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The aims of the journal are:

- promoting international scholarly communication and discussion of ideas and findings in the field of linguistics, cross-cultural communication, translation studies, literature studies, methodology of foreign language teaching and related disciplines;
- developing an international platform for publication of research papers and conference proceedings in the field of polyglottery;
- publishing results of original interdisciplinary research.

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Основные цели журнала:

- освещение результатов исследований и обмен опытом, идеями и научными открытиями в области лингвистики, литературоведения и межкультурной коммуникации, теории и практики перевода, методики обучения иностранным языкам и смежных с ними дисциплин;
- создание международной платформы для публикации научных исследований и материалов конференций в области изучения теории полиглотии и практики ее применения;
- публикация результатов оригинальных исследований междисциплинарного характера.

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СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

PREFACE

The publication of this issue coincided with the anniversary of Professor Valery Iovenko, Doctor of Philology, the editor-in-chief of the journal *Linguistics & Polyglot Studies* and a well-known expert in the field of Spanish and translation studies. We sincerely congratulate our highly respected Dr Iovenko and wish him new creative ideas and many achievements ahead!

The previous year, 2022, marked the centenary of the birth of Yuri Knorozov, the decipherer of the Mayan script, and the bicentenary of the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs by Jean-François Champollion. These symbolic dates encourage linguists to pay special attention to the study of both ancient and modern writing systems. On the part of our journal, this became the reason for organizing the 3rd International Seminar on Linguistics and Polyglot Studies in December last year.

In light of this, the present special issue focuses on the psychological and sociological aspects of language perception and learning in the context of polyglottery; on the writing and counting systems of the indigenous peoples of Mexico, Nepal and other regions of the world; and on the trends observed in texts at the intersection of oral and written language (political speeches, journalism, cinema) in Italian, English and Turkish.

The current year, 2023, marks the 10th anniversary of modern polyglot studies (since the first Polyglot Conference in Budapest and the first academic conference on polyglottery in New York in 2013). Invaluable help in the development of this research field at the beginning of the journey was provided by the Secretary of the American Society of Geolinguistics, Dr Wayne Fink, who passed away on March 16 of this year. This volume is a tribute to his memory.

Editors

ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ

Публикация настоящего выпуска совпала с юбилеем главного редактора журнала «Филологические науки в МГИМО» (Linguistics & Polyglot Studies), доктора филологических наук, профессора В. А. Иовенко – известного специалиста в области испанской филологии и переводоведения. Искренне поздравляем глубокоуважаемого Валерия Алексеевича и желаем ему новых творческих замыслов и многих достижений впереди!

Предыдущий 2022 год обозначил 100-летие со дня рождения Ю. В. Кнорозова, сумевшего дешифровать письменность майя, и 200-летие расшифровки египетских иероглифов Ж.-Ф. Шампольоном. Эти знаковые даты призывают лингвистов обратить особое внимание на проблемы изучения как древних, так и современных систем письма, что, со стороны нашего журнала, стало поводом для организации III Международного семинара по лингвистике и полиглотии в декабре прошлого года.

В свете этого данный специальный выпуск посвящён психологическим и социологическим аспектам восприятия и изучения языков в контексте полиглотии, системам письменности и счёта коренных народов Мексики, Непала и других регионов мира, а также тенденциям в текстах, стоящих на пересечении устной и письменной речи (политические выступления, публицистика, кино) в итальянском, английском и турецком языках.

Текущий 2023 год знаменует собой 10-летие современных исследований полиглотии (со времени первой Конференции полиглотов в Будапеште и первой научной конференции по вопросам полиглотии в Нью-Йорке в 2013 году). Неоценимую помощь развитию этого направления в начале пути оказал секретарь Американского общества геолингвистики д-р У. Финк, скончавшийся 16 марта текущего года. Настоящий сборник посвящается его светлой памяти.

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MULTILINGUAL LEARNING: A CASE STUDY OF THE ROLE OF MINDSET AND LANGUAGE RESOURCES

Elisa Polese

Niederzier, Germany

Abstract. This paper presents a case study delving into the intricate relationship between the mindset, language resources, and contemporary language learning practices. While addressing the shifts in obstacles to language learning over time, including the inundation of unsolicited digital information and a concerning decline in students' self-discipline, the author offers suggestions for potential rectification of the observed challenges. In order to probe deeper into language learners' mindset, their rapport with emerging technologies and resources, and their proficiency in time management, an interactive survey was conducted. Collected between March and June 2023 among (a) the participants of the Polyglot Gathering Online in March 2023 and (b) single-language and multilingual students, the data, although limited in scale, revealed a consistent and enlightening trend. Many participants highlighted the disadvantages of technology in language learning, noting their propensity to get distracted, be overburdened with information, and curtail genuine human interactions. Yet, the adoption of technology for language learning was acknowledged as beneficial, simplifying the search for language resources and practice tools. The recurrent obstacles identified ranged from time constraints, waning motivation, and self-discipline challenges, to the detrimental practice of incessant self-comparison. In line with these findings, the advice given by the participants for aspiring language learners highlighted the importance of consistency, enjoyment, and abstaining from self-comparison. The insights garnered from the interactive survey further illuminate the dynamic between learners' mindset, their engagement with new technologies, and their time management adeptness. The research results emphasize the need for targeted strategies and interventions in the ever-evolving digital learning landscape.

Keywords: language learning, modern technologies, multilingual learning, learning obstacles, mindset, language resources

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МНОГОЯЗЫЧНОЕ ОБУЧЕНИЕ: ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ РОЛИ ПСИХОЛОГИЧЕСКОГО НАСТРОЯ И ЯЗЫКОВЫХ РЕСУРСОВ

Э. Полезе

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Аннотация. В данной статье представлено исследование, посвящённое сложным взаимосвязям между психологическим настроем, языковыми ресурсами и современными практиками обучения языку. Рассматривая изменения в препятствиях для изучения языка с течением времени, включая наплыв непрошеной цифровой информации и снижение самодисциплины учащихся, автор предлагает рекомендации для потенциального исправления наблюдаемых проблем. Чтобы более глубоко исследовать психологический настрой изучающих язык, их взаимоотношения с новыми технологиями и ресурсами, а также их умение управлять своим временем, был проведён интерактивный опрос. Собранные в период с марта по июнь 2023 года среди (а) участников Съезда полиглотов в Интернете в марте 2023 года и (б) одноязычных и многоязычных студентов, данные, хотя и ограниченные по масштабу, показали последовательную и многое проясняющую тенденцию. Многие участники подчеркнули недостатки технологий в изучении языка, отметив свою склонность отвлекаться, перегружаться информацией и сокращать реальное общение с людьми. Тем не менее, применение технологий для изучения языка было признано полезным, так как они упрощают поиск языковых ресурсов и инструментов для практики. Диапазон выявленных регулярно встречающихся препятствий простирается от ограничений времени, снижающейся мотивации и проблем с самодисциплиной до пагубной привычки непрерывно сравнивать себя с другими. В соответствии с этими выводами, в советах, данных участниками для начинающих изучать языки, была подчёркнута важность постоянства, получения удовольствия от занятий и избегания сравнения себя с другими. Наблюдения, сделанные в ходе интерактивного опроса, проливают ещё больше света на динамическую связь между психологическим настроем учащихся, их взаимодействием с новыми технологиями и их умением управлять своим временем. Результаты исследования подчёркивают необходимость целенаправленных стратегий и коррекции поведения в постоянно развивающемся ландшафте цифрового обучения.

Ключевые слова: изучение языка, современные технологии, многоязычное обучение, препятствия в обучении, психологический настрой, языковые ресурсы

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Introduction: language learning in the digital age

Learning a foreign language is a complex process that involves multiple cognitive, socio-cultural, and emotional factors. While some of these factors have been constant over time, others have become increasingly significant in recent times.

Technological advancements have remarkably increased the speed of communication, transportation, and access to information. This has impacted language learning in many ways, both positive and negative.

From the positive perspective, it has brought new language resources, such as online language learning platforms and apps which provide accessible and interactive language learning experiences, or digital tools like Skype, Zoom, and social media platforms that allow real-time interaction with native speakers across the globe and thus facilitate immersive language practice without geographical constraints. In m-learning scenarios, where learners utilise their mobile devices for language acquisition and global interaction, a notable advantage is the flexibility it affords.

This approach enables learners to engage in educational activities in the course of various daily situations, such as while commuting, during outdoor activities, or even amidst their part-time job responsibilities. Essentially, it provides the opportunity for continuous learning irrespective of location or circumstance [8, p. 310–311]. Additionally, accessing language resources from all around the world has become significantly easier, and one now has the previously unavailable convenience of purchasing language books online.

Furthermore, services like Netflix and YouTube provide a vast amount of content in various languages, enhancing exposure to foreign languages [3, p. 33]. Online language communities, where learners can ask questions, suggest resources, and get support from fellow learners, are also new and useful tools [7, p. 4–5].

Learners' communities can be exceptionally beneficial when learning a foreign language for several reasons. First, learning is often more effective when it is collaborative. In learner communities, students can help each other understand concepts and correct each other's mistakes, which aids learning and retention. What is more, a community provides ample opportunities to practice the language in a safe and supportive environment. It can be particularly beneficial for improving conversational skills. Besides that, learning a new language is a commitment that requires consistent effort, and being part of a community can provide motivation through shared goals and accountability. Seeing others progress in their learning journey can inspire you to stay on track.

A further advantage of the new technologies in language learning are podcasts and audio books: there are countless podcasts available to help learners improve their pronunciation and listening skills as well as enable them to learn useful vocabulary on the topics of their interest.

Music streaming and the large availability of lyrics also offer an enjoyable opportunity to improve one's language proficiency as well as to learn about the culture of the country [6, p. 1362].

Last but not least, faster and more accessible transportation has made it easier to travel for language immersion programs, providing firsthand language and cultural experiences.

Nevertheless, the impact of technology on second language acquisition can be seen both as a tool and as a challenge.

Technological advancement has made language-learning resources more accessible than ever. On the other hand, the sheer volume of available resources can be overwhelming, making it difficult for learners to choose suitable tools or stick to a consistent study plan. Digital enhancement has greatly facilitated access to information and language resources but has also raised expectations for quick responses and immediate results, and when these do not come quickly, many language learners feel discouraged by not seeing the outcomes they were hoping for. Finding efficient language learning techniques is crucial to maintaining the motivation high and creating sustainable habits, and sticking to them is essential for one's motivation. In an era when people want everything immediately many individuals seem to struggle more than before when it comes to learning languages.

The rise of technology has also led to an increase in distractions, which can hinder language learning. This is particularly relevant in today's digital age, where smartphones and social media can easily divert attention from learning tasks. We are constantly bombarded with news, updates, messages, and notifications, which can contribute to a feeling of always needing to catch up. This provokes a higher level of anxiety than ever [11, p. 6–11].

Some studies investigate the link between smartphone use and well-being, suggesting that excessive smartphone use can interfere with various aspects of life, including learning [2, p. 267].

The consumer culture, driven by continual advertising and the promotion of new products, creates a constant desire for the new and the next, making concentration and learning much more challenging [5, p. 124–127].

Nowadays, people tend to be highly distracted by all the technologies available. Most check their e-mails and messages at least dozens of times a day on average, and the myriad of instant gratifications offered by the digital media make the slower, more gradual rewards of language learning seem less appealing.

In today's fast-paced world, people are often juggling multiple responsibilities and distractions simultaneously. This can make it hard to find the necessary time to devote to foreign language learning, which requires consistent effort and practice over an extended period.

To add to this, people are also inundated by advertisements from companies claiming that learning a language with their applications or courses requires almost no effort on the student's part. Until some years ago, the main obstacle was that one's learning method was not practical and they could not structure their study time according to their learning goals. More recently, the problem seems to be much more about the decrease in self-discipline and a growth in anxiety, which has a significant impact on one's mindset.

Psychological factors in language learning

The process of acquiring a new language is multifaceted and shaped by an array of cognitive, socio-cultural, and emotional elements that can affect an individual's commitment to language learning. Some key psychological aspects that come into play are motivation, **anxiety** (and language learning anxiety in particular), **self-efficacy**, cognitive abilities (including memory, attention, auditory and phonetic processing abilities, and problem-solving skills), **learning styles and strategies** (preferred ways of learning, which can impact how one approaches language learning), and the **mindset**.

Motivation is one of the most crucial factors in language learning. It is the driving force that initiates, guides, and maintains goal-oriented behaviours. Two main types of motivation are often distinguished: intrinsic (driven by the joy or satisfaction derived from the learning itself) and extrinsic (driven by external rewards or outcomes, such as career advancement). Despite the fact that lack of motivation is not a new concept, there is an observed link [1, p. 120–121] between the decrease in willingness to put effort into language learning and the rise of instant gratification in the modern era.

In today's fast-paced, digital world, we have become accustomed to getting things instantly. Be it information, entertainment, goods, or services, everything is at our fingertips. This "instant gratification" culture can impact our approach to learning, including language acquisition. Language learning is a gradual process that requires time, patience, and consistent effort. It is not something that delivers instant results. Therefore, people who are used to instant gratification might find it hard to stay motivated and dedicated in the long-term process of learning a language. They might be discouraged by the lack of immediate progress and, therefore, reduce their efforts.

Furthermore, many language learning apps and online platforms use gamification strategies to make the process seem quick and easy, reinforcing this expectation of immediate results. While these platforms can be useful tools, they might also contribute to unrealistic expectations about the effort required to truly master a language. While instant gratification can create challenges, it does not make language learning impossible. A balanced approach that combines the convenience of modern language tools with traditional, in-depth study can lead to successful language learning. Understanding that true proficiency comes from continued practice and immersion can help combat the effects of the instant gratification culture.

Language learning anxiety refers to the feelings of tension, apprehension, or fear that individuals may experience in relation to learning a new language. This can be a significant barrier to successful language acquisition and can negatively impact a learner's motivation and self-confidence, and can make learners more hesitant to practice speaking, which is crucial for language acquisition. There are several potential sources of language learning anxiety:

a) Communication apprehension. This is a type of anxiety specifically tied to real-time communication in the foreign language. Learners might be afraid of making mistakes, miscommunicating, or not being able to express themselves accurately.

b) Fear of negative evaluation. This involves apprehension about being judged or negatively evaluated by others, including teachers and peers.

c) Linguistic difficulties: the perceived complexity of the language being learned can also cause anxiety.

d) Test anxiety: examinations or assessments in the language learning context can be a source of anxiety for many learners, although they are necessary to incentivise learning and objectively assess students.

e) Pressure of our interconnected world: the perceived (and often real) necessity of learning a foreign language might also add pressure, and hence anxiety, for some learners.

On the other hand, modern times also bring resources that can help alleviate this anxiety. For instance, there are numerous online tools and platforms that allow self-paced learning, provide interactive and engaging content, and offer opportunities for practice in a less intimidating environment.

There are a variety of strategies to help alleviate language learning anxiety. What works best can often depend on the individual learner's personality, learning style, and specific sources of anxiety. Some techniques that can be useful include:

1) Positive reinforcement and awareness of self-talk: learners should focus on their progress and achievements, no matter how small, rather than dwelling on mistakes.

2) Exposure and practice: the more a learner practices, the more comfortable they become. This includes both passive consumption (listening, reading) and active use of the language (speaking, writing). Of course, if one feels anxious, speaking can present a real challenge, this is why taking little but consistent steps in doing all these activities greatly helps to feel more confident. Especially at the beginning, trying to speak in the target language with other learners who have a similar or slightly higher level can be of great help. At the same time, according to the author's teaching experience, even anxious students can speak a new language from day one with the right method.

3) Relaxation techniques: practices such as deep breathing, yoga, and mindfulness can help reduce overall stress and anxiety levels. While breathing techniques can be particularly useful before exams or speaking activities if the learner feels particularly anxious, meditation practice and working on self-love can be very effective if done over a long time because they improve the overall mindset. In the classroom setting, in some cases of visible stress, the author suggested doing face yoga in the target language, and the students after only five minutes were extremely more relaxed and eager to learn.

4) Preparation: feeling well-prepared can significantly reduce anxiety. This could involve extra study before a class or exam, or rehearsing a conversation or presentation in advance.

5) Seeking help: discussing learning issues with fellow language learners can provide a supportive environment where everyone is facing similar challenges and can thus reduce anxiety. Talking about anxiety issues with teachers, tutors, or counsellors can also be very helpful.

6) Use of technology: there are numerous language learning apps and online resources that offer interactive and engaging content, which can make learning more engaging and less intimidating. These tools often allow learners to progress at their own pace, reducing the pressure often associated with traditional classroom settings. At the same time, it is important to choose resources carefully, in order to avoid wasting valuable time.

7) Setting realistic goals: rather than striving for perfection, learners should aim to focus on making steady progress. Setting achievable goals can enhance motivation and provide a sense of accomplishment.

8) Cultivating interest in or related to the target culture: developing an appreciation for the culture associated with the target language can enhance motivation and make the learning experience more enjoyable.

In general, some level of anxiety when learning a new language is very common. The key is not to let it hinder the learning process but instead to view it as a part of the journey towards language proficiency.

The way the learners see themselves and in particular the learners' belief in their ability to succeed in specific situations or accomplish a task (self-efficacy) influences the learning effort. Higher self-efficacy can lead to increased motivation and effort [10, p. 61–63]. Learners could work on themselves to enhance self-efficacy in language learning, and teachers could help bring awareness of this topic and explain or put into practice some self-efficacy boosting techniques. Some techniques of this kind may include:

1) Recalling past successful experiences: past experiences of success are a powerful source of self-efficacy.

2) Creating successful experiences in language learning: language learners could start with simple tasks that they can successfully complete, gradually moving on to more complex tasks as their skills improve. Consistent practice and incremental progress can help build a strong sense of self-efficacy.

3) Observing peers having a similar language level succeed: in a language-learning context, this could involve group activities in a friendly environment. Seeing peers with similar language skills performing tasks may help other learners to believe in their own similar abilities and encourage them to try similar tasks.

4) Encouragement from teachers and peers can boost a learner's belief in their own abilities. Positive feedback, particularly when it is specific and constructive, can be very effective. For example, instead of simply saying "Good job", a teacher could say, "You have made great progress with your pronunciation of these difficult words".

5) Anxiety, stress, and negative emotions can lower self-efficacy, while positive emotions and relaxation can enhance it. Learners could learn and use techniques for stress management and relaxation (like deep breathing, yoga, or mindfulness exercises), and teachers could cultivate a supportive, low-anxiety learning environment, providing learners with the right tools and opportunities so that they can see their own progress and potential.

6) Realistic goal setting: setting achievable, short-term goals can help learners see their progress more clearly, thereby increasing their sense of self-efficacy. Over time, these short-term achievements add up and contribute to a sense of long-term progress.

7) Real-life application: encouraging learners to use the target language in real-life situations (like ordering food in a restaurant, or having a short conversation in the target language outside the classroom) can boost their confidence and demonstrate that they can effectively use the language outside the classroom.

Mindset is a significant factor in the learning process for individuals of all age groups. The concept of mindset in educational research is often drawn from the work of Carol Dweck [4, p. 8–9], who distinguishes between a fixed mindset and a growth mindset. Individuals with a fixed mindset believe that their abilities, such as language proficiency, are static traits that cannot change significantly over time. They tend to avoid challenges, give up easily when faced with obstacles, and see effort as fruitless or even negative. Those with a fixed mindset might feel discouraged by their mistakes and may even avoid opportunities to use the language for fear of making errors.

Individuals with a growth mindset, by contrast, believe that their abilities can be developed and improved over time through hard work, effective strategies, and input from others. They embrace challenges, persist in the face of setbacks, and view effort as a path to mastery. Learners with a growth mindset view failures and mistakes as opportunities for learning and improvement. This attitude is particularly beneficial in language learning, where making errors is a natural part of the learning process.

A growth mindset encourages adult learners to experiment with various learning strategies and seek out resources to aid their learning and adjust their strategies as needed. Adults with a growth mindset are likely to have a higher sense of self-efficacy, meaning they believe in their ability to learn and use the new language. This belief can promote positive experiences, fuel one's motivation and help get the desired outcomes in language learning. Studies also suggest that helping students cultivate a growth mindset can influence how they approach challenges, how much effort they put into learning, how they deal with setbacks, and how they interpret and respond to feedback [ibid., p. 79]. It is important to note that mindset is not a fixed trait in itself – it can be developed and changed. Interventions can be designed to promote a growth mindset in adult language learners, which can lead to resilience and more success in language learning.

While it is clear that the fast-paced world and the overuse of the digital media play a huge role in the lack of time language learners face, it is also true that the growth of anxiety (and language learning anxiety in particular) and lesser willingness to make an effort can lead to lower efficiency in learning a language. When our observed results do not match our anticipated or potentially unrealistic expectations, our self-efficacy can decrease while our fear of failure may go up. When we are afraid of failing and we do not do much about it, with time we tend to not even try anymore.

Research efforts should thus focus on the learner's mindset and the excessive use of social media, given that these factors are intricately intertwined. Increased social media consumption can heighten anxiety, as it often does not address our genuine needs and consumes valuable time. This time could be better invested in activities that bolster our mindset, enhance self-efficacy, and facilitate language learning, which, in turn, could mitigate the feelings of anxiety. Considering recent statistics which indicate that individuals spend a substantial number of hours on their phones and specifically on social media platforms daily, there is a compelling argument to be made about the potential of reallocating just a fraction of that time for more enriching activities like language learning.

According to a survey conducted in February 2021 in the United States, nearly half of the participants stated that on average they spent five to six hours on their phone on a daily basis, not including work-related smartphone use. A further 22% of the respondents said that they spent three to four hours on average on their phone daily[1]. Recent statistics show that people worldwide spend on average three hours using their mobile phone, and one in five smartphone users spends upwards of 4.5 hours on average on their phones every day. Weekdays average more smartphone use than weekends. On average, people check their phones 58 times per day[2].

People are busier than ever but, if learners redirected even thirty minutes of their typical social media usage towards focused language learning, they would likely see more pronounced results and would experience an enhancement in their self-efficacy. If, on top of that, people added some time to reconnect with themselves and truly relax, anxiety levels would decrease and their mindset would improve with positive consequences for their life and language learning. Many people use their phones to escape from stress, boredom or challenging tasks. However, using our phones to take a break (from something that is happening or not happening in our life) is not necessarily rejuvenating or effective. More effective breaks could include:

a) Physical activity: even short bouts of physical activity can improve mood and concentration. Walking, stretching, or any other form of exercise can boost cognitive function and memory.

b) Meditation or mindfulness practices: these can help to reset the brain, reducing stress and enhancing focus.

c) Napping: a short nap can significantly improve the cognitive function.

[1] Ceci, L. Average time spent daily on a smartphone in the United States 2021. Statista, 14 June 2022, statista.com/statistics/1224510/time-spent-per-day-on-smartphone-us/ (accessed 2 September 2023).

[2] Howarth, J. Time spent using smartphones (2023 statistics). Exploding Topics, 9 January 2023, explodingtopics.com/blog/smartphone-usage-stats (accessed 2 September 2023).

d) Creative activities: engaging in activities such as drawing, playing (including just briefly) an instrument, or crafting can provide cognitive rest by utilising different parts of the brain than those involved in most work or study tasks.

e) Leisure reading or listening to music: these activities can help reduce stress and offer mental respite.

f) Nature breaks: spending time in nature, even just a short walk in a park, or simply looking at nature scenes can rejuvenate the brain and improve attention.

g) Social breaks: interacting, even just briefly, with others in real life can help to relax and feel more energetic.

Multilingual learning

When we talk about the importance of the mindset in language learning, it applies not only to when people want to learn or improve their proficiency in one language but even more to **multilingual learning**. The author has been learning multiple languages at the same time for the past twenty years and only more recently there has been a rising interest from learners and institutions. Despite this, many people are against multilingual learning because they claim that learning multiple languages at the same time reduces the language learning speed and makes students mix languages up. In the book *How to Learn Multiple Languages at the Same Time,* the author explained that the time required to learn a language is not at all proportional to the number of languages we learn [9, p. 12]. At the same time, the author also showed that the main reasons why students mix languages up lie not in the fact of learning multiple languages but rather in not training enough the language or languages they know worse [ibid., p. 10]. The reasons for mixing languages up are almost always:

1) speaking (or learning) one language much more often than the other(s), so the brain goes back to the more frequently used (or learnt) one;
2) rarely speaking these languages;
3) knowing one of the languages very well but the other(s) not so well in comparison, and not practicing the newer one(s);
4) not being used to switching between languages;
5) the specific features of one or more languages are not clear yet[3].

For these reasons, in multilingual learning just as in single-language learning, the key factors that lead to successfully learning languages are: (a) the method, (b) consistency, (c) the motivation and (d) the mindset. If we are consistent in learning but we do not use an efficient method, we might still learn the language but it will take much longer. Naturally, if we do not have a strong intrinsic and or extrinsic motivation to learn a certain language or languages, we will give up sooner or later. The last three points are well known among language experts, and many language learners can easily recognize how much the method, the consistency and the motivation can enhance language learning. The fourth point, the mindset, is still, in the author's opinion, partially neglected (not so much by researchers but rather by language learners). The vast majority of students who struggle learning one or more languages are usually not patient towards themselves, have difficulties with coming to terms with the time and effort required by the learning process, do not see learning as something enjoyable, and have a hard time finding time to devote even just twenty minutes a day to learning. All this has been worsened by the culture of immediate gratification and all the false images social media engenders. The author's experience in both learning and teaching has shown her that the real problem consists not in the fact of learning more than one language at the same time, but rather in the learners' approach to and their mindset in learning *any* language.

[3] When learners engage with two or more linguistically similar languages, a comprehensive understanding of the distinct linguistic features of each language is crucial. These features often manifest themselves as consistent patterns, such as distinctive vowel shifts or the frequency of specific letter combinations. For instance, while Italian infrequently ends words with a consonant, this is more common in Spanish. Similarly, the letter combination "ie" is prevalent in Spanish (e.g. "pienso", "cierto") but less so in Italian (e.g. "penso", "certo"). A thorough grasp of these nuanced differences facilitates the differentiation and independent retention of each language in the learner's cognitive processes.

Survey

With the aim of researching language learners' mindset, their relationship with new technologies and resources, and their time management skills, the author created an interactive survey that she proposed during the Polyglot Gathering Online in March 2023 (100 participants) and to 100 single-language and multilingual students. Although it would be desirable to gather the answers of respondents on a much bigger scale, the data collected seems consistent and elucidative.

The study showed that 70% of the learners are not satisfied with the use of their time: 98% of them usually check their phones more than three times per hour and 80% check their phones every time they get a notification. Almost all participants stated that they were not comfortable without their phones for more than one or two days. To the question "How long can you concentrate when studying languages without looking at your mobile phone?", almost 50% of the polyglots who answered this question said that they check it often or relatively often, while 50% do not check it while studying, which may indicate that non-polyglots would probably check their phones even more often.

When asked what they think the disadvantages of technology with regard to learning languages are, many participants said that new technologies are tiring, offer too much information and too many sources of distractions, and create a lack of meaningful contacts in everyday life. On the other hand, they found that the way to approach language learning has positively changed over time because it makes it easier to find resources and practice languages.

What is more, 91.66% of the survey participants at the Polyglot Gathering stated they were studying every couple of days but did not study with the same frequency all year round. The recurrent answers to the question "What do you think are the biggest obstacles when you (or your students) learn a language?" were: lack of time, not being consistent, loss of motivation, distractions, self-discipline issues, comparing themselves to others, the mindset, and not truly believing in their own skills.

Besides, 50% of the interviewees said that they are not able to study if they feel tired, frustrated, anxious or have a lot on their mind. Their ideal state of mind before they start studying is feeling relaxed/calm, happy, focused or energetic.

To the question "What are the three pieces of advice you would give to someone who wants to learn languages?", many of the respondents answered: "Learn little and often", "Enjoy learning", "Don't compare yourself to others", "Relax, don't stress yourself".

When answering the question "Why do you think many people get discouraged from learning a language?", they mentioned slow results, not using the languages they are learning, the fact that learning a language is hard work, and the negative effects of comparison.

A good part of the interviewees mentioned results and connection to people as the factors that motivate them to learn more.

To the question "What mindset do you think one must have in order to be sure of achieving one's language goal?", the most common answers were: having clear goals, having confidence, being perseverant, enjoying learning, and being willing to make an effort.

Regarding the use of technology to learn languages, 42% of the interviewees use an app to learn languages every day. However, 70% stated that they do not believe it is possible to learn a language only by using an app. They said that the main advantage of using apps to study languages is that they are easy to use and stick to and engaging. On the other hand, the main disadvantages of using an app for learning purposes are, in their opinion, phone notifications, screen time and the lack of real communication.

More than 80% of the respondents feel that, when learning a language with a teacher, the results greatly depend on their self-study but that practicing is crucial. The majority of them do not think that it is possible to learn a language without making much effort but if you enjoy what you do, it will not feel like much effort.

As for possible techniques or solutions to overcome common learning issues, many of the interviewees suggested that, when there is an information overload and it is difficult to choose the material to study, picking one and being consistent helps.

Several participants noted the problem of having so much material that they occasionally forget that they have certain language resources. For such situations, other respondents recommended using tangible resources, adhering to a single resource, or, in the case of digital materials, keeping them constantly open on their computing devices.

During the survey, the most common tricks to stick to language learning habits and routine suggested by the respondents were: (a) picking the same place and time to study, (b) having fun while studying, (c) talking to people to use the language, (d) tracking one's progress, and (e) being consistent for a certain number of days, after which sticking to a routine becomes easier.

Practical recommendations

It is true that while technology, and smartphones in particular, offer invaluable resources for language learning, they can also contribute to information overload, distractions, and potential lack of motivation. However, by following certain strategies, it is possible to minimise these drawbacks and maximise the advantages. Some of the possible strategies are:

1) Creating a dedicated learning schedule. Setting aside a specific time each day for language learning can help instil discipline and structure. Apps that allow scheduling or reminder setting can be helpful in this respect.

2) Using apps that limit distractions, for example, by blocking certain websites or controlling the learner's study time.

3) Choosing quality over quantity: instead of trying to use every available resource, learners could choose a few high-quality ones that align with their learning style and objectives. This can help avoid information overload.

4) Using gamified learning platforms: gamification in language learning apps can enhance motivation and make learning more enjoyable. Naturally, learners should choose the apps that truly help them get closer to their language goal, should use other resources too as apps alone cannot teach everything, and should practice speaking (if they are interested in speaking the language they are learning).

5) Setting clear, achievable goals: instead of vague goals like "learn French", learners could set specific, achievable goals like "learn ten new French words per day". Having clear, achievable goals can also help learners keep motivated. This could mean learning a certain number of new words each day, being able to hold a basic conversation by a certain date, or being able to read a book in a foreign language. This provides a clear direction and a sense of achievement.

6) Practising mindfulness: mindfulness techniques can help learners focus their attention on the task at hand and reduce distractions. This could be as simple as taking a few deep breaths before starting a study session.

7) Finding a language exchange partner or a way to use the language as this can provide social motivation.

8) Incorporating language learning into their daily life, for example, by learning during commuting or waiting times or by listening to a podcast or the radio while doing house chores.

9) Regular practice: learning a little bit every day is typically more effective than trying to learn a lot at once. Regular practice keeps the language fresh in your mind and increases the chances of long-term retention.

10) Taking regular breaks: studies suggest that taking regular short breaks during study sessions can improve focus and retention. The Pomodoro technique, for example, involves studying for 25 minutes, and then taking a 5-minute break, which can be less intimidating than other techniques that require more study time in one go.

11) Tracking progress: if the learner studied every day or so and wrote down how often and what he learnt (e.g. the topic, number of pages, time), seeing tangible evidence of his progress and persistence may boost his motivation.

Apart from these techniques, which can be especially useful in facing the challenges of the digital era, there are techniques that learners can try out to improve their language learning experience. It is only by experimenting with different strategies and techniques that the learners can find what works best for them. That said, there are a few widely recognized strategies that can enhance language learning:

1) Immersion: learners could surround themselves with the language they are trying to learn. This is one of the most effective ways to acquire a new language. This could mean travelling to a country where the language is spoken, but it could also mean using technology to immerse themselves in the language, such as changing their phone language settings (if their level allows it), listening to music or podcasts, watching films, or using software or apps in the language they are learning.

2) Speaking from day one: even if it sounds uncomfortable at first, trying to speak the language right away can help get rid of the fear of speaking a foreign language that so many learners have. Starting with simple phrases and gradually building up would also help them develop communication strategies such as simplifying what they want to say. Most people would like to be able to say everything they can say in their mother tongue in the target language. By learning to simplify what they want to say, they can avoid frustration and see that communication is possible at all levels.

3) Engaging multiple senses: research suggests that learning happens more effectively when multiple senses are engaged. This could mean reading out loud, writing down words by hand, using flashcards with pictures, listening to big amounts of authentic material, etc.

4) Interactive learning: instead of just passively taking in information, engaging in more active activities would result in better word and grammar retention. This might involve writing in a journal, writing words by hand, saying aloud words or sentences one has recently learnt, etc.

5) Make it enjoyable: finding ways to enjoy the learning process is crucial to long term commitment. This could mean watching films or reading books in the foreign language, learning about the culture of places where the language is spoken, etc.

As everyone's learning style is different, what works best will vary from person to person. It is important to experiment with different strategies and resources until learners find what works best for them.

Conclusion

The survey conducted among the Polyglot Gathering participants and multilingual and single-language learners showed consistency between their own experience and the statistical data concerning the use of technology mentioned in this paper. On the one hand, it is clear that there are too many distractions in everyday life. On the other, technologies can have a very positive impact on language learning by opening the door to many more resources and a way to improve one's language skills. By reducing distractions, students would become more focused and would have more time to devote to efficient language learning, and by using enjoyable resources, they would feel more engaged and motivated.

At the same time, the survey results are in line with the literature on the language learner's mindset: there is a great need to improve one's mindset, especially in terms of self-perception, efficacy, and avoiding comparing oneself to others. By improving one's mindset, one would become more confident about his own abilities, which would most likely lead to being more persevering and willing to make an effort to reach goals.

In this light, it would be very interesting to conduct studies focusing on (a) how to take advantage of the potentially numberless learning strategies and resources available in the modern era; and (b) on helping students to improve their mindset. More generally, it would be highly beneficial if learners became more aware of the great impact of their mindset on the outcome of their learning process. This should push language learning authors, publishing houses, language schools and institutions to give even more importance to the psychological components of language learning. This would foster awareness among language learners so that, instead of being their own obstacle to their language learning success, they can experiment with new positive approaches to language learning, can apply useful techniques to manage their time, and thus find language learning more rewarding and fulfilling.

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DIFFERENCES IN THE PERCEPTION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES BY MGIMO STUDENTS

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Abstract. This article presents a sociological study aimed to determine the differences in the perception of foreign languages by students who are considered polyglots and those who are not. The aim of the study is to identify the differences in the attitude of these groups of students to the language learning process in order to draw conclusions that could be useful in both teaching and learning foreign languages. The researchers used the focus group method. As a result, it was found out what reasons are behind the students' choice of foreign languages they study, what difficulties arise when learning languages, why some students give up learning a particular language, and what can serve as a motivation to learn foreign languages. The object of the study is MGIMO students who, due to the traditions of the university, are characterised by "unconscious polyglottery", a phenomenon associated with multilingualism as part of the daily life of this social group. The object was divided into three groups: polyglot students, non-polyglot students and the so-called intermediate group (those who are not polyglots, but can be regarded as students taking joy in learning languages). The results showed that the examined students from all the three groups face the same challenges in the language learning process: fatigue from routine tasks, an excessively voluminous curriculum, general workload at the university, and lack of time. The key difference is that the polyglot students have inner motivation to keep up their studies. The intermediate group has also managed to find non-external motives in the course of language learning, such as career prospects, a personal interest in culture, and personal beliefs. However, those considered non-polyglots did not succeed in finding an internal motivation of this kind and decided to give up studying their second foreign languages.

Keywords: polyglottery, foreign language teaching, motivation, qualitative research, sociological phenomenon, focus group

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РАЗЛИЧИЯ В ВОСПРИЯТИИ ИНОСТРАННЫХ ЯЗЫКОВ СТУДЕНТАМИ МГИМО

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Аннотация. В настоящей статье представлено социологическое исследование, посвящённое определению различий в восприятии иностранных языков студентами-полиглотами и студентами, которые не относятся к числу полиглотов. Целью исследования было выявление различий в отношении указанных групп студентов к процессу изучения языков для получения прикладных выводов, которые могли бы быть полезными как в преподавании, так и в изучении иностранных языков. Исследователи использовали метод фокус-группы. В результате было установлено, по какому принципу студенты выбирают иностранные языки для изучения, какие возникают сложности при изучении языков, почему некоторые студенты отказываются от изучения того или иного языка, а также что может послужить мотивацией к изучению иностранных языков. Объектом исследования явились студенты МГИМО, которые, в силу традиций университета, характеризуются «неосознанной полиглотией» – явлением, связанным с тем, что многоязычие является частью повседневной жизни для данной социальной группы. Объект был разделен на три группы: студенты-полиглоты, студенты, не являющиеся полиглотами, и так называемая промежуточная группа (те, кто не является полиглотами, но получает удовольствие от изучения языков). Результаты проведённой фокус-группы показали, что опрошенные студенты из всех трёх групп сталкиваются с одинаковыми проблемами в процессе изучения языка: усталостью от рутинных заданий, слишком объёмным учебным планом, общей загруженностью в университете, а также нехваткой времени. Ключевое отличие между тремя группами заключается в том, что у студентов-полиглотов есть внутренняя мотивация продолжать учёбу. Промежуточной группе студентов также удалось найти подобные внутренние мотивы в процессе изучения иностранного языка, например, перспективы карьерного роста, личный интерес к культуре, личные убеждения. Однако группа, не связанная с полиглотией, так и не смогла найти подобную мотивацию и решила отказаться от изучения второго иностранного языка.

Ключевые слова: полиглотия, преподавание иностранных языков, мотивация, качественное исследование, социологическое явление, фокус-группа

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For a long time, the phenomenon of polyglottery has been viewed mainly from the perspective of psycholinguistics and methodology of teaching foreign languages [9, p. 104–105]. However, as the modern polyglot movement is developing as a social phenomenon, and the scientific interest in this topic is growing, another approach to polyglottery has been fostered, that of statistical and sociological methods. One of the first attempts to view polyglottery from this new perspective was made in 2022 [10].

The present study is a logical continuation of this sociological approach. The paper was presented at the round table *Psycholinguistic Problems of Research on Polyglottery* on April 5, 2023 as part of the conference *Language, Consciousness, Communication: Problems of Information Society.* This event was devoted to a wide variety of polyglottery related topics: the hyperintensive method of language learning, polyglots' cognitive skills, self-monitoring instruments and learning strategies. The perceptions of foreign languages discussed here thus made part of the underlying theme of conscious vs. unconscious elements in language acquisition.

Empirical basis of the study

The present research builds on the sociological theory and tools in order to make a contribution to polyglot studies from a perspective different from that of psycholinguistics. In order to comprehend and perceive this phenomenon more deeply, we have chosen qualitative methods, namely the focus group. This was due to the fact that qualitative methods provide for a more personal insight into the issue whereas quantitative methods focus mainly on generalisations and span large socio-demographic groups. So, we have decided to follow the former of these approaches in order to shed light on polyglots' behaviour as quantitative methods cannot give answers to our more personal questions, closely connected with human psychological traits and behaviours. The aim of the study is to identify differences in the attitudes and perceptions of different groups of Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) students to the study of foreign languages.

We have chosen to look into the perspectives of MGIMO students as the object of our research. MGIMO University is renowned for its extensive language-teaching programs, having been recognized in the Guinness Book of Records as the most multilingual educational institution in the world for teaching 53 languages[1]. The chance of coming across a polyglot is rather high at MGIMO as the majority of the students study at least two foreign languages, with many taking up other additional languages on an extracurricular basis. However, there are also students who have given up studying their second foreign languages, thus keeping on studying English only. Thus, MGIMO students are characterised by the phenomenon of "unconscious polyglottery" associated with the fact that multilingualism is part of the daily life for this social group.

Both polyglots and those studying only one foreign language are in the limelight of our research as two extremes. Moreover, we have decided to look at one more group – the so-called intermediate group – in order to see whether these students show any different approaches to the language learning process. The focus group was conducted in April 2023. We gathered nine individuals, who are all students of MGIMO University. Three of them are considered polyglots as they speak five or more foreign languages [3]. Three of them are learning two languages at the university and can be regarded as pertaining to the intermediate group. Three more students are learning only one language at the university as they have decided to give up studying the second foreign language (see Table 1).

[1] Most languages taught in an academic institution. The Guinness World Records, guinnessworldrecords.com/world-records/most-languages-taught-in-an-academic-institution (assessed 16 May 2023).

	Polyglot students	Intermediate group	Non-polyglot students
Number of foreign languages studied	5 and more	2	1
Number of participants	3	3	3

Table 1. Sampling plan of the focus group

The respondents were invited to the focus group. The focus group is a method of qualitative sociology that involves a group of people discussing a specific topic or issue, led by a moderator. It is common in market research and social sciences for gathering insights into and opinions on a particular subject. This method is extremely widely used in qualitative sociology, that is, it is not aimed at conducting a large-scale multi-thousand survey, but rather an in-depth interview, at a more personal level, so the number of focus group participants usually does not exceed ten. The main goal of the focus group studies is to gather needed information through a personal talk in order to get truthful, sincere responses from the respondent.

One advantage of using focus groups to study polyglottery is that it allows in-depth exploration of the participants' experiences and perspectives. Polyglots can share their personal stories and insights into their language learning journeys, including the challenges they faced and the strategies they developed to overcome them. This information can be particularly useful for educators and language learners looking for effective language learning strategies.

Focus groups can also provide a platform for comparing and contrasting the language learning experiences of different participants. Another advantage of focus groups is that they can generate ideas for future research. Participants may raise questions or suggest avenues of inquiry that the researcher has not considered. This can help to generate new research questions or hypotheses for testing in future studies.

Overall, focus groups can be a valuable tool for studying polyglottery. However, researchers should be mindful of potential limitations when using this method and should ensure that the participants' experiences are adequately represented [4]. By using focus groups to study polyglottery, one can gain a deeper understanding of this unique phenomenon and its implications for language education and policy.

The focus group typically consists of 6–10 participants who are selected on the basis of specific criteria, such as demographics, past experiences and sometimes even age or gender. During the session, the moderator will guide the discussion by asking open-ended questions and encouraging group members to share their thoughts and feelings on the topic [5].

The renowned American sociologist Robert K. Merton introduced this method and summarised its key points, which we strictly followed throughout our research.

First of all, the interviewees must be participants in a certain situation [6]. All our respondents study at MGIMO University; they all perceive foreign languages, but each group (polyglots, the intermediate group, and non-polyglots) has their own special features. These unique perceptions are at the heart of our research.

The second point is that the general structure of the situation must be analysed by a sociologist beforehand. In fact, we believe this point must be relevant for all sociological studies, but it is extremely important in the focus group method. We have to know the respondent's background and their characteristics in order to ask the "right" questions, i.e. the questions that would shed more light on the aim of the study.

The third point is that the sociologist must draw an interview plan [4]. This rule is closely connected with the previous point. In the focus group, the moderator is of primary importance. The moderator guides the conversation, asks questions and makes sure that every participant has a say. The moderator can foster the discussion, but must also ensure that the focus group follows its sociological aims, not boiling down to ordinary chatter.

Last but not least, the interview focuses on the individuals' subjective experiences. This is the key point for the whole qualitative sociology and its main difference from quantitative sociology [1]. This entails focusing not on the number of participants, but on examining their personal opinions and emotions. It takes more time if compared with quantitative methods, but allows a completely different depth of the answers, helping the sociologist to get to the heart of the situation.

To sum up all the above, focus groups are able to provide valuable data and insights that may not be obtainable through other methods like surveys or interviews. They allow for in-depth conversations and the exploration of multiple perspectives, which can lead to a deeper understanding of complex social issues.

