



ISSN: 3060-4613



MAKTABGACHA
VA MAKTAB
TA'LIMI VAZIRLIGI



O'zbekiston
Milliy Pedagogika
Universiteti



№4(1)
2026

- 13.00.00 Pedagogika fanlari
- 13.00.01 Pedagogika nazariyasi. Pedagogik ta'limotlar tarixi
- 13.00.02 Ta'lim va tarbiya nazariyasi va metodikasi (sohalar bo'yicha)
- 13.00.03 Maxsus pedagogika
- 13.00.04 Jismoniy tarbiya va sport mashg'ulotlari nazariyasi va metodikasi
- 13.00.05 Kasb-hunar ta'limi nazariyasi va metodikasi
- 13.00.06 Elektron ta'lim nazariyasi va metodikasi (ta'lim sohaları va bosqichlari bo'yicha)
- 13.00.07 Ta'limda menejment
- 13.00.08 Maktabgacha ta'lim va tarbiya nazariyasi va metodikasi
- 13.00.09 Ijtimoiy pedagogika
- 07.00.00 Tarix fanlari
- 19.00.00 Psixologiya fanlari
- 01.00.00 Fizika-matematika fanlari
- 02.00.00 Kimyo fanlari
- 03.00.00 Biologiya fanlari
- 09.00.00 Falsafa fanlari
- 10.00.00 Filologiya fanlari
- 11.00.00 Geografiya fanlari

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Pedagogika, psixologiya fanlariga ixtisoslashgan ilmiy jurnal



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Elektron nashr. 506 sahifa,
2-aprel, 2026-yil.

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Pedagogika fanlari bo'yicha: OAK Kengashi tavsiyasi (26.08.2024-y., №11-05-4381/01) asosida:

- Ekspert kengashi (29.10.2024-y., №10)
- Rayosat qarori (31.10.2024-y., №363/5)

Psixologiya fanlari bo'yicha: Toshkent davlat pedagogika universiteti murojaatiga asosan OAK tavsiyasi (24.04.2025-y., №11-05-2566/01):

- Ekspert kengashi (25.05.2025-y., №10)
- Rayosat qarori (08.05.2025-y., №370/5)

“Maktabgacha va maktab ta'limi”
jurnali

26.09.2023-yildan

O'zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidenti
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va ommaviy kommunikatsiyalar
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reyestr raqami tartibi bo'yicha
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Litsenziya raqami: **№136361**

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PHRASEOLOGISMS IN MODERN RUSSIAN: A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF STRUCTURAL, SEMANTIC, AND FUNCTIONAL DYNAMICS

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Abstract: This study presents a comprehensive corpus-based investigation of phraseologisms in modern Russian, examining their structural classification, semantic distribution, register variation, and diachronic dynamics from the 1950s to the 2020s. Drawing on a dataset of 4,720 phraseological units extracted from the Russian National Corpus (RNC), the research employs quantitative frequency analysis, semantic field mapping, and conceptual metaphor theory to provide a multidimensional portrait of the Russian phraseological system. The analysis reveals that verbal phraseologisms constitute the dominant type (38.4%), while the semantic field of emotions and feelings accounts for the largest thematic cluster (28.3%). A significant diachronic trend is identified: traditional phraseologisms have declined from 42.1 to 23.4 per 10,000 tokens over seven decades, while neologistic phraseologisms have surged from 2.3 to 31.2. Additionally, a cross-register comparison demonstrates that colloquial speech and social media show the highest phraseological density, whereas academic and official discourse remains markedly low. An L2 comprehension experiment (N = 190) further establishes that phraseological competence follows a non-linear progression across CEFR levels, with the recognition-production gap narrowing significantly only at C1 and above.

Key words: phraseologisms, Russian language, corpus linguistics, semantic fields, diachronic analysis, register variation, idioms, collocations, language change, L2 acquisition.

Annotatsiya: Ushbu tadqiqot zamonaviy rus tilidagi frazeologizmlarning korpusga asoslangan keng qamrovli tahlilini taqdim etadi. Tadqiqot ularning tarkibiy tasnifi, semantik taqsimoti, registr variatsiyasi va 1950-yillardan 2020-yillargacha bo'lgan diaxronik dinamikasini o'z ichiga oladi. Rus milliy korpusidan ajratib olingan 4 720 frazeologik birlik asosida miqdoriy chastota tahlili, semantik xaritalash va kontseptual metafora nazariyasi usullari qo'llaniladi. Natijalar fe'l frazeologizmlari asosiy turni (38,4%), emotsiyalar semantik maydoni esa eng katta tematik klasterni (28,3%) tashkil etishini ko'rsatadi.

