

METAPHORICAL MODELS OF THE CONCEPT DEATH IN APHORISTIC DISCOURSE

Ganieva Zuxra Muratbaevna – Doctoral Student

ganievazuxra@gmail.com

Karakalpak State University named after Berdakh

AFORISTIK DISKURSDA O'LIM KONSEPTINING METAFORIK MODELLARI

Ganieva Zuxra Muratbayevna – tayanch doktorant

Berdaq nomidagi Qoraqalpoq davlat universiteti

МЕТАФОРИЧЕСКИЕ МОДЕЛИ КОНЦЕПТА СМЕРТЬ В АФОРИСТИЧЕСКОМ ДИСКУРСЕ

Ганиева Зухра Муратбаевна – докторант

Каракалпакский государственный университет имени Бердаха

Tayanch soʻzlar: konsept oʻlim, aforizm, konseptual metafora, olamning lisoniy manzarasi. tushunchaviy komponent, obrazli komponent, qadriyatli komponent.

Rezyume. Maqolada ingliz aforistik diskursida O'LIM konseptining verballashuvi tahlil qilinadi. Tadqiqotning maqsadi – aforizm ikkilamchi refleksiv konseptualashtirish janri sifatida konseptning Z.D.Popova va I.A.Sternin modelida ajratilgan uch komponentini (tushunchaviy, obrazli va qadriyatli) qanday ifodalashini aniqlash hamda konseptual metafora nazariyasi doirasida uning obrazli komponenti asosida yotgan metaforik modellarni belgilashdan iborat. Tadqiqot materialini XVI–XX asrlar ingliz tilli mualliflarining nufuzli iqtiboslar va aforizmlar lugʻatlaridan tanlab olingan 45 ta aforizm tashkil etadi. Tahlil shuni koʻrsatadiki, aforistik korpus konseptning tushunchaviy mazmunini qayta taqsimlab, umumiylik va muqarrarlikni birinchi oʻringa chiqaradi hamda yakuniylikka qarshi chiqadi; uning obrazli komponenti personifikatsiya ustuvor boʻlgan yettita metaforik modelga tayanadi; qadriyatli komponenti esa ingliz frazeologiyasida qayd etilgan asosan salbiy bahoni teskarisiga aylantiruvchi melioratsiyaviy dominantni namoyon etadi. Shu tariqa aforizm ingliz til manzarasida konseptni ataylab aksiologik qayta talqin qilish mexanizmi sifatida namoyon boʻladi.

Ключевые слова: концепт Смерть, афоризм, концептуальная метафора, языковая картина мира, понятийный компонент, образный компонент, ценностный компонент.

Резюме. В статье рассматривается вербализация концепта СМЕРТЬ в английском афористическом дискурсе. Цель исследования – установить, каким образом афоризм как жанр вторичной рефлексивной концептуализации репрезентирует три компонента концепта (понятийный, образный и ценностный), выделяемые в модели З.Д.Поповой и И.А.Стернина, и выявить концептуальные метафорические модели, лежащие в основе его образного компонента в рамках теории концептуальной метафоры. Материалом послужили 45 афоризмов англоязычных авторов XVI–XX веков, отобранных методом сплошной выборки из авторитетных словарей цитат и афоризмов. Анализ показывает, что афористический корпус перераспределяет понятийное содержание концепта, выдвигая на первый план всеобщность и неизбежность и оспаривая финальность; его образный компонент опирается на семь метафорических моделей с доминированием персонификации; а его ценностный компонент обнаруживает мелиоративную доминанту, инвертирующую преимущественно негативную оценку, закреплённую в английской фразеологии. Тем самым афоризм предстаёт как механизм намеренного аксиологического переосмысления концепта в английской языковой картине мира.

Key words: concept DEATH, aphorism, conceptual metaphor, linguistic worldview, notional component, image-bearing component, evaluative component.

