

(cerisier), мовчазну бесіду (paulownia). Груша (poirier) «скромно не вимагає слави яблуні, незважаючи на те, що це дерево також зазначене у Біблії». А трояндовий куст (rosier) з тендітним серцем у глибині пелюсток спалахує рум'янцем від поцілунку.

Отже, дане дослідження підтверджує думку, що культура та менталітет нації взаємопов'язані з мовою і чітко проявляються у дискурсі, зокрема у метафоризації рослинного світу. Незважаючи на те, що вибір певного образу для створення метафори залежить від суб'єктивного наміру мовця, його світорозуміння, системи стереотипних образів, метафори є відбиттям світосприйняття всього народу, нації, до якої належить автор метафори. Оскільки рослини – це символ життя, буденного та духовного, це певний посередник між світом духовним, світом божественним та земним.

Проведене дослідження показало, що звернувшись до назв дерев, можна виявити основні уявлення про світ рослин прадавньої людини. Називаючи рослину будь-яким іменем, люди, як відомо, переносять у нього частину свого когнітивного досвіду. У числі основних мотивуючих факторів слів виокремленої тематичної групи можна назвати зовнішній вигляд рослин, спосіб їх вирощання, оцінку людиною та інші. В основу деяких найменувань покладено емоційно-експресивні ознаки, що слугують для вираження суб'єктивного ставлення мовців до предметів номінації. Ті ознаки, що в першу чергу привертають увагу до рослин, найчастіше актуалізуються в їхніх найменуваннях. Також зазначимо тісний зв'язок описів дерев з текстами Біблії, що уособлюють ідеальне, авторитетне, зразкове бачення світу. Це можна пояснити високим розвитком духовної культури французького народу, його вірою у святе писання та шанобливим ставленням нації до рослинного світу. Окрім цього, вивчений практичний матеріал дозволяє побачити особливе місце рослинного світу у свідомості французької нації, для якої рослина – божество, «істота», що віддзеркалює її культуру.

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УДК 811.11

НИКОЛЕНКО А. Г.

(Національний університет біоресурсів і природокористування України)

### HETEROGLOSSIA OF WESTERNS IN AMERICAN CINEMATIC DISCOURSE

У статті розглядаються принципи організації гетероглосії в американському кінодискурсі.

Ключові слова: гетероглосія, кінодискурс, акцент, діалект, мовний ряд вестерну, нарратив.

Николенко А. Г. Гетероглоссия вестернов в американском кинодискурсе. В статье рассматриваются принципы организации гетероглоссии в американском кинодискурсе.

Ключевые слова: гетероглоссия, кинодискурс, акцент, диалект, речевой ряд вестерна, нарратив.

Nikolenko A. G. Heteroglossia of Westerns in American Cinematic Discourse. This article addresses the principles of heteroglossia in American cinematic discourse.

Key words: heteroglossia, cinematic discourse, accent, dialect, Western dialogue, narrative.

Westerns, like all American sound films, rely heavily on their dialogue to communicate their narratives, sketch in their characters, and so on. The question of dialogue here is exceptionally complicated, because this genre in particular acts out a paradoxical love/hate relationship with language, which turns out to be integral to the genre's meaning [Tompkins 1992, p. 49]. Often the Western hero's

loneliness is expressed visually – through all those shots of riders alone in the vastness of the Western landscape. But just as often, Westerns use dialogue to meditate on the hero's choices. Take, for instance, *The Magnificent Seven* [John Sturges 1960], which features numerous discussions of the gun-fighters' choice and dilemma, including the following, a highly wrought set piece that, in its singsong poetry, penetrates to the heart of the myth of the Western hero:

Chico: Your gun has got you everything you have. Isn't that true? Hmmm? Well, isn't it true? VIN: (bitterly) Yeah, sure, everything. After a while you can call bartenders and faro dealers by their first name. Maybe two hundred of 'em; rented rooms you live in – five hundred; meals you eat in hash houses – a thousand. Home? None. Wife? None. Kids? None. Prospects? Zero. Suppose I left anything out?

Chris: Yeah. Places you're tied down to? None. People with a hold on you? None. Men you step aside for? None. LEE: Insults swallowed? None. Enemies? None.

Chris: (slight surprise) No enemies?

Lee: (softly) Alive.

Westerns continually offer images of the hero's solitude, but this discussion of the costs and benefits of his rootless lifestyle provides the viewer with somewhat surprising specifics about rented rooms and hash houses. Moreover, the manner in which each gunslinger picks up the same rhetorical trope illustrates their bond, and their equality, yet the spin that each puts on his contribution differentiates them – Vin evinces regret; Chris, pride, independence, and self-sufficiency; Lee, bravado. The rhythm of the sentences, with the repeated, definitive «None,» has the power and finality of a moral ledger on Judgment Day.

