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Cognitive factors regulating reproducibility of phraseological units in discourse: from linguistic creativity to experimenting in language¹

Abstract. The paper is devoted to theoretical and methodological aspects of studying reproducibility and variation of phraseological units in discourse within the framework of cognitive linguistics. It elaborates the theory of macro-metaphorical conceptual models as deep foundations of phraseological semantics and further develops the conception of linguistic (phraseological) creativity. The aim of the work is to show that all transformations of phraseological units in discourse are directly dependent on the creative potential of the macro-metaphorical conceptual models underlying their meanings. To test the key theoretical assumptions, a two-stage analysis is conducted. The first stage is the corpus discourse-based analysis carried out to explore common principles of activating the creativity of the macro-metaphorical conceptual models underlying the semantics of Russian and English phraseological units in discourses of different types. Special attention is paid to five main cognitive strategies of modifying phraseological units established in the research. At the second stage, the avant-garde discourse-based analysis is conducted in order to investigate the specifics of modifying phraseological units in the process of language experimentation done by Russian Cubo-Futurists. A new cognitive strategy as well as more radical ways of phraseological transformations which are typical of the avant-garde literature are discovered and described. The research findings empirically attest the status of macro-metaphorical conceptual models as cognitive factors that regulate phraseologisms' reproducibility in discourse and impose certain constraints on their modification.

Key words: *phraseological meaning, macro-metaphorical conceptual model, reproducibility, variation, linguistic creativity, language experimentation, corpus discourse, avant-garde discourse, cognitive linguistics*

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1. Introductory remarks

The representative usage-based and corpus-based data collected in numerous contemporary researches has revealed the fact that phraseological units are flexible and adaptable language means which are liable to various modifications in the process of discourse-formation (e.g., the works by Cowie (2001), Langlotz (2006), Moon (1998), Teliya (1996), and Wulff (2008)). As is well known, phraseologisms are reproduced as ready-made units and thus their modifications cannot be arbitrary, which puts the issue of their contextual variability among the top-ranking research areas in modern theory of phraseology.

In line with this current research tendency, the present paper attempts to answer the following correlated questions: what provides for the use of phraseologisms in modified forms in discourse, how phraseological units may be modified, what imposes (or can impose) restrictions on the extent of phraseologisms' modifications, and how a particular type of discourse may affect the ways phraseological units are modified. To study these issues, we elaborate a particular theory and methodology that are grounded in the usage-based analysis of Russian and English phraseological units.

2. Research methodology and language material

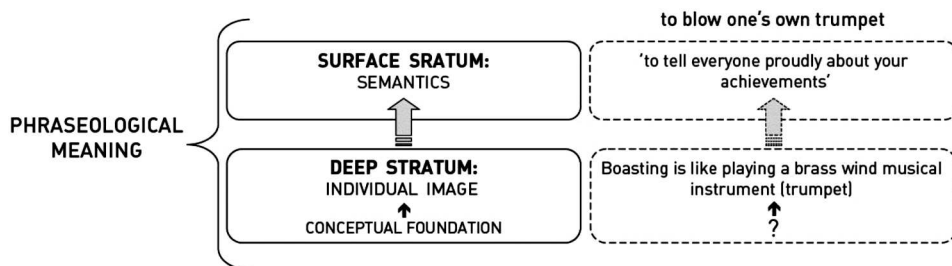
Cognitive linguistics equips contemporary researches with new methodological tools that can provide deeper insights into cognitive mechanisms of language system functioning (e.g., in (Baranov and Dobrovol'skiy 2008), (Honeck 1997), (Langlotz 2006), (Omazić 2008)). One of the most promising domains of cognitive linguistics methods application is the study of the processes of reproduction and variation of phraseological units in various types of discourse.

The present study is based on the theory of macro-metaphorical conceptual models, which stems from the cognitive culture-oriented approach to phraseological meaning elaborated in our research (Zykova 2014). The approach in question rests on the cognitive accounts of language semantics and idiomaticity advanced and attested in the works of such scholars as Beliaevskaya (2005), Carleton (1995), Fauconnier (1994), Gibbs and Colston (2012), Lakoff and Johnson (2003), Reddy (1979), and Steen (2008). It is also based on certain semiotic theories and linguocultural conceptions of language developed by Jakobson (1985), Lotman (2001), and Teliya (1996; 2006).

Within the framework of cognitive culture-oriented approach, the phraseological meaning is considered a two-strata formation that includes the

surface stratum and the deep stratum (for more details see (Zykova 2019))². The surface (or semantic) stratum is the actual semantic set-up or the actual meaning of phraseological units that is registered in dictionaries. The deep stratum of phraseological meaning encloses two constituents – the individual image and its underlying conceptual foundation (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. The phraseological meaning construal



The diagram in Figure 1 shows that the surface stratum of meaning of the idiom *to blow one's own trumpet* can be described, according to the Cambridge Advanced Learner's dictionary, as 'to tell everyone proudly about your achievements' (CALD). As far as the deep stratum is concerned, the meaning of this idiom is based on the image representing such special verbal act as boasting in terms of playing a brass wind musical instrument (a trumpet). The image, in its turn, originates from a certain conceptual foundation, which means that a proper linguistic procedure should be worked out to get an insight into the cognitive structures forming the conceptual foundation in question.

