

ICHEU 2021
International Conference «Humanity in the Era of Uncertainty»**DYNAMICS OF THE VALUE “GESUNDHEIT / HEALTH” IN THE
CONDITIONS OF UNCERTAINTY**

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(a) Moscow State Linguistic University, Moscow, Russia, chlopova_anna@mail.ru(b) National Research University “MPEI”, Moscow, Russia, ladoshaom@mpei.ru**Abstract**

In a pandemic, dramatic changes are taking place in the everyday life of a person. Traditions, communication with other people, interests, etc. are changing. The pandemic also leads to a rapid change in values, which does not always have positive social consequences. This study analyses the dynamics of the content of the basic value Gesundheit (health) in the German linguistic culture. The authors believe that the pandemic not only makes people consciously treat health and fear for it, it becomes the reason for the formation of new values, cultural meanings and forms of behaviour. To confirm the stated hypothesis, as well as to establish the dynamics of the basic value of Gesundheit (health), a comprehensive study is carried out. It is based on a comparison of both lexicographic data showing a stable content of value and an analysis of the German corpus for 2019 and 2020 (i.e. during the spread of the coronavirus infection COVID-19), as well as the results of the value ranking in 2019 and 2020, respectively. Based on the conducted research, it can be concluded that in a pandemic, it is health that becomes the most important value for a person.

2357-1330 © 2021 Published by European Publisher.

Keywords: Lingkoculture, pandemic, context analysis, ranking

1. Introduction

The anthropocentric orientation of linguistics can be noted nowadays. This orientation is characterized by the fact that a person is the centre of the analysis of certain phenomena, determines the perspective of the analysis and its ultimate goals (Abuzyarova et al., 2018). In the field of linguistics, such directions as language and cognition, language and communication, language and values, etc. are studied. Linguists also consider the image of a person and conduct research on language, linguistic personality, linguistic units. Considering that the value system directly affects the estimated values in the language, forms the idea of what is “good” and what is “bad” (Tameryan et al., 2019). It can be argued that the category of linguistic assessment reflects the value system in the language, since only with the help of language do values become part of the cognition of the individual, determining his activities and behaviour (Bubnova, 2019). Pishalnikova (2019a) also notes that the system of values of society, the specificity of its socio-cultural organization, religious views and personal needs of carriers of linguoculture, intentions and goals of individuals are always specifically reflected in the structure and content of the associative-verbal network.

2. Problem Statement

Psychologists and sociologists believe that the values that make up the core of culture remain stable under any conditions, primarily because they perform a dominant function in preserving a constant “core” of identity and society as a whole (Khlopova, 2018). However, in a pandemic, dramatic changes are taking place in the everyday life of a person:

- Everything that was familiar is changing: traditions, communication with other people, interests, etc. (Podvoyskiy & Spirkina, 2021).
- In a pandemic, there is a significant deterioration in the mental health of the population, to the greatest extent among those who are directly affected by the problem of coronavirus – those who are sick, as well as doctors involved in the fight against the virus (Alekhin & Dubinina, 2020). Fear of infection, financial insecurity, lack of physical activity, limited or absent personal space in the home, etc. have become the causes of psychological problems in the form of anxiety, anger, confusion and symptoms of post-traumatic stress (Kislyakov, 2020).
- The pandemic also leads to a rapid change in values, which does not always have positive social consequences.

3. Research Questions

The main questions we were looking for answers were whether there had been any changes in the structure of the ‘*Gesundheit*’ (*health*) core value, and if so, to what extent these changes were of statistical significance.

4. Purpose of the Study

The presented study analyses the dynamics of the content of the basic value 'Gesundheit' (health) in German linguistic culture. We believe that the pandemic does not just make people consciously treat and fear health (Nagornaya, 2020); it is causing the formation of new values, cultural meanings and forms of behaviour. In addition, we believe that in a pandemic, it is health that becomes the most important value for a person.

5. Research Methods

To confirm this hypothesis, as well as to establish the dynamics of the basic value 'Gesundheit' (health), we conduct a comprehensive study. It is based on comparing both lexicographic data showing a stable content of value, and an analysis of the German corpus for 2019 and 2020 (then is during the spread of the coronavirus infection COVID 19), as well as the scaling results.

6. Findings

The research material consisted of data from lexicographic sources, a corpus of German-language publications on the social network Twitter for 2019 and 2020, as well as the results of free associative experiments carried out also in 2019 and 2020.

