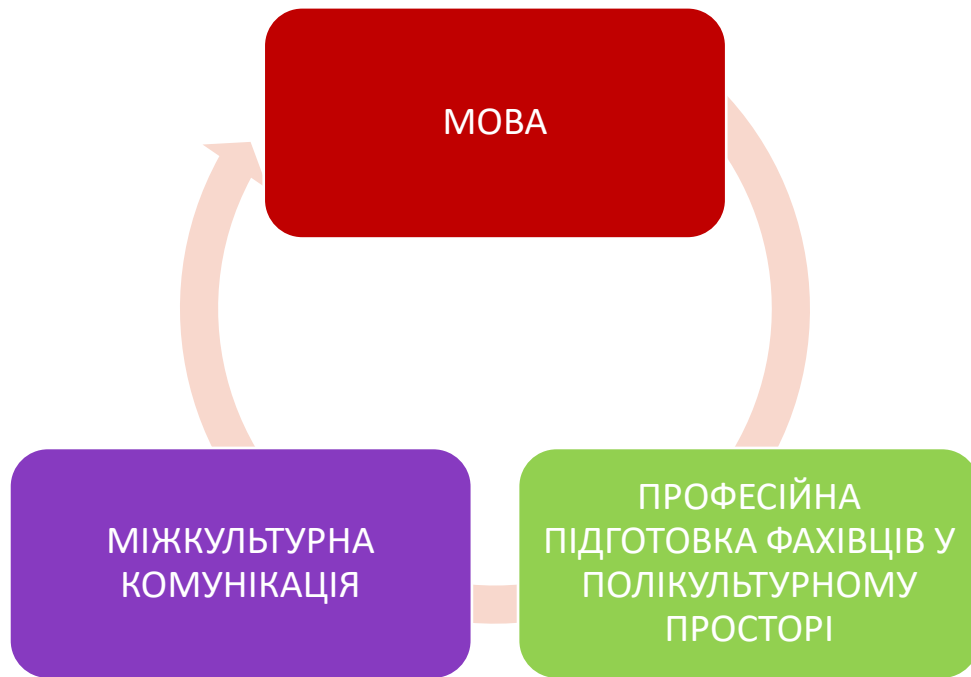


**АКТУАЛЬНІ ПРОБЛЕМИ ФІЛОЛОГІЇ  
І ПРОФЕСІЙНОЇ ПІДГОТОВКИ ФАХІВЦІВ  
У ПОЛІКУЛЬТУРНОМУ ПРОСТОРИ**



Одеса  
2024

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## ЗМІСТ

ВСТУП.....	13
<b>СЕКЦІЯ I. НАГАЛЬНІ ПИТАННЯ ВІТЧИЗНЯНОГО ТА ЗАРУБІЖНОГО ПЕРЕКЛАДОЗНАВСТВА.....</b>	<b>16</b>
<i>Bieliaievska Victoriia.</i> Translation Aspects of Conveying Emotive Content in the Series «The Crown»	16
<i>Gao Kaiyu.</i> A Study of The Translation Methods of Culture-Loaded Words in Chinese White Paper – A Case Study on China’s Armed Forces: 30 Years of UN Peacekeeping Operations	18
<i>Guo Yan.</i> A Study on The Untranstability and Translation Strategies of Machine-Assisted Translation in Military Texts	20
<i>Гуціна Віра.</i> «Blue Horse? Dancing Mountains» Роджера Желязни: враження перекладача <i>杜亚茹.</i> 翻译过程中词义选择的探究	21
<i>Ищенко Анна.</i> Особливості перекладу власних імен у Романах Дж. К. Роулінг Про Гаррі Поттера та серіалі «Fantastic Beasts»	24
<i>Li Baofeng, Suo Zhiyi.</i> On the Domestication of the English–Chinese Subtitle Translation with the Big Bang Theory as a Case	27
<i>Li Baofeng, Wen Yu.</i> Exploring Popular Science Translation Through the Prism of Adaptation Theory: Insights from The Economist's Scientific Narratives	28
<i>Li Xiaojie.</i> A Study on the Translation of the Subtitles of <i>Empresses in The Palace</i>	30
<i>Попович Елеонора.</i> Аналіз перекладацьких трансформацій у книзі Сюзанни Коллінз «Голодні Ігри»	31
<i>Popova Oleksandra.</i> Synergism Of Translation in the Academic Sphere	33
<i>Сонко Юрій.</i> Переклад Художніх Текстів: Виклики Та Можливості	36
<i>Wang Qingzhong, Li Shengnan, Yin Wenjie, Bai Jing, Guo Yan.</i> An Analysis of the Application of Artificial Intelligence in the Translation of Shipbuilding Engineering English Text - Taking Chatgpt as an Example	39
<i>Yang Zhibo.</i> Poems from the Perspective of Relevance Theory: A Case Study of Two Translation Versions of Xu Yuanchong and Zhu Manhua	40
<i>Zhang Xueqing, Liang Hong.</i> Cross-Model Comparison: The Effectiveness of Large Language Models in Translating Political Texts	42
<b>СЕКЦІЯ II. АКТУАЛЬНІ ПИТАННЯ ЗАГАЛЬНОГО І ЗІСТАВНОГО МОВОЗНАВСТВА.....</b>	<b>44</b>
<i>Бошков Андрій.</i> Типологія дискурсу як об’єкта лінгвістичних досліджень	44
<i>Ivanenko Alexander V.</i> Chronicle Settlement <i>Оргоуць</i> : To the Issue of the Origin of the Oikonym	46
<i>Iliadi Alexander I.</i> East Slavic <i>Раба</i> : A Case of Mythologizing Of Social Terminological Semantics	48
<i>Tsapro Galyna, Olena Gryshchenko.</i> How One Can Fake it: Adverbs Revealing the Act of Deception	52
<b>СЕКЦІЯ III. МІЖКУЛЬТУРНА КОМУНІКАЦІЯ В СУЧАСНОМУ ГЕОПОЛІТИЧНОМУ ПРОСТОРИ.....</b>	<b>55</b>
<i>Li Baofeng, Wang Ruiqi.</i> Research and Englightment of Brazil’s Diversified Sports Diplomacy Strategy	55
<i>Muzychenko Ganna.</i> The Current Ukrainian Party Landscape	56
