



Tatyana V. Leontyeva^[1]

Ural Federal University named after
the First President of Russia B. N. Yeltsin
Yekaterinburg, Russia

UDC 316.752:[316.472.4:004.738.5(470:497.11)

Original scientific article

Received on 19/6/2026

Accepted on 1/8/2026

Doi:10.5937/napredak7-68094

Values as a Subject of Discussion in Russian-Serbian Online Communities^[2]

Abstract: The paper examines the axiology of texts presented in online communities. The study is based on material from groups on the social network VKontakte that position themselves as platforms for international communication in the context of discussions of Russian-Serbian issues. The content of a corpus of Russian-language texts published between 2022 and 2026 was analysed according to the criterion of the presence of words denoting *ценности* (values) in posts or comments. The analysis established that all the entries in the sample are devoted to the discussion of values in the context of an international agenda concerning Serbia, Russia, Europe and the USA. The contextual use of the word “value” was analysed. The findings demonstrate that, for this audience, the concept of VALUE constitutes both the core of cultural identity and the foundation of a political worldview.

Keywords: axiology, values, Serbs, Russians, cultural identity, transformation of values, military metaphor

Introduction

In the contemporary information space, online communities serve as platforms for discussing current issues. At the same time, the concept of VALUE, which is central to the sociological analysis of culture and identity, paradoxically appears relatively rarely as an explicit topic in the everyday narratives of internet users.

This study is devoted to analysing the mechanisms through which values are represented in the digital environment, where they are profiled through direct naming (in Russian, *ценности*, i.e. values) with varying degrees of intensity depending on the type of online community.

The importance of studying the specific ways in which values are represented on media platforms is indisputable, particularly in an in-

[1] t.v.leontieva@urfu.ru ; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7213-1582>

[2] This study was supported by the Russian Science Foundation as part of Project No. 25-28-01168, “Meanings of values in the personal narratives of young Russian bloggers”, <https://rscf.ru/project/25-28-01168/>

ternational context, as emphasised in scholarly works, for example, in the study “Social networks as the main platform of communication between the media and society shape the image of a state at the international level” (Kunich, Muzykant & Panasenko, 2022, p. 184). Specifically, Z. Kunich and colleagues draw attention to the “specific features of the creation and promotion of Russia’s image in the *digital territory* of a kindred nation” (Kunich, Muzykant & Panasenko, 2022, p. 171).

We proceed with an analysis of discussions on Serbian culture and politics conducted by users of the Russian-language social network, VKontakte.

The methodological foundation of this study was developed on the basis of key concepts from the sociology of knowledge, discourse analysis and cognitive analysis. First and foremost, we draw on the theory of P. Berger and T. Luckmann, who regard values as products of the social construction of reality: “Values and worldviews have a social origin” (Berger & Luckmann, 1995, p. 15). In addition, we take into account the sociological theory of values developed by Émile Durkheim, which distinguishes between different types of values: “There are different kinds of values. Economic value is one thing; moral, religious, aesthetic and metaphysical values are quite another” (Durkheim, 1995, p. 291). He distinguishes between “judgements of fact” and “value judgements”, defining the latter in terms of ideals: “Value judgements are based on ideals” (Durkheim, 1995, p. 302).

Values are reflected in language, particularly in metaphors; therefore, we draw on the theory of metaphor developed by G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, who point to a strong connection between meta-

phors and values: “The most fundamental cultural values are coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in that culture” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2004, p. 46). At the same time, as researchers point out, the cultural layer is primary in comparison with individual experience, since a person initially perceives the world through the prism of the culture of the community to which they belong: “Cultural models, values and attitudes cannot be regarded as a conceptual blanket that we arbitrarily spread over our experience. A more accurate view is that our experience constitutes the flesh of our culture; we experience the world in such a way that our culture is already part of every act of cognition and experience” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2004, p. 94).

In addition, in order to operationalise the concept, content analysis tools were employed, making it possible to translate abstract ideological constructs into measurable empirical indicators.

The identification of the value profile of a text is based on the frequency of use of particular linguistic units, as well as on the collocations of the key word with other nominations; therefore, the prevalence of the word “values” and a range of key linguistic units within the broader textual environment constituted the subject of research in this article. The methods applied were frequency analysis and collocation analysis.

The empirical analysis demonstrates that resources with an international focus constitute one of the most relevant types of online communities for studying this issue. There are several reasons for this. On the one hand, by its very nature, an international agenda presupposes a particular comparative

view of the world. In situations of collision between different sociocultural spaces, the contrast between values acquires distinct and clearly defined characteristics. When discussing international issues, participants in communication are compelled to resort to direct naming in order to identify civilisational differences, political regimes or models of economic development, thereby making discourse on values explicit. Consequently, studying this segment makes it possible to identify which semantic fields and axiological indicators are used to establish a distinction between “us” and “them” in the global context.

O. N. Novak notes a discrepancy in the semantic scope of the Russian word *ценность* and the Serbian word *вредност* (Novak, 2017, p 100); therefore, in order to establish a shared understanding of the key term, we note that in this paper, value is understood as a culturally significant fact of reality (a phenomenon, object or cognitive attitude).

