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CONTENTS

Preface 8

RESEARCH ON POLYGLOTTERY

Polyglot agenda over the years: data of round table discussions since 2013 10
Stepan Kulakov

Testing polyglot Alan Bigulov's strategy for superintensive entry into conversational practice 25
Dina Nikulicheva

Assessing successive learning acceleration in Germanic languages: a research paradigm proposal 35
Yan Aleshkevich-Suslov

The image of a polyglot through the eyes of MGIMO students 47
Alisa Virolainen, Nikolai Kovalenko & Dmitry Komarov

On the state of multilingualism and polyglottery in Japan 58
Igor Tarakanov

SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND GEOLINGUISTICS

UN English-language discourse: pecularities and applications in describing the world order 70
Nastasia Britsyna

Language policy in the hospitality industry in Russia 82
Arina Sagal

Dalit students' critical awareness of their linguistic identity for pedagogical scaffolding: 96
a geolinguistic perspective from Nepal
Babu Ram Bishwokarma & *Aita Bishowkarma*

Old Believers in Brazil: preserving linguistic identity 109
Galina Petrova

Discussion on sociolinguistic trends across the world 122

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СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

Предисловие 8

ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ ПОЛИГЛОТИИ

Тематика полиглотии сквозь года: данные круглых столов с 2013 г. 10
С.Л. Кулаков

Апробация методики полиглота Алана Бигулова по суперинтенсивному вхождению 25
в разговорную практику
Д.Б. Никуличева

Оценка ускорения усвоения языка при последовательном изучении германских языков: 35
предложение парадигмы исследования
Я.В. Алешкевич-Суслов

Образ полиглота глазами студентов МГИМО 47
А.В. Виролайнен, Н.С. Коваленко, Д.С. Комаров

О состоянии мультилингвизма и полиглотии в Японии 58
И.О. Тараканов

СОЦИОЛИНГВИСТИКА И ГЕОЛИНГВИСТИКА

Англоязычный дискурс ООН: особенности и практическое применение 70
в описании современного миропорядка
Н.М. Брицына

Языковая политика в индустрии гостеприимства в России 82
А.Б. Сагал

Критическое осознание студентами-далитами своей языковой идентичности 96
для педагогической поддержки: геолингвистическая перспектива из Непала
Б.Р. Бишвокарма, А. Бишовкарма

Староверы в Бразилии: сохранение языковой идентичности 109
Г.В. Петрова

Дискуссия о социолингвистических тенденциях в мире 122

PREFACE

The past academic year has been marked by a dynamic growth of polyglot studies since the first special issue of *Linguistics* & *Polyglot Studies* published in 2021. In the last four issues (from vol. 7, no. 4, to vol. 8, no. 2), 12 new journal articles on polyglottery saw the light, and five more are presented in this volume, compared to some 25 in total in the whole world as of summer 2021.

The year 2022, in its turn, signified the beginning of the United Nations International Decade of Indigenous Languages (2022–2032) and was also declared the International Year of Basic Sciences for Sustainable Development, thus symbolically indicating the importance of comprehensive studies and appreciation of language for social benefit in education, peacemaking and technology, and setting new goals for both researchers and practitioners.

These up-to-date topics are addressed in the present volume, which includes papers on the evolution of polyglot agenda in the last decade, intensity and time factors in highly efficient language learning, social dimension of polyglottery, perception of multilingualism in Japan and geolinguistic trends from the UN rhetoric to hospitality industry and from the Himalayas to South America. A special feature of this issue is an expert round table discussion on sociolinguistic issues in different parts of the planet.

We hope the presented materials will be found intellectually stimulating and useful, and encourage colleagues from different domains of language-related studies to cooperate in the future issues.

Editors

ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ

Прошедший академический год ознаменовался динамичным ростом исследований полиглотии с момента выхода первого спецвыпуска журнала «Linguistics & Polyglot Studies» («Филологические науки в МГИМО») в 2021 году. В последних четырёх номерах (с т. 7, №4, по т. 8, №2) увидели свет 12 новых журнальных статей по теме полиглотии, и ещё пять представлены в данном выпуске, по сравнению с примерно 25 во всём мире по состоянию на лето 2021 года.

2022 год, в свою очередь, обозначил начало Международного десятилетия языков коренных народов Организации Объединённых Наций (2022–2032), а также был объявлен Международным годом фундаментальных наук в интересах устойчивого развития, что символически указывает на важность всестороннего изучения и признания ценности языка для общественной пользы в сферах образования, миротворчества и технологий, а также ставит новые цели как для исследователей, так и для практиков.

Эти актуальные темы рассматриваются в настоящем выпуске. Он включает в себя статьи об эволюции проблематики полиглотии за последнее десятилетие, факторах интенсивности и времени в высокоэффективном изучении языка, социальном измерении полиготии, восприятии многоязычия в Японии и геолингвистических тенденциях от риторики ООН до индустрии гостеприимства и от Гималаев до Южной Америки. Особенностью номера является экспертный круглый стол, посвящённый социолингвистическим проблемам в разных уголках планеты.

Надеемся, что представленные материалы окажутся интеллектуально стимулирующими и полезными, и приглашаем коллег из разных областей языковых исследований к сотрудничеству в будущих выпусках.

Редакторы

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POLYGLOT AGENDA OVER THE YEARS: DATA OF ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS SINCE 2013

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Abstract. *This paper is a review of organised discussions on polyglottery from 2013 to 2022. The starting point of the present study is the round table "Polyglottery and Education" that took place during the International Conference on Multilingual Proficiency: Language, Polyglossia and Polyglottery (New York, 2013). This event is notable for being the first academic discussion of polyglot issues, which brought together both established linguists and renowned polyglots. It also pre-signified the beginning of the modern period for polyglottery as a movement and a science, the latter being marked by the emergence of regular research publications on the subject. The main topics of the 2013 discussion are used as a reference point to compare with the agenda of subsequent polyglot round tables. The data for comparison is drawn from panel discussions held as part of the Polyglot Gatherings and Polyglot Conferences, on the one hand, and at academic symposiums, on the other, thus embracing both the first and third person perspectives (polyglots as the subject vs. the object of study). Presentation of data from the said events is followed by a conclusion about the dynamics of polyglot discussions over the years. The study shows that polyglottery has become a more frequent subject in scientific discourse. It also demonstrates that the topics addressed at the initial 2013 New York round table (such as defining a polyglot, efficient methods of language-learning, etc.) found their way into subsequent forums and are still relevant among polyglots today. At the same time, new issues have been added to the agenda (using internet platforms to learn languages, studying multiple languages simultaneously, raising multilingual children, etc.). This may reflect the stable and the changeable elements in the structure of interests in the polyglot community.*

Keywords: *polyglot, polyglottery, multilingualism, language learning, round table discussion*

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ТЕМАТИКА ПОЛИГЛОТИИ СКВОЗЬ ГОДА: ДАННЫЕ КРУГЛЫХ СТОЛОВ С 2013 г.

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Аннотация. *Данная работа представляет собой обзор круглых столов по вопросам полиглотии с 2013 по 2022 г. Отправной точкой статьи является круглый стол «Polyglottery and Education» («Полиглотия и образование»), прошедший в рамках международной конференции "Multilingual Proficiency: Language, Polyglossia and Polyglottery" («Многоязычные знания: язык, полиглоссия и полиглотия») в Нью-Йорке в 2013 году. Это событие имеет большое значение как первая научная дискуссия о полиглотии, в которой приняли участие как авторитетные лингвисты, так и широко известные полиглоты со всего мира. Кроме того, данный форум предвозвестил начало современного периода развития полиглотии как общественного движения и направления исследований, подтверждением чему служит появление регулярных научных публикаций на эту тему. Вопросы дискуссии 2013 года также являются основой для сравнения с проблематикой последующих круглых столов. Данными для сравнения служат материалы дискуссий, проведённых, с одной стороны, в рамках Съездов (Polyglot Gathering) и Конференций полиглотов (Polyglot Conference), в которых полиглоты являются субъектами процесса изучения языков, а с другой – в рамках научных конференций, где они предстают в качестве объекта исследований. Таким образом, даётся перспектива как от первого, так и от третьего лица. Вслед за представлением информации о вышеупомянутых событиях следует заключение относительно динамики дискуссий о полиглотии за прошедшие годы. Исследование показывает, что полиглотия стала более популярной темой в научном дискурсе. Помимо этого, отмечается, что проблематика нью-йоркского круглого стола 2013 года (определение полиглота, эффективные методики овладения языком и т.п.) получила продолжение на последующих форумах и сохраняет актуальность среди полиглотов до сих пор. В то же время программа дискуссий пополнилась и новыми темами (использование интернет-платформ для овладения языком, изучение нескольких языков одновременно, воспитание многоязычных детей и др.), что может отражать постоянные и изменчивые элементы в структуре интересов сообщества полиглотов.*

Ключевые слова: *полиглот, полиглотия, многоязычие, изучение иностранных языков, круглый стол*

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Introduction

Currently, polyglottery is defined as consciously achieved individual multilingualism [13]. This definition allows us to indicate the difference between polyglottery and related concepts of polyglossia (the simultaneous use of different languages in certain regions) and multilingualism (knowledge of several languages acquired from the environment in childhood).

Grigory Kazakov defines polyglottery as the study of the knowledge of multiple languages. As its main questions, he singles out the following: the definition of a polyglot, the definition of language knowledge, polyglots' learning methods, the most effective ways of learning a language, and ways to make positive changes in the field of teaching languages. In addition, the question of how many languages one can know in general and at what level is posed [8], [13].

Olessia Jouravlev, Zachary Mineroff, Idan Blank & Evelina Fedorenko offer the following definition of a polyglot: these are people who possess skills in at least five languages (including their mother tongue) and are at a high level of proficiency in at least one foreign language. Nevertheless, they noted the conventionality of this definition due to the lack of research on this topic in the past [7]. Grigory Kazakov characterises polyglots as people who speak several languages as a result of deliberate study [13].

Over the recent years, the amount of scientific research in the field of polyglottery has increased markedly. To date, some 40 academic articles have been published on this topic. It is stated that polyglottery has become a recognised field of research [ibid.]. Some of the evidence of this process are the academic round tables on polyglottery, such as those held at the International Symposium on Language Education, Polyglottery and Geolinguistics (Moscow, 2018), the 12th Congress of the International Society of Applied Psycholinguistics (online, 2021) and the 20th International Symposium on Psycholinguistics and Communication Theory (online, 2022).

Another source of information about polyglottery is the events organised directly by the polyglot movement. The most significant among them are the Polyglot Conference and the Polyglot Gathering. The Polyglot Conference was first organised in Budapest in 2013 and has since been held in Novi Sad (2014), New York (2015), Thessaloniki (2016), Reykjavik (2017), Ljubljana (2018), Fukuoka (2019) and online (2020–2021). Polyglot Gathering was first held in 2014 and took place in Berlin (2014–2016), Bratislava (2017–2019), Teresin (2022) and online (2020–2022). In addition to round tables at these forums, polyglots made many presentations, some of which served as research material for Anatoly Makarov's paper *Developing Oral Skills in Learning Foreign Languages and Cultures (by Reference to the Presentations of the Polyglot Gatherings 2017–2018)* [19].

New York 2013 round table data

The round table "Polyglottery and Education" at the International Conference *Multilingual Proficiency: Language, Polyglossia and Polyglottery* (New York, 2013) is the starting point of the present research [32]. The main topics of this discussion were the following:

- what it means to be a polyglot;
- what it means to know a language;
- how to determine the knowledge of a language;
- how polyglots learn languages;
- how to learn multiple languages more productively;
- problems in the field of teaching languages and how to solve them.

These topics formed the main agenda of polyglots' discussions for the next several years. Thus, special attention should be paid to the statements of this round table.

The source of the material for the analysis was the unpublished audio recording of this discussion from Grigory Kazakov's archive.

At the beginning of the round table Alex Rawlings refers to the talk of Alexander Arguelles [1], who characterises polyglots as people who can not only speak several languages, but also apply different approaches (compared to the traditional ones) to their study.

In the process of discussing the topic of how to determine the knowledge of a language, Timothy Doner draws attention to the fact that even learning multiple different languages at the same time is possible if the learning process takes place continuously and regularly, despite possible time constraints.

Leonard Ashley defines "knowledge" of a language as the ability to speak with native speakers and understand everything they say. Some participants in the discussion believe that knowledge of a language can be determined by a person's ability to operate in it in the academic field.

Alfred Friedlander believes that the process of learning a language without using what is already known is ineffective because of the striking difference in the assimilation of material between adults and children. He believes that people should use previously developed skills in other languages in order to increase productivity. He came to this conclusion after witnessing an unsuccessful attempt to teach a foreign language without using any other. Leonard Ashley is of the opposite opinion, claiming that the key to learning a language is immersion. The need to use a new language for a person is important. In addition, he also notes the importance of the learning process bringing pleasure.

Alexander Arguelles says that the problem with most schools is that students get one certain language-learning method forced upon them. Polyglots, on the other hand, are free to choose their approach to learning languages, which allows different people to choose the most suitable methods for themselves.

Harri Ruohonen makes a point in favour of the immersion method, citing the example of his grandfather, who was a prisoner of war in the USSR where hunger forced him to learn Russian.

After this statement, Timothy Doner expresses the opinion that, despite the undeniable effectiveness of the immersion method and its use in popular programmes for the study of foreign languages, particularly *Rosetta Stone*, one cannot give up the opportunity to master the complexity of a language with the help of what you have already learnt. As an example, he cites the form of the dual number in Arabic, which can be problematic to comprehend without explanation in a known language.

Later, Leonard Ashley summarises his early statements by saying that when learning a language, the first thing to do is to pay attention to oral speech, not writing. According to him, grammar can be learnt by learning spoken language – you should not start with it. Continuing the topic, he notes that it is necessary to speak with native speakers (this will allow you to learn the grammatical component of the language) and pay attention to what kind of language the learner needs. As an example, he cites the different variations of American English that are used in the United States, depending on the economic and geographic location of the speakers.

Alex Rawlings returns to the issue of introducing polyglottery into the system of foreign language teaching. He says that languages should not be taught in the same way as scientific disciplines. Citing Finland as an example, Rawlings also draws attention to school graduates in countries where programmes in English are broadcasted with subtitles instead of dubbing, so they have additional motivation to learn the language. This argument reinforces his statement that language-learning is more than time in class. In contrast to Finland, he notes that in English-speaking countries, students learn foreign languages only in order to pass exams.

Timothy Doner shares his experience in language learning: he supports the languages he learns in classes by listening to the radio, watching films and television. In his opinion, this approach allows languages to come alive, whilst learning languages for the sake of passing a test is not enough.

Leonard Ashley says that, from his point of view, people who already have successful experience in learning languages should teach them. Hikaru Kitabayashi emphasises that the sphere of teaching foreign languages is already quite well developed, and the main problem lies in the insufficiently studied methods of learning languages independently. At the same time, he criticises the communicative approach in teaching foreign languages and the idea that the native speaker is always right. Another remark of his is that learning a language with a teacher who does not know the language of the students is extremely ineffective.

Summarising the results of the round table, Grigory Kazakov speaks of the need for greater immersion in foreign languages in everyday life and of the transition from the language-teaching paradigm to the language-learning one, in which the teacher turns into a consultant whose goal is to involve students in learning a language.

Polyglot Conference and Polyglot Gathering data

Due to the fact that information about round tables within the framework of the Polyglot Conferences 2013–2014 is not publicly available, the first analysed discussion is **"How Hyperpolyglots Learn Languages"** from the 2014 Polyglot Gathering in Berlin [5]. This round table was devoted to hyperpolyglots: participants talk about their experience in learning languages and their motivation.

The first in this discussion is the question of the motivation to learn languages. María de Vera says that her decision to learn a language is based on emotions, i.e. she started learning French because of the way it sounds.

Cesco Reale speaks in a similar vein, mentioning his friends as a reason for learning Spanish. He also explains that his study of Esperanto was motivated by his interest in mathematics, and that the desire to study Greek came from a previous experience of learning Ancient Greek.

One of the main organisers of the Polyglot Conferences, Richard Simcott, notes that his interest in learning foreign languages goes back to his childhood, when he first wanted to communicate with peers who spoke foreign languages. His current life abroad obliges him to constantly communicate in foreign languages, which serves as his primary motivation. He says that the main driving force for him is the reaction of people to his knowledge of their language, which is perceived as a demonstration of respect for the local culture. Friends are mentioned again as a reason to learn a language.

André Liss talks about the desire to see the world and how the study of languages seemed to him as a promising direction in his career. At the end of his answer to the question about the motivation for learning languages, he notes that for him each new language is a new motivation in itself.

The next question touches upon the approaches polyglots take when learning a new language. María de Vera reports that she begins the process of learning languages by listening to the radio in it, trying to master the sound of the language. Her next step is to listen to songs available in multiple languages and try to reproduce what she heard. After that, she begins to study the grammar of the language, because, according to her, she needs to know the structure of the language in order to continue studying it.

Cesco Reale says that his main method of learning a new language is tandem, i.e. communicating with native speakers in exchange for conversing with them in the language they are interested in. He talks about focusing first on the phonetics of the language before embarking on the above method.

Niels Iversen begins by searching for language content on YouTube and Wikipedia. He also notes the need for a large dictionary that contains information about grammar. His method does not allow him to learn a language without a good dictionary. In addition, he talks about the importance of planning the entire process. He needs a textbook for beginners, from which he takes an easy-to-follow text. Next, he needs to hear the language, for which he uses videos on YouTube. After that, he begins to study the list of the most used words in the language, trying to learn about 10,000 words in order to make it “fun to read”.

Richard Simcott begins by analysing the available language material, in particular songs and videos to obtain the information about phonetics. In the case of songs, Simcott tries to sing along, and then attempts to sing the song himself. His next step is to research the available language courses and find the most interesting ones. Then he goes through the lessons in the traditional format, rewriting all the dialogues and all the text material of the textbook afterwards. According to him, it helps with memorising the language. He also begins to speak the language from the first day of learning in order to get a reaction, which for him reflects the essence of languages and gives additional motivation. Communication also helps with learning slang. He concludes that language learning is based on memorisation and repetition. Another note is that language learning must be adapted to suit your own mood and capabilities. As an example, he cites how singing songs in foreign languages helps him to feel better.

André Liss reiterates the use of songs and wordlists. According to him, knowing even 500 words in the language (something that can be found in pop music) is enough to begin with.

When the question about the time polyglots spend on learning a language is asked, María de Vera talks about five to six hours of language lessons a day, and Niels Iversen says he spends around four to five hours. André Liss says that he would focus on the aspect of the culture of the people speaking the language that interests him, and give it the maximum possible attention. He notes that you cannot learn to speak correctly if you do not speak incorrectly before that. Speaking in the target language is the main way to fix this.

Answering the question about the study of words, Richard Simcott advises learners to start by paying attention to international words and words that are similar to those used in languages known to you. He quotes a Spanish proverb that “it is better to be wrong once than to doubt and say nothing”. Niels Iversen notes that learning wordlists only works for those who like the process. Cesco Reale declares that he does not use any methods of memorising words, despite knowing about them. The etymology of words helps him.

The last question of the round table is whether polyglots use their native language to study a foreign language. Niels Iversen replies that not many people speak his native Danish, so he and the rest of the Danes have no choice but to use other already known foreign languages to learn new ones. María de Vera claims that she studied most of the languages she now knows in English. Richard Simcott says that he uses not only his native English, but also French (in particular, for the Assimil textbooks).

In general, the motivation of most polyglots is based on the emotional perception of different languages and the desire to interact with native speakers of the language and culture. In particular, the polyglots' method of learning foreign languages begins with an acquaintance with the phonetics of the language, specifically with songs, to which they pay special attention. Only after becoming familiar with pronunciation, polyglots begin to read textbooks, talk with native speakers and study wordlists. Polyglots devote about five hours a day to learning a language and talk about the opportunity to select aspects of the culture of native speakers to increase productivity. It is also important not to be afraid to try to speak the language even at the beginner's level. One of the strategies for building one's foreign language vocabulary is to search for familiar and international words. The language in which polyglots learn new languages depends on the language in which the textbooks they are interested in are available.

The next round table took place at the Polyglot Conference 2015 in New York under the title **"State of the Industry"** [33]. It was devoted to the commercial field of foreign language learning. Teach Yourself, Routledge, Hippocrene Books and Assimil gave presentations and answered questions from the public.

Sarah Cole talks about the many ways of learning languages nowadays, in addition to textbooks (language-coaching, online courses, university programmes, social platforms, Skype, YouTube, mobile applications, etc.). Language learners want to personalise the learning process and make it more fun in order to stay motivated. Samantha Vale Noya notes that interactive websites created as attachments to the Routledge textbooks are very popular among language learners. Another polyglot present at the round table says that what matters for polyglots is not how exciting a language course is, but how effective the proposed method of learning is. He notes that the Assimil textbooks are the most popular among polyglots, in particular due to the methodology used. Sarah Cole also highlights the importance of the language-learning methodology. She adds that listening courses (such as Pimsleur and Michel Thomas) allow people to start speaking a foreign language from the very beginning. Priti Chitnis Gress says that different methods of learning foreign languages are suitable for different people. Continuing the topic, Samantha Vale Noya notes that the same could be said about languages: different learning methods may be suitable for different languages.

The next round table, **"Polyglots at Work"** at the Polyglot Conference 2015 [28], deals with the employment of polyglots and their professional careers, without properly addressing the topic of foreign language-learning techniques. Therefore, it does not provide much information relevant for the present study. It was attended by polyglots Laurence Bouvard, Stefanie Trice Gill and Richard Simcott.

The round table **"Polyglots and Academia"** was held at the Polyglot Conference 2017 in Reykjavik [27]. Its main topics were the lack of official recognition of polyglots' achievements, language skills, jobs for polyglots, neurolinguistics, approaches to learning foreign languages, and other issues.

Linguist Rob Painter, answering the question about the approach to the grammar of a foreign language, says that the study of Ancient Greek and its grammatical structure can be extremely useful for the subsequent study of other foreign languages.

When asked about the best method for learning languages, neuroscientist Thomas Bak replies that there is no single answer, and an individual approach should be used. Concerning his personal approach, he reports that he prefers to first look at several texts in a foreign language without any preparation, study some grammar rules and ask native speakers about the correctness of his assumptions about it.

Rob Painter's methodology involves comparing the language he is currently studying with languages from the same language family. He notes that over time, he began to prefer learning language rules to the immersion method.

Johan Vandewalle says that first of all he looks for a textbook of the language, which he then tries to finish as soon as possible. As an example of his pacing, he says that he tries to take seven Assimil lessons a day instead of one suggested by the authors. Thus, it takes 10 days to study the entire manual. After that, he starts listening to programmes in the language he is studying. He says that the more material he listens to, the clearer the material becomes. At the end of his monologue, he again stresses the importance of listening to programmes in the target language.

Alexander Arguelles's approach is starting either by analysing the text he has chosen, or by listening to the audio material, trying to find out which elements of the language are immediately clear to him. He then proceeds to study the Assimil at a fast pace, going through the lessons repeatedly. According to him, taking an Assimil course in a week gives important general information about the language, which then allows one to delve into the language.

At the end of the discussion, Thomas Bak recommends applying knowledge about already known languages when learning new ones.

Concluding panel discussions also took place at the Polyglot Conferences 2018–2019 in Ljubljana and Fukuoka, respectively, but their recordings and transcripts are not publicly available [10], [12]. The same should be said about the round table "How to Improve Language Education (Not Only) in the EU? Challenges, Problems, Solutions" at the Polyglot Gathering 2018 in Bratislava [29].

As part of the Polyglot Gathering 2020 Online, two round tables were held: **"Raising Multilingual Children"** [30], which dealt exclusively with teaching children foreign languages from an early age (the participants were Richard Simcott, Tetsu Jung and Martin Lelarge), and **"Multilingual Learning"** [21], during which polyglots who simultaneously study several foreign languages shared their experiences. The latter round table will be analysed in more detail.

At the beginning of the discussion, Lina Vasquez says that due to limited free time, it is necessary to incorporate the study of foreign languages into one's work and personal life, and to allocate separate time for learning the languages that are currently at the initial level. She suggests defining goals in learning particular languages before moving on to the process itself and subsequently allocating time for study in accordance with the tasks set.

Stefano Suigo recommends the simultaneous study of three foreign languages only if the level of one of the studied languages is already noticeably higher than the others (besides, it is desirable that the languages should differ significantly from each other). He also notes the importance of prioritising among them, suggesting that more attention should be paid to the more difficult languages.

Elisa Polese says that the danger of mixing languages can be neutralised by focusing on the peculiarities of the languages being studied. As an example, she notes that Italian words mostly end in a vowel, which reduces the risk of confusion with other languages, in particular with Spanish. She also draws attention to the possibility of using the knowledge of other languages when learning new ones.

When asked about the most effective methods of learning a language, Lina Vasquez replies that for her, the most effective way of learning is interacting with other people, creating videos and teaching other people foreign languages. Stefano Suigo says that he tries to stay consistent when he starts learning a new language. He highlights the importance of having fun with the learning process, so he avoids methods that he does not like and supports the incorporation of language learning into one's hobbies. In particular, he says that he loves to watch videos about space, and therefore does it in Romanian, a foreign language to him. He also uses the opportunity to communicate with other people in a foreign language directly as a way to improve his skills.

Elisa Polese notes the benefits of learning languages from the same families: part of the passive vocabulary is transferred from one language to another without unnecessary effort. The advantage of learning languages from different families, in her opinion, is that the risk of confusion in languages is reduced to naught. She summarises that learning multiple languages helps in any case, as language-learning skills always keep developing.

At the end of the round table, Polese talks about the methods of learning foreign languages. The factors that remain consistent for her, regardless of the language being studied and her level in it, are input and the desire to constantly practise and focus on certain aspects. The inconsistent ones are the end goal, the enjoyment of the process, and the reason for learning the language.

Summing up, among the main methods of learning a foreign language, according to the statements of the participants in this round table, one can single out the combination of personal interests with the study of the language, planning, the use of knowledge about other languages and communication with people in the target language.

When it comes to the main principles of learning languages, the data of the considered round tables can be summarised in the following points:

– the presence of motivation to learn the language (rational and/or irrational);
– preference to work on oral speech and phonetics (in particular, in songs and communication with native speakers) at the initial stage, followed by the transition to the study of the grammatical component of the language;
– use of knowledge about previously studied languages for learning new ones;
– daily activities (in many cases, intensive ones);
– using an individualised approach;
– focus on getting positive emotions from the process of learning a foreign language (including its integration into everyday life);
– setting specific goals.

Academic round table data

After the 2013 New York round table discussion, scientific interest in polyglottery increased. This trend is demonstrated by the round tables at the International Symposium on Language Education, Polyglottery and Geolinguistics (Moscow, 2018), the 19th and 20th International Symposiums on Psycholinguistics and Communication Theory (Moscow, 2019, and online, 2022), the 12th Congress of the International Society of Applied Psycholinguistics (online, 2021), and the 1st and 2nd International Seminars on Linguistics & Polyglot Studies (online, 2021–2022).

The first of these discussions is the round table which ended the **International Symposium on Language Education, Polyglottery and Geolinguistics** (Moscow, 2018). Based on its results, the participants concluded that "the quality of general foreign language education is for the most part unsatisfactory given the correlation between the resources invested and the results achieved" [9], [20]. It was also noted that polyglottery is a promising field of research and needs to be introduced into language education. In the final memorandum, the symposium recommended the following [ibid.]:

– developing and integrating propedeutical courses on the methodology of language acquisition in curricula;
– extensive usage of audio and video materials, encouraging students to study literature in a foreign language and combining a foreign language with hobbies;
– greater emphasis on the benefits of foreign language-learning and students' motivation on the part of the teachers;
– use of previous research in the field of language acquisition as a basis.

The next round table under study was held at the 19th International Symposium on Psycholinguistics and Communication Theory and was entitled "Psycholinguistic Study of the Phenomenon of Polyglottery". Alan Bigulov, Grigory Kazakov, Stepan Kulakov, Anatoly Makarov, Dina Nikulicheva and Magnus Larsson were its participants.

Alan Bigulov presented the paper "10 Languages in 1,000 Days project and an experiment of creating an individualised speech course", devoted to the systematic study of foreign languages. His approach focuses on five-hour daily foreign language classes. Bigulov says that in the course of his project, he decided to build a personal linguaphone course based on the assimilation of relevant language material. As the reasons for using this approach, he notes the irrelevance of most topics in textbooks and language courses and the lack of individual approach to students on the part of foreign language tutors. The speaker singles out the book by Dina Nikulicheva *Govorim, Chitaem, Pishem: Lingvisticheskie i Psikhologicheskie Strategii*

Poliglotov (2013) as the basis for his course. He composes dialogues, which he then plans to give for translation to specialists, in order to integrate them into his linguaphone course later [2].

Grigory Kazakov's study "How much input is needed to learn a language: data of children's speech, corpus linguistics and polyglottery" touches on the topic of how much information in a foreign language needs to be obtained in order to achieve a certain level of proficiency in it. As one of the sources of his research, he uses Rick Dearman's presentation at the Polyglot Gathering 2017, in which the amount of viewed video material required for certain levels of language was studied. Thus, it was reported that the B1 level (in the Common European Framework of Reference) is reached after watching 150 hours of video. The higher the level, the more viewing time is required to move to it from the previous one. Based on the material presented, Kazakov concludes that in order to achieve the threshold level of language proficiency (B1–B2), an input of approximately 1 million words is required [11].

Anatoly Makarov in the presentation "Approaches to the development of oral speech skills according to the data of the Polyglot Gathering 2018" touches upon polyglots' language-learning methods as presented at the said Gathering. Based on the results of his analysis, he concludes that most polyglots focus their attention on speaking, considering this to be the starting point for learning foreign languages. This is manifested in listening to songs, watching TV series, working with podcasts, etc. Makarov also notes the principle of positive emotions, which is based on the pleasantness of the experience, and a systematic approach [18].

Dina Nikulicheva's paper "Speech monitoring and modelling resourceful states in language-learning" examines a conscious transition to the resourceful state in the course of learning a language by reference to the case study with the polyglot Alexander Arguelles, whose process of learning Hebrew served as the basis for research. It was noted that the transition to the state of resourcefulness occurred when Arguelles began to orally translate texts from Hebrew, which was not interrupted even by a temporary deterioration in his physical condition [22].

The final paper of the round table was Magnus Larsson's work "Achieving high levels of fluency in foreign languages through different methods: two examples from a first person perspective". Since the speaker had different tasks in terms of achieving the desired level of proficiency in foreign languages, he used different methods. He only had a year to study Russian for the purpose of military translation into Swedish and vice versa, and three years to learn to speak Chinese fluently. However, approximately the same amount of time was spent on each of the languages (2,200 hours). The Russian language was studied according to the system with structured exercises related directly to oral and written translation and constant repetition of a limited amount of highly specialised spoken and audio material. The method of learning Chinese consisted in mastering a large number of different texts and audio materials. It was concluded that the method used to study Russian is more demanding for the student [17].

The following academic round table on polyglottery, **"Psycholinguistic Study of Polyglottery and Its Application for Language-Learning"**, was held at the 12th Congress of the International Society of Applied Psycholinguistics in 2021. The participants were Dina Nikulicheva, Grigory Kazakov, Elisa Polese and Stepan Kulakov.

Dina Nikulicheva in her presentation "Waves of intensity in language learning: some preliminary results of monitoring Alan Bigulov's 10 Languages in 1,000 Days project" tells about the progress of the polyglot in learning foreign languages in a limited amount of time. Among other things, she mentioned Bigulov's conclusion that focusing on one foreign language is a more effective method than intensive study of several ones at the same time [24].

Elisa Polese, who presented her paper "Interactive multilingual lessons: a polyglot's perspective", had the opposite opinion. She pointed to the connection between the need for effective teaching methods and psychology: people who study foreign languages tend to stop the learning process due to dissatisfaction with the results. She talked about the critical importance of choosing the appropriate methodology for learning a foreign language and the fact that learning several languages at the same time increases motivation, as it makes it possible to switch between the languages that you need to learn and the ones you want to learn. Polese also noted that correct linguistic and psycholinguistic techniques are important because of the potential risk of language-mixing. Her methodology is focused on the formation of the following abilities in students:

– understanding and using the basic laws of the studied languages;
– focusing on differences between languages;
– switching between languages.

According to her presentation, the listed areas allow students to understand the differences between languages, which increases the efficiency of the learning process [26].

The 1st International Seminar on Linguistics & Polyglot Studies was organised by the editorial board of the journal *Linguistics* & *Polyglot Studies* in late 2021. Its participants were Tatiana Ivushkina, Grigory Kazakov, Dina Nikulicheva, Minoru Ohtsuki, Seán Ó Riain, Nastasia Britsyna, and others.

Tatiana Ivushkina in her paper "The making of the MGIMO linguistics journal: from philology to polyglot studies" tells the story of the aforementioned journal. She also mentions the topics that the journal is focused on and the importance of polyglottery as a field of research [6].

Grigory Kazakov summarises the contents of the 2021 special issue of the journal, which the seminar was devoted to. The featured papers are discussed in detail as well as the structure of the volume and its place in research literature on polyglottery [14].

Dina Nikulicheva's paper touches upon the psycholinguistic analysis of her joint experiment with Alan Bigulov, "10 Languages in 1,000 Days", which serves as the basis for the book she is writing, the seminar itself and the recently published monograph *Russian Psycholinguistics: Results and Prospects (1966–2021)*. Nikulicheva stresses the value of this work, explains its structure and highlights the role of polyglottery in it, as it is covered in section 1.5 "Directions of modern Russian psycholinguistics as a consequence of the expansion of the subject area of research" of the book [23].

Seán Ó Riain, the recently appointed Multilingualism Officer in the Irish Diplomatic service, addresses the role of multilingualism in the EU and, specifically, in Ireland. He explains how Brexit affected the dominant role of English, as the EU started attempts to implement multilingual policies. He talks about the methods that are being used to achieve that goal. Two of them are the EU supporting the usage of Esperanto, and Ireland creating a new position in its Foreign Ministry. Moreover, Ó Riain mentions the features Esperanto shares with languages such as French and Russian [25].

Besides, in the course of the discussion, Nastasia Britsyna shared her thoughts about the diverse and inclusive nature of multilingualism suggesting more student engagement in language classes and pointing out the importance of metaphors in language studies [4].

The 2nd International Seminar on Linguistics & Polyglot Studies (online, 2022) covered such topics as learning ancient languages, monitoring progress in a foreign language, defining a polyglot, and others [15]. Among the participants were Dina Nikulicheva, Yan Aleshkevich-Suslov, Karina Stupina, Alisa Virolainen, Nikolai Kovalenko, and Dmitry Komarov. Alexander Arguelles, Hikaru Kitabayashi, and Aita Bishowkarma prepared greeting addresses.

Hikaru Kitabayashi's greeting focuses on the power of language, specifically in relation to the latest world events. He points out how mistreating languages can become a cause for a major conflict and comes to the conclusion that geolinguistics and polyglot studies should be essential academic disciplines [16].

Aita Bishowkarma addressed the topic of the linguistic diversity in Nepal and the geolinguistics movement in this country. He notes that the languages of Nepal belong to four different language families, and that the development of geolinguistics in this part of the world is centred around organising both live and online conferences since 2019 [3].

The round table **"Research on Polyglottery: Theoretical Analysis and Practice"** was part of the 20th International Symposium on Psycholinguistics and Communication Theory (Moscow, 2022) and included papers by Yan Aleshkevich-Suslov, Veronika Bigulati, Alan Bigulov, Nastasia Britsyna, Yulia Drik, Tatiana Ivushkina, Grigory Kazakov, Dina Nikulicheva, and a joint paper by Alisa Virolainen, Nikolai Kovalenko & Dmitry Komarov [31, p. 186–196].

Yan Aleshkevich-Suslov's presentation "Self-observation of a polyglot via electronic spreadsheets: time factor" is an attempt to determine the correlation between the amount of time put into studying languages and the progress made in the process. He considers time as one of the few objective parameters that can be used to acquire statistical data in the field of linguistic research and comes to the conclusion that, in the case of Germanic languages, it is apparent that being competent in two languages speeds up the process of learning another one.

Veronika Bigulati's topic is hyperintensive language learning using online platforms. Such Internet platforms allow people to pick a professional tutor based on their personal needs and preferences. She points out the effectiveness of this method by providing the example of Dina Nikulicheva's successful experience of hyperintensively learning Spanish with the help of the online platform Baselang and polyglot Alan Bigulov.

Alan Bigulov touches upon the topic of hyperintensive language learning as well by sharing his personal experience of studying five Romance languages simultaneously. Hyperintensive language learning is described as having multi-hour oral language practice sessions every day over a limited time span. The author highlights the effectiveness of the method for the purpose of rapid language learning and notes that he considers learning languages from the same language group beneficial for reaching the goal.

Nastasia Britsyna focuses her attention on metaphorisation and the value of metaphors for languages. Specifically, she points out how research in the field of polyglottery can be conducted in that direction and that metaphors are often the only linguistic device available to express something. Her work also deals with the concepts of inclusion and diversity and their linguistic counterparts (for example, linguistic diversity suggests switching focus from dominant languages to smaller ones).

The paper "The image of a polyglot through the eyes of MGIMO students" by Alisa Virolainen, Nikolai Kovalenko & Dmitry Komarov describes a sociological study aimed at determining the perception of the word *polyglot* by people experienced with foreign languages but not to the extent of necessarily being linguists or polyglots: MGIMO students.

Yulia Drik further explores the topic of hyperintensive language learning. She compares that method with the traditional one, which she defines as "two or three lessons per week with one tutor following his study plan". Analysing both methods, she concludes that hyperintensive language learning helps achieve more progress in oral speech in shorter time but overall is best used in combination with the traditional method.

Tatiana Ivushkina introduces the journal *Linguistics* & *Polyglot Studies* as a new space for academic discussions on polyglottery. She talks about its history, unique features (publication of papers in 10 languages), main topics (specifically those of the 2021 special issue), and plans for the future.

Grigory Kazakov addresses the topic of machine learning in its relation to polyglottery. He points out how machine translation currently relies on statistical models via parallel texts instead of being based on a set of rules. Similarly, Kazakov explains how vital input is in the human language-learning process. His conclusion is that the development of artificial intelligence depends on the ability of the machines to model complex aspects of human language experience.

