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THE GERMAN LINGUO-CULTURAL CONCEPT
SCHADENFREUDE IN CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE:
A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH

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Abstract: The paper focuses on the corpus-based method as a stage of a contrastive linguo-culturological study of the German linguo-cultural concept SCHADENFREUDE. The method under investigation made it possible to reveal specific senses of the concept which was contrasted with similar concepts of the Anglo-Saxon, Ukrainian, and Russian linguo-cultures. The method is equally used to verify the Anglo-Saxon heterostereotype that Germans tend to gloat more than other nations.

Key words: gloat, emotion, linguo-cultural concept, contrastive linguoculturology, corpus-based method.

> *Das Konzept der Schadenfreude wird fälschlicherweise fast ausschließlich den Deutschen zugeschrieben. Vermutlich deshalb, weil es im Deutschen dafür ein Wort gibt, im Englischen aber nicht, und sich die Briten das Wörtchen einfach borgen.* (Streck 2018) – [Erroneously, the notion of "Schadenfreude" (gloat) is ascribed particularly to Germans. Most likely it is accounted for by the fact that they have a special word for it, while it is not found in English, and the British just borrowed the German word]

1. Introduction

The anthropocentric approach, which was popular in linguistics of the second half of the 20th century and directed at a comprehensive study of the human being, gave the

grounds for the emergence of a number of linguistic disciplines, which apply interdisciplinary methodology. It concerns Cognitive linguistics, where the epistemological basis is combined with an array of notions "borrowed" from psychology, in particular Cognitive psychology and Gestalt psychology. The methodological symbiosis of Linguistics and Psychology encouraged researchers, starting late 20th century, to study intensively a human being's emotion world represented by *emotional concepts*, the term used by Cognitive linguistics (see, e.g., Kövecses 2011; Panasenko 2012; Panasenko et al. 2013; Wierzbicka 1999).

It was the period when ideas of Cognitive linguistics were fast expanding in the post-Soviet language studies. Some of these ideas were transformed in terms of methodology and under the influence of different theoretically philosophical and methodological traditions: the "Western" ones on the one hand, and the Soviet or post-Soviet, on the other. The concept as a mental construct transformed considerably, since its psychological (operational) aspect was superseded by the cultural-and-semiotic (culturological) one, i.e. the concept began to be defined as a cognitive structure (mental construct) serving not only to perceive, accumulate, and transfer information in the mental space of a human being, but also representing a "bundle" of culture in his/her mind. Thus was formed the notion of a "linguo-cultural concept", a mental construct, which consists of immanently inherent cultural senses and is objectivated by means of language signs.

At the turn of the millennia, Russia experienced a conceptological "boom", which resulted in the emergence of linguo-anthropological disciplines, such as Linguoculturology, Contrastive linguoculturology, Linguoconceptology, and Contrastive linguoconceptology. The disciplines are considered to be autochthonously Russian (Воркачёв 2010: 16), though they are still widely spread in Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, and followers of these branches are found in Slovakia, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, and Bulgaria (see, e.g., Panasenko 2019; Petrikova et al. 2017; Uberman 2016). The main epistemological unit of a linguocultural concept is common

to all the aforesaid disciplines. It is remarkable that Linguoculturology and Contrastive linguoculturology as well as Linguoconceptology and Contrastive linguoconceptology are actually methodological "twins", as linguo-conceptological studies are in fact linguo-culturological research focused on the study of a certain concept (or concepts).

All in all, linguo-culturologists and linguo-conceptologists have been studying thoroughly the emotional world of different linguo-societies for two decades now, analyzing linguo-cultural concepts representing emotions (emotional states, feelings, affects), both universal and specific to a certain linguo-society (see, e.g., Воркачёв 2007; Красавский 2001; Стефанский 2011).

2. Emotional concepts from the perspective of contrastive linguo-cultural studies in Ukraine

Contrastive linguoculturology separated from Linguoculturology in the early 21st century (Воробьёв 2008: 191), therefore its terminology is still developing. The reason for a greater focus on contrastive studies lies in the fact that some linguo-culturologists realized a lack of reliability in the results and conclusions of monolingual linguo-cultural studies, because judgements about the lingual and cultural features of a linguo-culture are more valid when compared with its other counterparts.

In Ukraine, the methodological ideas of Contrastive linguoculturology are gaining popularity among those linguists who can conventionally be called "cultural linguists". Still, within Linguoculturology there are some researches covering moral, ethical, and socio-psychological aspects of linguo-cultural concepts representing a chain of basic and non-basic (social) emotions (see, e.g., Мизин 2018; Мізін 2019; Петров 2016; Федорюк 2019; Шапран 2014). A special focus is on the study of specific concepts, in particular ethnically specific and emotional ones (see, e.g., Mizin & Letiucha 2019).

The contrastive linguo-cultural analysis of emotional concepts makes it possible to define both common and distinct senses concerning categorization and

conceptualization of emotions in different linguo-societies. It is remarkable that specific concepts, i.e. ethno- and socio-cultural ones, can contain certain concepts representing universal basic emotions (Мизин 2018: 28-30). To identify specific senses means to enhance probable scientific results about the following: (a) different behavioural, etiquette, and moral rules of expressing emotions; (b) different degrees of tolerance to negative, in particular "sinful", emotions in different linguo-societies; (c) changes of value priorities and attitudes in various linguo-cultures.

It is also relevant to study how the expression, perception, and lingual designation of emotions are affected by the national and cultural features thought to be characteristic of this or that linguo-culture: extraversion / introversion, collectivism / individualism, high-context orientation / low-context orientation, rationality / irrationality, male domination / female domination, high / low distancing from authorities, high / low tolerance to indefiniteness, internal / external control locus, etc. (Hall 1989; Hofstede 1980). These national and cultural features are included in the notions of "mentality" or "national character".

To study a national character on the basis of language objectivation of linguo-cultural emotional concepts is methodologically justified by the fact that some basic or social emotions may dominate in the emotional world of an individual, if they get fixed as features of a national character. Accordingly, emotions dominating in the emotional world of a group of people (sub-culture, ethnos, and the like) shape their collective character (compare the following methodological analogy: individual cognition – collective cognition – cultural cognition; individual consciousness – collective consciousness – cultural consciousness).

In the second half of the 20th century, when the globalization processes began (inter-ethnic conflicts, prevention from intercultural communication, conflicts in polycultural communities, etc.), researchers began revealing features of character on the basis of the socio-cultural and political status of language societies, from subcultures (sub-

ethne) to nations (ethne), which "forced" sociologists, ethnologists, ethno-psychologists, anthropologists, and linguists to get involved too (see, e.g., Hall 1989; Hofstede 1980; Samovar et al. 2013; Sharifian 2017). The use of different methodological approaches to determine national (subcultural, group) features ensured objective research results, since some certain feature may often be considered as a specific property of a group or nation under the influence of auto- or heterostereotypes, which, in fact, is not true.

For instance, Anglo-Saxons think Germans to be particularly gloating, as in English there is no absolute equivalent to the German compound noun *Schadenfreude* (see, e.g., Head 1994: 105). English-speaking psychologists even use the lexeme *Schadenfreude* as the term to denote gloating (see, e.g., Miller et al. 2004; Smith et al. 2009). But the objectivity of this idea is debatable. It turned out that in Ukrainian and Russian there are compounds similar to it: Ukr. *зловрадство* (zloradstvo) / *зловтіха* (zlovtikha); Rus. *зловрадство* (zloradstvo). Moreover, they differ from the German word by only a few semantic shades (Мізін 2019: 535). In this regard, a logical question arises whether German gloating is really somewhat particular (it may be more significant, intensive, negative, positive, etc.) compared to some other language ethnos, namely Anglo-Saxons. At least a partial answer to this question would require the contrastive linguo-culturological analysis of the German concept SCHADENFREUDE. The paper presents one of the stages of this analysis.