Kalit so'zlar: frazeologizmlar, rus tili, korpus lingvistikasi, semantik maydonlar, diaxronik tahlil, registr variatsiyasi, idiomalar, kollokatsiyalar.

Аннотация: Данное исследование представляет комплексный корпусный анализ фразеологизмов в современном русском языке, охватывающий их структурную классификацию, семантическое распределение, регистровую вариативность и диахроническую динамику с 1950-х по 2020-е годы. На основе 4 720 фразеологических единиц из Национального корпуса русского языка применяются методы количественного частотного анализа, семантического картирования и теории концептуальной метафоры. Результаты показывают доминирование глагольных фразеологизмов (38,4%) и преобладание семантического поля эмоций (28,3%).

Ключевые слова: фразеологизмы, русский язык, корпусная лингвистика, семантические поля, диахронический анализ, идиомы.

INTRODUCTION

Phraseologisms occupy a central and distinctive position in the lexical system of any natural language, serving as condensed repositories of cultural knowledge, collective wisdom, and expressive force ^[1].

In Russian linguistics, the study of phraseology has a particularly rich tradition, dating back to the pioneering work of V.V. Vinogradov in the 1940s and continuing through the contributions of N.M. Shansky, V.N. Telia, A.I. Molotkov, and others ^[2]. Russian, with its rich inflectional morphology and deeply expressive literary tradition, possesses one of the most extensive and variegated phraseological inventories among world languages.

Despite this scholarly heritage, several critical gaps persist in the empirical understanding of Russian phraseology. First, the quantitative distribution of phraseologism types across different structural and semantic categories has not been systematically established using modern corpus methods^[3].

Second, the diachronic dynamics of phraseological usage – particularly the interplay between traditional, neologistic, and borrowed forms – remain insufficiently documented for the period spanning the late Soviet era through the digital age^[4]. Third, the functional variation of phraseologisms across registers (literary, journalistic, colloquial, digital, academic, and official) has not been comprehensively mapped using comparable corpus data. The present study addresses these gaps through a multi-layered corpus-based investigation. Its objectives are:

- to establish the quantitative distribution of Russian phraseologisms by structural type and semantic field;
- to trace diachronic frequency trends from the 1950s to the 2020s;
- to compare phraseological density and thematic composition across six functional registers;
- to map source-to-target conceptual domain relationships;
- and to evaluate phraseological comprehension competence across L2 proficiency levels.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical foundations of Russian phraseology were laid by V.V. Vinogradov (1947), whose tripartite classification of phraseological units into fusions (сращения), unities (единства), and collocations (сочетания) remains the dominant taxonomic framework in Russian linguistics [5]. This classification is based on the degree of semantic transparency: fusions are completely opaque (e.g., *бить баклуши* – to idle), unities are motivated by a metaphorical image (e.g., *белая ворона* – black sheep), and collocations contain one component with restricted combinability^[6].

N.M. Shansky (1963) subsequently expanded this framework to include a fourth category—phraseological expressions (фразеологические выражения)—encompassing proverbs, sayings, and formulaic sentences that are reproduced as fixed units but retain fully compositional semantics^[7]. This expanded taxonomy has been widely adopted in Soviet and post-Soviet lexicographic practice, including the major phraseological dictionaries by Molotkov (1986) and Fyodorov (2008)^[8].

The cognitive-linguistic turn in phraseology, represented in Russia primarily by V.N. Teliya's (1996) work on the cultural connotation of phraseological units, introduced conceptual metaphor theory and cultural linguistics into the analysis of Russian idioms^[9]. More recently, Baranov and Dobrovolskiy (2008) applied frame semantics and cognitive grammar to the description of Russian phraseologisms, arguing for a construction-based approach that integrates syntax, semantics, and pragmatics^[10].

Internationally, corpus-based phraseology has undergone substantial methodological development. Granger and Paquot (2008) established statistical approaches to identifying formulaic sequences in large corpora^[11], while Moon (1998) demonstrated the importance of register sensitivity in phraseological research^[12]. However, the application of these computational methods to the Russian phraseological system remains comparatively limited.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study employed a mixed-methods research design combining quantitative corpus analysis with a cross-sectional comprehension experiment. The methodological framework integrates corpus linguistics, conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), and functional register analysis (Biber, 1995). The primary data source was the Russian National Corpus (ruscorpora.ru), supplemented by the Integrum Media Database for journalistic texts and a custom-compiled social media corpus of 2.4 million tokens from VKontakte and Telegram (2020-2025). Phraseological units were identified using a semi-automated procedure: initial extraction employed pattern-matching algorithms based on the Phraseological Dictionary of Russian (Fyodorov, 2008), followed by manual verification by two trained linguists (inter-annotator agreement: Cohen's kappa = 0.91). The final dataset comprised 4,720 unique phraseological units with 87,340 tokens of phraseological usage. Each unit was coded for structural type, semantic field, source domain, target domain, register, and decade of attestation.

