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ARTICLES

ПСИХОЛОГІЧНІ ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ВПЛИВУ МОВЛЕННЄВОГО ЕТИКЕТУ ІНТЕРНЕТ-НОВИН НА ПРОЦЕС ЇХ РОЗУМІННЯ

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Анотація. У статті аналізуються особливості розуміння інтернет-новин. Для цього використані методи аналізу та синтезу; описового, лінгвокультурного та концептуального аналізу тексту, дескриптивної інтроспекції та моделювання, метод семантичних і прагматичних інтерпретацій, контекстне спостереження. Автор акцентує, що у процесі дослідження розуміння новин у інтернеті варто враховувати їх специфічні характеристики. Виокремлено, що на відміну від друкованих новин інтернет-новинам властиві такі риси: відсутність цензури, жорсткої залежності від формату видання, гіпертекстовість, інтерактивність, електронна форма, що дозволяє спростити процес друку, зекономити час, колективне авторство, можливість архівування та електронного пошуку, можливість постійного доступу з будь-якої точки світу, мультимедійність, необмежений тираж та низька собівартість, уривчастість (не можна відкрити декілька сторінок в одному вікні). Ці нові переважно технічні можливості створюють потенціал реалізації низки комунікативних феноменів, зокрема персоналізації, нехтування мовними нормами, спрощення, широкого використання жаргону, термінів, що призводить до формування специфічного мовленнєвого етикету інтернет-новин. Для мовленнєвого етикету інтернет-новин типовим є використання дієслів у третій формі множини, часто не називаючи суб'єкта дії або називаючи лише формально: через метонімію (наприклад: «влада») або за допомогою онімів без референтів. Такий мовленнєвий етикет інтернет-новин значно ускладнює розуміння їхнього змісту, крім того за допомогою незрозумілих формулювань читачам нав'язують певні цінності, установки та орієнтири. Психологічні особливості впливу мовленнєвого етикету інтернет-новин на процес розуміння репрезентовані у моделі розуміння такого тексту, що запропонована у цій статті (на прикладі новинного анонсу з сайту «РосБизнесКонсалтинг»).

Ключові слова: розуміння, інтернет-новина, інтернет-текст, психолінгвістика, нейропсихологія, кіберпсихологія.

Akimova, Natalia. Speech Etiquette and Its Psychological Impact on Understanding Internet News

Abstract. The paper is focused on understanding features of Internet news. Among the main methods of analysis applied are descriptive text analysis, linguocultural and concept text analysis, descriptive introspection and modeling, method of semantic and pragmatic interpretations, contextual observation. The author emphasizes that specific characteristics of Internet news should be considered in studying their understanding process. Internet news differ from print news by lack of censorship, weak dependence on the publication format, hypertext, interactivity, electronic

form that allow simplifying the printing process, saving time, collective authorship, the possibility of archiving and electronic search, the possibility of permanent access from anywhere in the world, multimedia, unlimited print run and low cost, fragmentation. These new technical features create the potential for introducing various communicative phenomena, in particular personalization, violation of linguistic rules, simplification, use of jargon, invectives and terms that forms a specific Internet news speech etiquette. Verbs in the third form of a plural, often not calling the subject of action, or calling it only formally, i.e. as a metonymy (for example: “power”) or as a name without referent, are typical for Internet news etiquette. Such speech etiquette of the Internet news significantly complicates their content understanding. Besides same values, attitudes and pattern are imposed on readers using confusing utterances. Psychological features of the Internet news’ speech etiquette impact on understanding are represented in the text understanding model proposed in this article.

Keywords: *understanding, Internet news, Internet text, psycholinguistics, neuropsychology, cyberpsychology.*

1. Вступ

Інтернет-новини – важливе джерело знань про світ для сучасної людини. З них читачі отримують інформацію про події, у яких вони не задіяні, але до яких вони хочуть бути причетні. Новини в інтернеті дещо відрізняються від друкованих новин, у тому числі й характерними формулюваннями. Цей аспект частково висвітлений у працях С. Г. Батманової, О. В. Двойніної, І. А. Ільїної, Р. Карамішевої, М. О. Ковальчукової, С. С. Коломієць, С. С. Кулезькової, В. В. Кулакової, О. Г. Філатової та ін. Проте раніше не досліджувалося, як особливості інтернет-новин впливають на процес їх розуміння, спрощують чи ускладнюють. Дослідження мовленнєвого етикету інтернет-новин нечисельні, а поняття «мовленнєвого етикету інтернет-тексту» не достатньо розроблене і зосереджене переважно навколо специфічних символів інтернет-комунікації – емотиконів та специфіки передачі інтонації шляхом креативного використання пунктуаційних знаків та великих літер. Мета цієї розвідки розглянути – окреслити психологічні особливості впливу мовленнєвого етикету інтернет-новин на процес розуміння з позицій кіберпсихології. Відповідно автор ставить перед собою завдання диференціювати психологічну специфіку інтернет-новин, проаналізувати їх переваги та недоліки відносно друкованих варіантів в аспекті проблеми розуміння, виокремити ключові для мовленнєвого етикету особливості, дослідити їх вплив на свідомість шляхом моделювання процесу розуміння.

2. Методи та процедура дослідження

Для цього використані методи та методики узагальнення, аналізу та синтезу – для підготовки теоретичної бази дослідження; описового (техніки логіко-психологічних й опозиційних інтерпретацій, словникової дефініції, компонентного аналізу та ін.) – для аналізу матеріалу; лінгвокультурного та концептуального аналізу тексту (визначення змістовної структури, виокремлення ключових слів) – для класифікації відібраних мовних фактів; дескриптивної інтроспекції та моделювання – для побудови схем розуміння; методу семантичних і прагматичних інтерпретацій, що припускає комплексне тлумачення сенсу

висловлювань на основі широкого контексту електронної ситуації – для інтерпретації фактів.

Дослідження побудоване так: по-перше, для досягнення мети було проаналізовано наукову літературу щодо інтернет-новин, за допомогою методів аналізу, синтезу та узагальнення виокремлено специфічні риси інтернет-новин, їх переваги та недоліки відносно друкованих ЗМІ, результати цих досліджень заставлено з результатами, отриманими нами у попередніх дослідженнях, на основі цього сформована дефініція «мовленнєвого етикету інтернет-новин» як риси, що має суттєвий вплив на розуміння та гіпотези дослідження. По-друге, шляхом типового цілеспрямованого відбору обрано інтернет-текст, що яскраво втілює зазначену рису. Третім етапом став відбір методів, зокрема деяких технік описового, лінгвокультурного та концептуального аналізу тексту. Аналіз та систематизація дескриптивної інтроспекції стали підґрунтям для побудови моделі розуміння на четвертому етапі. П'ятим етапом стало обговорення отриманих результатів, де спираючись на результати семантичних і прагматичних інтерпретацій отриманої моделі розуміння було акцентовано вплив рис новинної інтернет-комунікації, потенційних інтенцій продуцента (щодо поширення медіаміфу «мегакорпорацій») на процес розуміння.

Специфіка інтернет-новин неодноразово ставала предметом наукового дослідження. Зокрема, вчені виокремили низку переваг та недоліків інтернет-новин порівняно з друкованими ЗМІ. Серед переваг найчастіше називають:

– відсутність цензури, жорсткої залежності від формату видання (Ільїна). Між тим певна залежність від ідеології видання все ж таки є. Чим авторитетніше видання, тим менше вона помітна і краще прихована. Такі тексти створюють враження об'єктивних і влучних, свідчать про професіоналізм контент-менеджера. Відсутність цензури з одного боку реалізує право на свободу слова (яка обмежена ідеологією видання), з іншого – сприяє поширенню текстів з різноманітними помилками, тенденції до необмеженості у виборі мовних засобів (Акімова, 2014);

– гіпертекстовість (Батманова, 2004:4; Карамішева, 2009:168; Ковальчукова, 2009:8; Кулакова, 2007:21 та ін.) та інтерактивність (Батманова, 2004: 4; Двойнина, 2010:7; Карамішева, 2009:168; Ковальчукова, 2009:8; Кулакова, 2007:21; Філатова, 2004: 233). Ці особливості інтернет-комунікації дозволяють специфічно анонсувати новину та створювати безпосередні зв'язки між текстами. Анонс на новинних сайтах не завжди фіксує суть повідомлення, а радше має сприяти презентативності, зацікавленню якнайбільшої кількості читачів. Крім того гіпертекстовість формує у мовній свідомості модель лабіринту, багаторазові переходи по гіперпосиланнях у бажанні встановити істину можуть призвести до втрати часу і суті первинних повідомлень. Інтерактивність як можливість для читача вступити у діалог з автором тексту, висловити свої думки та почуття, безумовно приваблює. Але, коментарі читають нечасто, тому більшість висловлених думок так і залишаються не почутими. Між тим у користувача формується враження, що його думка завжди важлива і доречна.

Це впливає на поведінку особистості і сприяє інфантилізації суспільства (Акімова);

– електронна форма, що дає змогу спростити процес друку, зекономити час (Кулакова, 2007:15), також такий формат дає змогу дуже швидко повідомити новину, полегшує пошук відповідної інформації, дає можливість групувати тексти, створювати вибрані теги, сприяє оперативності (Батманова, 2004:8; Двойнина, 2010:7; Карамишева, 2009:168, Кулакова, 2007:18). Але оперативність має низку недоліків, що виявляються у передачі недостатньо перевіреної інформації, чисельних помилках, фрагментарності, які відповідно впливають на свідомість користувача, знижуючи цінність інформації та знань взагалі, розхитуванні мовних норм, послабленні логічних зв'язків (Акімова, 2016);

– колективне авторство (Коломієць, Кулезньова, 2012:178). За умови вмілого використання цієї особливості створюється цілісне враження про події певного дня, між якими встановлюються асоціативні зв'язки таким чином, що одна новина підтверджує іншу. Але помилки колективного авторства відразу помітні, вони провокують критичне ставлення до повідомлення, неоднозначність тлумачень, непорозуміння і небажання читати далі. Часто такі помилки реалізуються фрагментарністю текстів, що веде до послаблення асоціативних зв'язків у мовній свідомості особистості (Акімова, 2016);

– можливість архівування та електронного пошуку (Батманова, 2004:8; Двойнина, 2010:7; Карамишева, 2009:168; Ковальчукова, 2009:8) дають змогу, з одного боку, опрацьовувати інформацію, групувати її відповідним чином, з іншого, – теж сприяють поверховому ставленню до інформації, оскільки те, що заархівовано, не треба запам'ятовувати, а електронний пошук, як правило, здійснюється у високому темпі, що заважає глибокому розумінню повідомлень. Це призводить до погіршення пам'яті та мислення (Акімова, 2014);

– можливість постійного доступу з будь-якої точки світу (Батманова, 2004:8; Двойнина, 2010:7; Карамишева, 2009:169; Ковальчукова, 2009:8; Кулакова, 2007:15 та ін.). Ця риса з одного боку дозволяє завжди бути «в курсі», а з іншого – формує у свідомості відчуття легкої доступності знань (Акімова, 2014);

– мультимедійність (Батманова, 2004:8; Карамишева, 2009:168; Ковальчукова, 2009:8; Кулакова, 2007:21; Філатова, 2004:233) передбачає, що текст новинного повідомлення можна супроводжувати не лише малюнком (що можливо і у друкованому форматі), а й звуковими та відео файлами, підкріплювати інформацію доказами. Проте хоча така технічна можливість існує, на більшості новинних сайтів вона реалізується досить рідко. Це свідчить про відсутність мультимедійних фактів, слабкість аргументуючого мислення та поверховість. Мультимедійні компоненти використовуються на сайтах новин переважно для привертання уваги, презентативності (Акімова);

– необмежений тираж та низька собівартість (Карамишева, 2009: 169, Кулакова, 2007:15). Ці риси дозволяють робити випуски новин по кілька разів на день, змінюючи контент головної сторінки новинного сайту відповідно до нової інформації та ідеології видання. Деякі повідомлення повторюються,

наголошуються та перефразовуються, тоді як інші приховуються за низкою новин. Багаторазове повторення тексту збільшує його правдоподібність та значимість, розставляючи акценти у свідомості (Акімова);

– персоналізація, тобто здатність інтернету забезпечувати необхідною інформацією згідно з уподобаннями користувачів (Філатова, 2004:233). Ця риса сприяє суб'єктивності сприйняття та оцінки тексту за рахунок загравання з читачем, на сайтах новин вона реалізується шляхом добірки «схожих» на думку комп'ютера повідомлень, читаючи які, реципієнт переконується у правильності власної думки. Це призводить до зменшення критичності, створення хибного враження, що людина володіє ситуацією, і розкриває широкі можливості до маніпулювання свідомістю (Акімова).

До мінусів новин у Мережі зараховують: нехтування мовними нормами (Ильїна, 2009); спрощення (Ильїна, 2009; Ковальчукова, 2009:11); уривчастість (не можна відкрити декілька сторінок в одному вікні), широке використання жаргону, термінів (Ильїна, 2009) тощо.

Ці нові переважно технічні можливості створюють потенціал реалізації низки комунікативних феноменів, що призводить до формування специфічного мовленнєвого етикету інтернет-новин. Для мовленнєвого етикету інтернет-новин типовим є використання дієслів у третій формі множини, часто не називаючи суб'єкта дії. Інколи суб'єкти та об'єкти називаються, але лише формально: через метонімію (наприклад: «*влада*») або за допомогою онімів без референтів (наприклад: «*История AMD: то же самое, но дешевле*») (Акімова). Можна передбачити, що такі формулювання ускладнюватимуть процес розуміння на етапі інтерпретації, оскільки свідомість реципієнта вимагатиме визначення імпліцитного суб'єкта дії. Також це може призвести до ускладнення емоційної ідентифікації з автором, критичного ставлення до тексту у разі розкриття авторської тактики приховування інформації.

3. Обговорення результатів

Змоделюємо специфіку розуміння новинного анонсу: «*Что хочет бизнес: не думать о «железе»*» (РБК 6.02.16). Тлумачення текстових домінант цього вислову на етапі інтерпретації пов'язане з низкою труднощів, зокрема щодо сполучення лексеми «бизнес» з предикатом «хочет не думать», який узгоджується лише з суб'єктом, що позначає істоту. Оскільки «бизнес» – це «1. Самостоятельная предпринимательская деятельность; занятие, приносящее постоянный доход, прибыль. 2. О коммерческом предприятии» (БТСРЯ, 2009:77), тобто неістота, то реципієнт має сполучити ці лексеми, використовуючи механізм ймовірнісного прогнозування (за участю посиленої активації нижньої тім'яної ділянки). За його результатами читач може визначити, що слово «бизнес» вжито в оказіональному значенні, як метонімію, що позначає певну групу людей, які мають відношення до бізнесу. Проте таке трактування надто розмите, оскільки більшість людей тією чи іншою мірою має справу з бізнесом. Схожа невизначеність стосується і об'єкта дії: лексема «железо» визначається як «1. Химический элемент (Fe), ковкий металл серебристого цвета, образующий в соединении с

углеродом сталь и чугун. 2. Обиходное название малоуглеродистой стали, металла серебристого цвета. 3. О том, что является сильным, твёрдым, крепким (о внешних физических качествах). 4. *Разг.* О лекарстве, содержащем железистые вещества. 5. *Разг. техн.* Аппаратные средства компьютера (в отличие от программных средств)» (БТСРЯ, 2009: 301). Будь-яка з цих дефініцій може бути використана в поданому контексті, крім того ймовірні й інші близькі до наведених контекстуальні смисли (які провокують лапки), встановлені на основі асоціацій за допомогою механізму апперцепції. Таким чином, надлишкова девіація «железо» ускладнює розуміння і без того складного несполучуваного девіантного тексту. Емоційна ідентифікація залежатиме від висновків щодо декодування слів «бизнес» та «железо» та ставлення реципієнта до отриманих смислів. В аналізованому вислові позначилися такі риси новинної інтернет-комунікації як проникність (характерні для розмовного стилю пропуски слів при відповіді на питання у другій частині «не думать о «железе»»), презентативність (текст подано у формі питання, на яке одразу запропонована правильна відповідь), насиченість оказіоналізмами (лапки натякають на оказіональні значення слова «железо»), недотримання мовних норм (зокрема, пунктуаційних при оформленні діалогу), функціонування особливого мовленнєвого етикету (вживання метонімії «бизнес»), персоналізація (певно новина розраховано на фахівців з якоїсь сфери бізнесу, що знають, про яке «железо» йдеться). Повідомлення ставить більше питань, ніж дає відповідей, і якщо припустити, що саме цього і прагнув автор, то складається враження, що головне завдання цього анонсу відволікати увагу від якихось важливих подій. Також текст сприяє розповсюдженні ідеї щодо єдності бізнесу у формі мегакорпорацій, які здатні нав'язувати свої бажання суспільству.

4. Висновки

Для мовленнєвого етикету інтернет-новин, окрім вживання дієслів у третій формі множини та онімів без референтів, типовим є використання метонімії («бизнес») та неузгоджених виразів. Такий мовленнєвий етикет новин в інтернеті значно ускладнює розуміння змісту, створюючи труднощі на етапі інтерпретації та емоційної ідентифікації, крім того за допомогою незрозумілих формулювань читачам нав'язують певні цінності, установки та орієнтири. Ускладненню розуміння сприяють також деякі інші риси новинної інтернет-комунікації (проникність, презентативність, насиченість оказіоналізмами, недотримання мовних норм, персоналізація) та інтенції продуцента. Перспективами подальших досліджень є виявлення специфічних психологічних механізмів розуміння інтернет-тексту.

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LINGUISTIC MANIPULATIVE TECHNIQUES IN ADVERTISING SLOGANS OF FAST FOOD RESTAURANTS

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Abstract. The article deals with the notion of manipulation in advertising slogans of fast food restaurants. It focuses on techniques and means of language influence on the recipient. The article shows results of the study of 239 advertising slogans of fast food restaurants in English-speaking countries (a total number of 104 companies). Different language patterns which are used in advertising slogans and aimed at persuasion of customers on the subconscious level, are defined and analyzed; among them the most numerous are language patterns which create statements with distortions, deletions, and generalizations manifesting themselves in a variety of forms. The research also describes manipulative language patterns specifically related to advertising, such as unique selling proposition or life values. The authors also show quantitative proportions of the use of each pattern, as well as patterns used by the most successful and less successful restaurants. The most frequent of the manipulative language patterns are lost performatives, mind reading, and comparisons. The techniques of life values, mind reading, and antithesis are more common in advertising slogans of top restaurants compared to less popular ones. Individual slogans frequently manifest the use of more than one linguistic pattern of manipulation.

Keywords: *manipulation, advertisement, distortion, deletion, generalization, presupposition, metaphor.*

Добжанська-Найт Наталія, Войтко Христина. Лінгвістичні маніпулятивні засоби в рекламних слоганах ресторанів фаст-фуду.

Анотація. У статті досліджено поняття маніпуляції в рекламних слоганах ресторанів фаст-фуду. Зосереджено увагу на засобах та методах мовного впливу на реципієнта. Праця показує результати дослідження 239 рекламних слоганів ресторанів фаст-фуду в англomовних країнах (всього 104 компаній). Розглянуто особливості мовних шаблонів, які часто використовуються для підсвідомого впливу на клієнтів, серед них найчисленнішими є лінгвальні засоби – твердження із впливом на підсвідомість, що містять викривлення, узагальнення та упуцнення, які виявляються у різноманітних формах. Дослідження також містить опис маніпулятивних мовних засобів, властивих рекламі: «унікальна торгова пропозиція» та «підлаштування під цінності». Автори також демонструють кількісні пропорції використання кожного засобу, а також порівнюють слогани популярних та менш популярних ресторанів швидкої їжі. Найхарактернішими є, зокрема, такі мовні засоби: втрачений перформатив, «читання думок» та порівняння. Прийоми «підлаштування під цінності», «читання думок» та антитеза характерніші для рекламних слоганів топ-ресторанів, у порівнянні з менш популярними компаніями. В одному слогані часто використано понад один лінгвальний засіб маніпуляції.

Ключові слова: *маніпуляція, реклама, спотворення, упуцнення, узагальнення, пресупозиція, метафора.*

1. Introduction

Using manipulative techniques aimed at convincing a potential buyer to use the advertised goods and services has always been an important factor in advertising. As is well-known, persuading a person to become a business's customer is one of the goals of advertising. In recent decades, as we can observe, with the ever-growing competition in the world of business, the number of such techniques has increased in number as well as in variety.

Manipulative language patterns have been extensively discussed in various academic publications. In particular, researchers discuss various types of manipulation, such as 'plain folks' techniques (Kalishchuk, 2012), manipulative techniques in commercial and political advertisements (Kutuza, 2006), deceitful advertising, fallacious arguments, emotive persuasion in advertising (Danciu, 2014), mnemotechnical devices of manipulation which include rhyme, rhythm, alliteration and assonance, persuasion on the level of lexicology and morphology (mainly adjectives, epithets, numerals), intertextuality, formation of new words and phrases with the help of shortening, affixation blending, and compounding (Lapšanská 2006), conversion, divergent spelling, antisthecon, conversion, anthimeria, block language, and rhetorical devices (Romanenko, 2014).

The question of attention-seeking devices in advertising on phonological, lexical, morphological and other language levels has been raised in works of scholars specializing in economics (Danciu, 2014), and psychology (Dilts, 2008) as well as linguistics (Lapšanská, 2006; Romanenko, 2014; Kutuza, 2006). In particular, linguistic works emphasize online advertising (Romanenko, 2014), give a broader view of manipulative devices in advertising and politics (Kutuza, 2006), and focus on the study of stylistic peculiarities of advertising slogans (Lapšanská, 2006). Despite the extensive studies of manipulative techniques, research into the use of such techniques in advertising slogans of fast food restaurants has not been conducted yet.

2. Methods

The question of a negative effect of fast food on human health has been extensively covered in mass media, supported by numerous conclusions of doctors, dieticians and scientists. Nevertheless, the popularity of such facilities is still beyond any doubt. We believe that the reason for commercial success of such food is not limited to the qualities of the food itself, the effect of advertising cannot be excluded. Therefore, we decided to analyze 239 advertising slogans of popular networks of fast food restaurants in English-speaking countries (a total of 104 restaurants), gathered from the companies' websites (as well as other online sources), and the manifestation of manipulative techniques in the form and content of such slogans.

The goal of our research was to analyze the form and the content of advertising slogans of fast food restaurants, in respect to their intention and ability to incite a potential customer to buy their products. Among the tasks of the research we saw:

defining the types of manipulative techniques used in advertising slogans of fast food restaurants; analyzing the proportion in which manipulative techniques are used in such slogans; defining the prevailing, or most popular, types of linguistic

manipulation in the analyzed slogans; and comparing the manipulative language patterns in the slogans of the most popular fast food restaurant networks (according to the version of QZS Journal) to those of less popular ones.

In analyzing the use of manipulative patterns and their frequency in advertising slogans, we based our research on the classification of manipulative patterns associated with deletion, distortion and generalization processed in the human mind (Bandler, Grinder, 1975:14). Creating such patterns with the purpose of influencing an addressee would potentially have an effect on the addressee's subconscious mind. We have also analyzed the use of other language patterns aimed at a person's subconscious mind: presuppositions, tag questions, embedded commands, double binds, antithesis, and metaphors, all of which are widely used in advertising slogans (Burton and Ready, 2010:255-258). These language patterns have been defined and extensively explained, including the use of certain language markers, but the task of our research is to recognize the above-mentioned patterns in advertising slogans of fast food restaurants, as well as analyze their implications and possible ways of influencing a potential customer.

3. Results and Discussion

The dictionary definitions of advertising, as well as slogans, include manipulation as a means of achieving the seller's goal. According to the Longman dictionary, advertising is defined as telling people publicly about a product or service in order to persuade them to buy it (Longman Dictionary, 2017). A Business dictionary provides us with the next definition: 'The activity or profession of producing information for promoting the sale of commercial products or services' (Business dictionary.com, 2017). The Cambridge dictionary defines advertising as the business of trying to persuade people to buy products or services (Cambridge Dictionary, 2017).

The dictionary definition of manipulation supports the idea of using certain means (including language) for the purpose of inducing a certain person/ or persons to contribute to the manipulator's goal. Oxford Learner's Dictionary indicates that it is the behavior that controls or influences somebody, often in a dishonest way such that they do not realize it (Oxford Dictionary, 2017). Dictionary.com views the notion of manipulation as the way of exerting skillful influence on a person (Dictionary.com, 2017).

In analyzing the advertising slogans of fast food restaurants, we have observed numerous language patterns which are used to persuade the customers to pay money for advertised products or services. Among them we can find three main models comprising language patterns to influence a person's subconscious mind and bypass the resistance of the conscious mind. These three models are distortion, deletion, and generalization, which reflect the corresponding processes in the human brain (Bandler, Grinder, 1975:14).

Generalization is the mechanism that allows us to separate some parts of the unique model so that it leads to the creation of the whole category (Bandler, Grinder 1975: 80). This group includes the use of universal quantifiers and modal operations in the language.

Universal quantifiers, such as *everyone, usually, always, never* (Burton and Ready, 2010:241), create the impression that no exception is possible. Let us look at some examples of advertising slogans using universal quantifiers. One of the fast food restaurants Five Guys created the following slogan: '*Always fresh. Never frozen. Famous Burgers and Fries*' ("Five Guys Prices" 2017). In this case the adverbs *always* and *fresh* state the fact that the food of that restaurant is cooked only in a superb way. Another chain of fast food restaurants, Denny's, uses the slogan '*America's Diner is Always Open!*' (Perrotte, 2015). The word *always* puts the emphasis on the readiness of the restaurant to take orders 24 hours per day.