3. Methods and material (lingual corpora)

The purpose of the research is to reveal the specific relevant senses of the German linguo-cultural concept SCHADENFREUDE compared to the Anglo-Saxon GLOAT, the Ukrainian ЗЛОВТІХА, and the Russian ЗЛОРАДСТВО by means of a corpus-based method, as corpus linguistics data strengthen the results and conclusions of linguistic research papers (Adolphs 2006: 7-8; Tissari et al. 2019: 322). It is a way to verify the heterostereotype that representatives of the German linguo-culture have a special tendency to gloat existing mostly in the Anglo-Saxon world (Krönig 1999: 7).

Conceptual analysis is of utter importance in the study of linguo-cultural concepts. However, the former notion is rather vague, both in Linguocognitology and Linguoculturology (Linguoconceptology), as the basic research procedures that are mandatory for conceptual analysis have not been defined yet. Therefore, it would be reasonable to speak about conceptual analysis not as a method, but as a set of methods involving a number of methods of traditional linguistics (etymological analysis, definitional analysis, componential (seme) analysis, contextual analysis), and those of Cognitive linguistics, Psycholinguistics, Corpus linguistics, and other related sciences (e.g., associative experiment, cognitive modelling, frequency analysis).

Taking into account the abovementioned, the research methods include the following procedures:

1) definition of the etymological sources of words designating gloating in Romance, Germanic, and Slavic languages. This procedure is applied to reveal the properties that were the basis for the inner form of these nominations, which makes it possible to confirm or negate the uniqueness of the form and meaning of the name of the German concept SCHADENFREUDE within the European linguo-cultural space;

2) identification of the relevant senses of the concepts under study, i.e. Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО, by means of contrastive translation analysis of the modern language samples with the following keywords and their derivatives: *Schadenfreude* / *gloat* / *зловтіха* (*злорадість*) / *злорадство*. The samples are found in the concordances built automatically on the basis of the corresponding word-requests. The lingual corpora used for the research are the following: British National Corpus (BNC), Corpus of Contemporary American English (CCAE (correct accordingly throughout the article)), Corpus of the Ukrainian Language (CUL), Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (DWDS), Leipzig Corpora Collection (LCC), Linguistic Portal (LP), Russian National Corpus (RNC);

3) formation of the cooccurrent profiles of the word-requests *Schadenfreude* / *gloat* / *зловтіха* (*злорадість*) / *злорадство*. The cooccurrent profile is a condensed calculation of psychologically real syntagmatic and paradigmatic "structure" of a

lexeme based on a preferential-rational approach (Belica 2011: 172). The most relevant frequency data make it possible to determine the concepts most frequently correlating with the concepts Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО, as their main representatives.

4. Results

The research procedures described above serve to identify how the mentality of a language ethnos may affect the perception of gloating within this ethnos. According to these procedures, we focus on the following: 1) covering the main etymological sources of the names of gloating in Europian languages; 2) detecting the psycho-emotional and socio-cultural prerequisites of specific senses of the concepts Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО; 3) revealing the common and distinct senses by means of the corpus-based methods; 4) validating the results of the contrastive translation study of the concordance fragments of the word-requests *Schadenfreude* / *gloat* / *зловтіха* / *злорадство* based on the co-occurrent profile data.

4.1 The main etymological roots of the nomination of gloating in Europe
A detailed etymological study of the nominations of gloating in all languages of the European linguo-cultural space is a complicated objective that would require special research (moreover, the purpose of this study does not provide for it). However, to have a complete idea of how these nominations expanded across the area, it is necessary to go beyond the boundaries of the languages under consideration – English, German, Ukrainian, and Russian – and strengthen the etymological search by involving some other languages representing another language group, i.e. Romance languages. The reason for this is that Romance languages and Latin first of all made primarily a considerable contribution to the vocabulary of Germanic languages. Therefore, the etymology of most words (70%) in English (Scheler 1977: 74) and very many (27%) in German prove their Latin origin.

The etymological analysis revealed two ways of how the nominations of gloating spread within the European linguo-cultural area. They may be conventionally called the (a) "Byzantine" and (b) "Roman" paths. Ukrainian etymologists point out that the source language of the "Byzantine" way is Greek (ЕСУМ 1985: 267): the compound *χαιρεκακία* 'gloating' consists of two nouns – *χαρά* 'joy' and *κακό* 'evil'. The semantics of gloating is also found in the noun *κακοβουλία* 'unfriendliness' and the derivative adjective *κακόβουλος* 'evil; black; angry'. It means that the emotion of gloating was well-known to ancient Greeks. The lexeme *χαιρεκακία* (as well as the lexemes *κακοβουλία, κακόβουλος*, close in meaning) "migrated" as a morphological calque to Slavic languages, including the Eastern Slavic languages. It can be accounted for by the fact that Byzantium had a great cultural and religious influence upon the Slavic states (Cyril and Methodius's alphabet, Christianity, Byzantine Orthodox Church), especially upon Kyiv Rus. It is remarkable that we find a full calque of the abovementioned Greek word in the Eastern Slavic languages: Ukr. *злорадість / злорадство / зловтіха* (lexemes *втіха* and *радість* are synonyms); Belarus. *злорадость / злараднасць*; Rus. *злорадность / злорадство* (Glosbe, *s.a.*). Calquing can be traced in other Slavic languages, notably in Bulgarian *злорадство*, Croatian *zluradost*, Serbian *злорадост / zloradost*, Bosnian *zloradost*, Macedonian *злорадост* (ibid., *s.a.*). There is no reason for assuming that all these lexemes were calqued directly from Greek, as the factor of close interrelations between the aforesaid languages should be taken into account. It is illustrated by the fact that the closest to the German lexeme *Schadenfreude* are the compounds functioning in Czech and Slovak – *škodolibost* and *škodoradost* respectively (ibid., *s.a.*), where the first component means 'sorrow; loss', rather than 'evil' in the Slavic languages.

Within the Slavic language area, there are just a few languages where the compounds, similar to the Greek *χαιρεκακία*, exist but differ by a component of meaning. For instance, the Slovenian compound *škodoželje* 'gloating' and the Polish *złośliwość* 'acidity; nastiness; malice; malignance; gloating' and *nieżyczliwość* 'unfriendliness; gloating' (ibid., *s.a.*). In the latter the word-combinations of *złośliwa satysfakcja* and

złośliwe zadowolenie, are functioning simultaneously, being a calque of the "Byzantine" designation of gloating.

The source language of the "Roman" way is certainly the Classical Latin language. As soon as it lacks a compound with the meaning, similar to Greek *χαιρεκακία*, other Roman languages lack such a nomination as well. The Latin word-combination *fera gaudia* (lit. malicious joy) was not calqued by the main Romance languages, i.e. Italian, French, and Spanish, though one can trace the influence of Latin, anyway, e.g., French *malignité* 'malice; gloating; malicious intent' (Larousse 1977: 618) originates from Lat. *malignitas* 'malice, angriness', having the semantics of unfriendly jokes, mocking someone; the Italian lexeme *malignità* 'malice; gloating; malicious intent' and word-combination *contentezza maligna* 'gloating' have Latin roots: *malignitas* (VOL, *s.a.*); the Spanish word *regodeo* 'satisfaction; amusement', originating in Lat. *gaudium* 'joy', got a negative semantic shade designating malicious (unfriendly) joy (DDLLE, *s.a.*).