6.1. Modelling the semantic field 'Gesundheit' (health) based on data from lexicographic sources

Comparing the nuclear and peripheral meanings of the explanatory dictionaries of the German language of different years (Duden, 2021; Gesundheit, 2009; Wörterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache, 1969), we can distinguish the nuclear meanings of the word Gesundheit / health:

- positive physical condition;
- a positive mental, spiritual state;
- no pain;
- high standard of human life;
- harmony of body and spirit.

Let us also consider the compatibility of the lexeme Gesundheit / health, presented in explanatory dictionaries. In view of the fact that, according to the theory of speech activity of Leontiev's (2005) compatibility of a lexeme is an act of predication, which gives us the opportunity to consider it a specific manifestation of speech activity. In addition, according to Karasik (2016), cultures can be represented on the basis of the development of the designation of reality in speech. Let us highlight the same additional features by which compatibility occurs. We use the Associative Meaning Model of Pishchalnikova (2019b).

Concepts: *Krankheit / disease,*

Representations:

health care system: *öffentlich / public* - 1 combination;

healthy lifestyle: *Ernährung / food, Fitness / fitness* - 2 combinations;

old age: *Rente / pension* - 1 combination;

realization of other values: *Umwelt / environment, Arbeit / work, Sicherheit / security, Leben / life, Bildung / education* - 5 combinations;

spiritual health: *geistig / spiritual, seelisch / mental, psychisch / mental* - 3 combinations;

the object to which health care is directed: *menschlich / human* - 1 combination;

emotional combinations: *gut / good* - 1 combination;

formal combinations: *eigen / one's own, ruinieren / to destroy, anschlagen / to strike, fördern / to contribute, gefährden / to harm, erfreuen / to enjoy, achten / to take care, schädigen / to harm, schaden / to harm* - 9 combinations.

The compatibility of the lexeme makes it possible to single out the following signs: 'concepts', 'health care system', 'healthy lifestyle', 'old age', 'realization of other values', 'spiritual health', 'an object to which health care is directed', 'emotional combination', 'formal combinations'.

The largest number of combinations are formal. Mostly, these are verbs that are often used with the noun *Gesundheit / health*. Note that they are all emotionally coloured and could equally relate to an emotional trait. Five out of eight verbs have negative connotations and boil down to harm to health.

To a large extent, the sign of 'the realization of other values' is also manifested. Reactions related to this feature signal the intersection of the associative fields of basic values. With the help of the *Gesundheit / health* value, such values as *Umwelt / environment, Arbeit / work, Sicherheit / safety, Leben / life, Bildung / education* are realized. The relationship between these values is not controversial, but it is once again confirmed by linguistic data.

We note also that the sign 'spiritual, mental health' is manifested to a large extent, which corresponds to the meaning presented in explanatory dictionaries

6.2. Contextual analysis of the value of *Gesundheit* (health) based on the German corpus of 2019 and 2020

According to the theory of speech activity, all types of compatibility express the nature of speech action. In this case, due to the consideration of speech activity as a sentence, it is also possible to use the category of predictability, that is, the allocation of an actual semantic feature. To establish the dynamics in the context of the pandemic, let us turn to the corpus of publications from the social network Twitter of 2019 (before the spread of COVID-19) and 2020 (during the spread of COVID-19). Due to the fact that entries in a social network are a spontaneous speech act, they can manifest a living process of changing the meaning of a word, and, consequently, changing the meaning of the value itself, expressed by the word.

6.2.1. Corpus data from 2019

Let us first consider the data of the corpus of 2019, highlight the features on the basis of which the contexts are combined.

1. Conceptual (40 contexts in total)

- a positive physical condition (20 contexts in total): for example, *Mobbing ist erlaubt, wenn es nur gut gemeint und für die Gesundheit ist;*

- a positive mental, spiritual state (14 contexts): for example, *Die mentalen Hochs und Tiefs sind wirklich ein gutes Zeichen für innere Ausgeglichenheit und geistige Gesundheit; Gesundheit und Freude sei auch mit dabei;*

- a high standard of human life (only 2 contexts): for example, *Menschen bei wachsendem Wohlstand & wachsender Gesundheit immer älter werden...;*

- harmony of body and spirit (4 contexts in total): for example, *...kann für andere da sein gut zureden meine Zeit her geben obwohl ich es eigentlich gerade am meisten bräuchte meine körperliche & psychische Gesundheit sind im Arsch.*

In 40 analyzed contexts, the conceptual meaning of the word *Gesundheit* / *health* is realized. At the same time, health is presented in different meanings, highlighted on the basis of an analysis of the definitions of the explanatory dictionaries of the German language. The largest number of contexts represent health as a positive physical state. To a large extent, the meaning of a positive mental, spiritual state is also represented. One can assume therefore that both sides of health are important for users of German social networks: physical and spiritual. The next two features are not significantly expressed in the analyzed corpus.

