

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34069/AI/2023.61.01.23>

How to Cite:

Mizin, K., Slavova, L., Petrov, O., & Yumrukuz, A. (2023). Organizing the Germans' emotional world through the prism of the opposition ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS: Ambivalent emotion concepts. *Amazonia Investiga*, 12(61), 224-235. <https://doi.org/10.34069/AI/2023.61.01.23>

## Organizing the Germans' emotional world through the prism of the opposition ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS: Ambivalent emotion concepts

### Організація емоційного світу німців на основі протиставлення ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS: амбівалентні емоційні поняття

Received: February 2, 2023

Accepted: March 30, 2023

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#### Abstract

The authors prove the assumption that the linguo-cultural opposition ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS has a certain influence on the formation of such ethno-specific ambivalent emotion concepts (EC) SEHNSUCHT, FERNWEH AND HEIMWEH in the German linguo-culture. Due to the applied methodology (definitional and contextual analyses of EC names) it was established that the German chaos and metaphysical fear (ANGST) oppose a kind of "safety-cosiness quartet", which is represented by concepts SICHERHEIT, GEBORGENHEIT, GEMÜTLICHKEIT and ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT. It was revealed that the universal principle of perception of the objective world ONE'S OWN vs. ALIEN serves as the basis for the opposition ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS and its derivative ANGST vs. SICHERHEIT & GEBORGENHEIT & GEMÜTLICHKEIT & ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT. This principle caused "disruption" of the inner world of the German linguo-culture representatives because, on the one hand, they strive for a sense of safety, security, comfort, and stability, which generates "their own" world, but, on the other hand, they

#### Анотація

У статті аргументовано припущення, що в німецькій лінгвокультурі певний вплив на становлення етноспецифічних амбівалентних емоційних понять (ЕП) SEHNSUCHT, FERNWEH та HEIMWEH має лінгвокультурна опозиція ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS. За допомогою застосованої методики (дефініційний і контекстний аналізи імен ЕП) встановлено, що німецькому хаосу та метафізичному страху (ANGST) протистоїть своєрідний "безпеково-затишковий квартет", який представлений поняттями SICHERHEIT, GEBORGENHEIT, GEMÜTLICHKEIT та ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT. Виявлено, що підґрунтям для опозиції ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS та похідної від неї ANGST vs. SICHERHEIT & GEBORGENHEIT & GEMÜTLICHKEIT & ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT слугує універсальний принцип сприйняття об'єктивного світу СВІЙ vs. ЧУЖИЙ. Цей принцип зумовив "розривання" внутрішнього світу представників німецької лінгвокультури, бо, з одного боку, вони прагнуть до відчуття безпеки, захищеності, затишку та стабільності, що генерує їм "свій" світ, проте з другого боку,

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constantly try to go beyond the latter, since the "alien" world is associated not only with chaos and danger but also with new sensations and experience. Such an emotional "disruption" of the German people between metaphysical fear and a "safety-cosiness quartet", to some extent, gave rise to the ambivalence of the EC SEHNSUCHT, FERNWEH and HEIMWEH.

**Key words:** ambivalent emotion concept, linguo-culture, order, chaos, Sehnsucht, Fernweh.

## Introduction

In modern science, there is a growing tendency to understand the surrounding world as a highly complex configuration of open systems (Luhmann, 1995). These systems exhibit a certain structural isomorphism, which concerns, in particular, their organization according to the principle of dichotomies (cf. a person's perception of objective reality through the prism of "embodied" orientations (e.g., TOP vs. BOTTOM, RIGHT vs. LEFT), sociocultural oppositions (e.g., ONE'S OWN vs. ALIEN), intercultural oppositions (e.g., COLLECTIVISM vs. INDIVIDUALISM), etc.). Such an organization is one of the prerequisites for the development of a person's inner (mental) world, with its dynamics dependent on the permanent balancing between opposite entities. As a result of the interaction of individuals of a certain cultural group, there arise constant (ethno- and socio-cultural) features of this world. They serve to form a common world picture in this group. Such "pictures" contain well-established (traditional) ideas of different linguo-cultures representatives about the world around them, reflecting the features of the categorization and conceptualization of the latter.

The dichotomous world order, both objective and mental, is extrapolated to the processes of human development, where the strengthening of one tendency activates the opposite one. Today's globalisation, for example, has led to anti-globalisation processes. Among the latter, the spread of ethnocentric tendencies in the European linguistic and cultural space should be noted (Mizin & Letiucha, 2019, p. 237). These tendencies directly correlate with the problems of intercultural communication and intercultural barriers, actualising the study of various world pictures, which consist of cultural concepts, including EC.