In popular perception, taciturnity is a prerequisite for the Western hero – it is part and parcel of his separateness, his loneliness, his superiority. «The laconic style is commonly associated with the Western hero» [Cawelti 1984, p. 89]. Westerners believe in doing, not talking. “Language is gratuitous at best; at worst it is deceptive.” The Westerner must be silent to enhance his status as a masculine archetype, to prove and enforce his superiority over women [Tompkins 1992, p. 52-60]. “Terseness is a tradition in the Western, in which loquaciousness is often associated with effeminacy” [Buscombe 2008, p. 75]. For example, in *Red River* [Howard Hawks, Arthur Rosson 1948] under stress, Tess resorts to blabbering and stammering. She speaks nearly a hundred and fifty words, while Matt speaks five:

Tess: He's, he's... he's camped two or three miles outside of town. He says he'll be here just after sun-up. He says he's going to kill you. What's the matter? Is something ... ? Oh ... oh, I must look like I'm in mourning. I didn't mean it that way... I... or I wouldn't.... No, no, Matthew, I know you've only a few hours, but, but listen for just a minute, that's all, and, and.... then I won't talk about it anymore, just a minute. He, he hasn't changed his mind, Matthew.

Matthew: I didn't think he would.

Tess: We saw the railroad and I thought... I thought it might make a difference, but it didn't. Nothing would. He's.... he's like something you can't move. Even I've gotten to believe it's got to happen, you meeting him. I was gonna ask you to run, but.... no I'm not, I'm not, it, it wouldn't do any good. You're too much like him. Oh, stop me, Matthew, stop me...

Matthew covers her mouth with his hand.

Tess: (whispering) God bless you, Matthew.

Matthew: (kisses Tess)

This doesn't mean that Westerns really avoid dialogue – westerns deliberately create an imbalance; they shift as many of the dialogue functions as possible away from the hero to other characters, and in a classic case of ingratitude, the films go on to condemn these secondary characters for their talkativeness. The shift is enacted because the hero's comparative silence will only be noticeable if everyone else talks too much. Many women are portrayed as chatterboxes – Calamity Jane in *The Plainsman* [Cecil B. DeMille 1936], Emma in *Johnny Guitar* [Nicholas Ray 1954], Mattie in *True Grit* [Henry Hathaway 1969] – but it is not only women who can't keep their tongues still. Inferior men also talk too much. This is true of the professional men, the doctors, lawyers, and newspapermen, who are talkers rather than men of action and whose dialogue frequently imparts important plot information. This is certainly true of cowards, punks, and would-be challengers, such as Hunt Bromley

in *The Gunfighter* [Henry King 1950]; the punks shoot off their mouths, they brag and posture to cover up their inadequacies. Conversely, the most fearsome antagonists, such as Frank Miller in *High Noon* [Fred Zinnemann 1952] and Scar in *The Searchers* [John Ford, 1956], match the Westerner's terseness. But the most common talkative foil for the Western hero is his "sidekick," a desexualized old-timer who speaks for the hero so that he doesn't have to. The sidekick appears as early as the silent film; he reappears memorably as Buck in *Stagecoach* [John Ford 1939], Groot in *Red River* [Howard Hawks, Arthur Rosson 1948], Bull in *El Dorado* [Howard Hawks 1966], and so on.

However, as soon as one buys into the claim that the Western devalues language, a major paradox appears: of all American film genres, it is the Western that repeatedly, insistently stresses the sanctity of words, the importance of verbal promises [Warshow 1979, p. 474]. Time and time again, their plots revolve around the sanctity of "keeping one's word." In *The Comancheros* [Michael Curtiz 1961], John Wayne, as a Texas Ranger named Jake Cutter, finds himself in a difficult position – he feels gratitude to his prisoner, Paul Regret, who has just saved a ranch house from an Indian attack, but Cutter is still determined to deliver Regret to the authorities:

Jake: [I] can't let [you] run. [I] swore an oath when they put that badge on [me].

Regret: And that's important to you?

Jake: I said I swore an oath.

Regret: Words.

Jake: Mon sewer. Words are what men live by. Words they say and mean. You musta had a real careless upbringing.

The issue of being honor-bound by one's word comes up again and again and again in Westerns. In Ford's *Fort Apache* [John Ford 1948], Captain York is aghast that Colonel Thursday has tricked Cochise into returning to American soil. He protests:

York: Colonel Thursday, I gave my word to Cochise. No man is gonna to make a liar outta me, sir.