2. Representations

Political controversy (21 contexts in total): for example, *Nur unser jetziges System geht ja auch von Gesundheit, über Löhne und Verteilung bis hin zur Rente nicht auf weshalb man wohl mal an Alternativen denken sollte.*

Most of the contexts combined in this attribute are related to the dissatisfaction of citizens with the government, which, according to the Constitution, should take care of their health. According to citizens, the money allocated for health care is not being used for its intended purpose, and no measures are being taken to preserve the environment, which promotes good health.

Health care system (13 contexts in total): for example, *Wobei Pflege ja noch wesentlich mehr ist und gute Pflege ist ein extrem wichtiger Faktor bzgl Gesundheit.*

In most contexts, the work of the Health Insurance Fund and the functioning of insurance in Germany is discussed. The unavailability of health in material terms is emphasized. It should be noted, however, that contexts predominantly have a negative connotation and express citizens' dissatisfaction with the health care system as a whole.

Healthy lifestyle (11 contexts in total): for example, *Weiters weiß auch ein Raucher um die Gefahr für seine Gesundheit und macht trotzdem weiter.*

In contexts, the negative role of smoking on human health is mainly discussed. At the same time, a healthy lifestyle is associated with sports and proper nutrition.

Health risks (14 contexts in total): for example, *Ist genau dasselbe mit praktisch allen Clickbaittiteln in Bezug auf Gesundheit. Es wird stets die relative Risikozunahme genannt, nie die relative.*

The contexts united by this attribute describe the possible causes of the risk. Such reasons include both unhealthy diet and dangerous professions, such as, for example, a firefighter.

Basis of health (21 contexts total): for example, *Nich anschauen! Is besser für die Gesundheit!*

As the reasons for good health, users, respectively, cite proper nutrition, including meat consumption, good state of health. In addition, in some contexts, not only physical health, but also spiritual

health is considered. Therefore, watching good films or reading books are called the reasons for being healthy.

Basis of ill health (38 contexts in total): for example, *Es gibt noch andere gefährliche Lärmquellen: Luftwärmepumpen, Windräder, Flugzeuge... insbesondere tiefe Frequenzen machen auf Dauer die Gesundheit kaputt.*

According to the entries, the reasons for ill health are exhaust gases, sewage, use of a fireplace, etc. As well as in the attribute 'cause of health', health is considered as a spiritual category, therefore stupid TV shows, tabloids, etc. are considered to affect it negatively.

Realization of other values (4 contexts in total): for example, *Gesundheit Familie Glück.*

In contexts related to this attribute, health is presented as the highest value. At the same time, we note that, being one of the most important values, it contributes to the realization of other values: happiness, money, family. However, this feature is marked quantitatively insignificantly.

The object to which health care is directed (26 contexts in total), for example, *Aber um deine Gesundheit und deinen Körper sollen sich Leute kümmern, die keine geregelte Ausbildung haben?*

A person acts as an object to which health care is directed. Human health comes to the fore and is one of the paramount values.

Illness attribute (7 contexts in total): for example, *DAS DING IST ICH HAB ALLERGIEN UND NIESE STÄNDIG (trotz medikament) UND ICH KRIEG GESUNDHEIT STÄNDIG AN DEN KOPF GEWORFEN WÄHREND NER NIESATTACKKE in conclusion hasse ich pollen.*

In contexts related to this sign, health is opposed to a disease state, attributes and signs of the disease are named: sweat, vomiting, fever.

Desire to be healthy (3 contexts in total): for example, *Wie ich versuche, mir mein frühes Zubettgehen im Urlaub schön zu reden, es sei ja gesund und ich wolle mehr auf Gesundheit achten.*

Contexts indicate what actions are taken in order to be healthy, what is good for a person: sleep, good food, walks.

