTMENT or NUTRIENT (Kövecses 2004: 27-28), which make metaphorical systems themselves, to further encompass domains of ATTRIBUTED STATE, EVENT, COMPLEX STRUCTURE, and POSITIVE/NEGATIVE EVALUATION as well as OBJECT, VALUABLE COMMODITY, PLANT, MACHINE, BUILDING, HEAT, and LIVING ORGANISM (ibid.).

Findings of a prototypical approach to the folk concept of LOVE also claim the fuzziness within the subcategories of love, such as romantic love, maternal love, affection or friendship, each of which carrying the likeness to the overall pattern but observing no clear-cut boundaries separating them from each other or even from non-members (Fehr & Russel 1991: 427). What adds to the complexity of cognizing the phenomenon is the lack of borderline between the features of love, the object of love, and other related experiences. Such syncretism could be tentatively attributed to the chain structure of

conceptual complexes (Vygotsky 2012: 23-125) with changeable organizing principles in their evolution.

An alternative to the "definitional" view of concepts (Saeed 2016: 34) is the idea of conceptual archetypes which are positioned as "anchors in constructing our mental world" (see Langacker 2009: 12) and make the experientially grounded gestalt-like formations, fundamental and multifarious in their nature. LOVE, among others, makes a hardwired system which arises as a natural occurrence in both the physical and spiritual interconnection with the world. Yet, it is also a pre-wired system shaped and modified in the course of socialization and defined discursively with value and attitude dissemination across different texts.

The fluidity of the system can be traced in the dynamics of its salient aspects (type of love, object of love, features of love, relative concepts, etc.) in their tangible interplay with mental, biological, environmental, and social factors. The metaphorical construal of love as a system, therefore, assumes that it can be viewed as an environment that fills and penetrates dimensions and objects inhabiting it.

An efficient tool for the study of love's penetrating power, volatility, and fluidity is its inherent property of *directionality*. The category establishes the entirety of the configuration space of LOVE, its objects/subjects in their interconnection (for the nature of directionality see Cooper 2021). A close study of metaphorical expressions for LOVE in the corpus enables the identification of physical characteristics of the space, such as *dynamism*, *agentivity*, and *selectivity*. Each of which is displayed in the respective frameworks.

The dynamic properties of the experience crystallized in the emotion concept are analyzable within the system of spatial correlations that include: *inwardness* :: *outwardness*, *closeness* :: *distance*, and *selfdirectionality* :: *multidirectionality*. The affordances of the dimensional account permit for the conceptual location of the lived experiences as regards close or distant/unattainable objects and in terms of internalistic or self-transcendent, self- or other-directed movements of the soul. These highly schematic correspondences manage to encompass the knowledge about the feeling that doesn't assume direct and / or constant physical proximity to the love object such as, divine love or romantic long-distance love. The salient conceptual aspects therefore do not include the proximity principle as a critical or even assume questioning the genuineness of love which is defined by the object accessibility principle.

The spatial perspective equally involves temporal factors. For instance, the dynamism of romantic love experience is evidenced in the metaphoric display of the process when desires growing on a daily basis arise from affection and further undergo a decline with the increase of distance between lovers.

(1) "*But in what light soever her desires appeared to me, as they manifestly arose from an affection of which I had daily the most endearing proofs, I resolved to comply with her, and accordingly removed to a distant part of the town; for it is my opinion that we can have but little love for the person whom we will never indulge in an unreasonable demand*" (H. Fielding (1751) "Amelia").

A social context for metaphor construction proves critical in shaping the knowledge about distance and love intensity correlation. Closeness to the love object in the spontaneously arising feelings becomes subject to social regulatory mechanisms that shape the experience by physical distancing. Subsequently, the individuality of experience is subsumed under the social norms of constructing emotions, exhibiting yet another profile for the conceptual space – *intentionality*. The social conformity betrays also the experiential basis of the concept observed in the deliberately inflicted suffering which is triggered by the perspective of long-distance relationships. Therefore, the operational dimension of the experience as manifested in the fragment (1) is shaped by the most salient categorical spaces of:

Closeness :: Distance (*Directionality*)

Individuality :: Conformity (*Intentionality*)

Enjoyment :: Distress (*Perceptuality*)

Directedness of love that manifests itself in either self- or other-directionality may equally extend into multiple directions, as in an all-embracing love of nature, life, and humanity. Consequently, the agent(s) of the experience as well as the object is conceptually placed in the dimensional space of *agentivity* within the categories of *person :: community*, *antagonism :: unity*, and *complementarity :: entirety*. Interestingly enough, romantic feelings can likewise spread onto numerous objects at a time, conceptually locating the feeling between the extremities of *person :: community*.

Socially predetermined preferences that mark the operational space of agentivity prove decisive for the profile of *selectivity*. Its parameters encompass *electiveness :: inclusiveness*, *reciprocity :: alienation*, and *equality :: inequality*. The idea of selectivity of love that assumes the choice of the object among other alternatives is opposed to the concept of replaceability which entails the all- embracing and non-preferential love directed at everyone or everything with no exclusion whatsoever (for selectivity and (ir)replaceability aspects of love see Naar 2021). Love selectivity also prompts and maintains the feeling

of in- or outgroupishness observed in the reciprocity or alienation from the other, as in the classic example of star-crossed love between the exponents of the Montagues and Capulets. Similarly, the social perspective of *inequality :: equality* procures the organizing principle of social hierarchy by applying restrictions on the selection pool of the potential mate.

The uniting power of love rests with a perceptual tenderness and delicacy that the affection can assume. The choice of the object of love, though, can be accompanied by other factors conceptualized as (super)natural, mystical, or psychic force. Linkage to other conceptual networks of MARRIAGE, MORALITY, and / or SOCIAL STATUS is secured by the shared dimension of *intentionality* as is substantiated in the figurative emotion description of the excerpt below.

(2) *"Sir Charles, more charmed with her than ever, was ready in his present flow of tender sentiments for her, to offer her his hand with an unreservedness that would have satisfied all her delicate scruples; but carried away by the force of habit, an insurmountable aversion to marriage, and the false but strongly impressed notion of refinements in an union of hearts, where love was the only tie, he could not resolve to give her a proof of his affection, which in his opinion was the likeliest way to destroy all the ardor of it; but careful not to alarm her, and apprehending no great severity of morals from the gay interested mother, he politely thanked her for the liberty she gave him to make his passion known to Mrs. Darnley, and to solicit her consent to his happiness"* (Ch. Lennox (1762) "Sophia").

In the search of a perfect match the desire to meet the partner's expectations entails a symmetrical pursue of self-satisfaction. Therefore, the abstraction over the operational space of the experience that is defined by electiveness evinces also a conspicuous bias to self-directionality and profiles expectations about the fulfilment of love as a self-propelled action strategy.

Electiveness :: Inclusiveness (*Selectivity: Directionality*)

Self-directionality :: Multidirectionality (*Dynamism: Directionality*)

Goal Pursuit :: Succumbence to Providence (*Processuality: Intentionality*)

Since the dimension of *directionality* features the idea of the relational principles between and among the elements of the conceptual system of LOVE, the *perceptuality* profile helps apprehend the way the lived experiences are conceptualized. And even though infatuation is classically among the outstanding features of love, it is yet arguable whether it is separated from other concomitant experiences, deliberation inclusively.

4. Infatuation, awe, and temperance: The perceptual facets of LOVE

Whenever the experiential aspect of love is considered, it is normally a linear perspective of the feeling unfolding in time that counts (Panasenکو 2012: 1070), and rightly so. Nevertheless, heterogeneity of love is not so easily represented in schema-like models, which do not apply across multiple kinds of the feeling as a ROMANTIC LOVE model suggests (see Kövecses 1986: 95-96). The mappings of EMOTION IS FORCE in the figurative mind do not equally well represent the dynamics of emotional experience for different types of love and do not always involve the change from the neutral state through the (un)controlled disturbance, the satisfaction of the desire in emotion, and subsequent subsidence by regaining a neutral emotional state.

For this purpose, the dimension of *perceptuality* is suggested as a tool for an abstraction over one of the vital properties of love. The dimensional capacity of *perceptuality* permits not only the exciting romantic part, the infatuation with an object or the ardent affection and devotion for the one, but the ensuing and somewhat "disguised working out of the "(un)happily ever after" (Solomon 2016: 8), maintenance and continuity of the feelings (for sensorimotor dependencies and social practices see Arango 2019). The experiential orientation of LOVE covers the configuration space based on the parameters of *affectability*, *beneficiality*, and *actionality*.

Biological capacities of the individual imply susceptibility of the latter to undergo bodily-felt experiences, frequently interpreted as unique affordances of abstract knowledge construal. Subsequently, physical characteristics linked to the experiences are capable of forming metonymic motivation for metaphorical emotion representation. The embodied account of emotion existence provides for regularities of correspondences between the domain of LOVE and other concepts gaining their tangible perspective in the cues of recognizable psycho-physiological response. Therefore, LOVE IS A NUTRIENT, AN APPETIZING FOOD, A NATURAL FORCE, A CAPTIVE ANIMAL, AN OPPONENT, A SOCIAL SUPERIOR, A SMALL CHILD, WAR, A GAME, A VALUABLE OBJECT or ECONOMIC EXCHANGE (for more see Kövecses 2004: 26-27).

Affectability perspective secures the property of felt experiences rather broadly and ranges between *enjoyment :: distress*, *happiness :: unhappiness*, and *gradation :: moderation*. A multitude of feelings, including rapture, affection, devotion or temperance, and tolerance are regarded as lived experiences of diverse types of love on equal terms. Thus, the multidimensional approach seeks an integrative view on attraction-love, attachment-love, advantage-love, friendship-love, benevolence-love, and agape-love as indivisible facets of the unifying concept (see Wolterstorff 2011: 37-40).

The benefactor of love is yet another criterion that before long served as a disintegrating factor for differentiation of agapic love from erotic love and friendship (Kierkegaard 1949; Nygren 1953). Nonetheless, an idea for the unity of ordinary human love with pure non-preferential love is passed on in contemporary philosophy revising the legacy of agapism (see Watts 2022). The *beneficiality* parameter is meant to cover both the benevolent promotion of the other and the self-praising eudaimonic practices that are observed in the oppositions of *egotism :: altruism*, *advantage :: mercy*, and *conditionality :: unconditionality*.

(3) *"It was during this time that his little son, the apple of his eye, the cynosure of all his strong power of love, fell ill of the scarlet fever. They dragged him through the crisis, but his life hung on a gossamer thread. Everything, the doctor said, depended on good nourishment, on generous living, to keep up the little fellow's strength, in the prostration in which the fever had left him. Mocking words! when the commonest food in the house would not furnish one little meal"* (E. Gaskell (1848) "Mary Barton").

The other-directedness and electiveness of parental love segues into an altruistic experience in an attempt to enhance the good of the child. The outmost anxiety about his health brings love to the brink of sadness and suffering leaving ecstatic feelings behind. Schematically, the parametrical characteristics of the experience fit into the following operational space:

Electiveness :: Inclusiveness (*Selectivity: Directionality*)

Satisfaction :: Distress (*Affectability: Perceptuality*)

Advantage :: Mercy (*Beneficiality: Perceptuality*)

Goal Pursuit :: Succumbence to Providence (*Processuality: Intentionality*)

The obsession with the child's life renders the *intentionality* of parental care as active and self-propelled rather than submissive and providential, meanwhile a self-sacrificial orientation of devotion warrants the divinity of the feeling over the worldly pleasures.

Actionality of love space assumes both the intraindividual, covert excitement of mind and the manifested acts of love conceived of through the parameters of *manifestation :: disguise*, *everyday occurrence :: extraordinary occasion*. Concurrently, the continuity of feelings is characterized by *perturbability:: imperturbability* where (grand)parental love is observably committed to permanence very much as the very phenomenon of love, taking different forms but claiming the "great evolutionary agency of the universe" (Pierce 1892–1893: 176).

5. The imbuelement of love: Care and benevolence

The conception of motivational power of LOVE as regards human agency invites an image of a person committed to a notable achievement in the name of love (Panasenکو et al. 2023: 1551). Though, the might of the power might prove fatal, for love can make wonders and glorify people but it can also lead to unjust sacrifices and losses. Therefore, the concept of love must equally involve its constructive and destructive potency, the latter conceived of as a defect of love yet not in the least beyond its scope (Pierce 1892–1993: 177).

The *intentionality* dimension implies an abstraction over multifarious and at times unfathomable workings of love, an agency transcending the human mind and body and having a formative value within any given system. In this vein, the evolutionary drive of love was always conceptualized both as a physiological motivation for immortality (Plato 1991: 151) and the exuberant life force bestowed on the agents, deployed in the eye of a cherishing beholder and disseminated in the consecutive thought production in the love of wisdom (ibid., 155).

The inclusion of the supernatural and metaphysical in the dimension of teleologicalness captures a holistic view of the experience from the perspectives of its *processuality*, *causality*, and *eventuality*. The dualistic sets of parameters impart the continuity of human beings' natural loving and Divine Providence. *Processuality* lends itself to the parameters of *activity* :: *passivity* and *goal pursuit* :: *succumbence to Providence*. The apparent reduplication of parameters derives in the lack of unanimity about the concepts of activity and passivity which are largely defined discursively and are shaped contextually.

Volition is but the main aspect of love's motivational force viewed as a deliberate commitment to affection, devotion, respect, and tenderness. Nonetheless, there is a common misconception that anyone is aware of the essence of love, and even though the very word is commonly on everybody's tongue, "still hardly anyone knows what love actually is" (Swedenborg 2009: 3), let alone conceives of the origin of the desire. Subsequently, in Christianity, the Providential design and the metaphysical force of love prove definitive tools for conceptualizing the feeling. The benevolent activity of such agapeic love is consequently and consecutively substantiated in language by the use of preeminently active verbs for love, as, for instance, in the Scriptures (for more see O'Collins 2019).

In psychology, the infatuation with something or somebody that hits us unawares and the ensuing effort of a decisive action shape the indispensable facets of love's activity and passivity, respectively (Solomon 2006: 18). And yet, unlike in the worldly capitalist interpretation of the concept ACTIVITY, the externally

directed actions can testify to the passivity of a "slave in passion", whereas quiet contemplating can be indicative of love's inherent activity which empowers the agent with the force readily shared with others (Fromm 1956: 21-23). Along with that, habituation of an action that is construed as jeopardizing for romantic relationships ensures the depth of self-enriching state of love.

The *intentionality* cues for love operational space in the fragment below help identify the feeling as passive in its worldly interpretation yet active in terms of self-constructiveness and an individuality approach.

(4) *"Maria's passions were unknown. Though suspected of being universal, since she manifested no deliberate likes or dislikes, approving all things with a kind of majestic and indifferent omnipotence, they remained quiescent and undeclared. She probably just loved the universe. She felt at home in it. To Maria the entire universe belonged, because she sat still and with absolute conviction – claimed it"* (A. Blackwood 1915, "The extra day").

LOVE is profiled as a multidirectional, real and divine feeling simultaneously, which engulfs the whole universe in all its boundedness (4). The abstractness of the universe akin to that of love debunks its unattainable and inconceivable nature but projects an intuitively known and even perceptible homely feeling. Other parameters for setting the operational space of the experience are happiness, imperturbability, and mercy, but the most conspicuous of them are as follows:

Self-directionality :: Multi-directionality (*Dynamism: Directionality*)

Happiness :: Unhappiness (*Affectability: Perceptuality*)

Goal pursuit :: Succumbence to Providence (*Processuality: Intentionality*)

Existence :: Expectation (*Eventuality: Intentionality*)

The degree of actionality correlates with the conception of love's *eventuality* which consists in the possibilities for love reification. And while love of the ultimate abstraction of God and of material subjects/objects is represented within the framework of *worldliness* :: *divinity*, the realness of the worldly experience is profiled by *imagination* :: *reality*, and *existence* :: *expectation*. The construal of love realness is scaffolded by a strong belief that any intense pleasant feeling towards someone or something that fits the experience of the true-self must be love (Earp et al. 2017). Such an affective logic may bring to a disillusionment as the evidence collection for the realness of the feeling is biased and is governed mainly by imagination which can ingeniously trump up the actual state of things in favour of a ready-made belief (Kroecker 2019: 285).

Reason-responsiveness of the feeling stipulates yet another aspect of love which is the degree of rationality involved. This abstract property is profiled by the dimensions of *intentionality* and *perceptuality* combined, outlining the operational space of love by its *existence :: expectation* and *conditionality :: unconditionality*.

A *causality* profile is an efficient tool for the concept analysis as it helps to make sense of how actions LOVE implies are cognized. The scope of configuration space covers the span between *romanticism :: pragmatism*, *benevolence :: care*, and *construction :: destruction*. The parameters enable abstractions over conceptualizing the unity of LOVE and MORALITY as inherent reasons of actions of love (Schaubroeck 2019: 298). *Romanticism* makes the extreme point of the dimension profiling an all-consuming love of an idolized object or an unrequited love as opposed to *pragmatism* that outlines an active commitment towards the object and a utilitarian approach in the goal pursuit.

Forgiveness as a category associated with the workings of love manifests itself in the form of reaction to unwanted consequences of one's deeds in two possible ways or their consistent combination. One may demonstrate a benevolent attitude embracing the shortcomings of the cherished wrong doer or, otherwise, a just and retributive practice that does not exclude a biased and partial manner of doing so. Accordingly, love (a)rationality and the ensuing (ab)normality of behaviour feature the intrinsic unity of benevolence-love and care-love within the dimension defined by the respective parameters of their operational space. Therefore, the opposition unity of BENEVOLENCE and JUSTICE in the configuration space substantiates the claim of no conflict whatsoever between justice-imperative and love-imperative (Lippitt 2020: 105-140).

The farthest to virtuous reasons of love comes *destruction* with either an implication of deliberate damage in the name of fanatic love or as an instance of inconceivable divine providence interpreted as such by repining subjects.

6. Conclusions

Sophistication and omnipresence of love in every sphere of life implies the outmost figurativeness of its conceptualization. Multiple aspects of the phenomenon produce an immense cognitive network of the concept LOVE which frequently incorporates or overlaps with other fundamental concepts. A positivist account of the concept, though, risks leaving different kinds of love beyond the scope of the conceptual framework and yield further fragmentation of knowledge about love.

A strong premise about the embodied emotion experience and an indispensable metonymic grounding of conceptual metaphors substantiates the claim about a cyclic nature of concept evolvement shaped by contextual changes. For a comprehensive understanding of the concept organization, a multidimensional perspective of LOVE can prove beneficial to observe the tentative shifts in the salience of critical parameters driven and cultivated by the matter of dominant ideology.

Configuration space is an alternative theoretical tool for profiling the concept of LOVE in the relevant hyperdimensions of *directionality*, *perceptuality*, and *teleologicalness/intentionality* which involve another three specific dimensions each. Concrete instances of love manifestation are claimed to unfold themselves in the system of thought within respective operational spaces shaped by the experiential parameters that are schematically represented in the form of oppositional unities. Combinations of parametric indicators bring about the understanding of critical features of the concept at a particular point in its existence.

The set of defining parameters for shaping the operational spaces of the concept are preliminary and assume further consideration, but a qualitative analysis of the corpus data confirmed the liability of the approach in the study of the concept from a multidimensional perspective. Subsequently, configuration class parameters of different kinds of love could be identified in the future research endeavours.


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HOW *LIKE*-SIMILE RELATES TO METAPHOR: AN EXPLORATION OF ANALYTICAL PARAMETERS¹

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Abstract: Traditional accounts of figurative language consider *like*-simile and metaphor to be largely equivalent. However, more recent research shows that metaphor expresses a closer association between the two terms of comparison than *like*-simile. This paper proposes a variety of criteria to understand the similarities and differences between these two figures of speech, among them the abstractness of the resemblance relationship, the greater subjectivity of metaphor, and the role of comparison in contrast to other factors. This discussion casts light on the metaphor-simile equivalence versus non-equivalence debate.

Keywords: correlation metaphor, high-level resemblance, low-level resemblance, resemblance metaphor, simile, subjectivity.

1. Introduction

In literary theory and rhetoric simile has traditionally been defined as an overt comparison and metaphor as a covert comparison (cf. Holman 1972: 498; Leech 1969: 156). In both cases, the comparison departs from our common expectations). For example, *Jane's house is like her neighbor's* compares two houses but cannot be considered simile since there is nothing unexpected about that kind of comparison. However, the sentence *Her house is like a pigsty* ('a messy, dirty, and smelly house') is a simile since the comparison is unusual and therefore taken as non-literal or figurative. Moreover, since both simile and metaphor are based on comparison, theorists have also claimed that they are functionally equivalent, the only difference being one of syntactic expression (cf. Fogelin

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1988; Miller 1993; Tversky 1977). In this view, the simile *Her house is like a pigsty* and the metaphor *Her house is a pigsty* are essentially equivalent.

This view of simile is the one that has been popularized in handbooks, dictionaries and encyclopedias. For example, Brown and Miller's (2013) reference work *The Cambridge Dictionary of Linguistics* does not have a separate entry for simile. Instead, it refers to the entry for metaphor, which is defined as "the comparison of two categories" when the comparison is "not overtly signaled", whereas simile is "a metaphor in which the comparison is signaled" (ibid., 284). The idea that there can be implicit or explicit signaling of the comparison refers to what traditional accounts call the "ground", that is, whatever the two terms of the comparison have in common (Leech 1969: 156).

