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**SYNONYMS OF THE VERBS DESCRIBING INTERPERSONAL
RELATIONSHIP IN RUSSIAN:
COGNITIVE-DISCURSIVE APPROACH**

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INTRODUCTION

At the turn of the XX-XXI centuries in linguistics “there is a transition from the system-structural scientific paradigm to an anthropocentric one. In the center of attention of linguists is a person as a carrier of language, who is a representative of a certain culture” [Dementieva, 2013: 176]. The development of the anthropocentric approach in linguistics has led to the emergence of several such integrative sciences as ethnolinguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive linguistics, linguacultural studies, etc. Speaking about the close relationship between language and person, E. Benveniste rightly argued that “it is impossible to depict a person without language and inventing a language for himself. In the world there is only a person with language, a man person to another person, and language, thus, it is necessary to belong to the very definition of person. It is in language and thanks to language that man is constituted as a subject” [Benveniste, 2002: 293].

Since the 80-90s of the XX century further development of modern linguistics is conditioned by the importance of studying the relationship between language and human thinking. In linguistic studies of recent years, concepts – the main units of human consciousness verbalized by language units – are actively studied, for example, the work of A.I. Tarasova [Tarasova, 2009] is devoted to the study of the concepts of interpersonal relationship FRIEND, FRIENDSHIP, FOE, FELLOW, ALIEN in linguacultural and comparative aspects.

In psychology, interpersonal relationship is understood as “subjectively experienced interrelationship between people, objectively manifested in the nature and methods of mutual influences” [Kazarian 2009: 107]. B.G. Ananyev, M.M. Bakhtin, V.M. Bekhterev, L.S. Vygotsky, A.N. Leontiev, V.N. Myasishchev, S.L. Rubinstein and other Russian psychologists “considered interpersonal interactions as an important condition of human mental development, socialization and personality formation” [ibid.]. In this regard, verbs describing interpersonal relationship have been repeatedly studied in linguistics, so, for example, these verbs have been considered as part of the lexico-semantic field of attitude verbs [Gaisina, 1981], from the position of synchronic approach [Gogulina, 1986], analyzed in the communicative-pragmatic aspect [Akimova, 2003],

from the point of view of functioning in the artistic text [Frolova, 2008; Fakharova, 2011; Fakharova, Nurullina 2017], in media texts [Dementieva, Denisova, 2014], etc.

In comparison with existing works, research these verbs describing interpersonal relationship from the point of view of the cognitive-discursive approach will allow, in our opinion, to characterize each verb and its synonyms more fully, in detail and in depth.

The relevance of the study is:

– in recent decades, the cognitive-discursive approach has become one of the leading approaches in linguistic research, but at present this approach is rarely applied in the study of lexical synonyms;

– interpersonal relationship is an important fragment of the Russian linguistic picture of the world, and the verbs nominating them present a large vocabulary association in the Russian;

– synonymy is a complicated linguistic and speech phenomenon. Synonymous verbs are difficult to distinguish because of the proximity of the semantics of these units, the difficulty of differentiating shades of meaning, the possibility/impossibility of interchangeability in different contexts of use, functioning in different types of discourse, differences in grammatical features (control, directionality of the denoted action) and the pragmatic component of meaning.

The object of the study is synonyms of the verbs describing interpersonal relationship in Russian – *to mock, to be hypocritical, to hurt* and *to shun*.

The subject of the study is semantics (cognitive scripts verbalized by verbs), peculiarities of functioning, word-formation, grammatical, stylistic peculiarities, as well as parameters of situations of use of these lexemes in the modern Russian language.

The hypothesis of the study is that the cognitive-discursive aspect of analyzing the selected lexical material will allow us to propose a new approach to the study of synonymous verbs, based on the identification of invariant and variable cognitive structures behind the semantics of synonymous verbs.

The aim of the study is to reveal the linguo-cognitive specificity of synonymous verbs of interpersonal relationship in the Russian linguistic consciousness.

The aim is to fulfil the following **tasks**:

- 1) to describe the theoretical framework of the study;
- 2) to determine the criteria for selecting synonymous links of Russian verbs of interpersonal relationship to be analyzed in detail;
- 3) to select synonymous verbs from lexicographic sources (Russian explanatory, synonymic, ideographic dictionaries);
- 4) to conduct a survey of native speakers of Russian to verify the representation of the selected synonyms in the linguistic consciousness;
- 5) to analyze definitions of Russian explanatory dictionaries to identify differences in the semantics of synonyms, their stylistic affiliation at the level of the language system;
- 6) to analyze the functioning of synonyms on the extensive material of “The Russian National Corpus”, as well as contexts found with the help of free searching in the Internet;
- 7) to carry out linguo-cognitive interpretation of the obtained data to reveal the structures of knowledge, stereotypical perceptions verbalized by Russian synonymous verbs describing interpersonal relationship.

The scientific novelty of the study is:

- identification of invariant cognitive structures (invariant scripts) peculiar to all synonymous verbs, invariant and variant structures (invariant and variant scripts) for each synonym;
- determining the linguo-cognitive specificity of interpersonal relationship represented in the semantics of the verbs.

The theoretical significance of the research: its results can contribute to the further study of lexical (verb) semantics and pragmatics based on the cognitive-discursive approach, to the theory of educational lexicography, to the development of further research of Russian linguistic consciousness, Russian cultural-linguistic picture of the world and Russian linguistic personality.

The practical significance of the research: its results can be used directly in the practice of teaching Russian as a foreign language, in lecture courses and seminars on

cognitive linguistics, lexicology, lexicography, linguacultural studies, pragmatics, in the practice of educational lexicography when compiling a synonymous dictionary.

The material for the study is data from Russian explanatory, synonymic, and ideographic dictionaries; verb usage contexts presented on website “The Russian National Corpus” and on the Internet; and the results of a survey of native Russian speakers.

The theoretical and methodological basis of the dissertation research was formed by:

– Cognitive linguistics studies: N.F. Alefirenko 2006, A.P. Babushkin 1997, I.D. Balandina 2009, E.G. Belyaevskaya 2006, N.N. Boldyrev 2004, V.Z. Demyankov 1996, V.I. Karasik 2002, V.B. Kasevich 2013, A.A. Kibrick 1994 and 2003, E.S. Kubryakova 2004 and 2012, V.S. Lee 2015, L.G. Luzina 2008, V.A. Maslova 2018, M. Minsky 1979, A.M. Plotnikova 2009, Z.D. Popova 2007, E.V. Rakhilina 1998, T.G. Skrebtsova 2000 and 2018, I.A. Sternin 2007, G.V. Tokarev 2003, L.O. Cherneiko 2005, I.D. Frishberg 2006, O.V. Chaley 2015, and others.

– Lexical semantics and lexical synonymy studies: Y.D. Apresyan 1995, L.G. Babenko 1999, V.A. Belov 2014, 2018 and 2022, L.M. Vasiliev 1981, A.A. Bragina 1986, K.S. Gorbachevich 1996, A.P. Evgenyeva 1967, V.A. Zvegintsev 1963, E.V. Kuznetsova 1989, L.A. Novikov 1982, E.V. Paducheva 2010, M.F. Palevskaya 1964 and 1967, B.A. Serebrennikov 1970, A.A. Ufimtseva 1967, V.D. Chernyak 1991, 1993 and 2007, N.Y. Shvedova 1995, G.S. Shchur 1974 and others.

– Research of interpersonal relationship and verbs describing interpersonal relationship: T.P. Akimova 2003, L.G. Babenko 1999, L.M. Vasiliev 1981, Woo Bok Nam 2003, R.M. Gaisina 1982, N.A. Gogulina 1986, K.A. Kazaryan 2009, O.Y. Kapustkina 2012, N.N. Obozov 1979 and 1990, S.L. Rubinstein 1973, M.V. Rumyantseva 1997, and others.

Research methods: descriptive method, method of component analysis of meaning, distributive method, method of linguo-cognitive analysis, method of continuous sampling of material from dictionaries of synonyms, method of directed sampling of contexts of use of the analyzed verbs from “The Russian National Corpus” and other

Internet sources, methods of survey, stylistic characterization, and quantitative calculations.

Structure of the work: the work consists of an introduction, two chapters, conclusion, lists of used literature, dictionaries, other sources, and an appendix.

The introduction substantiates the relevance of the theme, defines the object, subject, hypothesis, aim and tasks of the research, formulates the novelty, theoretical and practical significance of the work, presents the main theses and main research results. The first chapter reviews the basic provisions of linguo-cognitology, reveals the content of the main terms of the conceptual apparatus of this discipline, which are used in the research part of the dissertation study; the theoretical foundations of the study of the verb lexicon of the Russian language are analyzed, special attention is paid to the works on the study of synonymy, as well as to the works devoted to the analysis of verbs of interpersonal relationship in the scientific literature. Chapter 2 defines the selection criteria, composition, and structure of the studied synonymous links of Russian verbs and carries out their detailed cognitive and discourse analysis. The conclusion contains a generalization of the observations made. The appendix contains a sample survey of native Russian speakers.

Approbation of the research results: theoretical provisions and results of the research were discussed at postgraduate seminars of the department of Russian as a foreign language and methods of its teaching and presented in the form of reports at scientific conferences:

1. VII International Scientific and Methodological Conference “Problems of teaching philological disciplines to foreign students” (28-29 January 2022) at Voronezh State University.

2. 50th International Scientific Philological Conference named after L.A. Verbitskaya at St. Petersburg State University 15.03.2022 at St. Petersburg State University.

3. International Scientific and Practical Conference “Modern Trends in the Development of Ethnopedagogy in the Educational Space of the World”, dedicated to the 95th anniversary of the birth of Academician of Russian Academy of Education

G.N. Volkov, at the I.Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University, 22-24 June 2022.

4. International scientific-practical and scientific-methodological online conference “Actual problems of teaching Russian as a foreign language in modern education – 2022”, 13 October 2022 at Petrozavodsk State University.

5. XXIV International Baltic Communication Forum (BAFO-2022), 2-3 December 2022 at Prof. M.A. Bonch-Bruevich SPbSUT.

6. 51st Ludmila Alexeyevna Verbitskaya International Scientific Philological Conference, 14-21 March 2023 at St. Petersburg State University.

7. All-Russian scientific conference with international participation “Cognition, communication, discourse: modern aspects of research”, 20-21 April 2023 at G.R. Derzhavin Tambov State University.

8. XXVIII International Scientific and Methodological Conference “Problems of teaching philological disciplines in higher school” 14 April 2023 in St. Petersburg State University of Industrial Technologies and Design.

The main provisions and results of the dissertation research are reflected in 11 publications, of which 5 are published in scientific indexed journals from the list recommended by the Russian Higher Attestation Commission:

1. **Russian verbs *to mock* and *to bully*: linguo-cognitive aspect // Cognitive linguistics and intercultural communication. – Tambov, 2022. – № 2 (49). – P. 321–326. (a)**

2. **Russian verb *to be squeamish* (in comparison with Vietnamese): linguo-cultural aspect // Bulletin of the I.Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. – 2022. – № 2(115). – P. 10–16. (b)**

3. **Cognitive and discourse analysis of the Russian verb meaning ‘to hurt sb’ // Cognitive Studies of Language. – № 3 (54): Cognition, communication, discourse: modern aspects of research: materials of the All-Russian scientific conference with international participation. 20-21 April 2023. Part II / ed. by L.A. Furs. – Tambov: Publishing House “Derzhavinsky”, 2023. – P. 100–105. (a)**

4. **Synonymous links of Russian verbs with the dominant *to be hypocritical*: cognitive-discursive approach // Professor's Journal. Series: Russian Language and Literature. – 2023. – № 3 (15). – P. 2–10. (d)**

5. **Cognitive and discourse analysis of synonymous verbs *to insult – to affront – to pick out* // Vestnik of Buryat State University. Philology. – 2023. – Vol. 4. – P. 11–18. (e)**

Other publications:

6. Russian verbs *to mock* and *to sneer* in the aspect of intercultural communication // Proceedings of the VII International Scientific and Methodological Conference “Problems of teaching philological disciplines to foreign students” (28–29 January 2022). – Voronezh: Publishing and Printing Centre “Scientific Book”, 2022. – P. 241–245. (c)

7. Frame analysis of the Russian verb *to laugh at sb* (in comparison with Vietnamese) // Russian as a foreign language and methodology of teaching, vol. 32. – SPb.: “ROPRYAL”, 2021. – P. 40–48. (c)

8. Russian verb *to be hypocritical* (in comparison with Vietnamese): linguacultural aspect // Abstracts of the 50th International Scientific Philological Conference named after Lyudmila Alexeevna Verbitskaya, St. Petersburg, 15–23 March 2022. – St. Petersburg, 2022. – P. 510. (d)

9. Synonymous verbs meaning ‘*to hurt*’: cognitive-discursive approach // Abstracts of the 51st International Scientific Philological Conference named after Lyudmila A. Verbitskaya. 14-21 March 2023, St. Petersburg. – P. 468–469. (b)

10. Cognitive and discourse analysis of the Russian verb *to disdain* // Bulletin of the Faculty of Social Digital Technologies, St. Petersburg State University of Telecommunications named after Prof. M.A. Bonch-Bruevich. – 2022. – P. 288–293. (e)

11. Cognitive and discourse analysis of synonymous verbs *to neglect – to despise* // Problems of teaching philological disciplines in higher school: Proceedings of the XXVIII International Scientific and Methodological Conference – St. Petersburg: FGBOUVO “SPbGUPTD”, 2023. – P. 13–18. (c)

The **main research results** are:

1. The analyzed verb synonyms verbalize most often negative interpersonal relations. However, the study revealed several cases when verbs express neutral interpersonal relations. [Vu, 2021b: 45–46: <http://rki.spbu.ru/documents/sbornik2021.pdf>], [Vu, 2023d: 5–6: <https://professor-rusist.ru/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Russian-language-and-literature-3-15-2023.pdf>]

2. The main ways of performing the actions indicated by the studied verbs of interpersonal relations are verbal/non-verbal [Vu, 2023a: 102–104: <https://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=54205317>], physical / mental; in some situations the subject's combination of these ways of performing actions is noted, for example, the verb to abuse can realize two variant scenarios 'to humiliate verbally and force to obey oneself, showing psychological violence'; 'to combine physical violence and psychological violence, usually manifested in verbal violence', [Vu, 2022a: 325: <https://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=49285829>].

3. The action denoted by the analyzed verbs can be performed unconsciously, due to the subject's character traits / consciously [Vu, 2023c: 14–17: https://pureportal.spbu.ru/files/104597411/_2023.pdf]; and intentionally / unintentionally [Vu, 2023a: 103–104: <https://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=54205317>].

4. The study of these verbs describing interpersonal relations revealed lexemes with a tendency to desemantization and transition to other verb groups, therefore, such verbs already belong to the periphery of their synonymous link. For illustration, let us cite the verb *to disdain*, which, according to our observations, in modern Russian is actively used in combination with the particle not in the meaning 'not to be shy' – *not to disdain* to do sth., but is not used as a verb describing interpersonal relationship, so the verb *to disdain* is gradually moving to the group "Verbs of Behavior" [Vu, 2022d: 291–292].

5. In the multinomial synonymous links of Russian verbs describing interpersonal relationship at a given synchronic slice, some units are in use; others are rarely used, and some are outdated or obsolete [Vu, 2023d: 4–5: <https://professor-rusist.ru/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Russian-language-and-literature-3-15-2023.pdf>].

6. In contrast to dictionary definitions, the content of the concepts denoted by the studied verbs seems to be broader and more complex. A number of the studied synonyms can be referred simultaneously to the lexico-semantic groups “Verbs describing interpersonal relationship”, “Verbs of behavior”, “Verbs of speech”, “Verbs of physical influence” [Vu, 2023d: 9: <https://professor-rusist.ru/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Russian-language-and-literature-3-15-2023.pdf>], [Vu, 2023a: 102–104: <https://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=54205317>]; [Vu, 2022a: 324–325: <https://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=49285829>]; [Vu, 2022b: 14: [http://vestnik.chgpu.edu.ru/upload/docs/2022/2\(115\)_2022.pdf](http://vestnik.chgpu.edu.ru/upload/docs/2022/2(115)_2022.pdf)].

7. The cognitive-discursive approach to the study of synonyms allows us to significantly supplement the data of explanatory dictionaries and illustrate the use of synonymous verbs on extensive speech material [Vu, 2023c: 17: https://pureportal.spbu.ru/files/104597411/_2023.pdf].

The following **main theses** to be defended:

1. The study of multinomial synonymous links of Russian verbs should be carried out using a cognitive-discursive approach that considers the interaction of the semantics of a lexeme at the level of the linguistic system, the linguistic consciousness of native speakers, and the situation of verb use in a particular type of discourse.

2. Based on the general theory of variation, for each verb under study it is advisable to identify a cognitive structure representing an invariant and/or variant script. The invariant script is understood as the scheme of the script reflected in the dictionary meaning of the verb; and the variant script is understood as the concrete realization of this scheme in different situations. In contrast to the definitions of explanatory dictionaries, the script allows us to present the underlying semantics of the verb with the explication of the situational-pragmatic component.

3. For each synonymous link of the studied verbs, it is possible to reconstruct an invariant script, usually coinciding with the invariant script of the dominant of the series. Both invariant and variant scripts can be identified for individual members of the synonymous link. The invariant script of one verb may be a variant script of another synonym in the series.

4. The cognitive scripts of the studied verbs of interpersonal relationship include obligatory slots (subject, object, circumstances, way of performing the action) and optional slots (reaction of the object, physical state of the subject, etc.).

5. The studied synonymous verbs of interpersonal relationship verbalize action, which can be performed both verbally and non-verbally, the subject can experience emotions of different degrees of intensity, with or without external manifestation, due to which the analyzed units of interpersonal relationship can be at the intersection with verbs of other groups – speech, behaviors, emotions, physical impact.

CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE COGNITIVE-DISCURSIVE RESEARCH OF RUSSIAN SYNONYMOUS VERB

1.1. Cognitive linguistics in the modern scientific paradigm

1.1.1. Definition of cognitive linguistics as a scientific discipline. Its place among related sciences

Speaking about modern linguistics, V.A. Maslova rightly notes that “linguistics is becoming not only a science about language, but also a science about man, his consciousness, language and culture” [Maslova, 2018: 6]. It can be stated that: 1) the focus of modern linguistics is on language and its carrier; 2) linguistics has become an interdisciplinary scientific discipline; it has gone beyond the limits of “pure linguistics”; 3) one of the leading directions in modern linguistics is linguo-cognitive and linguacultural. We agree with E.Y. Balashova that both directions belong to cognitive linguistics [Balashova, 2004: 6], which is a branch of cognitive science.

Cognitive science is an interdisciplinary direction of science. This science includes the results of research of such sciences as philosophy, psychology, anthropology, anthropology, neurophysiology, theory of cognition, theory of artificial intelligence, linguistics, and others. E.S. Kubryakova defines cognitive science as a science “about knowledge and cognition, about the results of perception of the world and object-cognitive activity of people, accumulated in the form of meaningful and brought into a certain system of data, which are somehow represented to our cognitive science” [Kubryakova, 1994: 34].

Cognitive linguistics (CL), in its turn, studies all of the above, but on linguistic material. According to the definition proposed by E.S. Kubryakova, CL is “a linguistic trend that focuses on language as a general cognitive tool – a system of signs that play a role in the representation (coding) and in the transformation of information” [KSKT, 1996: 53]. T.G. Skrebtsova defines the subject of CL research as follows: “the focus of CL is on those aspects of the structure and functioning of language that are related to the

assimilation, processing, organization, storage and use of knowledge about the surrounding world by a person” [Skrebtsova, 2000: 6]. In other words, in CL the most important for analysis are the mechanisms of categorization, representation and conceptualization of knowledge about the surrounding world in human consciousness with the help of language, the role of a person as a carrier of language and culture is emphasized.

Consider the place of CL among other scientific disciplines.

It is generally believed that CL is an interdisciplinary field of language study that combines features of such linguistic fields as ethnolinguistics, sociolinguistics, neurolinguistics, and psycholinguistics, as well as other cognitive sciences such as cognitive psychology. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the main subject of CL study is the content side of linguistic units, for “linguistic meaning is the link between language and cognition” [Skrebtsova, 2018a: 36], so it seems most important to consider the connection between CL and linguistic semantics.

It should be noted that since the early 70s of the 20th century, important changes have been taking place in Russian linguistic semantics: having overcome the shortcomings of distributive analysis, researchers have formed a more complete and comprehensive approach to semantic phenomena – attention is paid not only to interlinguistic but also to extra-linguistic relations [LES, 1990: 440]. Further, due to the development of CL in linguistics, particularly in linguistic semantics, cognitive semantics emerged. It is important to emphasize that it is not uncommon to find works where CL and cognitive semantics represent the same discipline, since the main subject of CL is linguistic meaning. However, in modern CL the list of objects of study is broader and is not limited to linguistic semantics: cognitive linguists also study working memory, attention, activation, consciousness, long-term memory, category systems and categorization, structures of knowledge representation, lexicon, etc. [Kibrick, 2003: 24].

In this paper, we share the viewpoint according to which cognitive semantics is a section of CL, where the object of study is “knowledge and representations of culture bearers (let us specify language and culture bearers – Vu N.Y.K.) about extra-linguistic reality, reflected in language units” [Cherneiko,

<https://www.philol.msu.ru/data/magistracy/fca/016.pdf>]. The aim of cognitive semantics is to identify the typology of knowledge, differences in the ways of its storage in consciousness and in the forms of expression in speech. The key concepts of cognitive semantics are “gestalt”, “category”, “prototype”, “concept”, “frame” [ibid.]

Thus, CL and linguistic semantics are closely related to each other. Both disciplines complement each other and based on this interaction new approaches to the study of the semantics of linguistic units, in particular lexemes, are developed.

1.1.2. Terminology of cognitive linguistics

Since CL is an integrative science, different directions are distinguished within it, the terminology of CL covers a wide range of concepts. At the initial stage of CL development in Russia, the first edition of the “Concise Dictionary of Cognitive Terms” contains 29 dictionary entries devoted to such basic concepts of cognitive science, and CL in particular, as *interpretation, artificial intelligence, cognitive activity, cognitive model, understanding*, etc. [KSKT, 1996]. Such terms as (*conceptual, linguistic, naive*, etc.) *picture of the world, concept (linguconcept, constant, etc.)*, *conceptosphere, cognitive base, cognitive structure, discourse*, etc. have also entered and are actively used in the terminosystem of modern CL. Among them we find many interdisciplinary terms (*consciousness, mind, world picture, concept, discourse, schema*, etc.), the definition of the content of which turns out to be difficult and requires reference to works in specific fields of knowledge.

In the framework of this study, let us consider, from CL's point of view, the concepts which, in our opinion, are key for it: *cognitive approach to language, cognitive semantics, frame semantics, conceptualisation, categorisation, world picture, concept and script (invariant and variant)*. Let us proceed to the consideration of each of the named terms.

1. *Cognitive approach to language*. In the article “Cognitive Studies on Discourse” A.A. Kibrick defines this approach to language as follows: “cognitive approach to language is the belief that linguistic form reflects cognitive structures, i.e. the

structures of human consciousness, thinking and cognition” [Kibrick, 1994: 126]. Within the framework of this approach, linguistic structures are considered in connection with a person's general knowledge of the world, his/her accumulated experience of interaction with the environment, as well as depending on psychological, communicative and cultural factors [Skrebtsova, 2000: 7]; the main attention is paid to the identification, description and explanation of the internal cognitive structure, basic for the speaker and listener, as well as for the dynamics of speech (Demyankov, 1994: 22; Taylor, 1995: 4; Gibbs, 1996) [ibid]. In contrast to the “purely linguistic approach”, the cognitive approach allows us to study linguistic units and linguistic phenomena on extensive linguistic and speech material, connecting to the linguistic consciousness, to the human lexicon, considering language as a way of knowing the world.

2. *Cognitive semantics.* According to the “Dictionary of Linguistic Terms” by T.V. Zhrebilo, cognitive semantics is “an explicit, subjectivist, conceptualist theory of meaning, in which the meaning of an expression cannot be reduced to an objective characterization of the situation” [Zhrebilo, 2010: 154]. According to N.N. Boldyrev, a distinctive feature of cognitive semantics is “going beyond the limits of linguistic knowledge proper and referring to the knowledge of non-linguistic, encyclopedic character and determining the role of this knowledge in the process of formation of linguistic meanings and the meaning of the statement” [Boldyrev, 2004: 24].

It should be noted that in traditional semantics they often speak about “meaning” and “sense” of linguistic units, thus, the meaning of a word is “an objectively formed system of connections, identical for all native speakers”, in contrast to the meaning, the sense is understood as “an individual meaning of a word, isolated from this objective system of connections. It consists of those connections that are relevant to a given moment and to a given situation” [Alefirenko, 2006: 46]. According to the above opinions, in our opinion, we can conclude that in cognitive semantics, when studying the content side of linguistic units, the emphasis is placed to a greater extent on “sense”, on what is not fixed in dictionary definitions and can be revealed only in speech.

3. *Conceptualization.* According to G.V. Tokarev, “conceptualization is the process of formation of concepts, conceptual structures and the conceptosphere as a

whole” [Tokarev, 2003: 16]. Conceptualization includes the processes of the emergence of new quanta of knowledge, substantial or interpretative complication or simplification of already known ones, determination of the degree of their value [ibid]. Conceptualization is aimed at isolating the minimal units of human experience [KSKT, 1996: 93], it is a key term in CL, as well as in linguaculturology, since linguaculturology actively develops the concept of the conceptsphere of culture [Maslova, 2019: 192].

4. *Categorization.* Along with conceptualization, categorization is one of the most important cognitive processes. Categorization is the process of processing information that comes to a person, because of which categories are formed. In contrast to the process of conceptualization, the process of categorization is aimed at “combining similar or identical units into larger units, categories” [KSKT, 1996: 93]. Thus, conceptualization and categorization differ in their result. As an example of the result of categorization in a language can be the unification of words into such dictionary associations as synonymous link, which are of interest to us in this study.

5. *A picture of the world.* V.P. Rudnev in “Dictionary of Culture of the XX century. Key Concepts and Texts” defines the world picture as “a system of intuitive perceptions of reality” [Rudnev, 1997: 96]. According to the researcher, the picture of the world can be universal (universal); national (characteristic of a certain nation, ethnos); collective (the picture of the world of knights, etc.) and individual [Rudnev, 1997: 96-98]. L.O. Cherneiko, interpreting this term, focuses on the nationality of the world picture and believes that the world picture is an abstraction, “behind which there is a set of views of the carriers of a certain culture on the world, conditioning, motivating their actions” [Cherneiko, 2005: 66].

In linguistics, culturology and linguaculturology, the notions “world model” and “world image” are also used as synonyms of the concept “world picture” (in the general, philosophical meaning of “worldview”) [Lyubimova, Buzalskaya, 2011: 15]. Nevertheless, according to L.O. Cherneiko, these three terms differ from each other: “world picture” and “world image” are deep (unconscious) intersubjective elements of culture, expressed not only in language, but also in its other information codes: art, rituals, ceremonies. Being ideal entities, they “exist” only in material manifestations. If the

“picture of the world”, setting the way of action, is dynamic, the “image of the world” is static. “World model” and “world picture”, in turn, differ in that both terms denote different types of ideal reality: “world picture” – reality unobserved, but objective; and “world model” – reality observed, but subjective, which is the result of cognition of this reality and its formalization [Cherneiko, 2005: 67]. In this study we use the term “world picture” in the interpretation of V.P. Rudnev; in our opinion, the world picture in relation to different cultures has both universality and uniqueness.

In the scientific community it is customary to distinguish the conceptual picture of the world and the linguistic picture of the world. According to V.I. Postovalova, the *conceptual picture of the world* is “a global image of the world that exists in the consciousness of a society at a certain period of its history and is the basis of human worldview” [cited in: Zhrebilo, 2010: 165]. According to most researchers, the conceptual picture of the world is richer than the *linguistic picture of the world* – a part of “the conceptual picture of the human world, which has a “binding” to language and is refracted through linguistic forms” [Kubryakova, 1988: 142]. Y.D. Apresyan proposes to consider the linguistic picture of the world as naive [Apresyan, 1995b], since the knowledge stored in language differs from scientific knowledge in many respects, i.e. the linguistic picture of the world has a pre-scientific character.

The synonymous links considered in this study represent a fragment of the Russian linguistic picture of the world.

6. *Concept*. According to cognitive linguists, concept is one of the most important concepts of CL. Concept has now become an interdisciplinary term, it is studied not only in linguistics, literary studies, but also in philosophy, logic, psychology, and others. In this study, we will consider the concept of “concept” only from a linguistic perspective.

The scientific literature provides reviews of various approaches to the content of the term concept within the framework of different scientific directions [see the works of Y.E. Prokhorov, 2009; V.A. Pishchalnikova, 2004; V.A. Efremov, 2009, etc.]. There are such approaches to the interpretation of the term as cognitive, linguoconceptological, semantic-cognitive, linguacultural, psycholinguistic, linguistic, and linguophilosophical.

In this paper we join the point of view of the representatives of the semantic-cognitive approach and, following Z.D. Popova and I.A. Sternin, understand “concept” as “a discrete mental formation, which is a basic unit of the human thought code, possessing a relatively ordered internal structure, representing the result of cognitive (cognitive) activity of an individual and society and carrying complex, encyclopedic information about the reflected subject or phenomenon, about the interpretation of this information by the public consciousness” [Popova, Sternin, 2007: 24]. We consider the semantic approach to the study of the concept content to be the main one, since “the meaning (seme) by its semes conveys certain cognitive features and components that form the concept” [Babushkin, Sternin, 2018: 22]. It is taken into account that the content of a concept is not identical to the content of language units that verbalize it, because, as Z.D. Popova and I.A. Sternin rightly point out, a word does not represent a concept completely, its meaning conveys several basic conceptual features relevant to the message, the transfer of which is the speaker's task, is part of his intention [Popova, Sternin, 2001: 38]. A concept is more complex than the word naming it; the dictionary meaning of the word – the “name” of the concept forms the core of the concept [Efremov, 2009: 100].

In connection with the above, lexical synonymy, in turn, is one of the ways of conceptualization.

7. *Frame semantics.* Frame semantics, according to V.Z. Demyankov, is a general name for various types of formalized description of human activity in the context of a situation. In frame semantics the meanings of words, phrases, sentences, text, etc. are correlated with scenes within the framework of the general theory of semantic knowledge (Wegner, 1985: 143) [KSKT, 1996: 189-191]. As a research method, frame semantics focuses on “the interaction between the semantic space of language (linguistic meanings) and the structures of knowledge, the thinking space” [Boldyrev, 2004: 29]. The attempt to reconstruct the cognitive scripts underlying the semantics of the analyzed verb-synonyms in our work can be considered an example of the implementation of the frame semantics theory.