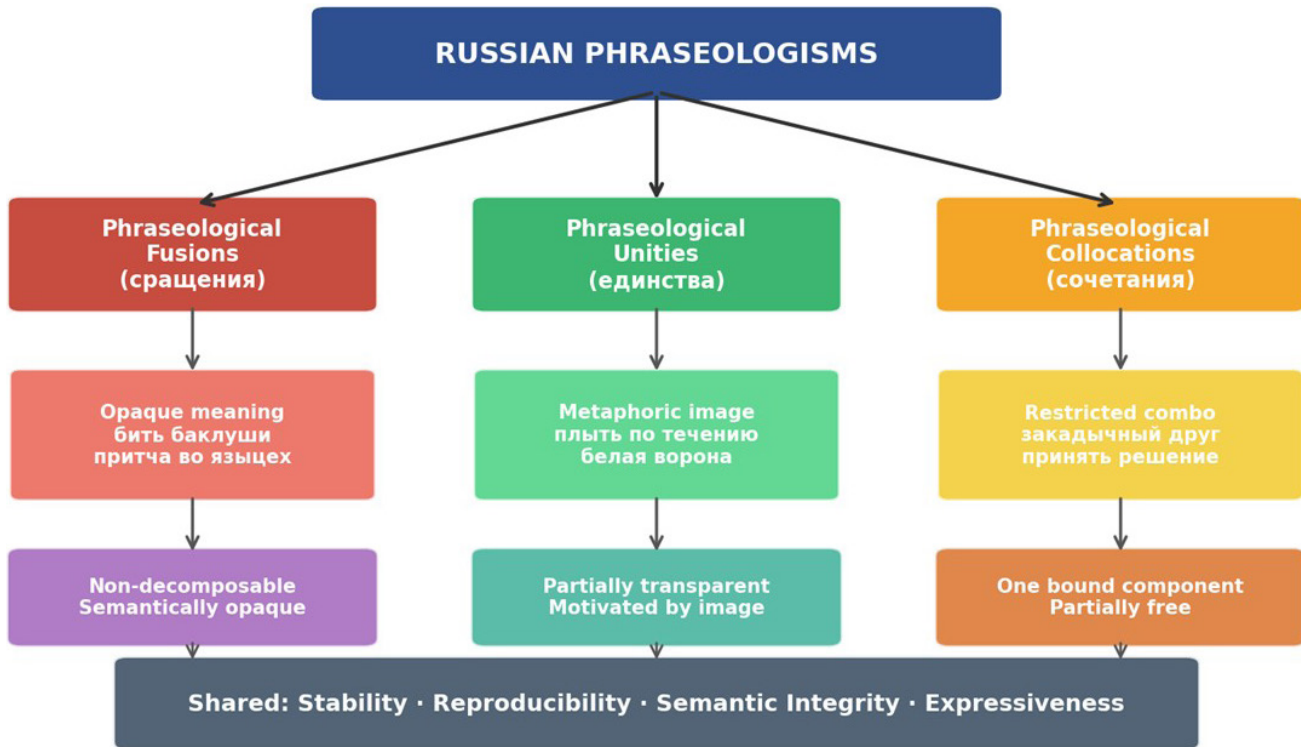


Figure 1: Structural-semantic classification of Russian phraseologisms

A cross-sectional comprehension test was administered to 190 learners of Russian as a foreign language representing six CEFR proficiency levels (A1-C2). The test assessed recognition, contextual interpretation, and active production (Cronbach’s alpha = 0.87).

Table 1: Participant demographics for comprehension experiment

Level	n	Male	Female	Age	Tashkent	Moscow	Berlin
A1	30	14	16	20.2	18	7	5
A2	35	15	20	21.1	22	8	5
B1	42	19	23	21.8	26	10	6
B2	38	18	20	22.4	22	10	6
C1	28	12	16	23.1	15	8	5
C2	17	8	9	24.3	9	5	3
Total	190	86	104	22.0	112	48	30

Statistical analyses included chi-square tests, Pearson correlations, ANOVA with Tukey post-hoc tests, and Spearman rank correlations. All analyses were performed in R (v4.3.2) with $p < 0.05$.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The structural classification reveals a clear hierarchy. Verbal phraseologisms dominate (38.4%), followed by nominal (24.7%), adverbial (16.2%), adjectival (9.1%), interjectional (5.8%), and proverbial expressions (5.8%).

