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FIGURATIVE IDIOMS WITH EMBEDDED ETHNONYMS IN BRITISH MEDIA DISCOURSE

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The research examines the functioning of conventional idioms containing ethnonyms in modern British public discourse, featuring the way they are employed in newspaper articles. Ethnonyms are treated as nominations of ethnic communities that often represent some stereotypical treatment of an out-group that may seem inappropriate from political correctness perspective. The study is set in the critical discourse analysis framework and employs definitional and contextual analyses. The research shows that being incorporated in the semantic structure of figurative idioms ethnonyms can either connote some negative attitude or be devoid of any connotation. When used in media discourse the first type of idioms is involved in some play on their figurative and literal meanings, which creates the defeated expectancy effect. Instead of connoting some negative attitude to an ethnic group, they serve rhetorical purposes riveting and retaining the readers' attention thus enhancing the perception of the author's message. When non-connotative figurative idioms with embedded ethnonyms are used in the contexts, they undergo some transformations and develop new meanings. As a result the reference to a specific ethnic group becomes opaque. It is possible to conclude that the current usage of this group of figurative idioms is not affected by their "etymological memory". The research shows that the employment of conventional idioms containing ethnonyms in media discourse is a powerful rhetorical tool which helps to affect the readers' perception and convey the message in a laconic and expressive way without violating the rules of political correctness and inclusiveness.

Key words: ethnonym; media discourse; idiom; political correctness; ethnic stereotypes.

Этнонимосодержащие образные идиомы в британском медиадискурсе

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Работа посвящена исследованию функционирования конвенциональных образных идиом, содержащих этнонимы, в современном британском общественном дискурсе, в преломлении к тому, как данные языковые единицы используются в газетных статьях. Этнонимы рассматриваются как номинации этнических групп, которые часто выражают стереотипные представления по отношению к «чужим», что в настоящее время может выглядеть неприемлемым с точки зрения политической корректности. В основу работы положен критический дискурсивный анализ, кроме того, применяются дефиниционный

и контекстуальный методы исследования. Анализ материала показывает, что этнонимы, входящие в состав образных идиом, способны выражать негативное отношение к какой-либо этнической группе, в то же самое время часть исследуемых языковых единиц являются оценочно нейтральными. Первая группа идиом используется в медиадискурсе с целью создания экспрессивности, при этом обыгрывается их метафорическое и прямое значения, что создает эффект обманутого ожидания. Вместо того, чтобы транслировать негативное отношение к какому-либо этносу, этнонимосодержащие конвенциональные образные идиомы выступают как риторическое средство, призванное привлечь и удержать внимание читателей, что способствует адекватному восприятию авторского посыла. Анализ использования идиом с этнонимами, не выражающими этностереотипы, показывает, что данные образные языковые единицы подвергаются трансформации и развивают новые контекстуальные значения. В результате они утрачивают связь с обозначаемой этнонимом общностью, что позволяет утверждать, что в анализируемых контекстах «этимологическая память» данной группы образных идиом не сказывается на их контекстуальном употреблении. Исследование показывает, что использование этнонимосодержащих конвенциональных образных идиом в современном британском медиадискурсе является эффективным риторическим инструментом, воздействующим на восприятие текста и позволяющим лаконично и экспрессивно передать авторский замысел, не нарушая нормы политкорректности и инклюзивности.

Ключевые слова: этноним; медиадискурс; идиома; политкорректность; этнические стереотипы.

1. Introduction

The interrelation of language and culture has been a focal point of research in recent decades. One of its many facets deals with the linguistic representation of such complex social and cultural phenomena as race and ethnicity. The linguistic units denoting a certain ethnic group called ethnonyms mirror a linguistic community's world view (Shastina 2008; Pavlina 2018). The nature of ethnonyms and their linguistic status remain a contentious issue among scholars, as there is no consensus about their belonging to proper or common names. Another aspect that should be clarified is the types of entities described by ethnonyms (Koopman 2016). The Finnish scholar R. Grünthal observes that the definition of the term is not as clear-cut (cf. Greek *éthnos* 'people' + *ónoma* 'name') as it seems (Grünthal 1999). The author assumes that ethnonyms encompass not only the names of people, but also place names (Grünthal 1999). At the same time some researchers establish the difference between the names of ethnic groups and the nomination of inhabitants of a particular location. The former fall into the class of ethnonyms, the latter are called demonyms. According to Chesnokova and Radovic, 'demonyms universally represent linguistic devices for expressing territorial and regional identity' (Chesnokova & Radovic 2020: 1017). When the term *ethnonym* is treated broadly, it becomes synonymous to *realia* that include the names of some specific tools, artifacts and personal names (Teliya 1996). It is evident that the spheres to which the term *ethnonym* can be attributed remain blurred and require some clarification.