вони постійно намагаються вийти за межі останнього, оскільки "чужий" світ асоціюється не лише з хаосом і небезпекою, але й новими відчуттями та новим досвідом. Саме це емоційне "розривання" німців між метафізичним страхом і "безпеково-затишковым квітетом" спричинило деякою мірою амбівалентність ЕП SEHNSUCHT, FERNWEH та HEIMWEH.

**Ключові слова:** амбівалентне емоційне поняття, лінгвокультура, порядок, хаос, Sehnsucht, Fernweh.

Cultural specificity is inherent not only in those ECs that convey the meanings of social or moral emotions, but also in those that represent basic emotions, since modern empirical studies prove that both the expression of basic (universal) emotions and their perception (recognition, decoding) can have cultural tagging among representatives of different linguistic communities (Chen et al., 2018; Doyle, Gendron, & Lindquist, 2021; Gendron et al., 2014; Jack et al., 2012). Considering this, the search for equivalents in the target linguo-cultures for the ECs of the original linguo-culture is a big problem, especially in the case of ethno-specific ECs (Goddard, 2018; Lomas, 2017; Mizin & Ovsienko, 2020; Mizin et al., 2021; Mizin, Slavova, & Khmara, 2021; Ogarkova, Panasenko, & Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2013; Oster, 2012).

The presence of ethno-cultural meanings in ECs allows us to assert that each world picture is characterized by a complex emotional "mosaic", in which numerous dichotomies can be traced. This is because the very nature of this mosaic is based on two opposite processes – universalism and ethnocentrism (Mizin & Kolesnyk, 2021, p. 19). Therefore, even those ECs that convey the universal meanings of basic emotions can form specific configurations in accordance with those social norms and/or values (rules of conduct, code of ethics, moral norms, etc.) that function in a particular linguo-culture.

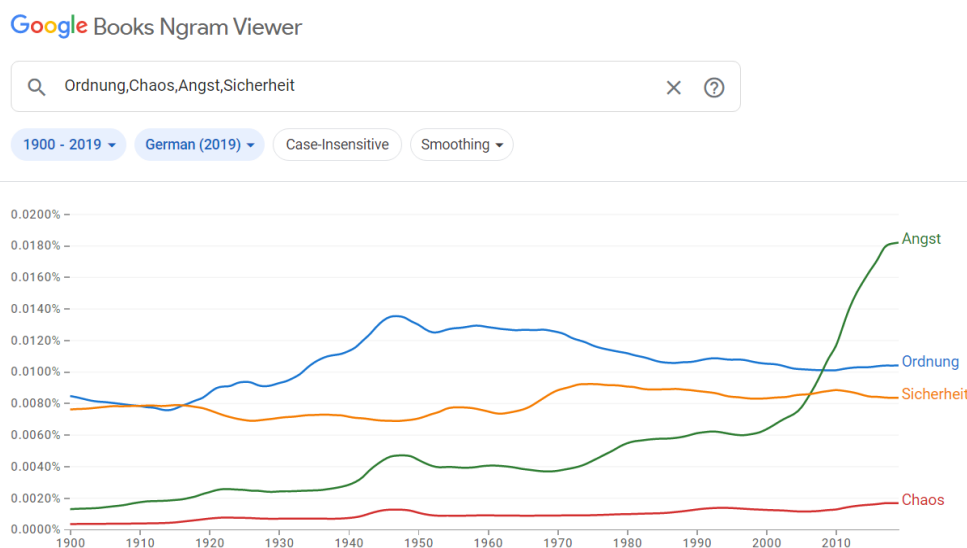
For instance, in the Germans' world picture the emotional "mosaic" is largely determined by the concept ORDNUNG 'Order' and the associated concept CHAOS 'Chaos', which divided the inner world of the Germans into two poles, contributing to the emergence of a number of specific cultural concepts, including emotional ones (Cramer, 2015; Mizin & Kolesnyk, 2021; Wierzbicka, 1999). ORDER represents the

positive pole where those ECs representing the emotions of security and comfort are grouped. CHAOS is closely correlated with the existential fear of the Germans, which represents the concept of ANGST 'anxiety; fear' (Wierzbicka, 1999, pp. 159-166).

Since a person constantly strives to harmonise one's own inner world, which also implies a search for emotional balance in the form of emotional release or emotional balance, this leads to the formation of such ECs, which negative meaning structure can be levelled by the positive meanings contained in it, and vice versa. Similar ECs can be both negative and positive, which depends on the individual's subjective perception of the emotional situation. This phenomenon is called ambivalence (see more in Lomas, 2017, p. 6). It can be assumed that the emergence of ambivalent ECs among the Germans may be associated with the search for a balance between positive order and negative chaos. Considering this, the purpose of the research is to determine the influence of the linguo-cultural opposition ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS on the formation of ambivalent ethno-specific ECs in the German linguo-culture.