The same dictionary entry illustrates simile with examples like *as good as gold*, *as poor as a church mouse*, and *Pleasures are like poppies spread*, and then exemplifies metaphor with the sentence *The firm is on the rocks*. This metaphor, according to this dictionary, "maps" the business world, as a source domain (traditionally called the *vehicle*), onto voyaging on the ocean, the target domain (traditionally called the *tenor*). The assumption that metaphor is a mapping from a source to a target domain has evidently been borrowed from George Lakoff's now well-known formulation of Conceptual Metaphor Theory within Cognitive Linguistics (cf. Lakoff 1987; 1993; Lakoff & Johnson 1980). A metaphorical mapping is a set of correspondences between discrete conceptual domains where relevant aspects of the target domain (traditionally called the *tenor*) are understood in terms of the structure and logic of corresponding items in the source domain (traditionally called the *vehicle*). Interestingly, this selection of examples is not at all like the "pigsty" examples provided above. On a superficial look, they illustrate the general idea that there is an unexpected comparison. Thus, we think of gold as a valuable metal, of many churches attended by ordinary people as poor places, of scattered flowers as ephemeral, and of being "on the rocks" as being in a dangerous situation when sailing on the sea. However, on closer inspection, these examples reveal deeper processes than mere feature-based comparison. We discuss them in greater depth in Section 2 below. This discussion points to the need for a re-exploration of the relationship between metaphor and simile, especially *like*-simile, which is redefined in Section 3 in terms of three parameters, viz., high vs. low-level resemblance, subjectivity vs. objectivity, and the primary versus secondary role of the comparison. Then, the application of these parameters to a variety of contrasting examples allows us to further investigate the metaphor-simile equivalence issue. Finally, Section 4 offers the main conclusions of the present study.

2. Beyond attribute-based comparison

Let us start with the simile *as good as gold*. In principle, this expression compares an entity or a state of affairs with gold in terms of shared "goodness". However, the notion of "good" is too broad; for example, a good Christian is a loyal follower of Christ's precepts; a good engineer is one that makes effective designs of technical equipment; a good neighbor is one that behaves kindly; a good game is one that spectators enjoy, etc. To tell which aspect of being good applies, the ground for the comparison ('goodness') needs to be restricted. This can happen through contextual adaptation or through the conventionalization of its use. In this connection, the comparison *as good as gold* has two heavily conventionalized senses: in one it applies to a well-behaved person (e.g., a student in class); in the other, to an authentic or genuine object (e.g., a painting). These two senses are frequently associated with "good" but how they relate to "gold" is unclear if we stick to why we think of gold as being "good". Gold is "good" in the sense that it is materially valuable and it can relate to behavior only in that good behavior is admirable, important, useful, etc., and to genuineness only to the extent that we think of gold in terms of the purity of the metal. Non-material value and purity are in fact metaphorical notions whose relevance in this simile goes beyond the material into the attitudinal world. Thus, the comparison is not between material attributes of gold and corresponding material attributes in a person or an object, but between the intensity of the way in which the two terms of the comparison are taken to be desirable (i.e., good) through convention.

Take now the second comparative expression: *as poor as a church mouse*. This comparison is non-transparent or idiomatic. In origin, the expression was *as hungry as a church mouse*, which made reference to the fact that priests blessing the sacrament bread were required to prevent any crumb from falling to the altar or to the ground. Because of this, in folk logic, church mice had no bread crumbs to feed on. Since hunger and poverty are easily associated in our minds, once speakers lost track of the origin of the comparison, the shift from the original ground to the new one was straightforward. As with the previous example, the material aspects of the comparison (e.g., hunger, poverty) are secondary to the other more subjective features. In the present case, the comparison with the hungry mice situation adds playfulness and intensity to the interpretation.

Then, we have an example of *like*-simile: *Pleasures are like poppies spread*. Admittedly, without any further context, this example of simile is difficult to interpret since the basis for the comparison is unclear. This is not necessarily the case with other *like*-similes whose ground is not specified. Examples such as *run like the wind* ('fast'), *climb like a monkey* ('skillfully'), and *grow like weed* ('very quickly') are easy to understand since they focus on prominent properties of the source of the comparison. They are also frequent, which provides accessible default interpretations. However, *like*-

similes can be less transparent. When that happens, speakers have the choice to provide further discourse elaboration to clarify the ground for the comparison. This is the case with the *like*-simile *Pleasures are like poppies spread*. It is part of a quote from the poem "Tam O'Shanter", by Robert Burns, and it actually reads as follows:

*"But pleasures are like poppies spread,
You seize the flower, it's bloom is shed".*

This simile makes more sense when we think of pleasures as elusive and ephemeral. In Burns' poem, this conceptual association is made possible through the metaphorical analogy between seizing a flower and having pleasure. Seizing a flower can make it fall apart in the same way that pleasures can dissipate. This analogical elaboration points to the nature of the ground of comparison between pleasures and scattered poppies.

Finally, we come to the metaphor *The firm is on the rocks*. Here, *The Cambridge Dictionary of Linguistics* takes for granted the existence of some underlying comparison between a business and a journey. If such a comparison is possible, we should be able to provide the following metaphorical equation together with its *like*-simile rendering: *A business is (like) a journey*. This statement is indeed possible if we think of a business and a journey as sharing a means-goals pattern; for example, travelers and businesspeople have goals that they want to achieve (e.g., get to their destination and make the business prosper respectively), they have plans in this regard, they may need to sort out difficulties, and so on. Within the context of this mapping, the specific expression *on the rocks*, which belongs to the journey domain, makes reference to being shipwrecked on rocks in the sea. The situation thus invoked applies to a business that, like a sinking ship, is in danger, unable to continue its activities. Much of the meaning of the metaphorical sentence *The firm is on the rocks* can be captured through a *like*-simile whose source domain is expressed through a nominal expression: *The firm is like a ship on the rocks*.

This deeper analysis shows that simile can be related to metaphor since both figures of speech involve what we can call *interpretive* comparison. This notion is inspired in the relevance-theoretic discussion of interpretive uses of language (Sperber & Wilson 1995: 228), which are those whose propositional form is not true of a given state of affairs but invokes it through inference. When the propositional form matches reality there is a *descriptive* use of language. Evidently, in this view of the descriptive/interpretive distinction, the comparison *This house is like a pigsty* is interpretive. It requires the hearer to find a way in which a house can resemble a pigsty and then to explore possible

meaning implications that match contextual requirements. Since pigsties are remarkably filthy, the most central meaning implication is that the house is too dirty for human cleanliness standards. Subsidiary inferences add to this central meaning; e.g., the house is disgusting, uncomfortable, uninhabitable. Other possible inferences would relate to contexts in which the speaker, beyond complaining, recommends some remedial course of action; e.g., the landlord or the tenants should be asked to clean the house; social services should take care of this situation, etc. This kind of interpretive activity, of course, is not required in a literal comparison because of its descriptive nature. The propositional form of *Jane's house is like her neighbor's* applies descriptively to a state of affairs in which two houses are found to be (nearly) alike, with any meaning implication being directly based on this propositional form rather than on an interpretation of such a form. For example, one possible implication could be: "if the two houses are alike Jane should not envy her neighbor". This implication is built on the speaker's perception of the two houses as being very similar, thus rendering envy meaningless.

The analysis also shows that the nature of the comparison is not the same in metaphor as in *like-simile*. It is true that sometimes the difference between the two figures is nearly inconsequential. This is the case of *This house is like a pigsty* and *This house is a pigsty*, where the metaphor only seems to set up a tighter relationship between the two terms of comparison. However, there are situations that favor either a metaphor or a *like-simile*. Compare:

- (1) He is lightning. How could he not dodge the attack?
- (2) Inspiration is like lightning. You never know when it will strike.

Example (1) highlights the protagonist's speed as something intrinsic to him. One of the outstanding properties of lightning is its extreme and sudden speed. The intrinsic nature of the property in example (1) seems to favor a metaphor, *like-simile* (*He is like lightning*) being somewhat less apt to capture this meaning requirement for the context provided in the example. On the other hand, example (2) refers to a less remarkable property of lightning: its random nature. This property provides a good fit for inspiration, which, being bound to creativity, is uncontrolled. However, it is not an essential property of lightning but one that relates to how it can affect objects in nature. Using a *like-simile* to capture this property is a better solution than using metaphor (*Inspiration is lightning*).

Then, we have different formal constraints on metaphor and *like-simile*. The previous example, *The firm is on the rocks*, provides adequate illustration of this point. It cannot be directly converted into *like-simile* since one of its terms (expressing the source domain) is not an explicit nominal expression,

as we noted above. *Like*-simile requires its two terms to be of this kind, whereas metaphor allows more expressive variation. This is not a new observation by any means. Take the following stock metaphor (Leech 1969: 156):

- (3) The ship plowed the waves.
- (4) The ship was a plow through the ways.

Only (4) can be rendered in the form of a *like*-simile:

- (5) The ship was like a plow through the waves.

The meaning shared by (3), (4), and (5) is the idea that the ship cut through the waves like a plow that plows the land. However, the differences in syntactic realization have consequences from the point of view of how the relationship between the two terms of the comparison is envisaged. The relationship between the ship and the plow is tighter in (3) and (4) than in (5). In turn, (3) requires construing the state of affairs designated by the expression from an actional perspective, whereas (4) is focused on the solidity of the ship's hull and the sharpness of its plow-like keel. Furthermore, from a pragmatic perspective, the tightness of the relationship between the properties of a plow and a ship provided by the metaphorical solutions in (3) and (4) underscores the subjective aspects of meaning interpretation. In the metaphor, the visual impact of the ship's keel as it cleaves through the surface of the water is greater than in the *like*-simile, where the relationship between source and target is not as close.

The observations made in this section suggest that metaphor and simile serve different meaning functions and that the study of the relationship between the two figures of speech requires an examination of other analytical parameters than mere attribute-based comparison. Some such parameters are addressed in Section 3.

3. Parameters of analysis

This section discusses different analytical criteria to separate metaphor from *like*-simile. These two figures have been argued to be equivalent to the extent that they involve two terms of comparison that have to be explored for implicit similarities. We will not address restricted comparison based on the formulation *X is as Y as Z* since it makes the ground for the comparison explicit. Section 3.1 introduces the distinction between two broad levels of cross-domain similarity, high and low, the former of which applies to metaphors grounded in the correlation of experiences. These metaphors

have been clearly differentiated from resemblance metaphors (e.g., Grady 1999) but, from the point of view presented here, all metaphors involve some form of resemblance. This makes the distinction between high and low-level resemblance important to adequately deal with the differences between *like*-simile and metaphors of any kind. Section 3.2 introduces the notion of subjective intensification and evaluation into the analysis. Many scholars, usually literary theorists, have noted the greater meaning impact of metaphor over simile. This section makes an explicit connection between this intuitive insight and experimental evidence considering *like*-simile a less restricted figure of speech than metaphor. It also highlights the role of metaphor in conveying subjective evaluative meaning as opposed to *like*-simile, which is generally inconsistent with this meaning function. Section 3.3 deals with the categorization view of metaphor, which comes from experimental psychology. This view of metaphor has been used by some scholars to separate this figure from *like*-simile, which seems to be based on comparison rather than categorization. We examine the strength of this view in terms of the distinction between metaphors based on high-level and low-level resemblance, which redefines the role of resemblance in metaphor. Finally, Section 3.4 uses insights from the preceding sections to address the metaphor-simile equivalence issue.

3.1 High vs low-level resemblance

The widespread assumption that metaphor is based on resemblance explains why metaphor and *like*-simile have normally been treated as mere expressive alternatives. With the advent of work on conceptual metaphor in the early 1980s, however, resemblance was seen as just one way of producing metaphor. The emphasis changed to the study of metaphor in terms of the co-occurrence of experiences. This is the essential thesis in Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and in subsequent developments of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (cf. Gibbs 2014, 2017; Grady 1999; Kövecses 2020ab; Lakoff 2009; 2014; Lakoff & Johnson 1999). Resemblance metaphor fell into disinterest in favor of correlation metaphor because the latter was seen as more central to embodied thought, i.e., the assumption that many aspects of human cognition, including abstract thought, are shaped by sensorimotor experience (Bergen 2012; Gibbs 2006; Ritchie 2017). For example, in the metaphor *She felt weighed down with sorrow*, emotional suffering is treated as a physical burden. This metaphor results from the correlation of our physical experience of handling heavy objects, which cause us to bend down, and the psychological discomfort that this situation causes. This correlation of physical and psychological experiences makes the metaphor possible. Conversely, people cheer "up" when they feel free from difficulties. Metaphorically, affliction is a "burden" that can bring us down, and happiness is the release from burden, which is physically reflected in our adopting an upright posture. Evidently, burdens map onto difficulties but there is no physical resemblance between those concepts. However, there is experiential correlation, as noted above. Consequently, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999)

assigned to this metaphor the status of a *correlation metaphor*. Metaphors of this kind abound. Here are a few more examples taken from Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 51-54):

AFFECTION IS WARMTH (*She is a warm person*): people feel warm when they are held affectionately.

IMPORTANT IS BIG (*It was a big victory*): big things exert major forces and fill our field of vision.

SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS (*The new model was a close copy of a previous design*): objects of the same kind tend to group or be grouped together (a flock of birds, a grove of trees, a deck of cards, etc.).

ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE (*She brought together people's individual ideas into a common vision*): understanding the structure of an object requires forming conceptual representations of the relationships between its components.

STATES ARE LOCATIONS (*He is in trouble*): we correlate certain locations with how we feel in them (warm in bed, cool in the shade, safe at home, etc.).

The importance of correlation metaphors in human thought can hardly be overstated. They even play a role in grammar. For example, since states are locations, changes of state are changes of location. This entailment is reflected in some grammatical configurations like some variants of the English resultative construction. Compare *She cut the slice thin* and *She cut the slice into strips*. Both sentences are resultative. However, the first one uses an adjective to express result, while the second one, in the absence of an adjective capturing the kind of change, resorts to a prepositional phrase denoting a figurative change of location. This figurative use, which shapes one of the variants of the resultative construction, is licensed by the metaphor A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION (Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo 2016).

Let us now return to a previous example, *The firm is on the rocks*. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) classify similar expressions as examples of the correlation metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. This metaphor is grounded in the co-occurrence of two experiences: reaching a position in space and the goal to reach such a position. In terms of this correlation, the expression "on the rocks", which descriptively captures the existence of a major impediment to reach the intended destination, is interpretively used to talk about a serious difficulty to achieve planned goals. The question is that classifying this example as a correlation metaphor, in Conceptual Metaphor Theory, seems to exclude the existence of source-target resemblance (Grady 1999). However, our preliminary analysis of this metaphor did identify a common means-goals pattern for the source and target domains of this

metaphor (business and voyaging respectively). In fact, this common pattern is also shared with other metaphors where goal-oriented activities are seen as journeys: keeping love relationships alive over time, career paths, cooperative work, and so on. The reason for this is that these metaphors are all grounded in the more basic correlation metaphor **PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS**, where purposes and destinations share high-level conceptual structure related to achievement; that is, we have a similar feeling of achievement when reaching a position in space and when accomplishing a goal.

Not any correlation of experiences gives rise to correlation metaphor. High-level similarity is needed. Here are some examples of non-metaphorical correlations:

- Hearing thunder and seeing scared animals running away.
- Seeing puddles on the ground after a day of heavy rain
- Seeing someone lighting a fireplace and other people approaching it to warm up.
- Seeing someone trip over a stone and fall to the ground.
- Feeling amazed while watching the stars in the night sky.
- Holding a person's hand and feeling comity.
- Drinking coffee during the night and staying awake.
- Feeling emotional relief while counseling with a psychotherapist.
- Feeling tired while making a strenuous effort.

There is no high-level similarity between these pairs of non-metaphorical correlations listed above. By contrast, each of the correlation metaphors drawn from Lakoff and Johnson (1999) is grounded in high-level similarity (Peña & Ruiz de Mendoza 2022: 99-102; Ruiz de Mendoza & Barreras 2022: 21-23 for more detailed accounts of this phenomenon):

DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS: Similar feelings of discomfort when handling heavy objects and facing challenges.

AFFECTION IS WARMTH: Similar feelings of comfort when treated with affection and when in a warm place.

IMPORTANT IS BIG: Similar experience of awe and wonder when faced with important events and when in the presence of huge objects.

SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS: Similar experience of spatial contiguity when comparing objects and when objects are close to each other.

ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE: Similar experience of perceiving structural and logical connections when understanding and learning from sensorimotor perception or when involved in intellectual pursuits.

STATES ARE LOCATIONS: Similar feelings of being in the same condition when in a certain place or in a certain state.

Some scholars have argued for a metonymic origin of correlation metaphors on various grounds, the most common assumption being that the correlation of two experiences integrates them into a common domain of reference (cf. Barcelona 2000; Brdar & Brdar-Szabó 2007; Kövecses 2013; Radden 2002). The question, anyway, is that, independently of their origin, correlation metaphors, like metaphors in general, are used to reason about the world. Metonymy, on the other hand, is a matter of perspective. In metonymy, the source domain provides a point of access to the target domain, with which it is experientially related (Kövecses & Radden 1998; Langacker 1993). As a result, the target concept is envisaged from the perspective of the source concept. The existence of a reasoning system is evident in any of the correlation metaphors described above. For example, affectionate people are "warm" and people can be described as warmer or colder depending on how affectionate they are, so much so that a very cold person can be described as "a block of ice". Similarly, decisions can be "big" or "small" in varying degrees depending on their importance. When we reason about decisions in terms of figurative size the central metaphorical correspondence hinges on their impact on people. There is no way in which we can postulate a metonymic shift from big to important and still preserve the underlying reasoning system with all its potentially associated meaning effects.

Making a distinction between low and high-level similarity has consequences to understand how reasoning works for metaphor and for *like*-simile. Both resemblance metaphor and *like*-simile make use of low-level similarity, which is based on sensory perception. For example, the sentences *Her eyes are (like) diamonds* and *Her eyes are as bright as diamonds* map the brightness of diamonds and the impact it can have on people (e.g., feeling attracted to it) onto corresponding attributes in a lady's eyes. High-level similarity, on the other hand, is restricted to correlation metaphor since *like*-simile prefers low-level similarity and high-level similarity is not easily realizable through the equative A IS (LIKE) B form, especially if A and B do not directly share any high-level structure in terms of which they can be categorized. Thus, while it would be possible to say that difficulties are (like) burdens, it would be odd to say that states are (like) locations, or that being similar is being close. Difficulties and burdens can be categorized as challenging situations. This common high-level structure allows for a similar experiential reaction when faced with either difficulties or burdens. The

situation is different in the case of states and locations. There is no common superordinate category. A state is a condition or mode of existence, but a location is a bounded region in space. It is not a condition, although we can associate certain conditions with certain locations. It is only because of this association that the metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS is possible.

It should be noted that correlation metaphor can lead to *conceptual conflation*, that is, the mixing up of the source and target categories in the mind. This phenomenon is a consequence of the embodied nature of correlation metaphor. When two distinct concepts are conflated, they become indistinguishable, for practical purposes, unless the subject consciously decides to set them apart through *deconflation* (Grady & Johnson 2002). For example, when conflation happens, people use the adjectives warm and cold as if they were literal, although it is possible to differentiate between them through conscious effort. The A IS (LIKE) B form requires the application of this latter process, but in general it is not cognitively productive to deconflate concepts unless there is some motivating factor to do so. Take again the business-journey mapping. The usual manifestations of this mapping reveal conflation. For example, the sentence *Our business is finally moving fast in the right direction* is much more natural than the following awkward paraphrase: 'Our business is finally progressing rapidly in the way we wanted it to'. Deconflation, on the other hand, underlies the less usual manifestation *A business is (like) a journey*. The interpretation of this example, unlike the one based on conflation, is not self-evident. This problem can be sorted out by making the ground for comparison explicit through discourse elaboration. Notice the following examples:

Growing a business is like a journey with many challenges, it is easier with the right partner by your side.¹

Building a business is like a journey. You take small steps every day down a road to keep going.²

Starting a business is a journey – with a beginning, middle and end.³

Building a business is like a journey, and like every journey it has a beginning, middle and end.⁴

A business is a journey. You must commit, have goals, and a vision, because you cannot build what you have not clearly thought out.⁵

Metaphor or *like*-simile can be used, although not necessarily indistinctly. There are some differences that will be discussed in the following sections. What matters most now is to realize that for a correlation metaphor to take the form A IS (LIKE) B, which is comparative, it should be possible to categorize A and B in terms of a common higher-level concept. This common categorization makes the underlying correlation be sensitive to deconflation. In the case of *A business is (like) a journey*, a

business and a journey can both be categorized as goal-oriented activities, which facilitates deconflation. Still, since the speaker is aware that the deinflated conceptualization may be difficult to grasp, some lower-level elaboration of the high-level elements of the comparison is a communicative convenience. In the examples above, such an elaboration includes having a vision, cooperation, effort, and the awareness that challenges may come up at any stage.

3.2 Subjectivity

In a previous section, we noted that metaphor sets up a tighter relationship between its source and target domains than *like*-simile, thereby intensifying the subjective aspects of meaning. This intensification can cooperate with one of the characteristics of entity-based metaphors: the source attributes are often magnified (i.e., hyperbolic) versions of their target counterparts. Metaphors mapping animal features onto people provide some illustration. A warrior is "a lion" or "like a lion" when fighting with instinctual courage and determination; also, when displaying unusual physical strength and ferocity. However, these are lion's attributes that the warrior cannot match. This metaphor is inherently hyperbolic. Similarly, a large, solidly built person can be referred to as a bull, but we cannot expect anyone to be as big and strong as a bull. We also use the expression *a bull in a china shop* to refer to someone who behaves recklessly and clumsily in a situation that requires delicacy and care. The clumsiness of a bull, of course, is only such from an anthropocentric perspective and, then, once interpreted this way, it is applied back to the bull. This anthropocentric perspective also applies to the warrior-lion example (see Lakoff & Turner 1989: 195) and in general to any metaphor intended to highlight human attributes by placing them in correspondence with other world entities. For example, a person at work is a "machine" if he or she is capable of working tirelessly or, in other contexts, if that person acts in a rigid, mechanical, unconscious way. In this case too, as in the "people-as-animals" examples, the attribute in question is not only seen from an anthropocentric perspective, but it also represents a magnified version of a human attribute.