Illness (2 contexts in total): for example, *Mein Herzinfarkt inkl. "Ich hab mich noch nie so beschissen gefühlt"- Post-Infarkt-Gesundheit.*

The contexts combined in this feature oppose a healthy state to a painful one. The contexts are opposed to each other emotionally. In the first context, the author hopes to feel better. In the second, on the contrary, the negative state of the person as a whole is described.

3. Emotional-evaluative reactions

- positive reactions (25 contexts in total): for example, *Gesundheit ist das aller wichtige im Leben, dann kommt das andere.*

All contexts included in this attribute indicate the highest role of the value of health. It is noted that it is health that is the most important in a person's life.

- negative reactions (2 contexts in total): for example, *Es regt mich so dermaßen auf das meine Gesundheit vollkommen egal ist. Unwichtig, nebensächlich, ignorierbar.*

The value of health, according to these contexts, does not appear to be significant; it is not important and is even ignored by the author of the post. However, we note that the insignificant role of health is

represented by a minimal number of contexts. On the contrary, 25 contexts represent health as the highest value.

4. Cultural reactions – etiquette speech acts

- wish for health (53 contexts in total): for example, *Herzlichen Glückwunsch und viele Jahre in bester Gesundheit ohne Grannen.*

These contexts are mostly clichéd phrases-congratulations due to the fact that the wish for health is the most typical congratulation in any society.

- wish for recovery (3 contexts in total): for example, *Hoff das alles wieder gut wird! Ich drück die Daumen.*

The contexts related to this feature are united by the general idea of wishing the patient to recover. At the same time, the importance of health as a value is emphasized.

We believe that even the most stable values tend to change when a person is in conditions of uncertainty, does not understand how he should behave, constantly doubts, ceases to follow those guidelines that were important to him. In previous studies, we have proved that the content of values finds obligatory verbal embodiment, and their dynamics, conditioned by cultural-ideological and socio-historical processes, largely depends on the nature of their verbalization and the speed of consolidation in the language (Khlopova, 2018).

6.2.2. Corpus data from 2020

To verify our hypothesis, we turn to the data of the German Language Corps in 2020, that is, to those contexts that were recorded during the pandemic.

1. Conceptual (34 contexts in total):

- a positive physical condition (6 contexts in total): for example, *Aussehen ist ja nur zweitrangig, die Gesundheit jedoch entscheidend.*

The contexts related to the selected trait indicate the importance of the value of health for the individual. In addition, a positive physical condition has a direct relationship with good looks. Note that this feature is quantitatively represented by a significantly smaller number of contexts than that in 2019 (20 and 6 contexts, respectively). This may indicate that the physical condition itself is losing some of its relevance. Other signs of the studied value are becoming important for carriers of linguistic culture.

- a positive mental, spiritual state (22 contexts in total): for example, *Dann müsst ich mich nicht weiterhin ausbrennen, um eine Aussicht auf mentale Gesundheit zu haben.*

Despite the fact that on the basis of these contexts the importance of mental state rises, however, the predominant share of contexts is situationally conditioned and has a direct connection with the spread of the pandemic. The respondents point out that mental health suffers first. The reason for this is the social conditions and prohibitions that appeared during the pandemic: masks, long isolation, a new vaccine. The existence of a person as an asocial subject leads to a negative spiritual state. Unemployment, economic destruction, and debts are also called negative consequences of the pandemic on the mental state of a person. This leads to a depressive state of society as a whole.

- a high standard of human life (4 contexts in total): for example, *Weil Sie in Gesundheit und Wohlbefinden sind.*

This feature is highlighted on the basis of a small number of contexts. It is possible to note the relationship between the healthy state of a person and his material well-being. Money is seen as a means to health.

- harmony of body and spirit (2 contexts): for example, *No matter what: ich finde mentale und körperliche Gesundheit das Non plus Ultra.*

This feature is also insignificant in quantitative terms. It should be noted that the harmony of body and spirit is perceived as something non-existent, as an illusion.

2. Representations (242 contexts in total)

Political controversy (24 contexts in total): for example, *Alle schweigen aus Angst ein paar Prozent an kleine Parteien zu verlieren. Da ist ihnen die Gesundheit der Menschen egal!*

The contexts representing the 'politics' attribute indicate primarily that users are dissatisfied with the government and the current health measures. In most contexts, it is noted that the health of citizens is not of interest to politicians, and even in a pandemic, the necessary actions are not taken. In addition, the authors of the publications criticize the wearing of masks and gloves. In essence, the 'policy' sign does not change in comparison with 2019. A distinctive feature of the pandemic period is only the discussed personal protective equipment.

