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Preface

Over the last three years, the new sections “Research on polyglottery” and “Sociolinguistics and geolinguistics” have become very productive in our journal, yielding eleven and seven original articles respectively. This is no surprise as the psycholinguistic and the sociolinguistic approaches are the two major directions in the modern study of multilingualism, which is a natural focus for MGIMO given its world-record scope of language programs.

At the same time, lesser known indigenous languages and writing systems are receiving increasingly more attention both in linguistics and international affairs, which has brought to life the section “Studies in rare languages and scripts”. In this context, it is gratifying to note that, among other things, *Linguistics & Polyglot Studies* is becoming one of the centres for research on the languages of Nepal and Mexico (see vol. 8, no. 2 and 3; vol. 9, no. 3).

The present issue contributes to all of these trends, publishing papers presented at the 2nd International Seminar on Linguistic & Polyglot Studies (2022), at the round table discussion on Current Trends in the Development of Language Policy in CIS, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean (2023), and at the round table discussion on Polyglottery as part of the conference on Language, Consciousness and Communication: Methodology and Humanities Practices (2024).

A new feature of this issue is a selection of language news from different countries across the globe. It attempts to revive the genre of such reviews, which used to be published in the journal *Geolinguistics*. We hope that this and other materials included here will encourage researchers to look for interesting language facts in their part of the world and to share their findings in the future issues of our journal.

Editors

Предисловие

За последние три года новые разделы «Исследования полиглотики» и «Социолингвистика и геолингвистика» стали весьма плодотворными в нашем журнале, дав одиннадцать и семь оригинальных статей соответственно. Это неудивительно, поскольку психолингвистический и социолингвистический подходы представляют собой два основных направления в современном изучении многоязычия, которое является естественным фокусом внимания для МГИМО, учитывая его рекордное в мировом масштабе количество языковых программ.

В то же время малоизвестные языки и письменности коренных народов получают всё больше внимания как в лингвистике, так и в международных отношениях, что вызвало к жизни раздел «Изучение редких языков и письменностей». В этом контексте приятно отметить, что, помимо прочего, «Филологические науки в МГИМО» (*Linguistics & Polyglot Studies*) становятся одним из центров исследований языков Непала и Мексики (см. т. 8, №2 и 3; т. 9, №3).

Настоящий выпуск вносит свой вклад во все эти тенденции, публикуя доклады, прозвучавшие на II Международном семинаре по лингвистике и полиглотики (2022), круглом столе «Современные тенденции развития языковой политики в странах ближнего зарубежья, Азии, Африки и Карибского бассейна» (2023) и круглом столе «Полиглотия» в рамках конференции «Язык, сознание, коммуникация: методология и гуманитарные практики» (2024).

Новой особенностью этого номера является подборка лингвистических новостей из разных стран мира. Она представляет собой попытку возродить жанр подобных обзоров, которые когда-то публиковались в журнале *Geolinguistics*. Мы надеемся, что этот и другие материалы, представленные здесь, побудят исследователей искать интересные факты о языках в своей части света и делиться своими открытиями в будущих выпусках нашего журнала.

Редакторы



Language Maintenance in Polyglots from a Dynamic Model of Multilingualism Perspective: Research Results

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Abstract. This paper aims at shedding light on two under-researched study fields: polyglotism and language maintenance in multilinguals from a psycholinguistic perspective. The theoretic lens for the latter is the holistic and Complex Dynamic System Theory perspective of the Dynamic Model of Multilingualism by Herdina & Jessner (2002). The issue of terminology around the terms *multilingual*, *polyglot*, and *hyperpolyglot* is outlined and a new definition for the term *polyglot* is offered. Terms like *language lover* and *language enthusiast* are also considered. A selection of the findings of the author's doctoral thesis (2020) is presented. Data was gathered from participants in two international polyglot events in 2016 and 2017 with the help of a questionnaire and a semi-structured expert interview. Eighteen polyglots were questioned. Among them were renowned polyglots like Richard Simcott, Alexander Argüelles, Helen Abadzi, Luca Lampariello, and Elisa Polese. Voice is given to the participants of this study in the form of excerpts from the interviews. Ample proof that considerable language maintenance effort is necessary to counteract the phenomenon of language attrition if not enough time and energy are invested in the multilingual psycholinguistic system was found. The perceived importance that polyglots attach to language maintenance is described. An emergent property, namely smart strategy orchestration of language acquisition, language maintenance, and language management strategies, was identified in experienced language learners such as polyglots. For the first time, language maintenance strategies were classified. These are the strategies that aim to maximize language use and to minimize the language maintenance effort. Affective, metacognitive, and psychological factors were found to play a significant role in language maintenance. The focus was laid on the love for languages and on motivation as the most impactful factors.

Keywords: polyglots, polyglottery, language maintenance, language maintenance effort, language maintenance strategies, Dynamic Model of Multilingualism, multilingual awareness, international polyglot events

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Поддержание языка у полиглотов с точки зрения динамической модели многоязычия: результаты исследования

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Аннотация. Цель данной статьи заключается в том, чтобы пролить свет на две недостаточно изученные области исследований: полиглоти́зм и поддержание языка у мультилингвов с психолингвистической точки зрения. Теоретической основой при рассмотрении второй из этих тем является динамическая модель многоязычия Хердины и Йесснер (2002) в свете холистического подхода и теории сложных динамических систем. Обсуждается проблема употребления терминов «мультилингв», «полиглот» и «гиперполиглот» и предлагается новое определение термина «полиглот». Также рассматриваются такие термины, как «любитель языка» и «языковой энтузиаст». Вниманию представляются некоторые результаты диссертационного исследования автора (2020), данные для которого были собраны у участников двух международных полиглотических форумов 2016 и 2017 годов с помощью анкеты и полуструктурированного экспертного интервью. Было опрошено 18 полиглотов, среди которых такие известные полиглоты, как Р. Симкотт, А. Аргуэльес, Х. Абадзи, Л. Лампариелло и Э. Полезе. Приводятся примеры высказываний участников исследования в виде отрывков из интервью, а также иллюстрации того, что поддержание языка требует значительных усилий – как энергии, так и времени – со стороны обучающегося. Описывается воспринимаемая важность, которую полиглоты придают поддержанию языка. У опытных практиков изучения языков, каковыми являются полиглоты, было выявлено эмерджентное свойство, а именно эффективное оркестрирование стратегиями усвоения, поддержания и использования языка. Впервые были классифицированы стратегии поддержания языка: это стратегии, которые направлены на максимизацию использования языка и минимизацию усилий по поддержанию языка. Было обнаружено, что в поддержании языка важную роль играют эмоциональные, метакогнитивные и психологические факторы. Особое внимание было уделено любви к языкам и мотивации как наиболее влиятельным факторам.

Ключевые слова: полиглоты, полиглоти́я, поддержание языка, усилия по поддержанию языка, стратегии поддержания языка, динамическая модель многоязычия, многоязычная осведомленность, международные полиглотические форумы

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1. Introduction

The present paper aims at exploring two under-researched study fields: language maintenance in multilinguals from a psycholinguistic perspective and polyglotism. It constitutes a novelty in multilingualism and polyglottery research as it investigates into language maintenance in experienced speakers of multiple languages with $LS \geq 6$ to $LS \geq 50$ and their endeavour to counter the phenomenon of language attrition. From the holistic perspective of the Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (DMM) [8] all the language systems that the participants had explored are considered. The perceived importance that multilinguals attach to language maintenance and the major issues they encounter on their language learning and maintenance path have been described for the first time. To the best of the author's knowledge, never before had characteristic features of polyglots been set in relation to language maintenance. Utmost attention is paid to the role of multilingual awareness both in language learning and language maintenance. Language maintenance strategies have been identified and classified for the first time and exemplified with numerous excerpts from the interview data. The *smart strategy orchestration* has been identified as an emergent property in experienced speakers of multiple languages, which has an *enhanced strategy effect* both on the learning and the maintenance of languages. This study also contrasts and discusses the terms *multilingual* and *polyglot* showing the difficulties of delineation of the terminology in various study fields and describes related terms such as *hyperpolyglot*, *language lover*, and *language enthusiast* collected in the qualitative data. A definition of the term *polyglot* is also offered.