At first glance, English stands out of these etymological processes, as the lexeme *gloat* is of Germanic origin: here one can trace either (1) a motif of the curl of the lips rooted in the Ancient Scandinavian word *glotta* 'to smile insincerely (in a curl of the lips)', or (2) a motif of a staring from the Middle High German lexeme *glotzen* 'to stare' (Partridge 2006: 1289). These motifs are distinctly linked within the verb *to gloat* meaning 'look / think with malicious, greedy or lusty delight' (NWDTEL 1993: 406). However, taking into account a considerable influence of Classical Latin, and later French, on the English language, we suggest that semantics of unfriendly (malicious) mocking, found in the French word of *malignité*, in some way correlates with the etymological motive of insincere grinning of the English lexeme *gloat*.

Thus, the noun and verb *gloat* and the verbal noun *gloating* cannot be the full equivalents of the German lexeme *Schadenfreude* as the latter has only one meaning of 'malicious joy of doing something harmful to another person, or caused by someone else's bad luck' (DKW 1997: 780). However, in Slavic languages there are just semantic

equivalents of this German word; though rather formal, they still have the compound structure characteristic of the "Byzantine" path of the expansion of the nominations of gloating, e.g., Ukr. *злорадство* 'a feeling of malicious delight about someone else's bad luck, trouble' (СУМ 1972: 603); Rus. *злорадство* 'malicious joy of someone else's bad luck / trouble' (БТСРЯ 2000: 366). As long as etymologists cannot explain unambiguously the origin of the noun *Schadenfreude*, we can assume that it may be a calque from the Greek compound *χαιρεκακία*, and Slavic languages served as intermediaries, taking into account a close connection of German with Czech, Low Sorbian, High Sorbian, Slovak, and other Slavic languages. In this respect, German as a Germanic language is not unique, as in Swedish there is a similar compound noun – *skadeglädje* (Glosbe, *s.a.*).

Despite the fact that compound words to denote gloating are found in Germanic and Slavic languages, Anglo-Saxons ascribe this emotion to the Germans (Krönig 1999: 7). There are different reasons for this, including the ethnocentrism characteristic of each linguo-society. It is based to a great extent on the archetypal opposition "us" – "them", which divides the world into two poles: positive and negative. It is clear that each ethnos assigns positive features to itself, while ascribing negative properties to "them", i.e. alien ethne, especially neighbouring ones (Lehtonen 2005: 70). Ethnocentricity in the perception of a neighbouring ethnos usually lies in the basis of auto- and heterostereotypes.

Taking into account that Anglo-Saxons, in particular the British, were fighting with Germans during the recent history, they ascribed numerous negative heterostereotypical characteristics, which gradually spread in the whole Anglo-Saxon world, to the latter. Thus, Anglo-Saxons associate the following negative characteristics with the German national character: existential fear *Angst*, aggressiveness, arrogance, ability to terrify, bully, egoism, inferiority complex, sentimentality (Tenberg 1999: 18), as well as a tendency to gloat (Krönig 1999: 7). Because Anglo-Saxons do not have a lexeme denoting "gloat" so precisely as the

Germans, they borrowed the language designation for this lexeme from German: *schadenfreude* 'satisfaction or pleasure felt at someone else's misfortune' (RHWUD 1998: 1713), as if stressing that Anglo-Saxons are less malicious than Germans, or even emphasizing that such a negative emotion as gloating is not characteristic of representatives of the Anglo-Saxon world. The following extract from the dialogue of Lisa and Homer in the well-known animation series "Simpsons" is a good example (episode "When Flanders failed") (Vitti & Reardon 1991):

– ***Lisa****: Dad, do you know what schadenfreude is?*

– ***Homer*** *(sarcastically): No, I do not know what schadenfreude is. Please tell me because I'm dying to know.*

– ***Lisa****: It's a German word for shameful joy, taking pleasure in the suffering of others*.

Germans themselves do not consider gloating as a specific feature of their national character:

(1) *Manche meinen, Schadenfreude sei eine spezifisch deutsche Emotion, aber das stimmt nicht ganz* – [*People think that gloating is a specifically German emotion, though, in fact, it is not exactly so*].

On the contrary, they ascribe gloating to Anglo-Saxons (the British), e.g.,

(2) *...klang bei vielen englischen Fußballanalysten eine Haltung durch, die man auch in ihrer Sprache mit der deutschen Vokabel "schadenfreude" beschreibt* – [*...a lot of English football experts show the attitude, which their language describes using the German word "schadenfreude"*];

(3) *Ihre Schadenfreude sagt weniger über die Deutschen aus als über die Briten* – [*Their gloating speaks less about the Germans than about the British*].

Taking into account that gloating is an inherent human emotion, i.e. it is natural for a person irrespective of ethnicity, it is possible to suggest that such heterostereotypical characteristics of this or that ethnos cannot be objectively justified. Still, different

periods of a linguo-culture formation are accompanied by the change of values and priorities. The value orientation of a personality lies within the plain of a "positive – negative" scale, determined by the norms existing at a certain stage of the development of a language community. Norms change not only within one community, but differ considerably between the cultures.

4.2 Psycho-emotional and socio-cultural prerequisites of the specific senses of the concepts Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО

Though the human emotional world, especially basic emotions, are of universal nature, even closely related linguo-societies show some differences in the perception of emotions (emotional states, feelings), even greater than in their expression, especially when an emotion (e.g., generosity, greediness, meanness, pride, envy) dominates in this or that linguo-culture (see, e.g., Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2017: 47-48; Panasenko 2012: 1067-1068; Pinich 2017: 264-266). Such dominating emotions transform into national features of character, i.e. the features, more typical of one nation (ethnos) than others. So it is necessary to reveal the psycho-physiological and social nature of gloating, for it determines the ethno- and socio-cultural features of its perception within different linguo-cultures.

4.2.1 Psycho-physiological and social nature of gloating

Psychologists claim that gloating is a universal emotion (see, e.g., Feather 1989). There is no doubt that gloating is of social nature (Smith et al. 2009; Van Dijk et al. 2011). It means that gloating as a social emotion arose in the process of the humanity development as a basic emotion, and for its emergence at least two participants are needed, the subject and object of gloating.

However, the following questions are disputable: (a) determining the position, which is occupied by gloating in the "emotional mosaic" of a human being, formed as a result of "tangled" basic and non-basic emotions, and (b) revealing the social emotions whose activation provokes gloating.

Concerning the former questions, there is some indefiniteness, as psychologists are still discussing the notion "basic emotion" as well as which emotions should be considered basic (see, e.g., Izard 2011; Levenson 2011). They long believed that a human can experience just six basic emotions, i.e. happiness, fear, sadness, surprise, anger, and disgust (Ekman 1992). In the course of time, the list of basic emotions increased and decreased in accordance with the theories (approaches) applied by scholars. Despite such indefiniteness, the majority of scholars agree that the basic emotions are the foundation for shaping the non-basic (secondary, derivative) ones. It means that various combinations of basic emotions as a result of their permanent interaction, their "overlapping", enhance the emergence of more complex emotions (Levenson 2011). The number of the latter has not been determined either (Cowen & Keltner 2017). Combined (social) emotions differ, as a rule, on the interpersonal level, as they emerge under socio-cultural factors. Differences on the interpersonal level cause differences in the perception of this or that social emotion on the level of a certain group (collective), then on the intercultural level.