8. Script, invariant script, variant script. According to KSKT, “script” appears as one of the main concepts of M. Minsky. According to M. Minsky, a script is a type of a frame [Minsky, 1979], so the terms “script frame” (according to M. Minsky's terminology) and “frame-script” are also used in scientific usage.

According to M. Minsky, “a frame is a data structure for representing a stereotypical situation” [Minsky, 1979: 7]. A frame consists of nodes (or “slots”) and links between them; it can be represented as a network in which upper and lower levels are distinguished [ibid]. At the upper levels are the universal slots, and at the lower levels lie the slots that are more specific, optional, and require clarification in a particular situation. These lower-level slots are called “terminals” [Guselnikova, 2010: 138].

And a script is understood as “a sequence of several episodes in time; these are stereotypical episodes with a sign of movement, development” [Popova, Sternin, 2001: 74]. Traditionally, the differences between a frame and a script are seen in the fact that a frame is static, and a script is dynamic. For example, S.A. Ivanova and O.E. Artyomova use the notion of “static structures of knowledge representation” to denote a frame, scheme, and the notion of “dynamic cognitive structures” to nominate a script, noting that a script is distinguished from a frame, scheme, etc. by the presence of “(1) a basic element – an action element, (2) temporal links and (3) causal links between individual elements”, i.e. if a frame can be represented as a static scene, then a script is not just a set of data about some situation, but a temporally and causally structured representation of an event [Ivanova, Artyomova, 2005: 48]. “A script, like a frame, is characterized by valence. The structural elements of a script are slots (subject of action, objects of action, etc.), which are filled in a quite definite way” [ibid.]

M. Minsky's theory is the basis of our study, but within the framework of this work we are interested, firstly, in the term "concept-script" introduced by A.P. Babushkin in his proposed typology of concepts. A.P. Babushkin, based on the data of explanatory and phraseological dictionaries and works of fiction, proposes to distinguish the following concept types: thinking pictures, schemes, frames, insights, scripts and logically-constructed concepts [Babushkin, 1997: 5]. Among them, “concept-script” is defined by A.P. Babushkin as follows: “concept-script is a special type of concept, realizing in the

semantic plan of its verbal expression the sense of movement, the idea of development. The script always has a plot character, and the word acts as a title for a series of stereotypical actions” [Babushkin, 1997: 86]. The researcher further notes that dictionary definitions present only the “scheme” of the script, which is enriched with optional content in each specific case, fixing details and details inscribed in the “scheme” of the script; in the semantics of lexemes realizing the script, the presence of participants or “role characteristics” is obligatory [Babushkin, 1997: 87-93]. In our opinion, in the semantics of verb lexemes the concept-script is realized first of all, because, firstly, the verb expresses “the grammatical meaning of action (i.e. the feature of a mobile, realized in time)” [LES, 1990: 104] (along with process, state, and relation [RG, 1980: vol. 1, 580]); second, “with a verb there may be obligatory valence subject, object, circumstantial, predicative” [LES, 1990: 80]. In this connection, when analyzing the cognitive structures embedded in the semantics of verbs of each synonymous link, our attention is paid, firstly, to scripts.

In this paper we also use the terms invariant script and variant script. In some works, an invariant script is understood as a set of obligatory components of a situation, for example, Y.A. Tovkailo, analyzing the cognitive script of laughter in Russian and English linguocultures, writes: “in the most general form, the invariant cognitive script of laughter (ICSS) looks as follows: subject (S) – predicate of laughter (P) – object (Ob) – causer (C) – emotions (E). The named components of the cognitive script form its basis, they are mandatory information modules, they are the invariant basis of the script in both linguocultures” [Tovkailo, 2020: 39]. This invariant script can be represented by variations due to the transemotional character of laughter [Tovkailo, 2020: 10].

In this study, we use these two terms based on the theory of variant-invariant meanings of linguistic units. Thus, according to V.M. Solntsev, “the meaning of any unit is itself invariant and serves as a basis for combining different instances of the unit possessing this meaning into a variant class. Different meanings of the same word do not vary, but accumulate in the word” [LES, 1990: 80-81]. Consequently, according to A.P. Babushkin's concept and V.M. Solntsev's opinion, the invariant script usually corresponds to the dictionary meaning of a word, some invariant scripts can be realized in the

semantics of a polysemantic word, each invariant script has its own variants. Thus, in our research material, verb *to neglect* is polysemantic and has two lexico-semantic variants (LSV): 1) ‘to treat someone or something with contempt, arrogantly, without respect’; 2) ‘to disregard something as unimportant, unimportant’; accordingly, the semantics of the verb neglect reveals two invariant scripts in which variant scripts can be distinguished. For example, the first invariant script realizes the following variants: 1) ‘to treat without due respect sb. due to one's own personal characteristics, e.g. pride’; 2) ‘to treat with arrogance someone who has a lower social status’, etc.

Let us proceed to the consideration of the existing trends in modern cognitive linguistics and the definition of the essence of the cognitive-discursive approach.

1.1.3. Directions of modern linguocognitionology. Cognitive-discursive approach in linguistic research

From the moment of its emergence until today, many different directions have been formed within CL. Thus, in foreign linguistics, according to the observations of T.G. Skrebtsova, the following new notable trends in modern CL have been noted in recent decades: the development of the theory of conceptual metaphor by J. Lakoff and M. Johnson, the emergence of new disciplines of conceptual metaphor. Johnson, the emergence of new disciplines (Cognitive Stylistics (Cognitive Stylistics, 2002; Genre in Language, 2016), Cognitive Poetics (Cognitive Poetics, 2009; Cognitive Grammar, 2014), the study of CL interaction with multimodal studies (Multimodality, 2015), etc.), as well as the transition from fundamental theoretical constructions to practical works [Skrebtsova, 2018b: 465-471].

In Russian CL the situation is different. Russian cognitive linguists are more interested in the problem of semantics and conceptology in general, although in the Russian scientific community there are works oriented to the research directions of Western linguistics, for example, the project “Language as it is: Russian multimodal discourse” under the leadership of A.A. Kibrik (2014-2018), the application of the

cognitive approach in Russian language teaching (by the example of working with a poetic text) [Makarova, 2021], etc.

Z.D. Popova and I.A. Sternin, summarizing the views of researchers on the allocation of coexisting trends in modern Russian CL, note several of the following classifications [Popova, Sternin, 2007: 10-12]:

1. **E.Y. Balashova** distinguishes two main directions in CL: linguocognitive and linguocultural (Balashova, 2004: 6). The linguocognitive direction includes the works of such scientists as E.S. Kubryakova, Z.D. Popova, I.A. Sternin, V.N. Telia, etc., who “proceed from the fact that the basis of knowledge about the world is such a unit of mental information as a concept”, which provides “access to the conceptosphere of society” [Popova, Sternin, 2007: 10]. E.Y. Balashova names Y.S. Stepanov, V.I. Karasik, V.V. Krasnykh, V.A. Malyshova as representatives of the linguocultural direction. Krasnykh, V.A. Maslova and others, according to whom, a concept is understood as a basic unit of culture, possessing figurative, conceptual and value components, with the predominance of the latter (V.I. Karasik). Along with the two mentioned directions, E.Y. Balashova also distinguishes the following approaches: psychological, psycholinguistic, neuropsycholinguistic, etc.

2. **A.V. Kostin** also distinguishes within CL the linguocultural direction (V.G. Vorkachev, V.V. Vorobyov, G.V. Tokarev, etc.), as well as mental-activity (S.A. Askoldov), individual-speech (D.S. Likhachev), semantic (N.F. Alefirenko, A. Vezhbitskaya, V.V. Kolesov, etc.), cultural (Yu. Likhachev), semantic (N.F. Alefirenko, A. Vezhbitskaya, V.V. Kolesov, etc.), cultural (Y.S. Stepanov, V.I. Karasik), logical (N.D. Arutyunova, T.V. Bulygina, A.D. Shmelev, etc.) and other approaches (Kostin, 2002: 6).

3. **V.V. Kolesov** distinguishes between cognitive linguistics, which studies the relations between words and things; content linguistics, which pays attention to semantic “prototypes” – modality, plausibility, temporality, etc.; and conceptual linguistics, which studies concepts proper (Kolesov, 2005: 16).

4. **S.V. Kuzlyakin** notes the following approaches in CL: psychological (D.S. Likhachev), logical (N.D. Arutyunova and the school “Logical Analysis of Language”),

philosophical (V.V. Kolesov), culturological (Y.S. Stepanov), integrative (S.H. Lyapin, G.G. Slyshkin) (Kuzlyakin 2005).

5. **E.S. Kubryakova** divides CL into two stages: classical cognitivism, which focuses on the study of knowledge structures and their types mainly by logical methods; and the cognitive-discursive direction, aimed at the study of linguistic phenomenon at the intersection of cognition and communication (Kubryakova, 2004: 16).

6. **Z.D. Popova** and **I.A. Sternin** themselves distinguish the following directions: 1) culturological (Yu. Stepanov), which considers the concept as a component of culture on different material, not only linguistic, the language acts only as one of the sources of knowledge about concepts; 2) linguacultural, which studies the concepts expressed by linguistic units as units of national linguaculture in their connection with national values and national features of this culture (V.I. Karasik, S.G. Vorkachev, G.G. Slyshkin, G.V. Tokarev); logical, within the framework of which concepts are studied as units of national linguaculture (G.V. Tokarev); logical, in the framework of which concepts are analyzed by logical methods regardless of their linguistic form (N.D. Arutyunova, R.I. Pavidonis); semantic-cognitive, investigating lexical and grammatical semantics of language as ways of access to the content of concepts, as means of their modeling from the semantics of language to the conceptosphere (E. S. Kubryakova, N.D. Kubryakova, N.I. Pavidonis). S. Kubryakova, N.N. Boldyrev, E.V. Rakhilina, E.V. Lukashevich, A.P. Babushkin, Z.D. Popova, I.A. Sternin, G.V. Bykova); philosophical-semiotic, studying the cognitive foundations of signification (A.V. Kravchenko) [Popova, Sternin, 2007: 12].

In our opinion, the directions emphasized by Z.D. Popova, I.A. Sternin and other researchers are, in general, approaches to the study of linguistic semantics and concepts within CL. Speaking about the directions in modern CL, we join A.A. Kibrik's opinion about the allocation within CL of two largest directions in terms of research objects, which correspond to the two main functions of language – storage of knowledge about the world and exchange of this knowledge between people: 1) the study of *off-line* phenomena – long-term memory, category and categorization, knowledge representation

structures, lexical semantics, lexicon, etc.; 2) the study of *on-line* phenomena – discourse, as well as working memory, attention, activation, consciousness [Kibrick, 1994, 2003].

Within the framework of this work, the subject of research is the underlying semantics of synonymous verbs, as well as the peculiarities of their use in discourse, so we consider it appropriate to proceed from the synthesis of directions, A.A. Kibrick noted, their close interrelation. Following E.Y. Balashova, we distinguish two main branches of CL: linguo-cognitive and linguacultural. Speaking about the linguocognitive orientation of the study of linguistic units and linguistic phenomena, we share E.S. Kubryakova's point of view and consider the cognitive-discursive approach as the main one for our work. Since, firstly, in recent decades the cognitive-discursive approach has become one of the leading and promising in linguistic research, “gives the object the most complete and comprehensive description” [Luzina, 2008: 44]; and secondly, our research material is not only dictionary data, but also contexts from The Russian National Corpus (RNC), as well as from other Internet sources (fiction, newspaper, advertisements, blogs, forums, comments, etc.), and the results of a survey of native Russian speakers. Let us move on to a detailed consideration of the cognitive-discursive paradigm in modern linguistic research.

The cognitive-discursive paradigm is an integral paradigm of linguistic knowledge put forward and substantiated by E.S. Kubryakova [Luzina, 2008: 41]. The essence of this paradigm lies in the fact that its settings include the principles of obligatory consideration of each linguistic phenomenon, each linguistic form, according to its participation in the fulfillment of language's two most important functions – cognitive and communicative [Kubryakova, 2004: 519].

According to E.S. Kubryakova, the cognitive approach to language focuses on the relationship between linguistic phenomena and their representations in the human head, as well as the mental activity of human consciousness, i.e. it is important to describe the role of language in the process of cognition of the world, in fixing the structures of knowledge and experience, in acts of perception and comprehension of the human environment. And the focus of the communicative approach to language is the study of the ways of using language units, the manifestation of linguistic phenomena in

communication and in the verbalization of their intentions. However, in real life cognition and communication are realized inseparably, therefore in the cognitive-discursive paradigm, the main task is to realistically reflect the functioning of language and its individual categories, units, or constructions; and the researcher's goal is to identify how and in what way a linguistic phenomenon can satisfy both cognitive and discursive requirements; and what these requirements are [Kubryakova, 2004: 520].

Comparing the cognitive-discursive approach with “narrow cognitivism”, V.S. Lee concludes that “the cognitive-discursive approach to language allows us to explain more precisely the complex processes of speech production and verbal communication” [Lee, 2015: 159]. According to L.G. Luzina, the advantage of the cognitive-discursive approach is seen in the fact that “the distinctive features of this paradigm include the consideration and synthesis of ideas of the cognitive direction, focused on understanding the activity of the human mind in its connection with language, with the ideas of communicative or functional linguistics (pragmatically oriented and discursive linguistics), as well as with the ideas of semiotic order” [Luzina, 2008: 43].

E.G. Belyaevskaya notes that the purpose of linguistic analysis in the cognitive-discursive paradigm is to explain how linguistic (semantic) entities are formed and function, because “the course of linguistic research of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has shown that it is impossible to analyze and describe any linguistic phenomenon without understanding how the speaker uses it in the process of communication and why the speaker uses (or implements) some linguistic entity in this way and not in another way” [Belyaevskaya, 2006: 78-82].

The most important feature of the cognitive-discursive approach for our study is seen in the fact that, according to E.S. Kubryakova, “in its very essence, discourse is a cognitive phenomenon, i.e. dealing with the transfer of knowledge, with the operation of knowledge of a special kind and, most importantly, with the content of new knowledge” [Kubryakova, 2000: 23]. In discourse one can get information about the linguistic personality and a person, his knowledge about the world and language, his sociocultural involvement in a certain historical and event space, manner or ways of linguistic representation of the so-called thought content and all kinds of subjective and pragmatic

intentions of the speaking subject, including his emotions, evaluations and communicative attitudes [Lee, 2015: 159-160]; that along with traditional approaches to the study of lexical synonymy helps us to describe each verb in our research material in detail and in more detail, “taking into account relevant extra-linguistic factors: mental, related not only to information processing, but also to emotional evaluation, socio-historical, social and historical factors, as well as other factors, such as the use of the lexical synonymy of the verb in our research material” [Luzina, 2008: 40]. Thus, in general, “the cognitive-discursive approach to language allows us to explicate deep, cognitive processes related to human speech-thought activity” [Lee, 2015: 160].

In recent decades, the cognitive-discursive paradigm has been developed in many linguistic works devoted to different linguistic objects, for example, in the doctoral dissertation “Cognitive-discursive description of the category of aspectuality in the modern Russian” [Beloshapkova, 2008], doctoral dissertation “Cognitive-discursive bases of phraseological semantics: on the material of the Russian language” [Zolotykh, 2008], doctoral dissertation “Pre-election menasives in US political communication: cognitive-discursive aspect” [Novoselova, 2022] and others.

Let us move on to the review of studies of Russian verbs of interpersonal relationship, which are the object of our work, in Russian linguistics.

1.2. Synonymic relations as a way of conceptualizing the world ¹

1.2.1. Basic concepts in the study of synonymic relations

The issues related to the problem of synonymy have been discussed from antiquity to our time. According to O.S. Akhmanova's “Dictionary of Linguistic Terms”, “synonymy is a coincidence of words, morphemes, constructions, phraseological units, etc. in terms of their basic meaning (usually while preserving differences in nuances and

¹ Paragraphs 1.2.1. and 1.2.2. are based on the study of Vu Ngoc Yen Khanh “Synonyms of the verbs *to laze* and *to deceive* in Russian: functional-semantic aspect (in comparison with Vietnamese)” (St. Petersburg State University, 2021).

stylistic characteristics)” [Akhmanova, 1966: 407]. In the dictionary article “Synonymy” L.A. Novikov suggests considering synonymy as “a type of semantic relations of linguistic units, consisting in full or partial coincidence of their meanings. Synonymy is peculiar to lexical, phraseological, grammatical, word-formation systems of language” [LES, 1990: 446-447]. However, in linguistic works the greatest attention is paid to synonymic relations in the lexical system.

Since the middle of the twentieth century lexical synonymy has been considered in detail in the works of Y.D. Apresyan, A.A. Bragina, L.M. Vasiliev, A.D. Grigorieva, A.P. Evgenieva, A.A. Ufimtseva, V.D. Chernyak and others. The problem of synonymy and synonyms remains relevant and multidimensional because until now the issues of definition of the concepts under consideration, characterization of synonyms, their interchangeability, methods of their study, etc. still cause discussion. Moreover, the rapid development of cognitive linguistics predetermines a new look at the study of synonymy, in particular lexical synonymy and as a way of conceptualizing the world. In this part of the study, we will consider the following basic concepts in the study of synonymic relations in the lexical system from the position of traditional and cognitive linguistics: *lexical synonyms* (we will consider them in detail in the next part of this section), *synonymous link and its composition*, *synonymic attraction*. Let us proceed to the description of these notions.

Synonymous link and its composition. Lexicon, being a complex system, includes various groups of units organized according to certain principles. Lexical units can be grouped into lexico-semantic field, lexico-thematic group, lexico-semantic group and, among others, synonymous links.

The synonymous links, according to Y.D. Apresyan, “is a historically developed synchronized grouping of words (and expressions), which has a systemic character” [Apresyan, 1957: 85]. According to this definition, Y.D. Apresyan includes not only words but also expressions in the synonymous links. A similar concept is found, for example, in the “Dictionary of Synonyms of the Russian Language: a Practical Reference Book” by Z.E. Aleksandrova. This dictionary contains about 11 thousand synonymous links consisting of words and word combinations identical or close in meaning, for

example, the author also includes in the synonymous links with the dominant shunning the phraseologism “to turn the nose (or muzzle, snout) away from someone or something” [Aleksandrova, 2001: 91].

The term “synonymic paradigm” is also found in scientific literature, which is understood as “a synonymous links in which the integral feature is adequacy (identity), closeness of synonyms' meanings. Differential features of synonyms in the synonymic paradigm are differences in the sound (spelling) of words, in their meanings and functional and stylistic use. In the synonymic paradigm the dominant characteristic stands out” [Zherebilo, 2010: 253]. It should be emphasized that in our work we adhere to the term “synonymous link” due to its greater stability and frequency in scientific usage.

Speaking about the systematicity of a synonymous link, M.F. Palevskaya notes that the elements of one synonymous links are united by a certain connection – general or private, for example, in one synonymous links the general is the grammatical connection between the members – belonging to the same part of speech; and the private is the thematic connection that allows a word to be a part of the synonymous links [Palevskaya, 1967: 94-95].

It is important to note that the synonymous links is considered only in a synchronic perspective. V.A. Zvegintsev notes that synonymy “has no diachronic cross-section at all, it knows only a synchronic extension, is an expression of internal synchronic relations and, therefore, is completely closed in the linguistic circle” [Zvegintsev, 1963: 132]. Nevertheless, A.A. Bragina, on the one hand, considers this property of the synonymous links indisputable, on the other hand, notes that “the synonymous link relates to the past by archaisms functioning in high style and existing in classical literature, <...> synonymizing new words and new shades of meanings of old words “keep open its boundary” for future linguistic movements” [Bragina, 1986: 65]. In this issue we adhere to A.A. Bragina's view and believe that little-used, obsolete synonyms can be included in the periphery of the series, because although they are rarely used at this synchronic slice, they are still found in the discourse of fiction.

Thus, it is traditionally accepted that the synonymous links includes only units used in the modern Russian language, because there is constantly “the emergence of new

semantic contexts in connection with the shift of conceptual and subject correlation of the word, redistribution of word meanings in connection with the change of meanings of words parallel or close in meaning” [Serebrennikov, 1970: 281]. Synonymy is one of the lexical ways of forming the linguistic picture of the world, and the objective world is constantly changing, therefore, the linguistic picture of the world is also changing, which leads to changes in the composition of the synonymous link. For example, I.D. Balandina noticed that “the tendency to the appearance of a large number of borrowed synonyms (*skidka* – *discount*; etc.), for example, indicates a greater openness of the objective world, and, as a consequence, a change in the linguistic picture of the world” [Balandina, 2009: 52]. Neologisms, slang lexemes, jargonisms, etc. also reflect the current state of society, but they are not yet recorded in explanatory dictionaries, so, in our opinion, they can be included in the synonymous link, but it is better to refer them to the peripheral zone of the series, because such words are “fashionable”, used, but can quickly go out of use. An example of this process can be found in the synonymous links we have studied: for example, the verb *to bore*, used in the speech of speakers of modern Russian, can be attributed to the synonymous links with the dominant *to mock*, but this lexeme is a slang, so we do not consider it in our study.

In synonymous link, especially a polynomial one, it is possible to distinguish synonymous subgroups – synonyms closest in meaning. Being an unclosed system, a synonymous subgroup allows not only obsolete lexemes to leave and new lexemes to enter the link, as noted above, but also allows individual units of the link to become elements of other synonymous link. B.A. Serebrennikov explains it as follows: “individual links of this microsystem may semantically touch individual links of other microsystems. But these links will be links of a partial nature” [Serebrennikov, 1970: 281].

Not being an exception, verb-synonym can belong to different groups. According to A.A. Ufimtseva, this is explained by the fact that, firstly, in many cases verbs have both transitive and non-transitive meanings, secondly, verb synonyms reflect different degrees of generalization of the expressed concept and, thirdly, many verbs are polysemantic [Ufimtseva, 1967: 33]. To illustrate this provision, let us focus on the verb

to hurt from our material. In the “Large explanatory Russian dictionary” of S.A. Kuznetsov, the semantic scope of the word *to hurt* is defined as follows: 1. ‘to wound sb.; 2. ‘to insult, offend, cause moral pain, trouble; to prick’ [BTS, 1998: 1413]; due to that the verb *to hurt* can be a part of two synonymous link: 1) *to hurt, to wound*; 2) *to hurt, to upset, to insult, to pain, to pick out*, and others [Evgenieva, 1971: 642]; [Aleksandrova, 2001: 532].

Speaking about the structure of a synonymous link, it should be noted that within it there is often a dominant, which, according to V.N. Klyueva, is “the leitmotif for the whole series and determines its basic character” [Klyueva, 1961: 6]. *Dominant* is a word traditionally defined by the following objective criteria: stylistic neutrality, usability and wide combinability. V.A. Sirotina adds one more criterion: lack of additional emotional-expressive connotations [Sirotina, 1960: 29]. The dominant word in the dictionary entry is present as a headword.

Among the key problems in the study of synonyms, the identification of the dominant of a synonymous link attracts special and ambiguous attention of linguists. Thus, in the linguistic literature there is an opinion about the difficulty, even impossibility of singling out the dominant, for example, the opinion of M.F. Palevskaya: “in a synonymous link it is not easy, and sometimes even impossible to single out the word that most clearly conveys the meaning of all words”. Further the researcher gives the following example: “why is the word with the highest degree of the given attribute *wet – wet – damp – dank* declared as the dominant word of the synonymous link *wet*? [Palevskaya, 1967: 102-103]. Other researchers recognize the existence of dominant, “since in the cognitive comprehension of reality there is a conceptual prototype of an object or phenomenon of reality, which in our consciousness “will be evaluated as the best sample of its class or a more prototypical instance than all others” (A Concise Dictionary of Cognitive Terms)” [Denisov, 2013: 170]. Considering the above-mentioned opinions, we believe that the concept about the typology of synonymous links proposed by V.A. Belov seems fair in this issue. V.A. Belov proposes to divide synonymous links into centered and non-centered. To the first group the researcher refers rows “organized around the verbal center”, i.e. it is possible to determine the dominant in them. The second

group includes links whose members are united “with the help of semantic gestalt, which belongs to the internal nonverbal code, so it is impossible to identify the dominant in such a row” [Belov 2014: 136].

Speaking about the composition of a synonymic link, V.D. Chernyak declares that synonymous links differ from each other by different length – from two-membered to multi-membered series [Chernyak, 2007: 213]. Discussing the hierarchy of this type of synonymous link, V.K. Favorin uses the term “amplitude of synonyms”, i.e. “such a series of synonyms within which the neighboring members are the closest in meaning, and the words distant from the original word deviate from it in meaning the more the farther away they are... The extreme representatives of the amplitude are the least synonymous with each other” [Favorin, 1953: 16]. In a synonymous link it is possible to distinguish the nuclear and peripheral zones.

Considering multinomial synonymous links, V.D. Chernyak rightly notes that these links “are represented primarily in those parts of the lexical system that are associated with the designation of non-normative, socially condemned objects and phenomena of reality (for example, synonymous links with the dominants *fool*, *lazy*, *vagrant*, etc.). Supersynonymy in its origins is extralinguistic and is generated by the emotional beginning, special expressiveness, observed where “there is a threat to the physical or social existence of a person” (Kretov 1990: 63)” [Chernyak, 2007: 21].

This study is interested in such type of synonymous links as *parallel synonymous links*. V.D. Chernyak defines this type as follows: “parallel synonymous links are established by correlation with the initial series, all members of which or most of their part are represented by words in basic nominative meanings or nominative-derivative ones close to them by the character of nomination” [Chernyak, 1991: 41]. In parallel synonymous links, the coincidence of at least two members of the series in their different meanings is observed [ibid]. An example of this type in our material is the synonymous link of Russian verbs with the dominant *to mock* (see p. 76).

Different types of synonyms are present in one synonymic link.

Types of synonyms. In Russian linguistics, there are the following main approaches to distinguishing the varieties of synonymous units: 1) by the degree of synonymy; 2)

based on semantic and/or stylistic differentiation between them; 3) by word-formation principles; 4) depending on their relation to linguistic or speech phenomena.

Within the framework of the first approach, synonymic units are divided into the following subgroups according to the degree of synonymy (identity, closeness of meanings and ability to replace each other, neutralize in the text the opposing semantic features) [LES, 1990: 447]:

1. **“Exact synonyms”** (Y.D. Apresyan) or “absolute synonyms” (R.A. Budagov) or “one hundred percent synonyms” (A.A. Reformatsky). Exact synonyms are interpreted as lexemes that are identical in meaning. Traditionally in linguistics these units are also called “lexical doublets”, for example, *okonchanye – flexion, cheredovanye – alternation*. It can be noted that in the proposed examples a word absolutely synonymous with another word is often borrowed from other languages. The exceptions may be *yazykoznanye – yazykovedenye*.

The occurrence of most pairs of exact synonyms in Russian can be explained by “contact with other languages” [Lagutina, 1967: 122]. This fact leads to a discussion among Russian linguists about whether it is not expedient to “take exact synonyms beyond synonymy” [Lagutina, 1967: 121]. A.B. Shapiro calls such a phenomenon “atypical”, “alien” [Shapiro, 1955: 72].

And L.A. Bulakhovsky and T.A. Degtyareva rightly note that absolute synonyms are actively used in speech, so in their works these researchers not only recognize the presence of exact synonyms, but also make attempts to fully describe this phenomenon [Bulakhovsky, 1954: 38; Degtyareva, 1953: 23-26]. In the work “Synonyms in the literary language” A.A. Bragina devotes a separate section to the problem “Foreign words (borrowings and exotisms) in the synonymous link”. The linguist argues that in the study of synonyms the problem “foreign – own”, “is of great importance in semantic and stylistic terms”, and the Russian variant clarifies the foreign variant, otherwise, the word is interpreted through the word [See more: Bragina, 1986: 44-49].

2. **Inaccurate synonyms** or incomplete synonyms, or “quasi-synonyms” (according to Y.D. Apresyan's terminology) are lexemes, part of whose semantics coincides.

In the second approach, as A.A. Bragina rightly, in our opinion, points out, “the very identity of synonymic meanings implies the difference between them”. Hence, two main functions of synonyms are defined: differentiation and identity [Bragina, 1986: 23]. Based on differential features, synonyms are divided into:

1. **semantic** (or **ideographic**): in our material – *to mock* – *to ridicule*. In this subgroup one synonym differs from another by shades of meaning;

2. **stylistic**: in our material – *to scorn* – *to scorn* (colloquial). The units included in the synonymous links are distinguished on the basis of their stylistic peculiarities;

3. **semantic-stylistic**: in our material – *to mock* – *to sneer*. Lexemes of this group are distinguished by both semantic and stylistic features [LES, 1990: 447].

In contrast to the above classifications, the third approach allows us to distinguish synonyms according to their structure. Proponents of this theory proceed from the fact that “the main issue in the consideration of synonyms, to which numerous articles have been devoted since the end of the XVIII century, is the question of the possibility, the admissibility of the presence in the language of two (or more) words to denote the same concept” [A.P. Evgenieva's Dictionary, vol. 1: 8]. It is further argued that “identical in meaning, (“univocal”) words in a language cannot be” [ibid.] The main thesis of this concept is that only “similarly signifying” lexemes are synonyms [ibid.]. In this connection, the third approach to the grouping of synonyms is based on the morphological nature of the Russian, **differently-rooted synonyms** are: *to bend* – *to breeze* – *to neglect*; and **homophonic**: *to zadet* – *to poddet* (our examples – Vu N.Y.K.) [LES, 1990: 447].

In addition to the above approaches, synonyms can be divided into linguistic and contextual according to the degree of dependence on the context. **Linguistic synonyms** are synonymic units recorded in synonymous dictionaries; their similarity is manifested without context. **Contextual** (or speech, or occasional, or individual-authored) **synonyms** are generated only in context [Zherebilo, 2010: 414]. For example, in our study we find an example of synonymization in the context of the verbs *to be hypocritical* and *to play*: *And he is not hypocritical, not playing a cheap performance, when in his dying hour, almost losing consciousness, he suddenly says “firmly and clearly pronouncing the words”:* “No, only one thing I advise you to remember that there are many people in the

world besides Leo Tolstoy, and you look at only one Leo” (Igor Volgin. Getting away from everyone. Leo Tolstoy as a Russian Wanderer // “October”, 2010) [RNC].

Synonymous attraction. The term “synonymous attraction” was introduced into linguistics by S. Ulman. Ulman. Under synonymic attraction S. Ullmann understands the objects that have the greatest importance for the society, attracting more synonyms [Ullmann, 1969: 75]. According to I.D. Balandina, synonymic attraction is “the process of formation of longer synonymous links of lexical units naming the most relevant for the society objects and phenomena of the surrounding reality”, it is “one of the leading ways of conceptualization of the world”, this process “reveals the spheres of the greatest importance for the society” [Balandina, 2009: 52].