Summary. The article examines the verbalization of the concept DEATH in English aphoristic discourse. The study aims to establish how the aphorism, as a genre of secondary reflective conceptualization, represents the three components of the concept – notional, image-bearing, and evaluative – distinguished in the model of Z.D.Popova and I. A.Sternin, and to identify the conceptual metaphorical models that underlie its image-bearing component within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The material comprises 45 aphoristic units by native English-language authors of the sixteenth to twentieth centuries, selected by continuous sampling from authoritative quotation and aphorism dictionaries. The analysis shows that the aphoristic corpus redistributes the notional content of the concept, foregrounding universality and inevitability while contesting finality; that its image-bearing component rests on seven metaphorical models dominated by personification; and that its evaluative component displays a meliorative dominant, inverting the predominantly negative evaluation fixed in English phraseology. The aphorism is thereby shown to function as a mechanism of deliberate axiological reinterpretation of the concept within the English linguistic worldview.

Introduction. Among the concepts that organize the linguistic worldview, DEATH occupies a place that no comparative study of conceptualization can bypass: it is universal in occurrence yet profoundly culture-specific in content, and the means by which a language community speaks about it reveal how that community thinks about it. The present article addresses one such means – the aphorism – and asks what the English aphoristic tradition does with the concept DEATH that other layers of the language do not.

Concept DEATH belongs to the universal existential concepts verbalized in every linguoculture. In Yu.S.Stepanov's terms it is a constant of culture, one of those mental formations that exist as "clots of the cultural environment in human consciousness" and are not only thought by the speaker but lived through [16:40]. Its verbal representations therefore carry high value for reconstructing the national worldview.

At the same time concept DEATH differs from most concepts in one essential respect: its referent lies outside

direct personal experience. No speaker knows death empirically; the concept grows out of observing the death of others and out of religious and cultural interpretation. On Russian paremiological material, N.A.Kolkova characterizes the concept as an "existential-cultural formation, determined by language and by the cast of thinking, by the type of worldview of a people," and shows that it is verbalized above all indirectly - through the scenario of departure to another world, the personified figure of death, and the association with sleep [11:10-13].

Such experiential inaccessibility explains why the concept is objectified predominantly through secondary nomination - euphemisms, phraseological units, metaphors - and why the aphorism holds a privileged position among its verbalizers. Analysis of English aphorisms on death has shown that the genre, owing to its informative density, expressiveness, and often paradoxical form, brings the recipient "to reflection, providing support for his own conclusions" [7:92]. The aphorism does not merely name death; it formulates a concentrated judgment about it, fixing the interpretive work of the collective consciousness in verbal form.

Describing how such a concept is organized requires a model of its internal structure. Interpretations of the concept in cognitive linguistics vary widely - from S.A.Askol'dov's early definition of it as a mental formation that "substitutes for us, in the process of thought, an indefinite multitude of objects of one and the same kind" [2:269] to Stepanov's culturological reading, which distinguishes in the concept an actual basic feature, additional "passive" historical features, and an inner form imprinted in the word [16:46-54].

The present study adopts the model of Z. D.Popova and I. A. Sternin, who define the concept as "a discrete mental formation which is the basic unit of the human mental code, possessing a relatively ordered internal structure, representing the result of the cognitive activity of the individual and of society, and carrying complex, encyclopedic information about the reflected object or phenomenon, about the interpretation of this information by the collective consciousness, and about the attitude of the collective consciousness toward the given phenomenon or object" [15:24]. Their model distinguishes three components: the notional component, comprising the most essential differentiating features of the phenomenon and established through definitional analysis; the image-bearing component, formed by perceptual and cognitive-metaphorical images that fix the concept in consciousness; and the evaluative component, reflecting the value interpretation of the phenomenon by the linguocultural community.

That this structure is not a result of one school is confirmed by its convergence with independently developed models. S.G.Vorkachev distinguishes in the linguocultural concept a notional component reflecting its definitional structure, an image component fixing the cognitive metaphors that sustain the concept in linguistic consciousness, and a significance component [17], while for V.I.Karasik the cultural concept likewise consists of notional, image-bearing, and value components [9]. Applied to the concept DEATH, the model reveals a characteristic disproportion. The notional component rests on a small set of features - cessation of life, finality,

universality, inevitability - whereas the evaluative component is heavily loaded, since no linguoculture treats death with indifference. The image-bearing component occupies a special position: because death is closed to perception, it cannot be formed by perceptual images at all and consists almost entirely of cognitive images, that is, metaphorical mappings from other domains of experience. The weight of the analysis thus falls on conceptual metaphor, and the structural model itself points to the theory needed to describe its central layer.