In the Intergroup Emotions Theory, the emotion of gloating is considered relevant to different groups (collective, subculture, etc.) as fear, anxiety, guilt, and anger (Smith et al. 2007). It is logically explained by the fact that gloating, judging from its inner form in various languages, emerges as a result of two basic emotions "intermingling" with one another, i.e. malice (as psychologists claim, the basic emotion is anger, not malice, though malice is a less intensive expression of anger) and joy. Researchers, having studied the nature of gloating for a while, have concluded that it is activated mostly by the following three factors: dignity, envy, and self-perfection (see, e.g., Van Dijk et al. 2011). It means that gloating may be "provoked" by the emotions (envy), feelings (dignity), and personal traits of an individual (striving for self-perfection), as gloating may be an emotion, a feeling, and a personal trait, simultaneously.

In the "emotional mosaic", the connection of gloating and envy is of special importance. Psychologists even think that it is envy that activates gloating (Smith et al.

2009: 539). It should also be emphasized that we speak not only about envy, but also about jealousy as a related emotion. An individual needs to transfer from envy (jealousy) to gloating to get a relief from the emotional tension as a result of the transformation of a painful social comparison into a more acceptable, more positive social comparison (Smith et al. 1996; Van Dijk et al. 2006).

It is remarkable that gloating may have a positive – stimulating – aspect, enhancing human progress. It is accounted for by the fact that gloating as well as envy, greed, jealousy, and some other negative emotions (see, e.g., about pride: Мизин 2018: 11) activates a different – mostly negative – side of the emotional world of a person, stimulating defensive behaviour on behalf of an individual – passive or active. Being passive – reserved – often results in the negative emotion "ruining" the person from the inside, while being active may be either destructive or competitive: the ruining activity may be directed at a physical annulment of external irritants (causing physical pain to a person, or even a murder), whereas the competitive activity is an incentive for activating an internal potential of a person with the purpose of improving his/her social status or social role.

In this context, a stimulating nature of gloating is of a more passive-observing character, as it does not bear direct threats from the subject to the object of gloating, considering its pending character: it is activated only if the object of gloating suffers from material losses, poor health, a lowered social status, some bad luck, or accident. At the same time, gloating is characterized by compensation, which may provoke either the stimulating or the competitive function. The latter is usually positive for individuals as well as for their environment. In the functions of compensation and competition psychologists see the nature of gloating through the lenses of the antagonistic game "zero-sum" introduced in the middle of the 20th century (von Newmann & Morgenstern 1944). Its nature lies in the fact that "their" victory (good luck) vs. failure (bad luck) are transformed completely into "our" victory (good luck) vs. failure (bad luck), therefore gloating can always be found in sports competitions.

As soon as a person is inherently a part of a collective, victory vs. failure of "others" can activate gloating not only for oneself, but also for the group a person identifies him- / herself with (see, e.g., Reid & Hogg 2005). Such gloating is experienced at both intra- and intercultural levels in sports, politics, business, where the failure of "their" rival team evokes joy for "ours", which is proven by numerous examples:

(4) Eng. *Strangely, the match is never mentioned, as if a spot of gloating over an English rugby victory might be construed as bad form*;

(5) Ger. *In Irland herrscht nach der französischen Blamage Schadenfreude* – [*After the French failed, Ireland is overwhelmed with gloating*];

(6) Ukr. *Не повинно залишатися місця зловтісі, коли здійснюються напади на редакції "не своїх" газет або телеканалів* – [*No gloating is acceptable when our paper is attacked by "their" papers and television channels*];

(7) Rus. *У американцев чувствуется некое злорадство по поводу удорожания евро* – [*Americans are somewhat gloating about the euro getting more expensive*].

4.2.2 The influence of ethno- and socio-cultural factors on the perception of gloating by different linguo-cultures

The assumption about the domination of this or that emotion in different collectives (from family community to ethnos) is methodologically justified by taking into account the fact that the emotions, which predominate in the individual emotional world under the influence of some individual and socio-cultural factors, can transform not only into corresponding emotional states or feelings, but can also be fixed as national features of character. Therefore, if certain emotions dominate among most members of a collective, it creates a fragment of the emotional perception of the surrounding world by a certain language ethnos, which makes it possible to speak about fixing this emotion as a (national) character feature of the whole ethnos. It is clear that if such features change, it can be usually caused by a change of values, which can be observed at each stage of an ethnos's development. The latter is continuously affected by socio-historical and socio-cultural factors.

"Fluctuations" of this or that emotion within the scale of "positive – negative" are possible due to the following specific aspect of human emotional organization: each positive emotion is opposed to a negative one, and vice versa. It is important to stress that the inner (emotional) world of a person permanently strives for the balance of the scale. Thus, empathy implying sympathizing with someone else's emotions, especially those of relatives (De Waal 2008), has the polar pair representation: sympathy – envy, co-joy – gloating. Such organization of the human emotional world lies of ist nature, as negative emotions are reactions to external irritants threatening a human's "ego" or even his/her very existence. These emotional reactions once helped to survive during the primeval period, and they still help a modern human to earn one's unique status in the society.

4.3 Common and distinct senses of the concept SCHADENFREUDE compared to A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО: Corpus-based approach

In order to describe the linguo-cultural concepts and reveal their culture-determined senses (alongside the scholarly perspectives on the nature of gloating analyzed above), it is necessary to study a "naive", non-scientific perception of the emotion of gloating. It involves studying the ideas associated with this emotion formed by a certain language ethnos in the process of its development. Traditional ideas are usually fixed in phraseology, for instance, and it is necessary to carry out contrastive translation analysis of the concordance fragments, built automatically on the basis of the word-requests *Schadenfreude* / *gloat* / *зловтіха* (*злорадість*) / *злорадство* and their derivatives to reveal the relevant senses of the concepts, namely Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО, in the contrasted linguo-cultures.

4.3.1 Common senses

In the "naive" perception of the contrasted linguo-cultures, gloating mostly arises on the grounds of social injustice (social hierarchy, social status, etc.) or excellency / primacy / successfulness / advantage (personal traits, physical characteristics, etc.) of other members of a certain human community (family, social group, subculture, etc.), which

activates envy, jealousy, arrogance, disgust, and the like. These are the emotions that accompany gloating, stress the negativity and amorality of the latter, e.g.,

(8) Eng. *Francis decided that Lacuna angry was almost preferable to Lacuna gloating*;

(9) Ger. *In der SPD sprechen sie über Scholz in einer Mischung aus Ärger, Frust und Schadenfreude – [SDP speak of Scholz with mixed emotions of anger, frustration, and gloating]*;

(10) Ukr. *Не всі злорадники усвідомлюють, що за кожним випадком зловтіхи – біль і страждання жертви – [Not all gloaters realize that each time they gloat it causes the victim to go through pain and sufferings]*;

(11) Rus. *Тот факт, что Олег приехал "с самой Москвы", у новых сотрудников вызвал лишь пошлое и обидное злорадство – [The fact that Oleg came "from as far as Moscow" evoked only vulgar and offensive gloating on behalf of the new employees]*.