Health care system (31 contexts in total): for example, *Ganz genau, das ist die Aufgabe der Ärzte, der Schutz der Gesundheit.*

The contexts representing this feature describe the dissatisfaction of citizens with the health care system in Germany as a whole. They mention the lack of cheap medicines, sufficient hospital beds, and labor. The topic of vaccination of citizens and insufficient testing of the vaccine, which is popular today, is also discussed. The contexts emphasize the role of the physician, whose task is to protect the health of citizens. All of these contexts implicitly describe the situation of a pandemic in Europe, when the health care system proved to be unprepared for urgent measures to tackle the problems associated with the pandemic. Despite the fact that the connotation feature has not changed compared to 2019, respondents express clear dissatisfaction with the healthcare system, however, in quantitative terms, this feature is presented much more clearly in 2020.

Healthy lifestyle (8 contexts in total): for example, *Und die sportliche Aktivität ist nicht zu verkennen, auch wenn weniger auf dem Konto ist ist auf der Seite der Gesundheit mehr drin.*

The contexts representing the marked feature are substantively and quantitatively correlated with 2019. Respondents note the important role of a healthy lifestyle. At the same time, it is emphasized that the risk of contracting COVID-19 in people leading a healthy lifestyle is much lower.

Risks (46 total): for example, *Maskenverweigerer sind ein Risiko für evtl. meine Gesundheit.*

The contexts included in this feature are three times higher than the contexts of this feature in 2019. There are also significant differences in content. In 2019, the respondents' risk was mainly associated with improper diet, bad habits, dangerous professions. In 2020, all contexts describe the pandemic and the risks associated with the unwillingness of citizens to use protective equipment, non-compliance with the rules. At the same time, the opinion of the respondents is different. Some talk about the risk to their health, others point to society as a whole. At the same time, as emphasized in one of the contexts, non-observance of the rules also leads to a split in society and compares the current situation with the situation in 1933, when the

National Socialists came to power in Germany. A significant number of contexts related to this attribute indicate a broad discussion of risk in society. This implicitly indicates certain fears associated with risk among respondents.

Basis of health (5 contexts in total), for example: *Deshalb werden alle Maßnahmen erst mal darauf gerichtet sein müssen, Leben zu #retten und #Gesundheit zu erhalten.*

The contexts emphasize the importance of health and human life in general. At the same time, various reasons for recovery are named, including self-medication and a healthy lifestyle. The 'cause of health' feature is noted in few contexts and differs significantly from the 2019 contexts. The health benefits are not noted in the 2020 contexts.

Basis of ill health (18 contexts in total): for example, *Singen erhöht das Lungenvolumen ! Masken reduzieren dies , wer jetzt noch denkt es ist zum Wohle unserer Gesundheit, IRRT!*

Note that this feature, as well as the 'basis of health' feature, is represented by a much smaller number of contexts compared to that in 2019. In 2019, this feature prevailed. In 2019, the reasons cited by respondents were predominantly related to the poor environment. Despite the fact that predominantly the contexts of 2020 are situationally determined and describe the period of the pandemic, the wrong drugs, alcohol, and the wrong treatment are also described as the causes of the unhealthy state. At the same time, the cause of the high mortality rate from COVID19 is being questioned.

Realization of other values (28 contexts in total): for example, *Ernährung gehört wie Bildung und Gesundheit zur Daseinsfürsorge.*

The contexts marked in this feature are seven times higher than the contexts included in this feature in 2019. As in 2019, based on the contexts of 2020, one can note a direct connection between the value of health and other values: education, life, family. However, it should be noted that according to contexts, due to the pandemic, many values are destroyed, for example, due to a lockdown and other prohibitions; the value of freedom is violated.

The object to which health care is directed (47 contexts in total): for example, *Wie viel darf die Gesundheit unserer Kinder und der Schutz vor #COVID19de denn kosten.*

This feature is represented in 2020 by the largest number of contexts. At the same time, we note that, in comparison with the contexts of 2019, the role of the main object at which health is directed is not just an individual; there are certain groups that are exposed to the greatest risks during the spread of coronavirus infection: children and the elderly.

Attribute of a morbid state (5 contexts in total): for example, *Dabei hatte ich Koliken.*

This feature is represented by a small number of contexts. A sick heart, bad blood tests, etc. are named as attributes of a painful condition.

