SOCIOCULTURAL MARKING OF LEXICAL UNITS OF YOUTH SOCIOLECT

Zhunussova Zh.N.¹, *Tulegenova M.K.²

¹ Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University
Astana, Kazakhstan, e-mail: mail.rumadina@mail.ru,

*2 Phd student, L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University
Astana, Kazakhstan, e-mail: mail.rumadina@mail.ru

Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of the sociocultural marking of lexemes in the youth sociolect. The urgency of its problem lies in the lack of sufficient study of both this sociolect and the ways of its social and cultural marking. In sociolectology, groups of words that have a connection with the subculture of youth have not yet been identified and described.

The researchers describe the cultural patterns of youth behavior, but the question of the cultural and connotative meaning of the slang is still open. They focus on the determinism of the youth sociolect lexical units, which is manifested in the presence of words-symbols in it as a means of self-expression, as well as in the use of words with additional connotative and pragmatic connotations.

The purpose of the article is to study the words-symbols, indicating their belonging to the carriers. The material of the study is the socio-culturally determined units of the youth sociolect.

The sociolinguistic and associative experiments using the observation method, and a contextual linguo-pragmatic analysis of the word were carried out.

The novelty of this study lies in the fact that for the first time the youth sociolect is considered within the framework of an integral methodological paradigm; the connection of the language of youth with its subculture and the social structure of society is revealed.

The results of the study are of theoretical significance, its practical value is in enriching the fund of substandard material, in the possibility of using it in the process of conducting seminars, special courses.

Conclusions were drawn about the determinism of the lexical units of the youth sociolect, which is manifested in the presence of words-symbols in it as means and methods of self-expression, as well as in the use of words with connotative and pragmatic meanings.

Keywords: sociolect, youth subculture, representative function, cultural and connotative meaning, symbol, subculture, associative experiment, lexical units.

Basic provisions

Within the framework of a dynamic approach to language differentiation, the relationship between the language of social structures and culture is due to the need to study the youth sociolect as one of the variants of the substandard system.

Youth sociolect is one of the substandard subsystems of the national language, used by a certain social group for the purpose of communication, expression of their views and cultural interests. In the scientific literature, a youth group is a social group of people interconnected by common cultural interests and united into one group by age, linguistic behavior with a demonstration of independence and opposition to lifestyle. So, the Russian scientist I.V. Pellih points to the following reasons for the emergence of slang: "the desire of communicants to communicate

with each other, remaining incomprehensible to outsiders; tendency to speech expressiveness and taking into account the increasing pace of life" [1, p. 2].

According to Ye. A. Neymann, one of the main reasons for the emergence of a youth sociolect is "the social differentiation of language in accordance with stratification and situational variables, when these types of variability find their expression in linguistic variability, i. e. in those linguistic and speech differences that are found by representatives of various social strata" [2, p. 5-6].

Introduction

In sociolinguistics, there is a terminological disorder of the concepts of *the* youth jargon, slang, youth sociolect, which is explained by the dynamism of the development of this language subsystem, the lexemes of which are constantly updated and replenished in accordance with the nature of the social group, its cultural attitudes, as well as the development of the terminological system of sociolinguistics.

In our opinion, the youth sociolect at this stage of language development is a specific subsystem of the substandard, determined by youth social structures, as well as their group culture, formed according to interests and using the norms of the second level of the language with special functions.

The purpose of this article is to study the cultural-connotative, connotative and pragmatic features of the youth sociolect, the emergence of which is due to their desire to express their attitude to the culture of society, its values and worldview principles. In this regard, the youth sociolect is considered within the framework of an integral methodological paradigm using the principles and methods of different fields of knowledge; attention is also focused on the connection between the language of young people and their subculture.

Description of material and methods

At the present stage, in the study of linguistic phenomena, scientists rely on an integrated approach, implemented through painstaking analysis and description through a variety of techniques and methods with the involvement of sufficient factual material.

When studying the social differentiation of society and fixing the socializing functions of the language, in this case, the sociolect of youth, we applied component analysis in the interpretation of cultural, cultural-connotative and pragmatic meanings of lexical units. In this regard, when studying the youth sociolect, we relied on the data of the associative and sociolinguistic experiment. These methods were studied in order to clarify the expressiveness of the cultural and pragmatic meanings of the lexeme, the ways of forming culturally determined words. Contextual-linguistic-pragmatic analysis was also applied, the method of sociological observation, which is understood as "a method of collecting primary information by direct registration by the researcher of events, phenomena and processes occurring in certain conditions" [3, p.190].