Modal operators of necessity manipulate the recipient to create the impression that the recipient cannot decline the offer as there is no choice (*must, should, have*) (Burton and Ready, 2010:241). In the advertising slogans of Steak 'n Shake '*In Sight It Must Be Right*' (Hunt, 2014) and Subway '*The Way A Sandwich Should Be*' (Subway, 2017) the words *must* and *should* miss the information about other options.

Modal operators of possibility, such as *can, can't* (Burton and Ready, 2010: 241), manipulate the very idea of something being possible or impossible for somebody. For example, in advertisement mottos of McDonald's '*Nobody can do it like McDonald's can*' (Wang, 2006) and Chuck E. Cheese's '*Where a kid can be a kid*' (Fast Food, 2017) the modal operators of possibility point out the fact that something is possible (*McDonald's can, a kid can*) and something is not (*nobody can*), without supporting facts or evidence to prove the bold statement.

Deletion is a form of manipulation which omits certain pieces of information of the deep language structure (Vaknin, 2008:604), thus creating an incomplete picture where the truth which could create certain doubt in the recipient's mind, is hidden. This group encompasses the following language patterns:

Comparative deletion states the comparison but misses the information about what or who is compared with (Vaknin, 2008:607). In slogans of restaurants Papa John's Pizza '*Better Ingredients. Better Pizza*' (Famous Restaurant Slogans, 2017) and Eagle boys '*Bigger, Better*' ("Eagle Boys Pizza Seeks, 2017), it is not clear why the advertisers define their products as something better or bigger. We can use the questions '*Bigger than what? Better than what?*' to confute the advertisement.

Unspecified referential index, where the person or thing is not specified (Vaknin, 2008:606). The fast food restaurant Church's Chicken uses the slogan '*You bring it home*' (Restaurant Slogans, 2017). The pronoun *it* does not specify the information of what this motto is about. In another slogan of McDonalds '*We love to see you smile*' (Rella, 2016) pronouns *we* and *you* do not define the person '*who smiles*' and '*who loves*'. In this way these kinds of slogan can be applied directly to every customer.

Simple deletion misses out the part of the information that intended to be said (Burton and Ready, 2010:253). The slogan '*Makin' it great again and again*' (Pizza Hut, 2017) (Pizza Hut) does not state any data that can reveal what the slogan meant. The question '*Who is making it again and again?*' defines the aforementioned language pattern.

Unspecified verbs leave out the information about how the action is carried out (Burton and Ready, 2010:253). For example, the fast food company KFC uses the slogan *'We do chicken right'* (Best Slogans, 2017). The verb *do* does not specify the information about how exactly the company works with a chicken but this technique evokes people's desire to make an order in this restaurant.

Nominalization is a verb that serves in a sentence as a noun. These are words that cannot be seen, touched or heard (Vaknin, 2008:177). The company Papa Murphy's had chosen the slogan *'Love at 425 degrees'* (Papa Murphy's Cowboy, 2013). In this case the word *love* functions as a noun and it is directed to the audience's unconscious; in other words, the pattern is used to induce people to eat pizza at Papa Murphy's. In the next slogan of McDonald's, *'A Visit to McDonald's makes your day'* (Wang, 2006), the noun *a visit* also performs the function of nominalization that states the fact that if a person visits the advertised restaurant, he will not regret it.

Distortion is a technique that changes the accuracy of the intended message (Vaknin 2008: 608). The following language patterns belong to this group:

Complex equivalence is the connection of two actions that are not in any way related to each other (Vaknin, 2008:614). For instance, between the parts of the Burger King's slogan *'America Loves Burgers and We're America's Burger King'* ("Restaurant Slogans", 2017.) there is no real connection, but advertisers make customers believe that American citizens love the burgers only of that restaurant. One more example is the slogan of Harry Ramsden's, *'People who love food love Harry Ramsden's'* (Fish and chips slogans, 2017). This slogan builds a stable connection between Harry Ramsden's and delicious food.

Mind reading is the method that shows that somebody knows what other people think or know. Such utterances can be confuted with the help of the question *'How do you know that?'* (Vaknin, 2008:611). This technique can be found in the following slogans of fast food restaurants: Jimmy Johns: *'Your Mom Wants You To Eat At Jimmy John's!'* (Restaurant Slogans, 2017.) and Pret a Manger: *'Your Favorite Pret Foods now in Salad Form'* (Pret a Manger, 2017). With the help of this language pattern it is possible to persuade a person that the company knows best regarding what a client really wants.

Cause-effect is a language pattern that shows the result of the cause (Vaknin, 2008:612). The slogan of the company Krispy Kreme *'Bring a box. Bring a joy'* (Waiz, 2017) implies the idea that a person can become happy when he buys a product from that restaurant. If one divides the Extreme Pita's slogan *'Eat good. Feel good'* (Eat good, 2016) into two parts: *'eat good'* – cause, *'feel good'* – effect, it can be noticed that the message is that a person feels good only in the case his or her food is well-prepared, and Extreme Pita presents this opportunity.

Lost performatives are judgements that are based on the belief that if it is obligatory for one person, then it must be correct for other people (Vaknin, 2008:602). In order to confute this judgement, the questions *'Who thinks that it is so? For whom?'* are asked. For instance, in one of the slogans of Domino's Pizza *'Bad Andy, Good Pizza'* (Smaktakula, 2011) the information about the person, who considers that this pizza is good, is missed. The question *'Who is it good for?'*

defines this language pattern in the slogan of Sonic Drive-In, '*Not just good... it's Sonic good*' (Restaurant Slogans, 2017).

In the process of analyzing the advertising slogans of fast food restaurants we have observed the extensive use of other persuasion techniques aimed at inducing a potential customer to buy their products and services. Among them, namely, are presuppositions, tag questions, embedded commands, double binds, antithesis and metaphors, all of which are widely used in advertising slogans (Burton and Ready, 2010:255-258).

A **tag question** is a short question that is added at the end of a question. They are used for softening the resistance (Burton and Ready, 2010:255). In the slogan of Rax Roast Beef restaurant: '*I'd Rather Rax, Wouldn't You?*' (Restaurants, 2013), a tag question was used deliberately in order to distract people's attention and direct the information to their unconsciousness.

Embedded commands are used in questions or other sentences that send the information to the subconscious and the conscious mind cannot block it (Burton and Ready, 2010:255). An example of such commands can be slogans of the Hardee's restaurant chain '*Come on Home*' (Famous restaurant slogans, 2017) and Dairy Queen, '*Do something different*' (Restaurant Slogans, 2017). The phrasal verb *come on* and the verb *do* imply the idea of commands.

Double binds are utterances that give people the opportunity to choose but no real option is available (Burton and Ready, 2010:255). Burger King Corporation used the slogan '*Sometimes you've got to break the rules*' (Restaurants, 2017) in which the word *sometimes* states the fact that if not today, at least some time in the future a customer must buy something in that restaurant of junk food and '*break the rule*' of eating healthy food.

Antithesis is the process that can be found in sentences with quite different parts. If one of the parts is intensified, then a bigger difference can be revealed between these two parts (Horyn, 2004:275). For example, in the slogan of Church's Chicken '*Big Pieces, Little Prices*' (Restaurant Slogans, 2017), it is stated that their menu is very cheap but even in this case people can buy a lot of food.

Metaphors enable the advertiser to change the main idea of the information so that the customer does not notice it. Metaphor sends directions to a person's unconscious so that they cannot object to that information later (Alder, 2002:42). An example of this technique is the slogan of Arby's restaurant, '*It's Good Mood Food*' (Restaurant Slogans, 2017). Firstly, it informs about the ability to be in a good mood, but then the word *food* is connected with the phrase *good mood* that directs people to the advertised restaurant.

Presupposition is the assumption that defines the original essence of the message (Burton and Ready, 2010:20-32). For example, the company Jack in the Box created the slogan '*We don't make it until you order it*' (Fast food slogans, 2017). It has the following presupposition: '*in that restaurant the meal is cooked after taking the order, that's why it's always fresh there*'. In the slogan '*Just like you like it*' (Fast food slogans, 2017), that is used by Whataburger company, the main idea is the following: '*in that restaurant everyone can find something tasty*'.

Every year the specialists in marketing improve old methods and discover new ones in order to sell more products. Usually such techniques as life values, truisms and unique selling propositions are used.

Life values is the usage of notions that are important for the audience: home, children, life, happiness, health, family, etc. In an advertisement a negative notion can be used together with a positive one and as a result the whole idea of the text can have a different meaning (Hesiuk, 2014:124). An example of this can be a slogan of the company Krispy Kreme Doughnuts, *'Happy All Around'* (Waiz, 2017). In this case people may believe that in that restaurant they can be always happy, because such a value as happiness is used. The company Boston Pizza used in its slogan the value of friendship: *'You're among friends at Boston Pizza'* (Smith 2017). This slogan makes people believe that in this restaurant they will never feel 'like a fish out of water'.

A **truism** is a judgement that cannot be objected to (Colbert, 2012:114). A slogan of the company IHOP *'Come hungry. Leave happy'* (Rella, 2016) states a common truth (not limited to any restaurant) that a person naturally feels happy after satisfying their bodily need to eat. In the slogan, however (which advertises a particular company), the implication is that the happiness comes as a result of having a meal at a restaurant of their company. cannot be denied, because usually people come to the restaurant to eat and after that they can feel the happiness. Baja Fresh's slogan *'Eat Well. Live Fresh'* (Fast Food Slogans, 2017) – is one more example of the usage of truism, because it implies a natural connection between the quality of life and eating well. In addition, the word *fresh* often refers to food, which may plant an idea in a person's mind that the food is also fresh and healthy in the company's restaurants. At the same time, the slogan omits the information that the company specializes in making fast food, which almost always means junk food, but the audience's unconscious does not notice that and, as a result, people want to eat at this restaurant.

A **unique selling proposition** is a concept that is based on the given information about the company so that the opponents cannot or have not offered that proposition yet (Ciotti, 2013). For example, the slogan of the company Taco Bell, *'Why Pay More!?'* (Restaurant Slogans, 2017), attracts a customer's attention to the cheap menu and that evokes the desire to make an order in that restaurant. A lot of restaurants offer good food but not all of them are available at night. The restaurant Wendy's gives this opportunity: *'Eat Great Even Late'* (10+ Wendy's Slogans, 2017). This proposition distinguishes this restaurant from another.

In slogans of popular companies, we have found nominalizations (6.45 %), comparisons (14.52 %), simple deletions (4.83 %), and unspecified verbs (4.83 %). In the slogans of restaurant chains that are less popular, the following was found: nominalizations (5.45 %), comparisons (16.36 %), simple deletions (3.64 %), unspecified verbs (3.64 %). As for the method of generalization, the amount of speech patterns in the slogans of all considered companies is almost the same. If we take into account the method of distortion, it was found that the frequency of usage of lost performatives in slogans of well-known restaurants is shorter than in those of

less popular restaurants: 50.00 % and 67.67 %. The technique of mind reading is more frequently met in slogans of top companies (27.14 %) than in less popular restaurants (13.33 %).

The technique of antithesis is more often found in the slogans of less well-known restaurants (8.57 %), while in the slogans of famous fast-food restaurants, the frequency of the usage of that language pattern is 4.23 %.

According to the results of the study of such techniques as truisms, life value and unique selling proposition, we have found that the frequency of the usage of 'unique selling proposition' is similar (24.00 %); 'life values' is more frequently found in slogans of famous restaurants (65.00 %), rather than in less popular restaurants (57.14%); however, truisms are less common in slogans of top restaurants (10.00%), in comparison with those of the less popular ones (19.05%).

4. Conclusions

The study of 239 advertising slogans of popular networks of fast food restaurants in English-speaking countries (a total number of 104 restaurants) shows an extensive use of manipulative language patterns. Among them, the most frequent are the use of lost performatives, mind reading, and comparisons. Less frequent language patterns are truisms, antithesis, nominalisations, and unspecified verbs. Individual slogans frequently manifest the use of more than one linguistic pattern of manipulation, since the possibility of creating the most effective advertisement increases proportionally to the number of patterns used, while the use of only one method of persuasion seriously reduces such a possibility.

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A NEUROCOGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE ON LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN ULLMAN'S DP MODEL

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Abstract. In the last few decades, the studies in second language acquisition have not answered the question what mechanisms a human's brain uses to make acquisition of language(s) possible. A neurocognitive model which tries to address SLA from such a perspective was suggested by Ullman (2005; 2015), according to which, "both first and second languages are acquired and processed by well-studied brain systems that are known to subserve particular nonlanguage functions" (Ullman, 2005:141). The brain systems in question have analogous roles in their language and nonlanguage functions. This article is meant to critically analyse the suggested DP model within the context of neurocognitive studies of L2; and evaluate its contribution to the field of SLA studies.

Keywords: *neurolinguistics; declarative / procedural model of SLA; language acquisition.*

Готцева Маріана. Нейрокогнітивна перспектива оволодіння мови в декларативно-процедурній моделі Ульмана.

Анотація. Упродовж останніх декількох десятиліть дослідники в галузі оволодіння мови не спромоглися знайти відповідь на питання, які ж саме механізми людського мозку залучені під час оволодіння мови. Однією з нейрокогнітивних моделей, спрямованих на з'ясування питання оволодіння другої мови (SLA), слугує модель Ульмана (2005; 2015), згідно з якою «під час оволодіння та обробки і першої, і другої мови залучені добре вивчені системи мозку, що виконують також функції, не пов'язані з мовою» (Ullman, 2005:141). Зазначені системи здатні виконувати подібні мовні та немовні функції. Стаття має за мету критично проаналізувати запропоновану модель у контексті нейрокогнітивних досліджень другої мови, а також оцінити її внесок до галузі досліджень питання оволодіння другої мови (SLA).

Ключові слова: *нейролінгвістика, декларативна / процедурна модель оволодіння другої мови, оволодіння мови.*

1. Introduction

The neurocognitive bases of second language acquisition (SLA) have not been thoroughly investigated yet and the empirical research in this area is far from abundant. Therefore, it is not surprising that there are very few attempts to offer an integrative neurocognitive theory of SLA in relation to L1 acquisition in the context of the brain structure and functions. One such example is Ullman's DP model (2005; 2015) and although it has its own limitations, it contributes to the scientific attempt to shed more light on the process of language acquisition from a neurocognitive perspective. What is more, as Ullman claims, the DP model is capable of making "specific and novel predictions for language" (Ullman and Lovelett, 2016:1) by suggesting techniques for enhancing learning and memory.

Ullman's Declarative / Procedural (DP) model focuses on two neural systems: the temporal-lobe substrates of declarative memory, responsible for the storage and use of knowledge of facts and events; and the network of specific frontal, basal-ganglia, parietal and cerebellar structures, underlying procedural memory, responsible for the learning and execution of sequential cognitive and motor skills. Both systems play a significant role in language acquisition and Ullman claims that there is sufficient empirical evidence from neuroimaging studies of normal language processing, and from developmental and adult-onset disorders, such as non-fluent and fluent aphasia, which supports his DP model (Ullman, 2004; 2015).

2. The Study

2.1. Brain organization and language domains

So far, numerous studies have tried to explain language learning by focusing on Broca's or Wernicke's areas of the neocortex. However, these neocortical areas are not autonomous, self-sufficient entities. They are elaborately connected to other brain structures, all of which cooperate to perform different functions. In this context, some researchers (Aboitiz, 1995; Aboitiz and Garcia, 1997; Aboitiz et al, 2006) propose that the neural device involved in language comprehension and production belongs to "a large-scale cortical network reciprocally connecting higher-order areas in the temporoparietal lobes with prefrontal areas – other components such as the basal ganglia and certain thalamic nuclei" (Aboitiz et al, 2006:4).

Ullman (2004:231) grounds his DP model on the same presumption of "commonalities between language and non-language domains". The topographical-like organization of the human brain includes sub-regions which perform analogous computations on different domains of information, but each sub-region has its own particular set of inputs and outputs. Such type of brain organization has been claimed for the cerebellum, for various sub-cortical structures, including the basal ganglia, and for certain cortical regions, especially in frontal cortex (Alexander, De Long & Strick, 1986; Middleton and Strick, 2000). This leads to the assumption that analogous computations may underlie a range of cognitive domains, including language. So, Ullman identifies cognitive domains that share communalities with language and by studying their underlying neural and computational systems, draws conclusions about the systems that subserve language. In other words, instead of exploring language from linguistic point of view only, he suggests making predictions about language "based solely on non-language theories and data" (Ullman, 2004).

2.2. The role of the two memory systems

Generally, the declarative memory system is defined as underlying "the learning, representation, and use of knowledge about facts (semantic knowledge) and events (episodic knowledge)" (Ullman, 2005). It is very important for learning arbitrary relations, that is, for the associative binding of information (Eichenbaum and Cohen, 2001). The knowledge stored in declarative memory is partly explicit, available to conscious awareness (Chun, 2000). The declarative memory system is subserved by medial temporal lobe regions: the hippocampal region (the dentate

gyrus, the subicular complex, and the hippocampus itself), entorhinal cortex, perirhinal cortex, and parahippocampal cortex (Squire and Knowlton, 2000). The medial temporal structures consolidate and retrieve new memories (Eichenbaum and Cohen, 2001, Square and Knowlton, 2000). Memories seem to become independent of these structures and dependent on neocortical regions in the temporal lobes. Other brain structures which also play a role in declarative memory include portions of ventro-lateral prefrontal cortex, which seems to participate in a way in the selection or retrieval of declarative memories, while parts of the right cerebellum may underlie searching for this knowledge (Buckner and Wheeler, 2001).

The ventral stream system is rooted in inferior and lateral temporal-lobe structures and underlies the formation of perceptual representations of objects and their relations. These representations enable the recognition and identification of objects and the long-term storage of knowledge about objects (Goodale, 2000). Thus, the ventral system is a memory-based one, which feeds representations into the long-term (declarative) memory and compares these representations with new ones.

Later research into the declarative memory system has found out that it can underlie even implicit knowledge of different kind (Henke, 2010; Ullman and Pullman, 2015), despite the fact that it is the only system underlying explicit knowledge and representing arbitrary associations.

The term “procedural memory system” as used by Ullman, refers to “the entire system involved in the learning, representation and use of the relevant knowledge, not just to those parts of the system underlying the learning of new memories” (Ullman, 2004:237). This system subserves the learning of new, as well as the control of already established, sensori-motor and cognitive skills, such as riding a bicycle, for example. It is considered to be an implicit memory system as neither the knowledge learned, nor the process of learning is consciously accessible. Normally, a person is not aware of the nature of the knowledge and often he / she does not remember when and how the skill was learned. A large number of activities in our daily lives are learned and performed automatically and unconsciously. For example, when a musician is playing some musical instrument, he is not aware of the position of his fingers. It is the same when a person speaks his native language: he does not consciously move the oral articulatory organs, neither does he think of how to construct his sentences. These are automatic motor or cognitive behaviours. The procedural memory system subserves aspects of the learning and processing of context-dependent stimulus-response connections (Packard and Knowlton, 2002). Compared to the fast learning subserved by the declarative memory, learning in procedural memory system is gradual and ongoing, based on multiple presentations of stimuli and responses. The relations within this system are rigid, inflexible and not influenced by other mental systems. Procedural memory system, unlike declarative memory, seems to be informationally encapsulated. Rules apply quickly and automatically as the response is triggered by a stimulus rather than being under conscious control (Square and Zola, 1996).

The procedural memory system is supported by a network of brain structures: the frontal/ basal-ganglia circuits; portions of parietal cortex, superior temporal

cortex and the cerebellum (Hikosaka et al., 2000). Both anatomical and functional evidence in non-human primates supports the existence of basal ganglia thalamocortical circuits that project to Broca's area. Although there is no direct anatomical data to prove such circuits in humans, Ullman considers that indirect anatomical evidence supports its presence.

The close links between the basal ganglia and Broca's area are further supported by the fact that the two structures underlie a common set of functions. In the language domain, both structures have been implicated in lexical selection or retrieval (Crosson et al., 2003); in aspects of grammar – both morphology and syntax (Embick et al., 2000; Moro et al., 2001; Friederici, 2002); and in phonology (Zurowski et al., 2002; Crosson et al., 2003). Other functions and domains also appear to be subserved by both structures: the selection or retrieval of conceptual / semantic knowledge; working memory; sequencing; action control and motor function; learning in procedural memory; and aspects of temporal processing.

The co-occurrence of these essentially different functions within posterior Broca's area and within the basal ganglia, leads to two assumptions: there is either functional sub-categorization within the basal ganglia thalamocortical circuitry passing through posterior Broca's area, so that different portions of this circuit (sub-channels) subserve each of these functions, or these distinct functions represent different aspects of the same underlying function. Ullman concludes that this underlying function can be characterized as procedural memory (Ullman, 2005). It appears then that "procedural memory is a brain system specialised across domains (including motor, music, language), whose function is integrally bound up both in the timing of the sequences it subserves, and in the maintenance and manipulation of these sequences in working memory" (Ullman, 2004; Ullman and Pierpont, 2005).

However, nothing implies that all the parts of this procedural system should have the same functions. In fact, basal ganglia and Broca's area seem to specialize in distinct functions. While basal ganglia play a role in the acquisition of grammatical and other procedural knowledge, the use of this knowledge depends on the posterior portion of Broca's area. This is supported by evidence from research on grammatical deficit in adults as a result of damage of Broca's area but not of the basal ganglia (Alexander, 1997; Fabbro et al., 1996; Ullman, 2004). Abnormalities in the basal ganglia, found in certain developmental disorders, are linked to grammatical disfunction, which confirms the role of the basal ganglia in learning, which is not their only function. They have also been involved in aspects of selection, timing, working memory and other functions, such as lexical / semantical retrieval. The latter has been supported by the findings of neuroimaging and ERP studies which have implicated the basal ganglia in aspects of sentence processing in rapidly presented speech (Peele et al., 2004) and in processing of errors that require reanalysis (Friederici et al., 1999, 2003; Moro et al., 2001).

The declarative and procedural memory systems interact in various ways. Together they form a dynamically interacting network which supports both co-operative and competitive learning and processing, so that the memory functions can be optimized (Poldrack and Packard, 2003). The two systems complement each

other in acquiring the same analogous knowledge: the declarative memory acquires the knowledge initially, due to its fast learning abilities; while the procedural memory might acquire the same or analogous knowledge, but gradually. On the other hand, there is evidence from animal and human studies that the two systems can act competitively: learning in one system results in depressing the functionality of the other (Poldrack and Packard, 2003). The two systems can also function differently across individuals. Ullman explains that with the direct anatomical projection between the systems and a role for acetylcholine and estrogen, which can influence the individual performance on tasks within one system or the other (Ullman, 2004).

2.3. The DP Model and language acquisition

In Ullman's Declarative / Procedural Model, the two memory systems have analogous roles in linguistic and non-linguistic functions. They are supposed to interact both cooperatively and competitively in language acquisition and use. In a situation of young children, acquiring their L1, initially they learn both idiosyncratic and complex forms through the system of declarative memory, while the procedural system gradually acquires the grammatical knowledge underlying rule-governed combinations. The fact that the two systems function competitively is supported by evidence which shows that if functionality in one of the systems increases, this suppresses the other system and vice versa. For instance, the increased declarative memory in childhood may facilitate lexical acquisition but depress the procedural learning of grammatical knowledge (Di Giulio et al., 1994).

However, there are a few inconsistencies the DP model contains in relation to claims about the specificity of the neural basis of grammar. Grodzinski (2000), for example, challenges the assumption that Broca's area is dedicated to language and performs a certain set of language computations. In his view, this might be true about another set of language computations but not the ones claimed by the DP model. The model is also inconsistent with the claims of some connectionist models which deny grammatical composition (Joanisse and Seidenberg, 1999). These models deny the existence of empirical evidence for associations between grammatical domains and procedural memory, or dissociations between these and lexical and declarative memory. The main objection to the DP model concerns the parsing of linguistic knowledge between the two memory systems as the process might be much more complex than a "one-to-one linkage of lexical acquisition to declarative memory and grammar learning to procedural memory" (Dionne et al., 2003; Devescovi et al., 2005; Ferman et al., 2009). What is more, declarative knowledge might be converted into procedural knowledge and vice-versa as a result of accumulating experience (Anderson et al., 2004; Sun and Zang, 2004).

The DP model contradicts the claims that after a certain age the acquisition of a second language is not likely to take place and L2 cannot be attained to the level of proficiency of young learners (Birdsong, 1999). It admits that the acquisition of grammatical-procedural knowledge in L2 adults is more problematic than the acquisition of lexical-declarative knowledge, compared to L2 young learners but explains this with factors such as decreased rule-abstraction abilities "due to

augmented working memory capacity" (Newport, 1993), the attenuation of procedural memory, and the enhancement of declarative memory. A lot of evidence from humans and animals suggests that motor skill learning, which is usually associated with the procedural system, is strongly affected by "early critical period effects" (Fredriksson, 2000; Shlaug, 2001). These changes in both types of memory might be partly explained by the increasing levels of estrogen in childhood / adolescence as estrogen may inhibit in a way the procedural memory and enhance declarative memory (Calabresi et al., 2000; Ullman, 2004). Ullman (2005) suggests that learning in one system might depress the functionality of the other: the improvements in declarative memory in the childhood may be accompanied by an attenuation of procedural learning abilities. It could be expected that young adult L2 learners can memorize complex linguistic forms, normally computed compositionally by L1speakers. What leads to productivity in L2 learners might be the associative properties of lexical memory (Pinker, 1994) or learning rules in pedagogical context. This could differ significantly from grammatical-procedural computations in L1.