Another strand of ethnonym-related research concerns their idiomatic use. These linguistic units are involved in some metaphoric mapping and become a part of conventional idioms. Ethnonyms incorporated into figurative expressions are culture specific linguistic units that tend to reflect stereotypes about an out-group (Boyadzhieva 2010). A considerable body of research is focused on evaluative meanings of phraseological expressions containing ethnonyms (Kolshenskaya & Diakova 2015; Soboleva 2008; Archdeacon 1983). The scholars analyse the way such linguistic units reflect certain ethnic stereotypes. It is evident that nowadays the idea of stereotyping seems to be quite obsolete. Since the public perception of ethnicity and its linguistic representations have been evolving, it is important to reveal if the usage of figurative idioms with embedded ethnonyms is appropriate in modern public discourse from the political correctness perspective. The functioning of conventional idioms with embedded ethnonyms in public discourse remains an under-researched area. To fill this gap in modern idiomatic scholarship the analysis of English idioms containing ethnonyms was carried out and their functioning in British media discourse was investigated. The sample includes figurative expressions with such ethnonymic nominations as Dutch, Russian, Greek, Irish, Chinese, Indian, Ethiopian, Mexican and 143 contexts of their usage in British media discourse, singled out from The Guardian articles. The study addresses the following research questions:

1. What semantic features do figurative idioms with embedded ethnonyms possess?
2. Is the usage of ethnonym-containing idioms in media discourse consistent with the ruling social paradigm of political correctness and inclusiveness?

2. Literature review

Idioms are traditionally treated as linguistic units that encapsulate some information about basic codes of culture. The Russian scholar Teliya believes that such information is expressed in the cultural connotation of the phraseological units (Teliya 1993). The research by Kovshova distinguishes between the national specificity of phraseologisms and their cultural specificity and introduces the algorithm of their identification. According to the scholar, phraseologisms contain information about the history and culture of a language community that includes the knowledge of some common patterns of behavior and the set of values shared by the members of this community (Kovshova 2016). The cultural aspects of an idiomatic meaning are the centerpiece of the research conducted by Dobrovol'skiy and Piirainen. The scholars assume that it is necessary to analyse the cultural basis of idioms to understand their motivation, since various types of cultural knowledge are encoded in phraseologisms, in particular they are embedded in the semantics of symbolically motivated figurative units that employ

certain cultural conventions (Dobrovol'skiy & Piirailen 2006). Some of such conventions are connected with the way the members of a linguistic community perceive themselves and others.

Idioms encode and transmit the information about the system of values relevant for the linguocultural community which includes some stereotypes about their own ethnic community as well as other ethnic groups. One of the means to draw a line between the in-group and the out-group is to create the image of your own ethnic group setting it in contrast to other ethnic communities. The stereotypical representations of the in-group are called *autostereotypes*, while the term *heterostereotypes* is used in reference to the out-group. Autostereotypes embedded in phraseological expressions, including proverbs, tend to connote some positive attributes that a certain ethnic group believes to possess, asserting national identity (Gorokhova 2016, 2017). For example, the paremiological system of the Polish language is characterized by the following autostereotypes: a Pole is courageous, noble, hardworking, patriotic, patient, pious, capable of standing up for himself (Raina & Shestakova-Stukun 2019).

The creation of stereotypes is based on the process of some complex phenomena simplification, when something complicated, heterogeneous and multifaceted is reduced to the form which is perceived as a cliché. The creation of ethno-specific stereotypes can be compared to the application of one and the same measuring stick to diverse representatives of a certain ethnic group, which actually discards their individuality in an attempt to reveal some archetypical features. The stereotypes that address ethnicity tend to be biased, so the linguistic units that reflect heterostereotypes connote a certain attitude to the given ethnic group which is reflected in their affective meaning. According to Kochetkov, the semantics of idioms that contain ethnonyms is determined by extralinguistic factors (Kochetkov 2002). One of its manifestations is a certain ethnocentricity that underpins evaluative representations of some out-groups. In fact the in-group is perceived as a model one, while the out-groups are placed below it on the scale of values. This hierarchy mirrors heterostereotypes that treat the out-group properties as unnatural or inappropriate (Kochetkov 2002).