This method makes it possible to observe the speech behavior of young people in a situation of a communicative act when they communicate with each other. At

the same time, the researcher can be an outside observer of the process of communication of young people (*non-included observation*), he can also prove himself as a participant who for a long time captures the behavioral reactions of young people, their attitudes manifested in communication (*included observation*). Such types of observation of the behavior of young people (aged 20-23 years) who communicate on a sociolect have been carried out by us for a certain time.

Discussion

To study the characteristics of the linguistic behavior of young people, we carried out a sociolinguistic experiment, which was carried out over three stages. At the first, theoretical stage of the experiment, the problem of studying the youth sociolect was formulated – the identification of cultural-connotative and pragmatic meanings in lexical units. The object of the study was a social group of youth; and the subject is the lexical units of the youth sociolect, expressing cultural-connotative, connotative (expressive) and pragmatic meanings. There were selected the respondents at this stage. At the second, methodological stage, there was developed a program for creating experimental situations, and were determined the methods used during the experiment. At the third stage, the experiment program was implemented, during which four experimental situations were tested. The participant was given information about himself (gender, age, profession), performed tasks. During the experiment, there were used the following methods: observation method, associative experiment, contextual and linguo-pragmatic analyses. During the experiment, attention was focused on four situations. At the third stage of the experiment, work was initially carried out on the implementation of sociological observation.

Situation № 1. Purpose of observation: to identify words that people who own various sociolects recognize as "their own". Setting the situation: read the stimulus words and determine which social groups use the given words, their total number is 17. The participants in the experiment, who own various sociolects (youth, professional) select "their own words" from among the stimulus words, associating them with those that used by members of a social group. As a result of the analysis of experimental situation No. 1 and the counting of the words recognized as "their" respondents, the representatives of the youth sociolect recognized the following words as "their": гопота, гуманизатор, духариться. Respondents who own the sociolect of criminals recognized as "their own": серьга, бугай, челодан, чердак, шалфей, чифирь, балаган. Representatives of the professional sociolect identified as "their own" words: глухарь, колесо, висяк, андеррайтер, винчер, бумерадж.

There was monitored the speech behavior of young people aged 20-30 in situation № 2. It was found that during the entire observation period (within a month), about 300 words were uttered by the object, corresponding to the categories of observation. During the observation, the task was set — to identify the number of words in the speech of young people that have connotative and pragmatic meanings. Young people express their evaluative attitude to official politics: κ левый, супер, фигня, бодяга, звездный, to the ideas and attitudes of society: mуманить, фенька, бумер, олды, хейтер, токсик, хайп.

In the process of observation, out of the total number of collected words, only 80 had an expressive-connotative meaning, many words have cultural-connotative meanings: жлобизм, совковый, брутальность, фейерверковость, ерундизм. Words with a pragmatic meaning (120) express the speaker's subjective attitude towards someone. There were also used 70 words-symbols, performing a representative function, indicating belonging to a group, as well as the nature of cultural attitudes. There were about 100 words with a connotative meaning, and 120 with a pragmatic meaning.

In the course of the experiment in situation № 3, aimed at clarifying the nature of associations (positive or negative) to the conducted stimulus words, were noted the following: звероящеры, качевый, областняк, горох, собачье шоу, чернуха, чмо, помидор, гуманизатор, блинда; among them, there is given only one positive association per word качевый. Other associations to the following stimulus words turned out to be negative: звероящер (stuck-in-the-mud parents); областняк (contempt. — destroyed. in the meaning of "lagging behind life"); горох (empty, unnecessary); чмо (bad, rubbish); помидор (contempt.); гуманизатор (iron. police baton); блинда (blunder).

In experimental situation № 4, attention was also focused on stimulus words and their associates in order to identify the meanings of words in the youth dialect. Respondents were offered synonymous words to find out the commonality of associates of meanings in the minds of young people. So, there was given one associate to synonymous words \$\delta \delta \delta

At the fourth stage of the experiment, there is carried out the analysis of theobtained data, the types of reactions, their number, which are taken into account, and also pragmatic analysis, which helps to identify the various meanings of the word in the context. To do this, the respondent is given a piece of text, which focuses on the definition of the appropriate meaning (cultural, connotative-evaluative, pragmatic). The subject is supposed to determine the type of meaning of the word, based on the context. Here is an excerpt from the proposed text, after reading it, the obtained user must fill in the table of the text task:

Text: Rat fuss (MC dated 23.08.2018). Единственный способ помочь <u>беляшу</u> – отправить его на месяц-другой в больницу. Вообще, чем больше во мне пофигизма, тем больше они меня достают (МК от 19-26.10.2005). Этот <u>красноперый</u> передал информацию через третье лицо. Это человек имеет левый образ мышления. Это мне не нравится. Это мажористая машина. Да

это же мешок, <u>глуп</u>, как пробка. Тетя Ивана — <u>мокрая курица</u>, ничего не может сделать, квохчет только беспрестанно. Он выделяется среди окружающих, <u>белая ворона</u>. Его друг — это <u>банан, чайник</u>, не имеет представления о жизни современной молодежи. Он принадлежит к группе рейверов. Это хайрастый тип. Меня колбасит от него.

Post-text task: a) based on the nature of the context, determine the meaning of the underlined word; b) determine the type of meaning (cultural-connotative); c) determine, based on the contextual environment, the connotative meaning of the word; d) determine the pragmatic meaning of the word in the appropriate form; e) determine the nature of the pragmatic meaning of the word.

The following table shows the results of working with text.

Table 1. Results of working with text

Phrases and words with connotative meaning	cultural- connotative meaning	connotative- negative meaning	Pragmatic meaning	
			negative	positiv e
беляш		+	disparaging	to endorse
мажористая				
красноперый		+	disparaging	
левый образ		+	disparaging	
мышления				
мокрая курица		+	disparaging	
белая ворона			disparaging	
банан, чайник		+	disparaging	
хайрастые	+			
рейверы	+			
колбасит		+		

In the course of the study and the experiment, there were obtained the following results: there was identified and described the representative function of the youth sociolect, which acts as a symbol of belonging to the social group of youth; there is also revealed the ludic function of the words of the youth sociolect, expressing that it serves as a means of self-expression; elucidated and described the emotional function of the words of this sociolect; characterized cultural-bearing function of lexemes of this subsystem; considered cultural-connotative, connotative, pragmatic connotations of the words of this sociolect.

The results of the experiment were recorded in a map of sociological observation, which described the type and categories of observation, the objects that were studied, the duration and number of units collected in the process of fixing the material. In this map, it is noted that a participant observation was carried out, when the researcher closely communicated with the object. In the course of a sociolinguistic experiment with a particular sociolect, there were identified the subjective attitudes of the respondents to a particular lexeme were determined, associations to the words of the youth sociolect.

There was carried out a contextual linguopragmatic analysis of lexemes in the presented text, during which words with cultural-connotative, connotative (emotional) and pragmatic meanings were identified, points of view on their nature were discussed.

Results

Youth sociolect refers to complex objects, the study of the lexical subsystem of which is impossible without the use of knowledge from sociolinguistics about youth groups united by cultural interests and determined by a certain age subculture, understood as "a system of norms and values that distinguish the culture of a certain group from the culture of the majority of society" [4, p. 134-143]. By definition, S.I. Levikova, youth subculture as esoteric, escapist, urbanistic is created by young people purely for their close circle. This culture is aimed at including them in a certain social linguistic society as "a partial cultural subsystem within the system of the "official", basic culture of the society, which determines the lifestyle, value hierarchy and mentality of its carriers" [5, p. 33].

The essence of the youth subculture, according to A.S. Golobokov and S.A. Shalaput, is determined by "the acceptance or rejection of the social rules of the game, and the formation of youth subcultures consists in expressing an attitude (often oppositional) in relation to the official point of view, the generally accepted position in society and mass culture" [6, p. 462].

Researcher V.V. Khimik points to the specific features of youth behavior, which include the following: "1) the desire for self-affirmation through the denial of the traditional, normative, official and the proclamation of the new, fashionable, extravagant, shocking; 2) a tendency towards corporativity — age, group, professional, ideological, regional (in a team, it is easier for a group to form and assert itself, protest, attack); 3) a predisposition to playful forms of speech behavior as a means of self-defense of the young part of society from the experienced and mature part of society, this is a way of socializing young people in social and linguistic practice" [7, p. 57-58]. In terms of language, game behavior is expressed in violation of the norm of the literary language when using the words of youth slang through its jargon and expressiveness.

A feature of youth slang, according to E.M. Beregovitskaya, lies in the fact that this subsystem of the language performs special functions, such as: deprecative function; representative function; the function of the formation of figurative expressions, by means of the "inflamed metaphorical" technique; realization of the ludic function, i. e. functions aimed at creative self-expression" [8].

