

обрушиться. Для англоязычной традиции характерно уподобление показателей, подвергающихся значительным изменениям, летательным объектам, что реализуется в языке в виде таких лексических единиц, как *take off, skyrocket, soar, soaring in flation*; *взлетать, взмывать вверх, парить, заоблачная инфляция*.

Более того, выделенные выше метафорические модели можно считать универсальными для целого ряда языков, о чем свидетельствуют результаты аналогичных контрастивных исследований, проведенных на материале различных языков (J. Charteris-Black, S. Bratož, K. Fukuda и др.). При этом следует признать значительное влияние англо-американской публицистической традиции на рассматриваемую сферу описания экономических тенденций в русском языке и китайском языке. Причину данного влияния можно усмотреть в социалистическом прошлом экономики русскоговорящих постсоветских стран и Китая, когда практически отсутствовала традиция регулярно анализировать состояние экономики, сообщать новости фондовых рынков. С переходом экономики на рыночные рельсы, данная практика была восстановлена и не могла не попасть под влияние устоявшихся в международной практике способов и метафорических моделей концептуализации экономических изменений.

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LINGUISTIC GENDERING OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

In recent years, we have observed the increasing interest in the term gender as an analytic category and its application to the academic sphere, thanks to the women's movement in 1970's. In this article, we use the word gender as J. Scott proposed to "denote "cultural constructions" — the entirely social creation of ideas about appropriate roles for women and men. It is a way of referring to the exclusively social origins of the subjective identities of men and women" [6, c. 1053]. This paper focuses on analyzing Chinese characters and radicals, how they reflect the understanding of the gender roles, expressions, and identities

of the Chinese people. The language reflects the way we think about the world. Linguistic forms are both reflective and constitutive of the historical realities of the relationships of women to the state, to the family, and to the trajectories of revolution and reform. In other words, language constructs reality. So how does the Chinese language construct the gendered reality?

The role of women in Chinese culture is quite a broad subject and beyond the scope of this article, but some generalizations and a brief summary can be made here for the purpose of establishing a cultural background. The Chinese outlook on the world takes its roots in the Confucius principles, which state very strict prescribed roles for both sexes and which still have a huge impact on a Chinese society, defining the social roles, hierarchy, normative and non-normative behavior [5]. It introduced and strengthened the notion of a dichotomy that women belong in the “private sphere” and men belong in the “public sphere”. Marriages were arranged, and upon marriage, a woman became her husband’s property, moving into his ancestral home and becoming subsumed into his extended family. A woman’s ways were indirect, quiet, and polite. A rather infamous illustration of this diminutive role was in the traditional binding of a woman’s feet; the practice — reinforcing the place of the woman at home — continued until even the most recent Qing dynasty [2]. The establishment of the People’s Republic of China instituted many reforms, legislating equal rights for women, eliminating arranged marriages, and encouraging women to become educated and take careers [3]. Westernization has given way to similar reforms in areas outside the PRC (Hong Kong, Taiwan). Economic reform and prosperity has brought with it increased opportunity for female businesspeople and entrepreneurs. However, thousands of years of cultural bias cannot be completely reversed in such a short time; the traditional roles of the woman as secondary to her husband, a general preference for male leadership, and traditional responsibilities for women as child-bearers and homemakers still exist today. These societal gender roles are reflected in language, as we will see.

It is important to note that spoken Chinese is gender-neutral. Therefore, when referring to a third person singular, no gender distinction occurs either it is 她 (ta) or 他 (ta), since they are both pronounced the same. The problem arises when it comes to the written Chinese, which often depicts the semantics of the characters.

During the research, we mainly focused on characters, which have the female radical ‘女’ as a component in them [7, c. 768]. The very origin of this character comes from an image of an obedient woman kneeling and holding her hands together. Afterwards all the words with this radical were divided into various categories according to their semantics:

1. Words referring to the female sex or the female relationships: 吗 (mum), 妹 (younger sister), 姐 (elder sister), 妣 (one's deceased mother), 姬 (old lady), 姆 (old course), 姓 (surname), 婆 (old woman)

2. Characters with positive connotation: 安 (peace), 娜 (elegant, graceful), 妍 (beautiful), 娇 (tender, charming, spoil), 俏 (pretty), 姝 (pretty), 较 (beautiful-looking), 姣 (beautiful), 好 (fair), 妥 (appropriate), 妙 (wonderful, excellent, fine), 姪 (beautiful, fair), 妩媚 (lovely, charming), 娉 (fascinating pretty), 姮 (beautiful), 娴 (quiet and nice), 娱 (give pleasure to, amusement), 娟 (beautiful), 娉 (beautiful), 娥 (pretty young woman) 娴熟 (refined, skilled), 婀 (graceful, willowy), 婧 (slender, delicate, virtuous).