One of the extreme manifestations of ethnocentricity in the language is the terms that are called ethnopaulisms, which are lexemes used as ethnic slurs to describe an out-group in hate speech (Roback 1979; Nuessel 2008; Mullen, Calogero & Leader 2007). Such units possess a strong pejorative connotation and are often marked as taboo or offensive terms in the dictionaries. According to Allen, such words provide linguistic evidence of some ethnic conflict (Allen 1983). Idioms that encapsulate stereotypes related to ethnicity do not normally contain such lexemes; nevertheless the meaning of the whole idiom can contain some judgmental information about a certain out-group which tends to be pejo-

rative. Some examples can be found in the phraseological system of the Russian language: *пьян, как поляк* (as drunk as a Pole), *незванный гость хуже татарина* (an uninvited guest is worse than a Tatar). The research exploring the English idioms with such ethnonyms as Greek, French, Irish, Chinese, Dutch, Indian, Turkish reveals that they often connote negative attitudes to the given ethnic groups (Kolshenskaya & Diakova 2015). The analysis of British and American idioms shows that similar negative qualities are ascribed to Indians and the Irish (Archdeacon 1983). The evidence of it can be found with such idioms as *to get one's Indian up* and *to get one's Irish up* that have a similar meaning: *to become angry or outraged*. The investigation of American idioms containing stereotypes based on ethnicity carried out by Soboleva shows that the out-group is represented in the negative light and is ascribed the following negative features: violent temper (*Indian powwow* — a noisy frolic or discussion, *to get one's Indian/Dutch/Irish up* — to become angry or outraged); bad manners (*Dutch treat* — entertainment in which each person pays for himself, *Indian gift* — a gift that is given and then asked for back); substance abuse (*Dutch courage* — false courage gained from drinking alcohol, *Indian grass* — marijuana); stupidity/clumsiness (*to play someone for a Chinaman* — to treat as a fool) (Soboleva 2008).

The derision targeted at other ethnic groups and expressed in the figurative idioms helps to cement the ethnic identity of the in-group and assert its own values (Soboleva 2008). Similar observations can be found in the work devoted to the idioms containing components Irish, Welsh and Scotch / Scottish authored by Kolesova (Kolesova 2019). The scholar assumes that figurative nominations with the ethnonym Irish express some negative attitude to this ethnic group, as the English used to perceive them as rivals, aggressive and uncultivated. Though in the course of time this stereotypical view has undergone some changes, it is still preserved in English conventional idioms (Kolesova 2019).

3. Material and Methods

The research is set in the Critical Discourse Analysis framework which aims at disclosing the link between discursive practices and texts and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes (Fairclough 1995). The sample includes 27 conventional figurative idioms with ethnonymic components Dutch / Dutchman, Russian, Greek, Irish, Chinese / Chinaman, Indian, Ethiopian, Mexican, selected from the Oxford Dictionary of Idioms, Macmillan English Dictionary and the American Heritage Dictionary. The definition analysis was employed to reveal their connotations. In the study ethnonyms are understood as nominations of people, belonging to a certain ethnic group (Gerd 2005). The next stage of the research was based on the contextual analysis of the sample id-

ioms. To this end 143 contexts containing conventional figurative idioms with embedded ethnonyms were selected from the Guardian newspaper articles. To process the idiomatic meanings the basic principles of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor (CTM) were applied which helped to reveal the metaphoric mapping in which the sample idioms are involved.

4. Results and Discussion

The analysis of the sample idioms semantics shows that these figurative items belong to two categories: connotative and non-connotative. The group of idioms that express certain ethnic stereotypes possesses some negative connotation. It can be exemplified by the following figurative idioms: *Irish lemons* — *a fake copy*; *Dutch blessing* — *scolding*, *Chinese ace* — *an inept pilot*. The peculiarities of out-groups are perceived as odd, unusual and distinctively different from the values shared by the ethnic community: *Chinese basket* — *a shot in basketball that enters the basket from the bottom of the cylinder before dropping back through*. If something is incomprehensible or strange, it is called *кумайская грамота* in the Russian phraseosystem and the expression *to be all Greek to someone* is used in the English language to convey the same idea.