Relevance theorists have already noted the ability of hyperbole to combine easily with metaphor (Carston & Wearing 2015). They attribute this phenomenon to the lack of a real dividing line between metaphor and hyperbole, since both uses of language require broadening the source concept to adjust it pragmatically to the requirements of the target meaning. In this view, saying that a person is "an angel" ('really kind and lovable') can be both metaphorical and hyperbolic. If we take a cognitivist perspective, this example is a case of metaphor that maps relevant heavenly attributes of angels to corresponding attributes in a person. Since the source attributes exceed by far their target counterparts, the result is hyperbolic. Hyperbole is evaluative, i.e., it is designed to have psychological impact, whereas metaphor is mainly denotational, i.e., it supplies a reasoning

mechanism. However, if we express the same mapping in the form of a *like*-simile, the result is less impacting from the evaluative point of view. Consider these two examples:

(6) Your son is an angel / a real / a literal angel.

(7) Your son is like an angel /#a real /#a literal angel.

As (6) shows, metaphor is capable of being intensified through hedges like *real* or *literal* ('no less than' or 'clear case of'). This situation does not hold for *like*-simile, as evidenced in (7). The reason for this lies in the greater conceptual tightness in the ascription of attributes resulting from metaphor if compared to the looser association provided by *like*-simile. Being "an angel" requires invoking a closed set of properties that belong to the best example of the category in question, the so-called *prototype* (cf. Rosch 1978; Taylor 1995), which involves subjective assessment. On the other hand, being "like an angel" opens the range of properties to any that are contextually or discursively specifiable. This open nature of *like*-simile is what favors non-subjective elaborate depictions of the ground of comparison:

(8) Your son is like an angel that guides our way through life in times of confusion.

There is experimental evidence that is consistent with this discussion. According to this evidence, *like*-simile sets up a less tight, more open relationship between the terms of comparison than metaphor. For example, Glucksberg (2001) found out that the utterance *My lawyer is a shark* was usually interpreted by experimental subjects in terms of the lawyer taking advantage of others for personal gain. However, the simile *My lawyer is like a shark* was additionally taken to refer to the lawyer's voracity in monopolizing cases, his ruthless aggressiveness, and even to his physical energy and stamina.

One possible explanation for this difference between metaphor and *like*-simile lies in the iconic motivation of both expressive choices (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza 2022: 279). As is well-known, iconicity is the linguistic phenomenon according to which the similarity of formal aspects of language may reflect conditions in the world (Croft 2008; Givón 1985, 1995). In terms of iconicity, the explicit comparison marker *like* creates what Haspelmath (2008) has termed formal discontinuity between the two terms of the comparison, thereby motivating their looser, more open association. By contrast, the formally contiguous relationship provided by metaphor creates a tighter, more restricted source-target relationship, which makes it more amenable to intensification and to the incorporation of other subjective meaning associations (e.g., prototype effects).

3.3 Categorization

We mentioned before that metaphor and simile have traditionally been considered two alternative ways of conveying the same figurative meaning based on comparison. However, aware of the different ways in which experimental subjects interpret both figures, Glucksberg and Haught (2006) argued that metaphor is a categorization statement; on the other hand, *like*-simile is a similitude statement. In the experimental evidence, subjects chose to associate higher-level properties to metaphor and lower-level properties to *like*-simile. In the metaphor *Ideas are diamonds* the properties were those of valuable entities in general, while in the simile *Ideas are like diamonds* the properties related to the actual gem (e.g., being rare, desirable, bright, etc.).

It must be noted that Glucksberg and Haught (2006) based their thesis on a limited range of metaphorical expressions. They only took into account metaphors based on low-level resemblance of the A is B kind and their corresponding *like*-similes. However, it is questionable whether the categorization view of metaphor can apply to correlation metaphors (Grady 1999; Lakoff & Johnson 1999). It is possible to say that ideas and diamonds are both valuable entities, that lawyers and sharks are predatory creatures, that good-willed people and heavenly angels are kind benevolent beings, and so on. The problem is posed, as we discussed in Section 3.1, by those correlation metaphors for which there is no common high-level category, such as AFFECTION IS WARMTH and STATES ARE LOCATIONS. This means that the categorization view of metaphor can only apply to metaphors based on low-level resemblance and to those based on high-level resemblance provided that the source and target domains can be categorized in terms of a shared high-level superordinate concept. The latter are one type of correlation metaphors. Other correlation metaphors do not involve categorization statements, whether explicit or not, but their focus is not on resemblance either. Instead, they exploit experiential correlation, with resemblance serving a mere licensing function.

The greater focus of metaphor on categorization is further supported by analytical situations where a correlation and a resemblance metaphor combine into one single conceptual complex. Ruiz de Mendoza (2017) and Miró (2018) discuss the metaphorical expression *My boss is a pig*, used by an employee to refer to an immoral boss. This expression combines A PERSON IS A PIG with IMMORALITY IS FILTH. These are two self-standing metaphors. The pig-person mapping is a resemblance metaphor that relates human behavior to animal behavior. Thus, a person can be "pig" if gluttonous, greedy, or untidy. In turn, expressions like "a dirty mind" or "dirty joke" suggest obscenity on the grounds that both dirtiness and immoral behavior can cause disgust. In the combination of the two metaphors, IMMORALITY IS FILTH is built into A PERSON IS A PIG precisely on the grounds that different causes can produce similar effects of disgust. Through the

EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy, the similarity of effects makes it possible to relate their otherwise unrelated underlying causes. As a result, a pig's filthiness can map onto a boss's immorality. The question is that this "metaphorical complex" exploits high and low-level similarity, but the focus of attention is on the categorization of the boss and the pig as disgusting entities. Evidence for this assertion is found in the inability of the simile *My boss is like a pig* to convey the same meaning as the metaphor. This simile calls for an open-ended exploration of the source and target domains to look for low-level similarities (e.g., like pigs, the boss is unclean, untidy, smelly, etc.).

3.4 Equivalence

In traditional accounts, metaphor and *like*-simile are treated as interchangeable, that is, as alternative ways of expressing the same meaning. This approach postulates that metaphorical statements are convertible into *like*-simile and, conversely, that statements based on this kind of simile are convertible into metaphor without any significant loss in meaning. However, there are scholars that have argued that metaphor and *like*-simile are not fully equivalent. The non-equivalence view has received support from theorists such as Chiappe and Kennedy (2000), Dancygier and Sweetser (2014), and Romano (2017), who argue that metaphor is preferred when the relationship between the two terms is easy to grasp. The situation with *like*-simile is different, since it is preferred when there is an unclear relationship between the two terms. This means that the interpretation of *like*-simile is less restricted than that of metaphor, probably because of the greater propensity of metaphor for conventionalization. Researchers have also noted that *like*-simile is more sensitive to elaboration than metaphor (Romano 2017), although metaphor can also be elaborated when the speaker feels that its meaning is not completely clear, perhaps because it is not conventional. This was the case of some examples of elaboration of *A business is a journey*, which were provided above.

In any event, the general situation is that *like*-simile requires the hearer to choose one from among several source attributes, whereas in metaphor the attribute or attributes that apply to the target is predetermined through convention. In a less general situation, metaphor requires the hearer to select contextually noticeable attributes. In the case of *Her eyes are diamonds* convention tends to gear interpretation to the brightness of the eyes. By contrast, the unconventional metaphor *Her eyes are shooting stars* directs interpretation to perceptually prominent characteristics of the source and target domains. For example, the light produced by a shooting star in the night sky as it enters the earth's atmosphere can evoke the brightness of the pupils in contrast to the rest of the eye.

Resemblance metaphor and *like*-simile require the search for cross-domain similarities. The two figures, however, differ in the way that such a search takes place, which usually involves default

conspicuity in the case of metaphor versus context or discourse-based inferences in *like*-simile. This view of the two figures is consistent with the categorization and comparison approaches to metaphor and simile respectively. A lawyer is metaphorically a shark because the conspicuous behavior of lawyers and sharks can be categorized as "predatory". By contrast, the similarity search in *like*-simile focuses on listing attributes common to the source and target domains, on the assumption that one or more of those attributes may be present in relation to the context or the preceding or following discourse. As a consequence, the statement that a person is "like" a shark can refer to an aggressive person, like the metaphor, but also to a voracious eater or to a fast swimmer. These attributes do not categorize, but simply describe the person.

4. Conclusion

This article has studied *like*-simile in its relation to metaphor. Against traditional accounts of figurative language, where simile is formally defined as an overt comparison and metaphor as a covert comparison, we have considered conceptual differences between the two figures. There is evidence in the literature that metaphor tends to express a closer association between the two terms of comparison than *like*-simile and that metaphor is more sensitive to becoming conventional and more restricted in its interpretation. On the other hand, there is a tendency in *like*-simile to make the ground for comparison explicit in subsequent discourse elaboration. In addition, this article has proposed and discussed the adequacy of other criteria to understand the similarities and differences between *like*-simile and metaphor, among them the abstractness of the resemblance relationship, the greater subjectivity of metaphor, and the primary role of comparison in *like*-simile in contrast to its secondary role in metaphor. In terms of abstractness, the cognitive-linguistic notion of correlation metaphor has been discussed as involving high-level resemblance, while low-level resemblance is at the base of resemblance metaphors and *like*-similes. We have also argued that subjectivity in metaphor, which can have evaluative or intensifying effects, arises from its characteristically tight source-target relationship, unlike *like*-simile, which is based on a looser relationship that endows it with objectivity. Finally, we have argued that the well-known categorization view of metaphor does not apply to correlation metaphors, whose source and target domains cannot be categorized in terms of a shared high-level superordinate concept. These and other observations made in our discussion point to the non-equivalence of metaphor and *like*-simile.

Notes

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2. https://www.linkedin.com/company/markelytics-solutions/?trk=public_profile_experience-item_profile-section-card_subtitle-click&originalSubdomain=co
3. <https://startgrowmanage.com/where-are-you-on-your-journey/>
4. <https://www.zionsbank.com/community/community-magazine/2018/March/how-to-exit-your-company-on-top/>


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SETTING AN OPPOSITION:

ANTITHESIS IN PROPAGANDA FOR 1960 UKRAINIAN SSR

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Abstract: The study zeroes in on the propagandist discourse of the Communist Party and its leaders in one of the official newspapers of the Ukrainian SSR, targeted at the young men and women, the *Molod Ukrajinu* published during January – June 1960. Cognitive antithesis (PEACE :: WAR, SOCIALISM / EAST :: CAPITALISM / WEST and THE PEOPLE :: THE PEOPLE'S ENEMIES) is used as a rhetoric tool for propaganda of Socialist values and Khrushchev's political agenda.

Keywords: cognitive antithesis, propaganda, Khrushchev, ideology, Us/Them, CDA.

1. Introduction

In 1928 Bernays defined propaganda as "a consistent, enduring effort to create or shape events to influence the relations of the public to an enterprise, idea or group" (Bernays 1928: 25). Early in the century he saw propaganda as a positive aspect driving the society and progress (ibid., 38). By the end of the 20th century, the attitude to it changed especially in connection with the Nazi's and the Soviets' applications (Auerbach & Castronovo 2013: 2; Cull et al. 2003: xv), though as Bernays (1928: 21) writes, it is by the virtue of public opinion that the term is treated as either good or bad. Welch (Cull et al. 2003: 317-323) offers the scope of the definitions circulating over the last century, showing the shifts in its core. Nowadays, propaganda studies continue, and it is a popular topic of research in such fields as linguistics, journalism, psychology, sociology, and some other disciplines. Within the domain of linguistics, critical discourse analysis (e.g., Hassan 2018; Moss 1985; Patrona 2018; van Dijk 1997) and rhetorics (e.g., Kampka 2015; Lee & Lee 1939; Molek-Kozakowska 2010; Prato 2018; Propaganda and rhetoric... 2016; Yang 1994) specifically focus their attention on



propaganda discourse.

Propaganda uses a variety of means to ensure that it works (Jowett & O'Donnell 2012), and its effectiveness is typically measured by the number of followers, voters, or buyers that accept it. In ideological propaganda, a productively used mechanism for achieving an aim is setting the opposition between *Us* and *Them* (Ross 2002: 20; van Dijk 1998; 2006; Wirth-Koliba 2016; Wodak 2009). The **aim** of the article is to look at how polarization is enhanced through the rhetoric tool of antithesis in the ideologically-charged discourse.

2. Literature review

2.1 *Some aspects of propaganda and its analysis*

Ellul states: "Propaganda is a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its action of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization" (1973: 61). In the propaganda model, three key elements are tightly linked: sender – message – receiver (Panasenko & Greguš 2022: 131-132; Ross 2002: 18), and through the methods used by the sender that shape the message and have effect on the receiver, propaganda becomes effective in its persuasive power. As a persuasive tool, propaganda requires an intention of the sender, who should adhere to some view of justice or social order, to deliver an emotionally appealing message to a targeted social group the opinion or belief of which the sender wants to influence (Ross 2002: 19-21). In Ellul's (1973: xiii) broad sense, it embraces psychological action and warfare, re-education and brainwashing as well as public and human relations. For a linguist, the focus on the methods applied within these six domains becomes of much importance, as the verbal mode of communication is important for propaganda.

To be successful, propaganda should rely on the following characteristics: simultaneous appeal to individuals and masses, spread over all communication channels, continuous nature, strict organization, orthopraxy, psychological appeal, working with social constructs and collective "foci of interest", timely nature, and truth / falsehood correlation (Ellul 1973: 6-61). In this view, the presentation of argumentation allows the effectiveness of persuasion. Ftorek (2017: 23-25) outlines a number of argumentative strategies common in propaganda, of which the "black or white" technique is of special interest for the present discussion, since it is typically connected with "contrasting some kind of version of the world" (Jeffries 2010: 51). Additionally, for a success of propaganda, it should be penetrated to every aspect of the society, as was the case with Communist propaganda (Bryan, *s.a.*). With regard to propaganda in the USSR, a retrospective view and visibility of some of its effects make analysis more thorough. For instance, 1960 is the year of Khrushchev in power. Today we

perceive Khrushchev époque as marked by changes in the societal perception that included denouncing the Stalin cult and substituting it by the cult of the Great Patriotic War, intellectual thaw and mass festivities, freeing prisoners and announcing peaceful initiatives, reorganizing industry and agriculture, space programs and increasing role of propaganda (McCauley 1995: chap. 3; Taubman 2005). The Party leader's image is often associated nowadays with his allegedly banging a shoe during the UN General Assembly in 1960. At the same time, the picture painted in the print media of the Ukrainian SSR of that time was very different: filled with reports on achievements, party speeches and directives, celebrations of peace initiatives, sport and science advances, and praise of Soviet lifestyle and order as opposed to the capitalist one. The foreign affairs propaganda of that year concentrated on anti-Americanism, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, pro-peace, pro-disarmament, and support of the countries of the Soviet Camp (Barghoorn 1964: chap. III). To secure its place, the ideology became "an illusion and deliberate deformation that serves on as an environment for establishing and keeping power of a small group of Communist elites and creates dubious appearance of regime legitimization" (Kopeček 2003: 226-227).

2.2 Us and Them as part of propaganda mechanism

It is typical of any society to classify the world around, making it a mental, personal, and social act (Zerubavel 1999: 53). In this sense, discourse (and language constructing this discourse) reflect the power relations in it (Renkema & Schubert 2018: 348; Zerubavel 1999: 66-67) and thus the social division of the world (Zerubavel 1999: chap. 4). Zerubavel (ibid., 58) distinguishes social divisions that rely on rigid-, fuzzy-, and flexible-mindedness. Those distinctions, which either blur or polarize society, become the part of common ideology, and therefore, propaganda. Most totalitarian propaganda was based on the rigid division of the world into Socialist camp with its supporters and Capitalist West. Building an Iron Curtain was a way to protect the society from knowing the truth or getting influence from the outside.

"[T]he senders of propaganda often aim at creating an 'us' against 'them' mentality" (Ross 2002: 20), where 'them' is in opposition to 'us'. Polarization as a propaganda tool is connected with its orthopraxical nature (Ellul 1973: 29). As Ellul (ibid., 28-29) writes, by making an individual act, propaganda becomes a governing mechanism of the individual's choices since it justifies and authorizes the actions. Through this commitment an individual is given a place in society and is automatically offered carefully constructed images of his friends and enemies. Yet, the enemy is given a special role in the discourse, as it becomes a supporter of regime through the use of "self-criticism" of the opponents of this regime to justify its rightful nature (ibid., 11-12).

The *Us / Them* polarization is a powerful persuasive tool relying on positive Self-presentation and negative Other-presentation (van Dijk 1998), where clusivity becomes a discursive mechanism of this polarization (Wirth-Koliba 2016). *Us / Them* strategies are often used as a way to indicate allies and enemies, dominating and inferior, credible and deceptive, good and bad parties to the audience (Wirth-Koliba 2016: 23-25, 29; also van Dijk 1993; 2006). Polarization is also part of ideologically-charged discourse, since it helps to make conflicts, power imbalances, and even worldview seem legitimate (van Dijk 2006: 730). The ideological discourse uses the language that enhances positive Self-presentation and negative Other-presentation that is typically known as an ideological square (ibid., 734).

In this sense, the visual and verbal emphasis or its lack are used to legitimize power and authority (Re/reading the past... 2003). *Us / Them* social division presupposes that some social actors are included, or approved, while others are excluded from the shared discourse space, or disapproved of. This clusivity means that the propaganda mechanism uses "a number of linguistic forms by means of which the speaker communicates (lack of) belongingness of chosen notion / actors in political discourse" (Wieczorek 2009: 119). The discourse itself would therefore rely on two schemata: container and center-periphery (ibid., 120). *Us* would presuppose that the elements, actions, notions rest inside a container or close to center, while *Them* and *Their* associates would be pushed outside or to the periphery. This movement is dependent on "physical, historical, and socio-ideological localization of discourse elements" (ibid., 121). Toying with center / periphery and in / out results in a discursive strategy of proximization (Wirth-Koliba 2016: 26). Through spatial, temporal, and axiological proximization the events and people are presented as dangerous / safe, important and needing action / unimportant and obliterated, ideologically accepted / ideologically unacceptable (ibid., 26), respectfully. In fact, it means that for a discourse of this sort, antithesis should have a high polarization potential. Cap claims, "[antithesis triggers] are, from the axiological perspective, all the ideological premises that the addressee identifies with and, consequently, whose conceptual oppositions he or she would not find not only unacceptable but also plainly threatening" (2010: 131). In the next section I will discuss antithesis as a rhetoric device used for creation of polarized ideologies.

2.3 Antithesis as a rhetoric tool of propaganda

As a rhetoric tool, antithesis was described by Aristotle (2008) in *The art of rhetoric*. He defines antithesis as pairs of opposites that are placed in close proximity. He states that "the significance of contrasted ideas is easily felt, especially when they are thus put side by side, and also because it has the effect of a logical argument; it is by putting two opposing conclusions side by side that you prove one of them false" (ibid., 195). This ease of perception granted antithesis a place in propaganda

discourses. In fact, cognitive potential of antithesis has been discussed in a number of publications (see Fahnestock 1999; Kaluža 1984; Shurma & Lu 2018); yet, its place in linguistic and discourse studies is still underestimated.

From the perspective of a text, antithesis is based on parallelism of semantic antonyms. It is "[t]he juxtaposition of contraries: the contrast of ideas, sharpened or pointed up by the use of words of opposite or conspicuously different meaning in contiguous or parallel phrases or clauses" (The new Princeton encyclopedia... 1993: 79). Conceptually, the +/- factor is important (Kaluža 1984: 107; Shurma & Lu 2018: 145) in antithesis. Depending on how antithesis is formed, direct antithesis would require polarity of only one feature within the two elements of the trope, while in an indirect one the "secondary characteristics" (Kaluža 1984: 108) of two contrasting elements will be in opposition. The emergent meaning in antithesis will retain the dichotomy, rather than merge two opposing concepts together (Shurma & Lu 2018: 146). One more type of antithesis that exists in the discourse is an extended one, where the parallelism of contrasting ideas is realized via foregrounding in a wider context (ibid., 149-150). This kind of antithesis requires interpretative strategies and activation of familiar schemas that will allow the addressee to spot the opposition. Typically, at least two viewing frames (*sensu* Harrison 2017: 22-23) should be created that would lead the reading and further interpretation to the juxtaposition of the ideas, events and other elements of the knowledge required for processing or noticing antithesis (see discussion in Shurma & Lu 2018). Fahnestock (1999: 58-59) points out to the argumentative status of antithesis, drawing attention to the fact that for antithesis to be perceived as such, there should be either acceptance of the opposition on part of the audience or (con)textual motivation.

If we accept that propaganda is "a consistent, enduring effort to create or shape events to influence the relations of the public to an enterprise, idea or group" (Bernays 1928: 25), then antithesis is a great tool for achieving the aim. Its persuasive potential lies not only in the possibility to make inferences, but also in enhancing the ideological square. The +/- factor in antithesis serves negative Other-presentation versus positive Self-presentation: - factor will always accompany *Them*, while + factor will work for the legitimation of *Us*. Through this rhetoric tool the world projected in the propagandist material appears as divided into "discrete, quasi-insular mental chunks" (Zerubavel 1999: 66). Through repetition, antitheses enter into and shape the memories in the way suggested by the propagandists. Once in regular use, the semantic contrast ascribed to the elements of antithesis becomes accepted. In the sections below I will focus on verbal and discursive characteristics of antitheses in ideologically charged discourse of the Ukrainian SSR.

