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Migration and Migrants: “When Words Smuggle Ideas”

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of the semantic field of *migration* and the corresponding circle of lexical notation. The main objective of the article is to discover those ideas about *migration* and *migrants* that are embodied in the lexical meanings of words, which are the main means of nominating these concepts and / or profiling their individual faces. To solve this problem, the author carried out the analysis of vocabulary denoting concepts related to the phenomenon of migration and made an attempt to comprehend the evolution of these concepts, to identify the dominant images and reactions caused by them. The analysis is carried out based on the material (1) of the dictionaries of the Russian language; (2) texts extracted from The Russian National Corpus and various Internet resources; (3) texts examined during the production of linguistic examinations in connection with the need to identify the presence or absence of signs of extremism. The article shows that in the ways of understanding migration, socio-political and extremist discourses reveal significant similarities at the deepest level, differing only in the degree of explicitness and the choice of lexical designations (more or less politically correct in the first case and “brutal” in the second case).

Keywords: migration, migrant, lexical semantics, lexicography, socio-political discourse, extremist discourse, corpus analysis, cognitive analysis.

Research area: sociological sciences.

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Introductory remarks

The nature and scale of migration processes taking place in modern Russia to a large extent determine its present and are one of the most important factors that determine the vector of economic, social and political development of the state. Russia "is gradually becoming a country of migrants, acquiring a new quality. This is not just an inevitable, vitally necessary, but also a painful, conflict process. New people come to the country, a new quality of the "old" is formed, and new groups appear in a complex and dynamically changing palette of social relations. The rapid and unexpected appearance of a new element in the cultural, ethnic, social worldview inevitably violates the old equilibrium, forms the ground for the emergence of complex problems and conflicts" (Dyatlov, 2010: 451).

These problems and conflicts have always been the subject of analysis by historians, sociologists, political scientists, and economists¹. "State and public programs for the development of regional migration policies, the advantages and disadvantages of the main strategies for the interaction of public and state institutions with migrants, ethnic, cultural and religious aspects of the adaptation of migrants, as well as the prospects for the development of labour migration" are being actively discussed.

An effective tool for studying this problem is linguistic analysis in all the variety of its methods, "Culture analysis can find new ideas from linguistics, in particular, from linguistic semantics, and the semantic outlook on culture is something that cultural analysis can hardly afford to ignore" (Vezhbitskaya, 1999: 263).

The need to use linguistic analysis is motivated by the fact that, "exploring a language from a cognitive point of view (that is, by its participation in all types of activities with information flowing in the human brain), it is possible to simultaneously make judgments not only about the linguistic phenomena considered, but also about the mental entities behind them, namely concepts, conceptual structures as structures of knowledge and experience, opinions and assessments, plans and goals, at-

titudes and beliefs. The listed mental entities, especially those with a linguistic affinity, are the key to consider human intelligence and human behaviour" (Kubryakova, 2004: 13).

In other words, language in the modern scientific paradigm is understood "not only as a unique object, viewed in isolation, but to a large extent **as a means of access to all mental processes that occur in a person's head and determine their own being and functioning in society**"² (Hereinafter highlighted by us. – *M.T.*) (Kubryakova, 2004: 9).

In the light of what has been said, of independent interest is the analysis of vocabulary denoting concepts related to the phenomenon of migration, understanding the evolution of these concepts in the public mind, identifying the dominant images and reactions caused by these concepts in the past and present.

The object of this work is the semantic field of "migration"³ and the corresponding circle of lexical notations.

The main task is to discover those ideas about "migration" and "migrants" that are embodied in the lexical meanings of words, which are the main means of nominating these concepts and / or profiling their individual faces.

Based on the foregoing, the analysis is carried out on the material (1) of the dictionaries of the Russian language; (2) texts extracted from Russian National Corpus (www.corpora.yandex.ru) (hereinafter – NC), and various Internet resources; (3) texts sent to employees of the Department of Russian Language and General Linguistics of the Institute of Philology, Foreign Languages and Media Communication of Irkutsk State University for the production of linguistic expertise in connection with the need to identify the presence or absence of signs of extremism.

1. *MIGRATION* and *MIGRANTS* in the mirror of modern lexicography

Fixing a word in a dictionary is an important indicator of the significance of a phenomenon named by a given word for the life of soci-

¹ See, for example: (Migratsiia naseleniia... 2007; Ot veka bronzovogo do veka..., 2018).

² It is in this sense that the words by V.V. Nabokov are used in the title.

³ Quotation marks in such cases signal that we have in mind a concept but not a word (which is written in italics).

Table 1. List of dictionaries and abbreviations accepted

Dictionary	Abbreviation
Great Dictionary of Russian language. Ch. ed. S.A. Kuznetsov. 1st edition, St. Petersburg, Norint, 1998	GD
Great Encyclopaedic Dictionary. Moscow, Big Soviet Encyclopaedia, 1998	GED
Efremova T.F. New Dictionary of the Russian language. Moscow, Drofa, Russkii iazyk, 2000	DE
Zakharenko E.N., Komarova L.N., Nechaeva I.V. New Dictionary of Foreign Words: 25,000 words and phrases. Moscow, Azbukovnik, 2003	NDFW
Krysin L.P. Dictionary of foreign words. Moscow, Russkii iazyk, 1998	DFW
Muzrukova T.G., Nechaeva I.V. Popular dictionary of foreign words: about 5000 words. Edited by I.V. Nechaeva. Moscow, Azbukovnik, 1999	PDFW
Ozhegov S.I., Shvedova N.Iu. Dictionary of the Russian language. Moscow, Az'' Publishing house, 1992	DOSH
Russian semantic dictionary. Dictionary Systematized by Classes of Words and Meanings. Russian Academy of Sciences, Vinogradov Institute of Russian Language. Under the general editorship of N.Iu. Shvedova. Moscow, Azbukovnik, 1998	SEM
Dictionary of the Russian language. In 4 vols. Moscow, 1981 (Small Academic Dictionary)	SAD
Dictionary of modern Russian literary language. In 17 vols. Moscow-Leningrad, Nauka, 1950-1965 (Large Academic Dictionary)	LAD
Dictionary of the Russian Language: In 4 vols. Ed. by D.N. Ushakov. Moscow, Astrel Publishing House LLC, 2000 (Available at: ushakovdictionary.ru/word.php?wordid=84945)	DU
Dictionary of the Russian language of the late 20th century. Language changes. Ed. by G.N. Sklyarevskaya. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Linguistic Studies. St. Petersburg, Folio Press Publishing House, 1998	DLCh