Researchers, as we see, when characterizing the youth sociolect, focus on the conditionality of its subculture. And this is expressed, in their opinion, by the playful behavior of young people (violation of language norms, the performance of specific functions, jargon and expressivization of the language). In our opinion, the conditionality of youth slang by subculture is manifested in the use of words that have cultural and cultural-connotative meanings. Such meanings have words that "denoting the material culture and mentality in the living national language and manifesting themselves in language processes in their effective continuity with the language and culture of the ethnic group" [9, p. 216]. As a sign of a protest reaction to social contradictions and life's hardships, and even as a sign of potential aggressiveness, readiness for an open clash.

O.A. Leontovich refers to the cultural meanings of the word those meanings that express the national or ethnic affiliation of the word, and also provide information about the views, mentality of representatives of a particular culture [10, p. 7-11].

The ability of a word to express cultural information is due to the fact that in modern linguistics the word is studied from the point of view of the cognitive-semantic approach, with an emphasis on the pragmatic and connotative meanings of words included as semantic components in its semantic structure. Yu.S. Stepanov, when determining the linguistic meaning of a word and semantic meaning, indicates that the first meaning is based on the intension created by the relationship of a given expression to all other expressions of a given language, and the semantic meaning is based on the predictive function of thinking, on associations that arise in the human mind when looking at an object and subjective attitude of a person to what is expressed about the object of thought [11].

If the linguistic meaning gives an idea of the object, then the semantic meaning can be attributed to the pragmatic meaning that realizes the subjective attitude of the speaker to the object. C. Morris considers pragmatic meaning as evaluative, which is formed in the process of selective activity of the speaker, when he performs the following actions:

- selects certain lexical units as a result of selection;
- collects historical and cultural facts that provide information about the lexical and cultural background of the selected units;
- performs proper selective activity, expressing one or another attitude (negative or positive), one or another assessment to the subject of thought [12, p. 96-98].

The semantic meaning that is born in the course of the speaker's selective activity is considered as pragmatic, expressing the speaker's evaluative attitude to the subject of thought. Cultural-connotative, as well as connotative, emotional meanings of a word can be attributed not to the main meaning that exists in the semantic structure of the word as denotative, but to its meanings that arise as a result of the speaker's associations in speech activity. Therefore, the opinion of Yu.D. Apresyan that the connotative meaning is an evaluative meaning of the word, not included in the lexical meaning of the word [13, p. 42-64]. The connotative, pragmatic meaning of a word refers to semantic, associative meanings.

In the works of A.A. Leontiev and D. Layonz, we find provisions on the two meanings of the word. So, A.A. Leontiev believes that we should talk about two meanings of the word, distinguished in the semantic structure of the word. It distinguishes the objective-social meaning (formed due to the conceptually mediated subject correlation of the word and the subjective-personal meaning, formed due to the associative links of the word with other words [14].

As we can see, the connotative meaning of a word is understood, like the pragmatic one, as a cultural component of the word's meaning. Therefore, N.V. Gromova argues that in "modern linguistics, the cultural component of the lexical meaning of a word is understood as the cultural connotation of a linguistic unit accompanying the subject-logical meaning and included in the semantic structure" [15, p. 71].

If the cultural-connotative meaning is considered as the meaning of a word, then the pragmatic meaning, which is born in the speech activity of the speaker and expresses his subjective attitude, is characterized as additional, semantic and expressing the personal meaning of the speaker. The meaning of a word *connotation* is understood in a narrower and broader sense. In a broad sense, it is understood as a cultural component of a word expressing cultural information. In a narrow sense, connotation is understood as an emotional connotation.

Words with such meanings are used by representatives of the youth social group to express a negative and subjective attitude towards the official ideology. So, the word бомбила expresses a disapproving attitude towards grabbers and grabbers; a dismissive attitude towards talkative politicians is expressed with the help of the word блаблакать; and a person engaged in useless business is ватокат; report a large amount of unnecessary information – закидывать плитами; scammer - red; disapproved in the older generation – купол тупости; something incomprehensible, rubbish – мутотель, мутота. For example: "Сибирские бомбилы – они точно такие же хапуги" (Zerkalo, 06/1/2005). "Многие получатели чернух на Западе были осуждены на большие сроки тюремного заключения" (Arguments and Facts, No. 15, 2003, p. 14).