In *The Professionals* [Richard Brooks 1966] Rico holds Bill to his promise to rescue the wife of Grant, a rich businessman:

Rico: Our word. We gave our word to bring the woman back.

Bill: Our word to Grant ain't worth a plug nickel.

Rico: You gave your word to me.

No matter how circumstances change, pledging oneself verbally is viewed as a moral action in Westerns, and the guarantee of the hero's integrity is his keeping of his troth. "Words are what men live by. Words they say and mean."

Additional evidence of the Western's deadly seriousness about language is the weight given to insults and slurs upon one's honor. Antagonists taunt the heroes of Westerns constantly, and if gunplay is averted, it is by the narrowest of margins. In Owen Wister's original novel *The Virginian*, considered the popularizer of the Western formula, the first altercation between the hero and Trampas arises from the latter calling the former a "son of a bitch." The motif is repeated in the film *Shane* [George Stevens 1953] when Calloway provokes Shane: "New sod-buster, huh? Thought I smelled pigs."

The use of verbal understatement in Westerns can be striking and effective – look back, for instance, the end of *The Wild Bunch* (Sam Peckinpah, 1969) when Pike decides that he is disgusted with himself and the life he leads and that the only noble option left is to try to save Angel from Mapache, even though such a plan is decidedly suicidal. All Pike says to his gang is, "Let's go," and all that is answered is, "Why not?" The extreme close-ups, the editing, the music, and the nuances of performance make these lines intelligible to the viewer.

Far from their neglecting dialogue, speech is a much-emphasized signifier of cultural background in Westerns. In *My Darling Clementine* [John Ford 1946], the conflict Doc Holliday embodies between East and West set him at the center of a spectrum of characters in the film who represent, in different ways, the social values of Eastern and Western America. ... The differences are signaled verbally, and the spectrum ranges from the barbaric monosyllables of the Clantons to the fulsome rhetoric of the actor Thorndyke... Against these extremes, Wyatt and Clementine bring East and West into shared communication and shared admiration. She speaks with articulateness and formality, he with laconic casualness [Lyons 1984, p. 13]. This presentation of a spectrum of verbal styles is not unique to this movie. Ford highlights the clash in dialogue styles again and again – the contrast between Ransom

Stoddard and Tom Doniphon in *Liberty Valance* [John Ford 1962] is manifestly a collision between Eastern and Western speech, as is the contrast between Thursday and York in *Fort Apache* [John Ford 1948]. In *High Noon* [Fred Zinnemann 1952], Grace Kelly as the sheriff's Quaker bride not only looks the picture of ladylike decorum, she speaks with a clear, formal precision that differs markedly from the speech of all the other characters. In *Angel and the Bad Man* [James Edward Grant 1947], Penny's Quaker religiosity and pacifism are overtly stressed by her use of "thee" and "thou."

"Eastern," ornate language is frequently deliberately interpolated into Westerns for contrast. Westerns include a surprising amount of quoted poetry, surprising, that is, until one realizes that the poetry is serving as representative of high culture, the culture that is out of place on the frontier. One could cite Thorndyke's "To Be or Not to Be" soliloquy in *My Darling Clementine* [John Ford 1946], or the prominence given to Poe's "El Dorado" in *El Dorado* [Howard Hawks, 1966]. The rich poetry of the King James version of the Bible enters into Westerns recurrently, both for its moral/religious perspective and for its literary power – for example, *Tombstone* [George P. Cosmatos, 1993] features Ringo quoting from Revelation: Behold the pale horse. The man who sat on him was Death. And Hell followed with him. Performances of melodramas, political oratory, and elaborate sermons crop up with regularity. The way the "Eastern" rhetoric is handled obviously varies from film to film, so that the genre as a whole conveys a complex amalgam of admiration and mockery, the same ambivalence expressed toward all markers of "civilization."

Thus dialogue is used in Westerns to thematize the antinomies between West and East. But dialogue also stresses issues of ethnic and cultural identity. Characters with accents are abundant in Westerns. These accents might be ascribed to realism, since the historical West was a place of great linguistic diversity. But thematically, the stress on regional and foreign accents foregrounds the unsettled, transient nature of the frontier, its distance from "civilization." Southern accents stress to the audience that Miss Cameron in *The Big Trail* (Raoul Walsh, 1930) and Torrey in *Shane* [George Stevens 1953] are in exile from their defeated homeland, trailing associations of gentility and noble lost causes. European accents further emphasize the West as the American melting pot – one finds Swedes, such as the Jorgensons in *The Searchers* [John Ford 1956] and Irish, such as Mollie Monahan in *Union Pacific* [Cecil B. DeMille 1939]. The melange of backgrounds highlights that the characters all come from disparate backgrounds and pasts.