3. Material and method

Regarding the **methodology** of the analysis, the articles from the *Molod Ukrajinny* are viewed from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, or CDA (Fairclough 1989; 2013; Krzyżanowski & Forchtner 2016; van Dijk 1997) and Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010). As an interdisciplinary methodology, CDA deals with the issues such as ideology and power, combining the knowledge from linguistics, social and cognitive sciences, pragmatics, and some other. CDA looks into the textual and contextual issues of the text interpretation (Huckin 1997: 78) especially with regard to polarization as a means of political propaganda.

The paper is part of a bigger project on the rhetoric of violence. The articles used as the **material** for this research were collected with the view of their relevance to the topic. Yet, the material showed that as part of symbolic violence (*sensu* Žižek 2008) some of the articles dealing with violence of different sort used antithesis for propaganda. The year 1960 was not chosen at random. From a contemporary standpoint, Pankin and Svanidze (Панкин & Сванидзе 2016) called 1960 "the year of fantastic deceit", when the propaganda was at its highest. Since the interpretation and counting was done manually, to minimize the error in calculations, only the first six months of 1960 were analyzed. I suggest that the first half of the year is enough to see the trends and patterns in the use of antithesis since the rhetoric is quite consistent and ideologically motivated. A total of 211 articles from the *Molod Ukrajinny*, a Ukrainian language daily newspaper directed at the young Communists of the Ukrainian SSR, served as the material. The articles were photographed from the archives, and the corpus includes the texts published within the period of January 1 – June 29, 1960.

4. Findings and results

We earlier identified antitheses as words, phrases, chunks of clauses, sentences, or text fragments that contextually relied on +/- factor in their semantics or discursive role. This section deals with the semantic, cognitive, and pragmatic properties of the figure of speech with the view of its propaganda potential as discussed elsewhere.

As can be seen from the analyzed material, antithesis finds its way on three levels: (1) antithesis *per se* realized in shorter context of 1-3 sentences; (2) discursive antithesis, where the opposition is presented in a wider context at different textual levels; and (3) conceptual antithesis where certain linguistic structures provoke the opposition in the mind as a way of dichotomizing elements of schematic knowledge thus contributing to or setting an agenda. In total, 211 articles in the *Molod Ukrajinny* contain one or both types of antitheses, and the number of antitheses analyzed is equal to 347. Since there is a degree of subjectivity in antithesis interpretation, I focused only on the antitheses

which were verbally explicated in the text either by the syntactical parallelism or textual (narrative) structure. Fahnestock indicates that if antithesis becomes too salient to be immediately recognizable, "it is possible to use what could be only half an antithesis and still secure the effect of a whole" (1999: 59). The present analysis did not take these types of antitheses into consideration.

Conceptually, about 90% of antitheses analyzed can be attributed to one of the following dichotomies within the ideological square (see Table 1):

Table 1. Conceptual antithesis in the *Molod Ukrajinu* articles. Source: Own processing

Us	Them
PEACE THE PEOPLE SOCIALISM / EAST	WAR THE PEOPLE'S ENEMIES CAPITALISM / WEST

The PEACE :: WAR dichotomy is presented as both simple and discursive antitheses and is verbally explicated in 98 articles, though the number of the articles that thematically deal with war/fights and/or peace is almost twice as much. "The argumentative uses of antithesis depend on the rhetorical status of the opposed lexis [...] the figure writes itself by drawing on known contrasts, and its effect with a particular audience depends on their prior recognition of these contrasts" (Fahnestock 1999: 59). It seems that the Soviet propaganda understood the argumentative potential of the known, especially something that referred to the painful past. Since 1960 was marked by Khrushchev's idealistic doctrine of world peace and calls for disarmament, naturally PEACE :: WAR antithesis enters the rhetoric at all levels of text and discourse. This opposition relies on the memory of World War II, on the current-to-the-reader experience of the Cold War and fear of the future "atomic war" or "imperialist invasion".

For example:

(1) *Ukr.* – "Скрізь юні проти **війни**. Їх єднає спільна мета – **мир**" ("Words that come from heart", 3.02.60). [*Eng.* – "All around, the youth is against war. They are united by a common goal – peace¹"].

The article exploits the letters to the editor, quotes from which constitute its framework. These quotes allegedly coming from people of different background and nationalities deal with their memories of WWII, danger of the atomic and hydrogen explosions that can "exterminate the inhabitants of the world", and the words of gratitude to Khrushchev for his peaceful policies. Antithesis occurs in the end of the article as a way of summary of what the young people, the audience of the newspaper, allegedly believe in. Antithesis is based on the semantic tautology of ideas expressed in both sentences; thus, the reinforcement makes it stylistically stronger (Panasenکو et al. 2018). The position

of juxtaposed elements at the end of the sentences makes these ideas appear as new. Through overgeneralizations, used in the article, such as "the workers of the whole world", "common teacher", "common worker" and "the youth" from Example 1, propaganda creates and exploits the *Us* space where the unity of the ideas and believes legitimatizes support of the Party initiatives led by Khrushchev.

In fact, Khrushchev, party officials and the newspaper within the analyzed period of six months set a complex PEACE :: WAR agenda, where salience is achieved through antithesis among other methods. The Labor Day, traditionally celebrated on May 1 and the Victory Day, celebrated in the USSR on May 9, become the days when the concentration of PEACE :: WAR rhetoric was increasingly high. What also contributed to this was the Vienna summit and Lockheed U2 spy plane incident², which Khrushchev widely used for promoting his own ideas not only of disarmament, but also discrediting the USA, which he chose both as an enemy and benchmark for comparing the country's achievements. The PEACE :: WAR agenda becomes so important for the 1960 articles, that other types of antitheses identified in Table 1 contribute to it. For instance, on January 15, 1960, Khrushchev incorporated into his talk "Disarmament – A Way to Strengthen Peace and Provide Friendship Between Nations" at the Supreme Council of the USSR pairs of semantic opposites (Fahnestock 1999: 52) to make the rhetorical effect stronger:

(2) Ukr. – "Ясно, що *імперіалісти* намагатимуться знову збирати сили прихильників 'холодної війни'. *Миролюбні люди* повинні бути пильними і не ослабляти боротьби за міцнення *миру*."
[Eng. – "It is obvious that the imperialists will try again to collect the powers of the 'cold war' supporters. Peace-loving people should be vigilant and not stop fight for strengthening peace."]

The following example (2) juxtaposes social actors that the Communist propaganda sets as enemies: "imperialists" and "peace-loving people". Built upon THE PEOPLE :: THE PEOPLE'S ENEMIES antithesis, Khrushchev reinforces the idea that *Us* "container" includes anyone who supports peace, and at the same time reinforces the Socialist dogma that those are the common people, working class, the majority as opposed to those in power who do not support Socialist ideology, and thus impede progress and peaceful development. This part of antithesis is based on the parallelism of grammatical subjects, while the second part of it is strategically placed at the end of two sentences. In this case, the speaker alludes to the situation of immediate danger and fear for the readers, set by the politically chosen agenda – "cold war", yet, cognitively offers a paradoxical but legitimate solution – "fighting for peace". The whole idea of war metaphor to speak about political, economic, and social rivalry of the two Camps, make Khrushchev actions and initiatives legitimate (not much unlike the example of the "War on Terror" described by Lakoff (2009: chap. 6)).

The PEACE :: WAR discourse antithesis is realized on several textual levels, and usually forms viewing frames, or selected "aspects of shared knowledge" (Harrison 2017: 23), that are stipulated by key words or other salience features of the texts. For example, discourse antithesis in the article as of April 19, 1960, relies on the juxtaposition of the title "*Світ без війни*" – "The World Without War" and the first sentence that opens the article *Мир!* – "Peace!" (see Fig. 1); there is a clear dichotomy of war and peace, emphasized by the position of the elements in the discourse. There is also an interesting graphical arrangement: the word *Мир!* appears to the left in the article block, in the same font as the rest of the article, and on the same line as the upper part of the title. The title itself is positioned to the right, and is in block letters that appear to be as big as the first four lines of the deck. Graphically *Мир!* is positioned to the left as "known" information (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 179-185), thus, "*Світ без війни*" is what draws most attention.



Figure 1. Typesetting arrangement of antithesis (19.04.1960)

Another type of discursive antithesis is typically based on juxtaposing two narratives: (1) based on time frames, such as WWII narrative versus present peaceful time narrative, or (2) place frames, such as fights outside the USSR and peace inside the USSR. In this case the propaganda makes positive *Self*-presentation by painting the pictures of safe idealistic Socialist present led by the Communist party against the unsafe and traumatic past or unsafe *Others*.

Such idealism in presentation is based on the juxtaposition SOCIALISM / EAST :: CAPITALISM / WEST. In the Soviet propaganda EAST was associated with the Eastern Bloc countries that adopted Communism as major ideology. This dichotomy is also closely connected with the THE PEOPLE :: THE PEOPLE'S ENEMIES antithesis, as the USSR saw the Capitalist West led by the "imperialists", "colonialists" or/and "capitalists" as the enemy of THE PEOPLE not only of the Socialist camp, but also within the countries considered as enemies. However, Communist projection was that once the people know about the merits of Socialism doctrine and values, they would "shake off" capitalism and join the Socialist Camp. To promote the ideology, the USSR targeted and sponsored the overthrows of colonial governments in the African, Caribbean and other colonies as well as Communist Parties in other states (see Walter 1956: 270-273). Yet, on the territory of the republics, such as the Ukrainian SSR, propaganda highlighted the idea of advanced and positive life in the USSR. For example, antithesis in Example 3 juxtaposes positive aspects of Socialist life and negative aspects of the Capitalist West.

(3) *Укр.* – "Глибока безодня лежить між щасливим і безтурботним дитинством у соціалістичних країнах і тяжким, безрадісним становищем дітей трудящих у капіталістичному світі" (1.06.60). [*Eng.* – "There is a deep abyss between the happy and carefree childhood in the Socialist countries and hard, joyless position of the workers' children in the Capitalist world"].

In Example 3 the effect of antithesis set through the coordinative sentence structure is enhanced by the metaphoric expression *глибока безодня* [deep abyss]. In fact, almost every word in the first coordinate clause has its contrasting equivalent in the second: *щасливий* [happy] – *безрадісний* [joyless], *безтурботний* [carefree] – *тяжкий* [hard], *дитинство* [childhood] – *становище дітей* [children's position], *соціалістичні країни* [Socialist countries] – *капіталістичний світ* [Capitalist world].

Within antithesis of this kind, the articles set the following groups of oppositions: (a) ideologies: the USSR vs the USA or Britain, the USSR vs Capitalist countries, Socialism vs Capitalism, Communism vs the Nazi, new Socialist relations vs old traditions; (b) good and bad social actors: Soviet youth / patriots vs old people in power, new human vs vestiges of the past, winners vs losers; (c) national welfare and industry achievements: increased national wealth vs unemployment and deficit, state protection vs lack of civil rights, educated vs uneducated, collectivism vs individualism; (d) good and bad epistemological qualities: might and power vs weaknesses, freedom and justice vs suppression, colonialism and injustice, truth vs lies, freedom and happiness vs exploitation, happiness vs grief, cooperation vs destruction, equality vs segregation / inequality.

Let us look at the example of complex discursive antithesis that sets the opposition between the ideologies and important epistemological qualities relevant for the propaganda. In several articles, to make a strong statement, the rhetorical arrangement is based on the chunks of text that are distributed throughout the text but are perceived as contrasting. Depending on whether the writer wants to highlight the positive idea or negative one, the size of the chunks and appearance in the text will differ. So, if the author(s) wants to highlight the positive part of antithesis, it would appear in the final sections of the text, and vice versa. For instance, the article "*Нас виховали партія і комсомол*" – "We were raised by the Party and Komsomol" of April 5, 1960, stresses upon the positive impact of the Communist Party and Komsomol Organization, and thus strategically focuses on the merits of the worldview. The article presents an interview with Poplavskyj and Kriuchkovskyj, two crew members of barge T-36 that was adrift for 49 days until it was finally rescued by the American aircraft carrier *Kearsarge*³.

Typographically the text is arranged in three columns. While the first one contains the - factor chunk, the second and third offer an opposite idea. Antithesis here is quite intricate, as on the one hand, it is realized at the level of narration, where two stories about a similar event are presented as having a negative vs positive outcome. The two opposing narratives are a story of a British ship that sunk in the Indian Ocean and whose survivors got wild⁴, and, naturally, the story of T-36 survivors who saved their human faces despite the adversity of conditions. Additionally, the other part of antithesis relies on the opposition of ideas verbalized through respective vocabulary.

Antithesis is based on the oppositions Capitalism vs Communism, negative human traits (profit-seeking and egoism) vs positive human traits (love for the country, grit, patriotism, cooperation, hard work, heroism), and individualism (dog eats dog) vs collectivism (friendship, Party, Fatherland, Komsomol, Soviet person). The text, propagandistically, is very consistent: the words *Party* and *Komsomol* are repeated in the article 5 times, *Soviet* – 8 times in combinations with *люди* [people], *Ukraine* and *Союз* [Union]. Another element of propaganda that enhances the feelings of patriotism is the epithet *рідний* [dear] a very popular epithet in the combinations of *рідна мати* [dear mother], *рідна країна* [dear country], *рідна земля* [dear land] and *рідна Москва* [dear Moscow]. The juxtaposed elements come in textual fragments that repeat the idea over and over. The heroes thank the Party and their Fatherland, the USSR, in an exaggerated manner which might not reflect what the real speakers believe in. In line with the Party standards, the young Soviet sailors are the embodiments of "high moral values" as opposed to the Western "wolves".

In fact, THE PEOPLE :: THE PEOPLE'S ENEMIES antithesis is the most stylistically varied one, since it employs "(mis)labelling" (*sensu* Molek-Kozakowska 2010) of the enemies, through various word-formation techniques, metaphoric and metonymic transfer. It is also the most popular rhetorical means as it was identified in 193 articles. This type of antithesis employs appraisal and collectivization (van Leeuwen 2008: 283, 291) to refer to the opposing groups: e.g., *камерунський народ* [Cameroon people] vs *англо-французькі імперіалісти* [English and French imperialists] (9.01.60), *борці-комуністи* [Communist fighters] vs *фашисти* [Fascists] (11.02.60), *людина* [human] vs *вбивця, виродок* [killer, degenerate] (18.03.60), *корінне населення* [native people] vs *расисти* [rasists] (24.04.60), *маси* [the masses] vs *продажні політики* [rogue politicians] (8.05.60), *миролюбні сили* [peace-loving forces] vs *сили війни та агресії* [forces of war and aggression] (22.06.60).

Some of the used labels are based on forms of the words created via affixation or prefixation through which they acquire negative or positive connotation. The following example is taken from an article about building Hitler's bunker in Vinnytsia region (6.03.1960). The article is built on a strong opposition

in presenting Fascists and those who opposed them. This extended antithesis appears at several text levels but is most visible through the use of words where +/- factor rests on positive vs negative connotations. This concerns the nomination of social actors. In Example 5 the polarization is based on the stylistic potential of suffixes in the Ukrainian language to change the connotation of the word.

	<i>Them</i>	<i>Us</i>
(5)	<i>retelnyj sluzh=aka</i> (about Fascists) thorough.ADJ.M serve=ak=a.M thorough serviceman ^{derog}	<i>narodnyj mesnyk</i> (about Vinnytsia guerrillas) national.ADJ.M avenge=nyk.M national avenger

Two groups that oppose each other are labelled as "avengers" and "servicemen". Suffix *-ak* is used in the Ukrainian language to name the persons by their properties or characteristics (Карпіловська 2014: 279), depending on which the word may typically have positive or negative connotation. In case of *sluzhaka*, the word is perceived as derogative.

Other words that label the enemies, appear in the articles more than once, and have negative connotation in the context: with reference to WWII – *гітлерівці* [Hitlerites], *фашисти* [Fascists], *нацисти* [Nazi], *зрадник* [traitor], *недруг* [detractor], *кат* [hangman], *вбивця* [murderer]; with reference to ideological enemies – *капіталісти* [capitalists], *імперіалісти* [imperialists], *буржуазія* [bourgeoisie], *мілітаристи* [militarists], *фанатики* [fanatics], *поборник* [proponent], *божевільні* [insane], *руйнівники* [destroyers], *агресори* [aggressors], *расисти* [rasists], *поліцаї* [cops], *гангстери* [gangsters], and some other. Part of the labels are created through metaphoric or metonymic transfer: e.g., *хижаки-імперіалісти* [vulture imperialists] (24.04.60), *палії війни* [war incendiaries] (22.03.60). They are also simply labelled as *вороги* [enemies] that oppose in the antitheses to "patriots" (10.01.60), "Socialist countries" (15.01.60), "the people" (18.03.60, 16.04.60), "Lenin" (22.04.60), "heroes" (30.04.60) and other. Thematically, the labels as parts of antitheses appear in: (1) the articles where parts of narratives deal with WWII, such as a campaign against Oberländer, whom the USSR accused of atrocities during the war, especially in Lviv; (2) reports regarding riots and protests in colonies and disputed territories around the world, such as March riots in the Union of South Africa; (3) narratives about hard life in the capitalist countries; (4) news about the world leaders whom Khrushchev considered his political opponents or enemies, such as the German statesman Adenauer. As Molek-Kozakowska indicates, "[a]s a result of labeling, complex categories are simplified, sometimes through straightforward associations to what the majority finds loathsome or scary" (2010: 84). In case of Soviet propaganda, the texts create and instill the feelings of loath and fear towards a targeted group of people and at the same time make the support the Soviet Union offers to those fighting for the common "beautiful future" legitimate. As Khrushchev himself

said, "Мир треба завоювати" [The peace should be won with arms] (6.03.60).

The repetition of the same labels and antitheses is important for propaganda as this is how the propagandist makes sure that the idea gets instilled in the memory: "Simplicity and repetition amount to pure behavioral conditioning. See it, hear it, associate it with the source and repeat until imprinted" (Patrick 2013: 104). The war vs peace agenda had a strong message behind it: it reminded of the atrocities of WWII, but also portrayed the Soviet Union and Khrushchev as safe and peaceful, or as longing for the eternal peace, while the West appeared as hostile and unsafe, battling over the armament, nuclear weapons, racism, inequality and so on. Balancing on the memories of the war still fresh in the minds of the masses and adding the new layer of references to Cold War, militarism and atrocities, the propaganda in press created an emotional "bubble" around the same topic. Taubman writes about Khrushchev's foreign policy in 1960s that is clearly traced in the propaganda:

"Khrushchev was convinced that the USSR was in danger. Hadn't the West intervened against Bolshevism in the Russian civil war? Hadn't the United States waited sixteen years to recognize Soviet Russia? Hadn't the Anglo-Americans tried to 'bleed us dry so that they would come in at the last stages [of the war] and determine the fate of the world'? When the war was over, the Americans 'wanted to drive us into bankruptcy.' Thank goodness the Soviet Union had broken 'the ring of capitalist encirclement.' That there were now many socialist countries in Europe and Asia 'was a consoling and inspiring thought for all Communists who had been fighting with such dedication for socialism and justice' " (2005: 331).

This rigid-mindedness (Zerubavel 1999: 58) identified and promoted the idea of the polarized world for the Soviet individual as presented in the official newspapers of the time. To make this propaganda effective, the antitheses were strategically inserted by the writers along with arguments *ad personam*, reductions *ad absurdum*, the "deck of winners" arguments and "black or white" technique (Ftorek 2017: 23-25). Yet, it is the "eternal repeating" (ibid., 23-25), that was aimed at perpetuating the ideas of enemies in the minds of the readers and creating a secure Socialist world against the background of aggressive and oppressive capitalism.

5. Discussion and conclusion

The analysis of propagandist discourse was focused on antithesis used by the Soviet newspaper disseminated among the Ukrainian-speaking inhabitants of the Ukrainian SSR. Antithesis turns out to be a popular tool for setting an agenda and promoting ideology among masses.

The analysis shows how antithesis works as a proper rhetorical tool of propaganda used for both submissiveness and polarization in the society. Antithesis as a cognitive tool explains and labels "good Communists" or "good working class" as opposed to the *Others* which range from the collective West, to the memories of the Nazis and their local collaborators during WWII, and to those

opposing the Communist regime, who were still plenty at the time of the publications. To keep antitheses – both direct and indirect – rhetorically effective the news of 1960 included false or misleading information, which allowed, on the one hand, to make the effect more vivid and, on the other, to promote submissiveness among the public – after all the world outside the USSR was portrayed as dangerous, poor and unhappy. The propaganda made this "living in a lie" mode acceptable for the general public also partially due to the fact that the nationals were devoid of access to alternative information, while the Party could successfully solidify its power and keep support of the masses. Through the antitheses used in the news, the Party and its leader Khrushchev not only legitimized but also popularized their activities among the population: e.g., Khrushchev's peace initiatives, prosecution of the alleged "traitors of the state", the USSR direct involvement in the affairs of the foreign countries, such as Kongo. At the same time, antithesis made belonging to the ingroup of "good Communists" prestigious and sharing the believes desirable, as seen in some of the examples mentioned above, where the ingroup is equaled to the family (see discussion of the article "We were raised by the Party and Komsomol" of April 5, 1960).

Yet, the most important characteristic of antithesis used for propaganda is its repetitive nature: it was through constant repetition that the Party changed and shaped the memories of the citizens. The "idyllic" world of the 1960s was aimed to substitute the painful memories of the great losses, especially in Ukraine, during the Great Famine or WWII, to suppress the memories of fights for freedom especially during the first half of the 20th century, by highlighting the fights for freedom elsewhere in the world, and to cloud the judgement of economic situation in the country, quite rich in natural resources, by making other countries look poorer compared to the USSR.