The Polish scholar J. Bartmiński, who initiated a project for the systematic description of values among Slavic peoples, stated that “one should not attempt to identify the inherent values of each language (each cultural-linguistic community); rather, one should seek to determine their rank and significance, their relationships with one another and with other values; to reconstruct the way in which they are understood – and only then should they be compared with the situation in other languages” (Bartmiński, 2008, p. 64). Today, scholarly work on describing the values of ethnic communities is ongoing and has long-term prospects.

In this article, we have focused on describing the axiology of the Serbian and Russian peoples

as a single and complementary value field, shaped by a shared civilisational code and historical destinies.

2. Materials and methods

The research material consisted of contexts containing the Russian word *ценности*, meaning ‘values’ (in Russian, the singular form of this word, *ценность*, occurs less frequently), extracted from posts and comments in two Russian-Serbian groups on the VKontakte social media platform: (1) RUSSIAN-SERBIAN PORTAL / Serbia / Balkans / Russia (more than 29,000 subscribers); (2) Serbia (more than 44,000 subscribers).

Both groups are devoted to Serbia and are primarily aimed at a Russian-speaking audience discussing the culture, traditions, history and politics of the Republika Srpska and Serbia, and occasionally the wider Balkan region. The data were collected using tools developed by Ilya Barkov (vk.barkov.net) on a website that identifies target audiences on social networks and processes posts.

The sample consisted exclusively of Russian-language texts, as the search was conducted for the Russian word *ценности*, meaning ‘values’. The initial search results, limited to the period from 2022 to 2026 (to date), comprised 202 texts, of which 185 were included in the final sample after duplicates had been removed.

More than half of the analysed texts (107) date from 2023 and 2024 (see Figure 1), indicating that this period was characterised by a sharp increase in direct discussions of value categories.

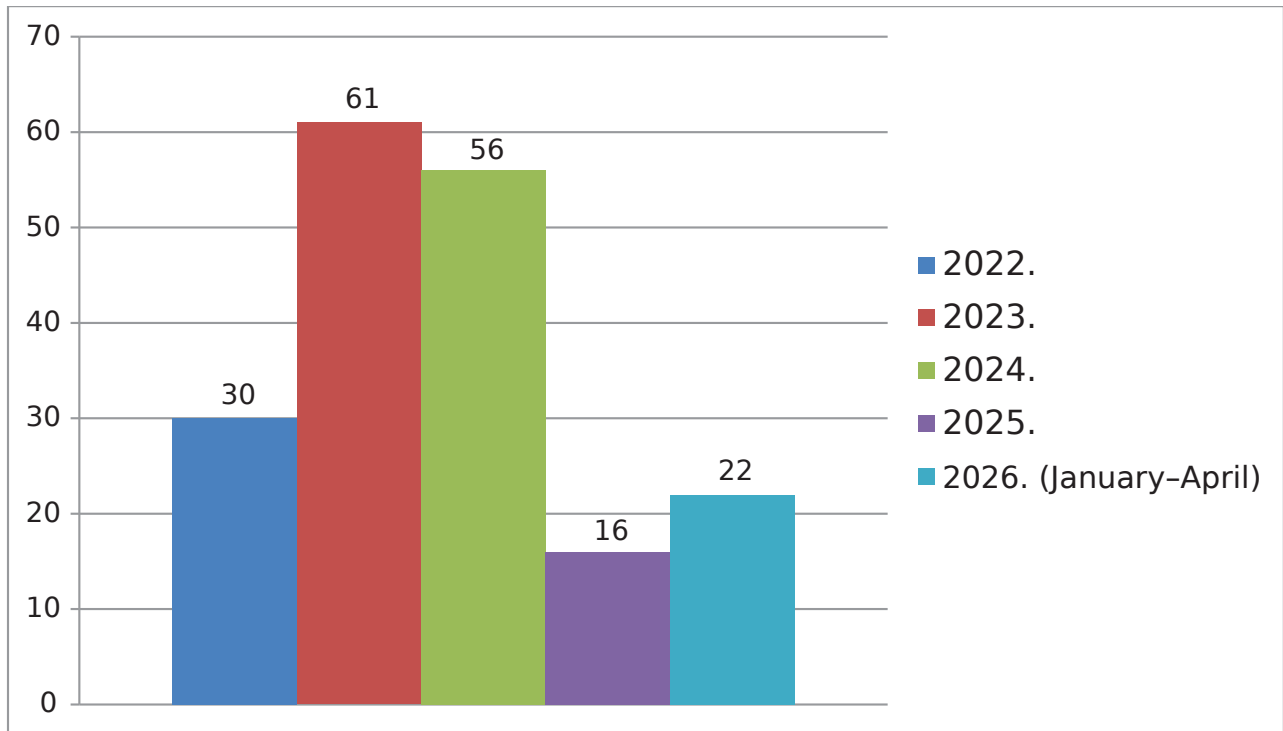


Figure 1. Number of posts containing the Russian word *ценности*, meaning 'values', in the analysed Russian-Serbian blogs, 2022-2026

According to the statistics, the age and gender structure of participants discussing values (i.e. the authors of the selected excerpts) is characterised as follows: 12.07% of the total number of participants belong to the youth category (14–35 years old), while 43.1% belong to the older age group (36 and above); the remaining 56.9% have not specified their gender on their profiles. Among subscribers who mention values in their posts and comments, the majority are men (60%) (vk.barkov.net).