## Theoretical Framework

The concept ORDNUNG occupies a key position in the hierarchy of values of German linguo-culture, which is emphasised by adherents of the ethnoprismatic direction of cognitive linguistics (Cramer, 2015; Wierzbicka, 1999). The relevance of this concept is associated with the fact, that metaphysical (existential) fear (ANGST), which activates the opposite of ORDNUNG concept CHAOS, has a special meaning for the Germans. It is the fear of the chaos that causes them to permanently gravitate toward order. The frequency graph of the lemmas, which are the names of these concepts, clearly demonstrates the following pattern: lowering the role of order and safety actualises chaos (Fig. 1). However, since the beginning of the 20th century, existential fear has been especially sharply actualised, which is obviously connected with the challenges that German society has faced in recent decades, i.e. globalisation, emigration, terrorist attacks, the growing influence of right-wing radicals, coronavirus, inflation, etc. All these factors make Germans uncertain about their future, which confirms the linguo-cultural relevance of the concept ZUKUNFTSANGST 'fear of the future' (Cramer, 2015, p. 274).



**Fig. 1.** Frequency graph of the lemmas *Angst*, *Ordnung*, *Sicherheit*, *Chaos* according to Google Books Ngram Viewer; German; 1900–2019; smoothing 3 (GBNV, 2023).

Insecurity about the future, as well as uncertainty cause Germans even more fear than the real danger. This is fully consistent with the conclusion of the sociologist G. Hofstede (2006, pp. 228-289) that such a criterion for comparing cultures as UNSICHERHEITSVERMEIDUNG (approximate translation: *uncertainty avoidance*)

plays a special role in Germany. Representatives of cultures with a high level of uncertainty avoidance, in particular the Germans, are characterized by a desire to comply with rules, norms of behaviour, and laws, a negative attitude towards ambiguity, clear and long-term planning for the future, the need for clear and detailed

written instructions, frankness in expressing criticism, lack of risk appetite.

Obviously, this was the reason why the idea of the founder of the philosophical current of existentialism S. Kierkegaard (2020) that metaphysical fear has an existential significance for the existence of the individual was picked up by German thinkers, primarily M. Heidegger (1979, p. 135). The latter defined *ANGST* as the basic state (*Grundbefindlichkeit*) of being. In addition, the close attention to this problem by the philosophers who belong to Germanic linguo-cultures can also be explained by the influence of world pictures, because physical and metaphysical fears in Germanic languages, unlike, e.g., East Slavic, have separate linguistic designations (cf. also French *angoisse*, Czech *uzkost*, Polish *lek*). If we compare the names of fear in some Germanic languages (on the left there is a lexeme for the designation of physical fear, and on the right – the one of metaphysical), we find that the latter can be rendered not even in one word, but in two lexical units that are very close in meaning: German *Furcht – Angst*, English *fear – angst/anxiety*, Danish *frygt – angst*, Swedish *fruktan – ängest/rädsla*, Norwegian *frykt – angst/redsel*. Such synonymy is one of the criteria that may indicate the relevance of metaphysical fear for Germanic linguo-cultures (Mizin & Kolesnyk, 2021, p. 19).

A. Wierzbicka (1999, pp. 123–168) considers the EC *ANGST* in close connection not only with the concept *ORDNUNG*, but also *SICHERHEIT* 'security generated by confidence' and *GEBORGENHEIT* 'existential security; shelter; staying in a place where you can feel safe'. The last two concepts contain specific emotional meanings, forming together with *GEMÜTLICHKEIT* 'cosiness; sincerity; comfort; security' and *ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT* 'reliability; confidence', a kind of 'safety-cosiness quartet' that opposes chaos and metaphysical fear in the German cultural space (Mizin & Petrov, 2021, p. 50). The concepts belonging to this "quartet" contribute to the emergence of a certain balance in the emotional world of the Germans since chaos and fear create here a discrepancy between the harmony of the inner world and external disharmony, in which various historical and sociocultural factors give rise to that fear of the future that oppresses the "German spirit".