Gloating divides the world into "us" and "them", as this emotion is usually ascribed to someone who is among "them" (neighbours, guests, enemies, rivals, and the like). At the same time, they are reluctant to admit their own gloating, so it is often concealed and even struggled with, e.g.,

(12) Eng. *It's a time to get together with friends and family and gloat in their faces when your team beats theirs*;

(13) Ger. *In den Augen der anderen Gäste bemerkt Lindner Schadenfreude – [Lindner noticed gloating in the eyes of the other guests]*;

(14) Ukr. *Розумієте, я ж насправді не вмію і не хочу зловтішатися на темі армії, це для мене неможливо – [You see, I am not able to gloat about the army issue, and do not want to, it is impossible for me]*;

(15) Rus. *В моем характере нет таких черт как злорадство, зависть – [I do not have such traits of character as gloating, envy]*.

It is remarkable that not only scientific conclusions, but also "naive" ideas about gloating emphasize its close connection to envy, e.g.,

(16) Eng.: *You gloat because of your envy*;

(17) Ger. *So unverhohlen hatte ich nie Neid und Schadenfreude aufeinanderprallen sehen wie hier* – [*I had never seen jealousy and gloating clash as blatantly as here*];

(18) Ukr. *…а далі все частіше визиратиме супутниця заздрості – зловтіха –* [*…and later the envy's companion – gloating – will show up more and more*];

(19) Rus. *…и развивать не какие попало чувства, а только те, которые возвышают человека, а не разрушают его, как, скажем, зависть или злорадство* – [*…and develop only those feelings that make somebody a better person instead of contributing to random feelings that ruin him/her, such as envy or gloating*].

Together with envy, gloating manifests its destructive nature by either "ruining" a person's spirit or pushing him/her to aggressive behaviour and even violence. However, as distinct from "black" envy, which is a suffering without hope for the better, gloating may be not so painful for an individual, as it may help the gloating person consider that the other has greater financial problems, health issues, a lower level of intellect, etc. So the emotion of gloating is at the same time joy for the person who can make peace with him-/herself, which makes gloating different from envy, e.g.,

(20) Eng. *…common faces, glowing with common avarice, indulging the common pleasure of gloating at the latecomers' "despair"*;

(21) Ger. *Wer die Feministinnen noch nie mochte, kann sich jetzt angesichts der gefährlichen neuen Weltlage noch eine Weile lang mit Schadenfreude trösten* – [*Those who do not bear feminists can enjoy gloating, taking into account the dangerous situation in the world*];

(22) Ukr. *Ціле його роздразнене нутро зворохобилося, але заразом відчув він велике вдоволення і несказанну злорадість* – [*His whole irritated inner self was boiling, but he immediately felt a great satisfaction and an immense gloat*];

(23) Rus. *Воспоминание о лицах сотрудников, на которых сперва расцвело злорадство, а потом проступило удовлетворение* – [*The memories about the faces of workmates which first shone with gloating and then showed some satisfaction*].

Such an emotional "comfort" of gloating results in the fact that it may be a transformer of a strong negative emotional tension into a milder strain, e.g.,

(24) Rus. *…они трансформируют свой страх в злорадство, а злорадство – в привычные апокалиптические образы* – [*…they transform their fear into gloating and the gloating into regular apocalyptic images*].

Gloating, similarly to a number of other emotions, has distinct expressions (mimics, look, etc.); therefore, it can be easily identified in the face of a gloating person and is sometimes difficult to conceal, e.g.,

(25) Eng. *He glanced at it, then at Michael, with a gloating expression*;

(26) Ger. *Er bot ihr (mit sichtlicher Schadenfreude) eine Kopie des Labour-Wahlprogramms an* – [*He proposed (with a noticeable gloat) a copy of the Labourites' election programme to her*];

(27) Ukr. *В Москві ж рішення альянсу про відновлення політичних контактів у рамках Ради Росія – НАТО коментували з неприхованою зловтіхою* – [*It was with an unconcealed gloat that Moscow commented on the decision of the Alliance to restore political contacts within the Russia – NATO Council*];

(28) Rus. *На лице его было написано нескрываемое злорадство* – [*There was an unconcealed gloat written in his face*].

Gloating can be expressed in the voice, a special look and laugh (gloating grin), e.g.,

(29) Eng. *The last he saw was a gloat in his sibling's eyes…*;

(30) Ger. *Ich glaubte zuerst, in seiner Stimme Schadenfreude zu hören* – [*First, I expected to hear some gloat in his voice*];

(31) Ukr. *Гучна заява української влади … викликала злорадний сміх…* – [*The hot air statement of the Ukrainian government … caused a gloating laugh…*];

(32) Rus. *Ну, а как известно, самый искренний смех – это злорадостный* – [*As we all know, the most sincere laughter is that of gloating*].

Emotions are known to "fill in" a person. It is the reason why gloating is associated with fluids or gases, e.g.,

(33) Ger. *Gigabyteweise Schadenfreude ergoss sich im Internet über Ronaldo* – [*Gigabytes of gloating poured on Ronaldo on the Internet*];

(34) Ukr. *Її усмішка і вся ця "поза" була сповнена такої зловтіхи...* – [*Her smile and all this "posture" were full of gloating...*];

(35) Rus. *Этот учитель полон злорадства* – [*The teacher is full of gloating*].
For Ukrainians and Russians, gloating may be personified, being pictured as an evil creature which settles in the heart or soul, e.g.,

(36) Ukr. *...з таких ось моментів починається ваша велика біда: в глибині вашого серця поселяється злорадість* – [*...moments as these are the beginning of your big trouble: a gloat settles deep in your heart*];

(37) Rus. *И вместо сочувствия лезет из души какое-то мерзкое злорадство* – [*Instead of sympathy, a disgusting gloat is crawling out of your soul*].

Another common feature of the linguo-cultures under contrastive analysis is an idea that gloating is actively spread by mass media products, first of all by gloating news. Mass media may activate this emotion on purpose in some of their audience, e.g.,

(38) Eng. *I do not appreciate all the gloating done by friends and press people...*;

(39) Ger. *Den Medien ist nicht selten Schadenfreude anzumerken...* – [*Gloating can often be observed in the mass media...*];

(40) Ukr. *...про що з виразною зловтіхою писали ЗМІ...* – [*...which was described with a gloat in mass media...*];

(41) Rus. *Черта, которой у киргизов раньше не было: злорадство, которое им навязала сегодняшняя киргизская пресса* – [*The trait the Kyrgyz did not use to have is gloating, which has been imposed on them by today's Kyrgyz press*].

4.3.2 Diverse senses

4.3.2.1 The Anglo-Saxon concept of GLOAT

The concept has not lost its primary etymological motive "mocking / insincere stare at someone", which makes it distinct from the German concept of SCHADENFREUDE, Ukrainian ЗЛОВТІХА and Russian ЗЛОРАДСТВО, e.g.,

(42) *...now a queue of men was gloating over her nudity through the open door.*

Apparently, it influenced the relevance of the Anglo-Saxon association of gloating with a facial expression, e.g.,

(43) *I was sure he had had a gloating look in his eyes when he found out I had been robbed.*

It is remarkable that the etymological motive of a "curved grin" has also been preserved, e.g.,

(44) *...and I hoped I would never again see such a cold and gloating smile as she was smiling at me.*

The linguo-cultural specifics can be traced to the objectivation of the concept GLOAT with the help of the phrase *a good gloat* meaning that those who lose or fail deserve mocking with delight, e.g.,

(45) *...that the winners should have a good gloat*;

(46) *I rang her up to tell her that I would join her for a good gloat.*

Formally, the analogue of this phrase – *gute Schadenfreude* – may be found in German, e.g.,

(47) *Wenn die ganze Welt gegen einen zu sein scheint, hilft manchmal nur noch die gute alte Schadenfreude* – [*When the whole world seems to be against somebody, what can help a little is a good old-fashioned gloat*].