Studying the cognitive features of synonymous attraction of verb nominations on the material of English and Russian languages, I.D. Frishberg made the following conclusions: “1) the expansion of verb nomination occurs because of fixing in the language the most significant aspects of extra-linguistic reality; 2) the specificity of cognitive features of synonymous attraction is such that the language nominates more often negative experience than positive. This tendency is especially evident in Russian, where both the greatest representation and the greatest length of the synonymous links are verb nominations with negative connotation; 3) the use of such a parameter as the average length of the synonymous links allowed us to determine the most relevant spheres of extralinguistic reality for speakers of English and Russian; 4) <...> for a representative of the Russian ethnos the sphere of being is the most important, less important is the sphere of relations, and even less important is the sphere of activity” [Frishberg, 2006].

So, we can make the following conclusion: synonymous attraction is a cognitive process, and multinomial synonymous links are the results of this process in language.

Let us now turn to the problem of studying lexical synonymy in scientific literature.

1.2.2. Approaches to the definition and study of synonymy in linguistics

In Russian linguistics at the lexical level, as noted by V.A. Belov [Belov, 2018, 2022], the following approaches to the study of synonyms stand out:

- *denotative approach*, which proposes to consider synonyms as words that express one phenomenon of reality;
- *significant approach*, where synonyms are understood as words identical or close in semantics;
- *structural approach*, which considers synonyms from the formal and semantic sides;
- *pragmatic approach*, which defines synonyms on the basis of contextual interchangeability;
- *psycholinguistic approach* that considers synonyms as units of the native speaker's lexicon [Belov, 2018: 96];
- the approach where the most important criterion for determining synonyms is *identical contextual environment* [Belov, 2022: 6].

Along with the above-mentioned approaches, the approach to the study of synonyms, which can be called *linguo-cognitive*, is also developing in the context of cognitive linguistics.

Thus, within the framework of the **denotative approach**, synonyms are considered as words “denoting the same phenomenon of objective reality” [Palevskaya, 1964: 29]. In the “Concise Dictionary of Synonyms”, V.N. Klyueva adheres to the point of view that synonyms are defined as “words-concepts reflecting the essence of the same phenomenon of objective reality...” (Klyueva, 1956: 5). As synonyms of these concepts can be lexemes “which denote the same thing: the same subject, the same feature, the same action. For example, two different words: hippopotamus, hippopotamus – call the same animal” (Baranov, 2012: 161). In modern linguistics, this interpretation is not accepted by linguists, as in this case synonyms are considered only from an extra-linguistic point of view [Belov, 2018: 97].

In contrast to the denotative approach, supporters of **significant approach**, for example, A.A. Bragina, understand synonyms as lexemes that are “close in their meaning and express one concept” [Bragina, 1986: 6]. It can be noted that in this concept the central attention is paid to the degree of differentiation between synonymous units. The main principle of the significant approach is the identity of the concept expressed by synonyms. According to Y.D. Apresyan, there is a contradiction in this interpretation: “if synonyms can be only ‘close in meaning’, it is impossible to demand that they express ‘the same concept’” [Apresyan, 2009: 200].

Representatives of this direction (A.P. Evgenieva, R.A. Budagov, L.A. Novikov, S.G. Berezhan, A.A. Bragina) offer two approaches to the definition of the concept of “synonyms”. The first approach treats synonyms as lexemes that are identical in semantics. In the second approach, synonyms are treated as lexemes that are identical or very close in semantics, i.e. when studying synonyms, one should consider not only their semantic equivalence, but also stylistic and semantic differences, including also their evaluativeness [Belov, 2018: 97]. Within the framework of this approach, synonyms are considered in a broader and more traditional sense.

Most linguists join the significant approach since synonyms are linguistic units and should be studied by linguistic methods. Representatives of the significant approach emphasize the allocation of semes from the lexical meaning of synonyms by means of the method of component analysis. It is this method that will help to determine the composition and volume of one synonymous link. However, as V.A. Belov believes, “the main limitation of this method is its non-psychological character; there are experimental data showing that native speakers do not break down the lexical meaning of words into elementary components but use a different logic” [ibid.].

While the tradition of studying synonyms centered on the content of such units, in the 1970s linguists began to study synonyms from the formal side as well. This approach is called the **structural approach**. Proponents of the structural approach, for example, Y.D. Apresyan, proposed to consider synonyms in the content and formal plans. Y.D. Apresyan believes that “the usual definition of synonyms as words with coinciding or similar meanings is not based on a strict theory of interpretations and therefore does not

in itself provide formal establishment of the fact of synonymy-unsynonymy of two expressions” [Apresyan, 1995a: 218].

In this connection, according to Y.D. Apresyan, lexemes are considered synonyms if they have “completely coinciding interpretation”, “the same number of active semantic valences”, “belonging to the same part of speech” [Apresyan, 1974: 223]. Y.D. Apresyan develops this concept further as “a formal clarification of the traditional concept of ‘proximity of meanings’” [Apresyan, 2009: 210] as follows: 1) lexical synonyms should have the same actant structure, 2) their interpretations in the meta-language should have a large matching part, 3) which should include most of the assertive components of the synonyms' meanings, 4) necessarily includes the main semantic component of the assertions, 5) if the main semantic component of the assertions is the operator sense, then the subordinate predicate should also match [Apresyan, 2009: 212]. The structural approach is complicated and is intended for linguists; moreover, according to V.B. Kasevich, native speakers in speech activity, apparently, do not use such procedures (Kasevich, 1997) [Belov, 2022: 5].

To determine the synonymic relations between lexical units, the **pragmatic approach** is also considered. This approach has been developed in the works of such linguists as S. Ulman, J. Lyons, A.K. Zholkovsky, I.A. Melkovsky. Ulman, J. Lyons, A.K. Zholkovsky, I.A. Melchuk, as well as Y.D. Apresyan. The basis of the pragmatic approach is to check the synonymy of lexemes in a particular context. Thus, “words capable of replacing each other in the same context or in contexts close in meaning without feeling a noticeable difference in meaning, are called synonyms” [Bulakhovsky, 1954: 39].

Criticism of this approach is caused by the fact that in Russian speech stable word combinations, phraseological phrases are quite actively used, leading to complexity in limiting the synonymous link. “Absolute freedom of substitutability (with identical logical content) decreases as we are getting closer and closer to the type of word combinations that are called stable. Absolute freedom of word combinations does not exist at all, but there are different gradations of it: from relatively large to extremely tight” (Lebedeva, 1999: 68-73) [Belov, 2018: 98]. For example, in our material, the verb *to bend*

and the phraseological expressions *to turn the nose (or face, snout) into a snarl from someone, something or other* are synonymous, but in the linguistic perspective the problem of synonymic relations of words and phraseological units has not been solved. The point is that the attribution of a phraseological unit to a lexical unit and the definition of the status of phraseology in the language system remain debatable. In this study we share the point of view of Y.Y. Avaliani and L.I. Roizenzon: “lexical and phraseological synonymy as close, but not coinciding phenomena, should be independent objects of linguistic analysis” [Avaliani, Roizenzon, 1967: 173]. However, in dictionaries of synonyms phraseological phrases can be present as expressions close in meaning because the dictionary is compiled to help users to choose the right words, expressions, to avoid repetitions in speech.

It should also be noted that in modern linguistics, with the help of these national corpuses, context turns out to be a productive way of finding out the nuance of meaning of units of the same synonymous link.

Since linguistic consciousness is anthropocentric, linguistics also develops a **psycholinguistic approach** to the study of synonyms. This approach is based on the thesis that synonyms are lexemes that are close in the lexicon of native speakers. Representatives of the psycholinguistic approach (A.A. Zalevskaya, I.A. Sternin, A.S. Stern, A.A. Shumilova and others) often conduct associative experiments where the informants are native speakers. In contrast to purely linguistic approaches, within the framework of this approach “the number of “psychological” synonyms includes words that belong to the same semantic field and are associatively related. Examples of psychological synonyms can be hyperonyms and hyponyms, which traditionally have not been considered as synonyms” [Belov, 2018: 99]. In the works of psycholinguists, the term “proximity of the meaning of words” is more often encountered than the term “synonymy”.

The psycholinguistic approach, in our opinion, allows us to expand the boundary of the synonymous link, but at the same time it causes difficulties in systematizing the incoming units, because the lexicon of native speakers includes units that are not recorded by lexicographic sources, differs in the following ways. The lexicon units are not

distributed according to clear criteria. To give an example: according to the results of our survey of native Russian speakers, *to be hypocritical* and *to mimicry* can be synonyms; apparently, these verbs are synonyms only in individual usage.

As Y.N. Karaulov, “a full description of a linguistic personality for the purposes of its analysis or synthesis presupposes: a) characterization of the semantic-structure level of its organization (i.e. either an exhaustive description of it, or a differential one, fixing only individual differences and carried out against the background of an average representation of a given linguistic structure); b) reconstruction of the linguistic model of the world, or the thesaurus of a given personality (on the basis of texts produced by her or on the basis of special testing); c) identification of her life or situational dominants, attitudes, motives, reflected in the processes of generating texts and their content, as well as in the peculiarities of perception of other people's texts” [Karaulov, 2010: 43]. In this work, we will consider only those verbs given by informants during our survey, which are commonly used and belong to the Russian normal language.

In the focus of the next approach – **identical contextual environment** – the key criterion for determining synonyms is the identical context of synonym use. This approach was developed in the works of such linguists as Yu. Inkpen, G. Hirst and others. This approach is formed due to the development of new information technologies and “allows formalizing the procedure of determining synonyms: modern computational systems based on a large array of data allow selecting semantically close words on the basis of context analysis (Knyazeva, 2008; Edmonds, Hirst, 2002; Inkpen, Hirst, 2006)”. [Belov, 2022: 6]. The development of information technologies allows linguists to study language in its current state, i.e. not only to study its “repositories” – dictionaries, fiction, written texts, but also large arrays of texts, called corpora [Knyazeva, 2008: 165], as well as contexts presented in a wide Internet space. This approach is often used as a technical method because it does not contribute to explaining the nature of semantic connection (Shaikevich, Andryushchenko, Rebetskaya, 2013: 24) [Belov, 2022: 6], but it helps researchers to observe, for example, the frequency, period and sphere of active use of the analyzed synonyms.

The latter – **linguo-cognitive approach** to the study of synonyms – emerged because modern linguistics is actively developing a direction, “the essence of which can be characterized as the integration and experimental verification of knowledge about language and man accumulated by linguistics, logic, philosophy, psychology” [Lebedeva, 2007: 1], which predetermines a new stage of the study of synonymy, synonyms in particular. Within the framework of the latter approach, in our opinion, we can distinguish two main directions in the understanding of synonymy and synonyms: 1) anthropocentric approach, because it develops under the influence of anthropocentrism [Belov, 2022: 6]; 2) cognitive approach.

Representatives of the first approach (Y.O. Knyazeva, S.V. Lebedeva, O.V. Pokrovskaya, etc.), according to A.A. Shumilova, consider “synonymy not as a systemic phenomenon possessing a set of certain features, but as an individual's ability to experience similarity in the process of cognitive activity”, through synonymy they study speech-thought mechanisms, as well as psychological features of personality and linguocultural factors [Shumilova, 2009: 4]. A.A. Shumilova herself in her work considers synonymy as a mental-linguistic category and believes that synonyms “are not formed linearly, but have common, overlapping semes with members of other synonymous link; due to functioning within a common motivational space they are able to be synonymized in different situations of communication. Synonyms form instead of a series of a network, “opened” into the language system according to the principle of gradual adding new semes, with the connection of new values the network can infinitely expand to the volumes of the lexicon of the language” [Shumilova, 2009: 8]. In our opinion, the above concepts are closer to the psycholinguistic approach to the study of synonyms and are not purely linguistic. Proponents of the anthropocentric approach often conduct associative experiments among native speakers, hence, not only synonyms, but also similars and proxonyms can be considered as words close in meaning. This approach emphasizes the individuality of language.

Studying synonyms from the point of view of cognitive linguistics, we share the point of view of linguists-representatives of the second approach, who consider synonyms as representatives of a part of the content of any concept in the language, for example,

according to O.V. Chaley, the cognitive approach implies “on the one hand, the study of synonymic means of expression of a certain concept in order to establish the content of the concept by analyzing the lexical meanings of objectively expressing synonymic units. On the other hand, synonyms, acting as a means of linguistic realization of the concept, show what cognitive attributes of thinking people consider important for differentiated nomination, that is, they consider nominatively and, consequently, communicatively relevant” [Chaley, 2015: 194]. Since synonymy, firstly, is a linguistic phenomenon, under synonyms we mean words close in meaning that express part of the content of the same concept.

Thus, in modern linguistics the questions about the concept of “synonyms” and methods of their study remain debatable, approaches to the study of synonyms are diverse and are developed in a significant number of works by both Russian and foreign linguists, but each approach has its own shortcomings, so in recent decades there have appeared works devoted to the study of synonymy and lexical synonyms with the help of cognitive-discursive approach, which contributes to the identification of key points and integration of “existing theoretical developments in the field of synonymy” [Mishlanova, Khrustaleva, 2009: 13-14].

1.2.3. Cognitive-discursive approach to research synonymous verb

In linguistics, synonymous verb have repeatedly attracted the attention of researchers and have been studied in different aspects and with the help of different approaches. According to our observations, we can distinguish two groups of works: 1) works devoted to the general problem of synonymous verbs in the modern Russian language, for example, “From observations on the lexical synonymous verbs in the modern Russian literary language” [Tsyganova, 1953], “Synonymous links of verbs in the modern Russian language” [Chernyak, 1973], article “Synonymous verbs according to lexicographic data” [Kretov, 1990], etc.; 2) works where synonymous verbs of the Russian language are studied aspectively and within a certain lexico-semantic group (LSG), for example, monograph “Verb synonyms of the russian language: development

of verb synonymy in the word formation aspect” [Aminova, 1988], monograph “Multivalence and synonymy in the species-temporal system of the Russian verb” [Glovinskaya, 2001], dissertation “Synonymous link of expressive verbs of the Russian language in an educational dictionary for foreigners” [Zubova, 2002], and others. Now, synonymous verbs are still poorly studied within the framework of the cognitive-discursive approach.

The choice of the cognitive-discursive approach for studying synonymous verb in our study due to:

1. The cognitive-discursive approach allows us to consider language, in particular lexical synonyms simultaneously as a means of communication and a way of cognition of the world, so, in this paper we not only find out functional-semantic, grammatical, stylistic features, pragmatic components of the analyzed synonymous verbs describing interpersonal relationship in the modern Russian language, but also observe how the considered types of interpersonal relationship are verbalized by members of the selected synonymous links by reconstructing invariant and variant scripts.

2. With the help of this approach, synonyms can be considered in their active and natural state, thanks to which it is possible to observe dynamic processes within the synonymous links, i.e. to find out which verbs remain members of the link, which verbs leave the link, which lexeme is the dominant of the link at the synchronic slice, in which discourse the given verb is usually used, etc.

3. Since synonymy and lexical synonyms are one of the key issues of lexical semantics, the cognitive-discursive approach is realized in our work as a promising method of semantic analysis, which combines the features of 1) cognitive analysis, aimed primarily at “determining those specific knowledge structures that stand behind the linguistic form” [Kubryakova, 2012: 49]; 2) conceptual analysis, aimed “literally at establishing the conceptual structure behind the linguistic form in question” [ibid.]; 3) frame semantics as “a method of studying the interaction between the semantic space of language (linguistic meanings) and the structures of knowledge, thought space, i.e. a method of cognitive and semantic modeling of language” [Boldyrev, 2004: 29].

Thus, from our point of view, compared to the above-mentioned approaches to the study of synonyms, the cognitive-discursive approach is the most promising, helps to describe each verb and the relations between them, as well as the range of actions verbalized by these lexemes more fully, accurately and in detail.

1.3. Main issues in the study of Russian verbs describing interpersonal relationship

1.3.1. “Interpersonal relationship” in dictionary’s definition

First of all, it should be noted that in the humanities and social sciences it is customary to distinguish the following concepts: “person”, “individual”, “individuality” and “personality”, among which the most important for our work is the concept of “personality”, because “as a person a person acts as a “unit” in the system of social relations, as a real carrier of these relationship” [Rubinstein, 1973: 245].

In a narrow sense, the category of “relationship”, according to V.N. Myasishchev, includes: 1) attitude to people; 2) attitude to oneself; 3) attitude to the objects of the external world [Obozov, 1990: 14]. Among these three types, “attitude to people” or “interpersonal relationship”, from the position of **psychology**, is interpreted as follows: “interpersonal relationship – subjectively experienced interrelations between people, objectively manifested in the nature and ways of mutual influences exerted by people on each other in the process of joint activity and communication. Interpersonal relationship are a system of attitudes, orientations, expectations, stereotypes, and other dispositions through which people perceive and evaluate each other. These dispositions are mediated by the content, goals, values and organization of joint activity and act as the basis for the formation of socio-psychological climate in the team” [Psychology. Dictionary, 1990: 206].

“Interpersonal relationship” is studied not only in psychology, but also in philosophy, sociology, cultural studies, and pedagogy. Thus, in **philosophy** “interpersonal relationship” are considered as “a set of relationships between subjects: exchange, mutual feelings, joys and quarrels, conflicts, correlation of forces and mutual

attraction... <...> Each of us is ourselves only in relation to others; we position ourselves, as Hegel points out, only by contrasting ourselves with others; we learn to love by experiencing love for ourselves from others; we learn to think by understanding the thoughts of others, etc. <...>” [André Comte-Sponville Dictionary of Philosophy, 2012: 301].

Sociologists, in turn, also define “interpersonal relationship” as psychologists do, but when classifying interpersonal relationship, they focus on the emotional-evaluation component and status-role differences of participants in the relationship. From the point of view of sociology, there are the following types of relationships: 1) emotionally unmediated interpersonal relationship are characteristic of the so-called diffuse small group, or a group of low level of development; 2) in a collective as a highly developed group, interpersonal relationship have a predominantly mediated character, conditioned by the content and goals of joint activity. Emotionally unmediated interpersonal relationship appear here only as a surface layer of interpersonal relationship [Sociology: Encyclopedia, 2003: 545].

In the dictionary “Fundamentals of spiritual culture (encyclopedic educator's dictionary)” interpersonal relationship are defined, from the point of view of **culturology**, as “relations between people, formed in the process of communication on the basis of personal predilections, interests, inclinations in the conditions of a certain culture (and subculture) <...> interpersonal relationship in a particular community are divided into both official, i.e. formalized, arising during the performance of functions and informal, i.e. informalized, arising naturally within the framework of culture and everyday communication <...>, i.e. formalized, arising during performance of functions, and informal, i.e. informalized, arising naturally, within the framework of culture and everyday communication <...>” [Bezrukova, 2000: 440].

In **pedagogy**, interpersonal relationship is understood as “relationship arising in a group of people in the process of communication and learning. Most clearly interpersonal relationship is manifested in the degree of psychological compatibility. The ability to organize the necessary interpersonal relationship in a team is one of the most important indicators of the quality of its leadership and a condition for successful learning” [New

dictionary of methodological terms and concepts (theory and practice of language teaching), 2009: 134].

In the framework of our research, we, from the position of psychology, more precisely, from the position of social psychology, will consider the characteristic of interpersonal relationship, nominated by the verbs analyzed in the dissertation, since, “interpersonal relationship” represent “social and psychological reality” [Rean, Kolominsky, 1999: 107], “an important condition of a person's mental development, socialization and personality formation” [Kazarian, 2009: 107]. From the position of social psychology, “interpersonal relationship” is understood more broadly than in the interpretations of philosophy, sociology, culturology and pedagogy.

According to N.N. Obozov, interpersonal relationship is a mutual readiness of the individual to a certain type of interaction, accompanied by emotional experiences: positive, indifferent, negative in the conditions of communication and other joint activities. [Obozov, 1979: 6]. However, we agree with N.N. Obozov that “interpersonal relationship is rarely unambiguously good and bad. Sympathy – antipathy always fluctuate” [Obozov, 1990: 4].

Being one of the most important fragments of individual's life activity in society, interpersonal relationship, of course, are of interest for research in linguistic works as well.

1.3.2. Verbs describing interpersonal relationship in linguistic research

When analyzing interpersonal relationship in linguistic studies, our attention is drawn, firstly, to the works devoted to verbs of interpersonal relationship. The studies on this problematic, in our opinion, can be divided into two groups: 1) works devoted to verbs of interpersonal relationship, carried out on extensive linguistic material, offering a classification of units, distinguished by generalizing multidimensional conclusions, having access to lexicography, or having a reference character, – works by L.M. Vasiliev 1981, R.M. Gaisina 1982, N.A. Gogulina 1986, L.G. Babenko 1999a, 1999b. Babenko 1999a, 1999b; 2) works that study verbs of interpersonal relationship, as well as other

means of expressing this type of relations on concrete material (media texts, texts of works of fiction) with an emphasis on word-formation methods, functional-semantic, communicative-pragmatic features of verbs of interpersonal relationship or in a comparative aspect – works by M. V. Rumyantseva 1997. V. Rumyantseva 1997, T.P. Akimova 2003, A.A. Gadzhieva 2005, M.V. Frolova 2008, E.S. Dementieva, and L.N. Denisov 2014, N.L. Dorosh 2017, N.A. Starodubtseva and S.Y. Kharchenko 2022. Let us consider the first group of works.

L.M. Vasiliev considers verbs of emotional attitude (including interpersonal relationship) as units of a larger class – “Verbs of psychological activity” [Vasiliev, 1981: 43]. Studying the semantics of verbs of emotional attitude, the researcher notes that these verbs are heterogeneous in their character [Vasiliev, 1981: 108]; and divides them into three groups: 1) verbs expressing mainly the experience of some feeling caused by the attitude towards someone or something (e.g., *to love*, etc.); 2) verbs emphasizing the state associated with such a feeling (e.g., *to fall in love*, etc.); 3) verbs denoting someone's attitude towards someone or something and the manifestation of this attitude in behavior (e.g., *to respect*, *to despise*, etc.). In connection with this complexity of the semantics of verbs of emotional attitude, L.M. Vasiliev emphasizes that the semantic paradigms of these lexemes may overlap with some components of the meaning of verbs of emotional experience and state, or verbs of speech and behavior, or verbs of intellectual activity [ibid.]. In the present study, verbs of this class are considered in a broad sense, i.e. the objects of study are not only verbs (*to compromise*, *to despise*, *to abhor*, etc.), but also verb-name variants, phraseological phrases (*to feel / to nourish / to feel contempt for someone, something; to look / to look down on someone, to take off the hat / hat in front of someone*, etc.). In the semantic classification of verbs, according to L.M. Vasiliev, the leading method is the method of component analysis, based on more formalized and more developed techniques of distributive analysis and transformational analysis, but the main one is the oppositional method based on the systematization of semantic oppositions [Vasiliev, 1981: 42].

R.M. Gaisina in her doctoral dissertation “Lexical-semantic field of attitudes in the modern Russian language” in a separate section describes verbs of relations, including

verbs describing interpersonal relationship. The method of analysis is based on the consideration of the relations “language – thinking – reality” [Gaisina, 1982: 2]. R.M. Gaisina pays attention to the semantic typology of verbs, in particular, the meaning and typology of attitude verbs, the paradigmatic characterization of individual microfields within the attitude field, and the syntagmatics of attitude verbs [Gaisina, 1982: 15]. The researcher notes that the seme ‘attitude’ is a nuclear seme in the meanings of verbs such as *to correspond*, *to treat*, *to like*, *to be friends*; it denotes various kinds of connections and relationship of objects and phenomena of objective activity. The field of attitude verbs consists of a center and a periphery: the central part includes verbs with dominant relational semes ‘correspond’, ‘relate’, ‘interact’, ‘relate’, ‘depend’, etc.; the periphery includes such verbs whose meanings combine relational dominant semes and non-relational dominant semes (e.g., ‘behavior’, ‘feeling’, ‘speech’), e.g., *familiarize*, *like*, *talk*, etc., and the periphery includes such verbs. Relational verbs can be divided into: verbs of beingness and verbs of becoming; causative and non-causative verbs; verbs of emotional attitude and evaluation, verbs of social relations; double-subject, subject-object verbs, etc. The field “Relationships” includes many microfields, for example, verbs of the equality/inequality type, verbs of dependence, verbs of classification relations, verbs of social relations, verbs of emotional attitude and evaluation. When describing each microfield, phraseological phrases expressing similar meanings of the verbs of the microfields are also considered separately. As for the syntagmatic characterization of relationship verbs, R.M. Gaisina identifies syntagmatically relevant semantic components of verbs (explicated, extrapolated, etc.), defines semantic models of verbs and ways of their representation at the surface level, describes combinational formulas, combinational paradigms of verbs (one-membered, two-membered, three-membered and n-membered) [Gaisina, 1982: 15-21].

The word-formation meaning of verbs describing interpersonal relationship is considered in the section “Reflection of situations of lexical-semantic space of the field ‘Attitude’ by word-formation meanings of the Russian verb” in the collective monograph “Russian verb lexicon: denotative space” under the general editorship of L.G. Babenko. In this section, the field “Relation” is divided into: subfields of relationship, possession,

interpersonal and social relations [Babenko, 1999a: 294]. Subfield interpersonal and social relations, as well as relationships, according to the researcher, are represented by single, but quite productive word-formative meanings, fixing the behavior and manifestation of the attitude of sb. to someone-, something- (*to savage*, etc.), causation of some attitude to oneself (*to suck up*, etc.), joint activity, coexistence of subjects (*to work together*, *to coexist*, etc.), victory of one of the interacting subjects (*to argue over*, etc.), etc. [see for details: Babenko, 1999a: 298]. The following is characteristic for the reflection by the word-formative meanings of the field “Relations” of attitude situations: 1) word-formation most often fixes relations of possession; 2) fixation of a rigid, but unstructured nucleus and an open series of reasons “establishing” relations of a certain kind is noted [see for details: Babenko, 1999a: 301].

N.A. Gogulina examines the LSG “Verbs describing interpersonal relationship” on the material of the Russian literary language of the XIX-XX centuries using a synchronic approach [Gogulina, 1986: 4]. According to the researcher, the verbs of this group “due to the specificity of their meaning characterize one of the most complex areas of social life of society – interpersonal relationship of people, which are subject to significant changes over time. This inevitably leads to a noticeable restructuring of both the verbs themselves, denoting relations between people, and the structure of the group which they organize” [Gogulina, 1986: 3]. For the analysis, 432 verbs from explanatory dictionaries were selected by the method of solid sampling, among which there are verbs indicating interpersonal relationship in nominative-derivative and figurative meanings [ibid]. The aim of the work is to determine the regularities of the processes occurring in this LSG and the ways of its formation [Gogulina, 1986: 4], for example, the reduction of the composition of this group due to the loss of Church Slavonic vocabulary, the elimination of absolute synonyms, the departure of certain word-forming types, etc.; replenishment of this LSG due to the emergence of plain, colloquial means of language and semantic neologisms; entry into this LSG of polysemous verbs not in one, but in two or more of their meanings [Gogulina, 1986: 9-10].

L.G. Babenko provides an ideographic description of verbs describing interpersonal relationship in the “Large interpretative dictionary of Russian verbs”. This

work has a lexicographic orientation, so the vocabulary unit ‘Verbs describing interpersonal relationship’ includes only those verbs that directly denote ‘interpersonal relationship’. These units are categorized into three groups, accompanied by an indication of the typical semantics and base verb of each group:

1) verbs of emotional-evaluative attitudes with the typical semantics ‘to treat someone in some way, showing some feelings’ (*to pamper, to believe, to enmity, to get along, etc.*); the base verb of this subgroup is *to treat*;

2) verbs of external manifestation of attitude, the typical semantics of which is ‘to show (manifest) some attitude towards sb. by gestures, facial expressions, sounds, movements or other actions’ (*to applaud, to thank, to greet, to threaten, etc.*);

3) verbs of contact, among which two subgroups are distinguished: a) verbs of concerted action, having the typical semantics ‘to agree with someone about sth., to come to a common opinion, mutual agreement’ (*to wed, to look at, to contact, to get acquainted, etc.*); the base verb is *to agree*; b) verbs of disposition to contact, the typical semantics of this subgroup is ‘to dispose (arrange) someone with something’ (*to bribe, to introduce oneself, to tame, to relate, etc.*); the base verb is *to dispose (to arrange)*. In her work L.G. Babenko also presents synonyms, antonyms, English equivalents of each Russian verb [Babenko, 1999b: 593-606]. The dictionary notes that one verb can belong to one or another group in one of its meanings, for example, the verb *to mock* belongs to the group ‘verbs of emotional-evaluative attitude’ in the meaning ‘to treat sb. non-seriously, subjecting sb. to insulting remarks, mockery’ [Babenko, 1999b: 595], and to the group ‘verbs of external manifestation of attitude’ in the meaning ‘to show a non-serious attitude to sb, using offensive jokes, jeering’ [Babenko, 1999b: 601]. L.G. Babenko also classifies some verbs as follows interpersonal relationship, considering them as part of stable combinations, for example, the verb *to go out* belongs to the subgroup “verbs of coordinated actions” when it is considered in the combination *to marry someone*. [Babenko, 1999b: 604].

Let us now turn to the second group of works that aspectually study verbs of interpersonal relationship.

Thus, the problem of semantics and functions of verb predicates of interpersonal relationship in the modern Russian language (on the material of texts of works of fiction (L. Gumilev, L. Petrushevskaya, L. Ulitskaya, etc.) and Russian prose of the 90s from the magazines “Aurora”, “Friendship of Peoples”, “Moscow”, etc.) was developed by M.V. Rumyantseva. This researcher focuses on the functional-semantic class of verbal predicates that organize statements describing various types of interpersonal relationship situations: speech, emotional, behavioral, intellectual, motor; as well as semantic-syntactic taxonomy of verbal predicates of interpersonal relationship [Rumyantseva, 1997: 4]. The class of verbal predicates of interpersonal relationship in this paper covers a wide range of verbs, for example, speech verb predicates of interpersonal relationship are divided by the author into the functional-semantic group of verbal predicates (FSG GP) of communication: *to talk, to chat, to communicate*, etc.; FSGs of speech action: *to scold, to beg, to comfort*, etc.; FSGs of speech communication: *to speak, to confess, to inform*, etc. The behavioral verb predicates of interpersonal relationship are divided into the FSGs of unauthorized behavior: *to capriciously behave, to interrupt*, etc.; the FSGs of unbalanced behavior: *to bump, to smash, to kill*, etc.; as well as other behavioral FSGs of interpersonal relationship [Rumyantseva, 1997: 11]. M.V. Rumyantseva singles out the following as syntagmatic semes: bisubjective, subject-object, subject-object-motivational, instrumental, locative and others. [Rumyantseva, 1997: 15].

