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Research article

Symbolization of paper in the Russian language and culture

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Abstract. The relevance of the linguistic-cultural description of the symbolization of paper is due to the extremely high significance of this phenomenon in institutional and personal communication, its multifaced evaluative characteristics, its influence on the development of society and civilization. The considered paper symbolization is understood as the development of associative evaluative potential of the corresponding concept. It is realized in the Russian linguistic consciousness in the following directions: a document that determines the fate of a person; creativity requiring inspiration; short-lived and easily inflammable material. The material of the study includes the data of explanatory, encyclopedic, and associative dictionaries, examples from Russian National Corpus, proverbs, sayings, aphorisms, and poetic texts. The authors used methods of semantic, contextual, interpretative, and linguistic-cultural analysis. The aim of the study is to determine the conceptual, figurative-perceptual, and evaluative characteristics of the concept “paper”, to show the symbolization of paper in the artistic text. The study showed that the collective and individual consciousness has extremely negative attitude to documents and laws restricting the freedom of people. The evaluation of creativity is reduced to proclamation of its super value, inadmissibility of imitation. Understanding short-lived nature of any paper material requires careful handling. For symbolization, the functional characteristics of paper appear to be more significant than physical ones. The prospects of the study are further linguistic-cultural study of paper symbolization in modern communication tools.

Keywords: symbol, concept, evaluation, image, Russian linguistic consciousness, linguistic-cultural tradition

Author’s contribution: *Karasik V.I.* — the concept of the research, the definition of the aim, tasks and methodology of the research; *Shaklein V.M.* — literature review, writing and editing the text of the article.

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Introduction

Unlike a sign, a symbol, is not conditionally related to the subject of designation, but contains at least partial information about the subject it symbolizes.

Many researchers study symbols since these studies are aimed at identifying the value-significant characteristics of reality that determine the key reference points of worldview. The definition of the word “symbol” in the context of philosophy is given in the “Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary” (Averintsev, 1983). Losev analyzes the concept of “symbol”, its internal logic, and its correlation with reality (Losev, 1995). Lotman considers symbol in the system of culture (Lotman, 2000). Ivanov focuses on the symbolic function of language and semiogenesis of symbolic forms (Ivanov, 2002). Morris draws attention to the differences between iconic signs and symbols (Morris, 2001). In his definition of “symbol”, Pearce compares concepts “icon” and “index” (Pearce, 2000). Rozin analyzes symbols in the context of world history, art, culture, human psyche, and esoteric perceptions (Rozin, 2001). Shelestyuk reviews the linguistic works on symbols (Shelestyuk, 1997). Yakushevich offers her own typology of symbols on the linguistic-cognitive basis (Yakushevich, 2012).

The understanding of the symbol in linguistics develops as a consistent expansion of the evaluative component in the content of the concept as a quantum of experienced knowledge. The meaning of the concept in cultural linguistics from general theoretical positions is considered in (Vorkachev, 2014). The key concepts of Russian culture and its communicative value are described by Dementiev (Dementiev, 2013). Demyanov considers the concept from the point of view of the philosophy of language and cognitive linguistics (Demyanov, 2007). Karasik aims to show the concept as a complex phenomenon with conceptual, figurative, and evaluative layers (Karasik, 2004). Krasavsky focuses on various aspects of the concept, and the emotional concepts of Russian and German linguistic cultures are in the center of the study (Krasavsky, 2008). Pimenova developed her own methodology of concept research (Pimenova, 2007). Linguistic-cultural

concepts and meta-concepts as a representation of global cultural experience are the basis of G.G. Slyshkin's dissertation research (Slyshkin, 2004). Stepanov's "Dictionary of Russian Culture" (Stepanov, 1997) systematizes the notions and concepts reflecting the main values of Russian culture. Sternin's monograph (Sternin, 2008) studies the peculiarities of human thinking from the point of view of cognitive linguistics, in particular, how concepts are involved in the thinking process.