As we have mentioned above, in every focus group, the moderator controls the process and sometimes makes notes, understands subtle gestures and facial expressions, and, obviously, directs and leads the focus group in the right direction.

The sociologist plays a critical role in the success of a focus group. As the discussion leader, the sociologist is responsible for guiding the conversation and facilitating a constructive and productive discussion. He must, therefore, be skilled in the art of active listening, questioning, and facilitating the dialogue as he manages the group dynamics in the focus group.

One of the primary responsibilities of a sociologist-moderator is to set a positive tone for the focus group. He must build trust and rapport with each participant, establishing a non-judgmental and open environment [5]. To do this effectively, the moderator must have a strong understanding of social dynamics and the ability to relate to people from different backgrounds and perspectives. A moderator must be able to communicate effectively and be an active listener, capable of detecting nonverbal cues such as body language, intonation or facial expressions. Additionally, he should be skilled in asking open-ended questions that invite participants to share more about their experiences, thoughts, and opinions. The goal is to create a relaxed atmosphere where conversation flows freely, and ideas are exchanged among participants [6].

Additionally, the sociologist-moderator must ask thoughtful and open-ended questions that encourage participants to share their thoughts and opinions. By asking follow-up questions and seeking clarification, the moderator can probe deeper into the responses and gain a more profound understanding of the participants' views. He must also be alert and quick on his feet in case the conversation strays off the topic or if participants become overly emotional. He must be able to distill the many conversations into key themes and develop insights that are relevant and meaningful for the research objectives. Strong analytical and critical thinking skills, coupled with a deep understanding of social sciences, are essential in this regard. The main role of the researcher is to control the dynamics of the conversation, while not disturbing its natural course [8].

The focus group method can be rather costly for the researcher, both in the monetary sense and in terms of the extent of the efforts involved [2]. It is necessary to have at least two sociologists simultaneously working in one focus group session. One is the moderator and the other is the recorder. The role of the recorder in a focus group is equally important. The recorder is responsible for capturing the discussion and making detailed notes on specific issues and points raised during the conversation. This enables the researcher to refer back to the conversation later and get an accurate sense of what was said by the participants. The recorder must remain impartial and focused and to ensure that he does not inadvertently influence the direction of the conversation.

During the focus group, the recorder should take comprehensive notes, paying close attention to the participants' quotes that capture their sentiments and tone. They should summarize and highlight significant points and ensure accurate representation of the overall flow of the discussion. The recorder's notes provide valuable material for the researcher to analyze and understand the themes, patterns, and perspectives related to the topic.

The first responsibility of any member of a focus group is to bring their unique perspective and experiences to the table. Each participant is chosen because they are believed to have valuable insights and opinions related to the topic being investigated. It is essential to be open and honest, sharing personal experiences and opinions in a respectful manner. They should also actively listen to the other participants and engage in a productive and respectful discussion.

In our study, we mainly aimed to analyse the differences between the advanced language learners (polyglots) and those who are not associated with polyglottery. Within the framework of our research, we compare the perspectives of the polyglot students with those of the students who have decided to give up studying their second foreign language, even if they do not have to additionally pay for the classes as the curriculum includes studying two languages.

Concerning polyglots proper, we wanted to comprehend the way they perceive languages and why they have chosen to learn so many of them. Moreover, it was interesting to examine this particular focus group as polyglots are mixed with ordinary students. To put it simple, the main question that runs through our whole research can be formulated as follows: why do some students prefer to give up studying their second foreign language whereas other students go to great lengths to take up as many languages as they can and learn them on the functional level of fluency?

During the focus group, respondents were asked four main questions. Naturally, there were also clarifying questions, so the discussion remained lively throughout the entire 30–40 minutes of the session.

Review of the answers

We asked respondents a number of various questions, ranging from their linguistic choices to the reasons why they do or do not give up one particular language or another. It is important to remember that the questions are aimed at identifying the underlying reasons.

Fortunately for us, our respondents were sincere and open-hearted, everyone was eager to share with us his/her personal story. Thus, we were provided with full and profound answers to all our questions.

The first question concerned the reasons why the respondents had chosen each particular language. So, the participants were asked to present their motives of taking up studying foreign languages and, as the method entails, to discuss it with their "colleagues".

It came to light that the choices of many respondents are influenced not by their independent wishes but by the decisions their parents or their school had made when the respondents themselves were too young.

This reason is especially true for English, German and French as they are among the most common languages that are taught in Russian schools. One of the focus group members (who is considered as a polyglot) named one of the reasons *"the hand of God",* meaning that it was not his own choice but something independent from his will.

Sometimes students get a language at the university regardless of their wishes. That is why students at MGIMO often joke: *"You do not choose your language, the language chooses you".*

Among other factors that were mentioned by the polyglots is the interest in the culture of the country or in the language itself. This is particularly relevant for the languages like Japanese or Chinese as more and more people become interested in these cultures.

As for the interest in the culture of the country, one of the respondents said, *"The culture of the East has always been interesting to me. It is about both the greatness of history and the prospects for the future. That is why I decided to take up Chinese and Hindi. As for the European languages, I also study German and English. I think it is the right decision as these languages are at the heart of Europe. Therefore, I consider it very useful to study them, primarily for understanding the positions of partners, especially in these difficult times".*

Speaking of the interest in the culture, one of our respondents (a polyglot) told us about her love of the Middle Eastern culture, which was encouraged by her family heritage. Speaking about the reasons of taking up Arabic, she said, *"My grandmother knew Quran. That is why Arabic is close to my heart. It is the language of my grandmother. Via speaking Arabic or reading in Arabic, I feel like I have a special connection with my predecessors. It helps me feel in touch with them, even if I have never known or seen them in person".*

The next question to the respondents was about their motivation. We were interested in what reasons are behind their enthusiasm in the language learning process. Many respondents mentioned career prospects. In today's global economy, the ability to speak multiple languages is increasingly valued by employers, particularly by transnational companies. Bilingual or multilingual individuals are often regarded as valuable assets because they can help to bridge communication gaps and facilitate effective relationships with international clients or partners. That is why many MGIMO students take up various languages based on their plans for a future career.

Learning a new language can be an exciting and enriching experience, but it can also be challenging and frustrating. For many people, facing problems in the process of learning a new language is an inevitable part of the journey. That is why the next question was also connected with the respondents' motivation and was intended to shed light on the strategies of coping with the difficulties arising in the language learning process. We formulated it the following way: *Have you ever felt tired of learning languages and wanted to quit?* This entailed many follow-up questions about the reasons and the ways of coping with the challenges.

All the respondents regardless of their group (i.e. polyglots, the intermediate group, and non-polyglots) noted that they had problems in the process of learning languages. One of the most common problems that they face is a lack of time. Many students have busy lifestyles, juggle languages with other university subjects, work, family, tight schedules, and other commitments, which allows them little time for language learning. However, with proper planning and dedication, it is possible to overcome this challenge and make language learning a part of your daily routine.

We have found out that both polyglots and non-polyglots get exhausted of monotonous student's books and grammar tasks. *"There is too much tedious work,"* one of the respondents mentioned. However, what differentiates the non-polyglot from the polyglot students is that the latter tend to have stronger motivation, which enables them not to quit when they face challenges. Polyglots say that they *"feel an emotional connection with the language"*, that is why they cannot give up learning.

The "intermediate group" of students has also shown high motivation to learn two foreign languages, even though they mentioned some obstacles they had to overcome. One of them said: *"Once I thought to give up studying German. It was very hard for me at the beginning. The pace of our learning programme is too fast, which makes it difficult to understand all the grammar topics profoundly. But I decided to give another try to our relations [with the language] and now I feel it was the right decision. I see the benefits this knowledge gives me and I really take joy in our classes"*. Another respondent from the intermediate group also shared some comments about his journey: "*At first, everything was fine. But then, maybe after a month or two, I felt that the classes became really hard for me. I did not manage to catch the topics as fast I wished. I can say that I really struggle with Spanish. I know that at least one of my classmates had the same issue, but we both decided to persevere and it was a winning strategy"*.

A student who gave up learning a foreign language at MGIMO said he got fatigued from the same type of grammar tasks and textbooks. He felt overwhelmed by complex grammar rules and amounts of vocabulary to learn. Many of the respondents (from all analysed groups) believe that language learning programmes are too focused on grammar exercises instead of boosting up speaking skills.

To sum this topic up, polyglot students were found to have an increased motivation that kept them focused even during the times of despair. That is in contrast to the non-polyglots who did not manage to overcome the challenges or to find the motivation they needed. The polyglot students latch onto so-called inner motives, such as an emotional connection to the language, a personal interest and career prospects. By contrast, the non-polyglot students were forced to study the language, which can be regarded as an external motive.

The next section of the focus group was devoted to the perennial issue of what is primary: talent or effort. The respondents were asked the following: *Do you think that the ability to study and speak foreign languages is innate or it depends on personal efforts, commitment and endeavor?* The non-polyglots said that intrinsic traits are of primary importance and it is possible, but very hard, to develop an aptitude for foreign languages with no innate traits for this.

The polyglots and the intermediate group did not share this point of view. One of the polyglots said, *"Everything is possible and everything can be achieved with the due effort and desire to move forward"*. However, no respondents dismissed the natural factor, saying it undoubtedly plays a role. Yet, the majority agrees that, as one of the polyglots said, *"any talent without labor is mediocrity, therefore, titanic work is needed"*. Another said that talent works only if accompanied by effort.

We were also interested in what the respondents had to say about the practical aspect of learning foreign languages. The students were asked: *How did the knowledge of foreign languages help you in life? What else do you think it can be useful for?* Respondents from all the three groups noted the importance of language skills for their future career. However, many students already work as tutors, which, naturally, requires fluency and an advanced level of foreign language speaking skills. One of the respondents said she was recruited thanks to her knowledge of English.

Another aspect is that foreign languages enhance communication, not necessarily in terms of career. Many have friends or just acquaintances abroad and the possibility to communicate with them in their own language is very valuable. That is what two respondents said, adding they are happy to be given such an opportunity. The participants also noted that they had acquired valuable contacts and found like-minded people.

Another interesting point that only polyglot students shared is that the knowledge of the foreign languages opens opportunities for self-fulfillment and self-awareness. One of the polyglots said, *"Thanks to foreign languages, I got to discover myself from the inside. It is more than just a hobby for me. I feel that I can never be tired of practicing foreign languages"*.

Conclusions

Having taken into consideration and analysed all the above answers, we have come up with a table showing key differences that characterise polyglot students in comparison to non-polyglot students and the so-called intermediate group (see Table 2).

	Polyglot students	**Intermediate group**	**Non-polyglot students**
Motives of taking up a foreign language	The choice of additional languages is voluntary in addition to the languages assigned by the university	The choice of languages is determined by the decision of the school or university	
Attitude to the prospect of learning more languages	Strive to learn more languages	Strive to learn languages, but not in large numbers	Do not seek to learn languages
Attitude to the process	Enjoy the process	With time, managed to see advantages and enjoy the process	Could not find motivation for themselves, refused to study

Table 2. Key differences in attitudes of the three groups

The polyglot students tend to have more motivation to language learning and their interest is voluntary, driven by internal motives, while non-polyglot students and the so-called intermediate group usually have less motivation and are often forced by external reasons.

Polyglot students take joy in language learning. This confirms the point that polyglots are "obsessed" with this process [7, p. 73]. The intermediate group is also able to see the advantages of language learning and enjoy the process, but students who learn only one language do not demonstrate a particular passion for language learning. This process seems to them boring and unexciting.

The polyglot students endeavor to learn more and more foreign languages. They see this process as their hobby and a part of their lives. It is natural for such students to take up a lot of foreign languages to learn because they perceive it as a vital part of their existence. The non-polyglot students do not usually seek to learn a lot of foreign languages and stop at one or two languages.

In conclusion, the focus group conducted at MGIMO University provided valuable insights into the world of polyglottery. The participants revealed interesting information on their language learning experiences, including the challenges they faced and the strategies they found to be effective. The discussion also highlighted the importance of early language exposure and practice in developing proficiency in multiple languages. The findings of this study can inform language policies and teaching methods and offer guidance to language learners. The results may also inspire new research to explore other aspects of polyglottery, for example, the impact of multilingualism on different areas of cognition. The focus group was a powerful qualitative research tool that effectively explored the topic of polyglottery, confirming its importance in today's globalized world.

Taking everything into consideration, learning a new language is a challenging, yet rewarding experience, which can leave learners with skills and meaningful insights into other cultures and cognitive abilities. Through the examination of the focus group we organized, we discovered certain differences in the perception of foreign languages by various categories of MGIMO students. As we identified three groups of the students according to their relevance to the polyglot community, we managed to get insights for every analysed category. Although there are a lot of differences in students' approaches to foreign languages, as well as in their perception of the study process, our analysis argues that all three groups may have something in common.

The respondents from all categories said that their choice of studying particular languages partly depended not on their own decision, but on the so- called "coercion". Those not associated with the polyglot community say that they were assigned a foreign language without the university taking into consideration their own preferences. Some of the polyglots say their parents influenced their decision or strongly advised them to take up at least one foreign language.

Moreover, the polyglots' choice of learning a particular foreign language depended on a variety of reasons. The primary reason for the polyglots is their own desire and interest in the process. Many see the language learning process as a way to get to know the culture of the language. Others think foreign languages are a significant asset to their career potential, which will help them to obtain more attractive job offers.

In contrast to the polyglots successfully managing the study of numerous foreign languages, non-polyglot students also shared their opinions on why they decided to give up learning the foreign language that was assigned to them by the university. In many ways, their choice was influenced by the lack of motivation (or an insufficient level of it) and by a pressed work/study schedule.

The intermediate group between polyglots and non-polyglot students has also showed some interesting revelations. This category can be regarded as the midway between the two "extremes", having certain similarities with both groups. The students of this intermediate group, like the non-polyglots, were not given a choice of the language. However, these students managed to find motivation to keep studying. All of them say they are happy with their decision not to have given up the language learning process, as they now take joy in learning their language and believe this could be beneficial for their career prospects.

There is a common misconception that the language learning process is much easier for polyglots than for "ordinary" people. Obviously, we cannot dismiss biological and genetic predispositions, but it is worth mentioning that both polyglots and non-polyglots have difficulty in learning languages. Here lies the main difference between the attitudes of the three groups. Polyglots are aware of the advantages of proficiency in a variety of foreign languages, which can be both external (career prospects, communication facilitation) and internal (self-knowledge, study of ancestral culture). Thus, we can conclude that strong internal motives are a distinctive feature of the polyglot community. The opposite group (in our classification) lacks internal motives, whereas the intermediate group with time develops certain reasons to keep on studying the foreign language.

It seems possible to argue that our research lays foundations for further studies of polyglottery based on qualitative sociological methods. We hope our work can be useful for practical purposes as well. The paper may help professors teaching foreign languages to find approaches to their students and to help them progress. On the other hand, it may be useful for students themselves, especially during the times when they feel upset or troubled by the challenges they face.

Polyglottery remains a promising area for research as many aspects of polyglots' social life have not yet been analysed closely. Thus, we propose to continue a deep and comprehensive study of this social group. Due to the rising interest in polyglots, we strongly believe that more studies are to come and to be discussed at further conferences and panel discussions, which are also rapidly developing.

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THE LINK BETWEEN POLYGLOTTERY AND PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY: A CASE STUDY OF RUSSIAN DIALECTS

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Abstract. The status of language varieties as dialects or distinct languages has long been a controversial topic, as the distinction is often coloured not only by objectively measurable linguistic data, but also by history, speakers' attitudes, prejudices, metalinguistic awareness and general education. It is the author's belief that one could establish criteria for differentiating a language from a dialect by asking the speakers of a majority language directly in a survey-based blind test, thus accounting for the complex interaction of factors that affect language perception, but mitigating the biases of socio-cultural influences. This study proposes a simple method for checking one-way intelligibility in lieu of a mutual intelligibility test. Another issue that this article is concerned with is polyglots. Polyglots are known for being able to study languages efficiently, presumably, due to their increased language aptitude and awareness. Can this awareness have an effect on a polyglot's propensity for perceiving dialects as languages? Answering this question is the second task of this paper. The results of the study show a rather weak positive correlation between the number of languages that a person knows and his tendency to identify an unknown speech sample as a language rather than a dialect; however, they do not refute this idea outright. Additionally, the author found setting a criterion for differentiating a language from a dialect difficult due to an unexpectedly high intelligibility rate of a lect that was known to be a distinct language. This implies that further testing of this sort needs to be done. It was, however, established that speakers of Russian tend to see a dialect as a lect that only differs in phonetics, while a language, in their perception, is a lect that differs in phonetics as well as vocabulary.

Keywords: polyglottery, perceptual dialectology, languages and dialects, Russian dialects

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СВЯЗЬ ПОЛИГЛОТИИ И ПЕРЦЕПТИВНОЙ ДИАЛЕКТОЛОГИИ НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ ДИАЛЕКТОВ РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКА

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Аннотация. Статус языковых разновидностей как диалектов или отдельных языков с давних пор является неоднозначным вопросом, так как диалекты разграничиваются на основании не только объективных лингвистических данных, но и на основании истории, отношения носителя к языковой разновидности, его предубеждений, металингвистических сведений и общего уровня образования. Автор полагает, что можно установить критерии разграничения языка и диалекта путём прямого опроса носителей доминирующего языка, в котором респонденты не будут знать, с какими вариантами языков они имеют дело. Таким образом можно учесть сложную взаимосвязь факторов, влияющих на восприятие языков, и одновременно снизить роль социокультурных воздействий. В настоящем исследовании предлагается простой метод проверки односторонней понятности вместо теста на взаимную понятность. Другой вопрос, который исследуется в данной статье, связан с полиглотами: предполагается, что полиглоты способны изучать языки эффективно благодаря повышенному чувству языка. Может ли это чувство влиять на их склонность воспринимать диалекты как языки? Ответ на этот вопрос является второй целью настоящей работы. Результаты исследования показывают лишь довольно слабую положительную корреляцию между числом языков, которые знает человек, и вероятностью того, что он назовёт языковой вариант языком, а не диалектом, однако не отвергают полностью выдвинутую гипотезу. Также автор пришёл к выводу, что критерий для разграничения языков и диалектов установить трудно ввиду неожиданно высокой понятности языковой разновидности, о которой известно, что она является отдельным языком. Это означает, что необходимо продолжение аналогичного опроса в более широком масштабе. Однако было установлено, что носители русского языка склонны воспринимать диалект как ту разновидность языка, которая отличается от родного им языка только своей фонологией, а язык – как разновидность, которая отличается и фонологией, и словарём.

Ключевые слова: полиглотия, перцептивная диалектология, языки и диалекты, диалекты русского языка

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Introduction

Polyglottery is the phenomenon of an adult making a conscious effort to acquire multiple languages [6]. Polyglottery is believed to be reinforced by an enhanced language awareness in the individuals known as polyglots [5], which implies that polyglots may be more sensitive to the minutia of a given language, and thus be able to more accurately discern between a language and a dialect.

Perceptual dialectology is a branch of folk linguistics that studies the distribution of linguistic features as perceived by speakers without a linguistic background. The aim of perceptual dialectology is to find out how social factors affect the perception of dialects, both in terms of the speakers' conscious opinions about languages and their unconscious perception of dialectal features [8].

The key idea in this study differs from that of mainstream perceptual dialectology in that the author is concerned not so much with the distribution of dialectal features, but rather with the status of a lect as a dialect or a language. The distinction between language and dialect is not due to any intrinsic linguistic features of a lect, but rather due to a complex interplay between sociological and sociolinguistic features, such as, but not limited to: positive or negative biases and attitudes towards the peoples of a given region where the lect in question is spoken; the speakers' interest in other cultures; previous experience studying other cultures; biases arising from political agendas inherent in the schooling programmes; metalinguistic awareness; experience with various registers in one's own language, etc. [4]. As such, a reasonable proposition would be to create a criterion for designating a lect as a dialect or a distinct language based on a majority vote in a blind test by speakers of closely related languages. In other words, when viewing separate languages as *Abstandsprachen* (a term denoting lects so disparate that they are to be considered separate languages) [ibid.], the author uses the speakers of a language as the measuring device to measure the distance by asking them directly. One could then evaluate whether the number of languages that a speaker knows correlates with how frequently he identifies a lect as a language or a dialect.

As such, the goals of this investigation are twofold:

1) to establish a criterion for distinguishing a dialect from a language based on native speakers' subjective opinion;

2) to examine the influence that knowing multiple foreign languages has on the perception of the distinction between a language and a dialect.

Common approaches to distinguishing dialects and languages

Creating a criterion for distinguishing dialects and languages has long been a goal of many researchers, and the most common approaches found in literature are the following [9]:

1) measuring mutual intelligibility;

2) measuring the differences between two lects computationally.

As pointed out by Wichmann [ibid.], mutual intelligibility is often asymmetrical (for instance, speakers of Danish understand spoken Swedish much better than vice versa) [4], and, additionally, mutual intelligibility is very difficult to measure. Thus, Wichmann [9] proposed to use an algorithm based on phonetic lexical difference using normalised Levenstein distance (the number of permutations needed to change the word from one lect into its semantic counterpart in another lect), or LDN for short. They came out with a cut-off LDN of 0.51 (which is a conservative estimate, other possible cutoffs are discussed in the paper): if the LDN between two lects is greater than that, they are considered separate languages. By such a classification, Indonesian and Malay, Bosnian and Croatian, and Hindi and Urdu constitute pairs of dialects of the same language, while Catalan and Spanish, Cairo Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, and Japanese and Miyako constitute pairs of closely related yet distinct languages. Such results are uncontroversial and are in line with both a public understanding and a typical linguistic classification of those lects, but some more unusual conclusions from this study are that Danish and Swedish, as well as Russian and Belarusian should be classified as pairs of dialects, albeit they are very close to the language threshold (LDN = 0.49 and 0.46, respectively).

While the findings of the paper mentioned above are promising and merit further investigation, the author believes that socio-cultural factors play a major role in differentiating languages, and an entirely computational method is incapable of accounting for that. Speakers' input must be considered, and while mutual intelligibility tests are indeed difficult to conduct, one-way intelligibility tests involving speakers of a majority language might provide a sufficient alternative, because when taking the democratic approach (everyone's opinions are treated equally), the influence of the speakers of the majority language would outweigh the speakers of the minority language. So, to a first approximation, gauging intelligibility from the viewpoint of the speakers of a majority language should suffice for a criterion to distinguish between a language and a dialect.

The first attempts to develop a methodology for testing dialect intelligibility were made by structuralists in the 1950s America, who focused on establishing linguistic borders in the Native American languages and devised the recorded text testing (RTT) to that end. This method has found use for literacy programmes to standardise orthographies, as well as language policies and sociolinguistic studies [4]. In this study, the author uses a somewhat modified approach similar to RTT.

The contribution of perceptual dialectology to the issue of dialect vs. language

Lee [7] proposes that even non-linguistic features, such as the amount of pauses and bad starts in a recorded speech sample, can influence a respondent's perception of a dialect, and points out that our current methods may be, as of yet, unrefined, and that the most reasonable attitude is that of healthy skepticism. Rather than attempt to further refine precise methods, the author, instead, turns to a simpler method of appealing to the masses to define a criterion for a language vs. a dialect.

According to Clopper [2], perceptual dialectology is concerned with issues such as how sociolinguistic representations are acquired throughout an individual's life span and how dialect variation and classification influence speech processing, and it aims to build a model of linguistic and social representations that influence dialect perception. One of the critical features of the author's proposed model for determining a speaker's aptitude for dialect perception is accounting for the speaker's experience, which includes both language acquisition in childhood and his continued learning throughout his life. The second critical design feature of the model is accounting for the effects of socio-cultural stereotypes, listener's expectations, and response biases.

In the same manner, the author wishes to find out whether experience with language of all sorts has any influence on dialect perception, that is, whether a polyglot's experience with a multitude of languages is correlated with an increase or a decrease in the number of languages that he identifies across a sample of closely related lects. The socio-cultural stereotypes are another important factor to consider, and one of the most obvious factors allowing speakers to identify a different language is its alphabet. Thus, in this study, which focused on written speech samples, the author sought to eliminate the differences in orthography.

Williams [10] stresses that the most important aspects for differentiating a language from a dialect are language attitudes, language use patterns, multilingualism, and the sociological aspects of a given region. To gauge the distance between the Cangin languages (a group of related languages in Africa), he used a combination of approaches: the phonostatistic method (comparing the number of differences in the phonetic features of an identical gloss, where a value higher than 100 represents a potential obstacle to comprehension) and a mutual intelligibility test. He found that the results of both the phonostatistics and mutual intelligibility tests displayed values similar to the ones accepted for considering two lects to be dialects of a single language. He thus concluded that the Cangin language group is composed of five distinct languages, contrary to what was previously believed. His paper demonstrates an example of a multi-faceted study that can be used for further similar studies in other linguistic areas where the linguistic status of some lects is highly disputed.

The questionnaire

The anonymous questionnaire on Google Forms[1] included a section where the respondents would provide their background data: their origin, education, an interest in linguistics, and, most importantly, the number of languages that they know. After that, the respondents were given 10 texts in sequence: each text was written in a normalized phonetic Cyrillic orthography (so as to eliminate potential differences in the respondents' perception of an unknown alphabet, as well as to facilitate vocal reproduction of the texts). The rules of the normalised orthography accompanied each text. Eight of the texts were recorded speech samples of the lects that are traditionally classified as dialects of Russian (texts were taken from [1], [3, p. 71–76], and online resources[2]), while two of the texts are excerpts from works written in literary East Slavic microlanguages, namely, Preshov Rusyn[3] and Podlachian[4]. The Smolensk lect was represented twice, owing to the lack of other suitable texts. The respondents were tasked with the following:

1. Reading the text out loud.
2. Rating the intelligibility of the text according to their subjective perception from one (lowest) to ten (highest).
3. Rating the comfort of conversation with a speaker of the lect presented in the text from one (lowest) to ten (highest).
4. Naming which aspects of the given lect (vocabulary, phonetics or grammar) differ the most from standard Russian.
5. Naming which aspects of the given lect (vocabulary, phonetics or grammar) are the closest to standard Russian.
6. Identifying the lect either as a dialect of Russian or as a distinct East Slavic language.

In the introduction to the questionnaire, the respondents were not told how many distinct East Slavic languages or how many dialects there were in the pool of texts. They were also not told which languages or dialects were featured in the questionnaire, so as to minimise the effects of psychological priming. Data manipulation was then carried out using the built-in features of Google Spreadsheets.

Participant profile

Responses were received from 153 participants. The target audience was teenagers and young adults. Over 80% of the respondents fell into the age group of 14 to 30 years, with an average of 24 years. Around 36% of the respondents work or study in the field of natural sciences, while around 24% work or study in the fields of literature and linguistics. Over half of the respondents were residents of Moscow and the greater Moscow area. Over half of the respondents claim to know one to three languages, while only about a fifth of the respondents can be considered polyglots knowing five or more languages (Fig. 1).

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[1] Opros vo vospriiatiiu dialektov russkogo iazyka i vostochnoslavianskikh iazykov [Survey on the perception of Russian dialects and East Slavic languages], docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSf3_tkS930ixKNZlYapKQ3tz7He53TbDvWQ3vN_jQxgV-_jqQ/viewform?usp=sf_link (accessed 10 August 2023).

[2] Galanin, A. Pomorskaia govoria – samy drevny russky iazyk [The Pomor dialect is the oldest Russian language]. Istoriia Severnoy Rusi [The History of Northern Rus], 2013, ukhtoma.ru/chud11.htm (accessed 10 August 2023).

[3] Ilkovič, V. *Rusińskyj Novinař.* Preshov: Rusyn Writers' Union in Slovakia, 2014. 170 p.

[4] Koli ja byv złodijom liêsu, svoja.org/eseji-bijografiji/koli-ja-byv-zlodijom-liesu (accessed 10 August 2023).

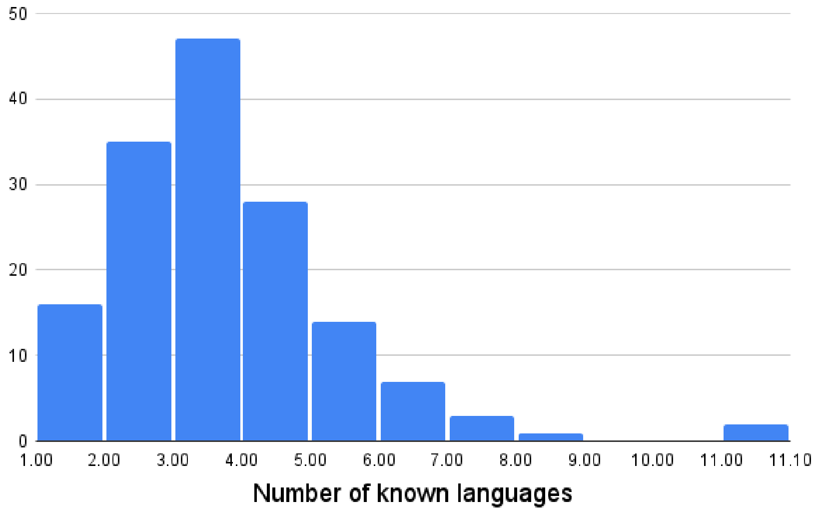

Figure 1. The distribution of participants according to the number of languages they know

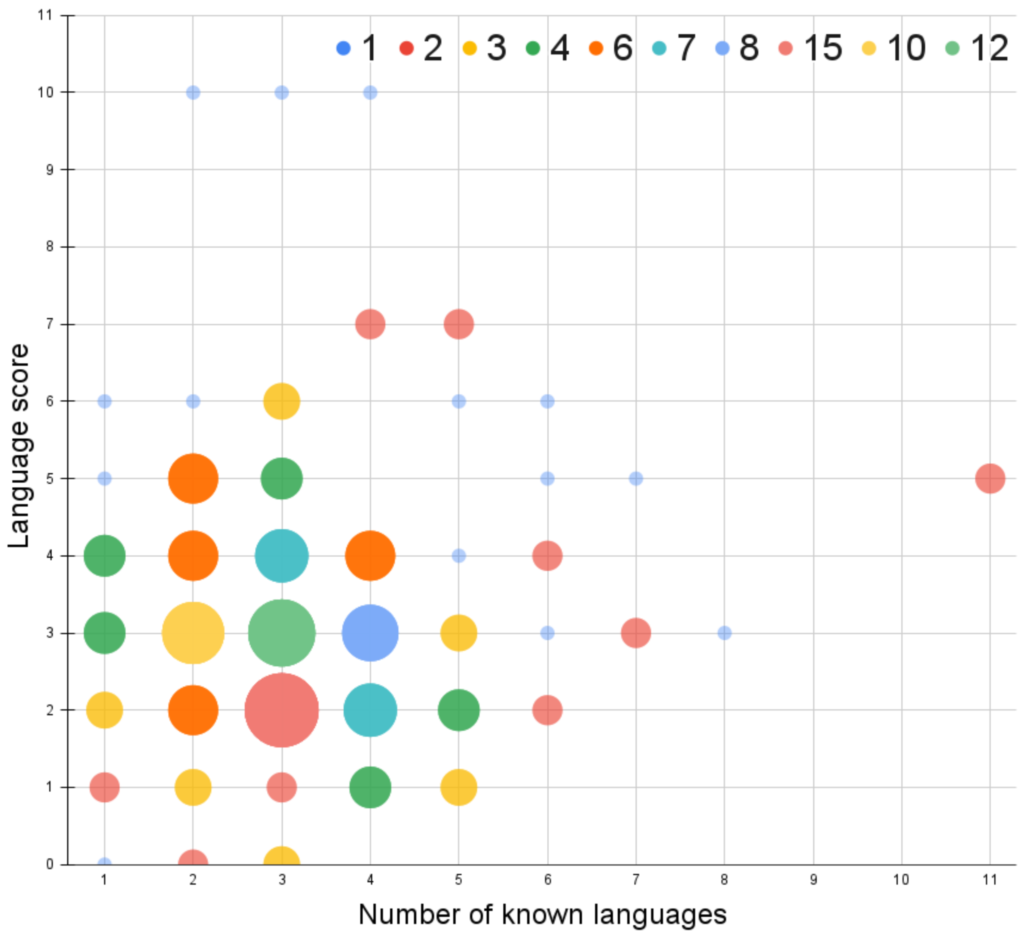

Figure 2. A bubble chart representing the dependence of the language score acquired by a participant vs. the number of known languages. The size of the bubbles represents the number of participants who acquired a given language score while knowing a certain number of languages.

Results and discussion

First, the correlation between the number of languages a person knows and his predisposition to perceive a lect as a language or a dialect was analysed. Task 6 on the list (see the paragraph on methodology) was to identify the lect either as a dialect of Russian or a distinct East Slavic language. The responses were converted into numerical values, with one standing for "language" and zero standing for "dialect", and the "language score" that a participant received was tallied. Thus, if a participant identified seven of the lects as dialects, and three as languages, his "language score" would be three. The author then made a bubble chart with the number of languages that a participant knows on the X-axis, the "language scores" on the Y-axis, and the number of speakers who know a certain number of languages and received a certain "language score" represented by the size of the bubbles (Fig. 2).

Immediately, it becomes apparent that over half of the participants believe there to be three or more distinct languages in the pool of lects. If the initial hypothesis were true, namely, if knowing few languages corresponded to perceiving fewer different languages in a pool of lects, and knowing many languages corresponded to perceiving a greater number of different languages in a pool of lects, one would expect to see a steady upward trend, with the centre of gravity of the bubbles shifting towards the top, as presented in Fig. 3.

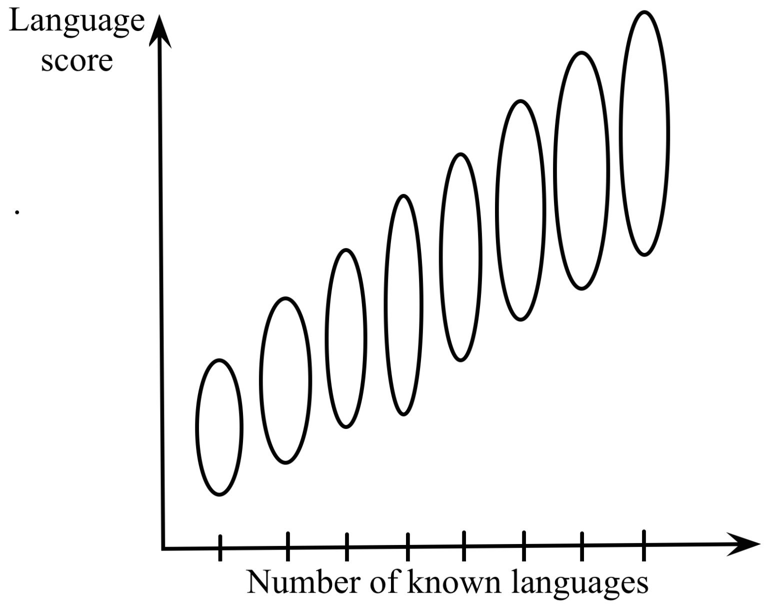

Figure 3. The hypothetical distribution that one should have observed if the initial hypothesis were correct

In reality, however, one sees an uneven distribution with no clear trend. The centre of gravity is always on either two or three "language points" for respondents who know one to five languages. The one interesting feature in support of the author's hypothesis is that among the participants who know over seven languages, none believed there to be fewer than three different languages in the pool of lects. However, given the extremely low number of participants who know more than six languages, such data cannot be considered reliable. In conclusion, it can be stated that the findings demonstrate a weak positive correlation between the number of languages that an individual knows and his predisposition to perceive a lect as a language.

Next, in order to establish the criteria for identifying a lect as a language or a dialect, it was decided to analyse the participants' opinions about the texts presented and look for patterns in their responses. To begin with, the author tallied up the number of "language points" attributed to a language by all of the participants and averaged it across the number of participants, giving the "language score" metric. This gave him a scale from zero to one that shows how the participants perceive the lect: if the value is closer to one, then it is, without a doubt, a distinct language, according to the participants, but a value that is closer to zero is indicative of a dialect. After carrying out the calculations, the author selected his benchmark lects that would serve as prime examples of what the participants consider to be a language and what they consider to be a dialect. The resulting data is presented numerically in Table 1 and visually in Fig. 4.

	Belgorod	Rusyn	Smolensk1	Samara	Pomor	Smolensk2	Nizhny Novgorod	Podlachian	Yegorievsk	Novgorod
Average	0.24	0.88	0.42	0.08	0.43	0.17	0.33	0.30	0.11	0.25
Confidence interval	0.07	0.05	0.08	0.04	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.05	0.07

Table 1. The “language scores” of the texts presented to the survey participants.
The confidence intervals were constructed according to Student’s t-distribution, $p = 0.95$, $n = 153$.

	Belgorod	Rusyn	Smolensk1	Samara	Pomor	Smolensk2	Nizhny Novgorod	Podlachian	Yegorievsk	Novgorod
Average comfort	5.94	3.22	4.36	6.80	4.22	6.28	4.80	6.56	7.36	5.95
Confidence Interval	0.41	0.41	0.46	0.40	0.40	0.43	0.42	0.40	0.36	0.40
Median	6.0	3.0	4.0	7	4	7.0	5	7	8	6
Mode	5.0	0.0	5.0	9	5	9.0	6	9	8	7
Average intelligibility	8.07	4.65	5.76	8.31	5.38	7.76	6.38	8.07	8.94	7.42
Confidence Interval	0.31	0.41	0.43	0.30	0.40	0.37	0.41	0.32	0.23	0.33
Median	9.0	4.0	6.0	9	5	8.0	7	9	9	8
Mode	10.0	5.0	8.0	9	5	10.0	8	10	10	8

Table 2. The statistics for the comfort and intelligibility ratings given to the texts by the survey participants.
The confidence intervals were constructed according to Student’s t-distribution, $p = 0.95$, $n = 153$.

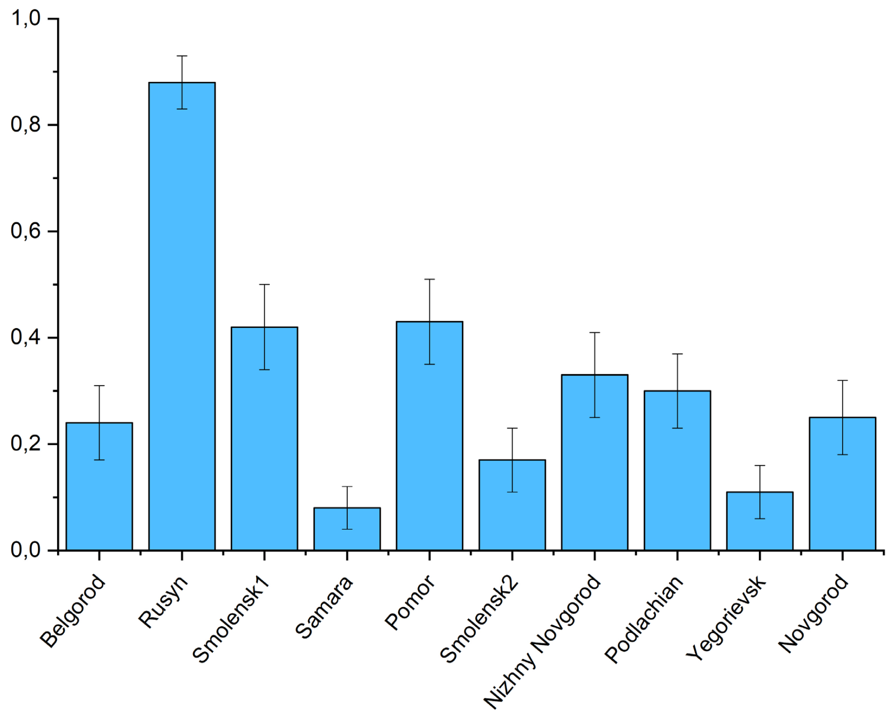

Figure 4. “Language scores” given to the lects by the participants.
Confidence intervals calculated using Student’s t-distribution, $p = 0.95$, $n = 153$.

The benchmark for a distinct East Slavic language is Rusyn with a "language score" of 0.88 and a 95% confidence interval of 0.05 (according to Student's t-distribution), landing it securely in the "language" category. This is unsurprising given how distant Rusyn is from standard Russian in all aspects: phonetics, lexicon, and syntax. Thus, it can be said that the upper limit for a language criterion lies at around 0.83, which is the average value minus the confidence interval.

The lects that represent the benchmark for dialects of Russian are the dialects of Samara and Yegorievsk, with "language scores" of 0.08 and 0.11, respectively, and with 95% confidence intervals of 0.04 and 0.05, respectively (according to the Student's t-distribution). Thus, it can be said that the lower limit for a dialect criterion lies at around 0.12, which is the average for the Samara dialect plus the confidence interval.

Outside of these clear-cut cases, every other lect is more difficult to interpret. Some of the most notable oddities include the following:

- the Pomor "dialect" has a score of 0.43, similar to that of the Smolensk "dialect", with a score of 0.42 (confidence interval 0.08 for both);
- Podlachian has a score of 0.30, similar to that of the Nizhny Novgorod "dialect", with a score of 0.33 (confidence interval 0.07 and 0.08, respectively).

These two results are significant because the Pomor "dialect" is believed by some to be a distinct language, owing to its highly divergent phonetic system, specific vocabulary and a rather atypical grammar for a Slavic language, which includes clitic definite articles, similar to the Scandinavian languages, Bulgarian and Macedonian[5]. These features alone would warrant Pomor the status of a language, so one might be tempted to set the threshold for differentiating a language from a dialect at 0.5 on the "language score". If 0.5 does not fall within the confidence interval of a lect, it is to be considered a dialect, and if 0.5 does fall within the confidence interval of a lect, or the mean is equal to or higher than 0.5, it is to be considered a distinct language. A threshold value of 0.5 is logically reasonable, as it represents the midpoint in terms of speakers' perception, and, additionally, this choice is corroborated by data for the Pomor "dialect". However, since the Smolensk "dialect" has an almost identical score, that would imply that it, too, ought to be considered a separate language, which is a more controversial claim that would require further investigation and elucidation.

On the other hand, the fact that Podlachian scored so low presents another complication for the author's theory. The origin of Podlachian is known and well-documented: it is the East Slavic literary microlanguage that is most closely related to Belarusian, while geographically it is located entirely within the borders of present-day Poland, and its development took place at the turn of the previous century[6]. By all accounts, Podlachian should be as distant from Modern Standard Russian as Prešov Rusyn, which has a similar history and geographic position. Yet, despite every indication that Podlachian should be a language in its own right, its score is remarkably close to that of the Nizhny Novgorod "dialect", both of which are significantly lower than the scores for the Pomor and Smolensk "dialects". Potential causes of this dilemma are:

1. The text that was presented to the participants gave an account of an old man's recollections of nature around his home village, and the vocabulary in this passage is (a) concrete, and (b) cognate with similar words in Modern Standard Russia. It could very well be that this similarity in vocabulary and the lack of major innovations in Podlachian phonetics (as compared with, for instance, changes in the mid vowel quality in closed syllables in Prešov Rusyn) allowed for unimpeded comprehension of the text by speakers of Russian. Meanwhile, a similar effect did not take place in the case of Rusyn, because its phonetics is so strikingly different, so cognates are more difficult to

[5] Galanin, A. Pomorskaia govoria – samy drevny russky iazyk [The Pomor dialect is the oldest Russian language]. Istoriia Severnoy Rusi [The History of Northern Rus], 2013, ukhtoma.ru/chud11.htm (accessed 10 August 2023).

[6] Svoja.org (accessed 10 August 2023).

recognise, and the text deals with matters that were more contemplative and abstract in nature. Besides, as East Slavic languages outside of Russia tend to loan abstract terms from Polish, the terms were not cognate with those of Russian and good comprehension was not achieved.

2. Podlachian, and by extension Belarusian, from which it originates, ought to be considered a single language with Russian, albeit with highly divergent dialect groups. As could be seen from the literature review, computational methods do point one in the direction of this hypothesis [9].