It should be specially emphasized that the conceptual foundation of phraseological meaning is a rather complex conceptual formation that is created by a number of interlinked conceptual constituents of a varied degree of complexity. Its formation starts with the synthesizing of elementary (archetypical) concepts (such as, for instance, UP/DOWN, FAR/CLOSE, LIGHT/DARK, etc.). This process of synthesizing leads to the emergence of, at first, more complex non-metaphorical concepts (for instance, DIRECTION, LOCATION, DISTANCE, etc.) and, then, of more complex – metaphorical and metonymical – concepts. The integrated unity of these multiple interrelated conceptual constituents results in the creation of a conceptual structure that can be termed as a **macro-metaphorical conceptual model**. As far as the

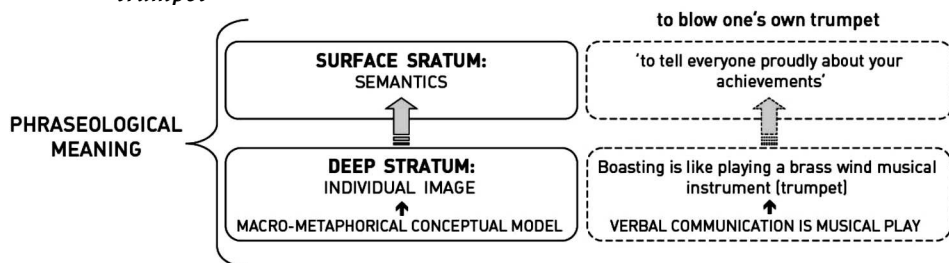
² It is worth mentioning that the terms *deep stratum* and *surface stratum* elaborated in our research should not be confused with the terms *deep* and *surface structure* used in Generative Grammar.

idiom *to blow one's own trumpet* is concerned, the analysis has shown that the macro-metaphorical conceptual model that underlies its image is composed, at least, of the following interrelated core metaphorical and metonymical concepts:

- SPEAKER IS A MUSICIAN (ACTOR)
- LISTENERS ARE THE AUDIENCE
- WORDS ARE OBJECTS USED IN A MUSICAL PERFORMANCE LIKE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
- WORDS ARE OBJECTS THAT ARE SKILFULLY USED TO PRODUCE A PARTICULAR (FAVOURABLE) EFFECT ON THE AUDIENCE
- CONTENTS (INFORMATION) FOR THE CONTAINER (WORDS) [METONYMY]
- CONTENTS OF WORDS IS WHAT DESERVES AUDIENCE'S ADMIRATION
- CONTENTS OF WORDS PRODUCES A PARTICULAR (FAVOURABLE) EFFECT ON THE AUDIENCE.

Thus, the character and types of all these conceptual constituents as well as their cognitive cohesion point to the fact that the conceptual foundation underlying the semantics of the idiom *to blow one's own trumpet* is the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS MUSICAL PLAY (see Figure 2)³.

Figure 2. The phraseological meaning construal of the idiom *to blow one's own trumpet*



³ It seems plausible to stress once more that the specifics and principles of creating and organizing the macro-metaphorical conceptual models described in the paper make evident their difference from the conceptual metaphors that imply one-way principle of their formation based on the association of one target-domain with one source-domain. Unlike the conceptual metaphor described in other works, the macro-metaphorical conceptual model is created by a number of interlinked conceptual constituents of a varying degree of complexity. Its creation begins with elementary (archetypical) concepts, then proceeds with shaping and synthesizing more complex conceptual structures, non-metaphorical and metaphorical (as well as metonymical), and ends with the integration of the latter (i.e. multiple interconnected metaphorical concepts) into a macro-metaphorical conceptual model.

In accordance with the theory elaborated in our research, it is the macro-metaphorical conceptual model that determines means and ways of actualizing the semantics of a phraseological unit in discourse and accounts for the scope of its variation imposing constraints on its possible modifications.

The theory of macro-metaphorical conceptual models is grounded on the study of more than 3,000 phraseological units selected from more than 40 representative Russian and English dictionaries (Zykova 2014). All selected Russian phraseologisms (more than 1,000 items) and English idioms (more than 2,000 items) belong to the same word-field and denote various aspects of verbal communication in the two language systems, for instance: *плести вздор* (lit. to weave nonsense) – ‘to say follies’; *звонить во все колокола* (lit. to toll all the bells) – ‘to tell everybody and everywhere about something’; *sweet talk* – ‘flattery’; *in plain English* – ‘clear simple language’. The conceptual analysis has shown that their meanings are based on the following macro-metaphorical conceptual models: VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS TRAVEL, VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS PLAY, VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS TRADE/COMMERCE, VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS SOCIAL ACTIVITY, VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS GASTRONOMY (COOKING/EATING PROCESS), VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT, VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS RELIGION-RELATED ACTIVITY, VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS HOUSEHOLD/EVERYDAY ACTIVITY, VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS MEDICINE-RELATED ACTIVITY, VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS PAINTING/DRAWING, VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS FISHING/HUNTING/MINING. For example, the meanings of the phraseological units *ходить вокруг да около* (lit. to go around and nearby – ‘to speak in a roundabout way, avoid expressing something directly’) and *go beyond a joke* are generated by the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS TRAVEL; whereas the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS PLAY (PLAY-PERFORMANCE & PLAY-GAME) gives rise to such idioms as *петь под чью-либо дудку* (lit. to sing to the tune of someone’s pipe – ‘to repeat another’s opinion, judgment, etc.’) and *to put ones cards on the table*.

The research of the macro-metaphorical conceptual models as cognitive factors regulating the reproducibility and variation of phraseological units consisted of two stages.