The "savage" side is represented verbally by the genre's stress on Spanish and Native American languages. Many Westerns are set in Mexico or the Southwest, and snippets of Spanish are used for cheap local color, but conversations of narrative importance are all in English. Mexican characters are made to speak a highly infantilized, Frito Bandito English – witness Chris, at the halfway station in *Stagecoach* [John Ford, 1939], who tells Lucy Mallory: "Si senora. Leetle ... what you call it ... skirmish ... with the Apaches last night. Soldiers take Captain Mallory to Lordsburg ... I think ... he get ... hurt, maybe".

Treatment of Native American languages in Westerns runs along the same lines. Although there were more than two thousand separate Indian languages, Hollywood often did not bother to get any of them right [Price 1980, p. 80]. When Indian characters were given English dialogue, they often spoke either a halting baby talk, or, contrarily, pontificated with wise aphorisms [Wright 1993, p. 97]. In more recent films, Native Americans may speak their own language, and their words may or may not be translated for the audience via subtitles. In *Ulzana's Raid* [Robert Aldrich 1973], the narrative import is clear enough from the context, and the incomprehensible speech serves to stress to the audience the Apaches' separateness and otherness. *Dances with Wolves* [Kevin Costner 1990] is an unusual text in that it makes the difficulties in White/Indian communication one of its major topics; this film also respected Native American culture and language enough to have its white actors spend months actually learning to speak Lakota, and then to subtitle these exchanges for the audience.

One of the more fascinating aspects of the heteroglossia of Westerns is the fact that the hero is generally the only white character who can cross verbal boundaries. In *The Big Trail* [Raoul Walsh 1930], Bret Coleman palavers with the Pawnee; in *The Plainsman* [Cecil B. DeMille 1936], Wild Bill Hickok can speak Cheyenne; in *Hondo* [John Farrow 1953], Hondo Lane can speak Apache.

In general, the accents, dialects, or languages of other characters serve as contrast to the speech of the Western's hero. They are from the East, the South, Ireland – but he belongs here, he is of this land.

They are Indian or Mexican – but he is White. Moreover, he and his fellows speak in a distinct and recognizable idiom of their own. Although on some occasions, the Western's hero is allowed to be a Southerner, for the most part he speaks “Western.” In an area of the vastness of the states and territories west of the Mississippi and a large and blurred time period, the linguist would find many regional variations, but popular culture makes no such careful distinctions, coining an All-Purpose Western Dialect (hereafter APWD). In APWD, all women are addressed as “Ma'am”; all strangers are referred to as “Pardner”; horses are “ponies”; homes are “ranches”; meals are “chow” or “grub”; clothes are “duds”; a gun is a “piece”; employees are “hands” or “boys”; Indians are “Injuns,” “bucks” or “squaws”; “hello” is replaced by “howdy”; “think” and “believe” are folded into “reckon”; thank you is covered by “much obliged.” Along with a specialized and instantly recognizable vocabulary, Western characters commonly employ an informal pronunciation and syntax: “git” instead of “get,” “gonna” instead of “going to,” “fella” instead of “fellow,” “evenin” instead of “evening.” [Herman 1997, p. 299]. The degree to which a given film emphasizes APWD varies considerably, as do the artistic ramifications of the stylistic choices. Some screenwriters lay it on perfunctorily and inconsistently; others make dialect an integral part of their characterizations and themes.

In the right hands, the foreignness of the Western idiom can be an extremely expressive tool. In *My Darling Clementine* [John Ford 1946], Clementine asks Wyatt whether he is going to Sunday services and if he will take her. Wyatt answers, “I'd admire to take you.” This antiquated use of the verb “to admire” reawakens the filmgoer to the gap in time between Tombstone and the viewing; moreover, since we know that Wyatt does deeply respect and admire Clem, this phrase expresses, as no other could, his solemn pride in being her escort.

Instead of wit or sparkle, Western dialogue features a certain blunt power. In *Silverado* [Lawrence Kasden 1985], when Mel gets the drop on the bad guys beating up his friend, he states flatly: “Now I don't wanna kill you, and you don't wanna be dead.” The line's directness and obviousness – the sheer “plain speaking” aspect of it – has surprising force. “Threatening” is a common speech act in Westerns, which is why, when we think of their dialogue, we often think of some cliché on the order of, “This town ain't big enough for the both of us. You'd better be out of town by sunrise.”