If Proposition 1 were true, then one should observe an increase in the language score for Podlachian when a text with a higher content of abstract vocabulary that is not cognate with Russian terms is used. If Proposition 2 is true, then all Podlachian texts will be easily comprehensible to an average speaker of Russian. In both cases more testing with different texts is required.

Additionally, in Questions 2 and 3 in the survey, the participants were asked to rate the intelligibility of the text and their comfort when they imagine speaking to a native speaker of the lect in question. The author averaged the results for every language, built a confidence interval and found the median and the mode. The results are presented in Table 2 and Fig. 5 and 6, respectively.

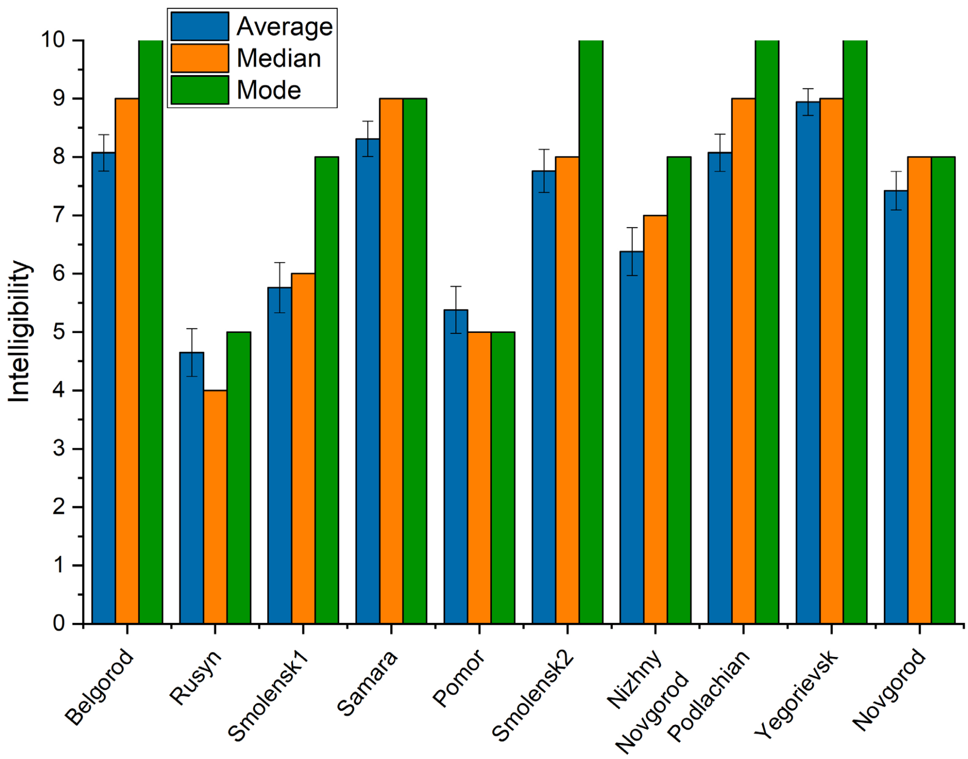

Figure 5. Intelligibility of the lects. Confidence intervals calculated using Student's t-distribution, $p = 0.95$, $n = 153$.

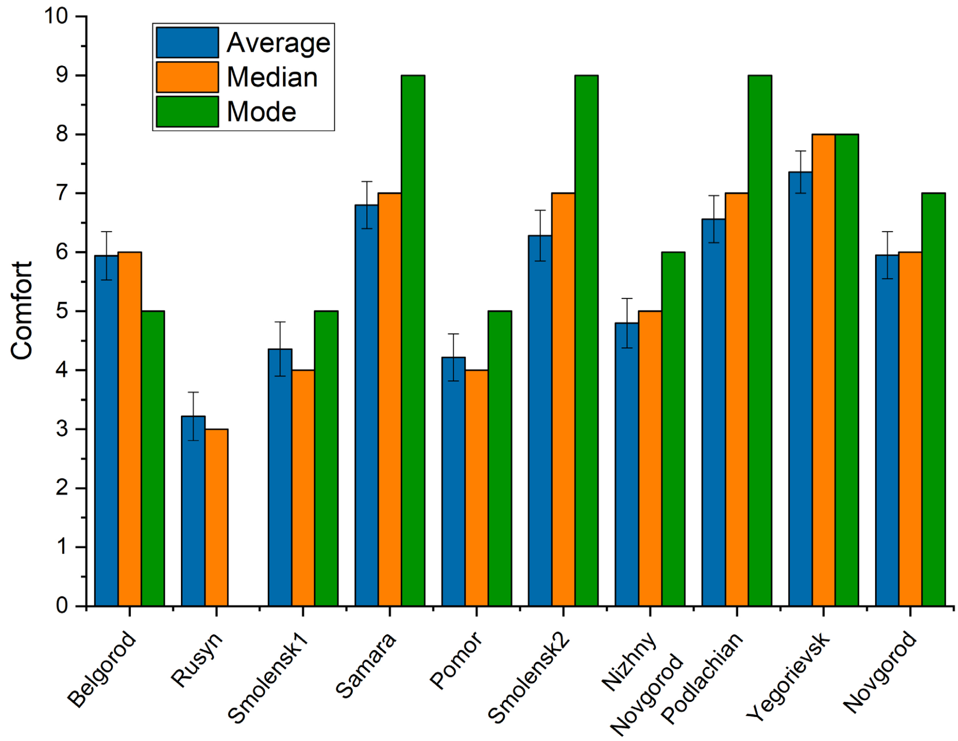

Figure 6. Participants' comfort when dealing with a native speaker of a lect.
Confidence intervals calculated using Student's t-distribution, $p = 0.95$, $n = 153$.

The trends noticeable in these data are identical to those observed in the "language scores" dataset. Rusyn stands out as the language with the lowest comfort and intelligibility ratings, with Pomor coming in at number two. The other lects have similar ratings, so these data will not be analysed further.

Factors influencing dialect perception

In Questions 4 and 5 of the survey, the participants were asked to name the features that, in their opinion, were the most divergent from and the most similar to Modern Standard Russian. In each case they were allowed to choose up to three of the following options: phonetics, vocabulary, and grammar. It was decided to analyze the trends in the data obtained to establish whether certain features take precedence over others in determining a lect as a language or a dialect.

The number of times a given feature was mentioned for every lect was calculated, both as a similarity and as a difference. These responses were then sorted into two categories for every lect: the responses given when the lect was identified as a language, and the responses given when the lect was identified as a dialect. The author summed the results for every category over every lect and divided the results by the number of participants to get a number between zero and ten, presented in Fig. 7 (which shows the number of times an average speaker named a given feature a similarity or a difference after identifying the lect as a language) and Fig. 8 (which shows the number of times an average speaker named a given feature a similarity or a difference after identifying the lect as a dialect). These numbers allow one to compare the importance that a given characteristic has when a participant has to identify a lect as a language or a dialect.

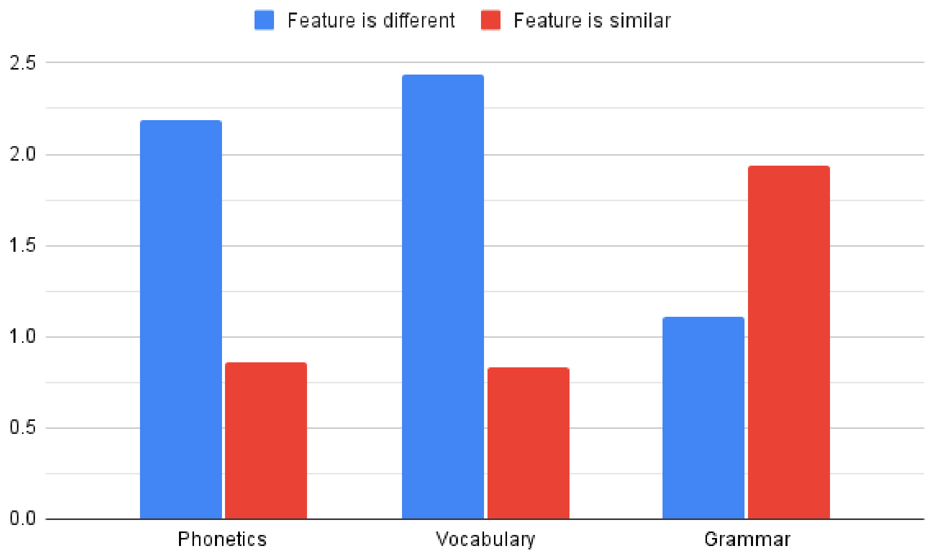

Figure 7. The number of times that a feature was deemed different or similar when a lect was identified as a language, averaged across the participants

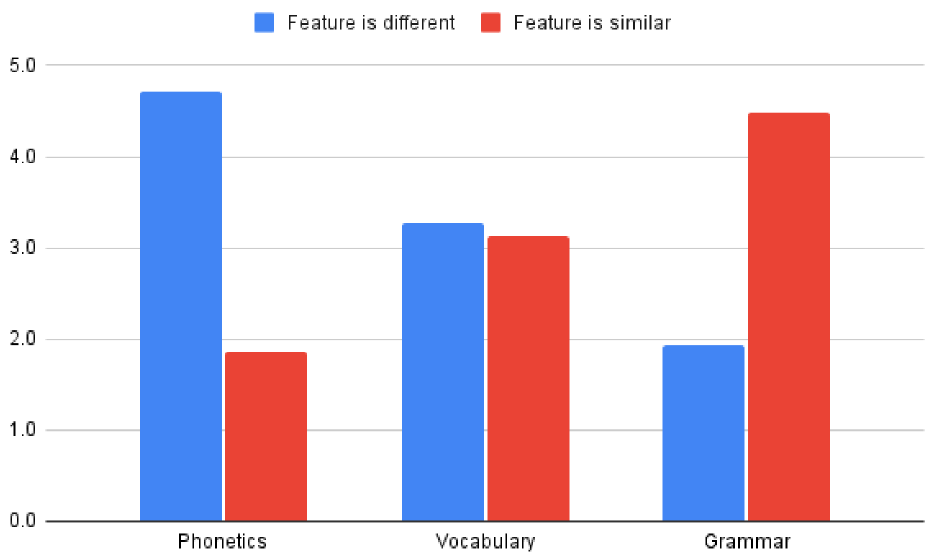

Figure 8. The number of times that a feature was deemed different or similar when a lect was identified as a dialect, averaged across the participants

In the case of a participant identifying a lect as a language, one observes that, on average, speakers would consider a lect's phonetics significantly different from that of Modern Standard Russian 2.2 times; a lect's vocabulary, 2.4 times; and grammar, 1.1 times. Meanwhile, these same features were considered to be close to those of Modern Standard Russian 0.9, 0.8, and 1.9 times, respectively. Thus, it can be seen that, when identifying a lect as a language, speakers tend to consider the phonetics and the vocabulary of the lect to be the key deciding factors. Meanwhile, the participants consider the grammar of the lects to be fairly close to that of Modern Standard Russian, which is reasonable, since all of the lects belong to the East Slavic branch, and thus all share most of their grammatical features.

In the case of a participant identifying a lect as a dialect, one observes that, on average, speakers would consider a lect's phonetics significantly different from that of Modern Standard Russian 4.7 times; a lect's vocabulary, 3.3 times; and grammar, 1.9 times. Meanwhile, these same features were considered to be close to those of Modern Standard Russian 1.9, 3.1, and 4.5 times, respectively. In stark contrast to the case of a lect being identified as a language, here the participants named vocabulary different and similar an almost identical number of times, indicating that in the respondents' view, vocabulary does not play a role in recognising a dialect. Meanwhile, phonetics does appear to be of importance for identifying a dialect, as it was designated as different almost 2.5 times more often than as similar. Grammar, on the other hand, has a similar distribution as in the case of a lect being identified as a language, which makes even more sense in this case as the dialects of a single language cannot be substantially different.

Thus, it can be concluded that in the participants' view, a dialect differs from the standard language only in its phonetics, while a closely related language differs from their mother tongue both in phonetics and in vocabulary, but not in grammar, due to them being closely related.

The author then compared the distributions of similar and differing features for three key lects: Rusyn, the Samara "dialect" and the Pomor "dialect". These three were chosen because they represent a clearly distinct language, a clear dialect, and a controversial "middle-of-the-road" lect. By considering the distributions of similar and differing features, one can find additional ways of comparing the different lects. The results are presented in Fig. 9 (displaying the differences) and Fig. 10 (displaying the similarities).

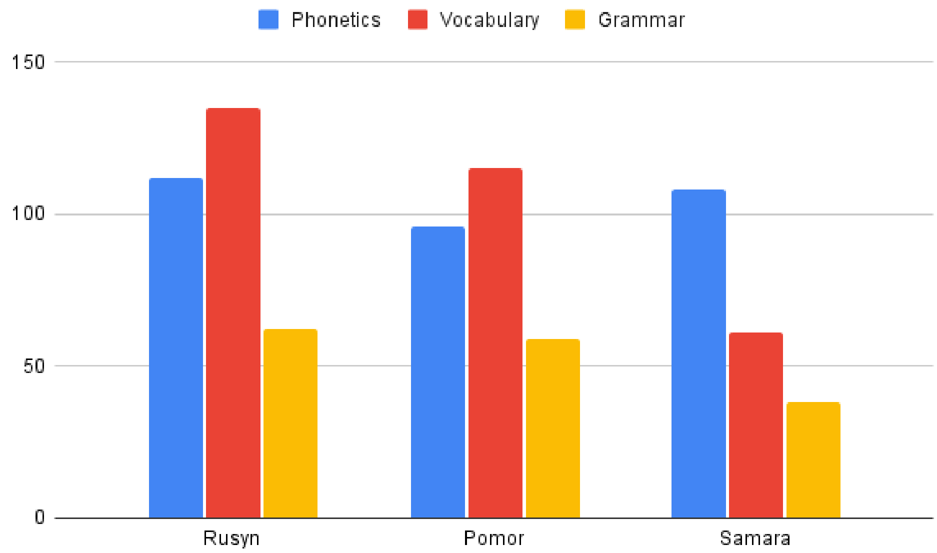

Figure 9. The number of times that a feature was deemed to be a difference for a given lect. The remaining lects showed a distribution similar to that of the Samara "dialect".

When comparing Rusyn and the Samara "dialect", one sees that, just as in the global case discussed above, both vocabulary and phonetics are more frequently deemed different in Rusyn than in the Samara "dialect", where only the phonetics is seen as substantially different. Grammar is not deemed significantly different in either lect. Meanwhile, when looking at the similarities between the lects and Modern Standard Russian, the distribution is completely flipped: for Rusyn, the phonetics and the vocabulary are rarely seen as similar, with grammar being by far the most similar aspect; and for the Samara "dialect", vocabulary is also seen as fairly similar to that of Modern Standard Russian. This more detailed look supports the conclusion that was made in the preceding paragraph. Additionally, it can be observed that Pomor displays a distribution identical to that of Rusyn, which, in addition to all of the other data, makes one conclude that it is far closer to a distinct language than to a dialect.

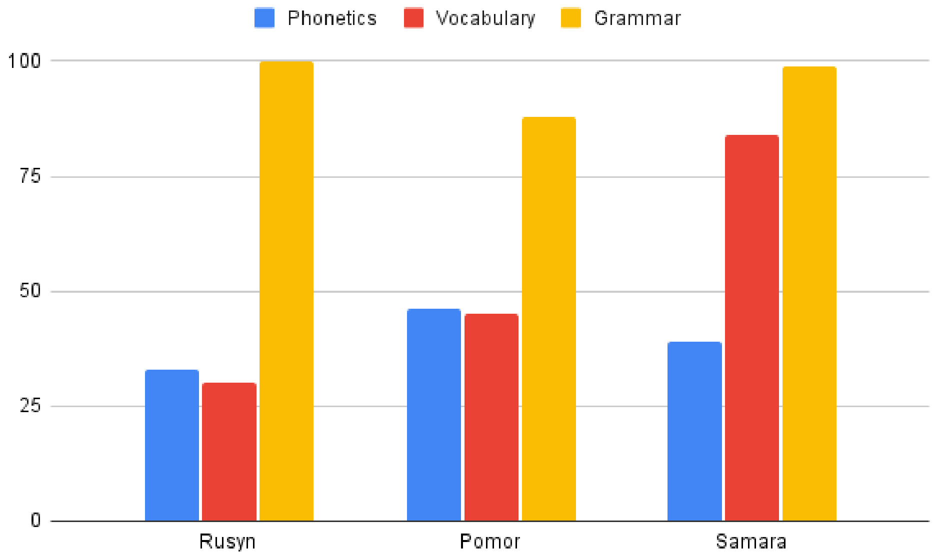

Figure 10. The number of times that a feature was deemed to be a similarity for a given lect. The remaining lects showed a distribution similar to that of the Samara "dialect".

Conclusions

Having analysed the acquired data, the author was unable to confirm his initial hypothesis about polyglottery (represented by the number of languages that a participant knows) correlating with an increased propensity for perceiving closely related lects as distinct languages rather than dialects. Only a very weak correlation was observed, as the number of people in the survey who know more than six languages is too low to make definite claims about the statistical significance of the results. Moreover, an unexpected result was found in that Podlachian, a distinct East Slavic literary microlanguage with a known recorded history, rated higher in comprehension than some dialects of Russian.

What the author did find, however, was the influence that certain linguistic features have on the perception of the lects: the respondents find phonetics to be the sole deciding factor for designating a lect as a dialect, while the combination of differing phonetics and vocabulary are the key deciding factors for recognising a lect as a language.

All this gives one pause and requires further investigation with a greater number of participants and different texts.

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CÓDICES DE LA CULTURA NAHUA: UNA APROXIMACIÓN SEMIÓTICA Y ETNOGRÁFICA

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Resumen. La introducción al sistema de comunicación mesoamericano en códice, concretamente de las culturas Tlaxcalteca, Mexica y Cholulteca, implica el uso del idioma náhuatl tanto en su forma "clásica" como en sus variantes modernas dependiendo de la región, para lograr una mejor comprensión. Se empleará como base de estudio códices anteriores al siglo XVI, ya sean precoloniales o correspondientes al inicio del periodo colonial mexicano, y códices coloniales propios del siglo XVI, XVII y XVIII. Los ejemplos aquí presentados son de diversa índole, tanto de significado como de materiales y proporciones (ciertos en piedra, otrora en papel o a modo de pintura mural). Aunque las ciudades-estado, naciones y culturas en tiempos prehispánicos desarrollaron sus propios atributos de representación plástica e iconográfica, entre las culturas de habla náhuatl se compaginó una manera de "escribir pintando" que comparte una lógica común tanto de escritura como de interpretación – lectura. Esta compaginación de trazos culturales se da por regiones e incluso, en ciertos casos, se observa marcada influencia de culturas distantes entre sí al momento de plasmar su historia en códices. Existe una relación de la identidad y del idioma náhuatl con los códices muy fuerte hasta nuestros días. Se mostrarán componentes de los "amoxme", libros de códices, junto con su significado desde la etimología nahua. Por tanto, en el presente escrito se hace hincapié en la relación del náhuatl con el sistema de escritura – pintura en códice. Fuera de los periodos mencionados, existen códices de uso moderno y cotidiano, sobre todo en temas de oficialidad e identidad nacional, notablemente en los símbolos de alta preponderancia, como el escudo de la bandera mexicana o los escudos representativos de las municipalidades en la región central del país, donde florecieron el idioma náhuatl y las ciudades-estado que se abordarán. Se pretende un análisis descriptivo de la escritura en códice para sumar a su reconocimiento y comprensión que si bien es paulatina, no deja de ser constante.

Palabras clave: azteca, escritura, códice, conquista, glifo, náhuatl, nahua, mexica, Mesoamérica, precolombino, prehispánico

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КОДЕКСЫ КУЛЬТУРЫ НАУА: ЭТНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ И СЕМИОТИЧЕСКИЙ ПОДХОД

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Аннотация. Знакомство с мезоамериканской системой коммуникации посредством кодексов (в частности культур тлашкальтеков, мешика и чолултеков) предполагает, для её лучшего понимания, использование языка науатль как в его «классической» форме, так и в его современных региональных вариантах. В качестве основы для исследования использованы кодексы до XVI века, как доколониальные, так и соответствующие началу колониального периода в Мексике, а также собственно колониальные кодексы XVI, XVII и XVIII веков. Представленные здесь примеры разнообразны как по смыслу, так и по своей материальной основе и пропорциям (вырезанные на камне, написанные на бумаге или созданные в виде фрески). Хотя города-государства, народы и культуры доиспанских времён выработали свои собственные черты художественного и иконографического изображения, среди народов, говорящих на науатле, сложился способ «писать рисунками», имеющий в своей основе общую логику как письма, так и его истолкования – чтения. Такое сочетание культурных следов имеет место в разных регионах, а в некоторых случаях даже заметно влияние культур, находившихся далеко друг от друга на момент фиксации их истории в кодексах. По сей день существует очень сильная связь идентичности и языка народов науа с кодексами. В настоящей работе будут показаны компоненты «амоксме», книг-кодексов, а также их значение исходя из этимологии науа. По этой причине акцент делается на связи языка науатль с системой письменности посредством изображений в кодексах. За пределами упомянутых выше периодов, некоторые элементы кодексов сохраняются в современном повседневном употреблении, прежде всего в сфере официальной символики и национальной идентичности, особенно в таких распространенных символах, как герб на флаге Мексики или гербы, представляющие муниципалитеты центрального региона страны, где некогда процветали язык науатль и говорившие на нём города-государства. Представленный описательный анализ письменности посредством кодексов имеет своей целью способствовать её большему признанию и пониманию – процессам, которые, хотя и медленно, но последовательно продвигаются вперёд.

Ключевые слова: ацтеки, письменность, кодекс, конкиста, иероглиф, науатль, науа, мешика, Мезоамерика, доколумбов период, доиспанский период

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Introducción

La alienación de los pueblos autóctonos en el mundo trae como consecuencia grandes pérdidas socioculturales a la humanidad, desapareciendo sistemas de pensamiento que se llevan consigo distintas maneras de entender lo *real*.

En México existen censadas 364 variantes lingüísticas [2], lo que nos convierte en uno de los países con mayor diversidad cultural en el mundo. A pesar de ello, la discriminación y la aculturación acaecen sobre los pueblos que subsisten a contracorriente sobre nuestro suelo. La mayoría de los idiomas *mexicanos* y sus dialectos están en riesgo de extinción[1] inminente y alta.

El presente análisis buscará sumarse a los esfuerzos que dan visibilidad al idioma náhuatl y aportar a la difusión de los códices relacionados.

A las culturas que hablan y hablaron en el pasado el idioma náhuatl, se les llama culturas nahuas, derivado del idioma mismo. Por ejemplo, la cultura nahua Cholulteca, la cultura nahua Huejotzinca y la cultura nahua Texcocana, todas tuvieron como lengua madre el náhuatl. Las culturas nahuas no sólo compartieron el idioma hablado sino también el escrito, la arquitectura y diversos rasgos de su polo cultural. A todos estos rasgos civilizatorios se les designa en el presente escrito como cultura nahua.

La importancia de la difusión y estudio de la escritura en códice, como de las lenguas originarias en general, se suma a cuestiones de diversa índole que impactan a la población mexicana, ya sea en la legítima defensa de territorios, accesibilidad a servicios básicos tales como la salud, justicia o educación, el respeto y preservación del medio natural y la identidad nacional (plurinacional) mexicana.

Métodos y materiales de estudio

El presente análisis descriptivo se centra principalmente desde un enfoque semiótico y etnográfico.

En la mayor medida posible se busca implicar la epistemología indígena a través del paralelismo con el idioma náhuatl, para lograr una comunicación más fiel del sistema de escritura en códice. Contra sensu, a través de los códices se puede dar una enseñanza más completa del idioma náhuatl, evitando usar siempre el sistema de representación y escritura occidental.

Para ello se desarrolla un análisis histórico mediante la revisión bibliográfica pertinente, tanto documental como de investigación en materia de códices y del náhuatl mismo, así como de diccionarios englobando el náhuatl clásico y las variantes modernas.

La relación que se muestra viene en tres medios: escritura-pintura en papel tipo amate, pintura mural en diversos edificios prehispánicos y bajorrelieve esculpido en piedra. Respecto a los medios, ahondamos los traslapes y unicidades culturales en la escritura de distintas civilizaciones del México antiguo mediante un análisis comparativo entre los estilos culturales plasmados en cada medio. Así mismo dicho análisis se aplica a las variantes modernas del náhuatl con el llamado clásico o antiguo, con el fin de delimitar los términos más adecuados para los ejemplos mencionados a lo largo del estudio.

Definición de códices y glifos

La definición de códices en el contexto mesoamericano puede variar dependiendo del enfoque y autores que se aborden. En este caso, se destaca la definición que da el Dr. Joaquín Galarza en sus obras, ahondando sobre los componentes de la antigua escritura mexicana [1].

Él describe a los códices como un “sistema de comunicación gráfico-sonoro” [7]. Entiéndase gráfico debido a la manera de escribir pintando, y sonoro por su relación pronunciación-lectura.

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[1] Lenguas en riesgo. Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas (INALI), 2019, site.inali.gob.mx/Micrositios/DILM2019/lenguas_riesgo.html (consultado el 2 de febrero 2023).

En dicho sistema distintivamente las formas, disposición espacial, formato e incluso los colores significan. Un códice se compone de varias unidades gráficas, talladas o esculpidas (dependiendo el medio) llamadas glifos.

Dichas unidades se interrelacionan con su entorno de acuerdo a su posicionamiento, cohesión con otros glifos, colores y orientación.

Observemos como ejemplo la siguiente página del Códice Mendoza (figura 1).

Figura 1. Fundación de México-Tenochtitlan (Codex Mendoza, f.2r) [14, p. 33]

En el códice, podemos observar el conjunto de glifos que significan en su ensamble total; sin embargo cada unidad o glifo también es susceptible de ser leída en su individualidad.

En la figura 1.1, se observa la fracción de un personaje que forma parte de la página del Códice Mendocino designada a la fundación de Tenochtitlan.

Figura 1.1. Fundación de México-Tenochtitlan, detalle (Codex Mendoza, f.2r) [ibid.]

Comenzamos a leer de derecha a izquierda: se lee en primer lugar el glifo de una bandera, la cual está hecha de plumas de águila.

El águila en náhuatl se pronuncia “cuauhtli”, y “pantli” es “bandera” o “estandarte”. Finalmente se añade el sufijo “tzin”, símbolo de respeto cuando se suma a una palabra, generalmente en nombres de personas.

Por tanto el glifo o unidad, se lee “Cuauhpantzin”, conjunto de la fusión lingüística de las palabras “cuauhtli, pantli, tzin”. Traducido al español es “Honorable Cuauhpan”. De este modo, se observa que el glifo es la unidad básica componente de los códices, en este caso dando el nombre del personaje Cuauhpantzin.

En el idioma náhuatl la palabra “amoxtli” [9] es un término que históricamente se ha referido a los códices, equivalente prehispánico a los libros modernos. Hoy día “amoxtli” se utiliza para designar a cualquier libro.

A continuación se muestran dos ejemplos del glifo “tepetl” (figuras 2 y 2.1), en donde su significado “cerro” o “montaña” puede modificarse dependiendo de los colores, la forma y la disposición espacial en donde se encuentre dentro de un códice.

Figuras 2 y 2.1. Tepetl[2]

[2] Tepetl. Gran diccionario náhuatl. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), 2012, gdn.iib.unam.mx/diccionario/tepetl/11534 (consultado el 23 de enero 2023).

Al modificarse, mantiene su significado original y se le suman características, por ejemplo:
Calli + Tepetl + c = Casa + Cerro + En
Caltepec: "en el cerro de las casas".
La cantidad de información encriptada en cada códice es descomunal y en muchas ocasiones inaccesible, de ahí la dificultad para lograr un entendimiento y consenso certero al respecto.

Ubicación geográfica de las zonas culturales en México y diversidad lingüística en Mesoamérica

Generalmente se divide al territorio mexicano en tres grandes áreas culturales para el estudio de las civilizaciones prehispánicas: Mesoamérica, Aridoamérica y Oasisamérica [11].

Mesoamérica comprende aproximadamente el oeste, centro y sur de México, así como los territorios enteros de Belice, Guatemala y El Salvador. También comprende parte del territorio de Honduras, Nicaragua y Costa Rica.

Aridoamérica es una zona que se extiende desde la mitad norte de México y comprende los territorios de California, Nuevo México, Texas, Arizona, Colorado, Utah y Nevada, entre otros.

Finalmente, Oasisamérica se encuentra dentro de Aridoamérica geográficamente. Abarca una amplia porción de la frontera México – E.U.A., comprendiendo los estados de Baja California Norte, Sonora y Chihuahua colindando con Nuevo México, Arizona y California.

Cada zona cuenta con sus respectivas características climáticas y civilizaciones que florecieron ya sea en una o dos zonas a la vez, generando una diversidad cultural y lingüística de grandes proporciones.

Mesoamérica y su lingüística propia

Como se ha mencionado, no es de extrañarse que cada área tuviera y compartiera diversas familias lingüísticas, tales como la Maya, Oto-mangue, Mixe-Zoque o la Cochimí-Yuamana, entre otras[3]. La que atañe al presente escrito es la Yuto-Nahua, también llamada Uto-Azteca. Dicha familia comprende por supuesto al náhuatl y sus variantes.

Si bien el náhuatl es una lengua que florece con sus civilizaciones en el valle central de México, se debe tomar en cuenta que es un idioma proveniente del norte del país, desde la mítica ciudad de Aztlan.

Las culturas nahuablantes, al tener su origen en el norte de México, están relacionadas lingüísticamente con varios idiomas nativos del sur de Estados Unidos como el Pima y el Pápago, presentes también en los estados norteños mexicanos, y desarrollaron la escritura en códice al igual que muchas otras en el continente americano – escritura que además de ser rica en símbolos gráficos y distribución espacial no lineales continente de un intrincado sistema de notación [14], ya sean numerales o partes de la narrativa gráfica que se suman a la encriptación de la información.

Tomaremos como ejemplo concretamente los casos de la escritura Tlaxcalteca, Mexica y Cholulteca. Estas tres civilizaciones habitaron en cercanía, alrededor de lo que es hoy el valle de México.

Códices nahuas prehispánicos

Cultura Tlaxcalteca

Se conformaba principalmente por cuatro reinos, Tizatlan (esquina superior izquierda), Tepeticpac (esquina inferior izquierda), Ocotelulco (esquina superior derecha) y Quiahuiztlan (esquina inferior derecha), cuyos glifos se aprecian en la figura 3.

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3 Catálogo de las Lenguas Indígenas Nacionales. INALI, inali.gob.mx/clin-inali/ (consultado el 19 de enero 2023).

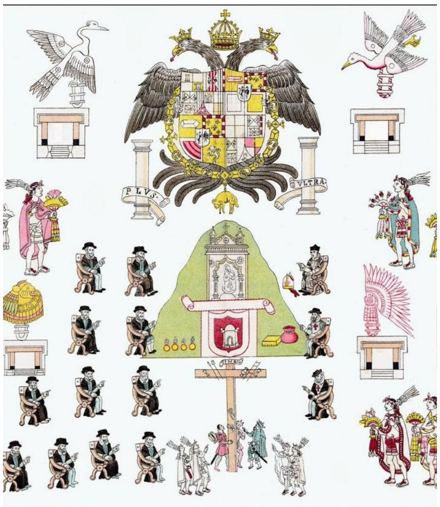

Figura 3. Lienzo de Tlaxcala (detalle)[4]

El nombre del reino de Ocotelulco es una palabra que se usa en español directamente del náhuatl para designar la zona arqueológica emplazada en la región donde otrora existió la población originaria. Se deriva de las palabras "ocotl" de donde proviene "ocote", nombre que se le da a una especie de pino endémico de México muy usado para generar lumbre. "Ololoa" [6] es el verbo "agrupar" o "amontonar", también usado para una reunión o junta, y finalmente "co", sufijo locativo. Por tanto el significado de Ocotelulco da "el lugar donde se agrupan los árboles del ocote".

Quiahuiztlan, por su parte, proviene de las palabras "quiahuitl" cuyo significado es "lluvia". La letra "z" alude al tiempo verbal del futuro y "tlan" nos da nuevamente el locativo pero de forma distinta al anterior. La palabra completa da el significado "lugar de la lluvia, donde siempre lloverá". También es usada directamente del náhuatl en español para la zona arqueológica del mismo nombre en el estado de Tlaxcala.

El nombre de Tepeticpac se descompone etimológicamente en las palabras "Tepetic", que significa "montañoso", y el sufijo "pac", locativo que desgina "sobre, en". Por tanto tenemos el significado "sobre lo montañoso, sobre el despeñadero".

Finalmente el nombre del reino de Tizatlan se utiliza en español directo del náhuatl para la zona arqueológica de dicho nombre, así como para la localidad en donde se emplaza en el estado de Tlaxcala. Deriva de las palabras "tizatl" (arcilla, polvo o tierra blanquecina) y "tlan", locativo referente a la abundancia de elementos que caracterizan un sitio. Al unirse en un nombre se tiene "lugar de la tierra blanquecina".

Tlaxcala es el nombre actual del estado cuyo nombre deriva del náhuatl "Tlaxcallan", componiéndose de la palabra"tlaxcalli", que es "la tortilla (mexicana)", y "lan", locativo. La unión de las palabras refiere a "el lugar donde abunda la tortilla"[5], cuyo glifo se aprecia en la figura 4.

Cabe destacar que las palabras tomadas directamente del náhuatl al español no conservan la misma acentuación, a pesar de ser casi iguales en escritura. En náhuatl son mayoritariamente paroxítonas, manteniendo el acento prosódico en la penúltima sílaba, sin importar el número de sílabas de la palabra. A diferencia de lo que sucede en español, donde generalmente las palabras nahuas se tornan agudas, colocando el acento ortográfico en la última sílaba.

[4] El lienzo de Tlaxcala; los Tlaxcaltecas y su labor en la conquista. Secretaría de Cultura, gob.mx/cultura/articulos/el-lienzo-de-tlaxcala-los-tlaxcaltecas-y-su-labor-en-la-conquista?idiom=es (consultado el 20 de febrero 2023).

[5] Hay autores que establecen el significado de Tlaxcala derivado del nombre "Texcallan", lo cual es lógico ya que en Tlaxcala abunda la piedra "Texcal", fusión de "Tetl" (piedra) y "Calli" (casa). Es un material de arenisca que puede llegar a ser muy sólido compacto, por tanto se usaba mucho para la construcción. Hoy en día se le suple por tabiques o ladrillos.

Figura 4. Glifo de "Tlaxcala", variante[6]

Los murales de la cultura Tlaxcalteca en la zona arqueológica de Cacaxtla-Xochitecatl en el estado de Tlaxcala (figura 5) nos dan fe de la escritura en códice emplazada como mural.

Figura 5. Cacaxtla Xochitécatl (fragmento)[7]

[6] Glifo de Tlaxcala, variante. Mediateca INAH (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia), mediateca.inah.gob.mx/islandora_74/islandora/object/fotografia:279462 (consultado el 13 de marzo 2023).

[7] Cacaxtla Xochitécatl. Lugares INAH, lugares.inah.gob.mx/es/zonas-arqueologicas/zonas/1866-cacaxtla-xochitecatl.html?lugar_id=1866 (consultado el 28 de marzo 2023).

Dicho mural se encuentra preservado con sus colores originales, y es parte de una serie de pinturas monumentales que se encuentran al interior del edificio (figura 6). El origen de la población tlaxcalteca se traslapa con la cultura Olmeca-Xicallanca [10], que se piensa son los autores de dichos murales, entre el 800 y 900 d. C. [5].

Figura 6. Cacaxtla Xochitécatl (fragmento)[8]

Uno de los códices murales presentes en Cacaxtla, cuyo fragmento se aprecia en la figura 6, muestra varios símbolos de animales acuáticos contornando a una figura antropomorfa con pies de águila y atavíos de realeza.

Como se puede apreciar, enmarcando al personaje de la imagen se encuentra una serpiente emplumada color turquesa, representación principal de la deidad Quetzalcóatl, cuyo nombre deriva de "quetzalli" significando la fertilidad. Su símbolo es el ave quetzal, presente también a la derecha de la figura antropomorfa.

La segunda parte de su nombre es "coatl" (serpiente). De ello deriva su significado "Serpiente de fertilidad", nombre aplicable a todo tipo de fuente de vida con forma símil a la serpiente, sea un río, los rayos del sol o los rayos de lluvia. Por tanto, Quetzalcóatl representa el fenómeno natural de la fertilidad, puesto aquí como una serpiente emplumada.

Cultura Mexica

De acuerdo con la creencia mítica, las culturas nahuas migraron desde un lugar de nombre Aztlan, derivado de "aztatl" (garza), y "tlan", locativo (lugar de garzas), ubicado en la zona norte del país[9].

Al salir de dicho lugar, eran propiamente Aztecas. Sin embargo, después de su peregrinaje hasta llegar al lago del Anahuac, se tornan Mexicas, lo que marca dos etapas civilizatorias distintas [3].

La principal ciudad-estado de la civilización Mexica fue la gran Tenochtitlan, actualmente Ciudad de México.

México

El nombre mismo del país, México, deriva de la voz nahua "Mexihco", cuya derivación es doble, y su gentilicio en plural es "mexica", siendo su singular "mexicatl".

Una forma de rastrear la etimología de "Mexihco", es tomando la palabra "meztli" que significa "luna", "xihtli" (ombligo) y "co", locativo. Por tanto, da el significado de "el sitio del ombligo de la luna".

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Existe gran debate por saber la verdadera ubicación de la mítica Aztlan, ya que es difícil rastrear con seguridad su antiguo emplazamiento.

Por otra parte, se puede dividir en “metl” que en español es “maguey”, “xih-huitl” (hierba o año) y “co”, locativo. De tal forma que se obtiene “el lugar de la hierba del maguey”.

Ambas formas de encontrar la etimología de “Mexihco” son lógicas dado que en primer lugar el tiempo calendárico se medía en fuerte relación con los ciclos lunares, pero también se observa históricamente que en México el maguey ha sido desde antaño fuente de muchos bienes para la población hasta el día de hoy.

A continuación la figura 7 muestra un ejemplo de códice pero esta vez no pintado, si no esculpido. Se trata de la piedra solar de la cultura Mexica, emplazada en el Museo Nacional de Antropología de la CDMX[10]:

Figura 7. Piedra del Sol[11]

A la piedra solar, popularmente conocida como “Calendario Azteca”, se le recupera de su enterramiento en el año de 1790 y tiempo después se le colocó al pie de la catedral de la Ciudad de México [8].

La pieza es un intricado de anillos concéntricos cuyo significado va desenvolviéndose del centro hacia afuera, por anillo, contrastando con una escritura lineal o en columna.

A continuación (figura 8) se muestra una interpretación estilizada de los colores que posiblemente tuvo antes de la destrucción del edificio del cual formó parte antes de la caída de Tenochtitlan.

[10] Siglas de Ciudad de México.

[11] Templo Mayor. Lugares INAH, lugares.inah.gob.mx/es/zonas-arqueologicas/zonas/piezas/7431-7431-10-1123-piedra-del-sol.html?lugar_id=1699 (consultado el 8 de marzo 2023).

Figura 8. Piedra del Sol (calendario solar)[12]

Al centro del complejo calendario, se encuentra representada por su glifo la deidad Tonatiuh, el sol. Los símbolos alrededor en cuadrados pertenecen al orden calendárico, cada cual representando un sol, que es una medida de tiempo nahua atribuible a una época o era. En sentido opuesto a las manecillas del reloj, partiendo desde la parte superior derecha, el primer sol es "Nahui Ocelotl", o "Cuatro-Jaguar" en español. El número se observa en las cuatro cuentas o círculos que entornan a la figura calendárica del jaguar. Sucesivamente se tiene a "Nahui Ej-jecatl", "Cuatro-Viento", siendo Ej-jecatl la deidad del viento y el viento al mismo tiempo.

Los glifos usados para las deidades generalmente son representaciones animales, glifos semiantropomorfos o inclusive abstractos.

El tercer sol es "Nahui Quiahuitl", cuya traducción es "Cuatro-Lluvia", y finalmente el cuarto sol es "Nahui Atl" o "Cuatro-Agua".

El anillo que contornea los soles está seccionado en veinte fracciones, cada cual correspondiente a un símbolo calendárico que se instrumentaba para un día o para un mes, dependiendo del tipo de calendario y fecha de la cual se trate.

Pasando a otro tipo de soporte, la escritura – pintura en libros o "amoxtli" fue un medio abundante. Los libros de escritura en códice se plegaban a modo de acordeón y su soporte principal era el papel "amatl", o amate en español, de ahí la raíz de la palabra "amoxtli".

A continuación se presenta un fragmento del Códice Borbónico, el cual se encuentra actualmente en la biblioteca de la Asamblea Nacional de Francia.

[12] Álvarez López, C. Piedra del Sol (calendario solar). Instituto Nacional de los Pueblos Indígenas, 2021, gob.mx/inpi/es/articulos/piedra-del-sol-calendario-solar-una-representacion-del-tiempo-en-el-mexico-antiguo?idiom=es (consultado el 13 de marzo 2023).

Figura 9. Códice Borbónico[13]

En la figura 9 se logra notar una multiplicidad de símbolos que nos dan una aproximación al significado del mismo. Los colores dominantes son el amarillo, rojo y negro, si bien están presentes también el verde, café, blanco, gris y otros. La escenificación de personajes dentro de la narrativa nos muestra gobernantes, deidades, fechas de gran importancia y eventos sociales o políticos. Además de esto las actas de diverso orden, contratos, ventas terrenales, acuerdos y procesos legales en general representaron una fuente primordial de documentos escritos en códice durante el periodo colonial, como lo señala Serge Gruzinski [4] al ahondar sobre el origen de los documentos prehispánicos y después de la conquista.

En el caso del fragmento presentado perteneciente al Códice Borbónico, se observa el sistema numérico nahua en su representación escrita dentro de las secciones cuadradas que rodean y separan a las figuras centrales. Dicha representación son las cuentas “pohualli” que se observan en forma de círculos rojos consecutivos.

Al centro y de forma descendente los recuadros muestran los números 13, 12, 11, 10, 9 y 8. Ésta secuencia concuerda con los 13 días presentes en 20 meses de uno de los sistemas calendáricos que manejaban las culturas nahuas [13], en este caso referente a una variedad de actividades religiosas principalmente.

Cultura Cholulteca

La civilización Cholulteca se emplazaba en los territorios de las tres Cholulas modernas: San Pedro Cholula, San Andrés Cholula y Santa Isabel Cholula.

El nombre de Cholula etimológicamente proviene de la palabra nahua “Chollollan”, componiéndose del verbo “chololohua” (despeñar) y “lan” (lugar), por tanto significa “lugar donde se despeña el agua”.

Sin embrago, existe otra forma de encontrar su etimología, desde la palabra “cholohua” (huir, ausentarse) y “lan” (lugar). Esto da como significado “el lugar de la huida.

Si se considera la etimología derivada del verbo “chololohua”, existe concordancia con la geografía del lugar, ya que la otrora abundante agua dulce permeaba el territorio cholulteca en gran medida, de ahí que el agua es central en el glifo de Cholula, como se puede ver en la figura 10.

Dando preponderancia al uso del verbo “choloa”, existe debate sobre el momento histórico que causara la gran huida de donde derivase el nombre.

[13] Códice Borbónico. Mediateca INAH, mediateca.inah.gob.mx/islandora_74/islandora/object/objetoprehispanico:16889 (consultado el 29 de marzo 2023).

Figura 10. Escudo de Cholula[14]

La pirámide Tlachihualtepetl en la zona arqueológica de Cholula es la más grande del mundo en extensión de base, y alberga el mural de Los Bebedores de Pulque en el complejo de túneles internos de la misma (figura 11). La intensidad de los colores se ha mantenido a través del tiempo debido a su aislamiento dentro de la gran pirámide.