As a starting point, the study focused on the uses of the Russian and English phraseologisms denoting verbal communication (more than 3,000 units) in different types of discourse extracted from two corresponding corpora – the National Corpus of the Russian Language (NCRL) and the British National Corpus (BNC). Hence, this stage of the research is termed as the stage

of the corpus discourse-based analysis. Special attention was paid to the ways the phraseologisms under consideration are modified. All the modifications of phraseological units found in the corpora are regarded as cases of attesting the activation of the linguistic (more specifically, phraseological) creativity of the macro-metaphorical conceptual models in discourse. Following our concept, **the linguistic (or phraseological) creativity** is understood as the ability of macro-metaphorical conceptual models to adapt phraseological units to the communicative process by modifying them so that certain pragmatic goals can be achieved. It should be specially emphasized that phraseological units are modified in discourse according to the 'bottom-up' principle. It means that all modifications depend on the creative potential of macro-metaphorical conceptual models that define the sequence of transformations a phraseological unit undergoes. The macro-metaphorical conceptual model gives rise to innovations that consecutively modify and introduce changes into the image, the semantics, and the grammatical (morphological and syntactic) structure of a phraseologism.

To investigate the problem of phraseological reproducibility and variation further, of particular interest was the exploration of the creative potential of the macro-metaphorical conceptual models under analysis on the basis of texts resulting from language experimentation. For this purpose, the avant-garde literary discourse was chosen. The study concentrated on the issue of how the phraseologisms belonging to the word-field of verbal communication as well as idioms referring to other word-fields but whose meanings are based on the same macro-metaphorical conceptual models are reproduced in literary works (prose and poetry) written by the representatives of Russian Cubo-Futurism (V. Mayakovsky, V. Khlebnikov, A. Kruchenykh, D. Burliuk, B. Livshits, E. Guro, N. Burliuk, K. Nizen). Cubo-futurism as an avant-garde movement in literature and art emerged in Russia in the 1910s as an offshoot of European Futurism and Cubism. Proclaiming radical aesthetic renewal and the need for the reformation in the sphere of literature, Russian Cubo-Futurists elaborated the principles of creating a new language of art that deals with the violation of conventional linguistic norms and with experimentation at different levels of the language system. Their commitment to a new kind of word-oriented poetry and prose is expressed in such most radical term as *заумь* ('transreason') or *заумный язык* ('transrational language'). The concept of the language revolution and the creation of a new language implies a high degree of heuristic potential of the avant-garde literary discourse and helps to reveal the specificity of experimental use of phraseological units as well as the creative possibilities of macro-metaphorical conceptual models in the process of verbal experimentation. Taking into account the peculiar

type of discourse used for the study, this stage of our research is termed as the stage of the avant-garde discourse-based analysis.

Thus, two stages in the research (i.e. “the corpus discourse-based analysis” and “the avant-garde discourse-based analysis”) relate to two types of discourse used as sources of the language material studied in the paper: the first type is called “the corpus discourse” and the second type is the avant-garde literary discourse. The corpus discourse is defined in our work as a special type of discourse encompassing a wide range of discourses (fiction, mass media discourse, scientific or academic texts, conversational discourse, etc.) that are represented in the corresponding national corpora as samples of modern written and spoken Russian and English.

In the paper, the corpus discourse as a discourse of a heterogeneous nature is opposed to the avant-garde literary discourse as a discourse of an experimental nature. The research of the corpus discourse helps to reveal common principles of realizing creative possibilities of the macro-metaphorical conceptual models as well as wide-spread ways of phraseological units’ reproduction and variation, while the study of the avant-garde literary discourse provides the establishment of experimental ways of realizing creative potential of the macro-metaphorical conceptual models as well as unique modes of phraseological units’ reproduction and variation.

3. Stages and main results of the research

3.1. Corpus discourse-based analysis

The first stage of the analysis involved more than 16,000 contexts of use of the Russian and English phraseological units describing various aspects of verbal communication in the two language systems.

The corpus discourse-based data have shown that the discourse-formation process activates the creative power of the macro-metaphorical conceptual models that underlie the meanings of the phraseologisms in question so that the latter can be modified in a certain number of different ways. According to the analysis, there can be singled out five principal cognitive strategies that are applied to modify the images of both the Russian and English phraseologisms in discourse, thus communicatively adapting them to the fulfilment of particular pragmatic tasks. These cognitive strategies are as follows: the inbuilding strategy, the accretion strategy, the recomposition strategy, the decomposition strategy, and the combination strategy.

The inbuilding strategy can be described as the insertion of new components (from one to several) into the base-forms of images of phraseologisms under analysis. The newly inserted components may replace one (or several) of the original components without affecting the syntactic structure of a phraseological unit (example 1), or may extend the initial phraseological image, which induces corresponding changes in the syntactic structure of a phraseologism (examples 2, 3):

- (1) *ставить каждое лыко в строку* (lit. put every bast in the line; meaning 'to blame someone for any and every mistake') > *записать каждое лыко в строку* (lit. *write* every bast in the line) (NCRL). The image of the Russian phraseologism stems from the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT.
- (2) *разводить канитель* (~ make gimpy; meaning 'to talk for a long time in a monotonous, boring manner') > *развели бабскую канитель* (lit. make *feminine* gimpy) (NCRL). The image of this Russian phraseologism is produced by the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT.
- (3) *to exchange words (with someone)* (meaning 'to speak with someone') > *exchange their polite, meaningless words* (BNC). The image of the English phraseologism arises from the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS TRADE/COMMERCE.