<i>Shi Yixuan, Li Baofeng, Hou Runhua.</i> Cross-Cultural Communication of South Korean Films from a Geopolitical Perspective	59
<i>Tang Qiang, Che Dewei.</i> The Strategies of China’s Image Construction in the Context of Multicultural Communication: a Case Study of the English Version of the 20th National Congress Report	60
<i>Wang Xiaohui, Li Hejuan.</i> Chinese-English Puns and Transmission of Cultural Values in Cross-Cultural Communication	61

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## EAST SLAVIC *раба*: A CASE OF MYTHOLOGIZING OF SOCIAL TERMINOLOGICAL SEMANTICS

**Keywords:** *etymology, semantics, Proto-Slavic, Indo-European, al text.*

**Introduction.** It is generally believed that the etymological analysis is completed when the formal (phonetic, derivational and morphological) and conceptual (semantic and ideological) sides of the investigated object are explained. The object of the study is any cluster of the cognates the genetic identity of which is proved etymologically. Lexical semantics often proves to be rather a complicated object of the linguistic studies due to the inconsistency of sets of components, forming the meaning: a part of them just does not fit into the general meaning scheme, which makes one assume a coincidence of homonymous forms in one word. The situation becomes clear, when regularities, which generated these «atypical» sememes, are figured out and substantiated typologically. Searching in this direction is always *relevant*.

*The novelty of the research.* This scientific work deals with the explanation of the causes and conditions of emergence of the mythological and «mortal» semantics (which is still out of sight of the researchers) of the ancient Slavonic social term \**orbъ*. The *etymological method* and the *method of linguistic typology* are used to achieve this goal.

**The main research results.** In the materials on the dialectology of the Russian language, collected by P. V. Sheyn, the word *раба* ‘horror’ attracts attention [14, p. 39]. Maybe it is not about designation of fear, phobia as a natural feeling but personified fear that is about a mythological character. And therefore, *раба* \*‘demon’ as the personification of fears, terrible, nasty visions, at first glance, correlates with such examples as: Pol. dial. *man* ‘ghost, morok, hassle, obsession, hallucination, tricking of senses’, ORus. *манъ* ‘deception’, Rus. dial. *ман* ‘who lures, attracts’ and ‘**unclean spirit, which lives in the banya**’ (< Proto-Slav. \**manъ* [15 (17, p. 201)]); Pol. *mara* ‘sleep full of dreams; something, which a sleeping person sees’ and dial. ‘**ghost, night spirit, attacking the sleeping horses and people**’, Rus. dial. *марá* ‘ghost, morok, obsession, charm, dream’ and ‘**kind of brownie or kikimora, tangling and tearing the tow and yarn**’ (< Proto-Slav. \**mara* [15 (17, p. 204–205)]).