Notes

1. The translation is done by the author. To keep the translation as close to the original as possible, the literal translations are made. Yet, with the difference in semantics and structure of the languages, some translations might still not reflect the original in the best possible way.
2. On May 1, 1960, a US spy plane flying over the territory of the USSR was shot down by the Soviet military over Sverdlovsk oblast. In his speech on May 6, 1960, Khrushchev accused the USA of espionage and lies, and called it an "act of aggression" against the USSR aimed at discrediting his peace initiatives (6.05.60).
3. Additional information about the event in English can be found, for example, here: <https://www.warhistoryonline.com/instant-articles/49-days-in-the-ocean.html>.
4. There is obviously a mistake in the article about the presentation of events. It seems that the story is about a Dutch ship *SS Rooseboom* which sunk in the Indian Ocean downed by a Japanese

submarine. The *Molod Ukrajinu* article appears to be using the story told in 1952 book by Walter G. Gibson. The reason for ship's sinking is not mentioned, but the article mentions 26 days of lifeboat drifting, 30 initial survivors in the lifeboat and 6 survivors that reached the shore of an island. The accuracy of details and references is not important in propaganda: it is the message and emotions that are made salient.

List of abbreviations

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

Ukrainian SSR – Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

USSR – Soviet Union

WWII – World War Two

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LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

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**COLOUR NAMING: SEMANTICS OF THE COLOUR WHITE
IN ENGLISH AND POLISH LEXICON****Agnieszka Uberman** *Institute of Modern Languages, University of Rzeszów, Rzeszów, Poland***Received:** 15.11.2022 **Reviewed:** 21.02.2023 and 16.03.2023**Similarity index:** 0%

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Abstract: In the present paper, an analysis is made of the colour names offered for the different shades and hues of the *white* palette of Dulux paints in English and Polish. The names are created by associations with colour names within the colour category WHITE but also with other domains of human experience, which are positively and naturally valued. The symbolism of the colour term is also reflected in some exemplars.

Keywords: colour terms, *white*, *off-white*, colour naming, Dulux colour names, phraseology, symbolism, figurative meanings.

1. Introduction

Colours mean different things to different people. A physicist will interpret colour as a wavelength, an artist or a poet as a means of artistic expression, while a psychologist or a therapist might apply yet another explanation as well as application of colour. From the perspective of a linguist (e.g., Anderson & Bramwell 2014; Berlin & Kay 1969; Biggam 2012; Colour studies... 2014; Golda et al. 2022; Komorowska 2010; New directions... 2011; Panasenko & Fillová 2023; Panasenko & Korcová 2011; Philip 2011; Progress in colour studies... 2006; 2018; Stanulewicz 2009; Stanulewicz & Komorowska 2022; Steinvall 2002; Uberman 2009; 2013; 2014; Wierzbicka 1990; 1996; 2006; Wyler 1992), colours employed in language expressions can represent ominous or positive features of concepts embedded within and of the described phenomena.



The world we live in is filled with colour, which can be fully appreciated by individuals whose vision is not impaired. Colour is a physical property, defined by Oxford English dictionary as "any of the constituents into which light can be separated as in a spectrum or rainbow, and which are referred to by names such as *blue, red, yellow*; any particular mixture of these constituents; a particular hue or tint" (OED, *s.a.*).

Biggam (2012: 2) brings to attention the fact that the "nature of the colours we see is the result of a complicated interaction between the physics of light, the physiology of the human eye, environmental conditions at the time of viewing, the physical properties of the object being viewed and the way in which our brains receive and interpret all this information". Kingdom (2011: 3) stresses the point that "colour (chromatic) vision not only tells us about the colour of surfaces but about the structure of the visual world. One way that colour vision informs us about scene structure is by helping decompose the scene into its material and illumination layers". Phenomena involved in the processing of a visual image are, among others, surface texture, illumination, and reflectivity. Other salient features that affect the interpretation of colour are hue¹ (or chromatic colour), saturation², tone³, and brightness⁴ (Biggam 2012).

Colour has its prominence in various fields, it is used to describe physical objects, metaphorically it can refer to human emotions and states, it enhances the visibility of artefacts and provides a richness of imagery in literary descriptions. It is vital in daily life with reference to psychology, politics, marketing, but also industry, entertainment or education. There are hardly any walks of life where its presence is not manifested. As aptly summarised by Panasenکو and Fillová (2023: 66), "scholars have identified ways of producing colours (neurology and physiology), their perception (psychology), understanding (philosophy, semiotics), and naming (linguistics, anthropology)". The present discussion will focus on linguistic aspects of colour lexicon, therefore stress will be placed on how colour terminology reflects the complexity of the world, as certain features and symbolic meanings are attributed to individual colour terms. Gage (1999: 79) highlights the fact that "colour-perception and colour-language turn out to be closely bound up with each other; since symbolizing is essentially a linguistic function, the available colour-vocabulary must have a decisive role in the creation of any language of colour-symbols".

It is important to stress the fact that colour vocabulary employed in the phraseology of a given language reflects the cultural mindset of its speakers and the linguistic image of the world, which is considered a language (and culture)-specific construal of reality, or scheme of conceptualising the world (Bartmiński 2006; Sharifian 2017 among others). Hence, the names of colours adopted for the

designation of particular hues frequently carry figurative meanings reflecting different associations with the concept of a particular colour category. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 185) claim that there is a predominant conceptualisation based on a conceptual metaphor GOOD IS WHITE. Sandford (2018: 280) notes that *white* has positive connotations with lightness and daytime. Kövecses (2010: 196) supports this statement and explicates that "since light, as opposed to dark, is valued positively, the LIGHT metaphor also highlights the positive evaluation of happiness". Sandford (2018: 280) infers that the human embodied experience based on the metaphor LIGHT IS UP, i.e., the sun in the sky, is the origin of two universal metaphors HAPPINESS IS LIGHT and HAPPINESS IS UP.

In the study to follow, the colour white and off-whites (within the spectrum of white) will be addressed with reference to the names specified for Dulux paint colours in English and in Polish. In the semantic analysis particular colour names will be listed and their non-literal designations will be identified. As noted above, such colour names encompass metaphorical meanings that were generated in association with various domains of experience. The domains of experience will be identified and exemplified accordingly. The data for the discussion have been collected from the English and Polish Dulux websites respectively. Similarities and differences between the colour terminology applied to various hues in the compared languages as well as domains evoked in colour names will be highlighted.

2. Colour terms

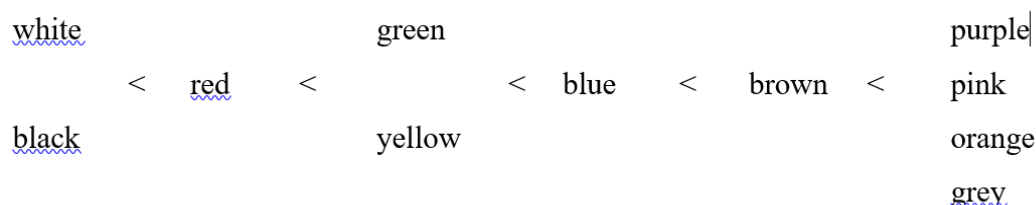
Even though the category of colour seems universal, colour vocabulary does not entirely overlap in diverse language communities. Colour terms form a semantic set, or field, i.e. a group of lexical items that "are defined with respect to one another" (Kreidler 1998: 303). Based upon numerous studies Berlin and Kay (1969: 2) noted that "although different languages encode in their vocabularies different *numbers* of basic color categories, a total universal inventory of exactly eleven basic color categories exists from which the eleven or fewer basic color terms of any given language are always drawn". Those eleven basic colour categories specified above are: *white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange, and grey*. Much as such a finding was expected, it seems that another one was not, pointing to certain restrictions both in number and sequence. The researchers (ibid., 2-3) state the following:

"If a language encodes fewer than eleven basic color categories, then there are strict limitations on which categories it may encode. The distributional restrictions of color terms across languages are:

1. *All languages contain terms for white and black.*
2. *If a language contains three terms, then it contains a term for red.*
3. *If a language contains four terms, then it contains a term for either green or yellow (but not both).*

4. *If a language contains five terms, then it contains terms for both green and yellow.*
5. *If a language contains six terms, then it contains a term for blue.*
6. *If a language contains seven terms, then it contains a term for brown.*
7. *If a language contains eight or more terms, then it contains a term for purple, pink, orange, grey, or some combination of these".*

This type of colour term distribution can be represented in the form of the rule below:



Berlin and Kay (ibid., 4) stated that in the rule specified above, "for distinct color categories (a , b), the expression $a < b$ signifies that a is present in every language in which b is not present". The rule is noted to signify "not only a distributional statement for contemporary languages but also the chronological order of the lexical encoding of basic colour categories in each language".

Corresponding to the results of the basic colour category research, Kreidler (1998: 89) states that "different cultures recognize different numbers of colors and divide the color spectrum in different ways" (compare among others Biggam 2012; Steinvall 2002; Wyler 1992; Wierzbicka 1990; 2006). It has also been pointed out by Tokarski (2004) that the differences in naming colour and applying a particular number and type of colour categories as well as colour terms do not arise from any diversity in human perceptual abilities and physiology of vision, but from the cultural dissimilarities and various ways of conceptualising the world which are embedded in linguistic means of expression.

Biggam (2014: 10) stresses the fact that in the course of numerous research studies linguists have identified sets of concepts which they believe to be crucial for human societies "to mentally register and to label linguistically in order to facilitate communication. Some concepts which seem very basic are [...] geographically or culturally restricted so that, for example, snow is not likely to feature in the mindset of a society living near the equator [...]". Nonetheless, there are basic or core concepts that are considered indispensable for any language and culture community to communicate efficiently. This group of essential concepts drawn up by Swadesh (1971) also includes "the colour concepts which he calls "white", "black", "red", "green" and "yellow" " (Biggam 2014: 10).

However, when addressing the semantics of colour, Wierzbicka (2006) points out that 'colour' is a salient semantic molecule in the English language, but there are also languages which do not have a word *colour*. Similarly, it has been indicated by Biggam (2014: 11), that basic colour categories identified by Berlin and Kay (1969) familiar in English are not within the lexical scope of other language communities. Based on substantial research in the area "it is now undeniable that the basic single-hue categories, such as yellow, green, and blue are not universal or ancient and, therefore, cannot be considered as essential concepts for viable human communication". Nevertheless, Biggam (2014: 21) suggests that "the language ancestral to Proto-Indo-European developed three basic colour categories: light, dark, and macro-red, possibly by the end of the Upper Palaeolithic (roughly 10,000 years ago)". The linguist also refers to the presence of colours designating *white* and *black* in the first stage of the evolution of lexical colour categories⁵ in interpreting it in the following words:

"I have taken the liberty of interpreting Stage I of the UE model as "light" and "dark", in which "light" includes, not only white, red and yellow (W/R/Y) but also brightness, which is interpreted as light-emission (for example, sunlight), reflectivity (for example, sunlight on water), surface illumination (such as pale sand in sunlight) and space illumination (such as daylight, or firelight in a cave). "Dark" is taken to include black, green and blue (Bk/G/ Bu) but also the absence of, or a low level of lighting [...]. When a new category developed, based on fire-colours, it is suggested that it too included a substantial brightness element, both because a fire really is bright, and also because humans were already accustomed to noticing and appreciating brightness at least as much as the warm hues".

In the following section definitions of *white* will be presented based on lexicographic sources, and the symbolism of the colour term will also be addressed.

3. The colour white: Meaning and symbolism

It is essential to point out that there are certain prototypes for the colour terms present in human languages, that are anchored in the universals of human experience. As noted by Wierzbicka (1990; 1996) *black* and *white*, identified as Stage I of the evolution of basic colour terms, are closely related to and associate with the concepts *dark* and *light*. She further stresses the relations "do not imply that people think of the day as "something white" and of the night as "something black", as they might think of snow as something white and of charcoal as something black". She further explains, referring to colour term prototypes that "'white' doesn't have a similarly uniform universal prototype in a very bright day [...], and may in fact embody in its meaning two very different points of reference: a temporal one (day versus night) and a spatial one (a white wintry landscape, covered with snow)" (Wierzbicka 1996: 304).

Analysing the semantics of *black* and *white*, Wierzbicka (1990: 142) identifies the Berlin and Kay (1969) Stage I in the evolution of colour lexicon categories with reference to universals of human experience categories such as *fire*, *sun*, *day*, and *night*. She proposes the following explanation:

"Stage I, two basic color terms

1. colors which can make one think of fire, sun, daylight
2. colors which are not like those which can make one think of fire, sun, or daylight
they can make one think of nighttime".

In contemporary dictionaries of English *white* is defined with reference to *milk* and *snow* (see definitions below), while in Polish the same imagery is evoked with the reversed order, i.e. Pl.: *śnieg* – [Eng.: snow] and Pl.: *mleko* – [Eng.: milk]: Pl.: ***Biały*** – *mający bardzo jasną barwę, taką jak śnieg lub mleko* – [Eng.: white – of a very light colour, such as snow or milk] (WSJP 2018).

White is defined in *Oxford English dictionary online* (OED, s.a.) as follows:

"I. In senses referring to physical appearance or physical properties.

1. a. Of the lightest colour possible, that of milk or freshly fallen snow; designating this colour. From a scientific perspective, the quality of being white is due to the equal reflection or emission of all wavelengths of the visible spectrum of light; white objects therefore lack any distinctive hue. In general use, however, it is normally classed as a colour".

In *A dictionary of colour* compiled by Paterson (2004: 411), *white* is extensively described in the following words:

"The colour of snow. A colour associated with peace and purity [...] and formerly with wealth – it was only the rich who could afford to wear clothes made from white cloth since they needed such frequent washing. In English folklore the colour white is associated with innocence although it also symbolises death and bad luck. According to superstition it is unlucky to give white flowers (particularly with red flowers) to someone who is ill.

In the range of approximately 450-380 nanometres. Defined in Ambrose Bierce's The Enlarged Devil's Dictionary, Penguin Books, 1971, as 'White, adj and n., Black'. The colour of the outer ring in archery. In printing, any space on paper which has no print. The albumen of the egg. Having no hue; light in colour; as regards tea or coffee, having milk added. Strictly, white is not a colour. It is rather the combination of all the colours so that when white light is viewed through a prism the rainbow effect is created indicating all the colours of which white is comprised. The three white pigments used in the manufacture of white oil colours are flake white, zinc white and titanium white. More white paint is produced than any other colour paint".

It is also referred to as "One of the colours in the X11 Color Set. It has hex code #FFFFFF" (ibid., 411).

White is widely accepted as symbolising innocence (Pastoreau 2008) and purity (Van Leeuwen 2011). Biedermann (1996: 380) explains in more detail as follows: "since white can be defined either as the absence of all pigmentary color or as the presence of all the colors of the spectrum of light, it thus can symbolize either the undisturbed innocence of prelapsarian Eden or the ultimate goal [...] – purification and a heavenly restoration of that "lost" innocence." In many cultures priests wear clothes that are white or uncoloured, which stands for purity and truth. Christians also wear white clothes during the ceremony of baptizing; "transfiguration, glory, and the road to heaven" (ibid.) are symbolised by the white robes of the Pope. Negative symbolic meanings of white include its association with death, also ghosts are universally depicted as being or wearing white. In the Chinese tradition, this is the colour of age, misfortune, and mourning.

Considering the terminology of the hues for *white* and *off-white* the following shades can be identified: *alabaster/marble*, *albescent*, *argentine/silver/silvery*, *chalky*, *creamy*, *ivory*, *marmoreal* (referring to complexion), *milk/milky white*, *nacreous/pearly*, *niveous/snowy/snow-white*, *sallow/waxen* (referring to complexion), *white hot*, *whitish*. In Polish, the above refer to, respectively: *alabastrowy/marmurowobiały*, *bielący się/bielejący*, *srebrny/srebrzysty*, *kredowy/kredowobiały*, *jasnokremowy*, *koloru kości słoniowej*, *alabastrowy* (complexion), *mlecznobiały*, *perłowy/opalizujący*, *śnieżnobiały*, *woskowy* (complexion), *jarząco/fosforyzujący biały*, *białawy* (Konieczna 1998: 115-116).

4. Colour naming: The lexicon of white in English and Polish

The analysis considers the names of colours generated for the various shades within the spectrum of *white* and *off-white*, as exemplified by a particular brand of paint. The diversity in this lexical area is substantial as various manufacturers create a unique repertoire of terms to differentiate one brand from another. This frequently means that the same shade/hue will be referred to by a different brand name depending on the producer. The data for the present discussion have been collected from the websites in English and Polish respectively of Dulux colour names. The spelling has been preserved as originally available, hence the names of colours and categories in English start with a capital letter, while this is not the case of Polish categories and names, with the exception of two proper names, i.e. *Heraklion* and *Hellada*.

4.1 Dulux colour names in English

As identified at 'Pick your colour palette' in the spectrum of *White* (within the subcategory 'Popular Colours') the following 41 colours can be selected: *Moon Shimmer*, *Frosted Dawn*, *Absolute White*, *Cliff Walk*, *Morning Light*, *Fine Cream*, *Jasmine White*, *Magic White*, *Timeless*, *Pure Brilliant White*,

Cloudy Dreams, Rock Salt, Sloe Flower, Cream Tea, White Chiffon, Calm Clouds, White Mist, Vanilla White, Porcelain Doll, Orchid White, Almond White, Milky Pail, Classic Cream, Magnolia, Gardenia, Bone China, Delicate Seashell, Summer Linen, Natural Calico, Letters Unread, Vintage Chandelier, Natural Wicker, Barley Twist, Barley White, Cotton Cream, Cornish Cream, Pearl Grey, Celtic Cream, Boutique Cream, Ivory, and Feather Flock. Incidentally, nearly half of the colours have pinkish overtones, the remaining group show a tendency to border on bluish and greyish colouring. It is important to highlight that the names are listed in the order of gradually greater saturation of admixture colour, i.e., red, blue, purple, and black.

However, the compilation of 'All colours' in the palette of *White*, within the 'Colours to be mixed' subgroup, contains 94 exemplars. They are presented in the sequence reflecting gradual increase in colour saturation: *Snow Scene, Silk Breeze, Chiffon White 4, White Cotton, Chalky White 3, Chalky White 2, Java Cream 4, Mineral Haze 4, Potters Clay 4, Bleached Lichen 4, New Meringue, Crushed Cotton 4, Clouded Pearl 3, Natural Taupe 4, Rum Caramel 6, Cracked Clay 3, Clouded Pearl 4, Cracked Clay 4, Chiffon White 3, Nutmeg Cluster 6, Maraschino Mocha 6, Wild Mushroom 6, Rich Praline 6, Quartz Flint 4, Clock Face, Java Cream 2, Exotic Spice 6, Cocoa Blush 6, Twisted Bamboo 4, Roman Stone 6, Nordic Bliss, Subtle Ivory 4, Summer Pecan 6, Golden Jasmine 3, Frayed Hessian 4, Golden Jasmine 4, Velvet Truffle 6, Caramel Sand 6, Cappuccino Candy 6, Bracken Salts 6, Java Cream 3, Crushed Cotton 3, Chalk Blush 4, Crumpled Linen 4, Clouded Pearl 2, Sultana Spice 6, Dusted Moss 4, Vanilla Mist 3, Subtle Ivory 2, Grey Steel 4, Nomadic Glow 6, Soft Almond 6, Quilted Calico 6, Earthen Cream 4, Vanilla Mist 1, Night Jewels 6, Cameo Silk 4, Rail Cloth, Iced Ivory, Gentle Gold, Salisbury Stones 6, Quiet Descend, Twisted Bamboo 3, Bitter Chocolate 6, Subtle Ivory 3, Delicate Veil, Cameo Silk 4, Crumpled Linen 3, Golden Jasmine 2, Earthen Cream 3, Chiffon White 2, Vanilla Mist 2, Almost Pistachio, Frayed Hessian 3, Cameo Silk 2, Diffused Lace, Quilted Calico 3, LOVE LETTER CF19, Gentle Gold 3, Earthen Cream 2, Java Cream 1, Subtle Ivory 1, Frayed Hessian 2, Twisted Bamboo 2, Crumpled Linen 2, Quilted Calico 2, GENTLE MOON, Gentle Gold 2, Quilted Calico 1, WAXED WOOD, Twisted Bamboo 1, Earthen Cream 1, Gentle Gold 1, and Crumpled Linen 1.*

As can be easily noted from the extensive list above, certain colour names are repeated with a different number added to them (e.g., *Chiffon White, Twisted Bamboo, Crumpled Linen*) each with a slightly different shade and added colour intensity). In addition, in this group brownish and yellowish tones can be identified in addition to bluish and pinkish exemplars.

Moreover, within the *Cool Neutral* group out of 35 colour names in the subcategory 'Popular Colours', the following references to *white* are identified: *Cornflower White* with light bluish colouring, and *Ashen White* with greyish overtones. In the *Warm Neutral* palette of the 45 items *Nutmeg White* with pinkish colouring can be noted. All three off-white colour names included in the natural palettes are very light and seem to contain a relatively low amount of added colour. However, when analysing the 91 names in the 'Colours to be mixed' subgroup of the *Cool Neutral* palette, these instances are available: *Metal White*, *Chiffon White 1*, *Goose White*, while in the same subcategory of the *Warm Neutral* set out of the total of 247 colour names not a single instance of a name encompassing the lexeme *white* can be found.