Dina Nikulicheva's paper is devoted to the most discussed topic of the round table: hyperintensive language learning. She briefly explains the method (daily conversations with at least six different native speakers, a break in the middle of the course, and the student being in charge of the whole process) and tells about her own experience of applying it to studying Spanish. According to Nikulicheva, the said method is effective enough to allow the student to engage in conversations on the seventh day of learning the language.

Summarising the results of academic round tables, the following main language-learning methods can be distinguished:

– using an individualised approach;
– focusing on spoken language;
– daily lessons;
– focusing on getting positive emotions from the process of learning a foreign language.

Results

1. Polyglottery is now a recognised social phenomenon, which is becoming an increasingly relevant area of scientific research, which is demonstrated by the academic round tables on this topic analysed in this paper.

2. The participants of the first round table on polyglottery in 2013 set the main agenda for all further discussions of this kind. The following aspects can be noted:

– according to the participants, polyglots are people who use non-traditional approaches to learning languages;

– there is no unanimous position on the most effective way to start learning a language; some are convinced of the need for complete immersion in the language, while others talk about the benefits of using already known languages as a basis for learning a new one; there is also a position of combining both methods;

– foreign languages should not be taught in the same way as scientific disciplines;

– the use of audio material is necessary in order for the learning process to be effective;

– transition from the bias towards language teaching to independent language-learning is necessary.

3. According to the data gathered from the said round tables, the preference of polyglots to start learning a foreign language with its oral component and apply the already existing knowledge of other languages can be noted. Language learning should be individualised and take place on a daily basis. Specific goals and motivation are needed and contribute to another important principle, the principle of positive emotions. Benefits of the experience already gained in learning languages are also brought to attention.

4. The main principles of learning a foreign language, as formulated at the analysed discussions, are using an individualised approach, prioritising oral speech, daily practice and positive emotions from the learning process.

5. After comparing different types of round tables on polyglottery, the following conclusions can be drawn:

– polyglots' main ideas about the principles of learning foreign languages have remained stable over the recent years;

– polyglottery is acquiring a more significant scientific status, which is demonstrated by the growing number of academic round tables in this field;

– the topic of defining the concept of polyglottery has become less discussed after the first round table in 2013;

– benefits of the individual approach to language-learning, audio and video materials, everyday practice, goal-setting, and motivation are mentioned consistently.

Thus, the undertaken study demonstrates that the topics addressed at the initial 2013 New York round table (determining the knowledge of a language, effective ways of learning languages, etc.) were also discussed at the subsequent forums and have remained relevant among polyglots until today, while new issues (raising multilingual children, language-learning industry, hyperintensive language-learning, etc.) have also been added to the agenda, which may reflect the dynamics of interests in the actively developing polyglot community.

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TESTING POLYGLOT ALAN BIGULOV'S STRATEGY FOR SUPERINTENSIVE ENTRY INTO CONVERSATIONAL PRACTICE

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Abstract. *The article is devoted to reality-testing a unique language acquisition technique proposed by the polyglot Alan Bigulov. The novelty lies in super-intensive quick start, which allows a student to begin talking in a target language with native speakers (including speakers of different regional language variants) within seven to ten days on topics related to priority communicative tasks for that language learner. In this regard, the article raises the theoretical issue of priorities and intentions of a linguistic personality in the process of speech activity. The study of polyglottery is included in the ethnopsycholinguistic research agenda on bi-, poly-, and multilingualism. In the theoretical part of the article, the correlation of the phenomenon of polyglottery with multi- and multilingualism is considered. The practical research method consisted in daily monitoring the speech behaviour of a polyglot in the process of super intensive conversational practice in target languages, and then in applying the observed strategies during the author's own Spanish initial super-intensive language sessions. Language practice sessions were recorded on video to be later analyzed in order to identify effective components of the methodology. Alan Bigulov's method is based on a synthesis of polyglots' communicative strategies described in books and articles by Dina Nikulicheva and on his own experiment of learning ten new languages during the project "10 languages in 1,000 days". The key component of this super-intensive method is the use of Internet language platforms. This makes it possible to communicate each time with a new interlocutor, and to repeatedly practice vocabulary, grammatical structures and topics in new communicative situations. The fact that the student himself directs the process of communication, which involves the preparation of prioritized questions for discussion in language sessions during the days of the super-intensive practice, is an essential part of the new method. The experiment proved the fundamental possibility of using the super-intensive technique by ordinary students in order to quickly remove the language barrier and enter conversational practice already at the initial stage of language learning. Monitoring and analyzing the practice sessions allowed the author to identify the key components of the technique and its potential limitations.*

Keywords: *ethnopsycholinguistics, multilingualism, polylingualism, polyglottery, intentions of a linguistic personality, speech communication, super-intensive quick start*

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АПРОБАЦИЯ МЕТОДИКИ ПОЛИГЛОТА АЛАНА БИГУЛОВА ПО СУПЕРИНТЕНСИВНОМУ ВХОЖДЕНИЮ В РАЗГОВОРНУЮ ПРАКТИКУ

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Аннотация. *Статья посвящена апробации авторской методики изучения языков полиглота Алана Бигулова. Новизна методики состоит в организации стартового суперинтенсива, позволяющего уже за семь-десять дней начать беседовать на изучаемом языке с носителями разных региональных вариантов на темы, связанные с реализацией приоритетных для данного индивида коммуникативных задач. В этой связи в статье обсуждается теоретический вопрос об интенциональности языковой личности в процессе речевой деятельности. Изучение полиглотии входит в этнопсихолингвистическую проблематику исследований би-, поли-, и мультилингвизма. В теоретической части статьи рассматривается соотношение феномена полиглотии с мульти- и полилингвизмом. Методы практического исследования состояли в ежедневном мониторинге речевого поведения полиглота в процессе прохождения им суперинтенсивов по вхождению в разговорную практику на изучаемых языках, а затем в применении отмеченных стратегий в ходе прохождения собственного суперинтенсива по овладению испанским языком автором данной статьи. Использовалась видеозапись сеансов общения и проводился их последующий анализ с целью выявления эффективных компонентов методики. Методика А. Бигулова создавалась на основе синтеза коммуникативных стратегий полиглотов, описанных в книгах и статьях Д. Б. Никуличевой, и собственного эксперимента А. Бигулова по изучению десяти новых языков в ходе проекта «10 языков за 1000 дней». Ключевой составляющей методики суперинтенсива является использование языковых интернет-платформ. Это даёт возможность общения каждый раз с новым собеседником, что позволяет закрепить в новом общении лексику и грамматические структуры, возникшие в предшествующих разговорах. Важно также направление процесса общения самим учеником, предполагающее подготовку им круга вопросов, которые отвечают его личностным приоритетам и которые он хочет обсудить на языке в течение каждого из дней суперинтенсива. Апробация доказала принципиальную возможность использования методики суперинтенсива обычными учащимися с целью снятия языкового барьера и вхождения в разговорную практику уже на начальном этапе изучения языка, а также позволила уточнить ключевые составляющие методики и её потенциальные ограничения.*

Ключевые слова: *этнопсихолингвистика, мультилингвизм, полилингвизм, полиглотия, интенциональность языковой личности, речевое общение, методика стартового суперинтенсива*

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Интерес к психолингвистическим исследованиям проблем полиглотии в нашей стране неуклонно возрастает. Об этом свидетельствует количество и разнообразие научных мероприятий (конференций, симпозиумов, семинаров, экспериментальных проектов и журнальных публикаций) по данной проблематике. См., например, их обзор только за первое полугодие 2022 г. в статье Г.А. Казакова [17]. В этой связи нам представляется уместным определить место исследований полиглотии в контексте психолингвистических исследований мультилингвизма.

Мультилингвизм в контексте этнопсихолингвистики

Мультилингвизм (multilingualism) обычно понимается как владение несколькими языками. Нередко мультилингвизм рассматривается в одном исследовательском этнопсихолингвистическом контексте вместе с билингвизмом, как это было предложено в информационном письме по подготовке XX Международного симпозиума по психолингвистике и теории коммуникации:

- «Проблемы этнопсихолингвистики:

Межкультурное общение: контакты и конфликты;
Би-, поли-, транслингвизм: теоретический анализ и практика;
Аксиологическое языковое сознание: проблемы анализа;
Психолингвистические проблемы перевода» [5].

Подобное сочетание тем указывает на то, что организаторы симпозиума предполагали в рамках подобной секции обсуждение психолингвистических проблем контакта разных лингвокультур – когда в результате специфической этнолингвистической ситуации в языковом сознании индивида естественно присутствуют либо два языка (билингвизм), либо несколько языков (мультилингвизм). Причём такое взаимодействие предполагается в двух направлениях: как в плане аккомодации лингвокультур – в том числе, в плане теории перевода – так и в плане конфликтологии лингвокультур («этнической конфликтологии» в терминологии А.А. Сорокина [11]) – в том числе в плане аксилологического противопоставления «своего» и «чужого», инокультурного, языкового сознания.

Как подчёркивают исследователи, «этнопсихолингвистика – междисциплинарное уникальное научное экспериментально-теоретическое направление, возникшее в рамках психолингвистики как учения о речевой деятельности, но не характеризующееся единством теоретических установок даже в пределах отечественной науки» [10, с. 148].

Этнопсихолингвистические исследования в отечественной теории речевой деятельности начались в 1970-х годах как изучение национально-культурной специфики речевого общения. Термин «этнопсихолингвистика» был предложен А.А. Леонтьевым. С его точки зрения, «этнопсихолингвистика – это область психолингвистики, изучающая национально-культурную вариантность в: а) речевых операциях, речевых действиях и целостных актах речевой деятельности; б) языковом сознании, то есть когнитивном использовании языка и функционально эквивалентных ему других знаковых систем; в) в организации (внешней и внутренней) процессов речевого общения» [6, с. 192].

Для проблематики нашего исследования последний пункт особенно важен. Нас интересует то, как полиглоты организуют процессы межкультурного речевого общения для максимально эффективного достижения коммуникативных задач на изучаемом языке. При этом важным представляется также поставленный И. В. Шапошниковой «вопрос об *интенциональности языковой личности* в её конкретном лингвокультурном воплощении» [12, с. 187] (курсив автора). В дальнейшем мы покажем, как интенциональность языковой личности полиглота проявляется в особенностях организации им процессов общения на изучаемом языке.

Изучение полиглотии как составная часть входит в проблематику исследований би-, поли-, и мультилингвизма. В этой связи представляется целесообразным провести разграничение мульти- и полилингвизма.

Мультилингвизм и полилингвизм

В статье «Does integrating Europe need polylingualism and multiculturalism?» словацкий исследователь Владимир Биловески предлагает любопытное различение понятий *мультилингвизм* и *полилингвизм* в связи с языковой ситуацией в Евросоюзе: «Speaking of polylingualism, we need to point out the difference between polylingualism and multilingualism. *Multilingualism* means speaking many languages or the coexistence of different languages within a society. Multilingualism can be easily achieved through *offering various languages in schools or within the educational system,* through encouraging students to learn more than one foreign language or through dethroning English from its dominant position in international communication. However, *polylingualism* emphasises the fact that an *individual language experience* in one's *own cultural context* develops from the *language used within one's family* through a *language used within the society* and further to *languages of other nations* (whether learned at school or through direct contact with a language), while a language learner *does not strictly consciously differentiate between these languages* and cultures, rather the learner develops a communication competence combining all their knowledge and language experience, which are *in mutual correlation and interaction*» [16, с. 457]. «Говоря о полилингвизме, необходимо указать на разницу между поли- и мультилингвизмом. *Мультилингвизм* означает говорение на многих языках или сосуществование разных языков в обществе. Мультилингвизма можно легко достичь, *предлагая различные языки в школах или в системе образования,* поощряя учащихся к изучению более чем одного иностранного языка или свергая английский с пьедестала языка международного общения. *Полилингвизим* же подчёркивает тот факт, что *индивидуальный языковой опыт* развивается в *собственном культурном контексте* от языка, используемого в семье, через язык, используемый *в обществе,* и далее к языкам *других народов* (независимо от того, изучались ли они в школе или в результате прямого контакта с языком). При этом изучающий язык *не делает строго осознанного разграничения между этими языками и культурами,* а скорее вырабатывает *коммуникативную компетенцию,* объединяющую все его знания и языковой опыт, находящиеся *во взаимной корреляции и взаимодействии*» (курсив мой – Д.Н.).

Как видим, *мультилингвизм* понимается исследователем двояко, с одной стороны, как «сосуществование в обществе множества языков», а с другой стороны, как результат усилий образовательной системы, когда учащихся «поощряют на изучение более одного иностранного языка», чтобы «свергнуть английский с пьедестала языка международного общения». Что касается *полилингвизма*, то он развивается индивидом в его культурном контексте от языка, используемого в семье, через язык, используемый в обществе, к языкам, используемым в общении с другими национальностями. При этом подчёркивается, что индивид «не строго осознанно различает соответствующие языки и культуры», а их усвоение происходит в процессе взаимодействия и общения. По сути, такая трактовка противопоставляет мультилингвизм и полилингвизм как приобретённое и естественное многоязычие соответственно.

Проблематика исследования *полиглотии* отличается от проблематики исследования мультилингвизма и полилингвизма. Важнейший параметр различий состоит в том, что полиглотия – это мультилингвизм, сознательно приобретённый во взрослом возрасте – не как результат усилий образовательной системы или естественного взаимодействия с языковой средой, а как результат сознательной и активной автодидактической деятельности индивида. В этой связи особую значимость приобретает упомянутый нами выше вопрос об интенциональности языковой личности полиглота, сознательно выстраивающего учебную коммуникацию с учётом личностных интенциональных приоритетов.

Это определяет возможность изучения эффективных стратегий полиглотов в достижении тех или иных языковых навыков для дальнейшего их применения в лингводидактической практике.

Традиционные и инновационные стратегии полиглотов

Хотя явление полиглотии известно с глубокой древности, стратегии полиглотов не есть устоявшийся набор эффективных приёмов. Некоторые составляющие, такие как проактивный подход к изучению языка, неизменны, другие же зависят от преобладающих перцептивных особенностей того или иного полиглота, но многие определяются теми социальными и технологическими особенностями, которые предлагаются обществом в тот или иной момент. Вот почему к тем стратегиям полиглотов, которые были описаны в книгах серии «Лингвистические и психологические стратегии полиглотов» [8], [9], за последнее десятилетие добавилось немало новых составляющих, производных от цифровизации современного общества. В первую очередь, это касается использования языковых платформ, позволяющих вести диалог с носителями соответствующих языков: *Amazing Talker* [13], *Baselang* [14], *Italki* [15].

Именно на использовании ресурсов подобных языковых платформ строится авторская стратегия полиглота Алана Бигулова, экспериментальной апробации которой и посвящена данная статья.

Ключевые составляющие методики Алана Бигулова

Ключевыми составляющими методики, созданной А. К. Бигуловым в ходе проведённого им эксперимента «10 языков за 1000 дней» [2], служат:

- необходимость стартового суперинтенсива, под которым понимается ежедневное общение не менее чем с шестью новыми носителями языка в течение десяти дней;
- целесообразность одно/двухдневного перерыва в середине суперинтенсива;
- направление процесса общения не учителем, а учеником, предполагающее определение им круга вопросов, которые тот хочет обсудить на языке в течение каждого из дней суперинтенсива [1].

Подчеркнём, что *супер*интенсивный характер общения определяется не только количеством ежедневных часов занятий и количеством каждый раз новых собеседников-носителей разных национальных вариантов языка, но и проактивным настроем ученика, являющегося инициатором того или другого обсуждения и создания «пространства живого диалога» (термин А. Бигулова) и выстраивающим общение в связи с интенциональностью собственной языковой личности.

Суперинтенсив как процесс воспроизведения естественной речевой деятельности

Такой подход активизирует творческий потенциал личности и делает изучаемый язык не самоцелью, а инструментом общения, *создавая эффект естественной речевой деятельности*. Ведь, согласно принятому в психолингвистике определению, «*речевая деятельность* – это активный и целенаправленный процесс создания и восприятия высказываний, осуществляемый с помощью языковых средств в ходе взаимодействия людей в жизненных ситуациях общения» [3].

Познакомившись с методикой Алана в ходе мониторинга его проекта «10 языков за 1000 дней», а также в ходе наблюдения за его гиперинтенсивом по параллельному изучению пяти романских языков (с 10 по 21 января 2022 г.), автор этой статьи решила проверить действие этого метода на себе.

Темой предлагаемого исследования служит собственный опыт развития навыка стремительного вхождения в разговорную практику, под чем понимается способность вести диалог на новом языке с незнакомым носителем в течение определённого времени на интересующие обоих собеседников общие темы.

Основные наблюдения в ходе испанского суперинтенсива (11–19 февраля 2022 г.)

Важными результатами испанского суперинтенсива, который автор статьи прошла за семь дней (11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19 февраля 2022 г.), стали следующие наблюдения:

1. Принципиальная возможность за семь дней начать вести диалог на новом языке *с незнакомыми носителями из разных стран* (Испании, Латинской Америки: Колумбии, Венесуэлы, Мексики, Эквадора, Перу, Чили, Аргентины) даже для человека совсем немолодого возраста.
2. Развитие навыка *узнавания ресурсного состояния* в режиме языкового интенсива. Это то, что Алан Бигулов называет «*ощущение пространства живого диалога*». От обычного учебного диалога это состояние отличается *спонтанностью и неподготовленностью реакций*, живой *позитивной эмоцией*, сопровождающей диалог, и, как следствие, *естественностью запоминания слов и языковых конструкций* в соответствующей ситуации. Пример: пробный урок, начало второй тридцатиминутки суперинтенсива (7 февраля 2022 г.). Собеседница – женщина средних лет. Предполагалось отрабатывать тему «Знакомство». Узнаю, что её зовут Natalia. Спрашиваю по-английски, как сказать, *Наталия – русское имя, которое звучит очень красиво,* – и получаю ответ: *Natalia es un nombre ruso, que suena muy bonito,* – и чувствую по её выражению лица, что я ей понравилась. Поэтому совершенно естественно, что, когда речь заходит о возрасте, на её вопрос: *Cuántos años tienes?* – и мой ответ: *62*, – получаю её реакцию: *Pareces más joven!* Я ещё не знаю слов *parecer* и *joven*, но по аналогии с итальянским *giovane* и по выражению её лица понимаю, что она говорит: «*Выглядишь моложе*». Отвечаю речевой формулой *tú también*, усвоенной на первой тридцатиминутке, и в ответ получаю великолепную фразу, которую абсолютно понимаю и которая стала для меня ситуативной формулой образования множественного числа от прилагательных, не оканчивающихся на гласный: *Los optimistas parecen más jovenes – «Оптимисты выглядят моложе».* Оставшееся время урока мы говорим, не обращаясь к помощи английского.
3. Ценность моноканального общения на изучаемом языке без привлечения языков-посредников. Пример: второй день суперинтенсива подходит к концу. К пятой тридцатиминутке я стала уставать. Следующей преподавательницей была Alicia из Венесуэлы. И вдруг обнаружилось, что она не говорит по-английски. Сначала я смутилась, но когда мы стали обсуждать наши семьи, вдруг оказалось, что мне даже легче не пытаться спрашивать о непонятом по-английски, а стараться все объяснять по-испански. В конце этого урока я была более ресурсна, чем в его начале, и с уверенностью подвела итог, что *«me gusta hablar sin usar ingles» – «мне нравится говорить, не используя английский».*
4. Важность учёта гендерных и возрастных особенностей при подборе собеседников, что создаёт «общее пространство коммуникации». Пример: третий день суперинтенсива, 13 февраля 2022 г. (третья тридцатиминутка, собеседница – Andrea, женщина лет сорока). Это был самый лучший урок за день. Мы обсуждали стратегии полиглотов. Её вопрос: *¿Español es el primer idioma que abarcas de esa manera?* – послужил толчком к увлекательному и интересному обеим обсуждению стратегий изучения языков. Зато самым сложным за день стал следующий урок с молодым человеком лет 20, студентом по имени Iván из Перу (четвёртая тридцатиминутка третьего дня суперинтенсива). Мы буквально не могли найти темы для обсуждения. На мой вопрос, откуда он, Иван сказал, что из Лимы. Я предположила, что он часто ходит на пляж, поскольку *Lima está cerca del mar.* Но он смутился и ответил, что нет, поскольку не умеет плавать: *Yo no sé nadar.* После этого мы не могли толком найти темы для разговора и чувствовалось, что ему (и мне тоже) хотелось побыстрее закончить общение. После этого я стала целенаправленно выбирать в качестве предпочтительных для себя преподавателей женщин средних лет. Моей любимой преподавательницей стала очень живая и эмоциональная 45-летняя Jusmary Vega из Перу, которая не знала английского.
5. Значимость удержания контакта глаз с собеседником в процессе коммуникации для облегчения спонтанности общения. Пример: заключительный день суперинтенсива (19 февраля 2022 г.). Я записываю на видео сеансы общения. Анализируя их, замечаю, что прослеживается чёткая закономерность: темп и уверенность речи соотносятся с тем, насколько мне удаётся удер-

жать контакт глаз с собеседником (см., например, шестую тридцатиминутку, собеседница Maura Viloria из Венесуэлы) [4]. Звуковое заполнение пауз появляется при отсутствии прямого контакта глаз. Напротив, реплики, автоматизированные в прошлых диалогах, возникают спонтанно в режиме «общего пространства коммуникации», тогда как поиск в памяти домашних «заготовок» приводит к прерыванию визуального контакта и менее уверенной коммуникации. Это свидетельствует о целесообразности на заключительном этапе суперинтенсива (для достижения «плато» данного этапа) приостановки набора новых фраз и фокусировки на их закреплении во множестве диалогов с разными носителями.

Также хотелось бы отметить некоторые **стратегии полиглотов**, применение которых оказалось для меня особенно эффективным в ходе суперинтенсива.

- *Структурированный режим повторения.* Собеседники неизменно удивлялись объёму лексики, которую я усваивала за одно занятие и которую тут же начинала применять. Это было результатом чёткой стратегии, почерпнутой из опыта исследования полиглотов (см. стратегии первичного ввода информации и закрепления её в оперативной памяти и формализованный режим повторения) [8, с. 215–235]. После трёх занятий в перерыве – просмотр трёх сохранённых чатов, перед сном – просмотр шести сохранённых чатов дня. Утром – повторение парадигм служебных и наиболее употребительных глаголов в тех временах, которые были введены в предыдущий день. В первые три дня – только в настоящем времени три спряжения правильных глаголов и глаголы *быть, иметь, делать.* В четвёртый день – форма *preterito perfecto,* в пятый день – *preterito indefinido* и *preterito imperfecto,* в седьмой день – форма *futuro imperfecto.*
- *Целенаправленная работа со словами, которые не запоминаются с первого раза.* Каждый по опыту знает, что есть некоторые «беглые» слова, которые сразу не запоминаются. Это значит, что они были первоначально загружены на сомнении или на искусственной ассоциации, не передающей смысла слова. Например, *entender* – «понимать» плохо запомнилось на первой ассоциации *интендант*, пришлось сознательно вводить дополнительную ассоциативную связь, объединяющую смысл и звучание: *entender* → *интенция:* мы *понимаем*, собеседника, когда понимаем его *интенции*.
- *Использование автоматизированной ресурсной фразы для вхождения в режим уверенного говорения.* Моя ресурсная фраза – *Soy una persona que sabe aprender idiomas* (я человек, который знает, как изучать языки). Фраза Алана Бигулова в мультиязычном гиперинтенсиве на итальянском, испанском, каталанском, французском и португальском языках: «*Я эти языки знаю. Я могу говорить на всех. Я могу переключаться*». Это навык, поддающийся быстрой тренировке.
- Также мне оказалось полезно *стартовое «форматирование» представления о целостной системе испанского языка.* До начала занятий я на русском за три дня бегло прочитала по-русски книгу С. А. Матвеева «Вся испанская грамматика за три недели» [7]. Ничего специально не учила. Но мне было комфортно воспринимать те фразы, которые мне говорили носители, поскольку я уже понимала смысл и функции всех служебных слов и, благодаря этому, конструкции легко запоминались. Я заметила, что мой мозг сопротивляется и не запоминает те конструкции, грамматический смысл которых я не понимаю. Например, конструкцию с *hay* я не могла запомнить и употреблять, пока я не спросила преподавателя об этом слове и он не объяснил мне, что *hay* – это особая форма глагола иметь *haber*, используемая в безличных конструкциях. Мое неприятие было вызвано тем, что это слово не укладывалась в парадигму личных форм никакого служебного глагола, (например, *haber: yo he, tu has, el ha, nosotros hemos, vosotros habéis, ellos han*), и поэтому мой мозг бессознательно отказывался принимать его. *¿**Hay** un teatro **allí**? Там есть театр? **Hay** 12 millones de habitantes en Moscú. В Москве 12 миллионов жителей; Que **hay** de aquello? Как обстоит дело с этим?*
- Полезной для *управления коммуникативной ситуацией* в целях проработки тех тем, которые входили в мои коммуникативные интенции (обсуждение стратегий изучения языков), было использование программы *Google Переводчик* – обязательно с озвучиванием – для подготовки фраз-заготовок для следующих обсуждений. Однако опыт показал, что их следует использовать лишь как вербальные стимулы для начала обсуждения, а затем опираться на ту лексику и фра-

зеологию, которая возникает в ходе обсуждения, и именно её затем отрабатывать в общении с последующими собеседниками.

Прохождение суперинтенсива позволило также выявить некоторые **потенциально проблемные моменты этой методики** для пользователей. К таковым можно отнести:

- Необходимость осваивать новые технические средства. Для уже немолодого автора статьи это было:

– освоение возможностей мессенджера *Telegram* по ежедневной записи своих текстовых комментариев и аудиозаписи своего общения с носителями испанского языка в процессе урока;

– освоение процесса регистрации на колумбийской платформе *Baselang* и освоение её разнообразных возможностей (например, я, к сожалению, только к концу пользования ею поняла, что оплата даёт возможность не только заниматься с неограниченным количеством преподавателей, но и самостоятельно выполнять уроки и онлайн-тесты для проверки своего продвижения и перехода на более высокий уровень);

– освоение возможностей собственной видеозаписи моих занятий с преподавателями, поскольку по умолчанию на платформе это может делать только преподаватель.

- Необходимость постоянно брать на себя инициативу в организации направления общения, что является неотъемлемой составляющей этой методики. Как преподавателю языка, привыкшему организовывать урок, мне это давалось легко. Но могу представить себе иной тип ученика, привыкшего всю жизнь быть ведомым в процессе обучения или просто сильного интроверта. Необходимость быть инициатором может вызвать у такого индивида реакцию перенапряжения и, как результат, отторжения методики.
- Определённые трудности оплаты на счёт зарубежных языковых платформ с учётом нынешней внешнеполитической ситуации.

Заключение

В целом можно отметить, что в результате проведённого нашей исследовательской группой эксперимента была создана и опробована новаторская методика стартовой активизации разговорного навыка, принципиально отличная от существовавших ранее методик интенсивного изучения языка, где направляющая роль в процессе обучения принадлежала учителю (как правило, не носителю языка), что создавало эффект квази-коммуникации. Проведённый эксперимент показал, что использование методики суперинтенсива на стартовом этапе изучения нового языка даёт возможность войти в разговорную практику уже на седьмой-десятый день с начала изучения языка.

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ASSESSING SUCCESSIVE LEARNING ACCELERATION IN GERMANIC LANGUAGES: A RESEARCH PARADIGM PROPOSAL

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Abstract. *The phenomenon of successive language learning acceleration, frequently experienced by polyglots, when in order to learn a new language from a familiar language group the polyglot requires less time with each new language, is widely known, but, it seems, it has never been thoroughly examined. This article presents a simple mathematical model based on the author's own data, which has been collected over the course of three years' worth of independent language study and describes how much faster one learns languages from the same group. The number of hours spent on a new language as a function of the number of previously known languages is described by a simple exponential function with two parameters: the "starting time" and the "half-life". According to the author's hypotheses, these parameters may provide a numerical measure of certain aspects of language that are difficult to quantify otherwise. The "starting time" could be a measure of propinquity between the learner and the language group, whereas the "half-life" could be a measure of propinquity between the languages of a given group. Additionally, reviewed are three different approaches to keeping track of time spent on language activity as used by different polyglots. These approaches are of importance for collecting data to be used in studies of successive language learning acceleration. At the end of the article, an idealized algorithm for conducting such a study is presented, and particular attention is drawn to the various parameters that must be controlled in order to carry out this kind of research in an appropriate manner. This particular study did not manage to satisfy all of the criteria mentioned, so the reliability of the claims made in this article is debatable, and additional validation is required. Furthermore, the validity of the model has to be confirmed by other researchers and polyglots.*

Keywords: *polyglot, polyglottery, language acquisition, accelerated language learning, Germanic languages, time tracking*

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ОЦЕНКА УСКОРЕНИЯ УСВОЕНИЯ ЯЗЫКА ПРИ ПОСЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬНОМ ИЗУЧЕНИИ ГЕРМАНСКИХ ЯЗЫКОВ: ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЕ ПАРАДИГМЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

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Аннотация. *Феномен ускорения овладения языками при последовательном изучении часто отмечается разными полиглотами. При изучении нового языка из известной им группы языков им требуется меньше времени с каждым последующим языком. Это явление широко известно, однако попытки его изучения, по имеющимся данным, ранее не предпринимались. В этой статье на основе собственных данных автора, собранных за последние три года изучения им языков, представлена простая математическая модель, которая описывает, как уменьшается время изучения языков из одной генетической группы. Количество часов, которые были потрачены на достижение должного уровня в новом языке в зависимости от числа языков, для которых этот уровень уже был достигнут, описывается обычной экспоненциальной функцией с двумя числовыми параметрами: «начальное время» и «период полураспада». Данные параметры, согласно гипотезам автора, могут служить численными мерами некоторых характеристик, которые трудно оценить иными способами. «Начальное время» может выступать мерой степени близости между полиглотом и изучаемыми языками, в то время как «период полураспада» может рассматриваться как мера степени близости между языками в пределах одной группы. Также рассматриваются три разных способа мониторинга времени изучения языков, используемых разными полиглотами. Эти способы важны для сбора данных в целях проведения исследований ускорения последовательного изучения языков. В конце статьи приводится идеализированный алгоритм такого исследования, и особенное внимание обращается на различные параметры, которые необходимо контролировать, чтобы обеспечить его должное проведение. В данном конкретном исследовании не удалось соблюсти всех этих критериев, поэтому точность и надёжность выводов, полученных на основании одного набора данных, представленных в этой статье, спорны и нуждаются в дополнительном обсуждении в плане их валидности. Помимо этого, необходимо подтверждение справедливости модели другими исследователями и полиглотами.*

Ключевые слова: *полиглот, полиглотия, усвоение языка, ускоренное изучение языков, германские языки, мониторинг времени*

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Introduction

Polyglots frequently experience the phenomenon when they require progressively less time to achieve proficiency in new languages from the same language family. The phenomenon is widely known but, to the best of my ability, I have been unable to find studies that attempt to quantify it. Moreover, this phenomenon lacks a name, so for the purposes of this article I shall refer to it as *successive language learning acceleration* (SLLA).

When talking about the time that it took them to learn a given language, many polyglots use vague terms such as "months" and "years", which are not very informative because the intensity of study or exposure is unknown. By contrast, Alexander Arguelles used to keep a detailed record of the time that he spent on his language activity [1]. This prompted me to create my own record of my language activity using MS Excel spreadsheets that would allow effortless summation of the data for further analysis, which I present here.

In this article, I attempt to give a quantitative description of SLLA and build a simple two-parameter model. My hypothesis is that comparing the parameters of this model obtained from different polyglots can give insight into both the relationship between polyglots and the languages that they learn as well as between the languages of a given language family. I also propose an algorithm for future research aiming to aid those who may wish to continue this endeavour. This algorithm was devised by myself after monitoring my own language studies. Since the data from one individual is insufficient, many more studies are required in order to check the validity of my model and confirm or falsify the hypotheses that I propose.

Methodology

From June 2019 up to the present day, I have been documenting the time I spent on learning and using foreign languages daily, differentiated by language and type of activity. I made use of my own MS Excel spreadsheets to keep this report, and I added up the data covering the last three years. In Table 1, I present the data for Germanic languages. Upon examining this data, I realised that by changing the summation limits I could quantify how much faster I learned new languages from the same language family. This, however, requires a common competence threshold for all of my languages. Unfortunately, since I did not make use of standardised testing for the vast majority of my languages, I do not have any objective measure by which to compare my competence, so I resorted to a more subjective way of comparing my language competence.

	Time frame	Reading	Grammar	Talking	Revision	Listening	Transl.	Sum
Norse/Faroese	03.20-06.22	105	14	12	4	187	1	324
Danish	12.19-06.22	21	1	9	0	334	2	366
Nynorsk	06.19-06.22	103	1	241	4	172	46	566
German	06.19-06.22	156	11	40	2	349	51	609
Old English	09.21-06.22	31	14	0	0	56	1	102
Dutch	01.22-06.22	17	0	0	1	45	0	63
Frisian	01.21-08.21	17	10	0	0	42	0	69
Totals:		450	52	302	12	1185	100	2100

Table 1. The total time spent on Germanic languages by July 1, 2022[1]

In addition to the spreadsheet report, I kept a sporadic and admittedly less detailed record of my impressions from learning and using languages. I made particular note of instances where I would experience great joy from being able to understand a previously unknown written text or an audio recording.

[1] I had studied Nynorsk Norwegian and German prior to starting my record. The additional time spent on Nynorsk is estimated to be 200 hours, and 100 hours on German.

Henceforth I refer to this event as the "Eureka" moment. I believe that this experience roughly corresponds to breaching the A2~B1 level of competence. Knowing the month when I first had a "Eureka" moment with a new language, I would calculate the number of hours spent on this language by that point and correlate that with the number of languages from the same family that I had already studied. In my case, the language group that made the most sense for this investigation were the Germanic languages, as they met the following criteria:

1. I have studied a large enough number of them to make a decent approximation (more than five).
2. I have studied most of them to the point where I have sufficient competence in both speaking and writing.

Data acquisition

There are several ways of keeping track of the data to be used in a study of SLLA. Different polyglots have made use of various spreadsheet designs and time-tracking applications for their personal use. I have learned of some of these approaches and below I shall briefly examine three particular approaches, my own, that of Alexander Arguelles, and Alan Bigulov's one, and discuss the strengths and weaknesses of these three approaches.

I myself made use of my own Excel spreadsheets, which I created in 2019. The initial design was suboptimal in terms of ease of use for the sake of data analysis, so, for the purposes of this article, I will focus on the improved design, which I have been using since April 2022. The current design has two sheets, the "Report" sheet and the "Plans" sheet.

		Latin									
		Reading	Grammar	Talking	Listening	Translation	Total (h)	Notes		Reading	Gramr
Date\Time		10.50	0.00	2.83	11.33	0.00	24.67			13.25	0.0
04.05.2022		10					10				
05.05.2022		10					10				
06.05.2022		10					10				
07.05.2022		10					10			15	
08.05.2022		10					10				
09.05.2022		10					10				
10.05.2022		20		40			60	Latin discussion circle with Arguelles			
11.05.2022		10					10				
12.05.2022		10					10				
13.05.2022		10		10			20	It's nice to be bac		15	
14.05.2022				10			10				
15.05.2022				5			5				
16.05.2022		10					10				
17.05.2022				30	40		70	Latin discussion circle with Arguelles			
18.05.2022		10					10			15	
19.05.2022		10					10				
20.05.2022		10					10				
21.05.2022		10					10				
22.05.2022		10					10				
23.05.2022		10					10				
24.05.2022				20	40		60	Latin discussion circle with Arguelles			

Figure 1. The "Report" sheet of my spreadsheet design[2]

[2] The "Latin" column represents the activity for that language, further subdivided into the following columns: Reading, Grammar, Talking, Listening and Translation. The rows represent the days of a month, in this case, May 2022. The intersections of day and activity represent the amount of time in minutes that I spent on a given activity in a given language on a given day. The spreadsheet formulae are set up to calculate the sum total number of minutes spent on a given language on a given day in the "total" column. The topmost row of numbers is the sum total number of hours spent on a given activity in a given language over the entire time that I have been keeping this record. It is also possible to adjust the summation limits in order to obtain the sum total number of hours spent on a given activity in a given language over an arbitrary period of time. The rightmost column contains the notes where I record any and all pertinent information about my language-learning process, such as the resources that I make use of, and my impressions from using the language.

The “Report” sheet (see Fig. 1) is comprised of large columns, which stand for the different languages that I study. The large columns are further subdivided into smaller columns that represent the activities in a given language. My list of activities usually includes the following:

1. Reading (both intensive and extensive).
2. Grammar study.
3. Talking (spoken and written communication).
4. Revision (any form of grammar-centric exercise).
5. Listening.
6. Translation.

The rows represent days. I write the number of minutes spent on a given activity in a given language on a given day in the cell at the intersection of the respective language activity and day. Next, the formulae in the top section of the column convert the total number of minutes spent on a given activity into the number of hours, and the upper right-hand corner of the column displays the total number of hours spent on that language. Additionally, there is a “Notes” column, which allows me to write any additional information about my study of the language on that day. In particular, I tend to note down the following:

– impressions about my level of comprehension, how well I managed to understand a piece of text that I read, how well I managed to understand a video, and so on;

– the names of books, movies, series, YouTube channels and other types of media that I am currently using for my language studies, and that in turn also allows me to keep track of the resources that I have made use of, so as to be able to recommend them in the future.

I use this sheet to keep a detailed record of my day-to-day activity, and I can adjust the summation limits to get the total number of hours for an arbitrary time frame.

Month	1/1/22						
Language\ Activity	Reading	Grammar	Talking	Pattern Drills	Listening	Translation	Time (app.)
OCS		10					10
Polish					15		15
Slovene	15						15
Norse	10				10		20
Danish					20		20
Norwegian			20				20
German	15				15		30
Old English	13.33		3.33		13.33		30
Dutch	20	10			20		50
Scottish					20		20
Japanese	5			10	15		30
Latin	5		5		10		20
Catalan	15						15
French					20		20
Wildcard							15
Total:	98.33	20	28.33	10	158.33	0	5.5

Figure 2. The “Plans” sheet of my spreadsheet design[3]

The “Plans” sheet (see Fig. 2) is comprised of blocks that represent my plans for a given month of study. The uppermost row lists all of the activities, just like in a column of the “Report” sheet, whereas the leftmost column lists the languages, and in this sheet the cells at the intersections contain the intended amount of time that I wish to spend on a given activity on a given language every day of a given month. I use this sheet to make my monthly plans and to keep track of the time that I spent on my language activity

3 The activities are listed in the uppermost row, the languages in the leftmost column. The cells at the intersections contain the desired amount of time that I wish to spend on a given activity on a given language every day of a given month. In addition to making plans, I also use this sheet to keep track of the time that I spent on my language activity daily.

daily, by writing in the number of minutes spent on a given activity in a given language, before transferring these figures into the “Report” sheet at the end of the day.