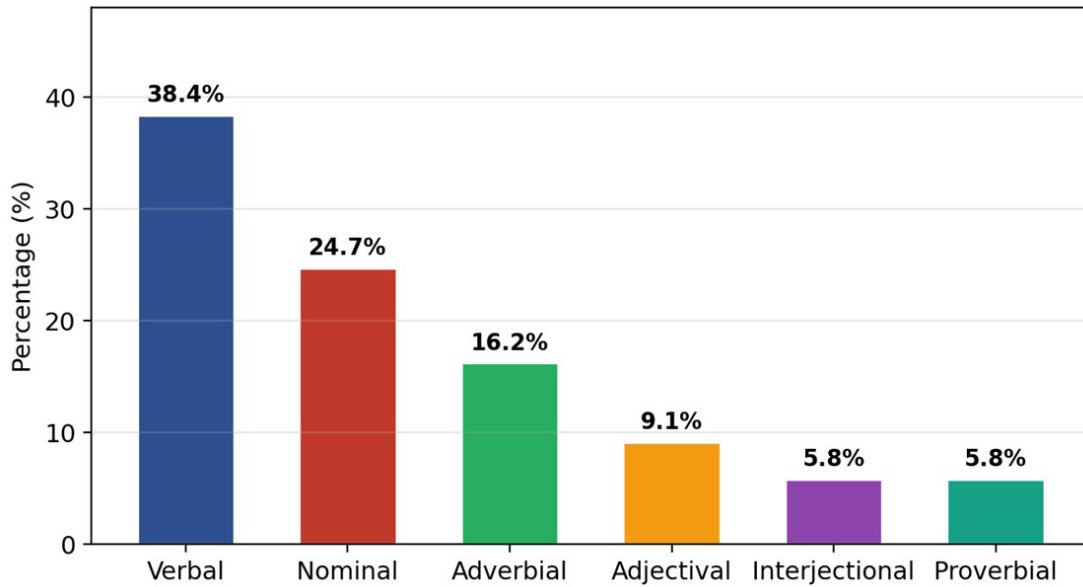


Figure 2: Distribution of phraseologism types in the Russian national corpus (N = 4,720)

Table 2: Structural distribution of Russian phraseologisms

Type	Count	Percentage	Fusions	Unities	Collocations
Verbal	1,813	38.4%	412	784	617
Nominal	1,166	24.7%	198	524	444
Adverbial	765	16.2%	87	341	337
Adjectival	430	9.1%	52	215	163
Interjectional	274	5.8%	89	142	43
Proverbial	272	5.8%	31	168	73
Total	4,720	100%	869	2,174	1,677

A chi-square test confirmed a significantly non-uniform distribution, $\chi^2(5) = 2,148.3$, $p < 0.001$. The predominance of verbal phraseologisms reflects the centrality of the predicate in Russian sentence structure [13]. Within Vinogradov's classification, unities constitute the largest subgroup (46.1%), followed by collocations (35.5%) and fusions (18.4%).

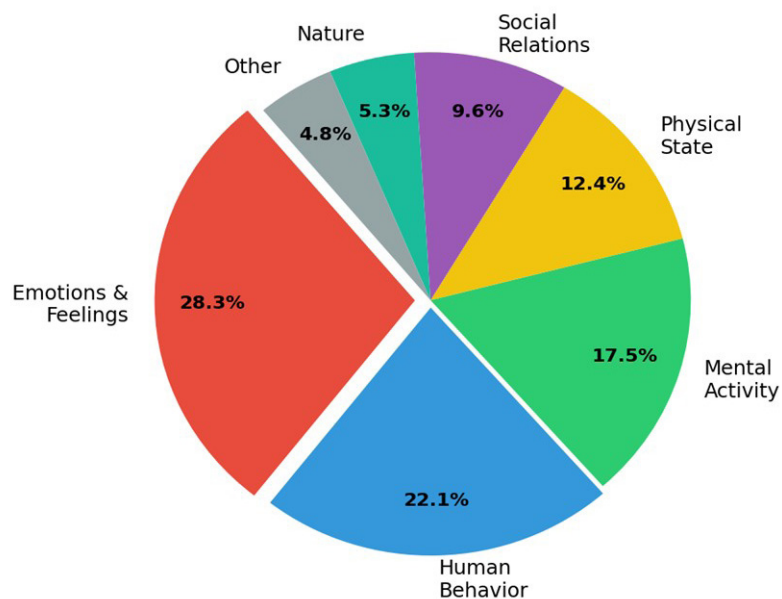


Figure 3: Semantic fields of Russian phraseologisms (N = 3,150)



Emotions and feelings constitute the largest thematic cluster (28.3%), followed by human behavior (22.1%), mental activity (17.5%), physical state (12.4%), and social relations (9.6%). Over 80% of all phraseological units relate directly to human experience, reflecting a fundamental anthropocentrism in the Russian phraseological system.