According to our observations, the reported proportion of young participants in communication (under 35 years of age) among the total number of people involved in a thematic online community represents an average indicator for each community on the VKontakte social network (10–15%).

The corpus of texts thus compiled will subsequently be analysed from two perspectives. First, the content of the corpus is analysed in order to identify semantic “peaks” (categorical-thematic slots) by recognising and interpreting key words

on the basis of their frequency. Second, the collocations of the Russian word *ценности*, meaning ‘values’, as represented in the sample of texts are analysed.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Frequency of linguistic units in the corpus of posts from the Russian-Serbian online community: the context of discussions on values

The corpus of texts collected for analysis, comprising approximately 250,000 characters in total, contains the following words with the highest frequency of occurrence (more than 25 times), alongside the keyword *ценности*, meaning ‘values’, used for the selection of texts, according to data from the text analysis website Voyant Tools (<https://voyant-tools.org>):

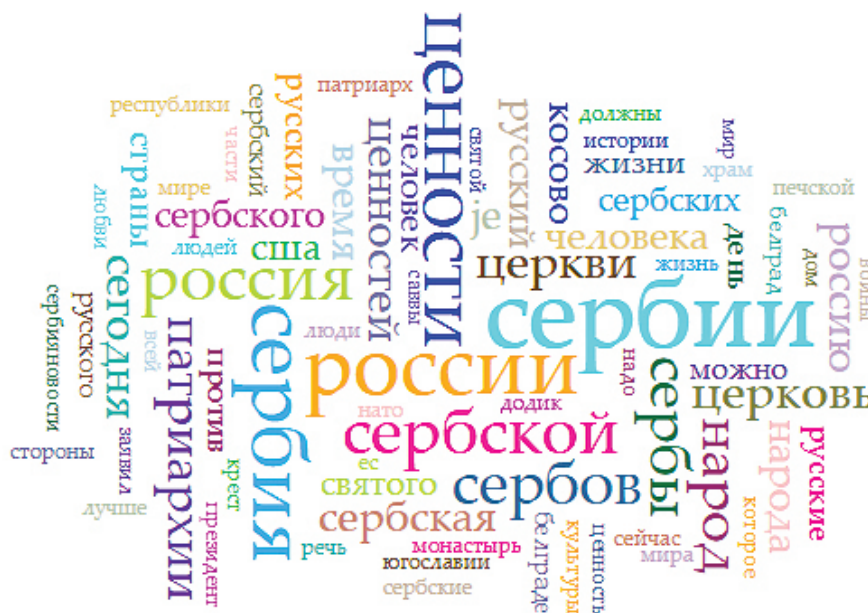
- in Russian: *сербский* – Serbian (252),
- in Russian: *Сербия* – Serbia (241),
- in Russian: *Россия* – Russia (239),
- in Russian: *ценности* – values (204),
- in Russian: *русский* – Russian (167),
- in Russian: *сербы* – Serbs (139),
- in Russian: *народ* – people/nation (112),
- in Russian: *церковь* – church (109),
- in Russian: *человек* – person/human being (90),
- in Russian: *жизнь* – life (69),
- in Russian: *Белград* – Belgrade (69),
- in Russian: *люди* – people (61),
- in Russian: *святой* – holy/saint (60),

- in Russian: *патриархия* – patriarchate (58),
- in Russian: *сегодня* – today (54),
- in Russian: *время* – time (49),
- in Russian: *Косово* – Kosovo (47),
- in Russian: *США* – USA (46),
- in Russian: *страна* – country (43),
- in Russian: *день* – day (41),
- in Russian: *против* – against (40),
- in Russian: *сейчас* – now/at present (33),
- in Russian: *НАТО* – NATO (31),
- in Russian: *республика* – republic (30),
- in Russian: *война* – war (30),
- in Russian: *крест* – cross (29),
- in Russian: *Додик* – Dodik (29),
- in Russian: *Савва* – Sava (28),
- in Russian: *культура* – culture (28),
- in Russian: *ЕС* – EU (28),
- in Russian: *надо* – need to/must (26),
- in Russian: *заявил* – stated/claims (26).

| 71

This frequency list provides a preliminary lexical-semantic map of the value-centred discourse, highlighting key thematic nodes such as national identity, religion and geopolitical entities.

The Cirrus tool, part of the web-based Voyant Tools text analysis platform, provides a visual representation of word frequency in a text. This makes it possible to identify the concepts that constitute the immediate semantic environment of the Russian word *ценности*, meaning ‘values’. By counting the number of times each word occurs, a “word cloud” is generated in which font size is directly related to the frequency of the word (the more frequently a word occurs, the larger its font). It should be noted that different forms of the same word are not reduced to a single form, while the font is



72 |

munities on VKontakte, and on an interpretation of the semantic relationships between them, the following main conclusions can be drawn, revealing the ways in which values are conceptualised in accordance with the ideological profile of the audience.