Similar is the development from the initial interpretation of a particular sign (initial semiotic understanding of the symbol, according to Peirce) to the comprehension of the place of this sign in the value picture of the world of a person and community (understanding of the artistic symbol, according to Averintsev and Losev). Symbolization as the development of the figurative and evaluative content of the concept has linguistic-cultural significance, determining the dominants of worldview in the linguistic picture of the world. Vereshchagin and Kostomarov present comprehensive consideration of the correlation between language and culture (Vereshchagin, Kostomarov, 2005). The theoretical and practical foundations of cultural linguistics as a science are developed by Vorobyev (Vorobyev, 1997). Shaklein (Shaklein, 2012) highlights the historical path of cultural linguistics as a discipline, suggests actual methods of implementing the linguistic-cultural approach in science.

Collective and individual consciousness demonstrate a metaphorical power of this or that concept (eyes are often metaphorized, but eyelashes are apparently not). Similarly, we can point out the symbolic gradation of various objects (a sword often becomes a symbol, expressing valuable comprehension of armed struggle, while a screwdriver can hardly be considered a socially significant sign). Paper is an object that is significant in linguistic and cultural aspect; it significantly influenced the development of civilization.

The invention of paper is the iconic event in the life of mankind as well as the emergence of electricity, radio, automobile, telephone, and computer. Paper was at the origins of these and many other achievements. It was paper that was the basis for printing, development and dissemination of literature, science, art, music, painting; paper made books and knowledge more accessible to the widest strata of society, promoted the spread of literacy, education, the formation of management systems, office work, and document management.

Paper plays a huge role in the spiritual life of society. The Bible and the Koran are written on paper. Thanks to paper, the cumulative function

of language is realized; paper helped accumulate, preserve, transfer, and disseminate knowledge on an unprecedented scale. Figuratively speaking, thanks to paper products a person is formed as a personality, including linguistic personality. In addition, paper has a utilitarian function. As one of the cleanest environmental products to be recycled, it preserves food and medicines. And in the age of digital and other technologies, paper is still important.

Paper is one of the essential symbols of human existence, the most important component of collective and individual consciousness.

According to our data, the symbolization of paper has not yet been the subject of a comprehensive linguistic-cultural study.

The aim of the study is to characterize the conceptual, figurative-perceptual, and evaluative features of the concept “paper”, to present the symbolization of paper in the poetic text.

Methods and materials

The methodology of describing the symbolization of paper includes the following stages and procedures: (a) determination of conceptual, figurative-perceptual, and value characteristics of this concept according to the data of explanatory, encyclopedic, associative dictionaries of the Russian language, Russian National Corpus, proverbs, sayings, and aphorisms. This methodological attitude is effectively realized in the methods of semantic, contextual, interpretative, and linguistic-cultural analysis. Paper, as well as other concepts of man-made materials, is symbolized in the following directions: its functional purpose, its physical characteristics, metonymic and metaphorical transfers, its critical evaluation as a material and as a carrier of information.

Results

As a result of the conducted conceptological description of paper in Russian linguistic-cultural tradition, the main conceptual, figurative-perceptual, and evaluative features of the considered mental formation are analyzed; the peculiarities of paper symbolization in the linguistic consciousness of the typified Russian speakers are characterized; their interrelation and discursive specificity in the poetic text are shown.

In conceptual terms, paper is a material for various kinds of human activity, a written document, or sheets with handwritten text.

The figurative and perceptual understanding of paper implies both typed and handwritten texts, its functional varieties, and physical properties. The examples from the texts generally confirm the characteristics of paper highlighted in the dictionary entries. Physical and functional characteristics of paper are the most frequent and predominant for its symbolization in the individual linguistic consciousness of Russian speakers.

The analysis of the evaluative characteristics of paper in the Russian linguistic picture of the world is mainly based on proverbs, sayings, and aphorisms. In proverbs, as a rule, those features are reduced to the rejection of unfair judicial proceedings, in aphorisms, to the critical attitude to verbose texts and the idea of creative inspiration.