ety. That is why at the first stage of the study, the analysis of dictionary data was carried out with the involvement of the most authoritative defining dictionaries (Tabl. 1).

Migration as a noun is represented by all dictionaries, although the compilers seriously differ in determining the number of values – from one (DOSH) to five (NDFW). At the same time, all lexicographic descriptions highlight the idea of 'displacement, change of residence'⁴ as the core component of meaning, indicating that *people, animals, chemical and biological elements, capital* can be moving elements. The differences in the presentation of the word as a mono- or polysemantic one are related only to whether the lexicographer considers 'the subject of movement' semantic component to be the basis for distinguishing between meanings, cf., for example:

DOSH: *Migration* (book.). Relocation, resettlement (about many things). *Population*

⁴ The interpretation of meanings, as is customary in linguistic works, is given in the so-called Marra quotes.

migration. Seasonal animal migrations. Fish migration. Cell migration (special).

NDFW:

- 1) relocation, displacement;
- 2) movement of animals caused by changes in living conditions;
- 3) movement of chemical elements in various zones and shells of the Earth;
- 4) various kinds of movement in the body, e.g. cellular elements in tissues;
- 5) movement of capital from one country to another or from one industry to another⁵.

(In the course of further analysis, the focus is naturally on only the first noun lexeme).

The words denoting movement in space have two others as mandatory semantic actants, namely, 'start point' and 'end point'.

Therefore, two "directive" nouns – *immigration / emigration* – are naturally borrowed (otherwise they would have to be created within the Russian language).

⁵ Hereinafter, only those fragments of interpretations that are necessary to illustrate the developed thesis are given.

As a result, speakers have at their disposal linguistic means that allow them to focus on any component of the described situation: on the idea of *moving* as such, on the idea of leaving the starting point, on the idea of reaching the end point. In the language of modern semantics, it is about about a change in communicative focus⁶:

migration = 'moving from point A to point B';
emigration = 'departure from point A to point B';
immigration = 'entry to point B from point A'.

It is curious that traditional dictionaries supply the word *migration* with literary (DOSH), historical, ethnographic (SAD) notes. Even the 2014 GD edition retains *ethnographic*, *sociological* notes. Thus, classical lexicography interprets this unit as a term meaning 'the movement of a population within or from one country to another' (GD). As the term should be, it does not have any internal prerequisites for the formation of evaluative connotations.

Only dictionaries of foreign words and DLCh, which contain no corresponding sty-

listic notes, behave somewhat differently; and there is a causal component of 'mass displacement, moving people from one place of residence to another **due to economic reasons, national oppression, natural disasters and catastrophes**' in the interpretation of DLCh.

It is interesting that the words *immigration* and *emigration* (as well as the words *immigrant* / *emigrant*, see below) are interpreted by the dictionaries "asymmetrically". Firstly, *immigration* as a noun is included in fewer sources; secondly, it is interpreted more "neutrally" than the antonym, cf.: *immigration* – "the entry of citizens of one state into another state for permanent or temporary (long-term) residence" (NDFW, PDFW) vs *emigration* – "forced or voluntary resettlement from one's fatherland to another country for political, economic or other reasons" (NDFW, PDFW, SAD, DOSh).

Even more surprising is the situation with the lexicographic fixation of the word *migrant*.

In the traditional and most popular dictionaries (DOSH, SAD) it simply does not exist. It was not included in the GD either, see the impressive picture from the Gramota.ru portal (Fig. 1).

⁶ "Participants move from light to shadow – and even into the complete darkness of pure implication – and vice versa, without changing their role in the situation" (Paducheva, 2004: 97).