It is noteworthy that the basis for the opposition *ORDNUNG* vs. *CHAOS* and its derivative *ANGST* vs. *SICHERHEIT* & *GEBORGENHEIT* & *GEMÜTLICHKEIT* & *ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT* serves as a universal

principle of perception of the objective world *ONE'S OWN* vs. *ALIEN*. This principle causes a permanent balancing of the individual between the positive "one's own" world and the negative "alien" one: on the one hand, a person strives for a sense of safety, security, comfort, and stability, which generates "one's own" world, but, on the other hand, one constantly tries to go beyond the latter, since the "alien" world is associated not only with chaos and danger but also with new sensations and experience, which is the basis for the evolution of mankind as a whole. Such a "disruption" of the person's inner world gives rise to ambivalent emotions when an individual simultaneously experiences positive and negative feelings. With this in mind, it can be assumed that the emotional balancing of representatives of the German linguo-culture between existential fear and the "safety-cosiness quartet" is closely related to the formation of ethno-specific ambivalent ECs *SEHNSUCHT* 'longing; need; passion; nostalgia', *FERNWEH* 'wanderlust; itchy feet' and *HEIMWEH* 'homesickness'.

### Methodology

The methodology of the research involves the implementation of three research stages:

- 1) identifying specific meanings of the concepts of the "safety-cosiness quartet" with the help of definitional (dictionaries and reference books) and contextual analyses of their names. The latter procedure is carried out on the basis of a selection of concordance lines from the concordances of the corresponding words of the German DWDS corpus;
- 2) determining the actual meanings of the ambivalent EC *SEHNSUCHT* and establishing its close correlation with the concepts of the "safety-cosiness quartet", as well as with the ECs *FERNWEH* and *HEIMWEH*;
- 3) establishing the origins of the ambivalence of the ECs *SEHNSUCHT*, *FERNWEH*, and *HEIMWEH*, taking into account the inner world division of German linguo-culture representatives into oppositions *ONE'S OWN* vs. *ALIEN* → *ORDNUNG* vs. *CHAOS* → *ANGST* vs. *SICHERHEIT* & *GEBORGENHEIT* & *GEMÜTLICHKEIT* & *ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT*.

Methodologically, these analytical procedures are based on theoretical provisions regarding (1) the cultural tagging of emotional concepts and their expression of evaluation and (2) the

objectivity of language corpora for linguistic studies:

- 1) evaluation (valence), as known, is a key component of the majority of theories that address the problem of the nature of emotions. This also applies to the theoretical and practical understanding of such a phenomenon as ambivalent emotions (Carrera & Oceja, 2007; Hershfield et al., 2013; Holm, Greker, & Strömberg, 2002; Larsen et al., 2003; Lomas, 2017; Moss & Couchman, 2012; Moss & Wilson, 2014; Rees et al., 2013). The phenomenon of such emotions is that they combine, or rather mix positive and negative assessments. One of the most striking examples of ambivalent ECs is the Anglo-Saxon LONGING, in which the meanings of the basic emotions of happiness and sadness are "mixed" (Holm, Greker, & Strömberg, 2002, p. 608). It is this concept that can act in certain situations as the equivalent of the German ethno-specific EC SEHNSUCHT;
- 2) corpus-based methodology is now increasingly being involved in the study of cultural concepts (Mizin et al., 2021, p. 100). Among the adherents of corpus linguistics, a position has been formed that texts are not only manifestations of the language system but also of those cultural conditions and situations in which they are generated. This allows a corpus-based methodology to be applied in revealing the characteristics of a particular culture. There is, e.g., the possibility of studying the distribution of those lexical units that represent culturally marked concepts in language distribution corpora in order to identify their cultural meanings (Mizin, Slavova, & Khmara, 2021, p. 75). However, corpus data provide a more objective view of language than intuition (Krieger, 2003; McEnery & Wilson, 2001) because it is empirical, inductive, and quantitative. Therefore, data from corpus linguistics greatly reinforces the results and conclusions of linguistic research (Tissari, Vanhatalo, & Siirinen, 2019, p. 322). This is especially true for those studies that determine the actual content of words that are the names of cultural concepts since nowadays language corpora provide ample opportunities for this. For this purpose, it is possible, in particular, to analyse the typical combination of such words in representative corpora based on the study of their contextual environment in concordance lines and statistical data of their recurrent forms.

## Results and Discussion

### 1. *Specific meanings of the "safety-cosiness quartet" concepts and their connection with the EC SEHNSUCHT.*

As reported above, the "quartet" is formed in German linguo-culture by four concepts, each of them containing emotional meanings – SICHERHEIT, ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT, GEBORGENHEIT i GEMÜTLICHKEIT. In the latter two, emotional meanings dominate, so they belong to the ECs.

SICHERHEIT is the most relevant among these concepts, which has almost as much linguistic and cultural significance for Germans as ORDNUNG. It expresses meanings of full confidence that nothing bad can happen. A greater sense of security distinguishes it, e.g., from the Anglo-Saxon concepts of SAFETY and SECURITY, since the former contains the meaning 'nothing bad will happen', and the latter – 'nothing bad can happen' (Shmelev, 2005, pp. 445-446).