The accretion strategy suggests various pre- and/or post-additions (from one to several) to the base-forms of phraseologisms. The two varieties of applying this strategy can be observed in the following contexts:

- (4) *игра слов* (lit. play of words; meaning 'to speak evasively, using imprecise, ambiguous language') > *вовсе ненамеренная игра слов* (lit. *completely unintentional* play of words) (NCRL). The image of this Russian phraseologism is generated by the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS PLAY.
- (5) *meet one's match* (meaning 'to encounter someone who can equal, or perhaps outdo, one in combat, argument') > [*he has*] *met his match, and probably better* (BNC). The image of the English phraseologism is created on the basis of the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS PLAY-GAME (CONTEST).

The recomposition strategy implies the rearrangement (or permutation) of constituents of the images of phraseologisms, which leads to the formation of modifications like:

- (6) *вертеться на кончике языка* (lit. spin on the tip of the tongue; meaning 'to be about to be said, asked etc.') > [*у меня*] *на кончике языка вертелось* (lit. *on my tip of the tongue* [something] *spins*) (NCRL). The image of this Russian phraseologism originates from the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT.
- (7) *выносить/выбрасывать сор из избы* (lit. throw garbage out of the house; meaning 'to divulge arguments occurring within one's family or a narrow circle of friends, co-workers') > *такой сор из избы, который одним махом назад не затолкнешь* (~ *such garbage out of the house* that one fails *to shove* it back at one stroke) (NCRL). The image of the Russian phraseologism is rooted in the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITY.
- (8) *to pay a compliment (to somebody)* (meaning 'to express praise or commendation to someone') > *the biggest compliment you can pay a Singaporean* (BNC). The image of the English phraseologism is based on the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS TRADE/COMMERCE.

The decomposition strategy is the splitting of the base-form of a phraseological image that may lead either to the contraction of the phraseological unit or to the formation of new interrelated phraseological expressions:

- (9) *переливать из пустого в порожнее* (~ pour what is in one empty glass into another; meaning 'to spend time unproductively, carrying on empty, pointless conversations') > *из пустого в порожнее* (lit. what is in one empty glass into another) (NCRL). The image of this Russian phraseologism derives from the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS EVERYDAY ACTIVITY.
- (10) *to take (the) flak* (meaning 'to receive strong criticism') > *to take all the criticism + expect the flak* (BNC). The image of the English phraseologism is generated by the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS PLAY-GAME (WAR).

The combination strategy consists in integrating several (usually two) phraseological images within a particular segment of discourse. The phraseological images that are integrated can be based either on one and the same macro-metaphorical conceptual model (example 11) or on different macro-metaphorical conceptual models (example 12):

- (11) *бить в колокола* (lit. toll the bells; meaning 'to tell everyone about something, spread news, rumors') + *трубить тревогу* (lit. trumpet the alarm;

meaning 'spread sensational news') > *желание Семиятницкого быть в колокола и трубить тревогу* длилось всего несколько минут (NCRL). The images of these two Russian phraseological units are based on the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS MUSICAL PLAY.

- (12) *until one is blue in the face* (meaning 'to talk until one is exhausted') + *to hammer something home* (meaning 'to say something very clearly and with a lot of force, often repeating it several times') > *There's further to go and we're gonna keep saying these things until we're blue in the face, as well as keep on hammering that message home* Mr Mayor and I beg to move this (...) (BNC). The images of these two English phraseological units are produced by different macro-metaphorical conceptual models: VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS MEDICINE-RELATED ACTIVITY and VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT, respectively.

In accordance with the research findings, the base-forms of the phraseological units under analysis can be modified by means of two (or more) cognitive strategies (see examples 7, 8, 12).

In addition, the study conducted has shown that the macro-metaphorical conceptual models are rather flexible cognitive structures that can regulate the scope of integrated innovations into the original forms of phraseological units by giving rise to extended phraseological modifications of a varied degree of complexity. This can be observed with the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS GASTRONOMY (COOKING/EATING PROCESS). Phraseological units that are generated by this model have a different degree of modification of their base-forms in the following contexts:

- (13) *sweet words* > *a couple of sweet words* (BNC);
 (14) *a pep talk* > *the right kind of pep talk* (BNC);
 (15) *eat one's words* > *I shall make her eat, on toast and with ketchup, every word she has ever said about* (BNC);
 (16) *be a recipe for a debate* > *it was an absolute recipe for debate after debate, council meeting after council meeting, committee meeting after committee meeting* (BNC).

It is also worth special mentioning that according to the data obtained the macro-metaphorical conceptual models under analysis predetermine the choice of a new component (or new components) employed for creating various modifications of the phraseologisms of the analyzed

group. In the majority of cases, the macro-metaphorical conceptual model restricts a choice of new constituents to those that conceptually match it and, consequently, refer to the source-domain and/or to the target-domain of this model. In other words, novel items used to modify the phraseological units in question may refer (depending on the model) to the domains of travel, or craft, play, medicine-related activity, gastronomy, social activity, everyday activity, fishing/hunting/mining, painting, religion-related activity, on the one hand, and/or to the domain of verbal communication, on the other hand. This can be illustrated by the English idiom *small talk* which means 'conversation about unimportant things'. Its conceptual analysis has revealed that the image of conversation as something of little value originates from the macro-metaphorical conceptual model VERBAL COMMUNICATION IS TRADE/COMMERCE that conveys such general cultural meaning as 'the exchange of something (non)valuable between two (or more) persons'. In the discourse, the idiom *small talk* is modified in the following ways:

- (17) *a certain amount of small talk* (BNC);
- (18) *[he had] no great stock of small talk* (BNC);
- (19) *[he had] a seemingly endless supply of small talk* (BNC);
- (20) *[the headmaster] had exhausted his limited store of small talk* (BNC);
- (21) *[the man seemed] devoid of small talk* (BNC);
- (22) *[they] exchanged small talk* (BNC);
- (23) *[she could not] provide him with small talk* (BNC).