M.V. Frolova pays attention to the functional-semantic properties of verbs of interpersonal relationship in the works of Russian literature of the XX century on the material of texts by A.P. Platonov and M.A. Bulgakov. The researcher relies on the provisions of S.P. Lopushanskaya about two types of semantic changes in the semantic structure of the word-form – semantic modulation and semantic derivation in the study of verbs, verb word-forms expressing interpersonal relationship, reflecting general linguistic regularities, as well as individual-authorial use [Frolova, 2008: 5]. The objects of observation are not only verbs with the categorial-lexical seme ‘interpersonal relationship’, but also verbs with a figurative meaning indicating interpersonal relationship, for example, *to leave a wife, to receive French ambassadors*; as well as the

use of verbs in the formulas of polite respect, request, etc., for example, *humbly thank you* [Frolova, 2008: 11-14].

N.A. Starodubtseva and S.Y. Kharchenko in their article describe the verbs of interpersonal relationship functioning in A.P. Chekhov's prose [Starodubtseva, Kharchenko, 2022: 229]. The paper presents a functional-semantic characterization of these verbs that reveal the interpersonal relationship of the heroes of A.P. Chekhov's works. Researchers, following L.G. Babenko, consider verbs of interpersonal relationship as part of the three groups singled out by her, and pay attention also to other linguistic means of expressing relations between people in A.P. Chekhov's texts, for example, individual-author word combinations greeted with *bitter tears*, *roughly caressed*, *fell in love infernally*, etc.

E.S. Dementieva and L.N. Denisova, in turn, study these verbs in media texts. On the material of the newspaper "Komsomolskaya Pravda" the researchers identify positive and negative interpersonal relationship in each group of verbs according to the classification of L.G. Babenko, specify the signs accompanied by the manifestation of interpersonal relationship: facial expressions, gesture, action, behavior, etc. [Dementyeva, Denisova, 2014: 1]. [Dementieva, Denisova, 2014: 1]. In the newspaper "Komsomolskaya Pravda" verbs of interpersonal relationship often combine several categorical semes, verbs with negative semantics are used more often than those with positive semantics; this is probably due to the influence of extralinguistic factors on the formation of publicistic style [Dementieva, Denisova, 2014: 6]. In this paper, the texts of the newspaper "Komsomolskaya Pravda" allowed the researchers to expand the composition of the LSG "Verbs of interpersonal relationship", it also includes the verbs to contact (colloquial), divorce, fight, sue, or devour in a figurative sense (characteristic of the journalistic style), etc.

The communicative-pragmatic features of verbs of interpersonal relationship attract the attention of T.P. Akimova. In her work on the material of statements from dramaturgical works and dialogical fragments of epic works of Russian literature of the 20th century, T.P. Akimova analyzes the semantics and identifies pragmatically "charged" components of the meaning of verbs of this LSG, determines the parameters

of communicative-pragmatic situations with verbs of interpersonal relationship, and identifies the parameters of communicative-pragmatic situations with verbs of interpersonal relationship, classifies speech acts with these verbs on the basis of identifying the intents of the speaking subject and the meaning of the verbs.

The meanings of these verbal lexemes encode such denotative situations as “the subject (animate person) has a positive/negative attitude to the object (animate person)”, “the subject (animate person) shows with the help of some actions a positive/negative attitude (to animate person)” and other situations; pragmatic features represent “evaluation”, “emotion”, “social statuses”, “events”, etc.; communicative attitudes are “utterance”, “subjects”, “motive”, “goal” and “result”. Based on the purpose of communication, four classes of speech acts with verbs of interpersonal relationship are distinguished: 1) evaluative, 2) etiquette, 3) informative, 4) directive. The communicative intention of the speaking subject is realized by means of direct (performatives) and indirect speech acts (conventional, motivational, inverse, etc.) [Akimova, 2003: 3-14].

As for the word-formation characteristic of verbs of interpersonal relationship, the work of A.A. Gadzhieva is devoted to this issue. The author describes the semantic and word-formation structure of the verbal lexicon, in particular verbs of interpersonal relationship on the material of E. Kapiyev’s prose, i.e. she analyzes semantics of verbs using the field method [Gadzhieva, 2005: 4]. The researcher studies the verb forms of prefixal, suffixal, postfixal, mixed modes of formation and their impact on the expression of aesthetically significant semantics or connotation of verbs; based on which E. Kapiyeva’s idiostyle is revealed [Gadzhieva, 2005: 12].

N.L. Dorosh, in her turn, compares the possessive verbs of interpersonal relationship (*to be friends, to believe, to thank, to advise, to enmity, to malign*, etc.) and their peculiarities of functioning in Russian and Belarusian. In this paper LSG “Verbs describing interpersonal relationship” is a group of verbs nominating situations that demonstrate the relationships between people in their everyday life [Dorosh, 2017: 21]. N.L. Dorosh focuses on the features of combinability, derivational potential, derivational and semantic associations of the otsubstantive verbs of interpersonal relationship in Russian and Belarusian [ibid.]. According to N.L. Dorosh, otsubstantive verbs of

interpersonal relationship deserve a detailed study in the comparative aspect, since the comparison of closely related languages allows us to identify both similarities in the representation of verb semantics and differences concerning the derivational potential of the compared subsystems, the structure and semantics of nominative verb series [Dorosh, 2017: 22].

Thus, based on the reviewed studies, we can note the following: firstly, the semantics of verbs of interpersonal relationship is complex, has “multilayered formation” and “abstract semantic components” [Gaisina, 1982: 15, 19]; the complex content structure allows these verbs to overlap with verbs of one or another LSG; secondly, there is a narrow and broad understanding of the composition of this LSG [Gaisina, 1982: 15, 19]; the complex content structure allows these verbs to overlap with verbs of one or another LSG; secondly, there is a narrow and a broad understanding of the composition of this LSG: In the narrow understanding, this group includes only verbs with the categorical-lexical seme ‘interpersonal relationship’; and in the broad understanding, it also includes verbs that in figurative meaning or in individual use indicate interpersonal relationship; verb-name combinations and phraseological phrases equal to verbs and expressing this type of relations. Third, the classification of interpersonal relationship verbs is ambiguous. Fourthly, in most works the analysis is carried out on the material of texts of works of fiction. In view of the above, verbs of interpersonal relationship need further research in other aspects and on different material.

1.3.3. The cognitive aspect of research’s verbs describing interpersonal relationship

In recent decades, verbs, particularly verbs describing interpersonal relationship, have started to be investigated in the cognitive aspect. In addition to the directions and approaches we have discussed above, other methods (frame analysis, conceptual metaphor, conceptualization, conceptualization of the lexical semantics of interpersonal relationship) can be applied in the study of lexical semantics in the cognitive aspect. Along with the directions and approaches considered above, when studying lexical

semantics in the cognitive aspect it is possible to apply other methods (frame analysis, conceptual metaphor, conceptual analysis, computer-corpus approach, etc.), the choice of which can be predetermined by the criteria proposed by E.G. Belyaevskaya: 1) linguistic material, 2) the range of the lexical semantics in the cognitive aspect, research tasks that this method allows solving, 3) limitations of the method – language material and research tasks where this method is ineffective [Belyaevskaya, 2014: 14].

In her article “Methods of lexical semantics analysis in cognitive linguistics”, E.G. Belyaevskaya notes that, in CL, when studying semantics, the main attention is paid to demonstrating the results of modeling the semantics of linguistic units or utterances as part of solving two main problems – conceptualization and categorization. Therefore, according to the researcher, “the notion of conceptual metaphor, frames and mental spaces should (or at least can) be considered as research techniques or methods for analyzing semantics in a language system specific to cognitive linguistics” [Belyaevskaya, 2014: 13-14]. Thus, the main goal of studying semantics, in particular lexical semantics in the cognitive aspect, consists in cognitive modeling of the semantics of any units. As an example, we will consider the following studies.

An attempt to describe Russian verbs of interpersonal relationship with this research goal was made, for example, in O.Y. Kapustkina’s dissertation “Binary frame of interpersonal relationship in Russian and English linguocultures” [Kapustkina, 2012], and in Woo Bok Nam’s dissertation “Models of metaphorical representation of interpersonal relationship in Russian” [Woo Bok Nam, 2003].

In O.Y. Kapustkina's work the object of study is interpersonal relationship, the subject is verbal means of expressing this type of relationship in Russian and English. Frame analysis is one of the main research methods.

It is important to note that the peculiarity of the frame analysis method, according to E.G. Belyaevskaya, is determined by the fact that, firstly, the frame has an “internal” structure; secondly, unlike the internal structure of a semantic field, often correlated with the frame, the frame structure is formed not according to the principle “core – periphery”, but in accordance with the schematized representation of the object around which the frame is organized [Belyaevskaya, 2014: 14]. Thus, “a frame is an association of initially

lexical units, further more – an association of linguistic means of different levels, necessary for fixing and transferring in the process of communication information or knowledge about some object, some situation or some set of objects” [ibid].

Thus, according to O.Y. Kapustkina, the frame approach seems to be the most universal method of cognitive analysis. The researcher, following V.I. Karasik, understands a frame as a model for measuring and describing knowledge (mental representations) stored in people’s memory. A frame is considered as a structure that includes subframes, slots, subplots and terminals arranged in a certain hierarchy. Based on the dynamic frame structure proposed by M.V. Milovanova (Milovanova, 2007), O.Y. Kapustkina considers “interpersonal relationship” as a binary frame consisting of two subframes – “positive relationships” (slots “faith”, “love”, “respect”, “favor”) and “negative relationships” (slots “insult”, “hatred”, “contempt”). The structure of the frame “interpersonal relationship” allows the researcher to reveal the linguacultural specificity of verbalization of various qualifications of interpersonal relationship in the verb lexicon of non-closely related languages, for example, within the subframe “negatively colored relations” when representing the slot “hate” in Russian there is an explication of special relations of “dislike”, expressed by the verbs dislike and dislike; and in English the direct nomination of such relations is not relevant, a separate qualification is given to the verb “to love”. O.Y. Kapustkina conducts a study on the cases of verbs of interpersonal relationship in the texts of classic Russian fiction of the 19th century and their English translations [Kapustkina, 2012: 3-7].

Woo Bok Nam's work focuses on the motivation and systematicity of metaphorical expressions united around one concept to denote another concept. The object of the study is metaphorical expressions of interpersonal relationship, i.e. words, phrases, idioms, proverbs, and contexts that include metaphorical models. The subject of the analysis is metaphorical models of representation of interpersonal relationship. The aim of the work is defined as revealing the typology of metaphorical representation of interpersonal relationship in Russian with reference to metaphorical models, for example, “metaphorical models based on similarities in the structure of entities; metaphorical models based on spatial parameters; metaphorical models based on the transfer of the

concrete to the abstract: emotional, speech-thought, and social activities” [Woo Bok Nam, 2003: 3-10]. Speaking about the peculiarities of the theory of conceptual metaphor, E.G. Belyaevskaya notes that “in fact, all forms of secondary nomination in the language system fall into the sphere of study (and cognitive modeling)” [Belyaevskaya, 2014: 17], so in the work of Woo Bok Nam as verbs describing interpersonal relationship are considered verbs, verb-name combinations, with the help of which interpersonal relationship are described metaphorically, for example: *Their roads have crossed; Their romance has started to twist and turn; They are close to each other, They have built a family life on love, Strong threads bind me with friends*, etc. [Woo Bok Nam, 2003: 10]. This study is conducted on the material of specific metaphorical expressions obtained by the method of continuous sampling from newspapers and magazines contemporary to the author (2000-2003).

The peculiarity of the method of conceptual metaphor is seen in the fact that the term “concept” is at the center of the theory of conceptual metaphor. A.P. Chudinov notes that “in accordance with the ideas of cognitive linguistics, the basis of metaphor is not the meanings of words and objectively existing categories, but the concepts formed in human consciousness. These concepts contain human ideas about the properties of man himself and the world around him” [Chudinov, 2004: 94-95].

Thus, according to our observations, in the studies devoted to verbs of interpersonal relationship in the cognitive aspect, verbs describing interpersonal relationship are often considered as one of the verbal means of expressing a concept, category, frame, script, etc. In our work, we reconstruct invariant and variant scripts represented in the semantics of selected verbs describing interpersonal relationship using extensive linguistic and speech material.

As for the prototypical meaning of the verb within CL, A.M. Plotnikova notes that “the meaning of a word is understood as a part of a person's knowledge about the world and as a special cognitive structure” [Plotnikova, 2009: 4], so “the consideration of the meaning of verbs from cognitive positions leads to a the idea of fixing in it a person’s knowledge about actions, processes, events occurring in reality, i.e. the meaning of the verb fixes procedural formats of knowledge” [Plotnikova, 2008: 74]. Based on this thesis

and the nature of interpersonal relationship, from our point of view, the peculiarity of the semantics of verbs of interpersonal relationship is the fixation also of knowledge about the mental world of a person.

Conclusions

The analyzed theoretical works on the studied topic allow us to draw the following conclusions.

In this study, following E.S. Kubryakova, we believe that any linguistic unit, in particular lexical synonyms should be studied in two aspects – cognitive and discursive. Reconstructing the cognitive structures behind the semantics of synonymous verbs is the main task when studying synonyms in the linguo-cognitive aspect. Since the human being as a native speaker is at the center of the cognitive paradigm of language study, in our opinion, only discourse comprehensively reflects the human being as a linguistic person.

In this regard, this paper focuses on the invariant and variant scripts embedded in the semantics of the analyzed verbs. Based on the general theory of variant-invariance and the concept typology proposed by A.P. Babushkin, we understand the invariant script as a script scheme reflected in the verb's dictionary meaning; and the invariant script as a scheme of the verb's semantics, and under a variant script – a concrete realization of this scheme in different situations. Following M. Minsky and A.P. Babushkin, we consider a script as 1) a type of frame, 2) a smaller mental unit, as a concrete realization of a concept. Being a type of frame, a script also consists of obligatory and optional slots – subject, object, object's reaction, etc. The script is a type of frame.

Despite the considerable number of works devoted to the problems of synonymy and lexical synonyms, quite a few issues remain debatable, so at the moment and in the future it is necessary to continue the study of these linguistic and speech phenomena.

The existing approaches in linguistics cannot provide exhaustive information about synonyms separately, so an integrative approach to the study of synonyms is required. In our opinion, the cognitive-discursive approach meets this requirement and represents an effective method of studying lexical semantics, in particular lexical synonymy.

During the study of the selected synonyms, we use synonymous link, synonymous subgroup and dominant as the main terms. Based on the experience of researchers, under the synonymous links we understand an unclosed microsystem of lexical units of the same part of speech with absolutely or partially similar semantics, systematically related to each other. In our work, we adhere to the typology of synonymous links proposed by V.A. Belov: within one synonymous link, in most cases, we can identify a dominant, traditionally defined as an evaluatively and stylistically neutral word, the most frequent and having the most general meaning. There are also non-centered synonymous links in which it is impossible to identify the dominant. Synonymous subgroup – smaller groups of synonyms that are closest in meaning – are distinguished in a synonymous link.

Interpersonal relationship, in our opinion, form one of the key fragments of the Russian picture of the world; there is a significant semantic field “interpersonal relationship” in the Russian, including multinomial synonymous links of verbs of interpersonal relationship. From the point of view of sociopsychology, interpersonal relationship are understood as relations of a person to others, therefore, when considering the cognitive scripts verbalized by these lexemes, we will pay special attention to the slots “subject” and “object” of relationship.

The theoretical provisions of this chapter serve as a basis for the research part of the work.

CHAPTER 2. COGNITIVE AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SYNONYMOUS LINKS OF RUSSIAN VERBS OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP

2.1. Composition and general characterization of the material. Research methodology

The object of the study is 26 Russian verbs describing interpersonal relationship used in 1500 contexts of The Russian National Corpus and other Internet sources. The Russian verb synonyms are grouped into four synonymous links with the dominants *to mock* (7 units), *to be hypocritical* (6 units), *to hurt* (8 units) and *to shun* (5 units).

The selection of verbs-synonyms for analysis was carried out in several stages:

At the first stage, the verbs of the LSG “Verbs describing interpersonal relationship” were selected, recorded in the “Explanatory dictionary of Russian verbs: Ideographic description. English equivalents. Synonyms. Antonyms” edited by L.G. Babenko.

At the second stage, one of the most voluminous and insufficiently researched subgroups of verbs of interpersonal relationship – “Verbs of external manifestation of interpersonal relationship” – was selected for detailed analysis.

At the third stage, the units of this subgroup were selected from the verbs that, according to the Russian synonym dictionaries, form multinomial synonymous link. As a rule, these rows are formed by verbs denoting negative interpersonal relationship.

The sources for material selection were “Russian dictionary of synonyms” edited by A.P. Evgenieva 1970-1071, “Concise dictionary of Russian synonyms” by K.S. Gorbachevich 1996, “Dictionary of Russian synonyms” by Z.E. Aleksandrova 2001, “Large Russian synonymous dictionary: speech equivalents: practical reference book” by A.Yu. Kozhevnikov 2003 and “Dictionary of Russian synonyms and similar expressions” by N. Abramov 2007.

The research methodology in connection with the tasks set in the paper includes several stages.

At the first stage the composition of each synonymous links is determined according to the data of dictionaries of Russian synonyms.

At the second stage the structure of the synonymous links is determined, the links of the verbs of the series closest in semantics are singled out. For this purpose, the meaning of all verb synonyms is analyzed in detail according to the data of Russian explanatory dictionaries.

The task of the third stage of the work is to study synonyms in the selected links. The contexts of verb usage in the RNC and other Internet sources are studied to identify functional-semantic, grammatical features and pragmatic parameters of the situation of their use. Invariant and variant scripts realized by verb-synonyms are singled out.

At the fourth stage, to verify the conclusions obtained during the analysis of synonymous verbs, a questionnaire survey was conducted among 47 native Russian speaker informants aged 18 to 70 (66% of respondents belong to the age group from 18 to 25), engaged in philology and journalism. The respondents were given the task to identify the synonyms of the dominant verb of each link analyzed in the study: *to mock*, *to be hypocritical*, *to hurt and to shun*, to rank them in descending order of frequency of use and to indicate the stylistic affiliation of these verbs (see Appendix).

As a result of the analysis of synonyms of one link, the invariant script for the whole synonymous links is revealed, conclusions are drawn about similarities and differences between synonymous verbs, and a generalized characteristic of each series is given.

2.2. Synonymous link of Russian verbs meaning ‘to mock’²

2.2.1 Composition and structure of the synonymous link of Russian verbs meaning ‘to mock’

The object of the study in this section is the synonymous link meaning ‘to mock’, which includes the following verbs: *to mock*, *to sneer*, *to bully*, *to abuse*, *to hoot*, *to swagger*, *to laugh* [Evgenieva, 1971: vol. 1, 423]; [Gorbachevich, 1996: 167]; [Aleksandrova, 2001: 157]; [Abramov, 2007: 231]; [Kozhevnikov, 2003: vol. 1, 267]. The verbs of this link are united by the meaning ‘to treat sb. rudely, to make sb. the subject of ridicule, humiliation’.

Based on the results of the analysis of lexicographic sources, in our opinion, within the synonymous link of verbs meaning *to mock* we can distinguish one synonymous subgroup and separate verbs with obvious differential semes in their meaning. Let us consider them:

- *to mock* – *to sneer* – *to bully* – *to abuse*;
- *to swagger*;
- *to hoot*;
- *to laugh*.

Let us proceed to the cognitive-discursive analysis of the members of the series.

² Section 2.2. based on the following articles by the author Vu Ngoc Yen Khanh:

1. Russian verbs *to mock* and *to sneer* in the aspect of intercultural communication // Proceedings of the VII International Scientific and Methodological Conference “Problems of teaching philological disciplines to foreign students” (28-29 January 2022). – Voronezh: Publishing and Printing Centre “Scientific Book”, 2022. – P. 241-245.

2. Frame analysis of the Russian verb *to laugh at sb* (in comparison with Vietnamese) // Russian as a foreign language and methodology of teaching, vol. 32. – SPb.: “ROPRYAL”, 2021. – P. 40-48.

3. Russian verbs *to mock* and *to bully*: linguo-cognitive aspect // Cognitive linguistics and intercultural communication. – Tambov, 2022. – № 2 (49). – P. 321-326.

2.2.2. Synonymous subgroup *to mock* – *to sneer* – *to bully* – *to abuse*

The units of this synonymous subgroup are united by the common seme ‘to treat someone rudely, causing suffering’.

1. *To mock*

According to the explanatory dictionaries, *to mock* has two LSVs: 1) ‘to mock sb., sth., insultingly; to mock, mock’; 2) ‘to treat sb. extremely insultingly, rudely; to subject sb. to all kinds of humiliation; to torment; to torture’ [BAS, 2007: vol. 7, 119]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 1, 642]; [TCRJA, 2007: 291]; [BTS, 1998: 380].

Since the verb *to mock* serves as the dominant of the synonymous link, it should be noted that although this verb has two LSVs, according to the dictionaries of Russian synonyms, it forms only one synonymous link.

The analysis of lexicographic material, contexts from the RNC and Internet sources allows us to identify two invariant scripts in the semantics of the verb *to mock*: 1) ‘To make someone the subject of offensive jokes’, realized, for example, in the context: *Those who laugh and mock such people do not realize that at any moment, under certain circumstances, they themselves may become like this* [<https://ngs.ru/text/gorod/2020/10/10/69498509/comments/>]; and 2) ‘To treat sb. rudely, to cause torment, humiliation’, for example, *Leo Tolstoy’s story “After the Ball” or an excerpt from the same writer’s work “Childhood”, where the basis of analysis can be the act of a boy who has a very sensitive, “compassionate” nature, but, nevertheless, succumbs to the general negative impulse and together with his comrades mocks another boy* (S.S. Tikhomirova. Case-method as a modern tool for the effectiveness of corrective-developmental lesson (2021)) [RNC].

The first invariant script can have the following options:

1. ‘To make sb. the object of ridicule, barbed remarks’. Let's look at some examples: *The girl said that she was constantly mocked at school because of her fullness* (‘Miss Britain’ lost twice her weight and gave advice to overweight people // Lenta.ru, 2020.10.03); *I was never mocked because of my legs... They mocked me because I was taller than others’, she recalls* (The owner of the longest legs in the world told about her

daily difficulties // Lenta.ru, 2020.10.07) [RNC]. In these contexts, the verb *to mock* is often used in combination *to mock because of what* (appearance, nationality, hair color, accent, etc.); Another example: *I am currently infatuated with you. – It's a silly infatuation, meaningless. Get ready for the wedding and don't upset your parents. – No need to mock, I know your opinion. There's a reason our ladies hate you. You're breaking their pattern. By the way, why didn't you reply to my note* (Anna Russkikh. Don't ask why, or rainy summer // “Dalniy Vostok”, 2019) [RNC].

2. ‘To take sth. lightly; to say sth. or do sth. in a way that makes the object feel that it is being mocked’: *Somewhere not far away. Two stops on the bus. – Maybe we should ask at the housing office. – Maybe. – Are you kidding me? She’s staring at me in silence. – I'm telling you, she won't open the door. She’s in there.* (Fox Mulder looks like a pig (2001)); *– You owe twelve rubles, and, if possible, without change. – It's impossible without change, – as if I dropped it. And I handed the cashier a five-thousand-dollar bill. – Are you kidding me? I've already turned in the cash register! I only have change left. Come back tomorrow. Change and come back* (Vladimir Godovanets. Miniatures // “Dalniy Vostok”, 2019) [RNC]. It is necessary to pay attention to the fact that in modern colloquial speech the verb *to mock* can be partially desemanticized, being used in the meaning of ‘to try to achieve something unrealizable from the viewpoint of the addressee of the speech’. In this case, the construction “*Are you kidding?*” acts as a stable communicative marker, and the construction “*Are you laughing?*” or “*Are you joking?*” can be considered synonymous with it. In our opinion, in colloquial speech the verb *to mock* is actively used as a communicative marker.

According to our observations, the second invariant script of *to mock* is realized in the following variants:

1. ‘To treat sb. roughly, to torment, to cause physical suffering’: *In the Kama region, an entrepreneur abused two boys. A video has appeared on social networks showing a store owner from Berezniki lynching two boys. <...> In his hands the man held a jar with red caviar. He opened the jar, took the caviar out of it with his hand and started smearing it on the face of one of the boys* [<https://clck.ru/35NuCA>];

2. ‘Causing moral torment’: *If you drink Coca-Cola and forbid your child to drink it, it cannot be called any decent word, you are just **mocking** him* (A.A. Danilova, Tutta Larsen. Tutta Larsen: “My children will not get tattoos” (2017.05) // 2017) [RNC]; *“If you wanted to prevent Djokovic from winning his tenth trophy, why didn’t you refuse him immediately, why didn’t you say you wouldn’t give him a visa? Why are you **mocking** him?”* [<https://www.gazeta.ru/sport/2022/01/15/14421391.shtml>].

3. ‘Causing both physical and moral abuse’, e.g. *When you’ve been physically and mentally **mocked** for 9 years and your mom says, ‘ignore it’. And you try not to cry* (Chat for Artists. telegram Chat for Artists (05/25/2022)) [RNC]; *A resident of Chelyabinsk for more than 12 years regularly **mocked** his wife. From beatings and humiliation of the woman did not save even moving to another city, reports the telegram channel “Iznanka. Women”* [<https://life.ru/p/1591527>].

This lexeme is a frequent one: 12945 examples of its use were found in the RNC.

2. *To sneer*

In Russian explanatory dictionaries the verb *to sneer* is interpreted as follows: ‘to mock, maliciously mock sb.’ [BAS, 2006: vol. 4, 168]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 1, 317]; [TCRYA, 2007: 154]; [BTS, 1998: 210]. This verb is most often found in the invariant script ‘to make sb. the object of malicious ridicule’, e.g.: *Of course, that time, when the embarrassment with the printer happened, she behaved somewhat sarcastically with Trofimova, but the way the lawyer is **sneering** her now is not in any comparison with Katya’s modest performance. And that is ungenerous. Does Katya have to know all these legal subtleties? That’s what a lawyer at the firm is for, to know, and Katya doesn’t need to know them* (Marina Zosimkina. You will wake up. Book One (2015)); *Young mocked Igor and Phil, in every possible way **sneering** and teasing and making explicit hints, although he himself had a scuffle with his parents and was going to rent an apartment with some of his friends* (A.B. Salnikov. The Department // “Volga”, 2015) [RNC].

It is important to note that unlike the verb *to mock*, the semantics of *to sneer* contains the implicit seme ‘to cause moral suffering, pain, insultingly mock what is dear to a person’. Cf. the frequent combination *to sneer* a shrine or such word combinations as

to sneer the victims / the memory of the liberator / Russian values, etc. Taking into account this fact, it should be noted that this verb often realizes the variant script 1) ‘to cause moral suffering, pain, mock someone who is dear to a person’, for example, ‘*Never again and no one will be able to sneer our veterans and desecrate the memory of the defenders of the Fatherland with impunity*’, – emphasized when introducing amendments in 2021. Irina Yarovaya, vice-speaker of the State Duma from United Russia (The prosecutor's office found violations in laying flowers to Hungarian prisoners of war in Orsk // Vedomosti, 2021.05.11); “*No one will be allowed to sneer the dead and discredit the work of our medical workers*”, said the governor (Oksana Pavlova. The Head of the Tomsk Region Health Department has been fired // Kommersant, 2020.07.10); *I don't want to malign at all, because I am a very kind person, and believe me, I don't sneer the “sixties”, I sincerely respect them, though I have my own ideas about them* (Evgeny Popov. Someone was, came and went (1970-2000)) [RNC]. In the RNC, this variant script is often found in mass media.

2. The invariant script of the verb *to sneer* also has the less frequently realized variant ‘to treat something frivolously, trying to turn the situation into a joke when communicating with someone’: – *I want fifty, – the interlocutor said capriciously, as if reading our thoughts. – Can you call him and arrange it? – Fifty? – He asked in amazement and amusement. – And you don't want it for free? – Don't sneer, she said, offended. – Such things do not sneer, Milosadov!* (Andrei Volos. From the life of a one-headed // “October”, 2013); *Well, what kind of maniacs are there in the taiga! At most, escaped convicts. And don't forget, you have a can.... Although, if the maniac wears a gas mask, you're dead, Luisa! – Don't sneer, Marina... Louise slowly approached the lonely traveler, illuminating him with headlights. – At least put the high beam off. See, it's not a maniac. Grandfather, and, in my opinion, he's frozen* (Marina Marina Marina. Vityka the Sorcerer // “Far East”, 2019) [RNC]. In the above examples, it can be seen that in specific situations the joke was unsuccessful and causes the subject offense, dissatisfaction, which is clarified by the word combinations *Do not, Don't sneer*, the word *offended*.

According to the RNC, the verb *to sneer* is used in 3522 contexts. Unlike the dominant *to mock*, the verb *to sneer* actively realizes the variant script ‘to cause moral suffering, pain by mocking someone who is dear to a person’. *To sneer* has a more negative evaluation and is less frequent than *to mock*.

3. *To bully*

According to the Russian explanatory dictionaries, the verb *to bully* is defined as ‘the same as to mock’ [BAS, 2007: vol. 7, 155-156]; [TSRYA, 2007: 292]; [BTS, 1998: 383], ICA specifies that this lexeme has the meaning ‘to treat someone badly, humiliating, insulting, etc.; to mock’ [MAS, 1999: vol. 1, 649]. All dictionaries note that the verb *to bully* has a colloquial stylistic belonging.

The analysis of lexicographic data, contexts in the RNC and the Internet allows us to identify an invariant script in the semantics of the verb *to bully* ‘to treat someone badly, humiliating, insulting’, e.g., *How much can you bully a person?* (V.M. Shapko. Beach // “Volga”, 2011) [RNC]. Within this invariant, the following variants can be distinguished:

1. ‘To verbally bully sb.’, but the verbal mockery denoted by this synonym implies a longer duration and intensity than that of the verb *to mock*: *I was **bullying** the grooms all the way. They first laughed, then barked languidly, and bore the evil on their horses* (Viktor Astafyev. Oberton (1995-1996)) [RNC].