That theory is Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Its point of departure is the demonstration by G.Lakoff and M.Johnson that metaphor is not a device of poetic speech but a property of thought: "human thought processes are largely metaphorical" [13:6]. A conceptual metaphor unites two conceptual domains - the source domain, rooted in direct bodily and cultural experience, and the target domain, which is understood in its terms; in Z.Kövecses's formulation, "a conceptual domain is any coherent organization of experience," and one such domain is systematically understood through another [12:4]. The stable link between the two is described as a metaphorical model - "a scheme, existing or taking shape in the consciousness of speakers, of a connection between two notional spheres, representable by the formula 'X is Y'," where the relation is one of similarity rather than identification [3:64].

Two consequences of the theory bear directly on the present material. The first concerns the choice of object: metaphor reflects those properties of phenomena that are most significant and culturally conditioned for the society in whose language it lives [13], so the inventory of metaphorical models of the concept DEATH is itself a distinguishing instrument of the national worldview; The second concerns the choice of genre: since each metaphorical model highlights certain aspects of the target domain and hides others, the aphorism - a genre built on compressing and often deliberately reversing a received view - becomes the site where conventional models of death are not simply reproduced but elaborated, questioned, and revalued. The three-layered model and Conceptual Metaphor Theory consequently work in tandem: the former defines what is being described, the structure of the concept DEATH, while the latter supplies the instrument for describing its image-bearing core, through which the notional features are selected and the evaluation is formed.

Proceeding from this framework, the study pursues one aim: to establish how English aphoristic discourse verbalizes the three components of the concept DEATH, and what the configuration of those components reveals about the axiological function of the aphorism within the English linguistic worldview.

Methods. The material of the study comprises 45 aphoristic units verbalizing the concept DEATH, selected by continuous sampling from authoritative English-language quotation and aphorism dictionaries: the Bloomsbury Thematic Dictionary of Quotations [4], Webster's Dictionary of Quotations [5], the Collins Thematic Dictionary of Quotations [1], the Oxford Dictionary of Quotations [10], The Oxford Book of Death [6], and The Oxford Book of Aphorisms [8]. The corpus spans the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries and includes 23 authors of British and American origin.

Two selection criteria were applied. First, only units created originally in English by native English-language authors were retained; translated aphorisms (Montaigne, Cervantes, La Fontaine, Leonardo da Vinci), whatever their currency in English usage, verbalize the conceptualizations of other linguocultures through English as a receptor language and were therefore excluded. Second, each unit had to function as an aphorism - a self-sufficient generalizing judgment about death - regardless of whether it originated as a freestanding maxim or as a poetic fragment autonomized through anthologization; the inclusion of the latter follows established lexicographic practice [6; 8]. Attributions and wording were verified against at least two independent dictionary sources, and units with unstable attribution were excluded. The analysis proceeds in three stages corresponding to the three components of the concept: identification of the notional features actualized in the corpus, reconstruction of the metaphorical models forming the image-bearing component, and determination of the evaluative orientation of each unit.

Result and discussion. The notional component. Definitional analysis of lexicographic sources establishes the core notional features of concept DEATH: cessation of life, finality, universality, and inevitability. The aphoristic material actualizes all of them, but selectively and with unequal intensity, and this selectivity is itself informative.

The feature of universality receives the most consistent verbalization. Shakespeare's *"a man can die but once; we owe God a death"* combines universality with singularity - death as an obligation discharged once by everyone. Franklin's *"nothing can be said to be certain, except death and taxes"* raises the same feature to the status of the only reliable knowledge about the world, while Gray's *"the paths of glory lead but to the grave"* and Shirley's *"Death lays his icy hand on kings"* develop universality into the socially pointed idea of death as the leveller, before which distinctions of rank lose force.

Inevitability, closely allied to universality, is verbalized with comparable regularity and reaches its most concise form in Larkin's *"Most things may never happen: this one will,"* where death is considered as the only event exempt from probability.

The feature of finality, by contrast, is precisely the one the aphoristic genre most often contests. Donne's *"One short sleep past, we wake eternally"* and Eddy's assertion that death will disappear with the disappearance of sin deny finality outright, while Forster's *"Death destroys a man, the idea of Death saves him"* splits the concept into the physical event, which is final, and its mental representation, which is productive.