The symbolization of paper in poetic texts is connected with the possibility of creative self-expression of the author.

Discussion

Conceptual and figurative-perceptual characteristics of the concept “paper”

The conceptual characteristics of paper are seen in the following dictionary definition:

Paper – 1. A material for writing, printing, drawing, various household needs, etc., which is made of wood, rag, etc. pulp, a separate sheet of this material, as well as a set of such sheets. Sheets of such material with an image of something printed on them. 2. Any written official document. Colloquial. Passport, birth certificate, as well as all that can certify identity. 3. Any sheets with handwritten text¹.

The above definition contains the following attributes of this concept: 1) functional use of paper (writing, printing, drawing, and household needs); 2) material from which paper is made; 3) document written or printed on paper; 4) paper sheets with handwritten text.

The Great Russian Encyclopedia provides the following information:

Paper (probably from Italian bambágia ‘cotton’), a thin sheet material formed by haphazardly interwoven and bound together plant fibers, containing non-fiber additives (fillers, gluing, dyeing, bleaching and other substances) to impart specific properties. Any paper should have a uniform thickness; clean, without wrinkles,

¹ Morkovkin, V. V. (Ed.). (2016). *Big universal dictionary of the Russian language*. Moscow: AST-PRESS BOOK.

stains and other damage, smooth surface, well perceiving printing ink; a certain whiteness or uniform color, opacity and light resistance, sufficient mechanical strength, and minimum abrasion.

According to archaeological data, paper was known in China no later than the 2nd century B.C. Tradition attributes the invention of paper to the name of the court counselor Tsai Lun, who in 105 A.D. proposed to cast a sheet of paper by precipitating on a silk net an aqueous suspension of mulberry husk ground in a stone mortar. The prepared mass was laid out on a wooden board and placed under a press, then dried. Silk fabric scraps, scraps of silk nets and silkworm cocoons also served as raw material for paper. Paper, along with silk, was used for writing, as well as for making fans, screens, umbrellas, lanterns, money signs, tightening window openings, etc. In 751, Chinese craftsmen captured by the Arabs at the Battle of Talas established paper production in Samarkand. Then paper appeared in Baghdad, Damascus, Yemen, Egypt, replacing less convenient writing materials, parchment and papyrus².

This text clarifies the composition and important physical characteristics of paper, its appearance, the technology of its manufacture, and sphere of its application.

In European languages, English, German and French, the word for paper (*paper*, *Papier*, *papier*) is derived from the Greek name of the plant “papyrus”, which was used to make writing material in ancient Egypt. In Chinese, paper as material for writing 纸 [zhi] and paper as a document 文件 [wen jian] are contrasted. The basis of the character zhi is the concept of silk, which was used for writing before the invention of paper (people also wrote on bamboo and turtle shells). The designation of paper as a document (wen jian) reveals its purpose, to be a material for culture transmission (the hieroglyph contains keys to the concepts “culture” + “document”).

Figurative and perceptual characteristics of paper are reflected in the following statements from Russian National Corpus (ruscorpora.ru).

Paper is used primarily for writing or drawing:

And now here is a pen, paper, you may write to your family (Y. Davydov)³.

² *Big Russian Encyclopedia*. Retrieved December 15, 2024, from <https://bigenc.ru/>

³ Davydov, Y. (1988–1989). *Blue Tulips*. Retrieved December 16, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

According to the authors of the book, paper can still protect information (V. Prozorova)⁴.

I really like the paper from school drawing albums (N. Chernykh)⁵.

The text on paper can be either handwritten or typed:

They are typed in small font; the author seems to be afraid that the paper would not be able to accomodate the thoughts that need to be said in time (D. Roschenya)⁶

There are functional varieties of paper:

With sadness, he recalled the distant years of teaching, when there were notebooks piled in his bookcase, clean and half-written, and paper, plain (for daily use), ruled (for spelling), bleached (for exam papers), waxed (for wrapping books), lay in stacks on the table and in the cupboard (G. Yakhina)⁷.