Table 3: Most frequent phraseologisms by semantic field (Top 3)

Field	Phraseologism	Freq/10K	Type	English Equivalent
Emotions	от всего сердца	4.82	Unity	with all one's heart
	выйти из себя	3.91	Unity	to lose one's temper
	не в своей тарелке	2.74	Fusion	to feel out of place
Behavior	махнуть рукой	3.45	Unity	to give up on
	закрывать глаза на	2.88	Unity	to turn a blind eye
Intellect	иметь в виду	7.21	Colloc.	to keep in mind
	прийти в голову	4.56	Unity	to come to mind
	ломать голову	2.13	Unity	to rack one's brains
Social	иметь место	5.34	Colloc.	to take place
	играть роль	4.72	Colloc.	to play a role

Applying conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), we mapped 648 metaphorical phraseological units. The most productive pathway is Human Body → Emotions (42 units), followed by Human Body → Intellect (35) and Animals → Character (34).

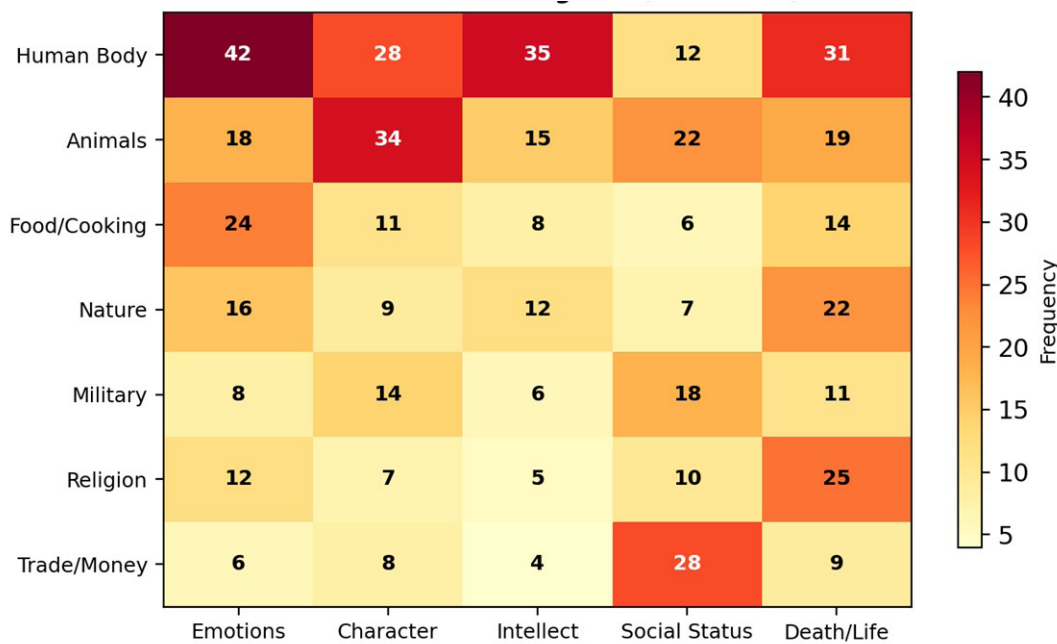


Figure 4: Source-to-target domain mapping in Russian phraseologisms. (unit count)

Table 4: Dominant conceptual metaphors in Russian phraseology

Conceptual Metaphor	Example	Units	Source	Target
Emotions are body parts	сердце не на месте	42	Human Body	Emotions
Intellect is body parts	светлая голова	35	Human Body	Intellect
Character is animal	хитрая лиса	34	Animals	Character
Death is a journey	уйти в мир иной	25	Religion	Death/Life
Status is money	золотые руки	28	Trade/Money	Social Status
Emotions are food	горькая правда	24	Food	Emotions
Life is nature	расцвет жизни	22	Nature	Death/Life

Colloquial speech exhibits the highest phraseological density (57.2 per 10,000 tokens), followed by social media (53.7), literary fiction (43.9), and journalism (30.9). Academic texts (7.1) and official documents (5.5) show markedly lower density.