However, it is just one version of ironic references to the German proverb *Schadenfreude ist die reinste Freude* (lit. Gloating is the only genuine joy) (Duden 1992: 610), e.g.,

(48) *Manchmal ist Schadenfreude wirklich die schönste Freude – [Sometimes gloating is really the best joy]*.

The analysis of concordance fragments revealed the fact that the pleasure from gloating can often be found among Anglo-Saxons (107 examples in 863 concordance fragments BNC + COCA (12.3%)), e.g.,

(49) *He takes a rather gloating pleasure in setting her beside Kee...*;

(50) *It is always enjoyable to gloat over the agonizing of the high-minded... .*

The concept GLOAT differentiates between the sense of an exquisite gloat and that of humiliating the opponent, e.g.,

(51) *...Jeffrey Bartholet, who found it impossible to decide whether he wanted to adopt a patronizing sneer or just indulge in some good old fashioned gloating.*

4.3.2.2 The German concept of SCHADENFREUDE

The representatives of the German-speaking nation do not assume that gloating is an emotion to be proud of (154 examples in 978 concordance fragments DWDS + LLC (15.7%)), e.g.,

(52) *Die Isländer brauchen Charakterzüge ... wie die hässliche Schadenfreude und Häme und den deutschen unüberwindbaren Wunsch, möglichst billig (oder für umsonst) an Nachbars Eigentum zu kommen – [The Icelanders need traits of character ... such as terrible gloating and acidity, as well as the German insatiable desire to purchase a neighbour's property at the lowest price (or for free)].*

However, the language objectivation of the concept SCHADENFREUDE proves that gloating may be perceived by Germans more naturally as a reaction of empathy. It also contains some distinctly positive (stimulating) senses, e.g.,

(53) *Schadenfreude ist bekanntlich oft nicht die unangenehmste Freude –* [*Gloating is known to be not the most unpleasant joy*];

(54) *Schadenfreude ist noch immer ein kräftiger Motor menschlicher Schaffenskraft –* [*Gloating is still a powerful driver of creative forces*];

(55) *Schadenfreude tut eben wirklich gut –* [*Gloating really does good*].

Most likely, the success of others, their being supreme or victorious may stimulate the life potential (intellectual or physical activity) of a gloating person. One can admit that the positive side of the German gloating is connected with one of the main properties of the German national character, i.e. the pressing need for perfection (Deutschland in den Augen der Welt 2015: 25). This need activates the energy of an individual to overcome the other members of the collective who are supreme (victorious) by perfecting his/her inner potential – physical, intellectual, creative, etc. Therefore, the German emotion of gloating is not only "destructive": a representative of the German linguo-culture does not wait for the moment when the object of gloating fails or has some troubles. On the contrary, someone else being supreme (victorious) is an incentive for a German to work more, study more, be more self-organized, which makes it possible for him/her to become supreme (victorious) compared to the object of gloating. This is the reason why Germans believe that a little gloating will not do any harm, e.g.,

(56) *Ein wenig Schadenfreude tut durchaus gut – gönnen Sie sich einfach auch ein bisschen was davon! –* [*A little gloating does only good, just allow yourself to have some!*].

4.3.2.3 The Ukrainian concept of ЗЛОВТІХА

The analysis of the actual material revealed that the Ukrainian linguo-society's attitude towards gloating is mostly negative: it is condemned while its immoral nature is emphasized, e.g.,

(57) *Зловтіха завжди швидко змінювалася на роздратування, потім переходила в справжню лють* – [*Gloating always changed to irritation, then transformed into real fury*];

(58) *У моїй системі цінностей радіти тому, що у людини згорів будинок – зловтіха, яка породжує вседозволеність* – [*In my system of values, to be happy that someone else's house burnt down is the gloating, which causes anarchy*].

Specific here is the fact that gloating destroys not only the personality but equally the statehood. The latter is a threat to the whole process of the Ukrainian state-formation, as the whole nation (society) may act as gloaters, with the politicians being the object of their gloating, or vice versa, e.g.,

(59) *Емоційну забарвленість коментарів суспільства: злорадство, – в основному. І реакцію суспільства на коментарі влади – іронія, знущання, і те ж злорадство –* [*The emotional colouring of the society's comments is mostly gloating. The society's reaction to the government's comments is irony, acidity and gloating, again*].

Gloating in the Ukrainian political environment is considered to be extremely dangerous, e.g.,

(60) *І сьогодні нам треба не переживати чи зловтішатися щодо нашого спільного майбутнього, а сісти за стіл переговорів – зрозуміло, на рівні експертів, а не політиканів* – [*Today, we do not need to be anxious or gloat about our common future, but discuss it at the round table – of experts, not politicos, of course*].

It can be accounted for by the fact that it is of high importance to unite the nation, e.g.,

(61) *Я б хотів, щоб усі сьогодні об'єднувалися навколо, а не зловтішалися* – [*I would like everyone to unite around instead of gloating*].

It is all about saving the status of the state, the national values and integrity in terms of the national self-identification. The events of the Russia – Ukraine conflict show that

the aforementioned may be easily lost. Among the properties of the Ukrainian national character, which disintegrates the Ukrainian community, is gloating, when one thinks of one's compatriots as of "them", not "us". This is the reason why overcoming such gloating is a priority for both the Ukrainian society and the domestic politicians, e.g.,

(62) *Компроміс, який нарешті дозволив би основним політичним партіям виступати єдиним фронтом із захисту інтересів та авторитету країни на міжнародній арені, а не робити дрібні "капості" й не кляузничати одне на одного, зловтішаючись... –* [*The compromise that could at last allow the main political parties to struggle together in order to protect the interests and authority of the country on the international scene instead of playing small "mean tricks" and complaining about each other with a gloat...*].

Let us assume that the background for the emergence of the "state-ruining" senses of the concept ЗЛОВТІХА is the principle, widespread among Ukrainians, expressed in the best way by the proverb *Якщо у мене здохло теля, то нехай у сусіда корова здохне* (lit. If my calf has died, let the neighbour's cow die too) or the curse *Щоб у сусіда хата згоріла!* (lit. Let the neighbour's house burn down!). The gloat in this principle has a distinctly "destructive" character. Ukrainian gloating also activates envy, strengthened by greed and arrogance. This "cocktail" has the same grounds as the phenomenon, which appeared in the late 20th century, called the "українська жаба [translit. *ukrayins'ka zhaba* / Eng. *Ukrainian toad*]" (the word *жаба* means (1) "toad" or (2) "angina pectoris"). All the negative emotions are associated in the naive consciousness with "inflating a toad" and "angina pectoris".

There is also "Russian toad" but the "Ukrainian" one is especially relevant, as this notion has been within the Ukrainian discourse for over two decades. The idiomatic expression that a person is being "choked by a toad" shows all the emotions encapsulated within the notion of the "Ukrainian toad". The "toad", which is "choking" both "us" and "them", is a threat for the Ukrainian society, e.g.,

(63) *Найбільша наша проблема ... жаба! Величезна українська тварюка, яка задавила мільйони –* [*Our greatest problem is ... the zhaba (toad)! The enormous Ukrainian creature that has choked millions of people*].