The study of the given as well as other modifications has made evident the fact that owing to its underlying macro-metaphorical conceptual model the idiom *small talk* is modified by new components that refer to the domain of trade: *a certain amount of*, *no great stock of*, *a seemingly endless supply of*, *exhausted his limited store of*, *devoid of*, *exchanged*, *provide him with*.

Summing up the results of the corpus discourse-based analysis, we can state that the macro-metaphorical conceptual models (= the conceptual foundations) underlying the meanings of the Russian and English phraseological units of the word-field of verbal communication (3,000 items) account for a wide range of their modifications in discourse that may vary in the **cognitive strategies used**, in the **extent of quantitative** (number of components) and **qualitative** (change in lexical and grammatical properties) variations.

3.2. Avant-garde discourse-based analysis

At the second stage of our research, the study of prosaic and poetic texts written by the representatives of Russian Cubo-Futurism brought to light approximately 80 uses of the phraseological units that denote verbal communication and more than 230 uses of phraseological units that refer to other word-fields but whose meanings are grounded in the same macro-metaphorical conceptual models of PLAY, TRAVEL, CRAFT, FISHING/HUNTING/MINING, GASTRONOMY, TRADE/COMMERCE, MEDICINE-RELATED ACTIVITY, SOCIAL ACTIVITY, RELIGION-RELATED ACTIVITY, PAINTING/DRAWING, HOUSEHOLD/EVERYDAY ACTIVITY, VERBAL COMMUNICATION.

According to the research findings, the same main cognitive strategies are applied as a result of actualizing the linguo-creative potential of the macro-metaphorical conceptual models in the avant-garde texts. Thus, the phraseologisms generated by these models and used in the avant-garde texts under study can be modified by the inbuilding strategy, the accretion strategy, the decomposition strategy, the recomposition strategy, and the combination strategy. Consider the following examples:

- (24) *век вековать* (~ live out one's time; meaning 'to spend one's life or the rest of one's life in a humble position or circumstances') > *векуя свой век* (Khlebnikov, "И дева векиня, векиня в веках").
- (25) *холодный расчет* (lit. cold calculation; meaning 'a decision that ignores the interests of other people') > *холодный умственный расчет* (Khlebnikov, "Наша основа").

In (24) the base-form of the phraseological unit *век вековать* (~ live out one's time) is modified in the avant-garde text with the help of the recomposition strategy. The permutation of the components is ensured by the macro-metaphorical conceptual model of TRAVEL that not only prevents the image from destruction by this innovation, but even intensifies (due to this modification) the figurative perception of a long-lasting period of life and movement of time.

The modification in (25) is carried out by the inbuilding strategy. The insertion of the component *умственный* ('mental') in the base-form of the phraseological unit *холодный расчет* (lit. cold calculation) becomes possible due to the macro-metaphorical conceptual model of GASTRONOMY, and due to such its special variety as MENTAL ACTIVITY IS COOKING. By this insertion, the creative potential of the model is exploited to develop the idea of a certain mental operation as a cold cooking product (or as

cooking a dish that is served cold). The choice of the word *умственный* as a new component testifies to a greater activation or foregrounding of the target-domain of the macro-metaphorical conceptual model while creating the phraseological modification in the process of constructing the avant-garde discourse.

However, in contrast to the results of corpus discourse-based analysis, the avant-garde discourse-based data shows that the Cubo-Futurists' orientation to the language experimentation and to the creation of fundamentally new (unique, unusual) verbal forms determines the specific application of the strategies in question in the avant-garde texts under consideration.

One of the main distinctive features that are peculiar to the avant-garde discourse is a more radical character of modifications of the phraseological units under analysis. More radical transformations are achieved either (A) with the help of one and the same strategy or (B) by putting together several different strategies in one context.

(A). The application of one and the same strategy that results in increasing the degree of deviation from the relatively typical (creativity-based) variations of original forms can be observed in the following modifications of the phraseological units under analysis:

- (26) *блудный сын* (~ the prodigal son; meaning 'a person who leaves his parents' home (by extension his collective, social group etc.) in search of something new and better, but later returns to what he had left (often repentant of what he has done)') > *заблудшее дитя* (Kruchenykh, "Новые пути слова");
- (27) *У семи нянек дитя без глазу* (lit. Seven nannies cannot look after a child properly; meaning 'a matter suffers when several people are in charge of it (because each wants to handle it his/her own way, each expects someone else to handle it, or there is a general lack of coordination among those in charge)') > *семь нянешек* (Kruchenykh, "Новые пути слова");
- (28) *наступать на горло кому-либо* (lit. to step down/tread on someone's throat; meaning 'to coerce, force someone to (begin to) act in a certain fashion') > *памятники (...) тяжелой, грязной ногой стоят на горлах молодых улиц* (Burlyuk et al., "Манифест летучей Федерации футуристов").