Paper is used as a basis for gluing reconstructed mosaics:

Paper glued on the back side of the plates delaminates, and mosaics comes off (T. Matveeva)⁸.

Sandpaper is used for processing some products:

Pity and reproaches scraped the soul like sandpaper (V. Tokareva)⁹.

The physical characteristics of paper are clarified:

Printed invitations differed from peaceful ones only in that the gray, loose paper was very bad, and the ticket did not indicate the place of the meeting (V. Grossman)¹⁰.

The cover is hard, heavy, and the paper is offset, dense, of the highest quality (F. Oshevnev)¹¹.

It's a pity that the paper of my books shredded because it was made of sawdust... (A. Titov)¹².

⁴ Prozorova, V. B. (2017). Polemics on the book by Sh. Kecskemeti, L. Körmendi “Written Flying Away: Problems of Paper and Digital Archive Storage”. *Information Society*. Retrieved December 16, 2024, from [https://ruscorpора.ru/](https://ruscorpورا.ru/)

⁵ Chernykh, N. B. (2015). *Weak, Strong. Pt 1. Volga*. Retrieved December 16, 2024, from <https://ruscorpора.ru/>

⁶ Roschenya, D. (2017). Alexander Shmorel: I fulfilled my mission in this life. *Pravmir*. Retrieved December 16, 2024, from <https://ruscorpора.ru/>

⁷ Yakhina, G. (2018). *My Children*. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from <https://ruscorpора.ru/>

⁸ Matveeva, T. (1988). *Restoration of joinery and furniture*. Retrieved December 16, 2024, from <https://ruscorpора.ru/>

⁹ Tokareva, V. (2002). His Own Truth. *Novy Mir*. Retrieved December 16, 2024, from <https://ruscorpора.ru/>

¹⁰ Grossman, V. (1960) *Life and Fate, Pt 2*. Retrieved December 16, 2024, from <https://ruscorpора.ru/>

¹¹ Oshevnev, F. (2016). Bookseller's Notes. *Kovcheg*. Retrieved December 15, 2024, from <https://ruscorpора.ru/>

¹² Titov, A. M. (2015). Dormitory for writers. *Volga*. Retrieved December 15, 2024, from <https://ruscorpора.ru/>

Paper burns and can be torn:

It is very difficult to do because written paper burns reluctantly (M. Bulgakov)¹³.

Why is wet paper torn more easily than dry paper? (V. Lukashik, E. Ivanova)¹⁴.

Paper has a special odor:

It smells not to say divine; it is usual library smell, of book dust and old paper, but ... there is something else, some note I can't guess (V. Orlova)¹⁵.

The taste of paper is considered unpleasant:

Of course, it is better to drink cappuccino from a cup, when nothing is added to the taste of coffee (paper — yuck!), and, of course, it is better not to drink cappuccino with a cake (N. Chistyakov)¹⁶.

Used and unnecessary paper becomes garbage:

Everything that is not subject to long-term storage, paper, glass, plastic, should be recycled (N. Maletin)¹⁷.

Remember that wasted paper will rot only in two years, glass and cans will last for 30 years, and polyethylene almost does not decompose (V. Marushin)¹⁸.

Paper is made of wood:

Explain your child that glass is made of sand, bricks are made of clay, paper is made of wood; rubber, plastics, and gasoline are made of oil (A. Ponomareva)¹⁹.