It is remarkable that there are monuments to the "Ukrainian toad" in Ukrainian cities. Thus, for instance, in Berdiansk such a monument was opened in 2007: a toad with a cigar, two mobile phones, a press of bank notes, and a massive golden chain sitting on the heads of four people: a man, a woman, an old man, and a child. It is an illustration of the phrase *zhaba chokes* symbolizing the fact that the abovementioned emotions, in particular gloating, are still typical of all the layers of the Ukrainian society.

4.3.2.4 The Russian concept of ЗЛОРАДСТВО

Gloating in the "naive" Russian consciousness is considered to be evil, a sin, a flaw, e.g.,

(64) *Так что грех тому, кто будет злорадствовать по поводу здоровья Плющенко –* [*So he who gloats about Pliushchenko's health commits a sin*].

Russians are not ashamed to ascribe gloating to their compatriots, though they generally tend to relate it to other ethne, e.g.,

(65) *Злорадство свойственно характеру русского человека –* [*Gloating is typical of the Russian character*];

(66) *Пока американцы злорадствовали – российские С-300 в Сирии отразили воздушную атаку Израиля –* [*While Americans were gloating, the Russian С-300 repelled Israel's air attack in Syria*].

It is remarkable that, unlike the "state-ruining" gloating of Ukrainians, for Russians this emotion performs the opposite socio-cultural "state-uniting" function, which manifests itself in deep nationwide gloating, e.g.,

(67) *Вот где "широкая русская душа ... может разойтись в своем глубоком злорадстве" –* [*Here is where the "broad Russian soul ... can enjoy its deep gloat"*].

This gloating can be defined as a "stapling" or "state-uniting" within the notion of "spiritual bonds" (ideological rules determining traditional Russian values), now popular in the Russian society. The "spiritual bonds" gloating unites representatives of the Russian linguo-culture in their opposition to real and fictitious enemies, e.g.,

(68) *Злоба, зависть и злорадство – три источника и три составные части русского патриотизма –* [*Malice, envy, and gloating are three sources and three constituent parts of the Russian patriotism*];

(69) *Своим злорадством по поводу катастроф в других странах ... россияне поставили себя в стороне от планеты всей, ибо это злорадство – беспрецедентно –* [*By their gloating about the catastrophes in other countries ... Russians have separated themselves from the rest of the globe, as their gloating is unprecedented*].

Russians are also prone to the so-called "Robin Hood" gloating, which is not considered immoral though, e.g.,

(70) *Вор он и есть вор, будь это карманник в метро или мудрый хакер. Впрочем, реакция-злорадство на то, как обворовали богатых, нормальна –* [*A thief is a thief, no matter whether he is a pickpocket on an underground train or a wise hacker. Anyway, it is alright to gloat when the rich are robbed*].

So, the contrastive translation study of the concordance fragments of the word-requests in question reveals that the concepts analyzed, namely Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО, have a number of common senses: (1) 'envy'; (2) 'jealousy'; (3) 'arrogance'; (4) 'malice'; (5) 'hatred'; (6) 'suffering'; (7) 'social inequality'; (8) 'supremacy'; (9) 'mocking'; (10) 'insincerity', and so on. On the background of these cross-cultural universal features are discovered some ethnically marked senses of the concepts in question, which make it possible to single out the following ethnically specific types of gloating: (1) "stimulating" for Germans, (2) "exquisitely ruining" for nglo-Saxons, (3) "state-ruining" for Ukrainians, and (4) "state-uniting (through "spiritual bonds")" for Russians (see Table 1).

Table 1. The quantitative indicator of ethno-specific types of gloat

Type of ethno-specific of gloat	Corpus	Number of the concordance fragments	%
A.-S. "exquisitely ruining"	BNC + COCA	113	13.1
Ger. "stimulating"	DWDS + LCC	187	19.1
Ukr. "state-ruining"	CUL + LP	59	14.8
Rus. "stapling"	RNC	72	16.8

4.3.3 Verifying the results of the contrastive translation study of the concordance fragments of the word-requests based on the co-occurrent profile data

It is methodologically justified to confirm the results of the above analysis by means of the cooccurrent profile data of the lemmas *Schadenfreude* / *gloat* / *зловтіха* / *злорадство*. The paper has not studied all the data provided by the cooccurrent profiles (cooccurrent-like forms, co-occurrences, left-hand and right-hand collocations, etc.), but only the most frequent co-occurrences (words that commonly occur in both vertical and horizontal contexts). The priority is given to nominal lemmas (tokens) denoting emotions or existential abstract notions (see Table 2). It is accounted for by the fact that these lemmas are simultaneously the names of the concepts that closely correlate with the concepts under study, i.e. Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО, serving as their main representatives.

Table 2. The most frequent noun co-occurrences of the Ger. *Schadenfreude*, Eng. *gloat*, Ukr. *зловтіха*, and Rus. *злорадство* lemmas (according to LLC corpus)

Schadenfreude	gloat	зловтіха	злорадство
1. Freude [joy] (284)	1. victory (126)	1. заздрість [envy] (39)	1. зависть [envy] (165)
2. Häme [acidity] (281)	2. arrogance (69)	2. торжество [triumph] (36)	2. злоба [malice] (77)
3. Neid [envy] (129)	3. glee (66)	3. жорстокість [cruelty] (32)	3. сочувствие [sympathy] (63)
4. Spott [mocking] (113)	4. enemy (40)	4. радість [joy] (29)	4. ненависть [hatred] (63)
5. Bosheit [malice] (83)	5. win (40)	5. співчуття [sympathy] (27)	5. смех [laughter] (60)
6. Mitleid [sympathy] (81)	6. Trump (37)	6. невдача [bad luck] (27)	6. равнодушие [indifference] (42)
	7. defeat (32)		
	8. brag (30)		
	9. bad luck (29)		
	10. media (29)		
	11. success (27)		

7. Lachen [laughter] (60)	12. failure (26)	7. зневага [disrespect] (24)	7. радость [joy] (35)
8. Fremdschämen [awkwardness about others] (59)	13. mourn (26)	8. ненависть [hatred] (23)	8. возмущение [indignation] (31)
9. Genugtuung [pleasure] (58)	14. pleasure (25)	9. серце [heart] (23)	9. ирония [irony] (31)
10. Rechthaberei [obstinacy] (42)	15. revel (23)	10. життя [life] (22)	10. сослуживец [workmate] (28)
11. Voyeurismus [voyeurism] (37)		11. задоволення [pleasure] (21)	11. удивление [surprise] (28)
12. Heiterkeit [fun] (33)		12. горе [grief] (21)	12. насмешка [mockery] (25)
13. Mißgunst [unfriendliness] (29)		13. насмішка [mockery] (21)	13. огорчение [disappointment] (21)
14. Hohn [mockery; scorn] (24)		14. злість [malice] (20)	14. удовольствие [pleasure] (19)
15. Witz [joke] (21)		15. іронія [irony] (20)	15. неудача [bad luck] (18)

The table shows that the emotion of gloating, despite its universal character, has considerable cross-cultural differences. The Anglo-Saxon linguo-culture stands out in that even the connection between gloating and envy is not relevant any more.

In the four contrasted languages, there are just 20% of matches for the 15 most frequent co-occurrences (the lemmas to denote "mocking", "bad luck", and "pleasure"), while comparing three languages – German, Ukrainian, and Russian – we find as many as 53.3% of matches (most likely, it can be accounted for by their common etymological paths and a certain number of similarities of the gloating nomination, in terms of form and content). It is remarkable that even in closely related linguo-societies – Ukrainian and Russian – gloating is perceived differently (40% of differences). It can be explained by a considerable ethno- and socio-cultural influence on the perception of this social emotion in different linguo-cultures.