Unlike SICHERHEIT, EC GEBORGENHEIT conveys the meaning of not only protection, but also closeness, warmth, calmness, peace, trust, loves and acceptance by other people (Chesnokova, 2013, p. 66). From the mother's womb the Germans feel protected in various life situations: in their family, with friends, etc. The safety and security need requires predictability and stability, which has contributed to the foregrounding of the concept ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT in German linguo-culture. The latter contains a whole range of meanings related to reliability (stability, security, certainty, in the future in particular, trust in established things or acquaintances), a conscious attitude to duty, thoroughness, truthfulness, etc. ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT closely correlates with SICHERHEIT, complementing it, since German native speakers only feel safe when they are sure of the stability and reliability of everything around them, as well as being sure of the future. If there is no such confidence, then it causes metaphysical fear.

Therefore, an atmosphere of safety is created by the feeling of reliability, confidence and security. In such an atmosphere there arises a specific German cosiness, which is represented by EC GEMÜTLICHKEIT. The latter was formed on German lands in the 18th century in the environment of the middle class – the bourgeoisie. This EC gained a special socio-cultural significance in Germany during the

Biedermeier period, when the bourgeoisie found a kind of protection from constant political, social and economic changes in returning to their family, loved ones and native home. It was at this time when EC GEMÜTLICHKEIT began to be embodied in relevant forms (style of residential premises, design of clubs by interest, etc.) and social practices (various clubs by interest, joint organization of rest, coffee or tea rituals, joint lunches, etc.) (Schmidt-Lauber, 2004, p. 32). The Germans use the words *Gemütlichkeit* and *gemütlich* to denote an evening, a room, a pleasant walk, but gloomy weather is characterised as *ungemütlich* 'uncomfortable'.

Not only a person's socialisation, but also their physical nature, in particular the body (*embodiment* as a basic cognitive mechanism), serves as the basis to formulate the meanings of existential security and comfort. Bodily experience and feelings formed the basis of many ECs, including "security and cosiness" ones, since psychologists explain the desire to find a replacement for the already familiar prenatal experience of safety in the mother's body by the increased need in safety, in a small, closed, clearly defined space where one could hide from danger and chaos. In particular, EC GEBORGENHEIT (Intelmann, 2004, p. 200) is associated with the prenatal experience of the individual, which emphasizes the depth of the Germans' irrational desire to seek protection in a kind of shelter.

The idea of finding a safe, protected place is contained in the very content of the noun *Geborgenheit*, which originates from the verb *bergen* – '1) to deliver to a safe place, to save, to hide, to protect; 2) contain something in oneself; 3) to feel safe (protected, calm)' (Wahrig, 2001, p. 257). Germans associate such a safe and protected place primarily with their native home and hearth (dwelling, home, house, room, native area, native horizons, homeland, etc.). This is evidenced by the data of the language corpus, where one of the most frequent collocates of the *Geborgenheit* lemma are *Zuhause* 'native home', *Elternhaus* 'parents' house', *Hort* 'shelter', *Halt* 'halt'; parking lot', *Heim* '(native, parental) home; hearth', *Haus* 'house', *Heimat* 'homeland' (DWDS, 2023).

The origins of the world division into "own" and "alien" can be traced back to the distant past, when the organization of the ancient Germans' settlements was a scaled copy of the "middle earth" (Old Icelandic *Midgaðr*, Old English *middangeard*) as a discrete, protected and safe space. The middle here has a symbolic, sacred

meaning, since in Germanic mythology the people's world – MIDGARD – is the locus of the intersection of several worlds, which are ordered in at least two dimensions. The vertical dimension is MIDGARD (world of people), ASGARD (world of gods), MUSPELHEIM (world of fire giants), NIFLHEIM (world of moisture and darkness). On the horizontal plane, MIDGARD is surrounded by UTGARD (the world of monsters and giants). This means that MIDGARD for the ancient Germans is "their own" (ordered, safe, protected, cosy) world, which is reliably "fenced" from the fears and dangers of the outside world by various real and imaginary "fences" (the boundaries of one's dwelling, the walls of the house, a fence, a river, mountains, forest, etc.). Even the ancient Germans saw paradise not in an open space (cf. the Fortunate islands, Gardens of the Hesperidia, Elysian fields, the top of Olympus from Greek mythology), but in the huge palace of fallen warriors, WALHALLE (Gachev, 2008, p. 218). The world division into MIDGARD and UTGARD was imprinted in the modern descendants of the ancient Germanic, in particular the Germans, at the level of the collective unconscious, so in their imagination there is something terrible, scary, i.e., everything that causes ANGST, beyond "their own" – ordered – world. These are the origins of the emotional need of representatives of the German language culture in a closed, limited space and their special longing for their home, for a cosy home hearth, where you can feel *geborgen* 'protected; cosily'.