This spreadsheet design has the following advantages:

– it is very easy to use and read off of;
– the data is easy to extract as it is presented in the upper section of the spreadsheet;
– it is possible to acquire data for an arbitrary time frame by adjusting the summation limits to cover a desired range;
– it is easy to set up new languages by inserting a number of new columns and copy-pasting the format and the formulae into the new columns;
– likewise it is easy to “quit” a language by simply ignoring the respective column or concealing it using the MS Excel “Hide” functionality;
– it is possible to create graphs to show day-to-day progress, to be able to clearly observe high and low points in terms of the amount of language study;
– it has a convenient place to write notes, which are of utmost importance for future data analysis, as the researcher will be able to clearly observe an inflection point in the polyglot’s understanding of the language and the steps that lead up to that event.

The drawbacks of my spreadsheet design are the following:

– it requires detailed manual input;
– navigating multiple languages is inconvenient owing to the large size of the columns, both in terms of length and breadth.

Overall, this design provides extremely detailed information at the cost of a small amount of time in order to manually record and transfer data daily.

The second design that I wish to highlight is that of Alexander Arguelles himself, who used to keep a spreadsheet for tracking his language progress for a certain period in his life. He graciously shared his spreadsheet with me and gave me permission to showcase it during my talk on the use of spreadsheets for keeping track of time spent on language activity at the Polyglot Gathering Online 2022.

Arguelles’s approach was quite different from mine: instead of keeping track of his daily activity, he chose to track his cumulative hours spent on languages across a select few activities, which certainly makes sense as he wanted to account for a very large number of languages, and having a daily report detailing information on every single language would be too time-consuming. Thus, Arguelles made use of a very simple but effective design: he would time his activity and then manually add that time to the current time in the appropriate cell, which gives the total time that he had spent doing a given activity in a given language. Next, the spreadsheet is set up to calculate the average number of minutes spent daily, based on the number of days that the polyglot had been using the spreadsheet (which is calculated from the starting date and the current date).

The advantages of Alexander Arguelles’s spreadsheet design are the following:

– the design is very simple, easy to use, and requires minimal effort on the part of the user;
– it does not present issues with navigation like my personal design.

Meanwhile, the disadvantages of his design are as follows:

– this kind of report lacks the time dimension – once the data for the day has been entered, it is impossible to tell how much time was spent on a given activity on a given day; instead, the spreadsheet returns an average value for the time spent on a given language activity daily, but this is naturally not indicative of the actual time that was spent on a particular day;
– likewise, it does not allow for the polyglot to keep a daily record of his impressions from learning the language. While it is possible to write down notes in the cells to the right of a language, keeping a detailed daily record is not quite straightforward or easy to implement.

In spite of the aforementioned drawbacks, this design is still viable for the sake of studying SLLA, aside from being generally applicable for the personal use of any polyglot with a large number of languages. In order to use it for the study of SLLA, the polyglot should either take screenshots or make another type of record of his spreadsheets on a day when he felt a significant breakthrough or otherwise achieved a particular goal. Next, this information is passed on to the researcher who will then be able to analyse the amount of hours spent on a given language by the time that a breakthrough occurred and make a plot based on that information in order to analyse the data. This procedure should then be repeated for every single language that the polyglot studies.

Finally, I would like to examine a method for tracking the time spent on language learning devised by the Russian polyglot Alan Bigulov from Vladikavkaz. As part of his self-imposed challenge "10 languages in 1,000 days" [2], [9] he made use of the online time tracking application toggl™. This application allows the user to set up different languages and activities for each language. It then tracks time spent on a given activity in a given language when the user presses the respective button. Detailed information on how to set up this application is available in a video by Bigulov in Russian [3].

His approach has the following advantages:

– it allows one to easily keep track of a multitude of activities in a very ergonomic manner, without taking up a lot of on-screen space;

– the application allows the user to view many different statistics and compare assorted data, permitting for diverse kinds of data analysis.

However, Bigulov's approach has several drawbacks:

– the application is online-only and thus it would be impossible to use it for keeping track of time spent on language activity in locations far removed from Internet access;

– the application requires some knowledge of how to use it and how to adapt it for the use of tracking time spent on language-learning, as the application was initially designed for tracking time in corporate settings.

Alan Bigulov's approach is very efficient and allows for incredible ease and variety in terms of data analysis, but it has a steep learning curve and requires an online connection.

Results

In Table 2, I present the number of languages that I was already competent in prior to starting a new language, the month when I felt like I had crossed the threshold ("Eureka" moment) and the number of hours it took me to get to the tentative A2~B1 threshold in that new language. It must be noted that I had studied both Norwegian Nynorsk and Standard German prior to starting my record, so, in order to include them in the dataset, I attempted to estimate the number of hours that I had previously spent on these two languages by assuming a uniform amount of time spent on those languages monthly and multiplying that number by the number of months that I had spent studying Nynorsk and German, respectively. This does imply that the first two points on the graph (Fig. 3) are not as reliable as the later points, which is something that one needs to keep in mind when analysing the data further.

Language	# known languages	Month of "Eureka" moment	Hours spent on language
Nynorsk	1	11.2019	372
German	2	12.2019	281
Danish	3	10.2020	184
Faroese	4	-	*
Norse	5	11.2021	107
Frisian	6	-	*
Old English	7	12.2021	66
Dutch	8	04.2022	46

Table 2. The time spent on languages up to A2~B1 level

(* see text for an explanation of the controversial status of Faroese and Frisian in my study)

A major complication arose out of the fact that I had studied Faroese in close proximity to Old Norse. Two months after starting my studies of Old Norse, I took up Faroese, which makes it difficult to delineate how much of the time spent on learning Old Norse affected my Faroese learning. I acquired spoken competence in Faroese rather rapidly, in a matter of about 40 hours, but that was preceded by substantial study of Old Norse grammar and I was competent in both Nynorsk and Danish, and the combined effect of these facts made it feel like I learned Faroese "for free", with minimal effort. Since I had a "Eureka" moment with Old Norse much later, I decided to count Faroese as my fifth language, but I did not include it in the dataset, as I acquired it far too quickly due to a confluence of circumstances (akin to acquiring competence in a language closely related to the one studied, as is often the case with Czech and Slovak, Hindi and Urdu, or variants of Serbo-Croatian). In spite of that, I do believe that my learning Faroese contributed to my further understanding of the Germanic languages, which is why I count it as my fifth language instead of simply ignoring it.

A similar issue arose with Frisian: I failed to connect emotionally to the language and gave up on it after eight months (69 hours) of study. I did not experience a "Eureka" moment in that time, so I do not record Frisian as a point in the dataset. Yet, knowledge of Frisian grammar did play a role in my study of Old English, so I still feel that it is necessary to count Frisian as language number seven. This decision, along with the decision to count Faroese as a "known" language without recording it in the dataset, is indeed a point of contention and it makes my data less reliable. However, the data is still worth investigating and discussing, as it may serve to inspire more thorough and rigorous research in a similar vein. The improved algorithm for this research is proposed in one of the subsequent sections.

After compiling the data[4] for the six languages included in my analysis, I made a graph with the number of hours $\boldsymbol{t}$ needed to reach the A2~B1 threshold as a function of the number of known languages $\boldsymbol{n}$. The data is approximated fairly well by an exponential function. The plot and the graph are presented in Fig. 3. The blue diamonds corresponding to the data in Table 2 seem to follow an exponential function, so I used the built-in MS Excel tools to graph out an approximation of the data, represented by the black exponential curve with the parameters $\boldsymbol{t_0}$ **= 481 h** and $\boldsymbol{n_{1/2}}$ **= 2.4.** The accuracy of the approximation is given by the square of the correlation coefficient, $R^2 = 0.99544$. A correlation coefficient equal to one corresponds to a perfect mathematical relationship expressed by the function in question, whereas in practice the correlation coefficient is always less than one. The closer it is to one, the better the approximation [6].

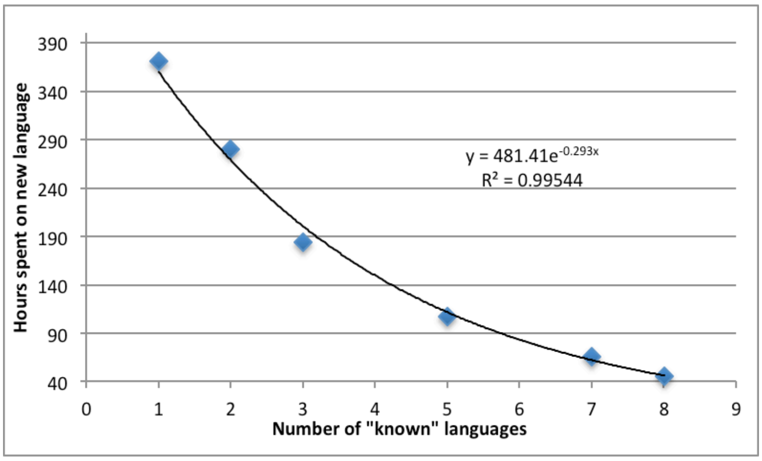

Figure 3. The graph showing the number of hours spent on a new language vs. the number of languages that were already "known" prior to starting on the new language

[4] The author is prepared to share the original data used in this paper upon request.

[5] The blue diamonds represent experimental data, whereas the black curve is the exponential approximation corresponding to the formula in the upper right-hand corner. R^2 is a measure of the accuracy of the approximation, the closer it is to 1, the better the approximation. Values over 0.5 are considered to be sufficiently good.

Analysis

As was mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the two parameters that characterise the exponential function that approximates the experimental data are **t_0 = 481 h** and **$n_{1/2}$ = 2.4.**

The first parameter is the "starting time", the time that it would have hypothetically taken me to reach the A2~B1 threshold in my first Germanic language (i.e. English), assuming I were to learn it under the same conditions as all the other Germanic languages that I have since studied. The second parameter is the "half-life", the number of languages that I need to learn in order to halve the number of hours for my next language. The number is not an integer because it simply describes the data given. In reality, one can never halve the number of hours, as it will instead decrease by a different amount each time. Table 3 gives a summary of the meaning of these parameters and their significance, which is expanded upon below.

Parameter	t_0, "starting time"	$n_{1/2}$, "half-life"
Meaning	The time that it would have taken to learn the first language in a group	The number of languages needed to cut the number of hours for the next language in half
Significance	A measure of propinquity between the learner and the language studied	A measure of propinquity between the languages in a group
Examples	Large value: the learner's native language is more distant from the language learned (native Japanese speaker learning Belarussian). Small value: the learner's native language is closer to the language learned (native Danish speaker learning English)	Large value: the languages in a group are very diverse and have a low degree of mutual intelligibility (Uralic languages). Small value: the languages in a group are very close and have a high degree of mutual intelligibility (Slavic languages)

Table 3. A summary of the hypothesised properties of the two parameters for my exponential model

To test the accuracy of my model, I decided to compare the hypothetical "starting time" to known data about the time needed to achieve B1 in English, which was the first Germanic language that I studied. Sources vary as to the level cited and the number of hours required to achieve a given level, most sources giving a range of values. Several online publications [4], [5], [7] cite the time needed to achieve B1 to be somewhere between 480 and 520 hours, with my hypothetical value of 480 landing on the lower bound of the range. An article from Pearson [10] gives the lower bound needed to achieve B1 in English as 380 hours, and the upper bound as 1,386 hours. The lower bound corresponds to ideal learning conditions, viz. a highly motivated learner, whose first language is not too distant from English. The upper bound corresponds to unfavourable learning conditions, most importantly, poor motivation. While the range is quite large, my predicted value is on the same order of magnitude as the lower bound, which makes sense considering the fact that my learning conditions leaned closer to the "ideal" end.

A paper by Ben Knight from Cambridge University Press [8] states that an adult in a positive learning environment, i.e. with good motivation and with access to good resources and instructors, should get to B1 in English in 420 ± 70 hours. My predicted value of 480 hours falls well within the range, lending credence to my model. In addition, the environment specified in the paper perfectly describes the environment in which I learned all the Germanic languages after English: I was highly motivated, I had good resources and I made use of effective techniques.

Based on these numbers, it seems that my model managed to give an adequate estimate of the time that it would have taken me to achieve B1 in English had I been learning it under the same conditions as the other Germanic languages. However, I believe that the numerical parameters of the model can also provide insights into the relationships between languages of the same group as well as polyglots and their languages.

Proposal for future research

If the learner's native language is genetically close or grammatically similar to the language that they are studying, it will take them a relatively small amount of time to achieve a given competence threshold. If the learner's native language is more distant from the language that they are studying, it will take them considerably longer to achieve the same competence threshold. Thus, the "starting time" is an indicator of the level of propinquity that a learner has for the languages in a language family. For example, as a native speaker of a Slavic language, I should have a relatively small "starting time" for Germanic and Romance languages, whereas my "starting time" for Turkic, Uralic or Japonic languages is probably much higher.

If the languages in a group are similar from the viewpoint of structure and vocabulary, they will have a high degree of mutual intelligibility and it stands to reason that learning a given number of languages in a group will decrease the time needed to acquire a new language from the same group by a considerable amount. Likewise, if the grammar and vocabulary of the different languages in a group are disparate, they will have a low degree of mutual intelligibility and consequently, in order to decrease the number of hours needed to acquire a new language by the same amount, the learner will have to learn a greater number of languages. Thus, the "half-life" should display the level of propinquity and mutual intelligibility between the languages of a given family. A diverse family like Uralic is likely to have a relatively large "half-life", whereas Slavic languages, renowned for their high degree of mutual intelligibility, probably have a very small "half-life".

These hypotheses should be tested further using data from other polyglots. If the data acquired from other polyglots does correspond to an exponential function, we should compare variation in the two parameters to answer the following questions:

– whether the "starting time" is consistent across different learners with similar mother tongues;
– how much the "starting time" differs between native speakers of radically different mother tongues (i.e. speakers of German vs. speakers of Arabic);
– how other aspects may influence the "starting time" for a particular learner (method, materials used, bilingualism, linguistic environment, age when starting the language, etc.);
– if the "half-life" for a given language group is consistent across different learners;
– whether the "half-life" varies with any of the learners' characteristics (mother tongue, method, materials, knowledge of other language groups, etc.) or whether it really is a characteristic of a language group, as I hypothesise;
– whether knowledge of ancient languages from the same group alters the "half-life" in any significant manner;
– whether knowledge of academic linguistics influences the "half-life";
– how the parameters change based on the level that one is trying to achieve (A2 vs. B1 vs. B2; C1 and C2 are too impractical as these levels take far too long to attain).

If the other polyglots' data is not approximated by an exponential function, the researcher should answer the following questions:

– What function best approximates the new data?
– What are the parameters of this function?
– What is the significance of these parameters?
– Is this approximation consistent across different polyglots?
– Do the parameters vary with the polyglots' characteristics (see the paragraph above)?

It would be impossible to check any of the abovementioned correlations accurately, since every individual learner is unique in his learning aptitude and can only learn a language once, meaning that it is impossible to mitigate interference from undesired sources like personal issues, health problems and other unexpected events. However, even such tentative correlations might provide insight into the process of language acquisition and into the relationship between language families.

Having taken into account the problems that arose during my investigation, I formulated the following algorithm for conducting a study of SLLA:

1. The study should be conducted by a tandem of a polyglot and a polyglottery researcher. With due diligence, a polyglot may play the role of the researcher.
2. Decide on the language family (Slavic, Germanic, Romance, Uralic, Turkic, etc.) and the particular languages to be studied (around six to seven, they should be sufficiently distinct, so as to avoid issues with delineating the languages, e.g. the similarities between Hindi and Urdu would make it difficult to draw the line between "having learned Hindi" and "having learned Urdu"; likewise with Czech and Slovak, ideally, only one of a pair of such closely related languages should be studied by a polyglot for the sake of simplifying the division between languages).
3. Decide on the goals that are to be measured: A2, B1, B2 levels; scoring a certain number of points on an oral proficiency test or a reading proficiency test; a certain number of minutes of uninterrupted spontaneous conversation, etc.
4. The polyglot works through every language sequentially, recording the time that he spends on his language activity daily (see Table 1 for an example of a daily report).
5. The polyglot records his experiences with the current language and his impressions of the learning process.
6. The researcher conducts periodic standardised tests of the polyglot's competence, preferably around the time that the polyglot notices considerable breakthroughs.
7. The date when the polyglot either noticed a considerable breakthrough or when a test was taken is recorded.
8. The time needed to reach a considerable breakthrough or to get a successful test result is recorded.
9. After repeating the procedure for each of the six to seven languages, the researcher makes a plot of the number of hours necessary to achieve a given level vs. the number previously known languages.
10. The resulting data is approximated by a function and the results of this approximation are interpreted.
11. The researcher may conduct separate studies for different language competencies: understanding written or spoken text, producing speech, creative writing. Different thresholds will have to be decided upon for each of the competencies.

In conclusion, while my analysis is not devoid of subjectivity, I believe that the proposed research paradigm could provide some useful insights and objective measures for several phenomena of interest.

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THE IMAGE OF A POLYGLOT THROUGH THE EYES OF MGIMO STUDENTS

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Abstract. *This paper presents a sociological study of the features that characterize students' perception of the phenomenon of polyglottery. The study aims to give a clearer description of the qualities, which are, according to students, associated with polyglots. The researchers used the focus group method and projective techniques (free and controlled associations, personalization, personification and object manipulation) in a discussion with actual MGIMO students to provide ground for a sincere, but instrumental talk. As a result, special characteristics were identified that are associated with polyglots in the minds of the students. It was revealed that polyglots are perceived in an exclusively positive light as educated, competent and tactful individuals who are an attractive role model. These associations are largely formed under the influence of the phenomenon of "unconscious polyglottery" due to the fact that multilingual competence is part of everyday life for this social group. MGIMO students have an unconscious habit of perceiving foreign languages not only during the classes but also in a less formal way and, therefore, are uniquely related to polyglottery. MGIMO was chosen as the object of study because of it being mentioned in the Guinness Book of Records as an academic institution with the largest number of languages in the world being taught (53). In addition, a review of existing literature aimed at the sociological study of polyglottery is also presented in the article (in particular, the works by Laia Herlevi and Alexander Arguelles). Analyzed are their goals, results and limitations. These works use a quantitative methodology of sociological research, while the present paper refers to a qualitative strategy, which seems to be particularly effective in examining the phenomenon of polyglots and polyglottery. The immediate perspective of this study is connected with describing sociological and psychological aspects of different foreign languages when selecting one as a study subject.*

Keywords: *polyglottery, qualitative study, sociological study, polyglot, psycholinguistics, focus group discussion*

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ОБРАЗ ПОЛИГЛОТА ГЛАЗАМИ СТУДЕНТОВ МГИМО

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Аннотация. *В настоящей статье представлено социологическое исследование по выявлению особенностей, характеризующих восприятие студентами феномена полиглотии. Целью исследования было дать более чёткое описание тех качеств, которые ассоциируются у студентов с полиглотами. Исследователи использовали метод фокус-группы и проектные техники (свободных и направленных ассоциаций, персонализации, персонификации и манипуляции с предметами) в дискуссии с участием студентов МГИМО для проведения более искренней, но одновременно и инструментальной беседы. В результате были выявлены особые характеристики, которые в сознании студентов ассоциируются с полиглотами. Обнаружено, что полиглоты воспринимаются в исключительно положительном свете как образованные, компетентные и тактичные люди, представляющие собой привлекательную модель для подражания. При этом данные ассоциации во многом сформированы под влиянием феномена «неосознанной полиглотии» – состояния, связанного с тем, что многоязычие является частью повседневной жизни для данной социальной группы. Студенты МГИМО обладают неосознанной привычкой воспринимать иностранные языки не только на занятиях, но и в менее формальной обстановке, поэтому уникальным образом связаны с явлением полиглотии. Данный университет был выбран в качестве объекта исследований из-за его упоминания в «Книге рекордов Гиннеса» как учебного заведения, где преподаётся наибольшее количество языков в мире (53). Кроме того, в статье представлен обзор литературы, посвящённой социологическому изучению полиглотии (в частности работы Л. Херлеви и А. Аргуэльеса). Анализируются их цели, результаты и ограничения. Данные работы используют количественную методику социологических исследований, в то время как настоящая статья относится к качественной стратегии, которая представляется особенно эффективной для изучения феномена полиглотов и полиглотии. Ближайшая перспектива исследования связана с описанием социологических и психологических особенностей восприятия того или иного иностранного языка при выборе его в качестве предмета изучения.*

Ключевые слова: *полиглотия, качественное исследование, социологическое исследование, полиглот, психолингвистика, фокус-групповое исследование*

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Until today, the scientific study of polyglots has been carried out mainly within the framework of psycholinguistics and methodology of teaching foreign languages [3], [10, p. 104–105]. However, in recent years, as the modern polyglot movement develops as a social phenomenon, it becomes necessary to use the methods of sociology and statistics as well.

This paper aims to be introductory as it is the first published qualitative study on polyglottery. This research was presented at the 2nd International Seminar on Linguistics & Polyglot Studies on April 26, 2022, and at the round table *Research on Polyglottery: Theoretical Analysis and Practice* as part of the 20th International Symposium on Psycholinguistics and Communication Theory on May 28, 2022. These two events were devoted to discussing a huge variety of topics about polyglottery: polyglots' cognitive skills, self-monitoring instruments and learning strategies, the hyperintensive method, cognitive metaphors and social perception of polyglottery [4], [8]. The last subject was covered by the study presented in this paper.

Empirical basis of the study

Turning to the present research, it bridges sociological knowledge and the information that is currently known about polyglots. We have chosen qualitative methods, namely the focus group, as it provides a more personal insight into the issue. The focus group was conducted in April 2022 and involved five individuals, who are students of Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO).

As for our choice of the study object, we decided to analyze the perspective of MGIMO students. This was due to the fact that MGIMO University is known for profound language teaching and is mentioned in the *Guinness Book of Records* as the most multilingual educational institution in the world in terms of the number of languages taught (53) [7]. All students study at least two foreign languages, one of which is often English. Many students also have experience of learning other languages apart from their academic studies. So, the probability of finding a polyglot among MGIMO students is higher than in the general population.

Moreover, it is interesting to examine this particular group as polyglots are mixed with ordinary students, thus forming a unique atmosphere of "unconscious polyglottery". It means students and professors of the university are used to the fact that they can run into a person who speaks several languages, which is a common thing. Thus, polyglottery to some degree fits into their ordinary life and students face polyglots on a daily basis. This way, they unconsciously create the image of a polyglot, without even noticing it. That is what we are going to examine in this study: the image the students have while thinking of polyglots.

Review of existing studies

Before conducting our own survey, we reviewed existing sociological research literature. To date, only few sociological studies are known in the sphere of polyglottery. The first of them is **Laia Herlevi's** thesis ***Polyglot Identities*** [2]. Here, identity is understood as the information we associate with ourselves, other people, and things. Each person has his own set of identities (self-identities) that he shares with the world, depending on the context. For example, we present one identity to our friends and family, and another to our professional colleagues. At the root of it all, the cognitive process of identification assigns specific properties, characteristics, and intentions to things and beings we know or come in contact with. Cognitive identities are therefore the most basic cognitive constructs associated with all things that distinguish us, and this is what Laia Herlevi focuses on.

The background of her work is the intensification of transnational interactions through the "accelerated diffusion of information enabled by advancements in communication technologies" [ibid., p. 1]. This recent trend has given rise to various forms of digital media, thus bringing an abundance of languages within our reach. The influence of social networks and other technologies on the personality of a polyglot is ambiguous. While social media has undoubtedly helped raise awareness and recognition of linguistic diversity, it has also had a negative impact on the concept of language purity. For example, social media platforms such as Twitter or Instagram allow for quick and easy communication between native speakers of different languages. This has led to the widespread use of hybrid forms and language mash-ups, which some consider a violation of linguistic purity.

The aim of Herlevi's work is to understand how polyglots – "a compelling socio-cultural phenomenon in the midst of globalization" – "construct their sense of self through linguistic pursuits and practices" [ibid.]. The data for her study consists of two surveys conducted in social media in early 2019. These questionnaires, which included such topics as language learning and usage, identity, belonging, self-image, and values, were distributed through several polyglot groups on Facebook, and gathered input from 58 and 40 respondents respectively. Both questionnaires are treated by Laia Herlevi as a single entity.

The corresponding diagrams are attached below (Fig. 1–3). They show the main socio-demographic characteristics of the sample, as well as the direct attitude of respondents to languages.

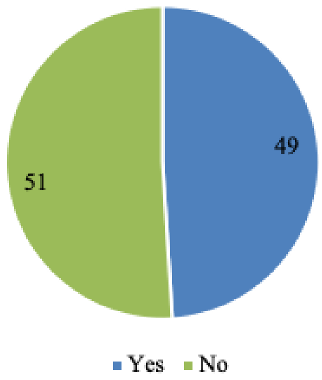

Figure 1. Respondents who work or study in a language-related sphere, %

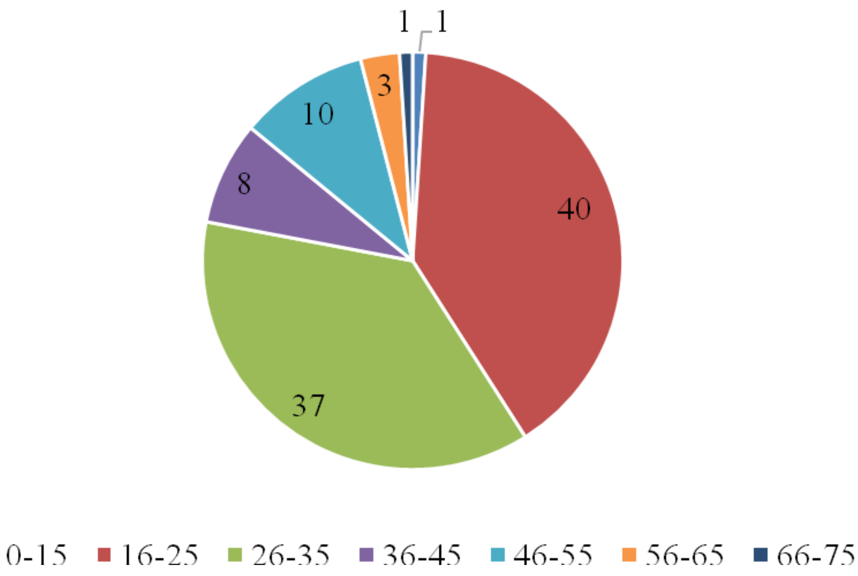

Figure 2. Age group of the respondents, %

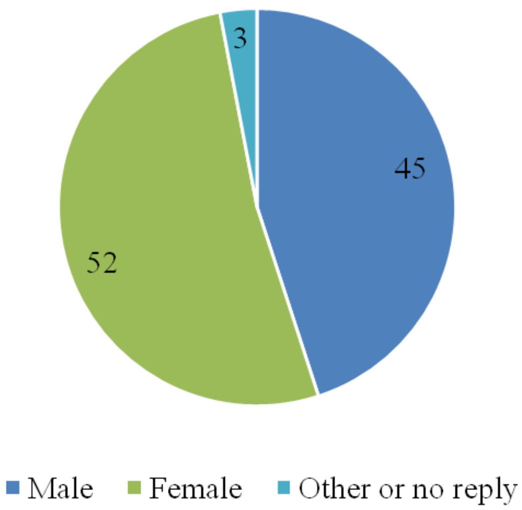

Figure 3. Gender of the respondents, %

Herlevi arrived at an interesting conclusion: the number of languages studied by a polyglot, as well as the regions to which these languages belong, can really influence how polyglots perceive their own "home". It can be argued that the languages studied by polyglots form this very feeling of home. After all, polyglots in the course of learning a language not only encounter new grammatical constructions and unfamiliar words, but also are constantly forced to immerse themselves in a foreign culture. People internalize what used to be "alien" for them, so elements of a previously alien culture move from the zone of the "unknown and incomprehensible" to the zone of the "native and understandable". Thus, the study of foreign languages can be considered as a socio-cultural phenomenon that lays the basis for the formation of a person's identity. Even if it is not the foundation on which a person's identity is built, at least it plays a very significant role in this process, which simply cannot be underestimated.

As for potential limitations of Laia Herlevi's survey, there might be some concerns regarding data validity due to the author's style of interpretation. This is basically one of the reasons why the qualitative strategy is more appropriate in our own study. Herlevi's quantitative research allowed a limited level of validity because of the features used during the analysis. By contrast, in our study we had different requirements in this respect. We needed higher validity as we were focusing on interpretation using qualitative methods. This is essential for the research strategy even in combination with quantitative methods.

Another example of a quantitative study is the paper **"The character traits of polyglots" by Alexander Arguelles**, originally presented at the Polyglot Conference in Ljubljana in 2018 [1]. He conducted a survey aimed at describing the specific characteristics of polyglots. He used a computer programme popular among sociologists, SPSS, which is an effective tool when it comes to quantitative research. The main focus of such surveys is on the process of collecting and analyzing numerical data. So, it presents more generalized information and basically dismisses the individual's story. Briefly speaking, it is more about rules rather than exceptions.

First of all, Arguelles crafted an online survey, which was completed by 640 respondents. As he says, it took 36 minutes for the respondents to answer all the questions. However, he points out that his study is just a starting point. Moreover, due to the peculiarities of the sample, he highlights that it is not a global study, but rather one of the Western civilization.

Arguelles groups all the respondents into three groups, according to the number of languages a person knows:

1) so-called beginning polyglots – ones who study three or fewer languages;
2) intermediate polyglots – who study from four to six languages;
3) advanced polyglots – speaking seven or more languages.

As for the motives for his study, Alexander Arguelles explains that it was the article published in *The New Yorker,* "The mystery of people who speak dozens of languages", that encouraged – or even triggered him. The author of the article claimed that "an extreme language learner has a more-than-random chance of being a gay, left-handed male on the autism spectrum, with an autoimmune disorder, such as asthma or allergies" [12]. Yet, Arguelles points out that the article lacks evidence, so he decided to check whether the statement could possibly be true. He also highlights that the said publication focuses only on provocative possible traits of polyglots. Instead, it could be used for a better purpose – for example, to examine how polyglots can teach ordinary people or what unique traits polyglots have in terms of their self-discipline and learning schedule. However, the article does not take these beneficial traits into consideration.

In order to prove or disprove the above statement, Arguelles proposes to combine five factors mentioned and to see how many of his 640 respondents really have the following traits: gayness, left-handedness, male gender, suffering from autistic disorder and suffering from autoimmune disorder. As a result, none of the respondents had these characteristics all at once.

After that, Arguelles switches to examining the variables one by one. Thus, he finds out what features correlate with polyglot status, that is, what traits can be related to knowledge of numerous foreign languages. It turns out that advanced polyglots (speaking at least seven foreign languages) indeed have some of the traits mentioned, but not all of them. For example, he sees no correlation for left-handedness.

An interesting conclusion about male gender comes next. In North America and Europe, males make up 49% of the population, whereas among the 640 respondents there are 69,4% males – thus, the percentage is notably higher. It is also fair to say that the more languages a polyglot knows or studies, the higher the chance of this person being male. Some 75% of the advanced polyglots examined by Arguelles are male.

Below are other variables, both proven and unproven, examined by Alexander Arguelles (Table 1).

Proven hypotheses	*Unproven hypotheses*
homosexuality	left-handedness
male gender	high-functioning autism
excellent academic record	allergies
high language learning aspirations	asthma
polyglot genes/patterning	negative language experience

Table 1. List of proven or unproven hypotheses

However, Alexander Arguelles is not a professional sociologist, so his study is not flawless, as he points out himself. First of all, though the sample is numerous, its distribution is not ideally representative. It is very hard to reach the perfect ratio between various groups of representatives: between men and women, between different age categories, and between large cities and small towns, etc. Yet, a perfect survey meeting all the scientific requirements should aspire to have a representative sample, which consumes significant amounts of effort, money and time. (Looking ahead, we would like to mention that our own study does not possess such resources, and, thus, we were limited in this respect. On the other hand, our work is an example of qualitative research, where the requirements are looser than they are for quantitative studies, such as those of Arguelles and Herlevi). Moreover, Arguelles admits he was not quite familiar with the people who took part in the survey, so he could not control the dissemination of the online questionnaire. What is more important, many polyglots live in remote areas without stable internet connection or just do not use it, which means they were automatically dismissed by this type of the questionnaire.

Returning to the initial statement published in *The New Yorker,* Arguelles concludes that it would be more accurate to put it as follows: "The more his polyglottery advances, the more an enthusiastic language learner has a more-than-random chance of displaying each of the following three traits: male gender, homosexuality, Asperger's Syndrome" [1, p. 300]. However, according to Arguelles, it would be even better to focus on specific traits that ordinary people can implement in their routine – for example, polyglot's specific schedule or self-discipline – instead of focusing on the scandalous headline. Arguelles wanted to show that society, including major media outlets, often view polyglots in a distorted manner, not taking into consideration the qualities of these individuals that can be developed into a useful habit for the successful study of foreign languages.

Sociological study of the perception of polyglots by MGIMO students

According to the definition used by modern researchers, a polyglot is a person who speaks at least five foreign languages at the functional level as a result of studying them after puberty [11]. However, a vague definition of a polyglot as a person who speaks several foreign languages is more common in the mass consciousness. This factor should be taken into account in further studies of the image of a polyglot. However, as mentioned above, in this particular study, the respondents were already familiar with the language learning environment. This helped us to choose the direction of this study. If even the basic term of polyglottery needs additional explanation, how then is the image of a polyglot formed in the public consciousness? What features should a polyglot have?

In search of answers to these questions, we decided to turn to MGIMO students as representatives of a "transitional" group between ordinary people and polyglots. On the one hand, these are young people who are not directly related to linguistics issues, since MGIMO programs are primarily focused on applied specialties of an international profile, for which foreign languages are a means of professional activity, rather than an object of scientific study. On the other hand, as mentioned above, MGIMO is a multilingual environment with both Russian students, who are studying at least two foreign languages, and foreign students who come to get an academic degree.

MGIMO is an academic institution which is well-known in terms of its language learning traditions. As the university prepares the overwhelming majority of Russian diplomats, who work both within the country and in embassies all over the world, it has the reputation of a fair leader in teaching foreign languages. Students have four or five classes per week of their major foreign language, and two or three classes per week of their second foreign language.

Moreover, starting from the second year, students can choose an additional foreign language for an extra fee. Classes of a third foreign language take place two or three times a week. If a student chooses an Asian language (which is quite common), he is expected to go to longer lengths due to the difficulty of the language, so the university offers three classes per week instead of the ordinary two (for European languages). Overall, students have from six to eleven classes of foreign languages every week.

Languages are, thus, an essential part of the curriculum. However, it is not only about the number of hours spent on classes but also about students' attitude and commitment to study. Almost everyone understands the importance of foreign languages and what benefits they have using them.

MGIMO also provides a choice of opportunities for students' social life. Many students are active participants in various language and discussion clubs. For example, there is a research circle under the management of Grigory Kazakov, which focuses on the study of linguistics and polyglottery. Every foreign language department offers a variety of opportunities for students not only to deepen their learning but also to get into the culture of the target country or region.

Moreover, many of the professors at the university are acting interpreters, translators and employees of international companies. There are also people who used to work as diplomats in foreign embassies or in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They share their experience with students and encourage them to study foreign languages.

Thus, MGIMO students are people who, in a way, feel the influence of foreign languages, which are actively involved in their study, but do not study linguistics structurally and academically. This is also characteristic of polyglots, for most of whom languages are not their profession. In this regard, we develop a hypothesis that students of MGIMO tend to have an image of a polyglot, i.e. a combination of specific traits, which are associated with polyglots. Our study aims to identify these features that characterize the perception of the concept of "polyglot" by MGIMO students by conducting a focus group.

Focus group discussion is a method often used in various spheres of marketing (economic, political, and social). The result of a focus group study should be a decision on how to improve a product or service based on the existing image [9]. Generally, this is a semi-standardized group interview based on a specifically designed scenario. Robert Merton, who is often called the father of focus groups, puts forward the following important conditions for the use of this method:

1. Interviewees must be participants in a certain situation.
2. The situation must be analyzed in advance by a sociologist.
3. Based on this analysis, the researcher must craft an interview plan.
4. The interview focuses on the subjective experiences of individuals about the situation under study [5].

During our survey, these principles were strictly followed. We selected five individuals from among MGIMO students and asked them questions. While conducting a focus group, questions are addressed to all the participants – thus, a group discussion is launched and group dynamics is achieved [6]. It is of utmost importance to prepare the questions in advance. We chose projective techniques: both verbal and nonverbal. Below we list the techniques we used, and then summarize the results.

The first technique is free and controlled associations when participants are asked to say the first thing that comes to their mind when they hear the name of an object or a person. Thus, we asked our respondents: "What do you recall when you hear the word 'polyglot'?" This technique is connected with the psychological basis, which can be interpreted with the help of the *verstehen* approach, i.e. by looking at the phenomenon in question through the eyes of the individual.

The next technique is personalization: the participant is asked to imagine that he or she is the object being discussed – in our case, a polyglot. So, we asked the following questions: "If you were a polyglot, what would you think of yourself? What languages would you be proficient in? What would your job be? What would you do in life?" This is the logical continuation of the usage of the *verstehen* in the first technique. These techniques and concepts cannot be isolated from each other.

Another technique is anthropomorphism or personification: the participants are to "revive" the object in question, to give it a human name and a physical description, to tell about its character, its positive and negative qualities, or, as in our case, vice versa – to compare a real person (for example, a politician) with something "inhuman". We asked the questions: "What colour do you associate a polyglot with? What time of the year? Time of the day? What kind of animal?" This technique allows us to understand respondents in a deeper way. Moreover, it eliminates answers intentionally made up in a socially approved manner, because there are no specific expectations regarding this type of questions. Nevertheless, this technique may yield tangible results and provide the researchers with a different point of view on a particular issue.

We also turned to nonverbal projective techniques, such as interacting with different objects. The respondents were shown photos of different people, both polyglots and people unrelated to polyglottery, and were asked to select photos of people who are more likely to be polyglots, from their point of view. This provided us with a more profound interpretational basis.