A further feature, absent from dictionary definitions but insistently present in the corpus, is unknowability. Hamlet's *"undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveller returns"* defines death through the impossibility of testimony, and the same feature motivates Bacon's comparison of the fear of death with children's fear of the dark: both fears are directed at what cannot be seen.

Finally, a number of units perform a notional function instead of actualising a single feature: they distinguish death as a state from dying as a process. Bacon's observation that to die is as natural as to be born, *"and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other,"*

locates the phenomenon among natural transitions, while Allen's *"It's not that I'm afraid to die. I just don't want to be there when it happens"* builds its comic effect precisely on the impossibility of separating the subject from the process.

The aphoristic corpus thus does not simply reproduce the dictionary content of the concept: it redistributes its weight, foregrounding universality and inevitability, adding unknowability, and subjecting finality - the definitionally central feature - to systematic dispute. This redistribution prepares the ground for the metaphorical and evaluative reinterpretation examined below.

The image-bearing component. Since death is closed to direct perception, the image-bearing component of the concept is formed entirely by cognitive images - mappings from experientially accessible source domains. The corpus yields nine such domains of unequal productivity.

The most productive by a wide margin is the anthropomorphic domain: the macro-model DEATH IS A PERSON accounts for roughly a third of the units. Its dominance is explicable in cognitive terms: personification converts an event without an agent into an action with one, and the unanswerable question why into a confrontation with someone - the most economical way for consciousness to assimilate what has no experiential structure of its own. What the aphoristic material shows, however, is not one personification but a paradigm of distinct social roles, each entailing its own inferences. Death appears as a reaper in Longfellow's *"There's a Reaper whose name is Death, / And, with his sickle keen,"* where the agricultural scenario supplies the mapping of people onto grain and implies both indifference and harvest-ripeness - an implication Longfellow sharpens tragically in *"the flowers that grow between,"* the deaths of the young, cut not because they are ripe but because they stand in the blade's path. Death is a rider in the nativized biblical image of the pale horse; an armed sovereign in Shirley's *"Death lays his icy hand on kings,"* where the icy hand carries the perceptual coldness of the corpse over onto the agent itself; a seizure in Owen's *"Death took him by the heart,"* whose gentleness - the taking occurs *"in the happy no-time of his sleeping"* - converts violence into something close to tenderness; and a courteous suitor in Dickinson's *"Because I could not stop for Death - / He kindly stopped for me,"* the most radically meliorative personification in the corpus, in which the encounter is structured as a carriage ride, a social call. Bacon's *"I find it the least of all devils"* retains the demonological frame only to demote death within it, and Donne's *"Death, be not proud"* completes the trajectory - personification adopted precisely so that death can be addressed, humiliated, and sentenced to its own death ("death, thou shalt die"). Herbert's *"Death is still working like a mole, / And digs my grave at each remove"* stands somewhat apart as a zoomorphic variant: the agent is retained but demoted from sovereign to burrowing animal - invisible, subterranean, patient - so that the mapping foregrounds not death's majesty but its continuous unseen approach, each remove of life doubling as a spadeful of earth.

The model DEATH IS A JOURNEY, grounded in the near-universal metaphorization of life as travel, supplies death with a spatial logic. Hamlet's *"undiscovered country from whose bourn / No traveller returns"* maps death onto unexplored territory and makes the absence of returning

travellers the very definition of its unknowability, while Barrie's *"To die will be an awfully big adventure"* retains the identical mapping and inverts its evaluation: the unknown destination is re-framed through the child's register of excitement rather than the adult's dread. Tennyson's *Crossing the Bar* specifies the journey as a sea passage, with the pilot awaited beyond the sandbar, and Hobbes's reported *"great leap in the dark"* compresses journey and darkness into a single kinetic image.

Closely adjacent, since both construe death as transition rather than termination, is the model DEATH IS SLEEP - the mapping with the deepest experiential grounding, the daily observable resemblance of the sleeping and the dead. Its aphoristic life, however, consists largely of complication. Shakespeare's *"To die, to sleep – / To sleep, perchance to dream"* first offers sleep as consolation and then ruins the consolation from within: the dream, sleep's own attribute, reintroduces the unknown that the model was meant to domesticate. Donne's *"One short sleep past, we wake eternally"* extends the mapping by one slot - waking - and thereby converts termination into interval. Shelley radicalizes the same extension into full inversion, *"Death is the veil which those who live call life. They sleep, and it is lifted,"* where earthly life becomes the sleep and death the awakening, and Keats's *"half in love with easeful Death"* registers the appealing potential of the model.