The above words in the sentence perform an expressive function, and the cultural and connotative meanings of the word are found in the sociolects of aggressive youth associations (politicized, criminal groups, skinheads). The cultural attitudes of skinheads are expressed in such words as наци, фашисты, фаники, фюрер, арие. Their extremist views are close to the ideology of fascism: like the Nazis, they treat non-whites with contempt, showing ethnic prejudice and calling them names with insulting words: чебурек, хачик, папуас (representatives of the Caucasus), желтый (Chinese), белый мусор (homeless). The vocabulary of skinheads performs ludic and cultural functions.

The ludic function of the youth sociolect is that this subsystem of language is used as an instrument of double detachment, which is manifested in the use of a means of self-expression – a language game. The essence of the cultural function is to express the cultural attitudes of a given group.

The depressive function of the sociolect is that young people seek to critically comprehend everything that is connected with the pressure of the state machine, to express their point of view, as young people, opposing themselves to older people, the official point of view of the state on political relations, on everything that happens in the country, express their views, beliefs with the help of hypertrophied foreign speech, the use of connotations and evaluative words.

The following youth associations are less politicized: a group of criminal youth, a group of football fans. The jargon of criminal groups reflects their commitment to the subculture of criminals, which is expressed in the use of the vocabulary of criminals. In the sociolect of football fans, words are used that express support for their team: грядки, волны, кричалки, наездные, шиза, бомбардировка, слэм, акция etc. Therefore, the lexemes of the youth sociolect, which express cultural-connotative and pragmatic meanings, are socio-culturally are a sign of belonging to a particular social group, adhere to their views and cultural attitudes.

Conclusion

Thus, the youth sociolect is a communicative system differentiated by sociolinguistic cultural characteristics, designed to serve the needs of a social group of young people, uniting into one set various groups with diverse cultural interests, ideologies, and worldviews.

The lexical units of this sociolect have a social and cultural marking, since the words of the youth language perform a representative function, acting as symbols of belonging to a youth group, indicating their cultural attitudes, formed in accordance with their cultural interests and the nature of the aspirations of young people who carry out opposition activities directed against adults, against the official ideology and power for the purpose of self-affirmation and self-expression.

Cultural and connotative meanings of the word inform about the worldview, ideological attitudes of young people, about their cultural interests, the nature of youth activities. They are formed as cultural-connotative meanings of the word, along with the denotative meaning, and arise as a result of the speaker's associations in the course of his selective activity and the realization of the associative links of words.

The pragmatic meaning of the word, arising as a result of the selective speech activity of the speaker, acts as a connotative-emotional one, expressing the subjective attitude of the speaker (positive or negative) to the object of thought.

The cultural and connotative meaning of the lexemes of the youth sociolect performs a cultural function through the cultural attitudes and worldview orientation of young people, reflecting their desire for self-affirmation and independence.

The pragmatic meaning of the word contributes to the implementation of the evaluative function, expressing the speaker's evaluative subjective attitude to the subject of thought, and also performs evaluative and expressive functions.

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ЖАСТАР СОЦИОЛЕКТІНІҢ ЛЕКСИКАЛЫҚ БІРЛІКТЕРІНІҢ ӘЛЕУМЕТТІК-МӘДЕНИ БЕЛГІЛЕУІ

Жунусова Ж.Н.¹, *Тулегенова М.К.²

¹ф.ғ.д., профессор, Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразиялық ұлттық университеті, Астана, Қазақстан, e-mail: mail.rumadina@mail.ru,

*2 докторант, Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразиялық ұлттық университеті, Астана, Қазақстан, e-mail: mail.rumadina@mail.ru

Андатпа. Мақала жастар социолектінің бірліктерінің элеуметтік-мәдени таңбалануын зерттеуге арналған. Оның өзектілігі келесі: жағдайлармен байланысты: жастар социолектінің толық зерттелмерімен және оның бірліктерінің әлеуметтік-мәдени таңбалануын әдістерінің қарастырылмағанымен. Социолектология саласында әлі күнге дейін жастар тіліндегі субмәдениетімен байланысты лексемалар зерделенбеген.

Зерттеушілер жастардың мінез-құлқының мәдени үлгілерін сипаттайды, бірақ жаргон бірлігінің мәдени-коннотациялық мағынасының табиғаты туралы мәселе әлі де ашық. Жастар субмәдениетінің жастар социолектінің лексикалық бірліктерінің детерминизміне назар аударылады, бұл ондағы символдық сөздердің өзін-өзі көрсету құралы ретінде, сондай-ақ қосымша коннотативті және прагматикалық мағыналары бар сөздерді қолдануда көрінеді.