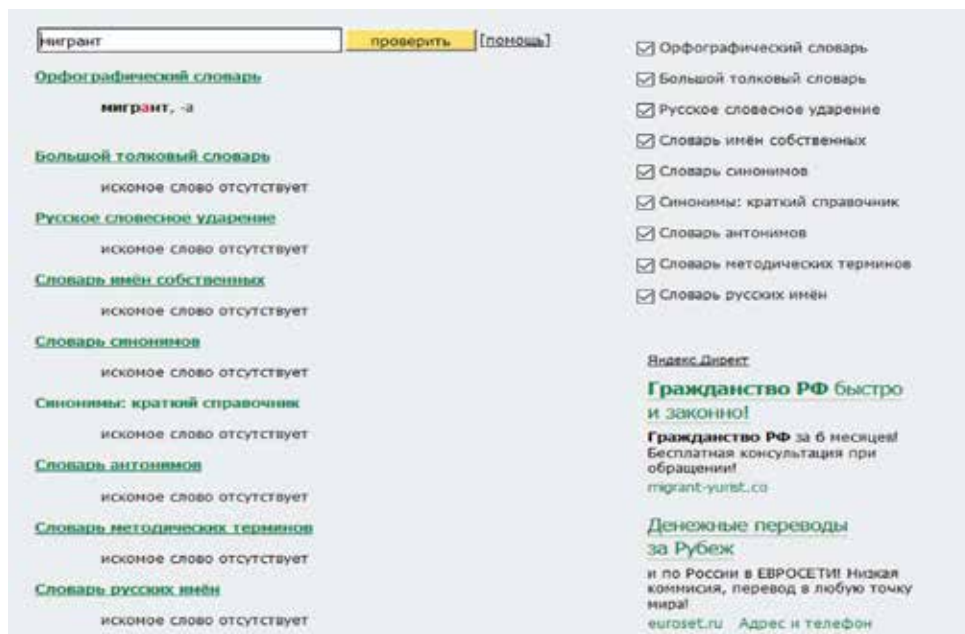


Fig. 1

The academic.ru portal, in the "Interpretations" section, offers 20 references to various sources, among which the leading encyclopedic type directories are "Demographic Encyclopedic Dictionary", "Encyclopedia of Law", "Dictionary of Business Terms", "Dictionary of Geography", "Big Legal Dictionary", "International Migration Law: Glossary of Terms", "Thesaurus of Russian Business Terms", etc. There is even a reference to the novel by Ukrainian science fiction writers Marina and Sergey Dyachenko "Migrant, or Brevi finietur" (2010). Against this background, the weak lexicographical elaboration of the corresponding concept is especially striking.

The word *migrant* is recorded in the dictionaries of foreign words (NDFW and PDFW), but it has not really been included in the dictionaries, as presented only in three, and in each case the interpretation contains some indicative features.

In SEM, it means only **internal** migration, see: *migrant* – 'a person moving **within** one's country from one place to another, from one locality to another (*A wave of migrants after an earthquake*)'. DLCh does not interpret the singular, referring to the plural: *migrant* – see *migrants*; DE presents the vocabulary in the form of the plural: *migrants* are 'people forced to leave their place of residence due to any unfavorable reasons (natural disasters, military operations, ethnic persecution, etc.⁷)'.

The use of the plural form is very representative, since **generalizing assimilation, generalization, which becomes the basis for pejorative exclusion**, should be considered the "functional-semantic center of such forms. The essence of the latter is that the speaker, negatively evaluating one or another object, brings this negative assessment to the limit by excluding the object from his cultural and / or value world and, therefore, alienates it, characterizing it as an element of another culture, alien and hostile to him (objectively or subjectively due to his own hostility), another alien world" (Penkovsky, 2004: 17).

As you can see, dictionaries in describing the meaning of the noun *migrant* begin to experience semantic and pragmatic fluctuations,

which are preserved when interpreting the "guiding" lexemes *immigrant* and *emigrant*. When describing the first, lexicographers are limited to indicating the components 'displacement' and 'end point': *immigrant* is a citizen of **one state who arrived in another state** for permanent or temporary (long-term) residence'; when describing the second in one form or another, the reasons for the displacement are given: *emigrant* is 'a person voluntarily or involuntarily relocated from his country to another' (NDFW, PDFW). Schematically, the strategy of the authors of the dictionaries can be represented as follows:

migrant = 'one who moved from point A to point B'

+ (in definition) 'forced'

+ (in definition) 'unfavorable reasons'

emigrant = 'the one who left point A to point B'

+ (in context) 'for political reasons) /

+ (in the definition of NDFW, PDFW 'voluntarily / involuntarily')

immigrant = 'one who entered point B from point A'

Thus, the analysis of lexicographic practice allows us to draw some intermediate conclusions regarding the specificity of the functioning of words associated with the designation of migration processes.

Firstly, to indicate the process itself and to identify the persons involved in it, the Russian language uses lexical triads that allow the speaker to put into the communicative focus any component of the situation ('moving', 'starting point', 'end point').

Secondly, along with these semantic components, the 'reason' component should be distinguished, which is reflected in the interpretations inconsistently, although this component, as will be shown below, ensures the formation of those pragmatic meanings that are regularly reproduced by the speakers.

Thirdly, the vocabulary of migration is perceived by the authors of the dictionaries as not quite mastered (as evidenced by stylistic notes), which cannot but cause doubts.

It seems that lexicographic descriptions do not quite adequately reflect the lexical meaning of the corresponding words that has formed

⁷ DLCh adds more economic reasons to this list.

to our time, "lag behind life". Justification and verification of this thesis is contained in the following sections of the article.

2. MIGRATION and MIGRANTS in the mirror of socio-political discourse

A study of the use of the considered substances in modern Russian speech was carried out on the basis of various types of texts.

2.1. Texts created as part of special projects:

- *Forum of resettlement organizations* (migrant.ru),
- *Migrants Portal* (<http://www.migration-patent.ru>),

- TASS project (<http://tass.ru/spec/refugee>).

An analysis of the peculiarities of word usage shows that the authors of texts posted on the named portals use the words *immigrants*, *migrants*, *refugees*, *compatriots* in an undifferentiated way, see several illustrative examples.

Below is the main page of the *Forum of Migration Organizations*: cf. the name of the forum, its "decoding" (*International Public Movement for the Promotion of Migrants*), email address, slogan, tag cloud, project name *Migrant! This name should sound proud* (Fig. 2).