Before sharing the results, let us note once again how this study fundamentally differs from the previously known works. The studies mentioned above (the ones by Alexander Arguelles and Laia Herlevi) are examples of quantitative sociological research. These studies are aimed at strict standardization and formalization of the process of collecting and processing information, which makes it possible to obtain accurate data about the target audience, expressed in absolute or relative values. We took a different, less firm path, to organize a qualitative study. This is an informal collection of data using field methods and a non-standardized form of analysis, which allows one to get detailed information about human psychology, values, stance, deep motives of behaviour, as well as details that respondents consciously or unconsciously cannot or do not want to share with the researcher. Consequently, the sample for qualitative studies, due to their high costs (in terms of time, energy and finance), can be smaller than for quantitative ones.

As we have mentioned, five students took part in our focus group. We gathered the interviewees in one of the university classrooms and placed them in a circle. That was not accidental: the entire organization of the discussion should ensure equality of participants, so that everyone has the opportunity and desire to speak out. This is the main principle of conducting a focus group, and the moderator should make sure that all interviewees take equal part in the discussion.

Finally, let us proceed to the results of the focus group. In the course of answering the first question about associations with the word "polyglot", all participants showed unanimity saying that polyglots are intelligent, educated, polite and tactful people. This may be due to the fact that polyglots are constantly associated with images from films and books, where knowledge of several foreign languages at a decent level is constantly attributed to educated and intelligent people, and sometimes even geniuses. The respondents said that polyglots can look at things from another person's perspective thanks to their ability to understand the thoughts and feelings of others. This allows polyglots to easily communicate with others on a personal and professional level.

As for the second question of hypothetical nature ("If you were a polyglot, what would you think of yourself?"), the answers were also identical. Three of the respondents noted that they would travel more, not only to popular tourist places, but also to little-known towns and areas, and would also communicate with the locals using their native language. The other two participants expressed a desire to bond their careers with languages, saying that they would choose the job of an interpreter or a teacher. In addition, all five participants highlighted that knowledge of several languages "broadens the horizons". During the discussion, everyone agreed that knowledge of many foreign languages is freedom: freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of ideas.

Then, the discussion began to develop in the light of the specific languages that the focus group participants would like to know at the functional level. Despite the fact that everyone expressed a desire to "to know as many languages as possible", some were still more specific and clarified that they wanted to study European languages or Asian ones. Thus, the respondents were divided into two groups: the ones who are more attracted to the European languages, and the ones who feel more enthusiastic about the languages of Asia.

The final set of questions was of particular interest for us. These are questions about the colour, animal, time of the year and time of the day that are associated with the image of a polyglot. As for the colours, all the participants in the focus group gave different answers: dark blue, light blue, green, light grey and yellow. However, almost all (four out of five) agreed that the most associable animal for a polyglot is an owl. Such an opinion can be explained by the fact that, in many cultures, a calm and reasonable owl is considered a symbol of wisdom. Therefore, a polyglot is also subconsciously endowed with this quality. Autumn also seems calm – a time of regularity and balance – and all respondents chose autumn out of other seasons when thinking about polyglots. Despite that, the interviewees named different times of the day when sharing their associations. Some said it was the middle of the day, some said it was the deep night – no unanimous answer was revealed.

Conclusions

The focus group we analyzed showed that MGIMO students have a particular idea of what polyglots are. This idea is basically positive. The students think of polyglots as very intelligent and decent people. Everyone noted their diligence, perseverance and the ability to achieve their goals. Becoming a polyglot is a complex and responsible process. It takes a lot of dedication and hard work to be fluent in several languages. However, the advantages of being a polyglot outweigh the difficulties. The influence of social networks and other technologies on the personality of a polyglot is ambiguous.

We can state with a high degree of confidence that MGIMO students perceive polyglots as a social group of educated and highly smart people. Many respondents even said that they would not mind if they were polyglots themselves. Moreover, all the respondents expressed their interest in learning foreign languages as they see many advantages in this. The dissimilarity of opinions within the focus group is clearly manifested in the participants' preferences regarding the languages being studied.

These conclusions are not a surprise given the profile of the university itself. MGIMO, as an institution preparing qualified international specialists, is renowned for its language learning standards. Students not only focus on their majors (such as sociology, international relations, international law, economics, and many others) but also prioritize developing their language capacities. They study two or more foreign languages and are thus integrated into a multilingual atmosphere, which further increases their motivation.

In the future, it might be worth analyzing why a person values a particular language or even a set of languages more and why he or she is less interested in others. Why did he choose these particular languages? What is the reason for this choice? How does a person's identity change while learning different languages? How are intersubjective cognitive perspectives connected with language choice? And what are the factors, which affect the dynamics of language prescription?

It seems that this is a productive way to continue the study of polyglots, which requires the qualitative approach. It is also important to mention the potential power of quantitative methods that can clarify the whole picture in this field. This is especially true if we speak about practical aspects of language knowledge. All this can hopefully be achieved in further research on polyglot perception.

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ON THE STATE OF MULTILINGUALISM AND POLYGLOTTERY IN JAPAN

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Abstract. *In the research done for this article, the matter of multilingualism and polyglottery in modern Japan was addressed and the relationship between these phenomena and how they affect one another is discussed. Before discussing the matter of polyglots in Japan, it was felt to be useful to first examine what or what not a polyglot might be and how that term might differ from the word "multilingual" in the context of Japan, as we can assume that, even if the two terms cover much of the same semantic territory for a Japanese, they are not, as now generally understood, completely alike nor should the terms be considered interchangeable with one another. This matter is addressed in the section on vocabulary definitions. The second section, on factors of language relation, typology and culture, in which Japanese views on language and polyglottery are addressed, deals with the obstacles to becoming a polyglot that Japanese are often facing. It is proposed that the most important obstacle to achieving polyglottery by Japanese is imposed by time; and, for this reason, an overview of the approximate necessary timeframe to learn different languages for an elite cohort of American State Department educated individuals is provided. From this, guesstimates of what would be expected of a similar Japanese cohort in a Japanese context are given. The language policy and language education of Japan are also addressed. In connection with this, a short discussion is made as to why this might also contribute to the scarcity of polyglots in Japan, though it is also maintained that a scarcity of polyglots among people of Japanese ethnicity living in Japan does not necessarily mean that there is an equal level of scarcity of multilinguals, who, if they had learned their languages in different circumstances with more self-awareness, would be considered as polyglots.*

Keywords: *polyglot, polyglottery, multilingual, multilingualism, language education, language policy, Japan*

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О СОСТОЯНИИ МУЛЬТИЛИНГВИЗМА И ПОЛИГЛОТИИ В ЯПОНИИ

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Аннотация. *В исследовании, проведённом для данной статьи, рассматривается проблема мультилингвизма и полиглотии в современной Японии, а также обсуждается взаимосвязь между этими явлениями и то, как они влияют друг на друга. Прежде чем рассмотреть вопрос о полиглотах в Японии, представилось целесообразным сначала проанализировать, кем может быть полиглот, а кем нет, и чем этот термин может отличаться от слова «мультилингв» в контексте Японии, поскольку можно предположить, что, даже если для японца два этих термина охватывают во многом одну и ту же семантическую область, они не являются, как сейчас принято понимать, полностью равнозначными и их не следует считать взаимозаменяемыми. Этот вопрос рассматривается в разделе, посвящённом словарным определениям. Во втором разделе, посвящённом факторам языкового родства, типологии и культуры и рассматривающим взгляды японцев на язык и многоязычие, анализируются препятствия на пути к полиглотии, с которыми часто сталкиваются жители Японии. Предполагается, что наиболее важным препятствием для достижения японцами полиглотии является время. По этой причине приводится обзор приблизительных сроков, необходимых для изучения различных языков элитной группой лиц, получивших образование в Институте зарубежной службы Государственного департамента США. Исходя из этого, выдвигаются предположения о том, чего можно было бы ожидать от аналогичной японской группы в японском контексте. Также рассматриваются языковая политика и языковое образование Японии. В связи с этим предпринимается краткий анализ того, почему данные факторы также могут быть причиной малочисленности полиглотов в Японии, хотя утверждается также, что малое количество полиглотов среди лиц японской национальности, проживающих в Японии, не обязательно означает, что столь же редко встречаются мультилингвы, которые считались бы полиглотами, если бы изучали знакомые им языки в других обстоятельствах и с большим самосознанием.*

Ключевые слова: *полиглот, полиглотия, мультилингв, мультилингвизм, языковое образование, языковая политика, Япония*

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Introduction

Japan existed in a state of self-imposed isolation from 1639 to 1854, a time in which physical isolation meant internal and external peace, the longest possibly to that time in human history, combined with vibrant cultural development, and did not mean intellectual isolation. Through the maintenance of limited trade relations with the outside world through a Dutch trading post in Kyushu and through its dominance of the kingdom of the Ryukyu Islands, Japanese intellectuals and Japanese government officials kept up with events in the outside world and with important scientific and technological developments. Nevertheless, Japan entered the community of nations in 1854 without having had a need for any significant number of its citizens to have even bilingual ability and, though such individuals were not completely absent, Japan was woefully lacking in human resources of this nature when it found itself suddenly faced with a host of aggressive Western powers. Over the 168 years since Japan's opening up to the West, the number of Japanese who have become bilingual for professional purposes and, to a lesser extent, for the more general purpose of pure intellectual pleasure, has massively increased. However, the number of polyglots has not seen an equal rise, even though claims have been made that polyglottery and polyglot studies have the potential for producing many practical benefits to both academia and to society in general [16, p. 87–88].

Vocabulary definitions

The first term whose definition is to be considered here is *multilingual*. Although the word has a particular set of connotations among polyglots [6, p. 135], it would seem more appropriate for this paper to review the term in a more basic manner as it would be understood by Japanese. One way to define the term could be by the number of languages a language speaker is fluent in, and whether that person is using or not using them in daily life. Conceivably, because *multilingual* consists of two roots with one being *multi-* and the other *-lingual,* this might be understood as causing the resulting word to have the meaning of multiple languages and it could be argued among Japanese that this term could indicate familiarity with as few as two languages. This is reinforced by the fact that the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary gives *two or more* as a second meaning of the word root *multi-*. Nevertheless, the first meaning is, *three or more* and, as the word *bilingual* is in common use as a loan word in Japan, familiarity with just two languages would hardly come to mind in a discussion where the term *multilingual* might be used. Thus, a person would be safe in assuming that, with regard to *multilingual*, familiarity with three or more languages is the default definition. This is further reinforced by the definition of *multilingual* being given in the Cambridge Online Dictionary [13] as *able to use more than two languages for communication, or (of a thing) written or spoken in more than two different languages.* What is, however, of greater significance when this term is used as a descriptive term in linguistics is that neither the age nor the manner of language acquisition is touched upon when it is used as a loan word in Japanese. Thus, it lends itself for use as a general term that can be applied to anyone who can communicate in more than two languages, no matter how young or how lacking in language learning intent the person is.

On the other hand, *polyglot* does not normally appear as a loan word in Japanese. So, doing what an educated Japanese would probably do if he or she encountered the word for the first time, we would go online and look at the English definition for the word root *poly-* of *polyglot* that is given in the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary [15]. Then we will see the terms *many, several, much* or, somewhat interestingly, *multi-* being used to define the term, thus implying that the word roots *multi-* and *poly-* are potentially synonymous and, with regard to certain scientific vocabulary, this would sometimes appear to be the case where *poly-* takes on the meaning of *two or more.* Confused, an enterprising Japanese student of language might seek out academic literature about polyglottery and would soon enough come to know that polyglots are people who are supposed to know many languages but, depending on the Japanese student making the inquiry, even familiarity with only three languages could be felt as being many languages and qualifying one as a polyglot. And, full fluency in four languages would probably suffice for most Japanese to consider themselves as being "real" polyglots, as one would be hard-pressed to find many individuals possess fluency in even three foreign languages, let alone four or more. And, even if we accept (and there is no reason not to) what seems to be the general consensus of polyglots that *polyglot* refers to mature learners of many foreign languages who are doing so because they want to rather than because they necessarily have to, we would nevertheless still see that the overall semantic borders of the lexical items *multilingual* and *polyglot* are perhaps somewhat fuzzier for Japanese than they would be for native speakers of European languages.

Moreover, we also face a potential problem in how to classify individuals who, out of socio-economic necessity, have made a decision to become fluent in four or more languages as young adults but who have never identified themselves in terms of being a polyglot. Particularly, in parts of Africa and South Asia, such individuals are far from rare and often not particularly well educated in terms of schooling, though many would have learned their foreign languages of their own will as adults. Should such individuals, who might not even be aware of the term *polyglot*, be considered as such, if they know a certain predetermined number of languages that they made a conscious decision to learn? If self-identification is an important factor in deciding whether one can be considered a polyglot or not, then the answer would obviously be "no". However, can we always be that categorical? At the micro-level, the situation varies according to the person and rather than assigning hard and fast, black and white, clear cut categories at this level, we can, with not much effort, imagine individuals existing that one would have difficulty putting into one category or another.

We can also imagine the intrusion of differing political and cultural perspectives into discussions of this nature. We can see that in history oftentimes ethnic groups who get colonized or otherwise absorbed into a larger metropolitan sphere of economic influence end up not only adopting the colonizing economy's language but also the languages of competitively powerful economic regions. Moreover, this is often a conscious choice made by adults for themselves as well as for their children, while the metropolitan economic and/or political power remains almost completely monolingual as has been the case of the United States and its linguistic relationship with its many client states throughout the world since the end of the 19th century. It would not be unreasonable to assume that the range of meaning associated with the term *polyglot* might thus be seen and felt differently according to where one might have had the accident of being raised in and to which cultural group one belongs to. In the end, though, this would seem to be a matter to settle on the basis of further discussion, namely in and between polyglot communities, where sources of data about polyglottery are most abundantly produced [7, p. 8290–8291].

Factors of language relation, typology and culture

Another way of looking at who might or who might not be a polyglot could be according to the number of language families that are represented by the languages one has fluency in. In such a case, a speaker of Arabic, Chinese, English and Japanese (languages each of which belongs to a separate language family) might be considered as being more of a "true" polyglot in terms of time and diligence expended in acquiring language fluency than a speaker of Portuguese, Galician, Spanish, Catalonian, Provencal, French, Romansch, Italian, and Romanian, where all nine languages belong to the same Romance language branch of the Indo-European language family and are, accordingly, very closely related to one another. Both would probably be recognized as a polyglot, but depending on interpretation there is space for arguing which is the truer polyglot.

Yet another concept that especially needs to be considered when discussing how Japanese tend to view language (and, thus, polyglottery) is that of homogeneity, since according to common knowledge and empiric experience, Japanese widely describe themselves as being a homogenous nation, both in terms of population and in terms of language. And, on the surface, this appears to be largely true. It can be said with assurance that a majority of Japanese do not feel comfortable or capable of speaking any other language than Japanese [2], though almost every Japanese person one will come across has been exposed to English as a part of the compulsory education system of Japan, and as a part of the Japanese language itself, which has both adopted and adapted many loan words from Chinese and English and, to a lesser extent, from other languages. But, in fact, those Japanese a person does come across who are willing to speak, or at least try to speak a foreign language, ordinarily speak only English. This brings us to the problem this paper wishes to examine and, begging the question of why, demands an examination of the possible factors involved in this commonly appearing linguistic phenomenon.

One important reason would most certainly be linguistic "distance" due to the greatness of the degree to which linguistic differences separate Japanese and English. Firstly, it is of enormous importance that every phoneme differs in production to a greater or lesser degree in the two languages, even among those phonemes that are perceived as being similar to each other when listened to by an untrained ear. Moreover, modes of articulation are radically different, with pitch being characteristic of Japanese and rhythm being of particular importance to English, though neither is pitch completely foreign to English nor rhythm unheard of to Japanese. Nevertheless, the sound processing by Japanese, due to the phonological characteristics of their language, is always more polysyllabic than is the case of English speakers who tend to process language across the board in more monosyllabic terms than Japanese do. This leads words in both Japanese and English to being perceived by a Japanese as significantly more polysyllabic than they are when listened to by a native speaker of English [10].

Furthermore, even in the simplest of sentences, word order is almost always different, usually greatly so. Likewise, grammar does not function in even a remotely similar way. This, in turn, has led to the development of a disjunction in the cross-lingual explication of the Japanese grammar. The Japanese explain English grammar in rather much the same way as it would be explained in an English language class designed for native speakers of English. Moreover, in teaching Japanese to non-native speakers, the Japanese tend to make considerable use of this essentially foreign system of explication. However, for the Japanese themselves, when they study the grammar of their own language in the context of their own language, they often make use of concepts they have come up with themselves over the centuries to better describe how they feel their language functions. Thus, not only are there two very different grammatical systems to cope with when a Japanese learns English in Japan, but care needs to be taken to avoid cross-interference between two very different systems of grammar description used to explain language processes. This can only add to the intellectual effort the average Japanese needs when trying to learn English and, it may be presumed, other foreign languages as well. Despite this difficulty, oftentimes, Japanese who study abroad acquire language ability more quickly and effectively than those studying in Japan, thus indicating that cross-interference of differing descriptive systems of grammar tends to be more of a problem for the Japanese learners of foreign languages inside of Japan than for those who are outside the country.

Then there is an obstacle to becoming a polyglot that is non-linguistic in nature. There is an engrained element of Japanese culture in the attitude people take to the mastery of a skill. To be recognized as having mastered a skill of whatever nature, a person is expected to show an extreme attention to detail in addition to execution. If either is missing, a person will not be considered as having mastered the said skill. Unlike other skills such as poetry, flower arranging, painting, cooking, judo, however, the number of details faced in learning English (or any other foreign language) can easily become overwhelming to a conscientiously detail-oriented Japanese with little or no exposure to any other culture than his or her own. The thought of trying to master an equal number of detailed rules and exceptions to the rules with regard to yet another language than English is usually more than enough to stop an ordinary Japanese from even taking the first steps in attempting to learn a second foreign language. And, for such individuals, a third or fourth foreign language would, from the beginning, be seen as inconceivable. In Japanese culture it is more desirable and brings one more respect to be an acknowledged master of a single skill, than seen as a jack of all skills.

Time factor

In addition to the preceding obstacles, for Japanese there is also an important obstacle imposed by time. If we were to measure the achievement of fluency in terms of time, then there are many estimates available, including one by the Cambridge University Press which gives the impression of underestimating the hours of study that would be needed for those making use of a good textbook and, so, seems to have been written with an eye to encouraging those responsible for choosing classroom textbooks to take a look at the textbooks published by this particular publisher [11]. At any rate, all that is available to us is merely a best guess, and that is to extrapolate to Japanese conditions from research done by the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) of the Department of State of the United States about the amount of time needed to learn a target foreign language at the FSI for the elite, highly educated, cohort of individuals employed by the American State Department and other associated agencies of government who, by definition, possess a pressing need for reaching a certain level of mastery, though not necessarily full fluency, in the language they are being paid to study. As the FSI puts it on its official website, its *"...language learning timelines reflect 70 years of experience in teaching languages to U.S. diplomats, and illustrate the time usually required for a student to reach 'Professional Working Proficiency' in the language, or a score of 'Speaking-3/Reading-3'* *on the Interagency Language Roundtable scale. These timelines are based on what FSI has observed as the average length of time for a student to achieve proficiency, though the actual time can vary based on a number of factors, including the language learner's natural ability, prior linguistic experience, and time spent in the classroom*" [1].

Languages are divided by the FSI into four categories with those languages taking the least time being Category I and those which take the most time being Category IV. These categories of language will be shown in tables below under the names of Category I, Category II, Category III and Category IV languages. The differences are calculated in terms of weeks of classroom time needed, with each week, regardless of the category, consisting of 25 hours of classroom time [1]. As study time outside of the classroom was not included in FSI figure, when calculating the actual amount of language learning time needed, it was assumed that for every hour of classroom time, one and half hours of study outside of the classroom would be necessary to achieve FSI objectives. Thus, Category I languages were estimated as taking either 24 or 30 weeks of classroom time, so the actual amount of time needed to achieve functional mastery of this category of languages was estimated as either 24 weeks x 25 hours + 24 weeks x 37.5 hours = 1,500 hours of language learning time or as 30 weeks x 25 hours + 30 weeks x 37.5 hours = 1,850 hours. Category II languages took 36 weeks x 25 hours + 25 weeks x 37.5 hours = 2,250 hours of language learning time. Category III languages took 44 weeks x 25 hours + 44 weeks x 37.5 hours = 2,750 hours of language learning time. Category IV languages took twice as much time as Category III languages, thus requiring a total of 5,500 hours of language learning to acquire professional proficiency in them.

It should be reiterated that the above-mentioned figures are just estimates although there is anecdotal evidence that the hours listed below are not necessarily wide off the mark for a speaker of a European language [12]. Working backward from these estimates to guesstimate Japanese performance time must necessarily add an extra layer of uncertainty to the conclusions given. Nevertheless, the resulting guesstimates for student cohorts in Japan similar to FSI students are at this time the best that can be offered and are unlikely to be far off from what a better designed study would be expected to produce in terms of properly validated estimates. With these caveats in mind, let us look at the FSI tables for this elite group of native English speakers who study their target language through the various FSI language programs they participate in as adjusted to reflect total estimated study time, both inside and outside of class (Tables 1–4).

Danish (1,500 hours)	Dutch (1,500 hours)	French (1,875 hours)
Italian (1,500 hours)	Norwegian (1,500 hours)	Portuguese (1,500 hours)
Romanian (1,500 hours)	Spanish (1,500 hours)	Swedish (1,500 hours)

Table 1. Category I languages

German (2,250 hours)	Haitian Creole (2,250 hours)	Indonesian (2,250 hours)
Malay (2,250 hours)	Swahili (2,250 hours)	

Table 2. Category II languages

Albanian (2,750 hours)	Amharic (2,750 hours)	Armenian (2,750 hours)
Azerbaijani (2,750 hours)	Bengali (2,750 hours)	Bulgarian (2,750 hours)
Burmese (2,750 hours)	Czech (2,750 hours)	Dari (2,750 hours)
Estonian (2,750 hours)	Farsi (2,750 hours)	Finnish (2,750 hours)
Georgian (2,750 hours)	Greek (2,750 hours)	Hebrew (2,750 hours)
Hindi (2,750 hours)	Hungarian (2,750 hours)	Icelandic (2,750 hours)
Kazakh (2,750 hours)	Khmer (2,750 hours)	Kurdish (2,750 hours)
Kyrgyz (2,750 hours)	Lao (2,750 hours)	Latvian (2,750 hours)
Lithuanian (2,750 hours)	Macedonian (2,750 hours)	Mongolian (2,750 hours)
Nepali (2,750 hours)	Polish (2,750 hours)	Russian (2,750 hours)
Serbo-Croatian (2,750 hours)	Sinhala (2,750 hours)	Slovak (2,750 hours)

Slovenian (2,750 hours)	Somali (2,750 hours)	Tagalog (2,750 hours)
Tajik (2,750 hours)	Tamil (2,750 hours)	Telugu (2,750 hours)
Thai (2,750 hours)	Tibetan (2,750 hours)	Turkish (2,750 hours)
Turkmen (2,750 hours)	Ukrainian (2,750 hours)	Urdu (2,750 hours)
Uzbek (2,750 hours)	Vietnamese (2,750 hours)	

Table 3. Category III languages

Arabic (5,500 hours)	Cantonese (5,500 hours)	Mandarin (5,500 hours)
Japanese (5,500 hours)	Korean (5,500 hours)	

Table 4. Category IV languages

The conclusions from the above tables coincide with commonsense. Standard English as it developed in the Oxford-Cambridge-London triangle, originally was, in essence, a West Frisian/Norman French creole with fewer grammatical endings in use than either of its parent languages [9]. Thus, native speakers of English have trouble with processing properly the grammatical endings, word orders and pronunciation systems of even historically closely related languages such as French and, more so, German as opposed to languages such as Spanish, Italian or Dutch which more closely structurally resemble English. We can also see that, no matter whether the language family is Indo-European or not, languages making use of different alphabets pose even more processing problems, while the most difficult are those whose writing systems do not correspond with alphabetic writing as understood by native English speakers, as in the case of Arabic, which though alphabetic, in principle, dispenses with the writing of vowels. Korean, on the other hand, uses what is essentially a native Korean alphabet to create syllables that mimic Chinese characters in the way in which the letters of this alphabet are combined to give off an appearance of resembling the Chinese writing system. Then there is Chinese, whose writing system is ideographic with around 5,000 characters in common use. And, finally, we have Japanese where the writing system is a mix of two native syllabaries and approximately 2,000 Chinese ideographs which are often subject to being read with multiple readings and which, to a large degree, are no longer written in the same way as Chinese was or is. And, in addition to all this we have many built in hindrances to the acquisition of Japanese among, not only speakers of English, but among speakers of other European languages, as well [4, p. 123].

However, looking at language learning from a Japanese perspective, the above tables must be interpreted in a very different manner, especially as for purposes of trade and politics, Mandarin Chinese and American English are the two most important languages to learn. Both of these languages, if we use FSI categories, would be Category IV languages for Japanese, whereas Korean, due to many underlying similarities in word order, grammar and vocabulary, would probably be a Category III for a Japanese. However, for political and economic reasons, Korean as a language is of far less importance to Japan. Chinese, for economic reasons, should rank first, but politics trumps economics, and the fact that, in addition to America being a large trade partner, it is also an occupying force with many troops stationed at military bases in Japan, makes Japan its most important client state. As long as this situation continues, Japan will have no choice but to put American interests and English language learning first. But Category IV applies to not only English and Chinese: it would also apply to every other language in the above list, with the possible exception of Korean.

Of course, if one has already learned a foreign language, then learning a second related foreign language is much easier and this has been confirmed by many polyglots [8]. However, a Japanese having learned English well would still have to expect that learning French as a second foreign language, for instance, would still take at least as much time as it would for a native speaker of English learning French as a first foreign language. It would only be after having learned French language, if a Japanese person chose to learn a third foreign language that was yet another Romance language, that significantly shorter learning time could be expected.

Thus, if one can assume that the time it would take a native speaker of Japanese 5,500 hours to learn English to a point where professional proficiency would be expected, then we could still expect that it would take another 1,875 hours for a Japanese to learn French. If Spanish were the third language, the time needed for learning it by a Japanese would surely be significantly lower but, due to a greater lack of cultural familiarity, perhaps not to the extent it would be for a native English speaker or, for that matter, a native Russian speaker, who has the advantage of being able to learn two languages belonging to the same Indo-European language family and having a relatively larger store of common vocabulary to draw upon. Thus, if a polyglot is defined as someone who speaks four or more languages, then becoming a polyglot for a native speaker of Japanese learning any combination of FSI languages listed above could quite possibly be a greater effort than it would be for a native speaker of English to become proficient in all of the above listed FSI Category I languages.

Moreover, though admittedly merely a best guess, becoming fluent in this one language, English, could be expected for a native speaker of Japanese to require roughly the same time and effort a native speaker of English would require to become fluent in French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese. If we accepted a fluent speaker who made a conscious decision as an adult to learn the before-mentioned Indo-European languages (English, French, German and Spanish) as possessing the bare minimum linguistic competence to be considered a polyglot, might we not then consider a Japanese with full competence in English as also being at least an entry-level polyglot, due to the fact that roughly the same amount of linguistic training in terms of time would have been expended in each case? Falling back on the normal understanding of what polyglot should mean as a word, there would probably also be a reluctance not only by a speaker of four or more Indo-European languages to recognize a fluent speaker of two foreign languages as a polyglot, but also by the bilingual speaker of Japanese, himself or herself, to do so. Likewise, there might even be a reluctance to recognize as true polyglots those who are proficient in the bare minimum of four languages with each belonging to a separate language family and possessing uniquely conceived writing systems (with English, Japanese, Chinese, the Mongolian of Inner Mongolia, and Arabic coming to mind) as being a polyglot, though the time spent in achieving a trilingual proficiency in any combination of the just mentioned languages might very well be more than that of many polyglots speaking the right combination of as many as 10 or more closely related languages. So, if time were considered as a factor in determining who should be considered as a polyglot, then we potentially bring back into the open the discussion of what polyglot should mean as a term. At the very least, understanding that the amount of time needed to learn a target foreign language can play an important role in deciding whether or not to make the effort to become a polyglot, will go far toward understanding why so few Japanese make the effort.

In any case, Japanese who are bilingual in English would never consider themselves as being polyglots, no matter how much time they may have spent learning English; but remembering the difficulty with which they became bilingual, they would generally not want to make the effort to become trilingual unless it were a matter of business necessity as is the case with the occasional businessman, who, in addition to English, becomes proficient in Chinese. And, in fact, there is much anecdotal evidence that, even those who claim to like learning languages, only intend to make the minimal effort to skim the surface of language learning and do not usually expect to become fully fluent in even a third language, much less a fourth, probably because so many approach foreign languages with the idea that it will never get easier and so a self-concocted prophecy becomes self-fulfilling. Thus, they tend to assume that learning a second and third foreign language would represent just as much difficulty as learning a first foreign language and this might very well be right, depending on the language chosen. A superficial examination of Japan might, accordingly, bring one to the conclusion that the self-perception necessary for producing polyglots seems to be lacking in this country.

Language policy and language education

If we look beneath the surface, however, the number of individuals in Japan who are more than merely bilingual is rather more than what might first seem to be the case when viewing the situation superficially. This, however, would partly depend on one's political linguistic stance. If one can accept the various indigenous language variants found on the Ryukyu Islands as being separate languages rather than merely dialects of Japanese, then, perhaps, we might consider almost all of the speakers of these Ryukyuan languages as being bilingual in their mother tongues and Japanese due to the fact that standard Japanese has long been used in the educational system. Furthermore, due to the large concentration of American military installations in Okinawa, which is the main island of the Ryukyu Archipelago, and because these installations take up the largest percentage of land area of any Japanese prefecture, a respectable percentage of indigenous Okinawans, as compared with Japanese who have their origin in other parts of Japan, could, through work at and trade with these installations, be expected to be trilingual in Okinawan, Japanese, and English. However, even trilinguals would not normally be considered polyglots, whether by people who self-identify as polyglots or by these individuals themselves, as formal study would have played only a small role, if any, in the linguistic development of most of them. Rather, extensive use of code-switching and other techniques characteristic of receptive multilingualism will have played a far larger role in their progress [10, p. 63]. And, more importantly, for socio-political reasons, most Japanese would not categorize such individuals as even being trilingual, since Japanese having their origin in the four main islands have been unconsciously influenced by socio-political factors in such a way that they would consider a Ryukyuan language as being no more than a dialect of standard Japanese. Whether or not Ryukyuan languages are dialects of Japanese is still being debated, even though classifying them as languages has become prevalent in western academic writing. According to ordinary Japanese thinking, the individuals mentioned before would, thus, be considered as being merely bilingual – an opinion given here which is based on conversation with many Japanese, but, not being collected as a survey and broken down statistically, is anecdotal in nature.

From an educational viewpoint, in Japan opportunities for multilingual education are few and far between at any level, being close to non-existent. The Japanese education law covering the compulsory education level, though establishing bilingual proficiency as a desired goal, does not establish the requirement of educational practice that would make success a likely matter. Interestingly, the second language in which bilingual proficiency through education is legally required is not named though it is universally understood to be English. That could be explained by, among other reasons, the long occupation by American forces of Okinawa, the further location of American military bases in many other prefectures of Japan, and the strong trade ties between the two countries. Nevertheless, legal opaqueness, while not encouraging bilingual education in languages other than English or multilingual education in languages that may or may not include English, does not go so far as to prohibit the provision of non-English-language foreign language programs or even of multilingual education programs at the compulsory education level. However, where it exists at the compulsory education level, bilingual and multilingual education tends to exist for the purpose of meeting the needs of the expatriate community, for whom there are a small number of schools catering in a large part to the needs of the various nationalities found in that community and for those Japanese parents who see a potential benefit for their children in acquiring full fluency in such languages. Ordinarily, these schools cater to the needs of the managerial class, and this would seem to be the pattern of the schools where the medium of instruction is a European language.

However, there are exceptions. Schools using Korean and Chinese languages tend to cater to the needs of individuals from families domiciled in Japan sometimes for several generations, but who wish to preserve a sense of unique ethnic identity. Education for Nepalese children, on the other hand, tends to focus on a somewhat lower income market and tends to have three goals, namely: teaching Nepali in order to maintain a connection with the home country to which many parents hope one day to be able to retire; teaching Japanese in order to make it possible, if the family decides to stay in Japan, for children to have more opportunities locally than their parents did; and learning English to provide for the possibility of future careers in countries other than Nepal or Japan. There is, however, no provision for Nepalese children learning the original language of their parents should their parents come from a minority language ethnic group, though minority ethnic language groups, when taken together, still make up a majority of the population of Nepal [14]. The example of Nepalese is given for the sake of comparison, because this example shows how the part of the population of the countries that are looking for better economic opportunities abroad tend to be multilingual, even if they are not from the former colonial countries.

Going back to the native Japanese students, at the tertiary education level and in an environment where even bilingual educational programs (almost always English and Japanese) are rarely successful in achieving stated goals, multilingual educational programs are very few, indeed. In fact, there is only one program that comes to mind and that is at Daito Bunka University, where a Dual European Language Program exists at the English Language Department of the Faculty of Foreign Languages of that university with the aim of making students trilingual. In this program, in addition to the mother language, Japanese, students are expected to become comfortable using English plus either German or French. Though the numbers are not great, there are a small number each year who do achieve a reasonable fluency in English as well as in German or French. However, not being a goal of the program and with no curriculum designed to promote such an education, no Japanese student entering the dual language European language program has yet graduated from this program with fluency in both French and German in addition to English. While this program is an important step in the direction of achieving more widespread multilingualism in Japan, it still leaves much to be desired and improved upon.

Even in the case of the teaching staff at Japanese universities, the number of staff who are trilingual is few and far between; and, though statistics on this matter would be desirable to have, it would require a major effort to collect the data, making it inconceivable to think of it as happening. In actual fact, the numbers are perceived of as being so few, that one is forced to rely on evidence that is necessarily anecdotal in nature. Thus, as anecdotal evidence of what one might expect with regard to the teaching staff of Japanese universities, the case of the faculties of literature and languages of the before-mentioned Daito Bunka University, a medium sized and medium ranking private university of approximately 10,000 students in Tokyo, will be considered. The reason for this is because this is the Japanese university of which the writer of this paper is the most familiar, having been a doctor's program student there for the last six years. At the two just mentioned faculties, there is at present only one member of the teaching staff of Japanese ethnicity who, in the whole history of these two faculties, has exhibited full fluency in four languages, being Japanese, Chinese, English and French, though there have been others with what would be best described as reading knowledge. Among the graduate students of this university, however, one could find in pre-pandemic times a somewhat larger number of students who could, depending on the definition, be considered as polyglots.

If one is prepared to accept a polyglot in Japan as being someone proficient at a professional level in four or more languages, then there have been various students who would meet this definition. For instance, the doctor's program of the English Division of the Graduate School of Foreign Languages of Daito Bunka University had two students who were Chinese citizens of Mongolian ethnicity who were fully fluent in Mongolian, Chinese, Japanese and English. Likewise, the doctor's and master's programs in pre-pandemic times traditionally took numerous students from Nepal, a country with many ethno-linguistic minorities. Ethnic minority Nepali students in the English Division of the Graduate School of Foreign Languages of Daito Bunka University who had not lost the ability to speak the mother tongue of their ethnic minority group, also universally spoke the national language, Nepali (a language learned at school), as well as Hindi (a language usually learned by watching Hindi language movies and television programs), Japanese, and English. The appearance of such students, however, has become progressively scarcer due to the unintended side effects of many government and university policies put in place during the pandemic that have had a negative effect on the number of foreign students. For what it is worth, although there have been many bilingual students of Japanese nationality at the above-mentioned university and a certain small number of trilingual students of Japanese nationality, there seems to have so far been no student of Japanese nationality conversant in four or more languages since the establishment of the university as an educational institution 100 years ago, as far as available institutional memory would suggest.

Conclusion

All this information and analysis does not go so far as to allow one to be fully conclusive in what one writes, but rather begs for a more thorough investigation as to why there has been a scarcity of polyglots among people living in Japan of Japanese ethnicity and why this continues to be the case, since, especially in the developing world, individuals making a conscious decision as adults to learn the speaking of four or more languages seem to be not unknown, especially in the countries that were former colonies of European powers. However, not being conclusive does not mean that one cannot make educated guesses that can be used in shaping further investigations. As has already been alluded to, aspects of Japanese culture might be expected to be at least partially responsible, at least as much as the linguistic issues which in and of themselves are inherently strong inhibitors of multilingual fluency. Additionally, one might expect that the educational system might also be at fault, partly because government policy expects big results from small expenditures of time and effort. Also, language education was traditionally teaching oriented rather than learning oriented and has, therefore, largely ignored the importance of self-motivation and self-study in the acquisition of foreign languages. However, this is precisely where the study of polyglots and polyglottery would seem to have the greatest potential benefit [5, p. 141]. Furthermore, we can also see from the history of Japan, that the promoting of multilingualism among its population has never traditionally been a strong priority of its government.

Taken together, what all this would seem to indicate is that, before polyglots become more common in Japan, extra funding, as well as fundamental changes in attitude will perhaps be necessary. This leads us to the rather dreary conclusion, that, though necessary change is not impossible, it does not seem probable and a hundred years from now Japanese multilingual individuals, including polyglots, will probably remain as rare as they are today, provided, of course, that nothing changes with regard to the education system. However, there is a strong perceived connection with language education, polyglottery and geolinguistics [3, p. 12]. This, in turn, provides one with hope that some degree of change is inevitable, and that, with the advancement of technology and the arising of new methods in the study of languages, there might be an unexpected shift in the paradigm of foreign language learning in such a way that the numbers of people who are multilingual might rise to a rather higher percentage of the total than now.