The DP model also assumes that the memorizing complex forms and rules in the declarative memory may lead to a comparatively high degree of proficiency, depending on the amount and type of L2 exposure, as well as on individual differences in declarative memory abilities. However, as not all types of grammatical knowledge are equally "learnable" in declarative memory, certain complex forms are expected to cause more difficulties. The limitations of lexical-declarative memory will, inevitably, lead to limited grammatical proficiency. However, multiple studies in adult L2 acquisition of non-linguistic skills by procedural memory show that a lot of practice might lead to improved performance. Therefore, Ullman (2005; 2016) concludes that sufficient practice in L2 will highly increase the level of proficiency of L2 adult learners. Certainly, this will depend on the individual intrinsic procedural learning abilities.

The claims and predictions about young L2 adults, though, differ for L2 adults. The ability to learn new information in the declarative memory deteriorates in early adulthood and shows notable losses in old age (Park et al., 2002). This might be explained with the decreasing levels of estrogen with age. Consequently, this may lead to more difficulties with both procedural and declarative aspects of L2 acquisition, compared to young L2 learners.

The DP model suggests an interesting mechanism which explains these differences. At lower levels of L2 experience, declarative memory subserves the learning and use not only of idiosyncratic lexical knowledge but of complex linguistic representations as well. Due to the deterioration of declarative memory, older learners are expected to have particular difficulties in acquiring a second language even to low proficiency. At higher levels of L2 experience, the procedural memory system is supposed to be able to acquire grammatical knowledge, although this might be more difficult for older L2 learners, resulting in a neurocognitive pattern, similar to that of L1, that is, with idiosyncratic lexical knowledge stored in declarative memory, and ruled-governed complex forms composed by the procedural system. As a result, dissociations between simple and complex forms might be expected in high experience L2 and in L1 but not so in low-experience L2 (Ullman, 2005). The

conclusion drawn claims that “the use of complex forms should depend more on declarative memory brain structures in low experience L2 than in L1 or high-experience L2, in which complex forms should show a greater dependence on procedural memory brain structures. In contrast, idiosyncratic lexical knowledge should be stored in declarative memory in all individuals, and therefore no lexical dissociations between L1 and either low- or high-experience L2 are expected” (Ullman, 2005:154).

Although Ullman uses various kinds of empirical evidence in support of the DP model (Ullman, 2005), such as L1 aphasia and L2 brain damage; PET, fMRI, and ERP of L1 and L2 speakers; not all the claims of the model are convincingly proved. It cannot be denied, though, that the DP model attracts attention by claiming that L2 learners could ultimately become L1-like in terms of proficiency and underlying neurocognitive correlates, which contradicts the critical period hypothesis (Birdsong, 1999).

Another interesting point the DP model makes, is the potential role for pharmacological agents in SLA. Again, it needs further research and testing. On the other hand, the model might contribute to the understanding of the much studied distinction between explicit and implicit knowledge in SLA (N.C.Ellis, 1994, 2002; R.Ellis et al., 2009), although it is impossible to draw simple parallels between the explicit-implicit and declarative-procedural distinctions.

Compared to other neurocognitive perspectives of SLA, the DP model shares similarities with the view of Friederichi and her colleagues, based on their fMRI and ERP data, who have also come to the conclusion that “low proficiency L2 learners do not have the neurocognitive abilities of native speakers for automatic parsing and syntactic structure building in sentence comprehension, which are assumed to depend on BA 44 and certain other structures of L1” (Friederichi et al., 2003; Opitz and Friederichi, 2003). But they also assume that low proficiency learners initially compensate for this lack by relying on medial and lateral temporal lobe structures, and probably on strategy-dependent compensatory right-hemisphere processes (Hanhe and Friederichi, 2001; Opitz and Friederichi, 2003). As L2 proficiency increases (with more exposure to, and experience with the language), the medial and lateral temporal lobe involvement decreases while BA 44 involvement increases (Opitz and Friederichi, 2003). As for the conceptual-semantic integration in L2 learners, it seems to remain, to a large extent, L1-like (Hahne and Friederichi, 2003). Therefore, Friederichi’s data and conclusions confirm the main claim of Ullman’s DP model.

The latest contribution of Ullman’s DP model (Ullman and Lovelett, 2016) also includes suggestions of enhancing L2 acquisition through interventions and techniques for improving the function of one or both memory systems. These include spaced repetition of the learned item within certain periods of time (Cepeda et al, 2008); retrieval practice - retrieving information from memory instead of re-studying it (Roediger and Butler, 2011); deep encoding, and so on, all of which are claimed to benefit the declarative memory. However, research demonstrating empirical evidence for these claims is still scarce and poses a potential field for further investigation.

3. Conclusions

Despite certain limitations, the DP model is worthy as an attempt to research SLA from a neurocognitive perspective, in relation to L1 acquisition, and in the context of the brain structure and functions. Its focus on the two memory systems (declarative and procedural), which seem to be engaged with the acquisition not only of language, but numerous other fields of knowledge and skills, could be interpreted as an attempt to explain language acquisition as one of the many brain functions subserved by these memory systems and to understand better the brain mechanisms involved in SLA.

In certain respects, the DP model poses similar claims for both L1 and L2 acquisition. Most of the learning, storage and usage of idiosyncratic knowledge in language (both L1 and L2) is claimed to take place in the declarative memory system, which is also responsible for storing knowledge about morphological inflectional and derivational peculiarities, as well as idiomatic meanings (Ullman and Lovelett, 2016).

The most striking claim of the model, however, is the expressed possibility of L2 learners to ultimately become L1-like in terms of proficiency and underlying neurocognitive correlates, which challenges the critical period hypothesis. Other interesting points the DP model makes, are the potential role for pharmacological agents in SLA, and the enhancement of language learning / acquisition through certain techniques and interventions, aimed at enhancing the declarative memory.

It could be concluded that Ullman's DP model contributes to the understanding of the brain mechanisms underlying human's ability to acquire languages, as well as the distinction between explicit and implicit knowledge in SLA from a neurocognitive perspective.

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ВЕРБАЛЬНА АГРЕСІЯ: МІЖ НАСИЛЬСТВОМ І БЕЗСИЛЛЯМ

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Анотація. У статті здійснено диференціацію понять «вербальна агресія» – «вербальне насильство», які дотепер розглядалися синонімічно не лише філософами мови, а й мовознавцями. Виділено спектр функцій вербальної агресії від комунікативної інтенції «образа, приниження» до жартівливого, лаудативного вживання (фіктивна вербальна агресія). Висунуто гіпотезу про комплексність комунікативних інтенцій, які лежать в основі вербальноагресивних актів і вирішальну роль катартичної функції. Результати дослідження підтвердили нашу гіпотезу про комплексний характер вербальної агресії, який виявляється в поліфункціональності і домінуванні катартичної функції. Емпіричну основу творять усні і письмові опитування мешканців м. Відень (Австрія). Загалом опитано 386 осіб різного віку, соціального стану і в однаковій кількості представників обох статей.

Ключові слова: вербальна агресія, вербальне насильство, мова і суспільство, агресивні мовленнєві акти, пейоративи.

Havryliv, Oksana. Verbal Aggression: Between Violence and Impotence.

Abstract. In this article a clear line between two terms “verbal aggression” vs. “verbal violence” is drawn. Based on the results of survey case studies held by the author “verbal aggression” is viewed as a complex linguistic phenomenon. Both intentions aimed at humiliation of the addressee (then verbal aggression equals to verbal violence), and intentions that are not aimed at verbal violence called “efficient” may lie at the core of the phenomenon. The “productive” functions of verbal aggression, emphasized in the field of psychology, are not sufficiently studied from linguistic perspective. Special attention in the article is given to the relation of verbal and physical aggression. Based on the theory of speech acts and the theory of performativity we view language as an action and distinguish two possibilities of aggressive speech acts: the one that is aimed at violence and the non-violent one. In the former case it is language of violence as a separate and independent form of violence.

Keywords: verbal aggression, language violence, language and society, aggressive speech acts, pejorative words.

1. Вступ

Останніми роками тема вербальної агресії викликає наукове зацікавлення передусім у сегменті мовного насильства. Безсумнівно, це пов'язане із зростаючою агресивністю загалом і виявами фізичної агресії в різних куточках світу зокрема. Дослідження вербальної агресії сприяє кращому розумінню цього все ще табуйованого феномену, виконує превентивну функцію, спонукаючи через саморефлексію до мовних змін на користь ненасильницької комунікації, а тому є першим кроком на шляху до зниження агресивності. Те саме можемо сказати і про детабуїзацію теми, адже частотність вживання пейоративів перебуває у прямому зв'язку з їх табуйованістю – яскравим прикладом цього є

Росія з її традиційними табу і заборонами на пейоративи і з відповідним багатим та інтенсивним пейоративним словниковим складом й навіть окремим мовним різновидом (мат), який базується виключно на пейоративній лексиці.

Проте темою мовного насильства переважно займається філософія мови (Herrmann et al., 2007, Krämer, 2010, Liebsch, 2007), а нечисленні мовознавчі праці обмежуються дослідженням узуальних мовних засобів, їхніх морфологічних, структурно-семантичних, синтаксичних особливостей (Aman, 1972; Ermen, 1996; Faust, 1970; Hess-Lüttich, 2008; Holzinger, 1984; Lötscher, 1980; Opelt, 1965; Sornig, 1975), лексикографічного аспекту (Mokienko, Walter, 1999) та – з компаративного погляду – міжмовних особливостей вербальної агресії (Burgen, 1998; Gauger, 2012, Жельвіс, 1997). Аспект сприйняття вербальної агресії адресатом, який є вирішальним з перспективи мовного насильства, залишається натомість недослідженим: на прагматичному рівні мовознавці переважно не виходять за межі ілокутивних актів і не аналізують пов'язаних з ними перлокутивних актів. Дослідження перлокуції уникали й самі засновники теорії мовленнєвих актів (Дж. Остін, Дж. Серль) – оскільки впливи на адресата вже ближчі до теорії дії та психології. Для того, щоб осягнути феномен вербальної агресії комплексно, в його інтеракційному вимірі, важливу роль належить приділити саме дослідженню сприйняття і реакцій на агресивні мовленнєві акти.

З огляду на те, що вербальна агресія у мовознавстві залишається мало дослідженою темою, а поняття «вербальна агресія» розглядається як синонім до вербального насильства (Ermen, 1996; Gauger, 2012; Holzinger, 1984; Kiener, 1983; Lötscher, 1980; Opelt, 1965; Rehbock, 1987; Schumann, 1990; Ставицька, 2008), актуальність цієї статті очевидна, адже ми не тільки пропонуємо поліфункціональне бачення феномену вербальної агресії, а й проводимо чітку лінію між вербальною агресією і вербальним насильством, розглядаючи агресивні мовленнєві акти у двох площинах – насильницьких і ненасильницьких інтенцій.

2. Методи дослідження

Мета дослідження – виокремити спектр функцій вербальної агресії, які є підставою для розмежування понять «вербальна агресія» і «вербальне насильство». Для досягнення цієї мети ми поставили перед собою такі завдання: визначити інтенції, які лежать в основі вживання агресивних мовленнєвих актів і виділити функції вербальної агресії; з огляду на тему статті – описати полярні функції вербальної агресії; поряд із деструктивними, через які передусім визначається вербальна агресія (Biffar, 1994:17; Holzinger, 1984:34; Schumann, 1990:260), виокремити її продуктивні функції; розмежувавши вербальну агресію і вербальне насильство, окреслити перспективи їхніх подальших досліджень в суспільно-політичному контексті: взаємозв'язки вербальної і фізичної агресії, структурного насильства – з вербальним і фізичним насильством.

У праці застосовано такі методи дослідження: квалітаивні методи опитування (письмове опитування за допомогою короткого і розгорненого питальника, усне опитування у формі інтенсивного частково стандартизованого інтерв'ю),

контекстуальний аналіз, прагмалінгвістичний аналіз (дослідження ілюкцій і перлюкцій), конверсаційний аналіз.

3. Процедура дослідження й обговорення результатів

3.1. Функції вербальної агресії

Хоча негативні емоції та їхній вербальний вияв є важливими складовими нашого щоденного життя, з лінгвістичної перспективи проблема взаємозв'язку понять «мова» і «емоція» до останнього часу залишалася «екзотичною темою з дрібною езотерики» (Schwarz-Friesel, 2013) на маргінесі прикладного прагмафункціонального мовознавства. Дисонанс між важливістю емоцій для людини та станом їх дослідження можемо пояснити негативною концептуалізацією феномену «емоція» загалом, і негативних емоцій зокрібно – їм відводять дезорганізаційний та дестабілізаційний вплив на комунікацію (пор. також Fiehler (1990:20) та Schwarz-Friesel (2013:10)). Ця традиція бере початок від картезіанської філософії (*cogito ergo sum*) з її виразним розмежуванням духу і тіла, розуму і почуття, що посилювалося в епоху Просвітництва. Сьогодні науковці (чи-то в нейронауці, чи в психології, психотерапії, психоаналізі, психолінгвістиці) виходять із комплексних взаємовпливів когнітивних та емоційних компонентів. Проаналізуємо ці взаємовпливи на прикладі агресивних мовленнєвих актів¹, які можуть вживатися і в стані афекту, і в ситуаціях з невисокою емоційною напругою. У першому випадку когнітивний компонент справді відходить на другий план, адже для афекту – стану сильного збудження, що не підлягає контролю і подібний до рефлексу, – характерний неінтенційний несвідомий компонент. Проте в більшості випадків уживання агресивних мовленнєвих актів ми маємо справу з когнітивно керованими емоційними станами і, відповідно, – з контрольованими емоціями. Співвідношення між емоційністю і когнітивністю найкраще ілюструють випадки непрямої вербальної агресії. Процентне співвідношення між прямою та непрямою формами вербальної агресії демонструють Табл. 1 та Табл. 2².

Таблиця 1

Форми вербальної агресії

(на основі опитувань, проведених 2006–2007 року)

Пряма вербальна агресія	Непряма вербальна агресія
34 %	66 %

¹ Спираючись на класифікацію Серля (Searle, 1971:221), який виокремлює «експресивні мовленнєві акти», за допомогою яких мовець виявляє свої почуття і ставлення, виокремлюємо в цій групі «агресивні мовленнєві акти», за допомогою яких мовець звільняється від негативних емоцій. До агресивних мовленнєвих актів належать: «лайка», «прокльон-вигук», «прокльон-побажання», «погроза», «брутальний наказ» (Havryliv, 2009:22).

² Кожне з опитувань проводилося усно у формі частково стандартизованого інтерв'ю із 36 особами віком від 18 до 85 років у трьох соціальних групах (по 12 осіб в кожній групі пропорційно 6 жінок та 6 чоловіків): група 1 – особи із неповною шкільною освітою (Matura), група 2 – особи із повною шкільною освітою, група 3 – особи з вищою освітою. Опитаних осіб просили представити дві форми вербальної агресії у їхньому особистому вжитку таким чином, щоб у сумі вийшло 100 %.

Таблиця 2

Форми вербальної агресії

(на основі опитувань, проведених 2013-2016 року)

Пряма вербальна агресія	Непряма вербальна агресія
32 %	68 %

До непрямої відносимо вербальну агресію, яка відбувається за відсутності адресата (монологічно або в присутності третьої особи – слухача). До цієї форми належить також агресія подумки. Непряма агресія скерована і до осіб, до яких спонтанно важко звернутися безпосередньо (політики, спортсмени, актори, журналісти), і до тих, на чію адресу пряма вербальна агресія може мати негативні наслідки: клієнти, ділові партнери, керівництво, невідомі особи в громадських місцях, чііх несподіваних реакцій – в тому числі й фізичної агресії – ми побоюємося. Виховання також є тим чинником, який переводить агресію в громадських місцях з прямої в непряму форму. У (напів)свідомому виборі непрямої форми вербальної агресії виявляється перевага когнітивного компоненту.

Дотепер немає консенсусу щодо дефініції агресії та насильства; вчені одностайні лише щодо руйнівного компоненту, що й пояснює те, чому поняття «вербальна агресія» і «вербальне насильство» вживаються синонімічно. Такий підхід – визначення вербальної агресії через інтенцію образи, приниження, перемоги над адресатом – зустрічаємо і в мовознавчих працях (Ermen, 1996; Gauger, 2012; Holzinger, 1984; Kiener, 1983; Lötscher, 1980; Opelt, 1965; Rehbock, 1987; Schumann, 1990; Ставицька, 2008): «Мета вербальної агресії – перемога над супротивником» (Biffar, 1994:17); «/.../лайка служить мовцеві вербальним засобом образи, приниження адресата, демонстрації своєї вищості» (Holzinger, 1984:34); «/.../лайка реалізовує намір мовця, спрямований на образу адресата» (Schumann, 1990:260).

На противагу до наведених дефініцій, результати наших досліджень показують, що вербальна агресія – комплексний феномен, в основі якого можуть лежати різні інтенції, а намір образити відіграє несуттєву роль (11% в обидвох опитуваннях – див. табл. 3 та табл. 4)¹. Таким чином підтверджується наша гіпотеза про те, що вербальна агресія скерована передусім на звільнення від негативних емоцій, а не на образу адресата. Опитування українців демонструють подібні результати: за даними соціологічного опитування компанії Research&Branding Group), причинами вживання лайливих слів українці називають підвищення емоційності мовлення (48%), необхідність зняття психологічної напруги (45%) і больовий шок (28%). У двох останніх випадках лайка виконує катартичну функцію.

¹ 36 усно опитаних осіб попросили представити функції, які для них виконує вербальна агресія, таким чином, щоб у сумі вийшло 100%.

Таблиця 3

Функції вербальної агресії
(на основі опитувань, проведених 2006–2007)

Звільнення від негативних емоцій	Образа	Жартівливе вживання (в колі друзів, до дітей та ін.)
64 %	11 %	25 %

Таблиця 4

Функції вербальної агресії
(на основі опитувань, проведених 2013–2016)

Звільнення від негативних емоцій	Образа	Жартівливе вживання (в колі друзів, до дітей та ін.)
73 %	11 %	16 %

При жартівливому, пестливому, лаудативному вживанні пейоративів (у колі друзів, знайомих і колег, до дітей, у спілкуванні закоханих) маємо справу з фіктивною вербальною агресією: локуція і пропозиція збігаються із справжньою вербальною агресією, чого не можемо сказати про ілокуцію і перлокуцію. Така невідповідність між формою (сказане) і змістом (задумане) зумовлюється домінуванням прагматичної функції над функцією повідомлення. У фіктивній вербальній агресії актуалізується амбівалентний принцип пейоративів, який Егальт вважає «підмурівком гумору» (Ehalt, 2015:8).

З огляду на сформульовану назву статті, розглянемо полярні функції вербальної агресії:

1. Вербальна агресія як заміна і як провокація до фізичної агресії;

а) Одна з найважливіших функцій вербальної агресії полягає в заміні фізичної (за даними Кінера (Kiener, 1983:295) вербальна агресія значно домінує над фізичною, становлячи 93 % загальної агресивної поведінки). Найкраще цей взаємозв'язок бачимо на прикладі мовленнєвого акту «погроза», адже він вербалізує ті фізичні дії, яких мовець завдав би адресатові, якби не боявся його, судових позовів чи інших санкцій. Функцію заміни виконує і популярне антипутінське гасло *Путін хуйло*: згадаймо його вживання тодішнім міністром закордонних справ Андрієм Децицею разом із протестувальниками перед посольством Росії (14.06.2014), що дозволило уникнути штурму посольства і пов'язаних з цим непередбачуваних наслідків.

б) Рідше і переважно в учнівських і молодіжних колах вербальна агресія може використовуватися як провокація до фізичної.

Функції виконує не лише сама вербальна агресія, а й її заборона: так заборона Путіним від 1.07.2014 року вживання лайливих слів у ЗМІ, фільмах, театральних виставах і шоу, творах літератури відкриває на тлі російської агресивної політики нові аспекти взаємозв'язку фізичної та вербальної агресії:

а) беручи до уваги той факт, що головна функція вербальної агресії полягає у заміні фізичної, із заборонаю пейоративів відкривається прями́й шлях до фізичної агресії;

б) і раніше фільми із вживанням пейоративів в Росії маркували позначками «від 16 років» або «від 18 років», тобто прирівнювали до фільмів з брутальними сценами фізичного насильства, а вербальну агресію, відповідно, – до фізичної. Проте актуальна заборона ставить вербальну агресію вище, відвертаючи тим самим увагу від фізичної агресії та нівелюючи її.

2. Вербальна агресія як образа адресата і як вияв міцних дружніх стосунків (пестливе, лаудативне, втішальне вживання пейоративів, корпоративна функція). Таке вживання пейоративів сигналізує «Наша дружба настільки сильна, що їй не зашкодить гра із забороненими словами» (пор.: «культура дражніння і глузування є індексом тісних стосунків» (Kotthoff u.a., 2012:74)). Передумовою для вдалої фіктивної агресії (коли ілюкція і перлюкція збігаються й адресат не сприймає адресовані до нього агресивні мовленнєві акти образливо) є фіктивність висловлювання, яка можлива завдяки взаємним знанням про системи цінностей, життєвий досвід, табуйовані теми, слабкі місця і реакції комунікантів. У випадку фіктивних агресивних мовленнєвих актів маємо справу з продуктивними функціями вербальної агресії.

3. Вербальна агресія як вияв насильства і безсилля:

а) як вияв влади – усвідомлене інтенційне вживання пейоративів з метою демонстрації особливої соціальної позиції, що дозволяє ламати табу на вживання пейоративів) (пор. Ставицька (2008:52) про те, що саме тому мат або його евфемізми полюбляють можновладці. Віктор Єрофєєв у «Російському апокаліпсисі» також наголошує, що мат «... процвітає у владних структурах. Путін користується матом. Як для Сталіна, Хрущова, Брежнєва і Єльцина, мат для нього є авторитарною мовою, мовою влади»; б) вербальна агресія як вияв безсилля, втрати контролю над собою (у стані афекту, з розпачу, коли інші методи, як от конструктивна розмова чи прохання, безрезультатні).

4. Вербальна агресія як напад і як самооборона: агресивні висловлювання можуть вживатися для відлякування супротивника. Так, деякі опитувані стверджують, що вдаються до вербальної агресії у тих випадках, коли побоюються агресивності з боку адресата і діють таким чином на випередження («Іноді я вдаюся до лайки з метою самозахисту, щоб відлякати супротивника і він не захотів зі мною зчіпатися»). Така тактика доречна, якщо про адресата відомо, що він не піде на вербальну чи фізичну конфронтацію, проте вона може бути ризикованою, якщо мовцеві невідомі особливості поведінки адресата, адже вербальна агресія може спровокувати не тільки вербальну агресію у відповідь, але й фізичну. Д. Херубим говорить у другому випадку про «пускову функцію мови для вищих ступенів агресії» (Cherubim, 2013:15): з цією метою не обов'язково вдаватися до агресивних мовленнєвих актів, для агресивно налаштованої особи досить запитати іншого про час, дорогу або попросити цигарку, щоб потрактувати цю відповідь як агресивну і вдатися до фізичного нападу.

5. Функцію протесту, подолання страху і знецінення реальності пояснимо на прикладі вже згаданого антипутінського гасла *Путін хуйло*: на час появи

цього гасла – а це місяць після окупації Криму – негативні емоції громадян України досягли такого рівня, коли катартичної функції лайки було недостатньо. Тому підключився додатковий механізм звільнення – через висміювання – який підсилює катартичну функцію вербальної агресії (оскільки і для лайки, і для сміху важливу роль відіграє функція звільнення – пор. Зигмунд Фройд про роль гумору у подоланні життєвих труднощів (Freud, 1994) або Анрі Бергсон про сміх як «анестезію серця» (цит. за: Kotthoff, 2013:234), що дозволяє короткочасно звільнитися від страждань, страху, болю і смутку). За карнавалістичною теорією Бахтіна, через облаювання і висміювання ми перетворюємо загрозливе і ненависне на комічне, одночасно звільняючись від страху і люті.

Як бачимо, вживання агресивних мовленнєвих актів виконує широкий спектр функцій (В. І. Жельвіс вдається до, на нашу думку, надмірної диференціації, і виділяє 26 функцій (Жельвіс, 1997:99-118), багато з яких ми можемо вважати продуктивними¹, оскільки до людської комунікації належить і вияв незадоволення, негативних емоцій (емотивна функція мови), референція на незадовільний стан речей чи поведінку адресата, і, відповідно, можливість змінити їх – функції вербальної агресії, яким у мовознавстві дотепер присвячувалося мало уваги. Зате у психології, психіатрії, психоаналізі та гештальттерапії ще з 60-их років минулого століття (вербальна) агресія трактується як продуктивний феномен: так Ж. Бах і Г. Гольдберг розуміють агресію в широкому значенні як «кожну поведінку, яка відрізняється від пасивності» (Bach, Goldberg, 1981:14) і говорять про «продуктивну агресію» (там само:20).