In general, the aforesaid data give an indirect confirmation of the results obtained by the contrastive translation analysis of the concordance fragments for the word-requests *Schadenfreude* / *gloat* / *зловтіха* (*злорадість*) / *злорадство* and their derivatives. Thus, the Anglo-Saxon gloating is activated by someone's victory or failure, which

causes the opponent's satisfaction by provoking a gloating laughter, mocking, irony, or sadness. Malicious mockery is the reason for arrogance and loftiness of another person, so English-speakers now have an association of this emotion with Donald Trump who is well-known for exquisitely destructive gloating over his opponents. On the contrary, Germans consider envy to be the main factor provoking gloating. Still, it does not make the German gloating absolutely harmless, as it usually gives delight and is accompanied by joy, laughter, jokes, mocking, etc. Specifically German is the association of gloating with voyeurism. Most likely, this association is based on the principle of hidden observation of other people from the same community, characteristic of both gloating and voyeurism. It is remarkable that for Ukrainians and Russians, as distinct from Anglo-Saxons and Germans, gloating is first of all associated with envy (see Table 2). Here the question is about the "black" envy provoking hatred, cruelty, malice, and so on. Therefore, gloating is perceived much more negatively by Ukrainians and Russians than by Anglo-Saxons and Germans, despite its transforming function of turning the negative emotional tension of a person into a more positive state.

Having analyzed the most frequent co-occurrences, we determined the closest correlating concepts in each of the contrasted linguo-societies (see Table 2): Ger. SCHADENFREUDE → FREUDE [joy], HÄME [acidity; malice]; A.-S. GLOAT → VICTORY, ARROGANCE; Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА → ЗАЗДРІСТЬ [envy], ТОРЖЕСТВО [triumph]; Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО → ЗАВИСТЬ [envy], ЗЛОБА [malice]. These correlating concepts clearly demonstrate the cross-cultural differences in the nature of gloating and the factors activating it in the linguo-cultures under analysis.

5. Conclusions

The paper tests the corpus-based methods as one of the stages of a contrastive linguo-cultural study of the concept SCHADENFREUDE. These methods involved three research procedures: 1) identifying the etymological roots of the names of gloating in several Romance, Germanic, and Slavic languages; 2) revealing the relevant senses of the

concepts under study, i.e. Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО, by means of contrastive translation analysis of the concordance fragments, automatically formed for word-requests; 3) verifying the results of the contrastive translation study of the word-request concordance fragments based on the data of other cooccurrent profiles.

The application of these research procedures has led us to the following conclusions:
1) the nominations of the emotion of gloating expanded within the European linguo-cultural area in the two ways called "Byzantine" and "Roman". German, Ukrainian, and Russian names of gloating followed the "Byzantine" path (compounds consisting of the components denoting anger (or sorrow, loss) and joy). On the other hand, the English name of this emotion is of Germanic origin (with a possible inconsiderable influence of Romance languages), which creates a sharp contrast with German. This must have served as the basis for an Anglo-Saxon heterostereotype about Germans as a particularly gloating nation;
2) the Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО concepts have both common (universal) and specific (ethno- and socio-cultural) senses. The latter make it possible to single out the following ethno-specific types of gloating, applicable to the contrasted linguo-cultures: "stimulating" (Germans), "exquisitely destructive" (Anglo-Saxons), "state-ruining" (Ukrainians), and "state-uniting" (Russians);
3) the Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО concepts have close connections with different concepts in the linguo-societies under consideration (German – FREUDE, HÄME; Anglo-Saxon – VICTORY, ARROGANCE; Ukrainian – ЗАЗДРІСТЬ, ТОРЖЕСТВО; Russian – ЗАВИСТЬ, ЗЛОБА), which shows noticeable cross-cultural differences in the perception of the emotion of gloating.

Having tested the methodology, we have revealed that the heterostereotype about a special tendency to gloating in the German linguo-culture does not have objective grounds, and the universal emotion of gloating has its ethno- and socio-cultural

characteristics in the German, Anglo-Saxon, Ukrainian, and Russian linguo-societies, which can be discovered by cross-cultural analysis. These conclusions give grounds to suggest that the perception and, to a lesser extent, the expression, of social emotions in a language ethnos is partially determined by the psychological makeup of the ethnos, i.e. its national traits of character.

Notes and abbreviations

All the examples are borrowed from the following corpora:

1) English: BNC, COCA;

2) German: DWDS, LCC;

3) Ukrainian: CUL, LP;

4) Russian: RNC.

All the translations of the examples have been performed by the authors.

List of abbreviations

БТСРЯ – Большой толковый словарь русского языка

ЕСУМ – Етимологічний словник української мови

СУМ – Словник української мови

A.-S. – Anglo-Saxon

Belarus. – Belarussian

BNC – British national corpus

COCA – Corpus of contemporary American English

CUL – Corpus of the Ukrainian language

DDLLE – Diccionario de la lengua española

DKW – Der kleine Wahrig. Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache

DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache

Ger. – German

Lat. – Latin

LCC – Leipzig corpora collection

LP – Linguistic portal

NWDTEL – New Webster's dictionary and thesaurus of the English language

RHWUD – Random house Webster's unabridged dictionary

RNC – Russian national corpus

Rus. – Russian

Ukr. – Ukrainian

VOL – Vocabolario on line

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Résumé

The paper tests the corpus-based method as one of the stages of a contrastive linguo-cultural study of the German linguo-cultural concept SCHADENFREUDE. The first research procedure of the method is the etymological analysis, which reveals that the nominations of the emotion of gloating expanded within the European linguo-cultural area in two ways, i.e. the "Byzantine" and "Roman" paths. German, Ukrainian, and Russian names of gloating distinctly took the "Byzantine" path. The British nomination of gloating, which has Germanic roots, stands in contrast with German. This creates a foundation for Anglo-Saxons to form the heterostereotypical idea about Germans tending to gloat more than other nations. The second research procedure, based on the data of lingual corpora, made it possible to determine that the Ger. SCHADENFREUDE, A.-S. GLOAT, Ukr. ЗЛОВТІХА, and Rus. ЗЛОРАДСТВО concepts have common (universal) and specific (ethno- and socio-cultural) senses. Having analyzed the latter, we have singled out the following ethno-specific types of gloating: "stimulating" (Germans), "exquisitely destructive" (Anglo-Saxons), "state-ruining" (Ukrainians), and "state-uniting" (Russians). The third research procedure includes creating the cooccurrent profiles of the word-requests, which helped identify the close correlation of the concepts that have been determined in each of the contrasted linguo-societies with the concepts in question: SCHADENFREUDE, GLOAT, ЗЛОВТІХА, and ЗЛОРАДСТВО. The correlating concepts show a cross-cultural contrast in the ideas about the nature of gloating and the factors activating it in the linguo-cultures under contrastive analysis.

Having tested the method, we revealed that the heterostereotype about Germans being especially prone to gloating is not justified, while the universal emotion of gloating has its ethno- and socio-cultural characteristics in the German, Anglo-Saxon, Ukrainian, and Russian linguo-societies. These conclusions give grounds to suggest that the perception and, to a lesser extent, the expression, of social emotions in a language ethnos is partially determined–by the psychological makeup of the ethnos, i.e. its national traits of character.