However, from a purely semantic perspective in our case it hardly needs stating the semantic development of the words ‘horror, fear’, ‘terrible vision’ → \*‘mythical entity, causing horror’, because *раба* ‘horror’, certainly, is a semantic derivative from dial. *раб(а)* \*‘deceased relative, ancestor’, cf. in Oryol dialects *рабы́* ‘general name of deceased relatives’ [1, p. 4], in Nekrasov Cossacks’ speech *раб* ‘corpse, dead man’ («Пойдемте, *раба* возьмем, по-нашему *раб* – мертвый») [13, p. 237]. Such evolution of meaning is supported by the typological analogy of Rus. obsolete and dial.

*навь* ‘dead man, rose from the grave, inhabitant of the afterworld’, (South, Oryol, Kaluga and other) ‘dead man’, ‘deceased’ etc. [15 (24, p. 49–50)] alongside Chernigov *навь* ‘**fear, horror**’ (in the field recordings 1981).

Etymologically Russian lexemes are the reflexes of a Proto-Slavonic term of social order *\*orbъ* in such its meanings as Serbian dial. *pòb* ‘human, member of the group, family’, *роб* ‘member of the community’, Croat. Chakavian *ràb, ràba* ‘slave, servant’ (in Chakavian writings of the ecclesiastical nature), Czech obsolete and poetic *rob* ‘captive’, ORus. *рабъ* ‘servant, captive’, Rus. *раб* ‘serf peasant’, dial. (Vladimir) ‘old believer’, (Ural) ‘teenager, child’ («Он *раб* иль уже парень?»), OUkr. *роб* ‘slave’ [15 (32, p. 131); 13, p. 237]. However, the meaning ‘corpse, dead man’ of Russian reflexes of Proto-Slav. *\*orbъ* in ЭССЯ has not received a special explanation, although there is an urgent need for it, because the cultural background and the conditions of the mythologizing of the social semantics are not defined. Probably, it is necessary to search the base of the semantic derivation in two directions.

**The first vector.** The emergence of the sememe ‘dead man’ of the social term is explained in two phases.

1. One is directly inferable from ‘poor thing’, ‘poor man’, cf. Serb. dial. *pòb lъyti* ‘poor man, poor thing’ [15 (32, p. 131)]. Exactly the same development of the meaning is attested in Bulg. *сиромàх* ‘poor man’ along with the emotionally coloured dial. *сиромàхът* ‘deceased, dead man’ (is taken from the: [11, p. 127]).

The very fact of emergence of the “evaluative” sememes ‘poor thing’, ‘poor dear’, ‘pathetic’, ‘unhappy’ in the words, defining social status, needs no commentary, cf. Lith. *var̃gšas* ‘poor man, poor’ and ‘**poor thing**’, ‘**poor dear**’, Moldav. *ненорочит* ‘poor’ and ‘**unhappy, pathetic**’, ‘**poor thing**’ etc.

2. In its turn, ‘poor thing’, ‘poor man’ arose from ‘slave’, ‘servant’ or ‘orphan’ (the meaning ‘orphan’ of the word *\*orbъ* is supposed in: [15 (32, p. 133)]), as was the case with Lith. *vėrgas* ‘slave, a man in the power of his master’, Latv. *vėrgs* ‘slave’ along with Latv. *vārgs* adj. ‘ailing’, ‘poor, beggarly’, ‘miserable’, ‘pathetic, worthless’, subst. ‘poverty, squalor’, ‘paupers’ [12, p. 2035, 2071; 4, p. 508; 2, pp. 489–490, 497].

Thus, putative semantic evolution of the reflexes of Proto-Slav. *\*orbъ* might be represented as a sequence of synchronous states of its meaning: ‘**slave**’, ‘**servant**’, ‘**orphan**’ → ‘**poor man**’, ‘**poor thing**’, ‘**miserable**’ → ‘**dead man, corpse**’, ‘**deceased ancestor(s)**’.