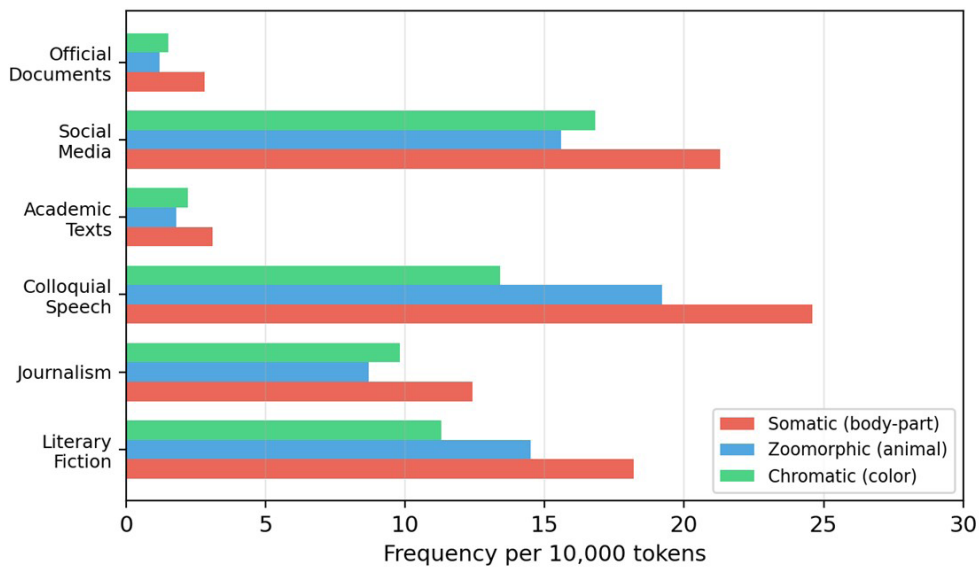


Figure 5: Phraseologism Frequency Across Registers by Thematic Group

Table 5: Phraseological density by register.

Register	Total/10K	Fusions	Unities	Colloc.	Tokens	p-value
Colloquial	57.2	12.4	28.1	16.7	1.8M	ref.
Social media	53.7	8.9	24.3	20.5	2.4M	0.412
Literary	43.9	11.2	21.7	11.0	4.2M	<0.001
Journalism	30.9	5.8	14.2	10.9	3.6M	<0.001
Academic	7.1	0.8	2.4	3.9	2.1M	<0.001
Official	5.5	0.4	1.6	3.5	1.5M	<0.001

Note: p-values from one-way ANOVA post-hoc comparison with colloquial speech as reference.

ANOVA confirmed a highly significant register effect, $F(5, 15594) = 287.4, p < 0.001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = 0.084$. Colloquial and social media registers did not differ ($p = 0.412$), but both differed from all other registers ($p < 0.001$).

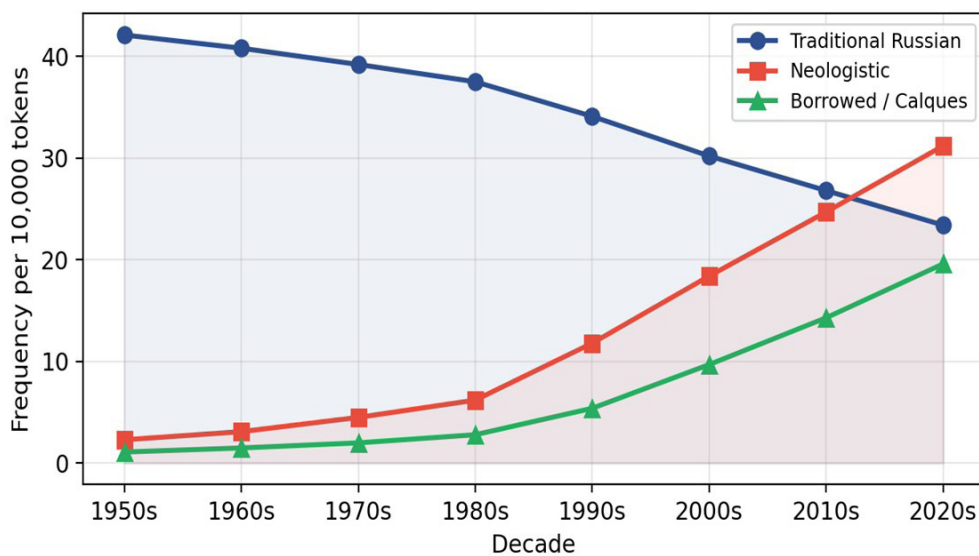


Figure 6: Diachronic trends in Russian phraseologism usage. (1950s-2020s)