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UN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE DISCOURSE: PECULARITIES AND APPLICATIONS IN DESCRIBING THE WORLD ORDER

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Abstract. *This research paper is set in the context of growing interest towards globalization and its effects on contemporary English-language discourse. The focus on the United Nations' discourse can be explained by the pivotal role of this organization in identifying, shaping and spreading global trends. The underlying assumption is that conceptual, cognitive and semantic analyses of the English-language UN discourse enable deeper understanding of the western worldview, which expands into other types of discourse with a broad audience (media, educational, etc). The application of the conceptual metaphor theory has allowed to discover a conceptual-definitional level as well as image and value levels of the employed concepts in order to find out cognitive linguistic tools which construct the world order model and the view of today's reality. The study has shown that the language behaviour can be described with the dichotomy "uniting – separating". On the one hand, reality is represented as a "family" field of life (based on the conceptual metaphor THE WORLD IS A FAMILY) with inherent family values and obligations. On the other hand, the world is subject to explicit categorization through the conceptual opposition of FRIEND vs. FOE and the conceptual and metaphorical model of "The fairy tale of the just war". Mechanisms of linguistic hierarchization of participants' relations were also revealed with the help of conceptual metaphors RELATIONS AMONG STATES ARE PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS and LEADER STATE IS A NURTURANT PARENT. The results of the study may be useful for further research on contemporary English-language discourse in a cognitive-pragmatic way, with the possibility of using the identified conceptual metaphors to detect speech tactics and strategies, as well as for comparative analysis of the constructed English-language world view with language models represented by other official UN languages: Russian, French, Spanish, Chinese and Arabic.*

Keywords: *English language, conceptual metaphor, UN discourse, discourse of international organizations, political discourse, cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis, semantic analysis, metaphoric concept, concept*

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АНГЛОЯЗЫЧНЫЙ ДИСКУРС ООН: ОСОБЕННОСТИ И ПРАКТИЧЕСКОЕ ПРИМЕНЕНИЕ В ОПИСАНИИ СОВРЕМЕННОГО МИРОПОРЯДКА

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Аннотация. *Настоящее исследование вписывается в контекст возросшего интереса к глобализации и её проявлению в современном англоязычном дискурсе. Избрание дискурса ООН объектом исследования обусловлено важным статусом данной организации в выявлении, формировании и распространении мировых тенденций. Автор исходит из того, что с помощью концептуального и когнитивно-семантического анализа англоязычного дискурса ООН становится возможным углубить понимание современной западной картины мира, которая из анализируемого дискурса распространяется и в другие типы дискурса с массовым реципиентом (медийный, образовательный и др.). Применение теории концептуальной метафоры позволило автору помимо понятийного уровня актуальных концептов более комплексно исследовать также образный и ценностный уровни для выявления различных лингвокогнитивных языковых средств, при помощи которых конструируется модель миропорядка и даётся оценка действительности. Исследование показало, что языковое поведение участников дискурса можно описать дихотомией «объединение – сегментация». С одной стороны, коммуниканты репрезентируют действительность как поле жизни «семьи» (на основе концептуальной метафоры THE WORLD IS A FAMILY («Мир есть семья»)) с присущими семье ценностями и обязательствами; с другой – подвергают мир ярко выраженной категоризации посредством концептуального противопоставления СВОЙ vs. ЧУЖОЙ и концептуально-метафорической модели “The fairy tale of the just war”(«Легенда о войне за правое дело»). Выявлены также лингвистические механизмы иерархизации отношений участников при помощи концептуальных метафор RELATIONS AMONG STATES ARE PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS («Отношения между государствами – это отношения родителя и ребёнка») и LEADER STATE IS A NURTURANT PARENT («Государство-лидер есть заботливый родитель»). Результаты работы могут быть полезны для дальнейших исследований современного англоязычного дискурса в когнитивно-прагматическом ключе, с возможностью использования выявленных концептуальных метафор для обнаружения речевых тактик и стратегий, а также для сравнительного анализа конструируемой англоязычной картины мира с языковыми моделями, которые репрезентируют другие официальные языки ООН: русский, французский, испанский, китайский, арабский.*

Ключевые слова: *английский язык, концептуальная метафора, дискурс ООН, дискурс международных организаций, общественно-политический дискурс, когнитивная лингвистика, дискурс-анализ, семантический анализ, метафорический концепт, концепт*

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Введение

Ввиду особого статуса английского языка в мире в целом и в Организации Объединённых Наций в частности (в мире английский язык является контактным, а в ООН – это язык большинства внутренних документов и заседаний органов), повышается интерес представителей различных сфер знания к особенностям функционирования английского языка в современном информационном пространстве. Что касается непосредственно англоязычного дискурса ООН, нельзя не отметить, что он сосредотачивает в себе магистральные направления мысли ведущих политических и общественных деятелей. В свою очередь то, какие фрагменты окружающей действительности вербализуются коммуникантами, напрямую влияет на построение других типов дискурса с массовым реципиентом (медийный, общественно-политический, учебный и т.д.), поскольку в рамках международных организаций фиксируются, поощряются «желательные» и предотвращаются «нежелательные» мировые процессы – как на рекомендательном, так и на директивном уровне. По этой причине изучение англоязычного дискурса международных организаций предоставит возможности создать более чёткий портрет англоязычной языковой личности, составить более полную картину происходящего в современном обществе и построить прогнозы относительно потенциальных перспектив развития общества в будущем. Особого внимания заслуживает тот факт, что анализ англоязычного дискурса ООН также даёт возможность получить представление о том, какая картина миропорядка конструируется современным английским языком: кто является участниками этого миропорядка, в каких условиях они сосуществуют и в каких отношениях находятся.

Ранее проводившиеся исследования дискурса международных организаций выявили ряд метафор, которые способствуют созданию более или менее однозначной картины единственно правильного формата будущего, при этом возможные альтернативы отрицаются и признаются несостоятельными [4]. Так, явление глобализации, например, с помощью метафоры поезда репрезентируется в качестве объективного исторического процесса, которого невозможно избежать и который невозможно остановить, а «опоздание» на него ассоциируется не только с нежелательным, но и рискованным, опасным сценарием [9]. В то же время представляется целесообразным принимать во внимание субъективность категоризации явлений и объектов в различных лингвокогнитивных картинах мира. Так, И. К. Архипов подчёркивает: «Одни и те же признаки предмета группируются в различных коллективах по собственным законам когнитивной категоризации в различные конфигурации в силу различного интереса (внимания) к ним, а потому и различной оценки существенности той или иной группировки признаков» [1, с. 159]. Опираясь на вышесказанное, автор настоящей работы исходит из гипотезы о том, что участники современного англоязычного дискурса ООН различными лингвокогнитивными языковыми средствами создают особую модель миропорядка с определённой оценкой действительности, в связи с чем ставится цель обнаружить и описать концептуально-метафорические основы этой лингвистической модели.

Материал и методология исследования

Данное исследование было проведено на основе концептуального и когнитивно-семантического анализа современного англоязычного дискурса ООН с применением теории концептуальной метафоры Дж. Лакоффа [10].

Для подтверждения гипотезы были выделены концептуальные составляющие в высказываниях членов ООН и их лексико-семантические варианты, и проанализированы лексико-семантические поля, лежащие в основе их вербализации. С целью моделирования стереотипных ситуаций в изучаемом дискурсе были обнаружены несколько слотов. Для комплексного исследования концептологический анализ предполагал выделение понятийного компонента, образного компонента, построенного на метафоризации, а также ценностного компонента с целью выявления отношения коммуникантов к конструируемой ими лингвистической реальности [5]. В ходе анализа метафоризации были идентифицированы основные сферы-источники (семья, межличностные отношения, война, медицина и др.) концептуальных метафор для сфер-мишеней (международные отношения, международно-правовое урегулирование споров, проблемы международной повестки дня и пр.).

Материалом исследования послужили выступления делегатов в различных органах системы ООН (Генеральная Ассамблея, Совет Безопасности и др.). В общей сложности автором было проанализировано 55 выступлений, средняя продолжительность которых составила 15 минут. Помимо речей лидеров государств на заседаниях органов ООН были также изучены основополагающие документы организации, в которых излагаются главные принципы, механизмы и сферы деятельности ООН, а также статьи, опубликованные на официальном сайте ООН и посвящённые актуальным проблемам современного мира (восемь статей).

Результаты

На основе проведённого исследования можно вывести базовые концептуально-метафорические схемы, вербализующиеся посредством современного английского языка в дискурсе ООН:

1. Устройство миропорядка, его облик и лежащие в его основе принципы и механизмы репрезентируются в рамках концептуальной метафоры THE WORLD IS A FAMILY («Мир есть семья»). В частности, с помощью частотных фразеологических единиц *The UN Family* (система ООН именуется «семьёй» на уровне устойчивого словосочетания; это стёртая метафора). *International Community, Global Community* – международный порядок концептуализируется в терминах, обозначающих отношения «родитель – ребёнок» в рамках метафорической схемы семьи «заботливых родителей» (nurturant parents) [12] когнитивно-лингвистической модели, которую американский лингвист Дж. Лакофф отнёс к яркому проявлению либерализма в английском языке. В основе такой репрезентации действительности лежит стремление родителя обеспечить счастье каждого ребёнка (в связи с этим уместно вспомнить такие клише дискурса ООН, как f*or the common good, for the good/benefit of all,* etc.), оказывая им постоянную помощь и поддержку и защищая от многочисленных опасностей (*evils*, в терминологии Дж. Лакоффа). Примечательно, что, как в «заботливой» семье, где старшие и сильнейшие помогают младшим и более слабым, так и в дискурсе ООН конструируется картина, где более зрелые и сильные государства (с политической и социально-экономической точки зрения) осуществляют защиту и поддержку тех государств, которые находятся на низшей ступени своего развития. Более подробная характеристика опасностей, от которых необходимо «защищать» детей, и как концепт «дети» актуализируется в контексте дискурса ООН, будет представлено в пункте 2.

Следует также отметить, что подобная система концептуализации системы ООН как семьи подразумевает в высшей степени тесное единение членов международного сообщества под руководством общих правил и устоев (как и в семье). Это позволяет лучше понять и интерпретировать популярные лексические средства, ставшие «строительным элементом» данного дискурса: *leave no one behind* (обещание, данное международному сообществу в основополагающем документе ООН «Повестка 2030» [18]); *make a difference together; empowering women at all levels; well-being for all at all ages; quality education for all / all women and girls.* В данную англоязычную систему метафоризации ООН в терминах семейных ценностей также вписывается и название одного из последних крупных документов организации по сегодняшней главной повестке дня: *Our Common Agenda* [19], «Наша общая повестка».

Конструирование «общего», «семейного» пространства реальности, где субъекты совместно сталкиваются с проблемами и совместно их решают, при однозначном условии поддержки более сильными более слабых, может быть продемонстрировано в следующих высказываниях делегатов в ходе заседаний Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН (в приводимых в исследовании высказываниях курсивом выделены автором актуальные для анализа компоненты – Н.Б.):

“But *our shared* grief is a poignant reminder that *our collective* future will hinge on our ability to recognize *our common humanity* and to *act together*” (remarks by President Biden Before the 76th Session of the United Nations General Assembly).

"*As a global community,* we're challenged by urgent and looming crises wherein lie enormous opportunities… Will we *work together* to save lives, *defeat COVID-19* everywhere…?" (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

"And in that *chorus of voices across* languages and continents, we hear *a common cry:* a cry for dignity – simple dignity" (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

Мировой порядок представляется, таким образом, как продукт деятельности всех стран, объединённых общими ценностями, нормами и правилами. Подобные ценности зафиксированы в основополагающих прецедентных для данного дискурса текстах: Устав ООН, Всеобщая декларация прав человека, официальные документы повесток, в частности «Повестка 2030», на которые участники международной организации часто ссылаются как на «источник авторитета» для защиты собственной позиции [5]:

"Will we apply and strengthen *the core tenets* of the international system, including the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as we seek to shape the emergence of new technologies and deter new threats? Or *will we allow these universal principles to be trampled and twisted* in the pursuit of naked political power?" (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

Из приведённого выше отрывка можно заключить, что коммуникант изначально предполагает знание этих текстов всеми членами мирового сообщества, членами «семьи», и ценностей, которые они проводят (всеобщее единение, равенство, стремление к улучшению качества жизни населения, защита прав человека, предоставление помощи нуждающимся и т.д.). Нельзя не подчеркнуть и особенности использования базового метафорического концепта ОБЪЕКТИВАЦИЯ [6], посредством которого ценности и принципы ООН (сами по себе нематериальные явления) представляются объектами, с которыми можно совершить определённые манипуляции («исказить», «попрать» – *principles to be trampled and twisted*). При этом однозначно негативная аксиологизация данных лексем предполагает пресуппозицию того, что такие манипуляции вредны и от них этот объект необходимо защищать, что выражено в риторическом вопросе автора: *"Will we allow these universal principles to be trampled and twisted?"*. Подобная концептуализация общих ценностей «семьи» ООН с апелляцией к прецедентным текстам прослеживается и в следующих примерах:

"Our approach is firmly grounded and fully consistent with the United Nations' mission and the values we've agreed to when we drafted this Charter. These are commitments *we all made* and that *we're all bound to uphold*" (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

"Finally, Building Back Better demands strengthening democratic governance, human rights protection and the rule of law, *in line with* the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" [15].

Кроме того, подобная схема концептуализации взаимоотношений между акторами как между членами одной семьи предоставляет возможности для анализа актуальных типов иерархии и упорядочивания их взаимодействий. Данный пункт напрямую связан с пунктом 2, представленным ниже.

"<…> the commitment of my new administration to help lead the world toward a more peaceful, prosperous future *for all* people" (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

"The United States will compete, and will compete vigorously, and *lead with our values and our strength*" (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

"<…> using the power of our development aid to invest in new ways of *lifting people up around the world;* of renewing and *defending democracy*" (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

"And as the United States seeks *to rally the world to action*, we will *lead* not just with the example of our power but, God willing, with *the power of our example*" (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

В приведённых высказываниях особое внимание обращает на себя репрезентация иерархической системы взаимоотношений международных акторов: кто в качестве лидера будет вести за собой (to help *lead* the world toward…), кто будет осуществлять благие, с точки зрения коммуниканта, задачи (*lifting people up around the world,* renewing and *defending democracy*), и от кого ожидается присоединение к первым (seeks *to rally the world to action*).

2. По результатам исследования для изучения концептуализации взаимоотношений между государственными и негосударственными субъектами на международной арене в англоязычном дискурсе ООН можно выделить четыре основных слота, объединённых в рамках «особых связанных областей знания, логически связных схематизаций опыта» [8]: концептуализирующих участников опыта и их отношения, а также среду, в которой их отношения разворачиваются [2], [3] (один слот – условия реальности и три слота – типы участников):

- **Первый слот** – это условия реальности взаимодействий государственных и негосударственных объединений, то есть проблемы, вызовы и угрозы, по причине которых создана и продолжает работу по борьбе с ними ООН (*Main Challenges and Threats*). Концептуализация осуществляется за счёт лексем с ярко выраженным негативным аксиологическим компонентом, в лексический состав которых входят семы тревоги, страха, враждебности, непримиримости (в борьбе с ними). К основным из них относятся изменения климата, которые в англоязычном дискурсе ООН уже чаще называются не просто «изменениями» (*climate change*), а «кризисом» (*climate crisis*), «чрезвычайной ситуацией» (*the climate emergency*) или даже «хаосом» (*climate chaos*); пандемии (в современном англоязычном дискурсе это, главным образом, вирус COVID-19, представляемый в антропоморфной репрезентации «врага», которого необходимо одолеть: *to defeat*); загрязнение и уничтожение окружающей среды; вооружённые конфликты; ущемление прав уязвимых слоёв населения; социально-экономическое неравенство.

Ниже представлены высказывания Генерального секретаря ООН и представителей государств, где коммуникантами профилируются основные вызовы современного миропорядка и конструируется семантическое поле с ярко выраженным негативным оценочным компонентом. Если развивать далее концептуальную метафору Дж. Лакоффа о «заботливых родителях», то применительно к данному дискурсу её следует обозначить как RELATIONS AMONG STATES ARE PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS («Отношения между государствами – это отношения родителя и ребёнка»); LEADER STATE IS A NURTURANT PARENT («Государство-лидер есть заботливый родитель»). В приводимых высказываниях вербализуется реальность «опасностей», проблем и вызовов, (*evils* [12]), от которых «родителям» необходимо защищать своих «детей»:

“The meeting is taking place at *an extremely challenging moment* for multilateralism and global governance, with the international order *at risk of coming apart at the seams*, with challenges that include *the climate emergency*, the COVID-19 pandemic…” [17].

“Bombs and bullets cannot *defend against* COVID-19 or its future variants. To *fight* this pandemic, we need a collective act of science and political will” (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

Стоит также заметить, что, в современном англоязычном дискурсе ООН не только благо разделяется всей «семьей» организации (что было продемонстрировано в высказываниях в предыдущем пункте), но и трагический, негативный и разрушительный опыт, который вербализуется коммуникантами с помощью приёма гиперболизации (в данном случае – гиперболизации универсальности негативного явления):

“We’ve lost so much to this *devastating pandemic* that continues to *claim lives around the world* and impact so much on our existence. We’re mourning more than 4.5 million people — *people of every nation from every background*” (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

“<…> the challenging climate we’re *all* feeling already *ravaging every part of our world* with extreme weather <…>” (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

“It is the only way to avoid widespread food shortages, deepening *climate chaos*, and a wave of poverty and destitution that will *leave no country untouched*” [17].

“The extreme weather events that we have seen *in every part of the world* – and *you all know* it and feel it – represent what the Secretary-General has rightly called *“code red for humanity”* (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

“Describing this as *“collective suicide”,* the UN chief called for a “renewable energy revolution,” with ending the *global addiction* to fossil fuels as the top priority” [17].

Помимо пугающего образа «массового самоубийства» (*collective suicide*), в последнем высказывании интереса заслуживает и сочетание *global addiction to fossil fuels,* где для концептуализации негативного с точки зрения коммуниканта явления, то есть широкого использования ископаемых видов топлива, он прибегает к сфере болезней/медицины как источнику метафоры и устанавливает связь между этим явлением и болезненной зависимостью от него, создавая таким образом определённое семантическое поле концептуальной метафоры USING FOSSIL FUELS IS A COMPULSIVE BEHAVIOUR («Использование ископаемого топлива есть форма психического расстройства»): 1) fossil fuels are harmful («ископаемое топливо есть вред»), 2) relying on fossil fuels is a compulsive behaviour (addiction) («использование ископаемых видов топлива – форма психического расстройства, зависимости»), 3) (almost) everyone suffers from the behaviour («(почти) все страдают от этого расстройства»).

Таким образом, можно констатировать, что первый слот задаёт крайне негативную фоновую ситуацию взаимодействий субъектов, полную угроз и опасностей, что укрепляет лингвистическую модель «семьи заботливых родителей» в свете репрезентации острой необходимости поддержки и помощи более слабому (от более развитого – менее развитому).

Следующие слоты (второй, третий, четвёртый) представляют собой непосредственно участников, субъектов коммуникации, которые разделены неоднородно, но в рамках трёх основных категорий.

- **Первая категория** – государства, репрезентируемые как способные выступать лидерами в противодействии с угрозами (то есть «родители» в соответствии с рассмотренной выше концептуальной моделью либеральной семьи заботливого родителя). Основными критериями для включения в эту группу выступают, как правило, материальные признаки: состояние экономики и уровень благосостояния, качество жизни, уровень развития технологий и инфраструктуры, но не только – ещё демократический политический строй государства: это *developed countries/the developed world, major democracies, major economies, advanced nations, rich countries.* Именно на эту категорию государств возлагается «родительское» бремя ответственности за преодоление проблем в мире и морального долга, – выделение необходимых средств в соответствующие сектора экономики и целевые фонды, инвестирование в странах, обращающихся к ним за помощью, и предоставление других видов поддержки (которые в рамках выступлений делегатов могут и не конкретизироваться):

“And *we in the developed world* must recognise our *obligation to help*” (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Boris Johnson).

“I committed that the UK would provide £11.6 billion to help the rest of the world to tackle climate change” (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Boris Johnson).

“President Biden and G7 partners agreed to launch the bold new global infrastructure initiative Build Back Better World (B3W), a values-driven, high-standard, and transparent infrastructure partnership led by *major democracies to help narrow the $40+ trillion infrastructure need in the developing world*” [7].

Примечательно, что поддержка малых государств связывается коммуникантами не только с нравственным обязательством перед членами одной большой семьи, но и положительными последствиями планетарного масштаба:

“And these investments will not only help the countries of the world to tackle climate change: they will produce *millions and millions* of high wage, high skill jobs, and today’s workforce and *the next generation* will have *the extra satisfaction* of knowing that they are not only doing something useful – such as providing clean energy – but helping *to save the planet* at the same time” (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Boris Johnson).

- **Вторая категория** является самой многочисленной – это государства или группы государств, репрезентируемые в качестве «жертв» разнообразных современных угроз и вызовов [4]. Данную группу можно также отнести к категории «детей» (согласно вышеназванной концептуальной модели семьи), то есть тех государств или общностей, которые страдают от ряда проблем, но не в состоянии их решить самостоятельно. В современном англоязычном дискурсе ООН для данной категории существует множество вариантов номинации, в зависимости от контекста и угла зрения на проблему. Так, наблюдается деление по признаку их недостаточного экономического, технологического, политического (отсутствие демократии) развития, а также отсутствия у них достаточного потенциала для противодействия стихийным бедствиям, в связи с чем они находятся в «уязвимом» (*vulnerable*) или слабом положении. В англоязычном дискурсе ООН эта мысль выражается, например, следующим образом: [those who] *face unique social, economic and environmental vulnerabilitie*s [16]. Рассматриваемая категория вербализуется такими лексемами и фразеологическими единицами, как *developing countries/the developing world, the least developed countries, emerging economies, SIDS (Small Island Developing States), landlocked states, low lying islands/countries, low/middle-income countries.* Кроме того, следует выделить и иной критерий репрезентации «жертв» – это уязвимость, слабость конкретной социальной общности, её «социальная отчуждённость», отсутствие необходимых средств к существованию или доступа к необходимым продуктам и услугам, ущемление её прав. Данная категория представлена лексемами *vulnerable, marginalized, underprivileged, poor(er), disadvantaged, those in need etc.* Нередко сюда определяются и целые слои населения: женщины, дети (в некоторых случаях девочки выносятся в отдельную категорию), беженцы, инвалиды, пожилые люди, сексуальные, национальные, языковые меньшинства и т.д.:

"<…> the most *vulnerable populations* and individuals are once again being hit the hardest" [15].

"*Women*, who make up the majority of the workforce in economic sectors being most affected, now must also bear the brunt of additional caregiving" [Ibid.].

"*Older persons and persons with disabilities* are at much higher risk of death from the virus. *Indigenous peoples* and people of African descent, as well as *migrants and refugees,* are also suffering disproportionately, as vulnerability multiplies" [Ibid.].

- **Третья категория** – категория государственных и негосударственных образований, которые не попадают ни в одну из вышеперечисленных групп, поскольку с точки зрения конструируемой в англоязычном дискурсе ООН картины мира они выходят за границы «семьи», не разделяют её «общих» ценностей и обязательств. Как правило, номинация производится либо напрямую (в последующих примерах можно увидеть, какие именно государства называются коммуникантами в данном контексте), либо с помощью неконкретных описательных оборотов "they", "those who…", без отсылки к определённым классам субъектов (в отличие от предыдущих двух категорий, чья номинация представлена именно классами). Следует отметить, что в данную категорию языковой модели мира попадают не только те, кто репрезентируется как непосредственно совершившие конкретное преступление (например, в силу нарушения определённого пункта международно-правового документа), но и те, кто не следует рекомендательным правилам и нормам, которые мыслятся как «общие» и единые для всех, – например, те акторы, которые выступают против либеральных политических и социально-экономических ценностей:

"Only global cooperation <...> can ensure competition is fair and does not *succumb to protectionism,* with its *certain path to lost jobs and international confrontation*" (73rd Session of the UN General Assembly, Theresa May).

В высказывании бывшего премьер-министра Великобритании Т. Мэй особого интереса заслуживает выражение *succumb to protectionism.* Политика протекционизма вербализуется здесь как разрушительная, пагубная сила, которой поддаются, как искушению (фразеологизм *succumb to temptations* [14]), либо от которой погибают, как от болезни (см. устойчивое словосочетание *succumb to a disease* [13]). Немалое значение имеет также установление логической связи между протекционизмом и «неизбежной потерей рабочих мест» (with its *certain path to lost jobs*).

"Externally, *malign actors* seek to *weaponize instability* against other states. *Iran, for example,* undermines the stability of its neighbors by using fragile states or non-state actors as proxies, contributing to protracted conflicts and complex humanitarian crises" (remarks at a UN Security Council Open Debate on Fragile States, January 6, 2021).

Приведённое высказывание демонстрирует, что в англоязычном дискурсе ООН рассматриваемая категория субъектов может подвергаться номинации и с точки зрения определённого класса субъектов, в данном случае коммуникант именует государство Иран «злоумышленником» или «преступником» (*malign actor*).

"We must stick by our principles and act quickly when states *fail to comply with their obligations* <...> We urge Syria to meet its obligations <…>" (UK statement: General Debate of the UN General Assembly First Committee).

"We have deep concerns about Iran's *destabilising activity* and its ballistic missile activities are *inconsistent with* UNSCR 2231 <…>; Iran's escalatory nuclear activity *undermines* the counter-proliferation value of the JCPoA and *threatens its preservation*" (UK statement: General Debate of the UN General Assembly First Committee).

В приведенном примере следует вновь обратить внимание на отсылку автора к прецедентным текстам – международно-правовым документам, Резолюции Совбеза ООН 2231 и Совместному всеобъемлющему плану действий по ядерной программе Ирана (UNSCR 2231 и JCPoA соответственно), которые также, наряду с уже рассмотренными в предыдущем пункте другими документами ООН, выступают в качестве гаранта общих ценностей организации. Именно отступление от этих ценностей и репрезентируется как опасное, чреватое пагубными последствиями нарушение общих устоев. С задействованием базового метафорического концепта ОБЪЕКТИВАЦИЯ ценности и механизмы, закреплённые в документах, моделируются в качестве материальных объектов, которые нужно защищать от вредоносных действий, целостность которых может нарушиться (*undermines* the counter-proliferation value of the JCPoA and *threatens its preservation*).

3. По результатам анализа приведённых выше слотов представляется целесообразным отнести такой тип лингвистической репрезентации реальности к известной концептуально-метафорической модели взаимоотношений «Война за правое дело», в англоязычном варианте американского лингвиста Дж. Лакоффа – *The fairy tale of the just war* («Легенда о войне за правое дело») [11]. Согласно этой модели, коммуниканты концептуально делят окружающую их действительность на категории злодеев, жертв и героев ("The fairy tale of the just war has a cast of characters: a villain, a victim, and a hero" [11]), с присущей асимметрией внутри таких отношений: *злодеи* противодействует *героям* и автоматически встают в позицию аморальности и необоснованности. В рассматриваемом здесь типе дискурса «злодеями» репрезентируются страны или другие субъекты, нарушающие принципы международного права, и/или государства, придерживающиеся политики изоляционизма, автаркии и др. антиглобалистских стратегий; «жертвами» – рассмотренные выше многочисленные категории развивающихся стран, а также ряд «уязвимых» слоёв населения; «спасителями/героями» – развитые страны, страны с высоким уровнем дохода, страны-демократии.

При этом, как подчёркивает Дж. Лакофф, нередко у героев нет причин для дискуссий со злодеями с целью определить, кто именно прав в споре, поскольку злодей сам по себе представляется нелогичным и не вполне рациональным – с ним нужно только активно бороться: "The hero is rational, but though the villain may be cunning and calculating, he cannot be reasoned with. Heroes thus cannot negotiate with villains; they must defeat them" [11].

Подобная концептуализация правильной и решительной борьбы со «злом» ярко прослеживается в частности в риторике президента США Дж. Байдена, например, в ходе его выступления на 76-й сессии Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН:

"*Those who* commit acts of terrorism against us will continue to find *a determined enemy* in the United States" (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

В следующем высказывании стоит обратить внимание на чёткую категоризацию, которую конструирует автор с помощью приёма противопоставления, проводя черту между теми, кому открыты перспективы будущего в рамках общего опыта семьи ООН, и теми, кому – нет (и кто, таким образом, оказывается вне этого «всеобщего» опыта).

"The future will belong to those who embrace human dignity, *not trample* it. The future will belong to those who unleash the potential of their people, *not those who* stifle it. The future will belong to those who give their people the ability to breathe free, not those who seek to suffocate their people with an iron hand" (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

В данном примере также примечательно обилие абстрактных явлений – человеческое достоинство, потенциал, возможности. Хотя эти явления и «материализуются» посредством когнитивно-лингвистических средств (см. упомянутый выше базовый концепт ОБЪЕКТИВАЦИЯ, в данном случае манипуляции, производимые с концептуализируемыми объектами *trample, stifle, suffocate with an iron hand*), реципиенту приходится самому интерпретировать коммуникативное сообщение из-за отсутствия конкретных лиц, ответственных за «попирание человеческого достоинства», «угнетение потенциала населения» или «удушение железной хваткой».

Следующее высказывание ярко вписывается в контекст «войны за правое дело»:

“The authoritarianism of the world may seek to proclaim the end of the age of democracy, but *they're wrong.* The *truth* is: *the democratic world is everywhere.* It lives in the anti-corruption activists, the human rights defenders, the journalists, the peace protestors on the frontlines of this *struggle* in Belarus, Burma, Syria, Cuba, Venezuela, and everywhere in between” (the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly, Joe Biden).

Лексема *struggle*, объединённая в семантическом поле высказывания с лексемой *truth*, формирует однозначную сегментацию субъектов действительности в соответствии с моделью концептуального противопоставления СВОЙ vs. ЧУЖОЙ [6]: с первой категорией (коррелирующей с положительной оценкой) ассоциируются здесь группы демократических сил, со второй – последователи авторитаризма, чья «отчуждённость» конструируется в частности с помощью местоимения they.

Выводы

Таким образом, в результате анализа образцов современного англоязычного дискурса ООН можно проследить концептологические основы конструирования современного миропорядка. Следует обратить внимание на дихотомию коммуникативных приёмов «объединение – сегментация». С одной стороны, наблюдается профилирование признака всеобщности, универсальности ценностей в силу апелляции к сфере-источнику «семья», универсальности как позитивных, так и негативных явлений, происходящих в мире и распространяющихся на всех «членов семьи» и вызывающих необходимость помощи «уязвимым», а для развитых стран – выполнение своего морального долга поддержки. С другой стороны, имеет место разделение мирового пространства на различные категории, однозначное проведение границ между ними с обозначением иерархии их отношений и ролей в обществе. Последнее реализуется с помощью концептуального противопоставления СВОЙ vs. ЧУЖОЙ и особой концептуально-метафорической модели *The fairy tale of the just war,* а также концептуальных метафор: 1) THE WORLD IS A FAMILY (субъекты, не принимающие ценности «семьи», исключаются из неё как «чужие»), 2) RELATIONS AMONG STATES ARE PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS, LEADER STATE IS A NURTURANT PARENT («свои» – это группа государств-«родителей», репрезентируемых в английском языке как развитые демократии и экономики мира: *developed countries, major democracies/economies, advanced nations,* и многочисленная группа «детей», получающих необходимую для них поддержку, с разнообразными вариантами номинации: *countries with special needs, the developing world, landlocked states, vulnerable, marginalized etc.*).

Знание концептуальной и метафорической основ современного англоязычного дискурса ООН позволяет выявить основополагающие принципы лингвистического конструирования действительности, которые можно использовать как в обучении английскому языку и переводоведении (благодаря усвоению частотных концептов и опорных когнитивно-лингвистических средств), так и в дальнейших исследованиях, посвящённых современному общественно-политическому дискурсу английского языка с возможностью выхода в русло прагматического подхода к определению конкретных речевых стратегий и тактик. Представляется целесообразным использовать результаты исследования в сравнительном анализе с целью выявления сходств и различий в концептуализации современного миропорядка в англоязычном дискурсе и в дискурсах других официальных языков ООН, сопряжённых с уникальными для них языковыми картинами мира (франкоязычный, русскоязычный дискурс ООН и др.).

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LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY IN RUSSIA

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Abstract. *The present study explores language policy and management in the industry of hospitality and tourism in the Russian Federation. Hospitality is a vital sector of the economy which receives strong government support. In 2021 and 2022, amendments to the Federal Law on the Foundations of Tourism Activity were adopted and the National Project "Tourism and the Hospitality Industry" was initiated. These documents aim to promote tourist activity in the country as well as improve the quality of TOPs (tourism-oriented products). Foreign language command is inextricably linked with service quality and employees are expected to follow the accepted language code and protocol, though this is unevenly implemented. The paper analyses the adequacy of language policy in the field of hospitality. The term "language management" is preferred to "language policy planning" (LPP) as it better reflects the efforts made to implement changes in current language practices within the social group of hospitality professionals. These changes are driven by the latest political and social developments and reflect current economic and social environment. The paper draws on the latest relevant government documentation and industry language practices, comparing this analysis with the perceptions of 130 interns in Russian hospitality establishments. The comparison identifies existing language problems in the hospitality industry and points to directions for future enhancement. The study also aims to explore the adequacy of English-language preparation for hospitality professionals. It considers foreign language instruction for occupational purposes both at the tertiary level and in the workplace setting. The research paper aims to shed light on how language policy and language management may be of relevance to ESP (English for special purposes) teachers in the area of hospitality.*

Keywords: *language policy, language management, language problem, language instruction, language norms, standardization, language practices*

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ЯЗЫКОВАЯ ПОЛИТИКА В ИНДУСТРИИ ГОСТЕПРИИМСТВА В РОССИИ

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Аннотация. *Данная публикация исследует языковую политику и языковое планирование в индустрии гостеприимства и туризма в Российской Федерации. Гостеприимство является значимой отраслью экономики и получает поддержку государства. В 2021 и 2022 гг. были внесены изменения в Федеральный закон «Об основах туристской деятельности» и запущен национальный проект «Туризм и индустрия гостеприимства». Целью данных инициатив является продвижение и развитие туристкой активности в стране и улучшение качества туристических продуктов. Знание иностранных языков неразрывно связано с уровнем качества обслуживания гостей, и работники этой сферы обязаны следовать языковым нормам и протоколу, что, тем не менее, внедряется не повсеместно. Исследование рассматривает степень достаточности языковой политики в указанной индустрии. Понятие «языковое управление» является предпочтительным по отношению к термину «языковое планирование», так как лучше отражает усилия, направленные на внесение изменений в языковые практики в социальной группе работников сферы гостеприимства. Данные изменения вызваны политическими и экономическими тенденциями и отражают нынешнее социально-экономическое положение. В статье анализируются текущие государственные документы, относящиеся к теме исследования, в сравнении с мнениями 130 стажёров, проходящих практику в учреждениях гостеприимства. Это позволяет выявить пути улучшения языковых практик и языковой политики в данной индустрии. Исследование также посвящено анализу уровня языковой подготовки в сфере гостеприимства. Освещаются текущие модели обучения английскому языку для профессиональных целей как на уровне высшего образования, так и в рабочем контексте. Обсуждается взаимосвязь между языковой политикой и обучением иностранному языку для специальных целей.*

Ключевые слова: *языковая политика, языковое управление, языковая проблема, обучение языкам, языковые нормы, стандартизация, языковые практики*

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The hospitality sector is recognized as crucial for inbound and domestic tourism development. The English language is universally accepted as the lingua franca – a global language used in cross-cultural communication. Globally, in the hospitality industry, knowledge of at least one foreign language is vital and pre-requisite [22]. The tourism and hospitality industry offer excellent advancement opportunities worldwide, with Russia being no exception.

Language in hospitality is of paramount importance and is a highly regulated medium. At each step of the guest cycle, the hotel or restaurant employee is expected to utilize a set of standard formulas and expressions. These are explicit language norms meant to guarantee guest satisfaction, to streamline service and avoid mishaps. In multinational hotel chains, employees will follow ready scripts, both for instances of oral and written communication with the guest. These scripts will differ slightly from chain to chain, however, retaining their essence – serving the guest in the most prompt, courteous, accurate and hospitable way.

Language is therefore seen as a conductor of hospitality values and *service spirit* [28] and is inextricably linked with the social circle in which it is used. *Moments of truth* [28], a term used in the hospitality industry for guest encounters, can only occur through language. Service, language and the social domain of hospitality are inseparable. Bianco [3, p. 144] argues that language cannot be separated from social context.

There is not one definition of language policy (LP) and language policy planning (LPP). McGroaty, cited in Bianco [ibid., p. 145] defines language policy as *the combination of official decisions and prevailing public practices related to language education and use.* It is carried out by government and corporate bodies and promotes a standard language for a group, in our case, hospitality professionals [24]. This definition is useful to us as it highlights the implications of LP for foreign language teachers [3, p. 143] and the effect that LP has on education and curriculum planning. Another definition of language policy can be *laws and regulations,* which state *when, where and by whom each language is to be spoken.* As for language policy planning, the term is defined by Cooper [6, p. 45]: *language policy planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure or functional allocation of their language codes.* LPP also refers to how policies are applied to treat linguistic “lacks” in social groups. Spolsky [26, p. 80], however, prefers the term *“language management”* to “language policy planning” as it better reflects the fact that the language situation *is manipulated as a result of direct efforts.*

The main components of LP, as identified by Spolsky [ibid.], are language beliefs, language practices, and attempts at managing these practices. This study aims to identify language practices and beliefs in hospitality and to shed light on current language management initiatives in Russia.

Foreign language policy varies from country to country and depends heavily on local practices and regulations. Language policy in the hospitality industry in Russia has not yet received sufficient attention. The present paper is therefore also aimed at researching foreign language policy in the hospitality field in the Russian Federation.

The hospitality industry is a multifaceted field comprising Lodging, Restaurants, Events and Tourism. Each of these sectors provides a variety of job prospects. This study focuses on language policy applied across the fields of hotel and restaurant management. It does not concern itself with language policy in the area of event management. The author recommends further research regarding language policy in this field.

This paper argues that while language policy for L1 (hereinafter first language / native tongue) is sufficiently developed and universally applied, foreign language communication norms are inadequate. This study will focus on analyzing relevant documentation and practices in the field of language policy and identifying “lacks” or “language problems” [ibid., p. 6] in hospitality workplaces in Russia.

The author aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the key directions of language policy in the hospitality Industry?
2. What are the specific *language problems* in foreign language policy in hospitality establishments in Russia?
3. What are the means of implementing language policy in the hospitality industry?
4. What are the implications of language policy for ESP practitioners in tertiary education establishments?