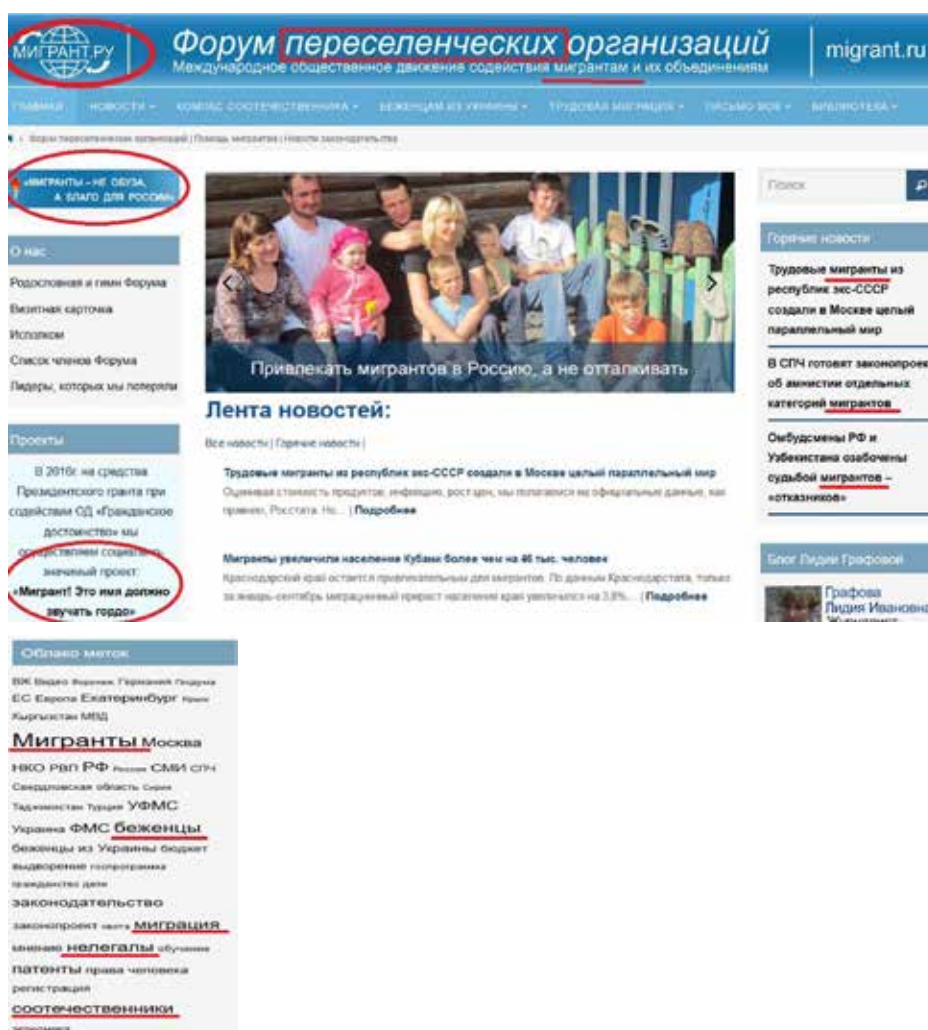


Fig. 2

The analyzed vocabulary is also used in numerous publications; see, for example, *Migrant communities began to arise in the former republics of the Soviet Union even before they left for Russia, when the earth began to burn underfoot. Once in their historical homeland, most of the settlers did not know anything about each other. The idea of joining forces had long ripened in the minds of Russian migrants* (Forum Pedigree); "... It so happened that for as many as 25 years (a quarter of a century!) the tragedy of **compatriots** who returned to Russia and turned out to be unnecessary for me has become the main topic not only in journalism, but also in life" (description of the project "Migrant! This name must sound proud" by L. Grafova).

As follows from the above examples, a site that positions itself as dealing (and which really deals) mainly with the problems of *immigrants* in the terminological sense of the word does not experience lexical hesitation in the choice of nouns. Text authors, accustomed by the school curriculum to avoid tautology, do this by neglecting the semantic differences of words or not considering it necessary to articulate them.

Similarly, it is possible to comment on the nature of the word usage on the website of the special TASS project available at: tass.ru/spec/refugee. The program article, "The Refugee Problem: The UN is Sounding the Alarm", begins with a focus on the exact differentiation of concepts⁸: definitions are placed immediately after the lead a link to the UN Refugee Convention is available (https://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/conventions/refugees.shtml).

Nevertheless, even in the lead we can read:

The migration of the population as a result of wars, economic turmoil and natural disasters began not today and will not end tomorrow – the process of finding safe conditions for life in recent years by people has been increasing in several regions of the planet. This encourages governments and international organizations to look for answers to serious challenges related

⁸ **Migrant** is a person making a resettlement, changing his place of residence within a country or moving from one country to another, most often due to economic, political, national legal instability. The term **refugee** means all persons who left their home country in which they lived on a permanent basis due to extraordinary circumstances and reasons.

to the need to accommodate refugees and their integration in new places of residence. Along the way, we have to solve problems such as the safety of migrants, which was especially evident in the operation to rescue those in distress in the Mediterranean Sea. Reports published by the UN and other organizations on this subject clearly indicate that the problem of migrants and refugees is becoming more acute, and, alas, no solution has yet been found.

It is clear that in the 2nd and 3rd sentences the terms are used as exact synonyms, but in the 3rd one there are *migrants and refugees*. Similarly, in the following fragment, *During the first six months of 2015, 137 thousand migrants and refugees arrived in Europe across the Mediterranean Sea...*

Then, strictly speaking, there are ambiguities in understanding: are these different groups of people or one? See further, *Until this year ... the main flow of migrants and refugees had been directed to Italy. Last year, about 170 thousand people arrived in this country across the Mediterranean Sea*. Does the author distinguish two different categories among these 170 thousand people? The question remains unanswered.