Figura 11. Mural de los Bebedores[15]

En el mural se ven varios personajes en una festividad tomando pulque, bebida endémica de México de la cual es fuente la planta del maguey, cuya deidad es Mayahuel [12] a quien se le atribuye la bebida ritual del pulque, también la fertilidad y fecundidad.

El mural mide 60 metros de longitud y cuenta con una altura en promedio de 2.5 metros.

Por las condiciones y emplazamiento que tiene, es complejo estudiar los glifos de forma directa. Empero, se tiene una réplica (figura 12) que se encuentra en el Museo Regional de Cholula, donde se puede apreciar a detalle la configuración de las formas.

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[14] Escudo de Cholula. Sistema de Información Cultural (SIC México), sic.gob.mx/ficha.php?table=centro_cultural&table_id=850 (consultado el 4 de abril 2023).

[15] Vela, E. El pulque. Arqueología Mexicana, arqueologiamexicana.mx/mexico-antiguo/el-pulque-0 (consultado el 4 abril 2023).

Figura 12. Mural de los Bebedores (detalle)[16]

Al observar los colores, las formas y la disposición del mural, es apreciable cuan distinto es de los códices mexicas o tlaxcaltecas, teniendo formas que pertenecen a otro polo cultural en cuanto a estilo y gráfica (pensando en la influencia Olmeca Xicalanca).

Códices nahuas (Tlaxcalteca, Mexica, Cholulteca) coloniales

En la época colonial se continuó el sistema de escritura en códice, conviviendo y a veces mezclándose con el sistema de escritura occidental (figura 13).

El fenómeno pictográfico-escrito donde se traslaparon ambos sistemas sucede durante la transición paulatina de un sistema de escritura y pensamiento hacia otro.

Figura 13. Códice Moctezuma (fragmento)[17]

[16] Rodríguez Cabrera, D. El Mural de los Bebedores de Cholula, Puebla. Arqueología Mexicana, arqueologiamexicana.mx/mexico-antiguo/mural-de-los-bebedores-cholula (consultado el 10 de abril 2023).

[17] Códice Moctezuma. Mediateca INAH, mediateca.inah.gob.mx/islandora_74/islandora/object/codice:628(consultado el 4 de marzo 2023).

Se conservan documentos (vastamente de importancia legal) escritos en códice, a los cuales se añadió parcialmente su significado escrito con letras occidentales pero en náhuatl. Otrora se les sumaba por parte de las autoridades coloniales transcripciones en latín o castellano.

La convivencia de ambos sistemas de escritura conllevó gradualmente al desuso del códice como medio principal, ya que, como lo señala Serge Gruzinski, "Lo que la escritura alfabética gana en continuidad lo pierde el material pictográfico en consistencia" [4, p. 56].

Periodo colonial tlaxcalteca

El códice Lienzo de Tlaxcala registra la *alianza* de la confederación tlaxcalteca con la corona española. En la figura 14 se muestra un fragmento del códice, en una reconstrucción interpretada a color. Nótese cómo los trazos otrora fuertes alrededor de las formas, ahora son débiles y las representaciones son europeizadas, producto de la yuxtaposición del arte europeo del momento histórico con el arte característico del sistema de escritura prehispánico.

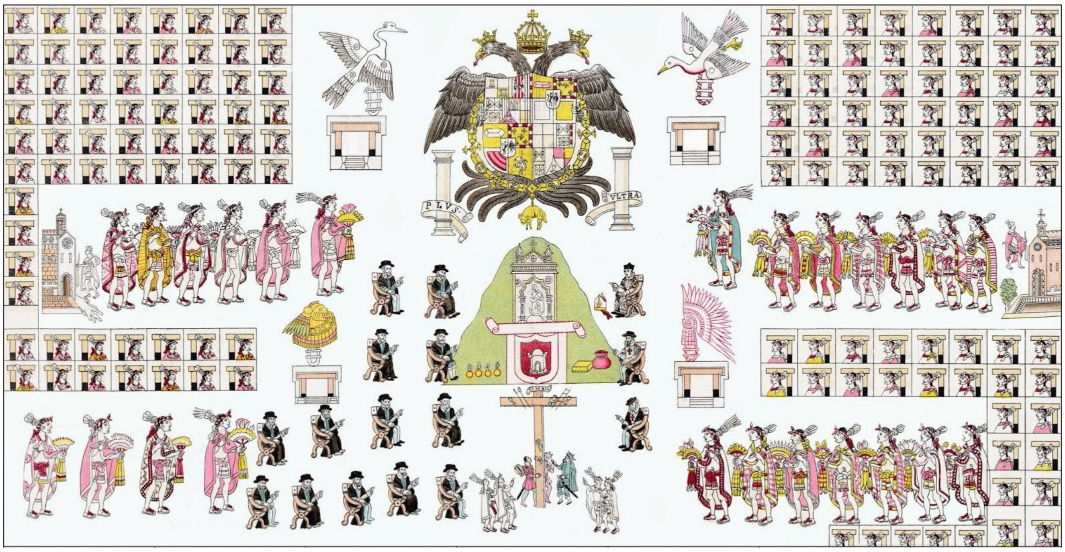


Figura 14. Códice de Tlaxcala (interpretación a color)[18]

El ordenamiento de las figuras y la disposición espacial siguen siendo enteramente Tlaxcalteca pero sumando elementos occidentales, como el escudo de la Casa de Habsburgo, cambiando totalmente la forma de representación gráfica y lingüística.

Periodo colonial mexica

Los códices gestados durante el primer periodo de convivencia entre ambas escrituras mantienen la fuerza del trazo prehispánico, presentando escrituras en latín o castellano antiguo cuya intención es, frecuentemente de manera errada, traducir el significado de los códices para las autoridades coloniales.

Dependiendo del documento, a su vez los códices también fueron acompañados de inscripciones en náhuatl, como se observa en el Códice Moctezuma (figura 15).

[18] El lienzo de Tlaxcala; los Tlaxcaltecas y su labor en la conquista. Secretaría de Cultura, gob.mx/cultura/articulos/el-lienzo-de-tlaxcala-los-tlaxcaltecas-y-su-labor-en-la-conquista?idiom=es (consultado el 20 de febrero 2023).

Figura 15. Códice Moctezuma (fragmento)[19]

En la escena vemos al gobernante mexica atado con una cuerda por detrás por un conquistador: es la muerte de Moctecuhtzoma, o Moctezuma en español. Ambos personajes están sobre el glifo "calli", o casa, durante la toma de la capital mexica (Tenochtitlan).

El Códice Moctezuma es un ejemplo significativo de lo que fue la combinación de ambos sistemas de escritura, conservando el material y formato de libro indígena.

En la esquina superior derecha, al lado de la pirámide, se observa gastado el glifo de la ciudad de Tenochtitlan (figura 15.1). Éste mismo glifo se puede encontrar en el Códice Mendoza, donde se encuentra la página correspondiente a la fundación de México-Tenochtitlan (figura 16).

Figura 15.1. Códice Moctezuma (fragmento)[20]

[19] Códice Moctezuma. Mediateca INAH, mediateca.inah.gob.mx/islandora_74/islandora/object/codice:628(consultado el 4 de marzo 2023).
[20] Ibid.

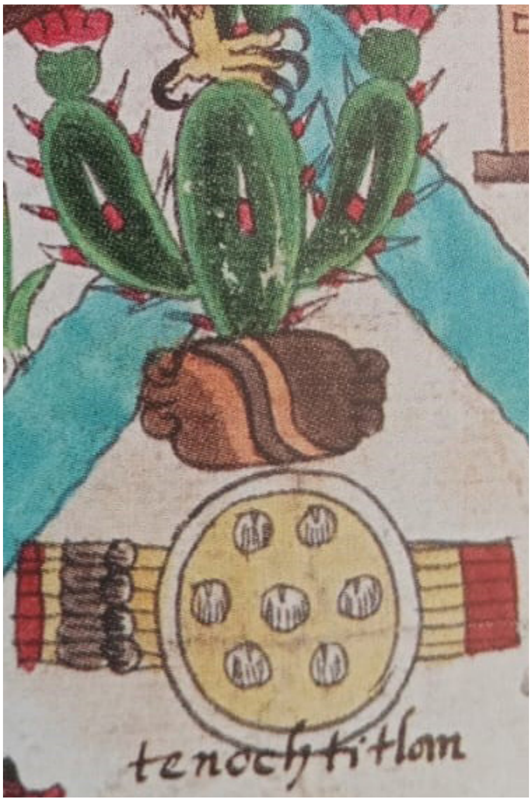


Figura 16. Fundación de México-Tenochtitlan (Codex Mendoza, f.2r) [14, p. 33]

El glifo de la ciudad de Tenochtitlan inspiró y pasó a ser parte del escudo nacional mexicano, dada su importancia histórica e identitaria.

Al ver la figura 16, se aprecia la inscripción "Tenochtitlan" debajo de su glifo, como era la usanza al momento de su creación.

Tres ciudades-estado gobernaron el valle de México. Los nombres de dichos reinos eran Tenochtitlan, Tlacopan y Texcoco, cuyos glifos se aprecian en la figura 17.

Figura 17. Los pueblos de la Triple Alianza: Texcoco, México y Tacuba (detalle del Códice Osuna)[21]

Se observa cómo el glifo "tepetl" se modificia, al sumarse un brazo o flores en su su cima, o agua en la base para dar el nombre de cada ciudad.

[21] Monjarás-Ruiz, J. La triple alianza. Arqueología Mexicana, arqueologiamexicana.mx/mexico-antiguo/la-triple-alianza (consultado el 18 de marzo 2023).

Periodo colonial cholulteca

En el Códice de Tlaxcala, se observa alta influencia del dibujo ornamental español sobre la escritura en códice tlaxcalteca (figura 18).

Figura 18. La matanza de Cholula[22]

El Códice de Tlaxcala contiene el pasaje de la matanza de Cholula, donde se observa el asalto español a la población cholulteca. A pesar de tener una fuerte influencia europea, sigue conservando cierta disposición espacial más apegada al códice, presentando texto en náhuatl.

El traslape lingüístico castellano-náhuatl causó fenómenos gráficos, fonéticos y etimológicos suigéneris, existiendo hispanismos en las variantes modernas del náhuatl; ejemplo de ello es la palabra nahua "cahuayo", derivado fonético de "caballo". Los hispanismos suceden frecuentemente en el náhuatl para designar lo que fue traído desde Europa, como los caballos.

En tanto que los nahuatlismos permean fuertemente el español mexicano, sobre todo en la zona central del país, ya que en México existen términos y nombres que no figuran en el vocabulario de la lengua española; ejemplo de ello son plantas o animales endémicos como el Tepezcohuite. Así mismo el lenguaje coloquial tiene en sí mismo abundantes modismos y palabras heredadas desde antaño que son derivadas o directamente tomadas del náhuatl, como "cacles" , derivado de "caclli" que significa "zapato".

También en labores o disciplinas específicas de larga tradición, el náhuatl prima por su historicidad arraigada (por ejemplo en la gastronomía, como el término "nixtamalización", proceso de cocción del maíz con cal y agua).

La internacionalización de las palabras de raíz nahua es un fenómeno adyacente, empero poco observado. Ilustrando lo mencionado, la palabra nahua "tomatl" derivado de "tomahuac-atl" dando la característica de "gordura acuosa", se derivó al español "tomate", de ahí a "tomatto" y así sucesivamente.

De manera más general, el español mexicano se ve permeado de la mayoría de los 68 idiomas que conviven en México, pues en cada zona o región existe fuerte convivencia entre el español y los idiomas nativos, sobre todo en el campo o a la periferia de las urbes.

[22] Reconstrucción histórica digital del Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Lámina 9. UNAM, lienzodetlaxcala.unam.mx/lamina-9/ (consultado el 3 de marzo 2023).

A pesar del cambio de sistema de escritura acaecido durante siglos, existen remanentes de la antigua escritura que siguen manteniendo su significado e importancia legal, simbólica y/o lingüística.

Importancia cotidiana de los códices: símbolos de población e historicidad

El uso moderno de ciertos glifos mantiene su relevancia jurídica, si bien pertenecen a un sistema de escritura descontinuado.

Es el caso de los llamados escudos municipales, ya que los municipios son frecuentemente la reminiscencia de poblaciones o antiguas ciudades indígenas.

A continuación se muestran ejemplos de glifos en su forma oficial representando a municipios (figuras 19–22). En el caso de Mazatepec, se aprecia su versión estilizada por la alcaldía en turno.

Mpo. de Cuautepec: "En el cerro de arbolado".

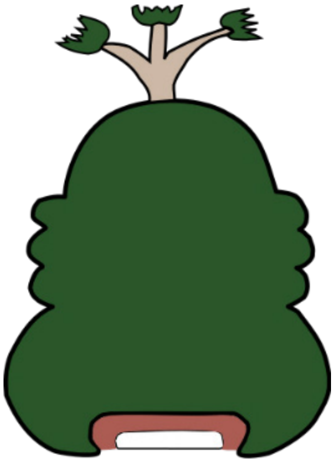
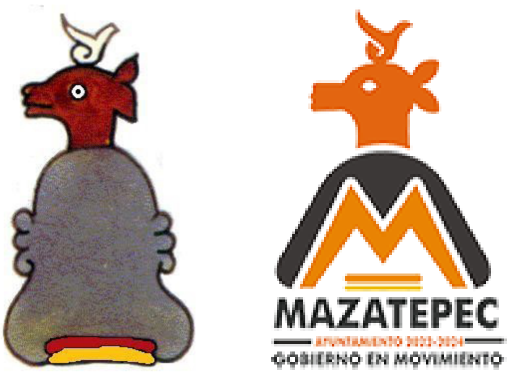


Figura 19. Cuautepec[23]

El nombre de Cuautepec deriva del náhuatl "Cuahutepec", unión de "cuahuitl" que es "árbol", "tepetl" siendo "montaña" o "cerro" y el sufijo "c" refiriendo a "en, sobre". El glifo está compuesto de la representación de "tepetl" y "cuahuitl" en la parte superior.

Mpo. de Mazatepec: "En el cerro de los venados".



Figuras 20 y 21. Mazatepec[24]

[23] Escudo de Cuautepec. Gobierno Municipal de Cuautepec, cuautepechidalgo.gob.mx/(consultado el 8 de marzo 2023).

[24] Escudo de Mazatepec. Gobierno Municipal de Mazatepec, mazatepec.gob.mx/(consultado el 8 de marzo 2023).

Mazatepec se toma directamente del náhuatl y proviene del término “mazatl”, siendo “venado”, “tepetl” y “c” con el significado mentado en el ejemplo anterior. El glifo está compuesto de “mazatl” en la parte superior y “tepetl” en la inferior. A la derecha del glifo, está una versión moderna inspirada en el códice.

Mpo. de Xochitepec: “En el cerro de las flores”.

Figura 22. Xochitepec[25]

El nombre de Xochitepec también es tomado directo del náhuatl, dividiéndose en “Xochitl” (flor), “tepetl” y “c”. El glifo se compone de forma similar a los anteriores, colocando a “xochitl” en la parte superior y de base “tepetl”.

De manera icónica, el Escudo Nacional de México (figura 23) es en sí mismo inspirado en el Códice Mendocino, propiamente de la representación de la fundación de Tenochtitlan.

Figura 23. Escudo Nacional de México[26]

[25] Escudo de Xochitepec. Gobierno Municipal de Xochitepec, xochitepec.gob.mx/ (consultado el 8 de marzo 2023).

[26] Escudo Nacional. Secretaría de Medio Ambiente y Recursos Naturales (SEMARNAT), gob.mx/semarnat/articulos/escudo-nacional-biodiversidad-enaltecida?idiom=es (consultado el 10 de marzo 2023).

La imagen icónica del águila real posada sobre un nopal, emplazada en una zona lacustre, se puede observar en la figura 1.

Se observa al códice enmarcado por la cuenta calendárica que se lee en sentido contrario a las manecillas del reloj. El cruce de agua divide los cuatro barrios en los cuales se dividía la ciudad de Tenochtitlan, y narra su fundación.

La representación de personas no busca la individualidad física de gente en particular, más bien obedece a la narrativa general de lo que se presenta.

En este caso se trata de personajes nobles, se puede saber por los atavíos y elementos presentes. Los nombres de cada cual, vienen señalados con un glifo unido por un trazo delgado al personaje correspondiente.

Por ejemplo, en la sección donde se sitúa el águila posada sobre el nopal, en la parte inferior izquierda, se encuentra el personaje Atototzin Acolhua.

Su nombre se deriva de "A" por "atl" (agua), "tototl" es "ave", que al colocar el sufijo de honorabilidad "tzin" se transforma en "tototzin", y Acolhua, término para designar a la nación del mismo nombre, que a su vez comienza también con "a" de "atl". Todo ello significa "honorable acolhua, ave acuática".

Más adelante, en el mismo Códice Mendocino, se aprecia el glifo de "Cuahunahuac" (figura 24, quinto glifo de izquierda a derecha), lo cual fue nombrado por los españoles como "Cuernavaca", actual nombre de la ciudad capital del estado de Morelos.

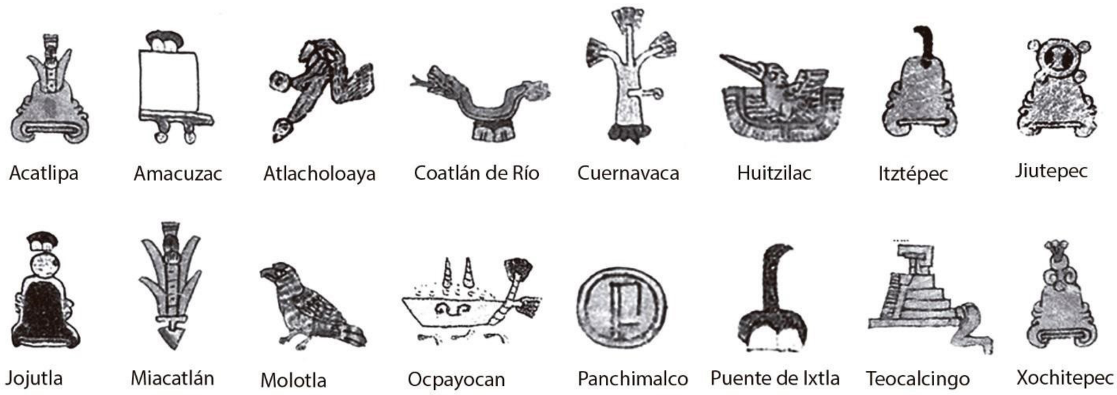


Figura 24. Glifos correspondientes a pueblos de Morelos[27]

Cuahunahuac deriva de la unión de las palabras "cuahuitl" (árbol) y el sufijo "nahuac", referente a estar en cercanía de algo. Todo ello da el significado "en cercanía de los árboles". Los glifos municipales que se observan en la figura 24 son pertenecientes al territorio de Morelos.

Conclusión

Si bien hoy día, a pesar de las investigaciones pertinentes, existe mucho por estudiar y comprobar para tener certeza sobre la manera de escribir e interpretar el sistema de escritura en códice perteneciente a las culturas nahua, se puede considerar la posibilidad de reconstruir parcialmente dicho sistema de comunicación mediante clasificar, documentar, analizar e interpretar siempre en concordancia con el estudio del náhuatl la mayor cantidad posible de códices que aún se tienen en existencia, aquellos de corte colonial

[27] Hinojosa, L.E. Mapas y códices de Morelos. Inventio,inventio.uaem.mx/index.php/inventio/article/view/273/337(consultado el 10 de marzo 2023).

y en preponderancia los de origen prehispánico, dada su originalidad plástica, ideográfica y de episteme, procurando en la medida de lo posible acompañar las herramientas cognitivas y de investigación occidentales con la perspectiva, lógica e instrumentos de investigación del polo cultural mesoamericano.

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WRITING SYSTEMS OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN NEPAL

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Abstract. The linguistic diversity of Nepal is a treasure house of both wildlife and human culture in the Himalayan range. Languages are the vast resources for the prosperous and dignified life of the human world. The writing systems, in their turn, capture and preserve the language in time and space, thus accumulating the experience and knowledge of individuals and communities. Language and culture are intertwined, and without a writing system both cannot exist. Language is also one of the fundamental rights of indigenous peoples. This paper attempts to explore the writing systems of the indigenous languages of Nepal. The study applied the "armchair" method for the collection of data. The authors critically examined the journals, books, government documents, magazines, official papers and other materials from museums, libraries and other agencies working in the fields relevant to the present study. The findings show that the linguistic diversity exists and sustains only on condition that the exploration, codification, recognition, appreciation, and celebration of the existing languages are properly carried out. In this regard, public awareness is a must, while prevailing government efforts to date have not been enough. To prevent language loss, the government of Nepal needs to work intensely to explore this issue, and both the national and international community should also show prime concern for this rich cultural and traditional heritage preserved by writing systems as national and local cultures are part of the world patrimony. The study also indicates that further in-depth research into the scripts of indigenous languages is necessary.

Keywords: Nepal, indigenous languages, writing system, knowledge system, language loss, critical awareness

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СИСТЕМЫ ПИСЬМА В ЯЗЫКАХ КОРЕННЫХ НАРОДОВ НЕПАЛА

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Аннотация. Лингвистическое разнообразие Непала представляет собой сокровищницу дикой природы и человеческой культуры в Гималаях. Языки являются обширными ресурсами для процветания и достойной жизни мира людей. Системы письма, в свою очередь, фиксируют и сохраняют язык во времени и пространстве, аккумулируя, таким образом, опыт и знания отдельных людей и сообществ. Язык и культура переплетены между собой, и без письменности они не могут существовать. Язык также является одним из основных прав коренных народов. В данной статье предпринята попытка изучить системы письма языков коренных народов Непала. В исследовании применялся «кабинетный» метод сбора данных. Авторы проанализировали журналы, книги, правительственные документы, журналы, официальные бумаги и другие материалы из музеев, библиотек и иных учреждений, работающих в областях, имеющих отношение к настоящему исследованию. Результаты показывают, что языковое разнообразие существует и сохраняется только при условии, что изучение, кодификация и признание ценности существующих языков осуществляются должным образом. В этом отношении информирование общественности является совершенно необходимым, а имеющих место усилий государства на сегодняшний день недостаточно. Чтобы предотвратить утрату языков, правительству Непала необходимо интенсивно работать над изучением этой проблемы, в то время как и национальное, и международное сообщество также должно проявить первостепенную заботу об этом богатом культурном наследии и традиции, сохраненных системами письменности, поскольку национальная и местная культуры являются частью мирового достояния. Исследование также показывает, что необходимы дальнейшие углубленные исследования систем письма языков коренных народов.

Ключевые слова: Непал, языки коренных народов, система письма, система знаний, утрата языка, критическое осознание

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Background of the study

Geographically, Nepal consists of four distinct zones: the Himalayas, the Mahabharata range, the Siwalik, and the Terai. All these geographical zones are divided into seven administrative provinces and 77 districts. The great geographical diversity of Nepal has been enriched by its cultural and linguistic diversity. The 2011 national census mentioned 126 castes and ethnic groups and 123 living languages in Nepal [10]. The latest census (2021) showed that there are 123 plus six languages belonging to four language families [12], which is an impressively large number for a country with such a small land mass.

The languages spoken in Nepal are from four language families, viz. Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian. Besides, Kusunda is a language isolate without genetic relationship with any other language. The Indo-European language family constitutes the largest group of speakers (82.1%) whereas the Tibeto-Burman languages (a part of the Sino-Tibetan family) occupy the second position (17.3%). Similarly, Austro-Asiatic languages and Dravidian languages rank third (0.19%) and fourth (0.13%), respectively [15]. The Tibeto-Burman group within the Sino-Tibetan family of languages is represented by 57 languages in Nepal [9, p. 4], this being the largest number of distinct mother tongues of any linguistic grouping, but with noticeably fewer speakers than the Indo-Aryan group. Two other language families are also found in Nepal: the Munda branch of the Austro-Asiatic family and the Dravidian family, each represented by a couple of languages along the southern belt of the country.

The need of time is to foster an approach to indigenous peoples based on the respect of individual rights, free from domination, oppression and alienation, and aimed at their empowerment. Without the preservation and promotion of indigenous languages this is impossible. Hence, it has been critical to analyze the linguistic diversity of Nepal by reference to the evidence of the writing systems available in the prevailing context.

As for Nepal's languages, only a few of them have well-developed literary traditions. These include Nepali, Maithili, Tibetan/Sherpa, Newar, Limbu, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, and Lepcha, in particular. These languages have a long history of written literature. The political change in the country has brought new perspectives on diversity, equality, freedom, and respect of human rights. The reality of linguistic diversity is one of the main pillars of the existing cultural heritage of Nepal. In the words of Yadava [15], Nepal is a linguistic mosaic in the Himalayan range. However, studies in such fields as languages, writing systems, genetic affiliations, culture and arts are still limited. The researchers usually focus on the theoretical perspectives on literature, scripts, and affiliations of languages in Nepal.

Theoretical stand

One of the important aspects of Nepal's identity is its linguistic heterogeneity, which is not only the property of the concerned ethnic and linguistic groups but also the heritage of the nation as a whole [11]. In this context, preservation of national languages is protection of the national heritage. What is more, language preservation not only protects the national heritage but also prevents the language death. Regarding this issue, Crystal mentions a 1994 declaration by the Linguistic Society of America saying, "The loss to human kind of genetic diversity in the linguistic world is… arguably greater than even the loss of genetic diversity in the biological world, given that the structure of human language represents a considerable testimony to human intellectual achievement" [3, p. 34]. People who continuously have to express ideas in a language other than their native one may "never achieve adequate self-expression" [4, p. 83].

Language represents the most substantial evidence of human intellect in history. Though many languages are spoken in Nepal, most of them are still confined to their oral tradition. Each of them has a rich oral heritage of traditional folk stories and songs handed down from parents to children over a long time, e.g. Salhes in Maithili and Mundhum in Kiranti languages. However, they are disappearing with the growth of literacy and a language shift. Codification of these languages seems essential.

Nabi argues that there is a deeply rooted relationship between language and culture [8, p. 91]. In brief, as languages die, the culture also dies, and the death of a language is a great loss to human society. A language is a mirror of a culture reflecting its values and traditions, and, at the same time, a culture identifies itself through a language. As Hamid writes, "Language is a legacy sustained by generations; and the language legacy of the future generations would be comprised of few spoken and many techno-mechanized languages" [7, p. 726].

Languages cannot survive without a community of people who speak them and pass them on to the next generation. For example, Rahman points out that "the less powerful indigenous languages of Pakistan are becoming markers of lower status and culture shame" [13, p. 1]. However, the Punjabi community has all the features that are usually necessary to constitute ethnicity: a shared territory, history, geography, and cultural roots. Similarly, the basis of people's cultural heritage is their common language. Actually, Pakistan was created according to the basic principle of its founders: "one nation, one religion, and one language" [16, p. 32].

Methods and material

The present study aims to explore the writing systems of indigenous languages of the Himalayan range in Nepal. This qualitative inquiry used the "armchair" method for collecting information from secondary sources. Articles published in journals, books, policy papers, government documents, seminar and working papers, magazines and newspapers were gathered from libraries, museums and internet sources, along with the publications of the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), where the writing systems of indigenous languages were recorded and preserved. The information accumulated was analyzed in the narrative research framework using analytical and descriptive methods. The data gathered was then interpreted based on the theoretical stand and existing literature, and, finally, conclusions were drawn.

Results and discussion

As indicated above, Nepal is a multilingual country with more than 123 plus six officially recognized languages [12]. Nepali is spoken by 44.63% of the total population of Nepal as the first language and uses only the Devanagari script. The other languages with speakers of more than 1% are Maithili (11.6%), Bhojpuri (6%), Tharu (5.8%), Tamang (5.1%), Newar (3.13%), Bajjika (2.99%), Magar (2.97%), Dotyali (2.97%) and Urdu (2.61%), and remaining smaller languages have less than 1% [10], [12]. To draw conclusions, the study discussed the issues related to the information collected in the historical context of the writing systems of Nepal (i.e. the Devanagari script) and in the light of the government efforts in this field.

The historical context of writing systems

The major root of the languages of the Himalayas is the ancient language, Sanskrit. The sacred scriptures of Hinduism, the Bhagavad Gita and the Upanishads, and other philosophical and spiritual texts of Hindu intellectuals were written in Sanskrit. The grammars of the Nepali language originally existed in the oral form. Panini, the first grammarian, used the Devanagari script while composing his first grammar.

The Archaelogical Department of the Government of Nepal has recorded the historical origins and development of the writing systems of languages in Nepal. The history of writing originated in the Lichchhavi period (ca. 5th to 8th centuries AD), continued in the Malla period (AD 1200 to 1769) and extended up to the present. The history of indigenous languages in Nepal has seen different writing traditions being practised over time. The rulers of Nepal in the past belonged to the Gopal, Mahispal, Kirat, Lichchhavi, Malla and Shah dynasties. Modern Nepal was unified under the leadership of Prithvi Narayan Shah, a brave king of the Shah dynasty. The writing systems of the Nepali language were not developed in Nepal during the reign of the Gopal and Mahispal dynasties. In the Kirati dynasty period, some scripts, including those used in Mundhum[1], were developed. Only after the Lichchhavi period, evidence of the writing system used at that time was found. In fact, the systematic recording of languages started in the Shah period (1769–2008) as the very concept of modern unified Nepal took shape at that time[2].

The table below shows the evolution of scripts in Nepal as recorded in the Archaelogical Department (Fig. 1).

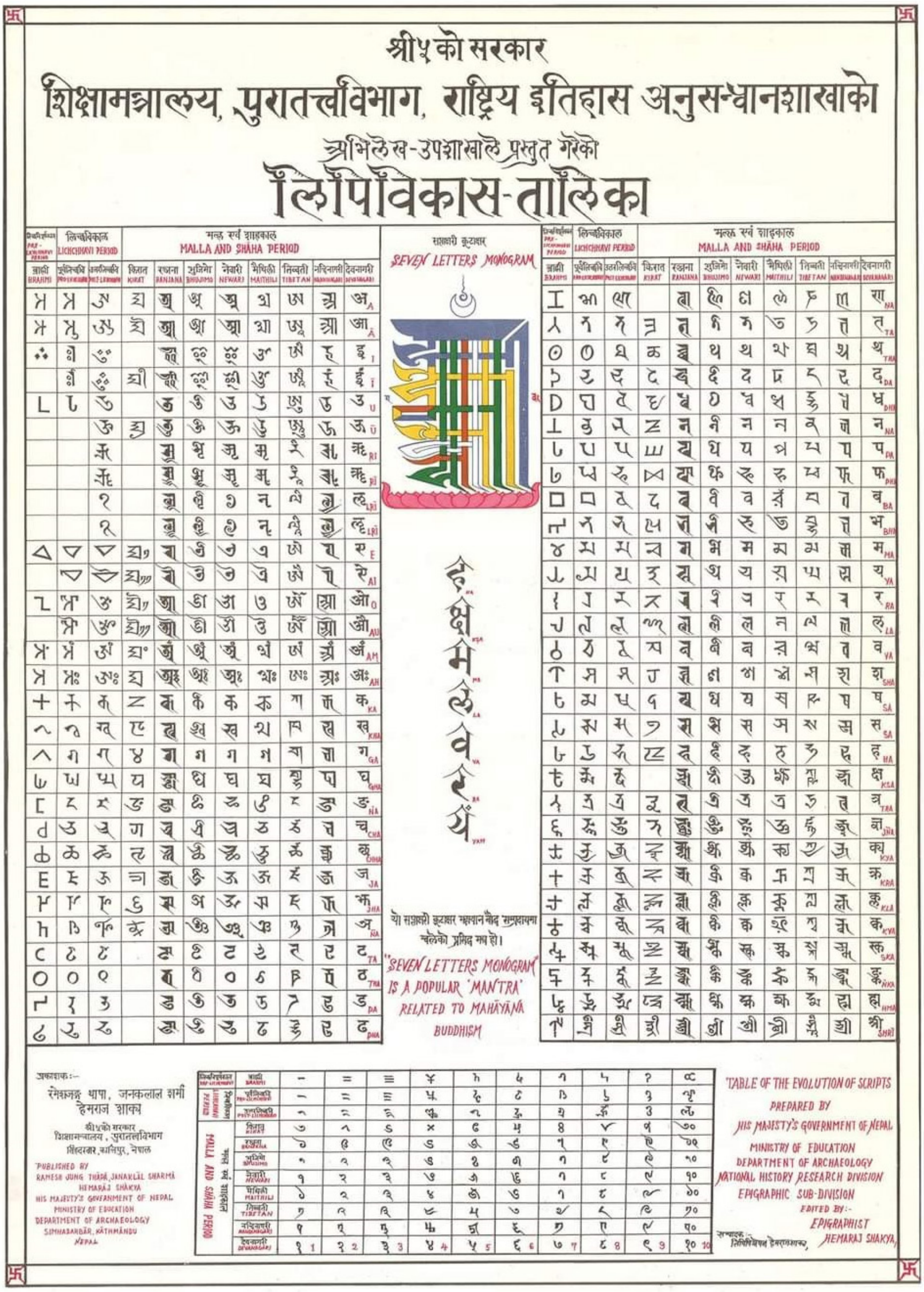

Figure 1. Evolution of scripts in Nepal[3]

[1] The religious scripture of the Rai and Limbu people known as animistic and nature worshippers' communities in Nepal.
[2] Shah's. Itihasaa: Encyclopedia of Nepali History, itihasaa.com/shah-dynasty/ (accessed 16 September 2023).
[3] Recorded at National History Research Division, Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Education, His Majesty's Government of Nepal.

Fig. 1 displays the evolution of scripts in Nepal as an attempt to develop writing systems appropriate to the phonetics of respective languages and to their practical use in the society. However, only a small number of indigenous languages have access to publishing their documents in their own script as a result of the "one nation, one language" type of policy promoted during the Panchayat system (1961–1990). Among the 123 languages in Nepal, only eight indigenous languages have their published documents [10]. The historical evidence shows that Bramhi was the origin of scripts for Nepal's languages while the Devanagari script is a more recent development. Yet, it does not represent all the indigenous languages in Nepal.

The tradition of writing is a very important criterion of language endangerment. Currently, 93.07% of the newspapers published in Nepal are in non-indigenous languages, namely *Gorkhapatra, Kantipur, Nagarik, Madhupark, Nayapatrika, The Kathmandu Post,* and so on. Some of the indigenous languages exist only in the oral tradition. Such languages face an even higher risk of endangerment. Most of the indigenous languages of Nepal are in endangered situations as the government has not paid much attention to them. In the modern period, the preservation of writing systems is based on the efforts and initiatives of various language communities directed to raising the awareness of their respective mother tongues.

Writing systems of languages in Nepal

After the establishment of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal (May 28, 2008), a powerful Language Commission was formed to study the country's languages and to resolve the problems related to them. Most of the languages found in Nepal exist exclusively in the oral form. Despite the value and originality of the spoken form of a given language, a written tradition is necessary for the preservation of the writing system of any language. Without codification no language can survive as the written form is essential for its sustainability.

According to the Language Commission, popular scripts in Nepal are Devanagari, Dham, Kaithi, Khema, Limbu, Magar Akkha, Mithilakshar, Ol Chiki, and Tamying [12, p. 43–48]. Similarly, the Nepali, Maithili, Tibetan, Sherpa, Newar, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Tharu, Tamang, Magar, Rai, and Lepacha languages have literary traditions [15, p. 23]. These languages employ different writing systems. Most of the Indo-Aryan languages such as Nepali, Maithili (originally written in the Mithilakshar or Kaithi script), Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Hindi and Rajbanshi are written in the modern Devanagari script with small adjustments and additional letters. The modern Devanagari script has evolved from an ancient writing system called Brahmi, which is used in the Sanskrit language. Bengali is written in the modern Bangla script, which was developed from the Kutila variety of the northern type of the Brahmi script. Newar has its own traditional script called Ranjana (developed from the proto-Bangla script) but it has also adopted the Devanagari script for convenience in reading and printing. Limbu uses its own Kiranti Sirijanga script. Lepcha is written in the Rong script. One more writing system, Perso-Arabic, is used in the Urdu language while the Punjabi language is written in Gurumukhi.

At present, some languages have started developing their writing systems. These languages are Tharu, Tamang, Magar, Gurung, Rajbanshi and the Rai group of languages such as Bantawa, Thulung, Chamling, Khaling, Kulung, and others. Tharu, Tamang and Gurung use the Devanagari script but some of the Gurung speakers advocate for the use of Latin and Khema scripts in their language. Magar has developed its own script called Akkha. Recently, these languages have started developing some written literature in the form of newspapers, magazines, textbooks for adult literacy and primary education, and folk literature. Some of the languages have adopted the Devanagari script. The writing systems used in the various languages of Nepal are as follows [6, p. 46]:

Language	*Script*
Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Avadhi, Newar, Tamang, Rajbansi, Magar, Tamang, and Kirat	Devanagari
Maithili	Mithilakshar / Tirhuta
Maithili	Kaithi
Tibetan, Sherpa	Sambota
Tamang	Tamhig
Newar	Ranjana
Limbu	Rong
Lepcha	Srijanga
Magar	Akkha
Punjabi	Gurumukhi
Urdu	Perso-Arabic
Santhalim Gurung	Latin
Gurung	Ol Cemet' / Ol Chiki / Ol
Bagla	Khema

Table 1. Languages of Nepal and their scripts

Table 1 represents the major languages of Nepal having different scripts for their codification. The authors of this paper visited the Department of Archaeology to collect materials for this study. The documentation of languages in Nepal was initiated in 1950s. The statistics on the mother tongues of Nepal were first made available after the 1952/1954 census. A total of 52 mother tongues were reported, according to Harka Gurung [5], of which five were Terai dialects related to Awadhi, Bhojpuri, and Maithili, and two were duplications (Bhote-Sherpa and Tibetan, and Santhali and Satar). Subsequent censuses (1961, 1971, and 1981) reported progressively lesser numbers of mother tongues. The number of languages reported in the Panchayat era declined from 36 in 1961 to 17 in 1971 and 18 in 1981. The number of languages has increased since the establishment of democracy in Nepal. This meant a proliferation of reported languages from 31 in 1991, to 92 in 2001, and 123 in 2011 [10]. The scripts used in the languages of Nepal were recorded in one of the issues of the *Abhilekha* magazine [1, p. 1], which is presented in Fig. 2.

Figure 2. The front page of the *Abhilekha* magazine published by the National Archives of Nepal

Fig. 2 displays various scripts used in Nepal, which gives an idea of what it should take to collect and describe the writing systems used in such a variety of languages. These scripts are used to represent and record the indigenous languages of Nepal and thus explain the religion, culture and lifestyles of their speakers. The Department of Archaeology has the sole responsibility for research, recognition and recording of these writing systems. A limited number of dictionaries, books, journals, and papers have been produced in indigenous languages. Their diverse writing styles represent variations of human life but their exact number is still to be explored. Among the newspapers published in Nepal, 68.42% are published in the official language, Nepali, and 24.65% in English and Hindi. The media in indigenous languages accounts for only 6.58% of the total while indigenous peoples make up 37.2% of the national population. Now, there are 43 Newari, 13 Tharu, 10 Tamang, and two Rai language newspapers. Apart from these, other languages have only oral traditions.

Figure 3. The Ranjana script in a hoarding board at Kathmandu Metropolitan City Office (the second line from the top)

Ethnic communities are raising voices to preserve their languages. The official recognition of some of these languages is the result of such demand. Kathmandu Valley, where the Newars are the major community, has recognized Newar as an official language. This is reflected, for example, in the use of Newar in the Ranjana script in the sign board at Kathmandu Metropolitan City Office (Fig. 3). Most cultural heritage objects, works of art and crafts found in Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries and Bihars[4] in Kathmandu have writing in the Ranjana script of the Newar language. However, other indigenous languages of Nepal are in endangered situations as their respective ethnic communities do not have access to the power and resources to preserve, protect and promote them. These languages require wider public awareness, research, codification, and practical use.

Writing systems in Nepal: the Devanagari script

The indigenous languages which do not have a writing system can disappear. As Gyawali noted, "Endangerment is one of the stages of language loss, which is a very critical issue in the 21st century because the extinction of each language results in the irrecoverable loss of unique expression of the human experience and the culture of the world" [6, p. 43]. Codification is the only way to maintain and pro-

[4] Buddhist schools similar to monasteries in Nepal where monks and nuns study and live.

mote languages. The documentation of language is the process by which endangered languages can be preserved for the next generation. It is a "subfield of linguistics that deals with creating multipurpose records of languages through audio and video recording of speakers and signers along with annotation, translation, preservation, and distribution of the resulting materials" [2]. Woodbury defined language documentation as "the creation, annotation, preservation and dissemination of transparent records of a language" [14, p. 159].

Thus, without a writing system it is difficult to preserve any language. On the one hand, research and innovation in the field of indigenous languages have been challengeable as there are 123 languages, and resources are limited. On the other hand, there is no idea of a unified script in Nepal. The Devanagari writing system is proposed with the idea that, if all the languages of Nepal can be written in a single interoperable orthography, it could be a great help for language development, revitalization and mother-tongue-based multilingual education through the use of this orthography in education, media, and technology. It would be in line with the constitutional and legal provisions, and with the strategy of social inclusion. However, many ethnic communities do not agree as they fear this would destroy the originality of their languages. This concern can be appeased by the fact that the said proposal is not presented against the existing traditional writing systems or at the cost of the identity of the linguistic communities. It could be useful to the communities which want to use the Devanagari-based standard orthography and to the linguists working with multi-language data.

Besides, the Nepali language in the Devanagari script is the official language as defined by the Constitution of Nepal (Article 7)[5]. Because of the status given to Nepali and Devanagari as its orthography, other linguistic communities have to learn and use Devanagari. Nepali is a compulsory subject and the medium of instruction in the national education system of Nepal from grade 1 up to the bachelor's level, and Devanagari, obviously, is used as the medium of instruction in the written mode. It is also the script of most of the print media published in Nepal. All these factors make Devanagari widely used among the linguistic communities of Nepal.

Language endangerment in Nepal

Language is a living entity which is intertwined with culture. All human intangible knowledge has been preserved by language. In the words of Hamid, "To preserve culture, we need to preserve its language, and losing a language means getting deprived of a culture, a viewpoint, a system, and a treasure of knowledge" [7, p. 726]. More than 90% of the languages of Nepal are in an endangered situation, which is a serious issue. It is believed that language is the vehicle of culture, faith, ideology, and history. Anthropologically, language is one of the major pillars of culture and both are mutually constitutive. Different languages across the globe are continuously dying, thus causing the death of the premise and the backbone of entire civilizations, whose heritage and tradition are being lost forever.

This stands true for Nepal's endangered languages as it does for any other country's language. Most of the mother tongues of the indigenous peoples of Nepal exist in the oral form and are spoken by the 60+ years of age group. These languages have no script, are not documented, and are not transmitted to the new generation. Most of the potentially endangered, endangered, seriously endangered, and moribund languages are on the verge of extinction. Hence, the study and documentation of endangered languages is a highly urgent and essential issue in the world as well as in Nepal. In this context, the government of Nepal needs to invest both fiscal resources and human expertise in the research, identification, and recognition of the writing systems of these indigenous languages. Such investment can hopefully preserve the wealth of the linguistic diversity of Nepal.

[5] Constitution of Nepal, lawcommission.gov.np/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Constitution-of-Nepal.pdf (accessed 31 August 2023).

Government effort

The tradition of writing is a very important criterion of language vitality. Previously, the unitary government during the Panchayat system showed no interest in exploring the linguistic diversity of the country. Only after the establishment of the democratic system did indigenous peoples raise voices to call for the preservation of their languages and cultures. The government established the Language Commission and started a linguistic survey in the country. As the resources were limited, it took a long time to identify all the languages of Nepal.

However, linguistic surveys conducted by the government with the support of international projects are not sufficient, and indigenous peoples claim that the authorities are lacking a strong commitment to the protection of their languages as national resources. Thus, more work related to the exploration, documentation and dissemination of Nepal's traditional heritage is necessary for the sake of future generations. Adequate language planning on the part of the government also seems essential. The authorities should be committed to developing the writing systems of indigenous languages as cultural treasures of different parts of the country.