2. Terminological issues

In academia, there is an ongoing debate around the terms *monolingual*, *bilingual*, *multilingual*, *polyglot*, and *hyperpolyglot*. The inconsistent use of these terms depends on the different backgrounds of the researchers and their study purposes in the various fields as well as on how languages are counted, on the non-categorical nature of language use and language proficiency. *Monolinguals* are generally defined as speakers who use one language and may also be proficient in using different varieties and registers of that language. Not always is the distinction between a language and a variety well-defined and the reasons for the distinction may be cultural or political [cf. 17, p. 14]. Some researchers of multilingualism even claim that being able to speak one language and different social registers, dialectal and standard variants should be considered in studies of multilingualism and that L1 learning can thus be viewed as multilingual learning [cf. 11, p. 111].

Definitions around the term *bilingual* are even more divergent. While in cognitive neuroscience, according to Reiterer [20, p. 155–156], the terminology has become uniform to facilitate interdisciplinary communication and has adopted the term *bilingualism* in studies which deal both with the learning and processing of two and more languages, researchers in other fields, according to Kemp [17, p. 15] do not adhere to a universal cover term. The distinction between a *bilingual* as a speaker of two languages and a *multilingual* as a speaker of three or more languages is not commonly shared. Scholars within the tradition of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) commonly use the cover term bilingualism for the acquisition of a second, third and additional languages since they assume that findings from the learning of two languages can be generalized to the learning of multiple languages. Researchers from the Third Language Acquisition (TLA) standpoint, however, claim that the learning of a third (L3) or of an additional language (Ln) both in a tutored and a natural setting is a more complex learning process than the learning of two languages. Kemp [ibid.] defines a *multilingual* as follows, mentioning the terms *polyglot* and *plurilingual* at the same time:

“A multilingual is a person who has ‘the ability to use three or more languages either separately or in various degrees of code-mixing. Different languages are used for different purposes, competence in each varying according to such factors as register, occupation, and education’ [...] Multilinguals may not have equal proficiency

in or control over all the languages they know. The term ‘polyglot’ is also sometimes used to describe multilingual individuals. The term ‘plurilingual’ is used by some researchers, including the Francophone tradition, to indicate individual as opposed to societal multilingualism”.

Definitions of the terminology related to multilingualism depend on correlated disputes on the nature of languages, their boundaries, on language use, and on language proficiency. Scholars increasingly claim that languages cannot be seen as isolated units with clear boundaries, but rather that they are defined on the basis of linguistic, cultural, social, or political reasons. It has often been observed in psycholinguistics that the mental boundaries between languages and language varieties are seamless. “[M]ultilinguals may see related languages as effectively the same language” [ibid., p. 18]. Scholars like Canagarajah [3] assert that boundaries in multilingual speech production are fluid and multilingual speakers can make use of all their languages in their repertoire in a creative way. Dovchin & Lee [5, p. 106] posit that “the fluid movement between and across languages requires different epistemologies and a new critical lexicon”. Kusters, Spotti, Swanwick, and Tapio [18, p. 220] have even “gradually moved to a more flexible and less structured field of multilingualism”. In their article “Beyond languages, beyond modalities: transforming the study of semiotic repertoires” [7, p. 223], they also consider bi/multilingualism in sign languages. They therefore prefer to speak about semiotic rather than linguistic repertoires.

A non-consistent use can be observed also regarding the terms *multilingual* and *polyglot*. *Multilingual* is of Latin origin and stems from *multae linguae* which means “many tongues, many languages”. *Polyglot* is of Old Greek origin and comes from the Attic form πολὺγλωττος (*polyglōttos*) “many-tongued, polyglot”, from πολὺς (*polys*) “many” and γλῶττα (*glōtta*) “tongue, language”. Both terms make reference to speakers of multiple languages and to adjectives that refer to multiple languages. Hyltenstam [12, p. 215] affirms that in the past the term *polyglot* was used in psychological, medical, and in linguistic studies of aphasic patients, but that it has become obsolete in today’s literature on bi/multilingualism, so that it can be freshly used for a specific type of speakers, which he identifies as “single individuals [who] acquire 10, 20, or even more languages and maintain their ability to use most of them over their lifespan”. In another publication, Hyltenstam operates with the following definition: “A polyglot is a person who, after puberty, acquired/learnt at least six new languages, who commands at least six of these languages at an intermediate or advanced level of proficiency (minimally B1 in the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) and who can use them unimpededly in oral interaction” [13, p. 177]. In 2003, in a blog, Hudson coined the term *hyperpolyglot* for people “who can speak six or more languages fluently” [12, p. 215]. He had also defined hyperpolyglots as “people who know dozens of languages very well” [10, p. 90]. As an example he had chosen “the legendary Cardinal Giuseppe Mezzofanti [who] was said to be familiar with 72 languages and fluent in 39” [ibid.]. Hobbs [9, p. 35], however, mentions a definition of “hyper-polyglot” as a “speaker of six or more languages [...]”. The necessity of a further distinction between *polyglot* and *hyperpolyglot* is questioned by Hyltenstam [12, p. 215] since he believes that the word *polyglot* in itself already specifies the semantic elements that are necessary to describe a speaker of many languages. Alexander Argüelles in the interview for the doctoral study by the author of this paper also would not make a further distinction or pinpoint the definition to a number of languages learnt but rather distinguish between mastery levels. He said:

“It would never occur to me to do that. Now that it has been done, people are doing that, if it is going to become a field of study, then, yeah, I can understand, you know, it does make sense. To me, I wouldn’t think of it as being a super- or a super-duper hyperpolyglot or something, I would just think within being [...], sort of, being a beginning polyglot, an intermediate or advanced polyglot, you know, sort of mastery levels” [19, p. 126, 329].

Other researchers do not make a distinction between *polyglot* and *multilingual*. Todeva and Cenoz [23, p. 18] defined them as follows: “The former is typically defined as a generic term for a multilingual person, not infrequently in reference to people with an impressive number or mastery of languages. [...] We prefer the term multilingual because of its phonological closeness to multilingualism and more neutral nature with regard to level of proficiency and number of languages involved”. In a blog run by the linguists

Grosjean and Pavlenko, the latter¹ criticizes the recent “polyglot hype” by the media. In her view, journalists, very often monolingual themselves, are only interested in exceptional language learners because their stories of learning languages “for pure love and against all odds” are more exciting than those of ordinary multilinguals and allow speculation about some mystical talent. She claims that distinguishing the terms would only make the complexity of language learning and the effort of mastering a language by many multilinguals look trivial.