Hence, for Germans the native home serves as the centre of the human universe that resists threats from the outside world. Therefore, the native home is always filled with positivity and is associated with family, relatives (ancestral roots) and home hearth. In German consciousness, "their own" is clear, order reigns here, and "alien" is incomprehensible, chaotic. Chaos is the threat that requires creation of an existential shelter for an individual – their cosy, safe, orderly, small space where they will not feel alien, homeless and existentially alone.

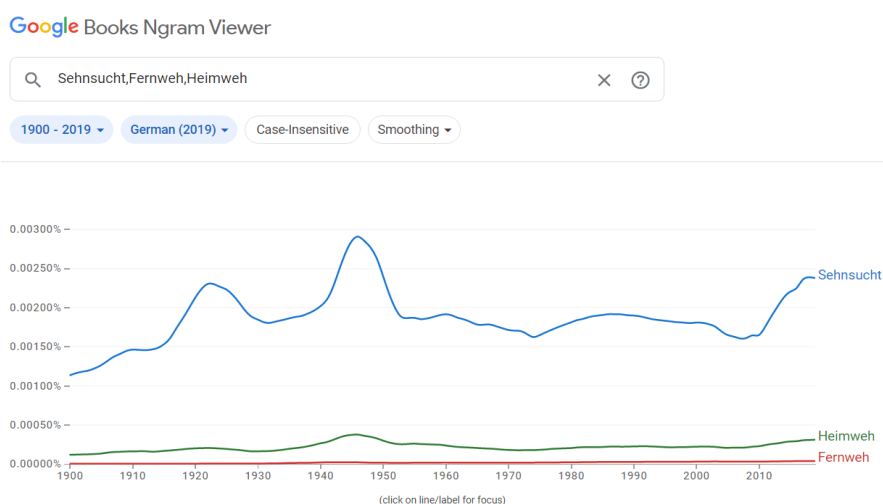
It is noteworthy that the need of the German linguo-culture representatives for security and cosiness can cause opposite feelings of unrestrained thirst and longing, which indicates a close connection of the concepts SICHERHEIT, GEBORGENHEIT, GEMÜTLICHKEIT and ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT with EC SEHNSUCHT. Since the period of romanticism longing for security (*Sehnsucht nach der Geborgenheit*) has contributed to the formation of the specifically

German concept of KULTUR DER INNERLICHKEIT (approximate translation: *the culture of the soul or the culture of the inner life*), because the Germans at the turning points in the development of the nation were nostalgic for the cultural inner world more than for freedom and democracy (Gelfert, 2019).

## 2. Actual meanings of EC SEHNSUCHT and its close correlation with EC FERNWEH.

EC SEHNSUCHT demonstrates a noticeable relevance for the modern German-speaking

community, which is evidenced by the high frequency of its name in various types of discourse (Fig. 2), as well as the fact that the name of this EC – the lexeme *Sehnsucht* – took the third place (after *Liebe* 'love' and *Gemütlichkeit* 'cosiness') in the nomination "the most beautiful German word" (Spiegel Online, 2004). Despite this, researchers have only recently turned their attention to it (Kotter-Grünn et al., 2009; Mayer, Scheibe, & Riediger, 2008; Scheibe et al., 2011).



**Fig. 2.** Frequency graph of the lemmas *Sehnsucht*, *Heimweh*, *Fernweh* according to Google Books Ngram Viewer data; German; 1900–2019; smoothing 3 (GBNV, 2023).

The psychologist T. Lomas (2016) defined the noun *Sehnsucht* as untranslatable. This means that even the universal emotional meanings it possesses show a unique configuration typical of the German linguo-culture. The definitional analysis made it possible to establish that the noun *Sehnsucht* conveys a wide emotional palette, which includes the following main shades of meaning: 'passionate desire for something'; 'craving for someone'; 'rush to something'; 'longing for someone, for something'; 'internal, painful thirst' (Mizin & Ovsienko, 2020, p. 114). The results of this analysis are consistent with the conclusion of psychologists regarding the multifaceted nature of the emotion represented by EC SEHNSUCHT. The latter is much more positive than, e.g., the Anglo-Saxon EC NOSTALGIA, however, expressing passionate desires and aspirations, it contains an element of utopianism (Scheibe, Freund, & Baltes, 2007, p. 778).

By establishing the actual semantic structure of the EC SEHNSUCHT on the basis of language

corpora data, it was found that this concept contains deep meanings (Mizin & Ovsienko, 2020, p. 118), e.g.:

- 1) *Blaue Blumen stehen für sehr tiefe Gefühle und die Sehnsucht nach Unendlichkeit* (DWDS, 2023)

[*Blue flowers stand for very deep feelings and desire stands for infinity*].