Conclusion

Linguistic diversity is a cultural treasure of the indigenous peoples living in the Himalayan range. The variations in the writing systems used in their languages create a mosaic of living styles, folk culture and traditional knowledge. In this light, the scripts of Nepal deserve exploration, recognition, appreciation and celebration for the preservation of the country's linguistic diversity.

In this paper, an attempt was made to give an overview of the state of affairs regarding the writing systems of the indigenous languages of Nepal in terms of the prospects of their preservation. It was indicated that most of the indigenous languages in Nepal are on the verge of extinction due to the use of majority languages in the media, education, and other official communication. The government of Nepal needs to work intensely in this area, and both the national and international community should also show concern for this rich cultural heritage preserved in the writing systems.

Increasing the amount of research information on this issue is one of the ways to raise public awareness of Nepal's indigenous languages and thus to contribute to their greater visibility and recognition. The authors believe this opens up a new direction in the exploration of the treasure of knowledge contained in the indigenous languages of Nepal.

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SYSTEMS OF CARDINAL NUMERALS IN LANGUAGES AROUND THE WORLD

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Abstract. This paper is an in-depth discussion of the diversity of counting systems developed by different peoples, which manifests itself both in lexical differences/similarities of the terms used for numerals, and in diverse operational schemes for the abstract numbering of things. The goal of the study was to bind together and clarify the variety of the counting systems that were found. During communication, speakers of languages with different counting systems face the difficulty of translating words which describe quantity, i.e. numerals. The widely used decimal system is also not devoid of surprising features. The present study focused on analysing various complex systems of counting in terms of both vocabulary and conceptual methods used by different peoples. The research data collected from academic literature provide numerous examples. The comparative method is used to show how extraordinarily inventable different civilizations were in approaching the problem of defining quantity. Particular attention is paid to the phenomenon of using specific things, such as hands, fingers, and animal names, to create counting systems. A case study of the numerals of some Austronesian languages demonstrates that a whole associative row can be traced, revealing that long ago respective peoples solidified the abstract concept of quantity into simple and clear definitions based on real things. The main result of the study is a comparison of more than 20 counting systems. The abundance of examples substantiates the idea of how many unexpectedly different and original numbering methods were used by the ancestors of different peoples and how many of them are still supported by their descendants and even unwittingly ensconced in the modern technological civilization. This paper is also supplemented by a review of the systems of birth-order names for children in several languages of the Indo-Pacific region and America.

Keywords: cardinal numerals, counting system, digit, Austronesian languages, birth-order names

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СИСТЕМЫ КОЛИЧЕСТВЕННЫХ ЧИСЛИТЕЛЬНЫХ В ЯЗЫКАХ МИРА

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Аннотация. Целью настоящей статьи является углубленное раскрытие многообразия систем счисления разных народов, которое проявляется как в лексических различиях или сходстве терминов, используемых для числительных, так и во множестве операционных схем для абстрактной нумерации. В процессе коммуникации носители языков с разными системами счёта сталкиваются с трудностью перевода лексики, выражающей количество, то есть числительных. Привычная десятичная система также не лишена неожиданных особенностей. В работе анализируются различные сложные системы счёта с точки зрения как лексики, так и концептуальных методов, используемых разными народами. Материалом для исследования служат многочисленные примеры, собранные из научной литературы. В работе используется компаративный метод, чтобы показать, как чрезвычайно изобретательны были представители разных цивилизаций в определении количества. Особое внимание уделено феномену использования конкретных понятий, таких как руки, пальцы и животные, для создания абстрактных систем счёта. На примере числительных некоторых языков австронезийской семьи прослеживается целый ассоциативный ряд, показывающий, как в древности соответствующие народы дали понятию количества простые и наглядные определения. Основным результатом исследования является сравнение более чем 20 различных систем счисления. Обилие примеров обосновывает мысль о том, как неожиданно многообразны и оригинальны были методы счёта, использовавшиеся предками разных народов. Многие из них до сих пор сохраняются их потомками и даже невольно проникли в современную технологическую цивилизацию. Настоящая статья также дополняется обзором систем присвоения имён детям по порядку их рождения в нескольких языках народов Индо-Тихоокеанского региона и Америки.

Ключевые слова: количественные числительные, системы счёта, цифра, австронезийские языки, имена по порядку рождения

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Introduction

The languages of the world are divided by linguists into stocks, families, subfamilies (or branches), and groups to unify them according to more or less regular lexical features or convergences. These lexical similarities can be explained by geographical location, language contacts, or historical background data. In addition to the lexical designations for real objects, each language has operational schemes for the treatment of abstract matters, well exemplified by numeral names. What is strange is that sometimes languages embraced within the same grouping show evidence of different approaches to numeration that are independent of geographical location. This finding means that the logic in the creation of various numerical series had taken different paths. In some cases one might explain such differences as attributable to different levels that some civilizations had attained. For example, recent epigraphic discoveries in Central America appear to indicate that either the very early Maya or the non-Mayan indigenous peoples preceding the Maya were already using a well-developed numbering system, one that the ancient Maya used as their civilization further developed. We, too, readily assume that the highly organized Maya knew the concept of zero, but what they actually had was a "completion" symbol at the end of each numerical series (for example, 1 to 19 and then "completion", *mi (mix?)* (Yucatecan *mix* [miš]) "zero, completion" [39], implying but not meaning '20', except in that series), and they could manipulate cosmic-scale numbers (numbers of immense size). In contrast, the Khoisan-speaking peoples in South Africa still do not say numbers above four though they may have conceptual and mental control over the higher unnamed numbers. The author of these words is not aware of any primitive numbering by the ancient Maya before their civilization developed, for the numeration appeared fully formed. This paper describes the different counting systems that existed and still continue to exist over the wide spaces of the Earth.

Nominal bases used in numeration

Linguists pay special attention to the part of speech called "numerals", as, for example, in using them for the names of language groups to separate one major Indo-European group, *satem*, from the other group, *centum*, after the distinctive numeral '100'. Celtic languages are divided into P-Celtic and Q-Celtic. The difference between P-Celtic and Q-Celtic depends on common sound changes: '4' in Welsh is pedwar (initial *p*), but in Irish *ceathair* ([kya-har] initial "*c*" [k], originally "*q*" [kw])[1]. Another example is the obsolete division of Mande languages into Mande-Fu and Mande-Tan groups after the number '10' in these languages of West Africa. Yet another example is the name of the Penutian linguistic family of North American Indians, which is expressed by the cardinal numeral '2' *pen* and *uti* respectively [66]. Roland Dixon and Alfred Kroeber also used the numeral '2' for the North American Indian group "Hokan" in 1913 [16] (cf. Atsugewi '2' *hoqi* and Shasta '2' *xuk'wa*).

Two more Amerindian language groups were named after the number '2' in their languages. "Iskoman" is based on the Chumashan word (*iškómo*), and "Ritwan" on the Wiyot word (*dit-; d* represents a one-tap *r*). The Mosan division is based on the words *mōs* or *bōs*, corresponding to the number '4' in the Salish, Wakashan, and Chimakuan languages.

However, some tribes of Australia and South America manage **without numeration**. For example, Yamana (Strait of Magellan) uses the words "sole", "a pair", "trio", "a few", "several", "many", "a good number", "enough plenty", and "a great number" to express some quantity. This language has as many as four numbers for those purposes – singular, dual, trial, and plural [31].

The following classes of numeration are manifest throughout the world.

[1] Parsley, I.J. USRC Home, 2000, geocities.com/Athens/Rhodes/1677/ullans.html (accessed 22 October 2001).

Binary numeration (based on two) occurs in Australia, New Guinea, South America, and Africa. Such counting terminates in '4', after which follow the words "few", "several", and "many". However, sometimes repeated counting is continued to five or ten or as in the numerals of the Western Torres Strait Islands described by Alfred Haddon in 1889 [28]:

1 *urapun*	4 *okosa-okosa*
2 *okosa*	5 *okosa-okosa-urapun*
3 *okosa-urapun*	6 *okosa-okosa-okosa*

Everything greater than six they called *ras*.

Ternary numeration (based on three) may be noted in Ona (Tierra del Fuego) [37]:

1 *sos*	4 *kóne shóke* ('twice two')
2 *shóke*	5 *sos chen win* ('one hand like')
3 *sháuken*	6 *kóne sháuken* ('twice three')

The people who speak Mojeño, or Trinitario, an Arawakan language of Bolivia in South America, do not appear to be able to count beyond three; arriving at that, they commence again and have to arrange all their calculations in sets of threes [41]:

1 *etona*
2 *apina*
3 *mopona*

Thus, for a peso, or dollar, which contains eight reales, they count *apina mopona* and a*pina,* or 'two threes and two'.

Quaternary numeration (based on four) is present in several languages of New Guinea and North America. This system is established when the hand is considered without the thumb. So number '10' in the Papuan language Kewa is:

ki lapona kode lapo ('two hands and two thumbs') [36]

For example, in the "old style" of the Ventureño dialect, as given by Father José Francisco de Paula Señan (ca. 1800), there is the following [55]:

1 *paqueet*	5 *itipaqués* ('*iti*-1')
2 *eshcóm*	6 *yetishcóm* ('*yet*-2')
3 *maség*	7 *itimaség* ('*iti*-3')
4 *scumú*	12 *maség scumú* ('3-4')

Quinary numeration (based on five) is an extremely common type of system. Apparently, all the examples are connected with the quantity of the fingers on the hand. They are found in Gur, Kru, West Atlantic, Cariban, Arawakan, Otomí, Nahuatl, and so on. For example, the Khmer numerals are as follows [40]:

1 *muoy*	6 *pram muoy*
2 *pir*	7 *pram pir*
3 *bei*	8 *pram bei*
4 *buon*	9 *pram buon*
5 *pram*	10 *drap*

Senary numeration (based on six) is used by the Papuan Ekagi and the Costanoan Indians of California Penutian. Here is a trace of the system based on six in Santa Clara Costanoan [13]:

1 *im-hen*	7 *kenetc* (cf. Miwok '1' *kene*)
2 *utin*	8 *osatis* (cf. Miwok '2' *osa*)
3 *kapan*	9 *telektic* (cf. Miwok '3' *teleka*)
4 *katuac*	
5 *mucur*	
6 *caken*	

Septenary numeration (based on seven) is very rare. As far as the author knows, it is represented in the North Arawakan (Eastern Maipuran) language Palikúr only. The Palikúr numerical system is basically decimal, but the most unusual feature is that the numerals '8' and '9' are based on the term for numeral '7' [24].

7	*nteunenker*	
8	*nteunenker a-kak paha-t ar-auna*	'7 and one more added'
9	*nteunenker a-kak pi-ta-na ar-auna*	'7 + 2'
19	*madikauku a-kak nteunenker ar-auna a-kak pi-ta-na ar-auna akiu*	'10 + 7 + 2'
90	*nteunenker madikwa a-kak p-i-na madikwa ar-auna*	'7 tens + 20'
199	*madikauku madikwa a-kak nteunenker madikwa a-kak p-i-na madikwa ar-auna a-kak nteunenker a-kak pi-ta-na ar-auna akiu*	'10 tens + 7 tens + 2 tens + 7 + 2'

Octonary numeration (based on eight), apparently, is based on both of the hands without the thumbs. It was typical in Proto-Dravidian [2]. Also, this system is inherent in Round Valley Yuki [15]:

1 *pa*^{n}*-wi*	9 *hutcam-pa*^{n}*wi-pan* ('beyond-1-hang')
2 *op-i*	10 *hutcam-opi-sul* ('beyond-2-body')
3 molm-i	11 *molmi-sul* ('3-body')
4 *o-maha*^{n}*t* ('2-forks')	12 *omaha*^{n}*t-sul* ('2-forks-body')
5 *hui-ko* ('middle-in')	13 *huiko-sul* ('middle-in-body')
6 *mikas-tcil-ki*	14 *mikastcilki-sul* ('6-body')
7 *mikas-ko*	15 *mikasko-sul* ('7-body')
8 *paum-pat; mipat-al-a-wa*	16 *hui-co(t)*, and words used for '8'

Quite possibly, **nonary numeration** (based on nine) had once been present in Old Russian, but actually it was used in trading only. Apparently, it was convenient to count by nines and nineties as well as by dozens. Old Russian had the word '90' in the form of a noun [57]:

dva devyanósta ('two-90 [units]')
s tremyá devyanósty ('with three-90 [units]').

Modern Russian has only *tridev'átoye tsárstvo* ('thrice-nine kingdom'), a term in Russian popular tales and a special construction of '90' in contrast to that in other Slavic languages and reminiscent of that. Russian '80' is *vósem'desyát* ('8×10'); '90' is *devyanósto* ('9-[*n*/*n*<*d*+*o*/*a*?]-100'). Other Slavic languages have '90' as '9×10'. See also Appendix A.

We can read the next specimens with numerals in the Bābar-Nāma text from the 15th century [6]:

bir toquz at wä bir toquz parčä ('1×9 horses and 1×9 pieces [of fabric]')
üč toquz ton ('3×9 clothes')

Many Turkic languages still have some traces of this usage.

Also, in regard to trade relations, there were merchants of Old Russia who spoke Ofenian, a special trade language that Peter Pallas called "*Súzdal'skiy*" after the Suzdal Principality, a well-known commercial state [44]:

1 *yûnoi*	6 *shyûnda*
2 *zd'iû*	7 *sizim*
3 *strem*	8 *vondora*
4 *tisera*	9 *dívara*
5 *pyonda*	10 *dekan*

This language was built on roots from broken Greek, Russian, Persian, and so forth.

William Woodhill Rockhill during his journey through Mongolia and Tibet noted that Chinese traders make use of certain terms known only to themselves to express numerals. These terms, called *yen-tzŭ* in western China and *t'iao ka-erh* in Beijing, vary in each locality and even in each branch of trade, such as horse traders, inn keepers, and flour dealers. Here is a sample from Hsi-ning Fu and Ta-chien-lu (in Sichuan) [50]:

1 *Ch'ien tzŭ-erh*	6 *Nao tzŭ-erh*	11 *Ch'ien tzŭ ch'ien*
2 *Ch'ou tzŭ-erh*	7 *Tiao tzŭ-erh*	12 *Ch'ien ch'ou*
3 *Ts'ang tzŭ-erh*	8 *K'ou tzŭ-erh*	15 *Ch'ien pao*
4 *Su tzŭ-erh*	9 *Sao tzŭ-erh*	20 *Ch'ou ch'ien*
5 *Nien tzŭ-erh*	10 *Ch'ien tzŭ-erh*	25 *Ch'ou pao*
		55 *Nien tzŭ nien,* etc.

As is generally known, there are other trade languages in the world such as the Bangala trade language and the Oregon trade language, later known as "Chinook Jargon". The latter was researched by Horatio Hale in 1890 [25].

Denary, or decimal numeration (based on 10) is widely practiced, but even here there are some nuances too. To use the decimal system of Hindi, for example, it is necessary to know all numeral names from one to 100 because they are quite independent of the tens and the single digits [40].

The Naukan Inuit (St. Lawrence Island Yupik) call '9' *qulŋugutŋilŋuq* (that is, 'not 10 is') to contrast it with the importance of '10' (though they have the vigesimal system) [42], whereas the Cree Indians similarly but in contrast call '9' *kéka-mitātat* ('almost 10') [61]. Here is an example of a decimal system as used by the African Yorùbá for big numbers [3]:

'525' is *òrìn dín légbèta ólé márùń* ('[200×3] - [20×4] + 5').
Cf. English '525', which is '(5×100) + 20 + 5'.

Undenary numeration (based on 11). In the 19th century, a statement appeared that immediately attracted attention and awakened curiosity. It was to the effect that the Maoris, of New Zealand, used the number 11 as the basis of their numeral system. To that number they counted by means of simple words; '12', '13', '14', etc. were with them '11-1', '11-2', '11-3', etc.; the multiples of '11', that is, '22' and '33', etc. were formed directly on the word for '11'; and the square and cube of '11', or '121' and '1,331', were expressed by simple words having no connection with the names of smaller numbers [12].

However, more accurate knowledge of the Maori language and customs served to correct the mistake by showing that this system was a simple decimal one, and that the error arose from the following habit. Sometimes, when counting a number of objects, the Maoris would put aside 1 to represent each 10, and then those so set aside would afterward be counted to ascertain the number of tens in the heap. Early observers among this people, seeing them count 10 and then set aside 1 at the same time pronouncing the word *tekau*, imagined that this word meant 11 and that the native was making use of this number as his base. This misconception found its way into the early New Zealand dictionary, but it was corrected in later editions [13].

Duodenary numeration (based on 12) originated in Old Sumerian. It is assumed that such a system arose based on the number of phalanges of the four fingers (excluding the thumb) when counting them with the thumb of the same hand. Today, such a mode of numeration can be found in the language of Aten (of northern Nigeria) [7]:

13 = 12+1	144 = 12×12
21 = 12+9	145 = 144+1
30 = 12×2+6	156 = 144+12
40 = 12×3+4	1,961 = 1,000+(144×6)+(12×8)+1
100 = 12×8+4	

Tredenary numeration (based on 13) was used in the Maya Calendar because they had a week of 13 days. Evenks made a calculation by using six joints of both hands and a head.

Quindenary numeration (based on 15) is present in two languages of Guinea (Guinée). Banyun and Dyola both express '15' by the noun meaning "leg". In Banyun the plural "legs" means not '20', as might appear, but a multiple of 15, thus [70]:

15 *cidiix*
30 *cidiix-əŋ a-nak-əŋ* ('15×2', lit. 'legs two').

The numbers '45' and '60' are recognized as multiples of 15, but this is not the accepted usage now, since the decimal system is preferred above 30.

Although modern Welsh uses base-10 numbers, the traditional system was base-20, with the added twist of using 15 as a reference point. Once you advance by 15 (*pymtheg*), you add units to that number. So 16 is *un ar bymtheg* ('1 on 15'); 36 is *un ar bymtheg ar hugain* ('1 on 15 on 20'); and so on.

Sedenary numeration (based on 16) was present in Bai ('white [people]', formerly called Minjia), an uncertain Northeastern Tibeto-Burman isolate but a heavily Sinicized language of Yunnan in southern China as early as the 12th century (Nánzhào kingdom). Modern Bai employs the decimal system. However, a study of the currency of shellfish used during the 12th to 14th centuries, performed by Xu Lin and Fu Jingqi, reveals different units. The big shellfish are represented by fingers. A *ba* ('shell') is called *zhuang*; four *zhuang* make a *shou* ('a hand'); four *shou* make a *mi or miao* ('a man'); and five *miao* make a *suo* (1 *suo* = 80, or 16×5). In effect, the Bai consider 'hand' as four (excluding the thumb), and four hands (or 4 hands-and-feet) properly make a man with 16 'digits', or 'fingers' [21].

Vigenary, or vigesimal systems (based on 20) are met in Breton, Basque, Georgian, and so forth. Here are a couple examples:

Kryz (Lezghian) '100' is *fi-q'ad* ('5×20') [1].
Bats '1,453' is 3×(20×20)+(12×20)+13 [53].
Ch'ol (Mayan) '1055' is *ča'bahk' yik'ot ho'luhump'ehl i ušluhunk'al* (that is, 'two-400-units with 15 [beyond 240] toward thirteen-20-units') [5].

Quadrivigenary system (based on 24) is reported in the Kaugel language of Papua New Guinea [8]. *Tokapu* means '24'; *tokapu talu* means '24×2' = '48'; and *tokapu tokapu* means '24×24' = '576'.

Quinvigenary system (based on 25) is described in the Gumatj (Anindilyakwa) language of Australia. In this way they calculate at least up to 625[2].

Tricenary system (based on 30) seems to be known as a rare one. Mbula-Bwazaa from Nigeria use it as follows[3]:

1 *mon*	30 *a mon* = '1×30'
2 *rap*	60 *a rap* = '2×30'
3 *taru*	90 *a taru* = '3×30'

Duotricenary system (based on 32) is found in the Ngiti language of Zaire[4]:

2 *ɔyɔ*	64 *ɔyɔ wǎdhì*
3 *ìbhu*	96 *ìbhu wǎdhì*
4 *ìfɔ*	128 *ìfɔ wǎdhì*
32 *wǎdhì*	

Quadragenary numeration (based on 40), according to Jaroslaw Kesler, is the beginning of trade, that is, the use of all fingers of the seller and the buyer[5].

One can find the expression *sorok sorokov* (that is, 'forty forties', or '1,600') in Old Russian.

This system can be found in Old Hawaiian. Edward Doane noted in his paper "A comparison of the languages of Ponape and Hawaii" of 1894: "Formerly, in counting, the Hawaiians, when they reached the number *forty*, turned back and commenced at one and counted another forty, and so on till they laid aside ten forties; these 'ten forties' they called a *lau*, four hundred" [17, p. 438–439].

The Sandwich Islanders reckon by forties: they call forty, *teneha*; ten *teneha* is a *lau*; ten *lau*, a *manu*; ten *manu*, a *kini*; ten *kini*, a *lehu*; ten *lehu*, a *nurwanee*; ten *nurwanee*, one *pao* [9].

According to Robert Oswalt, Kashaya (Pomoan) speakers could count to very long numbers (thousand and millions) using units of 40 (-hay 'stick').

Sexagenary numeration (based on 60) was established in Old Sumerian about 3000 B.C. [33]:

240 *gíš-lim* ('60×4')
300 *gíš-i* ('60×5')
360 *gíš-àš* ('60×6')

We can see that we have inherited this method when we divide one hour into 60 minutes and one minute into 60 seconds.

The Kapauku of Papua New Guinea use a decimal counting system that stops at 60 and starts over again, having as higher units 600 and 3,600 [47].

Another interesting finding is that Achomawi (Shastan) '70' and '80' are not decimal but are formed from '60' as the base [13]:

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2 Hammarström, H. Rarities in numeral systems, 8 September 2006, academia.edu/3142314/Rarities_in_numeral_systems (accessed 29 August 2023).

3 Seiler, W. & H. Mbula-Bwazaa, Adamawa, Nigeria, 28 April 2008, lingweb.eva.mpg.de/channumerals/Mbula-Bwazaa.htm (accessed 29 August 2023).

4 Hammarström, op. cit.

5 Kesler, Y. Schislenie i kalendar' [Counting and calendar], history.wikireading.ru/304010 (accessed 22 February 2022).

60 *masutj-il malusi*
70 *masuts-wade hamisatumi malusi*
80 *masuts-haq-ilatumi malusi*

There is unexpected numeration in the Tombo-so dialect of Dogon (Mali). They use **denary numeration** (based on 10) from one to 80, **octogenary numeration** (based on 80) from kɛsũ '80' to 800, and then **octocentenary numeration** (based on 800), as follows [65]:

100 *kɛsũle pɛ:ne* ('80+20')
320 *sũnai* ('80×4')
2000 *munjone: sũ:nɔ* ('[800×2]+[80×5]').

It is normal for some languages to use **combined types of numeration** such as 2-10, 2-20, 4-10, 4-20, 5-10, 5-20, and a more difficult one such as 2-4-5-6-20 (Coahuiltecan) [11]:

1 *pil*	9 4+5
2 *ajtê*	10 5×2
3 2+1	11 5×2+1
4 *puguantzan*	12 4×(2+1)
5 *juyopamáuj*	16 5×(2+1)+1
6 *chicuas*	19 6×(2+1)+1
7 4+(2+1)	50 (20×2)+(5×2)
8 4×2	

Many languages of the world have numeral names connected with fingers and toes both directly and indirectly. In some Siberian languages the word 'to compute' is literally 'to finger'. The Chukchee 'fingers' *rylgy-t* became 'compute' *rylgy-k* [67]. The Tule Indians of Darien reckon in this way: '20' is 'a man', that is, 'all fingers and toes'; '100' is '5 men'; and so on [61]. Apache '2' is *naki* (from *ki-e* 'foot [feet]') [ibid.], but Carl Masthay regards this apparent similarity as having no basis in Athabascan[6].

Using the fingers for counting is achieved by different modes, such as the sequence of finger to finger or the thumb of one hand to the thumb of the other, as in the Zulu (Bantu) method, or thumb to little finger, as in the Vei (Mande) method [ibid.].

Tumet (an Inner Mongolian dialect) '7' is *doloo(n),* but the index finger is *doloovor* [59].

Generally, the word "hand" is found to serve as a numeral quite often:

Creek (Muskogean) '1' is *hŭmke* (from *heyŭn enke* 'this hand') [61].

Kewa (Papuan) '4' is *ki* ('hand') [36].

Nama (Hottentot) '2' is *t'koam* ('hand', by analogy with their quantity) [61].

Chamorro (Micronesia) '5' is *lima* ('hand') [60].

Inuit (Eskimo) '5' is *tal'imat* ('hand') [26].

The Wingei dialect of Ambulas number '6' *taabak* shows the hand as having six features, whereas '12' is *taaba v'etik* ('two hands') [69].

All the following in Sanskrit mean '2': *kara* 'hand', *bāhu* 'arm', *netra* 'eye' [61].

Gaahmg (Nilo-Saharan) use the word 'eye' as well but in a different way: '7' *íd̪íg-dáāgg* 'eyes-two' is based on the two eyes, apparently in addition to the five fingers of one hand, which are not included in the numeral [56].

6 Carl Masthay to Pavel Petrov, personal communication of 24 November 1998.

In nearly all non-Austronesian languages of the Alor and Pantar Islands (East Indonesia) ‘5’ is possibly expressed by a root meaning ‘tooth’. Compare the following pairs of these words: Lamma (Biangwala) – *y’asiŋ / naw’αsiŋ;* Tewa (Sargang) – *y’αwan / nαw’an;* Blagar (Retta on Ternate) – *αw’ɔhaŋ / nαf ’εhaŋ* (the straight apostrophe here indicates relative prominence of its following vowel) [58].

Takelma (southwestern Oregon) ‘10’ is *ixdil* (‘hands [both]’) [51].

Very unexpected is that Yuki (California) ‘8’ is *pompat = powe + mepat* (‘one hand’). The point is that Yuki Indians count using sticks; for example, ‘8’ is expressed by two sticks set between each two fingers. Several variant forms have been obtained for ‘8’ such as 1-flat; hand-stick-flat; hand-2-cut; hand-on-cut; hand-2-only; and so on. What is more, the name for ‘8’ is also used for ‘16’ and ‘24’; ‘9’ is used for ‘17’ and ‘25’; ‘10’ is used for ‘18’ and ‘26’; and so forth [15].

Finally, Alor-Pantar languages (East Indonesia) give curious numerals. Lamma of the Pantar Island use ‘hand’ to express number ‘9’: in the Biangwala dialect ‘1’ is *han’uku*, and ‘9’is *hanukt’anaŋ* ‘one-hand’. Kafoa of the Alor Island use ‘foot’ for the same number: ‘1’ is *n’uku*, and ‘9’ is *tik’αynuku* ‘foot-one’ [58].

One more example: Tunisian Arabic *xáms-a* (‘5’) bears no relation to “hand” as it is but is a taboo word for women. So, they are obliged to call ‘5’ allegorically by the word *εəttyəddək* (‘count your hand’) [71].

The subject of Arabic numeration will not be fully discussed if one does not mention their word for ‘10’, *áshara*. Modern Egyptian Arabs call a left-handed person *ạȧ ˤsaru*. It means that earlier they had different terms for the left and right hands [38]. Today, they call the left hand simply *yad shemal.* The lost protoform for the left hand served as the origin for both “left-hander” and the numeral ‘10’. The point is that long ago Arabic calculation on fingers commenced from the right hand and then switched to the left one. When they reached the tenth finger, their left hand had been completed.

In Old Russian, they calculated similarly but in the opposite way: from the left hand, called *shuytsa*, to the right one, *desnitsa*, hence *desyat*’ ‘10’.

The common Turkic word *on* ‘10’ can be compared with *on* ‘right’ as well.

Similarly, there are languages in the world that have some differences in the speech of men and women, such as Dagestanian Andi, where ‘8’ is *bijq’igu* and *bejq’igu* respectively [63].

Of further interest are the **body-counting systems** of New Guinea Papuan, as in Hewa [46]:

1 *name* (‘left thumb’)	6 *maluene* (‘left wrist’)
2 *namalu* (‘left index finger’)	7 *tagu* (‘left arm’)
3 *favalo* (‘left middle finger’)	8 *aluene* (‘left elbow’)
4 *kolu* (‘left ring finger’)	... …
5 *keli* (‘left little finger’)	27 *kay-keli* (‘right little finger’)

As one can easily see from such systems, counting is limited. So the Duna and Huli are able to count to 14 only; Pole, to 15; Yuri, Enga, and Karam, to 23; Yonggom, to 25; Telefol, Sibil, Orokolo, and Hewa, to 27; Gende and Ninggerum, to 31; Yupno, to 33; Kutubu, to 37; and Kewa to 47 [36]. The range of bases in New Guinea runs from 14 to 74.

Sometimes, curious patterns occur, as in nonhuman body numerals:

Sanskrit *paksha* ‘wing’ is used also for ‘2’ [61].

The Xerênte (Ge-Pano-Carib) ‘2’ *ponhuane* means ‘deer track’, since a deer hoof print has two separate spots[7], and their word for ‘3’ means ‘rhea bird footprint’ (the rhea bird has three distinctive toes, but see the next sample) [18].

The Abipones of Paraguay count ‘4’ as *geyènknute* (‘the ostrich’s toes’) [61]. The ostriches of South America (the rheas) possess four claws on each foot, three in front and one at the back (Fig. 1).

[7] Rosenfelder, M. Numbers from 1 to 10 in over 5,000 languages, 2015, zompist.com/numbers.shtml (accessed 31 October 2015).

It is curious that in Manga, a Kanuri language in Africa, '4' is déwú, but similarly they call 'ostrich' *dèwú* [32]. In contrast to the South American ostrich, an African ostrich has only two toes on each foot, hence four toes in total for both feet (Fig. 1).

The Australian ostrich is not left out of the numeration either. The numeral '3' **kulparri*, in the Karnic subgroup of Pama-Nyungan, has been reconstructed to 'emu', motivated by the bird's three large, splayed toes [18] (Fig. 1).

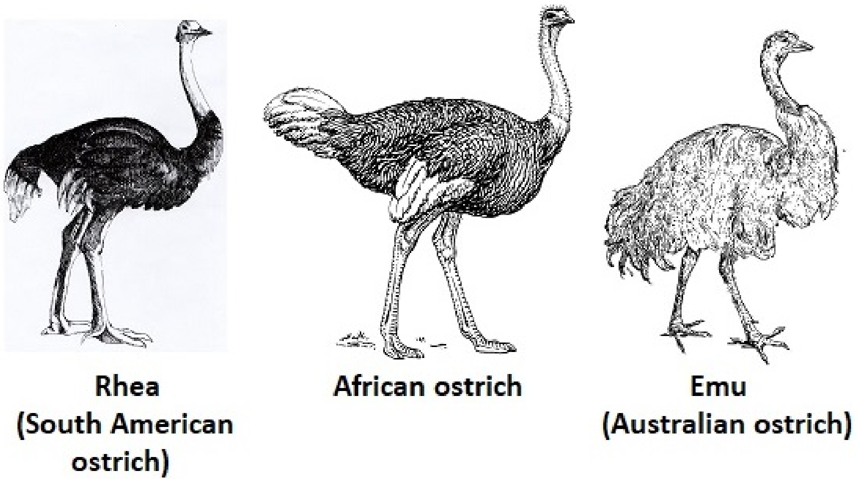


Figure 1. Ostriches[8]

The Boiken of New Guinea count '4' as *nʌwarʌ* (such as *napʌ warʌ* '1 dog') [19]. Ambulas has the similar idea by expressing '4' as *nakwasa = nak + waasa* '1 dog' [68]. Another Papuan language, Igom, uses word *rumangga* 'pig' as an alternative number for the same numeral.

An interesting observation is found in the Austronesian words for '3' and 'egg'. There are several examples of this pair of words from different languages, as follows: Nggela – *tolu / tolu* [20]; Bima – *tolu / dolu;* Sika and Kemak – *telu / telo;* Southeast Babar – *wo-kely / kely;* Bonfia – *toli / tolin.* Such languages as Manggarai, Ngadha, Lio, Kambera, Geser, Soboyo have the same words for both '3' and 'egg'.

Ornithologists would confirm that the usual seagull egg laying consists of three eggs. The author will assume that there is a relationship between the number '3' and the quantity of eggs laid by a seagull.

Another discovery is the similarity of the words 'four' and 'stone', all found in the same several languages of Austronesia. Perhaps, it was the 'stone' that served as the source for determining the number '4'. One would wonder why this word was taken. Either Austronesians traditionally use four stones as a support for a cooking pot or had some sort of ritual connected with four stones. Finally, it could be used in a game. For example, Stewart Culin described the ancient game *lu-lu,* which was played by Hawaiians. It was a kind of dice game, known to Europeans, for counting dots that were marked on four disks of volcanic stone [14]. Of course, this game most likely appeared after the word 'stone' turned into the term 'four'. Otherwise, what would they call the number '4'?

Be that as it may, let us take a look at the examples of pairs of words 'four' / 'stone' in the languages of the Solomon Islands: Nggela *vati / vatu* [20]; Tandai, Ndi, Ghari, and Talise *vati / vatu;* Longgu *vai / vau;* Marau, 'Are'are, and Sa'a *hai / hau;* and To'ambaita, and Fataleka *fai / fau* [62].

[8] Pictures from Internet sources: silver-katze.blogspot.com, freepng.ru, ck.ot7.ru (accessed 20 February 2020).

What deserves attention as well is the numeral '6' in Polynesian languages such as Rapanui, Marquesan, Tahitian, Hawaiian, Maori, and Mangareva, wherein they count '6' as *ono*, which sounds close to 'turtle' *honu*. The languages of the Solomon Islands show similar matches. See examples of pairs of words 'six' / 'turtle' from the above-mentioned languages as well: Nggela *ono / vonu, vono* [20]; Tandai, Ndi, Ghari, and Talise *ɔnɔ / vɔnu;* Longgu *ɔnɔ / vonu;* 'Are'are *ōno / hɔnu;* Marau, and Sa'a *ono / honu;* and To'ambaita, and Fataleka *ɔnɔ / fɔnu* [62].

One should keep in mind that the number '5' in Austronesian means 'hand', and thus we can assume that a long time ago the Austronesian people solidified the abstract meaning of quantity by means of simple and vivid words: '1', '2', egg = '3', stone = '4', hand = '5', and turtle = '6'. Now this associative row looks as follows (Fig. 2):

Figure 2. The associative row of numerals

This pattern is not valid for Algonquian, but it seems like a coincidence that the same pair of words, '6' and 'turtle', occur in the Eastern Algonquian language Powhatan. Albert Gatschet (per Strachey, Smith, and others) supplied the following entries in his 1893 vocabulary: *comotinch* '6' (phonemic /*ka·mərənč*(?)/ from Proto-Eastern Algonquian /**aka·mərənč*/ 'at the finger at the other side' [49], or 'contrary or opposite thumb [or hand, finger]') and *commotins (accomodemsk)* 'turtle' (no etymology offered, but -ns means 'little'); thus, Algonquianists regard these words as having different origins.

Another sample has been found in So, a Mon-Khmer language, in which the numeral '6' *tapạṭ* can be compared with 'turtle' *pi:t* [43].

In the Kwaio of Malaita one can find the numeral '8' k^{w}*alu* and 'octopus' k^{w}*ala* [34]. This makes it possible to continue the associative row of Austronesian languages mentioned above. However, it can be the opposite way of borrowing, as we have, for example, Old Russian '8' *osm*' and 'octopus' *os'minog*. The only difference between Russian and Austronesian is that the latter knew octopuses before any calculations started.

'Twenty' is a word meaning 'crocodile' in some Ndu family languages of New Guinea.

'Eighty' *ŋ̀kùù* etymologically means 'chicken' in the Supyire Senufo of Mali. One can assume that it was the price of a chicken at some time in the past [10].

Animal names occur in the numeral systems of North American languages, such as Atakapa ('hog') and Chitimacha ('rabbit'), where the terms are used in expressing 'a hundred'. The Chitimacha term for 'rabbit, a hundred' *puup* has in turn been borrowed as a loanword meaning 'hundred' into Natchez, where it is semantically opaque [23].

The Nivkh word for 1,000 *n'əmqa* can be compared with *n'əmχ* 'mosquito'. The same word for 'a thousand', *kukurei*, has the additional meaning of 'domestic fowl' in the Buin language of the Bougainville Islands.

In the Eastern Karaboro language of Burkina Faso, the word *nàʔā* used for ‘2,000’ means actually ‘cow’ because this was the price for a cow a long time ago.

In the language of Rwanda, 10,000 is *inzovu*, or ‘an elephant’; 100,000 is *akayovu* or ‘a small elephant’; and 100,000,000 is *impyisi* or ‘a hyena’.

Ancient Egyptian has a tadpole hieroglyph to express ‘1,000,000’.

The greatest number expressed by an animal name is 10^{48}, that is, 1 with 48 zeroes. In Old Russian, this number was designated by the word *voron or vran* ‘raven’.

It has already been mentioned that there are several unusual numerals in Sanskrit (such as ‘a wing’, ‘an eye’, and ‘a hand’ as the number two). In ancient Indian texts there are many allegories used instead of numerals. There is a complex system of using certain words associated in one way or another with a substituted number.

For example, instead of unity, such words as “sun” or “moon” could be used, since they exist in a single form. One can find over 40 options for the number ‘one’. At least 30 word variations were used for the number ‘two’. The number ‘three’ could be replaced with such words as “fire” (for which the Indians distinguished three types), and “eye” (a reference to the three eyes of Shiva). Instead of ‘four’ they used the word “water” because in those days four seas were distinguished. The word “elephant” was used instead of the number ‘eight’ because it was believed that eight elephants support the sky [54].

There are different numeral classes in some languages for various objects in counting, such as human beings, animals, and long or flat objects. For example, Chambri (New Guinea) has five classes; Tsimshian (North America), seven; and Nivkh (Sakhalin), 26. A good example is the numeral ‘2’ in the various classes of Abau (New Guinea): *pris* (humans), *inrɛs* (branches), *narɛs* (round objects), *ses* (fires), and so on [45].

Other languages for the same purpose use special words called “numerators”. For example, Tongan (Polynesian) ‘3’ is *tolu*, but ‘3 (men)’ is *toko-tolu,* with *toko* being the human-class numerator. Numerators are also met in Turkic, Indonesian, and other languages. Chinese has more than 10 numerators, Japanese has no less than 30, and Mayan has about an astounding 80.

Various constructed language projects (conlangs) can supplement this list of numeration classes. Thaathmuul uses a number system based on one; Minbari in the show *Babylon 5* and Lamanā use base-11; Machi of Terrence Donnelly as well as Beftokan and Xaceri, 14; Muplo of Max Yurtsev, 17; Methaiun of Mark Rosenfelder as well as Dijineko and Tyntha use base-18; Vocatae (Foxish) of Nicholas Bridgewater, base-19; and Aspectis, 22. Ithkuil of John Quijada uses the centesimal number system, which means based on 100; Jeffrey Henning in his Fith uses a system based on 144. Finally, Tom Breton, the author of AllNoun, declares so-called zero-based counting in this conlang, all words of which are nouns.

Of especial interest are those separate numerations used by professionals and by children. Below, several examples are listed by way of conclusion.

An old system of alleged and unproved counting of sheep in Welsh (Brythonic Celtic), Keswick [48]:

1 *yan*	6 *sethera*	15 *bumfit*
2 *tyan*	7 *lethera*	
3 *tethera*	8 *hovera*	
4 *methera*	9 *dovera*	
5 *pimp*	10 *dick*	

Karachay-Balkar (Turkic) money counting (obsolete) [35]:

5 kopecks *bir şai*	25 kopecks *beş şai; qara som*
10 kopecks *ɛki şai*	50 kopecks *somdžarım*
15 kopecks *üç şai*	10 rubles *tümen*
20 kopecks *tört şai; apas*	

Counting songs that are sung by Nyanja (Bantu) children when playing counting games [4]:

				Usual method
1	*dazi*	*dazi*	*kamba*	*-moji*
2	*tondola*	*pakakhala*	*nadya*	*-wili*
3	*peleka*	*palombe*	*mbuna, mbuna*	*-tatu*
4	*mazanga*	*panagona*	*tangela*	*-nai*
5	*piliwili*	*nkhwali*	*ana*	*-sano*
6	*milomo*	*milomo*	*kuno*	*-sano ni -moji*
7	*canjali*	*pembela*	*kulila*	*-sano ni -wili*
8	*calela*	*kwangali*	*ngondo, ngondo*	*-sano ni -tatu*
9	*zintali*	*litolo*	*bambo*	*-sano ni -nai*
10	*khumi*	*likhumi*	*cilingalilee*	*kumi*

Counting in games in Olevuga (I), in comparison with standard Nggela (II) (Florida Islands, Melanesian):

	I	II
1	*eta, tea*	*sakai, si, keha*
2	*ura*	*rua, ura, ruka*
3	*lotu*	*tolu*
4	*tavi*	*vati*
5	*nila*	*lima*
6	*noa*	*ono*
7	*tivu*	*vitu*
8	*rau*	*alu*
9	*beta*	*hiua*
10	*taleri*	*hanavulu*

Conclusion

Naturally, it is impossible to include every existing counting system in this article. One can easily see that every manner of numeration here may be divided into further subsystems. Although the total number of such systems is no match for the many thousands of languages presently spoken, hopefully, even these several tens of examples can show the full breadth of the problem of counting and can also help one to understand how many conceptually abstract methods had been employed by the original speakers of various protolanguages – patterns still maintained by their descendants. One can imagine how extraordinarily inventable different civilizations have been in this seemingly small problem of defining quantity.

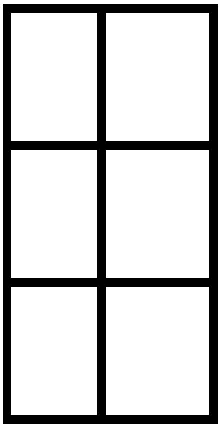
Comparing the structure of high numbers in decimal counting systems demonstrated that groupping by base is not final. This study can be continued in that direction. On the other hand, there are differences in the numeration found even in closely related languages, as one could see it in the case of number '90', which has different structure in Russian as opposed to other Slavic languages.

All stated above leads one to further studies in translation between languages that use different counting systems. The original hypothesis of using associative rows of numerals in the Austronesian languages is waiting for comments as well. This topic is open for discussion and further research.

Appendix A

On a version of counting by '9'[9]

Designations:



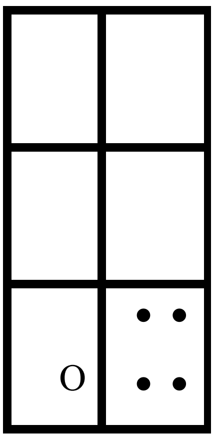
= Hundreds rank (3)

= Tens rank (2) a clay table, *abak*

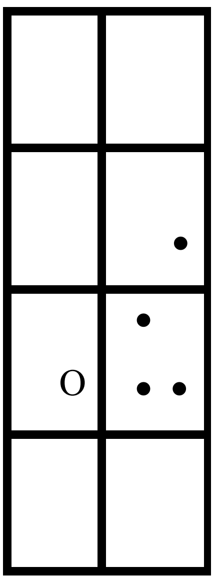
= Unity rank (1)

o = Plum stone, meaning '5'

• = Cherry stone, meaning '1'

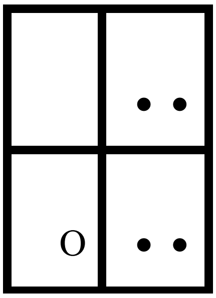


'9' ('1 nine') All stones are in the unity rank. We read '9'.



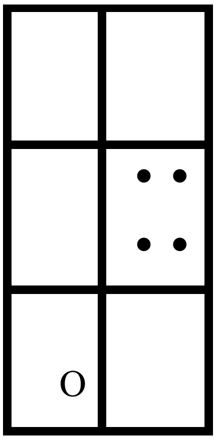
'18' ('2 nines') $\underline{2}\times 9$ means ($\underline{2}$ - 1) stones go to the next rank.