4.2 Dulux colour names in Polish

While analysing the *white* and *off-white* palette available at the Polish Dulux website an immediate difference from the English website can be noted. First of all, there is no distinction between subcategories such as those available at the English website, i.e. 'Popular Colours' and 'Colours to be mixed'. The Polish website offers a smaller number of colours within the category Pl.: *białe i kremowe* – [Eng.: white and cream]. The total number of colour names includes the list of the following 32 exemplars, some of which are used repeatedly: Pl.: *biała* – [Eng.: white], Pl.: *satynowa biała* – [Eng.: satin white], Pl.: *biała* – [Eng.: white], Pl.: *neutralna biel* – [Eng.: neutral white], Pl.: *designerski biały* – [Eng.: designer white], Pl.: *neutralna biel* – [Eng.: neutral white], Pl.: *nieskazitelna biel* – [Eng.: impeccable white], Pl.: *neutralna biel* – [Eng.: neutral white], Pl.: *nietuzinkowe ecru* – [Eng.: extraordinary ecru], Pl.: *antyczny marmur* – [Eng.: antique marble], Pl.: *antyczny marmur* – [Eng.: antique marble], Pl.: *ziarno sezamu* – [Eng.: sesame seed], Pl.: *perłowy biały* – [Eng.: pearl white], Pl.: *pastelowy comfort* – [Eng.: pastel comfort], Pl.: *niebywale śmietankowy* – [Eng.: exceptionally creamy], Pl.: *rajska plaża* – [Eng.: paradise beach], Pl.: *wyborny lukier* – [Eng.: delicious icing], Pl.: *białe wino* – [Eng.: white wine], Pl.: *sila wanilii* – [Eng.: power of vanilla], Pl.: *waniliowa poświata* – [Eng.: vanilla glow], Pl.: *grecka chałwa* – [Eng.: Greek halva], Pl.: *kremowa klasyka* – [Eng.: classic cream], Pl.: *biały skandynawski* – [Eng.: Scandinavian white], Pl.: *totalnie kremowy* – [Eng.: totally creamy], Pl.: *światelka Heraklionu* – [Eng.: lights of Heraklion], Pl.: *słońce Hellady* – [Eng.: Hellas' sun], Pl.: *biały skandynawski* – [Eng.: Scandinavian white], Pl.: *chłodna biel* – [Eng.: cool white], Pl.: *chłodna biel* – [Eng.: cool white], Pl.: *białe żagle* – [Eng.: white sails], Pl.: *czar alabastru* – [Eng.: alabaster charm], and Pl.: *garść muszelek* – [Eng.: a handful of seashells].

In the palette referred to as Pl.: *odcienie neutralne* – [Eng.: neutral shades] that cover the grey scale of the colour spectrum, of 44 exemplars only two names refer to *white*: Pl.: *białe noce* – [Eng.: white

nights] which is very light grey, and two shades called Pl.: *czarno na białym* – [Eng.: black on white] which represent deep, dark grey, and black.

By metaphorical extension of *white*, which is prototypically defined with reference to the colour of snow, other five names evoking winter imagery can be identified: Pl.: *beztroska zima* – [Eng.: carefree winter], Pl.: *śnieżny zaprzęg* – [Eng.: snow sled], Pl.: *okruch lodu* – [Eng.: ice shard], Pl.: *srebrzysty lód* – [Eng.: silvery ice], Pl.: *zimowa cisza* – [Eng.: winter silence]. All of the colour names represent progressively darker shades of grey.

5. Discussion and conclusions

It has to be noted from the exemplary material gathered and presented above that quite a few colour names in the *white* and *off-white* palette in both English and Polish employ the names of the hues and shades identified for the category. For English corpus these include: *silver*, *silvery*, *chalky*, *chalk*, *milky*, *creamy*, *ivory*, *pearly*, and *snowy*. Moreover, in a number of cases *white* is used in a colour name as a noun: then it is supplemented with a descriptive adjective, such as: *absolute*, *jasmine*, *magic*, *pure brilliant*, *vanilla*, *orchid*, *almond*, *barley*, *chiffon*, *chalky*, *cornflower*, *ashen*, *nutmeg*, *metal*, and *goose*. However, in three cases, *white* is used in adjectival position in a phrase, i.e. *white chiffon*, *white mist*, and *white cotton*.

Most English names do not employ the colour term *white*, instead by means of association they make reference to various domains, such as:

NATURE: PARTS OF DAY: *Frosted Dawn*, *Morning Light*, *Night Jewels*;

NATURE: FLORA: *Jasmine White*, *Sloe Flower*, *Vanilla White*, *Orchid White*, *Almond White*, *Magnolia*, *Gardenia*, *Natural Wicker*, *Barley Twist*, *Barley White*, *Bleached Lichen*, *Twisted Bamboo*, *Golden Jasmine*, *Bracken Salts*, *Dusted Moss*;

NATURE: FAUNA: *Feather Flock*;

NATURE: SKY/WEATHER: *Moon Shimmer*, *Cloudy Dreams*, *Calm Clouds*, *White Mist*, *Silk Breeze*, *Clouded Pearl*, *Vanilla Mist*, *Gentle Moon*;

NATURE: EARTH: *Rock Salt*, *Delicate Seashell*, *Pearl Grey*, *Ivory*, *Chalky White*, *Mineral Haze*, *Potters Clay*, *Cracked Clay*, *Clouded Pearl*, *Quartz Flint*, *Roman Stone*, *Subtle Ivory*, *Caramel Sand*, *Chalk Blush*, *Earthen Cream*, *Iced Ivory*, *Salisbury Stones*, *Waxed Wood*;

FOOD: *New Meringue*, *Fine Cream*, *Cream Tea*, *Vanilla White*, *Almond White*, *Classic Cream*, *Cotton Cream*, *Cornish Cream*, *Celtic Cream*, *Boutique Cream*, *Java Cream*, *Rum Caramel*, *Nutmeg Cluster*, *Maraschino Mocha*, *Wild Mushroom*, *Rich Praline*, *Exotic Spice*, *Cocoa Blush*, *Summer*

Pecan, Velvet Truffle, Cappuccino Candy, Sultana Spice, Vanilla Mist, Soft Almond, Bitter Chocolate, Almost Pistachio;

MAGIC/SORCERY: *Magic White, Timeless;*

FABRIC: *White Chiffon, Natural Calico, Summer Linen, Cotton Cream, Silk Breeze, Chiffon White, White Cotton, Crushed Cotton, Frayed Hessian, Velvet Truffle, Crumpled Linen, Quilted Calico, Cameo Silk, Rail Cloth, Delicate Veil, Diffused Lace;*

HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS: *Porcelain Doll, Milky Pail, Bone China, Letters Unread, Vintage Chandelier, Clock Face, Love Letter;*

SEASONS: *Summer Linen, Snow Scene, Summer Pecan;*

PLACES: *Cornish Cream, Celtic Cream, Boutique Cream, Java Cream, Nordic Bliss, Salisbury Stones;*

METAL: *Grey Steel, Gentle Gold;*

TRAVEL: *Cliff Walk, Nomadic Glow, Quiet Descent.*

The Polish corpus of the studied colour names includes the following terms designating the shades and hues: PL.: *alabastrowy* – [Eng.: alabaster], PL.: *marmur* – [Eng.: marble], PL.: *perłowy* – [Eng.: pearly], PL.: *śmietankowy* – [Eng.: creamy], PL.: *kremowy* – [Eng.: creamy], PL.: *srebrzysty* – [Eng.: silvery], and PL.: *śnieżny* – [Eng.: snow-white; literally *snowy*].

The collection of Polish colour names analysed in the study of Dulux *whites* and *off-whites* has far fewer exemplars as compared to the corpus gathered for English. The number of terms in which *white* is featured comes to a total of 18. These names include: PL.: *biała* – [Eng.: white], PL.: *satynowa biała* – [Eng.: satin white], PL.: *neutralna biel* – [Eng.: neutral white], PL.: *designerski biały* – [Eng.: designer white], PL.: *nieskazitelna biel* – [Eng.: impeccable white], PL.: *perłowy biały* – [Eng.: pearl white], PL.: *białe wino* – [Eng.: white wine], PL.: *biały skandynawski* – [Eng.: Scandinavian white], PL.: *chłodna biel* – [Eng.: cool white], PL.: *białe żagle* – [Eng.: white sails], PL.: *białe noce* – [Eng.: white nights], and PL.: *czarno na białym* – [Eng.: black on white]. It has to be noted, however, that five of the names are used repeatedly, i.e. PL.: *biała* – [Eng.: white], PL.: *biały skandynawski* – [Eng.: Scandinavian white], PL.: *chłodna biel* – [Eng.: cool white], PL.: *czarno na białym* – [Eng.: black on white] are all featured twice, and PL.: *neutralna biel* – [Eng.: neutral white] is adopted three times. It is also essential to point out that each of the colour exemplars represents a different hue, gradually more saturated with colour other than white. Moreover, the terms PL.: *białe noce* – [Eng.: white nights], and PL.: *czarno na białym* – [Eng.: black on white] come from the palette of neutral shades/hues.

We will now identify the other domains of experience that are featured in the remaining colour names, which do not use *white*:

NATURE: Pl.: *antyczny marmur* – [Eng.: antique marble], Pl.: *ziarno sezamu* – [Eng.: sesame seed], Pl.: *garść muszelek* – [Eng.: a handful of seashells], Pl.: *czar alabastru* – [Eng.: alabaster charm];

FOOD: Pl.: *niebywale śmietankowy* – [Eng.: exceptionally creamy], Pl.: *wyborny lukier* – [Eng.: delicious icing], Pl.: *sila wanilii* – [Eng.: power of vanilla], Pl.: *waniliowa poświata* – [Eng.: vanilla glow], Pl.: *grecka chałwa* – [Eng.: Greek halva], Pl.: *kremowa klasyka* – [Eng.: cream classics], Pl.: *totalnie kremowy* – [Eng.: totally creamy];

SEASONS: SUMMER (HOLIDAYS): Pl.: *rajska plaża* – [Eng.: paradise beach], Pl.: *białe żagle* – [Eng.: white sails], Pl.: *garść muszelek* – [Eng.: a handful of seashells];

SEASONS: WINTER: Pl.: *beztroska zima* – [Eng.: carefree winter], Pl.: *śnieżny zaprzęg* – [Eng.: snow sled], Pl.: *okruch lodu* – [Eng.: ice shard], Pl.: *srebrzysty lód* – [Eng.: silver ice], Pl.: *zimowa cisza* – [Eng.: winter silence];

(HOLIDAY) PLACES: Pl.: *rajska plaża* – [Eng.: paradise beach], Pl.: *światelka Heraklionu* – [Eng.: lights of Heraklion], Pl.: *słońce Hellady* – [Eng.: Hellas' sun];

COLOUR: Pl.: *nietuzinkowe ecru* – [Eng.: extraordinary ecru], Pl.: *pastelowy comfort* – [Eng.: pastel comfort].

It is worthy of note that some of the colour names which do contain the lexeme *white* also refer to other domains, such as: Pl.: *perłowy biały* – [Eng.: pearl white] (NATURE), Pl.: *białe wino* – [Eng.: white wine] (FOOD), Pl.: *biały skandynawski* – [Eng.: Scandinavian white] (PLACES), Pl.: *satynowa biała* – [Eng.: satin white] (FABRIC), Pl.: *chłodna biel* – [Eng.: cool white] (TEMPERATURE).

Having studied the corpus of colour names provided by the Dulux paint manufacturer chosen for analysis in the present discussion, it has to be noted that the broad colour category of *white*, including the spectrum of *off-white*, is much more extensive in English as compared to Polish. Another observation is that the associations made to other domains are positive or neutral, there are no negative connotations noted in either name offered for an individual hue. The terms that are employed to designate various shades of the *white* and *off-white* palette are positively valued, as they are based on the predominant conceptualisation grounded in a conceptual metaphor GOOD IS WHITE. In the English corpus of the colour names the greatest number of exemplars refer to the domain NATURE, including also its sub-domains identified as: FAUNA, FLORA, SKY/WEATHER, PARTS OF DAY. The imagery of FOOD is also frequently evoked, and FABRIC follows third. When considering the Polish corpus of Dulux colours for the category under consideration, FOOD predominates, but the

categories SEASONS, PLACES, and NATURE show a comparable distribution of instances. In the analysis of the Polish corpus, the domains SEASONS: SUMMER (HOLIDAYS) as well as (HOLIDAY) PLACES are categorised as referring optionally to holidays, hence brackets, because the domain HOLIDAYS almost always evokes positive associations, which seems to be the intention of the creators.

What has to be added, however, is that some colour name exemplars in both English and Polish have been classified as possibly belonging to two domains (for instance, *Vanilla White* – FLORA, FOOD; *Silk Breeze* – FABRIC, WEATHER; Pl.: *rajaska plaża* – [Eng.: paradise beach] – SEASONS: SUMMER (HOLIDAYS), (HOLIDAY) PLACES; Pl.: *garść muszelek* – [Eng.: a handful of seashells] – SEASONS: SUMMER (HOLIDAYS), NATURE).

Incidentally, the terms *sallow/waxen* and *woskowy* respectively in English and Polish are not employed in colour names discussed above, as they are negatively-valued for their association with sickness or the state of being unwell.

In summary, the implied relation between the linguistic categories WHITE and PLEASANT/POSITIVE has been shown as strong in both compared languages. Incidentally, it is quite interesting to note that, even though in both languages the colour term *white* is defined by prototypical reference to *snow* and *milk*, in Polish only *snow* is featured in Dulux paint colour names, while in English a reference to milk (*Milky Pail*) is made only once. Also, the symbolism of *white*, i.e. innocence, purity and light, is very rarely referenced in the analysed corpus, as only two colour names in English show associations with light, i.e. *Morning Light* and *Moon Shimmer*, while in Polish only one term refers to purity, i.e. Pl.: *nieskazitelna biel* – [Eng.: impeccable white]. Other than the number of colour names provided for different hues of *white*, there are no significant discrepancies between the English and Polish analysed lexical sets.

Notes

1. Hue is defined by Biggam (2012: 3) as "the spectrum of visible light, parts of which, according to their wavelength or frequency, are perceived by humans to differ from others".
2. Saturation is the property which designates "the purity or otherwise of a hue, in relation to the amount of grey it is perceived to contain" (ibid.).
3. Tone "refers to the admixture of white or black with a hue, creating a range which runs from pale at one end to dark at the other. Taking blue as the example hue this time, the blue tone range runs from very pale blue through shades with successively increasing amounts of blue added to them, so

that they range from very pale blues to pale blues to palish blues to fully saturated blue (in which no white is perceived). At this point, the blue tone range begins to add successively increasing amounts of black, resulting in darkish blues, dark blues and very dark blues" (ibid., 4).

4. Brightness of colour "is concerned with the amount of light reaching the eye, but the nature and sources of such light are varied. An object may be bright because it is pale and well-lit, or because its surface is made of a reflective material, or because it is itself a light source such as a lamp" (ibid.).

5. Berlin and Kay (1969: 17) describe it as follows: "Stage I in the evolution of lexical color categories is represented by just two terms: *black* plus most dark hues, and *white* plus most light hues. For convenience we will write these categories BLACK and WHITE".

List of abbreviations

OED – Oxford English dictionary

WSJP – Wielki słownik języka polskiego ze słownikiem wyrazów bliskoznacznych


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METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF "SADNESS" IN CHINESE IDIOMS

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Abstract: "Sadness", as one of the most basic emotional experiences of human beings, is metaphorically conceptualized and manifests itself in language. Based on conceptual metaphor theory, this paper categorizes the metaphorical conceptualization of Chinese "sadness" idioms, and further analyzes their cognitive mechanisms and cognitive motivations. The study discovers that embodied experiences play a role in the metaphorical conceptualization of "sadness" idioms and it is restricted by the unique cultural background.

Key words: metaphor; emotion; conceptualization of "sadness"; Chinese idioms; embodied experience.

1. Introduction

As Vikar writes, "[s]cientists have prophesized that the present century will be the century for emotions. There are indications that this is already happening" (2017: vii). Emotions are abstract, vague and affective psychological states. In order to better express and understand the emotion concepts, humans usually employ metaphors to conceptualize those concepts. According to Kövecses (2000), metaphor plays a role in the conceptualization of emotions. The language that expresses emotions is always metaphorically conceptualized. From the perspective of cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor is not only a tool for expression but also a way of cognition and thinking. With



the rising of cognitive linguistics, researchers realize that metaphor is the key to explaining the relation among language, emotion and cognition. At the same time, conceptualization is the central topic in cognitive linguistics. Language structures rely on and meanwhile reflect conceptualization which is based on our bodily experiences (Wen 2022). Langacker (1990) pointed out that the term "conceptualization" has a very broad interpretation, including novel and fixed concepts, feelings, muscle movements and emotional experiences, and knowledge of immediate situations (social, material and linguistic). It is the process of meaning construction and this process works with metaphor. The basic function of metaphor is to facilitate the understanding of the experience of one domain using the experience of another and to conceptualize categories (Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

Emotion metaphors are a significant subject in the study of human cognition. Over the past years, research has shown that the conceptualization of emotions is constructed by metaphor on the basis of embodied experience. The Chinese idioms, as an indispensable part of the Chinese culture, are characterized by their conciseness in expression and incisive meaning. This research attempts to study the metaphorical conceptualization of "sadness" in the Chinese idioms so as to reveal how metaphor contributes to the conceptualization of "sadness" and help to better understand the formation of conceptualization of emotions in the Chinese idioms.

2. A brief literature review

The study of emotions, at the very start, is a topic in psychological studies. This situation has changed with the efforts of linguistics and other inter-disciplinary researches. The study of emotion concepts from the perspective of cognitive linguistics began with Lakoff and Johnson (1980). In *Metaphors we live by*, they pioneered the study of emotion with conceptual metaphor theory, thus starting the study of emotional language from the perspective of cognitive linguistics. Another important figure is the Hungarian linguist Kövecses, who has done a lot of research on emotional languages from the perspective of conceptual metaphor and a systematic study on emotional expressions in English. Moreover, he has also conducted research on "emotion" by comparing other languages such as French, German and English. All his achievements are collected in his works *Emotion and metaphor: Language, culture and body* (2000). Most of researches in this field are derived from findings in the above study.

At the very beginning, scholars were interested in how emotion is embodied in metaphorical language. Kövecses (2000) argues that it is impossible to conceptualize most aspects of emotion in non-metaphorical terms. Many scholars such as Averill (1974), Holland and Kipnis (1994), Kövecses (2000), Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have researched on the metaphorical conceptualization of "emotion word", and the contributions of metaphor to conceptualization have been affirmed.

Chinese scholars have studied emotional language from the perspective of conceptual metaphor for more than 20 years. They were mainly devoted to introducing the latest research achievements in the West and trying to apply them to Chinese studies or comparative studies between English and Chinese. With the development of the research on the conceptualization of emotion, the researches on emotional metaphor have been combined with diverse topics.

On the one hand, some of the Chinese scholars studied the emotional metaphor in translation. Feng and Li (2017) investigate emotional metaphors as well as their English translations with grief, lovesickness and love as the target domain. The study shows that most of the emotion metaphors can be listed into three conceptual metaphors, i.e., EMOTION IS LIQUID, EMOTION IS PLANT, EMOTION IS OBJECT, and the last one is usually realized by unfamiliar collocations. On the other hand, some scholars studied conceptualization of emotions combined with corpora. Li and Xie (2018) found that although conceptualizations of emotions are dynamic, subjective, and dissimilar, the metaphorical thought of emotion *Bei* (sadness) in the medical classic of *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* is consistent with the emotion word "sad" proposed by the modern West, which is negative. The study sheds light on the understanding and translation of the medical classics. Moreover, there is also the comparative analysis of emotional conceptualization between two languages. Chen (2007) presented a contrastive study of HAPPINESS emotion metaphors between English and Chinese and tried to find the similarities and differences between them. Gu (2008) pointed out that the emotional concept "joy" in both English and Chinese has four metaphorical frameworks: "JOY IS UPWARD", "JOY IS LIGHT", "JOY IS SWEET SUBSTANCE" and "JOY IS FLUID". It can be seen that those conceptual metaphors exist in different cultures, and at the same time, there are commonalities in the cognition of different nationalities. Xue and Xiang (2009) put forward the idea that "happiness" is evolved on the basis of human's embodied experiences and consists of the same

and different cognitive prototypes. It is also concluded that the category and concept of "happiness" between English and Chinese is formed on the cognitive reference point of prototype by family resemblance and metaphorical cognitive mechanism.

Generally speaking, the study on emotion metaphors from the linguistic perspective in China is still unsystematic and incomprehensive. Furthermore, it is found that there are few papers researching metaphorical conceptualization of emotions combined with Chinese idioms.

3. Emotion metaphors of sadness in Chinese idioms

The traditional study of metaphor has always regarded metaphor as a rhetorical device, and the rhetorical study of metaphor can be traced back to ancient Greek. In 1980, Lakoff and Johnson introduced the theory of conceptual metaphor, including its definition and working mechanism, in their work *Metaphors we live by*. They completely distinguished conceptual metaphor from traditional metaphor and opened the door to the study of metaphor from the perspective of cognitive linguistics. Metaphor is universal: conceptual metaphor can be seen everywhere in any language, spoken or written, poetry or prose. Metaphor is not only a rhetorical device, but also a cognitive tool. Painting, music and architecture are all products of metaphor. In these products, any simple or complex design expresses some ideas or views, which are expressed through metaphor. Cognitive metaphor theory regards metaphor as a way to understand and perceive the world.

The Chinese idioms about "sadness", as the impacted and incisive language peculiar to Chinese language, also reflect how metaphor contributes to the conceptualization of "sadness". We will study the emotion metaphors of sadness in Chinese idioms in terms of the three major types of conceptual metaphors adduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), that is, ontological metaphor, orientational metaphor, and structural metaphor.

3.1 Ontological Metaphor

Ontological metaphor is the way to map abstract concepts to the entities and materials related to our own experience, that is, to transform abstract and fuzzy thoughts, feelings and psychological states into tangible and concrete entities. According to our analysis, it is found that the ontological metaphor of "sadness" in Chinese idioms is based on "HUMAN BODY (ORGANS) IS CONTEAINER" and

"HUMAN BODY (ORGANS) IS FRAGILE SUBSTANCE".