However, it is evident that not all idioms with embedded ethnonyms connote negative attitudes to a certain ethnic group. Such linguistic items do not normally express any heterostereotypes. One of such figurative idioms is *Russian roulette* which means *an act of reckless bravado*. The phrase itself expresses disapproval of some risky actions, its initial meaning being *a stunt in which one spins the cylinder of a revolver loaded with only one bullet, aims the muzzle at one's head, and pulls the trigger*. The origin of the idiom is presumably related to the stunts practiced by Russian officers, but the quality of being reckless is not projected to the Russians as an ethnic group. So it is possible to conclude that no stereotypes are encoded in this figurative idiom. One more example is the expression *Can an Ethiopian change his skin or a leopard its spots?* It is commonly used in its shortened form *Can a leopard change its spots?* The idiom originates from the Bible: *Can an Ethiopian change his skin or a leopard its spots? Neither can you do good who are accustomed to doing evil*. The ethnonym *Ethiopian* is employed for rhetorical purposes to metaphorically express the idea of a quality that cannot be alienated from something or someone. The skin of an Ethiopian is not treated from the standpoint of its being good or bad, appropriate or inappropriate, so the ethnonym in the idiom does not have any negative connotation.

The idea of the interdependence of language and culture introduced by post-structuralists is widely accepted now (Lotman 2010; Karasik 2013). The norms and values shared by a community at one specific stage of its develop-

ment become outdated in the course of time which is reflected in the language. The seminal work of Leontovich “The Dynamics of Political Correctness, Inclusive Language and Freedom of Speech” demonstrates how modern social trends affect the English language banning the use of offensive terms connected with people’s identity. One of the manifestations of political correctness is the ‘avoidance of stereotypes and false semantic associations’ (Leontovich 2021: 194). It ensues that not only lexemes falling into the category of ethnic slur, but also figurative conventional idioms incorporating ethnopaulisms are no longer acceptable in public discourse. For example the idiom *a nigger in the fence / in the woodpile* which means *a hidden difficulty* can hardly be used in media discourse as the word *nigger* is perceived as a racial slur and is usually substituted for the euphemism *N-word*.

The transformative change in the public perception of linguistic items denoting stereotypes is supposed to entail some limitations to the usage of figurative idioms reflecting ethnic stereotypes. The judgmental attitude they express is viewed as a type of discrimination, verbal aggression and a lack of tolerance. The vexed issue of linguistic racism encompasses the references to the skin colour and the person’s ethnicity. Sometimes the interpretation of inclusive language goes too far when people try to ban any idiomatic expressions containing ethnonyms even though they do not express any stereotypes and are not targeted at a specific ethnic group. One of such cases is the idiom *Too many chiefs and not enough Indians* which caused discussion on the Quora platform: “*What is a non-racist way of saying ‘too many chiefs and not enough Indians’? This phrase has been used to describe group dynamics where cooperation is lacking because too many participants expect to lead and have others follow*”. Those who object to the usage of this idiom argue that the term *Indian* has some reference to the times when white Americans conquered the Western territories fighting with native tribes, so *Indian* is viewed as a disparaging term that should be substituted for the inclusive phrase *Native American*. At the same time The American Heritage Dictionary contains the following usage note: “However, the acceptance of *Native American* has not brought about the demise of *Indian*, despite persistent criticism. Unlike *Negro*, which was quickly stigmatized once *black* became preferred, *Indian* never fell out of favor with a large segment of the American population. The charge that *Indian* is an offensive term — hopelessly tainted by the ignorant or romantic stereotypes of popular American culture — can be answered, at least in part, by pointing to the continuing use of this term among American Indians themselves. Indeed, *Indian* authors and those sympathetic to *Indian* causes often prefer it for its unpretentious familiarity as well as its emotional impact” (American Heritage Dictionary 2000: 832).

To trace the modern tendencies in the usage of figurative idioms with embedded ethnonyms we analysed their functioning in British media discourse. To this end we examined two types of contexts: the one containing the idioms expressing ethnic heterostereotypes and the other with non-connotative ethnonyms, in other words, idioms with no encoded stereotypes.

It is important to establish if the figurative meaning of idioms that express some negative perception of a certain ethnic group is preserved in the newspaper articles. To this end let us consider some contexts with the conventional idiom *Dutch feast* which means *a party where the host gets drunk first*.