2. ‘To cause physical suffering, torment, to exercise physical violence’, e.g. *And secondly, that the people who surrendered were more severely **bullied**. People who balked – they were beaten, tortured, but it never came to their complete destruction* (Sergei Enikolopov, Shura Burtin. “How does a man reach bestiality?” // “Russian Reporter”, no. 37 (215), September 22, 2011) [RNC];

3. ‘To humiliate verbally and force to submit to oneself, showing psychological violence’: *You have evil beggar aunts working in schools – and I would never allow my child to be **bullied*** (E.V. Kolina. Diary of Treason (2011)); *The army of those years was not like today's army. Different. There was no dedovshchina. Junior commanders, of course, **bullied** as much as they could, but not much. “You are reading fairy tales again,” – when someone read a book* (Nikolai Kryshchuk. Sad Man // “Zvezda”, 2002) [RNC];

4. ‘Combine physical violence and psychological violence, usually manifested in verbal form’: – *My father... bullies me and my mother on a regular basis. We endure constant insults, reproaches, slander, threats. Infliction of bodily injuries to my mom: broken nose, broken leg, numerous hurts, and contusions, – complained the guy* [<https://inlnk.ru/xvXyxX>]; *In the Samara region the evil stepmother abused children for two years. <...> The stepmother not only beat the children, but also bullied their psyche* [<https://63.ru/text/criminal/2023/06/20/72414317/>].

So, according to the results of the analysis, in the given examples the subject of bullying often occupies a dominant place, compared to the object, for example, *father – mother and children, commander – soldiers*, etc., the meaning of the verb *to bully* differs from the verb *to mock* by greater intensity, duration of impact on the object, thoughtfulness of actions, the component of physical violence in the semantics is more significant. In the situation of “bullying” the image of realization of the action “to bully” and its consequences are constantly present. In addition, the verb *to bully* is characterized by a more negative evaluation than the verb *to bully*. In the RNC, 966 word uses of this verb were found.

4. *To abuse*

According to the Russian explanatory dictionaries, the meaning of the verb *to abuse* is as follows: ‘to mock viciously’ [BAS, 2007: vol. 7, 106]; [TCRYA, 2007: 154]. Both dictionaries refer the verb to the plain style of speech. This dictionary meaning is the basis of the corresponding invariant script, realized, for example, in the following contexts: *Her time was passing, fewer cars stopped near her, more and more young people hooliganized over her, they abused an old woman, and she tolerated it: she had to eat* (Mikhail Tyazhev. *Ovrag // "October"*, 2013) [RNC]. This invariant can be realized in the following variants:

1. ‘To treat someone rudely, to cause physical and/or psychological violence’: *And he, feeling complete impunity, has already begun to simply abuse the family. <...> She ran to the police in despair and told them that he had held the whole family under the knife for several hours and that she was afraid for the children* (Evgeny CHERNY. *The*

court acquitted a mother of three children who killed her drug addict husband out of desperation // Komsomolskaya Pravda, 2012.03); *You don't appreciate her, you get drunk, you swear. If you don't stop **abusing** her, I won't save you* (Guardian Angel saved Mikhail from death // Komsomolskaya Pravda, 2004.12.19) [RNC].

2. The verb *to abuse* often realizes the variant script 'to make sb. the subject of malicious ridicule, usually verbally, using sarcastic remarks': – *He is probably a two-meter tall bogeyman with greasy hair and bad breath, changes his socks not more than twice a year, only does what he does, that sits on the sofa and, slurping, gobbles sauerkraut, – **abused** his brother* [<https://clck.ru/35AhDF>]; *By and large, the guys didn't care. It even turned out that watching the show is no less fun, because over the dancers began to make fun. Well gagotat in the class loved. And phrases funnier repeated each other without end. And you couldn't tell who was **abusing** who – themselves, their friends or the announcer? – And now he's going out on the ice... – He's going under the ice! – trumpeted Don, and everyone squirmed with laughter* [https://royallib.com/read/rain_oleg/chelovek_deyteriya.html#0].

Compared to the other verbs of this subgroup, the verb *to abuse* is not very common: only 400 examples of this verb were recorded in the RNC.

Thus, in this synonymous subgroup, in terms of semantic proximity to the dominant *to mock*, all the verbs are arranged in the following order (descending): *to mock* – *to sneer* – *to bully*, among which *to abuse* is the least used. The action of the verb *to bully* is more physical, while the action of the verbs *to sneer* and *to bully* is moral.

2.2.3. The verb *to swagger*

Unlike other verbs of the link, the verb *to swagger* actualizes in its meaning the seme 'to mock someone, to behave arrogantly'.

Thus, in the explanatory dictionaries of the Russian language the verb *to swagger* is interpreted as 'to behave arrogantly, to boast // showing arrogance, to mock someone' [BAS, 2007: vol. 8, 793]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 2, 151]; [TSRYA, 2007: 391]; [BTS, 1998:

481]. BAS, MAS and TCRYA note that the verb *to swagger* belongs to the plain speech style, while BTS – to the colloquial one.

The invariant script that realizes the dictionary meaning of this verb can be illustrated by the following contexts: *He somehow got into the role of the gallery owner, even somehow too much, and in every possible way **swaggering** over the vomiting interviewer, portrayed some Muscovite who could buy a dozen of such interviewers* (A. B. Salnikov. Department // Department // A. B. Salnikov. B. Salnikov. The Department // “Volga”, 2015); *Ridiculous, rude, drunk – they rise above the crowd, **swagger in**, brag and lie, break mirrors, give out teeth slaps, send the disgraced to the stable and tell the man to beat bows* (M.K. Kantor. Slow Jaws of Democracy (2008)) [RNC].

Among the contexts of verb to curry, we have found several contexts where the variant script ‘to cause suffering to someone by abusing one's power or social status’ is actively realized. This is confirmed, for example, in the following contexts: *Liksutov is **swaggering** Muscovites <...> Roofed by the head of the Deptrans Maxim Liksutov, young ‘effective managers’, without coordination with the leadership of the districts and discussion with the residents, changed simultaneously a lot of land routes* [<https://www.eg.ru/society/1654702-likсутov-kurajitsya-nad-moskvichami/>]; *“They took away the rest room from the drivers (ambulance drivers – Vu N.Y.K.). They are starting to **swagger** them as if they were enemies of the country. They said, if you quit, we (hospital management – Vu N.Y.K.) will call all the enterprises, the town is small, that you will not be accepted,” – said Kulik.* [https://dzen.ru/a/ZK7D3ps5w0eAPeVw?utm_referer=www.google.ru]; *As in the case of Ainars Kadis, the new protest action is also ignored by the official media. But the police again decided to take up their usual business – they started to **swagger** the hunger striker, as they did with Ainars* [<https://clck.ru/35CVRY>]; *Here is what is written in blogs, where the employees complain about their patrons. They take a person for an “internship” with a salary of 3 thousand rubles or for a “probationary period” and then fire him and look for another simpleton. However, these are still exceptions. And only the very young people are being **swaggered**; they are holding on to the cool specialists* (Evgeny

ARSYUKHIN. Is it possible to raise the minimum wage to 11,000 rubles in Russia? // Komsomolskaya Pravda, 2012.10.30) [RNC].

It should be noted that within this variant script the subject of action usually occupies a higher social status than the object of action: *policeman – people, patron – employees, government – people*.

In addition, the verb *to swagger* also has the variant script ‘to inflict physical or psychological violence’, but this variant is realized less frequently. Let's look at some examples: *In New York at night, two Hispanics jam the doors of an elevated train car and for several distances **swagger** the passengers* (Igor Zaichikov. Hooligan attack (2004) // "Martial Art of the Planet", 10.06.2004); *Yes, he came drunk, yes, he again **swaggered** her late at night, threw burning matches at her – almost a full box of burning matches was found on the floor – yes, he insulted her and insulted her* (Viktor Astafiev. Zatesi (1999) // "Novy Mir", 2000) [RNC]. Often the scripts discussed above are realized when the subject is in a state of alcohol intoxication.

In several cases, according to our observations, the verb *to swagger* realizes the variant script ‘to say something to ridicule someone, to put someone in an uncomfortable position’. Let's look at some examples: – *These are my assistants, – Morozova said in a dull voice. – High-class specialists? – Pafnutev **swaggered**. – High enough* (Victor Pronin. Gang 8 (2005)); – *How is your health, Yuri Yakovlevich? – Pafnuev continued to **swagger**, but he realized that there was a hard boundary where he should stop* (Victor Pronin. Gang 8 (2005)); *Thomas offered me: “Maybe it's time to give you the title of “deputy for suffering”?” – You should get married! – Who am I to get married?! – Thomas **swaggered*** (Valery Popov. You forgot your wing // "October", 2013) [RNC]. In such a context, the subject of the action “to swagger” usually speaks or questions the object, causing it discomfort, discomfort.

The verb *to swagger* is quite frequent: 1174 examples of its use were found in the RNC.

Thus, in the semantics of the verb *to swagger*, we can identify differential semes ‘to behave arrogantly’, ‘to abuse one’s position’.

2.2.4. The verb *to hoot*

Unlike other synonymous verbs, according to explanatory dictionaries, the verb *to hoot* has the meaning ‘to shout loudly, to mock publicly sb.’. The verb belongs to the colloquial style of speech [MAS, 1999: vol. 4, 488]; [TCRYA, 2007: 1026]; [BTS, 1998: 1387]. This meaning reveals a close connection with the derivational meaning ‘setting the dogs on the beast, shouting “ululyu”’. The data of lexicographic sources and the analysis of the contexts of this verb's usage allow us to identify in its semantics an invariant script corresponding to its dictionary meaning: *Passers-by pointed their fingers at them, the townsmen frowned severely, the boys **hooted** and laughed until they fell over their ridiculous outfits* (I.Yu. Stogov. Boogie-woogie-Book. Author's Guide to St. Petersburg, which no longer exists (2012)) [RNC]; *Pupils disrupted her lesson! She says they **hooted** and threw a rag and chalk. In general, they went as mad as they wanted at the lesson. And she, having little experience, could not cope* [<https://biography.wikireading.ru/hHd26hbFM7>].

This invariant script, in our opinion, is actively realized in the variant ‘shouting loudly, publicly and rudely ridicule someone, expressing your disapproval’. Let's look at some examples: *Exclude? – Exclude! Exclude! – Jupiter's supporters shout. The supporters of Chernoleskiy whistle and **hoot** in response. – Let me recuse myself, – Kapitonov stands up. – But sit down, after all, it's not your business, it's the principle! – Silence!* (Sergei Nosov. Figurative brackets (2015)); *The politician recalled how back in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, men **hooted** when she presented a law allowing any family member, including the father, to take maternity leave: “Do you want to send us on maternity leave?”* (Eurasian Women's Forum outgrew its name // *Parlamentskaya Gazeta*, 2018.09.21); *Then a crowd of several thousand people would start whistling, **hooting**, and shouting, “Look in the eyes”. Sometimes people would purposely hold out Vostrikov's microphone to the officials: – When will you resign? – Shouted Tsivilev* (Elena Racheva. “I don't care who locked the door, bring back my children!” Kemerovo does not believe anyone, people are looking for the truth, not the shooter. Report // *Novaya Gazeta*, 2018.03.27); *You remember how intransigent fans **hooted** at Yuri*

Zhirkov, who moved from Chelsea not back to CSKA but to Anzhi ... – Diniyar is not a boy (Ruslan Karmanov. Rinat Bilyaletdinov: “Lokomotiv” did not offer a contract to Diniyar // Sovetsky Sport, 2012.01.30) [RNC]; *Deputies shouted, whistled and **hooted**. Representatives of opposition factions distinguished themselves most of all, expressing their dissatisfaction with the results of the elections and calling for the resignation of the head of the RF Central Election Commission* [<https://newsarmenia.am/news/armenia/sng1-20091023-42152078/>].

According to our observations, in this variant the subject of action is often two or more people, which is verbalized by nouns such as *crowd, audience* or plural nouns (*supporters, fans, deputies*), therefore, the verb *to hoot* is usually used in the 3rd person form. The subject and object of the action “to hoot” are often opposed to each other by role status, e.g. *supporters – opponents, fans – soccer player, crowd – official*, etc. Moreover, the verb *to hoot* is often used with the verbs *to shout* and *to whistle* in the same context. In this case, short, jerky cries are assumed. In most contexts, the verb *to hoot* is used to refer to a male subject – *boys, men*, etc.

The verb *to hoot* is used in 518 contexts in the RNC.

2.2.5. The verb *to laugh*

According to explanatory dictionaries, the verb *to laugh* means ‘to make someone an object of ridicule, insulting remarks; to mock’ [BAS, 2008: vol. 11, 374-375]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 2, 397]; [TCRYA, 2007: 494]; [BTS, 1998: 600]. The differential seme ‘to make sb. an object of ridicule’ distinguishes the verb *to laugh* from other members of the link.

The analysis of contexts from the RNC and the Internet allows us to identify in the semantics of the verb under study an invariant script ‘to make sb. the subject of offensive jokes, remarks’: *There is such a stereotype that a barista is almost always a snob, who at any opportunity will find something to tease you about, will shoot some nasty remark after you when you put a sugar packet in your espresso, or will write some malicious libel to **laugh** at you in a narrow circle of his own kind* (Nikolai Chistyakov. How to talk to

baristas and what to order in a coffee shop? (2018.04) // Afisha Daily, 2018); *Yesterday we had a British minister **laughed** – he doesn't know where the Voronezh region is – ha ha ha ha...* (Pseudonym byacs. Life in Voronezh (2022)) [RNC]. Within the invariant of the verb *to laugh*, the following variants can be distinguished:

1. ‘To take sth. lightly in dealing with sb.’: *I tried to explain it to my father, and he just **laughs**; – If you will **laugh**, I will not talk to you, – she said in a trembling voice [https://clck.ru/35NaQZ]; Mol, Vasya, you can be understood, but also pity Irka, she realized, a week has been sitting under the door and crying bitter tears, you have children, an apartment and a dacha plot, forgive her, a fool, here and my Lesha Moorish passion of your wife is jealous. But all words stuck in Larissa's throat when she saw the unfortunate victim of ardent jealousy with a bandaged neck. Instead of convincing Vasya to forgive his wife, Larissa bit her lip, holding back laughter. – Are you **laughing**? Fun? – Vassya hissed. – Come on, come on!* (N.V. Nesterova. Othello in a skirt (2013)) [RNC]. The above examples confirm the fact that laugh can be not evil, in contrast to the dictionary definition. The participants of this situation usually know each other well, “laugh” seems to be neutral or friendly enough.

2. The next variant script is ‘to cause unpleasantness, moral agony’. Consider the contexts: *She is upset about the wrapper she took without asking from her classmate Mishka, and cannot find understanding with her cousin Vadik, who **laughs** at her and breaks her toys* (Libraries of Voronezh. Libraries (2022)); *Why do you mention nicknames when you reply to someone else's post? It only causes negative emotions, considering that earlier you **laughed** at another girl because of her nickname* (Chat for Artists. telegram Chat for Artists (28.07.2022)) [RNC].

3. The verb *to laugh* also realizes the variant ‘to mock sb., condemning sb., expressing disapproval for unacceptable actions or words’: *“I offered it to my boyfriend's mistress, because she obviously enjoyed taking my stuff, but she refused. Weird, huh? Now I thank fate for this lesson and move on”, she captioned the photo. Group members began to **laugh** at the act of the girl who “steadfastly” endured the betrayal* (The abandoned bride offered her engagement ring to her rival and was ridiculed // lenta.ru, 2019.11. 29); *In the noughties, Lipetsk and Belgorod Oblasts were **laughing** at Voronezh*

Oblast, where the governor was a ridiculous kleptocrat (he committed an official crime and “stole” almost a billion rubles from the regional budget in 2002 prices) <...> Experts and journalists from neighboring RF subjects openly mocked the Voronezh authorities of the “noughties” (Dmitry Nechaev. Professor Dmitry Nechaev (2021)) [RNC].

The verb *to laugh* is a frequent one: 2364 occurrences of this verb were recorded in the RNC. As a result of the study, we found that compared to the dominant *to mock*, the verb *to laugh* verbalizes less intense mockery, and semantically it actualizes the seme ‘openly/covertly laugh at sb.’.

As for our survey of native Russian speakers, the following was found during the study of the results obtained. The informants believe that in terms of semantic proximity to the dominant *to mock*, the synonyms we studied are arranged in the following order (in descending order): *to sneer* (87.2%), *to bully* and *to laugh* (80.9%), *to abuse* (36.2%), *to swagger* and *to hoot* (12.8%). Most of respondents attributed the verbs *to mock* and *to laugh* to the neutral style of speech, *to sneer* and *to swagger* to the bookish style, *to bully* and *to abuse* to the colloquial style, and *to hoot* to the colloquial style. Our informants determined the frequency of use of the synonyms in question as follows (in descending order): *to mock* – *to laugh* – *to bully* – *to sneer* – *to abuse* – *to swagger* – *to hoot*.

Thus, summarizing the above, we can make the following conclusions. In many cases, the subject and the object of actions of the synonyms of the considered link are opposed to each other by role status, the subject is in a higher status or physically stronger than the object. It should be noted that the verbs *to hoot* and *to laugh* cannot realize the variant script ‘to cause physical violence or torment’ and, in our opinion, only the verb *to laugh* can verbalize not malicious joke.

The analysis of all verbs allows us to conclude that the members of this link are synonymized in two LSVs, in other words, the dominant *to mock* forms two parallel synonymous links around itself: 1) ‘to mock sb. maliciously (usually verbally)’ and 2) ‘to treat sb. rudely’, respectively, the invariant script realized by these synonymous links can look as follows: 1) ‘to make sb. an object of ridicule’, 2) ‘to treat sb. rudely’.

Due to the presence of differential semes of each verb, in many cases interchange of synonyms is impossible, for example, in a colloquial sentence: “*Are you kidding me?*”

or “Are you laughing at me?” replacement by other verbs is impossible; or only the verb *to hoot* can realize its invariant script, because the verb itself, due to its dictionary meaning, can belong to the LSG “Verbs of Speech”, if other verbs replace it, it is necessary to specify it in the context, so that the addressee's intention does not change.

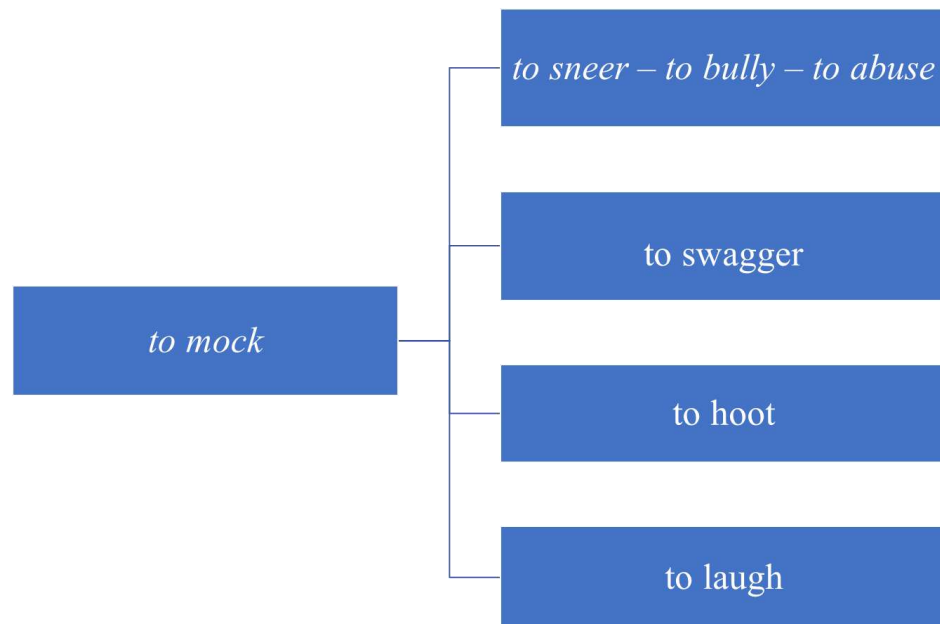
The study found cases where the dominant and its synonyms are used in the same context. Consider an example: *Russian military culture does not imply **mocking** prisoners, **sneering** the corpses of enemies, cutting off heads, filming it all on a phone and then posting it online* (Sandra Novikova. Politics (2022)) [RNC]. In the given example, *to mock* realizes the invariant script of the series – ‘to treat sb. rudely’, and *to sneer* – its variant script ‘to cause moral suffering, pain, ridicule someone who is dear to a person’.

In the Russian linguistic consciousness, the actions denoted by the synonymous links with the dominant *to mock* are negative, unacceptable, especially when the object is those who are dear to people, e.g., *We **should not laugh** at scientists collecting data on UFOs* (A. Torgashev. Flying saucers // "Schrödinger's Cat", 2017); ***I will not let them sneer** our heroes!* (Alexander Tikhonov, Yaroslavl. In Yaroslavl, 2 thousand people came out for a rally against pension reform // Kommersant, 2018.07.26) [RNC]; *You **can't discredit** the team and **bully** the girls!* [<https://clck.ru/35Ngtv>], etc.

In the analyzed synonymous links, the verbs *to mock* and *to laugh* are the most frequent, followed by *to sneer*, *to bully*, *to swagger*, *to hoot*, and the verb *to abuse* is used less frequently. As for the stylistic differences between the analyzed units, *to mock* and *to laugh* belong to the neutral style of speech, *to bully*, *to hoot* and *to abuse* belong to the reduced style of speech. As for the verbs *to sneer* and *to swagger*, in our opinion, they belong to the bookish style of speech.

The nucleus of the synonymous links includes the verbs *to mock*, *to sneer*, *to bully*, *to laugh*, while other verbs can be referred to the periphery.

The structure of the synonymous links of Russian verbs describing interpersonal relationship with the dominant *to mock* can be represented in the form of the following scheme:



The synonymic link that includes the dominant is italicized

Scheme No. 1

2.3. Synonymous link of Russian verbs with the dominant *to be hypocritical*³

2.3.1. Composition and structure of the synonymous link of Russian verbs with the dominant *to be hypocritical*

The object of the study in this section are the verbs, which mean *to be hypocritical*, *to be two-faced*, *to be duplicitous*, *to be false*, *to be a pharisee* and *to be sanctimonious*, which form a synonymous link with the dominant *to be hypocritical* [Evgenieva 1971: 509]; [Aleksandrova 2001: 195]. The general meaning of the series is ‘to show insincerity in behaviors or words, communicating with sb.’.

³ Section 2.3. is based on the following author’s article – Vu Ngoc Yen Khanh:

1. Synonymous link of Russian verbs with the dominant to be hypocritical: cognitive-discursive approach / Professor’s Journal. Series: Russian language and literature. – 2023. – № 3 (15). – P. 2-10.

2. Russian verb to be hypocritical (in comparison with Vietnamese): linguacultural aspect // Abstracts of the 50th International Scientific Philological Conference named after Lyudmila Alexeevna Verbitskaya, St. Petersburg, 15–23 March 2022. – St. Petersburg, 2022. – P. 510.

The analysis of the lexicographic sources allows us to distinguish two subgroups and one separate verb within the synonymous link:

- *to be hypocritical – to be two-faced – to be duplicitous*;
- *to be false*;
- *to be a pharisee – to be sanctimonious*.

Let us proceed to the study of these synonyms.

2.3.2. Synonymous subgroup *to be hypocritical – to be two-faced – to be duplicitous*

The verbs of this synonymous subgroup have the common seme ‘to behave insincerely when communicating with someone’.

1. *To be hypocritical*

According to the Russian explanatory dictionaries, the verb *to be hypocritical* has the following meaning: ‘to act hypocritically, to show hypocrisy’ [BAS, 2007: vol. 9, 246]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 2, 191]; [TCRYA, 2007: 411]; [BTS, 1998: 501]. And in the “Explanatory dictionary of Russian verbs” edited by L.G. Babenko, the meaning of this verb is defined as follows: ‘to show an insincere attitude towards someone, covering maliciousness with feigned sincerity, virtue’ [Babenko, 1999b: 601]. It can be noted that in this definition the emphasis is placed on the fact that for native Russian speakers, ‘hypocrisy’ is behavioral insincerity manifested under the mask of sincerity. Word-formative analysis of the verb allows us to identify two roots: *-lic-* and *-mer-*, i.e. the one who hypocrites, as if trying on another face.

The analysis of these explanatory dictionaries allows us to identify in the semantics of the verb *to be hypocritical* an invariant script ‘to behave insincerely when communicating with sb.’, which actualized, for example, in the following context: *You open your whole soul to him and try to be better for him. But he is always hypocritical* [<https://clck.ru/33rpVJ>]. This invariant script can realize the following variants:

1. ‘To treat sb. insincerely, hiding one’s intention in order to gain personal gain’: *“I’m doing everything to protect you,” Idris reminded politely. – “There’s no need for being hypocritical”, she grumbled, “you’re doing everything you can to get us to*

finish our work and give you our results. You're not protecting me or my staff, but your own business" [<https://clck.ru/33rpUB>]. In this context, an optional slot – circumstantial qualifier – is detected: the object's reaction – *she grumbled*. Another example: *So, our government officials do not trust the state they lead and glorify it only in words, i.e. they are hypocritical?* (What are they learning? Children of officials choose a better future for themselves // Novaya Gazeta, 2018.07) [RNC].

2. 'To behave insincerely for some individual reason, e.g., not wanting to offend, from fear, etc.': *But if hypocrisy is unavoidable and it can reduce the suffering of others – be hypocritical* [<https://clck.ru/33rpTh>]. In this situation, the subject is hypocritical for a subjective reason, driven by empathy, even sympathy, and his intention appears to be non-evil in contrast to the dictionary definition. Let's consider other contexts: *The intelligentsia ran round dances around Yeltsin, eating, drinking, lying, being hypocritical, and dodging. The reason for this behavior is slave psychology* (V.V. Shelokhayev. Diary (2012)); *The average office employee will be spared the need to compromise pride and be hypocritical in front of their superiors* (Artem Mikhailov. People in offices will be replaced by their duplicate avatars // RBC Daily, 2011.04). [RNC]. In the latter examples, it is noted that the subject is hypocritical in front of someone who has a higher status than him.

Here is another example: *Exactly turns to a person the side that is expected. So, what he is really like, no one will ever know. At the premiere of Tagankovskogo "Hamlet" Smoktunovsky in the hall was all at once marked – a living idol and a glorified Danish prince from the movie G. Kozintsev. Let them say anything about I.M.'s ability to affectionately be hypocritical praise, but no one like him could so jump out of his seat in the finale and, forgetting about regalia and age, crying and shouting "bravo", inspire the audience* (Veniamin Smekhov. Theater of My Memory (2001)) [RNC]. In this example, it is noted that some people "tactfully be hypocritical", if one can put it that way, with good motives, without crossing the boundary when it is no longer clearly perceived neutrally, which, as it seems to us, can be attributed not only to the actor I.M. Smoktunovsky.

3. ‘To pretend in the process of communication not to be what a person really is in order to create a certain positive opinion of oneself’: “*Especially if you are going to the tops. That’s where you must smile, you must **be hypocritical**. This is not my style,*” said Dezl (Published the latest interview with Dezl // Izvestia, 2019.02) [RNC]; *People **are hypocritical** on social networks, posting positive photos of themselves in the social media, posting positive photos of a successful life, suffering from the uncertainty or boredom of life. They **are hypocritical** in front of acquaintances, telling only about the happy moments of their lives* [<https://clck.ru/33rpTh>].

The verb *to be hypocritical* is a frequent verb: 1693 occurrences of this lexeme were recorded in the RNC; in the Internet space, most of the contexts in which this verb is used are contemporary. The verb *to be hypocritical* can function in different types of discourse, for example, in public discourse, in artistic discourse, in Internet communication, and others. In the Russian picture of the world, hypocrisy is mostly evaluated negatively. However, there is a notion according to which the subject of action may be forced to behave hypocritically due to circumstances.

2. To be two-faced

According to the Russian explanatory dictionaries, the basic meaning of the verb *to be two-faced* is as follows: ‘to behave duplicitously, to hypocritize’ [BAS, 2006: vol. 4, 566]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 1, 371]; [BTS, 1998: 242]. The BAS notes that the verb belongs to the colloquial style of speech. It is formed by the addition of two roots: *-dv-* and *-lich-*. It is worth emphasizing that this lexeme has an internal form: *two* and *person*. In the Internet space we met the following opinions of Russian Internet users about being two-faced: *The classic manifestation of being two-faced is when in communication with a person he says one thing, smiles at you, agrees, but only behind you closed the door, gives the opposite assessment of everything that was said* [<https://101ya.ru/chto-takoe-dvulichie>]; *Why people are two-faced? Why do people always go out of their way to appear better than they really are? Why are some so preening, so moralistic only when they themselves are not concerned? Isn't it so profitable to just be, to just be who you are, to speak your mind?* [<https://otvet.mail.ru/question/47599604>]. We can conclude that in

the Russian linguistic consciousness the verb *be two-faced* means ‘to behave like a person who has “two faces”, or a person within whom “two personalities” coexist. This fact allows us to identify in its semantics an invariant script ‘to behave (including verbally) differently when communicating with someone in person and in their absence’: *People lie, are two-faced, manipulate each other, play roles, waste time or prefer chatter to concrete work* [<https://smart-lab.ru/tag/30%20%D0%BB%D0%B5%D1%82>]. Within this invariant, the following variants can be realized:

1. ‘To behave contrary to their thoughts or want to hide their true intention’, for example, *But you put as pruffy the fact that everyone to whom you fortune-telling came true So you assure that the pro and it’s true If you say “no I do not assure” then it is a contradiction of itself You are a twin or what???? I’m the only one who’s allowed to be two-faced.* [RNC]; *For some time Augustus II tried to be two-faced – he congratulated Peter I on his victories and released captured Swedes, and also gave out the main initiator of the invasion of Livonia – Johannes Patkul* [<https://diletant.media/articles/30303952/>]; *Lukomsky believes that these are those artists who are “two-faced, sycophantic”, like other artists in Moscow who draw portraits of Lenin and send complaints to Paris (1921) that they live “in the filth and boorishness of Bolshevik vomit”* [30303952]. [<https://tinyurl.com/2p3yd4tn>]. The analysis of the latter examples allows us to note that the subject behaves differently in front of different people depending on different socio-political realities.

2. ‘Speaking in different situations and in front of different people is different’. Let's consider the following examples: *It just makes me angry when women are two-faced, they say one thing to your face and another thing behind your back* [<https://clck.ru/33rpSr>]; *He is two-faced and ingratiating: in a speech to the people, for example, he praises Gracchus, and a few days later, in the Senate, he trashes Gracchus* [<https://clck.ru/33rpSb>]. Such contexts confirm that the subject often speaks about the same thing in different ways at different moments in front of different people.

In our opinion, in the semantics of the verb *to be two-faced*, the differential seme ‘to behave differently or say different things in different situations in front of different people’ is actualized.

The verb *to be two-faced* is often used in the same context with the verb *to lie*: *It is time to stop lying and being two-faced, scheming, and cunning. We should be honest in our country and with our people* [<https://bom.so/fuJnxQ>]; *I have no problems with those who do not lie, are not two-faced and do not try to hurt me more* [https://vk.com/wall-153615798_82691] and others.