[9] The source of this hypothetical scheme of using the nonary trade-numeral system is at present unavailable.

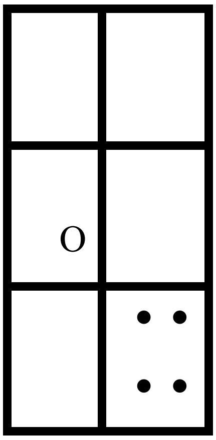


‘27’ (‘3 nines’) 3×9 means (3 - 1) stones go to the next rank.

For multiplication “9” on “X” we must move “X - 1” stones.

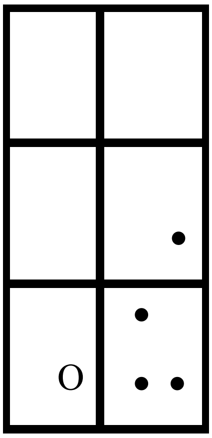


‘45’ (‘5 nines’)

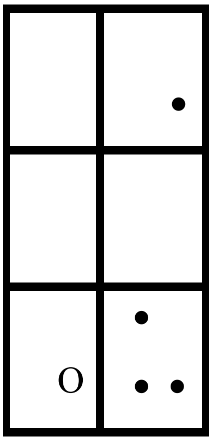


‘54’ (‘6 nines’)

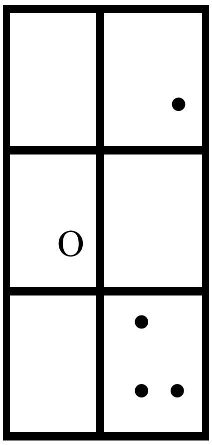
And so on. For example, to multiply 9×17 we need to move 17 – 1 = 16 stones. However, we have only 9, one might say. The point is that the passage at the 1-2 rank gives unities; one at the 2-3 rank gives tens; one at the 3-4 rank gives hundreds; and so forth. Thus in our case we move stones in the consecutive order as shown below:



Count ‘1’ (from 16).



Count ‘11’.

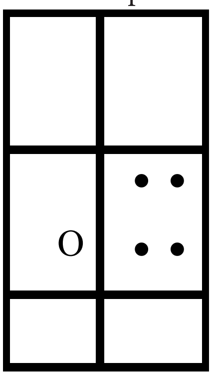


100

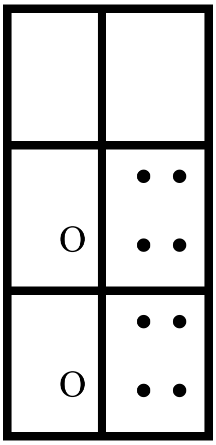
50 Count ‘16’; that is, the result is 153.

3

It is easy to see that we cannot multiply 9×11 by means of four cherry stones and one plum stone only; thus this operation looks as follows:



9×10 = 90



90+9 = 99

Appendix B
Systems of birth-order names

There are **systems of birth-order names** with separate terms for male and female children in Indo-Pacific, Austronesian, Australian, African, and Amerindian languages. They represent neither real numeral sequences nor numerical classifiers, but they show an interesting aspect of sequencing. Here are some examples.

Austronesian Manga-Buang in Morobe District [27]:

	Sons	**Daughters**
first born	*tuk* [tʊk̩]	*mɔ$^{\wedge}$:g̱* [mɔ$^{\wedge}$:ʁ]
second born		
third born	*g̱wey* [^{ŋ}ʁ^{w}ey]	*ƀarɛk* [ƀʌřɛ^{ə}k̩]
fourth born	*rɛ:y* [řɛ:y]	*da:ƀi* [^{n}da^{m}ƀi]
fifth born		
sixth born		
seventh born		*g̱ɔ$^{\wedge}$:ƀ* [ʁɔ$^{\wedge}$:ƀ]
	(fricative uvular g̱ = ʁ)	

Austronesian Central Buang [30]:

	Sons	**Daughters**
first born	*Aguu*	*Mewing*
second born	*Amon*	*Anii*
third born	*Gwee*	*Velek*
fourth born	*See*	*Dabi*
fifth born	*Guu*	*Sëj*
sixth born	*Bewë*	*Tamu*
seventh born	*Meggi*	*Pahoov*
eighth born	*Dahisoong*	*Len*
ninth born	*Kele ris* 'tree leaves' for any children beyond eight	

The system of seven birth-order names in some Austronesian Malayan districts [64]:

	Sons	Daughters
first born	*Sulung* 'oldest'	Using prefix *Meh*
second born	*Awang* 'friend, comrade'	
third born	*Idam* 'black'	
fourth born	*Puteh* 'white'	
fifth born	*Allang*	
sixth born	*Pendeh*	
seventh born	*Kechil* 'little one', the youngest'	

Austronesian Kaugel Valley children's or sibling's birth order [8]:

first born	*komono*
second born	*sukuamo* 'middle, or next-born'
third born	*yepoko sipemo* 'third-born'
fourth born	*kise sipemo* 'fourth-born'
fifth born	*akilyomo* 'last-born'

The following is the nine birth-order system of the Parnkalla (Pangkala, Banggarla) language of southern Australia [52].

	Sons	Daughters
first born	*piri*	*kartanye*
second born	*wari*	*wayuru*
third born	*kunni*	*kunta*
fourth born	*munni*	*munnaka*
fifth born	*marri*	*marrukko*
sixth born	*yarri*	*yarranta*
seventh born	*milly*	*méllakka*
eighth born	*wangguyu*	*wanggurtu*
ninth born	*ngallai*	*ngallka*

The curious point is that in their normal counting the Parnkalla speakers use three numerals only: *kubmanna* '1', *kuttara* '2', and *kappo*, or *kulbarri* '3, or several' [52].

Below is a similar system of five birth-order names present in the Siouan languages of Sisseton-Wahpeton Dakota, living in North Dakota, and then Hoocąk (Winnebago) in Wisconsin.

	Male	Female
first born	*Caske* (*c* = [č])	*Winuna*
second born	*Hepan*	*Hapan*
third born	*Hepi*	*Hapistinna*
fourth born	*Catan*	*Wanske*
fifth born	*Hake*	*Wihake*

If the first child born to a couple were a male, he would be called Caske, if the next child were a female, she would be named Hapan. Their real names are sacred and so not used in speaking. Notice that these names do not correspond to the Dakota count numerals: *waŋca, noŋpa, yamni, topa, zaptaŋ* [22].

Hoocąk (Ho·čą́gra, Hochunk, Winnebago), a language of the Chiwere Siouan subgroup of eastern Wisconsin [29]:

	Male	**Female**
first born	*Kųųnų́*	*Híinų*
second born	*Heeną*	*Wíiha*
third born	*Haagá*	*Haksiíga*
fourth born	*Nąą́ği*	*Hinąą́ke*
fifth born	*Nąą́ğixųnų*	*Haksiígaxųnų*
sixth born	—	*Hinąkéxųnų*

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SOCIO-CULTURAL CONDITIONS FOR PUBLIC POLITICAL RHETORIC IN THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE OF THE 19th–21st CENTURIES (LEXICAL ASPECT)

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Abstract. One of the main structural units of the political discourse of any language is its socio-political vocabulary, which is an integral part of the lexical system of the language reflecting a combination of the political and social characteristics of society. Such a complex of lexical units is designed not only to convey to the audience the views of any politician, but also to affect the society through vibrant and clear speech patterns determined by existing ideological values. The socio-political vocabulary is inevitably transformed following the changes in the domestic and foreign policy of the country. This evolutionary process brings neologisms, some of which are firmly fixed in the language. This article is an attempt to evaluate the influence of the historical context on the evolution of the socio-political vocabulary of the Italian language through the examination of a number of its key features which reflect certain milestones of the country's development and history. It considers the most vivid and widely used political terms, which are products of the linguistic creativity of statesmen in various periods of Italian history since the emergence of the single state in 1861 to the present day. The paper analyzes the factors that had a direct impact on the formation of these lexical units and the connection between personal characteristics of certain Italian politicians with their choice of terms intended to appeal both to their supporters and opponents. The article describes some aspects of the transformation process of the political language into popular language designed to ensure effective communication with the electorate.

Keywords: political vocabulary, neologism, Italian unification, First Republic, Second Republic, Italian party system, election law

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СОЦИОКУЛЬТУРНЫЕ УСЛОВИЯ ПУБЛИЧНОЙ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ РИТОРИКИ В ИТАЛЬЯНСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ XIX–XXI ВЕКОВ (ЛЕКСИЧЕСКИЙ АСПЕКТ)

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Аннотация. Одной из основных структурных единиц политического дискурса любого языка является общественно-политическая лексика – составная часть лексической системы языка, которая отражает совокупность политико-социальных характеристик общества. Такой комплекс лексических единиц общей направленности призван не только доносить до аудитории идеологическую линию того или иного политика, но также воздействовать на неё с помощью ярких и понятных речевых образов, сформулированных с учётом существующих в обществе мировоззренческих установок и ценностей. Общественно-политический лексикон, представляющий собой постоянно растущее тематическое объединение общеупотребительных и понятных большинству населения страны слов, неизбежно трансформируется вслед за переменами, происходящими во внутренней и внешней политике государства, в его экономике и социальных отношениях в различные исторические эпохи. Результатом такой трансформации является появление неологизмов, часть из которых прочно закрепляется в языке. В настоящей статье предпринимается попытка проследить, какое влияние оказывал исторический контекст на формирование и развитие общественно-политического словаря итальянского языка; рассматриваются некоторые его ключевые особенности, в которых нашли отражение те или иные вехи в развитии страны. Приводятся наиболее яркие термины, широко применяемые в политических кругах, которые являются продуктом своеобразного языкового творчества видных итальянских государственных деятелей в различные периоды истории с момента появления единого государства в 1861 году до современности. Анализируются факторы, которые оказали непосредственное влияние на формирование указанных лексических единиц. Выявляется взаимосвязь между персональными особенностями отдельных итальянских политиков и их выбором наиболее предпочтительных терминов и понятий, предназначенных для обращения как к своим сторонникам или политическим оппонентам (в качестве средства политической борьбы), так и к рядовым гражданам. Описываются некоторые аспекты процесса трансформации высокого и иносказательного политиканского языка в язык народный, предназначенный для выстраивания эффективной коммуникации с массовым избирателем.

Ключевые слова: политическая лексика, неологизмы, объединение Италии, «Первая республика», «Вторая республика», итальянская партийная система, избирательный закон

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Каждый политик формирует лексикон в целях наиболее эффективного воздействия на массового адресата, избирателя. Ключевые элементы, которые приобретают концептуальный вес в политическом дискурсе, становятся риторическим элементом политической борьбы. В результате в массовом сознании за отдельными политическими силами закрепляются краткие лексические «ярлыки», которые имеют положительный (destra tradizionalista – *приверженные традициям правые,* sinistra progressista – *прогрессивные левые*) или отрицательный оттенок (destra fascista – *фашиствующие правые,* sinistra populista – *левые популисты*). Под воздействием политических процессов эти термины и лексические средства входят в обиход широких масс, становясь неологизмами [1, с. 67].

Политическая лексика итальянского языка формировалась под воздействием ряда факторов, среди которых следует в первую очередь упомянуть особенности исторического развития Италии. В частности, судьбоносное для страны значение имел период Рисорджименто (объединения Италии), занявший не одно десятилетие XIX века. Выдающийся итальянский историк Дж. Прокаччи (1926–2008) следующим образом характеризует динамику и социально-политические последствия этого процесса: «…Цена объединения была в основном политическая, и её следует рассматривать как последствие способа достижения самого объединения. Оно произошло путём ряда последовательных присоединений к Пьемонту различных, ранее независимых итальянских государств… Итальянское королевство при своём зарождении несло значительный отпечаток бюрократизма и цензовости, и в представлении большинства своих новых граждан его олицетворяли налоговый инспектор и обязательная воинская повинность» [2, с. 364–365]. Исследователи истории СМИ Италии И. Бономи и Н. Мараскио отмечают: «За спиной у языкового облика современных газет прошлое, которое, естественно, уходит корнями в политическую и культурную историю нашей страны. Италия, разнородные части которой очень поздно сформировали единое государство, также поздно обрела и языковое единство. Только после объединения страны итальянский язык, являвшийся до этого почти исключительно инструментом общения в сфере культуры и осуществления властных полномочий, в то время как народ использовал в основном диалекты или их сложную смесь, постепенно становится языком всей нации и всего общества» [5, с. 17].

Монархический период после объединения Италии и до референдума в пользу республики 2 июня 1946 года дал стране новые институты, которые до сих пор влияют на самосознание общества и формирование политической лексики. Появились парламент, политические партии, газеты, а впоследствии радио и телевидение. В частности, на период Рисорджименто приходится становление старейших итальянских газет: La Nazione (1859), La Stampa (1867), Il Corriere della Sera (1876), Il Messaggero (1878). Наряду с бюрократическим аппаратом, газеты решающим образом повлияли на формирование в объединённой Италии общенационального итальянского языка [9, с. 603]. Ежедневные издания уделяли внимание не только криминальной хронике и объявлениям – на их страницах также активно освещалась как внутренняя, так и внешняя политика государства.

Неологизмы того периода остаются понятны современным итальянцам, которые достаточно подробно изучают в школе историю Рисорджименто. В этот период в обиход вошли такие понятия, как *правые* (destra), *левые* (sinistra), *парламентская революция* (rivoluzione parlamentare), *трансформизм* (trasformismo), *феминизм* (femminismo), *милитаризм* (militarism), *интернационалист* (intermazionalista), которые не потеряли актуальности и в наше время [7, с. 4]. История возникновения некоторых из них выглядит следующим образом. Так, Дж. Прокаччи отмечает: «В июне 1861 года, через несколько месяцев после провозглашения Итальянского королевства, неожиданно скончался граф К. Кавур, и Италия внезапно лишилась авторитетного руководства. Однако этот человек оставил в политической практике нового государства такое наследие, создал такой стиль, от которых с трудом могли отойти его непосредственные преемники. Те, кто взвалил на собственные плечи “тяжкий груз” наследства и образовывал так называемую историческую “правую” партию, приложили все свои старания, чтобы не слишком далеко отойти от пути, намеченного великим пьемонтским государственным деятелем» [2, с. 367–368]. В 1876 году в результате «парламентской революции» к власти пришли «левые». В тот момент произошло основное изменение в стиле и характере государственного управления, в тональности политической и общественной жизни. Наступило время так называемого трансформизма, мастером которого был премьер-министр А. Депретис [там же, с. 378]. Данным термином обычно обозначают парламентскую практику, состоявшую в том, что правящие силы имели в законодательном органе необходимое большинство. Это достигалось или путём предварительных переговоров с наиболее видными депутатами для их возможного включения в состав правительства, или путём фаворитизма и подкупа менее влиятельных парламентариев «болота», существовавшего во всех палатах, или комбинацией обоих этих способов. Таким образом начался процесс трансформации традиционных партий и образования стабильного правительственного большинства. При этом частые правительственные кризисы в большинстве случаев были спровоцированы Депретисом в расчёте на улучшение состава или изменение соотношения сил в правительстве. Трансформизм был принят без возражений всеми итальянскими политическими силами – от левых до правых, за исключением группы крайних республиканцев – и стал знаменем, под которым политическая жизнь страны будет проходить и после смерти Депретиса. Так был достигнут компромисс между представителями Севера и Юга, что заложило основу политической жизни современной Италии [там же, с. 379].

Особое место в судьбе итальянского государства занимает «фашистское двадцатилетие». В этот период в общественно-политическое сознание навсегда вошло такое понятие, как фашистские *отряды действия* (squadre d'azione). Лидер страны и основатель фашистской партии Б. Муссолини фактически положил начало формированию национального политического языка XX века. Для оказания на публику соответствующего психологического воздействия в своих выступлениях глава правительства активно использовал главным образом тональность, ритмичность речи и её эмоциональный заряд. Лексика при этом играла скорее второстепенную роль, хотя и она отличалась особой выразительностью. К наиболее характерным особенностям ораторских и эпистолярных опусов Муссолини, с лексической точки зрения, по мнению М. А. Кортелаццо, можно отнести прежде всего, использование подчёркивающего образ врага префикса in- (*подлый* – infame), причастий на -mente, превосходной формы прилагательных на -issimo (*самый просвещённый* – illuminatatissimo), а также другие словообразовательные приёмы, позволявшие достичь нужного психологического воздействия на слушателей за счёт ритмичности и «звонкости» речи. Смысловое содержание при этом могло быть, по сути, алогичным [6, с. 31–38].

Хрестоматийными для эпохи Муссолини стали такие слова, как *великолепный* (formidabile), *верная цель* (meta infallibile), *опасность* (peniglio), *сельский* (rurale), *выразительность* (significazione). К особенностям лексики рассматриваемого периода относятся также жизнеутверждающие мотивы, начиная со слова-лозунга *молодость* – giovinezza («Giovinezza» – фашистский гимн). Огромное значение в эти годы приобрели слова, демонстрирующие эмоции, живость и мощь. Среди них сама *жизненная сила* (vitalità), *энергия* (energia), *воля* (volontà), *мужчина* (maschio), а в качестве прилагательных – *могучий* (possente), *мощный* (poderoso), *неистовый* (veemente), *пылкий* (vulcanico), а также *нерв* (nerbo), *мускулы* (muscoli). Кроме того, возросла роль таких слов как *марш* (marcia), *фаланга* (falange), *легион* (legion), *неустрашимый* (intrepido), *бесстрашный* (impavido).

При этом Муссолини использовал методы, которые в современном политическом имиджмейкинге трактуются следующим образом. Одним из наиболее действенных орудий политического языка являются манипулятивные термины, или «ярлыки», которые навешиваются на политических оппонентов. Они создаются и вводятся в употребление с вполне определённой целью. Однако опасность их состоит в том, что, входя в широкий обиход, прежде всего с помощью СМИ, они надолго приживаются, становятся привычными, повседневными словами, порой замещая и вытесняя другие – смежные, но менее агрессивные понятия [3, с. 141]. И действительно, слова из области медицины и физиологии используются Муссолини главным образом для оскорбления противника, создания его карикатурного образа. Так, враги становятся *чёрными микробами* (microbi neri), или людьми, подверженными *старческой импотенции* (impotenza senile). Исключение из политической партии превращается в *ампутацию* (amputazione) во избежание *гангрены* (la cancrena). В эту парадигму укладываются и другие слова с явно выраженным ругательным оттенком: *склонный к эпилепсии* (epilettoide), *горбун* (gobbo), *больной водянкой* (idropico), *микроцефал* (microcefalo, в разговорном языке – «дурак, идиот»).

В тех же целях применяются и слова, взятые из религиозной сферы, которым Муссолини ещё в бытность социалистом придавал ситуационно отрицательный оттенок. Например, руководители Швейцарской социалистической партии становятся *красными кандидатами на папский престол* (papabili rossi) и *кастой священников, руководящих партией* (casta sacerdotale che dirige il partito), реформисты превращаются в *понтификов реформизма* (pontefici del riformismo), съезд Интернационала – в *экуменический собор в Амстердаме* (concilio ccumenico di Amsterdam).

Правда, с окончательным переходом Муссолини на правый фланг отрицательный оттенок религиозной лексики исчезает, и она становится богатым резервом, к использованию которого он достаточно часто прибегает. Так, в его выступлениях можно обнаружить следующие слова-метафоры из области религии: *апостол* (apostolo), *причастие* (comunione), *обращение* (conversione), *догма* (dogma), *еретик* (eretico), *инакомыслие* (eterodossia), *мученичество* (martirio), *мессия* (messia), *миссия* (missione), *жертвоприношение* (olocausto), *ортодоксальность* (ortodossia), *искупление* (redenzione), *жертва* (sacrificio), *святость* (santità), *евангелие* (vangelo, в значении «основные положения доктрины»).

Для Италии стал характерным военный, или, как тогда говорили, «ликторский» дух [2, с. 482]. Военная терминология прочно вошла в общественно-политическую лексику. Широкое применение нашло слово *битва* (battaglia) в привязке к большим проектам Муссолини. Так, восстановление таможенных пошлин на зерно получило наименование *битва за зерно* (battaglia del grano), ревальвация и стабилизация лиры стала известна как *битва за лиру* (battaglia della lira), стремление к политической и экономической независимости – *битва за автаркию* (battaglia dell'autarchia), а грандиозные работы по мелиорации Понтинских болот вошли в историю как *битва с болотами* (battaglia della pallude). Через процесс расширительного применения также пришли такие словосочетания, как *военные доклады* (rapporti militari), означающие отчёты о собранном урожае, *победа в битве за зерно* (vittoria del grano), *сельскохозяйственная армия* (esercito rurale), *сельскохозяйственные войска* (fanterie rurali) и их воины – *велиты* (vèliti).

Для Муссолини и всех членов фашистской партии большое символическое значение имела сама древнеримская история — от *фасции ликтора* (fascio littorio) пошло название организации. В этот период в словесное употребление вернулись такие понятия, как *короткий римский меч* (gladio), *имперский* (imperiale), *латинство* (latinità), *волчица* (lupa).

Муссолини частично удалось создать собственную систему символов и их лексического отражения, которая в тот период была благосклонно принята населением страны. Наиболее ярким примером вхождения в обиход новой лексики стало выражение *битва за зерно* (battaglia del grano), подхваченное итальянской прессой. Кроме того, действующая до сих пор в Италии схема организации отдыха трудящихся «После работы» (Dopolavoro) родилась по инициативе фашистского режима во второй половине 1920-х годов. Пережило фашистскую эпоху и слово *gladio* (рус. досл. меч), давшее название тайной операции западных спецслужб после Второй мировой войны в целях организации сопротивления в тылу противника в случае вторжения и оккупации стран – членов НАТО войсками Организации Варшавского договора. Обращение к Древнему Риму и латыни в той или иной форме можно встретить и далее.

Как дань исторической эпохе манера письменного и устного общения лидеров антифашистского сопротивления со своими сторонниками во многом сходна со стилистикой и лексикой представителей правящего режима. В значительной степени это объясняется тем, что и те, и другие учились в одних и тех же школах, впитали в себя наследие Леопарди, Мандзони, Кардуччи, Мадзини, традиции казарменного быта, патриотизм участников сражений Первой мировой войны, особенно альпийских стрелков.

Манера говорить и писать политические тексты «отцов» послевоенной итальянской государственности значительно отличалась от их предшественников, у каждого из них присутствовали индивидуальные особенности. Наиболее полемический характер носили выступления видного деятеля Итальянской социалистической партии (ИСП) П. Ненни (1891–1980), на что, вероятнее всего, повлияло его журналистское прошлое. Творческий дар Ненни породил немало неологизмов, которые прочно вошли в политический и журналистский лексикон современной Италии. Считается, что лидер социалистов является автором следующих языковых нововведений: *утробный антикоммунизм* (anticomunismo viscerale), *моральное очищение* (bonifica morale), что является калькой с таких выражений фашистского периода, как *культурное очищение* (bonifica culturale), *расовое очищение* (bonifica razzista). Примечательны также фразы *антикоммунистический кретинизм* (cretinismo anticomunista), *парламентский кретинизм* (cretinismo parlamentare), *политика конкретных дел* (politica delle cose), *центр управления* (stanza dei bottoni), *сабельный звон* (tintinnar di sciabole).

Новые тенденции в политической лексике наметились в 70-е годы прошлого века. В тот период у итальянских политиков сформировалась особая манера изъясняться, получившая весьма пренебрежительное название *политиканский язык* (politichese), что обозначало речь политиков, вводящую общественность в заблуждение за счёт своей неясности и двусмысленности. Значительную роль при этом играл подбор слов и выражений. Так, в этот период появились не очень понятные простым итальянцам словосочетания и эвфемизмы, такие как *доступная рабочая сила* (manodopera disponibile) вместо *безработные* (disoccupati), *снять с должности* (sollevare dall'incarico) вместо *сместить* (rimuovere). В ходу также было много метафор: *холодная война* (guerra fredda), *спущенная с цепи собака* (cane sciolto), *приводной ремень* (cinghia di trasmissione). По оценкам М. А. Кортелаццо, *политиканский язык* возник не по указанию лидеров партий, а в недрах партаппаратов, порождавших многочисленные туманные формулировки, отражавшие непростую политическую обстановку в стране и в мире [6, с. 48–49].

К числу выдающихся мастеров *политиканского языка* многие итальянские исследователи относят одного из крупнейших лидеров Христианско-демократической партии (ХДП) А. Моро (1916–1978). Символом «Первой республики» можно считать приписываемое ему выражение *сходящиеся параллели* (convergenze parallele). Отличаясь противоречивостью в общечеловеческом понимании соответствующих терминов, эта фраза становится предельно неопределённой и позволяет выдвигать любые сиюминутные трактовки в привязке к практически ежедневно меняющейся в Италии бурной внутриполитической обстановке (укрепление позиций компартии, «свинцовые годы» и т.д.). Саму идею невероятного геометрического явления (*сходящиеся параллели*) можно рассмотреть в выступлении А. Моро на съезде ХДП в 1959 году, когда он заявил, что необходимо «прорабатывать на длительную перспективу *точки соприкосновения* (convergenze) с левыми, отвергая, тем не менее, коммунистический тоталитаризм» [там же, с. 51–53]. Примечательно, что сам Моро не смог ответить на вопрос, произносил ли он когда-либо словосочетание *сходящиеся параллели* (convergenze parallele). Однако даже если он в действительности не был автором данных слов, то они соответствуют стилю этого политика «не говорить, говоря» и перекликаются с некоторыми другими выражениями, которые встречаются в его выступлениях. Речь идёт о таких высказываниях, как *осторожное экспериментирование* (cauta sperimentazione), *сбалансированное равновесие* (equilibri bilanciati), *конструктивная гибкость* (flessibilità construttiva). Следует заметить, что выбор лексики, а также использование сложных синтаксических конструкций с несколькими стоящими рядом сложноподчинёнными предложениями в речах и выступлениях А. Моро были не случайны. Они были рассчитаны, прежде всего, на интеллектуально подготовленную публику и полностью отражали осторожный подход (стремление не навредить) этого политика в один из самых сложных периодов послевоенной истории Италии. Однако эта осмотрительность в выборе выражений не спасла его от смерти от рук «Красных бригад» весной 1978 года.

Плодом творчества другого видного итальянского политика, лидера Итальянской коммунистической партии (ИКП) Э. Берлингуэра (1922–1984) были следующие ставшие популярными выражения: *исторический компромисс* (compromesso storico), *еврокоммунизм* (eurocomunismo), *вопрос морали* (questione morale), *национальная солидарность* (solidarietà nazionale). Все они были отражением тех или иных значимых событий в стране и мире. В частности, выражение *историче-*

ский компромисс (compromesso storico) появилось в серии посвящённых военному перевороту в Чили статей Берлингуэра в журнале «Ринашита» за сентябрь-октябрь 1973 года. При этом лидер ИКП имел в виду необходимость сотрудничества коммунистов, социалистов и католиков для сохранения демократии и социально-экономического обновления Италии. Слово *исторический* в этой связке призвано было показать значимость и долговременный характер сделанного с учётом мирового опыта выбора. Последовавшее за этим понятие *еврокоммунизма* (eurocomunismo) встретило крайне негативную реакцию в СССР, прежде всего со стороны руководства Коммунистической партии Советского Союза, которое по понятным причинам не могло согласиться с выдвинутым Берлингуэром тезисом о том, что движущая сила Великой Октябрьской социалистической революции иссякла. Эта идея, поддержанная лидерами французской и испанской коммунистических партий, на долгие годы стала предметом острых идеологических споров внутри международного коммунистического движения.

Последующие глобальные геополитические и внутренние процессы привели некогда сильнейшую на Западе Итальянскую коммунистическую партию к поддержке натовских бомбардировок Югославии и превращению в Демократическую партию. Для её лидера М. Ренци «путеводной звездой» стали Соединённые Штаты Америки, готовые биться за демократию во всем мире вплоть до последнего жителя планеты. Таковой оказалась эволюция партии, глава которой в 70-е годы прошлого столетия содействовал появлению двух ставших популярными терминов *исторический компромисс* и *еврокоммунизм*.

Особое место в богатой и разнообразной итальянской политической лексике занял язык Б. Кракси (1934–2000) – лидера Итальянской социалистической партии (ИСП), председателя совета министров Италии в 80-е годы прошлого века. Кракси во многом предвосхитил язык политиков «Второй республики», который сводится к *отображению* (rispecchiamento). Он был в числе первых крупных государственных деятелей, которые начали устраивать «политические шоу», широко задействуя для своих целей возможности национального телевидения. При этом сам лексикон Кракси отличался простотой – он *отображал* общество, стремился приблизиться к манере речи тех граждан (избирателей), к которым он обращался. Выполнять эту задачу помогали простые разговорные формы, пословицы и поговорки, ссылки на популярные и актуальные художественные образы. Манера выступлений Кракси – это составная часть *политики-спектакля* (politica-spettacolo), своеобразной манеры публичных выступлений, автором которой можно назвать данного деятеля. Переход к такой тактике привлечения электората связан в первую очередь с изменениями в общественной обстановке. В новых условиях гражданам уже не подходили «туманные» слова и выражения, характерные для «Первой республики». Поэтому лозунгами «краксианского» периода стали *решительность* (decisionismo) и *управляемость* (governabilità).

Эти понятия появились в 80-е годы, когда на фоне внешнего экономического благополучия и достаточно обеспеченной жизни к власти в стране пришла обновлённая ИСП во главе с Кракси. Политический успех, однако, оказался недолговечным. Именно с отделения соцпартии в Милане в 1992 году началось знаменитое масштабное антикоррупционное расследование под названием «Чистые руки» (mani pulite). Здесь следует подчеркнуть, что эта операция так глубоко потрясла итальянское общество, что даже само её наименование стало одним из самых употребляемых словосочетаний в национальной политической лексике. Данное расследование, при всех его понятных плюсах и минусах, коренным образом изменило политическую систему Италии. По меткому выражению известного итальянского журналиста С. Мессины, в тот момент «действительность превзошла вымысел» [8, с. 53]. Рухнули традиционные для послевоенного периода партии. Кракси бежал от судебного преследования в Тунис, где и скончался в 2000 году. На политической сцене появились новые яркие и интересные действующие лица.

Согласно общепринятым оценкам, с 1994 года в Италии началась «Вторая республика». С юридической точки зрения указанный термин не совсем верен, поскольку Конституция страны не изменилась. Более того, дискуссия вокруг внесения в неё изменений станет одной из основных площадок политических баталий вплоть до сегодняшнего дня, что также найдёт отражение в политической лексике. Тем не менее, условное понятие «Вторая республика» достаточно адекватно отражает существенные изменения, произошедшие в обществе, самосознании итальянцев и на внутренней политической сцене, что неизбежно сказалось на стиле выступлений ведущих государственных деятелей страны. С этих пор противопоставление в общественной жизни выстраивалось не по характеру идеологических убеждений (левый/правый), а скорее по отношению к произошедшим изменениям и по взглядам на пути дальнейшего развития Италии. Недаром лозунгами данного периода истории стали такие словосочетания и неологизмы, как *надвигающееся новое* (nuovo che avanza) и *новизм* (nuovismo).

При этом базой для изменения стилистики выступлений и речей политиков стала эволюция самого подхода к общению со слушателями, читателями и зрителями, одновременно являющимися избирателями. Раньше политики позиционировали себя выше остальной (большей) части населения, которой они должны были указать правильный путь. В связи с этим для подтверждения собственного превосходства они использовали малопонятную большинству граждан лексику. Теперь же государственные деятели пошли по проложенной ещё Б. Кракси дороге *отображения*. Они «снизошли» до избирателей, стали изъясняться на понятном им языке, зачастую используя разговорную лексику.

Аналогичные трансформации, в том числе лингвистического характера, происходили ещё в 70-е годы в таком важнейшем для Италии средстве массовой информации, как телевидение. Из «преподавателя академического итальянского языка» телеканалы (объединённые под именем RAI – Radio Audizioni Italiane, *Итальянская радиопередача,* в дальнейшем Radiotelevisione Italiana, *Итальянское радио и телевидение*) превратились в зеркало языкового разнообразия общества. Постепенно телевизионные площадки стали основной ареной, на которой происходило виртуальное общение политиков с избирателями. Большую популярность приобрели ток-шоу. Именно по телевидению 26 января 1994 года о своём решении *вступить в игру* (scendo in campo) объявил один из самых ярких деятелей эпохи – предприниматель С. Берлускони (1936–2023), впоследствии напористо выигравший парламентские выборы и несколько раз с перерывами с 1994 по 2012 год возглавлявший правительство страны. А позднее, 8 мая 2001 года, также в эфире многолетней популярной телевизионной передачи известного писателя и журналиста Б. Веспа «От двери к двери» (Porta a porta) Берлускони представил ставший абсолютным новшеством *контракт с итальянцами* (contratto con gli italiani). Прилюдное подписание документа, содержавшего конкретные политические цели, безусловно, внесло свой вклад в победу блока политика на парламентских выборах.

На рубеже веков одновременно с переменами в общественной жизни итальянская политическая лексика претерпевает новые изменения. Так, наряду со спутником мнимых или реальных перемен словом *новый* (nuovo) приобрели популярность *народ* (gente) и *творения* (cosa) в самом широком смысле. При этом *народ* понимается в традиционном западноевропейском противопоставлении *дворцам* (palazzi), которые выступают как синоним коррупции, непотизма, бюрократии, неэффективного управления, нерешительности, то есть источника и причины всех трудностей страны.

В самом начале «Второй республики» наблюдается активное употребление представителями практически всех политических партий выражений типа *чего хочет народ* (cosa vuole la gente) и *возникающие у народа запросы* (le domande della gente). Из этого родился неологизм *народный язык* (gentese) в противовес языку *политиканскому*. Берлускони первым из премьер-министров страны отказался от *политиканского* набора выражений в пользу *народного*, чтобы говорить с населением ясно и просто.

Особое место в политической лексике того периода заняло слово *творение* (cosa), что можно увязать с необходимостью переформатирования всей итальянской партийной системы после завершения операции «Чистые руки». В частности, *творением* комментаторы назвали политическую структуру, с трудом появившуюся на развалинах итальянской компартии. Как полагает М. А. Кортелаццо, использование столь обобщённого термина, хотя и не лишённого родства с культурой, было оправданно в связи с неопределённостью самого партийного проекта [6, с. 81–82]. В 90-е годы прошлого века это слово получило широкое распространение в связи с проходившим процессом трансформации различных партий. В результате появились *зелёное творение* (cosa verde) – движение в защиту окружающей среды, *розовое творение* (cosa rosa) – проект социалистической партии, *белое творение* (cosa bianca) – христианские демократы, *серое творение* (cosa grigia) – рождение Национального альянса из останков неофашистского Итальянского социального движения.

Значительную роль в становлении политического языка в качестве вторичного инструмента воздействия, наряду с выступлениями и статьями политиков, сыграла журналистика. В этом контексте газета «Коррьере делла Сера» особо выделяет своего давнего обозревателя, видного итальянского политолога и публициста Дж. Сартори (1924–2017), автора ряда ставших общеупотребительными неологизмов. В частности, ему принадлежат названия появившихся после событий начала 90-х годов прошлого века избирательных законов *Маттареллум* (Mattarellum) и *Порчеллум* (Porcellum), в которых явно прослеживаются латинские падежные окончания [10]. Так, в 1993 году Сартори впервые ввёл неологизм *Маттареллум* как производное от имени автора закона С. Маттареллы (1941), с 2015 года занимающего пост президента страны. Сам публицист был убеждённым сторонником мажоритарной системы выборов в два тура. Видимо, поэтому закон Маттареллы, дополнявший итальянскую мажоритарную систему изрядной долей избранных по пропорциональной системе, он посчитал губительным для страны, что и отразилось в названии *Маттареллум* (для сравнения – известное название боевого пистолета *парабеллум*).

Похожим образом в 2006 году Сартори выразил своё отношение к ещё одному закону, избирательному, принятому годом ранее, окрестив его *Порчеллум* (Porcellum – свинский), поскольку и сам его автор, скандально известный Р. Кальдероли, представитель «Лиги Севера», член правительства при Берлускони, называл своё детище *свинством* (porcata) [там же]. Название прижилось, очевидно, поскольку закон вызвал значительные разногласия в итальянском обществе. Впервые после 1953 года он возвращал в национальную избирательную практику «премии большинства». Данная мера была призвана избежать ситуации, при которой левые и правые партии набирают примерно равное число голосов, что не позволяет сформировать устойчивое правительство. Однако такой шаг не смог спасти политическую арену от новых скандалов, и в 2014 году Конституционный суд Италии признал *Порчеллум* не соответствующим основному закону страны.

Изобретённая Сартори схема прочно вошла в практику, и другие законы и их проекты получили свои специфические названия: Tatarellum, Rosatellum, Italicum. Так, в 2015 году был принят новый избирательный закон с громким названием в стиле уже прошлых эпох – *Италикум* (Italicum). Такое наименование должно было символизировать стремление молодого руководства страны в лице председателя правительства М. Ренци к обновлению и стремительному развитию. Условием для получения «премии большинства» стал порог в 40% для победившей коалиции. Однако в феврале 2017 года Конституционный суд признал этот закон также лишь частично соответствующим Конституции [4, с. 98].

Действующий до настоящего времени новый итальянский избирательный закон был принят в ноябре 2017 года. Он полностью отменил «премию большинства» и получил название *Розателлум* (Rosatellum), или *Розателлум-бис* (Rosatellum bis, поскольку был дважды представлен в парламент на утверждение), по фамилии автора Э. Розато (род. в 1968 году), члена правившей тогда Демократической партии (ДП). С компромиссным текстом согласились основные оппозиционные партии за исключением «Движения пяти звёзд» [там же].

Внутриполитическая жизнь современной Италии также богата на события. Появляются новые правительственные коалиции, переформатируется оппозиция. В спорах между ними рождается не только истина, но и тесно связанная с особенностями развития страны новая политическая лексика, которая может стать предметом последующих исследований.

История возникновения политической лексики итальянского языка отчётливо демонстрирует происходившую в течение всего рассматриваемого периода активную дискурсивную политическую борьбу, в которой различные политические силы боролись за концептуальное влияние на массовую аудиторию. Важнейшим инструментом на поле битвы становилась политическая риторика партий и их лидеров. В этой риторике ключевую концептуальную роль играли не только запоминающиеся лозунги, но также и несущие символическую нагрузку яркие слова-лексемы. При помощи этих лексем концептуальное влияние политика на массовую аудиторию терминологизировалось. Наиболее выразительные лексические элементы, имеющие экспрессивную и оценочную нагрузку, затем входили в массовый речевой обиход. Таким образом, история итальянского политического дискурса демонстрирует схему формирования концептуально-терминологических парадигм в национальной публичной политической риторике.

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TYPES AND FUNCTIONS OF PRECEDENT NAMES IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CINEMATIC DISCOURSE

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Abstract. The subject of this study is precedent names in the English-language cinematic discourse. The focus is placed on determining the functional potential of precedent names in this type of discourse. In this work, precedent names are considered as a kind of precedent phenomena: names of personalities, events and works of fiction. The study of precedent names has significance within the framework of cultural linguistics, cognitive science and intertextuality theory, as precedent names contain information about important cultural and historical phenomena, give insights into the mechanism of metaphorization, and serve to create intertextual connections. The frequency of their use in different types of discourse, especially in cinematic discourse, is steadily increasing, which explains the relevance of research in this field. Using the methods of discourse analysis, functional-semantic analysis, inductive analysis and continuous sampling, we examine the types of precedent names, source spheres and the functions that these lexical units perform in cinematic discourse. Such analysis makes it possible to establish the cultural significance of personalities, events, and other phenomena, as well as their reflection in such a mass art form as cinematography. Due to its mass appeal and depiction of various social groups, cinematic discourse is of particular interest within the framework of sociolinguistics in regard to such culturally significant units as precedent names. The analysis of the functions of precedent names allows one to establish their role in cinematic discourse, their artistic value, semantic potential and cultural significance. The analysis revealed which types of precedent names are most frequently used in the English-language cinematic discourse (anthroponyms and names of works of art); identified productive sources of precedent names (the sphere of art and the social sphere); and introduced a list of characteristic functions that precedent names perform in cinematic discourse (among which ludic and evaluative functions are especially prominent).

Keywords: precedent phenomena, precedent names, cinematic discourse, cultural linguistics, functions of precedent names, English-language films, onomastics

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ВИДЫ И ФУНКЦИИ ПРЕЦЕДЕНТНЫХ ИМЁН В АНГЛОЯЗЫЧНОМ КИНОДИСКУРСЕ

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Аннотация. Предметом данного исследования являются прецедентные имена в англоязычном кинодискурсе. Основное внимание направлено на определение функционального потенциала прецедентных имён в данном типе дискурса. Прецедентные имена рассматриваются в работе как разновидность прецедентных феноменов: это имена личностей, наименования событий, художественных произведений. Изучение прецедентных имён имеет значение как в рамках лингвокультурологии, так и в рамках когнитивистики и теории интертекстуальности, поскольку прецедентные имена содержат в себе информацию о значимых культурных и исторических явлениях, позволяют проникнуть в механизм метафоризации и служат одним из инструментов создания интертекстуальных связей. Частотность их использования в разных видах дискурса, особенно в кинодискурсе, неуклонно растёт, что объясняет актуальность исследования. С применением методов дискурс-анализа, функционально-семантического анализа, индуктивного анализа и сплошной выборки рассматриваются виды прецедентных имён, сферы-источники и функции, которые выполняют данные единицы в кинодискурсе. Такой анализ позволяет установить культурную значимость личностей, событий, культурных и исторических явлений и их отражение в таком массовом виде искусства, как кинематограф. Благодаря массовости и изображению различных социальных групп, кинодискурс представляет особый интерес в рамках социолингвистики для изучения таких культурно значимых единиц, как прецедентные имена, расширяя представление об основных социальных тенденциях и о том, как они закрепляются в языке и преобразуются в речи. Анализ функций прецедентных имён позволяет установить их роль в кинодискурсе, их художественную ценность, семантический потенциал и культурную значимость. В ходе анализа было установлено, какие виды прецедентных имён используются в англо-американском кинодискурсе наиболее часто: антропонимы и наименования произведений искусства; были выделены продуктивные сферы-источники прецедентных имён: сфера искусства и социальная сфера, а также определён перечень основных и характерных функций, которые прецедентных имена реализуют в кинодискурсе. Исследование позволило сделать вывод о значимости людической и оценочной функций, благодаря которым прецедентные имена становятся эффективным инструментом речевого воздействия.

Ключевые слова: прецедентные феномены, прецедентные имена, кинодискурс, лингвокультурология, функции прецедентных имён, англоязычные кинофильмы, ономастика

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Introduction

Cinematic discourse, as one of the types of artistic discourse, is a complex multifaceted phenomenon. Cinematic discourse is of interest as a subject of study in linguistics, semiotics, and cultural linguistics. Such properties as generality (films, as a rule, are aimed at a wide audience) and creolized nature (combination of verbal and non-verbal sign systems) determine the significance of the cinematic discourse influence in the process of transmitting national values, culture and historical knowledge, and prove that cinematic discourse represents rich material for research. The subject of our attention is precedent phenomena, namely precedent names, which are widely represented in the English-language cinematic discourse and contain information which is culturally significant for the national linguistic and cultural community.

As noted by researchers, precedent phenomena are a part of the process of conceptualization and categorization of the world, building a metaphorical model of reality [10], [14]. The precedent phenomena reflect the importance of values, phenomena of history and culture, attitudes, and their fixation in the national linguistic and cultural community's collective consciousness. The peculiarities of interaction between national mentality, culture and language are manifested through precedent phenomena and the way they function in speech. Moreover, precedent phenomena can reflect social tendencies, conveying them through language. Being mental facts, precedent phenomena contain significant information about the structure of the cognitive base of the national linguistic and cultural community, so their analysis is an important part of the study of foreign culture and an element of successful intercultural communication.