Identity as self-definition through opposition. The high frequency of words such as *Россия* (Russia), *Сербия* (Serbia), *сербский* (Serbian) and *русский* (Russian), together with their presence in texts in the immediate vicinity of the designation of the concept of “values”, indicates that the value system of the participants is not vaguely

universal. Rather, discussion of values always mitigates the ambiguity created by globalisation; consequently, the national agenda (the lexemes *страна* – country, *республика* – republic, *народ* – people/nation) acquires clear contours and a distinctive character when viewed through an axiological lens. It possesses a specificity corresponding to the thematic field of the online community and is built on a solid foundation of collective identity, in which Russian and Serbian culture are jointly designated as a single field, i.e. “one’s own” – as opposed to “the other”. Within the discourse of the online group, the appeal to the shared value foundation of these two Slavic peoples is less a direct statement of cultural affinity than an act of sociopolitical and ideological self-definition. Discussion of values serves as an instrument for constructing and reinforcing an image of a united civilisational space in opposition to external influences. Thus, value-based discourse becomes a marker of belonging to a particular community.

The church as an institutional bearer of values. Participants in the analysed online communities agree on the protective role of the church with regard to values. The significant quantitative presence of religious vocabulary in the analysed texts (*церковь*, meaning church; *святой*, meaning holy/saint; *патриархия*, meaning patriarchy) demonstrates that religion is regarded within the community as one of the key values and functions as a social institution that serves as the primary transmitter and guarantor of the preservation of values. In turn, this points to a need for traditional, time-tested moral principles and reliance on authority despite the uncertain-

ties of the present day. Values are sacralised and accorded a sacred status.

Values as an instrument for understanding the geopolitical field. The frequent mention of linguistic units such as *НАТО* (NATO), *США* (USA), *ЕС* (EU), *Косово* (Kosovo) and *война* (war) as values within the same semantic field reveals their pragmatic function. Here, values serve not only as an internal moral compass but also as an analytical tool for evaluating global events. The actions of global actors (e.g. NATO) are considered through the prism of their conformity or non-conformity with the aforementioned Russian-Serbian values. The conflict of values becomes the primary prism through which participants view international politics. Consequently, the defence of values is established as a distinct geopolitical position and form of solidarity.

Values as an indicator of the spatiotemporal continuum. Axiology does not exist outside social groups; by its nature, it is relative. A value is defined from the perspective of the culture of a community, which is determined by two factors – space and time. In this context, chrononyms (*время*, meaning time; *день*, meaning day; *сегодня*, meaning today; *сейчас*, meaning now/at present) serve as markers of the relevance of a particular value system, linking its variability to a specific historical moment. Given the defining role of the chronotope, values are simultaneously stable and variable. By providing a social group with a shared foundation for its existence, they serve as a guarantee of the predictability of human behaviour, the stability of the future order and the resilience of the social structure (ethnos, nation). However, space and time, by the very nature of their constitutive “dimensions”, entail changes in

paradigms and social transformations, after which values themselves become subject to change. This process is almost always painful because it affects the foundations of group identity, leading to social conflicts and crises.

The deontological essence of values. The inclusion of the name of any value in discourse presupposes a logical transition from its ontological status (“what is it?”) to the modal status of prescription (“how should it be?”). In other words, a value possesses imperative force and prompts an appeal to a social norm within the text. Its deontological nature is revealed through the presence, among the frequent contextual neighbours of the word *ценности*, meaning ‘values’, of linguistic units such as *надо* – need to/should/must, *заявил* – stated, and *против* – against, which actualise the categories of obligation, adherence to norms and disagreement with the norms of others within the narrative. Thus, the semantics of obligation contained in the Russian word *надо*, which conveys the meanings “it is necessary”, “should” and “is recommended”, expresses the normative-imperative register of discussions on values. Specifically, the emphasis is placed on the fact that every value functions as a norm, social attitude or rule. If something is recognised as a value, it logically follows that there is a prescription to act in accordance with it. This connection transforms a value judgement into a practical guide for action. In turn, the presence of the word *заявил*, meaning ‘stated’, indicates that statements by leaders and prominent figures (*Додик* – Dodik, *Вучич* – Vučić, *Сийярто* – Szijjártó, *Рейнке* – Reinke, *Ховеньер* – Hovenier, *Милошевич* – Milošević, *Путин* – Putin, *митрополит* – Metropolitan, *академик*

Бабурин – Academician Baburin, *посол Сербии при ЕС Апостолович* – Serbia’s ambassador to the EU Apostolović, *актер Бикович* – actor Biković, *венецианская комиссия* – Venice Commission, *академия наук* – Academy of Sciences) signify the public positioning of an individual or state (an act of self-identification) within an axiologically designated space and according to the criteria of a normative fact that imposes an obligation, a duty to adhere to a norm-value. Finally, the frequency of the word *против*, functioning as a marker of negation with regard to “the other/the alien”, in the analysed corpus of texts confirms the polarised nature of the value space, the divergence of worldviews and the conflict of beliefs.