The verb *to be two-faced* is little used: only 4 occurrences of this verb were found in the RNC, with 3 contexts being non-modern; the verb is also little used in the Internet. Compared to the verb-dominant *to be hypocritical*, the verb *to be two-faced* is evaluatively more negative due to the clearly perceived internal form.

3. *To be duplicitous*

In Russian explanatory dictionaries the verb *to be duplicitous* is interpreted as follows: ‘to be two-souled, to hypocritize’ [BAS, 2006: vol. 4, 549]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 1, 369]; [BTS, 1998: 241]. MAS notes that the verb is obsolete. The meaning recorded in dictionaries expresses its invariant script, actualized in the following contexts: *During the period of communist dictatorship many really intelligent people suffered considerable damage, were out of business because of their inability to be duplicitous, to pass off black for white, to be in the service of bureaucrats and partocrats* [<http://ponjatija.ru/node/15942>]; *At last there is at least one genuine COMMUNIST! It is impossible to build a bright future without despising the miserable bourgeois present! A man is not duplicitous, does not lie to the population that he will ennoble it* [<https://cont.ws/@vasilevskiy117/1623675>]; *Judas could no longer live two lives, could not be duplicitous, for his inner life was incompatible with the lives of those with whom he communicated daily* [<https://clck.ru/33rpQB>]; *In his letters to the Sultan, the king was duplicitous, telling of his orders to “search for the patriarch in Spain and Italy in order to return him to the rightful sovereign”* [<https://clck.ru/33rpNE>].

This verb has the internal form: *two* and *soul*, which makes it semantically close to the verb *to be two-faced*. As an illustration, we will cite the following examples: *People are duplicitous: they did one thing but pretended to do another, thought one thing but said another* (Vladimir Vysotsky: the rampage of the last despair // *Argumenty i Fakty*,

2002.11) [RNC]; *He harshly denounces in reports and letters those who is duplicitous: outwardly imitating a faithful Christian, deep down he remains committed to schism* [https://iphras.ru/uplfile/root/biblio/2014/Kara-Murza_2014.pdf].

In the RNC we managed to find only 10 contexts of using the verb *to be duplicitous*, among which 7 contexts from the works of fiction of the XIX century – early XX century, for example: *He became someone close to the domestics there; he was **duplicitous**, humiliated, deceived coldly and calculatingly* (Alexander Voronsky. Gogol (1934)); ***To be duplicitous**, to play comedy and in real life with his neighbors gave him even a secret pleasure* (V.P. Avenarius. What was Pushkin for Gogol (1895)) [RNC]. In the Internet space, the verb *to be duplicitous* is also little used.

Thus, in modern Russian the verb *to be duplicitous* is rarely used, this lexeme functions in situations when the speaker wants to emphasize that a person not only shows his two different faces, as in the situation with the verb *to be two-faced*, i.e. behaves like this on a superficial level, but also deeply inwardly bifurcates, in him as if two different inner essences, two souls coexist.

Summarizing the above, we have concluded that in terms of semantic proximity to the dominant verb hypocrisy, the verbs we studied are distributed (in descending order) as follows: *to be hypocritical* – *to be two-faced* – *to be duplicitous*.

2.3.3. The verb *to be false*

The verb *to be false* is formed from the adjective *falshivy*, root *-falsh-*, derived from Latin *falsus*, meaning ‘false, incorrect’ [TCRYA, 2007: 1045]. The “Dictionary of Russian synonyms” edited by A.P. Evgenieva notes a less sharp negative evaluation of this verb in comparison with the verbs *to be hypocritical* and *to be two-faced* [Evgenieva, 1970: 509]. The meaning of the verb *to be false* in explanatory dictionaries is defined as follows: ‘to act, speak falsely, hypocritically, insincerely’ [MAS, 1999: vol. 4, 550]; [TCRYA, 2007: 1045]; [BTS, 1998: 1415]. Only the TCRYA notes that this verb belongs to the colloquial style of speech. Thus, the verb *to be false* is distinguished from other synonyms by the seme ‘to show falsehood, insincerity’.

In the semantics of the verb we can identify an invariant script ‘to behave or speak insincerely when communicating with someone’, let’s look at examples: *Let’s be honest: I think I have more influence on people now than Biden and Trump combined. Because I’m **not false**. I’m honest with people, and that’s why they reach out to me* (America says goodbye to George Floyd // Vesti.ru, 2020.06) [RNC]. This invariant can be realized in the following variants:

1. ‘To treat sb. insincerely in order to achieve one’s goal’: *Actresses Yulia Shpilevskaya and Valentina Gartsueva should figure out why they first **are** so openly **false** and flatter their father, because of which they quarrel with each other. Money and land is enough. Beauty is with them. Fates are arranged and souls are black* [<https://people.onliner.by/2020/01/04/karol-lir>].

2. ‘Pretending to communicate not what a person really is’: *Also the artist himself should constantly look for his song and style. To find that special, memorable that will harmonize with his nature and at the same time people will like it. Because it is impossible to **be false**, to lie to the public. The audience will not be deceived – I (singer Slava – Vu N.Y.K.) know it a hundred percent* [<https://clck.ru/36A5J4>].

3. ‘To tell sb. an untruth’: *Here, for example: “Z. Aleksandrova’s poems sin greatly with infantilization. “The little Christmas tree is cold in winter. We took the little fir tree home from the forest. The little Christmas tree is warm in the room”. Why we **are false** with children? They all know that the little Christmas tree in the forest is not cold and it is worse in a warm room.”* [<https://makalval.livejournal.com/111875.html>].

4. ‘Not to tell sb. the whole truth, to conceal sth.’: *“Valieva’s positive doping test was confirmed and she was allowed to participate in the Olympics”. I can’t get my head around it. The doping center, something **is false**, does not say* [<https://74.ru/text/sport/2022/02/11/70437587/comments/>].

It seems that in the Russian linguistic consciousness there is a lively connection between the analyzed meaning of the verb *to be false* and the derivational meaning ‘to sing or play falsely, out of tune’. This explains the frequent use of the verb in contexts where we are talking about people of creative professions, for example: *And clarifies: he would not believe her emotions. The actress Amber Heard is not bad, but still sometimes*

is false (it is about how the actress Amber Heard behaves in the process of legal proceedings with her former spouse – Vu N.Y.K.).

The analysis of the verb to falsify allows us to conclude that the nuclear seme of this lexeme is ‘to show falsehood, deceit, insincerity’. There are 1211 examples of this verb in the RNC, among which there are a small number of contexts where *to be false* functions as a verb describing interpersonal relationship; however, according to our observations, the verb is also used in the meaning we are interested in in the language of mass media and in colloquial speech.

2.3.4. Synonymous subgroup *to be pharisee* – *to be sanctimonious*

This synonymous subgroup is formed based on the common seme of the two verbs – ‘to behave like a Pharisee, a prude; to sanctify’.

1. *To be pharisee*

According to explanatory dictionaries, the verb *to be pharisee* has the following meaning: ‘to be a pharisee; to sanctify, hypocritize’ [MAS, 1999: vol. 4, 553]; [TCRYA, 2007: 1046]; [BTS, 1998: 1416]. This verb is formed from the homophonous noun Pharisee, which is defined as ‘hypocrite, prude (originally a member of an ancient Jewish sect characterized by religious fanaticism) [BTS, 1998: 1416] [TSRYA, 2007: 1046]. Speaking about the Pharisee, Russian Internet users note the following: *The special holiness of the Pharisees was only a beautiful shell, behind which hid extraordinary arrogance, impurity, impiety, faithlessness, power-hunger and cruelty* [<https://www.pravoslavie.wiki/kto-takoj-farisej.html>]; *A Pharisee is a person who himself lives strictly, according to the scruples, demands the same from others, resents when they are not like that – and thinks that diligent observance of the rules makes him better than these all* [<https://marss2.livejournal.com/2367318.html>], etc.

The verb *to be pharisee* often actualizes an invariant script corresponding to its dictionary meaning. Thus, the RNC found only 58 instances of the verb *to be pharisee*, most of which are non-modern, e.g. *Poems in the spirit of patriotic journalism, such as White officers now in vogue. “Gentlemen officers, stop **being pharisee!** / Everyone*

chooses in life / According to his soul. (M.S. Kharitonov. Stenography of the end of the century. From diary entries (2005)) [RNC].

In the Internet space, too, we found an insignificant number of modern contexts of using this verb. According to our observations, in the Internet space, the verb *to be pharisee* is often used in “comment”, e.g., *But let’s stop being pharisee and pretending to be so tolerant* [<https://www.woman.ru/relations/men/thread/4836455/>]; *And don’t be pharisee, falsely indignant: “everything should not be measured by money”, “what about the soul”, “the main thing is to give people joy and happiness”* [<https://www.newrusmedia.ru/if-you-need-a-dj/>]; and also in religious discourse or in contexts with elements of religious discourse, for example, comments on a website about Orthodoxy. As an illustration, let us cite the following examples: *And she is a pharisee, and she is rude to her neighbor, and many other things... And how many commentators condemned the author’s prayer: the prayer is Pharisaic, and the sign of the cross is ostentatious, and she prayed in the wrong place and in the wrong way* [<https://pravoslavie.ru/67795.html>]; *I absolutely agree with Pauline, let us not be Pharisaic, let us remember Paisios Svyatogorets* [<https://pravoslavie.ru/69807.html>].

We can conclude that the verb *to be pharisee* is little used and tends to leave the common lexicon, from the active vocabulary. The contexts we have considered show that in the semantics of the verb *to be pharisee* the nuclear seme ‘to display double morality’ and the seme ‘to position oneself as a person of high morality’ are actualized.

2. *To be sanctimonious*

In explanatory dictionaries the verb *to be sanctimonious* is interpreted as follows: ‘to behave like a prude, to show sanctimony in sth.’ [MAS, 1999: vol. 4, 591]; [TCRYA, 2007: 1060]; [BTS, 1998: 1439]. All dictionaries note that *to be sanctimonious* refers to the colloquial style of speech. In MAS and TCRYA we find the derivational noun *sanctimonious* – ‘one who is pretentiously pious, pretentiously virtuous; a hypocrite’, ‘a hypocrite who covers himself with ostentatious virtue, piety’. Russian Internet users characterize a *sanctimonious person* as follows: *a sanctimonious person is necessarily a hypocrite, i.e. he demands from others such a ‘high’ morality that he does not demand*

from himself (or simply does not correspond to it, without noticing it himself) [<https://alkruglov.narod.ru/whatisfar.html>]; *a sanctimonious person differs from a hypocrite in that the degree of ‘protection’ of disreputable actions is in the first place and is more pronounced* [<https://iz.ru/news/372350>]; *a sanctimonious person is a person with double standards, who condemns people for the deeds he himself commits; a hypocrite who demonstrates his fake high moral qualities to everyone, trying to achieve a certain selfish goal* [<https://proslo.ru/kto-takoj-hanzha/>] and others. The dictionary meaning expresses the invariant script of the verb *to be sanctimonious*, for example, in the following context: *He saw that he had seriously angered his mother, but the annoyance, unrealized after his father’s rude prank, demanded an outlet. – Well, well, well. Don’t **be sanctimonious** in front of me. – Stop lying, I say! – She bent, ready to jump out of the chair* [<https://bom.so/uCzWF1>].

Few modern contexts of the verb *to be sanctimonious* were found in the RNC, here are the contexts of the late XX – early XXI century: *What **to be sanctimonious** – I’m almost chrestomatic* (Halina Shergova. ...About the known to all (2002-2004)); *Now the supporters of glasnost without shores severely censure the government for secrecy – they say, it should have been open, direct, etc.). Brothers, stop **being sanctimonious!*** (Leonid Zhukhovitsky. Fight with a Shadow. Notes of a Dilettante // “Ogonyok”. № 12, 1991) [RNC]. In the Internet space, too, few contexts of this verb were found.

Thus, based on the results of the analysis of the contexts of use of the verbs *to be pharisee* and *to be sanctimonious*, we can conclude that, unlike other members of the synonymous link under study, both verbs in their semantics actualize the seme ‘to pretend, to adhere to double standards of morality’.

During the study of the synonymous link with the dominant *to be hypocritical*, it is noted that in most cases, as the RNC contexts and other Internet sources show, the negative evaluation of the action verbalized by the verbs of the synonymous link with the dominant *to be hypocritical* in Russian linguoculture is emphasized, for example: *I was ashamed to be hypocritical <...>* (Roman Shmarakov. Horse // “Sibirskie Ognj”, 2013); [RNC]; *I have an acute ear for falsity in general – I hear when people lie or are false in some way, or when they play false – it disgusts me* [<https://clck.ru/33sEDt>]; *People, well,*

stop being duplicitous and pharisee! [<https://clck.ru/33sEDk>], etc. The verbs of this synonymous link often act as verbs of behavior and speech behavior. These verbs are usually used in the same context with other verbs of negatively evaluated interpersonal relationship. For example: *It's time to stop lying and being duplicitous, scheming, and cunning. We should be honest in our country and with our people* [<https://bom.so/fuJnxQ>]; *Taipakova did not change her testimony during the official investigation, was not false, hypocritical or trickery, – the decision of the city court says* [<https://clck.ru/33rpP9>].

The invariant script of this synonymous link can be represented as ‘to behave or speak not sincerely, artificially when communicating with someone’. In the situations described by the verbs of the synonymous link with the dominant verb *to be hypocritical*, the subject of action is, firstly, an adult person, among the contexts we have considered we have not found cases when children act as the subject. The object may be a person of higher status than the subject, if the action is committed for selfish purposes, and rarely – a person who has close relations with the subject. The relationship between the subject and the object can be business (*subordinates – boss*), official (*politician – people*), less often close (*people – their acquaintances*), etc.

Analyzing the synonymous link with the dominant *to be hypocritical* reveals several cases when verbs-synonyms cannot replace each other. Thus, in this link only the verb *to be hypocritical* can actively function in situations where the action signified by the verbs of this link is not negatively evaluated, hence, in these cases the verb *to be hypocritical* cannot be replaced, for example: *Besides, pretense and insincerity often become important tools of socialization, help to maintain good relations with others, to hide one's shortcomings. People **are hypocritical** when they do not tell an acquaintance that they are overweight or look bad* [<https://clck.ru/33rpRQ>].

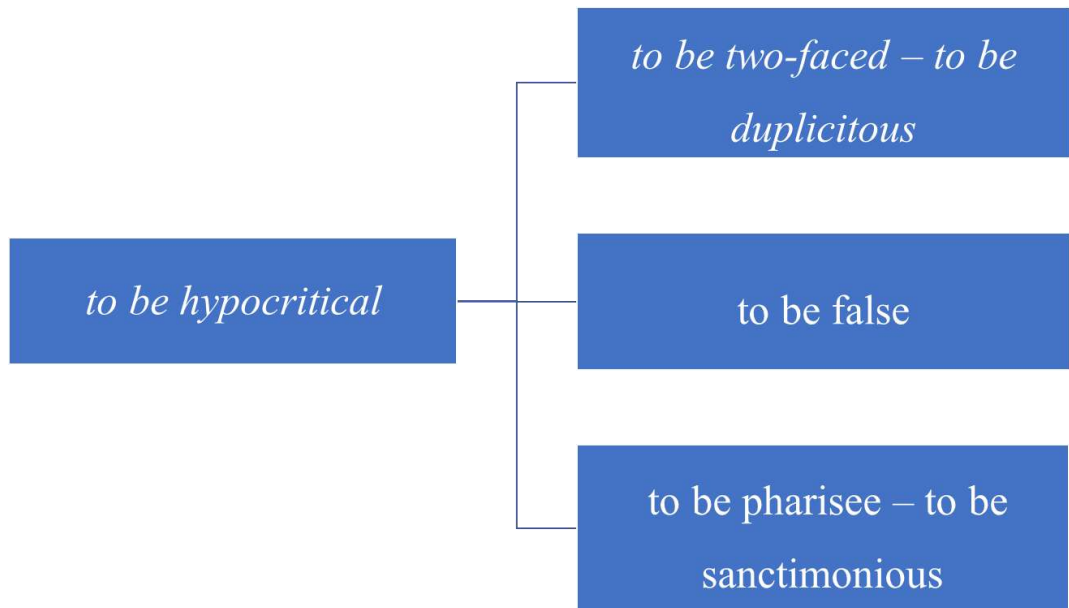
We also found situations when the dominant verb and other members of the link are used in the same context: the dominant verb realizes the invariant script of the link, and other members – their own invariant / variant script, for example, *In her (ballerina Maya Pliseitskaya – Vu N.Y.K.) until old age lived a prickly ten-year-old girl who is always interested to see the reaction of others. How they will behave – and in general,*

what will happen if she risks saying what she thinks, if she does not become hypocritical, false, utter empty platitudes [<https://dzen.ru/a/ZKv7XLZJHwMSNMCi>].

According to the results of our questionnaire, the informants, native Russian speakers, identified synonyms of the dominant *to be hypocritical* as follows (by semantic proximity to the dominant verb in descending order): *to be two-faced* (87.2%) – *to be duplicitous* (59.6%) – *to be false* (53.2%) – *to be pharisee* (27.7%) – *to be sanctimonious* (8.5%). Most respondents attributed the verbs *to be hypocritical* and *to be false* to the neutral style of speech, *to be duplicitous* and *to be pharisee* to the bookish style of speech. As for the verbs *to be two-faced* and *to be sanctimonious*, the opinions of the interviewees were divided: 34% attributed the verb *to be two-faced* to the colloquial style of speech, 31.9% – to the bookish, 25.5% were neutral; 40.4% classified the verb *to be sanctimonious* as bookish, 25.5% as colloquial, and 21.3% as colloquial.

Thus, the cognitive and discourse analysis of the synonymous link of Russian verbs with the dominant verb *to be hypocritical* allows us to draw the following conclusions. The verbs of this link in terms of frequency of use can be arranged in the following order (in descending order): *to be hypocritical* – *to be false* – *to be two-faced*; *to be pharisee* and *to be sanctimonious* are rarely used, and *to be duplicitous* is obsolete. The verbs *to be hypocritical*, *to be false*, *to be two-faced* belong to the nuclear zone of the link, while the verbs *to be duplicitous*, *to be pharisee* and *to be sanctimonious* belong to the periphery. Most of the verbs in this synonymous link belong to the passive vocabulary. From the point of view of semantics, this link often overlaps with synonymous links with the dominants *to deceive*, *to be cunning*, *to lie*. The verbs *to be hypocritical*, *to be false* *to be two-faced* belong to the neutral style of speech. The verbs *to be duplicitous*, *to be pharisee* and *to be sanctimonious* have a sharper negative evaluation than the verbs *to be hypocritical* and *to be false*.

The structure of the synonymous link of Russian verbs describing interpersonal relationship with the dominant verb *to be hypocritical* can be presented in the form of the following scheme:



The synonymous subgroup that includes the dominant is italicized

Scheme No. 2

2.4. Synonymous link of Russian verbs with the dominant *to hurt*⁴

2.4.1. Composition and structure of the synonymous link of Russian verbs with the dominant *to hurt*

According to the dictionaries of Russian synonyms, the synonymous link with the dominant verb *to hurt* includes the following verbs: *to hurt*, *to upset*, *to pain*, *to wound*, *to pick out*, *to insult*, *to affront* and *to offend* [Evgenieva, 1971: 642]; [Aleksandrova, 2001: 532]; [Kozhevnikov, 2003: vol. 2, 398]. The verbs of this link are united by the

⁴ Section 2.4. is based on the following author's article – Vu Ngoc Yen Khanh:

1. Cognitive and discourse analysis of the Russian verb meaning 'to hurt sb' // Cognitive Studies of Language. – № 3 (54): Cognition, communication, discourse: modern aspects of research: materials of the All-Russian scientific conference with international participation. 20-21 April 2023. Part II / ed. by L.A. Furs. – Tambov: Publishing House "Derzhavinsky", 2023. – P. 100–105.

2. Cognitive and discourse analysis of synonymous verbs *to insult* – *to affront* – *to pick out* // Vestnik of Buryat State University. Philology. – 2023. – Vol. 4. – P. 11–18.

3. Synonymous verbs meaning 'to hurt': cognitive-discursive approach // Abstracts of the 51st International Scientific Philological Conference named after Lyudmila A. Verbitskaya. 14-21 March 2023, St. Petersburg. – P. 468–469.

common meaning ‘to offend, insult someone with a sarcastic, barbed remark, with one’s own words when communicating’.

The analysis of these lexicographic sources allows us to distinguish within this link such synonymous subgroups, and a verb as:

- *to hurt – to pain – to wound*;
- *to insult – to affront – to pick out – to offend*;
- *to upset*.

Let us proceed to a detailed analysis of each subgroup and verb.

2.4.2. The synonymous subgroup *to hurt – to pain – to wound*

These three verbs have the common seme ‘to painfully insult sb.’ and are formed by the same prefixing method: the prefix *u-* + the producing verb. They belong to the group of verbs with the prefix *u-*, denoting ‘the action named by the motivating verb, performed, brought to a result’ [RG, 1980: vol. 2, 370].

1. *To hurt*

The dominant verb of the synonymous link, the verb *to hurt*, according to explanatory dictionaries, has the following meaning: ‘to deeply offend, to cause moral pain’ [MAS, 1999: vol. 4, 547]; [TCRYA, 2007: 1043]; [BTS, 1998: 1413], which allows us to identify in its semantics an invariant script corresponding to this meaning, actualized, for example, in the following context: *And at the mention of his sister who got rich in marriage, Khvodor winked mockingly. Here, however, there was no smell of malicious premeditation, the desire to hurt or put in an unfavorable light* (Sergey Shikera. Egyptian Underground // “Volga”, 2016) [RNC].

This invariant script can be realized in the following variants, for example:

1. ‘To offend sb. by one’s behavior’: *According to another version, however, Kataev was promised the chair of the head of the Literaturnaya Gazeta, but was deceived by putting Alexander Chakovsky there. One way or another, Kataev was hurt* (I.N. Virabov. Andrei Voznesensky (2015)) [RNC].

2. ‘To verbally insult sb.’: *Semyon as if out of spite wanted to **hurt** the old man, but at the same time it seemed that he spoke sincerely. – You’re an old-timer here, he said, and you probably want to know everything about everyone, but it’s better not to touch me, he wagged his finger* (A.A. Postupinskiy. God No. 264 // “Volga”, 2013) [RNC]; *To **hurt** his ex-wife even more, Jamie accused her of profiting from their daughter’s pain and injuries* [<https://spletnik.ru/101343-otetc-spirts-vystupil-protiv-ee-materi.html>]; *And anyway, it was a study, it consists of trial and error. I am grateful for it, even when my weakest writing is quoted to **hurt** me* [<https://clck.ru/35uMAj>].

3. ‘To deeply offend sb. under certain circumstances, such as in love or in any relationship, in a quarrel’: *“Amal **was hurt** and angry. There was a conflict between the two”, In Touch Weekly reports. – The young woman couldn’t believe Clooney was dumping her on her birthday, <...>”* [<https://tass.ru/obschestvo/1789516>]; *Then...I’ll say/ that I’m in a fight with you/ I’ll announce/ that I’m upset/ I’m inconsolable/ I’m deafeningly unhappy/ I’m **hurt!*** (Alexei Uchitel, Avdotya Smirnova. Walk, k/f (2003)) [RNC].

In the RNC, the verb *to hurt* is more often used in the full or short participle form in the passive voice. This is explained by the fact that, in our opinion, the action “to hurt” is often carried out from the point of view of the object, for example, *Vedernikov **was hurt** because Kira did not find for him at the meeting neither a separate word nor a separate smile, sullenly looked around* (O.A. Slavnikova. Slavnikova. Long Jump (2014-2016)); *It’s hard to feel hard next to a girl/ who can afford foreign trips every six months/ even at the expense of her parents. Your ego **was hurt*** (Conversation with a sociologist on socio-political topics (Samara) (2001)) [RNC]. In such contexts the subject may not intentionally hurt sb. or, objectively, not hurt anyone. In our opinion, in these contexts the participle of the verb *to hurt* is the result of a past action (or a series of actions) that has (have) consequences in the present, i.e. here the participle denotes the state of a person as a result of interpersonal relationship. The object can be not only a person, but also a part of his inner world, e.g. *ego*. Many contexts are found where such frequent word-combinations or expressions are used as *hurt ego / vanity, my pride / soul (was) hurt*, for example, *ego will remain hurt for a long time, hurt male pride*, etc. In our opinion, the

frequency and usage of such collocations and expressions show that the core semantic of the verb *to hurt* is the same ‘to cause moral pain’.

There were 3711 examples of the verb *to hurt* recorded in the RNC.

2. *To pain*

In Russian explanatory dictionaries the meaning of this verb is formulated as ‘to hurt someone’s feelings by a venomous remark, ridicule; to hurt’ [MAS, 1999: vol. 4, 481]; [BTS, 1998: 1381], ‘to hurt, reproach’ (colloquial) [TCRYA, 2007: 351]. This meaning expresses an invariant script: *Marinka is an enigma, her incurable blunt pain that is too deep to understand its nature, the closest enemy, always on the lookout to choose the right moment and **pain** her* (Anna Russkikh. Don’t ask why, or rainy summer // “Dalnyi Vostok”, 2019) [RNC]. Within this invariant, the following variants can be distinguished:

1. The verb *to pain* often realizes the variant script ‘to verbally painfully offend sb.’: *She...She said ‘called Polina Praskovya’... Why did she say that! Did she want to **pain** me? Offend?* (E.V. Kolina. Diary of Treason (2011)); – *From fear? – her voice **pained** me with contempt. – And Vanya where?* (Sergei Shargunov. Vas-vas (2009)); *With a pack of cigarettes Prokov sat down. – When? His wife called. – Valentina couldn’t resist, **pained**: – When you were swigging vodka with Gromyshev* (V.M. Shapko. Plugotarenko’s Syndrome of Fun // “Volga”, 2016) [RNC]. Realizing this script, the subject usually intentionally chooses expressive-emotional linguistic means, for example, a certain intonation, tone of voice (*her voice pricked with contempt*), coarse vocabulary (*to swig*), etc., to influence the object.

2. ‘To offend sb. with one’s behavior’, e.g. *Stop the invasion of pink hearts in February can only be stopped by memories of former partners. Namely – the desire to lightly **pain** them. <...> The authors of the application for photo processing Picsart offer an original variant. Especially for February 14, they have added a new function. Now in joint photos with a former partner his image can be replaced by any object or animal* [<https://people.onliner.by/2023/02/07/sposoby-otomstit-byvshim>]; *Fans of the rival club use every opportunity to **pain** each other, <...> Hannover fans on Saturday broke into*

the stadium Eintracht, shortly before the game with Heidenheim, and burned the number 96 in the center circle (the number 96 in the circle is the logo of the football club Hannover 96 – VfL Wolfsburg N.Y.K.)
 [https://www.sports.ru/tribuna/blogs/mama4h/3113609.html].

More often the intention “to pain” is conscious, which is clarified, for example, with the help of the words *to want, to try, to be able to*, etc.: *I wanted, I really wanted to **pain** her with something* (Arkady Matsanov. A short summer on the Lena // “Kovcheg”, 2014); *Sometimes he tried to pain me more painfully*, <...> (Ekaterina Zavershneva. Vysotka (2012), Sergei Paradjanov; He knew how to prick, to say a nasty thing (Boris Messerer. Promelk Bella. Sergei Parajanov. Venedikt Erofeev // “October”, 2013) [RNC].

The relationship between the subject and object is often inherently negative when performing the action “to pain”. To achieve the strategy “to pain sb.”, the subject has a clear tactic: there is a desire to pain – the subject chooses means (more often linguistic), which, in the subject’s opinion, can hurt the feelings of the object – pain the object.

But there is also a variant of the script when the speaking subject considers it wrong to verbally insult someone and changes his/her intention. Here is an example: *All the time I was going to **pain** you, saying that you are more interesting as “captain”, but I changed my mind* (Alexei Filippov. Personality minus the glory. Historical Chronicles: February 5-11 (2002) // “Izvestia”, 04.02.2002) [RNC].

According to the RNC data, the verb to prick is used in 3651 contexts.

3. To wound

This verb has the following meaning in explanatory dictionaries: ‘to offend, to hurt someone by a remark, a rejoinder’ [MAS, 1999: vol. 4, 472]; [TCRYA, 2007: 1021], ‘to make someone uncomfortable, to put them in a difficult, funny situation by saying, doing something’ [BTS, 1998: 1377], representing an invariant script, e.g.: *But the Russian at least understands what kind of accusation can be used to **wound** the Russian himself* (Clean hands. Itogi // Izvestia, 2016.03) [RNC]. The verb belongs to the plain speech style.

This script invariant can be realized in the following variants, for example:

1. ‘To insult sb. with one’s behavior’: *Even though Elizabeth II kept with the disgraced couple with deliberate politeness, she still managed to **wound** the vain Meghan Markle with one of her decisions* [<https://clck.ru/35uUTM>].

2. ‘To deeply offend sb. with words’: *‘But the ability to **wound** with words is the new standard of diplomatic relations,’ Sobchak noted.* [<https://clck.ru/35uUVS>]; *But Mitya **wounded** him with one of his stupid phrases* (N.B. Chernykh. Weak, Strong. Part Two // “Volga”, 2015) [RNC].

According to our observations, the action “to wound” is usually done consciously, e.g. *Prostoretical “sky” and “podi” were rarely used, only when he wanted to eat an unpleasant interlocutor* (Elizaveta Kozyreva. Ladies' Hunt (2001)) [RNC].

In the RNC, the verb *to wound* has 364 examples of usage.

In the process of communication, all three actions denoted by the verbs *to hurt*, *to pain* and *to wound* can be performed as a reaction to the previous action or words of the interlocutor, for example, – *I saw, – bragged Andrei. – Your mom said that you have a sore throat. – But you can't have ice cream! – **Wounded** him offended Pashka* (Marina Poletika. Once There Was Autumn (2012)) [RNC]; *Thinks that he has just been veiledly poked by his nose in a mistake, gets angry and tries to **hurt** in response* [<https://why.esprezo.ru/learn/i-was-meant-to-be-offended>]. This shows that these actions are often realized consciously, but often also spontaneously.