The analysis of the functioning of precedent phenomena in cinematic discourse is of particular interest due to such features as its creolized nature and generality. It should be noted that in the works of researchers cinematic discourse is usually a source sphere within the study of precedent cinematic texts (Viktoria Shalabodova, Eduard Budaev, Nina Basko, Nadezhda Globa, Mikhail Kosarev), and it is much more rarely considered as a target sphere. This determines the relevance of this paper.

The aim of this study is to analyze the functioning of precedent names in the English-language cinematic discourse. In the course of our work, the following tasks have been solved: distinguishing precedent names in the modern English-language cinematic discourse; determining the main types of precedent names; establishing the most productive source spheres of precedent names; and analyzing their functions.

Films and TV series from 2003–2023 serve as the material for this study, particularly the ones that have received prestigious nominations and awards (The Academy Awards, Golden Globe Award, and Emmy Award) and have got a high score from the audience (based on the sites IMDb, Metacritic and Rotten Tomatoes). For example, *The Office, Ted Lasso, Succession, Everything, Everywhere, All at Once, Tár,* and others. The awards and nominations, as well as high audience appreciation, show that these films and series are culturally relevant and popular, i.e. valued by a wide audience.

This study has been carried out using the following methods: continuous sampling, contextual analysis, discourse analysis, functional-semantic analysis and the inductive method.

Theoretical and methodological basis

The works of Yuri Karaulov, Viktoria Krasnykh, Dmitry Gudkov, Elena Nakhimova, Yuri Lotman, Yuri Tsivian, and Gennady Slyshkin are the theoretical basis for this study [3], [4], [2], [7], [6], [12], [9]. The definition of cinematic discourse proposed by Anna Zaretskaya is taken as the principal one: cinema discourse is "a creolized formation, which possesses the properties of integrity, coherence, informative, communicative and pragmatic orientation, and media nature, and is created by a collectively differentiated author for viewing by the recipient of the message (film viewer)" [15, p. 32]. This definition reflects the main distinctive features of film discourse: the quality of being a creolized text and its media nature. In addition, Zaretskaya distinguishes audiovisuality, intertextuality, prospection and retrospection (temporal referentiality) as the principal features of cinematic discourse.

Iuri Karaulov, Viktoria Krasnykh, Elena Nakhimova and Svetlana Kushneruk single out the following distinctive features of precedent phenomena: the existence of an invariant (a primary source to which the speaker appeals each time a precedent phenomenon is used); quotability (emotional and cognitive significance, wide popularity); repeatability; and non-denotative use as a cultural sign [3], [4], [7], [5].

The focus of this study is on precedent names (hereinafter – PN), which Viktoria Krasnykh defines as "an individual name associated either with a widely known text, usually related to a precedent, or with a precedent situation; it is a kind of a complex sign, the use of which in communication makes an appeal not to the denotation (referent) proper, but to a set of differential attributes of the precedent name..." [4, p. 48]. PNs occupy a special position, as can be seen from Krasnykh's definition, because they correlate with precedent texts (hereinafter – PT) and precedent situations (hereinafter – PS). PSs and PTs can be actualized in speech with the help of PNs, as the PS and the PT belong to verbalizable phenomena; in particular, the text (in the broad sense) is often actualized in speech by its name (title), or by the PN and its related attributes. Krasnykh notes that in such cases the PN functions as a "symbol-name". Dmitry Gudkov also draws attention to this fact: the PN "is in close connection with the precedent text and the precedent situation" [2, p. 87].

Analysing the functioning of PNs in mass communication, Elena Nakhimova identifies the main types of PNs on the basis of the onomastics theory: anthroponyms, toponyms, event names, names of works of art, names of ships, companies, etc.; PNs that refer to events by means of a date are also highlighted [7].

Researchers distinguish many possible source spheres of precedent phenomena. For example, Gennady Slyshkin singles out folklore, literature, politics, advertising, music, humorous folk genres and history [9, p. 72]. Adam Suprun and Olga Semenets also distinguish mythology, science, fine arts, sports, medicine, etc. [11], [8]. Svetlana Kushneruk divides the source spheres into two wide areas: the sphere of arts and the social sphere [5, p. 13]. Such approach seems effective, as it is impossible to distinguish every existing source sphere of precedent phenomena, taking into account the variety of human activity. Thus, it is necessary to present them in the form of illustrative categories. This study of source spheres is based on the classification presented by Elena Nakhimova:

1. The social sphere, which is divided into such spheres as politics, economics, education, entertainment, medicine, war, crime, and sports.
2. The sphere of arts, which includes such areas as literature, theatre and cinema, fine arts, music, architecture, mythology and folklore.
3. The sphere of science, which includes, in particular, the following areas of the humanities and natural sciences: mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, history, geography, and linguistics.
4. The sphere of religion, which includes precedent phenomena that go back to religious texts [7, p. 89–90].

An analysis of the functions that PNs perform in cinematic discourse is important, as such analysis makes it possible to determine the purpose of precedent phenomena, why authors refer to them and what they mean, both within individual texts and within the entirety of cinematic discourse. For a detailed analysis of PN functions, it is necessary to take into account the features of the discourse analysed.

Researchers distinguish different functions of precedent phenomena. In particular, analysing political discourse, they distinguish such functions as the identifying, evaluative, ideological and aesthetic ones [1], [13]. Studying humorous discourse, Gennady Slyshkin singles out the persuasive, ludic and cryptographic functions [9, p. 85–104]. However, no study has been found that would include a list of functions of precedent phenomena specifically in cinematic discourse.

In our opinion, in order to systematize the functions that precedent phenomena perform in cinematic discourse, it is important to take into account several factors. Firstly, the screenplay, which is an integral part of cinematic discourse, is similar to a play in its form, so it can be said that the verbal basis of a film (just as that of a play) is primarily the dialogues between the characters: cinematic discourse tends to "imitate" everyday-life discourse, as a work of cinema usually contains a representation of interactions between people. Secondly, a work of cinema is a work of fiction; thus, we may conclude that cinematic discourse also contains elements of artistic discourse. It is necessary to take these features into account when analysing cinematic discourse, as the functions of precedent phenomena can be considered both as part of the imitation of everyday discourse, represented by a film dialogue between characters, and as part of the overall picture, as elements of the structure of a cinematographic work.

Thus, based on the works of the researchers (primarily, Vera Latysheva, Yulia Gunko, Elena Nakhimova and Gennady Slyshkin), as well as on the results of our research, we identify the following functions of PNs in cinematic discourse:

1. The pragmatic function. PNs are used to exert influence over the recipient, to influence his or her opinion. One of the varieties of this function is the persuasive function, when a PN serves as a way of appealing to an authority, some kind of a model, used to convince the interlocutor.
2. The evaluative function. PNs are used to express evaluation: the characters' attitude to each other, the characters' attitude to the situation, the author's attitude to the characters, etc. It can also be noted that PNs are of evaluative nature and emotionally coloured, because emotional colouring and connotation are among the main features of precedent phenomena as such, but the interest in this case lies in their use in discourse: for example, in the speech of characters. It is important to determine the kind of evaluation, the situations, in which it occurs, and with the help of which PNs it is expressed.
3. The aesthetic function. PNs serve as a way to create an image, to enhance artistic expressiveness, as a way of aesthetic evaluation of the world.
4. The cryptographic function. With the help of PNs, it is possible to draw a boundary between "familiar people" ("our people") and "strangers". Belonging to the first group is manifested in the recipient's ability to understand the reference to a PN and in their ability to adequately use references to PNs in the speech. PNs are used to detect commonality between participants in the course of communication.
5. The ludic function. This function is related to the phenomenon of language play as well as humour. PNs are used to create a comic effect, as an element of language play, and as a way to involve people in conversation and/or make them laugh. It may be achieved by violating the form of PNs, which leads to the formation of puns and paronomasia.
6. The euphemistic function. PN functions as a euphemism, a way to subtly convey a vulgar and/or aggressive meaning.
7. The image function. PNs serve as a way of creating a character's image. With the help of PNs, it is possible to create a speech portrait of a character, to denote their sphere of interests, level of education, familiarity with culture, etc. A subvariety of this function is the function of self-presentation, when the speaker represents himself by appealing to a PN.
8. The structural function. PNs denote the compositionally significant moments of a film: they act as a title, focus the audience's attention on the climax, indicate the denouement, etc.
9. The chronotopic function. PNs act in cinematic discourse as markers of temporal reference and designate where the action of the film takes place.
10. The prognostic function. When PNs are part of the title of a film (filmonym) or of an episode in a serial, they allow the audience to surmise the main theme, protagonists, tone, genre, and even the main plot of a cinematic work.

It is also important to note that, in discourse, these functions are implemented in a complex way, and a PN usually performs several functions at once, but there is often one leading function.

Results of the study

Types of precedent names. The conducted research has detected the use of the following types of precedent names in cinematic discourse: anthoponyms, names of works of fiction, toponyms, numerals, and ship names.

1. Anthroponyms occur more frequently than other types of onyms in cinematic discourse. For example: "*You have any idea the people who have walked on these boards before you? **Geraldine Page. Helen Hayes. Jason Robards. Marlon Brando.** And now Riggan Thomson*" *(Birdman or The Unexpected Virtue of Ignorance,* 2014*)*. The character lists famous actors who have played on the Broadway stage to accentuate the importance of an event in the life of another character, whose name he adds at the end.

In some cases, not just a name but an adjective derived from it is used. This is usually the case with PNs that have partially become common nouns. For example, the narrator says that it is impossible to know what was going on in the minds of the main characters: *"We can't just snap into a* ***Shakespearian*** *Soliloquy that dramatises every feeling and emotion. That's just not the way the world works"* (*Vice*, 2018). The characters then utter lines that are a stylised allusion to Shakespeare's chronicles: *"My sweet Richard. Dance'd nimbly round the King's heart thou hast. Even while clamoured I for more, more! Parched maw craned towards the drip, drip of imaginary waters. But I say to you now, rest, retire. Thou hast honoured thy vows to wife and crown"*. Here, an appeal to Shakespeare's chronicles is made by a variety of means: archaic verb forms (*hath, hast*) and pronouns (*thou, thy*) are used; the character calls her husband Richard despite the fact that everyone is used to calling him Dick, which in this case refers to Richard III. Moreover, iambic pentameter, in which *Shakespeare's* chronicles are written, is used. However, the central adjective is Shakespearean and the appeal is primarily to the PN, behind which there are several PTs. In this case, the name symbolizes the writer's entire oeuvre with a focus on his historical chronicles, as the film deals with the themes of power, the desire for power and political intrigue.

In *The White Lotus* series (2021 – present): *"I come from a long line of cancerous, disease-prone men. It's just very disturbing for it to be in my balls and for them to get so big like this. It's very* ***Gogol****"*. In this case, the precedent name Gogol is also used as an adjective, referring not just to the writer himself, but to grotesque situations from his works; we can even assume that the character is referring to the novel *The Nose,* in which a ridiculous and startling body transformation also occurs. However, the appeal is not to a PT or a PS, but to the PN of the writer.

2. The names of works of fiction – literary, cinematographic and musical – are also common. For example, the protagonist of the *Ted Lasso* series (2020–2023), while at a psychotherapy session, comments: *"It's like we're on an episode of* ***The Sopranos****, without all the gratuitous violence, which is a good thing. But a lot less spaghetti and clams too, which is a bad thing"*. In doing so, he draws the comparison with the attributes of the PT, *The Sopranos* series, but the central part is the PN, which is used to appeal to the PT, and in particular to the psychotherapy scenes from the series.

In the *Succession* series (2018–2023), one character refers to another who has recently got a position in a prestigious company: ***"Talented Mr. Greg".*** Using a transformed PN (the filmonym *The Talented Mr. Ripley*), the speaker alludes to the film character, thus calling the new employee a fraud and an impostor, which the main character of the film *The Talented Mr. Ripley* also was. In this case, too, a PN of a character is used, and not just a PN, but a precedent name-filmonym, because such use adds an ironic tone (the speaker calls the employee *talented*, but does not consider him to be really capable of anything).

3. Noteworthy are the cases where toponyms are used as PNs, in particular the names of countries and cities, as well as the cases where the name of a company is used. For instance, in *Succession* one of the characters describes his father as "*a human* ***Saudi Arabia***", thus saying that he is influential and can act independently. In another scene of the same series, a character's father says "*Four more years – we're* ***Procter and Gamble*** *of the news*", using in this case the PN of the company to say that he is going to make his company, a media conglomerate, as big as the one he refers to.

4. The *Succession* series also contains the designation of a PS with the help of a date (a numeral): e.g. a character says that the atmosphere around her feels "*very* ***1933***", referring to the year Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, which is a way of saying that she foresees something terrible.

5. There are also PNs of ship names, but this is not a common PN: the Titanic and the Mayflower are used the most: *"It doesn't matter who you are, it doesn't matter where you're from! Whether your family came over on* ***the Mayflower*** *or on a f-cking inner tube from* ***Haiti****!"* In this case, using the PN the Mayflower and the name of the island Haiti, the protagonist of *The Wolf of Wall Street* (2013) speaks of the origins and ancestry of his employees, stating that his brokerage house is a place for everybody, regardless of origin, whether the employee is a descendant of the Europeans who came to America or has come from one of the poorest countries in the world. The PN *the Titanic* is found in the following example from the Hannibal series (2013–2015): *"...a cocktail created by Escoffier. Served to first-class guests on* ***the Titanic*** *during their last dinner"*. In this case the appeal to the *Titanic* and the fate of its passengers is used to make

the audience draw an association between the fate of the characters (to whom Hannibal refers with this phrase) and the passengers of the *Titanic*: in the general context, knowing that the protagonist is a murderer, the audience expects the guests to die.

Source spheres. In the course of this study, the following source spheres have been identified: the social sphere (with subdivision into politics and history), the arts (with cinema and music as the most common ones), science and religion. In the films examined, the most productive source spheres are the sphere of art and the social sphere.

1. A prominent example of the use of PNs from the social sphere is *Succession*, which deals with business and politics, so the characters in the series use many PNs from such source spheres as politics, economy and war: *"LOGAN: Why shouldn't we do all the news? / ROMAN: Well, **Kim Jong-pop,** because that's not how the things work in this country"*. In this example, the character hints to his father that he is trying to become a media dictator if he wants to control the news on many channels. In another scene, while destroying documents that could bring the company into trouble with the law, the character utters: *"It feels like a **Watergate** sort of scenario and I never studied that specifically but I feel like..."*, referring to the Watergate scandal. In the scene when one of the characters learns that part of the board of directors is going to propose a vote of no confidence against the CEO, he utters the phrase: "*Troops are taking **Saddam's** Palace*", using the PN *Saddam Hussein* and thus comparing the CEO to Saddam Hussein and referring to the military conflict in Iraq.

2. The field of art is the most productive one: the names of works of art, characters, writers, musicians, actors, etc. are often used in cinematic discourse. For example, the protagonist of the *Ted Lasso* series often uses PNs of musicians and directors for comparisons: *"Ice cream is the best. It's kinda like seeing **Billy Joel** perform live. Never disappoints"; "You beating yourself up is like **Woody Allen** playing the clarinet. I don't want to hear it"; "I hope y'all drank a lot of water today 'cause y'all are gonna be so dehydrated, that you're gonna look like one of them trees from a, from a **Tim Burton** movie"*. There are also references to PNs from folklore, and particularly to the Cinderella story: the story of the football team from the series is compared to *"the **Cinderella** story"* several times.

In *Ford vs. Ferrari* (2019), a character shows images of Sophia Loren, Monica Vitti, Steve McQueen and a scene from a *James Bond* film to prove the prestige of racing and the marketing potential of the participation in racing for the Ford company. In this case, PNs from cinema symbolize prestige and a rich life. The verbal use of PNs is amplified with the use of images.

The creolized nature of cinematic discourse allows to refer to PNs in various ways, not only through verbal and visual means: for example, references to PNs from the source sphere of music are often made not only by mentioning the music piece itself, but also by including the composition in the film's soundtrack. For example, in Tár (2022), the main character mentions a moment from the ballet *The Rite of Spring* by Igor Stravinsky discussing the nature of murder, and the piece from the ballet is used in the film. The filmonym ***Glass Onion:*** *A Knives Out Mystery* contains the PN of the musical composition "Glass Onion", which has partly become an idiomatic expression, denoting something obvious that is presented as a mystery or seems mysterious. The song is also played during the closing credits of the film.

3. The sphere of science is not as productive as the sphere of art, but notable examples of the use of PNs from physics and chemistry can be found in *The Big Bang Theory* series (2007–2019). For example, a character apologizes to his neighbour in this form: *"Penny, just as **Oppenheimer** came to regret his contributions to the first atomic bomb... so too I regret my participation in what was... at the very least, an error in judgment"*, referring to the creator of the atomic bomb. Further, he makes another reference to the discoverer of radium: *"Some mistakes, such as **Madame Curie's** discovery of radium, turned out to have great scientific potential even though she would later die a slow, painful death from radiation poisoning"*.

There are several examples of PNs from the sphere of history: in *The Office* (2005–2013), a character compares his colleagues to the Founding Fathers and merges character names with historical figures: *"If the people here were our **Founding Fathers, the Revolutionary War** would have been delayed 10 years because **Stanley Washington** was napping. And **Phyllis Hancock** was still signing **the Declaration,** and*

***Kevin Jefferson** was distracted by a butterfly*". In this case, PNs of historical figures and the name of the historical event are used. In Succession, in the scene where the characters are trying to change the head of the company by a vote of the board of directors, one of them compares it to the *"storming of **the Bastille**"*.

4. The central religious text of Western culture is the Bible, so most PNs of the source sphere of religion are primarily associated with the PT of the Bible. PNs can be used to reinforce the serious tone of a scene. For example, a character of the *Hannibal* series uses PNs to emphasise the importance of his words: *"**Sermon-on-the-Mount** important. **Ten-Commandments** important"*. However, PNs from the Bible can also be used to create a comic effect: *"When **Mary** was denied a room at the inn, **Jesus** was born. When Michael was denied a room at the inn, we don't know what happens because that story hasn't been told yet"*. In this case, a character of *The Office* uses the PNs *Mary* and *Jesus*, referring to the PS of the birth of Jesus Christ, and compares it with an everyday situation. It is also worth noting that films with the filmonym *Babylon* have been nominated twice for The Academy Awards: in 2007 and in 2023.

As it can be seen, the source spheres depend on the subject matter of the film, but it can be argued that the art sphere and the social sphere are the most productive ones.

Functions. Based on the material analysed, the pragmatic, evaluative, aesthetic, cryptographic, ludic, euphemistic, image, structural, chronotopic, and prognostic functions of PNs have been singled out. The most frequent functions in the films examined are the ludic and the evaluative ones. The following examples illustrate these functions of PNs.

1. The pragmatic function. An example of this function is a situation when a character wants to convince another character of his point of view, and so uses a PN as an appeal to an authority: in *Tár*, the main character complains about her writer's block, while her interlocutor refers to Mozart and Beethoven and their works: *"ANDRIS: It's all pastiche. We all have the same musical grammar. Just look at **Beethoven Five.** The third movement's theme has the same sequence of intervals as the opening theme of the final movement of **Mozart forty.** <...> If you examine the sketchbooks he used, twenty-nine bars of **Mozart's** finale appear, copied out by **Beethoven**"*. He argues that even the great composers borrowed what other great composers had already created, so you cannot make anything unique without using something old.

2. The evaluative function. Often, characters use PNs to evaluate other characters: *"But then there's this new guy. Very cool, very **Will Smith-esque...**" (The Office).* The character of the series utters this phrase to express his admiration for the new boss, while using a nonce word *Will Smith-esque,* which emphasises his attitude.

*"He is good, he is my little **R-2** unit" (Succession).* In this case, the character utters this phrase after changing his mind about his employee, believing that he will be as useful as the robotic helper R2-D2 from the *Star Wars* movie saga.

*"**Baby Jane** over there..." (The White Lotus).* By comparing a woman to a character from the film *What Ever Happened to Baby Jane?,* the speaker expresses a contemptuous assessment, as the heroine he is comparing to Baby Jane seems to him just as ridiculous, inadequate and creepy.

*"Did you see how fast she moved? ... Like a little female Jewish **Jesse Owens**"* (*Jojo Rabbit,* 2019). In this case, the phrase is uttered by Hitler, which adds to the irony, since the African-American athlete Jesse Owens won the 1938 Olympics in front of Hitler. Thus, on the one hand, the character's agility is humorously appreciated, but on the other hand, given the context and the speaker's personality, the viewer understands that this evaluation is based on contempt for both the character and the athlete.

3. The aesthetic function. In the film *Everything, Everywhere, All at Once* (2022), the heroine travels through different parallel universes. The creators use several PNs to represent these parallel worlds. For example, they use the transformed title of the cartoon *Ratatouille – "Raccacoonie",* which is based on a pun: the heroine confused which animal is involved in the cartoon (a raccoon instead of a rat). As the story progresses, it turns out that there is a universe where the plot of the original cartoon is reproduced, but a raccoon is involved. The name of the leading actress itself is a precedent one, because in one of the parallel universes, the heroine is an actress, and to illustrate her life path the film uses footage from her real life and scenes from the movies with Michelle Yeoh. In this way, with the help of PNs, the creators construct fantasy worlds that contain familiar elements.

In the animated series *BoJack Horseman* (2014–2020), PNs are used to create a world of anthropomorphic characters: many PNs are transformed and contain puns related to the animal theme, e.g. *"Twin Beaks"* instead of *Twin Peaks, "Emu Thurman"* instead of Uma Thurman (and her ex-husband Ethan Hawke, whose name was not changed as it sounds similar to hawk), *"A Bleatcar Named Desire"* instead of *A Streetcar Named Desire.*

4. The cryptographic function. In cinematic discourse, it is performed as an appeal to the past works of directors, screenwriters, and actors included in new works. If viewers manage to decipher the appeal to such PNs, they feel a sense of belonging to a group (in this case, fans of the director, actor, etc.). For example, *Succession* contains references to the sitcom *Peep Show:* these series share the same author, Jesse Armstrong. One of the secondary characters in both shows is named *Stefan Strauss.* This name is a precedent for a narrow audience, which is closely familiar with these shows.

5. The ludic function. This function is carried out in various ways.

(a) A combination of puns and PNs, and puns based on PNs: *"Well, fellas, I am more stumped than **Paul Bunyan's** local forest" (Ted Lasso)*. In this example, the protagonist uses the participle *stumped*, meaning baffled and formed from the root *stump*. Paul Bunyan is a hero of American folklore, a lumberjack, so not only the meaning of the participle, but also the inner form of the word *stumped* is actualized. The other example includes one of the characters, who appears dressed as the David Bowie character *Ziggy Stardust*. Another character says, *"Let me guess... **Piggy Stardust**"*, to which he replies, *"Rashers to rashers, oink to oinky"*, humorously referencing *"Ashes to ashes, dust to dust"*. The transformed PN of Ziggy Stardust is amplified by a visual reference to the character's appearance and a transformed precedent utterance.

(b) Mixing different source spheres of PNs: *"He's like **Mozart** and I'm like **Mozart's** friend. No, I'm like **Butch Cassidy**, and Michael is like **Mozart**. You try and hurt **Mozart**, you're gonna get a bullet in your head, courtesy of **Butch Cassidy**" (The Office).* In this example, the character uses the PN from the source spheres of music *(Mozart)* and crime *(Butch Cassidy)*.

(c) Incorrect use of PNs can also be a way to create comic effect: *"GARY LINAKER: It was moment after moment like this. A real **David** versus **Goliath** match, but where **Goliath** just curb-stomped **David** in the back of the skull like in that **Ed Norton** movie. / THIERRY HENRY: **Moonrise Kingdom?**/ GARY LINAKER: I think that's it, yeah, man. / THIERRY HENRY: Yeah. Well, for me, the match was a real **Cinderella** story. If her glass slipper broke and sliced her Achilles tendon" (Ted Lasso).* In this case, journalists use several PNs at once to describe the success of a football team, not only mixing up the source spheres (the Bible, cinema and folklore), but also using a PN incorrectly. The characters wrongly ascribe an episode from one film *(American History X)* to another film *(Moonrise Kingdom)*. The comic effect is produced by incongruity: the first film is about neo-Nazis, while the second one is about the love of two teenagers, and the only thing uniting them is the PN of Edward Norton.

(d) Incorrect use of the form of a PN: *"COLM: Do you know who we remember for how nice they were in the 17th century? Yet we all remember the music of the time. Everyone, to a man, knows **Mozart's** name. / PADRAIC: Well, I don't, so there goes that theory. <...> I don't give a feck about **Mozart**, or **Borvoven**, or any of them funny name feckers"* (*The Banshees of Inisherin,* 2022). In this case, one of the characters is engrossed in the music, while the other cannot pronounce Beethoven's name correctly, which is used as a way to defuse the tense dialogue. A less obvious detail is that the musician incorrectly refers to Mozart as a 17$^{\text{th}}$ century composer.

(e) Rhyming combinations containing PNs: *"Bingo, **Ringo**!"; "Now don't you fret, **Boba Fett**"; "What's the word, **Larry Bird**"; "Yes sir, **Steve Kerr**",* etc. *(Ted Lasso)*. The main character of the series uses PNs to create a positive playful atmosphere, yet the PNs do not carry any meaning in the context of the dialogues and are only used because of the rhyme.

6. The euphemistic function. PNs performing this function are used to soften a statement: the speaker does not pronounce an insult or obscenity, and the message remains disguised. For example, in the animated series *BoJack Horseman*, the main character's mother describes her son's work with the phrase "*Well, it wasn't **Ibsen**"*, thus saying that he has no such talent as Henrik Ibsen. In the series Mad-

men (2007–2015), a character invites the wife of an acquaintance to an event: *"Ride the horse in, like* ***Lady Godiva****"*. He knows that the woman is an equestrian, but apparently also refers to the fact that, in the legend, Lady Godiva rode a horse with no clothes on.

7. The image function. PNs that a character uses in speech can tell about his hobbies, for example, the protagonist of the *Ted Lasso* series often uses the names of musicals: *West Side Story, Oklahoma, Once*. In other cases, the incorrect use of the PN indicates that the character is uneducated: *"It's like* ***Jaws*** *if everyone in* ***Jaws*** *worked for* ***Jaws****"*. In this case, a character in *Succession* thinks that the shark's name in the movie *Jaws* is Jaws. This function of PNs serves as a tool for portraying characters' interests, education, background, occupation and social status.

8. The structural function. PNs can be a means to build composition and to structure the storyline of a film. In *Breaking Bad* (2008–2013), the episode considered to be the climax of the whole series is called "Ozymandias", referring to Percy Bysshe Shelley's poem about the futility of striving for power. The episode recounts the final stages of the protagonist's ruined life. In this case, the PN reinforces the meaning of the climax.

9. The chronotopic function. PNs recreate the atmosphere and the features of cultural and historical development of a certain period and place (city, country). In the film *Licorice Pizza* (2021), the PN of Jon Peters is used, while other PNs are slightly transformed ("*Lucille Doolittle*" instead of Lucille Ball and "*Jack Holden*" instead of William Holden). These personalities are associated with the period of the 1970s and with Los Angeles; by using them in the film, the author recreates the cultural atmosphere of that time.

10. The prognostic function. This function is particularly evident in filmonyms and episode titles: for instance, the episodes of the cartoon series *Rick and Morty* (2013 – present) are transformed PNs: "Lawnmower Dog" (instead of *The Lawnmower Man*), "Total Rickall" (instead of *Total Recall*), "Rick Potion #9" (instead of *Love Potion #9*), "The Rickshank Rickdemption" (instead of *The Shawshank Redemption*). Generally, the episode titles give the audience a clue as to what the episode is about: e.g. in "Lawnmower Dog", one of the main characters artificially increases the intelligence of a dog, while *The Lawnmower Man* is about a scientist who artificially increases the intelligence of a mentally challenged man.

However, the prognostic function is not only observed in the filmonyms and episode titles. *The White Lotus* has a detective element, posing the questions "Who is the killer?" and "Who is the victim?" to the viewers. The series contains several clues for the audience to answer the questions in advance. Some of the clues include PNs: one of the characters says to the heroine, *"...after hearing the story of your love life, we decided you were like a tragic heroine in a* ***Puccini*** *opera"*. Giacomo Puccini's operas such as *Madama Butterfly* and *Tosca* end up with the death of the female protagonists. Another scene features the following dialogue between the same heroine and a hotel manager: *"TANYA: I'm* ***Monica Vitti****. / VALENTINA:* ***Monica Vitti's*** *dead, but yes"*. It is noteworthy that the characters appeal to the PN of Monica Vitti, but in the first case the character focuses on the actress's distinctive features such as her appearance and Italian origins (the second season of *The White Lotus* takes place in Italy), while in the second case the hotel manager's use of PN emphasises the fact that Monica Vitti is already dead. Thus, with the help of PNs, the protagonist is compared several times to women who have died, which serves as a foreshadowing of her own death.

Conclusions

The following conclusions can be drawn from the study.

1. PNs are often used to appeal to PTs and PSs, and there are also cases of using an author's PN to appeal to the author's entire oeuvre. In some cases, the use of PNs is accompanied by an appeal to the PN's attributes and distinctive characteristics, with the help of audial and visual means, but the PN, most often an anthroponym, is central.

2. The most productive source sphere of PNs is art, in particular cinema and music. Nevertheless, this criterion depends on the specific cinematic work that is analysed, as the themes dealt with in the film are of particular importance.

3. The functions of PNs in cinematic discourse can be studied from different perspectives: the role of PNs in the interactions between the characters of a film, the importance of PNs for the artistic integrity of a film, and the use of PNs as a way to build a connection between the author and the audience. Image and chronotopic functions are of particular interest for sociolinguistic studies, as these help to depict characters from different social groups and to highlight social trends of specific historical periods.

4. PNs that have occurred several times, such as Mozart, Monica Vitti, Babylon, and Marlon Brando, are also worthy of special attention. In addition, we can notice that there are many examples of the use of PNs in TV series such as *Succession, Ted Lasso* and *The Office*. This can be explained not only by the difference in the running time (a series, naturally, is usually longer than a feature film), but also by the desire to get closer to everyday-life discourse (*The Office* belongs to the subgenre of mockumentary, and *Succession* contains elements of documentary-style cinematography). Moreover, genre features and an individual style of a filmmaker play a special role, which could be the subject of a separate study.

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THE STRUCTURE OF CONDITIONAL SENTENCE IN THE NEWSPAPER JOURNALISTIC STYLE OF STANDARD TURKISH

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the use of various means of expressing the functional-semantic field of condition by reference to the Turkish press of the 20th – 21st centuries, which is considered the most "democratic" and flexible style of standard language. The structure of complex sentence in modern Turkish has not been so far in the focus of researchers, which determines the topicality and scientific novelty of this paper. The aim of the study is to determine the basic tendencies in Turkish syntax in the diachronic aspect during the last century, using the methods of comparative and quantitative linguistics. The research results show that in the newspaper journalistic style of the modern Turkish language preference is being given to morphological (forms of conditional mood and, less frequently, conditional modality) and lexical-syntactic (constructions made with verbal forms and auxiliary words) means of expressing condition. It is noted that periphrastic forms of conditional mood and modality are not used in the 21st century. There is a decrease in number of lexical means originating from Arabic and Persian, which can be the result of the evolution of the Turkish mass media language; moreover, writers refuse to use conjunctions due to them being optional in a Turkish conditional sentence. In addition, in the Turkish press of the 21st century, means that express substantival instead of adjectival meaning and do not contain temporality are used with higher frequency. Previous studies carried out on the topic of sentences of concession, reason and comparison in the Turkish press show similar results.

Keywords: Turkish language, conditional sentence, syntax, morphology, morphosyntax, standard language, newspaper journalistic style

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СТРУКТУРА УСЛОВНОГО ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЯ В ГАЗЕТНО-ПУБЛИЦИСТИЧЕСКОМ СТИЛЕ ТУРЕЦКОГО ЛИТЕРАТУРНОГО ЯЗЫКА

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Аннотация. В статье рассматривается использование различных средств выражения функционально-семантического поля условия на примере текстов турецкой прессы XX и XXI веков. Газетно-публицистический стиль, являющийся наиболее «демократичным» и изменчивым из стилей литературного языка, представляется репрезентативным материалом для проведения исследований о современном турецком литературном языке. Структура турецкого предложения в диахроническом аспекте до настоящего времени не становилась объектом внимания исследователей, что обусловливает актуальность и научную новизну данной работы. Целью исследования является определить основные направления изменений в синтаксисе турецкого языка, наблюдающиеся на протяжении последних 100 лет, с применением методов компаративной и квантитативной лингвистики. В качестве объекта исследования выбраны средства выражения условия в турецком газетно-публицистическом тексте второй четверти XX и первой четверти XXI веков. Предметом исследования являются синтаксические, морфосинтаксические и лексические изменения в структуре турецкого условного предложения в диахроническом аспекте. В результате проведённого исследования выявлено, что в газетно-публицистическом стиле современного турецкого литературного языка предпочтение отдаётся морфологическим (формы условного наклонения, с более низкой частотностью – условной модальности), а также лексико-синтаксическим (конструкции, образованные при помощи глагольных форм и служебных слов) средствам выражения условия. Отмечается выход из употребления перифрастических конструкций. Фиксируется также отказ от союзов, использование которых в турецком условном предложении факультативно. Кроме того, в турецкой прессе XXI века с более высокой частотностью используются конструкции, применяющиеся в качестве средства только субстантивации, но не адъективизации действия, и не содержащие темпоральной семы (конструкции с глагольными именами на *-mAsI-* и *-mAk*). Предпринятые нами ранее исследования структуры предложений с причинно-следственной, уступительной и сравнительной семантикой на базе того же материала позволяют прийти к схожим выводам.

Ключевые слова: турецкий язык, условное предложение, синтаксис, морфология, морфосинтаксис, литературный язык, газетно-публицистический стиль

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1. Введение

1.1. История современного турецкого литературного языка тесно связана с проведением крупномасштабной языковой реформы в первые десятилетия существования Турецкой Республики. Формирование нового государства, позиционирующего себя как центр тюркского мира, с одной стороны, и как европейское модернизированное государство, с другой, требовало создания литературного языка, отвечающего целям развития республики, а именно: демократичного, демонстрирующего своё лексическое и грамматическое богатство, свою связь с другими тюркскими языками. Важнейшей вехой на пути к достижению этих целей стала реформа алфавита в 1928 году, вслед за чем в 1932 году было основано Турецкое лингвистическое общество, деятельность которого была сфокусирована главным образом на замещении арабских и персидских заимствований тюркскими лексемами, а также на разработке тюркских словообразовательных моделей. Дальнейшая демократизация турецкого языка, формирование функциональных стилей, прогрессирующее развитие средств массовой информации, рост влияния сети Интернет и социальных медиа, где отдаётся предпочтение лаконичному языку с чёткими формулировками, в конце XX – начале XXI веков стали факторами, обусловливающими изменения в языковой сфере на лексическом, морфосинтаксическом и синтаксическом уровнях [12]. Всё вышесказанное позволяет утверждать, что в современной тюркологии особую актуальность приобретает исследование процессов, протекающих в турецком литературном, то есть сознательно кодифицируемом языке [14, с. 88–102], а также выявление средств его обособления от бытового.

1.2. Необходимо отметить, что различные аспекты турецкого языка, в том числе его литературной формы, подробно освещались в работах российских и зарубежных лингвистов. Синтаксической структуре турецкого языка посвящены труды таких отечественных туркологов, как П. И. Кузнецов [10], [11], Н. А. Баскаков [3], В. Г. Гузев и А. С. Аврутина [7] и др. Между тем, диахронический аспект к изучению синтаксиса турецкого языка до настоящего момента не привлекался. Актуальность и научная новизна предпринятого исследования также обусловливается тем, что на данный момент отсутствуют работы, посвящённые анализу динамики и направлений развития в синтаксисе современных тюркских языков, в отличие от русского и западноевропейских языков.

1.3. Цель настоящего исследования – проследить развитие синтаксиса турецкого литературного языка на примере функционально-семантического поля условия. В качестве объекта исследования выбраны средства выражения условия в турецком газетно-публицистическом тексте второй четверти XX и первой четверти XXI веков. Предметом исследования являются синтаксические, морфосинтаксические и лексические изменения в структуре турецкого условного предложения в диахроническом аспекте.

1.4. Материалом для исследования послужили образцы текстов турецких газет «Акшам» (Akşam /1934/), «Заман» (/1935/), «Джумхурийет» (Cumhuriyet /1936/), «Улус» (/1936/), а также интернет-газет «Миллийет» («Milliyet» /2017–2020/), «Канал Сийясет» («Kanal Siyaset» /2017–2020/), «Сабах» (Sabah /2018–2020/) и «Сон Дакика» («Son Dakika» /2018–2020/). Анализируемые тексты были отобраны с учётом их хронологической принадлежности, смысловой и текстуальной законченности, наличия в свободном доступе, жанровой наполненности: так, к исследованию были привлечены тексты таких публицистических жанров, как заметка, отчёт, статья. Всего было отобрано 160 текстов объёмом 480–650 слов. Из отчётов и заметок были вручную удалены фрагменты прямой речи в целях сохранения авторского текста в аутентичном виде. Поскольку исследование преследует языковые, а не страноведческие цели, имена собственные государственных и политических деятелей опущены.

1.5. Подбор материала обусловлен, прежде всего, большей проницаемостью газетно-публицистического стиля по сравнению с другими функциональными стилями, что обеспечивает отражение синтаксических, морфосинтаксических и лексических изменений в языке, обусловленных его тесным взаимодействием с общественно-политической, экономической и культурной сферами;

меньшей стилистической маркированностью газетного текста по сравнению с художественным, официально-деловым или научным текстом; возрастающим интересом турецкого общества к печатным, а впоследствии – и электронным средствам массовой информации, а также стремлением самих медиа к охвату наиболее широкой читающей аудитории благодаря использованию сети Интернет. Выбор для проведения сопоставительного исследования двух указанных периодов обусловлен тем, что, в отличие от русского и западноевропейских языков, история турецкого литературного языка берёт начало сравнительно недавно – с языковой реформы 1928 года; таким образом, языковая норма как сознательный отбор языковых средств находится на активной стадии формирования. Различия между турецким языком вышеуказанных периодов прослеживаются на всех языковых уровнях.

1.6. При изучении языка турецких медиа наибольший интерес лингвистов привлекает дискурсивный подход. Исследователями турецких СМИ неоднократно указывалось на политическую ориентацию соответствующих медиа, их направленность на определённую целевую аудиторию как на смысловом, так и на дискурсивном уровне. К числу работ отечественных лингвистов, посвящённых особенностям функционирования турецких печатных СМИ с точки зрения социолингвистики и общественно-политического дискурса, относятся многочисленные труды А. В. Штанова [16], [17], [18], исследования О. А. Алексеевой [1], [2], Л. В. Софроновой [15]. Привлечение дискурсивного подхода к исследованию синтаксиса турецких СМИ с точки зрения функциональной семантики, на наш взгляд, является вопросом, изучение которого могло бы стать предметом отдельного изучения, поэтому в рамках предпринятого нами исследования данный подход не привлекался.

2. Морфологические и морфосинтаксические средства выражения условия

2.1. К числу **морфологических средств** выражения условия в турецком предложении относят формы условного наклонения и условной модальности, образующие придаточную часть сложного предложения, называемую условным периодом [8, с. 146], [19, с. 236, 439]. Употребление условного наклонения и условной модальности характерно для турецкого литературного и устного языка.

2.1.1. Настоящее время условного наклонения образуется при помощи присоединения к основе глагола (в положительной, отрицательной формах, а также формах возможности и невозможности) аффикса условия *-sA-*[1] и личных аффиксов II группы; в составе сложного предложения оно передаёт значение реального или предположительного, реже – нереального условия. В анализируемых текстах зафиксировано два случая употребления настоящего времени условного наклонения – по одному примеру на каждый рассматриваемый период (Примеры 1, 2):

(1) *Bazı kafalar vardır* ***anlat-sa-n*** (объяснять-COND-2SG) *anlamaz,* ***söyle-se-n*** (говорить-COND-2SG) *dinlemez...*[2] (KS 2018 [21]) ‘Есть и такие умы: **(если) объяснишь** – не поймут, **(если) скажешь** – не послушают...’

[1] В настоящем исследовании используются обозначения, принятые в российской тюркологической традиции: так, дефис (-) обозначает допустимое присоединение аффикса к основе или аффиксу; слэш (/) – фонетико-графический вариант слова, двойной слэш (//) – парадигматический вариант конструкции; скобки () – гласные [a], [e], [ı], [i], [u], [ü], а также ноль звука. Прописная буква A в аффиксах обозначает соответствующие принципам гармонии гласные [a] и [e], прописная буква I – гласные [ı], [i], [u], [ü], прописная буква D – согласные [d] и [t], прописная буква K – согласные [g] и [k].

[2] Перевод примеров выполнен автором статьи. Орфография и пунктуация источника отредактирована с учётом правил орфографии и пунктуации современного турецкого языка в случаях наличия в текстах устаревших вариантов написания лексем, а также орфографических ошибок.

(2) <...> *bu balıkları muhafaza edecek bir usul* ***bul-un-sa-Ø*** (находить-PASS-COND-3SG) *da fakir halk bundan bol bol tedarik ederek her zaman ucuz fiyatla harcıyabileceği bir gıda maddesi elinde* ***bulundur-abil-se-Ø*** (распоряжаться-COND-3SG)? (C 1936 [20]) ‘А **если найдут/если бы нашли** способ хранения этой рыбы <...>, то нищий народ **сможет/мог бы иметь в** своём **распоряжении** продовольственное сырьё, которое можно добывать в большом количестве и постоянно продавать по низкой цене?..’

2.1.2. С более высокой частотностью отмечается использование формы условного наклонения в настоящем времени в сочетании с частицами *dA, dahi* ‘также’, *bile* ‘даже’ для выражения противительного либо уступительного значения [6, с. 231], употребление которого более характерно для разговорно-бытового языка: так, в текстах XX века зафиксировано два случая (Пример 3), в текстах XXI века – семь случаев (Пример 4):

(3) *Çinakop, lupez, izmarit gibi bazı neviler azçok* ***ucuz ol-sa-lar da*** (дешёвый быть-COND-3PL также) *her nedense miktarca çok değillerdir* (C 1936 [20]). ‘**Хотя** некоторые виды [рыб], такие как луфарь, полосатик, смарида, **являются** относительно **дешёвыми**, по какой-то причине их численность невелика’.

(4) *Kuruluş Osman dizisi haber sayısı olarak 2. sırada* ***yer al-sa-Ø da*** (место брать-COND-3SG также) *okunma sayısıyla Çukur'a fark attı* (SD 2020 [24]). ‘Сериал «Основание: Осман»[3] **хотя и занял** второе место по числу упоминания в новостях, однако по числу просмотров [новостей с его упоминанием] обогнал [сериал] «Яма»’.

Полученные сведения могут свидетельствовать об активизации частотности употребления формы, выражающей противительное или уступительное значение, на современном этапе.

2.1.3. Прошедшее время условного наклонения образуется при помощи присоединения к основе глагола (в положительной, отрицательной формах, а также формах возможности и невозможности) аффикса условия *-sA-*, аффикса прошедшего категорического времени *-(y)dI-* (встречается также раздельное написание *idi-*) и личных аффиксов II группы. В составе сложного предложения данная форма передаёт ирреальное условие, относящееся к прошлому[4] [19, с. 238, 440]; таким образом, следует вести разговор о наличии темпоральной семы. В анализируемых текстах XX века зафиксировано пять случаев употребления прошедшего времени условного наклонения (Пример 5), в текстах XXI века – два случая (Пример 6):

(5) <…> *amme iktidarının (veya korporasyonların) dış ticaret üzerindeki kontrolü, hâdiseler bu kadar güçlüklerle dolu* ***ol-ma-sa-ydı-Ø*** (быть-NEG-COND-PST-3SG) *hiç bir zaman bu derece mutlak olmazdı* (U 1936 [20]). ‘Государственные органы (или корпорации) никогда не получили бы настолько абсолютного контроля над внешней торговлей, **если бы** происходящее **не было** сопряжено с таким количеством трудностей’.