Thus, values give structure to social existence in time and space, while their deontological essence transforms this structure into a moral and ethical framework. This framework consists of obligations (*надо*, meaning ‘must/should’), statements (*заявил*, meaning ‘stated’) and opposition to violations of consensus or disagreement with interference/intervention (*против*).

3.2. The collocational profile of the word *ценности*, i.e. ‘values’, in the corpus of posts from the Russian-Serbian online community

Based on corpus data from two Russian-Serbian groups on the VKontakte social network, we will analyse the combinations of the word *ценности*, meaning ‘values’, with other linguistic units. Within the corpus, 136 unique collocations containing this word were identified in the sense of “objects or phenomena of great cultural significance” (uses

of the word in other meanings were excluded, e.g. *скупать ценности* – ‘to buy valuables’, *ценность коллекции* – ‘the value/significance of a collection’), while the textual realisations reached a total of 283 occurrences. The corpus contains the following word combinations formed according to the “adjective + noun” pattern, which generally demonstrate the typical combinability of the noun in Russian, but also display specific characteristics in terms of their composition and quantitative criterion (high frequency), in accordance with the thematic discussions within the two thematic groups on VKontakte. The highest number of occurrences (>10) was recorded for the following attributive combinations:

- *традиционные ценности* (23) // traditional values,
- *евроатлантические* (5) / *европейские* (10) *ценности* (=15) // Euro-Atlantic/European values,
- *свои ценности* (12) // one’s own values,
- *семейные* / *семейно-родственные ценности* (12) // family/familial values,
- *духовные ценности* (10) // spiritual values,
- *культурные ценности* (10) // cultural values.

The combinatory properties of the word *ценности*, meaning ‘values’, reveal key directions in the conceptualisation of ideas about values.

Traditionalist ethicisation of discourse. It is symptomatic that the corpus of analysed texts contains no discussion of instrumental values such as wealth, career, popularity, success, etc. The subject of discussion is explicitly ethical imperatives and vital values, as reflected in the combinations:

традиционные/христианские/непреходящие ценности // traditional/Christian/enduring values.

The ontology of values. The discourse contains predicative constructions indicating the presence or absence of values in someone, primarily within a particular human community: *(у кого) есть ценности* // (someone) has values, *(у кого) нет ценностей* // (someone) has no values, *(у кого) не приняты такие ценности* // (someone) does not accept such values, *никаких ценностей (нет)* // (someone) has absolutely no values, *человек с ценностями* // a person with values.

Hierarchy-based ranking of values. A set (series) of values forms a system, which is why the collocation *система ценностей*, meaning ‘system of values’, is stable. Language illustrates the hierarchisation of values within a system – *высшие ценности стоят над (чем)*, meaning ‘higher values stand above (something)’; *(какие) ценности должны быть в приоритете*, meaning ‘which values should be prioritised’; through the introduction of attributes with gradational and superlative semantics. Thus, the significance of a particular value on a given abstract scale is conceptualised through the metaphor of size – *большая/огромная ценность*, meaning ‘great/enormous value’ – or through an evaluation of value, in which case pleonastic constructions arise – *значимые ценности*, meaning ‘significant values’, *самая дорогая ценность*, meaning ‘the most valuable value’. These are relative evaluations, as a comparative context is implicitly assumed, even though the combinations **меньшая* / **незначимая* / **менее значимая* / **дешевая ценность* – **lower value*, **insignificant value*, **less significant value*, **cheap value* – are non-idiomatic or generally impossi-

ble; the corpus of analysed texts contains only one combination that actualises lower levels of the hierarchy: *более низкие ценности*, meaning 'lower values'.

On the other hand, combinations such as *главная ценность*, meaning 'the principal value', *базовые/основные/высшие ценности*, meaning 'basic/fundamental/supreme values', *величайшая ценность*, meaning 'the greatest value', *высочайшие ценности*, meaning 'the highest values', serve to indicate an absolute position within a given hierarchical structure. At the same time, different methods are used to verbalise the top of the value pyramid: *главная, высшая, базовые, основные*, meaning 'principal', 'supreme', 'basic' and 'fundamental', respectively. These are lexical-semantic markers that indicate the formative element of the system, in relation to which all other values occupy a subordinate position, while *величайшая* and *высочайшая* are superlative forms, i.e. lexical-grammatical markers. Generally speaking, this series of combinations is characterised by a preference for the singular form in their contextual realisations. The plural form (*высочайшие/базовые/основные ценности*, meaning 'highest/basic/fundamental values') indicates the presence of several irreducible dominants that constitute the core of the value system.