Yet scholars like Kazakov and Argüelles clearly want to distinguish a *polyglot* from a *multilingual*. Kazakov differentiates “polyglots as individuals who know multiple languages as a result of consciously learning them, from multilinguals, those who can speak several languages thanks to having assimilated them unconsciously in a multilingual environment” [15, p. 135], see also [16, p. 8290]. Argüelles admits that the distinction between the two terms might not always be clear-cut. He defines a *polyglot* “as an expert language learner, someone who has mastered the science of learning languages. Unlike multilingual people who owe their knowledge and abilities in multiple languages to being born into and/or growing up in and/or receiving their education in multilingual environments, polyglots owe their linguistic knowledge and abilities to the conscious and deliberate study of foreign languages” [2, p. 1]. In the interview for the author’s doctoral thesis he gives the following definition:

“I don’t think you can be a natural polyglot. A polyglot means to me that you can start, if you are naturally multilingual, you have an advantage to become a polyglot, but to me a polyglot is not just somebody who knows lots of languages, but somebody who has studied them, who has learned them. So they are not just languages that come from the environment, but they come from a conscious decision to say: ‘I want to learn more languages. Maybe I want to know one or maybe I want to know six or I want to know a lot’, but a polyglot is somebody who has multiplied his languages by sort of a conscious study, a conscious choice” [19, p. 126–125, 329].

New definition of *polyglot*

The author of this paper is also aware that there are some overlaps between the terms *multilingual* and *polyglot*, but after the analysis of the interview data and studies on polyglots, she is in favour of adopting in multilingualism research a distinctive term for the population explored in her dissertation and suggests the following definition: “A polyglot is an experienced, autonomous learner of many languages who is characterized by a life-long passion for language learning and an enhanced multilingual awareness. A high motivation, an open-minded attitude towards other languages and cultures, perseverance and self-discipline are characteristic features of a polyglot” [ibid., p. 301]. She does not deem a further distinction into *hyperpolyglot* important. Since speakers of an impressive number of languages like Cardinal Mezzofanti, Richard Simcott and Alexander Argüelles find it difficult or even impossible to count their languages [see ibid., p. 84–85, 188, 189], she does not pinpoint her definition to a number of languages, although she has identified in about six language systems the threshold after which the learning process becomes familiar. Her definition is only based on characteristic features of polyglots. For the Polyglot Conference Global 2023² and Polyglot Conference 2023³ in Budapest, she had suggested a simpler definition: “A polyglot is a smart learner of many languages who is characterized by a life-long passion for language learning”, but this definition misses out many distinctive character traits.

For the difficulty of counting one’s languages, see the extract from the interview with Argüelles.

“I am just not comfortable with numbers. [...] To me it becomes so blurry [...]. So I really think in terms of families. I would say that I know the Germanic family and the Romance family quite thoroughly. So there are languages like German first and foremost, and Old Norse as another language that I have invested years of my life in studying and improving and getting to quite a high level, and then coming along with them are all the

¹ Pavlenko, A. The dark side of the recent polyglot hype: Was Cleopatra a multilingual or a polyglot? *Psychology Today*, 15 July 2015, psychologytoday.com/intl/blog/life-bilingual/201507/the-dark-side-the-recent-polyglot-hype (accessed 29 May 2024).

² Pellegrini, C. What polyglots teach us about language maintenance. Polyglot Conference Global 2023, 2023.polyglotconference.com/lecture/what-polyglots-can-teach-us-about-language-maintenance/ (accessed 29 May 2024).

³ Pellegrini, C. Kató Lomb’s musings on polyglots compared with findings from my doctoral thesis on polyglots. Polyglot Conference 2023 in Budapest, 27 October 2023.

other dialects, are all the other variants of them. And the same is true of the Romance family to a large degree, of the Slavic family to a lesser degree. So I feel comfortable saying I have really invested years of my life in getting familiar with these language families. [...] [B]ut when I start counting the Germanic languages, it's just hard to do [...] because I studied Old Norse, because I studied German, I found learning Swedish to be very easy [...]. Because I know Swedish, Norwegian and Danish are so transparent and so easy to me that I can read them with no problem. And I have had experiences where I thought I was speaking Swedish to a Norwegian person and they complemented me on my Norwegian. So I had just been switching into that. It becomes really convoluted" [ibid., p. 193, 331–332].

Simcott also finds it difficult to count his languages and thinks in terms of language families.

"I don't tend to count them and if I do, I leave a few out. I've always said for a long time: 'I think it is around 40', but then actually [*unclear*] it is more around 50. [*unclear*] Because it is a lot. I have studied pretty much all of the Romance and all of the Slavic languages, all of the Germanic, which is already a lot, without going out of the Indo-European" [ibid., p. 194, 348].

These excerpts of cases with $L_n > 40$ show the fluidity of language systems within a psycholinguistic system and indicate that the concept of language repertoire may be revisited. It is certainly in line with the DMM, which conceptualizes languages as interdependent subsystems within a unitary system.

3. Language development in multilingual systems

Theoretical background

Herdina's and Jessner's Dynamic Model of Multilingualism [8] is the theoretical lens of the present study. This psycholinguistic model applies Complex Dynamic System Theory (CDST) to the exploration of multilingualism and multiple language acquisition. It was designed to model language-related processes with multiple languages and to predict multilingual development. It focuses on so far neglected aspects such as language attrition, language maintenance, multilingual awareness, crosslinguistic influence and autocatalytic changes that may emerge in the multilingual mind. It does not focus on languages (L_1 , L_2 , L_n) but, rather, on the development of the individual language systems (LS_1 , LS_2 , LS_n) within an overall psycholinguistic system. The different language systems are seen as a unity that is dynamic and adaptive and which changes continuously in a non-linear way. Being adaptive, the system responds to altered conditions in the environment. As an open system, the psycholinguistic system is shaped by psychological and social factors. The DMM posits that language use and language choice depend on the perceived communicative needs of the multilingual speaker. An important role is attributed to language maintenance, which is responsible for the stability of the system. As a learner's resources of time and energy necessary for language acquisition and maintenance are limited, a multilingual speaker will gradually lose access to the linguistic knowledge in his/her language systems if not enough energy and time are invested into refreshing them. This will lead to language attrition, called *negative language growth* in the DMM. Language maintenance (henceforth LM) is consequently an adaptive process to adjust the level of language proficiency to the perceived communicative needs.

The DMM uses a holistic perspective to describe the dynamic interaction, the complexity, and variability of a multilingual system [see also 14]. The *multilingualism factor* (or *M-factor*) is all those qualities that emerge in a multilingual learner/speaker due to the increased contact of his/her language systems. New skills related to language learning, maintenance and management are developed because of prior linguistic and metacognitive knowledge [4, p. 65]. One key component of the M-factor is *multilingual awareness*, which is composed of *metalinguistic awareness* and *crosslinguistic awareness* (XLA). XLA is the tacit or implicit awareness of the interaction of the languages in the multilingual mind. The second component of the M-factor is the *enhanced multilingual monitor* (EMM). It is responsible for the linguistic management skills, for balancing language resources with the communicative needs, for keeping the languages in the multilingual mind apart or for choosing the appropriate languages and registers in specific sociolinguistic contexts.

Language attrition in multilingual systems

While traditional SLA language acquisition models assume a linear language growth towards an ideal native speaker competence, the DMM claims that this growth is not linear and that the process can even reverse, i.e. that linguistic knowledge will erode if not enough time and energy are invested. Negative growth will lead to language attrition or *gradual language loss*. This phenomenon is due to lack of LM. Other factors may also have an impact on language attrition. These are “the number of languages involved, the maturational age at which a certain language is learnt and relative stability established, the level of proficiency at which this takes place and the time span over which the language system is maintained” [8, p. 92]. From a CDST perspective, we can say that while one of the language systems within the overall psycholinguistic system is stabilized, another LS will only be insufficiently maintained and therefore undergo a gradual erosion process.