The idiom *Dutch feast* expresses quite a dated view on the Dutch and is not employed in its figurative meaning in the sample contexts. However, *Dutch feast* is used in its direct meaning in the articles that describe some gastronomic experience. The text entitled *A Dutch feast for the Queen's Day* describes the way two cooking enthusiasts arranged a feast for friends that happened to fall on the Netherlands Queen's Day and so the dishes were orange in colour to fit the occasion. When *Dutch feast* is used in the title, the figurative meaning is the first to enter the readers' minds, it creates some expectations of an event which went wrong because of the host's excessive alcohol consumption. However, the text disproves it keeping the readers intrigued. So the idiom serves its pragmatic purpose to arrest and retain the readers' attention, providing the basis for some play on direct and metaphorical meanings of the expression.

The conventional idiom *Dutch treat* actually means no treat at all as everyone pays his or her share. The sample contains no examples of the idiom usage in this meaning. At the same time it is employed as a pun in the article entitled *Norfolk travel tips: Dutch treat with pancakes and real ale in Wells*. The expression *Dutch treat* refers to some traditional meals served in the pub located onboard the Albatros, the old Dutch clipper. The play on its literal reading and figurative meaning serves as a device to rivet the addressees' attention. It is a manifestation of the so called defeated expectancy effect as the first meaning that enters the recipients' minds is figurative, but in fact the story has nothing to do with the stinginess of the Dutch. On the contrary, it portrays the romantic atmosphere of having a meal on board an old Dutch ship.

The phrase *to go Dutch* denotes going out, where a couple each pays for their own half of a restaurant bill. It has some negative implication of acting "cheap". The article *First dates and the unbearable awkwardness of Going Dutch* tackles the thorny issue of bill-splitting showing that the man's request for the woman to pay her own way can ruin relationships, no matter how pervasive the gender equality ideas are. The expression *to go Dutch* retains its negative connotation. However, when it is used in the context, it hardly ever conjures

up negative associations with the qualities of the Dutch people since the phrase has become a cliché and its etymology is opaque.

In other contexts different facets of the idiomatic meaning are played on. The article *Go Dutch? UK and EU may share Netherlands Covid vaccine supplies to ease tensions* describes the attempts to share vaccine supplies from Dutch AstraZeneca plant, so the idea of sharing limited resources that can be beneficial for the UK is emphasized. Applied to the pandemic relief measures context the figurative idiom connotes some cooperation and hope.

Another article has the title *Go Dutch and save yourself £50,000* which elucidates another aspect of *Going Dutch* implying that there is nothing bad about being economical. It refers to the cases when British students go to the Netherlands to earn a university degree, actually without paying any tuition fees. The pun employs two meanings: being thrifty and going to a Dutch university.

The analysis reveals that in media texts idioms, expressing ethnic stereotypes, are used in some new unexpected light, stimulating the readers' imagination, playing on direct and metaphorical meanings. Thus the figurative idioms tend to serve rhetorical purposes without compromising the political correctness principle.

The other type of figurative idioms with embedded ethnonyms does not express any stereotypes. They include such items as *Russian roulette* (reckless bravado), *Mexican wave* (an effect resembling a moving wave produced by successive sections of the crowd in a stadium standing up, raising their arms, lowering them, and sitting down again), *Chinese whisper* (a situation in which a piece of information is passed from one person to the next and is changed slightly each time it is told), *too many chiefs and not enough Indians* (too many managers and not enough people to do the work).

To explore the way these figurative idioms are used in media discourse their contextual meanings and transformations should be analysed. To begin with, let us consider the expression *too many chiefs and not enough Indians* that is characterized by bright imagery and has some clear motivation. One of its contextual applications refers to the rise and fall of a fashionable London restaurant ran by the modern British artist Damien Hirst, who explains the reason for the venue's failure in the following way: *There were too many chiefs and not enough Indians* (The Guardian 18 Sep 2004). The partners running the business couldn't come to agreement, each of them tried to assume the leading role, the metaphorical role of a chief. Meanwhile the staff was underpaid and started to quit, which resulted in the lack of metaphorical Indians. The metaphor underpinning the idiom helps to express complex cause-and-effect relationships in a concise and imaginative way. The idiom fits the business management context and enhances the pragmatic effect of the text.