Consolidation of the strength of values. A number of collocations reflect a constitutive (fundamental) characteristic – their ability to unite people, i.e. their function as a social integrator and cognitive support for collective identity. Above all, the word *общий*, meaning 'common', and its derivatives are actively involved: *общие/общечеловеческие ценности*, meaning 'common/universal human

values'; *приобщиться к ценностям*, meaning 'to embrace/subscribe to values'. The idea of absoluteness is embodied in the semantics of "individual/united": *универсальная ценность*, meaning 'universal value' (in Latin, *unus* – 'one'). Meanings of coincidence are also actualised: *схожие / одни и те же ценности*, meaning 'similar/the same values'. The word *человек*, meaning 'person/human being', likewise serves as a lexical marker of integration, denoting the commonality of fundamental values: *человеческие ценности, ценности человека*, meaning 'human values, a person's values'. Finally, among the linguistic means used to describe social integration and solidarity based on values, there are not only attributive but also predicative descriptors – verbs that establish the following relations: *ценности связывают (кого)*, meaning 'values connect (someone)' / *разделять ценности (с кем)*, meaning 'to share values (with someone)'; the verb *разделить*, among other things, also means "to join something, express agreement, show solidarity with someone in something" (Kuznetsov, 1998, p. 1067).

Polarisation of sides based on value priorities. The conceptualisation of a worldview through the category of possession – the antinomy of "one's own" versus "the other/another's" (*свои/другие/чужие/их/ваши/наши/аутентичные ценности*, meaning 'one's own/other/others'/their/your/our/authentic values') – presupposes a conflict between the bearers of the aforementioned values.

With regard to the idea of polarised sides, language provides a well-defined framework of struggle – a military metaphor, within which several key groups of combinations with the word *ценности* emerge, creating a framework of ide-

ological confrontation through the use of the following lexical units:

– Verbs of direct confrontation: *выступать против (каких-либо) ценностей*, meaning ‘to oppose (certain) values’, *бороться за ценности*, meaning ‘to fight for values’, *бросать вызов (каким-либо) ценностям*, meaning ‘to challenge (certain) values’. This group denotes an active conflict in which the subject is positioned as an actor initiating a counteraction.

– Verbs of defence and preservation: *стоять за (свои) ценности*, meaning ‘to stand up for (one’s own) values’, *отстаивать/защищать ценности*, meaning ‘to defend/protect values’, *защита ценностей*, meaning ‘the defence of values’, *во имя ценностей*, meaning ‘in the name of values’. These units form a defensive scenario in which values are presented as an object that must be protected from an external threat, while the acting subject assumes the role of defender.

– Nominalisation of processes: *крестный ход за (традиционные) ценности*, i.e. a religious procession for (traditional) values; *борьба за ценности*, i.e. a struggle for values. The use of deverbal nouns transforms a dynamic process into a static category, thereby contributing to the reification of the conflict.

– Verbs of destruction: *ниспровержение ценностей*, i.e. the overthrow of values; *уничтожение ценностей*, i.e. the destruction of values; *уничтожить / уничтожены ценности*, i.e. to destroy values / values have been destroyed; *разрушать ценности*, i.e. to destroy values; *подрывать (какие-либо) ценности*, i.e. to undermine (certain) values; *отнимать ценности*, i.e. to take away values; *лишить ценностей*, i.e. to

deprive [someone] of values; *попирать ценности* (literally: to trample on, to walk on), i.e. to destroy, trample on values. This group describes antagonistic action aimed at eliminating the opponent’s system of values and creating a value vacuum.

– Verbs of triumph: *ценности должны победить*, i.e. values must prevail/survive.

Identity and the self-determination of a people in relation to values. Both individuals and social communities make personal or collective choices regarding values – whether to accept or reject them.

A negative personal perception of certain values is reflected in collocates carrying the semantics of rejection, negation, dismissal or doubt: *неприемлемые ценности*, i.e. unacceptable values; *не нужны (какие) ценности*, i.e. (certain) unnecessary values; *отказ / отказываться от ценностей*, i.e. rejection / to reject values; *поставить под сомнение ценности*, i.e. to call values into question.

An individual’s positive attitude towards phenomena that have the status of values within a particular group is the result of a complex mental process. The status of a value is attributed to a particular fact of ideal or actual existence through a process of critical evaluation, which has given rise to the metaphor of a mental act (knowledge, recognition, understanding): *признание ценности*, i.e. recognition of a value; *осознать ценность*, i.e. to understand/recognise a value; *всё что нужно знать про (европейские) ценности*, i.e. everything one needs to know about (European) values. This cognitive operation is inextricably linked to processes of decision-making and intellectual reflection, which is reflected in language through the presence of

contextual collocates denoting decision-making (*определиться с ценностями*, i.e. to determine one's values) and vision (*пересмотреть взгляд на ценности*, i.e. to reconsider one's view of values – the visual metaphor is typical of the conceptualisation of intellectual activity).

Further engagement with assimilated values also presupposes the continuous activity of consciousness, which operates in terms of belief, memory and respect. This is evident in linguistic constructions describing a deep personal connection between the subject and the object: *предан/верен (каким) ценностям*, i.e. devoted/loyal (to certain) values; *(не) забыть (свои) ценности*, i.e. (not) to forget (one's) values; *чтутся ценности*, i.e. values are honoured. Dangerous processes of deviation from or gradual loss of this connection are also conceptualised through the concept of memory: *напомнить о ценностях*, i.e. to remind someone of values.