Thus, the cognitive-discursive analysis of the synonymous link *to hurt – to pain – to wound* allows us to do the following conclusions. First, the subject and object of these three actions are often opposed to each other in terms of their role status, for example, former partners, fans of the rival club; the relationship between them may be initially negative; the subject’s intension may be intentional or spontaneous when reacting to the interlocutor’s action (words); the way of performing actions (behavior, speech, etc.) is often specified in contexts; the actions denoted by the verbs *to pain* and *to wound* are more often conscious. Secondly, the verb *to hurt* realizes a greater number of variant scripts, because this verb-dominant has the most general meaning in the link and subgroup. The invariant scripts of the synonymous verbs *to pain* and *to wound* serve as variant scripts in relation to the dominant verb of the link. The verb *to hurt* more often

realizes its invariant script ‘to deeply offend someone, to cause moral pain’, the verb *to pain* realizes the variant script ‘to verbally hurt someone once painfully’, and the verb *to wound* realizes the invariant script ‘to verbally put in an uncomfortable position’. Thirdly, the verbs we studied are distributed by semantic proximity to the dominant (in descending order) as follows: *to hurt* – *to pain* – *to wound*. The verbs are arranged in the following order in terms of increasing intensity of their impact on the other person’s feelings: *to pain* – *to wound* – *to hurt*, which is facilitated by the transparent internal form of the verbs (cf. e.g. *pain* – *wound*).

2.4.3. The synonymous subgroup *to insult* – *to affront* – *to pick out* – *to offend*

These verbs are united by the common seme ‘to slightly offend someone with a remark’ and are formed by the same prefix method: the prefix *pod-* + the producing verb. It should be noted that in modern Russian the prefix *pod-* can express “mitigating (attenuative) meaning” [Godizova, 2016: 210], which allows us to distinguish a subgroup of verbs with the prefix *pod-*, denoting “the action named by the motivating verb, performed with insignificant intensity”: *to cheer up*, *to forget*, etc. [RG, 1980: vol. 1, 365], including the verbs *to insult*, *to affront*, *to pick out* and *to offend*.

1. *To insult*

According to the explanatory dictionaries, the verb *to insult* has the meaning ‘to offend someone verbally, with a barbed remark, to reproach them for something’ and belongs to the colloquial style of speech [BAS, 2011: vol. 7, 535]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 3, 185]; [TCRYA, 2007: 665]; [BTS, 1998: 864]. This meaning expresses the invariant script of the verb *to insult*, which is actualized, for example, in the following contexts: – *Why did you break the door, Grisha, if you had the keys? – Anton **insulted*** (Alexandra Marinina. *The Last Dawn* (2013)); *Zara bragged about the news in the farm: <...> And next year we will rebuild the pool and the library. – Once again raising prices, – Nathan **insulted** her, – already exorbitant* (Dina Rubina. *Russian Canary. Prodigal Son* (2014)) [RNC].

During the analysis, we noticed that this verb most often realizes its invariant script, in the implementation of which, according to our observations, the subject usually chooses words or phrases that can precisely affect the object; hints, reproaches or takes advantage of a mistake, distinctive features (character, origin, appearance, etc.) of the object, e.g., “*There is nothing special about me*” – Klopp **insulted** Mourinho before the match against Tottenham (the media calls soccer coach Mourinho “Special” – Vu N.Y.K.) [<https://clck.ru/35nKB6>]; At the same time, Stepanova managed to **insult** the TV presenter. “*You were born with a golden hem, and everything was at your feet, accordingly you didn’t need to do it. It’s hard for you to understand a girl from some small town, who got somewhere, from some hostel, and she gets everything very hard, tights torn and so on. It’s hard for you to understand them*”, Stepanova noted [<https://uznayvse.ru/zvezdyi/105835.html>]; In recent months, the man (businessman Kurban Omarov – Vu N.Y.K.) has been trying his best to **insult** his former spouse, insinuating that he has no shortage of women. This time, Omarov shared a clip in his microblog, from which one can draw conclusions about his love affair with Larisa Guzeyeva, one of the hosts of the program “*Let’s get married!*” [<https://uznayvse.ru/zvezdyi/107760.html>].

The action “to verbally insulted” can be carried out as a reaction to the words of the interlocutor, usually in a conversation, quarrel, or discussion: *Who am I? It’s just offensive that I knew and did not say, I realize that all this may be against some rules. Didn’t you ever once feel the urge to tell the truth? – As far as I know, yours weren’t in a hurry to tell the truth either, my wife **insulted**. – Yes, Igor sighed. – Answer me a simple question”, his wife said after a pause. – Who behaves like a human being?* (A.B. Salnikov. Division // “Volga”, 2015); – *More than half of our inner content is words. – Like I am by the inner content of this not that? – Askar smirked. – I should take offense, ...but I’m lazy. – You are too lazy today, she **insulted** in the same even voice* (Guzalia Aritkulova. Contour, scorched on the asphalt // “Belskie Prostory”, 2018) [RNC]. In contexts like the second example, the action expressed by the verb *to insult* appears to be “non-poisonous”, not offensive, even humorous.

Within this invariant we can distinguish the variant script ‘to say something with irony in order not to cause a negative reaction in someone else or just to joke’, which, according to our observations, occurs less frequently. Let’s consider examples: *She decided to **insult** her colleague, remembering that only a lazy person did not write to her that “she is a singing coward, but Olga Buzova is a real singer”* [<https://uznayvse.ru/zvezdyi/109408.html>]; *Kirkorov **insulted** Timati at the show “Mask”: “Life made me come here. Why did you hide that you can sing?” <...> Why did you hide for so long that you can sing. That’s your rap history – it’s made you a big star. You have the genius brain of a businessman. I never thought of him as a singer, and this is an amazing vocalist* [<https://clck.ru/35nmFg>]; *TV host Andrei Norkin subtly **insulted** an expert on the air of the program “Mesto Vstrechi”. He joked about Andrey Fedorov’s forecast* [<https://clck.ru/35nxgT>]. Such a script is possible when the relationship between the subject and the object of action is neutral or close. The subject often makes himself or the object of a joke and in the first two examples, apparently, the action of “to insult” in a certain situation is performed for the purpose of praise. In this variant script, the joke used is usually light, not barbed, so the verb to pry is combined with adverbs like *cleverly, lightly, subtly*, etc.; or with a phrase like *for a joke*.

The verb *to insult* is frequent in the Russian, so, according to the data of the RNC, 1259 examples of the verb in all its meanings were found.

2. *To affront*

In Russian explanatory dictionaries the meaning of the verb *to affront* is as follows: ‘to insult, to injure’ [BAS, 2011: vol. 17, 601]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 3, 192]; [TCRYA, 2007: 667]; [BTS, 1998: 868]. MAS and BTS refer this verb to the colloquial style of speech, and TCRYA to the plain style of speech. This dictionary meaning expresses the invariant script of the verb *to affront* ‘to insult someone with a barbed remark’, for example, in the following contexts: *Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif **affronted** US President Donald Trump and recalled how the latter accused his predecessor Barack Obama of trying to use confrontation with Iran to win the election* (Iran poked Trump and recalled Obama // Lenta.ru, 2020.12.24); – *I need it now. “I’ll*

give you more later,” he said and then switched to his usual style of conversation aimed at humiliating the interlocutor. First, he stated that he had not graduated from military academies and engineering universities, but had studied only at the “bursa”, i.e. Kyiv State University named after T.H. Shevchenko. – So you are not even an engineer,” I **affronted** him (V.I. Maksimov. Diary of a research worker (2005)) [RNC].

Analyzing the contexts of using the verb *to affront*, we can notice that the subject and the object of the action “to affront” are often opposed to each other by role status, for example, *artists – anti-fans, political rivals, people who have opposite views on something*, etc.; the relationship between them is negative. This fact can be illustrated by the following examples: *Sasha Savelieva, the lead singer of the group “Fabrika”, **affronted** her detractors who gossiped about her first pregnancy.* (Savelyeva posted a photo of her “pregnant” spouse online // Moskovsky Komsomolets, 2019.04.01); *Trump refused to pull a stunt with clothes, but **affronted** Biden* (Trump refused to pull a stunt with clothes, but teased Biden // Vesti.ru, 2020.10.11) [RNC]; *Guberniev **affronted** Pozner after his words about Russia’s punishment in Tokyo. <...> Journalist Vladimir Pozner is having a hard time as he is having a hard time choosing which team to support at the Olympics: Russia, France, or the United States. This opinion was expressed in a conversation with URA.RU by Dmitry Guberniev, sports commentator, and host of Match TV* [<https://ura.news/news/1052498318>].

Among the reviewed contexts, we encountered situations when the invariant script of the verb *to affront* is realized in the variant ‘to mock, to laugh at sb.’, so, for example, *“Oh, it’s the “floating” sea on the background of her thighs,” another social network user **affronted*** (Kim Kardashian’s beach photos showed a ridiculous photoshop // lenta.ru, 2019.08.26); *Russian President Vladimir Putin **affronted** Economic Development Minister Maxim Oreshkin, who failed to answer a question about import substitution* (Putin’s question embarrassed Oreshkin // Moskovsky Komsomolets, 2019.04.09) [RNC]; *The joke succeeded: Stasia Miloslavskaya **affronted** her ex-boyfriend Alexander Petrov. When your no-five husband marries someone else, it’s important not to lose your sense of humor. <...> The actress posted a black-and-white photo on her page, which immediately gathered a lot of likes and enthusiastic comments.*

Among them was a compliment from the star of the movie “Uncle” Dmitry Karanevsky: “Here would be a chance to meet you on the street”, he wrote under the photo. “But only on the condition that you are from a complete family”, Stasia replied to him [https://clck.ru/35p865].

Within the invariant script of the verb *to affront*, we can also distinguish the variant ‘to make fun of sb.’. Let's look at examples: *Rodriguez recently friendly **affronted** us, wishing us a pleasant flight to Krasnoyarsk and informing us that he was on the bus on his way from Milan to Treviso for the first game of the Italian championship* (To create a champion team in a season is from the category of miracles // *Izvestia*, 2019.10. 03); *A few years later, having already evaluated Isla’s work, Ortega friendly **affronted**: “But you took a big risk accepting the offer to move here”* (It is difficult to achieve a goal without passion // *Vedomosti*, 2017.11.13); *Usually the guests of the show allow Urgant to **affront** them and are ready to talk not only about their career and life, but also to laugh and joke* (Anastasia Yevtushenko. Pokidali litter: Urgant quarreled with Solovyov // *lenta.ru*, 2017.09.12) [RNC]. It seems that the verb *to affront* differs from the verb *to insult* by a greater degree of intensity of action, so in the contexts realizing the considered variant script the following qualifiers are used: the adverb *friendly*, or the verb *to allow*. It is important to note that in this variant script the relationship between the subject and the object is neutral or close.

The verb *to affront* is less frequent than the verb *to pry*: 534 instances of this verb in all its meanings were recorded in the RNC.

3. *To pick out*

In explanatory dictionaries, the verb *to pick out* is interpreted as ‘to insult, to affront in conversation, to hurt someone with a barbed remark’ [BAS, 2011: vol. 17, 630]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 3, 192]; [TCRYA, 2007: 667]; [BTS, 1998: 868], which allows us to identify an invariant script of the verb *to pick out*, corresponding to its dictionary meaning – ‘to say sth., reproaching the interlocutor, taking advantage of a barbed remark’: *I bet that super girls will sit in his kopeck. CatYou, what do you think I’m jealous of? Your imagination? You like to **pick out** the interlocutor with your baseless conclusions –*

kindergarten, by God! (How do people meet you? (2008-2015)); *Some reader, having digested all these passions, will **pick out** me:* “You said at the beginning of the article that officers are the elite!” (Victor Baranets. “I will marry. Officers please don’t worry” (2 part) // *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, 2007.01.31) [RNC].

This invariant script can be realized in the variant ‘to ask a tactless question, to specify something in order to offend the interlocutor’, in which the question acts as a reaction to the previous words, actions or emotions of the interlocutor. Let’s look at examples: *So, Vyacheslav Ivanovich, please join in immediately. Write it down: Lanie Kaufman... – What is this? – Deryasin interrupted. He stood up with a completely dumbfounded look. – Familiar, or what? – Podlesny to **picked out**. – Yes, answered Andrei without intonation. – I met him just yesterday at the restaurant. – Are you joking? – Klynya suggested uncertainly. – If* (Semyon Danilyuk. *Ruble Zone* (2004)); *After “Waterloo bridge” the impressionable Maxim came out with wet eyes. – What, you feel sorry for the bird? – Alexei **picked out**. – Fool. I feel sorry for myself, Florovsky snapped angrily* (Semyon Danilyuk. *Ruble Zone* (2004)). The second context reveals a facultative slot – a circumstantial qualifier: the reaction of the object – *Florovsky snapped angrily*. Another example: *Passion flared up because it fell “on combustible soil”. Tatiana was not ashamed of her ardor, did not hide the age difference from people. And when once she was **picked out** by a neighbor: “Who is it you adopted?” – only disarmingly smiled: “Yes, I fell in love with a boy ...” Soon the young seducer moved to Tatiana to live. Waking up at night from happiness, she carefully adjusted the blanket on Andrey and could not sleep until morning, tormented by vague premonitions* (Korets Marina. *LOVE WITHOUT Sense* // *Trud-7*, 2003.09.11) [RNC].

The verb *to pick out* also realizes the variant script ‘to sarcastically offend sb., to challenge’, for example, in the following contexts: *Once poet Vladimir Vishnevsky, a master of one-liners, had a book presentation, and everyone was saying: “genius, genius”. So I decided to **pick out** him a bit. I said, “I can do that too. And I offered Vishnevsky to play a game. He calls me a theme, and I him in response – one-liners* (Lebedina Lyubov. *Lev Durov: Even Schwarzenegger imitates me* // *Trud-7*, 2006.05.27) [RNC].

While analyzing this verb, we also encounter contexts where *to pick out* realizes the variant script ‘to laugh, to make fun of sb.’, e.g., *There is something wrong in it, because this money is not for treating someone or for an important social project like “Own Radio”. That’s why Bai and I thought about it and decided to adapt the song to modern Russian realities, and a phrase from Sid’s song came in handy in terms of meaning and rhyme. In general, we laughed and decided to “pick out” colleagues in the shop, so as not to indoctrinate teenagers that it’s cool.* (vk (25.05.2016)); [Respondent, wife, 80, 1918] *Well/ at that age/ of course/ people are different. Maybe/ there is some need for it. But for me... I like to laugh/ I like to joke/ I like to pick out someone/ and I talk to men like that. Well/ and she is shy about it/ thinks it...* (Biography (conversation between a linguist and an informant) (1998)) [RNC].

Compared to the verbs *to insult* and *to affront*, the verb *to pick out* is less frequent. Only 102 examples of its use were found in the RNC, among which the majority of contexts were created before 2010. During the study of the selected invariant and variant scripts of the verb *to pick out*, it was found that the verb *to pick out* is semantically close to the verb *to affront*.

4. *To offend*

According to the Russian explanatory dictionaries, the verb *to offend* means ‘to hurt, to insult’ and belongs to the colloquial style of speech [BAS, 2011: vol. 17, 654]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 3, 194]; [BTS, 1998: 868].

The verb *to offend* is rarely used in modern Russian, so, in the RNC we managed to find 13 contexts with this verb, among which only 5 contexts are modern, for example, – *Don’t be offended*, – *Margarita blurted out guiltily; it was obvious that she was not happy to be left alone in the darkness of the Kherson streets*, – *I have such a bad character: I always offend someone, and then I regret it myself...* (Yuri Topunov. Englishwoman // “Ark”, 2013); And *offended*: “*Although the actress is now starring in the movie “Perfect Marriage”, in her life her marriage has fallen apart” ... – I have no idea where journalists take information from time to time* (Svetlana Mazurova. “My

heroine is a confused careerist who dreams of a full-fledged family” // Izvestia, 2012.09.08) [RNC].

A small number of contexts were also found in the Internet space. Let us cite them: *Bair Balzhirov, Chairman of the Buryatia Farmer's Association, believes that the scandalous recording of a fragment of his speech at the congress of delegates of villages, hamlets, and small towns “Save the native village” did not damage his reputation, but quite the opposite. “Who wanted to offend, made, by and large, PR to me, and so no one would have noticed,” believes Balzhirov, “now I get calls from people, expressing sympathy. And I think it's normal to sympathize, they paid attention to it.* [https://vtinform.com/news/137/91244/?sphrase_id=27697896]; *“Explosive person” is those who suddenly announce the room with shouts, who bombard opponents with profanity. These types so artistically lose their temper that they give the impression to others as if they were badly **offended**, bribed, <...>* [https://clck.ru/35uACo]; *It is necessary to advise such a person to learn to get pleasure from their own restraint: “I was deceived, **offended**, humiliated, bribed, and I just smiled and did not react, but saved my nerves, kept normal pressure. I'm good!”* [https://clck.ru/35uBHV].

Apparently, in all these examples, the verb *to offend* realizes the invariant script “to offend someone”. The action verbalized by the verb *to offend* differs from the actions “to insult”, “to affront” and “to pick out” by a greater degree of sarcasm. This action is carried out consciously with the purpose of hurting, insulting someone and not as a reaction to the words or actions of the object, the action denoted by the verb is characterized by malice.

Summarizing the above, we can do the following conclusions. First, the verb *to insult* most often realizes its invariant script; the action expressed by this verb is more often carried out as a reaction to the words or actions of the interlocutor during a conversation. In the semantics of the verb *to affront*, the implicit seme ‘to mock, to make fun of someone’ is actualized; this verb differs from its synonyms by the highest degree of intensity. The verb *to pick out* has the differential seme ‘to ask a tactless question’. The three verbs *to insult*, *to affront*, *to pick out* can realize the variant script ‘to make a joke on someone’, but due to the different degrees of intensity of action, the jokes used in this

script also differ in the degree of offensiveness. The verb *to offend* expresses the most sarcastic and deliberate form of the action verbalized by this synonymous link. Secondly, the results of the analysis of the selected verb synonyms showed that the verbs under study are distributed in the following order (in descending order) in terms of semantic proximity: *to insult* – *to affront* – *to pick out* – *to offend*; in terms of intensity of action: *to offend* – *to affront* – *to pick out* – *to insult*.

2.4.4. The verb *to upset*

Unlike other synonymous verbs, according to the explanatory dictionaries of the Russian language, the verb *to upset* has the following meaning: ‘to agitate, to affect sb. // to offend, insult’ [BAS, 2006: vol. 6, 158-159]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 1, 516]; [TCRYA, 2007: 247]; [BTS, 1998: 320]; which forms an invariant script for this verb: ‘to offend sb, strike a blow to the ego, feeling’, e.g., *She laughed again, but I felt that I had succeeded in **upsetting** her.* (Victor Pelevin. *Batman Apollo* (2013)) [RNC]; “*It was hard to watch that press conference. It looked pathetic and shameful. In that press conference, they tried **to upset** Ngann as much as possible*”, *Helwani said* [<https://clck.ru/36D5NX>]. The BAS, MAS and BTS note that the verb *to upset* belongs to the colloquial style of speech. The analysis of the contexts presented in the RNC and the Internet space allows us to identify the following variant scripts within this invariant:

1. ‘To cause moral pain’. Here are some examples: *Of course, such children are reluctant and somewhat afraid to go to school, because they are afraid that their peers will ridicule their weakness, tease them, and try **to upset** them at every opportunity* (Alevtina Lugovskaya. *If a child is afraid to go to school* (2002)); *I had a cavalry carbine, and he had a Berdanka. His male ego was **upset**... The conflict ended with the fact that when I left for Vladivostok on assignment from the headquarters to transmit information to the underground party committee, I left my carbine to Sasha* (V.O. Avchenko. *Fadeev* (2017)) [RNC]. In the above contexts it is noted that the subject of the action “to upset” can intentionally or unintentionally offend sb., or, objectively, does not offend anyone, but the object of the action believes that he was upset.

2. ‘To offend sb. verbally’: <...> *Sergei's father **upset** me, called me a criminal. Now I will respond in the same way* (Sergei Zverev’s son decided to sue his father // Lenta.ru, 2020.11); <...> *the language of scum/ which to some extent was not a manifestation of trolling in itself/ but was used to **upset** someone’s feelings/ to provoke people to reciprocate emotions* (Oksana Moroz. Trolling and Haterism (2017)) [RNC]. The above contexts show that the subject can hurt sb. with his/her words, rude or profane language, etc.

3. ‘To deeply offend sb. by his behavior’, for example, *Just once in my life, when for my father’s anniversary they made a wonderful film, in which everyone was present, including his muses and related stories, and they did not mention me, there was not a single word about the fact that he had a daughter – that's when I told about what my father **upset** me* (I.N. Virabov. Andrei Voznesensky (2015)); *I did not insist, but still took offense. She was quick to undo our friendship! *** Several years passed, during which Oksana never called me. Her silence bothered me and **upset** me a lot. I tried many times to call her myself, but she changed her phone number. “God be with you!” – I decided* (Elena Litinskaya. Revelation of Oksana // "Kovcheg", 2013); – *And he and all of us were very **upset** by Yushchenko’s betrayal, – says Yevgeniy Chervonenko* (Porokh // "Russky Reporter", 2014) [RNC]. In such contexts the relations between the subject and the object of action “to upset” are close, so the object of action is more hurt, which can be emphasized by word combinations with adverbs of degree, for example, *strongly/very much upset*.

4. ‘To cause offense to sb. under specific conditions, usually in a quarrel, in a discussion’: *In conclusion, Oleg Igorevich* (writer O.I. Divov – Vu N.Y.K.) *“**upset**” the critics: they say that we need another lecture, “very offensive, very unkind”, on the subject of “how much our critics know about fiction, what they consider fiction, why they know neither the history of this trend in literature, nor even basic literary terms in this field...”* (Elena Safronova. Fantast in Big Literature: the Problem of Self-Consciousness // "October", 2013); *Although the former vice-president, for the sake of justice, tried his best to **upset** his opponent, if not by deed, then at least by word* (Give fire to the fire //

Izvestia, 2020.10) [RNC]. When this script is realized, the subject is opposed to the object in terms of role status, e.g. *writer – critic, politicians – opponents*.

Note that the analysis of contexts shows that the subject is often afraid of involuntarily “upsetting” sb. by his behavior, including speech, e.g., *I dare to guess about something, but I am never sure of my guesses enough not to be afraid of **upsetting** someone* (Irina Vasyuchenko. *Lame on the slope* // “Ark”, 2014); *And in this book, or rather, in our conversations with Solomon, I tried not to **upset** anyone, not to offend anyone* (Vladimir Spivakov, Yossi Tavor. “You just need to see and hear” // “Ogonyok”, 2014); *And I apologize if I **upset** you* (Forum: School Framework (2013)) [RNC].

The verb *to upset* is a frequent verb, thus, 21312 examples of the verb *to upset* in all its meanings were found in the RNC.

The verb *to upset* can function in various texts, although, according to explanatory dictionaries, it belongs to the colloquial style of speech. The frequency of the verb and the presence of several variants of its cognitive script can be explained by the desire of native speakers to mark an action disapproved of in Russian linguoculture.

As for the results of the survey of native Russian speakers, the informants distributed all verbs in the following order in terms of semantic proximity to the dominant *to hurt*: *to upset* (93.6%) – *to pain* (74.5%) – *to affront* (70.2%) – *to insult* (61.7%) – *to wound* (34%) – *to pick out* (27.7%) – *to offend* (12.8%). And in terms of frequency: 76.6% of respondents named the verb *to upset* as the most frequent; as for the other verbs, the respondents’ opinions differed, but according to the results, we can state the following: the verbs *to pick out* and *to offend* are the least frequent, while the other verbs are quite frequent. Most of informants attributed the verbs *to upset* (83%), *to pain* (57.4%), *to hurt* (51%) to the neutral style of speech, the verbs *to insult* (40.4%), *to affront* (66%), *to pick out* (63.8%) to the colloquial style, and the verbs *to wound* (44.7%) and *to offend* (48.9%) to the colloquial style.

Thus, the results of the analysis of the synonymous link with the dominant *to hurt* lead us to the following conclusions. The invariant script of this synonymous link looks as follows: ‘to offend, insult someone with one's behavior or words’. In the RNC material, the use of the perfect form of all verbs prevails, which can be explained by the fact that

the actions verbalized by these lexemes are usually performed once, spontaneously, intentionally, or unintentionally in speech, in communication, in a particular type of discourse. As an illustration, let us cite the following context: *If even I **upset** you by my unreason / if you start mocking me / let God and my thinness judge you* (Valentin Yanin. Man of the XIII century. Academia Project (GTRK Kultura) (2010)) [RNC].

There are cases among the considered contexts when interchange of synonyms is impossible, for example: *The movie is an attempt to understand Vysotsky as a poetic phenomenon. On the one hand, a universal favorite, in front of whose charm and charisma any doors were opened, on the other hand – a **hurt** (not **pained** or **wounded!** - Vu N.Y.K.) creator suffering from non-recognition* [<https://clck.ru/35uUdv>]. Since the nuclear sense of the verb *to hurt* ‘to cause moral pain’ (*suffering from non-recognition*) is actualized here and the duration of the consequences of this action in the object is emphasized, and in our opinion, the object often reacts to the actions verbalized by the verbs *to pain* and *to wound* practically at the moment of their realization, therefore, the verbs of the subgroup *to insult* and the verb *to upset* cannot replace the verb *to hurt* in this case either.

The study also revealed a situation when the dominant of the link and its synonyms are used in the same context, for example, *Nina’s face was now trembling from almost unbearable efforts of restraint, from some vindictive effort to **hurt** Kamlaev by all means – to **pain** him with such a clear and murderous dissimilarity between that, real smile of hers and this painfully offensive fake* (S.A. Samsonov. Kamlaev’s Anomaly (2006-2007)) [RNC]. In the above example, we can see that the verb-dominant *to hurt* realizes the invariant script of the series, while the verb *to pain* realizes the variant script.

In the first subgroup we studied, all verbs are distributed by frequency (in descending order) as follows: *to hurt* – *to pain* – *to wound*, among which, the verbs *to hurt* and *to pain* belong to the neutral style of speech, and the verb *to wound* belongs to the vernacular style.

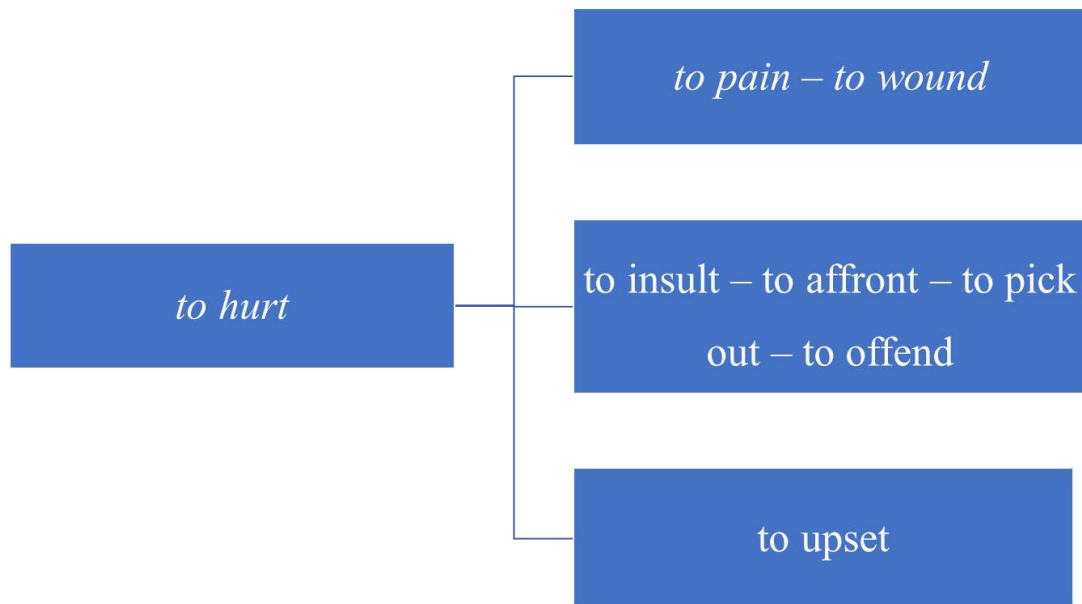
In the second subgroup by frequency of use in the Russian, the verbs are distributed in the following order (descending): *to insult* – *to affront* – *to pick out* – *to offend*, the

verb *to offend* is gradually going out of use. All verbs of this synonymous subgroup belong to the colloquial style of speech.

The verb *to upset* is the most frequent in this link and belongs to the colloquial style of speech.

The verbs *to hurt*, *to upset*, *to pain*, *to insult*, *to affront* belong to the nuclear zone of the series, and the verbs *to wound*, *to pick out* and *to offend* belong to the peripheral zone.

The structure of the synonymous link of Russian verbs describing interpersonal relationship with the dominant *to hurt* can be represented in the form of the following scheme:



The synonymous subgroup that includes the dominant is italicized

Scheme No. 3

2.5. Synonymous link of Russian verbs with the general meaning ‘to avoid someone because of a feeling of disgust, considering someone unworthy of oneself’⁵

2.5.1. Composition and structure of the synonymous link

The object of study in this section is the synonymous link of Russian verbs with the dominant *to shun*: *to shun*, *to be squeamish*, *to disdain*, *to neglect* and *to despise* [Evgenieva, 1970: vol. 1, 93]; [Aleksandrova, 2001: 91]; [Abramov, 2007: 64]. All the members of this synonymous link are united by the common meaning ‘to avoid sb. because of the feeling of disgust, considering sb. unworthy of oneself’.

The analysis of lexicographic sources allows us to distinguish two subgroups within the synonymous link under study:

- *to shun* – *to be squeamish* – *to disdain*;
- *to neglect* – *to despise*.

Let us proceed to the cognitive and discourse analysis of each link.

2.5.2. The synonymous subgroup *to shun* – *to be squeamish* – *to disdain*

The units of this synonymous subgroup are united by the common sense ‘to show a feeling of squeamishness towards someone’.

1. *To shun*

According to the Russian explanatory dictionaries, the verb *to shun* is interpreted as follows: ‘to feel a sense of squeamishness towards sb., to neglect, to abhor’ [MAS,

⁵ Section 2.5. is based on the following author’s article – Vu Ngoc Yen Khanh:

1. Russian verb *to be squeamish* (in comparison with Vietnamese): linguo-cultural aspect // Bulletin of the I.Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. – 2022. – № 2(115). – P. 10–16.

2. Cognitive and discourse analysis of the Russian verb *to disdain* // Bulletin of the Faculty of Social Digital Technologies, St. Petersburg State University of Telecommunications named after Prof. M.A. Bonch-Bruевич. – 2022. – P. 288–293.

3. Cognitive and discourse analysis of synonymous verbs *to neglect* – *to despise* // Problems of teaching philological disciplines in higher school: Proceedings of the XXVIII International Scientific and Methodological Conference – St. Petersburg: FGBOUVO “SPbGUPTD”, 2023. – P. 13–18.

1999: vol. 1, 114]; [TCRYA, 2007: 60]; [BTS, 1998: 96]. Only BAS notes that this verb has two LSVs: 1) ‘to feel a sense of squeamishness towards sb.’. 2) trans. ‘to regard sb. as unworthy of oneself; to disdain, abhor sb.’ [BAS, 2005: vol. 2, 182].