Thus, on the TASS project website (as well as on the website of *the Forum of Migration Organizations*), the intention of distinguishing concepts, even formulated explicitly and as if reflected, is not maintained in real usage.

2.2. Texts extracted from The Russian National Corpus (ruscorpora.ru)

Further, the study of socio-political discourse was carried out using corpus analysis: in particular, the use of the word *migrant* in the main corpus of the Russian Language and in the newspaper corpus was examined.

The **main corpus** includes prosaic (including dramaturgy) written texts of the 18th – early 21st centuries; the **newspaper corpus** (the corpus of modern media) includes articles from the media of the 1990-2000s.

There are two words about the national corpus for non-specialists.

"The corpus is an information and reference system based on a collection of texts in

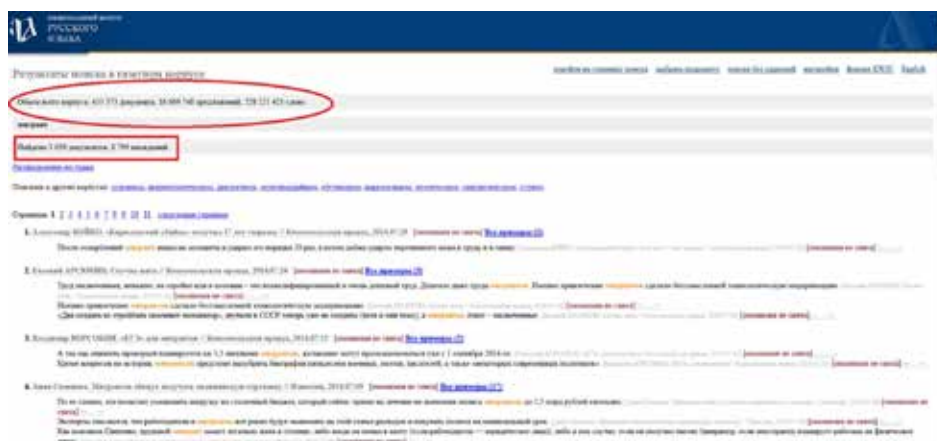


Fig. 3

a certain language in electronic form. The national corpus represents this language at a certain stage (or stages) of its existence and in the whole variety of genres, styles, territorial and social options, etc.

The national corpus has two important features.

Firstly, it is characterized by representativeness, or a balanced composition of texts. This means that the corpus contains, to the extent possible, all types of written and spoken texts represented in the given language (fiction of different genres, journalistic, educational, scientific, business, conversational, dialect, etc.), and that all these texts are included in the corpus if possible in proportion to their share in the language of the corresponding period.

Secondly, the corpus contains special additional information about the properties of the texts included in it (the so-called markup, or annotation). Marking is the main characteristic of the case; it distinguishes the case from simple collections (or "libraries") of texts. <...> The national corpus, in contrast to the electronic library, is not a collection of "interesting" or "useful" texts; this is a collection of texts that are interesting or useful for learning the language" (available at: ruscorpora.ru/new/corpora-structure.html).

For the analysis, a number of search queries were formulated. The query with the noun *migrant* was selected as the source. The main

corpus contains 1017 entries, the newspaper corpus includes 8799 entries⁹, see Fig. 3.

The distribution by year is as follows (Fig. 4).

The corpus allows specifying queries, which gives the researcher additional opportunities to optimize the search process.

2.2.1. Firstly, it is possible **to find out what migrants do, according to the media**, or, in other words, to evaluate the contexts in which *migrants* are assigned the role of the subject. To do this, the request is formulated as follows: **migrant nom (sg, pl) + V¹⁰** (Fig. 5).

Then the material is sorted for ease of analysis: below the examples are grouped so that the word of interest to us comes first, and all the verbs are sorted alphabetically (Fig. 6).

Next, contexts are typified taking into account the semantics of verbs (in this case, since the tasks being solved are outside the scope of linguistics, only frequency uses are considered, single contexts are not taken into account).

The analysis shows that **the actual subjective meaning** is realized with several groups of verbs.

Migrants

- move: *illegal migrants arrive with their children; come from the former republics of*

⁹ Further, all data is provided on request from 01/19/2019.

¹⁰ The above formula defines a search that should find contexts in which the noun *migrant* in the form of the nominative singular or plural (see *nom, sg, pl*) is combined with the verb (see + V).

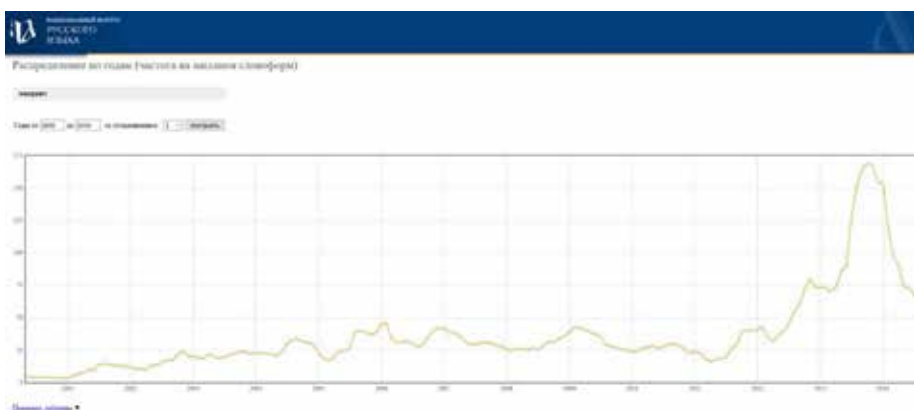


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

*the USSR; **got** to Moscow; **replenish** the population of Russia;*

- rooted: migrants settled / settling in Russia; remaining in the area;