Language maintenance in multilingual systems

LM has so far been studied in sociolinguistics when “a speech community tries to continue to use its traditional language although threatened by language shift to the dominant language of the community” [ibid., p. 98]. However, it can also be noted when the language of speakers of a minority language is threatened by a dominant language environment [1, p. 72]. Within the field of psycholinguistics, this phenomenon is largely disregarded. The DMM, however, predicts that the multilingual individual must make an effort to adjust the language proficiency levels to the perceived communicative needs in order to stabilize the system. This effort is called *language maintenance effort* (LME). It is determined by two factors: 1) the language use factor, i.e. when in communication parts of the language systems are activated and so refreshed; 2) the language awareness factor, i.e. when implicit or explicit knowledge about linguistic subsystems is verified. According to the DMM, the amount of LME necessary to ensure homeostasis of the multilingual system is bound to increase with the accumulation of linguistic knowledge. The individual LME sets therefore a natural limit to the learner’s language acquisition effort (LAE). This explanation is regardless of the learner’s age and of the critical period hypothesis and could also explain why a linear progress in language learning is constantly hampered by LM. Multilingual speakers will therefore try to reduce LME, e.g. by developing domain-specific language skills. A relatively small decrease in the proficiency level of the single LS will lead to a disproportionally larger decrease in LM. To the knowledge of the author of this paper, this study is the first on LM from a holistic, psycholinguistic, and multilingual perspective.

4. Methodology and selection of participants

The author had read extensively websites, social networking sites, blogs, and watched YouTube videos in which polyglots share their language learning experience and their language learning techniques. On Facebook, she had learnt about the Polyglot Conference in Thessaloniki (Greece) in 2016, which she attended as an insider to get familiar with the setting and to recruit potential participants for her study. Additional participants were found at the Polyglot Gathering in Bratislava (Slovakia) in 2017. Both events are two large-scale international polyglot event series in which language enthusiasts from all over the world meet offline to attend talks and workshops on language-related topics.

For participant selection the author used a purposive sampling method. Participants (PAR) were individuals that she had met in person and that had $LS \geq 6$ languages belonging to language families ≥ 3 in their repertoire. Extreme cases with $LS > 20, 30$ were also selected since it was assumed that the LME would be even more evident in those cases. PAR had aroused the author’s attention in their conference talks or in informal conversations. They belonged to different age groups: $n = 6$ aged 20–30 (33%); $n = 6$ aged 31–40 (33%); $n = 3$ aged 41–50 (17%); $n = 2$ aged 51–60 (11%); $n = 1$ aged 61–70 (6%). Gender distribution was not even ($m = 14, f = 4$) but had not been deemed as a priority criterion. Proficiency levels could not be assessed by the researcher but had to be gathered from a questionnaire. Out of eighteen

PAR, sixteen had consented to their names being used. Among them are the organizers of the Polyglot Conference (PC) and speakers at the PC and the Polyglot Gathering (PG) as well as polyglots who were simple participants at the events (see Table 1).

Participant	Surname	First name	Gender	Age group	Polyglot event
PAR 1	Abadzi	Helen	f	61–70	PC 2016
PAR 2	Samarelli	Francesco	m	31–40	PC 2016
PAR 3	Lampariello	Luca	m	31–40	PC 2016
PAR 4	Ponnoussamy	Christine	f	20–30	PC 2016
PAR 5	Argüelles	Alexander	m	51–60	PC 2016
PAR 6	De Leo	Angelo	m	20–30	PC 2016
PAR 7	Hedin	Simon	m	31–40	PG 2016
PAR 8	Rawlings	Alex	m	20–30	PC 2016
PAR 9	Simcott	Richard	m	31–40	PC 2016
PAR 10	Anon. 1		m	41–50	PC 2016
PAR 11	Batyrev	Ivan	m	20–30	PC 2016
PAR 12	Haunold	Jessie Ann	f	51–60	PG 2017
PAR 13	Ternon	Emmanuel	m	20–30	PG 2017
PAR 14	Dolgushin	Andrei	m	31–40	PC 2016
PAR 15	Sahir	Fiel	m	20–30	PG 2017
PAR 16	Anon. 2		m	41–50	PG 2017
PAR 17	Polychronopoulos	Dimitris	m	41–50	PG 2017
PAR 18	Polese	Elisa	f	31–40	PG 2017

Table 1. Participants, gender, age group, and polyglot event of contact

Research instruments were a questionnaire with questions on personal data, language biography, languages explored, language acquisition and maintenance experience, and self-rated proficiency in the languages actually maintained and a semi-structured expert interview. The interviews had an average length of 58:13 minutes and were completely transcribed by the author. One interview was conducted face-to-face, the other ones on Skype since the PAR were scattered all over the globe after the polyglot events. Since the collection of the qualitative data was conducted before the Covid pandemic, some participants were not familiar with recorded video calls and had some technical issues. A thematic analysis was conducted with MAXQDA, a software for qualitative data analysis that allowed “the voices of the participants emerge clearly” [21, p. 193]. Against the common practice to publish only short quotes from the interview, the author of this paper gave ample space to the citations since she is convinced that the multiple voices of these language experts deserve to be heard in academic research.

5. Analysis and some research results

Research question 1: Terminology

RQ 1: How do participants in polyglot events define a polyglot or a hyper(poly)glot? What distinguishes polyglots from multilinguals? Do participants in polyglot events use alternative terms to describe themselves?

The analysis of RQ 1 will not be discussed in detail. From the answers of the PAR a number of characteristic features of a polyglot were elicited. These were incorporated in the definition of a *polyglot* by the author (see “Terminological issues” above). There was no consensus on terminology among the interviewees. PAR 1 and 2 saw the terms *polyglot* and *multilingual* basically as synonyms. The majority of PAR, however, were convinced that a distinction between the terms should be made although they were aware of possible overlaps. PAR 3, 4, 6, 18 essentially shared what the three organizers of the PG had also mentioned: Rawlings believed that the love for languages and the interest in language learning may be distinctive features [19, p. 130]; Simcott said that polyglots learn languages that are seemingly unnecessary for them [ibid., p. 128, 350]; and Argüelles, who became a PC organizer in 2017 and 2018, underlined

the fact that polyglots learn languages as a result of a conscious choice [ibid., p. 126, 329]. PAR often mentioned that polyglots learn languages because of their love for languages, unlike multilinguals, who were perceived as acquiring languages in a multilingual environment or because of life circumstances. A recurrent theme in the analysis (42 codings) was the love for languages and the passion for language learning. It can therefore certainly be seen as the most distinctive feature of a polyglot.

A great uncertainty was found around the term *hyperpolyglot*. PAR 12 had never heard it before [ibid., p. 138]; others would not apply the term to themselves but only to PAR with an impressive number of LS like Simcott, Tim Keeley or Argüelles [ibid., p. 139–140]. Simcott and Argüelles would not use the term in relation to themselves, though. Simcott, who had been contacted by Hudson, said that Hudson's definition did in fact describe him since he speaks several languages at a very high level, yet the term *hyperpolyglot* is not important to him to live by [ibid., p. 129–139, 351].

While the majority of participants applied the term *polyglot* to themselves, three preferred not to be labelled at all (PAR 3, 7, 14). Other PAR preferred terms like *language lover* or *language enthusiast* since they were perceived as more neutral and less elitist and since they comprised the love for language learning. PAR 10 used both terms interchangeably and described the compulsion to keep learning new languages as a form of pleasant addiction.

"I see myself as a language enthusiast. [...] A language lover – yes. And that is the term that I use, because it doesn't imply any claim as to success, but it does very well describe the stage I am, what I am about. So 'language lover' yes, because I am going to start learning languages just because they are there and [slight pause] for pleasure of it. [...] So I would call myself a language enthusiast, a sort of language addict, you could say. But again, this implies there is some sort of pain, which there isn't. It's pleasure" [ibid., p. 136–137].