3.2. Від страху і пасивності до агресії і насильства

– *Гей, ти, бронзове опудало! Хто ти такий і що тут робиш? Чого витріщився на мене? Я тебе не боюся!* (Лагерлеф 1991:94)

На зв'язок агресивності зі страхом і пасивністю вказують як психологи, так і культурологи, історики, мовознавці: Ж. Бах і Г. Гольдберг (Bach, Goldberg, 1981:185) вважають пасивність і бездіяльність виявом прихованої агресивності, а Стефан Ессель – 93-річний французький колишній дипломат і учасник руху опору, автор знаного в світі есею «Обурюйтеся!»² бачить причину фашизму у «жахливому страху перед більшовицькою революцією». Його гіпотезу поділяє й російська історик, професор московського університету Єлена Галкіна: на запитання «Чому Путін вдався до агресії щодо України?» в інтерв'ю газети «Високий замок» (Галкіна, 2014:6) вона стверджує, що головною мотивацією було не відродження російської імперії, а проекція на себе української ситуації (Майдан, втеча Януковича), страх за свою владу, а звідси – бажання показати, що революція не приводить до нічого доброго. Галкіна також характеризує росіян як агресивно-пасивних: «Важко сказати, наскільки масштабними мають бути втрати, щоб *агресивно-пасивне населення Росії* (виділення наше – О. Г.) прокинулося й обернуло свій гнів не проти Америки й України, а проти головного винуватця своїх бід» (Галкіна, 2014:6).

¹ Продуктивний аспект агресивності закладений в слові етимологічно: лат. «aggressio» від «gressio» (крокувати, крок), що означає як вороже так і нейтральне наближення (<http://www.wissen.de/wortherkunft/aggression>).

² вийшов у світ в жовтні 2010 року і вже до лютого 2011 року було продано 1 мільйон екземплярів.

На зв'язок пасивності і (вербальної) агресивності вказують також мовознавці: так, В. Девкін вбачає живучість і частотність мовного різновиду «мат» у суспільно-політичній пасивності його носіїв: «Росіянам ніколи не щастило із державною владою. Наділені Богом безмежним терпінням, вони вміли все зносити і віками нести свій хрест (гніт жорстоких безмозких самодержців і їхніх режимів)». Зате в малому вони бунтують проти встановлених правил, порядків, заборон, традицій» (Devkin, 1996:9-10). Заради створення ілюзії бунту (саме в «малому»), свободи, «протистояння будь-якому авторитетові і забороні» (там само:6) в Росії традиційно сильно табується вербальна агресія. Функцію сублимації мат не виконує в українській мові, оскільки українці, як показують події останніх десятиріч, вдаються до активних протестів. Вживання матизмів носіями української мови є передусім звичкою (неінтенційне, експлетивне вживання), хоча матірні слова можуть вживати з певною метою (підсилення експресивності, категоричності сказаного, демонстрація «близькості до народу»). Наслідком тривалого вияву структурного насильства, яке вбудоване в соціальні структури російського суспільства і тримає його громадян у стані пасивності і страху перед владою (що Стефан Ессель вважає «найгіршою позицією» (2015)), стає фізичне насильство, яке виявляється в агресивній політиці. Звідси ж постає й інша форма насильства – культурне насильство, яке спрямоване на те, щоб подати інші форми насильства якщо не правомірними то принаймні виправданими, відволікти від фізичної агресії. Експансивна культурна політика, спрямована на пропагування російської культури, яку спостерігаємо впродовж останніх років в європейських країнах, і є прикладом культурного насильства.

3.3. До диференціації термінів «вербальна агресія» та «вербальне насильство»

Виходячи із функцій агресивних мовленнєвих актів, ми розмежовуємо вербальну агресію від вербального насильства і виділяємо дві можливості їхнього вживання – спрямовану на насильство і ненасильницьке вживання. У першому випадку важливо виокремити вербальне насильство як окрему самостійну форму насильства і сенсифікувати носіїв мови щодо мовленнєвих дій, які, згідно з теорією мовленнєвих актів (Дж. Серля та Дж. Остіна) і теорією перформативності Юдит Батлер (Butler, 2006), можуть бути такими ж насильницькими діями як і фізична агресія.

Для дефініції вербальної агресії вирішальну роль відіграє ілюктивний аспект, звідси ми маємо справу із мовленнєвою дією або із мовленнєвим актом у вузькому значенні цього терміну. Для визначення вербального насильства недостатньо лише аналізу ілюктивного атак, адже вирішальним для насильства є перлюктивний аспект (перлюктивний ефект). Мовне насильство може здійснюватися і без застосування агресивних мовленнєвих актів: поширення неправдивої інформації, вигадування безглузвих завдань. Мовленнєві дії можуть трактуватися як вербальне насильство також і з позиції третьої особи (слухача), проте сприйняття адресата є вирішальним – на такій позиції стоїть і сучасна філософія

мови: «У будь якого разі вирішувати що є мовним насильством, повинні ті, на кого воно спрямоване. Цього не можна зробити на основі поширеного в теорії мовленнєвих актів аналізу, який опирається виключно на наміри мовця» (Liebsch, 2007:136). З огляду на диференціацію «вербальна агресія» - «вербальне насильство», різниться і роль адресата:

– у разі вербальної агресії наявність адресата є факультативною – так, адресат відсутній в агресивних вигуках, які спрямовані на ситуацію; непряма вербальна агресія відбувається також за відсутності адресата;

– якщо йдеться про вербальне насильство, то наявність адресата є обов'язковою.

Існує погляд, що про насильство можемо говорити лише в тому разі, коли йдеться про асиметричні стосунки (наприклад, насильство з боку керівника щодо підлеглого, вчителя щодо учня тощо). Беручи до уваги поширені випадки вербального мобінгу в колі колег чи учнівських групах, не можемо погодитися з такою позицією і не вважаємо асиметричність стосунків неодмінною умовою для визначення насильства.

На завершення хочемо торкнутися ще одного важливого аспекту, якому не відведено належної уваги ні в науковій літературі, ні в конкретних превентивних заходах щодо зниження вербального насильства: таким же важливим як сенсибілізація щодо інших є й десенсибілізація щодо себе самого. Оскільки в пейоративах домінує конотативний аспект, а предметне значення відходить на другий план, тому лайливі слова реферують не до зовнішнього світу, а до внутрішніх переживань мовця (пор. Wierzbicka, 1973:146), яка подає репрезентацію конотативного аспекту за допомогою модальної рамки «я почуваюся» (на відміну від сигніфікативного, який репрезентує модальна рамка «я хочу вам повідомити»). Учасники комунікації, передусім адресат, повинні усвідомлювати, що вербально-агресивні висловлювання характеризують не його, а мовця, адже вони є виявом його темпераменту, емоцій, його проблем і страхів, його слабкості чи безпорадності. Цей аспект найкраще проілюструє цитата з роману Гарпер Лі «Вбити пересмішника»: «Скауте, чорнолюбець – одне зі слів, які нічого не означають, так само як і шмаркач. Це важко пояснити ... неотесані, ниці люди вживають його, коли їм здається, що хтось поважає негрів більше ніж їх. Так вони називають таких, як ми, коли їм хочеться грубо і вульгарно когось обзивати. /.../ доню, якщо тебе обзивають якимось поганим словом, це не образа. Це просто показує, наскільки жалюгідна та людина, і не повинно тебе зачіпати. Не переймайся через місіс Дьубоз, нехай вона лається. У неї дуже багато власних проблем» (2015:149).

4. Висновки

Вербальна агресія – це комплексний феномен, в основі якого лежать різні комунікативні інтенції, а намір образити, принизити адресата (насильницька інтенція) відіграє незначну роль – 11 % в обидвох опитуваннях. Цим підтвердилася наша гіпотеза про те, що для вербальної агресії вирішальну роль відіграє не інтенція образи, а звільнення від негативних емоцій (катартична функція – 64% у

першому опитуванні та 73% – у другому). При жартівливому вживанні агресивних мовленнєвих актів (25% у першому та 16% – у другому) маємо справу із фіктивною вербальною агресією і її продуктивними функціями.

Вживання агресивних мовленнєвих актів виконує ряд функцій, які ми трактуємо як продуктивні: катартична, втішальна, похвальна, театральна, корпоративна, підсилювальна.

Для вербальної агресії характерна функціональна полярність:

а) як заміна фізичної агресії і провокація до неї;

б) як насильство (з метою приниження, образи адресата) і як вияв близьких стосунків (лаудативне, пестливе вживання пейоративів, театральна, корпоративна, втішальна функція);

в) вербальна агресія як вияв влади (демонстрація власної соціальної позиції, яка дозволяє переступати через заборони вживання, ламати табу і чинити мовне насильство) і вербальна агресія у ситуаціях, коли інші засоби не допомагають і мовець лається із безсилля і розпачу.

– Виходячи з комунікативних інтенцій і функцій агресивних мовленнєвих актів, ми розмежуємо вербальну агресію від вербального насильства і виділяємо дві можливості вживання агресивних мовленнєвих актів – спрямоване на насильство і ненасильне вживання.

– Проводячи лінію поділу між вербальною агресією і вербальним насильством, ми розглядаємо вербальну агресію не лише як заміник фізичного, але й вербального насильства.

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TURKISH CHILDREN IN GERMANY LEARNING GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES IN TURKISH AS A MOTHER TONGUE

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Abstract. The paper presents and discusses findings from a recent empirical study involving 40 Turkish children aged between 4 and 6 years attending two kindergartens in Berlin in the districts of Wedding and Neukölln. They were tested for their knowledge and comprehension of different grammatical categories in Turkish. Children from Wedding were found to be much better in their knowledge of the grammatical categories in their mother tongue. The differences are statistically significant $F(1,32) = 6.6258$, $p = 0.01488$ ($p < 0.05$). The children from the kindergarten in Neukölln demonstrated lower results in Turkish grammar comprehension and thus their achieved literacy in L1.

Keywords: *Turkish, mother tongue, bilingualism*

Ключуков Хрісто, Гірай Баріш. Турецькі діти в Німеччині, які вивчають граматичні категорії турецької мови як рідної.

Анотація. У статті йдеться про результати останнього дослідження із залученням 40 турецьких дітей віком від 4 до 6 років, які відвідують два дитячі садочки в Берліні в районах Веддинг та Нойкьольн. Дітей тестували щодо їхнього знання та розуміння різних граматичних категорій турецької мови. Як з'ясувалося, досліджувані з району Веддинг набагато краще знали граматичні категорії рідної мови. Відмінності були статистично значущими $F(1,32) = 6.6258$, $p = 0.01488$ ($p < 0.05$). На противагу, діти із садочку району Нойкьольн продемонстрували гірші результати розуміння граматики турецької, а відтак, гірші показники грамотності рідної мови.

Ключові слова: *турецька мова, рідна мова, двомовність.*

1. Introduction

1.1. The Turkish Community in Germany

According to a publication of the Federal Bureau for Migration and Refugees of Germany (Haug et al., 2009), 2.7 million of the 4.3 million Muslims in Germany are of Turkish decent. The first Turkish Migrants came to Germany in the 1960s after a signed contract between Germany and Turkey – young Turkish men to labor as migrant workers. After WWII, Germany needed cheap labor to help the collapsed economy of the country rebuild. At the beginning their contracts were for two years. But the factories and firms did not want the young Turkish men to leave and they were doing everything possible to ensure their longer stay. Later on a number of the

young Turkish workers brought their wives or they married German girls and remained in Germany.

The education level of the Turkish migrants is not high. 57 % of those surveyed by Haug et al. had no high school diploma or only attended a lower secondary school (German *Hauptschule*, from 5th to 9th or 10th grade). The educational trends could be regarded as somewhat optimistic because the proportion of younger Turks in Germany (TiG) without diplomas or only lower secondary *Hauptschule* schooling has decreased to 45%. Over two-thirds also indicate that they speak better Turkish than German (Haug et al., 2009)

Because the age distribution of the Turkish population is overwhelmingly skewed towards the young, Turkish functions as a peer group vernacular, especially in urban settings. (Gogolin, 2002). Turkish words also become intertwined with German phrases, hybridization: “Komm her,” meaning “come here,” has acquired the Turkish suffix “lan,” meaning man. This becomes “Komm her, lan,” or “Come here, man,” (Horrocks and Kolinsky, 1996).

An occasionally imperfect knowledge of both languages, combined with a tendency to switch languages situationally, leads to *Halbsprachigkeit*, or semi-lingualism (Horrocks, 2002). To outsiders who do not speak both languages, this can be aggravating and seem like semi-competence, but others see it as providing a freedom of choice not available to monolingual speakers. Additionally, the standard German term for an immigrant is *der Migrant*, which translates most literally to migrant. Though they may have been in Germany for generations, Turks are reminded by German rhetoric that they have to go home again – they are and somehow remain migrants and guest workers (Horrocks and Kolinsky, 1996).

Bagdoshvili (2010) says that preschool education is very important for integration of migrant children in Germany, especially for those whose mother tongue is not German and whose parents have no knowledge of German. For such children it appears that kindergarten is the only place where they have possibility to learn German before they enter school, as their parents have no knowledge of German themselves, and without attending kindergartens and without learning the basics of German, migrant children are not able to deal successfully with the school program. Of the migrant children who attended kindergarten, 51.4% succeeded in entering lower (*Hauptschule*) or higher secondary school, but only 21.3% of the children who did not attend kindergarten reached the same level. By contrast, some kindergartens and schools are becoming segregated, institutions where only migrant children attend. Cummins (2016) discusses the relationship between intercultural education and academic achievement among students from socially marginalized communities. Intercultural education is conceptualized as including a focus both on generating understanding and respect for diverse cultures. Socially marginalized communities experience social exclusion and discrimination, often over generations. Many German parents do not allow their children to attend kindergartens and schools with predominantly migrant children. In such in effect segregated situations,

the migrant children have no possibilities for school-based communication with children who have German as a native language.

1.2. Research on learning Turkish as L1

An adequate acquisition of the official language German seems to still be a huge obstacle for a preponderant segment of Turkish-speaking children living in Berlin. Several theories attempt to explain the reasons for this situation, persisting not only in Germany. In this paper we focus on the mother-tongue and its importance for acquisition and learning additional languages, especially the official language of the host country.

Although the Turkish children live in a multilingual and multicultural environment in Germany, there is no mother-tongue or bilingual program generally available in the pre-school phase. Contact with the mother-tongue is restricted to the home and often the neighborhood environment.

Turkish mother tongue education in Berlin kindergartens is not integrated in the regular curriculum. The kindergartens do not value Turkish in the learning contexts, even though there is a large Turkish community in Berlin. When Turkish instruction is provided decided individually by the kindergartens themselves, it tends to be limited in number of lessons and pedagogical quality. There is no idea or conception regarding the mother tongue as a resource for attaining better competence in the second language, in this case German.

In the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages, there is an agreement aiming to protect European minority languages and their sustainable facilitation. Germany is one of the first countries that signed it. But under so-called protected languages, Turkish and Russian are excluded. They have no claim to such legitimation for ‘protection’ by the community and schools, although they more speakers in contrast to languages such as Danish and Sorbian. (Schmitz and Olfert, 2013:208)

Considering multilingual children, it is important not to lose sight of the influential role of their mother-tongue in cognitive development. It has a key empirically demonstrable impact on the social and personal development of a child (Cummins, 2001:17). Children who gain an adequate mother-tongue education or sufficient mother-tongue language input in their early childhood “develop stronger literacy abilities” in the school language (Cummins, 2001:17). But it is not just important to provide a mother tongue education or bilingual learning programs in the kindergarten. Also requisite are efforts to support and “advise parents and other caregivers spending time with their children and tell stories or discuss issues with them,” which are preconditions preparing the children for learning the school language and achieving success at school (Cummins, 2001:17). Cummins notes that in such bilingual education, two languages are “interdependent and “nurture each other when the educational environment creates the requirements” for the children. “Well-implemented bilingual programs can promote literacy and subject matter knowledge in a minority language without any negative effects on children’s

development in the majority language.” Learning the home language (minority language) not only impacts on the cultural and personal identification which makes easier “identifying with the mainstream culture and learning the mainstream language” (Cummins, 2001:16) It also helps by “learning concepts and intellectual skills that are equally relevant to their ability to function in the majority language” (Cummins, 2001:18). Developing literacy in both or more languages enable the children to “compare and contrast two language systems,” meaning that they have access to a greater range of reality interpretation (Cummins, 2001:17). Bilingual children quickly acquire conversational skills in the majority languages (Cummins, 2001, p. 19) and can easily and rapidly learn to participate in the majority society.

There are “strong affirmative messages about value of knowing additional languages and the fact that bilingualism is an important linguistic and intellectual accomplishment” (Cummins, 2001:19). For example, such children have the ability to gain informational access to different sources in different languages. The pre-school years are important not just for socialization and the development of personality and character-forming process. This period also includes the critical phase which is important for the foundation of mother-tongue skills, providing the basis for future success both in the mother tongue language as well for second-language acquisition and other languages that may be learned.

According to Yazici, Ilter & Glover (2010), there is a clear relation between mother-tongue competence and reading readiness. A rich lexicon in the mother tongue leads to easier literacy achievement (Yazici, 1999). But to benefit fully from education in the second language providing more opportunities for using the mother tongue must be the aim, entailing a need to raise levels of mother-tongue competence.

Citing Cummins (2001), Ileri (2000) and Saracho (1983), Yazici et al. (2010) argue that pre-school children should use their mother tongue, which is needed to support the second language in home and school. Parents should help the children improve their native language skills. Findings also reflect negative effects on self-esteem which may lead to disharmony between the school and home cultures. Parental reports can exaggerate the amount of mother tongue use, as noted by Tannenbaum (2003), so the figures may show a higher level of mother-tongue use than is actually the case.

Cakir (2002) investigates how the second and third generation Turkish immigrants in Germany learn their first language (L1), and how their L1 knowledge contributes to their attempts to adjust to the society they live in. The author explores the relationship between acculturation and first & second language teaching in Germany, the correlation between L1 development and academic achievement, the external factors affecting L1 development and social adjustment.

In a study with primary school Turkish children, Ozagac (2005) discovered that:

- 50 % of the children had no or poor German language skills
- 53 % of the children had no or poor active language skills.
- 74 % of the children attended the kindergarten.
- 26 % of the children did not attend the kindergarten.

- 63 % of the children learned German during kindergarten.
- In primary classes, the children have the following difficulties:
- 37 % of the children have difficulties reading German.
- 46 % of the children have difficulties writing in German
- 50 % of the children have difficulties solving math problems
- 41 % of children have difficulties retelling math problems.

Treffers-Daller et al. (2007), comparing the complexity of the syntax in Turkish of Turkish-German bilinguals and monolinguals, noted that the monolinguals have much better levels of syntax complexity syntax than the bilinguals. Johnston (2015) says that educators and policy-makers have often ignored preschoolers whose language seems to be lagging behind development in other areas, arguing that such children are “just a bit late” in talking. The research evidence suggests instead that language acquisition should be treated as an important barometer of success in complex integrative tasks.

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2005), literacy is achieved over time as indicated below:

Table 1

Degree/type of literacy achieved	Number of years of formal education, if the teaching is in	
	the mother tongue	a foreign language
A. Technical skill to decode text	A. 1-2 years	1-2 + 2 = 3-4 years
B. Lasting "technical" literacy	B. 4-6 years	4-6 + 4-5 = 8-11 years
C. Using basic literacy for further education and as a member of civil society	C. minimally 8-9 years	8-9 + 4-5 = 12-14 years
D. Using literacy (including computer literacy) for full participation in the labour market and society	D. minimally 12 years	12 + 4-5 = 16-17 years

2. Methods

The study involved 40 Turkish children between 4-6 years old attending two kindergartens in Berlin (in Wedding and Neukölln)

The children were divided into two age groups:

- 3;6-4;5 years old - 20 children (10 from each kindergarten)
- 4;6-5;6 years old - 20 children (10 from each kindergarten)

The children were tested in Turkish between November 2016 and January 2017. The test used in the study is adapted from English and standardized for Turkish: Test of Early Language Development – 3rd ed. (TELD-3) (Selcuk and Topbas, 2014). The test has two parts – comprehension and production of different grammatical categories.

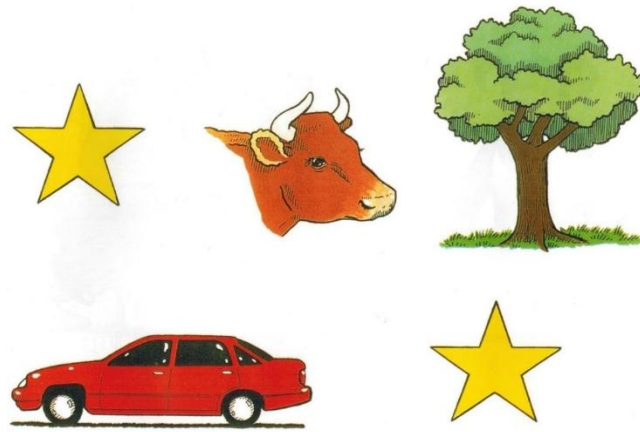
Here are some examples from the test:



Fig. 1. Prepositions



Fig. 2. Abstract nouns



BA 6

Fig. 3. Adjectives



BI 3

Fig. 4. Verbs



Fig. 5. Narratives comprehension

3. Results

3.1. Comprehension

The children from both age groups and from both locations show the same degree of comprehension of the grammatical categories. There are no statistically significant differences between the age groups. They understand equally well the grammatical categories and this is shown in Figure 6.

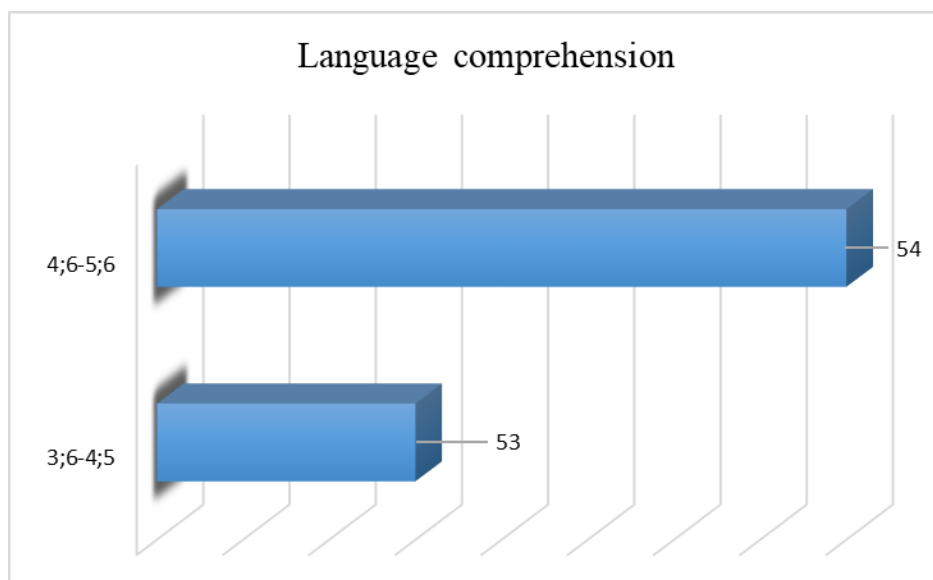


Fig. 6. Results from the Language Comprehension Test

3.2. Language production

Figure 7 shows the results of the children by age groups. The differences between the groups are statistically significant. The older children have better

knowledge of the grammatical categories than the younger children $F(1,16) = 6,3163, p = 0,02305$ ($p < 0,05$)

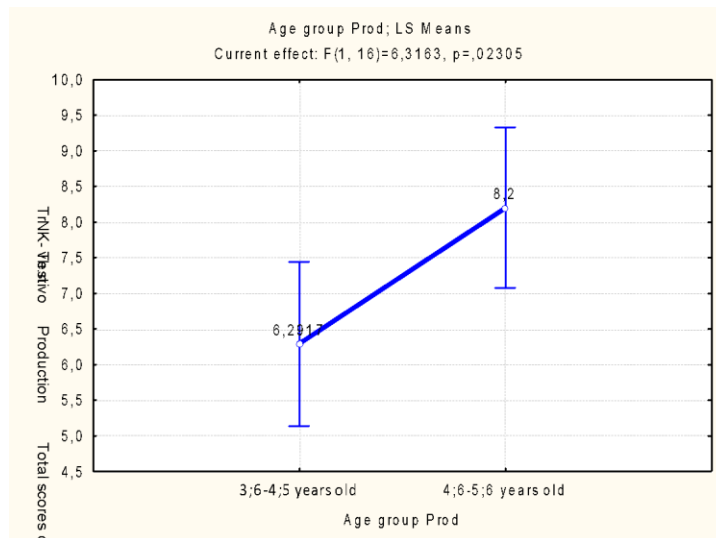


Fig. 7. Language Production by Age Groups

When we compare the results of the children according to the location of the kindergarten, we see that the children from Wedding are much better in their knowledge of the grammatical categories in their mother tongue. The differences are statistically significant $F(1,32) = 6,6258, p = 0,01488$ ($p < 0,05$). The children from Neukölln show lower results in Turkish. We discuss below what the possible reason may be for such results and what factors influence the children's knowledge of their mother tongue. The differences between the children from both locations are shown in Figure 8.