- work: migrants **work** 10-14 hours; perform **work**; **rebuilt** a new city; **operate** in a new market segment;

- benefit the host society: they will help preserve the population of Russia, can save a rapidly becoming empty country; will bring substantial income to Russia, stimulate the development of the economy;

- earn and transfer money: labor migrants transferred 27 billion to Ukraine; provide an

influx of hard currency; entered into fierce competition; the migrant opens a special card account;

- commit crimes, damage the host state, behave immorally (and therefore become an object of hatred): migrants take away jobs; take away work; live on benefits; every Moscow illegal migrant harms the city; migrants interfere, annoy; commit a large percentage of crime, commit dozens of crimes, violate the law, create a criminal situation, pose a threat; barbecue in unsuitable places; carry terrible diseases; rape, have become brutalized; have become a "natural" object of hatred.

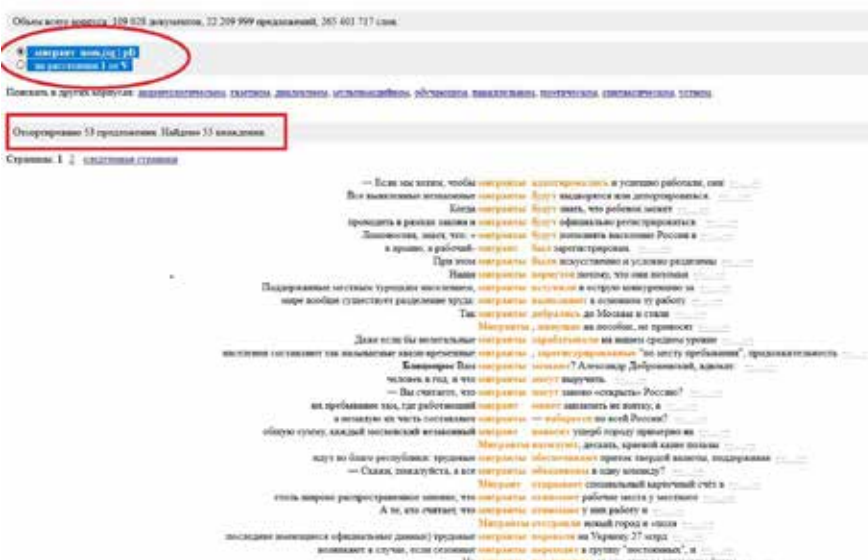


Fig. 6

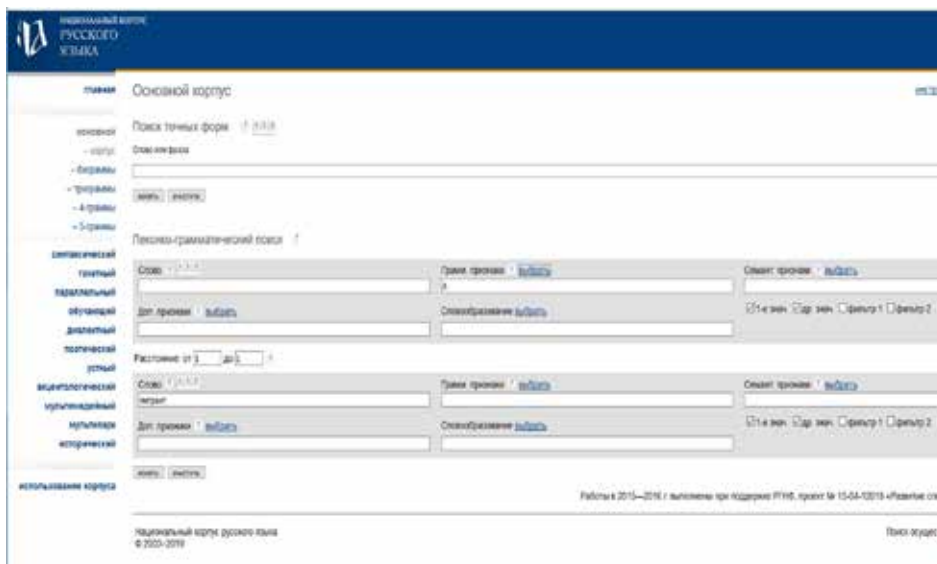


Fig. 7

2.2.2. Another type of request allows us to understand what attributes the modern press gives migrants, with what quantitative words this noun is combined, etc. We give one more fragment of the analysis.

The query formula *A + migrant* searches for such uses in which the noun *migrant* is preceded by any adjective (*A*) (Fig. 7).

As a result, 317 entries were identified in the main corpus and 2606 in the newspaper one.

Adjectives combined with the analyzed noun give an assessment according to the following parameters: 'legality' / 'illegality' of staying in the country; type of movement (outside / inside the country); field of activity.

In the examples below, quantitative indicators characterize the search results in the main (before the + sign) and newspaper (after the + sign) corpuses:

illegal migrants (57 + 261 = 318);

illegitimate migrants (50 + 91 = 141);

legal migrants (14);

legitimate (1);

labor (72 + 380 = 452);

work (6 + 10 = 16);

economic (3 + 2 = 5);

environmental (+ 2);

training (5);

external (1 + 3);

international (11);

foreign (1 + 10);

abroad (1);

specifying a country, for example,

Afghan, African, Brazilian, Uzbek (20 + 10 + 13 + 12);

domestic / intra-Russian / intra-regional (8 + 11);

Russia's / Russian (5).

A fairly representative group of examples is also formed by the phrase *forced migrants* (25 + 5).