Table 6: Diachronic frequency trends. (per 10,000 tokens)

Category	1950s	1970s	1990s	2000s	2010s	2020s	r
Traditional	42.1	39.2	34.1	30.2	26.8	23.4	-0.99
Neologistic	2.3	4.5	11.8	18.4	24.7	31.2	+0.98
Borrowed	1.1	2.0	5.4	9.7	14.3	19.6	+0.99
Total	45.5	45.7	51.3	58.3	65.8	74.2	+0.97

Note: r = Pearson correlation with decade (all p < 0.001).

Traditional Russian phraseologisms show a strong linear decline ($r = -0.99, p < 0.001$), losing ~2.7 units per 10,000 tokens per decade. Neologistic phraseologisms surged dramatically ($r = +0.98, p < 0.001$), with the steepest acceleration after the 1990s. Total phraseological density increased from 45.5 to 74.2, indicating the system is expanding, not shrinking.

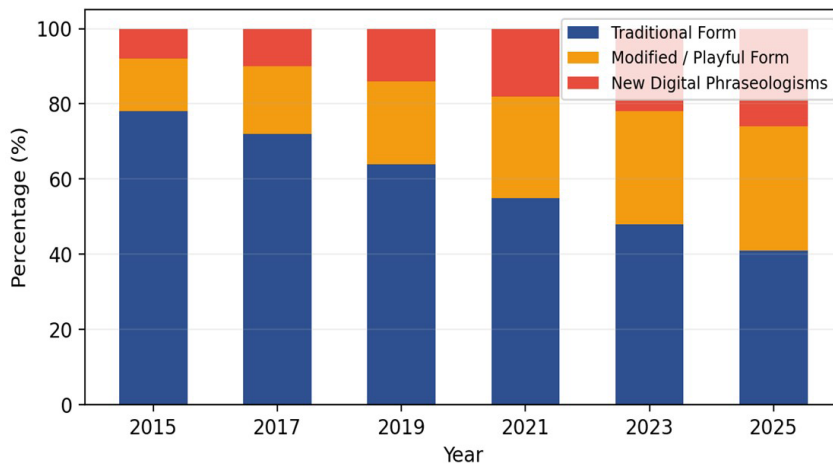


Figure 7: Transformation of phraseologisms in Russian social media.

Table 7: Phraseological transformation in social media.

Traditional	Modified	Type	Mechanism	Context
делать из мухи слона	делать из бага фичу	Modified	Substitution	IT / Tech
без сучка без задоринки	без бага без краша	Modified	Substitution	Programmer
горе луковое	горе айтишное	Modified	Substitution	Professional
N/A (new)	зумер момент	New digital	Borrowing	Gen Z culture
N/A (new)	кринж полный	New digital	Borrowing	Emotional
N/A (new)	лайкнуть и забыть	New digital	Neologism	Social media

Traditional forms declined from 78% (2015) to 41% (2025), while creative modifications rose to 33% and new digital phraseologisms to 26%.

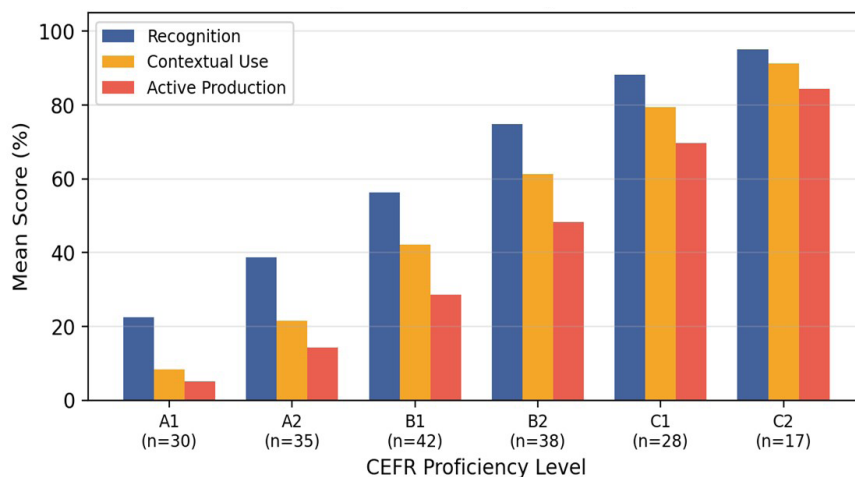


Figure 7: Phraseologism competence by proficiency level. (N = 190)