PAR 17, who is of Greek origin, saw in his enthusiasm for language learning even a connection to the Greek gods. He said:

"I like 'language enthusiast' the most, because then it doesn't need any classification. I don't have to be worried about whether I am a pentaglot or a polyglot according to these laws. I can just enjoy. It shows more enthusiasm. Enthusiasm is even in the word 'language enthusiast'. And that is an old Greek word as well. *ενθουσιασμός* <Greek>, it is like you have got some spirit in you about it. It's a kind of connection to the Greek gods even, you can say, like you have been sparked with the spirit from the Greek gods that burns in you and you can then express it on the outside. So there is a deeper meaning as well in the root of this word as opposed to just 'many languages' of polyglot" [ibid., p. 137].

Research question 2: Language maintenance

RQ 2: *How do experienced learners of multiple languages maintain a complex psycholinguistic language system? Which importance do they attach to language maintenance? Which role does multilingual awareness play in language maintenance? Which maintenance strategies do they employ?*

This group of questions of the doctoral thesis shall be presented in greater detail.

Language systems explored and gradual language loss

Research into adult multilingualism is very complex. All eighteen PAR had very diverse language learning paths since they come from nine different countries (Belarus, France, Greece, Italy, Mexico, Sweden, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the USA) and had studied in very different school systems. The majority of the PAR (56%) who would later become polyglots had been raised monolingually (PAR 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18). Twenty-eight percent (PAR 4, 8, 15, 16, 17) had received a bilingual upbringing. PAR 2 and 11 had come in contact with a second and third language in childhood but in the family only one language had been spoken. Only PAR 12 had a multilingual upbringing in the family of origin. The first additional language was often learnt at high school or in tertiary education, but the bulk of languages were acquired later and mostly autonomously. The author of this study wanted to gather a picture of

the *holistic multilingual psycholinguistic systems* of the respondents, as she termed it, that also comprised classical, constructed and semiotic languages such as sign languages. The language systems that PAR had listed in the questionnaire and the interview can be found in Appendix 2.

Only two PAR had studied only Indo-European languages, the other 16 had also explored non-Indo-European languages spoken in Europe, Africa, Asia, Central America, and the Middle East. Esperanto as a constructed language had been learnt by four respondents, while PAR 9 had studied both Esperanto and Toki Pona. The British or American Sign Languages had been explored by two PAR. Seven PAR had studied classical languages like Ancient Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit. Argüelles, next to these, had also studied Old High German, Middle High German, Old Norse, Old French, Old Occitan, Old English, Middle English, Middle Dutch, Old Swedish and Gothic. Both Argüelles and Simcott, who had explored LS > 40, list language families rather than single languages. Simcott has a very varied repertoire:

“I have studied pretty much all of the Romance and all of the Slavic languages, all of the Germanic, which is already a lot, without going out of the Indo-European. And then Latvian, Estonian, Finnish. [slight pause] I’ve looked at Lithuanian in the past but not very well, and then Arabic, Japanese, Chinese, Thai, Hebrew, sign language and Celtic languages like Manx and obviously Welsh. So this is a lot of languages. And then some of the constructed languages. I’ve looked at Toki Pona and I’ve studied Esperanto. At the moment I am learning Honduran Lenca [...] and Nawat [...] which is spoken in, it’s kind of, like, Nahuatl from Mexico, but it is from El Salvador. So those two. And then Romani language. At the moment I am trying to improve my active level in Romani, because this is a language that I can use here. I have gone for functional languages that I can actually use” [19, p. 194, 348].

In Appendix 3 the LS that are actively maintained by all PAR are listed as well as the self-rated language proficiency that has been elicited with the questionnaire on a scale from one to five: *elementary* (1), *pre-intermediate* (2), *intermediate* (3), *upper-intermediate* (4), and *advanced* (5).

Simcott, who had explored LS > 40, wrote that it was impossible for him to assess the proficiency levels in his languages accurately [ibid., p. 196]. Similarly, Argüelles had not given any proficiency levels in the questionnaire himself but had agreed to the use of the reading abilities in his languages from his website, which then was still available [ibid., p. 188, 321].

Exploring so many languages is certainly a great achievement, but maintaining them is assumed to be even more challenging. From a CDST perspective, the DMM posits that language development is non-linear and will change over time. It hypothesizes that noticeable forms of language attrition will set in after a period of non-use and will affect the different LS to unequal degree; in underdeveloped systems the effects will be visible soon, while in well-developed systems the phenomenon will set in with a delay. Although no question in the interview or the questionnaire was aimed at eliciting data on gradual language loss, 17 out of 18 PAR spoke about it either as a general phenomenon or as an issue they had observed in other polyglots or in themselves. PAR reported it in the following LS: PAR 1 Albanian, Romanian, Sinhalese, Bahasa, Malagasy; PAR 2 & PAR 10 German; PAR 3 & PAR 4 Chinese; PAR 4 & PAR 9 Japanese; PAR 4 Spanish; PAR 9 Faroese; PAR 10 Russian; and PAR 11 French. To illustrate the language attrition in Chinese, see Transcript (henceforth T) 1 in Appendix 1.

Language maintenance and language proficiency

Data from the study confirms the assumption of the DMM that the attrition process depends on the proficiency level in the LS and that it will set in later in well-developed systems which the PAR have pinpointed at an upper-intermediate or advanced level. Here is what PAR 18 noted; in Appendix 1 there is another example (T2).

“Of course, it very much depends on the level you already have in one language. The lower it is, the more effort you need to maintain it. And once you reach like B2–C1, it is much easier to maintain it or, if you haven’t used it for a long time, you can refresh it much more quickly” [19, p. 217].

Perceived importance and difficulties of language maintenance

When multilingual speakers notice phenomena of gradual language loss, according to the DMM, they will try to counteract the language erosion by an increased use of compensatory strategies. In the interview, PAR were asked to rate the importance that they attach to LM on a numerical scale from one to five (5 = very important, 4 = important; 3 = quite important; 2 = little important, 1 = not important). Ten PAR used numbers from one to five; four used intermediate numbers; and two only gave a verbal explanation. In fact, all PAR generated non-elicited verbal explanations that offer valuable insights. Polyglot Luca Lampariello gave the following explanation:

“It really depends on what you want to achieve. To me, personally, I give more importance to maintaining than learning. When I learn a language, I make sure that an hour is dedicated to learning and all the rest is dedicated to maintaining, so for me maintaining is, let’s say, 4 out of 5 because the fifth would be learning other languages, but the bulk of the work is actually maintaining and having a lifestyle that helps you sustain what you have” [ibid., p. 221].

Rawlings explained the importance of LM with a Russian saying:

“Five [...] Because... one of my Russian teachers when I was in Russia told me there is this expression which is like, ‘Learning a language is swimming against the current. The moment you stop swimming, you’ll float back’. It’s the same with a language. If you don’t maintain it, if you don’t plan how to keep it going, you’ll forget it all” [ibid., p. 222].

All PAR are aware that gradual language loss will set in if not enough time and energy are invested into LM.