2.2.3. Very representative data is found by searching for **S + migrant, gen (sing, plur)**: such constructions are a metaphorical rethinking of the spontaneous movement of a mass of matter (water, snow, etc.): *wave / influx / flow / shaft / avalanche of migrants*. This metaphor explicates the idea of a threat, a growing danger, cf. the following expressive examples, *Central Asia is beginning to be perceived as a region, from where more and more waves of migrants are coming that threaten the culture and the very prospects of preserving Russia; A large / colossal / huge wave of migrants threatens to wash away Europe; Europeans are washed away by a shaft of migrants; "The Ninth Wave" of migrants, which has swept Europe, is already called a catastrophe; Today it is only necessary to open the legislative window, and we will literally be blown away by a shaft of migrants; The end of Europe: destruction under the avalanche of migrants.*

The lexical environment of the analyzed metaphorical constructions is also indicative

here: in all contexts of this kind, words that actualize the semantics of *threat, catastrophe, and death* are widely used.

Thus, corpus analysis allows identifying the main thematic fields of vocabulary in which the word *migrant* is embedded. Distracting from the specific form of expression and methods of "grammatical packaging", these fields can be represented by the following list:

- 'relocation' (with the implementation of semantic components 'from' and 'to');
- 'accommodation and work';
- 'making money and transferring it to their homeland';
- 'a large number of';
- 'crime and domestic offenses';
- 'threat to the indigenous population' / 'threat to European civilization'.

3. MIGRATION and MIGRANTS in the mirror of extremist discourse

A special place in the circle of reviewed texts is occupied by materials directed to the Department of Russian Language and General Linguistics of the Institute of Philology, Foreign Languages and Media Communication of Irkutsk State University for conducting judicial linguistic examinations in order to establish

(a) the presence or absence of linguistic means by which public calls for extremist activities are realized;

(b) the ability to qualify the materials presented as aimed at inciting hatred or enmity, to humiliating the dignity of a person or group of persons on the grounds of gender, race, nationality, language, origin.

Such materials do not include only texts in the narrow sense of the word, but also other objects that combine elements of several semi-otic systems, namely, videos, posters, comics, etc.

In the framework of this study, we are not very interested in texts that contain explicit indicators of the "hostile language", such as

- negative derogatory names of a person or a group of persons as representatives of a certain nationality, ethnic group, race (*wog, gook, chink, kike, chump*);

- language forms and constructions used to create a negative image of these people and to express hostile or aggressive attitude towards them (see *Tajik* poster below);
- statements about the antagonism of representatives of one national, ethnic, racial group in relation to representatives of another; thus, in the song "Moscow is not Brooklyn", the alleged image of the future is depicted, in which, according to the author, immigrants will constitute the majority in power structures (*They came as cheap labor, // And they will remain here as the ruling class*); oust the Russian nation (*Our nation will be gradually exterminated // And will be ousted by the nation of gooks // Soon there will be more of them than the Russian people*) and will exploit its representatives (*Already you will work for them for a penny, And they, bitches, will become oppressors of the masses; Gooks are the majority, while Russians are in fetters*);
- incitement to violent actions against persons belonging to a certain nationality, ethnic group, race (see the *Pogrom* poster below).

Here we restrict ourselves to two expressive examples from the so-called "Belyi Bukvar'" (Fig. 8, 9).

Tajik

*Here is Tajik, bad and dirty,
All smeared in paint.
He doesn't know how to work,
A tolerant man regrets him:
"Ah, Tajik, poor guy,
Your life is so awful here!
Skins want to kill you
And abuse your girls!"
Only a stupid tolerant man
Can't understand
That our people can't bear dirty Tajiks,
Full of vile dope,
And suppress them not just for nothing,
We hate their faces!
... well, tolerant men too!*

Pogrom

*Everything about gooks is very simple:
A gook is the raw material for the Holocaust!
So, brother, take a scrap
And arrange a pogrom!*

It is important, however, to emphasize that in those texts that contain no offensive nominations, derogatory characteristics, direct calls for violence, the same complex of xenophobic stereotypes is realized.



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

Here is one illustrative example.

The video "Appeal of the Slavic Union fighters to Russians" is really built as an *appeal*, that is, 'an official appeal, a speech to a wide audience, to the people' [SEM]; 'request, appeal, speech addressed to someone, smth.' [SAD]: the speaker, shown in close-up, delivers a short speech that ends with words accompanied by an index gesture, *Russian man! I appeal to you. If you want to change something, then start with yourself. Stop drinking bad beer, stop smoking, and stop using drugs. Do some sports.*

This "call for a healthy lifestyle" is preceded by the following text:

*The fact is that it is no secret to anyone that our city has been **overwhelmed by a real plague**. These are **whole hordes** of illegal immigrants: Tajiks, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, and the worst thing is those who come from the Caucasus. For example, Dagestanis, Ingush, Chechens.*

Well, for those who forgot: we fought with them for many years. Unfortunately, these people, because of their ethnic characteristics, hate the indigenous population, hate us, Russians. In principle, it is understandable, because, unfortunately, our new generation of young people, the so-called Pepsi generation, lead a fairly marginal lifestyle. They use drugs. They smoke, drink ... Unfortunately, it means that now the Russian people are associated only with alcohol, beer and drugs. Due to the fact that all immigrants from the Caucasus are, as a rule, professional athletes, naturally, such a Russian person does not cause any respect in their eyes. And what's the most annoying is that they judge us all by such people.