The physical and functional characteristics of paper as a document are clarified:

¹³ Bulgakov, M.A. (1929–1940). *The Master and Margarita. Pt 1*. Retrieved December 16, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

¹⁴ Lukashik, V., & Ivanova, E. (2003). *Collection of tasks on Physics. 7–9 grades*. Retrieved December 16, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

¹⁵ Orlova, V. (2015). *Book Fairy from Rybalov*. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

¹⁶ Chistyakov, N. (2018). How to talk to baristas and what to order in a coffee shop. *Afisha Daily*. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

¹⁷ Maletin, N. (2003). Consumer basket for garbage. *Delovoy kvartal*. Retrieved December 19, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

¹⁸ Marushin, V.A. (2016). *Along the Belaya River to the pearl of the Urals, Shulgan-Tash cave*. Retrieved December 19, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

¹⁹ Ponomaryova, A.V. (2021). *How to form your child's outlook. Memo for parents*. Retrieved December 19, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

The paper was thick, the seal was large, and in general it was as if it was not a summons at all, but an invitation ticket to the tribune on May Day (Y. Dombrovsky)²⁰.

In the end she took out the passport and handed it over with some chewed paper. The paper turned out to be a photocopy of an inheritance certificate (A. Volos)²¹.

So, the paper will certainly play a positive role when meeting a not too knowledgeable policeman (A. Fomin)²².

Examples also contain a symbolic comprehension of paper:

Paper, as far as I understand, symbolized creativity, and the globe symbolized science (S. Dovlatov)²³.

By the way, the Japanese directly connect paper with the divine beginning, even the words “deity” and “paper” sound the same, although they are denoted by different hieroglyphs (V. Nikolaev)²⁴.

Thus, the above statements mainly confirm and clarify the features of paper in dictionary entries. Some physical characteristics are added (paper can be torn, it burns, it has a specific smell and taste) and directions of symbolization, conditioned by its purpose.

The Russian Associative Dictionary gives the following reactions of informants to the stimulus “paper”: *white (92), writing (40), toilet (26), sheet (23), to write (19), clean (18), notebook (16), pen (14), pencil (11), will tolerate everything (10), tolerates (7), smooth, deficit, pen, colored (6), white, newspaper, will tolerate (5), glossy, burns, for writing, ruled, old (4), white, for notes, cardboard, wood, written-on paper, crumpled, offset, writing, bad, creativity, rustle (3), letters, plaid, dirty, money, wood, scribbled, bale, book, glossy, graphomaniac, scissors, writing, work, roll, Finnish, thin, good, rough (2), charta, scrapbook, basketball, poor, poor man, bureaucrat, bureaucracy, checkered, whatman, everywhere, waxed, will tolerate everything, newspaper, granite, humaga, goose, diploma, for printing, document, trash, yellow, stiff, notes, from prosecutor’s office, from notebook, that fish was wrapped in, spoiled, official, stationary, card,*

²⁰ Dombrovsky, Y.O. (1978). *The Faculty of Unnecessary Things. Pt 3*. Retrieved December 15, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

²¹ Volos, A. (2000). *Real Estate. Novy Mir*. Retrieved December 20, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

²² Fomin, A. (2003). *Universal navigator. Za Rulem*. Retrieved December 20, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

²³ Dovlatov, S. (1986). *Suitcase*. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

²⁴ Nikolaev, V. (2022). *Paper tiger just like a real one. Sochi*. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from <https://ruscorpora.ru/>

*cards, piles, glue, books, paper mill, summary, it finishes, copying, red, is on the desk, sheets, sheet, gloss, smear, place, moratorium, my, soft, on the table, written, national wealth, not stinging, doesn't blush, unnecessary, unpleasant sounds in the void, unlined, about crap, weapon, cigarette paper, papyrus, perforated, printing, writer, dense, forged, pleasant, program, transparent, blotter, thinking, rapport, torn, to tear, rare, ruble, red, burnt, hand over, gray, a tear, doubt, sausage, table, Times, tolerate, weave, worker, toilet, junk, valuable, black, ink, drawing, pure, clean, rustle, rustling (1)*²⁵.

These are reactions from students, obtained at the end of the twentieth century; they indicate that physical and functional characteristics of paper are the most frequent in the individual consciousness of native Russian speakers. These reactions generally correspond to the data in explanatory dictionaries and Russian National Corpus.

Evaluative characteristics of the concept “paper”

The evaluative characteristics of the concept “paper” in the Russian linguistic picture of the world are fixed in proverbs, sayings, and aphorisms.