Temporary nature of health / ill health (4 contexts in total): for example, *Macht nix, das geht wieder weg, die Gesundheit bleibt.*

In the contexts of 2020, a new feature can be distinguished that is not presented in the contexts of 2019. In the contexts, not just a certain period of the passage of the disease, but long consequences are indicated.

Desire to be healthy (8 contexts in total): for example, *Lass uns immer auf unsere Gesundheit achten.*

Despite the fact that this feature is represented by a small number of contexts; the contexts implicitly indicate the respondents' fear for their health and the desire to take the necessary measures to stay healthy. The 2020 contexts are meaningfully different from the 2019 contexts, when respondents saw healthy sleep and good nutrition as a way to achieve good health.

Illness (18 contexts in total): for example, *Niemand hindert dich daran, an Corona zu sterben. Aber du hast nicht das Recht über das Leben und die Gesundheit anderer Menschen zu entscheiden.*

The sign of 'illness' quantitatively significantly exceeds the contexts of 2019. All obtained contexts are situationally conditioned and they describe a specific disease – COVID-19. We note that most contexts also indicate people's fear of getting infected and getting sick.

3. Emotional and evaluative reactions (46 contexts in total)

- positive reactions (33 contexts in total): for example, *Pass auf dich auf und nimm dir Zeit zum ausruhen bitte Deine Gesundheit ist am Wichtigsten.*

In contexts, health is presented as the highest value of humanity. At the same time, it was noted that it is not natural for a person to appreciate what he has. Therefore, the value of health is recognized especially during an illness or pandemic.

- negative reactions (13 contexts in total): for example, *Ich glaube der ReGIERung nicht, dass sie um unsere Gesundheit besorgt ist.*

There is a negative connotation in the contexts related to this attribute due primarily to dissatisfaction with politicians and health care. The respondents believe that their health is of no importance to senior management, and that medicines exist only so that the government can make more money.

4. Cultural reactions – etiquette speech acts (31 contexts in total)

- wish of health (26 contexts in total), for example: *Ich wünsche Dir und den Deinen von ganzem Herzen viel Kraft und Gesundheit.*

Despite the fact that the contexts related to this feature are clichéd phrases, it should be noted that they are situationally conditioned. First of all, the wish for health is not aimed at health in general, but at the ability to stay healthy, not to get sick during a pandemic.

- wish for recovery (5 contexts in total): for example, *Gute Besserung.*

This feature is represented only by clichéd phrases and is identical to the contexts of 2020.

6.2.3. Comparison of the obtained data

The descriptive statistics are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Comparison of the amount of contexts for each feature from 2019 to 2020

Feature	2019	2020
1. Conceptual	40	34
- positive physical condition;	20	6
- positive mental, spiritual state;	14	22
- high standard of human life;	2	4
- harmony of body and spirit.	4	2
2. Representations	160	242
Political controversy	21	24

Feature	2019	2020
Health care system	13	31
Healthy lifestyle	11	8
Health risks	14	46
The foundation of health	21	5
The basis of ill health	38	18
Realization of other values	4	28
The object to which health care is directed	26	47
Illness Attribute	7	5
Temporary nature of health / ill health	0	4
The desire to be healthy	3	8
Disease	2	18
3. Emotional-evaluative reactions	27	46
- positive reactions	25	33
- negative reactions	2	13
4. Cultural reactions - etiquette speech acts	56	31
- wish of recovery	3	5
- wish for health	53	26

In quantitative terms, the contexts representing a particular feature are roughly comparable. The difference is shown in the following:

- A conceptual feature in 2019 is represented by the largest number of contexts describing a positive physical state.

At the same time, respondents note the importance of healthy eating, sports, walking and fresh air. During a pandemic, mental health is more important. The respondents believe that lockdown, prohibitions, personal protective equipment negatively affect the human psyche, introduce him into a depressive state.

- The 2020 representations are significantly higher than the 2019 representations.

The respondents show dissatisfaction with the government and the health care system in general, they believe that the society is not taking the necessary measures to improve the health of citizens, and the prohibitions are aimed only at worsening the moral state. The nuclear signs include in 2020 the signs of ‘risk’ and ‘an object to which health care is directed’. The contexts of 2020 implicitly reflect the fear of citizens for their health, unwillingness to take risks. The object to which health care is directed is not the individual as a whole, but specific social groups most at risk of infection: pensioners, people with chronic diseases. A new sign “the temporary nature of health / ill health” also appears in the representations, which indicates a slight expansion of the value of the basic value of health in the German linguistic culture.