3. Characters with negative connotation: 妖 (demon, evil spirit), 贪婪 (greedy, covetous), 姤 (recalcitrant, hard to deal with), 奸 (malicious, cunning, wicked, evil, treacherous), 妒 (jealous), 妄 (absurd, preposterous), 妒 (envy), 媚 (complying, yielding), 妖娆 (bewitching, alluring), 妨 (hinder, obstruct), 孀 (weak, delicate), 媚 (be jealous) 丑 (ugly, unsightly), 嫉 (envy, hate), 嫌 (suspicion, resentment).

4. Words connected with marriage, pregnancy and children: 奶 (breast, milk), 妊 (be pregnant), 妊娠 (be pregnant), 妇 (married woman, wife), 姻 (marriage), 娩 (give birth), 嫁 (marry), 结婚 (marriage, wedding), 娶 (marry a woman).

5. Slavery, prostitution: 妾 (concubine), 姬 (imperial concubine), 娼 (prostitute), 婬 (prostitute), 奴 (slave), 婢 (slave girl, servant-girl), 嫖 (visit prostitutes).

As we can see, the Chinese language reflects and constitutes the constructed ideas about female sex. All the characters with positive connotations refer to the beauty of females as the most important virtue. There is a long tradition of reducing women to objects, whose only function is an aesthetic one — to be looked at, and worshipped, always passive, submissive, quiet, ready to adapt to the requirements of a man. Then, we have a set of words with negative connotation — most of which imply the demonic nature of females. It illustrates well the double standards for women — being pure and innocent and at the same time cunning and sly. Throughout the history, society demonized women and attributed such traits of character as evil, absurdity, hysteria, irrationality to them. Moreover, we can see from this set of characters the binary opposition for women 'ugly/beautiful', which is not so repressive for men. In the fifth set, we can trace institutionalized female enslavement and sexual service. We can say that both conventional ideas about female nature and the historical legacy are embedded in this radical.

We shall compare the feminine radical to the masculine '亻' [1, c. 57]. Although not all the words with this radical have been analyzed in depth,

we still can bring up 12 words that exemplify the additional meanings of this radical:

人 (man), 位 (measure word (honorific)), 信 (trust), (付 to pay), (他 he) (住 to live), (保 to protect), (休 to rest), (您 you (honorific)), 修 (to repair), 你(you), 作 (to do).

Unlike the feminine radical, this one stresses the radical subjectivity of males, the state of doing something, building and mending, creating and in general being active and pursuing aspirations.

Apart from radicals, syntactic ordering of characters is another interesting matter of linguistic gendering in Chinese. Traditional hierarchical attitudes are reflected in the word order. More often than not, male word precedes the female one.

Male and female word order in fixed expressions:

- 男女 men and women
- 父母 father and mother
- 爸爸妈妈
- 兄弟姐妹 brothers and sisters
- 儿女 son and daughter
- 夫妻 husband and wife
- 太阳月亮 sun and moon

If we were to reverse these words and put female before male, it would be grammatically incorrect and seem odd to the native speakers. For example, we cannot say 妈妈爸爸, and some words would even change their meaning.

To conclude, despite spoken Chinese being gender-neutral, Chinese characters reflect essentialist views on gender on symbolical, institutional, and ideological levels. Language is a mirror of culture, historical legacy, collective ideas about norms and anomalies, and power relations in society.

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УНИВЕРСАЛЬНОЕ И НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЕ ВО ФРАЗЕОЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ КАРТИНЕ МИРА (НА ПРИМЕРЕ НЕМЕЦКОГО И РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКОВ)

Фразеологическая система языка является той частью картины мира, где особенно ярко отражено национально-культурное своеобразие языка. Фразеология тесно связана с историей, культурой, бытом народа, в ней воплощены его дух, характер и образ мышления. Однако точка зрения, согласно которой все фразеологические обороты (далее ФО) являются национально маркированными, разделяется не всеми исследователями. Большинство идиом относительно редко обладают абсолютными эквивалентами в других языках, что объясняется не столько их национально-культурным своеобразием, сколько несопадением техники вторичной номинации. Так, в русском языке для образной номинации такого полезного ископаемого, как нефть, кроме ФО *чёрное золото* ‘о нефти’, имеющего соответствие в немецком языке *schwarzes Gold* (досл. ‘чёрное золото’) 1) ‘уголь’, 2) ‘нефть’, используется еще одна образная идиома — *чёрная кровь земли* ‘о нефти’. Наличие в русском языке образного ФО с другим планом выражения не свидетельствует о национальной маркированности данного оборота. Такого рода фразеологизмы различаются внутренней формой, но могут представлять одни и те же базовые метафоры.

План содержания некоторых ФО может стать проявлением национального своеобразия, поскольку они называют определенные обычаи, традиции, подробности быта и культуры, исторические события и многое другое. Например, рус. ФО *голубой огонёк* ‘о дружеском вечере с выступлениями, беседами за чашкой кофе, чая’ образно называет жанр программы на советском ТВ; нем. ФО *weiße Woche* (досл. ‘белая неделя’) обозначает реалию, типичную для организации торговли в Германии: ‘неделю распродажи бельевого товара’.

Национальная маркированность некоторых компонентов в составе ФО является их объективной чертой, которая заключается в при-