The extent of deviation from the base-form in (26) can be defined as rather high as the inbuilding strategy is applied to all its constituents. The image of the phraseological unit *блудный сын* (~ the prodigal son) originates

from the macro-metaphorical conceptual model of TRAVEL that determines the character of two new components inserted in its base-form – *заблудший* (participle derived from the verb *заблудиться* – ‘to move away from the place one should be and get lost’) and *дитя* (‘child’). These two components are employed to replace both original components, which leads to the complete renewal of the base-form of the phraseologism under analysis. Of special interest is the fact that the new inserted word *заблудший* serves in the Russian language as the component of two other idioms that are based also on the macro-metaphorical conceptual model of TRAVEL – *заблудшая овца* (lit. a sheep that has strayed away) and *заблудшая душа* (lit. the soul that has gone astray; a lost or roving soul). The association between all these three units generated by the same model seems to be intentional in the avant-garde text in question. This association is actualized in the given context by the modification itself, or, in other words, by the strategy chosen in order to transform the phraseological unit *блудный сын* and, thus, adapt it in a most successful way to the implementation of a certain pragmatic purpose in the avant-garde literary discourse.

(27) exemplifies a rather radical transformation of the proverb *У семи нянек дитя без глазу* achieved with the help of the decomposition strategy. The macro-metaphorical conceptual model of SOCIAL ACTIVITY underlying this paremiological unit allows the author to split its base-form and contract it to two components without destroying those relevant conceptual associations that provide the image entity or image integrity. Like the whole proverb, this two-component modification serves in the avant-garde text as a means of conveying the idea of a general lack of coordination among those in charge representing it as the situation of a complete lack of coordination among seven nannies taking care of one child (because each nanny wants to do it her own way). Remarkably, the pragmatic effect from this modification is intensified owing to the use of the component *нянек* in the diminutive form *нянешек* that serves the purpose of rendering certain derogatory overtones in the avant-garde text.

The degree of deviation from the original form in (28) is also rather striking. The phraseological unit *наступать на горло кому-либо* (lit. to step down/tread on someone’s throat) is modified in the avant-garde discourse with the help of the accretion strategy. The image of this language item representing a specific way of attacking someone arises from the macro-metaphorical conceptual model of WAR. The activation of the creative potential of the given model in the avant-garde discourse results in the extension of the base-form of the phraseologism in question by two possible kinds of addition – pre-addition and post-addition. Noteworthy is the

fact that the pre-addition of the new components *тяжкой* and *грязной* ('heavy' and 'dirty') becomes possible due to the transformation of the component *наступать* ('step down/tread') into the phrase *ногой стоять* ('put one's foot on'). The post-addition of the new components *молодых улиц* (lit. young streets) is indicative of the valency and reference violations (cf., *on the throat of a human* vs. *on the throats of young streets*). Besides, the degree of transformation is intensified also by the use of the noun *горло* (lit. throat) in the plural form *горлах*. All the innovative elements integrated into the phraseologism's image in the given avant-garde context "upgrade" its expressive power making this language item an effective tool in realizing one of the key features of the avant-garde discourse – performativity.

(B). The cases of modifying the phraseological units under consideration by simultaneous application of several (two or more) different cognitive strategies are rather frequent in the avant-garde texts under analysis. Consider the following examples:

- (29) *сорваться с уст* (lit. to suddenly leave the lips; meaning 'to be uttered involuntarily and unexpectedly') > «В миг, когда проклятье с уст кротких / Дерзко сорваться готово... (Khlebnikov, "Странник, ты видел...").
- (30) *дуть в свою дудку* (lit. blow in one's pipe; meaning 'to serve someone's goals by one's actions, further someone's cause, act with someone's goals or needs in mind') + *тянуть волынку* (lit. play the bagpipe; meaning 'to act very slowly, procrastinate in dealing with someone or something') > *дующие в свои ежедневные волынки* (Burlyuk et al., "Пощечина общественному вкусу").

The analysis of (29) makes it obvious that the modification of the base-form of the phraseological unit *сорваться с уст* meaning 'to be uttered involuntarily and unexpectedly' is carried out by a number of cognitive strategies whose joint application is indicative of a high extent of activation of the macro-metaphorical conceptual model that underlies its image. The image of the given phraseologism reflects the perception of a word (in particular, a curse) as a living being who leaves someone or some place (i.e. lips) unintentionally and/or suddenly. The creative intensification of the conceptualizing force of the macro-metaphorical conceptual model of TRAVEL that gives rise to this image results primarily in the splitting of the base-form by locating its components in two different lines of the poem and by the rearrangement of the components based on the deviation from their standard sequence (or standard combination). The application of the

decomposition and recomposition strategies is accompanied by the post- and pre-addition of the new components *кромкий* ('meek') and *дерзко* ('defiantly') as well as the word *готовый* ('ready-made') with the help of the accretion strategy. The addition and integration of the words *кромких* and *дерзко* with the opposite (conflicting) meanings intensify the expressive and performative effect from the modification in question in the avant-garde discourse.

In (30) the creative potential of the macro-metaphorical conceptual model of MUSICAL PLAY manifests itself in the integration of two phraseological units in the avant-garde discourse – *дуть в свою дудку* (lit. blow in one's pipe) and *тянуть волынку* (lit. play the bagpipe) by means of the combination strategy. Furthermore, this integration is complicated by the application of two other cognitive strategies – the decomposition strategy that leads to the contraction of the base-forms of both phraseological units under analysis (*дуть в свою дудку* > *дующие в свои*; *тянуть волынку* > *волынки*), and the inbuilding strategy that results in the insertion of the new component *ежедневные* ('everyday'). Besides, the use of the component *волынка* ('bagpipe') in the plural form *волынки* intensifies the new image construal's expressiveness by rendering certain extra (derogatory) implications. Thus, the resulting modification is characterized by a rather high degree of phraseological transformation.