Deep emotions and feelings are secret, intimate, i.e., they always contain a part of the inner world of a specific individual, e.g.:

- 2) *In dieser Komposition mischen sich Sehnsucht, Demut und Vertrauen, und wurden verwoben von der Sopranistin* (DWDS, 2023)

[*In this composition desire, humility and trust are mixed and they were interwoven by a soprano*].

Depending on the emotional situation that prepares a person to experience a certain

emotional state, EC SEHNSUCHT activates either positive or negative meanings in the individual consciousness. The depth of emotions expressed by this EC, their secrecy, can even lull an individual into a manic state, when one of their passions turns into mania, causing manic-suicidal depression (Bloch, 1967). This psychopathological condition received the designation *Todessehnsucht* in German.

For representatives of an "alien" linguo-culture, the case when one specific EC is determined through another is extremely difficult, especially when it comes to ambivalent ECs. An example here is the fact that one of the facets of EC SEHNSUCHT is the ambivalent concept of FERNWEH:

- 3) *Die Sehnsucht hat viele Facetten, Fernweh gehört auch dazu* (DWDS, 2023)

[*Desire has many facets, wanderlust belongs here, too*].

3. **Oppositions ONE'S OWN vs. ALIEN → ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS → ANGST vs. SICHERHEIT & GEBORGENHEIT & GEMÜTLICHKEIT & ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT as origins of ambivalence of EC SEHNSUCHT, FERNWEH and HEIMWEH.**

The ambivalent EC FERNWEH, the main meanings of which are 'passion for travel', 'lust for travel' and 'longing for distant worlds', is gradually gaining relevance in German linguo-culture: if in 1946 the frequency of the lemma *Fernweh* was 0.18 (Freq.=0.18) per 1 million tokens, then by 2022 its frequency is already 1.22 (Freq.=1.22) (DWDS, 2023). This EC has its roots in the era of "traveling" romanticism, when a number of concepts that convey passion/wanderlust including WANDERLUST and REISELUST appeared. Since the time of romanticism, the passion for travel has become one of the most important features of modern German life.

EC FERNWEH contains mainly positive meanings, but the *Weh* component of its name denotes pain and sadness that give rise to depressive longing, e.g.:

- 4) *Er seufzt wieder und schaut über den See, als habe er Fernweh* (DWDS, 2023)

[*He sighs again and looks far beyond the sea, as if he longs for distance*].

The negativity of such experiences can even transform into a disease, e.g.:

- 5) *Fernweh ist die beste Krankheit in der Welt* (DWDS, 2023)

[*Wanderlust is the best disease in the world*].

However, the positive meanings of irresistible desire, passions and cravings neutralize the negativity of this disease, e.g.:

- 6) *Über Fernweh zum Beispiel kommt man ohne therapeutische Hilfe hinweg* (DWDS, 2023)

[*Wanderlust, for example, is overcome without therapeutic help*].

In this way FERNWEH differs from EC FERNLUST, which conveys the meaning of a person's greater dependence (obsession) on travel.

It is noteworthy that among the three ECs WANDERLUST, STORCHGEFÜHL 'the feeling of a stork' and KRANICHGEFÜHL 'the feeling of a crane', which are considered to be the predecessors of FERNWEH (Kluge, 1901, p. 40), only the first one has gained use in the German-speaking community, conveying positive meanings, since in the days of romanticism Germans perceived passion to travel completely naturally, considering that it is provoked by an instinct similar to that which makes migratory birds go to flock. Instead, FERNWEH balances the positive and the negative, and one of its dominant meanings is 'depressive longing', e.g.:

- 7) *Von Fernweh gepeinigt, hockten wir also nun auf meinem Ostberliner Sofa* (DWDS, 2023)

[*So, exhausted by wanderlust, we sat on my couch in East Berlin*].

This yearning for distance, for an "alien" world, is obviously a consequence of the socially depressed periods that the German language linguo-society experienced during the last centuries (wars, political upheavals, economic downturns, etc.). In such periods, the inner, and in particular the emotional world of Germans, organized around order, security, stability and cosiness, was disturbed, became uncomfortable, which forced individuals to seek inner comfort outside this world. At that time, a change of locus (moving to another country, traveling, journey)



often remained an unfulfilled dream, which caused depressive longing. Nowadays, it is on the contrary, globalisation pushes people to change places (professional mobility, educational mobility, tourism, etc.), which contributes to a change of meanings configuration in the EC FERNWEH – less longing and more passionate desire, e.g.:

- 8) *Das ist super, um sich einen ersten Eindruck zu verschaffen und das Fernweh zu wecken* (DWDS, 2023)

[*It's great for getting a first impression and awakening the wanderlust*].