In addition to mental operations, the linguistic data also point to the idea of axiological pragmatics, which rests on the premise that practical actions by an individual (or community) are necessary for the preservation of values. A responsible attitude towards values is expressed through collocates denoting preservation, support, care and observance: *соблюдение ценностей*, i.e. observance of values; *хранить ценности*, i.e. to preserve/maintain values; *сохранение ценностей*, i.e. preservation of values; *сохранены (будут) ценности*, i.e. values are preserved (will be preserved); *забота/заботиться о ценностях*, i.e. care / to care for values. This undoubtedly activates the metaphor of inheritance, significant property and a resource for future generations.

Personal choice is also conceptualised through spatial metaphors – orientation (*ориентировалась на (какие) ценности*, i.e. to be oriented towards (certain) values), being located in a particular place or segment of a conceptual space (*быть на стороне (каких-л.) ценностей*, i.e. to be on the side of (certain) values; *приверженность / приверженный (каким-л.) ценностям*, i.e. commitment / committed to (certain) values), support (*опирающийся на ценности*, i.e. relying on values), and movement towards convergence (*стремление к (истинным) ценностям*, i.e. striving towards (true) values). In linguistic terms, values are ontologically conceived as characterised by “extralocality” in relation to the individual and, consequently, by stability, whereas the individual is mobile; it is the individual who moves within the realm of mentality, shifting between conditional locations or objects fixed in space: *переходить на (какие) ценности*, i.e. to shift to (certain) values; *оторвать от ценностей*, i.e. to detach [someone] from values; *возвращать (человека) к ценностям*, i.e. to return (someone) to values.

Dynamics of values. The collocability of this word points to two possible vectors of value transformation: their natural internalisation and deliberate influence. The dynamics may be described as something that occurs spontaneously (*упадок ценностей*, i.e. the decline of values). The second option is a voluntary change in values, conceptualised through an active metaphor of possession and metaphorically modelled by means of the verb *взять*, i.e. to take, which implies conscious choice and a voluntary effort: *перенять ценности*, i.e. to adopt/embrace values. However, in Russian-Serbian online communities, the central topic of discus-

sion is a third type of value transformation, namely influence (западнячки) – *ценности дают о себе знать*, i.e. “to have an influence”, “to make themselves felt”, or external influence exerted by various subjects.

Thus, the idea of the internalisation of values in discourse turns towards a target audience of children through education and upbringing, which is important for understanding the range of mechanisms involved in the transmission and purposeful transformation of a value-based worldview: *воспитывать в / воспитываться на (каких) ценностях*, i.e. to educate/raise [someone] according to (certain) values.

The second method of external influence is the implantation of one’s own values in another society: *ввести / интегрировать (какие) ценности*, i.e. to introduce/integrate (certain) values; *лезть с (какими) ценностями*, i.e. to impose (one’s own) values on someone; *транслировать ценности*, i.e. to disseminate/transmit values; *продвижение ценностей*, i.e. the promotion of values; *пропагандировать (какие) ценности*, i.e. to promote (certain) values; *навязывать ценности*, i.e. to impose values; *ценности навязываются*, i.e. values are imposed; *насаждать ценности*, i.e. to force values upon others / to instil values.

This creates the construct of an enemy, an external malicious actor who carries out an act of intellectual sabotage, destroying the authentic value matrix and introducing foreign elements. This is done through a framework of deception, in which one object (the original) is secretly or fraudulently replaced by another (a counterfeit): *подмен / подмена ценностей*, i.e. the substitution of values.

Characterisation of phenomena and properties as values. The assessment is based on one’s own worldview, grounded in the opposition between “falsehood and truth”: *ложные ценности*, i.e. false values – *правильные / настоящие / истинные ценности*, i.e. correct / genuine / true values; *верны ли ценности*, i.e. whether the values are true/correct.

Values as the subject of public statements and debates. At the level of contextual analysis of the word *ценности*, collocates such as the following verbs are recorded: *говорить/заговорить про ценности*, i.e. to talk / start talking about values; *речь шла о ценностях*, i.e. values were being discussed; *декларировать ценности*, i.e. to declare values. This indicator is associated with the high frequency of the verb *заявить*, i.e. to state, in the corpus of texts analysed from the online community. Generally speaking, these linguistic markers indicate the high symbolic capital of the concept of values, which functions both as a signalling regulator of communication and as a basis for the social ritual of expressing one’s own identity.

Values as an instrument for measuring and assessing the world around us. In a number of combinations, a real-life event that becomes the subject of discussion is subjected to ethical evaluation, and participants in online communication frequently invoke values as a standard or measure: *на весах (христианских) ценностей*, i.e. on the scale of (Christian) values; *противоречащий (каким) ценностям*, i.e. contrary to / in conflict with (certain) values. Language conceptualises an individual’s value system as a personal scale, generally understood as a system of quantities arranged in descending or ascending order and adopted for

measuring, determining or evaluating something: *шкала ценностей*, i.e. a scale of values (at last it dawned on me that it was time to change my own life “value scale”).