The model DEATH IS A KEY construes death as a means of access. Milton's *"golden key / That opes the palace of eternity"* maps the moment of dying onto the turning of a lock, so that death becomes not an end-point but an instrument of passage, and eternity acquires the architecture of a palace to which death alone admits.

The model DEATH IS A CURE transfers the medical scenario onto the concept: in Browne's *"death is the cure of all our diseases"* dying becomes recovery. This is the most systematic enhanced mapping in the corpus.

The model DEATH IS A DEBT draws on the commercial-legal domain: Shakespeare's *"we owe God a death"* encodes inevitability as obligation and dying as settlement.

The model DEATH IS THE LEVELLER, verbalized in Gray's *"paths of glory"* and in *Cymbeline's "Golden lads and girls all must, / As chimney-sweepers, come to dust,"* is distinctive in that its source domain is social rather than physical: death is conceptualized through the erasure of hierarchy, and the force of the mapping depends on the co-presence of kings and chimney-sweepers within a single scope.

Taken together, the findings confirms the account of poetic thought given by Lakoff and Turner [14]: the aphoristic genre invents almost nothing, but elaborates (Donne's added slot of waking), extends (Tennyson's sea passage), combines (Hobbes's leap in the dark), and questions (Hamlet's dream, Donne's dying Death) the conventional models - and it is precisely in these transformations, rather than in the base mappings, that the axiological work of the genre is performed.

The evaluative component. The evaluative component of DEATH in aphoristic verbalization is best described not as a binary of positive and negative but as a three-zone scale: a negative zone, in which death is evaluated as evil, threat, or loss; a neutral-philosophical zone, in which it is registered as a natural fact exempt from evaluation; and a

positive zone, in which it is reinterpreted as good, relief, gain, or promise. Distributed across this scale, the corpus displays a configuration that sharply distinguishes the aphorism from other means of verbalizing the concept.

The negative zone is the thinnest. Overtly pejorative evaluation appears in Morley's *"the most frightful idea that has ever corroded human nature"* - directed, characteristically, not at death itself but at the doctrine of eternal punishment - in the biblical "last enemy," and residually in the units that verbalize fear.

The neutral-philosophical zone comprises the units that verbalize universality and inevitability without axiological loading - Franklin's death and taxes, Larkin's *"this one will,"* Shakespeare's *"a man can die but once"* - where death figures as a fixed parameter of existence, a fact to be reckoned with rather than judged.

The positive zone is the largest in the corpus, and it is here that the specificity of the genre concentrates. Its units perform an explicit revaluation: death is *adventure* (Barrie), *cure* (Browne), *awakening* (Donne, Shelley), *a marvel and a mercy* (*"I do really think death will be marvelous,"* Smith), *the key to eternity* (Milton), *a kindly caller* (Dickinson), and - in Whitman's formulation, perhaps the emblem of the zone - *"different from what any one supposed, and luckier."* Approximately half the corpus falls within this zone, against roughly a quarter each for the negative and neutral zones. The borderline cases are the ironic units (Allen, Wilde, Shaw), which formally mock death but pragmatically neutralize its terror and are counted here as positive in function, and Hamlet's soliloquy fragment, which offers the consolation and withdraws it in the same breath and therefore resists single-zone classification.

This distribution becomes significant when it is compared with other means of verbalizing the concept. Corpus analysis of English phraseological units and euphemisms shows the opposite picture: in our data, 69.7% of phraseological units evaluate death negatively, and euphemisms exist precisely to soften a frightening referent. The aphoristic corpus reverses this proportion. Since the referent is the same, the difference must lie in the genre. Phraseology preserves the collective, historically formed evaluation of the naive worldview, in which death is feared. The aphorism, by contrast, is an authored genre of reflection: it takes the common opinion as its starting point and argues with it. Paradox, the genre's main device, is the visible form of this work: *"If there wasn't death, I think you couldn't go on"* (Smith), *"Death destroys a man, the idea of Death saves him"* (Forster), and *"we all labour against our own cure"* (Browne) all take the traditionally negative evaluation and reverse it while keeping its wording.