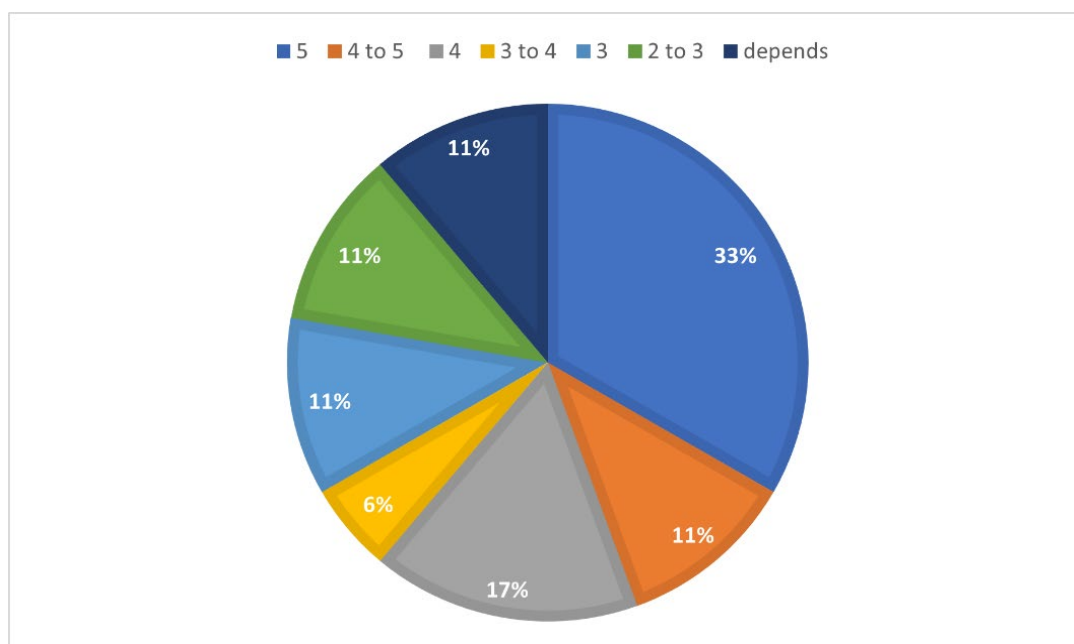


Figure 1. Perceived importance of language maintenance

Very important = 5; important = 4; quite important = 3; little important = 2, not important = 1.
PAR also used intermediate values.

As Fig. 1 shows, 51% perceive LM as very important or important, 17% as quite important, 11% as little to quite important, and another 11% do not attach a number but explain that the importance depends on the resources at disposal and on the aims in the target languages, and may even change in the future when the number of LS in the repertoire may increase.

All PAR are aware that time and energy resources that can be devoted to LM are limited. They also note that the LM process becomes difficult and requires brain power especially when the LS to be maintained are > 10 (e.g. T3). They state that it is difficult to practice many LS in one's daily life and sociolinguistic context (see transcript of PAR 13 below) and that LM requires a careful planning and an extra level of motivation, which is greater than the one needed for language acquisition.

“...I can assume it is probably tough to maintain more than 10–11 languages to, like, a fluent level. Yeah, because you know, the time you have in a day is limited, so you can't just [*incomplete sentence*] it's probably, like, you probably can't practice more than 10 languages a day, or rather, more than 4–5 languages a day unless you have a special occasion like the Polyglot Gathering or the Polyglot Conference” [19, p. 227].

PAR 13 (see T4) also speaks about the difficulty of maintaining different scripts, in his case Chinese and Japanese, which is a very time-consuming process. The knowledge of the many characters seems to attrite fast if they are not constantly revised.

Time management and maintenance routines

Speakers of multiple languages only have a limited amount of time to devote to both language acquisition and language maintenance. All PAR are aware of this problem but approach it differently. While some follow a relatively set schedule and have routines to learn and maintain their LS on a daily or weekly basis, others are less systematic but are nonetheless aware of the necessity of counteracting attrition. Very often they maintain the target LS with activities that they perceive as pleasant and relaxing. All try to reduce LME by integrating both learning and LM into their daily life, very often in small units that fit well into the busy time schedules of adults. The PAR who follows the strictest language workout is Argüelles. He had also described it in Erard's *Babel No More* [6]. In the interview in 2017, he admitted that his maintenance regime had changed since his life circumstances had also changed and he was then devoting some time to writing a novel (T5).

In T6 one will find an excerpt of the interview with PAR 6 who does not follow a strict LM regime but is always mindful of it.

The role of the M-factor in LM

The 90 codings used in the study show that all PAR have an enhanced multilingual awareness due to the many LS in their repertoire and their language learning experience. They are all able to define proficiency levels and the perceived needs of maintenance for all their LS clearly. Simcott, for instance, tells that maintaining Polish does not take long for him since he speaks many Slavic languages which he uses at home and in his environment on a daily basis. Many cognates and loan words help him to revive not only Polish but also Turkish while speaking Macedonian (T7).

Language maintenance strategies

Experienced language learners like polyglots are highly autonomous and use a great variety of language learning strategies. The current study found ample evidence for this claim. From the interview data it emerged that polyglots were also able to use their multilingual expertise as a strategic source in LM and language management. To the best of the author's knowledge, language maintenance strategies (LMS) had not been described systematically in academic literature before. All PAR reported on a great number of tools and methods for the maintenance of the targeted LS. They described, for instance, that they revised grammar and vocabulary by using language learning apps or grammar books. They also practiced their speaking skills by engaging in conversations with native speakers whenever possible: in restaurants, at work, on the Internet, or at cultural events of the target language or by attending local or international polyglot events. Besides, they revised their target languages by reading non-fiction and fiction and by listening to podcasts, songs, radio programs or by watching the news, Netflix series, videos or weather forecasts in multiple languages.

The author of this article tried a classification of the above mentioned LMS. She identified two higher-order LMS (HO-LMS) such as “HO-LMS 1: minimizing LME by resorting to language learning experience and multilingual awareness” and “HO-LMS 2: minimizing LME by maximizing language use”. She further classified a number of LMS for both higher-order strategies that are aimed at minimizing LME.

HO-LMS 1: minimizing LME by resorting to language learning experience and multilingual awareness includes LMS in which the multilingual speaker/learner makes use of his/her knowledge about multiple languages, knowledge about learning, and about language learning to minimize the LME.

HO-LMS 2: minimizing LME by maximizing language use includes LMS with which the multilingual speaker/learner tries to maximize language use to keep his psycholinguistic system stable.

Both higher-order LMS can be further subdivided as the following table shows (Table 2). The single LMS are often interconnected and a clear distinction is not always possible.

1	HO-LMS 1: minimizing LME resorting to language learning experience and multilingual awareness
1.a	LMS resorting to language learning experience
1.b	LMS resorting to multilingual awareness
1.c	LMS identifying proficiency levels and objectives
1.d	LMS developing maintenance habits
2	HO-LMS 2: minimizing LME by maximizing language use
2.a	LMS practicing productive skills – speaking
2.b	LMS practicing productive skills – writing
2.c	LMS practicing receptive skills – reading
2.d	LMS practicing receptive skills – listening
2.e	LMS maximizing language maintenance in daily life
2.f	LMS maximizing language use by engaging in cultural activities in the target language(s)
2.g	LMS maximizing language use in the profession
2.h	LMS maximizing language use in the family
2.i	LMS maximizing language use with friends
2.j	LMS maximizing language use with the polyglot community
2.k	LMS maximizing language use – travelling to country where target language is spoken

Table 2. Language maintenance strategies used to minimize language maintenance effort

In Appendix 1, four examples are given: for 1.c) LMS identifying proficiency levels and objectives (T8), for 1.b) LMS resorting to multilingual awareness (T9), for 2.a) LMS practicing productive skills – speaking (T10), and for 2.d) LMS practicing receptive skills – listening (T11). In the following example, PAR 8 was asked if the polyglot community played a role in LM. His answer is an example for 2.j) LMS maximizing language use with the polyglot community.