The organisation of the inner world of German linguo-culture according to such universal and ethno-specific contrasts as ONE'S OWN vs. ALIEN, ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS and ANGST vs. SICHERHEIT & GEBORGENHEIT & GEMÜTLICHKEIT & ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT has determined that FERNWEH also has its "opponent" – EC HEIMWEH 'longing for home/motherland'. The latter is not distinguished by such ethno-cultural specificity as FERNWEH, since in other Germanic cultures there are ECs that can be considered equivalent to HEIMWEH, in particular the Anglo-Saxon HOMESICKNESS. A common semantic element for FERNWEH and HEIMWEH is longing mixed with sadness and depression, and they differ primarily in the different vectors of those loci that activate such longing – "external ("alien") world" vs. "inner ("own") world (home, homeland, etc.)". And if the longing generated by the opposition of "one's own" is clear, then the longing (sadness/sorrow/pain/depression) for "alien" is, at least, incomprehensible for representatives of other linguo-cultures.

On the example of FERNWEH and HEIMWEH, a similar "tear" of the emotional world of Germans between passion (craving) and longing can be traced, as in the case of SEHNSUCHT, which proves the close connection of these ECs, e.g.:

- 9) *Sehnsucht, Heimweh, Fernweh, das steckt einfach in mir drin* (DWDS, 2023)

[*Longing, homesickness, wanderlust are all within me*];

- 10) *Das Gefühl von damals, als dieser Film eine existenzielle Form der Sehnsucht in mir ausgelöst hat, wie Heimweh und Fernweh zugleich* (DWDS, 2023)

[*The feeling of those times when this movie evoked in me an existential form of deep nostalgia – like homesickness and nostalgia for traveling together*].

It can be assumed that EC FERNWEH and HEIMWEH are only elements of the whole fragment of this world, which is represented by SEHNSUCHT, since the relevance of the latter for modern representatives of the German linguo-society is much higher compared to the former (Fig. 2). This fragment is filled with emotions that give an individual hope (urges, desire, longing) and at the same time take it away (sadness, longing, depression). Such ambivalence of these three ECs may indicate the desire of Germans to balance the positive and the negative in their emotional experiences.

### Conclusions

The proposed article is devoted to the search of arguments in favour of the assumption that in German linguo-culture the emergence of some ambivalent emotion concepts may be related to finding a balance between positive order and negative chaos, therefore the linguistic and cultural opposition ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS produces a certain influence on the formation of such notions. With the help of the applied methodology, which relies primarily on the procedure of identifying the specific meanings of the studied ECs based on definitional (dictionaries and reference books) and contextual (a sample of concordance series of the DWDS corpus of the German language) analyses of their names, it has been established that:

- 1) in the German cultural space a kind of "safety-cosiness quartet" which is represented by the concepts of SICHERHEIT, GEBORGENHEIT, GEMÜTLICHKEIT and ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT is opposed to chaos and metaphysical fear (EC ANGST). The linguistic opposition ANGST vs. SICHERHEIT & GEBORGENHEIT & GEMÜTLICHKEIT & ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT is a consequence of the inner world division of the Germans on the axis of ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS;
- 2) the universal principle of perception of the objective world ONE'S OWN vs. ALIEN serves the basis for the opposition ORDNUNG vs. CHAOS and its derivative ANGST vs. SICHERHEIT & GEBORGENHEIT & GEMÜTLICHKEIT & ZUVERLÄSSIGKEIT. This principle causes a permanent balancing of the

- individual between the positive "one's own" world and the negative "alien";
- 3) the principle ONE'S OWN vs. ALIEN has led to the "disruption" of the inner world of the representatives of German linguo-culture, because, on the one hand, they strive for a sense of safety, security, comfort and stability that "their own" world generates for them, but on the other hand, they constantly try to go beyond the latter, since the "alien" world is associated not only with chaos and danger, but also with new sensations and new experiences. Such an emotional "disruption", or rather emotional balancing, can contribute to the emergence of ambivalent emotions, when a certain emotional experience causes an individual both positive and negative feelings at the same time;
  - 4) balancing of the Germans between metaphysical fear and the "safety-cosiness quartet" is closely related to the formation of ethno-specific ambivalent ECs SEHNSUCHT, FERNWEH and HEIMWEH. At the same time, EC SEHNSUCHT forms a whole fragment of the emotional world of modern representatives of German linguo-society, and EC FERNWEH and HEIMWEH are only its elements. In this fragment, there is a permanent conflict between positive emotions (urges, desire, thirst) and negative ones (sadness, longing, depression), as a result of which a balance of positivity and negativity is achieved in the emotional experiences of Germans.

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