Methodology

This research paper is a qualitative descriptive study. A survey was undertaken to obtain and analyze the perceptions of 130 tertiary level hospitality students and interns regarding foreign language policy and language training in the hospitality and tourism sector. Questionnaires were anonymous for higher reliability of data and guarantee of anonymity. All respondents possess relevant work experience of at least three months in the industry and were chosen on a voluntary basis. Questions were directly related to language policy and practices in the workplace. Interviews with three industry experts were conducted to collect valid data on the subject. This revealed an inadequacy of foreign language training and standards in the field. Document analysis was used to support the evidence and the findings. Consequently, this paper presents a descriptive overview of the current initiatives to enhance language policy in the hospitality field, such as the introduction of a national industry language exam, language instruction at the tertiary level and introduction of educational social programmes. All these initiatives are geared towards defining and standardizing language policy across the industry and streamlining hospitality language assessment procedures in the territory of the Russian Federation.

Research design

The study was conducted in the following manner:

1. Document analysis was undertaken.
2. A questionnaire was devised and administered among 130 hospitality interns.
3. Data obtained from the document analysis and the survey results were compared and conclusions were made.
4. As a response to these findings, possible directions for language policy and management were outlined.

Document analysis and language practices

Language policy should not be seen only from a linguistic perspective but should be placed in a broader social and economic context. In 2021, the Russian legislature adopted amendments to the *Federal Law on the Foundations of Tourist Activity in the Russian Federation* [7], initiated the *National Project "Tourism and the Hospitality Industry"* [15] and launched the *State Programme of Tourism Development* [9]. The key objectives of the project are the development of tourist infrastructure, improving the accessibility of tourism services and enhancement of management and administration in the tourism and hospitality industry. It is geared towards boosting tourist flows in the territory of the Russian Federation, which should result in the decrease of unemployment and increase of economic growth across all regions of the country. The necessity to maintain a high image of tourism in Russia in the light of current events has led to an interest towards foreign language policy in the field of hospitality.

Requirements regarding language mastery of hotel personnel are stipulated in two government documents: the *National Professional Standards* [20], [21] and the *State Regulations on Hotel Classification* amended on April 7, 2022 [19].

The *National Professional Standards* in the hospitality industry in Russia comprise the two occupational profiles, namely "Manager of a Hotel Chain" [20] and "Manager of a Food and Beverage Establishment" [21]. The pre-requisite capability for both occupational profiles is a *mastery of English or another foreign language in relation to the characteristics of constant customer base of the hotel/restaurant establishment at a level sufficient for effective professional communication.*

It is noteworthy that the terms above lack adequate definition. It is not specified what level of English or other foreign language mastery is pre-requisite. The characteristics of *constant customer base* are also vague and unspecified. The scarcity of this description can serve as an indicator of inadequate attention towards foreign language policy and practices in the field.

Another government document concerning language policy in the industry is the *State Regulations on Hotel Classification* [19]. Here, language skills do not represent a standalone category, but are part of a broader set of criteria for human resources assessment. Each foreign language skill receives a corresponding number of points that, together with other grading criteria, adds up to the final score. This score determines whether the hotel complies with the desired star rating or not.

Language proficiency is a criterion applied across all levels of staff in lodging establishments from managerial positions to line personnel. For all staff positions, assessment criteria include language skills adequate for the fulfillment of professional duties. Requirements for senior management positions are presented in Table 1.

Language requirements	Points in the point-grade rating system
Knowledge of one foreign language, (English or another language of international communication[1]) at a conversational level	1
Knowledge of a minimum of two foreign languages (English and other languages of international communication)	2

Table 1. Hotel language requirements for senior positions

Slightly different criteria apply to personnel who maintain direct interaction with the guest, such as front-office positions (see Table 2). These positions are specified as: administrators and porters, reservations managers, guest communications managers, sales division managers, dining room managers, bartenders and waiting staff. This list is subject to modifications (restriction or expansion) in accordance with the organizational chart of the hotel in view.

Language requirements	Points in the point-grade rating system
The ability to establish communication with guests in at least one foreign language (English or another foreign language of international communication). A "conversational" level of English is required.	2
Knowledge of two foreign languages (English and other languages of international communication), at a conversational level	3
Knowledge of two foreign languages (English and other languages of international communication), where one language is used at a conversational level and the other is spoken fluently	4
Complete fluency in a minimum of two foreign languages (English and other languages of international communication)	5

Table 2. Hotel language requirements for front office positions

Analysis of the above criteria leads to the following conclusions:
– requirements regarding language mastery vary with regard to hotel category;
– the language requirements are not stated as prerequisite or mandatory;
– knowledge of foreign languages is only one of broader criteria for hotel assessment;
– fluency in a minimum of two foreign languages is given a high weighting (of five points).

Language mastery is therefore perceived more as an asset rather than a prerequisite. On condition that the hotel meets the highest requirements in other aspects of assessment, the hotel may still rank high on the classification scale with or without the hotel staff meeting language requirements.

It should also be noted that the provision does not specify any language testing procedures. There is also an evident absence of definitions for "conversational" and "fluent" level of command of language. Interviews with industry experts corroborate that language assessment procedures are not in place.

Another set of documents are internal industry documentation and training materials for employees, such as the Marriott training manual. These are set to promote instances of proper foreign language use for hospitality while discouraging inappropriate use. The phrases are carefully scripted and take into account guest psychology and service standards. An example is using "How can I assist you?" as opposed to "How can I help you?", as the latter may evoke a hint at a weakness in the guest. The word "help" is therefore considered illegitimate. Other world like this include *problem, can't, won't* and others. It is notewor-

[1] Languages of international communication in this case are specified as languages, except English and Russian, that are the official languages of the United Nations Organization: Arabic, Spanish, Chinese and French.

thy, however, that while these foreign language norms appear in company literature, they are not always enforced or monitored, in contrast to native language use, which is more strictly regulated.

The document analysis is corroborated by results obtained from 130 respondents from a leading hospitality school in Russia at the tertiary level, the Faculty of Hospitality at the Institute of Industry Management at RANEPA. All respondents have undergone official work placement in prominent hotels such as Lotte, Marriott, Mercure, Metropol, Lotte, Ritz-Carlton, and large national restaurant chains, such as Meat & Fish and Coffeemania, with a duration from three months minimum.

As seen from Table 3, the number of respondents who claim that no knowledge of foreign languages was requisite in the workplace as opposed to those stating that the knowledge of English was a prerequisite, is equal. Entry level interviews in English were held in approximately 30% of the cases, with over 65% of respondents claiming that no such interviews were held.

	Yes	No	Other
Knowledge of English or another foreign language is prerequisite	48,1	48,9	3
Interviews in English or other language testing procedures were in place	32,1	65,6	2,3
An international language proficiency certificate, such as the IELTS of TOEFFL, was required	0	100	
On-the-job language trainings were held	9,9	88,5	1,8
On-the-job language trainings are necessary and should be implemented	91,6	8,4	

Table 3. Survey results: language prerequisites and on-the-job training

Further data from Table 3 is based on a set of questions concerning on-the-job trainings. Within the 9,9% of cases where language trainings were held, in approximately 11% they focus on studying professional industry language, 3% focused on both general English and professional English, and 2,3% on general English solely. These trainings were held from once a week (seven respondents) to once a month (four respondents). In the remainder of the cases, respondents claim to either not remember how often the trainings were held, or that these trainings were a one-off event. In the vast majority of cases, the trainings concerned only front-line personnel such as the front desk and uniformed services. The conclusion can therefore be drawn that while in approximately half of hospitality establishments in view knowledge of English is prerequisite, on-the-job language trainings in the same establishments are practically non-existent. It is important to note that the cases in which trainings were held concerned only international hotel chains and were non-existent in national restaurant establishments. Three experts from the field corroborate this, stating budget constraints and high staff turnover as the principal reasons. Survey results also demonstrate that standardized requirements towards foreign language command are lacking and that language assessment procedures are inadequate.

Respondents were subsequently asked about foreign language command of hotel and restaurant employees as perceived by them. Results are demonstrated in Table 4 below.

Frequency of contact with guests in a foreign language (English or other)	Number of respondents (in %)
Never	27,5
Once or twice in the whole time of the work-placement (no less than three months)	Fewer than 3
Once a month	21,4
Once every two or three weeks	9,2
Every week	8,4
Every few days	9,2
Every day	20,6

Table 4. Survey results: frequency of guest contact in English

The results reveal that the number of frequent guest contacts in English amount to around 30% of the cases. It is also noteworthy that such cases are largely predominant in hotel establishments and are marginal in restaurants.

Table 5 presents data on the number of hotel employees who possess a conversational level of command of English, as perceived by the respondents:

% of employees, as perceived by respondents	% of respondents
100% of employees	7,6
70-80%	25,2
50-60%	27,5
Fewer than 50%	10,7
25%	8,4
Fewer than 25%	11,5
Almost no one	9,2

Table 5. Survey results: number of employees with a conversational level of English

The perceptions of over half of the respondents reveal that 50% and higher of employees have a conversational level of English, meaning they can maintain basic conversation with the guest. Based on the information described earlier, this leads to believe that hospitality students enter the workplace with a given level of language proficiency, which is not enhanced later in the workplace (80% of respondents claim that this proficiency is due to university language studies).

Over 90% of respondents claim that on-the-job language trainings are necessary and only 17% believe that their level of English is sufficient for working in the industry. This reveals a gap between the initial English level of interns and the required level to successfully perform work functions. The current situation is different for second foreign language command, with over 60% or respondents claiming that no or almost no members of staff speak two or more foreign languages.

Results obtained from the survey therefore reveal the following:

– there is no general shortage of English-speaking staff in hospitality establishments, however, their current level of language proficiency was achieved prior to the work placement;

– guest contact in English is comparatively low at international hotels and large hotel chains, which can be explained by the current political and economic climate.

Therefore, information obtained from the survey and the expert interviews have revealed a number of *language problems:*

– overall, interns do not feel that their level of English is sufficient for successful performance of work duties;

– on-the-job language trainings are implemented in a small minority of cases and in large international hotel chains;

– interns feel that on-the-job language trainings are lacking and necessary;

– in large hospitality establishments, high language proficiency is pre-requisite; however, many interns do not feel their language level is sufficient;

– foreign language usage is neither standardized nor regulated;

– the lack of standardization can lead to situations of confusion or mishaps reflecting badly on the quality of service.

Based on this analysis, it can be concluded that language policy in the hospitality industry in Russia is neither explicit, nor regulated by any particular body. Language practices vary from establishment to establishment and rely mostly on internal rules. The discrepancy between the importance of foreign language communication in the industry and the lack of consistent policy has led to efforts in better language management. These efforts aim *to constrain what is considered bad language and encourage what is considered good language* [26, p. 8].

Language management in this case is seen as a *"problem-solving"* activity [ibid.] aimed to bridge the gap between the group's needs and the existing situation. These can be *normative needs,* such as linguists' expertise, the group's *felt needs* or *expressed needs,* according to Dua, cited in Bianco [3, p. 151].

Language management in hospitality

Language policy planning can take many forms. For the purposes of this paper, we will consider *corpus planning, usage planning* and *acquisition* language planning as highlighted by Cooper (cited in Wingard) [29]. Corpus planning involves linguists working on language norms for a social group. Usage planning focuses on defining and expanding the domains in which language is used. Acquisition planning describes how norms of language usage are to be acquired.

National standardized English for hospitality exam

Language management is universally agreed to involve four stages. These include identifying the problem, formulating ways of resolving the problem, deciding on the norms to be enforced and implementing it through the system of education [3, p. 144].

As was concluded from the document analysis and survey results, a key problem regarding language policy is the lack of standardization of language practices and norms. These norms should be implemented in hotel and restaurant establishments using a top-down approach, as researchers maintain that the recommendations of language planners should always prevail over the preference of language users [ibid., p. 145].

The withdrawal of Russia from the Bologna process in 2022 and the suspension of activity of international testing organizations has rendered international language certificates, such as the IELTS, TOEFL and Cambridge certificates, irrelevant in the territory of the Russian Federation. It is noteworthy that even before the current situation occurred, such certificates were not mandatory nor did they offer any competitive advantage to the candidates that held them. This is corroborated by the replies of survey respondents, who unanimously replied that international language certificates were not required nor considered by the employer.

Inadequacy of standardization in the area of language command in hospitality has therefore led the stakeholders of the industry to believe that such standards should be introduced in the territory of the Russian Federation. This resulted in the introduction of a national English exam for hospitality professionals, developed by the author. The exam was devised in collaboration with key industry stakeholders to ensure its content validity.

The initiative was implemented in June 2022 in a pilot project with an exam administered in the third and fourth years of bachelor studies with 12 third and fourth-year students participating in the exam. All students taking the exam presented proof of relevant work experience in the industry.

The exam assumed an official legal status and involved issuing certificates by the Federation of Restaurateurs and Hoteliers of Russia. Despite this legal status, the pilot exam assumed the function of a *diagnostic test* rather than a finalized assessment procedure.

Administering a diagnostic test involves the stages of analyzing needs, formulating goals and objectives, content creation, test administration and evaluation [2], [4], [10], [11], [12]. In terms of language policy, the test involves corpus and usage planning, as candidates' answers are graded against hospitality norms and protocol. For the purposes of the exam, sample answers were developed by the exam developer and approved by the said professional association. Grading was carried out based on the number of instances of coincidence between the candidate's answer and the model answer. The exam is therefore an example of corpus planning [29], as it aims to identify language items to be used by industry professionals. It is also a case of usage planning [ibid.], as it analyses how and using which patterns hospitality professionals should communicate.

One of the primary functions of the pilot test was identifying language problem situations through needs analysis. Needs analysis involved gathering information about the students' *objective language* *needs* [17], [18], [23]. This was achieved by identifying the students' *present situation* and *lacks* – their specific weaknesses – in relation to the requirements of the professional *target situation* (establishing communication with the guest and carrying out professional work functions) through diagnostic testing. To triangulate research, feedback and evaluation was immediately gathered from industry experts directly involved in assessing candidates.

The diagnostic exam involved the following procedures:

– a written test comprising 60 questions on the use of English, professional terminology and reading professional texts (30% of the overall grade);

– a writing task assessing writing skills in two areas: replying to an e-mail enquiry and replying to a negative guest review (20% of the overall grade);

– an oral task where candidates maintained dialogues replicating professional work situations, such as dealing with a guest complaint or explaining menu items and promoting restaurant services (50% of the grade); speaking skills are thus given precedence which is reflected in the assessment weighting.

The task and the requirements closely mimicked the students' target situations of working in hotels and restaurants. Students were given sufficient time (90 min. for the written test, 60 for the writing assignment, and 30 for the oral part, 180 min. in total) to reduce time-pressure, and were provided with specific sources to use for reference, such as restaurant menus and internal hotel literature. The diagnostic test thus allowed to accurately analyze the gap between the students' existing *proficiency* [13] and target situation.

The principal goal of the exam is to introduce a standard of language use in the hospitality sphere and to assess candidates' language capabilities against this standard. Both the students' receptive and productive language skills are assessed, which is reflected in the exam structure. The goal statement was used to formulate specific grading criteria.

As maintained by Luka [14], communicative competence is central to hospitality workers. This competence includes *grammatical competence (basic lexis, semantics, morphology, syntax, phonology and orthography), pragmatic competence (contextual lexis, language functionality, unity and continuity of communication), discourse competence (language exposure and the unity of text and situation), sociolinguistic competence (understanding of other cultures, register, accent, dialects and interaction skills) and strategic competence (verbal and non-verbal communication strategies and compensation strategies).*

Based on the above, the following criteria for the exam were devised. In the oral part of the exam, candidates are expected to understand the task at hand; demonstrate listening skills and communication strategies specific to hospitality, using discourse strategies such as backtracking; demonstrate high grammatical control and wide lexical range; and have accurate and appropriate pronunciation. Another capability to grade is the command of professional techniques such as providing tourist information and offering recommendations, promoting hotel and restaurant services, and employing the LAST (Listen, Apologize, Solve, Thank) and LEARN (Listen, Emphasize, Apologize, React, Notify) techniques for dealing with complaints.

The criteria applied to the writing part of the test include: task achievement, following industry standards for writing; grammatical accuracy and range; lexical accuracy and range; structure and coherency; and using semi-formal register in correspondence with the guest.

It is imperative that both written assessment and oral testing employ the most rigorous procedures and are aligned with testing principles such as validity and reliability. The exam conforms to ESL (English as a second language) testing requirements as it has *content validity* as *it measures accurately what it is intended to measure* [27]. *Validity* [12] is therefore increased by the high *authenticity of the task* [4] measuring precisely the students' ability to act in target foreign language communication situations. The reading, writing and use of English sections, as well as the oral exam, test the respective skills. To ensure *content validity* [12] assessment must be aligned with the exam goals and content, namely to maintain successful communication with the guest and deliver service. To ensure that the exam is in line with the goal, the exam planners adopted *criterion-referenced, analytic scoring* [4] where candidates' performance is assessed across specific subcategories, such as employing professional techniques in English and using appropriate communication strategies (see above). The categories contain detailed *descriptors* and are *assigned individual numerical scores* [2], which add up to the final score.

The exam also has *face validity* – being in line with the candidate's expectations. As all candidates have professional experience working in the field, the oral test questions in the form of industry-based dialogues are familiar.

Reliability of oral and writing assessment is always a concern [12] and is in our case improved by:

– making assessment criteria transparent to students [10];
– including a detailed scoring key and criteria descriptors [12];
– being graded by at least two independent examiners (who are also experts in the professional field);
– prior examiner training.

Another important element of assessment is washback – *the way the test affects teaching and education that leads up to the test* [27]. *Beneficial washback* [12] can be achieved by the test making students feel that assessment is meaningful and useful for learning and the career, as opposed to being solely a formal administrative procedure. The exam is perceived by the candidates as a positive career investment.

As a result of the pilot exam, the following results were obtained and corroborated by industry experts:

The candidates' specific strengths

1. Candidates demonstrated a high overall language fluency both in the written and the oral test, as well as good lexical and grammatical range and control.
2. Candidates demonstrated good communication skills and understanding of the task at hand.
3. Candidates demonstrated an ability to self-correct and make individual choices of expression that are appropriate to the situation.
4. Some candidates demonstrated good knowledge of hospitality protocol.

The candidates' specific lacks

1. Lack of apparent interest and enthusiasm in both the writing and the oral task.
2. A disregard for personal appearance and improper body language in the oral task (crossed legs, closed postures, inappropriate casual clothing, lack of eye contact).
3. Inadequate or inappropriate use of industry terminology.
4. Inappropriate tone of voice, pace, stressing and pausing which conveyed the wrong impression (hesitation, hostility, lack of interest and professionalism).
5. Occasional grammatical and lexical inaccuracies.

The results allow us to make informed decisions on language instruction, which will be the object of this paper in a subsequent section.

The exam also displayed that while following industry protocol was a measure of success, appropriate personal language choice of expression also improved students' scores. This challenges the belief that language policy *should involve only deliberate change to language from public authorities* [3, p. 146]. A bottom-up approach to language policy can be considered using the tools of social psychology.

National Demography Project

Another initiative that can be seen as part of the general language policy is the *National Project "Demography"* [16] geared towards assisting "social" categories with employment. These categories range from women on maternity leave to citizens facing redundancy due to company liquidation as well as students with no professional prospects in their fields of specialization.

The English for the Hospitality programme devised as part of the project caters to the needs of current or prospective tourism professionals across the regions of the Russian Federation. This is believed to contribute towards the development of the hospitality and tourism industry in the country. The program is administered in English and aims to develop English language mastery in the context of hospitality. The programme is congruent with industry standards and is founded on accepted codes of language usage. The course has seen high demand, with over 70 applications in September and April 2022 each. The outcomes of the course are predominantly positive, as determined by student feedback and end-of-the-course testing. The student subjective needs and wants have been mostly fulfilled as is evident from the student feedback on the course. The measure to which objective needs were met was determined via continuous assessment in the form of unit tests and final assessment.

Implications for language teaching

Language management also involves acquisition planning [29], which presents ways of learning and internalizing norms of usage identified by language policy. Acquisition planning presents a plan of the methods and procedures in which language norms are to be learnt.

It is imperative for education professionals and hospitality establishments to join efforts in upgrading linguistic competences of hospitality employees. Foreign language policy in the industry needs to be consistent throughout all levels of ESP education and evaluation from university studies to on-the-job human resources training [1], [8], [22], [25].

Language norms in hospitality establishments are predominantly top-down, as employees are expected to memorize and reproduce language scripts and follow strict codes and procedures. Language use in the industry is perceived in the terms of legitimacy and illegitimacy, as it is a medium to perform service. Illegitimate language use can result in fines and salary deductions.

Tertiary-level education in the field can make these language codes and norms more relatable for interns through education practices based on the *meaningfulness approach.* This signifies that instead of focusing on memorization of phrases and dialogues for common work situations, language education should first build meaning and context around these situations. In this way, students can understand the social value of these norms. This is reflected in foreign language *MPF (Meaning, Pronunciation, Form)* teaching methodology, where meaning and context are presented first, followed by correct pronunciation and lastly, the linguistic form.

Appropriate focus on meaning is possible through target situation analysis, which allows to make informed decisions on curriculum design.

In order to ensure congruency and coherency between foreign language education and language policy, educational institutions collaborate closely with corporate bodies. Instructional decisions are informed by industry practices. One of the leading hospitality schools in Russia, the Faculty of Hospitality at the Institute of Industry Management at RANEPA, is affiliated with the Federation of Restaurateurs and Hoteliers of Russia. Instructional decisions are approved by the Federation before being implemented in the curriculum. This allows for a better coordination of foreign language policy between educational institutions and the workplace.

The intrinsic characteristics of the industry will thus have a reflection on the curriculum level. Hospitality is defined by its hands-on quality and clearly specified hierarchy. Students embarking on a career in the field start at linear positions at hotels and restaurants gradually advancing to positions of higher responsibility and managerial roles. To achieve this, an efficient foreign language syllabus at the tertiary level provides immersion into the industry starting from the first year of studies through programmes of study such as “English for the Restaurant Business” and “English for the Hotel Business” in year one, and “English for Tourism” and “English for Event Management” in year two of the academic studies. The syllabus is negotiated with the key stakeholders comprised of industry experts from the national hospitality Federation. General English should also be given sufficient attention in the curriculum as students feel it develops their conversational skills [5]. The curriculum is continually enhanced in relationship with changes in the field.

Another key tenet of university hospitality programmes are sandwich degrees, which involve industry placement during the course of academic studies. Internship commonly takes place in the middle of the academic year from February to April, which coincides with major Russian holidays and an influx of guests both at hotel and F&B (food and beverage) establishments. University education and work are therefore intertwined. Hence, language policy is applied both in relation to tertiary-level university studies and hospitality establishments. Students embark on a career in the professional sphere commencing from their first year of university education and develop occupational profiles and professional portfolios in the course of their studies.

Given the above, university lecturers assume a language-planning function. The focus of teaching activity is around relevant aspects of language and its use in the profession. Instructors become intermediaries between the industry policy-makers and the students. This has several implications. Most importantly, instructional goals and policy goals should be aligned. It is also central for ESP lecturers to receive training approved by industry associations. An initiative is currently in place to implement a hospitality-training centre providing methodological support to the teaching staff.

Conclusion

The orientation of this discussion was existing language policy and perspective directions for language management in the hospitality sphere, such as language use and testing standardization. Existing language policy in the industry has been found to be sporadic and inexplicit. Language norms for hospitality professionals are inadequate and not enforced by authorities: neither by government nor by corporate bodies. For the foregoing reasons, the author describes a case study of a national standardized English exam for hospitality professionals, introduced in 2022. Approved by the Federation of Restaurateurs and Hoteliers of Russia, the exam aims to standardize language practices in the hospitality industry and serve as a platform of assessment of hotel personnel language competencies. The paper maintains that English language instruction at the tertiary level should be informed by standards and practices in the industry through collaboration with the Federation of Restaurateurs and Hoteliers of Russia. This has implications for language instructors, who serve as conductors of hospitality norms and standards through English language education. The paper did not concern itself with details of ESP for hospitality English curriculum design, which can be the subject of future discussions.

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DALIT STUDENTS' CRITICAL AWARENESS OF THEIR LINGUISTIC IDENTITY FOR PEDAGOGICAL SCAFFOLDING: A GEOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE FROM NEPAL

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Abstract. *This study explores the critical awareness of Dalit students in Nepal (belonging to the subaltern group of the untouchables in the Hindu caste system) regarding their linguistic identity and pedagogical scaffolding. Language as the medium of instruction plays a crucial role in having access to quality education. Children from marginalized communities, who do not have their own language, have a compulsion to use the language of oppressors. More specifically, Dalit students' perception, awareness, and ideology with regard to their linguistic identity, language learning, and medium of instruction at the plus-two level, despite their marginalization in the society, enhance broader understanding of the role of the linguistic factor for their pedagogical support. This qualitative study adopts interview and focus group discussion as major tools for generating data from purposively sampled Dalit students studying in the Kathmandu Valley. To generate the data, 22 semi-structured interviews of the key informants and two focus group discussions were conducted. Descriptive, exploratory and interpretive methods were employed to analyze the data from a geolinguistic perspective. The findings show that Dalit students studying at the plus-two level were aware of their sense of loss for not having their own mother tongue, i.e. a separate linguistic identity. They prefer the Nepali language as the medium of instruction for their pedagogical scaffolding as they understand clearly in this language. At the same time, the respondents preferred the English language for professional opportunities, foreign employment, and uplift of the socio-economic status of Dalits and as a tool for combating their power negotiation in society. This conclusion supports the need to deal with Dalit students in regard to their pedagogical scaffolding by addressing the issues of their linguistic identity at the plus-two level.*

Keywords: *Dalit students, linguistic identity, medium of instruction, pedagogical scaffolding, power negotiation, geolinguistics, languages of Nepal*

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КРИТИЧЕСКОЕ ОСОЗНАНИЕ СТУДЕНТАМИ-ДАЛИТАМИ СВОЕЙ ЯЗЫКОВОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ ДЛЯ ПЕДАГОГИЧЕСКОЙ ПОДДЕРЖКИ: ГЕОЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКАЯ ПЕРСПЕКТИВА ИЗ НЕПАЛА

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Аннотация. *В настоящей работе исследуется критическое самоосознание студентов-далитов в Непале (принадлежащих к дискриминируемой группе неприкасаемых в индуистской кастовой системе) в отношении их языковой идентичности и педагогического скаффолдинга (поддержки в учебном процессе). Язык как средство обучения играет решающую роль в доступе к качественному образованию. Дети из маргинализированных сообществ, не имеющие собственного языка, вынуждены использовать язык угнетателей. В частности, восприятие, самосознание и идеология учащихся-далитов в отношении их языковой идентичности, изучения языка и средств обучения на уровне старшей школы, несмотря на их маргинализацию в обществе, способствуют более широкому пониманию роли лингвистического фактора для их педагогической поддержки. Представленное качественное исследование использует интервью и обсуждение в фокус-группах в качестве основных инструментов для получения данных от специально отобранных студентов-далитов, обучающихся в долине Катманду. Для получения данных было проведено 22 полуструктурированных интервью с ключевыми информантами и две дискуссии в фокус-группах. Для анализа данных с геолингвистической точки зрения использовались описательные, исследовательские и интерпретационные методы. Выводы показывают, что студенты-далиты, обучающиеся на уровне старших классов, осознавали своё чувство потери из-за отсутствия у них собственного родного языка, т.е. отдельной языковой идентичности. Они предпочитают непальский язык в качестве средства обучения для своей педагогической поддержки, поскольку хорошо понимают этот язык. В то же время респонденты предпочли английский язык для своих профессиональных возможностей, трудоустройства за границей и повышения социально-экономического статуса далитов, а также как инструмент борьбы за их роль и права в обществе. Данный вывод подтверждает необходимость работы со студентами-далитами в отношении их педагогической поддержки через обращение к вопросам их языковой идентичности на уровне старшей школы.*

Ключевые слова: *студенты-далиты, языковая идентичность, средство обучения, педагогическая поддержка, борьба за права, геолингвистика, языки Непала*

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Introduction

Recent discourse in the language in education has global influence as it makes language a powerful tool in the formation of one's identity not only in politics but also in the field of academia. The reason behind this, uncritically and without the benefit of explicit and analytical reflection of linguistic identity-as-pedagogy, can actually serve to reinforce patterns of inequality [19] rather than support the pedagogical enhancement of children. Linguistic identity impacts deeply learning, employment, professional development, prestige and power negotiation in society. Critical awareness of these issues remains crucial to learners from marginalized communities. Education in the mother tongue, the local language, regional language, national/international language, and bilingual/multilingual education are the crosscutting issues in language education that Dalit children have to be critically aware of.

Nepalese society is based on the Hindu Chaturverna system which stratifies the society into four strata, viz. Brahmins, Kshetries, Vaishyas and Sudras, Brahmins being at the top of the hierarchy and Sudras at the bottom [1, p. 66–80]. The Sudras, also known as Dalits, were made untouchables and expected to serve the people of the upper layers in the hierarchy. They were constantly reminded that their salvation lay in their service to upper class people. They had to undergo an abysmal history of discrimination since around 3,500 years back when the Varna System is supposed to have been institutionalized in the then Indian Subcontinent [ibid., p. 59]. It is shameful to say that Dalits of Nepal are still living a dehumanized life with untouchability, which is a unique phenomenon among Hindus unknown to humanity in other parts of the world. It is not found in any other society – primitive, ancient or modern [2, p. 38]. In brief, Dalits are the most marginalized people in the Hindu caste system and they are systematically discriminated against by the state mechanism. Hence, they are a backward community in terms of access to education and other resources. Eventually, their children were deprived of education by laws in the past. However, the Constitution, promulgated in 2015, showed concern about educating Dalit children. In the discussions on the education for Dalit children, the issues of the medium of instruction and their perception towards languages remain crucial.

Unlike other ethnic children who have their own mother tongue, which is the best medium of instruction socially, educationally, and psychologically [22, p. 10], Dalit students in Nepal themselves lack their own mother tongue as they do not have a separate language. The settlements of Dalits have spread throughout the nation but they lack a particular place, culture, language, region, and religion. Dalits speak the language spoken in the majority community. Thus, Hill-Dalits speak Nepali, Dalits of the Kathmandu Valley speak Newari, and Terai-Dalits speak Tharu, Maithili, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Bajika, Hindi, and so on. In school education, the medium of instruction is Nepali and, if the school is private, it is English. Mother tongue based education has been piloted and implemented in Nepal since 2007 for children of ethnic minorities such as Tamang, Tharu, Magar, Rajbansi, Santhal, Newari, Rai, Limbu [23, p. 51–73] and so on but this issue is beyond the rhetoric of language education for Dalit children.

Contemporary literature focuses on mother tongue based education [19]. However, the schools in Nepal are using either Nepali or English as the medium of instruction despite the fact that the classrooms are culturally and linguistically diverse. The United Nations General Assembly declared 2019 as the International Year of Indigenous Languages with the aim to raise awareness of the crucial role languages play in people's daily lives including early learning, as well as promoting and protecting indigenous languages and improving access to education for indigenous people. This announcement remained silent for those who lack their own language.

This study explores Dalit students' critical awareness of their linguistic identity for their pedagogical scaffolding from the geolinguistic perspective. Geolinguistics is the study of language concerns, languages in contact and conflict, in relation to geography through objective oriented research in real-life situations [9], [12, p. 47–65]. In another sense, it is the politics of language in practical life that raises voices and empowers the minority communities. The way Dalit students at the plus-two level perceive the language in education and their linguistic identity with regard to their pedagogical scaffolding can enhance their critical awareness of language in education. This empirical evidence empowers the Dalit students in terms of why and how they study particular languages to assure their access to education. The Dalit students have higher dropout, repetition and failure rates compared to other ethnic communities. The feeling of inferiority and humiliation while being exposed to dominant culture and language and denial of their linguistic identity also can cause social, educational and psychological disturbances in Dalit children [10]. On this ground, the researchers purposely selected the Dalit students studying in the Kathmandu Valley as informants. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were conducted to generate primary data whereas the geolinguistic perspective paves the theoretical ground in the study. Geolinguistics studies the pursuit of researching, disseminating and publishing up-to-date knowledge on language issues/debates, plurilingualism/polyglottery, language teaching and learning from policy to pedagogy. The study focuses on an objective and solution-oriented approach to language contact and conflict in society from a temporal and geographical perspective [12, p. 47–65]. More specifically, it concerns itself with language planning, policymaking, and the politics of language education of both majority and minority languages in relation to specific geographical locations, with their impact on real-life situations being the core area of geolinguistics studies [14]. Dalit children's critical awareness of their linguistic identity for their pedagogical scaffolding tends to influence language in education, curriculum, and materials development for access to quality (language) education for Dalit children. The paper draws on the following theoretical grounds, empirical literature, methods, findings, discussion and implications concerning Dalit students' critical awareness.

Literature review

Language and identity are interrelated concepts as a person's identity is reflected in language. A language is a powerful tool to build up one's identity, which remains crucial to the marginal communities that do not have their own language. As a matter of fact, every human being needs a language to make sense of his own identity. Dalits form a historically disadvantaged group, which is socially, economically, and politically marginalized from mainstream state functions. This community does not have its own distinct mother tongue; rather, they speak the language of the majority communities around their settlements. Dalits of the Hilly Region speak the Nepali language whereas Terai-Dalits speak Maithili or Bhojpuri, Tharu, Awadhi, Rajbansi, Hindi, and so on. In the Kathmandu Valley, Dalits speak the Newari language. This has a direct impact on the schooling of Dalit children. School is a social space where children from different languages come together. The medium of instruction at school is Nepali, and the English language is taught as a foreign language. Language plays a key role in constructing and maintaining distinctive human identities. Democratic school practices emphasize equal treatment of all learners from different linguistic backgrounds in the school. However, the case of Dalit children is different, which has been depicted by many scholars.

Khanal [12, p. 47–65], in his study entitled *The Quest for Educational Inclusion in Nepal: a Study of Factors Limiting the Schooling of Dalit Children,* deals with the inclusion of the children from Dalit communities into the education system. He highlights the fact that Dalit children are disadvantaged and often sidelined within the formal education system of the nation. The focus of his study lies on the exploration of the barriers that hinder the education access, involvement and betterment of Dalit students at the secondary level. It is an ethnographic study that deployed a series of interviews and observations in a natural-cultural setting to collect the data. The study uncovers the challenges in implementing national policies, making resources available, and effective monitoring for the purpose of including Dalit children in education. However, the study left the issues of linguistic identity and pedagogical aspects untouched.

Kharel [13, p. 116–122] carried out academic research for her PhD thesis entitled *The Dialectics of Identity and Resistance of Dalits in Nepal* which was written for submission to the University of Pittsburgh. The major areas of the research were to uncover constraints and possibilities of everyday identities and organized/political identities based on gender, class and generation. The researcher employed theoretical grounds of intersectionality and matrix of domination, place and spatiality (everyday space and civil society political space), caste and social mobility, and dialectics of identity and resistance. The ethnographic study employed participant observation, interviews and documentary evidence on Deula, Bishwakarma and Pariyar community members including organized/political activists. Everyday experiences of discrimination force both community and political actors to strategically reveal or conceal their Dalit identities depending upon the situation. Formation of the subjective and objective aspects of the relationship between the two spatial and institutional contexts implies an emerging Dalit identity [ibid.]. The study opened the avenues for the human rights perspective in the global context but the critical awareness of the linguistic identity of Dalit children for their pedagogical scaffolding was still unexplored. Dalit children obviously have certain constraints and possibilities in relation to their linguistic identities for their pedagogic support, which deserves exploration.

Cameron [5] also carried out another study on certain issues being debated about Dalits entitled "Many Dalits: debating identity in a new Nepal". Important gestures of reform like political quotas, educational scholarships, and equal access to cultural resources are very important in moving social justice forward [ibid.]. She pointed, "An integrated, comprehensive approach toward social justice involving economic, civil, and educational and health rights should be ensured to Dalit communities" [ibid.]. The research remained silent on the emphasis to be placed on critical awareness and linguistic identity as a means of empowering Dalit children through pedagogy.

Folmar [10] had carried out yet another study entitled *Identity Politics among Dalits in Nepal.* The study sites consisted of Kami, Sarki, and Damai of Jharuwarasi and Sirubari in central and western regions. This ethnographic study was based on the theoretical ground of symbolic separation of the clean from the unclean and the exertion of economic, political, or materially-based power and the concept of identity politics and resistance. Folmar claims, "Establishing group identity, advocating its rights and maintaining its borders are central to the efforts of Dalit empowerment" [ibid., p. 51]. Pedagogical issues and the linguistic identity of Dalit children are yet to be explored as no research has been conducted earlier.

Koirala [15, p. 31] carried out the first ethnographic study on *Schooling and the Dalits of Nepal: a Case Study of Bunkot Dalit Community* for his PhD thesis submitted to the University of Alberta. Koirala got into the issue of Dalits and schooling from the broader perspective of Marxism and Max Weber's power theory based on the sociology of education and social inequality. The case study design employed participant observation, discussion and household surveys to generate the ethnographic data. Koirala [ibid.] pointed out that schooling ensured Dalits' social mobility, identified avenues to economic betterment, developed sociopolitical awareness, began to question untouchability and encouraged their children to attend school. Basically, the study left the linguistic identity of Dalit children unresearched. Despite the dominant impact of the first academically broader visionary research on the Dalit issue, Dalit children's critical awareness of their linguistic identity for pedagogical scaffolding in their schooling was left to be uncovered.

Research methodology

The research process involves the nature of the study and the research problem [8, p. 105], [6, p. 32]. Linguistic identity and pedagogical scaffolding of Dalit students also have a distinct nature and need-specific methodology of the study. Dalit students are from a marginal community that deserves special attention in terms of education since they have been segregated in society as untouchable. Aligning to it, Dhungel argues, "Perfection of language leads to perfection of human beings" [9, p. 24]. The methodology covers overall philosophical assumptions, research designs, methods and data collection procedures, analysis, and interpretation [6, p. 32]. Mainly three approaches of research methodology are in practice in the social sciences, viz. qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-method. Each approach has its own paradigm of worldview, designs and methods, analysis and interpretation strategy including the sampling procedure, tools, and techniques. The authors have also considered the nature of the participants and decided the methods in this study.

The selection of the research approach depends upon the nature of the study, the problem to be addressed, the researcher's personal experiences, and the audience. As authors intended to explore the linguistic identity and pedagogical scaffolding of Dalit students including the power negotiation in the society, qualitative study, an approach used to deal with detailed particulars before making generalizations and which means an inductive way of making inferences, has been deployed in this paper. In the words of Creswell [ibid.], a qualitative study explores the human understanding of particular problems or phenomena in society. The study that we are going to accomplish aims to explore Dalit children's critical awareness of their linguistic identity for their pedagogical scaffolding. The nature of data in this study is both qualitative and quantitative. However, the authors have applied the qualitative method [7, p. 22].