The proverbs critically show legal practice, which in many respects does not correspond to the human understanding of justice. It is considered that ordinary people suffered from unfair legal proceedings:

Paper will tolerate everything. Paper does not blush with shame. Paper tolerates, the pen writes. The pen creaks, the paper is silent. In action, he's right, but on paper he's guilty. He is dragging a piece of paper to court. It's not said on paper but shown in action. Paper guilt is not forgiven (i.e. who is guilty on paper).

The importance of the document is ironically assessed:

Without paper you are a bug, but with paper you are a human being.

Metaphorically, easily inflammable paper is compared to the vulnerability of a living being:

You can't wrap fire in paper. You can't wrap hot coal in paper.

The comparison with paper is used to contrast plans and reality:

It was smooth on paper, but they forgot about the ravines.

It is interesting to contrast it with the status meaning:

Birch bark will not become paper.

²⁵ Karaulov, Y.N., Sorokin, Y.A., Tarasov, E.F., Ufimtseva, N.V., & Cherkasova, G.A. (Eds.) (1994). *Russian associative dictionary. Book 1. Direct dictionary: from stimulus to reaction*. Moscow: Pomovsky and partners Publ.

The comparison of an inexperienced person with a white sheet of paper deserves attention:

White paper gets dirty, a young man gets caught.

The following observation is cynical:

There would be papers ('money'), there will be cuties.

In Russian communicative practice, Cicero is often cited:

Paper does not blush (in the original text — letter) — Epistola non erubescit.

The expression “a paper tiger” borrowed from Chinese linguistic culture — 纸虎 [zhǐhǔ], a metaphor meaning an imaginary threat, has become widespread in Russian political discourse.

In aphoristics, paper is reinterpreted in the following ways.

Literary labor is the embodiment of creative burning into texts:

The writer turns his flame into paper (J. Rostand).

The readers' mind and feelings should not be underestimated:

Paper will tolerate everything, but the reader won't (J. Joubert).

Bad or unnecessary text turns paper into waste:

Waste is not paper, but what is written on it (S. Kireychuk).

One should express his thoughts so that they are understood:

How to save paper? Write between the lines (V. Karalyus).

A good document should be concise:

The guarantee that this paper from the Treasury will remain unread is its verbosity (W. Churchill).

A dependent person is usually unable to speak his word:

A paper talker does not have to choose his expressions (Y. Bazylev).

At the same time, a bitter statement, relevant to the topic of our discussion, deserves attention:

He who lives in the world of words does not get along with things (S. Dovlatov)²⁶.

Officials make the life of our contemporaries unbearable:

The fetters of exhausted humanity are made of stationery paper (F. Kafka).

There are very greedy people:

Give him the whole world, and he will demand more wrapping paper (J. de Falkenare).

²⁶ Dovlatov, S. (1983). Zapovednik. Sochi. Retrieved December 21, 2024, from <https://ruscorpura.ru/>

Miracles happen:

Paper flowers can take root, but this requires special soil (D. Quillard).

The given examples show that the evaluative characteristics of paper in proverbs are mainly reduced to condemnation of unfair judicial proceedings. Aphorisms express a critical attitude to talentless and verbose texts, but at the same time, contain ideas about the specificity of creative combustion and the possibility of miracle.

There is a parable about a man who managed to triumph in a hopeless situation.

A piece of paper

A medieval legend tells of a man who saved his life with his ingenuity. He was taken into custody and unjustly accused of murder. The real murderer was a powerful person, and so initially a scapegoat had to be found.

The man was brought to court, and he immediately realized that he had almost no chance of avoiding the noose.

The judge, being deceitful and bribed, was going to maintain the appearance of a perfectly fair trial. He, turning to the audience and the accused, said:

– Knowing your reputation for fairness and dignity, I place your fate in the hands of the Lord. Look! I am taking two pieces of paper and writing “Guilty” on one and “Not Guilty” on the other. You choose one of them and providence will decide your fate.