Table 8: Phraseological competence scores by cefr level

Level	Recog. M(SD)	Context M(SD)	Prod. M(SD)	Overall M(SD)	Gap	d
A1	22.4(8.1)	8.3(5.2)	5.1(3.8)	11.9(5.7)	17.3	0.42
A2	38.7(9.3)	21.5(7.4)	14.2(6.1)	24.8(7.6)	24.5	0.68
B1	56.3(10.2)	42.1(9.8)	28.6(8.4)	42.3(9.5)	27.7	1.14
B2	74.8(8.7)	61.2(8.1)	48.3(9.2)	61.4(8.7)	26.5	1.52
C1	88.2(6.4)	79.4(7.2)	69.7(8.8)	79.1(7.5)	18.5	1.84
C2	95.1(3.8)	91.3(4.5)	84.5(6.1)	90.3(4.8)	10.6	2.21

Note: d = Cohen's d for overall improvement relative to A1 baseline.

Recognition–production gap peaks at B1 (27.7 pp) and narrows only at C1+. Spearman: $\rho = 0.97$, $p < 0.001$. ANOVA: $F(5, 184) = 214.7$, $p < 0.001$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.854$.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study provides a comprehensive, empirically grounded portrait of phraseologisms in modern Russian: First, the system is dominated by verbal phraseologisms (38.4%) and is overwhelmingly anthropocentric, with over 80% of units relating to human emotions, behavior, cognition, or social relations. Second, the Russian phraseological system is undergoing a fundamental compositional transformation: traditional forms are declining while neologistic and borrowed forms are surging, resulting in an overall increase in phraseological density from 45.5 to 74.2 per 10,000 tokens over seven decades. Third, register variation is extreme (a tenfold difference between colloquial and official registers). Social media has emerged as a phraseologically rich register comparable to colloquial speech. Fourth, the L2 comprehension experiment establishes that the recognition–production gap is a key diagnostic indicator, peaking at B1 and narrowing only at C1+.

Table 9: Practical recommendations.

No.	Recommendation	Audience	Priority
1	Update dictionaries with neologistic and digital forms	Lexicographers	High
2	Integrate corpus frequency data into RFL textbooks	Teachers, authors	High
3	Develop B2–C1 modules targeting recognition–production gap	Instructors	High
4	Create dynamic digital phraseological database	Corpus linguists, NLP	Medium
5	Include social media phraseologisms in curricula	Curriculum designers	Medium
6	Conduct longitudinal tracking via social media corpora	Researchers	Long-term

Future research should extend this analysis to spoken corpus data, investigate multimodal digital contexts (memes, video), and explore cross-linguistic comparisons with Slavic and Turkic phraseological systems.

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- 13.00.00 Pedagogika fanlari
 - 13.00.01 Pedagogika nazariyasi. Pedagogik ta'limotlar tarixi
 - 13.00.02 Ta'lim va tarbiya nazariyasi va metodikasi (sohalar bo'yicha)
 - 13.00.03 Maxsus pedagogika
 - 13.00.04 Jismoniy tarbiya va sport mashg'ulotlari nazariyasi va metodikasi
 - 13.00.05 Kasb-hunar ta'limi nazariyasi va metodikasi
 - 13.00.06 Elektron ta'lim nazariyasi va metodikasi (ta'lim sohaları va bosqichlari bo'yicha)
 - 13.00.07 Ta'limda menejment
 - 13.00.08 Maktabgacha ta'lim va tarbiya nazariyasi va metodikasi
 - 13.00.09 Ijtimoiy pedagogika
 - 07.00.00 Tarix fanlari
 - 19.00.00 Psixologiya fanlari
 - 01.00.00 Fizika-matematika fanlari
 - 02.00.00 Kimyo fanlari
 - 03.00.00 Biologiya fanlari
 - 09.00.00 Falsafa fanlari
 - 10.00.00 Filologiya fanlari
 - 11.00.00 Geografiya fanlari



MAKTABGACHA VA MAKTAB TA'LIMI

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2026. №4(1)

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"Maktabgacha va maktab ta'limi" jurnali 26.09.2023-yildan O'zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidenti Adminstratsiyasi huzuridagi Axborot va ommaviy kommunikatsiyalar agentligi tomonidan №C-5669363 reyestr raqami tartibi bo'yicha ro'yxatdan o'tkazilgan.
Litsenziya raqami: № 136361.

Manzirimiz: Toshkent shahar, Yunusobod tumani
19-mavze, 17-uy.