Мақаланың мақсаты келесі болып табылады: жастар социолектінде қолданылатын символдық сипаты бар, мәдени-конотациялық мағынасы бар сөздер. Зерттеу материалы-жастар әлеуметтануының әлеуметтік-мәдени шартты бірліктері.

Олар жастар субмәдениетінің жастар социолектінің лексикалық бірліктерінің детерминизміне тоқталады, ол ондағы өзін-өзі таныту құралы ретіндегі сөз рәміздердің болуымен, сондай-ақ қолданыста көрінеді, қосымша коннотативтік және прагматикалық коннотациялары бар сөздердің.

Бұл зерттеудің жаңалығы – жұмыста алғаш рет жастар социолектінің интегралды әдіснамалық парадигма аясында қарастырылуы; жастар тілінің оның субмәдениетімен және қоғамның әлеуметтік құрылымымен байланысы анықталды, социолекттің әлеуметтік-

мәдени шарттылығы мен оның социолингвистикалық вариативілігінің факторлары да қарастырылады; жастар қоғамының функциялары сипатталады.

Мақаланың нәтижелірінің теоретикалық және практикалық құндылығы бар, себебі олар социолектология теориясын дамытұға шамалыболса да үлес қоса алады, субстандарттық лексиканы зерттеу бағыттарын белгілейді, оқу үдерінде семинарлар, арнайы курстары өткізуге себін тигізеді.

Осылайша, жастар социолектінің лексикалық бірліктерінің жас субмәдениетімен жастар детерминизмі туралы қорытынды жасалды, бұл ондағы сөз символдарының өзін-өзі көрсетудің құралдары мен тәсілдері ретінде, сондай-ақ коннотативті және прагматикалық түсініктері бар қолдануда көрінеді.

Тірек сөздер: социолект, жастар субмәдениеті, репрезентативті функция, мәдениконнотативтік мағына, символ, субмәдениет, ассоциативтік эксперимент, лексикалық бірліктер.

СОЦИОКУЛЬТУРНАЯ МАРКИРОВАННОСТЬ ЛЕКСИЧЕСКИХ ЕДИНИЦ МОЛОДЕЖНОГО СОЦИОЛЕКТА

Жунусова Ж.Н.1, *Тулегенова М.К.2

¹д.ф.н., профессор, Евразийский национальный университет имени Л.Н. Гумилева, Астана, Казахстан, e-mail: mail.rumadina@mail.ru, *²докторант, Евразийский национальный университет имени Л.Н. Гумилева, Астана, Казахстан, e-mail: mail.rumadina@mail.ru

Аннотация. Статья посвящена изучению социокультурной маркированности лексем молодежного социолекта. Актуальность проблемы заключается в неисследованности в достаточной степени как данного социолекта, так и способов его социальной и культурной маркированности. В социолектологии до сих пор еще не выявлены и описаны группы слов, имеющие связь с субкультурой молодежи.

Исследователями описываются культурные модели поведения молодежи, но вопрос о природе культурно-коннотативного значения единицы сленга все еще остается открытым. Акцентируется внимание на детерминированности лексических единиц молодежного социолекта субкультурой молодых, что проявляется в наличии в нем слов-символов как средств самовыражения, а также в использовании слов с дополнительными коннотативными и прагматическими созначениями.

Целью статьи является исследование слов-символов, указывающих на принадлежность их к носителям. Материал исследования – социокультурно-обусловленные единицы молодежного социолекта.

В ходе исследования были проведены социолингвистический и ассоциативный эксперименты с применением метода наблюдения, также осуществлен контекстуальный лингвопрагматический анализ слова.

Новизна данного исследования заключается в том, что в работе впервые молодежный социолект рассмотрен в рамках интегральной методологической парадигмы; выявлена связь языка молодежи с ее субкультурой и социальной структурой общества.

Результаты исследования имеют теоретическую значимость (вносит определенный вклад в теорию социолектологии), практическая ценность ее заключается в обогащении фонда субстандартного материала, в возможности использования его в процессе проведения семинаров, элективных курсов.

Таким образом, были сделаны выводы о детерминированности лексических единиц молодежного социолекта субкультурой молодых, что проявляется в наличии в нем словсимволов как средств и способов самовыражения, а также в использовании слов с коннотативными и прагматическими созначениями.

Ключевые слова: социолект, субкультура молодежи, репрезентативная функция, культурно-коннотативное значение, символ, субкультура, ассоциативный эксперимент, лексические единицы.

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