3.1.1 SADNESS IS SUBSTANCE IN CONTAINER

The first metaphor derived from container metaphor is "SADNESS IS SUBSTANCE IN CONTAINER", which can be reflected in the following Chinese idioms (it should be noted that the idioms listed all refer to a state of "sadness", however, in order to show how "sadness" is conceptualized in these idioms, the examples listed are only literally translated):

- (1) 痛贯心膂 (the pain and sadness is deep into the heart and spine)
- (2) 痛彻心扉 (the heart is filled with sorrow)
- (3) 痛切心骨 (the pain and sorrow reaches to marrow)
- (4) 满腔悲愤 (one's chest is suffused with grief and anger)
- (5) 惆怅满腹 (the feelings of melancholy pervades abdomen)
- (6) 悲愤填膺 (someone's chest is full of grief and anger)
- (7) 哀思如潮 (the feelings of sorrow rage on like waves of sea)

Human body and its function are at the center of the interaction between people and the environment. We employ our bodies and sensory organs to perceive and experience the world. Emotion is the psychological experience of human body as response to entities or events.

The cognitive basis of "SADNESS IS SUBSTANCE IN CONTAINER" is based on "HUMAN BODY/ORGANS IS CONTAINER". Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 29) pointed out that "each of us is a container, with a bounding surface and an in-out orientation". Humans are physical beings. We perceived ourselves as bounded from the rest of the world by the surface of our skins, and we experience that the rest of the world is outside us. In interaction with the surrounding environment, the observed world is reflected, processed and stored by the brain to form a knowledge structure, or schema structure. The knowledge structure "HUMAN BODY/ORGANS IS CONTAINER" is formed in our interaction with the world. And "SADNESS IS SUBSTANCE IN CONTAINER" is derived from it and constructs the semantic structure of the "sadness" idioms.

Human body is like a container system, in which smaller "containers" like heart, liver, guts are also in part of it. Under normal circumstances, the "substance", in this case the "substance of sadness" in our body maintain balance of physical functions, because the emotion including sadness is our normal physiologic function (see Fig. 1).

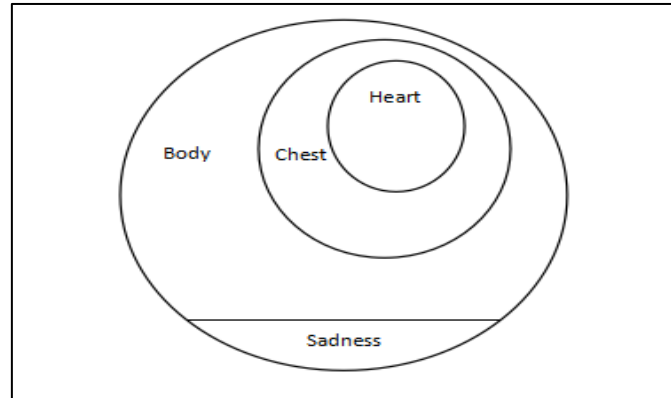


Figure 1. The substance of "sadness" in normal condition (Source: Own processing)

If the balance is broken, that is, the substance is increasing and infiltrating into other containers like hearts, liver and so on, the feelings of sadness is imposed on us (see Fig. 2).

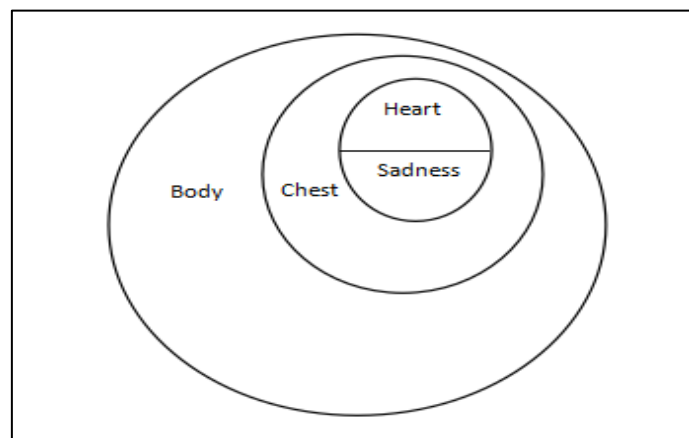


Figure 2. The substance of "sadness" flowing to heart (Source: Own processing)

When "substance of sadness" infiltrates into the heart, we get "痛贯心膂"(the pain and sadness is deep into the heart and spine) and "痛彻心扉" (the heart is filled with sorrow); when it goes into a smaller and deeper container like bone, we get expressions like "痛切心骨" (the pain and sorrow reaches to marrow)(these examples above also can be seen as the manifestations of the conceptual metaphor "SADNESS IS PAIN". The reasons for this classification will be explained in 3.3.4.); also, it can "flow" to a bigger container like chest and belly as in "满腔悲愤" (someone's chest is suffused

with grief and anger) and "惆怅满腹" (the feelings of melancholy pervades abdomen). It can be observed that organs are usually compared to "containers", and some organs (for example, hearts) are frequently used in this way. The further explanations will be discussed in 3.1.3.

3.1.2 SADNESS IS SHARP OBJECT

In this case, human body (organs) is viewed as a fragile substance and sadness is the sharp object that breaks our body and organs. The metaphor of this kind can be seen in the following examples:

- (8) 痛心入骨 (the pain is deep into the heart and bone)
- (9) 痛入心脾 (the pain is deep into the heart and spleen)
- (10) 心碎肠断 (the heart and intestines are broken)
- (11) 肝肠寸断 (liver and intestines are cut into inches)
- (12) 摧心破肝 (heart is damaged and the liver is broken)
- (13) 泪干肠断 (weeping one's eyes out and intestine-broken)
- (14) 回肠寸断 (the terminal section of intestines are cut into inches)
- (15) 泪迸肠绝 (bursting into tears and intestine-broken)
- (16) 凄入肝脾 (the cold and sadness entering into liver and spleen)
- (17) 牵肠割肚 (the intestines are pulled and the abdomen is cut)
- (18) 撕心裂肺 (heart is rent and lungs are cracked)
- (19) 刺心裂肝 (heart is pierced and liver is cracked)

Characters like "入 (be deep into/entering into)", "断/破 (to break/damage)", "割 (to cut)", "裂 (to crack)", "刺 (to pierce)", "撕 (to rend)" in these idioms all picture that "sadness" is seen as a sharp object that can hurt and intrude into human body.

3.1.3 The organ image

Whatever "sadness" is seen as "substance in container" or "sharp objects", the container or fragile substance, in the metaphorical expression, is always organs like heart, lungs, intestines, liver and spleen. These characteristics of "sadness" metaphor is culture-specific, that is, these metaphors grow in a certain cultural background: thoughts and theories in Chinese traditional medicine. For example,

many thoughts which relates emotion to organs can be found in *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor*:

- (20) 怒伤肝，悲胜怒；风伤筋，燥胜风；酸伤筋，辛胜酸。（《素问·阴阳应象大论》）

Anger can hurt the liver, and grief can restrain anger; wind can hurt muscles, dryness can restrain wind; eating too much sour food can hurt muscles, while acrid taste can inhibit sour taste. (*Su-wen • Comprehensive Discourse on Phenomena Corresponding to Yin and Yang*)

- (21) 悲则心系急，肺布叶举，而上焦不通，荣卫不散，热气在中，故气消矣（《素问·举痛论》）

Too much sorrow will make the channels connecting the heart with other organs tight, affect the lungs, make the lung lobes open and lift, block the part from the throat to the chest diaphragm, nutrients and immune function cannot be distributed throughout the body, and "re qi" will be blocked in the chest, and over time it will turn into heat and consume the "qi of lungs", so it is said that sadness causes qi to disappear. (*Su-wen· Listing and Analyzing Pain-Disease*)

- (22) 怒伤肝、喜伤心、思伤脾、悲伤肺、恐伤肾。（节选自《素问·阴阳应象大论》）

Anger hurts liver; happiness hurts heart; anxiety hurts spleen; sadness hurts lungs; fear hurts kidney. (excerpt from *Su-wen • Comprehensive Discourse on Phenomena Corresponding to Yin and Yang*)

- (23) “心者，君主之官也，神明出焉……肝者，将军之官，谋虑出焉……大肠者，传道之官，变化出焉。小肠者，受盛之官，化物出焉。”（《素问·灵兰秘典论》）

The heart, which dominates the whole body, is the official of the monarch, from which the spirits, consciousness and thinking activities of human beings emerge.....The liver, the master of anger, is as brave as a general. It is called the officer of a general. The strategy comes from this... The large intestine is the organ of transmission. It can transfer

the dross of food and change it into feces and excrete it out of the body. The small intestine is the organ that receives the food, and it bears the food from the stomach and further differentiates the clear and turbid. (*Su-wen-Linglan's Secret Scripture*)

Sadness leads to the elimination of "*qi*" (a core concept in Chinese medical culture, which refers to the substance that maintains life and the driving force of body function). Traditional Chinese medicine believes that excessive sadness is most likely to cause heart and lung diseases.

The lungs control "*qi*" and are responsible for breathing, so the first clinical symptoms are related to breathing, such as poor breathing, cough, expectoration and even hemoptysis. However, numerous veins connect the lungs, which is closely related to the function of the heart. The operation of the heart blood needs the promotion of the "*qi* of lungs", so the lack of "*qi* of lungs" will cause cough and asthma weakness, even chest distress. The lungs and intestines are also closely related, and chronic grief can also cause changes in the digestive system, such as dyspepsia, anorexia and even abnormal defecation. Through this, it shows that sadness will impose some certain effects on from organs to whole body, with the organs systems co-related with each other.

That is the cultural explanation for the frequent occurrence of some particular organs in the expressions related to sadness. The influence of Chinese traditional medical culture gives resources to the metaphor of sadness, which differentiates it from that of other cultures.

3.2 Orientational metaphor

Orientational metaphor is based on our spatial experience. Here we usually conceptualize "sadness" as "down". Conceptual structure reflects embodied experience. Orientational metaphor derives from UP-DOWN image schema, which is viewed as a rudimentary concept as a result of our interaction with reality: the asymmetry of the body's vertical axis, which interacts with gravity, gives rise to UP-DOWN image schema (Johnson 1987). When we are sad, our body position appears to be "down": we low down our body, head, which map onto our spirit. In Chinese idioms, we can find the expressions below:

- (24) 泣不可仰 (someone is crying so hard that he/she can-not raise head)
- (25) 垂头丧气 (hanging one's head in dismay)
- (26) 萎靡不振 (be low in spirits and body posture)
- (27) 垂首丧气 (hanging one's head in dismay)
- (28) 垂头塌翼 (lowering head with wings hanging low)
- (29) 心低意沮 (be low in spirits)

Downward postures usually co-exist with sadness and depression as opposed to upright postures that denote positive vitality. The metaphor is embodied and the orientational metaphor of "sadness" is based on our cognition of spatial relation. For example, when people receive bad news, they will be sad and thus lower their head down; when people encounter news or information they can't bear, they will suddenly faint or fall to the ground (down); when people suddenly get sick because of sadness, they will lie down in bed. Not only our physical experience, our interaction with surroundings also offers evidence. In literature, the withered flower is usually used as an image for sadness. "Withered flower" usually includes the images like fallen leaves, blossoms as well as rotted trunk, which all represent "DOWN". In English, we may use "in low spirit", "down in the mouth" to express sadness. It can be concluded that "SADNESS is DOWN" is the most common conceptual metaphor in human language in that human share the same physical experience as response to the emotion of sadness.

3.3 Structural metaphor

Structural metaphors are those in which "one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 14). According to our data, metaphors of this kind are SADNESS IS ILLNESS, *SADNESS IS COLD*, *SADNESS IS DARK AND GRAY*, and *SADNESS IS PAIN*.

3.3.1 SADNESS IS ILLNESS

This conceptual metaphor can be found in the Chinese idioms below:

- (30) 哀毁瘠立 (the grief brought by the death of parents causes someone to be emaciated)
- (31) 痛入骨髓 (pain is deep into marrow)
- (32) 痛心入骨 (the pain is deep into the heart and bone, which refer to an extreme sadness)
- (33) 痛入心脾 (the pain is deep into the heart and spleen, which refer to an extreme sadness)

- (34) 急痛攻心 (severe pain attacking heart, which refers to a feeling of extreme anxiety and grief)
- (35) 悲痛欲绝 (almost dying of grief)
- (36) 五内俱崩 (so sad that the viscera are broken down)
- (37) 疾首痛心 (having a headache with pain in heart)
- (38) 抑郁成疾 (so sad that one gets ill)

Sadness, as a negative emotion, will cause some damage to our health if it lasts for a long time. If we do not control this emotion in time and let it control our body, it is very likely that symptoms of some diseases appear. In fact, the word "抑郁 (depression)" refers to a disease, that is, a person is very unhappy and anxious, and even loses the ability to live a normal life. Therefore, sadness is an illness that needs to be treated seriously. In English, it is often said that "time heals all sorrow". It can be concluded that sadness is sometimes regarded as an illness and this conceptual metaphor has the nature of cognitive universality.

3.3.2 SADNESS IS COLD

Sadness sometimes is conceptualized as cold, as in:

- (39) 心灰意冷 (the heart is like ashes and spirits are "cold", which refers to a feeling of disappointment and frustration)
- (40) 心寒齿冷 (a cold on teeth out of sighing for long)
- (41) 百念灰冷 (all kinds of thoughts are cooled down and vanish)
- (42) 寒心酸鼻 (an impulsion to cry with a chill on heart)
- (43) 凄入肝脾 (the cold infiltrates into liver and spleen)

Here, temperature is employed as the source domain. To a large extent, human's emotions are expressed through the metaphors based on our physical experience. Here "physical experience" refers to the interaction between the body and the outside world, and knowledge of our body and world gained from it. The knowledge gained from our experience of temperature is an important part of our understanding of the world. Therefore, our physical experience of temperature contributes to the conceptualization of "sadness". When we feel sad, depressed or disappointed, we often want to stay away from the outside world and do nothing. Therefore, we will reduce our movements, which will

cause our body temperature to drop, so we will feel cold. Since our experience of heat is basic and exhibits a strong relation between temperature and emotion, the metaphorical concept of "sadness is cold" is structured.

3.3.3 *SADNESS IS DARK AND GRAY*

The visual experience also constitutes to the conceptualization of "sadness":

- (44) 黯然神伤 (putting on a gloomy look on face)
- (45) 黯然无神 (gloomy and listless)
- (46) 黯然销魂 (putting on a gloomy look as if losing soul)
- (47) 愁云惨淡 (the sky is darkened by over cast clouds, which can refer to the scene that makes people feel blue)
- (48) 面若死灰 (putting on a gloomy and gray look like ashes)

Human beings can express rich and delicate abstract emotions with colour. When people are sad and depressed, their faces are usually dull and dark. Therefore, there is a conceptual metaphor of "SADNESS IS DARK AND GRAY" in both English and Chinese. On the basis of the repeated experience of the "dark", human beings have produced the mental image of "gloom and depression". It should be noted that in English, there is a conceptual metaphor "SADNESS IS BLUE", in which the mapping between BLUE and SADNESS is unique to English. This word was originally used to refer to blues music, which is a kind of music style from the south of the United States. Later, it was used to refer to sad feelings.

3.3.4 *SADNESS IS PAIN*

Here, sadness is regarded as pain in human's body, as in:

- (49) 心如刀割 (feeling like heart is cut with a knife)
- (50) 心如刀绞 (feeling as if a knife were being twisted in one's heart)
- (51) 痛入骨髓 (the pain is deep into marrow)

As is mentioned in 3.1.3, the organ image, as an important part of Chinese traditional medical culture, deeply influences our conceptualization of "sadness". When people feel depressed, some uncomfortable physiological reactions may occur. Thus, that kind of "discomfort" is conceptualized as "sadness".

It should be noted that some examples listed above, such as 痛心入骨 (the pain is deep into the heart and bone) and 痛入心脾 (the pain is deep into the heart and spleen), which belong to the conceptual metaphor "SADNESS is SUBSTANCE in CONTAINER", can also be a sub-category of this metaphor. They are distinguished so as to provide a clearer picture of emotional metaphors. Therefore, it is worth mentioning that conceptual metaphors that facilitate conceptualization of "sadness" should not have a clear boundary. It is better to say that some conceptual metaphors are co-related together in order to conceptualize "sadness".

4. Conclusion

According to the findings, the metaphors that contribute to the conceptualization of "sadness" can be classified as: 1) materialization of sadness, including "SADNESS IS SUBSTANCE in CONTAINER" and "SADNESS IS SHARP OBJECTS", which is based on the metaphor of our body "BODY IS CONTAINER" and "BODY IS FRAGILE OBJECTS"; 2) spatial experience. Our spatial experience helps to conceptualize "SADNESS IS DOWN"; 3) our perception of body, including perception for color, temperature, sense of pain, disease, which relates to sadness with complex mind mappings (see Fig. 3).

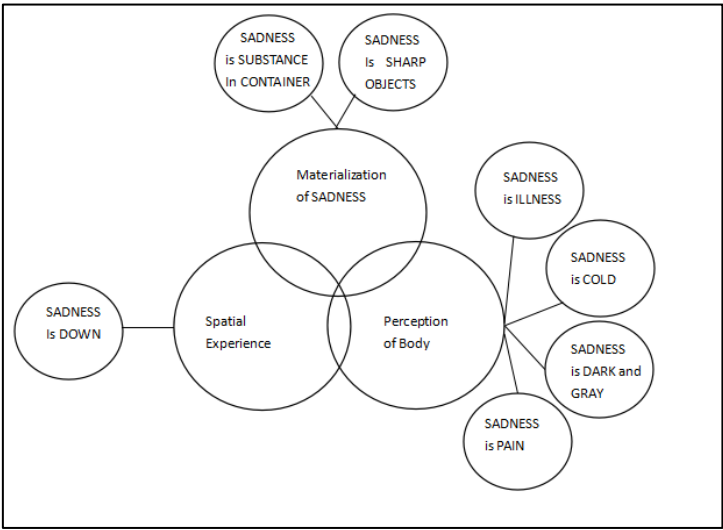


Figure 3. Metaphorical conceptualization of "sadness" in Chinese idioms (Source: Own processing)

Through the research on the metaphor of sadness in Chinese idioms, this paper draws the following conclusions: 1) the metaphorical conceptualization of "sadness" is embodied. The cognition of this abstract emotional concept in Chinese idioms is mainly based on the human physical experience of the emotion (such as downward, disease, darkness, cold, etc.) and the perception of the human body (such as sadness is substance, like fluid, in a container). This confirms the view that human cognition is gradually developed based on the understanding of human body and the interaction with outside world. 2) The conceptualization of "sadness" in Chinese idioms is culture-specific. Conceptualization is embodied and human share some similar or even the same physical experiences and interaction with the world, so the conceptualization of "sadness" has something in common. However, cultures can make a difference. Due to the influence of cultures, the sadness emotion in the Chinese idioms is connected with specific body images (such as broken intestines and lungs) while the sadness in English is mostly related to "blue". The former can be explained from the perspective of the underlying idealized cognitive model based on the theory of traditional Chinese medicine. The latter can be attributed to the idealized cognitive model of the word "blues" in the British and American cultural background. Therefore, it can be concluded that the metaphorical conceptualization of "sadness" has the nature of cultural relativity as well as cognitive universality. 3) The metaphors that underlie conceptualization of "sadness" have no clear boundary, and they seem to be inter-related to contribute to the construction of "sadness".

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THE ACOUSTIC IMAGE OF IRONY (BASED ON AMERICAN ELECTORAL SPEECHES)

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Abstract. The prosodic dimension of irony is in the focus of this research. The present study illustrates the prominent role of irony in American electoral political discourse from the pragmatic point of view represented by outstanding American politicians: Donald Trump, Joe Biden, Nancy Pelosi, and Hillary Clinton. The paper presents the results of the acoustic analysis and confirms the complementary role of suprasegmental variables (fundamental frequency and intensity) in expressing irony.

Keywords: irony, sarcasm, prosody, debate, political discourse, pitch, intensity.

1. Introduction

Irony is a general semiotic phenomenon, realised in linguistic objects of varying degrees of complexity, as well as in other sign systems (in various types of art). Irony and sarcasm are the most prevalent forms of non-literal communication in our culture (Løevenbruck et al. 2013: 3537).

Scholars unanimously agree that irony has capacity to express the subtlest nuances of meaning, both positive and negative, which in most cases do not amount to the transmission of an opposite meaning (Палей 2008; Løevenbruck et al. 2013). This significantly complicates the process of its identification and understanding, especially for an unprepared reader/listener. Therefore, inferring or decoding



ironic intents and their adequate interpretation requires the analysis of the context, various verbal and non-verbal means, as well as the presence of some background knowledge on the part of the addressee (Палей 2008; Athanasiadou 2020; Kumwapee & Jitwiriyanont 2020: 440). Otherwise, the speaker will not achieve the pragmatic goal of irony, which will lead to a communicative failure. Ironic contexts are characterised by integrity, completeness of the expression of thought and a special organisation based on the violation of the communicative norm. The ironic microtext is constructed in such a way that the addressee simultaneously receives two variants of the content, expressed in the same form (Ланчуковська 2003: 6-7).

Heiko (2004) claims that irony deliberately makes some concepts or values acute, but is always aimed at something serious. By ridiculing seriousness, irony allows subjectively solving difficult logical problems, relieving emotional tension: "...ironic mood acts as a game of imagination and mind, where mental concern is cut short by skepticism and overcome emotionally, plunging from reality into the world of symbols" (Гейко 2004: 106).