In general, all the modifications representing the two established variants of the cognitive strategies' application (indicated in the paper by the letters "A" and "B") testify to the fact that the scope of creative possibilities of the macro-metaphorical conceptual models underlying the meanings of various phraseological units is widened dramatically due to language experimentation in the avant-garde discourse. The modifications of phraseological units taking place in the avant-garde texts under analysis are of a more radical character. However, alongside the ways and variants of modifying phraseologisms discussed above, the study conducted let us discover a new cognitive strategy that is typical of the analyzed avant-garde texts rather than of the contexts that made up the database for our corpus discourse-based analysis (see subsection 3.1.).

The essence of this peculiar cognitive strategy consists in the integration into base-forms of phraseological units of the components that are not in accord with the macro-metaphorical conceptual models that generate their meanings. This cognitive strategy is in fact a kind of conceptual deviation, i.e. the only cognitive strategy that (drastically) affects and changes the conceptual grounding of the phraseologism. As it has been found, the given deviation results from the modification of a phraseological unit by means

of insertion, addition, replacement of lexical items that are not conceptually related or conceptually congruent to the original macro-metaphorical conceptual model. These lexical items are characterized by a specific cultural-semiotic value and serve as symbols, emblems, etc. within the framework of various semiotic codes of culture (about the codes of culture see in detail in (Teliya 2006, Zyкова 2016)). Proceeding from this, the strategy in question can be qualified as **the recoding strategy**.

To illustrate this strategy, let us look at the modification of the phraseological unit *с высоты птичьего полета* in the avant-garde discourse:

- (31) *с высоты птичьего полета* (lit. from the height of a bird's flying, from a bird's eye view; meaning 'to judge someone or something, examine someone or something cursorily, without an in-depth analysis')
 > *с высоты небоскребов* > *С высоты небоскребов мы взираем на их ничтожество!* (lit. *From the heights of skyscrapers we gaze at their insignificance!*) (Burlyuk et al., "Пощечина общественному вкусу").

The image of the idiom *с высоты птичьего полета* is based on the interpretation of human ability to perceive things at a (rather great) distance from them or to estimate something or somebody superficially in terms of birds' ability to fly (very) high up in the sky and scan the ground surface in search of something (usually food) in flight. The analysis of the image reveals that its underlying conceptual foundation is the macro-metaphorical conceptual model of HUNTING. In the avant-garde discourse, the components *птичий полет* (lit. a bird's flying) are replaced by means of the inbuilding strategy and, more specifically, with the help of the component *небоскреб* (from English *skyscraper*). Remarkably, the choice of this particular lexical item reflects the Cubo-Futurists' orientation toward urbanism and technology. The word *небоскреб* conveys the idea of a very high point that can serve as a place for perceiving (observing) something. Though semantically it shares the idea of something being in the sky or "touching" the sky with the components *птичий полет* [cf. also, the meaning of *skyscraper* 'high-flying bird' that emerged in English in 1840 (OEtD)], the absence of a direct link between the noun *небоскреб* and the macro-metaphorical conceptual model of HUNTING is obvious. Unlike the components *птичий полет* that refer to a particular natural phenomenon and correspond to the zoomorphic code of culture, the component *небоскреб* denotes a man-made object and correlates with the architectural (more specifically, house-building, town-planning) code of culture. Hence, the insertion of the latter into the base-form of the phraseological unit in question signals a shift of the codes of culture from the zoomorphic code to the architectural code, or in other words, implies the employment of

the recoding strategy. As a result, the modified image is indicative of a kind of “transposition” into another conceptual dimension, which is the macro-metaphorical conceptual model of CRAFT. From the cultural and historical point of view, “the development of skyscrapers came as a result of the coincidence of several technological and social developments” (EB). Thus, being a symbol of a certain human achievement in the field of urban construction, *небоскреб* as a very tall high-rise building implies in a newly shaped image construal the highest point in space ever erected by a human that opens up a fundamentally new perspective of viewing and estimating the world, and therefore, that gives an opportunity of getting a (more) reliable judgment about the latter. Also remarkably, the modified form *с высоты небоскребов* triggers in the context the idea of self-importance which is associated with the meaning of another phraseological unit in the Russian language – *с высоты своего величия* (lit. from the height of one’s greatness or one’s mightiness).

It seems necessary to emphasize that being a kind of conceptual deviation the recoding strategy does not mean the “replacement” of the original macro-metaphorical conceptual model by another one. This strategy should be understood as a sort of conceptual “composite” in which a so-called “new” macro-metaphorical conceptual model does not oust the original model but interacts (or cooperates) with it in a way that leads to the creation of a fundamentally new modification. It is this conceptual “overlap” that allows one to recognize a phraseological unit in the avant-garde texts. As a result, the recoding strategy demonstrates how particular conceptual content and particular image can be (re-)construed in a rather special way to match the peculiarities of the avant-garde discourse.

In sum, the study conducted has shown that the orientation of the avant-garde literature toward language experimentation and novel linguistic-aesthetic canons required a specific metalanguage reflection on the part of the avant-garde authors which stimulates a greater degree of the exploitation of the creative potential of the macro-metaphorical conceptual models. The macro-metaphorical conceptual models underlying phraseological meanings serve, figuratively speaking, as cognitive “laboratories” intended for experimenting with the phraseological transformations as well as for testing the possible scope of phraseological variation. The specific application of cognitive strategies accumulates novelty effects in the avant-garde discourse and increases its heuristic value. Importantly, in some cases, a high extent of integrated innovations can make phraseologisms (much) less recognizable in the avant-garde literature. The latter may lead to the deautomatization of perception or induce the effect of cognitive dissonance.

4. Conclusions

The present paper gives a new impetus to the development of cognitive culture-oriented approach to phraseological meaning and, in particular, develops further the theory of macro-metaphorical conceptual models proposed in our research.