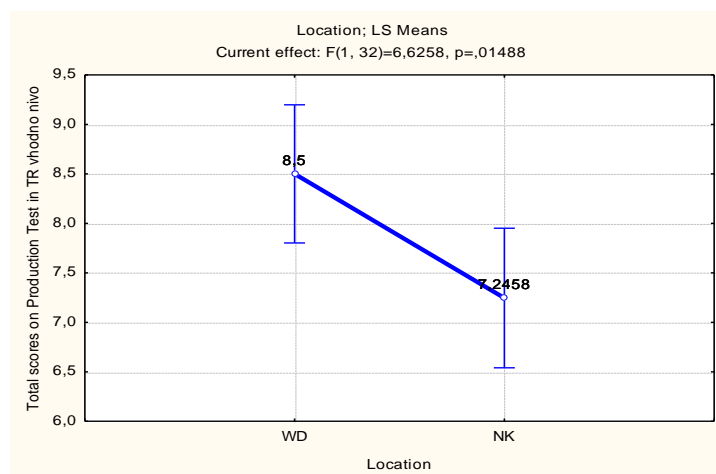


Fig. 8. Language production by location

What is the interaction between the factors *age* and *location* and is the interaction statistically significant? This is shown in Figure 9.

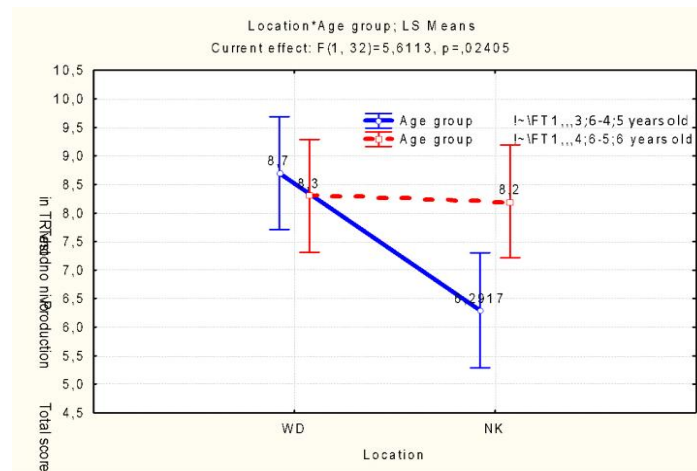


Fig. 9. Interaction between the Factors Age and Location

As can be seen from Figure 9, the interaction between the factors is statistically significant $F(1,32)=5.6113$, $p = 0.02405$ ($p < 0.05$). The results of the children from both groups in Wedding do not show statistically significant differences. The children know all the grammatical categories. The only problem which the children from the younger group have is with the *abstract nouns* and with production of the *narrative* in Turkish. However, the older children have a very good knowledge of the grammatical categories.

The children from Neukölln have lower results. There are no differences between the older children from Wedding and Neukölln, but there are significant differences between the children from the younger and older groups.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

What are the factors influencing the children's knowledge of their mother tongue?

All the children in the study come from middle-class families. Their parents in most cases try to speak with the children in German only, thinking that in this way they help them to be prepared for school. But their German very often is not good enough. On the other hand, the children in the kindergartens in Neukölln do not get permission from the teachers to talk in Turkish among themselves. In most cases the teachers also come from a Turkish background, but they still do not allow the children to use their mother tongue at play or in other activities.

The kindergarten in Wedding encourages the children to speak Turkish and at the same time the kindergarten organizes the children for receipt of once-a-week lessons in Turkish. The kindergarten also encourages the parents to talk to their children in Turkish in their home environments, to read books in Turkish and to play in Turkish with them. In this way the children acquire a much better knowledge in their mother tongue.

The situation in the kindergarten in Neukölln differs. There the teachers do not allow the children to speak Turkish among themselves and there is no such support like in the kindergarten in Wedding. The results of the children from Neukölln show notable statistical differences between the two groups. This suggests that more research is needed on whether children encouraged to use their L1 at school, in play and also read at home in their L1 develop a significantly better grasp of certain grammatical categories..

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BEYOND RECURSION: CRITIQUE OF HAUSER, CHOMSKY, AND FITCH

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Abstract. In 2002, Hauser, Chomsky, and Fitch published an article in which they introduced a distinction between properties of language that are exclusively part of human communication (i.e., the FLN) and those properties that might be shared with other species (i.e., the FLB). The sole property proposed for the FLN was recursion. Hauser et al. provided evidence for their position based on issues of evolution. The question of the required properties of human language is central to developing theories of language processing and acquisition. In the present critique of Hauser et al. we consider two examples from non-English languages that argue against the suggestion that recursion is the sole property within the human language faculty. These are i) agreement of inflectional morphemes across sentence constructions, and ii) synthetic one-word constructions.

Keywords: *recursion, inflectional morphology, synthetic languages*

Тарабань Роман, Бандара Ахінта. Поза рекурсією: критика Гаузера, Чамського та Фітча.

У 2002 році М. Гаузер, Н. Чамський та В. Т. Фітч опублікували статтю, в якій вони продемонстрували відмінність між властивостями мови, які є виключно частиною людського спілкування (FLN), та тими властивостями, які можуть бути спільними з іншими видами (FLB). Єдиною властивістю, запропонованою для FLN, була рекурсія. Гаузер та колеги у своїй позиції відштовхувалися від еволюційних засад. Питання про набуті властивості природної мови – центральне в розробці теорій обробки та оволодіння мови. У цій праці-критиці Гаузера та колег ми пропонуємо два приклади з неанглійської мови, які заперечують те, що рекурсія – єдина властивість мовної здатності людини. Ці приклади включають: 1) узгодження морфем у всіх конструкціях речень, та 2) синтетичні однослівні конструкції.

Ключові слова: *рекурсія, флективна морфологія, синтетичні мови.*

1. Introduction

Since the time of the appearance of Chomsky's (1957) seminal work, *Syntactic Structures*, generative linguists have sought a set of universal properties that could account for the structure of specific languages. Linguistic universals include factors like word order (e.g., SVO), the placement of morphemes after the word they govern (i.e., postposition) or before the word they govern (i.e., preposition), and optional subjects in sentence construction (i.e., pro-drop languages). According to generative linguists, access to these principles and selection among them is part of an infant's innate endowment, and helps to explain the universal acquisition of natural language in infants.

The universal properties of language are incorporated into language processing mechanisms for the configuration of specific languages. These linguistic properties operate within an encapsulated cognitive system, and they interface with general cognitive processes, but they are independent of those processes. More specifically, generative linguists assert that linguistic operations are separate from and independent of semantic processing and speech. In generative linguistic theories, the abstract principles that explain the properties of specific languages have been variously related to linguistic competence (vs performance), to linguistic essentialism, or to an internal language (I-language).¹

A current position in the linguistic literature makes a distinction between FLB (Faculty of language – broad sense) and FLN (Faculty of language – narrow sense). This distinction was first articulated in Hauser et al. (2002), and we reference that article as our source for a description of the two components. Hauser et al. (2002) hypothesized that i) the distinction between FLN and FLB is central to understanding the nature of human language ability and ii) that the “FLN only includes recursion, and is the only uniquely human component of the faculty of language” (p. 1569). Recursion is defined by Hauser et al. as “the capacity to generate an infinite range of expressions from a finite set of elements” (p. 1569). FLB consists of the mechanisms for semantic analysis of the constructions generated by FLN and the articulatory processes involved in speech production.

An emphasis on recursion in Hauser et al. (2002) is not entirely new. Sauterland and Trotzke (2011) note that recursion was a central element of Chomsky’s (1959) earlier work, where recursion was defined as *self-embedding*. For example, in the sentence, *He said that he won*, a sentence (*he won*) is embedded in a sentence (*He said*), or more generally speaking, a constituent of some kind is embedded within a constituent of the same kind. Chomsky’s point was that phrase structure in human languages is highly productive, and is able to generate sentences of infinite length, and an infinite number of sentences, by nesting a function within itself. The operation of self-embedding mirrors the notion of recursion in Hauser et al. (2002).

Ott (2009) aptly summarized the relationships in generative theory between universal grammar, I-language, syntax, and recursion, as follows: “Minimally, the I-language must comprise a *generative procedure* (syntax) that operates over a finite *lexicon* of atomic units or words...and maps the resulting complex objects onto representations that are accessed by performance systems. Since syntactic operations apply recursively to atomic units and combinations thereof, the I-language yields an infinite array of structural descriptions linking ‘sound and meaning’, that is, representations encoding phonetic, semantic and structural properties” (p. 256).

It is important to consider the role of the lexicon when considering the FLN. Ott (2009) referred to “a finite *lexicon* of atomic units or words” in the preceding quote, which is consistent with the terminology of other generative linguists. Marantz (1997), for instance, described the lexicon as “a list of atomic elements for syntactic composition,” “the source of items used by the compositional system of syntax,” and he summarized the relationship between the lexicon and syntactic processor as follows: “[E]lementary constituents are drawn from a place called the “Lexicon” for composition in the syntax” (p. 201). From these descriptions it is

¹ <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/linguistics/>

clear that morphological elements are stored in the lexicon, but the composition of morphological elements is syntactic, not lexical.

The publication of Hauser et al. (2002) generated a number of reactions against the suggestion that recursion is the sole property of the FLN (Bickerton, 2009; Luuk & Luuk, 2011, Ott, 2009; Sauerland & Trotzke, 2011). Luuk and Luuk (2011) argued that recursion is not required for natural language, but a process of iteration is necessary. Recursion involves self-reference and invokes another instance of itself, as in the example above. Iteration does not involve self-reference, but can, nonetheless, implement phrase structure rules through iterative processing. Everett (2005) claimed that Pirahã did not use recursion and therefore recursion did not constitute a universal process in the FLN. However, his opponents claimed that he had misanalysed Pirahã (Nevins, Pesetsky, & Rodrigues, 2009). Our goal here is not to evaluate the role of recursion in the human language faculty, but rather to consider whether recursion alone could be sufficient as the sole syntactic property of the FLN.

Other criticisms help to clarify the distinctions in Hauser et al. (2002) between the properties of FLN and FLB. Ott (2009), for example, argued that lexicalization is an essential component of the human language faculty. Lexicalization is the association of concepts with words, which function as grammatical units. Lexicalization provides the words on which I-language operates. The human capacity to generate units over which grammatical principles can operate yields the “unboundedness of human thought” (p. 264). From Ott, we may conclude that FLN consists of syntactic operations operating on lexicalized concepts. Crucially, lexicalization allows concepts (lexicalized words) to enter into syntactic constructions. However, lexicalization draws on semantic information, therefore, is part of the FLB, not the FLN, according to Hauser et al.

Turning now to the present analysis, we ask whether there are other processes besides recursion that might be included in the FLN. In this critique, we suggest two possibilities: the agreement of morphological inflections within a sentence, and synthetic single-word constructions. To our knowledge, neither Hauser and colleagues, nor critics of FLN proposed these two linguistic processes as candidates for FLN.

2. Methods

The focus of the present analysis is on whether recursion can adequately account for the human language faculty. For the purpose of the present argument, we will assume that linguistic operations can be separated from the semantic processes that may be associated with the linguistic constructions, consistent with Hauser et al. (2002). There are several criteria that need to be fulfilled in order to present a valid case against the claim that recursion is the sole property of the FLN. These are the criteria:

- the operations in our examples are linguistic, not semantic or phonological, therefore, they qualify as belonging to FLN not FLB
- the operations in our examples do not involve recursion, therefore they are unique additions to the operation of the FLN

- the operations function at the level of syntax, that is, the composition and agreement of linguistic morphemes across an extended construction, and cannot be readily attributed to lexical processing, specifically, to processes that would be completed with an individual's mental dictionary.

3. The Study

3.1. Agreement of Inflectional Morphemes

Natural languages can be classified as isolating, agglutinating, or inflectional. English tends towards an isolating language, with a phrase structure that lends itself to recursion, as defined by Hauser et al. (2002). English could be further described as an analytic language. Languages like Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, and Czech also provide for recursive processing of phrases. However, these languages also have a significant component of inflectional morphology, and are considered synthetic languages.

Slavic languages, like Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Slovak and Czech, are inflectional, that is, they use inflectional morphemes to convey syntactic, grammatical, or semantic features. These languages inflect nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Nouns are inflected for case, gender and number. Verbs are inflected for tense, aspect, mood, person, subject number, and gender. Inflectional morphemes must be coordinated across the construction of a grammatical sentence. Therefore, agreement is syntactic, and agreement is required. Further, morphological inflections may be stored in a mental lexicon, but their agreement arises in syntactic processing, consistent with lexical-syntactic relationships in Ott (2009), Marantz (1997), and other generative linguists. Finally, to our knowledge, there is no evidence of the use of inflectional morphemes, like those for linguistic gender or case, in non-human species, so it does not violate the criterion to be included in the FLN in Hauser et al. (2002). Therefore, in consideration of these factors, agreement of inflectional morphemes qualifies as a property of the human language faculty. Examples of agreement of adjective-noun agreement (e.g., *Інтелектуальна дівчина*) and noun-verb agreement (e.g., *дівчина склала*) from several languages are as follows:

- *Інтелектуальна дівчина склала іспит.* (Ukrainian)
- *Умная девушка сдала экзамен.* (Russian)
- *Inteligentna dziewczyna zdała egzamin.* (Polish)

The intelligent girl passed the exam.

3.2. One-Word Constructions in Synthetic Languages

Agglutinated languages combine several morphemes into complex one-word constructions that can convey the equivalent meaning of a sentence. One-word constructions functioning as sentences can also be found in inflectional languages. In pro-drop languages, like Czech, Ukrainian, or Russian, an intransitive sentence can consist of only a verb; information about its subject is encoded in the verb. For example (Ukrainian):

- *Пішов* (He left)

Requests and imperatives can also consist of only a verb (Ukrainian):

- *Послухайте* (You) listen
- *Проаналізуйте* (You) analyze this

- *Проходите* (You) pass through here.

Subjectless impersonals are another example of one-word constructions that function like sentences (Russian):

- *Смеркалось* (It got dusky)

As further examples of one-word constructions consider Sinhala, which is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Sri Lanka. In Sinhala, similar to both Russian and Ukrainian, one-word constructions could be appear as requests and imperatives and subjectless impersonals. In volitive and non-volitive (inchoative) contexts subjectless impersonals are used as one-word utterances that carry syntactic elements such as embedded verb inflections, gender and word agreement, negation indicators and auxiliary indicators. For example, following words show how one-word utterances are used

- *Netenawa* – I dance (I couldn't help that happened)
- *Netawenawa* – dance (someone is dancing involuntarily)
- *Netennene* – I do not dance (involuntary negation)
- *Netennemane* – I do not (ever) dance (involuntary negation with auxiliary indicator *-ma*)

In Sinhala too, an intransitive sentence can consist of only a verb; information about its subject is encoded in the verb.

- *Yayi* – he/she/it is going
- *Yathi* – they are going

Especially honorific verbs are easily understood and used as one-word constructions that encode information about their subjects.

- *Welanduwa* (The priest ate food)
- *Wediya* (The priest came/ went)

However, in Sinhala, one-word constructions are most prominent and distinctive among imperatives. They can produce gender specific, subject indicated sentences by inflecting the root into more abstract longer verb forms. Parse trees in Figure 1 show the construction of Sinhalese imperatives. The construction can be described as an Inflectional Phrase (IP) with the positioning of affixes in rule form as:

[IP [Spec] [I' [VP [V]] [Infl' [CASE.][Infl]]]].

An inflectional phrase (IP) of this form is a simple sentence. Spec (Specifier) bears inflectional properties such as tense and person. The other components of the IP are a verb phrase (VP), Case and inflection (Infl).

KEY

IP – Inflectional Phrase

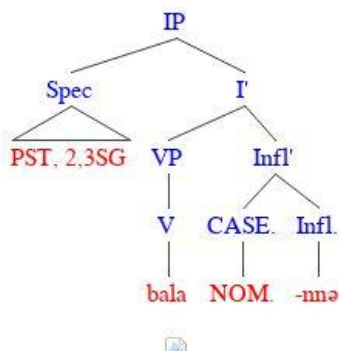
Spec – Specifiers / Modalities

I' – Inflectional Predicate

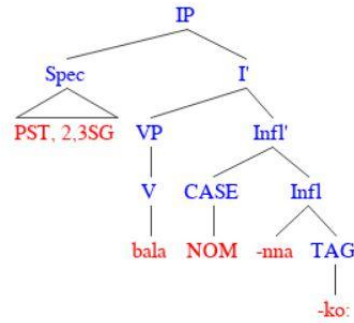
VP – verb phrase

CASE – Case affixation

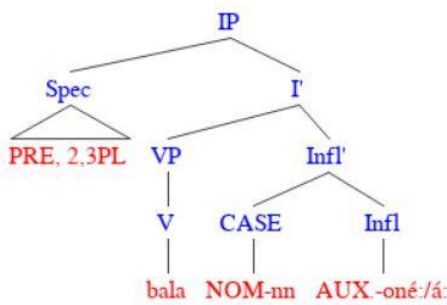
Infl – Inflection



a- *Balanna*
Look



b- *Balannako*
Look, please / Please, look



c- *balannone/a*
look, should (2,3, SG,PL)
(He, she, it, they) Should look

d- Balawannemanedda?
Wouldn't (2,3 SG/PL) ever
make/ask someone to look (at
something)? Will you ask/ make
someone (2,3 SG/PL) (to) look (at
something) or not?

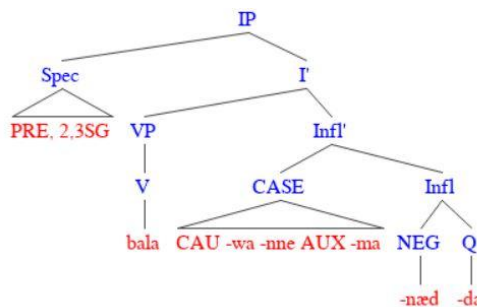


Fig. 1. Parse Trees for Sinhala Imperatives

More extensive examples in Table 1 show how imperatives in Sinhala are constructed to form complex meaningful units. Each word carries a root, case inflectional suffix, time modifier, gender marker and other grammatical indicators such as grammatical person markers (1st, 2nd or 3rd), auxiliary indicators and negation markers. These single agglutinative words form context-based utterances used with or without a noun phrase (NP). Thus, these constructions can stand alone as grammatical sentences that carry full meaning. The linguistic thought, or the consciousness of the speakers, would reflect morphological and syntactic agreements of these one-word constructions as abstract pragmatic syntactic structures.

Examples of Sinhala Imperatives

- balannə** (Please) look (2,3 SG/PL)
Balannako Please look (2,3 SG/PL)
Balawannə (Please) Make someone (2,3 SG/PL) look (at something); (Please) Ask someone (2,3 SG/PL) look (at something)
Balawannako Please, Make someone (2,3 SG/PL) look (at something); Please, Ask someone (2,3 SG/PL) look (at something)
Balawapan Make/ ask someone (2,3 SG/ PL) look (at something) – *derogatory form*
Balanawada? Could you (please) look (at something); Could you look (*derogatory form*)
Balawanawada? Could you (please) make/ask someone (2,3 SG/ PL) look (at something)
Balannedda? Wouldn't you look (2, SG/PL)
Balawannedda? Wouldn't you (2, SG/PL) make someone look (at something)
Baeluwada? Did you look?
Baelewwada? Did you make someone look (at something)?
Bala:palla: You all look (at something) (informal setting)
Balawapalla You all make someone (2,3 SG/PL) look (at something)?
Balapallako Could You all please look (at something) (informal setting)
Balawapallako Could you all please make someone (2,3 SG PL) look (at something)?
Balannoné:/á You should/must look (at something)
Balawannoné:/á You should/ must make someone (2,3, SG/PL) look (at something)
Balannamaone You must (with no exceptions) look (at something)
Balawannamaone You must (with no exceptions) make someone (2,3 SG/PL) look at something
Balnnemanedda? Wouldn't (2,3 SG/PL) ever look (at something)?; Will you ask (2,3 SG/PL) (to) look (at something) or not?
Balawannemanedda? Wouldn't (2,3 SG/PL) ever make/ask someone to look (at something)? Will you ask/ make someone (2,3 SG/PL) (to) look (at something) or not?

These constructions demonstrate a pattern of agglutinating, not recursion. The constituents (e.g., V, Infl) and categories (e.g., Case, IP) require syntactic processing for conjoining them and assuring agreement. Further, there is no evidence of which we are aware that would attribute these constructions to non-human species. Therefore, because these constructions are syntactic, do not involve recursion, and are uniquely human, they should be included in the FLN. Thus we would suggest that the suggestion in Hauser et al. (2002) that the FLN is limited to recursion is too restricted and does not acknowledge the significance of constructions in some languages that do not involve recursion.

4. Conclusions

The potential impact of Hauser, Chomsky, and Fitch (2002) on linguistic theory provides a strong incentive to reflect on the question of what linguistic representations and operations define the human language faculty. Hauser et al. are primarily interested

in separating communicative functions that humans share with other species from those that are exclusively human. That may be one reason why they limit themselves to a single process, specifically, recursion, as constituting the FLN. However, we argue here that limiting the human language faculty to recursion is too conservative. The position espoused in Hauser et al. seems to be strongly conditioned (and misleading) by the isolating and analytic properties of English syntax. The English language does not employ extensive systems of morphological inflections and builds sentences word-by-word and phrase-by-phrase, for the most part. This character of English may prompt linguists to downplay the nature of agglutinative languages, like Turkish, and fusional languages, like Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, etc. As we suggest here in our examples, the analytic and synthetic properties do not simply characterize Germanic languages but are also part of Aryan languages.

One interpretation of the suggestion in Hauser et al. (2002) that recursion “is the only uniquely human component of the faculty of language” (p. 1569) is as a variation of the Merge function in Chomsky’s (1993) Minimalist program. Merge takes two syntactic units and conjoins them to form a new syntactic unit. In this sense, Merge might be viewed as having the embedding property attributed to recursion. Further, one could attribute the operation of feature checking (Adger, 2003) to the Merge function, which guarantees grammatical constructions, for instance, conjoining morphological features of gender across the constructed sentence. However, feature checking is clearly different from recursive embedding, which is precisely one of the points we are making in this paper. That is, feature checking is separate from the process of conjoining or agglutinating constituents. In the examples we provided here, the conjunction of morphemes does not involve recursion, but is clearly a significant component of syntactic construction.

As a final comment, Hauser et al. (2002) describe their interest as being about the computations underlying language processing, and not about the nature of language as a communicative system. By distancing themselves from the latter, they are implicitly reminding the reader of the unresolved conflicts between essentialist theorists and others, notably cognitive linguists and emergentists, that is, those theorists who assert that the “the forms of natural languages are created, governed, constrained, acquired and used in the service of communicative functions” (Bates & MacWhinney, 1982; MacWhinney & O’Grady, 2015). According to these theories, a flawed assumption in Hauser et al. is the encapsulation and separation of the FLN from the FLB, that is from semantics and other essential processes in language production and comprehension involving perspective-taking and topic-comment, among others.

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DEEP LEARNING AND COMPETITION IN PSYCHOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH

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Abstract. MacWhinney, Bates, and colleagues developed the Competition Model in the 1980s as an alternate to Chomskyan models that encapsulate syntax as a special-purpose module. The Competition Model adopted the functional perspective that language serves communicative goals and functions. In contrast to the premise that knowledge of language is innate, the Competition model asserts that language is learned and processed through general cognitive mechanisms that identify and weight phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic cues in the language experiences of the learner. These weighted cues guide the language user in the comprehension and production of language forms. The present article provides background on the Competition Model, describes machine simulations of linguistic competition, and extends the principles of the Competition Model to new machine models and applications through deep learning networks.

Keywords: *deep learning, Competition Model, cues, machine learning*

Тарабань Роман, Маршал Філіп Х. Поглиблене навчання та конкуренція в психолінгвістичних дослідженнях.

Анотація. Б. МакВінні, Е. Бейтс разом із колегами розробили модель конкуренції в 1980-х роках як альтернативу моделям Н. Чамського, які містять синтаксис як спеціальний модуль. Модель конкуренції започаткувала функціональну перспективу, відповідно до якої мова слугує комунікативній меті та функціям. На відміну від положення про те, що знання мови – вроджене, модель конкуренції постулює, що мова вивчається й обробляється за допомогою загальних когнітивних механізмів, які ідентифікують та «взважають» фонологічні, морфологічні, синтаксичні та семантичні сигнали в мовному досвіді суб'єкта навчання. Ці сигнали скеровують користувача мови до розуміння та породження мовних форм. Цю статтю присвячено опису основ моделі конкуренції, машинного моделювання мовної конкуренції. Автори спробували поширити принципи конкурентної моделі на нові машинні моделі та додатки за допомогою мереж поглибленого навчання.

Ключові слова: *поглиблене навчання, модель конкуренції, сигнали, машинне навчання*

1. Introduction

While I (RT) was on sabbatical leave in Ukraine in spring 2017 and using Google Translate on the internet, I was struck by how well it seemed to translate from English to Ukrainian. Checking into this a bit further, I found similar impressions from others who commented on the noticeable improvement. From the New York Times Magazine:

Late one Friday night in early November, Jun Rekimoto, a distinguished professor of human-computer interaction at the University of Tokyo, was online preparing

*for a lecture when he began to notice some peculiar posts rolling in on social media. Apparently Google Translate, the company's popular machine-translation service, had suddenly and almost immeasurably improved. Rekimoto visited Translate himself and began to experiment with it. He was astonished.*¹

Google first launched a translation utility in 2006. As it turns out, they changed the processing paradigm from one in which the machine tried to match phrases from one language to another, to a system that used deep learning networks. This change took place quietly and incrementally beginning in September 2016, and it was not long before users began noticing a definite difference. Statistics showed a leap in accuracy, with errors in Google translation declining 58 %-87%² with the new system, depending on the specific language being translated. The goal, of course, is for 100% accuracy, and with deep learning networks, Google may very well approach that goal soon across a broad range of languages.