Axiological diversity. The multiplicity of values is conditioned by their antinomic nature and profiling – their correlation with various ideal categories and spheres of reality. On this basis, different types of value systems can be identified, which are also grounded in the stable collocability of the word *ценности*, i.e. values:

- according to the duality of the world: *духовные/моральные/нравственные/этические ценности*, i.e. spiritual/moral/ethical values – *материальные ценности*, i.e. material values;
- according to temporal reference (past – present – future): *исторические/современные ценности*, i.e. historical/contemporary values;
- according to geopolitical boundaries and their associated ideological constructs (such as civilisation, country and nation): *западные ценности*, i.e. Western values, *национальные ценности*, i.e. national values, *социальные ценности*, i.e. social values, *ценности (нашего, сербского) народа / (русского) общества / России / (этой) страны*, i.e. the values of (our, Serbian) people / (Russian) society / Russia / (this) country;
- according to their correlation with a particular social institution (family, church, secular state, culture and the arts): *православные/религиозные/библейские/небесные ценности*, i.e. Orthodox/religious/biblical/

divine values, *атеистические ценности*, i.e. atheist values, *семейные ценности*, i.e. family values, *культурные ценности*, i.e. cultural values;

- according to political and ideological affiliation (with a particular socio-political group or party): *демократические ценности*, i.e. democratic values;
- according to affiliation with a particular sub-culture: *ценности футбола, футбольные ценности*, i.e. the values of football, football values.

4. Conclusions

Thus, an examination of word frequency in the collected corpus of texts, which brings together statements by internet users and members of Russian-Serbian communities on the VKontakte social network, shows that for this audience the concept of values is multidimensional, simultaneously representing the core of cultural identity and the foundation of a political worldview.

Based on the analysis conducted, it can be concluded that the key counterpoints, reconstructed through contextual antonymic pairs in combination with the lexeme *ценности*, i.e. values, serve to demonstrate the fundamental axiological dichotomy of “one’s own” versus “the other’s”. The specificity of contextual antonyms lies in the fact that they are not antonyms in the language itself, but acquire a logical correlation within the context, reflecting the subjective, personal vision of the author of the text. First and foremost, the following pairs were identified: *европейские*

ценности vs национальные ценности, i.e. European values versus national values, *европейские ценности vs сербские ценности*, i.e. European values versus Serbian values, *западные ценности vs православные ценности*, i.e. Western values versus Orthodox values, *европейские ценности vs традиционные ценности*, i.e. European values versus traditional values. As can be seen, the globalist project (Europe) is conceptualised as the “other” in relation to local identity (the nation, Serbia). Thus, lexical collocability functions not only as a marker of a semantic field but also as an instrument for discursively constructing identity by separating it from the space of alternative values.

The corpus of analysed texts confirms, on the one hand, that values constitute an objectively dynamic system of coordinates. However, a significant emphasis in understanding their national, historically established values in the context of the geopolitical agenda is placed on the participants’ hope of preserving traditional values.

Moving beyond an analysis of the collocability

of the word *ценности*, i.e. values, we can list the values that were explicitly named in the corpus of analysed texts and, therefore, reflect categories that are significant to subscribers of the thematic Russian-Serbian communities: the human being, human life, the Orthodox faith, family, security, old Serbian songs (performed by gusle players), the traditional folk dance – kolo, the mother tongue, and Epiphany water.

The opposite pole of values, which characterises the space of the “other” and the condemned, brings together categories such as consumerist greed, money, profit, hegemony, and fascist ideology.

The first list comprises anthropocentric, spiritual and social/domestic values, as well as elements of the national-cultural code. The second list is characterised by predominantly utilitarian values and superior attitudes. It is important to emphasise that this list does not represent a coherent and definitive axiological system; it merely outlines the key values that are important to the discourse community.

References

- Bartmiński, J. (2008). What values participate in shaping the linguistic worldview of the Slavs? P. Piper, Lj. Radenković (Eds.). *Ethnolinguistic Explorations of the Serbian and other Slavic Languages: In honour of Academician Svetlana Tolstaya* (60-70). Beograd: SANU: Odeljenje za jezik i književnost. [In Russian]
- Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1995). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (2nd ed.). Anchor Books. [In Russian]
- Durkheim, É. (1995). Sociology and its scientific domain. In: K. E. Gould (trans.), *Sociology: Its Subject Matter, Method and Purpose* (3-48). Routledge. (Original work published 1895). [In Russian]
- 82 | Kunić, Z., Muzykant, V. L., & Panasenکو, N. (2022). Specific features of Russia's image formation on Serbian media platforms. *RUDN Journal of Studies in Literature and Journalism*, 27(1), 171-188. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2312-9220-2022-27-1-171-188>. [In Russian]
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (2004). *Metaphors We Live By* (with a new afterword). University of Chicago Press. [In Russian]
- Novak, O. N. (2017). Analysis of the semantic scope of the lexemes "value" / "vrednost" in Russian and Serbian languages. *Mova*, 28, 98-102. <https://doi.org/10.18524/2307-4558.2017.28.115850> [In Russian]