“It is important. I feel very motivated by the people from the language learning community. I feel very motivated to set myself new goals and to start new projects. And I like to see what they are doing. When you see how much they enjoy it, it reminds you that it is something you really *enjoy*. I think, without knowing so many other people who share the same passion as me, it would be harder to maintain it as a hobby. Actually, because so few people learn languages in quite this way to quite this extent, ironically, learning all those languages could be quite isolating if you didn’t know other people who do it too, because all your monolingual friends would just ask: ‘Why would you do that? Why would you waste your life learning all these languages?’ So, you know, it’s nice when people understand you and do the same thing” [19, p. 269].

Like PAR 8, many other respondents also mentioned that the polyglot community played a role not just for language practice at these events but as a booster for motivation necessary for LM. Interviewees said to be motivated and inspired by other like-minded people. Keeping motivation high is perceived as important for sustaining long-term goals and efforts.

The qualitative data of the current study offered ample proof that experienced language learners like polyglots use a broad range of strategies for language learning, language maintenance, and language management that they skilfully combine and orchestrate through metacognition. Griffiths' claim that strategy orchestration is complex and that its development follows a non-linear pattern [7, p. 183, 185] was confirmed by the analysed data, but the author of this paper proposes an alternative term for Griffiths' *tornado effect* for the description of dynamic strategy development since it may have a destructive connotation. She suggests the more neutral term *enhanced strategy effect* (ESE) instead, which would be in line with the wording from the DMM, namely *enhanced multilingual monitor*. She also identified a new emergent property in experienced language learners like polyglots that she called *smart strategy orchestration* (SSO). This property results from the simultaneous learning and maintenance of many language systems and from a smart management of the limited time and energy resources. Polyglots will try to minimize LME through SSO according to the principle of economy of effort which Herdina & Jessner derived from a generalisation of Zipf's law of least effort [8, p. 102]. Two examples shall illustrate the SSO:

"[...] the strategies? Well I mix. I have a system: systematic lessons, that is what I do in the mornings and at night I watch a TV series, a film. [...] In the morning I always do something with a book. I need for everything a book, several books. I have for each language several methods, yeah, and teachers" [19, p. 278].

"I read a bit Welsh most days and I also check Welsh news sites every day. On Facebook I post in Russian or German with many people I know. [...] So I've been using exams actually as a way of focusing and tuning up my advanced languages, because that gives me a goal, it is objective, it gives you a bit of pressure. I have also shared a house. So I have shared a house with Welsh speakers" [ibid.].

Research question 3: Which factors play a major role in the maintenance of multiple languages?

The DMM assumes that the complexity and variability of a psycholinguistic system are influenced by individual cognitive factors as well as by societal factors. Biological factors like gender and age are hypothesized not to be as relevant.

Since gender distribution is not balanced in the current study, the role of gender in LM could not be explored in depth. From the analysis of the data collected with the questionnaire and the interviews, no gender difference could be detected, only that answers regarding identity and language learning seemed important to all female PAR. A comparison with male PAR cannot be drawn since not all were asked a question on this topic.

Age could be partly investigated since PAR are of different age groups. Findings confirmed that respondents continued the accumulation of linguistic knowledge throughout the lifespan even at an advanced age > 60. This is in line with research done in the author's doctoral thesis that had described language acquisition until an advanced age of some polyglots of the past like Cardinal Mezzofanti [19, p. 79–85] and Kató Lomb [ibid., p. 89–93]. In Table 3, the number of LS explored is set in relation to the age group of the PAR. The amount of LS is grouped in ranges (6–10; 11–20; 21–30; 31–40; > 40) since PAR 5 and 9 with LS > 40 tend to think in language families rather than in single LS. While PAR aged 20–30 have already explored 9–15 LS, all PAR who have learnt LS > 21 are older than 31. The accumulation of linguistic knowledge can therefore progress with age. However, as PAR 1 (Helen Abadzi, a cognitive psychologist) revealed, forgetting in one's old age is faster than in one's young age. She speaks about how switching between languages becomes more difficult as this process becomes more conscious and time consuming with age. Yet, she recommends the process as a good anti-aging exercise.

Range of languages explored	Participant	Number of language systems	Age group
6–10	PAR 2	7 + 2	31–40
	PAR 6	9	20–30
	PAR 11	9	20–30
	PAR 15	9	20–30
11–15	PAR 3	14	31–40
	PAR 4	12	20–30
	PAR 7	11	31–40
	PAR 8	15	20–30
	PAR 10	12	41–50
	PAR 12	16	51–60
	PAR 13	11	20–30
	PAR 14	11	31–40
	PAR 16	12	41–50
16–20	/	/	/
21–25	PAR 18	23	31–40
26–30	PAR 1	26	61–70
	PAR 17	28	41–50
31–35	/	/	/
36–40	/	/	/
> 40	PAR 5	Both PAR do not tell a precise number; PAR 9 LS > 50	51–60
	PAR 9		31–40

Table 3. Number of language systems explored in relation to age

Data generated with the questionnaire reveal that adults can learn a great number of LS well after the end of the critical period and can attain advanced proficiency in many of them (see Appendix 3). This seems to confirm the hypothesis of the DMM that it is the LAE and the LME that hamper language development rather than age.

The present study focused on psychological factors and investigated into factors such as *the love for languages, motivation, attitude towards other languages and cultures, empathy with other people via their languages, self-discipline, perseverance* and *can-do attitude* as the subcodes in the theme of *characteristic features* of a polyglot were called. The love for languages impacts the life of PAR considerably and is connected to intrinsic motivation, attitude towards other languages and cultures, and empathy with other people via their language. The following example shall illustrate this claim (T12, T13, and T14 can be found in Appendix 1).

“When it comes to Portuguese it is by far my favourite language. It is the language that I literally get excited to speak. Even thinking about it, my neurons and my adrenaline is like lighting up right now if you had a brain scanner. I believe that is where I feel the most myself comfortable and really-really truly me. And I believe it has a lot to do with the culture, which is open-minded, free-spirited and fun. Of course, there’s some downsides to the Brazilian culture, which I won’t get into, because it is perfect in my mind, but the idea behind the Brazilian culture to me has always been beautiful and when I fully immersed myself, I found my *[slight pause]* nature in this world. Even if I am there only for 12 hours for work, I am glowing, and I am standing taller and I am in my element. So I go for any opportunity to speak Portuguese whether it is a Portuguese person from Portugal or a Brazilian, there is always going to be me trying to speak Portuguese” [19, p. 143].

Hyltenstam [13, p. 172–173] and Sankò [22, p. 310] list intrinsic motivation as a characteristic feature of a polyglot. From a DMM standpoint it can be assumed that motivation may play a relevant role the general language effort (GLE), which is the sum of LAE and LME. Every PAR was therefore asked why they invest so much time in language acquisition and LM and what their inner drive was. These answers and other non-elicited answers resulted in 40 codings on motivation. Despite individual differences, the following commonalities could be detected [19, p. 161]:

- a) desire to connect with people on a deeper level through the interlocutors' native languages (PAR 2, 3, 6, 8, 14, 15, 17, 18);
- b) desire to understand the world and other cultures better (PAR 3, 6, 8, 11, 13, 18);
- c) language learning as a way of improving the self or as a part of one's identity (PAR 3, 5, 6, 18);
- d) motivation seems to become a self-sustained system with increasing language learning experience (PAR 1, 3, 9, 10, 17);
- e) pleasure of speaking / pronouncing sounds in other languages (PAR 10, 11, 12, 16);
- f) interest in other cultures and people as reasons for travels (PAR 3, 6, 13);
- g) awareness of cognitive and metacognitive benefits (PAR 3, 9);
- h) utility in the profession (PAR 1, 3).