In this study, Dalit children's awareness of their linguistic identity deserves exploring through a qualitative design. To borrow the words of Kvale, "In qualitative research, interviewing is appropriately used when 'studying people's understanding of the meaning in their lived world' " [17, p. 105]. In fact, interviewing is the best technique to use "to find out those things we cannot directly observe like feelings, thoughts, and intentions" [18, p. 72]. The Dalit students studying at the plus-two level in the Kathmandu Valley were the universes of population and purposive sampling procedures which were employed for qualitative information. The respondents for this study were selected through purposive sampling based on predetermined criteria, which is vital to understand central phenomenon [6, p. 32]. Interview guidelines and focus group discussion guidelines were developed for generating qualitative information. The researchers considered ethical issues such as the anonymity of respondents to secure their identity. The interviews were conducted at the participants' respective settings and the questions were asked focusing on their critical awareness of and attitudes to their linguistic identity for the purpose of determining their pedagogical scaffolding. At the same time, pseudonyms along with respondents' identity numbers such as R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, etc. were used to ensure anonymity and secure their identities. The qualitative responses elicited from the respondents were coded, thematically categorized, and theoretically triangulated based on the objectives of the study. Descriptive, exploratory and critical methods were employed to analyze the data obtained from interviews. As per the objectives of the study, data were triangulated from a geolinguistic perspective.

Results and discussion

Since the academic discourse on critical awareness of the linguistic identity of Dalit students for their pedagogical scaffolding remained sporadic in literature, the study in this area from the perspective of geolinguistics remained absolutely vacant. Geolinguistics is a branch of linguistics dealing with the analysis and implications of the geographical location, distribution, and structure of language varieties within a temporal framework, either in isolation or in contact and/or conflict with one another. The essence of this approach lies in doing objective-oriented research on real-life language issues [14]. The researchers purposively selected Samaj Bikas Chhatrabas (Bijeswori Hostel) where more than approximately 200 Dalit students from different districts of the country live and study in both government and private colleges in the Kathmandu Valley. Among them, the authors interviewed 16 students studying at the plus-two level and five more students were purposely selected from other different colleges in Kathmandu. The data generated from the interviews and focus group discussions have been dealt with under the thematic areas of the linguistic identity, the medium of instruction, the language of profession and access to foreign countries and power negotiation in the society.

R1 (pseudonym: Jenish), aged 20, from Archalbot, Dordi Village Municipality, Lamjung, studies at grade XII. He lives in a community where the majority of households are Gurungs who speak the Gurung language. He can understand (but cannot speak) the Gurung language though he is a Nepali language speaker. This situation can be regarded as language in contact and conflict [ibid.]. Further, he commented, "Had we had our own distinct native language, it would have been better though I feel comfortable with using the Nepali language". Despite his quest for a distinct mother tongue, R1 prefers the use of the Nepali language to English. Regarding the question on the medium of education, he prefers Nepali medium to English as it is more intelligible to him though he finds the English language equally important. These statements of R1 depicted a crisis of Dalit students' linguistic identity as he desired to have his own distinct native language though he uses the Nepali language as his mother tongue. Geolinguistically, this seems to be a solution-oriented approach [ibid.].

Another respondent, R2 (pseudonym: Bikram), aged 22, who studied at the secondary level in Surkhet, finds the Nepali language easy and comfortable to speak. Compared to English, he prefers the Nepali language as the medium of instruction since it is more intelligible for pedagogical support. He opined, "For the teaching-learning purpose, the Nepali language is more effective for me as I completed my school education from a government school where the Nepali language was the medium of instruction". As we think, imagine and act in the language [9], it determines the consciousness, which is the output of his linguistic surrounding in school life. Studying in a government school has created an impression to Dalit children that they are weak in English though they found speaking English essential for international communication. "The Nepali language is a source of assimilation in our society and I do not have my own distinct language, either". Bikram feels proud to be a Nepali speaker. Aligned with the words of Pradhan [21, p. 89], R2 uses the Nepali language in his everyday space and has become habituated with it [3, p. 13–17].

The next respondent, R3 (pseudonym: Jiban) has conveyed the transition of his linguistic identity for pedagogical support. He noted, "In Bajhang, Dalits do not have a separate Dalit language. We speak the local Bajhangi language and feel comfortable while communicating in the Bajhangi language at school. We spoke Bajhangi which we preferred as the medium of instruction for us" (interview, December 13, 2020). When he passed the Secondary School Exam (SEE) and came to Kathmandu, his preference changed as there was no possibility of using the Bajhangi language and he started to prefer the Nepali language for his pedagogical support. He studies in an ICT college in Kathmandu where the medium of instruction is English. He provides clues for his challenge in learning English. Marking his intention to identify himself as a Nepali speaker, he spoke:

> "Local language has no place in learning ICT in Grade XI and XII. I would like to identify myself as a Nepali speaker and prefer the Nepali language for my educational facilitation. I have cordial relationships with the Nepali language as it is our national language" (interview, December 13, 2020).

R3's ideology was further illustrated with his expression that the Nepali language is the language of the public service commission. Hence, it is more important for him as he wanted to attend the examination of the public service commission. Further, he added, "There is a strong affinity and hearty relationship of the mother tongue and birthplace with the particular place and period".

R4 (pseudonym: Santosh), aged 18, was studying at Oxford Engineering College in Kathmandu. He was from western Rukum. Society in his locality is mixed with ethnic castes where Brahmin, Chhetri, Magars, and Tamangs are major residents. R4 found Magars and Tamangs speaking their own languages and experienced a sort of closeness between them while speaking their language. Speaking the Nepali language is his compulsion and it has been the contact language among Magar, Tamang, Brahmin, and Chhetri communities. A sense of linguistic crisis was realized in his expression as he stated:

> "I feel uncomfortable when I cannot speak Magar Kham with my Magar friends. I wish I had my own mother tongue. Especially when we have a conflict and quarrel with Magar friends, they start using the Magar language and we feel bad when we cannot understand what they are really saying to us. In that context, I wish I had my own language like theirs".

R5 (pseudonymed Rabindra) agrees with Santosh as he also prefers the Nepali language for pedagogical scaffolding being a product of a government school. However, he expressed, "The English language provides us access to foreign employment and other opportunities" (interview, December 13, 2020). Dalit students are aware of the fact that language is social capital as it provides opportunities in the society. However, they remain silent to the fact that power negotiation plays a critical role in getting an opportunity in the society [16].

R6 (pseudonymed Kiresh), aged 17, a student of grade XI, raised another issue of the linguistic identity of Dalits. Though he finds Nepali easier and more comfortable for his pedagogical facilitation, he believes that the English language broadens the horizon of knowledge and empowers us to contact globally. He opined, "It is better to have our own language. But, if we become competent in the Nepali and English languages, we can communicate with foreigners, which might help us to earn money. And moreover, the chances of job opportunity can be increased" (interview, December 14, 2020). Professional opportunities are increased through national and international language competence.

One of the most prolific ideas was put forward by R7 (pseudonymed Ankit), aged 20, from Arghakhanchi, a student at grade XII in one of the colleges in the Kathmandu Valley. He connected linguistic identity with the power-sharing and struggle of the Dalit movement. Dalits could have struggled more efficiently if they had had their own single mother tongue. R7 argued, "Linguistic diversity also has made Dalit leaders less intelligible among Dalits, especially Terai-Dalits and Hill-Dalits. Dalits have been divided due to the difference in language in Terai" (interview, December 14, 2020). R7's ideas on the linguistic identity of Dalits deserve a soul-searching consideration among advocates of Dalit freedom. His statements indicated that language policy can play a critical role in Dalit liberation. This ideology is analogous to the geolinguistic aspect, i.e. problems of language in contact and conflict can be solved through objective-oriented research in a real-life situation [14].

R8 (pseudonym: Subas), aged 18, from Tanahun district, studies in Kathmandu at Rainbow International College. He also feels sad for not having his own language. Though there are Magar, Gurung, Newar, and Tamang communities in his locality and they speak their own languages, he preferred the Nepali language and wants to identify himself as a Nepali speaker. However, regarding the pedagogical purpose, he stated, "Nepali medium remains crucial for others but I prefer the English language for pedagogical purposes as I am a product of an English medium school. I feel comfortable with English. More importantly, English has broader scope for professional career development in the future too" (interview, January 7, 2021).

Another respondent, R9 (pseudonym: Rubita), aged 20, from Tanahun, studying at grade XII, also agreed with the ideas expressed by R8. However, she showed grave concern for not having her own linguistic identity. As she states, "I feel uncomfortable for not having our own language, which restricts us from communicating with our people. We cannot feel proud of our own language and share ideas freely" (interview, January 8, 2021). Pedagogically, she explained, "Only the students who come from English medium schools should be taught in English and the others should be taught in the Nepali language". Meanwhile, she was conscious of the importance of the English language for foreign jobs.

R10 (pseudonymed Sony), 18 years old, from Tanahun, studying at grade XII, focused on the linguistic identity, medium of instruction, and student achievement. In the interview, she revealed, "At the plus-two level, if the medium of instruction is the native language of the student, it will make communication more comfortable. Students can have a better understanding, which ultimately impacts student achievement" (interview, January 8, 2021). Her ideology of employment opportunities is also similar to that of other students as she said, "English has become essential in order to get a job in big multinational companies". She was in favour of multilingual education even at the plus-two level. As she states, "In Rainbow International College, learners are from diverse linguistic backgrounds such as Newar, Tamang, Magar, Tharu, Gurung, and Brahmin-Chhetri too. Therefore, if a teacher teaches in only one language, other students may not understand properly" (interview, January 8, 2021).

R11 (pseudonym: Ranju), aged 23, from Gorkha, is studying at Amrit Science Campus, Kathmandu. She "feels a sense of loss" for not having her own language. She recalled, "I feel like kind of lacking for not having my own distinct language". Her ideas were similar to those of other students. She further added, "For power negotiation and to enrich the access to resources, Dalit students have to learn multiple languages like Nepali and English though, pedagogically, the language which they understand better should be chosen at the plus-two level". She opined, "The English language supports access to knowledge in science and technology originating and flourishing in the western countries, which ultimately contributes to better job opportunities in the foreign countries" (interview, January 10, 2021). She remarked, "The study of multilingualism (Nepali, English or any other language) brings better understanding in society, which is better for social peace and harmony too".

Another student, R12 (pseudonym: Rojina), aged 16, from Gorkha district and a student at Shanti Vidhya Griha Lainchour, also preferred English for pedagogical scaffolding of Dalit students as it is likely to empower them (interview, January 10, 2021).

R13 (pseudonym: Unish Pariyar), aged 19, is a student of computer science at Rainbow International College. He is from Dhading and finds no alternative to learning the English language for pedagogical support and job opportunities. Similar expressions were made by R14 (pseudonym: Laxman Bishwokarma), from Argha Khanchi, who is a XII-grader at Rainbow International School, and by R15 (Rajan from Dolakha studying at the same college). R16 from Sindhuli, also studying at this college (pseudonym: Shyam), preferred both Nepali and English for pedagogical scaffolding of Dalit students. He commented, "English is used worldwide and the people with good English proficiency hold power and enjoy additional prestige. So, English is a must-learn language". Particularly, student R17 (pseudonym: Sunita), from Dhading, and R18 (pseudonym: Goma), from Ramchhap, of grade XII and grade XI, respectively, and student R19 (pseudonym: Savyata), from Arghakhanchi, studying at Rainbow International College, experienced "language as means of discrimination and exploitation. Language shows personal traits and determines the English language as a lingua franca in the global context". Comparatively, slightly different views were expressed by students from Gramin Aadarsha Campus, Nepaltar.

R20 (pseudonym: Deep Bashyal), 22 years old, from Dhading, studying at grade XII at Gramin Adarsha Campus, noted, "Nepali is a medium of instruction in the classroom for pedagogical scaffolding whereas English is for combating Dalits' subalternity in a global context" (interview January 13, 2021). He finds that "if we have good proficiency in English, our backwardness can be abated as language is the identity of an individual". R21 (pseudonym: Tulasha), aged 22, from Dolakha, studying at Gramin Adarsha Campus, preferred Nepali as the medium of instruction for pedagogical support though she wished to have her own distinct mother tongue. R22 (pseudonym: Shova), aged 22, of the same campus, further commented, "Language is an important factor of one's identity. Dalit students must learn the English language because having good command of English can be a strong weapon to uplift their socio-economic status in society" (interview, January13, 2021). The ideas expressed have a strong link with the instrumental role in achieving social status in the society [3, p. 13–17].

Overall, 22 students studying at the plus-two level in the Kathmandu Valley from different districts preferred Nepali as a medium of instruction for their pedagogical scaffolding. Students from English medium school backgrounds preferred English. However, all of them agreed on bilingual education and focused on the English language for professional opportunities, foreign employment, and uplift of the socio-economic status of Dalits and as a tool for combating their subalternity.

Another tool used in the study was focus group discussion (FGD) among the plus-two level students at Rainbow International College, Dallu, and Samaj Bikash Hostel, Bijeswori, Kathmandu. Two FGDs were conducted by the researchers themselves after receiving permission and arranging time-schedule as per the convenience of the participants. FGD guidelines were prepared prior to the discussion and recordings were made in accordance with the objectives of the research. The first FGD was carried out on among 12 Dalit students from different districts on February 13, 2021, at Samaj Bikash Hostel, Bijeswori. After the introductory round, the authors proceeded with the major areas of research such as linguistic identity, pedagogical scaffolding, medium of instruction, and power negotiation for Dalit students in society. Regarding the first issue, the participants discussed matters intensely and concluded, "We feel sad that Dalits do not have their distinct linguistic identity like other ethnic communities; however, we feel proud of speaking the Nepali language as our mother tongue" (FGD1, February 13, 2021).

On the next issues of pedagogical scaffolding and medium of instruction, the participants were divided into two halves. Four of them strongly stated that they felt it easy to learn in the English medium for their pedagogical scaffolding. The rest of them were of the opinion that: "We understand things in the Nepali language as we have spoken it since our childhood. English is a really tough language for us" (FGD1, February 13, 2021). Explaining the reason behind this, the former group mentioned that they had studied in English medium schools whereas the other group's students had studied in Nepali medium based public schools. As far as power negotiation in society is concerned, almost all the participants strongly agreed that both Nepali and English language deserve learning as they have to negotiate power in society. A conclusion they made in the discussion was, "We have struggled in our society with Nepali speakers and other ethnic language speakers. Moreover, we have to grab employment opportunities in foreign countries too. Therefore, we have to be perfect in both English and Nepali languages" (FGD1, February 13, 2021). Eventually, the participants concluded, "We need Nepali medium for our better pedagogical scaffolding for other subjects whereas English is a must for computer use, IT and other technical subjects" (FGD1, February 13, 2021).

The next FGD was held on February 16, 2021, and was led by Babu Ram Bishwokarma at Rainbow International College at Dallu, Kathmandu. Only eight Dalit students participated in the discussion. All of them were studying at the plus-two level in management, humanities, and education streams. The author proceeded with the issues of discussion after the introduction and clarification of the purpose of discussion in the group. The participants unanimously agreed, "We do not have our separate mother tongue but we feel happy to learn Nepali from childhood. It is our national language, too. Therefore, the Nepali language must be the medium of instruction at the plus-two level, too, as we understand it better" (February 16, 2021). Three of the participants further argued, "Nepali is a lingua franca among ethnic languages whereas English is the contact language in a global context". Later, all of them concluded that bilingual education at plus-two level seems inevitable. Regarding the issue of power negotiation, five of the students openly stated, "To do politics in Nepal, we must be perfect in the Nepali language whereas to highlight our agenda regarding untouchability in the global arena, we must learn the English language" (February 16, 2021). The participants were conscious of not having their own distinct mother tongue and would feel proud to have one, and believed that for access to leadership, resources, and empowerment that language learning is important.

The study aimed to explore the critical awareness and attitudes of Dalit students towards their linguistic identity for their pedagogical scaffolding. Students from different colleges studying in the Kathmandu Valley who were living in Samaj Bikash Hostel, Bijeswori, Kathmandu, were interviewed for their perceptions, understanding, critical awareness and attitudes towards their linguistic identity. Thematic areas of the findings were categorized into four, namely: the awareness of linguistic identity, the medium of instruction for pedagogical scaffolding, the language for professional career development, and the language of access to study abroad, to obtain employment opportunities and to enable power negotiation in society.

Awareness of linguistic identity. In respect to the linguistic awareness of Dalit students, almost all the sampled students expressed an linguistic identity crisis as they do not have their own distinct mother tongue like other ethnic communities and wished to have their own language. Students accepted Nepali as their mother tongue in society. Their sense of loss in respect to their linguistic identity crisis seemed to have led them to accept the language available and spoken in their particular societies. This approach of Dalit students seems geolinguistically appropriate and more practical as they cannot create different languages but rather must assimilate into the linguistic contours of whatever society they find themselves [12, p. 47–65]. The result was similar to a study by Koirala [15, p. 116–122] as Dalit students have taken Nepali language as a tool to make themselves literate. The dominant languages for Dalit students are a source of humanization and civilization in the society despite not having their own separate language. The language ideology of Dalits has an impact on the medium of instruction in terms of their choice of pedagogical support. Dalit students appreciated that one of the important identities of Nepal is its linguistic heterogeneity. The languages spoken in Nepal are the properties of not only the concerned ethnic and linguistic groups but also the heritage of the nation as a whole. This critical awareness of Dalit students shows their geolinguistic consciousness of the issues of multilingualism in society and their appreciation for being able to use the Nepali language, while adjustment to any language situation displays their respect and celebration of multiple languages as well as alternative ways to adapt to a multilingual community despite the lack of their own language.

Medium of instruction for pedagogical scaffolding. The data above show that Dalit students have distinct ideas regarding the medium of instruction for their pedagogical scaffolding at the plus-two level. Though demands for mother tongue based medium of instruction and linguistic rights of minorities are picking up with ever greater force, Dalit students hold two opinions as per their access to education. The students from public or government schools demanded Nepali as the main medium of instruction at the plus-two level for their pedagogical support whereas Dalit students from private English medium schools preferred English as the medium of instruction for the sake of better understanding. This ideology is analogous to the ideas of scholars who claim that the English language has been perceived as a language of power and opportunity. R15 observes, "English is used worldwide and people with good English proficiency hold power and enjoy additional prestige. English is a must-learn language". However, in the meantime, R15 also argues that the medium of instruction plays a vital role in language learning, emphasizing that a common language understandable to learners is critical to the pedagogical scaffolding of Dalit students.

The language of professional career. Dalit students basically focused on their professional careers while framing their linguistic identity. As the medium of communication in the public service commission is Nepali, Dalit students preferred the Nepali language to enhance their professional careers. Students from government schools basically emphasized Nepali as they have brought the habit of speaking it from home and junior level at school. R22's version that having a strong background in English supports the uplifting of one's socio-economic background corroborates the ideas of Bourdieu: language as symbolic power [3, p. 66–68]. Good knowledge of English as expressed by most of the Dalit students enhances their opportunities for developing their professional careers. That means knowledge of language remains social capital [ibid., p. 13–17] for Dalit students. R11's argument that English is necessary for science, technology and job opportunities abroad supports language hegemony in the multilingual context of Nepal, while she also claims that multilingualism (simultaneous use of Nepali, English and other languages) would promote mutual understanding, peace and harmony in society.

Access to study abroad and employment opportunities. The findings indicate that Dalit students accept the English language for their access to study abroad and for employment opportunities in multinational companies. Dalit students' understanding of English language education contradicts some scholars. Enabling access to education in the language in which the child feels most comfortable significantly increases that child's chances of success in life. However, their acceptance as a medium of instruction the language they felt comfortable with was appreciated by them. Dalit students' ideology regarding the English language seems analogous to the ideology that to possess language is to possess a technique, not necessarily quantum knowledge about the world. Basically, for access to a job in a better company one should have a good command of English.

Power negotiation in the society. Dalit students' understanding of language has a direct relation to power negotiation. Their focus was on the socio-economic uplift, which remains possible only through quality education. Quality education is possible only in an intelligible language. The preference of the English language for Dalit children has ideological value. Their ideological basis reveals that English brings modern ideas and thus develops interpersonal channels as well as social and cultural values in the society. Moreover, Dalit students must learn the English language because having a good command of it can be a strong weapon in uplifting their socio-economic status. This logic seems relevant to the idea that English is a gateway to better communication, better education, and a means to achieving higher living standards and better understanding. R7 accentuates that language differences have complicated Dalits' cooperation in pursuit of their rights. Until and unless Dalits have a critical awareness of their languages, they cannot protest against their suppression, oppression, and exploitation. Critical pedagogy is necessary for their awareness. Language education for pedagogical scaffolding empowers Dalit children to negotiate power in the society.

Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the critical awareness and attitudes of Dalit students towards their linguistic identity for their pedagogical scaffolding. Students from different colleges studying in the Kathmandu Valley and living in Samaj Bikash Hostel, Bijeswori, Kathmandu, Rainbow International College, and Gramin Aadarsha Campus were interviewed along with two separate FGDs for exploring their perceptions, understanding, critical awareness, and attitudes towards their linguistic identity. Thematic areas of the findings were categorized into four, namely: linguistic identity, the medium of instruction for pedagogical scaffolding, the language for professional use, and the language of access for study abroad and opportunities in foreign countries.

All the respondents realized the need for reconstructing their linguistic identity [14] as they wished they had their own distinct language at least for their school education [19]. Fundamentally, the reason behind their longing for their own language, as expressed, is efficient communication, which is a pivotal component in pedagogical delivery in the classroom. Dalit students, in Bajhang and Doti, use Bajhangi and Doteli at home and wished to have the same language as the medium of instruction at school. They prefer Nepali in the social space [21, p. 63–89] as a contact language. In this situation, Dalit students perceive the Nepali language as a lingua franca in the social space whereas Bajhangi or Doteli are seen as necessary for pedagogical scaffolding at school. Dalit students meant to continue using the Nepali language as the medium of instruction even at grade XI and XII. Meanwhile, Dalit students took Nepali and English as languages of power, with the help of which they meant to empower themselves professionally both at home and abroad.

The findings indicate the positive attitudes of Dalit students toward the local language, the national language, and the international language. However, the objective of language use remains completely different. Basically, local languages are for the purpose of pedagogical scaffolding whereas national and international languages are for empowerment, professional enhancement, and power negotiation in the society. Nepali is the most preferred language for their pedagogical scaffolding even at plus-two levels though they believe English empowers and enhances them professionally. The findings have broader implications in language policy, curriculum designing, etc. A limited number of informants on a small scale and only interviews and FGD as tools for data collection are the limitations of this study. The way Dalit students negotiate the power with the mainstream society by using the language of their oppressors remains unexplored, but which opens up grey areas for further research.

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OLD BELIEVERS IN BRAZIL: PRESERVING LINGUISTIC IDENTITY

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Abstract. *This article is devoted to studying the history of Russian Old Believers' emigration to Brazil, to analyzing the reasons that allowed them to maintain their linguistic identity, and to identifying the features of the dialect of the Russian language of the Old Believers living in Latin America and in Brazil, in particular. Old Believers moved to Brazil after centuries of oppression, as a result of which they first left Central Russia for the East of the country, Siberia and Primorye, and after the 1917 Revolution, many of them moved to Harbin (China). After the 1949 Revolution in China, they turned to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who sent them to the United States, Canada, Australia and Brazil. Brazil was the first country to grant them visas. The main wave of Old Believers' migration to Brazil falls on 1957–58, that is why they managed to avoid the policy of nationalization of the New State, carried out in 1937–1945 by Getúlio Vargas, whose goal was to turn all immigrants into Brazilian citizens by banning their native language not only in official but also in everyday communication. Thus, the Old Believers managed to fully preserve their religious, cultural and linguistic identity due to a certain hermeticism of their communities and the preservation of their traditional way of life. The dialect of the Old Believers of Brazil retains the typical features of the Nizhny Novgorod dialect of the 19th century, in which archaic linguistic features and semantic shifts in the meaning of words were conserved. However, it also contains lexical innovations denoting new concepts of modern life, Spanish and Portuguese borrowings and their adaptation. At the beginning of the 21st century, within the framework of the State Program to Assist the Voluntary Resettlement to Russia of Compatriots Living Abroad, several Old Believer families decided to return to Russia, to Primorye, thus completing their round-the-world trip.*

Keywords: *Old Believers, emigration, immigration, Russian language abroad, dialect of Old Believers in Latin America, repatriation program*

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СТАРОВЕРЫ В БРАЗИЛИИ: СОХРАНЕНИЕ ЯЗЫКОВОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ

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Аннотация. *Статья посвящена исследованию истории эмиграции русских староверов в Бразилию, анализу причин, позволивших им сохранить свою языковую идентичность, а также выявлению особенностей диалекта русского языка староверов, проживающих в Латинской Америке и в Бразилии, в частности. Староверы переселились в Бразилию после многовековых притеснений, в результате которых они уходили из Центральной России на восток страны, в Сибирь и Приморье, а после революции 1917 года многие из них переселились в Харбин (Китай). После революции 1949 года в Китае они обратились в Управление Верховного комиссара ООН по делам беженцев, которое направило их в США, Канаду, Австралию и Бразилию. Бразилия оказалась первой страной, предоставившей им визы. Основная волна эмиграции староверов в Бразилию приходится на 1957–1958 годы, и поэтому им удалось избежать политики национализации Нового государства, проводившейся в 1937–1945 годы Жетулиу Варгасом, целью которой было превратить всех эмигрантов в бразильских граждан путём запрета родного языка не только в официальном, но и повседневном общении. Таким образом, староверы сумели полностью сохранить свою религиозную, культурную и языковую идентичность за счёт определённого герметизма их сообществ и сохранения традиционного уклада жизни. Говор староверов Бразилии сохраняет типичные особенности нижегородского диалекта XIX века, в котором законсервировались архаичные языковые черты и семантические сдвиги в значении слов. Однако при этом характерны лексические инновации для обозначения новых понятий современной жизни, активное заимствование испанской и португальской лексики, её адаптация и словообразование по особым моделям. В начале XXI века в рамках Государственной программы по оказанию содействия добровольному переселению в Россию соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом, несколько старообрядческих семей решили вернуться в Россию, в Приморье, завершив тем самым своё кругосветное путешествие.*

Ключевые слова: *староверы, эмиграция, иммиграция, русский язык за рубежом, говор старообрядцев в Латинской Америке, программа репатриации*

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1. Введение

Темой статьи является исследование истории эмиграции русских староверов в Бразилию, анализ причин, позволивших им сохранить свою языковую идентичность, а также выявление особенностей диалекта русского языка староверов, проживающих в Латинской Америке и в Бразилии, в частности.

В исследовании истории и обычаев старообрядцев автор опирался на работу Ю. М. Юхименко [14], а также Д. В. Семикопова [13].

История эмиграции староверов в Бразилию, интеграции иммигрантов в бразильское общество и сохранения русского языка на новой родине исследуются в работах потомков эмигрантов из России, проживающих в Бразилии, таких как M. E. Iachinski Mendes [21], S. Ruseishvili [24], С. А. Русеишвили [11], D. C. Fatuch Rabinowitz [20], A. Bytsenko [18], A. Vorobieff [25].

Ряд статей, глав из книг и фильмов посвящён уникальному явлению сохранения на протяжении четырёх поколений эмиграции традиций, веры и языка староверов в Латинской Америке: это работы О. А. Матвейчева [6], M. Bachmakova [17], D. Antonelli [16], В. В. Кобко и Н. Б. Керчелаевой [3], а также фильм А. В. Пивоварова [8].

Интерес к явлению старообрядчества возрос благодаря программе переселения староверов и их возвращения на российский Дальний Восток. В этом контексте в СМИ были опубликованы многочисленные документы и статьи, сняты документальные фильмы [4], [23], [19].

При анализе особенностей говора староверов в Латинской Америке автор опирался на текст повести Д. Т. Зайцева «Повесть и житие Данилы Терентьевича Зайцева» [2], а также на исследования диалектолога О. Г. Ровновой [9], [10], [5].

1.1. Кто такие староверы?

В XVII веке в России назрела необходимость осуществления реформы по модернизации российского государства и морального обновления православной церкви. Целью церковной реформы, проводившейся патриархом Никоном, стала унификация священных текстов. В старославянских переводах Священного Писания и переписанных от руки богослужебных книг встречалось много разночтений и искажений, поэтому их привели в соответствие с греческими. Возвращение к греческим обрядам и текстам вызвало резкое неприятие сторонников старой веры, которые считали, что церковь реформировалась по сомнительному греческому образцу, поскольку греки сначала заключили союз с католиками, а потом сами оказались под властью мусульман-турок. Во главе «раскольников» стал протопоп Аввакум [13].

Таким образом, староверы – это сторонники обрядов, предшествовавших церковной реформе 1654 года, проведённой в царствование Алексея Михайловича. В противостоянии протопопа Аввакума и патриарха Никона царь встал на сторону Никона. На протяжении веков, до появления в 1905 году Высочайшего именного указа Правительствующему Сенату «Об укреплении начал веротерпимости» Николая II, старообрядцы подвергались жестоким преследованиям. По действовавшему Соборному уложению 1649 года, за преступления против веры и церкви полагалась смертная казнь, и эта статья была распространена на старообрядцев. Были казнены ведущие проповедники старообрядчества: инок Авраамий (1672), боярыня Морозова, Евдокия Урусова, Мария Данилова (1675). Другие вожди: протопопы Аввакум и Лазарь, дьякон Феодор, инок Епифаний – были сосланы в далёкий Пустозёрск, за Полярным кругом, претерпели страшные мучения и были сожжены [14].

Преследования, пытки и казни объяснялись не только жёсткой позицией царской власти, но и твёрдой позицией самих старообрядцев, доходившей до фанатизма. Как известно, некоторые общины староверов предпочитали сгореть заживо, нежели быть обращёнными в новую веру, так как считали, что самосожжение напрямую ведёт к спасению души.

2. История эмиграции

2.1. Дальний Восток и Приморье

Стремясь сохранить привычный церковно-бытовой обиход и спасаясь от государственного и церковного давления, старообрядцы стали переселяться на окраины России, туда, где были леса и «пустыни», а власть государства была слабее [14, с. 22–23]. В своём бегстве от «мира антихриста» староверы уходили всё дальше на восток страны, в Сибирь и на Дальний Восток, в Приморье, в самые отдалённые и малонаселённые районы страны.

2.2. Манчжурия и Харбин

Однако Советская власть с её коллективизацией и колхозами добралась и до Дальнего Востока, и тогда староверы стали массово переселяться в Манчжурию. Старообрядцы приезжали в Китай двумя путями: одна группа прибыла с Алтая в провинцию Синьзцян, вторая бежала из Приморья: они пересекли реку Амур и обосновались в Харбине. До сих пор они называются синьцзянцами и харбинцами, сохраняя определённые различия в языке и обычаях, что иной раз приводит к разногласиям между этими группами. На самом деле, как отмечает исследователь старообрядческих диалектов О. Ровнова, все они потомки нижегородских киржаков. Именно О. Ровнова установила близость их говора к современным говорам северо-востока Нижегородской, юго-запада Кировской и востока Костромской области [9].

В конце XIX века царское правительство решило построить Китайско-Восточную дорогу, часть Транссибирской железнодорожной магистрали (Транссиба), или Великого Сибирского Пути, которая стала бы более коротким путём до Владивостока.

С этой целью правительство заключило с Китаем соглашение, по которому железнодорожные пути пройдут по Манчжурии. Харбин был основным узловым городом Китайско-Восточной железной дороги. Построенный в 1898 году русскими на китайской территории, в течение 25 лет после революции он оставался типичным русским провинциальным городом, где представители различных религий сосуществовали без ограничений. В Харбине, Шанхае и некоторых других китайских городах существовали целые центры русской эмиграции: выпускались газеты, строились школы, велась активная общественная жизнь [6], [25, с. 161]. Русскоязычное население Харбина к 1920 году достигало 100.000 жителей (из 430 261), что было самым высоким показателем для русского зарубежья [20, с. 24].

Староверы прожили в Манчжурии около 25 лет, сохраняя свои вековые обычаи. Однако после революции в Китае 1949 года ситуация в корне изменилась: коммунистическое правительство Китая потребовало, чтобы иностранцы покинули страну. Таким образом, старообрядцы были поставлены перед выбором: вернуться в СССР или эмигрировать в третьи страны. Они обратились в Управление Верховного комиссара ООН по делам беженцев, которое с 1953 года направляло их в Гонконг, где находилась штаб-квартира Управления ООН по делам беженцев, откуда, получив визы, они направились через Филиппины в Аргентину, Израиль, Канаду, США и Бразилию [3]. Исследователь эмиграции староверов в Бразилию С. А. Русеишвили пишет об этом периоде следующее:

> «Одним из немногих выходов из этой ситуации были программы по переселению в другие страны, такие как Австралия, Аргентина, Израиль, Канада, США и Бразилия. На протяжении 1950-х годов, благодаря усилиям дальневосточного представительства Международной организации по делам беженцев и сменившего ее в 1952 году Управления Верховного комиссара ООН по делам беженцев (УВКБ), а также Межправительственного комитета по вопросам европейской миграции, русские могли получать проездные документы для лиц без гражданства и по ним запрашивать визу в одну из принимающих стран. Представительство УВКБ и бразильское консульство находились в Гонконге, откуда на пароходах русские беженцы переправлялись в города Сантос и Рио-де-Жанейро» [11, с. 68].

2.3. Бразилия

Основная волна эмиграции староверов в Бразилию приходится на 1957–1958 годы, и ею завершаются этапы переселения русских в эту страну. По данным Национального института иммиграции и колонизации, на протяжении 50-х годов XX века в Бразилию приехали 3 416 русских беженцев из Китая[1].

[1] Campos G.B. Dois séculos de imigração no Brasil. A construção da imagem e papel social dos estrangeiros pela imprensa entre 1808 e 2015. Tese de Doutorado. Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), Rio de Janeiro, 2015, p. 398. Цит. по: [24, с. 3].

Так как староверы эмигрировали в 50-х годах, им удалось избежать политики национализации Нового государства, проводившейся в 1937– 1945 годах Жетулиу Варгасом, целью которой было превратить всех эмигрантов в бразильских граждан путём запрета родного языка не только в официальном, но и повседневном общении [21, с. 276], [7, с. 116]. Таким образом, староверы сумели сохранить свою национальную, культурную и языковую идентичность.

Староверы направлялись в штаты Парана, Санта Катарина и Рио Гранде ди Сул, а также на юго-восток страны. Бразильское правительство предоставляло переселенцам значительные льготы. Им предлагались бесплатный морской переезд до Бразилии и проезд по железной дороге до места назначения, участок земли и подъёмные [25, с. 36]. Условия трудоустройства иммигрантов, приобретения земли, получения ссуды и т.д. подробно описываются в диссертации A. Bytsenko [18].

Эмиграционная служба по идеологическим и евгеническим причинам отказывалась принимать главным образом евреев, лиц, подозреваемых в симпатиях к коммунистическому учению, одиноких женщин, пожилых лиц и инвалидов. Ещё раз процитируем С. А. Русеишвили:

> «Необходимо отметить, что правительство Бразилии принимало беженцев Второй мировой войны не из гуманистических принципов, а потому, что желало таким образом восполнить нехватку квалифицированной рабочей силы в растущем индустриальном секторе и в механизированном сельском хозяйстве. Претенденты на переезд в Бразилию отбирались специально созданной для этой цели правительственной комиссией непосредственно в лагерях для перемещённых лиц в Европе. Критерии отбора включали национальную принадлежность, способность к труду и политические взгляды. Бразильское правительство, всё ещё под влиянием антикоммунистических и националистических настроений 1930-х гг., отдавало предпочтение квалифицированным индустриальным рабочим или фермерам, которые были потенциально готовы ассимилироваться в культурном мэйнстриме страны и открыто декларировали свои антикоммунистические взгляды» [11, с. 68].

Но староверы представляли собой идеальный «миграционный материал» (термин, употребляемый в официальной документации тех времён): они были известны исключительным трудолюбием и ответственностью. Возникала одна трудность: семейные общины не желали разъединяться, и община могла переехать только в полном составе [24, с. 121–128].

Первые годы были нелёгкими: изначально переселенцев направили на рубку дров, и среди них нарастало недовольство этим занятием, не соответствующим их традиционным навыкам земледельцев. Ситуацию спас А. Муравьев-Апостол, курировавший беженцев со стороны Всемирного Совета Церквей. С его помощью в штате Парана, муниципалитете Понта-Гросса, было приобретено 6 тысяч акров земли с лесом и рекой. Пейзаж напоминал среднерусский, только растительность была тропической. Так была основана фазенда Санта Круз в штате Парана. Староверы занялись привычным делом: распахивали целину, разбивали огороды, строили молельные дома, а для жилья – деревянные избы. Возводили строения по русскому образцу: из брёвен, с банями и русскими печами.

Земли были мало пригодны для земледелия, и земледельцы привозили тонны калийных удобрений [8]. Сами староверы вспоминали, что они не сразу поняли, как работать на новой земле, какие удобрения использовать и как ухаживать за непривычными культурами. Нанимались они на работу и к немцам: выходцы из Поволжья понимали русский язык, и коммуникация осуществлялась без проблем. От соседей – немцев Поволжья – они научились сажать рис.

Уже на четвёртый год колония стала прибыльной: гречиху, рис, картофель, подсолнечник продавали даже в Рио-де-Жанейро. Пасеки давали до 10 тысяч тонн мёда в год, во всём регионе продавались молочные продукты, сделанные старообрядцами. В течение полувека покупались и новые земли, например, фазенда в штате Мату-Гроссу. Сейчас староверов в Бразилии около 3 тысяч человек. В настоящий момент старообрядческие общины расположены в четырёх штатах

Бразилии: Парана, Мату-Гросу, Гойяс и Токантинс, где староверы занимаются выращиванием сои, фасоли, риса, хлопка и подсолнечника [6]. С соседями-бразильцами произошёл определённый обмен кулинарным опытом: бразильцы научились есть творог, сметану и делать вареники, а староверы готовят фейжоаду и рисовый хлеб [16].

3. Традиции и обычаи

Идеальная община старообрядцев должна быть изолирована от цивилизации: для того, чтобы защитить своих детей от пороков современного мира, они выбирают для поселения самые недоступные и далёкие места. Как только в окрестностях общины появляются пьяницы, наркоманы, неверующие, староверы снимаются с места, оставляют постройки и распаханные земли и переселяются ещё дальше, распахивая и удобряя целину, насаждая огороды и сады, занимаясь рыболовством. Они не зависят от благ цивилизации, не боятся трудностей или сурового климата.