Because of the tendency to use words as a form of aggression, Westerns frequently turn to “toppers”. In *Heller in Pink Tights* [George Cukor 1960], Maybury, a dangerous gunman, lusts after the actress Angela Rossini, who is involved in a relationship with Healy her theatrical director. The two men have a face-off, in which the threats are palpable underneath their rather mild words:

Maybury: I ain't a man to look for trouble, but I don't run from it. healy: I usually run from it, but not always.

Similarly, at the end of *The Professionals* [Richard Brooks 1960], Rico angers his erstwhile employer:

Grant: You bastard!

Rico: Yes sir. In my case, an accident of birth. But you, sir, you're a self-made man.

Along with threats and toppers, Westerns frequently feature repeated lines. Most screenplays get aesthetic mileage out of repetition. Westerns use it to demonstrate a character's fixity, the fact that he has an immutable core. In *The Searchers* [John Ford 1956], Ethan's “That'll be the day” reveals his superior knowledge and his stubbornness, just as Wyatt's “What kind of a town is this?” in *My Darling Clementine* [John Ford 1946] alerts us to his disgust at the Tombstone's failure to measure up to his standards. Nathan Brittles's oft-repeated “Never apologize, it's a sign of weakness” in *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* [John Ford 1949] represents his credo as an officer.

Another pattern in Westerns, is the high incidence of commands. The speech pattern like “Keep your hands in the air;” “Deal;” “Get out of town;” “If they move, kill ‘em” conveys the sense of blunt directness, of speakers in a hurry, of men used to commanding, accustomed to imposing their will on others. This blunt directness also relates to Westerns' tendency to employ dialogue for moral messages. Sooner or later in almost every Western, physical action will pause for discussion of the moral issues behind the conflict. Westerns are rarely subtle – the opposing points of view are laid right out on the table – for example, *Hang ‘em High* [Ted Post 1968] dwells on the ambiguities of frontier justice; *The Far Country* [Anthony Mann 1955] discusses the evils of self-centeredness and need to give to the community; *Jesse James* [Henry King 1939] repeatedly tries to find the line that separates justified

rebellion from wild banditry; *Hombre* [Martin Ritt 1967] includes a moving dispute on the Christian obligation to help others according to their needs, not their merits.

Often the moral messages are couched as dialogue between the male and female leads, and the woman (naturally) speaks for more “civilized” values and at greater length. But the heroes are remarkably forthright in verbalizing their values. *Ride the High Country* [Sam Peckinpah 1962] hangs on Steve Judd's, “All I want is to enter my house justified.” Even *Unforgiven* [Clint Eastwood 1992], which instead of presenting the Western hero as an ethical model shows him to be a pitiless, brutal, alcoholic destroyer, sums up the film's existential horror in a memorable line – “Deserve's got nothin' to do with it.”

The explicitness of Western dialogue is enhanced by the ways in which it is commonly performed, filmed and recorded. Westerns as a genre with the notable exception of *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* [Robert Altman 1971] stay away from overlapping dialogue or noisy polylogues. For the most part, each line of dialogue – even in the most crowded bar scenes – is rendered clearly, dropped into a well of still water. Camera placement and editing are generally designed to capture the dialogue exchanges unobtrusively, showing the face of the speaker or a group of conversationalists in a looser full shot.

So we are left with several paradoxes: the heroes of Westerns are taciturn – except when they are loquacious; words in Westerns are seen as baseless – except when they are valued beyond measure; Westerns don't rely on dialogue – but they manifestly do.

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УДК: 811.111:81'373.43:33

**ОСТРОВСЬКА Ю.К.**

(*Донецький національний університет*)

## РЕПРЕЗЕНТАЦІЯ СФЕРИ ЕКОНОМІКИ ТА БІЗНЕСУ АНГЛІЙСЬКИМИ ТА УКРАЇНСЬКИМИ ОЦІННИМИ НЕОЛОГІЗМАМИ У КІНЦІ ХХ – НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХІ СТОЛІТТЯ

У статті розглядаються оцінні неологізми сфери економіки та бізнесу в англійській та українській мовах кінця ХХ – початку ХХІ століття. Здійснено семантико-ідеографічну класифікацію досліджуваних одиниць; виявлено репрезентативність виділених груп у зіставлених мовах; встановлено співвідношення позитивно- та негативнооцінних новотворів у сфері, що вивчається; зафіксовано семи, що надають неологізмам сфери економіки та бізнесу певного забарвлення у зазначений період.

*Ключові слова:* оцінний неологізм, інновація, семантико-ідеографічна група, англійська мова, українська мова.