The new machine power to translate exponentially more effectively was attributed largely to deep learning networks, so I was determined to learn more about how deep learning networks worked. Expert language translation, whether carried out by humans or machines, requires native-like knowledge of both languages in order to capture a textbook level of accuracy regarding factors like case, gender, and number formation, involving morphology, inflections, and vowel changes, but also a level of colloquial knowledge that allows a person to sound as natural as a native speaker. Therefore, deep learning networks provide a valuable opportunity to look into the workings of these machines, to ask how they have achieved this lion's leap in language processing and, further, whether the operations of these artificial systems at all resemble theories of how humans process language.

2. Methods

In the remainder of this paper, we provide a brief overview of the nature of deep-learning networks. This includes a description of the networks' composition and operation. Using this background knowledge we describe how deep learning networks actually reflect well-established, but still quite controversial, theories of how natural language is acquired and processed in humans. Finally, deep learning networks have created new opportunities for advancing linguistic and psycholinguistic theories, as well as unanticipated opportunities for applied linguistic research, which we consider.

3. The Study

3.1. Deep Learning Networks

A key process in theories across diverse domains is computational modeling. Computational models are mathematical models that account for the behavior of complex systems through simulations on a computer – e.g., weather forecasting.³ In

¹ https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/14/magazine/the-great-ai-awakening.html?_r=0

² <http://www.sciencemag.org/news/2016/09/google-s-new-translation-software-powered-brain-like-artificial-intelligence>

³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Computational_model

academic disciplines, like cognitive psychology, artificial intelligence (AI), and linguistics, computation refers to structured approaches to representing and solving problems and, in some applications, testing theories of thinking. At a general level, we can think of computation as a set of rules or algorithms governing the mapping between inputs, intermediate states, and outputs. This includes a range of applications, from paper-and-pencil depictions of syntactic transformations to simulations of language acquisition in a machine.

A governing element in computational models involving intelligent behavior, like language acquisition and use, is knowledge representation. The typical modeling approach in the cognitive sciences and artificial intelligence research up to the 1980s was some form of rule-based representation, one example being production rules, which are IF (condition) THEN (action) rules for considering the current situation (condition) and taking some action based on current conditions. Production rules have been used to model reading and comprehending text, as one example (e.g., Just & Carpenter, 1980). A major shortcoming of production rules, and other rule-based models, was that the rules had to be hand coded. The models did not have a capacity for learning and self-modification.

The situation changed dramatically in the 1980s when researchers introduced neural models as a theoretical alternative to rule-based models. Neural models were referred to variously as connectionist models, parallel-distributed processing models, and neural networks (McClelland & Rumelhart, 1986). Neural networks were considered brain-style models because they imitated properties of processing in the human brain, including the interconnection of a massive number of simple neuron-like processors, parallel processing across these processing units, and processes of activation and inhibition. Importantly, neural networks incorporated simple, but powerful, learning rules. They were able to learn on their own. When exposed to a sample of input materials, these networks extracted and applied the regular patterns in the input in ways comparable to human learning and processing.

Neural network research lulled in the late 1990s, due to slow computer processor speed and limited memory capacity. Recent technical breakthroughs allowed processing speeds to increase exponentially, and large-scale distributed memory storage increased the memory capacity of machine systems. Neural networks provided the foundation for present-day deep learning networks. The technical breakthroughs, as well as a near-obsession worldwide with deep learning, has revitalized neural network models and artificial intelligence research. Indeed, the machine achievements are so compelling that well-known figures from Elon Musk¹ to Steven Hawking² have speculated on the potential collapse of civilization due to AI.

So what are deep learning networks? Deep learning networks are an extension of neural networks and represent a class of computational models, which includes Recurrent Neural Networks, Convolution Neural Networks, Artificial Neural Networks, and Neural Machine Translation, among others.³ Deep learning networks apply machine learning approaches, typically implementing Bayesian-based learning

¹ <https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/04/elon-musk-says-global-race-for-ai-will-be-most-likely-cause-of-ww3.html>

² <http://www.bbc.com/news/technology-30290540>

³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Artificial_neural_network

algorithms. A deep learning network consists of input and output units and several layers of internal processing units. Input is passed through the system to an output layer, and the system strengthens the influence of some inputs and minimizes the influence of others, in order to achieve the best match between inputs and desired outputs. Deep learning networks are used quite extensively for a wide variety of applied problems, like vision based classification (e.g. distinguishing different breeds of dogs), marketing analysis, and social trends. These networks are also used for natural language processing.

How do deep learning networks inform theories of human processing of language, and how do deep learning networks relate to linguistic and psycholinguistic theories? According to Noam Chomsky, perhaps the most influential language theorist of the 20th century, neural networks are not very good models of human language processing.¹ For Chomsky, deep learning networks have applied value, but do not contribute to our understanding of the nature of language representation and processing in humans. The advent of the technology that has propelled Google Translate to significantly lower translation errors allows for fast search of massive databases of information and returns plausible outputs. However, for Chomsky this is inadequate. It may allow one to predict the most likely translation for a sentence from one language to another, but it does not reveal anything fundamental about the nature of language, or its essence. Chomsky acknowledges that deep learning networks may have practical value, but because they do not add to our understanding of language and the fundamental computations carried out in language processing, they do not represent good basic science. Gary Marcus made similar points and extended the case against statistical learning like that implemented by deep learning networks.² Intelligent machines, Marcus notes, need to be able to compute causal relationships, make logical inferences, and extract and integrate abstract knowledge about objects. These are things, Marcus asserts, deep learning networks cannot do.

3.2. The Competition Model

One goal that is achieved by deep learning networks, as well as other machine-based tools for language analysis, is discovering the statistical regularities in the input data. Deep learning networks have been successful at language translation because they choose the most probable pattern-match from one language to another. Basically, these networks tease apart signal from noise. Can this property of deep learning networks be aligned with the search for the intrinsic properties of language structure and processing? A psycholinguistic theory called the Competition Model developed by MacWhinney and colleagues (Bates & MacWhinney, 1989; MacWhinney, 1987; 2001), and further expanded in the Unified Competition Model (Li & MacWhinney, 2013; MacWhinney, 2008; 2012), suggests that this is possible. “The Competition Model is a framework for the crosslinguistic study of language use. It is designed to capture facts about the comprehension, production, and acquisition of language by real human beings, across a variety of qualitatively and quantitatively distinct language types” (Bates & MacWhinney, 1989:3). The Competition Model applies to first (L1) and second (L2) language learning (MacWhinney, 2012), and the model also accounts for language disorders (Presson & MacWhinney, 2011).

¹ <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2012/11/noam-chomsky-on-where-artificial-intelligence-went-wrong/261637/>

² <http://bmia.bmt.tue.nl/people/BRomany/Courses/BMIE-DeepLearning2017/Wikipedia-DeepLearning2017.pdf>

The Competition Model is rooted in the premise that “the forms of natural languages are created, governed, constrained, acquired and used in the service of communicative functions” (Bates & MacWhinney, 1982). The model provides significant resources to language processing through its interactive nature. Specifically, different linguistic data types (phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic) are brought to bear immediately and in parallel in the ongoing activation and selection of linguistic operators in language production and comprehension. The interactive, parallel-processing, and integrative characteristics of the Competition Model are in sharp contrast to models in generative linguistics. Hauser, Chomsky, and Fitch (2002), for example, make a distinction between the faculty-of-language in the narrow sense (FLN) and a faculty-of-language in the broad sense (FLB). The FLN is a narrow syntactic computational system that generates internal representations and maps these to the FLB, which maps formal semantic specifications of the FLN to conventional symbolic and conceptual representations. The Competition Model rejects this type of modular approach to performance and the related encapsulation of function as characteristic of the language processing mechanism. Instead, the model postulates that the functions of the FLN and FLB function in parallel and interactively.

In sum, the Competition Model approaches the different aspects of language, including syntax, phonology, semantics, and pragmatics as being interconnected and interactive. Mechanistically, the Competition Model works within a probabilistic framework, wherein the operative elements are weighted cues representing elements of an utterance. Cue strength is determined by the empirical properties of the language instances in the learner’s experience. The Model has been validated in English and cross-linguistically in studies on Hungarian, German, Russian, Hebrew, and French, among others (e.g., Devescovi, D’Amico, Smith, Mimica, & Bates, 1998; MacWhinney, 2001; MacWhinney, Bates, & Kliegl, 1984; MacWhinney, Leinbach, Taraban, & McDonald, 1989; Sokolov, 1988).

3.3. Deep Learning and Competition

A fundamental property of deep learning parallels a central principle of the Competition Model, which is computing the probabilistic weighting of cues in the input according to the predictive strength (reliability) of the cues. The basic equation for estimating cue strength in the Competition Model is the conditional probability:

$$P(X | y) = P(X \cap y) / P(y)$$

where X is a linguistic category or operation, given some cue y . An example from German is $P(\text{Subject} | \textit{der}) = P(\text{Subject} \cap \textit{der}) / P(\textit{der})$, in other words, the probability that a noun phrase (NP) is the sentence Subject is estimated by the probability that Subject and *der* occur together divided by the probability of the occurrence of the definite article *der*. Alternatively, one could express this relationship in terms of the frequency with which the two variables occur in the experience of the learner, i.e., the frequency with which Subject and *der* occur together divided by the frequency of the definite article *der*. The parallel processing of these cues during language use allows the language system to achieve fast and accurate comprehension and production of linguistic forms.

Cue weights dynamically change as language skill develops in an individual learner, and cue weights vary depending on whether the language is L1 or L2. Further, cue-based processing describes the nature of language learning and processing across different languages. As stated by Bates and MacWhinney (1989:12), “We describe linguistic representations in terms of a complex set of weighted form–function mappings, a dynamic knowledge base that is constantly subject to change. The emphasis in the Competition Model on probabilistic rules does not mean that we ignore the powerful laws that separate one language from another.” The predictive validity of this principle was demonstrated in the applied developmental research of MacWhinney and Bates, and colleagues, well before neural networks and deep learning were developed. It has been substantiated through a number of empirical tests and computer simulations in a number of languages, including German (MacWhinney et al., 1989; Taraban, McDonald, & MacWhinney, 1989), French (Taraban & Roark, 1996), Russian (Taraban & Kempe, 1999), and artificial languages (Taraban, 2004).

3.4. Deep Learning and Discourse

The psycholinguistic principle of competition involves the discovery by the language learner of the probabilistic weighting of a range of phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic markers in a language. This competition and probabilistic perspective provides an alternative to traditional Chomskyan approaches that encapsulate syntax and separate it from meaning and function. Bates and MacWhinney (1989:5) regard this as a limitation: “Chomsky (1975) argues for a kind of autonomy of syntax that would cut it off from the pressures of communicative functions. In the Chomskyan vision, language is pure and autonomous, unconstrained and unshaped by purpose or function.” Research has shown that competition and deep learning networks provide a plausible account of learning and processing at the sentence level. Language use, however, goes beyond the level of individual utterances, and occurs in the context of a larger discourse (Langacker, 1989).

Deep learning networks provide a means for the development of the Competition Model beyond the sentence, at the level of discourse. Discourse applies to spoken and written communications. Individuals and groups have linguistic registers. These consist of the specific vocabulary and ways of communicating that characterize individual thinking, as well as the shared conversations and practices of a group (Taraban, 2017). Linguistic registers allow individuals to activate specific mindsets and engage in shared behaviors with others of similar mind. Discourse analysis allows for a discovery of those mindsets through the application of deep learning, Bayesian algorithms, and other analytic methods capable of extracting the patterns of communication in a corpus of written or spoken samples.

3.5. Deep Learning in the Classroom

Returning from my sabbatical leave in Ukraine, I (RT) was energized by the technological breakthroughs in psycholinguistics taking place through machine models and applications. I decided to restructure my graduate seminar in

psycholinguistics to incorporate many of the freely available machine applications. My goals were threefold: 1) to use machine applications as a means of introducing students to the perspective embodied in the Competition Model of language arising from the acquisition of probabilistic cues for the comprehension and production of linguistic forms; 2) to provide a clear contrast to more traditional Chomskyan grammars that encapsulate syntax from the use of language to communicate meaning; and 3) to provide students with hands-on experiences using machine-based language resources. As the fall semester comes to an end, my students are building chatbots for their final class presentations. Chatbots are computer programs that interact with a human user via a computer or some other device. Chatbots can be designed to carry on conversations on particular topics or to complete routine tasks, like registering a person for an event, taking a sandwich order, or advising on the best statistical method to apply to a set of data. Earlier in the semester, students completed assignments using IBM Watson Natural Language Classifier,¹ Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC),² Latent Semantic Analysis (LSA),³ and Coh-Metrix.⁴ All of these computer applications are based on the probabilistic nature of language. In these programs, in deep learning applications, and in the Competition Model, “probabilistic” does not mean “by chance.” Rather, these applications identify the most regular patterns – i.e., the high probability patterns – in the input. This allows these applications to analyze ordinary texts for meaning and coherence and to output assessments of analytic thinking, self-confidence, emotionality, rhetorical themes, and coherence of the composition, among others.

4. Conclusion

In this paper we have tried to communicate a sense of the excitement surrounding new possibilities associated with deep learning. Although the media tends to focus on end-of-the-world scenarios associated with this technology, there are more-immediate possibilities for expanding a class of psycholinguistic theories that take a probabilistic cue-based approach to language learning and processing. It is high time to go beyond an analysis of sentences to incorporate discourse analyses as well. Deep learning networks afford the resources to explore ways of integrating language comprehension starting with the morphological constituents at the sentence level up to individual and group registers at the discourse level. Students need to be exposed to these ideas and related tools in order to prepare them for the next wave of psycholinguistic research and instruction (MacWhinney, 2015).

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¹ <https://www.ibm.com/watson/services/natural-language-classifier/>

² <https://liwc.wpengine.com/>

³ <http://lsa.colorado.edu/>

⁴ <http://cohmetrix.com/>

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MATERNITY AND TIME: THE PERCEPTION OF TIME FROM MOTHERS DURING THE FIRST YEAR AFTER BIRTH ACCORDING TO TITLES IN BULGARIAN INTERNET DISCUSSION FORUM

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Abstract. The aim of the paper is to present the perception of time of the women who have babies less than 12 months old through observation on some titles of so-called annual topics in the largest Bulgarian forum platform – bg-mamma. Using qualitative and quantitative methods, the study includes the investigation of time indicators preferred by the forum users in the excerpted 50 threads. Attention is drawn to the presence of subjective/objective time markers as well as of linear/cyclic ones. Furthermore, excerpted words and phrases indicating time have been studied having in mind that time is often metaphorically represented. The investigation also reveals the most important events in the mother's life as expressed by the titles of the topics. It seems to the researcher that in the first year of maternity women perceive the time in a very specific way – they put the baby growth as a measure and the objective time marks only disclose the changing baby world. It is also interesting that some traditional holidays become very important as well as the rituals connected to them.

Keywords: *time, maternity, perception, metaphor, space, computer-mediated communication, linear time*

Тодорова Біяна. Материнство і час: сприйняття часу матерями під час першого року після народження відповідно до назв на болгарському інтернет-форумі.

Анотація. Мета статті – представити сприйняття категорії часу жінками, які мають немовлят менше року, за допомогою досліджень назв так званих «Щорічних тем» на найбільшій платформі болгарських форумів – bg-mamma. На основі якісного та кількісного аналізу дослідження охопило 50 індикаторів часу, яким віддають перевагу користувачі зазначених форумів. Автор звертає увагу на наявність об'єктивних та суб'єктивних часових маркерів, а також таких, які представляють час лінійно або циклічно. Ідеться також про вибір мовних одиниць, що є маркерами часу, зважаючи на те, що часто час представлено метафорично. На основі дослідженого матеріалу простежено найважливіші події в житті матері за назвами тем. Результати засвідчили, що протягом першого року материнства жінки сприймають час дуже специфічно – як етапи росту їхньої дитини. Об'єктивні маркери часу розкривають світ дитини, яка розвивається. Цікавим видається також сприйняття традиційних свят та ритуалів, що набувають у зв'язку з цим особливого значення.

Ключові слова: *час, материнство, сприйняття, простір, комунікація за посередництвом комп'ютера, лінійний час*

1. Introduction

“What then is time? If no one asks me, I know what it is. If I wish to explain it to him who asks, I do not know.” These famous Saint Augustine's words have been cited many times from various people, and they reveal the complexity of the notion in question (Savova, 2007:6; Berestnev, 2011:45; Vukanović, Grmuša, 2009:1, etc.).

It is well known that time is a basic category of our culture. I will not pay attention to the various theories about the nature of time, as they are numerous, and demonstrate its importance to humans, their world, and life. Time is a topic of interest for humanists and natural scientists.

The linguistic expression of time verbalizes the people's idea of it. From an anthropological point of view, we could speak of *cyclic and linear time*, and this is a kind of primary division. They represent two contrasting logics regarding the understanding the time (Hassard, 1989). Linear time is usually conceived as an even unidirectional and measurable flow of empty “moments” (Mathisen, 2012:95). The repetition of events is at the base of the cycle time reception.

However, they both have something in common as traditional time cyclicity is a result only of the repeatability of the seasons. Oesterdiekhoff mentions that “It is only under certain aspects right to say that the modern time is linear, whereas the traditional time is cyclical.” (Oesterdiekhoff, 2009:159) Even in the cyclic time perception, the human has the idea of before and after.

In fact, there is an essential distinction between them: „While linear time points to the future, traditional cyclic time was mainly oriented towards past events and their reoccurrences“ (Mathisen, 2012:96). So cyclic time is crucial even today – every celebration, every anniversary is based on the idea of cyclicity. Nonetheless, the notion of linear time as moving forward is fundamental to our culture. In such a point of view, the process is irreversible.

Another important dichotomy is *objective time – subjective time*. As Elias (1986, in Cini, 2014:3) said:

Time is not the reproduction of an objectively existing flux, nor a form of common experience of all men, antecedent to any other experience. . . The word “time” is, so to say, the symbol of a relationship created by a group of human beings, endowed with a given biological capacity of remembering and synthetizing, between two or more series of happenings, one of which is standardized as a frame of reference or a unit of measure of the other one.

The linear and the cyclic time have something in common – they are social, and therefore external; and the same time they are out of humans as subjects, although everyone takes time through their own perspective. “The life of the individual is regulated by their personal social time whose events correspond to the significant events in their life (marriage, injury, childbirth, etc.) (Savova, 2007:25).

As one may see, the variety of meanings of the notion *time* are connected to different situations. Every linguistic use is related to special events - the perception of time is closely related to the situation as well as to the speaker's point of view; and „each person must reconcile objective time, cultural time, and personal time to function in the society.“ (Doble, 2014:10)

Therefore, every human being is concerned by all these time(lines/cycles): our personal events are correlated in time with the objective time markers like important events, holidays, parts of the day (of the year), dates, etc. (*My brother was born two days before Christmas, She came in summer*, etc.)

One of the most important events in one’s personal life is childbirth. Although it happens once or twice in the lifetime now (or because of that) it changes the

family world. It is clear that during the pregnancy and the first year after childbirth the woman's daily routine changes dramatically. The hypothesis is that the change in the lifestyle influences new mothers' perception of time.

2. Methods

As I was interested in the perception of time of women who have babies less than 12 months old, I collected, and I observed the titles of some so-called "annual topics" in the largest Bulgarian forum platform - *bg-mamma*. These *topics* form communities of mothers who have had children born in the same month of the same year. Every *topic* is a thread of 50 pages. When it is over, a new one is started. Each topic has its own title (usually rhymed) which points out the critical moments of the life of the community.

The investigation aims to study the expressions of time in some titles to reveal the concept of time in the mother's language. For that reason, qualitative and quantitative research methods are combined. The specific objectives include the titles' excerption as well as the expression's division by some distinctive features.

Some author's observations on the topic have already been published (Todorova, 2014a, Todorova, 2014b). In this particular study the research is deepened, and also some statistical data are included. The use of quantitative data helps researchers discover the correct interpretation and leads to reasonable conclusions.

3. The study

The excerpted titles for the study are taken from three annual *bg-mamma* topics, written by mothers whose babies were born in February, July and October 2011. They have finished 50 (28, 9 and 13) threads of 50 pages per year. As one may see, the activity in them is not equal - it depends on communities, on the topics and the alternatives (Facebook, Skype, etc.)

The names of titles in question reveal the particular sets of values, practices, and beliefs, held by mothers who are writing in the so-called *annual topics*. As already mentioned, the baby's age plays the organizing role in them. Every title indicates the month of baby's birth. The special noun with diminutive suffix *-че* (*-če*) is used to nominate the baby who was born in the month in question: *майче* (*'majče* – baby born in May), *юнче* (*'junče* – baby born in June), *юлче* (*'julče* – baby born in July), *октомвријче* (*'oktomvrijče* – baby born in October), etc. The use of these special nominations in the titles is user-friendly because people can easily understand which topic to join. The titles are usually structured as compound sentences or complex ones. They are often formed by rhymed and rhythmical phrases (clauses). Users choose the title by voting.

4. Results and Discussion

The excerpted titles have the following features:

- When the objective time marker is mentioned in the title, it usually denotes a part of the traditional holiday cycle (a.) or represents the season's change (b.). 27 out of all 50 titles, or 54% of them include such a time marker (season's name, month's name; holiday's name, etc.):

(a). **Коледата** приближава, а **ФЕВРУАРЧЕ** все по-палаво става! ('**Christmas** is coming, **February baby** gets even naughtier!'); **Октомврийчетата** сладки чакат **коледните** изненадки! ('The sweet **October babies** are waiting for the **Christmas** surprises!'); **Коледата** на вратата чука, **октоврийче** сладко вкъщи гука! ('**Christmas** is knocking at the door; the **October baby** is cutely cooing at home!'); **Октомврийската** дружина посреица **Новата година** и мечтае за приятна **зима**! ('**October group** welcomed the **New Year**, and it is dreaming now for the nice **winter**!'); **В месеца на любовта**, **октомврийчето** с усмивки сладки пълни нашите сърца! ('In the **month of love** (i.e., **February**) the **October baby** fills our hearts with their sweet smiles!'); **За Великден** с червеното яйце, ще мацнем **октомрийското** чело! ('At **Easter** time we will daub the **October baby's** forehead with red egg!'), etc.

(b.). **Пролетта** е тука вече, за слънчеви разходки е готово **февруарското** човече! ('**Spring** is already here, the **February little child** is ready for walking in the sun!'); **Отминават пролетните** дъждове, **октомврийче** тръгва на море! ('The **spring** rainfalls are left behind, the **October baby** is going to the sea!'); **Лято** е и слънце грее, а **ФЕВРУАРЧЕТО** с глас се смее. ('It's **summer**, and the sun is shining, the **FEBRUARY BABY** is laughing loudly. '); **Лятото** е тука вече, **февруарчетата** разсъблече! ('**Summer** is already here, it undressed the **February babies**!'); **Есента** дойде и отминава, а **талиманчето** **Мартина** на годинка става! ('**Autumn** has come and goes, the mascot **Martina** makes a year!'); С топло яке и обувки, **ФЕВРУАРСКИТЕ** деца ще преборят **есента**! ('In a warm coat and boots **FEBRUARY KIDS** will get the better of the **autumn**!'); **Зима** иде, вятър вее-вкъщи **ОКТОМВРИЙЧЕ** гука и се смее! ('**Winter** is coming, the wind is blowing; the **OCTOBER baby** is cooing and laughing at home!'). **Октомврийските** слънца очакват с нетърпение **пролетта**! ('The **October suns** are looking forward to the **spring**!'); **Август** месец тече ли тече, а **октоврийче** мечтае за синьо море. ('In peak **August** time the **October baby** is dreaming of the blue sea. '); **Последен месец** с "р" **отмина**, **лято** чака **октоврийската** дружина! ('**Last month with 'r'** is gone, the **October group** is waiting for **the summer**!'), etc.

- In some cases (in 5 titles, or 10 %) the season or the period is not verbalized. They become evident because of their attributes or typical features.

Ябълки и круши сладък сок наляха, **ЮЛЧЕТАТА** още на млекце стояха! ('**Apples and pears** are ripe with sweet juices, the **JULY BABIES** were still milk drinking!'); **Октомврийското** дете на морето дупе ще пече! ('The **October child** will sunbathe their bottom on the beach!'); **Октомврийските** пъргави деца **събират** кестени и шарени листа. ('The **October lively children** collect chestnuts and patterned leaves. '); **На море или балкан**, **февруарчетата** на почивка ще се юрнат знам! ('**February babies** will go on vacation to the sea or to the mountains, this I know!'); **Дядо Коледа** пристига с шейната, за **ЮЛЧЕТО** подаръци ще има **под елхата**! ('**Santa Claus** comes on the sled; there are presents under the **Christmas tree** for the **JULY BABY**!').

- As previously mentioned, titles usually are compound or complex sentences. They often contain two parallel phrases or clauses (32 out of 50 titles, or 64%). The first refers to the objective events as a situational framework presenting the baby's life:

Отминават пролетните дъждове, октомврийче тръгва на море! ('The spring rainfalls are left behind, the October baby is going to the sea!'); *Пролетта е тука вече, за слънчеви разходки е готово февруарското човече!* ('Spring is already here, the February little child is ready for walking in the sun!'); *Лято е и слънце грее, а ФЕВРУАРЧЕТО с глас се смее.* ('It's summer and the sun is shining, the FEBRUARY BABY is laughing loudly. '); *Лятото е тука вече, февруарчетата разсъблече!* ('Summer is already here, it undressed the February babies!'); *Есента дойде и отминава, а талисманчето мартина на годинка става!* ('Autumn has come and goes, and the mascot Martina makes a year!'); *Коледата приближава, а ФЕВРУАРЧЕ все по-палаво става!* ('Christmas is coming, and February baby gets even naughtier!'), etc.