The theme of migration is introduced here by the words *plague* (trans. 'About an **extremely dangerous, disastrous** social phenomenon' [BAD]) and *hordes* ('a **huge**, usually **enemy army** [GD]¹¹). The meaning of the first noun is supported by the verb *overwhelm*, 'capture, absorb' [SAD] and the adjective *real* 'representing the complete likeness of someone, anything' [SAD]; the meaning

of the second word is enhanced by the adjective *whole* 'similar to anything in importance; real' [SAD].

It is clear that this vocabulary is used to actualize the idea of the illegality of staying on the territory of the country of those who are called *illegal immigrants*, representatives of the nationalities listed below, *These are whole hordes of illegal immigrants: Tajiks, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, and the worst thing is those who come from the Caucasus. For example, Dagestanis, Ingush, Chechens.*

Despite the fact that the author uses evaluative neutral ethnonyms, he finds other ways to introduce ideas about the antagonism of the groups *Us – Them* and about the threat to the indigenous population from migrants. These semantic components are contained, as already noted, in the semantic structure of the words *plague*, *overwhelmed*, *hordes* (see the highlighted parts of definitions above), as well as in a fragment of the second statement, that is *the worst thing is those who come from the Caucasus*. The following statement confirms, *Unfortunately, these people, because of their ethnic characteristics, hate the indigenous population, us, Russians*. It is important that *hatred of the Russians* is presented by the speaker as something genetically inherent in the named peoples (this is indicated by the use of the expression **due to its ethnic characteristics**, introduced by a causal pretext). This idea is based on the statement, which in the text of the video is immediately before the above: ... *we fought with them for many years*.

Consequently, in the fragment examined, the idea is drawn up that *Tajiks, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks and ... immigrants from the Caucasus* are something like an enemy army (*whole hordes*), while it is *immigrants from the Caucasus* that are characterized as representing the greatest threat to the indigenous population.

Opposition of *Us – Them* is revealed, which, however, is not surprising in the vast majority of texts belonging to extremist discourse. Here are a few more quotes from the above song "Moscow is not Brooklyn", which has a characteristic "epigraph" *dedicated to all immigrants*.

¹¹ In most contexts, this word is combined with lexemes denoting something negative (cf., for example: *hordes of flies*, *hordes of ragged people*).

Cheap labor

*Drives the population of Russia into the grave.
We have nowhere to work, we have nothing to eat.*

*There is only one choice – to gradually die out.
There are thousands of us, millions of them
They work for us, and we get into prison.*

.....
They come to one house, then live at another one,

And we can't get rid of them.

*They rent an apartment, one for the whole vil-
lage,*

Why are you here, who pulled them here?

Moscow is already cramped for them.

Which city is next, oooh, are you interested?

"It doesn't matter", "Uh, in fact, yes" –

And they captured Russia all without difficulty.

Looking harmless, but accumulating anger

Slaves, they will soon want their freedom.

Thee will receive it and become rulers,

*After a couple of generations – the indigenous
people.*

Moscow will be renamed Gook-City,

But you don't care, you keep silent.

.....
*Everyone is moving to Moscow, everyone, ev-
eryone who feels like it,*

Thus casting a dirty shadow on it.

*There are more visitors than indigenous people
here,*

*There are fewer participants, and more view-
ers.*

Thus, the study of materials aimed at lin-
guistic examination in connection with the

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need to establish the presence or absence of signs of extremism in them makes it possible to detect typical collocations that embody the connotations of the words *migrant*, *emigrant*, *immigrant*, and allows us to state that all "classical" stereotypes of xenophobic consciousness remain relevant.

Conclusion

An analysis of several fundamentally different groups of sources allows us to formulate some generalizations.

The vocabulary of the modern Russian language used to describe the conceptual field of *migration* is characterized by a sufficient degree of development: the existing lexical triads make it possible to focus on any of the components of the situation ('displacement', 'start point', 'end point').

Lexicographical practice, however, reveals a certain incompleteness of interpretations, a lack of consistency, and an insufficient degree of reflection of the concepts in question. This is indirect evidence of the fact that academic linguistics does not have time to reflect those complex social processes that significantly affect the formation of relevant lexical meanings.

A comparison of socio-political and extremist discourse allows us to argue that in the ways of understanding *migration* they have significant similarities at the deep level, differing only in the degree of explicitness and the choice of lexical designations (more or less politically correct in the first case and "brutal" in the second one).

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Миграция и мигранты: «когда слова провозят мысль контрабандой»

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена исследованию семантической области миграции и соответствующему ей кругу лексических обозначений. Основная задача статьи – обнаружить те представления о миграции и мигрантах, которые воплощены в лексических значениях слов, являющихся главными средствами номинации данных понятий и / или профилирующих их отдельные грани. Для решения этой задачи осуществлен анализ лексики, обозначающей понятия, связанные с феноменом миграции, предпринята попытка осмыслить эволюцию этих понятий, выявить вызываемые ими доминантные образы и реакции. Анализ осуществляется на материале (1) словарей русского языка; (2) текстов, извлеченных из Национального корпуса русского языка и различных интернет-ресурсов; (3) текстов, рассмотренных в ходе производства лингвистических экспертиз в связи с необходимостью выявления наличия или отсутствия признаков экстремизма. Показывается, что в способах осмысления миграции общественно-политический и экстремистский дискурсы обнаруживают существенное сходство на глубинном уровне, различаясь лишь степенью эксплицитности и выбором лексических обозначений (более или менее политкорректных в первом случае и «брутальных» – во втором).

Ключевые слова: миграция, мигрант, лексическая семантика, лексикография, общественно-политический дискурс, экстремистский дискурс, корпусный анализ, когнитивный анализ.

Научная специальность: 22.00.00 – социологические науки.