The practically oriented problem of acoustic cues marking ironic utterances has been troubling phoneticians across the globe (Bryant 2012; Bryant & Fox Tree 2005; Cheang & Pell 2008; Chen & Boves 2018; Marková et al. 2009; Løevenbruck et al. 2013; Schlöder 2017; Xu 2019), yet remains open to investigation. The available data is rather controversial. Based on the literature reviewed, it is noteworthy to mention dubious results, specifically, language-dependency and cross-study variety of F_0 mean and F_0 range marking ironic and sarcastic utterances. For instance, irony was expressed with a lower F_0 mean in English (Cheang & Pell 2008; Chen & Boves 2018), Thai (Schlöder 2017), Arabic (Qaiwer 2020), and Spanish (Ciglič 2017). French speakers seem to use a higher pitch level and a wider pitch span to express sarcasm and irony (Løevenbruck et al. 2013) and so do the Italians. Conversely, lower mean F_0 is observed in Cantonese (ibid.). Along with this, Marková et al. concluded the lack of homogeneous strategy of adjusting prosodic parameters while expressing irony in Slovak (2009). On the other hand, Bryant and Fox Tree reported absence of any specific prosodic marking of verbal irony (2005). Such differences could result from a number of factors. Primarily, scholars utilize different methodologies and approaches in each particular study. Notably, many of these works focus on isolated utterances in lab-based studies. Therefore, such studies analyse mainly non-spontaneous ("posed") speech. When exploring the aspects of verbal irony, researchers typically describe speech produced by actors instructed to speak sarcastically or ironically. Conducting such experiments, Bryant and Fox Tree (2005) state that actors often indicate sarcasm by lowering their pitch, raising their amplitude and speaking more slowly. They call the aforementioned characteristics as an ironic tone of voice (ibid.). There has been a small stream of studies on gender differences on

sarcasm and irony in Spanish, English and Cantonese, yet the scholars report mixed findings (Løevenbruck et al. 2013).

The fundamental aim of this research paper is to illustrate the complementary role of prosodic parameters of spontaneously produced ironic speech extracted from American electoral political discourse.

The paper is organised in the following way: in **Section 2** a general background on verbal irony is given due attention. This section also highlights some previous work on prosodic parameters of the phenomenon in question. **Section 3** presents the details on data collection, instruments, and approaches to the phonetic experiment. Following on from this, **Section 4** lays out the results in terms of descriptive statistics. **Section 5** concludes the paper with suggestions for further work on related topics.

2. Verbal irony in political discourse

As an aesthetic category, humanity has known irony since the time of Socrates. From then on, the artistic forms of irony and its aspects have significantly changed. Each stage of its development is unique and important in developing the experience of world perception for humanity, which has been reflected not only in speech, literature, but also in fine arts and culture (Кохан 2022).

The following definitions of irony are available in linguistics. In a narrow sense, irony is a trope. In a broad sense, it is a complex linguistic and mental phenomenon and as well as discourse that characterizes a special worldview and expresses the author's critical attitude (Палей 2008; Holdcroft 1983). Leech and Short (1981: 142) give a more precise definition of irony calling it a pragmatic principle, which enables the speaker, through breaking one or more of the cooperative principal maxims, to be impolite while seeming to be polite.

In terms of verbal irony, there exist various definitions. Searle regards verbal irony as a linguistic device utilized to convey an opposite meaning from the literal meaning embedded in its linguistic form (1991), while Cheang and Pell define it as expressions in which the intended meaning of the words is different from or the direct opposite of their usual sense (2008: 366).

Verbal irony is a form on non-literal language, in which speakers communicate implied propositions that are intentionally contradictory to the propositions contained in the words themselves using the relevant contextual information (Bryant 2012; Bryant & Fox Tree 2005: 257; Gonzalez-Fuente et al.

2016; Grice 1975; Kumwapee & Jitwiriyant 2020: 439). It is noteworthy to state that context is one of the main pragmatic factors in determining the intended meaning of the ironic utterances. Interpretation of the utterance as ironic can be the result of an incongruity between context and the utterance. This contextual incongruity is the allusion to a failed expectancy meaning a contrast between what is expected and reality (Riviere et al. 2018: 3).

Linguistic research in communication has repeatedly demonstrated the difference between irony and sarcasm. According to Merriam Webster's Dictionary (*s.a.*), sarcasm is a sharp and often satirical or ironic utterance designed to cut or give pain; a mode of satirical wit depending for its effect on bitter, caustic, and often ironic language that is usually directed against an individual. Meanwhile, scholars continue disputing about the irony-sarcasm relationship. Gibbs (2000) suggested that sarcasm, hyperbole, understatement, rhetorical questions, and jocularity are all kinds of verbal irony while Cheang and Pell claim that verbal irony is a key subtype of sarcasm (2008: 366). In a similar vein, Bryant and Fox Tree treat sarcasm as is a particular kind of personal criticism leveled against a person that incorporates verbal irony (2005: 261). Given its phonological standpoint, the present study treats irony and sarcasm synonymously.

Politicians especially like to ironize in political debates, interviews, television shows, etc. The analysis of the existing literature reveals that irony involves not a reversal of evaluation, but a reversal of attitudes about social actors to draw a positive self-image.

In political discourse, irony is an evaluative message communicating an attitude about the opinion and the action of an opponent – the addressee of ridicule – but mainly addressed to a third party independent of the victim being present or absent. In such a way, ironic statements help (de) emphasize negative/positive traits attributed to Them/Us leading to positive self-presentation and negative other-representation (Qaiwer 2020: 14).

Paley concludes that politicians often resort to irony as a technique of verbal aggression, which primarily performs an invective function. Politicians often use ironic appeals, greetings, compliments, words of thanks, sympathy, offers of help, etc., to portray the opponent negatively criticizing, objecting, reproaching, and ridiculing him/her. In these statements, the addressee's unfriendly attitude towards the interlocutor is expressed, tension in communication increases, veiled negative attitude, feelings of contempt or indignation are reflected. Ironic use of language etiquette according to the rules of an aggressive strategy can result from toxicity (Petlyuchenko et al. 2021) and be a trigger for conflict (Палей 2018; Panasenko et al. 2018; Pieš 2022; Zabuzhanska & Yamchynska 2022). In line

with Paley, Qaiwer came to the conclusion that irony in political debates serves in aggression and defense represented through several mechanisms, among which is a paradox and reversing the communicative expectation, providing absurd conclusion, and ambiguity (2020: 17).

Complementary to these findings, Kamil and Al-Hindawi (2017) showed that irony becomes an extremely effective tool that allows politicians to express their point of view on political events taking place in the world, influence the consciousness of the audience and even manipulate it, affecting the behavior, desire, belief, and emotions of others to their self-interests without evident detection of their communicative intention. Manipulation is a discursive phenomenon and nowadays political figures utilize it to affect the thoughts (and indirectly the actions) of the recipients (Fedoriv 2016: 2; Jasim & Sabah 2021; Stashko 2018; Stashko et al. 2020). The ideological framework of "positive self-presentation" and "negative other-presentation" is the central umbrella under which manipulation can exist and work freely. The findings might help linguists, journalists, and political analysts to understand how politicians use the linguistic features in their discourse to affect the audience's thoughts and behaviour manipulatively.

Irony is created by means of all language levels – phonetic, lexical, morphological, syntactic, etc. Speakers convey implicit information to listeners by manipulating language and prosody (i.e., intonation and stress patterns), among other features, to express a particular message (Cheang & Pell 2008: 366).

2.1 Prosodic irony

Prosody refers to all suprasegmental aspects of speech, including pitch, duration, amplitude, and voice quality that are used to make lexical and post lexical contrasts and to convey paralinguistic meanings (Xu 2019: 314; Zabuzhanska & Yamchynska 2022: 216). Speech prosody is a hierarchical structure consisting of a limited number of levels, which not only governs its constituents, but also determines their relative prominence (Xu 2019). There has been a vast bulk of research on emotive meanings conveyed by prosody. The reason for such a genuine interest is that speakers convey a rich set of meanings suprasegmentally. It should be noted that the intonation palette of any language is versatile – from positive manifestations of various feelings to negative ones, which undoubtedly affects the emergence of new shades of meaning in a word, sometimes very significant and even opposite. Scholars call emotion and attitude-related prosody affective prosody, emotional prosody, or vocal expression of emotions and attitudes. This phenomenon is widespread not only in linguistics but also in neurolinguistics (Meconi et al. 2018). It covers such aspects as vocal attractiveness, charisma, dominance, sarcasm, irony, idiosyncratic prosody, etc.

Bryant and Fox Tree come up with the statement that speakers use overall F_0 contours for affective expression. These contours reliably correlate with basic emotional categories across various languages (2005: 258). Specifically, Rodero and Larrea (2020: 80) report the high pitch to convey positive emotions (euphoria, excitement, and joy) while the low pitch is mainly associated with negative psychological states such as sadness and depression. Some linguists hypothesize the perception of low-pitched voices as more credible and reliable – an indispensable quality while persuading and manipulating (Zabuzhanska et al. 2022: 276).

The interface between prosody and irony is a relatively recent area of study. There are different opinions regarding the acoustic cues associated with sarcastic intent and the manner in which linguistic context interacts with prosody to project a sarcastic message. A preliminary survey of the data suggests that utterances are sometimes perceived as ironic because of the particular "tone of voice" (Ківе́нко 2019; Bryant & Fox Tree 2005: 258).

Interlocutors mark irony both on the segmental and suprasegmental levels. It is the sound hyperarticulation that, according to Løevenbruck et al. (2013: 3537), marks irony on the segmental level. Regarding the suprasegmental level, speakers actively employ prosodic modulations in marking ironic speech and listeners can rely on these prosodic parameters to detect an ironic intention. Prosodic features such as pitch range expansion, syllable lengthening and specific intonational contours (also known as "ironic" pitch contours) are common prosodic variables that languages use to mark irony in speech (Riviere et al. 2018: 165).

In French, Deliens et al. (2018) carried out the lab-based experiment and came up with the following results: context is a highly reliable cue to understand sarcasm but its processing is *time consuming*. Listeners use prosodic cues to make an accurate discrimination between sarcastic and literal meaning with *the least processing effort*.

3. Material and methods

The object of this research is an ironic speech act, while the subject of the study is the prosodic means of its manifestation in spontaneous speech.

The methodology comes from the already elaborated stepwise procedure (Chen & Boves 2018; Gonzalez-Fuente et al. 2016; Kumwapee & Jitwiriyant 2020; Løevenbruck et al. 2013; Zabuzhanska & Yamchynska 2022) and presents a rationale since firstly electoral speeches of the most outstanding American politicians were selected as the research material, from which expressions

of irony were selected (indicating the target word) and then the intonational phrases underwent an acoustic analysis. The unit of research was phrases in which politicians expressed irony.

The material under investigation included speeches by famous American politicians, given their popularity among the nation's population (The most popular politicians 2022). The research was not aimed at investigating whether there is a difference in acoustic cues of irony between male and female speakers; however, bearing in mind that prosody is a universal feature of speech, it seemed logical for the research to take into account this factor as well.

The corpus consisted of four speeches produced by Joe Biden, six speeches by Donald Trump and four speeches by female politicians – Hillary Clinton and Nance Pelosi. The total duration of the analysed extracted ironic utterances amounts to 45 minutes 23 seconds.

Acoustic value extraction and calculation were conducted with the help of such computer programs as Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2021) and Speech analyzer (2022). It is accounted for Praat being the leading program utilized during phonetic experiments. Furthermore, such acoustic descriptions have the merit of being relatively objective and exercising multi-level markup of speech, including the graphic visualization of oscillograms and intonograms.

The research was limited to two prosodic parameters, namely pitch and intensity. For the pitch variables, such parameters of fundamental frequency (F_0) were observed: mean F_0 , minimum F_0 , and maximum F_0 with their subsequent measuring in Hertz (Hz). Speaking about intensity variables, mean, minimum, and maximum intensity were measured in decibel (dB).

4. Results and discussion

Following Lanchukovska (Ланчуковська 2003), the current research elaborates such types of ironic utterances as the irony of irrelevance, micro-contextual (classical) irony, macro-contextual irony and, finally, globalising irony. These types are presented with a gradual increase in emotionality and the number of objects of critical evaluation.

The irony of irrelevance arises upon the violation of the Maxims of Manner – avoid ambiguity. It is characterised by the absence of opposition of evaluative values. Micro-contextual (or classical) irony violates the Maxims of Quality – do not say what you think is wrong. It is characterised by the opposition of evaluative values within one statement/utterance. The manifestation of macro contextual irony requires a context that exceeds the minimal unit of the text, thus violating the

Maxims of Manner – be brief. Globalising irony, which is in the focus of this research, carries the most intense critical load. The logical-communicative basis of this type is the violation of the second postulate of the Maxims of Quality – do not say what you do not have sufficient grounds for, which manifests itself in unfounded generalisations, the globalisation of random observation, and the transformation of individual, that is, random, characteristics into a general one. This irony is full of such indicators – the target words – as *everyone*, *always*, *never*; it often contains *hyperbole*. Therefore, hyperbolic generalisation, illogical connection of a trivial premise, and a general conclusion bring the argument to absurdity (Ланчуковська 2003: 8-9).

146 ironic utterances were extracted from the available material: 75 utterances by Donald Trump, 38 utterances by Nancy Pelosi, 27 utterances by Joe Biden, and only 6 by Hillary Clinton. Such an amount of ironic utterances on the part of Donald Trump can be justified since this politician "ironies" everything (McClennen 2017). It is already common knowledge that his "sarcasm" is part of his rhetorical strategy on which he has relied for several years on the campaign trail and in the White House (Woodward 2020).

The following extracts illustrate the most vivid examples of irony selected in the course of this research:

Donald Trump:

- (1) *"I began such a campaign because I was so **tired**... of seeing such foolish things happening in our country".*
- (2) *"I guess I have been a **politician**".*
- (3) *"Education was a **disaster**. Everything was a **disaster**".*
- (4) *"She is allowed to do it. And I am not. Sound **fair**. Sounds **fair**".*
- (5) *"**Crazy** Nancy Pelosi".*
- (6) *"I do not respond to her. She is a **waste of time**".*
- (7) *"Pelosi is a **sick** woman. She has got a **lot of mental problems**".*
- (8) *"Nancy is **incompetent**. She should go to her district and clean it up". (Donald Trump vs Nancy Pelosi... s.a.)*

Hilary Clinton:

- (9) *"Are you a **teacher**?"*
- (10) *"That represents **exactly** who he is". (Clinton vs. Trump... s.a)*

Nancy Pelosi:

(11) *"He is our president. And I'd rather he would not be taking **something** that has not been approved by the scientists, especially **in his age group and his weak group**".*

(12) *"I **pray** for the president".* (Donald Trump vs Nancy Pelosi... s.a.)

Joe Biden:

(13) *"The president has **no** plan. He did **nothing**. He waited and waited and waited".*

(14) *"President Trump did a **phenomenal** job".* (Final 2020 presidential debate... s.a.)

The acoustic analysis of the fundamental frequency demonstrates that the utterances containing irony are mainly marked by the wider range of F_0 and the prevalence of high pitches, especially on the target word, i.e., expressing irony on the part of the speaker. The following Figure (1) illustrates the ratio of high and low pitches of ironic utterances for each politician. Specifically, 72% of the ironic utterances by Donald Trump have high pitch, while 28% are marked with the help of low pitch. Joe Biden's irony is marked prosodically with such a ratio: 55% (high pitch) vs 45% (low pitch). Nancy Pelosi also makes use of high pitch (66%) when expressing irony while ironic utterances by Hillary Clinton roughly balance (51% are high-pitched and 49% are low-pitched).

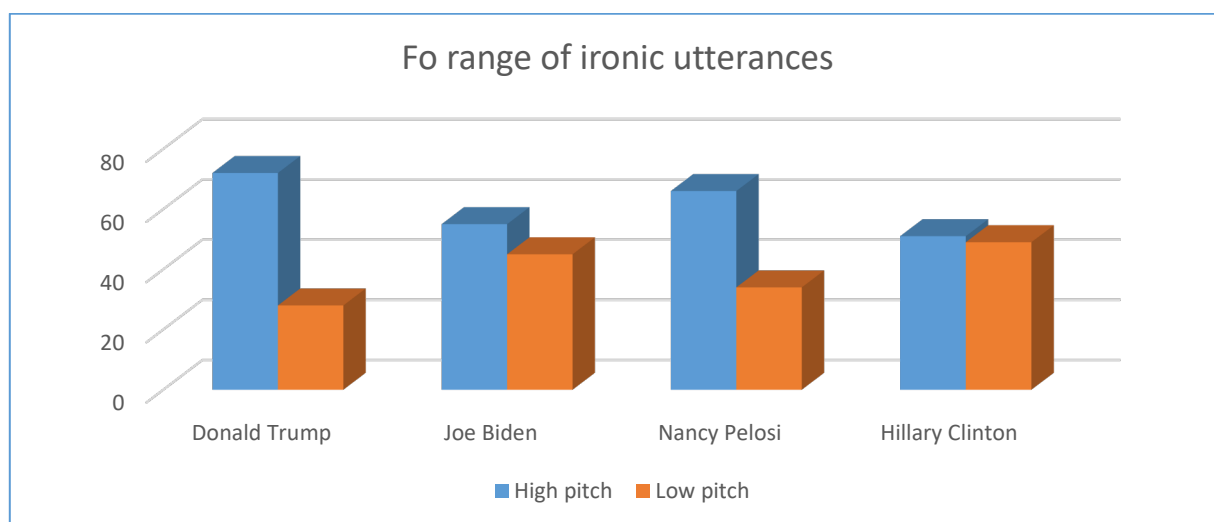


Figure 1. Distribution of utterances with low and high pitches (Source: Own processing)

Figure 2 generally presents the results of the amplitude parameters. The analysis provides evidence in favor of the complementary role of intensity while expressing irony. All the speakers emphasized the target word in the majority of their ironic utterances (Donald Trump – 85%, Joe Biden – 79%, Nancy Pelosi – 73%, Hillary Clinton – 83%).

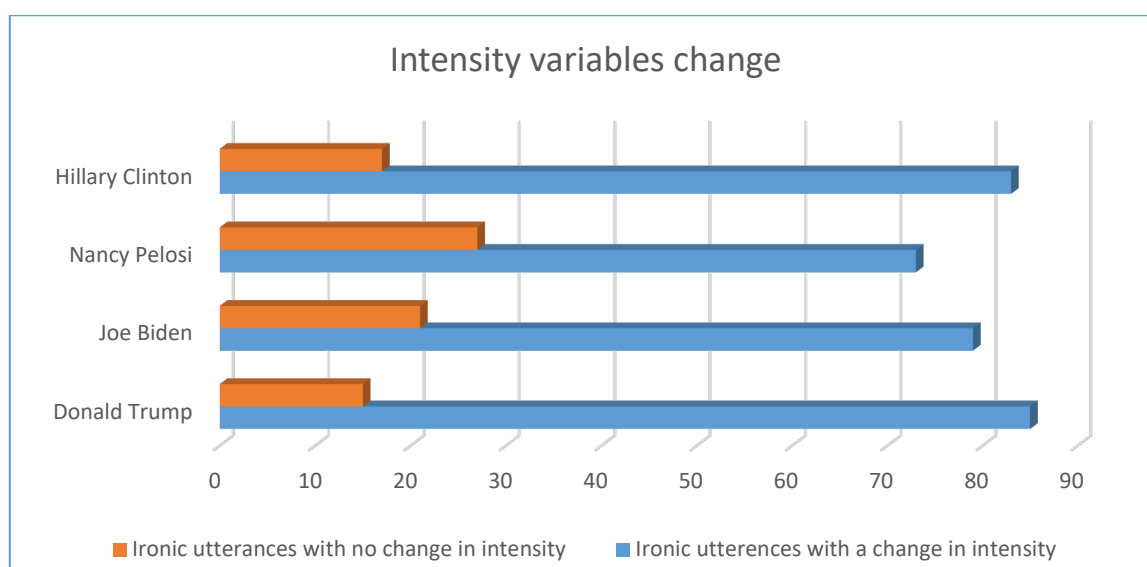


Figure 2. Distribution of utterances with and without intensity dynamics
(Source: Own processing)

The present acoustic analysis echoes recent research, however is different in the approach since it focused on the study of spontaneous speech. In terms of pitch variables, the obtained results confirm the already existing ones (see Section 2). However, amplitude range reports statistical significance, which contradicts the results obtained in the lab-based conditions.

Moreover, though gender peculiarities were not among the tasks of the research, the analysis allows some imprecise conclusions: within the general acoustic characteristics found for irony and sarcasm, there are no significant gender differences across the acoustic variables under investigation.

5. Conclusions

This research is a small step towards raising awareness of the key role prosody plays in expressing irony. A vast bulk of research on irony has been conducted in such domains as philosophy, aesthetics, linguistics, literary studies, psychology, etc.

Cases of the use of irony in the text of the English-language political discourse are often not so obvious and do not lie on the surface. Irony plays an important role in the political discourse, providing the speaker with a unique opportunity to express his/her cynical and derisive attitude to the described objects and people in question, events, including a sharp range of emotional shades.

Irony itself does not contain a discrediting character, but is characterised by significant expressiveness, as it has an emotional and evaluative perlocutionary effect. In such a way it is

intertwined with the problem of linguistic representation of manipulative strategies and tactics. It is an integral part of political discourse, including political speeches and debates.

The key characteristics of irony are the presence of a pragmatic goal and the desire to make an emotional impact on the consciousness of the addressee. Important takeaways show that such suprasegmental variables as fundamental frequency and intensity are significant acoustic cues that help additionally signal ironic intention on the part of the speaker. Similarly, the addressee can use them to detect the irony in political discourse. Based on the examples analysed so far, changes in the pitch and more importantly – in the intensity – often play the decisive role for the recognition and correct interpretation of verbal irony by the audience.

The results of the current study show that in an American political discourse key politicians actively employ prosody as such ironic utterances contribute to preserving the image of the speaker and to the negative representation of the opponent. Therefore, acoustic cues for signaling irony and sarcasm are discourse-specific. Although gender did not yield significant results in this study, the investigation of a larger set of segmental and suprasegmental variables might be fruitful in further research.

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