Sure enough, the judge prepared two notes with the same verdict, “Guilty.” The victim, not yet realizing what was happening, understood that it was a trap. When the judge offered the defendant to choose one of the two notes, the man took a deep breath and remained for several seconds in complete silence with his eyes closed.

When the people began to stir and murmur, he opened his eyes, took one of the slips of paper with a smile, put it in his mouth and swallowed it quickly.

The bewildered and upset participants in the trial were outraged:

– What have you done! How do we know the verdict now?

– It’s very simple, the man replied. — We read what the second note says, and that’s how we’ll know what was in the one I swallowed.

The judge was forced to release the accused²⁷.

²⁷ Obukhova, I. (2023). How imagination saved a human life. *Dzen*. Retrieved December 12, 2024, from <https://dzen.ru/b/ZGTWoC6T017U8zv3>

The point of this parable is that there is a way out in the most hopeless situation. The swallowed piece of paper becomes a symbol of victory over fate.

Symbolization of paper in a poetic text

Poetic text conceptualizes paper as an opportunity for self-expression. The key symbolic meaning of paper as a material for creativity is expressed in A.A. Akhmatova's program quatrain:

*Gold rusts and steel decays, / Marble crumbles, everything is ready for death. / The most durable thing on earth is sorrow / And the most durable is the royal word.*²⁸

This statement expresses the antithesis of the decrepitude of the material and the eternity of the idea. Paper is much less durable than gold, steel or marble, but it is the text on it that preserves culture.

Alexander Pushkin mockingly warns his fellow writers against imitating creativity:

*O you, who, feeling the courage, / Grab the pen, smear the paper, / To emboss your labors in haste, / Wait — find out beforehand what your soul is filled with – whether by direct inspiration / Or by a rash single crawl, / And your hand itches for trifles, / Or you don't believe in debt, but you need money.*²⁹

Such poets probably have always lived on earth.

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²⁸ Akhmatova, A. A. (1986). The one people once called. In V. Chernykh (Ed.) *Writings. In 2 vol. Vol. 1. Verses and poems*. Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya literatura Publ.

²⁹ Pushkin, A. S. (1985). French Rhymer harsh judge... In *Collection of works. In 3 vols. Vol. 1*. Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya literatura Publ.

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Научная статья

Символизация бумаги в русской лингвокультуре

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Аннотация. Актуальность лингвокультурного описания символизации бумаги обусловлена чрезвычайно высокой значимостью данного феномена в институциональной и личностной коммуникации, многогранностью его оценочных характеристик, влиянием на развитие человеческого общества и цивилизации в целом. Рассматриваемая символизация бумаги понимается как развитие ассоциативного оценочного потенциала соответствующего концепта. Она реализуется в русском языковом сознании в следующих направлениях: документ, определяющий судьбу человека; творчество, требующее вдохновения; недолговечный и легко воспламеняемый материал. Проанализированы данные толковых, энциклопедических и ассоциативных словарей, примеры из Национального корпуса русского языка, пословицы, поговорки, афоризмы, поэтические тексты. Используются методы семантического, контекстуального, интерпретативного, лингвокультурологического анализа. Цель исследования — определить понятийные, образно-перцептивные, оценочные характеристики концепта «бумага», показать символизацию бумаги в художественном тексте. Установлено, что в коллективном и индивидуальном сознании отношение к документам и законам, ограничивающим свободу людей, подчеркнуто отрицательное; оценка творчества сводится к провозглашению его сверхценности, недопустимости имитации; понимание недолговечности любого бумажного материала требует в обращении с ним осторожности и бережного отношения; для символизации функциональные характеристики бумаги оказываются более значимыми, чем физические. Перспективы исследования состоят в дальнейшем лингвокультурном изучении символизации

бумаги с учетом использования в коммуникации современных информационных технологий.

Ключевые слова: символ, концепт, оценка, образ, русский язык, русское языковое сознание, лингвокультурная традиция

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