So, what were the cultural and semiotic conditions for developing the semantic innovation ‘dead man’ of the overviewed term of social order? This question is answered by the language of ritualized acts which widely uses euphemisms for tabooing (prohibition of naming). The last link in the built chain is exactly the result of tabooing: the desire to avoid the words *the deceased, dead* in the language of a funeral rite makes native speakers search for substitution for these units. Their euphemisms sometimes are the lexemes with the meanings ‘poor’, ‘unhappy’, ‘miserable’, ‘pauper’ or other words, embodying the idea of deprivation and as the substitutes for the lexemes *the deceased, dead* acquiring their semantics. According to O. A. Sedakova, while tabooing the death designations in substitutionary naming of a dead man, “denotative meaning of poverty (deprivation of own share) is accompanied by strong emotional connotation, sometimes displacing the very denotative meaning” [11, p. 128]. As a

result, the semantic shift ‘poor man, poor’ (= ‘holder of the deceased’s share’) → ‘dead’, ‘deceased relative’ enables to put Rus. *paб* in the isosemantic row, formed by the reflexes of such Proto-Slavonic words as *\*ne-bogъ(jb)* and *\*u-božę*, gen. *-ęte*, cf.:

OCzech *neboh* ‘unfortunate person’, ‘**the late**’, Czech *nebohý* ‘poor, miserable, unhappy’, ‘**the late**’, dial. (Wallachian, Lachian) *nebohý* ‘**the late**’; Slovak dial. (Eastern) *nebohý* ‘miserable’, ‘**dead, the late**’, Upper Sorbian *njebohi* ‘poor, unhappy’, *njeboh* ‘**the late**’, Lower Sorbian *ńabogi* ‘**deceased, the late**’, Pol. *nieboga* ‘unhappy woman’, ‘**dead woman**’, Rus. dial. *небóга* ‘poor wretch, poor soul’, ‘orphan’ [15 (24, pp. 104–105)] along with Ukr. derivative *небіжчиця* ‘dead woman’;

Croat. *ubože* ‘beggar’ and ‘dead man’ (the example is taken from: [11, p. 271]; see here about the role of beggars as “substituents” for the deceased, they inherit his share in the Slavonic funeral rite).

**The second vector.** An alternative explanation for the genesis of the sememes ‘dead man’, ‘deceased relative’ prompts us to turn to the Pre-Slavic history of the Proto-Slavonic word: it is possible that the hint of the antiquity of viewed meanings of Proto-Slav. *\*orbъ* is hidden in the meanings of its cognates in other languages. The reconstruction of semantics of its Indo-European etymon *\*orbho-* as well as the definition of the list of the representatives of this stem are carried out in special literature. The schemes of the meaning evolution of IE. *\*orbho-* in related languages are also proposed here. All known versions may be divided into several groups; it is from a brief overview below. It is necessary in order to see the big picture of the correlation of the sememes within the studied etymological cluster.

1. IE. *\*orbho-* ‘orphaned’, ‘orphan’ [8, pp. 781–782] > Aryan *\*arbha-* ‘small, young’ ([10, p. 215]: *\*órbho-* ‘orphan’).

2. IE. *\*orbh-* ‘small’ (B. Delbrück) → ‘slave’, ‘to work’ [16, pp. 56, 58]: «most likely, IE. *\*orbho-* had the specific age-related meaning ‘little’, cf. Sanskr. *árbha-*, *arbhaká-* ‘little, boy’».

3. IE. *\*orb<sup>[h]</sup>o-* ‘deprived of one’s share’, ‘deprived of possessions’, ‘orphan’, that is ‘child deprived of parents and inheritance’ [3, p. 651].

4. IE. *\*h<sub>3</sub>órb<sup>h</sup>os* ‘what or who changes hands, is turned over, is transferred’ (→ ‘property or person transferred’, ‘inheritance’ or ‘orphan’, that is *cupoma* ‘someone whose social status changed’ and Slav. *\*orbъ* ‘one who is transferred from a free status to the *manus* of the master’) ~ *\*h<sub>3</sub>erb<sup>h</sup>-* ‘to turn’ (the oldest sememe), ‘change, undergo transfer, be turned over’, adj. *\*h<sub>3</sub>erb<sup>h</sup>-ó-* ‘turning’ [18, pp. 250, 256, 259, 260], *\*h<sub>3</sub>orb<sup>h</sup>-o-* or *\*Horb<sup>h</sup>-* ‘turning, what/who is turned over’ → ‘inheritance/heir’ ~ *\*h<sub>3</sub>rbh-* ‘to turn’ [17, p. 433].