The conceptual and linguo-cultural analysis of more than 3,000 Russian and English phraseological units of the word-field of verbal communication has shown that their meanings originate from the same macro-metaphorical conceptual models of TRAVEL, CRAFT, PLAY, PANTING/DRAWING, GASTRONOMY, FISHING/HUNTING/MINING, SOCIAL ACTIVITY, MEDICINE-RELATED ACTIVITY, RELIGION-RELATED ACTIVITY, HOUSEHOLD/EVERYDAY ACTIVITY, and TRADE/COMMERCE. All the models are characterized by a creative potential that can be activated to a varied degree in the process of discourse-formation in order to adapt Russian and English phraseological units they underlie to fulfil certain pragmatic tasks. To test the linguistic (phraseological) creativity of the macro-metaphorical models in question and adapt the key theoretical assumptions to embrace new possibilities, a two-stage analysis based on the corpus discourse and the avant-garde discourse was performed.

The corpus discourse-based analysis has confirmed that being actualized in discourse, the macro-metaphorical conceptual models give rise to phraseological modifications both in Russian and English in accordance with the following main cognitive strategies: inbuilding, decomposition, accretion, re-composition, and combination. Moreover, it is the macro-metaphorical conceptual models that determine the scope and extent of phraseological transformations in different types of discourse. As it has been established, whatever the extent of modifications could be, novel elements integrated into the base-forms of the Russian and English phraseological units under analysis are conceptually akin to their underlying macro-metaphorical conceptual models.

The avant-garde discourse-based analysis has shown the intensification of the creative activity of the macro-metaphorical conceptual models in the texts written by the representatives of Russian Cubo-Futurism. In the process of language experimentation, the Russian phraseological units are modified using the same main cognitive strategies but in a more radical way. Moreover, in contrast to the corpus discourse, innovations applied to change phraseological units in the avant-garde discourse can be conceptually inconsistent with the macro-metaphorical conceptual models that underlie their original forms. This fact leads to the discovery of a peculiar

cognitive strategy characterizing phraseologisms' functioning in the avant-garde literature. It can be qualified as the recoding strategy. The conceptual structuring ensured by the given strategy accounts for the modifications that may affect phraseologisms' identification in the texts. The latter makes phraseologisms serve as the means of implementing the aesthetic and performative purposes of the experimental discourse and as the tools of deautomatization of perception or (in some cases) of cognitive dissonance. All the cases of the creative transformations of the Russian phraseological units under consideration can be regarded in the Russian Cubo-Futurists' works as experimental.

It should be specially emphasized that the perspective of studying experimental (language play) modifications of phraseological units outlined in the present paper seems to open up promising prospects of further research in the field of cognitive and linguo-cultural studies. The specific transformations that phraseological units can undergo in the avant-garde discourse are worth further comprehensive and thorough exploration supplementing modern phraseological theory with new information concerning inner (latent) cognitive resources of phraseological units' reproducibility and variation.

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Los factores cognitivos que condicionan la reproducibilidad de los fraseologismos en el discurso: desde la creatividad hacia el experimento lingüístico

Resumen

El artículo está dedicado a los aspectos teóricos y metodológicos del estudio de la reproducibilidad y variabilidad fraseológica con base en el enfoque cognitivo de la semántica lingüística. En este trabajo se elabora la teoría de modelos macro-metáforicos conceptuales como bases fundamentales del significado fraseológico y la

noción de creatividad lingüística (fraseológica). El objetivo consiste en demostrar la dependencia directa de las modificaciones de los fraseologismos realizadas en el discurso del potencial creativo de los modelos macrometafóricos conceptuales que constituyen la base de su semántica. La investigación tuvo dos etapas.

En la primera etapa fueron analizados los contextos de uso de fraseologismos rusos e ingleses del área temática de comunicación verbal, extraídos de los corpus nacionales de textos – НКРЯ и BNC (más de 16.000 contextos). Según el análisis, los significados de los fraseologismos (más de 3.000 UF) son creados por medio de los modelos macrometafóricos conceptuales JUEGOS, ARTESANÍAS, OFICIOS, VIAJES, ACTIVIDADES SOCIALES, etc. Fue establecido que en el discurso se produce la activación del potencial creativo de dichos modelos, lo que lleva a la creación de modificaciones fraseológicas mediante las siguientes estrategias cognitivas principales: incorporación, adición, descomposición, recomposición y combinación. Además, fue establecido que los modelos macrometafóricos conceptuales condicionan el grado de modificación de los fraseologismos y el carácter de innovaciones de sus formas básicas.

En la segunda etapa fueron analizados los contextos de uso de los fraseologismos rusos, cuyos significados se basan en los mismos modelos macrometafóricos conceptuales (más de 300 contextos). Los textos vanguardistas de los representantes de cubofuturismo orientados hacia el experimento lingüístico sirvieron de base de análisis que demostró el grado más alto de la activación del potencial creativo de los modelos consistente en las transformaciones más radicales de las formas básicas de los fraseologismos. Fue revelada la estrategia cognitiva especial de la modificación fraseológica en el discurso vanguardista – la estrategia de recodificación. Todas las modificaciones en el discurso vanguardista pueden ser calificadas como experimentales.

Los datos obtenidos permiten llegar a la conclusión de que los modelos macrometafóricos conceptuales que constituyen la base del significado de los fraseologismos analizados rusos e ingleses, son factores cognitivos que condicionan la especificidad de su reproducibilidad y variabilidad en el discurso.