In such titles there is no confrontation between external and internal time, they are interdependent and in correlation. The objective time is expressed by PP (preposition and noun) or by NP, which may function as an adjunct as well as a subject or as an object of the clause.

- Admittedly, in some of the titles the phrases expressing external reality and the phrases describing the baby's life may be assumed as contradicted:

Ябълки и круши сладък сок наляха, ЮЛЧЕТАТА още на млекце стояха! ('Apples and pears are ripe with sweet juices, (but) the JULY BABIES were still drinking milk.').

- The contradiction may be spatial, because of the dichotomy *in-out*:

Зима иде, вятър вее – вкъщи ОКТОМВРИЙЧЕ гука и се смее! ('Winter is coming, the wind is blowing; the OCTOBER BABY is cooing and laughing at home!'); *Коледата на вратата чука, октомврийче сладко вкъщи гука!* ('Christmas is knocking at the door; the October baby is cutely cooing at home!').

- Occasionally, the external and the internal events are interdependent and expressed by causal relations:

Дядо Коледа пристига с шейната, за ЮЛЧЕТО подаръци ще има под елхата! ('Santa Claus arrives on the sled, there are presents under the Christmas tree for the JULY BABY!'); *Пролетта е тука вече, за слънчеви разходки е готово февруарското човече!* ('Spring is already here, the February little child is ready for sun walks!'); *Лятото е тука вече, февруарчетата разсъблече!* ('Summer is already here, it undressed the February babies!'), etc.

- Some of the time phrases in titles (8 out of 50 titles, or 16%) are expressed by spatial metaphors (Lakoff 1993: 387, Haspelmath 1997:145, etc.): *есента дойде и отминава* 'autumn has come and is passing by'; *зима иде* 'winter comes'; *отминават пролетните дъждове* 'the spring rainfalls are left behind', etc.

- The traditional holidays (Christmas, New Year, Baba Marta¹, etc.) are significant events in the investigated titles – in 10 out of 50 titles (20%) such a holiday is mentioned. Children love family holidays because of the rituals, gifts, etc.

Октомврийчетата сладки чакат коледните изненадки! ('The sweet October babies are waiting for the Christmas surprises!'); *Дядо Коледа пристига*

¹ *Baba Marta Day* is celebrated on the first of March. On this day people give each other martenitsa/ martenichka (diminutive) – a gift made of red- and white-colored threads.

с шейната, за ЮЛЧЕТО подаръци ще има **под елхата!** (*'Santa Claus comes on the sled; there are presents **under the Christmas tree** for the July baby!'*);

Коледата на вратата чука, октомврийче сладко вкъщи гука! (*'Christmas is knocking at the door; the October baby is cutely cooing at home!'*); **Мартенички** бели и червени връзваме на октомврийчетата засмени. (*'We tie **martenichki** white and red to the laughing October babies.'*); Октомврийската дружина посреща **Новата година** и мечтае за приятна зима! (*'October group welcomed the New Year and dreams for the nice winter!'*), etc.

The rituals have lost much of their symbolic value today, and they continue being in use because of the children. At the same time, as we may see, mothers play a key role in making these holidays a part of the family life – at such an age scarcely a child would show any preferences on which holiday to celebrate. The tendency of mothers preparing and adapting their lives to children's one has numerous manifestations: speech simplification (Eftimova, 2011:212), the use of rhymed structures, the interest in handcrafting, toy crafting, appliques, health food, cooking, etc. All these exhibits the social power of maternity as a process. It is a widespread opinion that motherhood is a lost time in a woman's professional life, a period of loss of creativity and imagination. I consider it quite oversimplified. It is hardly strange that women are very active Internet users. Even their online activity shows their social energy. They write; they make dolls or jewelry; they work from home; they have an active political or social position, etc. I think this phenomenon has to be studied in more detail.

Although titles usually refer to the traditional holidays/festivals or seasons/other parts of the natural cycle, the scheme presented by them is a linear one. Holidays or events are the objective basis showing the baby's growth.

- The linear time presentation may also be seen in 5 other titles (10%):

Преди година – две чертички, а днес – октомврийски блеснали очички! (*'A year ago we had two lines, today – the October baby's glowing eyes!'*); *Ето ЮЛСКАТА дружина стана на половин година. Искат вече да пълзят и самички да седят.* (*'The JULY group has become a half of year old. They want to crawl and sit by themselves.'*), etc.

• In some cases, the objective time indicator is missing (15 out of 50, or 30%). Only the achievements of the baby are presented or the “symptoms” of their growing:

Февруарско бебче към играчките посяга, иска вече то да сяда! (*'The February baby is reaching for the toys, they want to sit by themselves.'*); *ФЕВРУАРски дребосъци вече правят маймунджелъци!* (*'February little boys are already making trouble!'*); *ЮЛЧЕТО гука, усмивки раздава и с помощ от мама света опознава!* (*'The July baby is cooing, smiling and with mom's help they get to know the world!'*), etc.

The matter of what the baby can do at a given age is extremely important and is one of the main topics in the forum communication.

I may conclude that childbirth is a starting point of new mother chronology and this is especially valid for the first year after childbirth. At that time every baby's sound, smile, gesture looks like a great achievement. Therefore the pragmatic

choice of some linguistic features depends on the communicator's feelings and intentions (Stalker, 1989:182, Vicente, 2002, Jarbou, 2017:71, etc.)

- Only one title presents the mother's figure as an actor. It is an interesting fact that the preferred pronoun use is 3 p sing instead of 1 p sing, showing a kind of objectification of the mother's personality:

ЮЛЧЕТО гука, усмивки раздава и с помощ от мама света опознава! ('The July baby is cooing, smiling and with mom's help they get to know the world.')

Such a use is a part of the more general tendency of putting the baby at the center of the family world; the tendency of identification with the baby and of using the so-called baby talk. As a consequence, speech simplification strategies are used not only when mothers talk to their babies but also in other situations. It is, therefore, an overall attitude towards the baby expressed by language as well.

- Another title group presents *solidarity* – a feature, which is also very typical for maternity:

За Мими и малкия Мони отправяме молби милиони ('We say countless prayers for Mimi and the little Moni'); *Към Богородица отправяме молба за бързото оздравяване на Ванката на Амидала!* ('We pray to Virgin Mary for the speedy recovery of Amidala's son Vankata!'); *Да се помолим от сърце, Иван с мама у дома здрав да се прибере!* ('Let's pray from the heart for healthy Ivan and mamma's coming home!'); *Стига вече мъки и тегоби, стискаме палци за Мартина и Боби!* ('Enough of all those grieves and sorrows, let's keep our fingers crossed for Martina and Bobby!'); *Всички се молим от сърце сили на Надето и здраве на Борянка Бог да даде!* ('We are all praying from the heart that God give strength to Nadeto and health to Boryanka!'), etc.

The last group is formed by 8 out of 50 titles or 16 %. The objective time reference becomes clear from the verb tense as well as from the hypertext – the topic's interface contains the time and date information for each shared thread or opinion. As expected, Present¹ is the most frequent tense used in the title corpus.

5. Conclusions

The hypothesis that the lifestyle change caused by childbirth influences new mothers' perception of time is confirmed by the data. All excerpted items including objective time markers present the children's growth. More than half of the titles introduce words and phrases which denote seasons or traditional holidays. These expressions are linked with the cyclic time perspective. In other titles, the season or the period is not verbalized, although it is represented by its attributes or typical features. All these objective time markers and their attributes present events connected to babies and their life.

Most of the titles are compound or complex sentences which contain two parallel phrases or clauses. In some cases, the first phrase/clause refers to the objective events as a situational framework presenting the baby's life. Sometimes the related parts may be assumed as contradicting. The contradiction may be spatial

¹ In Bulgarian there is only one Present tense.

or presented by spatial metaphors. These uses confirm the assumption that time and space are closely related.

As it has been seen, the achievements of the baby are mentioned in a large number of titles. In some cases, the objective time marker is missing, and the kids' acquisitions indicate the linear time perspective.

There is a group of titles without time phrases. They present solidarity or serve as prayers. The tendency of presenting group solidarity during the maternity leave period has been investigated before (Todorova, 2010) and these observations just reaffirm it. However, even in such a situation, the objective time reference is not ambiguous because of the verb tense use and because of the hypertext.

The investigation may continue with expanding the source data. It is also interesting if the tendency remains the same in the next years of the child's life and what kind of changes of women's perception of time and life maternity causes. However, these are topics for further research.

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INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF PERSONAL VALUES: A MODERATED MEDIATION ANALYSIS BASED ON GENDER AND AGE

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Abstract. The present study describes ten personal values expressed by men and women from two countries, and it explores the relationships between two opposing values, Achievement and Benevolence, specifying Stimulation as a mediator between them. It is further explored whether such a mediation model could be further qualified by age and Gender as moderators. The 40-item Portraits Values Questionnaire (PVQ), measuring ten basic values, was administered to 1,000 young adults from two countries. Hierarchical regression methods were applied to examine mediation and moderation mechanisms. Minor gender and country differences emerged for some of the ten basic values. An indirect relationship among the three selected values was identified. Stimulation was found to operate as a mediator between achievement and benevolence. A conditional process model was established with Gender moderating the Achievement – Stimulation path (men had a steeper slope than women), whereas age moderated the Stimulation – Benevolence path (younger individuals had a steeper slope than older ones). Gender also moderated the Achievement – Benevolence path (men had a steeper slope than women). For men, the association between achievement and stimulation was stronger than for women. For the younger persons, the association between stimulation and benevolence was stronger than for older ones. For women, the level of benevolence was independent of their achievement level. The present analyses shed new light on indirect and differential associations among personal values, adding a novel perspective to research on cognitive mechanisms involved in the ten basic values' becoming.

Keywords: *values, achievement, benevolence, stimulation, gender, age, moderation, mediation.*

Романюк Людмила. Взаємозв'язки особистих цінностей: аналіз змодерованої медіації за гендерною та віковою ознаками.

Анотація. Дослідження описує десять особистих цінностей, виражених чоловіками та жінками з двох країн, а також взаємозв'язок між двома протилежними цінностями: досягненням і доброзичливістю, визначаючи стимуляцію як медіатора між ними. Автор з'ясовує, чи може така модель медіації ще більше кваліфікуватись за віком та гендером як модераторами. Для вимірювання десяти основних цінностей 1000 молодих людей із двох країн використано Опитувальник портретів цінностей із 40 пунктів (PVQ). Для перевірки механізмів медіації та модерації застосовано ієрархічні регресійні методи. Менші гендерні та національні відмінності виникли за деякими з десяти основних цінностей. Виявлено непрямий зв'язок між трьома вибраними цінностями. Установлено, що стимуляція діє як медіатор між досягненнями та доброзичливістю. Модель умовного процесу була встановлена з гендером, що моделювала зв'язки досягнення–стимуляція (чоловіки мали міцніші зв'язки, ніж жінки), тоді як вік модерував шлях стимуляції–доброзичливості (у молодших людей виявлено міцніший зв'язок, ніж у старших). Гендер також моделював зв'язок досягнення–доброзичливість (чоловіки мали міцніші зв'язки, ніж жінки). Для чоловіків зв'язок між досягненням та стимуляцією був більш значущий, ніж для жінок. Для

молодших людей зв'язок між стимуляцією та доброзичливістю був більш значущий, ніж для старших. Для жінок рівень доброзичливості виявився незалежним від рівня досягнень. Здійснений аналіз проливає нове світло на непрямі та диференційовані асоціації серед особистих цінностей, додаючи нову перспективу для дослідження когнітивних механізмів, задіяних у становленні десяти основних цінностей.

Ключові слова: цінності, досягнення, доброзичливість, стимуляція, гендер, вік, модерація, медіація.

1. Introduction

The usefulness of the personal values model by Schwartz (1992) has been confirmed by a large body of evidence. The theory distinguishes ten basic values grouped in four dimensions: self-direction, stimulation (Openness to Change), achievement, power, hedonism (Self-Enhancement), security, conformity (Conservation) and benevolence, universalism, tradition (Self-Transcendence). Schwartz's model has been examined in many samples from many cultures (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Sagiv, 2000) and convincing evidence has been provided on the distinctiveness of the ten value types and the relational structure among these value types. Moreover, Parks-Leduc, Feldman, and Bardi (2015) have conducted a meta-analysis of the relationships between personality traits and the ten values, and have documented relationships that are consistent and meaningful, but not large, showing that traits and values constitute distinct constructs.

Although the theory discriminates between ten values, it postulates that values form a continuum of related motivations at a more basic level. Power and achievement reflect motivations of social superiority and esteem; achievement and hedonism point to self-centered satisfaction; universalism and benevolence address the enhancement of others and transcendence of selfish interests; benevolence and tradition reflect the devotion to one's in-group; benevolence and conformity are related to normative behavior that promotes close relationships. This continuum gives rise to the circular structure shown in Figure 1. The closer any two values are in either direction around the circle, the more similar are their underlying motivations; the more distant any two values are positioned, the more antagonistic their motivations are supposed to be.

Values that appear next to each other on this circumplex model are more likely to be prioritized by a person to the same extent. Whereas neighboring values of the circumplex are compatible, values on opposite sides are usually not held strongly by the same person. When one value is temporarily engaged, opposing values on the circumplex are rather to be suppressed. When one value goes up, the other tends to go down. This has been documented experimentally. For instance, people who were asked to sort words pertaining to achievement values from other words, were less likely to devote their time to extend social support which is an action associated with benevolence values (Maio et al., 2009).

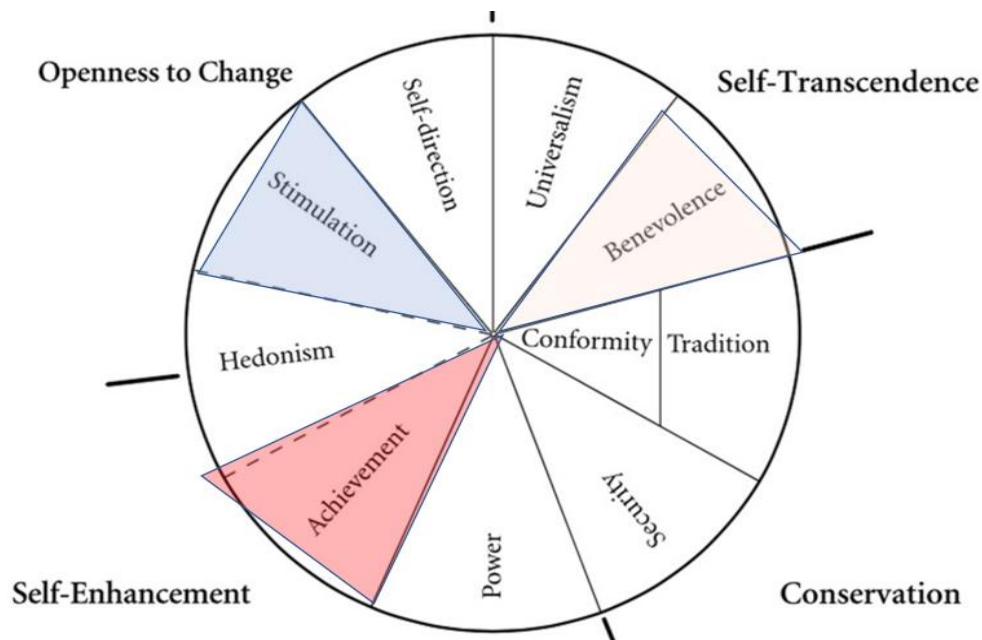


Fig. 1. Circumplex model of ten values (Schwartz, 1992), highlighting the three selected values for the present analysis: Achievement, Stimulation, Benevolence

Although there are many studies that examine direct linear relationships among the ten values and the overall structure of the model, there is not much evidence on more fine-grained indirect relationships that might also exist among those values. The present study, thus, looks at such indirect, differential, or conditional associations that might shed further light on the interrelationships. For this exercise, we have chosen two opposing values, namely achievement and benevolence, and one factor that lies in between them in the circumplex model, namely stimulation. The general assumption is that achievement and benevolence values are unrelated, and the question is whether one could establish more indirect or complex relations that are not visible at first glance. In the following, we give a brief description of the selected values.

1.1. Achievement

Achievement values reflect success through demonstrating personal competence as measured in terms of social yardsticks. Most individuals value being successful, capable, ambitious, and influential. Competent action generates the resources necessary for individuals to manage life and to obtain social approval, and for groups to reach their collective objectives. Achievement values emphasize the demonstration of capability in terms of current cultural demands and standards. Subjective importance of values can be a driver of behavior. Stronger achievement values are associated with work-related actions such as taking on too many commitments (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003). In this example, an achievement motive can obstruct achievement as an outcome.

1.2. Stimulation

Stimulation concerns excitement, novelty, and challenge, mainly derived from a need to attain an optimal, positive, rather than threatening level of activation and human functioning (Berlyne, 1960). It pertains to an exciting, varied life, and daring to explore one's environment. Stimulation can be a result of companionship or friendship. A friend has stimulation value if he or she is imaginative or interesting, or can introduce a person to new ideas or experiences. Values can be conflicting. Stimulation values tend to undermine tradition values, for instance, when people pursue novelty and change. Neighboring values are hedonism and self-direction.

1.3. Benevolence

Benevolence entails preserving and enhancing the welfare of people within one's close social network. Benevolence values derive from a basic need for affiliation (Korman, 1974; Maslow, 1965) and effective group functioning (Kluckhohn, 1951). These values include caring concern for others, and the promotion of supportive and collaborative social contacts. Benevolence values reflect a motivation for such affiliative social behaviors. Values can be temporarily 'engaged,' when activated by experiences resulting in corresponding behaviors and attitudes. When primed for benevolence values, for example, one is more likely to react favorably to requests for donations or social support (Burgoyne & Lea, 2006; Maio, Pakizeh et al., 2009; Vohs et al., 2006). Most critical are relations within primary groups such as the family. Benevolence values accentuate voluntary concern for the welfare of others. Individuals who advocate this, value being helpful, honest, forgiving, responsible, loyal, and they also value true friendship and mature love. They also value a sense of belonging, meaning in life, and a spiritual life. Pursuing achievement values typically conflicts with pursuing benevolence values. Seeking success for oneself tends to impede actions aimed at enhancing the welfare of others in need for help. There might be a trend towards more public attention to benevolence values, as more young people attending universities; the rising use of new technologies, and political discourse that embraces benevolence values, including peace, environmentalism, social justice, equality, and honesty (Wade et al., 2011).

1.4. Gender and Age Differences

When establishing oneself in the worlds of work and family, in early adulthood, demands for achievement are at stake. Challenges and opportunities arise. These life circumstances foster pursuit of achievement and stimulation values at the expense of security, conformity, and tradition values. In middle adulthood, people tend to preserve established family, work, and social relations. Such life circumstances put more emphasis on security, conformity, and tradition values and less on stimulation and achievement values. With retirement and widowhood, opportunities to express achievement and stimulation values decrease while security and tradition values become more essential.

Dissimilarities in men's and women's motives and orientations are likely to be reflected by different value priorities. Specifically, they lead to the hypotheses that men more than women attribute importance to power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction values. Women attribute more importance than men especially to benevolence values and to universalism, conformity, and security values.

Prince-Gibson and Schwartz (1998) have studied the role of age and gender in relation to the ten basic values. They examined this in a sample representative of the Israeli Jewish population above age 19 (480 men and 519 women) revealing no main effects of gender on the importance attributed to any of ten values. Failing to find gender differences, the authors examined conditional gender differences in value priorities, if the nature and extent of such differences would vary with the extent of variation in life circumstances (such as age, ethnicity, education, marital status, socioeconomic status) within and across both genders. Yet, there were no interactions with age, education, or ethnicity. It turned out that the values had quite similar meanings for both men and women. Age, education, or ethnicity exerted substantial main effects on value priorities but there were no interactions. Their analyses were constrained to interactions among the demographic variables, and they did not look at interactions between gender and age with value constructs. Thus, in the present study, we consider interactions between selected values and gender and age within a more complex conditional process analysis.

1.5. Aims of the Study

The present study aims at exploring the relationships between personal values of achievement, benevolence, and stimulation, where the latter is specified as a mediator between the others that are located on opposite sides of the circumplex model. The study, thus, looks at indirect mechanisms that might shed further light on the value interrelationships. As an example, we have examined two opposing values, namely achievement and benevolence, and one factor that lies in between them in the circumplex, namely stimulation. The general assumption is that achievement and benevolence are unrelated, and the question is whether one could establish a possible mechanism to relate them indirectly, taking also age and gender into account. Stimulation could serve as a mediator between achievement and benevolence, given its location in the circumplex. Moreover, the positive association between achievement and benevolence – as well as the association between achievement and stimulation – could be stronger for men than for women, because dissimilarities in men's and women's motives and orientations are likely to find expression as different value priorities. They lead to the hypotheses that men more than women attribute importance to power values in particular and also to achievement, hedonism, stimulation and self-direction values. Women attribute more importance than men especially to benevolence values and also to universalism, conformity, and security values. One could also expect a positive linear relation between stimulation and benevolence which might be stronger among more mature adults. The current approach is somewhat exploratory given the lack of

previous research into differential and indirect relationship among the values. The conceptual model is displayed in Figure 2.

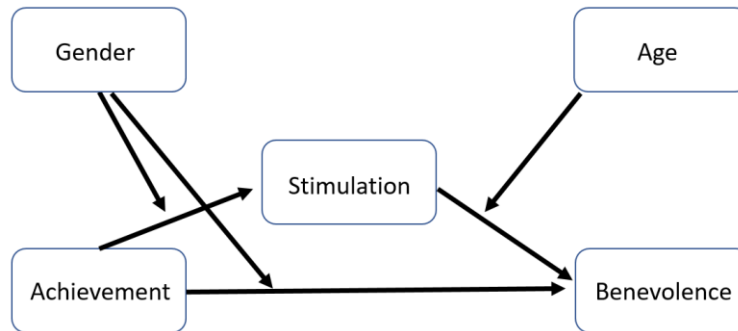


Fig. 2. Conceptual moderated mediation model with stimulation as a mediator and gender and age as moderators

2. Methods

2.1. Participants

The sample consisted of 500 Ukrainian (56.2% women) and 500 Polish students (40.0% women). The age ranged in the Ukrainian sample from 18 to 24 years ($M = 20.50$, $SD = 1.60$), and in the Polish sample from 18 to 25 years ($M = 20.82$, $SD = 2.15$). The Ukrainian sample consisted of students from bachelor and master degree courses, and the Polish sample were students from master and doctoral degree courses. This study was carried out in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki.

2.2. Instruments

The 40-item Portraits Values Questionnaire (PVQ) measures the ten basic values (Schwartz et al., 2001), namely self-direction (four items such as “She likes to do things in her own original way.”), stimulation (three items such as “He always looks for new things to try.”), hedonism (three items such as “He seeks every chance he can to have fun.”), achievement (four items such as “She likes to impress other people.”), power (three items such as “She wants people to do what she says.”), security (five items such as “It is important to him to live in secure surroundings.”), conformity (four items such as “He believes that people should do what they’re told.”), tradition (four items such as “She thinks it is best to do things in traditional ways.”), benevolence (four items such as “It’s very important to help the people around him.”), and universalism (six items such as “He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.”). Each value contains a short portrait of a person whose goals, aspirations, or wishes are related to a given value. Participants responded to each item on a six-point Likert-type scale ranging from (1) “not like me at all” to (6) “very much like me”. The scores indicate the subjective importance of values; they do not reflect that respondents manifest this value themselves but that this value is important to them such that they *value* it highly (see: being rich vs. valuing richness). The questionnaire was administered in two

versions, one for women and the other for men. The versions were identical except for the words that indicated the gender of the respondents. The internal consistencies, Cronbach's alpha, for the selected scales were $\alpha=.65$ for benevolence, $\alpha=.63$ for stimulation, and $\alpha=.74$ for achievement.

2.3. Analytic Procedures

Computations were performed with SPSS 24, with the SPSS Process macro by Hayes (2013). To explore the moderated mediation hypothesis, a model was specified in which stimulation as putative mediators was regressed on achievement; whereas benevolence was regressed on achievement, moderated by age and gender, controlling for country and self-directness. Variables were mean-centred prior to analysis. Confidence intervals (95%) were generated by bootstrapping with 5,000 re-samples. To illustrate interactions, simple slope analyses were performed.

3. Results

3.1. Preliminary Descriptive Analysis

For gender and country differences in ten values scales, the means, standard deviations (SD), and significance levels are shown in Table 1 (see: Appendix). Although some differences between the countries as well as between men and women are statistically significant, due to the large sample size, there were no substantial differences because all the effect sizes (η^2) for country were below .029, and for gender differences, none of the η^2 exceeded .019. This is in line with Prince-Gibson and Schwartz (1998) who did not find significant gender differences (except for Power). Intercorrelations of the ten values scores are shown in Table 2 (see: Appendix).