Староверы используют традиционную одежду XIX века: мужчины носят разноцветные рубахи и поясок, который разделяет его «два тела»; ношение бороды обязательно. Женщины одеты в сарафаны и носят платок (шашмуру) [16]. Мужчина зарабатывает на жизнь, женщина остаётся дома, заботится о детях, готовит еду, ткёт и шьёт традиционную одежду, вышивает пояски, делает домашние заготовки, занимается домашней скотиной. Она хранительница очага и русского языка, который передаёт своим детям [5].

Женщины сохраняют чистоту русского языка, в то время как мужчины, вовлечённые в экономическую деятельность на новой родине, часто её теряют.

Староверы не разделяют пищу и посуду с инаковерующими, не покупают продукты в магазине (за исключением соли, чая, кофе), выращивая всё в своем хозяйстве. В общинах запрещено курить, есть еду из ресторанов. Алкоголь (бражка) разрешается только домашний, сделанный в общине, по воскресеньям [6].

Жизнь в группе замкнута: староверы не берут займы в банках, предпочитая занимать деньги у единоверцев, и ведут дела между собой [17]. Когда собрат оказывается в сложной ситуации, его единоверцы должны прийти ему на помощь, даже если не знают его лично. Староверы неохотно общаются с миром, но повсеместно закупают технику – как сельскохозяйственную, так и бытовую. Во многих семьях даже есть самолёты – без них в соседние селения не добраться. По меркам Бразилии староверы – весьма обеспеченные люди.

Телевидение теоретически запрещено (за исключением тех случаев, когда оно служит для целей обучения: так, дети смотрят русские мультфильмы, чтобы овладеть русским языком), однако во всех домах есть Интернет, который позволяет родственникам из разных стран или континентов общаться между собой.

Родственные браки запрещены до седьмого колена: генеалогия каждого рода прекрасно отслеживается, поэтому невест и женихов для своих детей старообрядцы выбирают, как правило, из колоний, расположенных в Уругвае, Аргентине, Боливии, Чили, США или Австралии. Таким образом, старообрядческие общины в разных странах связаны узами родства [25, с. 48]. Браки обычно прочны, хотя у часовенных и беспоповцев[2] не оформляются официально. Разводы не исключены, но им ставятся определённые моральные препоны. Девушки выходят замуж рано, в 14–16 лет. В семье обычно 10–14 детей.

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[2] У староверов, не признанных российским государством и официальной церковью, не было возможности соблюдать правила церковной иерархии и иметь своего священника. Уже в 70–80-е гг. XVII в. совершенно отчётливо обнаружилось отсутствие в старообрядчестве епископов и священников древнего, дониконовского поставления. Отсюда разнообразие различных согласий, от поповцев, беглопоповцев (допускавших приём в старообрядческие общины священников, рукоположенных в официальной церкви и порвавших с ней, «беглых попов») до часовенных и беспоповцев. Последние собранием общины выбирают из достойных мирян наставника, который получает благословение на служение. Вся община соблюдает посты, обязательно принимает участие во всех службах. Проводит богослужения выбранный настоятель. [14, с. 30].

Из-за обилия согласий (течений) в различных общинах их обычаи и традиции отличаются друг от друга.

В некоторых колониях дети ходят в государственные школы, где учатся читать и писать, учат португальский или испанский, однако в деревнях, где следуют строгому согласию, встречаются случаи отлучения от общины за то, что её член отправляет детей в общеобразовательную школу. Обязательной в каждой колонии является общинная школа, где за счёт общины приглашённый учитель-старовер с первых классов обучает детей церковнославянскому языку и церковному пению «по крюкам». В большинстве случаев дети заканчивают только начальную школу, так как считается, что для того, чтобы обрабатывать землю, достаточно четырёх классов образования. Таким образом, дети вырастают в деревне, где говорят только по-русски, сохраняя тем самым чистоту родного языка.

4. Особенности говора русских староверов в Латинской Америке

Русский язык, на котором говорят староверы, – не литературный язык, а живой диалект, на котором говорили в России в XIX веке.

Во всём мире распространённой является ситуация, когда эмигранты теряют родной язык уже в третьем поколении: таким образом, внуки эмигрантов уже не говорят на языке своих дедов.

Однако в поселениях староверов сохраняется неприкосновенным русский язык, на котором говорит уже четвёртое поколение переселенцев. Исследователи отмечают, что в то время, как в Латинской Америке русский язык сохраняется неизменным, староверы, живущие в США или Австралии, теряют его уже во втором поколении. Это объясняется большей вовлечённостью эмигрантов в экономическую деятельность страны. Таким образом, бабушка, живущая в Боливии, и внук, проживающий на Аляске или в Орегоне, не понимают друг друга [9].

Для того, чтобы проанализировать язык староверов, автор воспользовался мемуарами старовера Д. Зайцева «Повесть и житие Данилы Терентьевича Зайцева» [2].

Эта книга является уникальным документом, отображающим разговорный язык старообрядцев в Латинской Америке. Как известно, диалекты существуют только в устной форме, однако эта книга стала исключением. Д. Зайцев проучился в школе всего четыре года. Он написал свою книгу (700 стр.) печатными буквами, без интервалов между словами, которые он воспроизвел фонетически. Диалектолог и исследователь старообрядчества О. Г. Ровнова три года переписывала книгу Зайцева в соответствии с существующими правилами орфографии, сделав словарь с комментариями, облегчающими чтение. Она является автором многочисленных работ по произношению и лексике староверов, живущих не только в Латинской Америке, но по всему свету.

В соответствии с исследованиями О. Г. Ровновой, диалектальные карты показывают, что родной диалект староверов произошёл из Нижегородской губернии, откуда «кержаки» распространились по всему миру [5].

О. Г. Ровнова отмечает, что староверы – полиглоты поневоле: они легко усваивают язык страны, в которую их занесла судьба, однако дома они говорят только по-русски. Так, старики, приехавшие из Китая в конце 50-х годов прошлого века, утверждают, что говорят по-китайски. В Бразилии в контактах с внешним миром они говорят «по-бразильянски» (но не по-португальски), а в Боливии и Аргентине говорят на «колинском» (но не по-испански), от слова *colla* – названия индейского племени [10].

Староверы – настоящие кочевники: как было сказано выше, они легко переезжают из страны в страну, оставляя своё имущество на старом месте и начиная с нуля. По свидетельству Д. Зайцева, его семья, в которой 11 детей, в поисках «земли обетованной» переезжала 60 раз.

Язык староверов не мумифицировался: это живой и развивающийся язык. Но вдали от родины пути его развития отличаются от материнского.

4.1. Фонетика

Фонетические различия зависят не от места нынешнего проживания староверов, но от того, из какой части Китая они эмигрировали в Америку. Харбинцы считают, что их речь более правильная и ближе к нормативной, поэтому смотрят на синцзяньцев сверху вниз. Несмотря на то, что самые старшие из них родились в Китае и никогда не знали России, они считают себя русскими [20, с. 47], и для них всех очень важна связь с матерью-Родиной.

Синцзяньцы произносят с вместо *ц: сыплёнок* (цыпленок), *с Марфой сапались* (цапались); *сэлую рыбу, сарь* (царь); *за американсом; усадьба в сентре; два немса, ушла к парагвайсу; аргентинс; в консэ консов; золотса, миграсионная служба; вконес* [5].

Общие и для синцзяньцев, и харбинцев фонетические явления:

– звуки *ч* и *щ* или *ш* взаимозаменяются: *сынощек, щайник, лавошка, расшитаться; скушно; переводшик; борода густа, руса, пошти бела;* так, у Д. Зайцева, который пишет на синьцзянском диалекте, встречаем: *женчины, сообчил; обчаться, вообче; прошшаются, ишо, ишшут; прошше; поморшшились; яшшерки; окрешшу сына; чичас; чижало; скупушша; вообче, зарошше; пушше; ташшила;*

– согласные *к* е *х* взаимозаменяются: *хрёсна* (крестная); *некресть* (нехристь); *нихто; бакча;*

– в вокализме гласные *у, а, е* заменяются на *ю, я: пачкю денег; карточкю; копейкю; в речкю; на ту же точкю; толькя; авиякомпания; чародейкя; Зайкя; с тятяй; попросил деняг; большоя спасибо; с Марьяй; и так далея; в глубокия леса; Марфонькя; быстренькя; деньгями выручил; нас троя; большоя сожаление; восемь братьяв; родноя; чародейкя; Фроськя; християне; жили бы деревняй; привычкя; малыя группы; с Харитиньяй; Ванькя; натренькялся; весёленькяй; сяли на трактор; хозяйкя; с дядяй; по-прежняму; большоя спасибо; привычкя; свечкя; специяльное место; я сял и горькя заплакал; речкя; теятры; сушить бобы соявы.*

Некоторые гласные и согласные подвергаются элизии: *мня; поужнать; стречаются; споминаю;* в то время как встречаются случаи появления добавочных согласных, вставляемых в зияние гласных: *идивот; идивотничала над ними.*

4.2. Морфологические особенности

В морфологии полные формы прилагательных заменяются на краткие: *втору дочь; но перво; в стару деревню; тако расстояние; некоторы; слаба; хороши; скоре; бела; холодна; добры люди; многи; китайско государство; банковски реквизиты; женчина высока, стройна и красива, но вредна, завидлива, ленива; котору невзлюбит; боле и боле; зарплата низка; аргентинска; материнны слёзы; речки светлы рыбны, но все заросше; любу одтам за тебя; какá роскошь; кажду неделю; ихно старание; видели её уплаканну; больши подряды; ни в каки; временною моленну; знакомство было хороше; дохши мыши; каждо воскресенье; каки-то придирки; многи.*

4.3. Неологизмы

Не принимая многих лексем, появившихся в нормативном языке, старообрядцы заменяют новые понятия, появившиеся в нашей реальности, старинными словами, приобретающими новый смысл: *ухажёрка* – это любовница, *на бесовских копытчикав* – на высоких каблуках. Мультфильмы называются *поскакушки;* учительница – *классница*, новогодняя гирлянда – *помигушки*, обруч для волос – *одевашка*; при том что слово «кредит» существует в их говоре, они предпочтут сказать *взять на выплатку.*

4.4. Словообразование

Иностранные слова трансформируются по русским словообразовательным моделям: *пошёл потелефонил Филату; мексиканин; масонин; заработаю и абилитирую свою лодку; газолинка* (исп. *gasolinera*, заправочная станция); *низкий класс конфликтивный; ушёл к бактистам; происходит коррупсыя.* Староверы говорят «бразильянец», «боливьянец». Женщины, соответственно, называются «бразильюха», «боливьюха», «испануха», «китаюха», «харбинуха» и «синьцзянуха». В этом нет никакого пренебрежения: такая у них модель словообразования с суффиксом *-ух(а).*

Есть еще «ко́ля» и «колю́ха» – это представители индейского племени колья (*colla*) в Боливии. «Меня однажды приняли за “колюху”», – рассказывает О. Г. Ровнова в интервью [5].

4.5. Архаизмы

Как известно, диалекты характеризуются обилием архаичных слов. Так и в говоре староверов: *ледник* – холодильник; *пытать* – спрашивать; *выдюжить* – вытерпеть; *опростай наш дом* – уйди из нашего дома; *худой* – плохой; устаревшая *куфайка* означает *свитер*.

4.6. Иностранные слова

Иностранные слова, не склоняющиеся в литературном языке, в говоре староверов склоняются и приобретают флексию: *ходили в кинах; 30 000 крузейров в месяц; гринги забили весь рынок; ходили по казинам.*

В процессе адаптации иностранных существительных происходит:

– изменение рода: *вовнутрь жунгли; хорошую фильму пропускают; привезли продукту;*
– числа: *в бизнесах; долара покою не дают; праздник помидоры;*
– морфологической формы существительного: *банок стал притеснять.*

4.7. Семантические сдвиги

Слова, встречающиеся в нормативном языке, приобретают другое значение: *праздновать* – проводить свободное время в воскресенье и в праздники; *прошшаться* – просить прощения; *ровня* – группа подростков одного возраста; *доказывать* – проявлять недовольство; *ребятёшки* – мальчишки; *крутой* – быстрый; *схватывать* – тошнить, рвать; *запредставляться* – быть наглым; *базар* – магазин; *поганый* – человек третьего сорта; *простой* – пустой; *злословить кого-л.* – обзывать, противоречить; *теряться* – исчезать без следа; *рабоча* – усердная; *нельзя нам славиться* – нельзя становиться известными, публичными людьми; *стеклянный* – блестящий; *снаряжать свадьбу* – украшать приданое невесты вышивкой; *величать* – называть по отчеству; *выпуск* – загон; *рыться* – тщательно выбирать; *кочевать* – уезжать; весь капитал *провалила* – потратила; *поклоны* – подарки новобрачным; *получил благословение* – святую воду; *все чудятся* – удивляются; *предлог* – предложение; *тянуть* – тошнить; *ро́дство* – родственники; *вам не нужно* – это не ваше дело; *стегать* – чувствовать судороги; *разна* – другой; *перεродок* – ребёнок от смешанного брака; *не заботьтесь* – не волнуйтесь; *табор* – лагерь; *строить* – делать; *прославил меня масоном* – объявил; *прижать* – обнять; *ответ* – ответственность.

4.8. Иностранные заимствования

4.8.1. Интерференция майоритарного языка

Пока Данила находится в Бразилии, в его русском языке появляются заимствования из бразильского варианта португальского языка или из языков коренного населения, обозначающие местные понятия: *разносветны арары, пирикиты* (порт. *arara, piriquito,* виды попугаев), *туканы, всяки-разны макаки* (порт. *macaco*, обезьяна) *и онсы* (порт. *onça*, ягуар); *подходит крупная рыба: пинтаду, суруби, жау, пири-путанга, пирарара, корвина, пиява, куримба* (порт. *pintado, surubim, jaú, piri-putanga, pirarara, corvina, piava, curimba* – виды рыбы). В *мату* (порт. *mato*, лес) *залезла кака-то насекома; насыпал йерба мате* (порт. *erva mate,* чай мате); *задел тюмор* (порт. *tumor*, опухоль), *появился рак; посто Примавера-до-Лесте* (порт. *posto de gasolina,* заправочная станция); *поехали в телефонку* (порт. *posto telefónico,* телефонная станция) *бразильску, артифисьяльно* (порт. *artificialmente*, искусственно) *помогли рыбе; у них агенда* (порт. *agenda*, повестка) *ежегодна; разные бодеги* (порт. *bodega*, кабак) *показывать; две лоты* (порт. *lote*, участок), и *строят дом; приедет комитива* (порт. *comitiva*, сопровождающие лица).

В Боливии, Аргентине и Перу в языке Д. Зайцева появляются испанизмы: купили *чакру* (исп. *chacra*, хутор, ферма) *с фруктой* (исп. *fruta*, фруктовые деревья,); *заходим в инмобилярия* (исп. *agencia inmobiliaria,* агентство по торговле недвижимостью); *на катере трансбордаде́р* (исп. *transbordador*, паром); *испанский виррей* (исп. *virrey*, вице-король); *чиленски мужчины считаются* *мачисто* (исп. *macho*, мужественный); *стансер заявил* (исп. *estanceiro*, владелец ранчо); *познакомились с однем сьентификом* (исп. *científico*, учёный) *русским; на каждом порту даём вьятик* (исп. *viático*, плата за коммерческий рейс); *хороша експириéнс* (исп. *experiencia*, опыт); *очень много депредаторов* (исп. *depredador*, хищник); *знаменитый виденте* (исп. *vidente*, провидец).

В США в языке Д. Зайцева появляются американизмы: *ходили по казинам; полицмен тут как тут; чтобы ообивали сайдингом; музыка, барбекью, тансы-мансы.* В обозначении времени также появляются английские конструкции: *до 14:00 п.м.*

В России в письме Данилы возникают латиноамериканские термины, обозначающие явления, русского эквивалента которого Данила не знает: *это долговидный ехекутив* (исп. *executivo*, зд. чиновник); *в Белгороде есть панкарты* (исп. *pancartas*, плакаты); *ишо бы добавить божество да приват* (исп. *privado*, зд. частная собственность).

4.8.2. В синтаксисе встречается явное влияние конструкций, типичных для романских языков: *беру автобус; я думал, что вы знаете рыбачить; сможешь етот ответ* (ответственность) *взять; низкий класс, малярию поймал.*

4.9. Ложные друзья

В книге Д. Зайцева встречаются так называемые ложные друзья переводчика, то есть слова, встречающиеся в русском языке, но имеющие отличный смысл: *твой компромисс* (обязательство) *немалый, профессóр* (преподаватель); *на кажду материю* (предмет) *разна тетрадь; с прожектором* (лампой) *ходили; вас устраивают номера* (цифры).

4.10. Народная этимология и другие явления, характерные для разговорной речи

В формах существительных и глаголов наблюдаются явления народной этимологии и другие случаи, характерные для разговорной речи: *надсмешки; загрань паспорт; сумленье; не кланься; сёдни; самоделашна лодка; обои деревни; я и ответю; яйцы; с нём не рыбачу; я её сполюбил; оне взамужем; россиец* (эмигрант из России); *доложны свенчаться; садят в тюрмы; что хочут творят; я был не нужон; в чём вам помогчи?*

4.11. Произношение учёных слов упрощается: *исплотирывает девчонок; експертиза; настала епоха демократов радикальных; евкалипты; министр по енергетике; кандидат пресидента; електрику провели, експортируйте.*

Таким образом, характерными чертами говора староверов являются: консервация архаичных языковых черт, словообразовательные модели, не характерные для стандартизированного русского языка; появление лексических инноваций, активное заимствование испанской и португальской лексики и её адаптация.

5. Программа переселения староверов

На 1 января 2020 года численность населения в России составила 146,74 миллионов человек. Оно сокращается второй год подряд: в 2018 году уменьшилось почти на 100 тысяч человек по сравнению с предыдущим годом, а в 2019-м году – на 35,6 тысяч, по данным Росстата. По его наиболее реалистичному прогнозу к 2036 году население страны сократится до 143 миллионов человек, в наихудшем случае – до 134,38 миллионов. [12].

Государственная программа по оказанию содействия добровольному переселению в Россию соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом, предусматривает четыре локации размещения переселившихся старообрядцев в Приморском крае и в Амурской области. Именно оттуда, как было сказано выше, староверы уехали в Китай. Они представляются лучшими кандидатами для заселения Приморья: хотя ни один из них не родился в России, они сохраняют тесные эмоциональные связи с матерью-Родиной и мечтают вернуться обратно.

Так же, как в XIX веке правительство Бразилии пропагандировало в Европе программу эмиграции в Бразилию, чиновники Агентства по развитию человеческого капитала на Дальнем Востоке и в Арктике осуществили визиты в Бразилию, Боливию, Уругвай и Аргентину, агитируя местные общины за переселение на восток исторической родины [22]. Для участников программы переселения предусмотрено ускоренное получение российского гражданства, выплата подъёмных – 240 тысяч рублей, а также 120 тысяч на каждого члена семьи; им возмещают затраты на проезд и провоз багажа и транспорта к новому месту жительства. Земля предоставляется в аренду. Если нет работы, на новом месте им выплачивают пособие по безработице. Также предусмотрены бесплатная медицинская помощь, образование, социальное обслуживание [1], [23].

Помимо этого, с 2016 года существует правительственная программа «Гектар на Дальнем Востоке», которая позволяет каждому гражданину страны бесплатно получить гектар земли в регионе [19]. При том что семья состоит из 11–15 человек, это существенное подспорье. Однако не следует забывать, что в Латинской Америке староверы владели сотнями гектаров земли, снимая по два урожая в год.

Процесс переселения староверов находится в фокусе пристального внимания СМИ, которые отмечают, что он затормозился из-за пандемии и определённых неблагоприятных новостей, доходивших до общин в Латинской Америке. Программа переселения нуждается в серьёзной доработке: она не учитывает специфики, традиций жизненного уклада староверов, их уровня грамотности, профессиональных возможностей, предпочтения селиться в уединённых местах. Переселенцы не обладают юридическими и правовыми знаниями, сталкиваясь в России с бесконечными бюрократическими формальностями [1], [4].

Однако члены общины не жалуются и продолжают работать, налаживая свой быт. В Приморье староверы ведут хозяйство в основном в селах Дерсу Красноармейского района и Любитовка Дальнереченского района, а также в общине под г. Свободный Амурской области. В их пользовании находится более 7 тысяч гектаров земли. На новом месте у переселенцев родилось более 30 детей, создано десять новых семей [15].

Таким образом, староверы завершили своё кругосветное путешествие, вернувшись в край, откуда после революции 1917 года началась их эмиграция.

6. Заключение

Как можно видеть, староверы, переселившиеся из Центральной России в Приморье, из Приморья в Китай, а оттуда в 50-х годах XX века в Латинскую Америку, сохраняют свою языковую идентичность на протяжении четырёх поколений во многом благодаря герметизму общины, наличию в каждой общине староверческой русскоязычной школы, а также особой роли женщин, которые, оставаясь дома и ведя домашнее хозяйство, сохраняют чистоту русского языка, передавая его своим детям. В говоре староверов законсервировались архаичные языковые черты и семантические сдвиги в значении слов. Однако при этом для него характерны лексические инновации для обозначения новых понятий современной жизни, активное заимствование испанской и португальской лексики и её адаптация, а также словообразование по своим особым моделям.

Вопрос о том, сохранится ли своеобразие говора старообрядцев после репатриации в Приморье в рамках Государственной программы по переселению, остаётся открытым. Несмотря на добровольную изоляцию, в которой живут староверы, влияние стандартизированного русского языка, вероятно, окажется решающим, и последующие поколения старообрядцев, родившиеся в России, очевидно, потеряют особенности диалекта, который стал предметом данного исследования.

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DISCUSSION ON SOCIOLINGUISTIC TRENDS ACROSS THE WORLD

Arranged by Grigory Kazakov

For this special issue of the journal featuring polyglottery and sociolinguistics, the editorial board contacted several experts in this field from different corners of the world asking them to share their vision of the current trends and issues in the social use of language both locally and globally with a particular emphasis on language policy and education. The participants who kindly responded to this invitation were:

– Hikaru Kitabayashi, PhD, Co-President of the American Society of Geolinguistics, Professor Emeritus of Daito Bunka University, Tokyo;

– Seán Ó Riain, PhD, President of European Esperanto Union, Multilingualism Officer at the Department of Foreign Affairs of Ireland, Dublin;

– Aita Bishowkarma, PhD, President of the Geolinguistics Society of Nepal, faculty member at the Department of English, Campus of International Languages, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu;

– Kathleen Heugh, PhD, Associate Professor of Applied Linguistics at UniSA Education Futures, University of South Australia, Adelaide.

The results of this written exchange of ideas are presented in the form of a round table discussion below in the hope that it will provide food for thought and inspiration for further research.

1. What are the major language trends in your country (region, part of the world)?

– *Hikaru Kitabayashi:* In Japan, there seems to be a trend for language variants that have a dialectical relationship with Standard Japanese to gradually slip into ever greater disuse. On the other hand, due to population decline, labor is being brought to Japan from an ever-greater range of countries, resulting in more languages in actual use than before. Concerning language education, foreign language education continues to focus overwhelmingly on American English.

– *Seán Ó Riain:* In Ireland, the major trend is the continuing struggle to prevent the disappearance of Irish as a community language. The Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 2021, considerably strengthens state support for the Irish language. One of its provisions stipulates that by 2030 at least 20% of new recruits to the public service must be fluent in Irish. A further provision of this Act, which comes into force on October 10, 2022, is that all government ministries and other public bodies are obliged to spend at least 20% of their advertising budgets on advertising in Irish, and at least 5% of their advertising budgets on advertising in the Irish language media. For the purposes of the Act, "advertising" covers "all communication directed at the general public". Irish became one of the EU's 24 official languages on January 1, 2007. A derogation, which prevented full translation of all EU texts into Irish, was removed on December 31, 2021. Thus, Irish is now on a par with the other EU official languages, and 200–250 translators and interpreters work for the EU institutions in Brussels, Luxembourg and Strasbourg. This opens up a career path for those who are highly skilled in Irish, and considerably adds to the prestige of the language.

– *Aita Bishowkarma:* In the context of South Asian countries, linguistic colonialism has still been working actively as a fashion of modernization and westernization. Basically, languages of developed and powerful countries have been used as the source languages. Rapid spread of English is one of the examples. Similarly, Hindi and Urdu or Tamil languages are thought to be sources of knowledge. Actually, South Asian countries are a hub of multilingualism. However, only few languages are emphasized by power holders. As a result, many minority languages are on the verge of extinction. In the name of privatization and modernization, English has been assumed as the medium of quality education. In the case of Nepal, 123 plus 6 languages from four language families (viz. the Tibeto-Burman branch of Sino-Tibetan, the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian as well as a language isolate called Kusunda) are spoken in the country. Nepali is the medium of instruction whereas English has been used as a second or foreign language. Almost all the institutional schools use English as the medium of instruction. As a result, large numbers of children from indigenous and minority communities are deprived of education in their own mother tongue.

– *Kathleen Heugh:* Currently, concerns and interest in language issues in Australia relate to the languages of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, on the one hand, and languages of migrant communities, often called "community languages", on the other hand. While there has been media coverage of UNESCO's International Decade of Indigenous Languages (2022–2032), thus far the responses from state and federal governments have been slow. The latest 2021 Census data indicate that 167 Aboriginal languages are spoken by the 812,000 people who identify as Aboriginal (3.2% of the population). In-migration to Australia is also changing the cultural and linguistic ecology of the country. Currently, 22.3% of people use a language different from English at home, and 51% of people were either born overseas or have at least one parent who was born overseas. So, on the one hand, many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages are endangered or close to extinction, and on the other hand, growing in-migration is increasing the linguistic diversity of communities in the country. These matters are increasingly coming into focus in relation to the monolingual systems, including in education, with implications for student inclusion and often exclusion owing to a mismatch between community language and the language of the school.

2. What challenges in the field of language is society facing?

– *Hikaru Kitabayashi:* The sudden rise of a new multipolar political and economic world order demands a shift to multilingual educational policies. The wounded pride of English-speaking countries will hamper this process in those areas of the world that are English-speaking. Likewise, but to a rather lesser extent, it is unlikely that, over the short to medium term, foreign language education policies of certain EU and/or NATO countries will adapt to the new world order as quickly as would be desirable in a more ideally organized world.

– *Seán Ó Riain:* The biggest challenge in Ireland is that of preventing a world language, English, from killing the Irish language. As all Irish people understand English, and many do not understand Irish, it is considered rude by some to speak Irish in the presence of those who do not understand Irish. The holders of this view sometimes express support for Irish, but do not appear to understand that their view of "politeness" would effectively mean that Irish could never be used in public. In Ireland, there are nearly always people present who do not understand it, so a change in the understanding of "politeness" is necessary for the "normalisation" of the use of Irish in society.

– *Aita Bishowkarma:* South Asian countries are rich in diverse cultures, languages, ethnicities and ecological zones. The major challenges are using foreign languages as media of instruction and as official languages as well as emphasizing only the "rich" languages. This results in the depletion of local indigenous languages. Many of the Nepalese indigenous languages have an oral tradition, which deserves to be developed. These languages are not in priority. Neoliberal ideology, in the name of modernism, gives less priority to the indigenous languages. Open market, free trade, e-commerce, digital currency, use of computers, the Internet and ICT in academia – all empowers English rather than minority and indigenous languages. For instance, during the COVID-19 pandemic, schools were physically closed and online classes were the only alternative for students. Research by Education Review Office under the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (Nepal) showed that only 32% of school children had access to mobile or Internet facilities. The rest of the children did not have such equipment/devices. Furthermore, these devices function in English, and not in the indigenous languages. Language is not only a medium of communication but it also concerns the culture, costumes, values and belief system of people overall. The disappearance of their language means losing their identity, culture, and social values and norms.

– *Kathleen Heugh:* A significant challenge relates to the monolingual English language education system, which has not been sufficiently sensitive to the needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. These are especially those who live in remote parts of the country and where Aboriginal people seldom hear English spoken outside of the school. Whereas bilingual education in the students' first language and English had been practiced in earlier years, this has been discontinued in most states within the country for several decades. The monolingual English language education system is also a challenge for students from migrant families with home languages that are different from English. The issue becomes obvious when annual system-wide literacy and numeracy assessments are conducted for students in their 3rd, 5th, 7th and 9th grades. Aboriginal students achieve the lowest scores in these assessments, followed by students whose families have migrated because of conflict and displacement from their places of origin. The high-stakes assessment results have negative effects on students' self-esteem and often lead to disengagement from education with the potential for social alienation.

3. How (well) does language education respond to these developments?

– *Hikaru Kitabayashi:* Though the spectacular success already achieved by the Russian Federation in creating a multipolar world order, over the short term, will continue to breed envy and hatred among the collective West, over the long term the successful are those whose systems of government and education will be copied, even by their most bitter rivals. The Russian Federation and China, its most important ally in this new scheme of things, should already be preparing for an increased interest in their languages now and should be working with educational authorities in other important language centers of the new world order to coordinate in a mutually beneficial way the development of other national languages of other emerging power centers in the context of foreign language education. In these developments, geolinguistics and geolinguistic ethnography have much to offer in terms of helping foreign language education policy makers throughout the world reach optimal solutions to the language issues that will surely be facing them.

– *Seán Ó Riain:* It responds relatively well in teaching Irish to an English-speaking population. It responds far less well in teaching tolerance. Non-speakers in Ireland need to learn that the fact that they do not understand Irish cannot be used to prevent Irish speakers from using their language in public. The Irish-medium schools, called *Gaelscoileanna*, are entirely voluntary, in response to demand from parents, and teach all subjects through Irish except English. They have grown from 2% of the total in 1975 to some 8% at present, and actually 10% at the level of primary schools. The Irish Government policy to promote Irish means that Irish-medium schools are allocated one teacher more than schools teaching through English. For example, if a primary school has 100 pupils and teaches through English, it will have four teachers. If the same school decides to teach through Irish, it will be allocated five teachers. Educational results are better in all subjects in *Gaelscoileanna* than in the English-medium schools, and this is clearly adding to their popularity. Teaching Irish in the educational system, in general, is quite good, but it is made more difficult by the dominance of English in Irish society, and the lack of a "public space" where the use of Irish is acceptable, and even expected.

– *Aita Bishowkarma:* Nepal had a monolingual policy prior to 1990 during the Panchayat system. In 1961, the National System of Education was introduced to promote the use of only Nepali in administration, education and the media with the slogan "one language, one nation" despite the multilingual situation in the country. The Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007) recognized all the languages spoken in Nepal as national languages, which confirmed the right of each community residing in Nepal to preserve and promote their language. This Constitution also declared the right of each community to get basic education in their mother tongue as provisioned in the law. Eventually, the Constitution of Nepal promulgated in 2015 has clearly stated that all languages spoken as the mother tongues in Nepal are the languages of the nation. Nepali is the official language of Nepal. At the same time, by law, language communities have the right to educate their children in their mother tongue. The law opens the door for multilingual education and mother tongue based education in Nepal. However, this has become ineffective as the government has not allocated sufficient policy measures and budget for mother tongue based education for indigenous and minority children.

– *Kathleen Heugh:* Thus far, neither the state nor federal education authorities have fully accepted the need to shift from a monolingual education system in English to one that accepts the large body of research in other parts of the world that supports bilingual and/or multilingual education systems. This is equally important for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and students who have migrated because of forced displacement, conflict and/or other circumstances of hardship. There are, of course, many small-scale initiatives but these have not been taken up in mainstream teacher education programmes and in official curriculum and assessment policies.

4. What kind of language policy do you consider necessary at the present stage?

– *Hikaru Kitabayashi:* This, I think, depends on the country. The Russian Federation might consider promoting Chinese and Hindi more and might consider early soft power enhancement efforts in promoting key African languages and not former colonial languages still used there on an official basis. China, of course, should put much more emphasis on Russian and Hindi, though in the multipolar world order we have now shifted into, it would not be desirable to ignore French, Spanish, Portuguese, Turkish, Farsi, and Arabic. English, of course, will remain important, but there are already more than enough Chinese with excellent English. Other countries would do well to adapt their foreign language education policies accordingly, though, as it will take time for English-speaking countries to clearly recognize the ongoing collapse of American power, I foresee that English-speaking countries, will eventually (probably 10 to 15 years from now) make the changes they need to make to their foreign language educational curricula.

– *Seán Ó Riain:* There is a need in Ireland to plan occasions to use Irish, and not just to teach the language. This effectively means voluntary agreement on excluding English on certain occasions, because, if both languages are acceptable on all occasions, and if English is understood by everybody and Irish is not, this will inevitably lead to the use of English alone. For example, in Ireland's democratically elected parliament, Dáil Éireann, about 20% of deputies are bilingual, in that they speak Irish fluently. However, in 2018, a mere 0.5% of parliamentary debates took place in Irish. An aim of the present legislation, referred to above, is to increase the use of Irish to 5%. That still appears tiny, but it would mean that 10 times as much Irish would be used than at present. The only way to change this is voluntary agreement between the political parties (which could be easily achieved, as all parties support the Irish language) on a period of, say, 30 minutes per week, say, every Wednesday from 3.30 pm to 4 pm, during which all contributions must be in Irish. Those deputies unable to speak Irish, and wishing to contribute at this time, should have an Irish-speaking civil servant assigned to them, to translate their comments into Irish.

– *Aita Bishowkarma:* In the context of Nepal, the right to use one's mother tongue in schools would promote the linguistic identities of all students including minorities and indigenous groups. Likewise, equal treatment of all learners from different linguistic backgrounds at school, participatory management of the system and emphasis on more democratic school practices and curriculum content would support the country's linguistic diversity. The recognition of this diversity in the classroom should reflect the multilingual character of the Nepalese society as students represent their identities through their mother tongues. Emphasizing English as a foreign language, and Nepali as the national language, hinders the development of indigenous and minority languages in Nepal. The constitutional provision of mother tongue based multilingual education deserves to be implemented at least up to the primary level. Language and cultural heritages of diverse ethnic minorities and indigenous tribes are vast resources of Nepal, which deserve preservation, protection and promotion.

– *Kathleen Heugh:* If governments wish to provide quality education that includes most students, then they will need to commit to and deliver bilingual or multilingual approaches within mainstream education. High-level attainment in the main language of the country or education system must be a principal goal alongside a bi-/multilingual pedagogies that ensure that the home language is used as the necessary foundation that leads to learning the official/main language of the school. Students who come from minority language backgrounds are seldom able to reach this goal without being provided home language instruction and teaching and where the teachers understand how to use multilingual pedagogies that allow students to make use of their home languages to learn the curriculum. These pedagogies can include purposeful translanguaging, i.e. the linguistic and cognitive two-way exchanges of communication where languages are in contact (e.g. the classroom). They do, however, need to ensure that students reach high-level capability in the main language of the society to open doors to higher education and career opportunities. Bilingual and/or multilingual education does not exclude these opportunities; rather, they enhance the likelihood that students can succeed.

5. How do you envision the sociolinguistic situation in the world in the foreseeable future?

– *Hikaru Kitabayashi:* Due to recent events in the political and economic sphere, it is clear that the world has already made a dramatic shift from unipolarity to multipolarity. It seems inevitable that English will decline in importance, as Russian, Chinese, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Farsi, Hindi, Arabic and Turkish will grow in importance. Over the next 20 years, I project Russian and Chinese as growing the most in terms of foreign language acquisition interest shown by other language speakers. Afterwards, I would expect rather more interest in Hindi, and over the long term, I would expect attention to be increasingly focused on African languages such as Yoruba, Hausa, or Swahili.

– *Seán Ó Riain:* There is a need for a real international language, such as Esperanto, to replace the current hegemonic use of English. The latter gives unjust, unearned and lifelong privileges to native speakers of English, about 6% of the human race, while placing 94% of humanity in an unjust, unmerited and lifelong position of inferiority. This does not, of course, apply, to the small percentage of people, about 15–20%, who are able to learn to speak a second language as well as they speak their mother tongue. It only applies to the other 80–85% of humanity, the huge majority. Such a language can favour multilingualism, as it can improve and accelerate language learning in general. The Multilingual Accelerator method based on Esperanto was the most widely supported proposal in the educational area by European citizens in the digital platform of the Conference on the Future of Europe[1]. Intriguingly, this proposal, despite its popularity, was not mentioned among the recommendations of the final report of the Conference. Seriously considering a role for Esperanto appears to be as much a taboo as was discussing the market economy in the former Soviet Union.

– *Aita Bishowkarma:* Language is a powerful tool, which plays a key role in constructing and maintaining distinct human identities. When minority language speakers try to speak their language in schools and communities, they often encounter resistance from the majority. This undermines the ability of the minority language to function in public or official contexts. The 123 languages spoken in Nepal all deserve to be preserved and protected for the sake of linguistic diversity. There are many languages, which are on the verge of extinction in the country due to a lack of government effort in terms of planning and policymaking. In the global context, the rapid spread of colonial languages like English, French, Spanish,

[1] The EU needs improved language learning. Conference on the Future of Europe, futureu.europa.eu/processes/Education/f/36/proposals/23893 (accessed 21 September 2022)

Chinese, Russian and German has been a serious threat to indigenous and minority languages. Europeans have already started to preserve their indigenous languages. Asian countries should also show serious concern about preserving, protecting and promoting their indigenous and minority languages. Languages are the intangible heritage of mankind. Majority languages are promoted by the power holders, resulting in the extinction of many minority languages in the world. Majority languages have also been the tools of extending the legacy of colonialism in the third world countries, which has brought about many conflicts. As a result, in the next century, there may be only about one thousand languages left in the world even though currently there are said to be about six thousand. Geolinguistics can address these conflicts with a solution-oriented approach to empower the people of the world in safeguarding their linguistic rights.

– *Kathleen Heugh:* Human mobility (physical and virtual) will continue to increase linguistic and other diversities. It is essential for all education systems to future-proof the present generation of students so that they have the linguistic and knowledge diversities to meet the changing circumstances that we currently experience and anticipate. In this we may assume increasing concerns with climate change, conflict and changing global power blocs will alter the ways in which people need to have access to more languages and linguistic expertise than ever before. This means that bilingual and multilingual education is not only for minority or migrant students; rather, it should be a necessity and priority for all students in every education system of the world.