The metaphorical and evaluative components work together here, which confirms the interpenetration of the concept's layers noted in the theoretical framework: positive revaluation is achieved through the choice or transformation of the metaphorical model - sleep is extended into waking, the journey becomes an adventure, disease is transferred from death to life. The aphoristic layer of the English worldview thus corrects the concept: phraseology preserves the inherited fear, while the aphorism deliberately reinterprets it. Taken across all its verbalizers, the concept DEATH appears not as a static

structure but as a space where the naive and the reflective pictures of the world negotiate its value.

Conclusions. The analysis permits three conclusions. First, the aphoristic verbalization of the concept DEATH engages all three components of the concept: the notional component is redistributed rather than reproduced, with universality and inevitability foregrounded, unknowability added, and finality systematically contested; the image-bearing component, formed entirely by cognitive images, rests on seven metaphorical models dominated by personification, whose sub-images range from reaper to courteous suitor; and the evaluative component displays a meliorative dominant unique among the verbalizers of the concept.

Second, the corpus confirms the Lakoff-Turner account of poetic thought: the aphorism operates not by inventing mappings but by elaborating, extending, combining, and

questioning conventional ones, and its axiological effects are produced through these transformations.

Third, and most generally, the comparison of aphoristic data with phraseological and euphemistic data shows that the evaluative component of a concept is not homogeneous across the linguistic worldview but stratified by genre: the concept DEATH in English exists in at least two axiological registers - the conserved negative register of phraseology and the reflective meliorative register of the aphorism - and an adequate description of the concept must model this stratification rather than average it away. For the comparative perspective of the wider study, this yields a testable question: whether the aphoristic strata of the Uzbek and Karakalpak linguistic worldviews perform the same meliorative reinterpretation of ЎЛИМ/ӨЛИМ, or whether the axiological function of the genre is itself culturally variable.

References

1. Andrews R. Collins thematic dictionary of quotations. – HarperCollins, 1992.
2. Аскольдов С.А. Концепт и слово [Concept and word]. Под общ. ред. В.П.Нерознака. Русская словестность. От теории словесности к структуре текста. – Москва: «Academia», 1997. –С. 267–279.
3. Чудинов А.П. Метафорическая мозаика в современной политической коммуникации. – Екатеринбург: Уральский гос. пед. университет. 2003.
4. Daintith J., et al. Bloomsbury thematic dictionary of quotations. – Bloomsbury: 1989.
5. Douglas A. Webster's dictionary of quotations. – Random House: 2003.
6. Enright D.J. (Ed.). The Oxford book of death. – Oxford University Press, 1983.
7. Гильмутдинова А.Р., Самаркина Н.О., Биктемирова Е.И. Стилистико-семантический анализ афоризмов с концептами «Life» и «Death». Филологические науки. Вопросы теории и практики 11(65), -С. 3, 2016. –С. 92-95.
8. Gross J. (Ed.). The Oxford book of aphorisms. – Oxford University Press, 1983.
9. Карасик В.И. О категориях лингвокультурологии. // Языковая личность: проблемы коммуникативной деятельности. – Волгоград: «Peremena». 2001. –С. 3-16.
10. Knowles E. (Ed.). The Oxford dictionary of quotations (8th ed.). – Oxford University Press, 2014.
11. Колкова Н.А. Концепт «смерть» в пословичных текстах. [The concept "death" in proverbial texts]. // Вестник Оренбургского государственного университета, (11), 2008. – С. 8-15.
12. Kövecses Z. Metaphor: A practical introduction. – Oxford University Press, 2002.
13. Lakoff G., Johnson M. Metaphors we live by. – University of Chicago Press, 1980.
14. Lakoff G., Turner M. More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor. – University of Chicago Press, 1989.
15. Попова З.Д., Стернин И.А. Семантико когнитивный анализ языка. [Semantic-cognitive analysis of language]. –Воронеж: «Истоки», 2006.
16. Степанов Ю.С. Словарь русской культуры [Constants: A dictionary of Russian culture]. Языки русской культуры. 1997.
17. Воркачёв С.Г. Безразличие как этносемантическая характеристика личности: опыт сопоставительной паремииологии. [Indifference as an ethnosemantic characteristic of personality: An essay in comparative paremiology]. Вопросы языкознания, (4), 1997. – С. 115-124.