(6) *Eğer Prens Harry ve eşi Meghan'ın şımarıklığına karşı ne yapmak gerektiği halka* ***sor-ul-sa-ydı-Ø*** (спрашивать-PASS-COND-PST-3SG), *bu buluşma ve konuşma hiç gerçekleşmezdi* (S 2020 [22]). ‘**Если бы** у народа **спросили**, как бороться с избалованностью Принца Гарри и его супруги Меган, эта встреча и этот разговор никогда бы не состоялись’.

Таким образом, можно сделать вывод о снижении частотности употребления прошедшего времени условного наклонения в привлекаемых к исследованию текстах.

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[3] При переводе имён собственных автор статьи руководствовался общепринятыми эквивалентами, указанными в соответствующих статьях русскоязычных интернет-ресурсов.

[4] Среди форм, которые могут передавать ирреальное условие в прошлом, Ю. В. Щека также указывает форму, образованную путём присоединения к аффиксу условия аффикса прошедшего субъективного времени *-mIş-*, отмечая, что реальность или нереальность условия следует из контекста [19, с. 440]. В настоящей статье данная форма не рассматривается по причине отсутствия примеров её употребления в анализируемых текстах.

2.1.4. Категория условной модальности (по П. И. Кузнецову – «реально-условное наклонение» [11]) выражается при помощи присоединения аффикса условия *-sA-* (встречается также раздельное написание *ise-*) и личных аффиксов II группы к глаголам в различных временных формах изъявительного наклонения и в долженствовательном наклонении, а также к другим частям речи, функционирующим в качестве предикативного центра придаточного предложения. Данная категория используется для передачи реального (в исключительных случаях – ирреального, на что указывает контекст; Пример 18) условия, иными словами, для представления действия или события, выраженного предикативным центром придаточного предложения, в качестве условия [6, с. 229], [19, с. 441]. При этом временная форма глагола в изъявительном наклонении показывает темпоральное соотношение действия, выраженного данным глаголом, и действия, выраженного сказуемым главного предложения. Таким образом, в случае употребления глагола в форме условной модальности изъявительного наклонения целесообразно говорить о наличии в данной форме темпоральной семы.

В анализируемых текстах XX века зафиксировано 28 случаев использования условной модальности, в текстах XXI века – 14 случаев. При этом во всех указанных случаях с наибольшей частотностью используется условная модальность, образованная от глаголов в форме настоящего-будущего времени *-()rsA-* (22 случая; Примеры 7, 10), значительно реже – от именных предикативных частей придаточного предложения (пять случаев; Пример 8); также зафиксированы единичные случаи образования условной модальности от глаголов в форме настоящего времени *-(I)yorsA-* (Пример 9), прошедшего категорического времени *-DIysA-* (Пример 10), прошедшего субъективного времени *-mIşsA-* (Пример 10), будущего категорического времени *-(y)AcAksA-* (Пример 11), сложной временной формы – определённого имперфекта *(I)yorduysA-* в сочетании с частицей *dA* (Пример 12), предикативов *var* и *yok* (Пример 13), глагольного имени на *-mAk-* (Пример 14):

(7) *Fertleri iktisadî hürriyetine sahip olan memleketlere* ***bak-ıl-ır-sa-Ø*** (смотреть-PASS-AOR-COND-3SG) *oralarda hürriyetin bütün manasıyla carî olduğu görülür* (A 1934 [20]). '**Если посмотреть** на государства, в которых индивиды обладают экономической свободой, можно увидеть, что в них существует свобода в полном смысле этого слова'.

(8) *Eğer ilişkilerde mütekabiliyet ilkesi* ***geçerli ise-Ø*** (действительный AUX-COND-3SG), *Türkiye ajan papaz B.'u hemen tahliye ve iade etmemiş midir?* (S 2020 [22]) '**Если** в отношениях [Турции и США] **действует** (букв. **если... действителен**) принцип взаимности, то разве Турция сразу же не освободила [американского] агента пастора Б. и не вернула его на родину?'

(9) *İşleyişi şu şekildedir; beyaz kod ekibi olay yerine geldiğinde saldırıya uğrayan personel korumaya alınır,* ***gerek-iyor-sa-Ø*** (требоваться-PRS-COND-3SG) *kendisine psikolojik destek başlatılır* (KS 2018 [21]). '[Система] функционирует следующим образом: когда команда Код Белый прибывает на место происшествия, сотрудника, пострадавшего от нападения, берут под защиту, и, **если необходимо**, ему начинают оказывать психологическую помощь'.

(10) *ABD buna ne yanıt verecek? PYD bize söz vermişti, biz bir araştıralım. Ancak o araştırmanın sonuci asla olmayacak... Tabii silah* ***el-e geç-er-se-Ø*** (рука-DAT переходить-AOR-COND-3SG). *Ve de envanterde ABD bunu samimi olarak* ***göster-miş-se-Ø*** (показывать-PRF-COND-3SG). *Zira* ***hangi silah ver-il-di-yse-Ø*** (который оружие давать-PASS-PST-COND-3SG) *yüzde yüzü ABD'nin kendi envanterinde mutlaka vardır ama bunların kaçta kaçını Türkiye'ye verdiği listeye dahil etmiştir acaba?* (M 2018 [23]) 'Что ответит на это США? Мол, ПДС уже давно дали нам слово, давайте мы проведём расследование. Только никакого результата у этого расследования никогда не будет... Конечно же, **если** оружие **будет получено**. Или если США честно **указали** его наличие на вооружении. Ведь **какое бы** оружие **ни было предоставлено**, это оружие на 100% обязательно находится на вооружении США, однако любопытно, какую часть этого оружия они включили в список, который предоставили Турции?'

(11) *Bu inşaat bedelinin 6340 lirası vilayetten 935 bütçesindeki tahsisattan 935 malî yılı sonuna kadar* ***kal-acak-sa-Ø*** (оставаться-FUT-COND-3SG) *geri kalan 14217 lira 4 kuruşu da 936 yılı bütçesindeki tahsisattan 936 Eylül ayı sonuna kadar yapılacağı nisbetinde tediye edilecektir* (U 1936 [20]). 'Средства на это строительство будут/должны быть выделены в следующем соотношении: 6340 лир – от

вилайета, из бюджетных ассигнований 935 г., **если они останутся** на конец 935 финансового года; оставшиеся 14217 лир 4 куруша – из бюджетных ассигнований за 936 г. до конца сентября 936 года'.

(12) *Gerçi İstanbuldan Stokholme, oradan İstanbula gönderilen kâğıdların mevzuunu hep para meselesi* ***teşkil ed-iyor-du-ysa-Ø da*** (образовать-PRS-PST-COND-3SG также) *hakikî maksad, Rusyaya karşı bir anlaşma ve yaklaşma yolu bulmaktı* (C 1936 [20]). '**Хотя** главной темой документов, отправляемых из Стамбула в Стокгольм, а оттуда – обратно в Стамбул, постоянно **являлись** финансовые вопросы, настоящей целью было найти пути взаимопонимания и сближения против России'.

(13) *Almanyada bir Türk* ***var-sa-Ø*** (наличествует-COND-3SG) *Türkiyede elli Alman vardır* (A 1934 [20]). '**Если** в Германии **есть** один турок, то в Турции – пятьдесят немцев'.

(14) *Amaç yönetime para* ***sağla-mak-sa-Ø*** (обеспечивать-INF-COND-3SG), *bunun için çaresiz vatandaşın ezilmesi mi gerekir?* (S 2020 [22]) '**Если** цель – **обеспечить** руководство [Турции] деньгами, неужели для этого необходимо угнетать граждан, находящихся в безвыходном положении?'

Полученные данные могут свидетельствовать о снижении частотности употребления указанного средства в рассматриваемых текстах, что может быть обусловлено стилистикой газетно-публицистического текста на современном этапе.

2.2. Отдельно следует отметить употребление условного наклонения и условной модальности с перифрастическими конструкциями – сложновербальными формами, значения которых «позволяют уточнить характер протекания действия с общим значением начала, окончания или длительности действия, а также передают характерную экспрессию» [19, с. 276]. По утверждению В. Г. Гузева, перифрастические и аналитические конструкции в турецком языке имеют как акционсартные, так и аспектные (видовые) значения [6, с. 145]. Данные конструкции представляют собой сочетание причастных форм *-()r/mAz, -(I)yor, -mIş, -mAktA, -(y)AcAk* с глаголом *ol-* в нужной грамматической форме. Случаи употребления данного глагола внутри перифрастических конструкций в форме условного наклонения или условной модальности можно охарактеризовать как **морфосинтаксические средства** выражения условия.

В анализируемых текстах XX века зафиксировано пять случаев сочетания формы условной модальности настоящего-будущего времени *-()rsA* глагола *ol-* в рамках перифрастической конструкции *-(y)AcAk ol-*, выражающей значение попытки, намерения или запланированности (Пример 15); а также один случай сочетания формы прошедшего времени условного наклонения *-sAydI* глагола *ol-* в рамках перифрастической конструкции *-mIş ol-*, выражающей значение посттерминальности (Пример 16); в анализируемых текстах XXI века – один случай сочетания маргинального употребления условного наклонения *-sA* (с частицей *dA*) глагола *ol-* в рамках перифрастической конструкции *-(I)yor ol-*, выражающей значение интратерминальности (Пример 17). Данная динамика может свидетельствовать о том, что выражение условия при помощи перифрастических конструкций выходит из употребления в публицистическом стиле современного турецкого языка.

(15) *Böyle* ***ol-acak ol-ur-sa-Ø*** (быть-FUT быть-AOR-COND-3SG) *Avrupa sulhunu kurmağa doğru bir adım atılmış olacaktır* (U 1936 [20]). '**Если** так **должно случиться**, уже будет сделан шаг к тому, чтобы Европа обеспечила себе мир'.

(16) *Fransız limanlarında bu makine parçaları hakkında İtalyaya gönderilecektir diye beyanname* ***ver-il-miş ol-sa-ydı-Ø*** (давать-PASS-PRF быть-COND-PST-3SG) *tabii sevki menedilecekti* (C 1936 [20]). '**Если бы** во французских портах **было сделано** заявление насчёт этих запчастей, что они будут отправлены в Италию, конечно же, отправка [запчастей] была бы отменена'.

(17) <...> *alınan tüm önlemler sağlık çalışanlarına yönelik şiddetin önlenmesinde yeterli olmuş mudur sorusuna şu anlık kesin ve tatmin edici bir cevap* ***ver-il-emi-yor ol-sa-Ø da*** (давать-PASS-NEG.POSB-PRS быть-COND-3SG также) *uzun vadede hem bilinç noktasında hem de hukuki yardım noktasında iyileştirmelerde bulunarak bu sorunun aşılması sağlanabilir* (KS 2018 [21]). '**Даже если** на данный момент **невозможно дать** чёткого и полного ответа на вопрос, было ли достаточно всех принятых

мер для предотвращения насилия в отношении сотрудников здравоохранения, в долгосрочной перспективе можно будет улучшить ситуацию как с точки зрения правосознания, так и с точки зрения юридической помощи, и добиться решения данной проблемы'.

2.3. Оценивая ситуацию в целом, можно сделать вывод о том, что из всех вышеперечисленных морфологических и морфосинтаксических средств выражения условия наиболее употребительной в газетно-публицистическом стиле современного турецкого литературного языка остаётся условная модальность, однако по сравнению с текстами XX века частотность её использования снизилась, морфосинтаксические средства также применяются с меньшей частотностью. Наблюдается постепенный отказ от употребления форм прошедшего времени условного наклонения, сочетания форм условного наклонения и модальности с перифрастическими конструкциями, а также увеличение частотности маргинального употребления условного наклонения с уступительным значением.

3. Лексические и лексико-синтаксические средства выражения условия

3.1. Собственно **лексическими средствами** выражения условия в турецком языке являются союзы: *eğer, eğerse, şayet/şayed* 'если, если бы' (первый из указанных союзов является заимствованием из фарси, второй – его производным с добавлением тюркского аффикса условия, третий союз является заимствованием из арабского языка), использующиеся в структуре придаточного предложения условия [9, с. 277]. Следует отметить, что данные лексемы выполняют свою функцию только в сочетании с формами условного наклонения и условной модальности.

3.1.1. В анализируемых текстах XX века зафиксировано по два случая употребления союзов *eğer* (Пример 18) и *şayet/şayed* в сочетании с формами условной модальности (Пример 19), в анализируемых текстах XXI века – по одному случаю употребления союза *eğer* в сочетании с формой условного наклонения (Пример 5) и формой условной модальности; примеров употребления союза *şayet/şayed* в текстах XXI века не зафиксировано, что может указывать на то, что союз приобрёл статус архаизма.

(18) *Zafere gelince, **eğer** böyle bir şey, 'farzımuhal' olarak **tahakkuk ed-er-se-Ø*** (предполагать-AOR-COND-3SG), *ya bunun neticesi ne olabilirdi?* (U 1936 [20]) 'Что касается победы, **если** предположить, что подобное **произойдёт** на самом деле, каков мог бы быть итог этого?'

(19) *B. F., şayet B. H. ihtiyat kayıdlarından ve sükutla geçiştirilen noktalardan arî izahlar vermeğe **hazır ise-Ø*** (готовый AUX-COND-3SG), *sorulan bütün suallere cevab verilmesi gerektiğini söyliyerek nutkunu bitirmiştir* (U 1936 [20]). 'Г-н Ф. закончил свою речь словами о том, что, **если** г-н Х. **готов** дать разъяснения без оговорок и замалчиваемых тем, то необходимо дать ответы на все задаваемые вопросы'.

3.1.2. Полученные данные могут свидетельствовать о том, что использование лексических средств выражения условия факультативно, вследствие чего не демонстрирует статистически значимой динамики.

3.2. К числу **лексико-синтаксических средств** выражения условия относятся конструкции, представляющие собой сочетание финитной или нефинитной глагольной формы с местоимениями, наречиями или служебными именами.

3.2.1. Конструкции, образованные при помощи форм условного наклонения и условной модальности и вопросительных местоимений *kim, ne, hangi, nasıl* и др., а также вопросительных наречий *ne zaman, ne kadar, nerede* и др., семантически эквивалентны русским оборотам 'кто бы ни...', 'сколько бы ни...', 'как бы ни...', 'где бы ни...' и др. Использование данных конструкций более характерно для разговорно-бытового языка. В конструкциях такого рода для усиления действия, выраженного предикативной частью придаточного предложения, может употребляться местоимение *her* 'каждый', при этом главное предложение часто может содержать сказуемое в форме повелительного наклонения.

В анализируемых текстах XX века зафиксировано четыре случая употребления форм условной модальности с вопросительными словами (Пример 20), в анализируемых текстах XXI века – три случая, а также один случай употребления формы условного наклонения с вопросительным местоимением (Пример 21):

(20) *Lâyihaya göre* ***her ne sebeb-le ol-ur-sa-Ø ol-sun*** (каждый что причина-INSTR быть-AOR-COND-3SG быть-IMP3SG) *şimdiye kadar nüfus kütüklerine yazılmamış veya doğum, ölüm, evlenme, boşanma ve kayıb vak'alarını yazdırmamış olanlar hakkındaki cezalar affedilecektir* (C 1936 [20]). 'Согласно записке, штрафы для граждан, которые до настоящего времени **по какой бы то ни было причине** не были вписаны в реестры населения [Турции] или не предоставили сведения о рождении, смерти, заключении или расторжении брака, пропаже без вести, будут аннулированы'.

(21) *Özellikle gençlerde bu zehir o kadar etkisini göstermeye başladı ki* ***kim-e bak-sa-nız*** (кто-DAT смотреть-COND-2PL) *bir moda takıntısı* (KS 2018 [21]). 'Эта отрава оказывает настолько сильное влияние на молодёжь, что, **на кого ни посмотрите** – будто какое-то помешательство на моде'.

3.2.2. Конструкция *-DIğI takdirde/taktirde* структурно представляет собой сочетание определения, выраженного глагольным именем[5] прошедшего и настоящего времени на *-DIğI,* и определяемого, выраженного существительным *takdir/taktir* 'оценка, судьба', заимствованным из арабского языка, в форме местного падежа *-DA*. Данное существительное в составе конструкции утратило своё лексическое значение, вследствие чего исследователи относят его к служебным именам[6]. Конструкция выражает реальное условие, при этом субъект действия в придаточном предложении, в котором данная конструкция является предикативным центром, обозначается существительным или местоимением в основном (именительном) падеже, а также притяжательным аффиксом соответствующего лица и числа в составе глагольного имени [19, с. 432].

В анализируемых текстах XX века зафиксировано 10 случаев употребления конструкции *-DIğI takdirde/taktirde* (Пример 22), в анализируемых текстах XXI века – два случая (Пример 23):

(22) *Açık bir sosyal korku gösteren hasta sağıtmadan* ***çekin-diğ-i takdirde*** (избегать-SAF-POSS3SG в-случае-если) *zorla hastaneye yatırılarak sağıtılacaktır* (Z 1935 [20]). '**Если** пациент, демонстрирующий явную социофобию, **уклоняется** от лечения, его следует насильно госпитализировать и лечить'.

(23) *Yetkili yönetici, hizmetten çekilme talebini uygun* ***bul-duğ-u takdirde*** (находить-SAF-POSS3SG в-случае-если) *hastanın sağlık hizmeti almasına ve tedavisinin devamına yönelik tedbirleri güvenlik tedbirleriyle birlikte alacaktır* (KS 2020 [21]). '**В случае, если** компетентный руководитель **сочтёт** приемлемым требование об отказе от предоставления услуг [врачом или лечебным учреждением], он должен принять меры, обеспечивающие продолжение предоставления медицинских услуг и лечения, одновременно с мерами по обеспечению безопасности'.

Полученные данные могут свидетельствовать о выходе вышеуказанной конструкции из употребления в газетно-публицистическом стиле современного турецкого литературного языка.

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[5] В отношении морфологического статуса глагольных форм на *-DIğI-* и *-AcAğI-* в отечественной лингвистике на данный момент не наблюдается терминологического единства. Так, А. Н. Кононов обозначает данные формы как отглагольные имена [9, с. 241], Ю. В. Щека – как герундии [19, с. 394–395], В. Г. Гузев – как субстантивно-адъективные формы [6, с. 161–166]. В настоящем исследовании мы будем придерживаться обозначения «глагольное имя».

[6] В электронном словаре современного турецкого языка Турецкого лингвистического общества служебное имя *takdirde* указывается как синоним конструкции *-DIğI zaman* 'когда' [26], что вызывает сомнения; некоторые турецкие электронные словари (например, [25]) в статьях, посвящённых данному служебному имени, также указывают данную конструкцию как синоним, но вместе с тем приводят в качестве примеров устойчивые сочетания типа *bu takdirde* 'в этом случае', *aksi takdirde* 'в противном случае', а в качестве английских эквивалентов – условные обороты *as long as, supposedly that.* В данной статье мы придерживаемся позиции отечественных тюркологов, рассматривающих конструкцию с данным служебным именем как средство выражения условия [6, с. 136], [19, с. 432].

3.2.3. Конструкция *-mAsI halinde/durumunda/şartıyla* представляет собой одноаффиксный изафет, в котором определение выражено глагольным именем на *-mA-*, не имеющим темпоральной семы, с присоединением аффиксов принадлежности, а определяемое – существительным *hal* 'положение', заимствованным из арабского языка, его турецким синонимом *durum* 'состояние, положение, ситуация' с аффиксами принадлежности 3-го лица и местного падежа *-DA* или арабским существительным *şart* 'условие' с присоединением аффикса принадлежности 3-го лица и послелога-аффикса *-lA (ile)*. Конструкция выражает реальное условие, при этом субъект действия в придаточном предложении, в котором данная конструкция является предикативным центром, обозначается притяжательным аффиксом соответствующего лица и числа в составе глагольного имени [8, с. 137].

В анализируемых текстах XX века конструкция не зафиксирована, в анализируемых текстах XXI века отмечено 11 случаев её употребления (Примеры 24, 25):

(24) <...> *çekilecek kuradan sonra kesin kayıt hakkı elde eden ebeveynler 0-6 yaş arası çocuklarını **iste-me-leri hal-i-nde*** (хотеть-NMLZ-POSS3PL положение-POSS3SG-LOC) *beraberlerinde hacca götürebilecek, 7-12 yaş arası çocuklarını ise hacca götüremeyeceklerdir* (S 2018 [22]). 'Взрослые, получившие окончательную регистрацию для участия в хадже после жеребьёвки, **при желании** могут взять с собой в хадж своих детей в возрасте от 0 до 6 лет, но не могут взять с собой своих детей от 7 до 12 лет'.

(25) *Başkan Kocaoğlu, bakanlıkların İzmir'in işlerini **yap-ma-sı durum-u-nda*** (делать-NMLZ-POSS3SG ситуация-POSS3SG-LOC) *Başbakan'dan randevu istemesine gerek kalmayacağını da sözlerine ekledi* (SD 2020 [24]). 'Министр Коджаоглу добавил, что, **если** министерства **займутся** делами Измира, необходимости просить встречи с премьер-министром не будет'.

Всё вышесказанное может свидетельствовать о том, что конструкция *-mAsI halinde/durumunda/* şartıyla появилась в языке турецких СМИ позднее 1930-х годов и приобрела высокую частотность использования.

3.2.4. Конструкция *-mAk şartıyla/kay(ı)dıyla* представляет собой одноаффиксный изафет, в котором определение выражено глагольным именем на *-mAk*, а определяемое – существительными *şart, kayıt* 'условие, ограничение', заимствованными из арабского языка, с присоединением аффикса принадлежности 3-го лица и послелога-аффикса *-lA (ile)*. Конструкция выражает реальное условие, при этом, как правило, не имеет собственного субъекта действия [13, с. 13].

В анализируемых текстах зафиксировано четыре случая употребления данной конструкции – по два случая на каждый рассматриваемый период (Примеры 26, 27):

(26) *Bu netice alınınca müzakere kolaylaştı, İsveç hükümeti biraz eşya, biraz da para **ver-il-mek şart-i-le*** (давать-PASS-INF условие-POSS3SG-INSTR) *ve taksitle borcun ödenmesini taahhüd ederek elçiye yeni bir sened verdi* (C 1936 [20]). 'По достижении этого результата стало проще вести переговоры, правительство Швеции передало послу новую расписку, в которой обязывалось, что долг будет выплачен в рассрочку и **при условии** частичного **покрытия** в денежном, частичного – в вещественном эквиваленте'.

(27) *6 Mayıs tarihli, 65 yaş ve üzeri ile kronik rahatsızlığı olan kişilere istisna uygulanması Genelgesi çerçevesinde, 10 Mayıs Pazar günü, 11.00-15.00 saatleri arasında yürüme mesafesiyle **sınırlı ol-mak*** (ограниченный быть-INF), *sosyal mesafe kuralına **riayet et-mek ve maske tak-mak kayd-ı-yla*** (следовать-INF и маска надевать-INF условие-POSS3SG-INSTR) *65 yaş ve üzeri ile kronik rahatsızlığı olan vatandaşları ve ihtiyaç duyulan hallerde bunların refakatçileri de istisna kapsamında olacak* (KS 2020 [21]). 'В рамках Директивы «Исключения для лиц старше 65 лет, а также лиц, страдающих хроническими заболеваниями» от 6 мая, граждане старше 65 лет, а также граждане, страдающие хроническими заболеваниями, а в случае необходимости, их сопровождающие подпадают под исключение [и могут выходить на улицу] в воскресенье 10 мая с 11:00 до 15:00 **при условии, что** их передвижение **будет ограничено** расстоянием пешей прогулки, а также **при соблюдении** социальной дистанции и **ношении** масок'.

4. Выводы

4.1. Употребление различных средств выражения условия в турецком литературном языке отображено в табл. 1.

Газеты	Морфологич.		Морфосинт. (периф. констр.)	Лексико-синтаксические				Лекс. (союзы)
	услов. накл.	услов. модал.		-sA + вопр. слова	-DIğI takdirde/ taktirde	-mAk şartıyla/ kaydıyla	-mAsI halinde/ duru-munda/ şartıyla	
Akşam (1934)	1	7	0	0	2	0	0	1
Zaman (1935)	2	5	1	0	2	0	0	0
Ulus (1936)	2	9	2	0	4	1	0	2
Cumhuriyet (1936)	5	7	3	4	2	1	0	1
Всего:	**10**	**28**	**6**	**4**	**10**	**2**	**0**	**4**
Milliyet (2017-2020)	2	4	0	1	0	0	2	0
Sabah (2017-2020)	1	5	0	0	0	0	5	2
Kanal Siyaset (2018-2020)	5	6	1	2	2	2	3	0
Son Dakika (2018-2020)	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Всего:	**10**	**15**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**2**	**11**	**2**

Таблица 1. Средства выражения условия в турецком литературном языке

4.2. Данные, представленные в табл. 1, свидетельствуют о следующем:

1. С наиболее высокой частотностью употребляются формы условной модальности, при этом отмечается снижение частотности в текстах XXI века.
2. Наблюдается снижение частотности употребления формы прошедшего времени условного наклонения и практически отказ от употребления перифрастических конструкций с формами условного наклонения и условной модальности, а также конструкции *-DIğI takdirde/taktirde.*
3. Конструкция *-mAsI halinde/durumunda/şartıyla* представлена только в текстах XXI века со сравнительно высокой частотностью.
4. Наблюдается увеличение частотности употребления формы условного наклонения с противительной или уступительной семантикой, возникающей за счёт дополнительного использования частиц *dA, dahi, bile.*
5. Употребление союзов, конструкции *-mAk şartıyla/kaydıyla* и конструкций, образованных путём сочетания форм условного наклонения и условной модальности с вопросительными словами, не претерпело значимых изменений.
6. Снижение частотности употребления некоторых конструкций, включающих служебные слова арабского происхождения, можно связать со снижением вследствие общей языковой политики использования последних, а также внутренних эволюционных процессов в современном турецком языке.

4.3. Выявленные в ходе исследования статистически значимые закономерности в структуре условного предложения наглядно представлены на граф. 1[7].

[7] На представленном граф. 1 перифрастические конструкции, образованные от форм условного наклонения и условной модальности, включены в статистику по условному наклонению и условной модальности соответственно. Конструкции с глагольными формами *-mAk* и *-mAsI-* рассматриваются в единой совокупности как лексико-синтаксические средства, лишённые темпоральной семы и противопоставляемые по данному признаку конструкции *-DIğI takdirde/taktirde.*

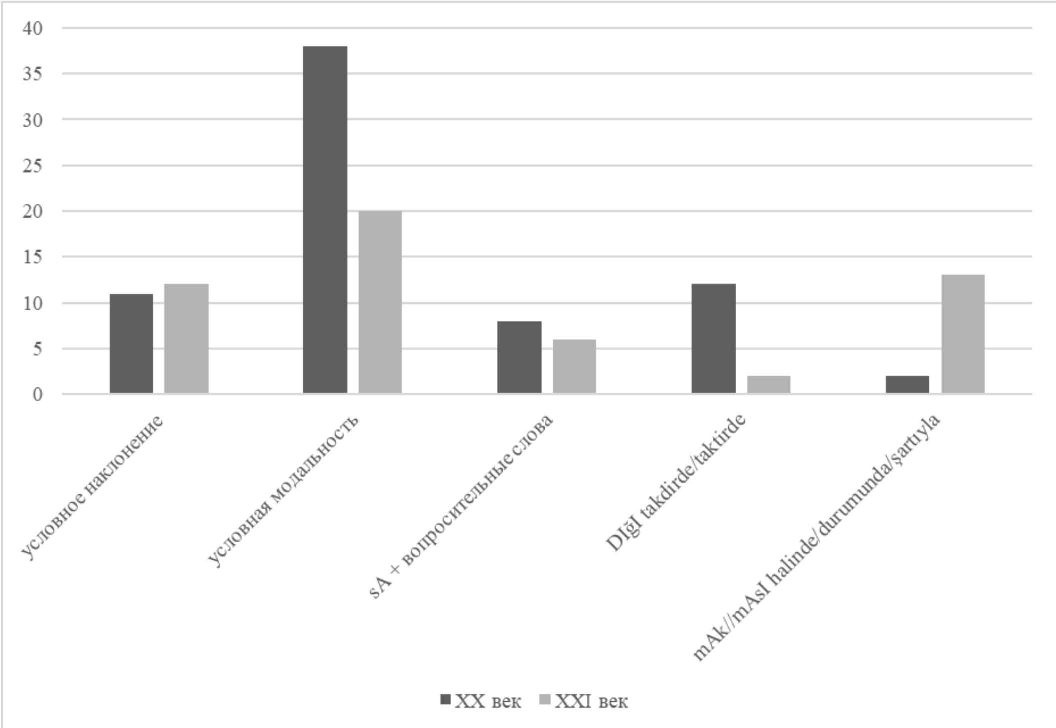

График 1. Динамика использования средств выражения условия
в газетно-публицистическом стиле турецкого литературного языка

4.3.1. Проанализированный материал показывает, что наблюдается тенденция к постепенному отказу от некоторых специфических турецких средств выражения условия: условной модальности, в первую очередь в сочетании с вопросительными словами и с перифрастическими формами, позволяющими детализировать информацию о временных характеристиках действия, а также конструкций с глагольным именем на *-DIğI-* как средства субстантивации (а не адъективизации) действия.

4.3.2. На лексическом уровне (союзы, послелоги) в соответствии с общеязыковой тенденцией происходит отход от употребления арабо-персидских заимствований. Данное явление можно связать с эволюционными процессами, протекающими в языке современных турецких СМИ, а также с (пусть и продемонстрировавшей ограниченную эффективность ввиду протекающих в современном турецком языке процессов, в частности, «возвращения» арабизмов в политический, официально-деловой и др. дискурсы [18]) деятельностью Турецкого лингвистического общества в 1930-е годы, направленную на разработку лексических единиц и словообразовательных моделей в системе исконно тюркских морфем и основ для вытеснения из турецкого языка большого количества арабских[8] и персидских слов. Отказ от использования союзов в сочетании с формами условного наклонения может являться следствием характерного для турецкого языка в целом принципа лаконичности, когда грамматическая информация в высказывании обычно не повторяется дважды[9].

[8] При исследовании употребления лексем арабского происхождения в турецком языке стоит отметить, что арабизмы в целом составляют один из наиболее древних пластов заимствований и «являются неотъемлемой частью парадигм синонимов, традиционно присущих турецкому языку» [18, с. 334]. В то же время исследователь языка турецких СМИ О. А. Алексеева [1], [2] в своих работах указывает, что для текстов современных турецких массмедиа характерна клишированность на лексическом уровне [цит. по: 6, с. 280]. Опираясь на вышесказанное, отметим, что процесс отбора лексических средств и уменьшение частотности использования арабизмов может быть обусловлен стилистикой и особенностями функционирования газетно-публицистического стиля.

[9] Примером применения данного принципа является избегание использования аффикса множественного числа *-lAr* в подлежащем и сказуемом одновременно.

4.3.3. В противоположность снижению частотности конструкции с глагольным именем на *-DIğI-* повышается частотность конструкций с глагольными именами *-mAsI-* и *-mAk*, являющихся средством только субстантивации, но не адъективизации действия (см. [4, с. 32]).

4.4. Ограниченный объективными причинами объём проанализированного материала по способам выражения условия позволяет лишь отметить существующие тенденции в газетно-публицистическом стиле турецкого литературного языка. Тем не менее, проведённые нами ранее исследования структуры предложений с причинно-следственной и уступительной семантикой на базе того же материала позволяют прийти к схожим выводам. Так, например, во всех рассмотренных группах предложений происходит отказ от использования конструкций с глагольными именами на *-DIğI-* и *-(y)AcAğI-*, а также снижение частотности употребления лексических средств [4], [5]. Целесообразно также предположить, что выбор языковых инструментов связан со стилистикой рассмотренных газет, что также обусловлено стилистическими особенностями анализируемых периодов.

Глоссы

AOR – настоящее-будущее время
AUX – вспомогательный глагол *(i-)*
COND – условное наклонение
DAT – дательный падеж
FUT – будущее время
INF – инфинитив
INSTR – инструментальный падеж
IMP – повелительное наклонение
LOC – местный падеж
NEG – отрицательная форма
NEG.POSB – форма невозможности
NMLZ – глагольное имя на *-mA-*
PASS – страдательный залог
PL – множественное число
POSS – притяжательный аффикс
PRF – перфект
PRS – настоящее время
PST – прошедшее категорическое время
SAF – формы на *-DIğI-* и *-(y)AcAğI-*
SG – единственное число
1 – первое лицо
2 – второе лицо
3 – третье лицо

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DISCUSSION ON WRITING SYSTEMS IN DIFFERENT LANGUAGES

Arranged by Grigory Kazakov

Following the tradition of the previous special issues of *Linguistics & Polyglot Studies,* in the present one, articles are supplemented by a round table discussion (by way of a written exchange of ideas, as in 2022). This time it addresses the topic of writing systems. Our esteemed experts are:

– Minoru Ohtsuki, PhD, Professor at the Faculty of Foreign Languages, Daito Bunka University (Tokyo, Japan);

– Olga V. Popova, PhD, Senior Researcher at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow, Russia);

– Osvaldo Alexis Zúñiga Elizalde, Lecturer in Nahuatl at the Meritorious Autonomous University of Puebla (Cholula, Mexico).

Publishing the results of this discussion, the editors hope that it will attract more public and research attention to the productive topic of writing and reading practices in different languages and cultures.

1. What are the tendencies in the writing system of your language (country, region)?

– *Minoru Ohtsuki:* Among the five (or six) writing systems of Japanese, there is a tendency for hiragana and katakana (syllabaries) to be used more often than kanji (Chinese characters). There also seems to be a trend in which katakana, whose major role is to denote foreign words, onomatopoeia, animal and plant names, is also used for non-foreign words. Masuji (2018) investigated into the background and various factors involved in such use.

– *Olga Popova:* Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform arose as a logographic script and, at the level of Sumerian (an isolated language), turned into a mixed logographic and syllabic system in the 3rd millennium BC. It was the logosyllabic script that was adapted to write Akkadian (a Semitic language) in the 3rd to 2nd millennium BC, and later Hittite (Indo-European), Hurrian and Urartian (Hurrito-Urartian languages), and others. The following trends can be identified:

• The writing system, in which logograms (signs for words) and syllabograms (signs for syllables) alternate, tends to get simplified and to increase the role and frequency of phonetic signs. Special cases are scholarly texts, where logograms serve to demonstrate masterful knowledge of the script.

• A phonetic writing system begins with a syllabary, and only then becomes alphabetic. Cuneiform demonstrates this trend. It is first logographic, then mixed logosyllabic, and later turns out to be predominantly syllabic in the later periods of the Akkadian language and in Urartian cuneiform, where there are almost no ideograms. Only then does the syllabic writing system begin to transform into an alphabetic one, but in the case of Akkadian it makes only the first attempts. Alphabetic cuneiform systems arise in a situation where the syllabary is known. So when we are deciphering an ancient writing system, our first hypothesis should be that we see a syllabic script, and not an alphabetic one.

• Alphabetic writing replaces logosyllabic cuneiform in the territory of Mesopotamia at the end of the 1st millennium BC. The general trend is to simplify writing by reducing the number of characters in the script.

– *Osvaldo Zúñiga:* Mexico is the most populated Spanish-speaking nation in the world, where Spanish coexists with 68 indigenous languages embracing more than 360 varieties across the country. Nahuatl alone has some 60 varieties, which can be as similar between each other as the Spanish of Argentina and that of Mexico, but also as different as French and Romanian.

After the fall of the capital city of the Aztecs, Tenochtitlan (1521), and the Spanish occupation, the decline of their and other native languages started. Most of the traditional books, or *amoxme*, were burnt or prohibited, forcing the indigenous population to quit their original writing system based on codices. This meant that the language had to survive in its spoken form, adapting written forms from the Spanish alphabet. Nowadays, Nahuatl writing directly reflects the oral speech, but there is no consensus about which spelling might be the most suitable.

There are two commonly used Nahuatl orthographies: the so-called classic Spanish-based writing, which uses the Spanish letters like "c, h, z, i"; and the Anglo-German system, with the letters and accents mainly used in German or English, such as "w, j, k, ö, y". The first tradition is largely historically based, as it was the main western alphabet in Nahuatl used throughout and after the colonial period for family names (such as "Xochitl"), place names (e.g. "Iztaccihuatl"), and the very name of Mexico. The second system took root in academic publications, as excellent researchers of Mexican native cultures came from abroad, mainly from the US, Germany, England and France. This second type of spelling in highly recognized publications gave Nahuatl an opportunity to differentiate itself from Spanish and gains terrain every year. The difference between the two approaches can be seen, for example, in the change from "Tlazohcamati" to "Tasojkamatyj".

2. What are the latest findings concerning the script(s) in the focus of your research?

– *Minoru Ohtsuki:* Ninomiya and Ninomiya (2017) examined visual symbols such as ideograms, phonograms, Arabic numerals, chemical symbols, map symbols and logic symbols in the framework of humanization and visual formation, which were presented as the principles of grammatology in their previous studies.

Ohtsuki (2017) stated that, in the history of writing systems, a process of formalization, systematization, and simplification can be observed (e.g. pictograms > ideograms & phonograms). This process can be said to be "unidirectional" in the sense that there is no regressive change in the writing system(s) of a language if observed as a whole. What is important here is the fact that, in the transition of stages, the former stages do not disappear by natural selection but remain and become accumulated, so that even after the stage of phonograms is reached, former types of writings can continue to be used, or even other types of "subsystems" achieve their own development.

Kuroda (2021) proposed a cognitive grammatology, adding a third pole of writing to the phonological and semantic poles of cognitive linguistics. He dealt with many problems in grammatology. It is of interest that he paid attention, for example, to the metalinguistic function and elaboration of Japanese ruby characters, usually placed above or to the right of kanji or other types of characters, to show not only the characters' reading but also the meaning that the writer wants to convey to the reader.

– *Olga Popova:* Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform has been studied quite well. The main areas of research are now focused on the publication of new texts, grammar and history of the region. Among the latest achievements in relation to the writing systems of the region, it is worth noting the significant progress in the decipherment of the ancient Elamite script by the French archaeologist François Desset. I am talking about Linear Elamite which was used in Iran from the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC. This is the second stage of the development of writing in the Elamite state. The oldest stage is called Proto-Elamite pictographic writing, an original undeciphered script which was used in the 4th millennium BC. Later, it supposedly develops into Linear Elamite. Simultaneously with this, the Elamites switch to the well-deciphered Assyrian-Babylonian cuneiform, thanks to the texts in which we have a fairly complete picture of the Elamite language.

– *Osvaldo Zúñiga:* In terms of codex writings, research has focused on the Mayan culture, mainly due to the current infrastructure projects in their territory. Because of the construction of the Mayan Train that goes through the rainforests of the Mayan peninsula, many discoveries have taken place. Inscriptions craved on the walls on ancient buildings, buried sculptures and many artifacts shed light on the writing systems of ancient cultures. For instance, a sculpture found in the archeological zone of Chichén Itzá helped establish the relation of the Mayan codex writing to the Mexica (Aztec) codex system. This was an astounding finding since both civilizations belonged to widely different historical periods. The sculpture shares Mayan as well as Toltec traits, having Huasteco art aesthetics. Both the Mayan and the Toltec civilizations are considered two of the most influential cultures in the Mesoamerican cultural zone. The contact between the late Mayan and Toltec civilizations shows the relation and even merger of cultural traditions such as codex writing, which was never separated from painting. All this helps to build and study cultural connections in ancient writing systems across large time distances.

3. How has the advent of the digital era affected writing?

– *Minoru Ohtsuki:* As Ohtsuki (2017) indicated, use of emoticons, (like ":-)", ": 0") and "emoji" (ideograms and smileys used in electronic messages and Webpages (like ☺) and "kaomoji", or Japanese emoticons ((*^^*)♡ ; w(° o °)w), has played a significant role in digital communication, along with the use of abbreviations, codes and other means. Semiotically speaking, all these pictorial representations of facial expressions are icons, because of the similarity between the form and the content. The frequent use of these non-linguistic signs is arguably associated with people's desire to compensate for what is lost in electronic messages, especially expression of feelings.

Ohtsuki (2021) indicated that texting, a characteristic way of spelling words and phrases in the digital age, has created various new ways of spelling. All types of texting can be integrated under two principles: (1) "contraction" (e.g. message → msg) and (2) "mixing (of writing systems)" (e.g. great → gr8, to be → 2b). Also, it can be understood in a unified manner from a semiotic perspective. With regard to (a) the symbols themselves, phonograms are related to arbitrariness, while pictographs and emoticons (iconography) are related to naturalness. Regarding (b) the use of symbols, there is group closure and exclusivity toward outsiders, which can lead to backlash. And regarding (c) the users of the symbols, playfulness and amusement (and even infantilism) can be observed.

– *Olga Popova:* It did not affect writing in any way, as I am talking about dead languages. A large number of electronic corpora are now being created, which greatly facilitates the work of Assyriologists. Creating 3D photographs of cuneiform texts also simplifies the work, although it does not yet eliminate the need to work with the originals.

– *Osvaldo Zúñiga:* As for writing and learning Nahuatl, the digital era has had a double effect on its dynamics. Thinking of the printed sources, scarcity has been the constant limitation, since, compared with the publications in other languages, there is rarely serious economic support for producing materials in Nahuatl that could become available for wide use. With the digitalization of sources, the spreading of Nahuatl written materials has become easier than ever, and online language classes have made it possible to reach a much larger audience than in the classrooms.

4. How have reading practices changed in recent years (decades)?

– *Minoru Ohtsuki:* According to a survey conducted by the Japan Newspaper Publishers Association, circulation of newspapers as well as books and magazines peaked in the 1990s and has been on a sharp decline since 2008, but signs of a bottoming out were observed in 2004. However, the percentage of people who read on the Internet and on their smartphones may not be covered by such survey statistics. It seems that the decline is especially true of younger generations who are reading fewer and fewer newspapers (not even online news). On the other hand, according to a recent survey conducted by Ambitious (2023), about 90% of the respondents enjoy reading as a hobby. On an average, more than 40% of them read paper books, and about 80% of them read both paper books and e-books. On the whole, there does not seem to be much damaging impact on people's reading practice.

– *Osvaldo Zúñiga:* While technology changes very fast, ideas take more time to do so. If there are not many accessible printed publications in Nahuatl, there are even fewer e-books. Some improvements have happened such as an increase in the materials in indigenous languages aimed at different age groups, but there is still a lot of privilege not only for Spanish but also for foreign languages across Mexican online and printed publications, which received technological and economical support. And here is where ideas have to change, since prejudices over Nahuatl and other native cultures create a reluctant atmosphere where investors and editors do not feel interested. The biggest reading change for Mexican cultures was to pass from reading codex-painting systems to reading western alphabets. Learning to read digitalized texts with all that it implies seems to be the next great transformation.

5. What developments do you expect in the future?

– *Minoru Ohtsuki:* As for Japanese, the basic use of multiple writing systems will not disappear as long as the language survives, for it is intertwined with its scripts more deeply than any other language in the world. Simplification of writing may take place to a certain degree. The influence of digital use of writing systems will be inevitable. It is hoped that more research will be conducted in grammatology, a fruitful and promising area of linguistics.

– *Olga Popova:* In the future, I expect the publication of more texts, digitalization of publications, and creation of online corpora of various cuneiform texts from Sumerian and Akkadian in the south to Hittite in the north, as well as 3D scanning of cuneiform texts.

– *Osvaldo Zúñiga:* More than technological developments, it would be desirable to see an evolution of ideas, taking into account the cognitive processes that are unfolding when one writes by hand, or better care of visual health, by means of reading on paper rather than on screens. Obviously, it is much easier to send a PDF by e-mail than to send a printed book by traditional mail. But the question arises, why should efficiency and speed be prioritized over other variables being affected? I believe it is not about antagonistic positions, and finding a balance between the use of digitalized and printed reading materials may be possible.