- Emotional and evaluative reactions in 2020 are presented more significantly in quantitative terms than in 2019.

The number of negative reactions has increased. However, such changes are insignificant to speak of a change in the content of value in general.

- Despite the fact that cultural responses are quantitatively less significant, however, it is necessary to note their situational conditioning: they are aimed at the desire to stay healthy during a pandemic.

6.3. Ranking results

To establish the dynamics of the significance of the value of Gesundheit / health in the system of basic values among the carriers of the German linguistic culture, two ranking experiments were carried out: the first was carried out in 2019 in Vechta, Berlin, Potsdam, Baden-Baden, Freiburg before the spread of coronavirus infection, the second experiment was carried out using an electronic questionnaire presented to speakers of the German linguistic culture in a Google form in 2020, after the WHO officially announced the pandemic.

The experimental technique is standard: respondents - students of German universities aged 17 to 23 years old - received a questionnaire in which 28 stimulus words were presented, representing the same basic values. Among the incentives, the explored value of Gesundheit / health was presented. The respondents had to sort the values according to their importance for them, assigning each value a certain rank in accordance with the experimenter's task: the value that was most significant for the subject received rank 1, the least - 28 (in accordance with the proposed number of values).

Then all the values of the Gesundheit / health value ranks were selected and compiled into one table, which was analyzed by jamovi software (R Core Team, 2020; The jamovi project, 2021).

The general analysis of the obtained data indicates the presence of positive dynamics in the assessment of the value of Gesundheit / health after the onset of the pandemic, as can be seen in Table 2. In 2019, the sum of the value ranks was 539, the mean was 10.4, and the median was 8.50. In 2020, the sum of the ranks was 301, the average was 7, and the median was 4. Since, according to the experimental conditions, the lower the rank is assigned to a value, the more significant it is for the respondent, we can make a preliminary conclusion that in 2020 the value of the value has increased.

Table 2. Ranking descriptives

Parameter	Year	Value
Mean	2019	10.4
	2020	7.00
Median	2019	8.50
	2020	4
Sum	2019	539
	2020	301

For a more accurate comparison of rank values from unrelated samples, the nonparametric Mann-Whitney test was chosen. At the same time, as an alternative hypothesis, it was suggested that the value of the Gesundheit / health value ranks in 2019 was higher than that in 2020. Calculations were also made automatically in the jamovi application. The results are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Independent Samples T-Test

	Statistics	p
Gesundheit	832	0.016
Mann-Whitney U		

Note. H_a 2019 > 2020

Since the p-value for these values is 0.016, it is safe to say that the difference is significant and indicates a positive trend in the significance of the Gesundheit / health value for the respondents.

7. Conclusion

Comparing the obtained data with the data of explanatory dictionaries, it should be noted that the features identified on the basis of lexicographic sources correspond to the features identified in the context of the analysis. The content dynamics of the basic value of Gesundheit / health is noted in the identification of new features, as well as changes in the core of meaning, which is manifested primarily in quantitative terms. These changes are influenced by new social conditions to which modern man must adapt. The beauty and healthy lifestyle trend, which was popular for speakers of the German linguistic culture, is becoming less popular and is less associated with health among Germans. The daily life of a person has changed, new forms of behaviour in society have been formed: wearing masks, the inability to communicate with relatives, isolation, etc., which negatively affects the mental health of a person. Dependence on external factors makes a person vulnerable, and therefore the 'risk' sign is largely manifested. In the contexts of 2020, a greater number of emotionally evaluative contexts are also manifested. Negative contexts are defined by feelings of fear for their own health and their lives, as well as dissatisfaction with the government's actions regarding the situation with the pandemic.

Both on the basis of the compatibility of the lexeme, and on the basis of contexts, one can also note the intersection of values in general. Health, being the most important value, is necessary for the realization of such values as happiness, life, money. The intersection of such values as health and freedom seems interesting, which is most clearly manifested in the analysis of the contexts of 2020. The value of freedom is neglected to preserve health. In this case, physical and mental health is opposed.

Based on the ranking, it can be concluded that since the differences identified are statistically significant, in a pandemic, a positive trend in the value of Gesundheit / health can be noted.

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