5. IE. *\*h<sub>1</sub>orb<sup>h</sup>o-* ‘inheritance’ ~ *\*h<sub>1</sub>erb<sup>h</sup>-* (: Proto-Celt. *\*erb-(y)o-* ‘entrust, leave (after death)’) [5, pp. 117, 299]. Meaning ‘inheritance’ and other sememes, associated with it, are well attested in Old Irish *orbe*, *orpe* masc. (*\*orbh̄ios*) ‘inheritor’, neutr. (*\*orbh̄iom*) ‘inheritance’ [9, p. 181] and ancient Germanic languages, cf. reflexes of Proto-Germanic prototypes: *\*arbaz* ‘inheritance’ > derivative *\*arbjan* ‘inheritance’, ‘heritage’, ‘wake, funeral feast’ > derivative *\*arbjanan* ‘to honor with a funeral feast’, ‘to inherit’; *\*arbjōn* ‘heir’, ‘inheritor’ ~ *\*arbjan* [7, p. 22].

As we can see, the overview of the alleged etymological meanings of IE. *\*orbho-*



and the attempts to build relative chronology of known sememes give no evidence of the archaic nature of Slav. ‘dead man’, ‘deceased relative’. But the semantic reconstruction seems to provide necessary proofs. The reconstruction relies on Sanskr. *ṛbhú-*, which according to Hisashi Miyakawa originally meant \*‘one who has left humankind and joined the gods’ and was derived from IE. *\*h<sub>3</sub>erbh-*, cf. its meanings ‘change’, ‘undergo transfer’, ‘be turned over’ above ([6, p. 186]: footnote 17). As a result, it is possible to suppose an analogous stage in semantic evolution of Slavonic lexemes. This hypothetical meaning determined **one of directions in word usage** of IE. *\*orbho-* as euphemism \*‘the one who left humankind’ = ‘deceased’, cf. in Ukainian texts of laments *по-кидати, лишати* ‘to die’. The adoption of the suggested reconstruction leads to the conclusion about antiquity of the meaning ‘dead man’ at Proto-Slav. *\*orbъ* in view of its etymological relations with the verb *\*h<sub>3</sub>erbh-*, lost in Proto-Slavonic epoch. Following this vector, we leave aside the main function of IE. *\*orbho-* as a social term.

But in general, this version of semantic interpretation is less probable owing to the difficulty of proving that Proto-Slav. *\*orbъ* had the semantic antecedent ‘dead man’.

**Findings.** Close attention to the nuances of semantics seemingly “customary” terms-attributes of the historical past helps to detect the interesting shifts within the framework of their semantic range. In the present case ambiguity of interpretation of the semantic shift has several causes: 1) “the multi-layeredness” of a word cultural load, which became more complicated at every chronological level while changing relationship in a society; 2) inclusion of a lexeme into vocabulary of the language of ritualized acts (in this case in the language of funeral rites); 3) the lack of a clear idea about Pre-Slavic past of a lexeme, in particular the semantics of a producing verb.

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**HOW ONE CAN FAKE IT: ADVERBS REVEALING  
THE ACT OF DECEPTION**

**Keywords:** *fake, adverb, news discourse, corpus, enTenTen21, Sketch Engine*

FAKE news has become an instrumental and manipulative force in modern news discourse. Fake news is widely created and readily consumed by readers. Another aspect to consider is reporting about the fact of faking something. Furthermore, within news discourse, one can encounter articles detailing instances of individuals falsifying or fabricating information, events, or products. News discourse aiming to attract readers' attention is characterized by the use of adverbs to describe and categorize actions. This research aims to analyze and classify adverbs collocating with the verb FAKE. The material of the research is the EnTenTen21 corpus provided in Sketch Engine.

FAKE is defined as “to alter, manipulate, or treat so as to give a spuriously genuine appearance to; to counterfeit, simulate; improvise; pretend” [Fake].

The Sketch Engine Thesaurus offers the following verbs as synonyms to FAKE, basically taken from Internet sources (see Pic.1).