While analyzing the contexts presented in the RNC and the Internet, it was found that the verb *to shun* is rarely used in modern Russian, and in the meaning, which interests us, it is practically not used.

We can identify an invariant script for the verb: ‘to feel a sense of squeamishness towards sb./sth.’.

In the contexts we have considered, the verb to be squeamish usually means ‘to feel a sense of squeamishness towards something’, for example: *I am still afraid of Lenchka, who has been buried at Vvedensky for five years, and I still **shun** Yazva’s shirt, which stinks of gasoline-apple sweat* (N.B. Chernykh. Yazva, or Russian punk of 1989 // “Volga”, 2012) [RNC]. The verb is most often used with the particle *not* in the sense of ‘not to shy’: “*The role of a submissive servant of the devil required a woman not **to shun** away from anything during the consolidation of her status*”, says the correspondent (Chechnya recognized the existence of jinns and reprimanded sorcerers // lenta.ru, 2019.09.22)) [RNC].

According to our observations, the verb *to shun* in the meaning that allows this verb to enter the synonymous link analyzed by us is already rarely used in the modern synonymy. In the RNC we found 582 contexts of this verb, among which only 29 contexts were created after 2000.

2. To be squeamish

According to the MAS and BTS, the verb *to be squeamish* is a colloquial variant of its cognate verb *to shun*: ‘colloquially the same as to shun’ [MAS, 1999: vol. 1, 114]; ‘colloquially = to shun’ [BTS, 1998: 96]. In the BAS and TCRYA, the verb *to be squeamish* is also defined through verb *to shun* [BAS, 2005: vol. 2, 182-183]; [TCRYA, 2007: 60]. Thus, the meaning of the verb *to be squeamish* is as follows: ‘to feel a sense of squeamishness towards sb.; to disdain, abhor’. The invariant script inherent in this meaning is actualized, for example, in the following context: *Kapitonov wants to leave.*

– *He’s **squeamish** of us! Well, in a fool – one on one* (Sergei Nosov. Figure brackets (2015)) [RNC].

Within this invariant, the following variant scripts can be distinguished:

1. ‘To treat sb. with disdain out of a sense of arrogance’: *I, if I didn’t know you, would have thought it was arrogance. You seem to **be squeamish*** (Roman Amosov. Rise to the Hill // “Ark”, 2012); *And I can’t say that “Moscow – Petushki” is my board book, I have never spoken with quotes from there and even rather **squeamish** of people speaking with these quotes* (Alexei Zimin, Maxim Semelyak. Za zanavanasyochku lizhi // “Russkaya Zhizn”, 2012) [RNC];

2. ‘To have no desire to have physical contact with sb.’. Let’s consider the following contexts: *‘The child is **squeamish** about great-grandmother’, the first time he saw her at the age of three, he started to fight back. Grown-up but strange offenses <...> the kid, opening his eyes and mouth, began to actively fight off his great-grandmother and yell something like “Help me, help me, the fox is taking me to the dark forests”. Scared and panicked* [<https://clck.ru/35vJFU>]; *Often adult children do not like to touch their parents, hug them, etc. At least, parents – most often mothers – actively accuse them of this: they say that tactile contact with a female parent is unpleasant for grown-up children, they **are squeamish** of their own mother, how can it be?!* [<https://clck.ru/35vJyk>].

In these examples we can see that the subject shows excessive squeamishness. In such situations, squeamishness is considered as a type of phobia from a psychological perspective. “Squeamishness is fastidiousness, great pickiness in social, moral terms (when a person feels disgust when communicating or the possibility of communicating with people who are socially inferior to him, with morally inferior persons). It is often a consequence of arrogance, conceit” [Encyclopedic dictionary of psychology and pedagogy: <https://clck.ru/35vJZt>]. Thus, within the framework of this variant script, the object of squeamishness is those people who, from the subject’s point of view, are threatening, dangerous or unpleasant.

3. ‘Avoid communication with people whose actions seem unacceptable, wrong in society’: *Is it a sin to **be squeamish** of people? If yes, why / Depends on what you mean*

by the word *squeamish*. If you just avoid, no. God says to avoid associating with deceitful, evil, lying people or if a person is dirty, does not take care of themselves. Again, for what reason are you *squeamish* <...> [<https://otvet.mail.ru/question/203067257>]; Klava Koka stated that she *is squeamish* about dating a stripper. <...> According to Koka, she dislikes it when a man flaunts his body too much and has bills shoved in his underpants. At the same time, the artist apologized to the stripper who she refused [<https://clck.ru/35v3oj>]; And so it turned out: when she realized that Chester was a crackpot, though talented, she became *squeamish* of him (N.B. Chernykh. The Weak, the Strong. Part One // “Volga”, 2015) [RNC].

The verb *to be squeamish* is common in modern Russian; this verb tends to prevail over the verb *to be squeamish*, which belongs to the variant of the literary language: 3319 occurrences of this lexeme were recorded in the RNC.

3. *To disdain*

In Russian explanatory dictionaries, the verb *to disdain* has the following meaning: ‘to avoid sb., to neglect sb., out of a feeling of squeamishness, dislike, etc.; to feel a feeling of squeamish dislike for sb.’ [BAS, 2006: vol. 4, 205]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 1, 322]; [TCRYA, 2007: 156]; [BTS, 1998: 212]. All dictionaries note in this verb the control of who, what or whom or the combination with the infinitive.

Analyzing the data from lexicographic sources and contexts presented on the RNC and in the Internet space allows us to identify an invariant script in the semantics of the verb to be abhorred, corresponding to the dictionary meaning: *And you think he disdains us, has fallen out of love, does not remember?; Birgitta knew that among her colleagues there are many who are abhorred and afraid of meeting journalists and TV cameras* [<https://clck.ru/35vMEj>]. Within this invariant script the following variants are realized:

1. ‘To treat without respect a person whose behavior seems unacceptable in society’, for example, in the following context: *Polevoy writes that Lucas was cordially received by Grand Duke Ivan Vasilievich and stayed in Moscow. Karamzin paints a somewhat different picture. According to his data, in the Russian camp the fugitive knight was received coldly and contemptuously. “Ioannov’s commanders disdain the treason of*

Gammerstet: dissatisfied with the coldness of the Russians, he went to Denmark, sought service in Sweden”, – writes the historian. (Vladimir Veretennikov. Agent of the Prince of Moscow // lenta.ru, 2019.01.04) [RNC].

2. ‘To treat sb. with arrogance, to consider sb. unworthy of oneself’: *And I remember you. At every party, forgetting my shame, I used to climb in front of your eyes so that you could see me. But how could you see me if your nose was always up. You **disdained** to look at people from the height of your stature* (Alexander Grigorenko. Mabet // “Novy Mir”, 2011) [RNC]. In such contexts, it is noted that the object of the action “to disdain” usually has a lower status or is considered unworthy of attention from the subject's point of view.

3. ‘To feel a sense of squeamishness towards someone for subjective reasons, for example, because of a feeling of hatred, because of the difference in personal properties’: *I still hate her, I **disdain** her age, status, and fate* (Oleg Seledtsov. Crime and Punishment. Century XXI // "Ark", 2012) [RNC]; *Not because I am such a wife-beater (although not without it), it's just that the female language is created by God to convey the information I need. But male acquaintances should not be **disdained** either. Man, he is different, and the drunker, the more interesting* [<https://clck.ru/35vMQq>].

The verb is a frequent one: 2846 examples of this lexeme were found in the RNC, nevertheless, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that in the modern Russian language *bore* is no longer actively used as a verb of interpersonal relationship. According to our observations, in modern contexts presented in the RNC and the Internet, the verb *to bend* is most often used with the particle *not* in the meaning ‘not to be embarrassed’. In the sense of ‘to feel a sense of squeamishness toward someone’ it is usually found in texts of a religious nature, e.g., *11 My dwelling shall be among you, and I will not **disdain** you* (Bible. Modern Russian translation Books of Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament Canonical. Old Testament. The Third Book of Moses. Leviticus (2011)) [RNC].

So, according to the results of our study, in the modern Russian the verbs *to shun* and *to disdain* are not actively used in the meaning ‘to avoid sb.; to neglect sth., sb., to feel a sense of squeamishness towards sb.’. Particular attention is drawn to the frequency

of the construction not to shun / disdain sth. or inf. It can be assumed that both verbs already belong to the periphery of the LSG “Verbs describing interpersonal relationship” and are gradually moving to the LSG “Verbs of behavior”. Accordingly, the little-used verb *to shun* ceases to be the dominant synonymous link in the modern synchronic section of Russian. As for the verb *to be squeamish*, unlike its synonyms, this verb can realize the variant script ‘to have no desire to make physical contact with someone’. Being a nomination of a type of phobia, in scientific psychological discourse, *to be squeamish* may refer to a special vocabulary.

2.5.3. The synonymous subgroup *to neglect* – *to despise*

The verbs of this synonymic link have the common seme ‘to treat sb. without due respect’.

1. *To neglect*

According to the Russian explanatory dictionaries, the verb *to neglect* has the following meaning: ‘to show an arrogant and contemptuous attitude, to treat sb. without respect’ [BAS, 2011: vol. 19, 662]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 3, 380]; [TCRYA, 2007: 722]; [BTS, 1998: 965], which allows us to identify in its semantics an invariant script corresponding to this meaning, actualized, for example, in the following context: *No, of course, she also felt disgust and even contempt for some people, but she did not like to think about bad things, so those whom she **neglected** did not even exist* (Alexey Slapovsky. *The Big Book of Changes // “Volga”, 2010*) [RNC]; *Where an ordinary person would agree or guffaw, a psychopath would enter a state of rage. There is nothing more terrible for him than when someone questions his abilities or **neglects** him* [<https://life.ru/p/1495417>]. Within the framework of this invariant, the following variant scripts can be distinguished:

1. ‘To treat sb. without due respect because one’s own personal characteristics, for example, pride’: *Some people openly disliked the doctor, saying: too proud, **neglects** a simple man* (Vasil Bykov. *Swamp* (2001)); *And here’s something curious: usually the guys who check the contents of bags at the door, resentfully **neglect** me: <...>* (Irina

Vasyuchenko. *Lame on the slope* // “Kovcheg”, 2014) [RNC]; *Sergey’s problem is that he did not appreciate what fate presented him – me, the children. At some point he very much neglected us* [<https://clck.ru/35vk3N>].

2. ‘To treat with arrogance someone who has a lower social status’, e.g.: *A person who neglects contacts with those whom he considers unworthy of himself, a person who builds his future even without an attempt to establish a dialog with the so-called lower strata of society, <...> cannot (smack) in principle peacefully coexist with those whom he despises* (Sergey Digol. *In the best sense* // “Volga”, 2011) [RNC]; *If a person inside feels equal to you, he will not neglect. He simply has no reason to* [<https://dzen.ru/a/ZCq03xvP7UBQoPDN>].

In the first and second variants, the subject of action is usually a proud, arrogant person, so the action denoted by the verb *neglect* is often carried out subconsciously, unintentionally.

3. ‘To treat sb. with contempt because of his behavior’: *Why do they treat me like this, neglect me? I have never done anything bad to them...* (Valery Volodin. *The Tale of Bygone Years* // “Volga”, 2011) [RNC]; *No, I do not neglect people, even bad ones, I try to give everyone a chance, until a person spoils everything by some nasty deed, and something breaks off inside and changes* [<https://otvet.mail.ru/question/233736677>].

In the RNC, 8247 examples of the verb *to neglect* were recorded, but, according to our observations, in the modern Russian language the verb *to neglect* is not often used in the meaning we are interested in. In the RNC this lexeme with this meaning is more often used in non-modern contexts, for example: [*Y.V. Bromley, Husband, 54-59, 1921, ethnographer*] *A southerner will talk and will try to get closer to you/ and when a southerner talks to a northerner/ and the northerner/ so to speak/ naturally/ tries... then the southerner thinks/ that the northerner is neglecting him* (TV program "Obvious-unbelievable" (1975-1980)); *You neglect me so cruelly/ that seeing you and hearing you is more necessary/ than life and death* (Alexei Sakharov, Konstantin Simonov. *The Case of Polynin, k/f* (1970)) [RNC].

2. *To despise*

In Russian explanatory dictionaries the verb *to despise* means ‘to treat with contempt sb., to consider unworthy of respect’ [BAS, 2011: vol. 19, 628]; [MAS, 1999: vol. 3, 376]; [TCRYA, 2007: 721]; [BTS, 1998: 963]. This meaning expresses an invariant script: *How they must **despise** me to not even allow the thought that I might be successful in something. Who am I in their eyes? A gnat? A germ?* (Natalia Emelyanova. Traveler // “Far East”, 2019) [RNC]. This script invariant can be realized in the following variants:

1. ‘To treat with contempt, without respect for sb. because of his behavior, deed’, e.g.: *Oh, how I **despised** one important person who, sitting in his office, ticked off in the nomenclature catalog what he wanted to buy* (Alexey Polikovskiy. The world is no longer book centered. Gutenberg’s universe is dying. Books are orphaned and will be banished // Novaya Gazeta, 2018.11); *That’s why he was so passionate and **despised** the officials who came and spoiled all the fun* (Forbidden to sit on diets Christian Bale once again lost extreme weight // lenta.ru, 2019.11) [RNC]; *“Lives a lie with that white wig”: why Talyzina **despises** Pugacheva* [https://clck.ru/35votg]. In such contexts it is noted that the behavior of the object of contempt is often not accepted by the subject or society. At the same time, the reason for the contempt is usually revealed in the context, due to which the action is carried out consciously.

2. ‘To treat without due respect sb. who is not in the circle of “one’s own”, who does not share the subject’s views’: – *I heard that you **despise** people with such a circle of interests as mine* (Sergey Shikera. Egyptian subway // “Volga”, 2016); – *We blacks are tired of being **despised** by whites* (Protesters smashed the center of Brussels // Vesti.ru, 2020.06) [RNC]. In such situations, the subject and the object of action are usually opposed to each other in terms of role status, the relationship between them is initially negative.

3. ‘To treat without respect someone who is “weaker”, “lower” than oneself, from the subject’s point of view’: *He did not like magic, even if it was done in his interests, and **despised** the cowardly, trusting in a higher power, not even trying to measure up to it or at least wondering what exactly it consists in* (O.A. Slavnikova. (2017)) [RNC]; *How*

is this possible!?! Very simply. They **despise** their customers and act accordingly [https://finuslugi.ru/banki/vtb/otzyvy/mortgage_13906].

According to our observations, in many contexts the attitude denoted by the verb *to despise* is often combined with the hatred experienced by the subject, for example, *I hate her, I **despise** her... It would be high time to divorce her, but I have not divorced her yet not because Moscow lawyers charge four thousand for divorce... We have no children yet... Do you want to know her name?* (ctv vrn. Trainings (2021)); *While she praised her bear, a reliable husband, caring father, faithful servant of the state, Vera held back not to shout: I hate and **despise** you! And envy you!* (Alexander Snegirev. Vera (2015)) [RNC].

Among the considered contexts of using both verbs there are situations when interchange of these synonyms is impossible, for example: *He **despises** me* (not “**neglects** me!” – Vu N.Y.K.), *he loves a man a hundred times worse than me* (Veronika Kungurtseva. The Blue Room // “October”, 2013); *Verka and Chizh buzzed all our ears that she was fed up with us, that she **despises** us* (not “**neglects** us!” – Vu N.Y.K.), *that she would fire us without severance pay, as not corresponding to the position. That we are lazy and unfit <...>* (Inna Kalabukhova. An adventure of forty-five years // “Ark”, 2013) [RNC].

According to the RNC data, the verb *to despise* has 16058 examples of word usage.

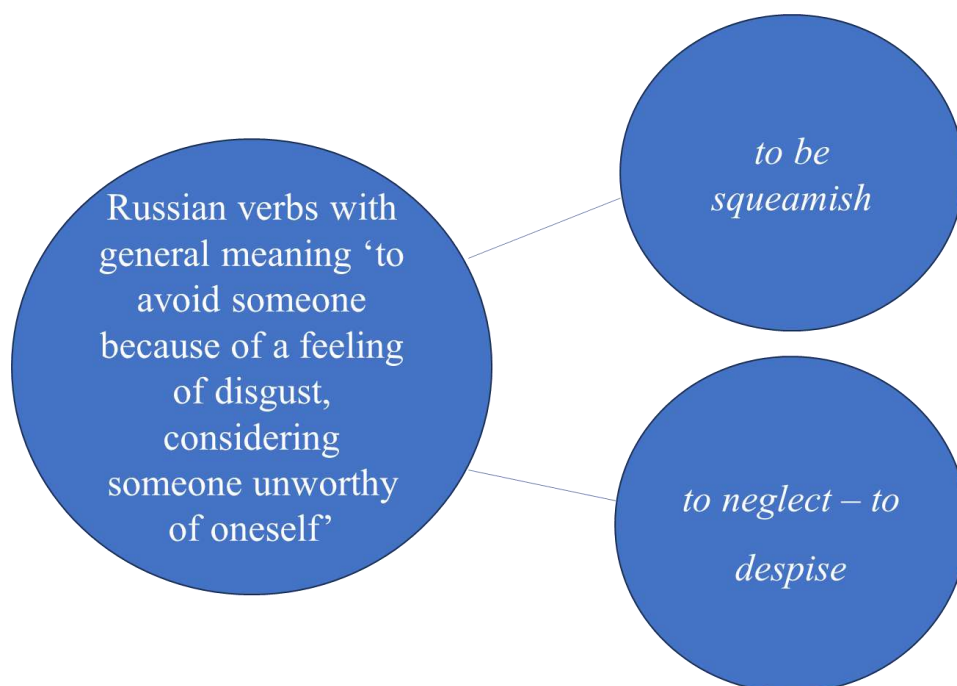
Thus, the core semantic of the verb *to neglect* has the seme ‘to treat sb. with arrogance’, while the verb *to despise* actualizes the core seme ‘to treat sb. with contempt’, and in many contexts the implicit seme ‘to hate sb.’ is clearly manifested. The action denoted by the verb *to neglect* may be carried out unconsciously, due to the subject’s character traits, while the action denoted by the verb *to despise* is more often conscious. According to the RNC, unlike the verb *to despise*, the verb *to neglect* is not so relevant as a verb describing interpersonal relationship.

Thus, the cognitive-discursive analysis of synonyms of this link allows us to do the following conclusions. First, the invariant script realized by all members of the link is defined as ‘to avoid contact with someone due to a feeling of disgust, considering someone unworthy of oneself’. The nuclear zone of the link includes the verbs *to be*

squeamish, *to neglect* and *to despise*, while the peripheral zone includes the verbs *to shun* and *to disdain*, both of which tend to move to another synonymous link. In this connection, in our opinion, the verb *to shun* tends to cease functioning as the dominant verb of this synonymous link.

Secondly, *to neglect* and *to despise* belong to the neutral style of speech, and the verb *to be squeamish* tends to stylistic neutralization. This is also confirmed by the results of a survey of native Russian speakers: 63.8% of respondents attributed the verb *to be squeamish* to the neutral style of speech. In terms of frequency of use, the three verbs are arranged in the following order (descending): *to despise*, *to be squeamish*, *to neglect*. The informants determined the frequency of the three verbs as follows: *to despise* (57.4%) – *to be squeamish* (31.9%) – *to neglect* (31.9%).

Summarizing the above, it can be noted that in this synonymous link, it is difficult to identify the dominant among the three verbs *to be squeamish*, *to neglect* and *to despise*, which belong to the nuclear zone of the series. Therefore, the present structure of the synonymous link of Russian verbs describing interpersonal relationship with the general meaning ‘to avoid someone because of a feeling of disgust, considering someone unworthy of oneself’ can be represented in the form of the following scheme:



Scheme No. 4

Conclusions

So, the analysis of synonymous links of Russian verbs describing interpersonal relationship with the help of cognitive-discursive approach allows us to do the following conclusions.

The analyzed synonyms act as one of the means of verbalization of the concepts TO MOCK, TO BE HYPOCRITICAL, TO HURT and TO BE SQUEAMISH.

The synonymous links of Russian verbs describing interpersonal relationship with the dominants *to mock*, *to be hypocritical* and *to hurt* are centered, and the synonymous link of Russian verbs describing interpersonal relationship with the general meaning ‘to avoid someone because of a feeling of disgust, considering someone unworthy of oneself’ is uncentered.

Multinomial synonymous link, within which synonymous subgroups and individual verbs can be identified, it is reasonable to present them in the form of a nonlinear scheme or “nest” (see above schemes No. 1, 2, 3, 4) rather than a chain, since, according to our observations, the members of one series may not always be consistently linearly arranged by semantic proximity to the dominant.

In a centered link, the invariant script of the whole link expediently coincides with the invariant script of the dominant; in a non-centered link, the invariant script of the link is revealed from the common meaning that unites all members of the link.

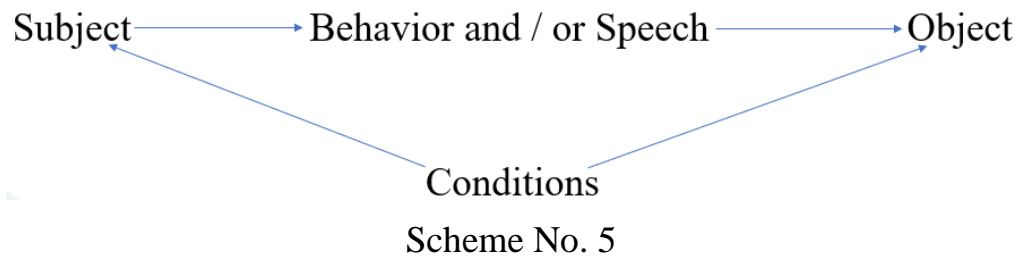
Synonymous verbs of the same link may be used in the same context, in which case the dominant realizes its invariant script / the invariant script of the link, and the members of the link – their invariant / variant script, e.g. *to mock* – *to sneer*, *to be hypocritical* – *to be false*, *to hurt* – *to affront*. In this case, the dominant is used first in the speaker’s / writer’s speech, followed by its synonyms.

In the links we have examined, the invariant script of one verb can be a variant script of another, e.g., the invariant script of the verb *to laugh* serves as a variant script of the verb *to mock*; the invariant script of the verb *to neglect* is a variant script of the verb *to be squeamish*.

It was found that interchange of synonyms is impossible when: 1) the verb actualizes its differential script (invariant/variant), e.g. only the verb *to hoot* can verbalize its invariant script; 2) verbs belong to different speech styles: *to mock* – *to bully*, *to hurt* – *to wound*, etc.; 3) verbs have different connotations, e.g. the three verbs *to insult*, *to affront*, *to pick out* when implementing the variant script ‘to make fun of someone’; 4) pragmatic parameters of the situation of verbs use do not coincide, for example, only the verb *to be false* can actualize a lively connection of the meaning of interest with the derivative meaning ‘to sing or play falsely, out of tune’ in contexts where the subject of action is a person of creative professions; 5) the word is used in its frequent collocations, in a construction typical for it, for example, *hurt soul*; *Are you kidding?*.

In contrast to the information recorded in dictionary definitions, the content of the concepts denoted by the studied verbs is broader, more complex, and more specific. Thus, based on the results of the analysis of the selected variant scripts, we noticed that the linguo-cognitive specificity of interpersonal relationship verbalized by verbs-synonyms is determined, in particular, by the fact that in many cases relations are evaluated ambivalently depending on the object of actions, and less often on the subject, circumstances, for example, relationship, which verbalized by the verbs *to be hypocritical* and *to be squeamish* in their variant scripts. The subject of actions can be in equal or higher status than the object; the subject and the object can be one person or a group of people, oppose each other by role status in situations of communication. Relationship between them can be neutral or negative; personal, business, official, etc. The subject and object can be the same person or a group of people, opposed to each other by role status in situations of communication. These types of relationships manifest themselves in direct / mediated communication, are realized verbally / nonverbally, physically / morally, intensely / non-intensively, consciously / unconsciously, intentionally / spontaneously, for a long / not long time. Subject activity may differ in different synonymous link, e.g. the verbs *to be squeamish*, *to disdain*, *to neglect* and *to despise* are characterized by less subject activity compared to the verbs *to mock*, *to sneer*, *to bully* and *to abuse*. In the cognitive scripts realized by the selected verbs-synonyms, the following slots are

obligatory: subject, object, conditions, and way to show interpersonal relationship. The simplest script of the interpersonal relationship we have considered can look as follows:



Most of the verbs in the synonymous links with the dominants *to mock* and *to hurt* are actively used in modern Russian, while in the synonymous links with the dominants *to shun* and *to be hypocritical*, many verbs (*to shun*, *to disdain*, *to be two-faced*, *to be duplicitous*, *to be pharisee*, *to be sanctimonious*) are becoming obsolete, are gradually falling out of use, or are being relegated to the category of special vocabulary. Verbs of these links often function simultaneously in one context as verbs describing interpersonal relationship, verbs of speech, verbs of behavior, verbs of emotions and verbs of physical influence.

The results of the survey of native Russian speakers allowed us to verify the conclusions of the study. In general, the informants' opinions coincided with the results of our study and helped to determine the composition of synonymous link, usage and stylistic belonging of Russian verbs describing interpersonal relationship on a synchronic slice.

CONCLUSION

In recent decades, the research on synonymy and lexical synonyms has revealed a tendency to apply new approaches due to the development of the linguo-cognitive aspect of language study. In this study, an attempt was made to investigate verb synonyms using one of them – the cognitive-discursive approach, which allows us to describe each lexeme against the background of others in a more detailed, completely, and deeply, considering extra-linguistic factors.

In this paper, we studied 26 synonyms belonging to four synonymous links of Russian verbs of interpersonal relationship with the dominants *to mock* (7 units), *to be hypocritical* (6 units), *to hurt* (8 units) and *to shun* (5 units).

The proposed methodology for the study of synonyms using the cognitive-discursive approach includes the following stages:

1. Determination of the composition and structure of each synonymous links based on data from lexicographic sources.

2. Study of verbs within one synonymic link, revealing the similarities and differences of these units, the degree of their semantic proximity. Analyzing verbs that do not form synonymic links within a synonymous link. Identification of differential semes and invariant scripts of verbs.

3. Study of modern contexts (mainly of the last two decades) of verb usage in the Russian National Corpus and other Internet resources to identify and characterize variant scripts of verb synonyms. At this stage of the research, attention is paid to the characterization of actions verbalized by the verb (ways of action, its intensity, awareness, intentionality/spontaneity, etc.); characterization of the participants of the situation (subject, object, and their relations, chronotope, etc.). The possibility of verbs functioning in different types of discourse is analyzed.

4. Verification of the obtained conclusions by means of questionnaire survey of native Russian speakers.

5. Identification of the invariant script for the whole synonymous link. Description of the state of each analyzed synonymous link in the modern Russian: its

composition, dominant, center and periphery of the link, usage of synonyms, their stylistic features.

The research allowed us to make the following conclusions.

In the studied material there are 3 centered synonymous links and 1 non-centered synonymous link. In the synonymous link the dominant is not a constant, because the synonymous link is a dynamic subsystem in which the composition is constantly changing. Other members of the link may become dominant over time or it becomes impossible to identify the dominant. In the second case, a centered synonymous link becomes uncentered.

In a synonymous link, it is possible to reconstruct an invariant script peculiar to all verbs in the link. In a centered series, this invariant may coincide with the invariant script of the dominant. In a non-centered link, the invariant script of the whole link is revealed from the common meaning that unites all members of the series.

The dominant and other members of the synonymous link can be used in the same context. In this case, the dominant appears first in the addressee's speech and realizes its invariant script or the invariant script of the whole link, followed by other synonyms that actualize their invariant / variant script. In a synonymous link, the invariant script of one member can act as a variant script of another.

In a polynomial synonymous link, it is reasonable to group verbs into synonymous subgroups based on the greatest proximity of semantics. In such link there are often verbs that are not included in synonymic subgroups due to the presence of an explicit or implicit differential seme that distinguishes them from other members of the link. The structure of polynomial synonymous link is complicated, the semantic range of such link is wide, and it is difficult to represent them graphically in the form of a chain in which the more different the units are from the dominant, the farther they are from it.

In the cognitive scripts verbalized by the studied verbs-synonyms, the obligatory slots are the subject, object, conditions, and the ways of manifestation of interpersonal relationship, and the optional slots are the reaction of the object, the physical state of the subject, etc. In many scripts, the subject has a higher social status than the object; subject and object are opposed to each other in terms of role status. The relationship between

subject and object is personal, business, official, etc.; in many scripts it is negative, less often neutral. Interpersonal relationships verbalized by the studied verbs-synonyms are manifested in direct or indirect communication. The ways of realization of actions denoted by the studied verbs can be verbal / non-verbal, physical / moral, intensive / non-intensive, conscious / unconscious, deliberate / spontaneous, prolonged / non-longed.

At the linguistic level, the verbs-synonyms selected for analysis verbalize negative interpersonal relationship, nevertheless, according to the results of our study, these relationships in a certain situation are evaluated neutrally depending on the object, less often on the subject or conditions.

The results of our study show that the differences between invariant and variant verb scripts predetermine differences in the semantics and functioning of these lexemes. In one context, the studied verbs describing interpersonal relationship can simultaneously belong to different LSGs due to the realized scripts.

The proposed method of analysis can be extrapolated to the study of other groups of verbs.

The prospects of the study are seen in the fact that the results obtained can be used in the future to develop the concept and compile a synonymous dictionary of Russian verbs for non-native Russian speakers. The results of our study can serve as a justification for the compilation of a training dictionary of a new type and be used in the development of a meta-language for this dictionary.

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ANNEX. SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NATIVE RUSSIAN SPEAKERS

1. Your age:

18-25 years old

46-55 years old

26-35 years old

56-65 years old

36-45 years old

65 years and older

2. Your sex: Male Female

3. Your education (e.g. philology, journalism, etc.):

4. Which of the following verbs do you consider synonymous with the verb *to mock*? (Please select all possible options). If you think there are other synonyms, write them in the “other” column.

to sneer

to swagger

to bully

to hoot

to abuse

to laugh

Other:

5. Indicate the stylistic features of these verbs:

| | Neutral | Bookish | Colloquial | Informal |
|-----------------|---------|---------|------------|----------|
| <i>to sneer</i> | | | | |
| <i>to bully</i> | | | | |
| ... | | | | |

6. Determine the frequency of these verbs in descending order (e.g., if the verb *to mock* is the most frequent verb in your opinion, choose option 1, then indicate which verb ranks second, third, etc. in frequency by selecting option 2, 3, etc.).

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|
| <i>to sneer</i> | | | | |
| <i>to bully</i> | | | | |
| ... | | | | |

Thank you!