3.2. Moderated Mediation Analysis

A conditional process model was specified that included stimulation as a mediator between achievement and benevolence, qualified by interactions with gender on the left side and with age on the right side. Of the stimulation variance, 31% were accounted for by the predictors, and of the benevolence variance, 15% were explained. The index of moderated mediation was significant (0.01, CI 95% [0.001, 0.014]), and the following unstandardized parameters were estimated. Stimulation was predicted by achievement, $b=.26$, CI 95% [0.19, 0.33], and the interaction of gender and achievement $b=-.16$, CI 95% [-0.28, -0.04]. Covariates were self-directness, $b=.44$, CI 95% [0.36, 0.51], and country, $b=-.26$, CI 95% [-0.36, -0.15] with Polish students scoring higher on stimulation than Ukrainian students.

Benevolence was directly predicted by achievement, $b=-.10$, CI 95% [-0.17, -0.03], the gender by achievement interaction, $b=-.11$, CI 95% [-0.23, -0.001], gender, $b=.21$, CI 95% [0.11, 0.31], stimulation, $b=.12$, CI 95% [0.06, 0.18], the covariate self-directedness, $b=.32$, CI 95% [0.24, 0.40], and the age by stimulation interaction, $b=-.03$, CI 95% [-0.06, -0.01]. There were no differences between

countries. Figure 3 displays the moderated mediation model with unstandardized parameter estimates.

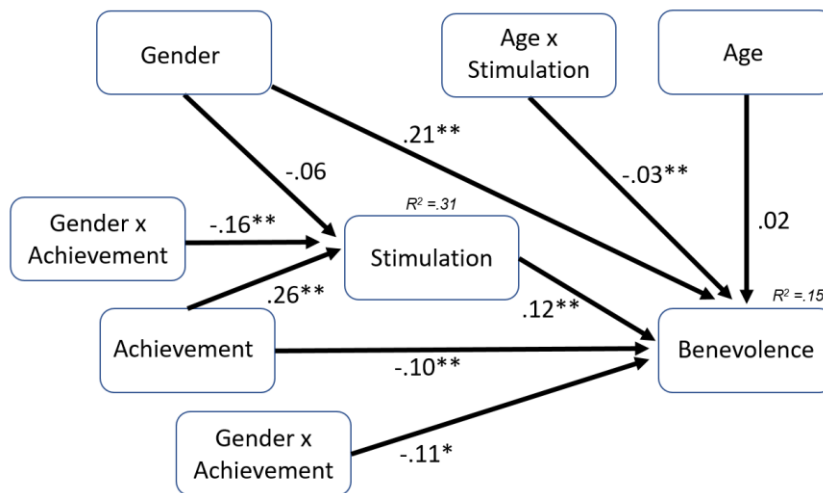


Fig. 3. Moderated mediation model based on hierarchical regressions with unstandardized parameter estimates.
 * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

To illustrate the three significant interactions, simple slopes analyses were performed. The relationship between achievement and stimulation was moderated by gender in a way that men had a steeper slope than women. For men, the association between achievement and stimulation was stronger than for women (see Figure 4).

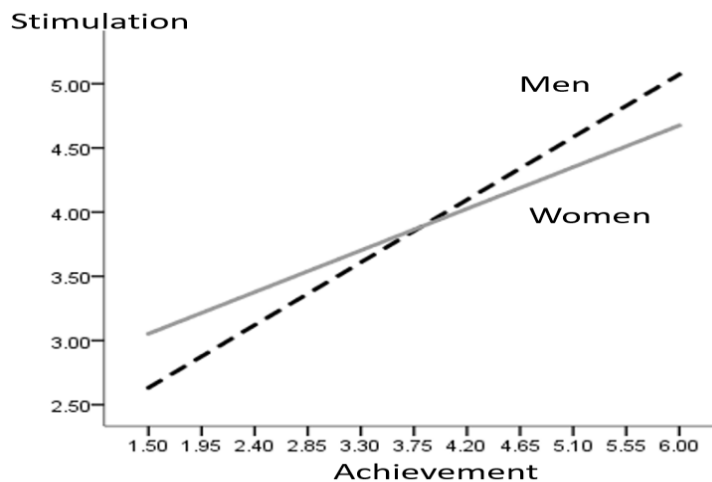


Fig. 4. Simple slope display for the interaction between achievement and gender on stimulation

Also, the relationship between achievement and benevolence was moderated by gender in a way that men had a steeper slope than women. For men, the association between achievement and benevolence was stronger than for women (see Figure 5). For women, the level of benevolence was independent of their achievement level.

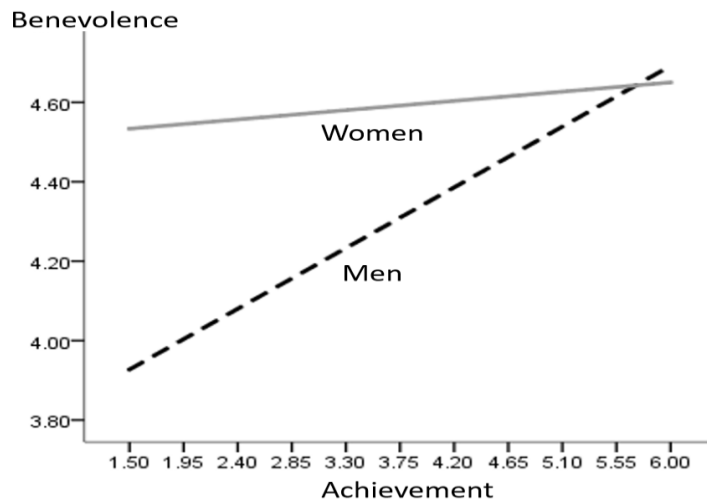


Fig. 5. Simple slope display for the interaction between achievement and gender on benevolence.

The relationship between stimulation and benevolence was moderated by age in a way that younger individuals had a steeper slope than older ones. For the younger persons, the association between stimulation and benevolence was stronger (see Figure 6).

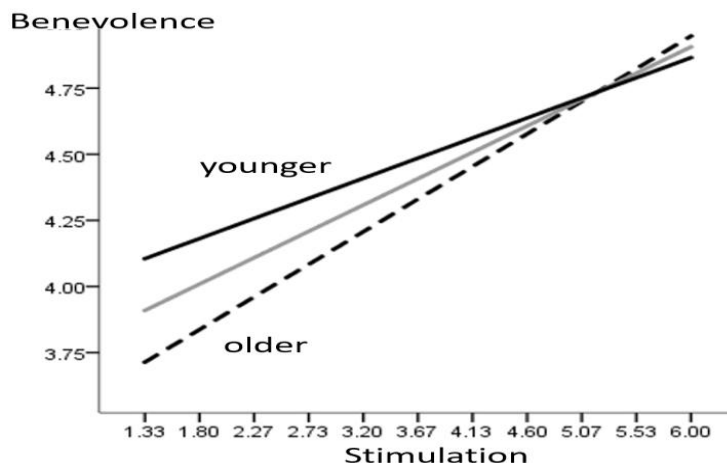


Fig. 6. Simple slope display for the interaction between stimulation and age on benevolence

4. Discussion and Conclusions

The present analyses have explored some complex interrelationships among personal values, gender, and age, pointing to possible mechanisms that may be involved in individual differences in personal values. Earlier studies have focused on direct linear associations between the ten values and the overall circumplex structure. As an alternative to the common approaches we have aimed at examining indirect and differential relationships that may also exist among the values. As an example, we have chosen two opposing values, achievement and benevolence, and added stimulation as a mediator between these two values.

The established model describes the conditional indirect effect of achievement on benevolence (via stimulation): the mechanism through which achievement exerts its effect on benevolence is also dependent on the gender and age of the study participants.

Achievement had a very small negative direct effect on benevolence, compensated by a positive indirect effect on benevolence. This simple mediator model demonstrates that it might be useful to avoid univariate analyses of values and look also for indirect relationships among the values.

The model was further qualified by gender and age as moderators, documenting that the relationships were stronger for men than for women. When scoring low on achievement, men were also scoring low on benevolence, but this relationship did not emerge for women. Women attributed, on average, a higher value to benevolence than men, but this was independent of their achievement value level. Although men and women did not differ in terms of achievement and stimulation mean levels, the association between these two values was stronger for men than for women.

Younger individuals scored higher on benevolence than their older counterparts under the condition that they were low in stimulation.

A major limitation of the analysis lies in its exploratory nature in a cross-sectional data set that does not allow for causal inferences or temporal processes. There is a need for replication in longitudinal or experimental data to shed further light on such differential associations or conditional processes among values. Nevertheless, the present analyses shed new light on indirect and differential associations among personal values, adding a novel perspective to research on mechanisms that may be involved in the ten basic personal values.

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Appendix

Table 1

Comparison of ten values between men and women, and Polish and Ukrainian adults

	Men (n=519)		Women (n=481)		p	Polish (n=500)		Ukrainian (n=500)		p
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Conformity	3.79	0.84	3.98	0.75	<.01	3.80	0.88	3.96	0.71	<.01
Tradition	3.54	0.92	3.75	0.84	<.01	3.49	0.98	3.79	0.77	<.01
Benov	4.41	0.84	4.61	0.81	<.01	4.51	0.83	4.50	0.84	.88
Univers	4.04	0.79	4.16	0.72	<.01	4.20	0.85	3.99	0.64	<.01
Self	4.57	0.81	4.61	0.78	.51	4.54	0.88	4.64	0.70	.03
Stim	4.16	1.01	4.08	0.92	.25	4.21	1.04	4.03	0.88	<.01
Hedon	4.32	1.09	4.22	1.08	.15	4.16	1.22	4.38	0.92	<.01
Achieve	4.30	0.96	4.37	0.89	.27	4.26	0.98	4.41	0.86	<.01
Power	3.55	1.08	3.43	1.14	.10	3.28	1.12	3.70	1.07	<.01
Security	4.00	0.85	4.16	0.77	<.01	3.99	0.88	4.17	0.74	<.01
Age	20.72	1.98	20.59	1.79	.29	20.82	2.15	20.49	1.58	<.01

Table 2

Intercorrelations of the ten values in total sample (N=1,000)

	Conform	Tradit	Benov	Univers	Self	Stim	Hedon	Achieve	Power	Security
Conform	1.00	.52**	.35**	.40**	.03	-.03	-.08*	.16**	-.04	.44**
Tradition	.52**	1.00	.41**	.40**	.04	.02	-.02	.04	-.07*	.44**
Benov	.35**	.41*	1.00	.47**	.32**	.25**	.13**	.12**	-.12**	.23**
Univers	.40**	.40**	.47**	1.00	.26**	.14**	-.03	.12**	-.05	.43**
Self	.03	.04	.32**	.26**	1.00	.49**	.42**	.53**	.37**	.26**
Stim	-.03	.02	.25**	.14**	.49**	1.00	.59**	.44**	.32**	.09**
Hedon	-.08*	-.02	.13**	-.03	.42**	.59**	1.00	.43**	.44**	.12**
Achieve	.16**	.04	.12**	.12**	.53**	.44**	.43**	1.00	.61**	.36**
Power	-.04	-.07*	-.12**	-.05	.37**	.32**	.44**	.61**	1.00	.26**
Security	.44**	.44**	.23**	.43**	.26**	.09**	.11**	.36**	.26**	1.00

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

REVIEWS

HOW POETRY IS TRANSLATED...

James W. Underhill. *Voice and Versification in Translating Poems.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2016. xiii, 333 p.

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Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Ukraine

After its very strong stance in the 19th century, the versification part of translation scholarship was gradually declining during the 20th century, substituted by the innovative searches for semasiology, culture and society in text. The studies of structural and cognitive approaches to writing, its postcolonial identity or gender-based essence uncovered a lot of issues of the informational essence of texts, but overshadowed the meaning of their formal structures. The book ‘Voice and Versification in Translating Poems’ welcomes us to the reconsideration of what formal structures in poetry can mean.

James William Underhill, a native of Scotland and a graduate of Hull University, got Master’s and PhD degrees from Université de Paris VIII (1994 and 1999 respectively). He has translated from French, German and Czech into English, and now, he is full professor of poetics and translation at the English Department of Rouen University as well as the director of the Rouen Ethnolinguistics Project. His scholarly activities focused on the subject of metaphor, versification, cultural linguistics and translation. He also authored ‘Humboldt, Worldview, and Language’ (Edinburgh University Press, 2009), ‘Creating Worldviews: Ideology, Metaphor and Language’ (Edinburgh University Press, 2011), and ‘Ethnolinguistics and Cultural Concepts: Truth, Love, Hate and War’ (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

In contemporary literary criticism, one observes the contradiction that despite the belief of the impossibility of translating poems, poems are translated and sometimes translated quite successfully. James W. Underhill investigates this fascinating observable fact by deploying the theory of voice.

The first part of the book, ‘Versification’, is more theoretical as the researcher is to summarize the existing views and introduce fundamental terms and guidelines. The book is strongly influenced by the French theoretician Henri Meschonnic, but other academic traditions of researching verse are also present. This part includes four chapters where the author discusses recent scholarship in the subject-matter (‘Form’), theories of verse structure (‘Comparative Versification’), rhythm and stress systems (‘Meter and Language’), and the issues of patterning and repetition (‘Beyond Metrics’). The author shapes the key principle of his views that ‘[v]oice represents the lyrical subject of the poem, the “I” that creates it, but that is also created in and by the poem’ (p. 44).

This stipulation drives him to the analysis of five facets in poetry translation: 1) the voice of a language; 2) the voice of an era; 3) the voice of a literary movement or context of influence; 4) the voice of a poet; 5) the voice of the particular poem.

Part 2, 'Form and Meaning in Poetry Translation', offers more theorizing on how we can (or should) translate form. The triple typology of main approaches – (translating form blindly; translating a poem with a poem; translating form meaningfully) – sounds like a truism. The generic approach might be more beneficial, as the variety of terms applied in poetry translation and applicable to the idea of the book – (poetic transfusion, adaptation, version, variant) – would widen and deepen the range of questions trying to disclose the magic of transformations while rendering poetry of a source author and culture to the target reader as an individual and a community. The experience of a reader (individual and cultural personality) could be a verifying criterion for translating strategies shaped the translator's experience.

In Part 3, 'Case Studies', the author explores the English translations of Charles Baudelaire's poetry and the French and German translations of Emily Dickinson's poems. All translations theoreticians and practitioners will agree with the researcher's statement that "[t]ranslating that simplicity is inevitably arduous" (p. 187). Balancing between slavery-like formalist operations and free transcreations, translators experiment on strategies of how to reproduce the original author's voice and versification successfully enough. The longing categorically pushes us to the necessity of understanding what is in language but communication, how a nation's emotionality is built linguistically, and why a language applies certain meters for specific emotional articulation.

'Glossary' (p. 297-319), compiled on the basis of theoretical reflections in the main text on the book, is of significant practical value. This could really become a good sample to follow in any academic book.

This book takes us closer to the questions 'How can a form mean something?' and 'How can we verify this meaning?', though further research merged in ethno-lingual, ethnopoetic and ethnomusical studies still promises to be extremely rich.

CALENDAR

INTERNATIONAL PSYCHOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH EVENTS

4th International Conference

Challenges of Psycholinguistics and Psychology of Language and Speech – COPAPOLS 2018

Host institution: Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University

Deadline for submitting papers: April 15, 2018

Location: Lutsk – Svitiaz, Ukraine

Start Date: 30th May – 1st June, 2018

Contact: Serhii Zasiiekin

E-mail: copapols@gmail.com

Sociolinguistic, Psycholinguistic and Formal Perspectives on Meaning

Host institution: University of Chicago Center

Deadline for submitting abstracts: January 22, 2018

Location: Paris, France

Start Date: 2–3rd July, 2018

Contact: Heather Burnett

E-mail: spfmeaning18@gmail.com

URL: <https://sites.google.com/site/spfmeaning/home>

Polish Cognitive Linguistics Conference 2018 in Poznań

Host institution: Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

Deadline for submitting abstracts: February 15, 2018

Location: Poznań, Poland

Start Date: 24–26th September, 2018

Contact: Małgorzata Fabiszak

E-mail: PTJK2018@wa.amu.edu.pl

Developmental Language Disorders

Host institution: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

Deadline for submitting papers: March 1, 2018

Location: Madrid, Spain

Start Date: 26–28th September, 2018

Contact: Vincent Torrens

E-mail: vtorrens@psi.uned.es

URL: <http://www.psycholinguistics.info/disorders/>

ProsLang – Workshop on the Processing of Prosody across Languages and Varieties

Host institution: Victoria University of Wellington

Deadline for submitting abstracts: April 16, 2018

Location: Wellington, New Zealand

Start Date: 29–30th November, 2018

Contact: Sasha Calhoun

E-mail: proslangworkshop@gmail.com

URL: <https://proslang.wordpress.com/>

GUIDE TO AUTHORS

East European Journal of Psycholinguistics p-ISSN 2312-3265, e-ISSN 2313-2116 is an international double-blind peer-reviewed scholarly periodical published semiannually. All interested scholars in the area of psycho- and neurolinguistics, cognitive science, psychology of language and speech, translation studies, pragmatics, cognitive psychology are kindly invited to submit their articles for publishing in the Journal.

The texts submitted for the publication should be written **in English, Ukrainian, Russian**. Please attach a file with your first and last names (in three languages), title of the article (in three languages); place of work, scientific degree, position, contact phone and fax number, postal and electronic addresses.

The Editorial board will review the papers and inform the author(s) about any decision. The board will be responsible for the publication reserving the right of requesting the author(s) for modifications.

Only original (never published before or submitted to any other journal for reviewing) papers are accepted. The originals must meet the following requirements:

FORMAT /LENGTH

The paper must be in Word format. The recommended length is 12–18 pages including two abstracts and references (max. 5,000 words), A4 paper format, with 2,5 cm for upper, lower and left margins, 1 cm for right margins, observing 1.5 space between lines and with Times New Roman font type, with a 14 point body.

TITLE-AUTHOR'S IDENTIFICATION

The first page must include the capitalized and centered title of the article in bold, then author(s) name, affiliation, e-mail. It should be written in bold, centered, Times New Roman, 14 point body, e.g.:

Petro Smith

petroalsmith@ukr.net

Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University, Ukraine

ABSTRACT / KEYWORDS

Each paper should include two brief abstracts in English and Ukrainian, preceded by the author's family and given names, title of the article (in the respective language). For abstracts in Ukrainian, the editors may assist upon request. The abstracts should contain 150–200 words, be written in italics with a 12 point body. Also 5–7 key words should be included at the end of each of them.

TEXT

Quotations in the text should be as follows: According to Yu. Shevelov (Shevelov, 2012), or (Smith, 2014:252) where 3 means the number of page with quotation. Comments and notes should be included in footnotes. Any examples should be italicized and numbered consecutively with Arabic numerals. The article should contain the following parts: introduction / background of the issue; methods; the study; discussion and results; conclusions.

REFERENCES

References should come at the end of the paper. They should be written according to the APA norms (<http://www.apastyle.org/>) with a 12 point body and in alphabetic order. **The Ukrainian and Russian references should be transcribed in Latin letters only:**

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Book:

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Shevelov, Yu. (2012). *Narys Suchasnoii Ukrains'koi Literaturnoi Movy ta Inshi Lingvistychni Studii [An Outline of Modern Ukrainian Literary Language and Other Linguistic Studies]*. Kyiv: Tempora.

Journal paper:

Сміт П. Психолінгвістична модель дискурсу. *East European Journal of Psycholinguistics*, 2014, 1(2), 122–130.

Smith, P. (2014). Psycholinguistic model of discourse [Psycholinguistic model of discourse]. *East European Journal of Psycholinguistics*, 2(1), 252–260.

Internet resource:

Smith, P. Psycholinguistic model of discourse. Retrieved from <http://xxx.xxx.xx>

Book chapter:

Smith, P. (2014). Psycholinguistic model of discourse. In: *Challenges of Psycholinguistics*, (pp. 222–242). J. Brown, (ed.). Lutsk: Vezha.

Conference abstract/paper:

Smith, P. (2014). Psycholinguistic model of discourse. In: J. Brown (Ed.) Third International Conference *Challenges of Psycholinguistics and Psychology of Language and Speech – COPAPOLS 2017. Book of abstracts* (10–22). Lutsk: Vezha.

The papers should be sent to the E-mail: psycholing@eenu.edu.ua

All papers will be published in open access on the Journal site: <http://eepl.at.ua>.

ПАМ'ЯТКА АВТОРАМ

«Східноєвропейський журнал психолінгвістики» p-ISSN 2312-3265, e-ISSN 2313-2116 – міжнародний рецензований періодичний науковий часопис, який видається двічі на рік. У журналі автори можуть публікувати результати власних досліджень у галузі психо- та нейролінгвістики, когнітивної науки, психології мови та мовлення, когнітивної психології, прагматики, перекладознавства. Редколегія приймає матеріали англійською, українською, російською мовами для публікації у черговому числі журналу за адресою: psycholing@eenu.edu.ua.

Вимоги до оригіналів статей, надісланих до наукового часопису «Східноєвропейський журнал психолінгвістики»

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Петро Сміт
petroalsmith@ukr.net

Східноєвропейський національний університет імені Лесі Українки, Україна

- 2) назва статті по центру (великими літерами);

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- висновки.

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Shevelov, Yu. (2012). *Narys Suchasnoii Ukrain's'koi Literaturnoi Movy ta Inshi Lingvistychni Studii [An Outline of Modern Ukrainian Literary Language and Other Linguistic Studies]*. Kyiv: Tempora.

Стаття із журналу:

Сміт П. Психолінгвістична модель дискурсу. *East European Journal of Psycholinguistics*, 2014, 1(2), 122–130.

Smith, P. (2014). Psycholingvistychna model dyskursu [Psycholinguistic model of discourse]. *East European Journal of Psycholinguistics*, 1(2), 122–130.

Інтернет-ресурс:

Smith, P. Psycholinguistic model of discourse. Retrieved from <http://xxx.xxx.xx>

Розділ у монографії:

Smith, P. (2014). Psycholinguistic model of discourse. In: *Challenges of Psycholinguistics*, (pp. 222–242). J. Brown, (ed.). Lutsk: Vezha.

Тези конференції:

Smith, P. (2017). Psycholinguistic model of translation. In: J. Brown (Ed.) *Third International Conference Challenges of Psycholinguistics and Psychology of Language and Speech – COPAPOLS 2017. Book of abstracts* (10–12). Lutsk, Ukraine: Social Initiatives and Analytic Research Center.

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ПАМЯТКА АВТОРАМ

«Восточноевропейский журнал психолингвистики» p-ISSN 2312-3265, e-ISSN 2313-2116 является международным рецензированным периодическим научным изданием, публикуемым дважды в год. В журнале авторы могут печатать результаты своих исследований в области психо- и нейролингвистики, когнитивной науки, прагматики, переводоведения, психологии языка и речи, когнитивной психологии. Редколлегия принимает материалы на английском, украинском, русском языках для публикации в очередном номере журнала по адресу: psycholing@eenu.edu.ua

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Статья должна соответствовать тематике журнала и современному состоянию науки, иметь актуальность, не быть опубликованной ранее или поданной к публикации в других журналах Украины или мира. Автор статьи отвечает за достоверность изложенного материала, отсутствие плагиата и корректность выводов, правильное цитирование научных источников и ссылки на них (см. Ethics Statement).

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поля: слева, вверху, внизу – 2,5 см, справа – 1 см; абзац – пять знаков;
страницы статьи НЕ нумеруются;
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Структура статьи:

1) имя и фамилия автора, строкой ниже учреждение, где работает автор, адрес, например:

Петро Смит
petroalsmith@ukr.net

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2) название статьи по центру (большими буквами)

3) аннотации на украинском и английском языках (150–200 слов) (12 кегль, курсив) с переводом имени, фамилии автора и названия статьи на соответствующий язык;

NB категорически запрещено подавать неотредактированный вариант машинного перевода;

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СПИСОК ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ оформлять только согласно норм АРА: (<http://www.apastyle.org/>)

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Книга:

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Shevelov, Yu. (2012). *Narys Suchasnoii Ukrain's'koi Literaturnoi Movy ta Inshi Lingvistychni Studii [An Outline of Modern Ukrainian Literary Language and Other Linguistic Studies]*. Kyiv: Tempora.

Статья:

Сміт П. Психолінгвістична модель дискурсу. *East European Journal of Psycholinguistics*, 2014, 1(2), 122-130.

Smith, P. (2014). Psycholinguistic model of discourse [Psycholinguistic model of discourse]. *East European Journal of Psycholinguistics*, 1, 222–230.

Интернет-ресурс:

Smith, P. Psycholinguistic model of discourse. Retrieved from <http://xxx.xxx.xx>

Раздел монографии:

Smith, P. (2014). Psycholinguistic model of discourse. In: *Challenges of Psycholinguistics*, (pp. 222–242). J. Brown, (ed.). Lutsk: Vezha.

Тезисы конференции:

Smith, P. (2017). Psycholinguistic model of translation. In: J. Brown (Ed.) *Third International Conference Challenges of Psycholinguistics and Psychology of Language and Speech – COPAPOLS 2017. Book of abstracts* (10–12). Lutsk, Ukraine: Social Initiatives and Analytic Research Center.

На каждую позицию в списке литературы должна быть ссылка в тексте статьи; ссылки в тексте делаются так: если имеется в виду источник в целом (Smith, 2014), в случае цитирования с указанием номера страницы (Smith, 2014:225).

НАУКОВЕ ВИДАННЯ

Scholarly edition

**EAST EUROPEAN JOURNAL
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