In another context it is used to describe public services management: *Wasteful, too many chiefs: five myths about the NHS we need to dispel* (The Guardian 26 Jan 2016). The title of the article contains a shortened form of the idiom. The phrase *too many chiefs* is employed to describe the popular belief about the NHS management that the author aims at puncturing. In this context the idiom acquires the new meaning of an inappropriate allocation of resources, which seems to be wasteful. The public tends to criticize the disproportionately big number of managers in the sphere of health care, rather than the lack of medical practitioners. It accounts for the idiom contraction, as the part *not enough Indians* does not seem relevant for the situation the idiom presents metaphorically.

The figurative expression with the ethnonym *Indian* is also used in media discourse to describe sport events when coaches are featured as metaphorical chiefs, while athletes are presented as metaphorical Indians. A rugby match is analysed in the following way: *Lions and Maro Itoje too strong for Maori All Blacks on niggly night ... Too many Chiefs missing and not enough good Indians* (The Guardian 19 Jun 2017).

In this context the figurative idiom undergoes transformations that can be classified as expansion (Pavlina 2017). The insertion of the word *missing* into the first part of the idiom changes the initial meaning of redundancy to the opposite one. It underlines the importance of coaches, whose absence can lead to the team's failure. The second part of the idiom is also augmented. The introduction of the adjective *good* to describe team members shifts the emphasis from their quantitative to qualitative parameters. Thus the transformations of the initial idiom create an image that helps the readers to better understand the situation, bringing to the surface the factors that prevent rugby teams from achieving top results.

The analysis shows that the figurative idiom fits different contexts developing some new shades of meaning. So in the media discourse *Too many chief and not enough Indians* can express:

- The lack of agreement and coordination among managers and their subordinates' discontent.
- Wastefulness, the excessive number of managers.
- The lack of highly qualified people, managers and subordinates alike.

To fit a specific context the idioms undergo some transformation, which allows for highlighting a certain facet of the metaphorical image. The ethnonym embedded in the idiom acquires a symbolic meaning, and the link with the nomination of an ethnic community is quite opaque.

The pragmatic effect is enhanced considerably when two idioms with ethnonyms are juxtaposed in one sentence as is the case with the following news-

paper article title: *Playing Russian roulette with a Mexican wave of capital crimes* (The Guardian 7 December 2014). According to Macmillan Dictionary blog, the idiom “*Mexican wave* is a descriptive phrase that is derived from the motion of spectators who participate in the exercise of moving in near unison like an ocean wave. Most sports historians agree that it first came to international sport during the 1986 World Cup, which was held in Mexico”. When the movements of spectators at a stadium are compared to the movements of water, some metaphorical representation of reality takes place. In the context *Playing Russian roulette with a Mexican wave of capital crimes* the movement of spectators that underpins the idiomatic image serves as a source of a new metaphor. It is employed to describe the situation when something causes the effect which is unstoppable, giving a new name to the thing that is usually called *the domino effect*. The idiom *Mexican wave* does not have any evaluative meaning. However, in the context it connotes something undesirable and destructive as the linguistic items *Russian roulette* and *crimes* used in the same sentence have a negative connotation which is projected onto the figurative idiom *Mexican wave*. This example shows that being figurative nominations idioms with embedded ethnonyms are involved in metaphorical mapping and serve as source domains for new metaphors. The ethnonym *Mexican* does not express any biased perception of the ethnic group. Now the movements of spectators during football matches resembling waves are common across the globe and their idiomatic representation does not seem to have any clear connection with Mexicans as an ethnic group. It shows that the current usage of the figurative idiom is not affected by the “etymological memory” of this linguistic unit.

5. Concluding remarks

Summarising the result of the analysis, it is possible to say that idioms containing ethnonymic nominations with some pejorative connotation are banned from the media discourse as they violate the principle of inclusiveness. At the same time conventional figurative expressions with embedded ethnonyms that denote heterostereotypes about certain ethnic groups are used in newspaper articles as sources of pun. The journalists play on their direct and metaphorical meanings creating the so called defeated expectancy effect. One more group of idioms with ethnonyms does not contain any evaluation of an ethnic group, initially being non-connotative. When used in the contexts they undergo some transformations and develop new meanings, the reference to a specific ethnic group becomes opaque. The figurative idioms containing ethnonyms are involved in metaphorical mapping, serving as source domains for new images. It is possible to conclude that the employment of conventional figurative idioms with embedded ethnonyms in media discourse is a powerful rhetorical tool

which helps to affect the readers' perception and convey the message in a laconic and expressive way without violating the rules of political correctness and inclusiveness.

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