It is noteworthy that with increasing language learning expertise, motivation seems to become self-sustaining. One excerpt from the interview shall exemplify this claim; two more can be found in the appendix (T15, T16).

"I was always excited by that idea of, again, to communicate in a different language. Of course, then the more you know about anything, the more interesting it gets. It is like wine. The more you know about it, the more you become a connoisseur. That is true of anything. Any intricacies become self-sustaining" [19, p. 158].

6. Discussion

Despite some overlaps with the term *multilingual*, a representative of the population explored in the current study should be termed with a distinctive term. The author of this paper proposes to use *polyglot* for expert learners of multiple languages who are characterized by a life-long passion for language learning. She does not pinpoint her definition to a specific number of languages learnt, nor to proficiency levels, but to characteristic features. Becoming a speaker of a great number of languages is the result of hard work and a strong devotion to language learning and maintenance. A considerable amount of time and effort is invested into the process over the years, which can continue till an advanced age. This has a deep impact on the polyglot's life, social relationships, and often work too. With increasing expertise, the motivation to keep investing in continuous language learning and maintenance seems to become a self-sustaining system. The love for languages, a cosmopolitan and open-minded attitude towards other languages and cultures, and the desire to communicate with the interlocutors in their languages support the motivational factors.

Yet, since there is not only positive progression in language learning, but also language attrition if the languages are not used, self-discipline and perseverance are necessary character traits to keep the process going and the psycholinguistic system stable. Polyglots are highly aware of the phenomenon of gradual language loss. However, as expert language learners they are able to orchestrate the strategies for language acquisition and maintenance (an emergent property that they develop) smartly to reduce the general language effort (GLE) through multilingual awareness. To minimize LME, they use a wide range of LMS which have been described in the current study. Polyglots are able to define their proficiency levels and language goals clearly. The levels in their languages may range from advanced to elementary and are subject to change in the course of their life-span. Polyglots decide when to invest more or less energy into maintenance according to life circumstances and goals.

Is it certainly advantageous to become a polyglot if one has been raised in a multilingual family or a multilingual environment or has received early multilingual instruction, yet this is no prerequisite. As the study shows, most future polyglots have been raised monolingually. Some claimed to have discovered their love for languages early in life and to have learnt one or two additional languages at school, but most PAR reported to have learnt most of their languages as adults, often even after tertiary education, and to have studied them mainly autonomously. One way to enhance their motivation and their self-directed

study is to follow members of the polyglot community who share their expertise in language learning via YouTube, websites, social media, and books. Online and offline meetings at international polyglot events are especially inspirational and boost their motivation.

7. Conclusion

The world of polyglottery is a fascinating phenomenon which needs to be explored in greater depth. The present study may offer some valuable insights for further investigations. Neuroscientists could work together with researchers on polyglotism and with scholars in the field of TLA who operate from a CDST perspective to investigate the complexity and interrelation between neuro-, psycho- and sociolinguistic aspects of multilingualism.

More light must be shed on the phenomena of language attrition and language maintenance in speakers of many languages by taking into account their holistic multilingual psycholinguistic system. The elaboration of a more fine-grained language maintenance strategy repertoire is a further research desideratum.

The definition of the term *polyglot* in this paper and its distinction from definitions of *multilingual* may serve as a contribution to the ongoing debate in the field of multilingualism and polyglotism. It is also advisable to reflect about the term *hyperpolyglot* in research and in the media.

Since the author of this paper is a language teacher at a high school, she can see the relevance of the findings of the present study in educational settings in her daily work. The strategies of successful language learning experts should be applied to language instruction and language learning in educational settings from the primary to tertiary education. Strategy training should play a more prominent role in language instruction. No ready-made, pre-set formulas of language acquisition and language maintenance strategies can be taught, as strategy use is highly idiosyncratic, but a wide range of smart language learning techniques used by language experts like polyglots can be offered at all levels of instruction, even more so where curricula are conceptualized from a holistic standpoint like the ones proposed by the various common language curricula. The importance of enhancing multilingual awareness as the key to language learning success and of fostering the love for languages in the language classroom should be taught in teacher training courses and be passed on to learners at school and university.

The shining example of language enthusiasts like polyglots with their smart strategy use, their open-minded attitude towards other languages and cultures, their diligence and self-discipline can be taught by using the great number of videos and podcasts that these language lovers share on their channels, websites, and social media platforms. Their love for languages and their expertise can be a precious source of inspiration for the Mezzofantis of the future.

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Appendix 1

Transcripts from the interviews

T1: Chinese is the language I am neglecting the most. It is really important, but I haven't spoken it in two years, and the interesting and amazing thing is that not speaking it – and I used to speak it fluently three years ago – but not speaking it *at all* for three years [*incomplete sentence*] I had a Chinese guest here and I could not even come up with a word like 'work'. I didn't remember, because when you don't use a language *at all*, then it shrinks, no matter your level. My level of Chinese: it got to be B2 but then it shrank because I didn't use it [19, p. 219].

T2: Because I have reached a very high level, my experience is, you don't really need to maintain those languages. If you go back to them, if you live in that country, you are going to be back at a high level. My belief is that you only really forget if you are below the B2 level, then I think there is a risk [19, p. 216–217].

T3: So what happens is that basically you can learn as many languages that you want, but then you can have limits in the amount of languages that you can use every day. [...] Everybody is different, but I think that you can learn as many languages that you want. The main problem is maintaining them: it needs a lot of brain power. We have 14 hours a day, let's suppose we have 14 hours a day when we are awake. We cannot spend 14 hours a day to do that. There is one person who does that whose name is Prof. Argüelles [19, p. 227].

T4: There is one more aspect, well, that not everyone thinks about, especially people who don't learn Asian languages, especially languages for which you need to learn [*unclear*] characters. As you probably know, there are quite a lot of Chinese characters and maintaining your Chinese character knowledge is something really tough and really demanding in terms of energy and it tends to attrite quite quickly. So I think, you know, like for Japanese and Chinese, if you really want to keep them at a high level, you need to read and write them as well. That takes a lot of time [19, p. 228].

T5: These days actually, as I mentioned in the Conference, I am actually kind of almost shifting gears, at least temporarily. I am trying to write a novel. In English. So that's a lot of the time that, if you had asked me this question a year or two ago, I could have given an answer much more easily along the lines described in the Michael Erard interview. And I still do things, like here I have [*shows the interviewer his books; incomplete sentence*] These are the advanced ASSIMIL for Arabic and Russian. And you can see I have all these stickers and notes in them. I have studied these thoroughly, and every single day I make a point of systematically going through and covering certain lessons for them. So where is my notebook here? So there are 70 lessons in each book, and it is supposed to get you to C1 level, and they are quite rich in terms of vocabulary and stuff like this. So I have studied them thoroughly, and now what I am trying to do is to entirely digest these, let's put it this way, I am not trying to memorize them per se, but that is basically what I am doing. If I can memorize everything in here, all the structures, all vocabulary, then I'll be really quite solid. So every single day I take [*incomplete sentence*] The book is divided into 70 lessons, so I have divided it into 10 sections a week, okay, so every day I will take, like if I do this today, today I would do lesson 3, 8, 15 and 22. That would be one like 15 to 20-minute session. Then I'll do the same in Russian. Then I'll do something else. Then, the next time I will do lessons, as they are getting longer and getting harder, I will do 29 and 31. I spend like 15 minutes of the time with this book [*ASSIMIL Arabic*] and then with this book [*ASSIMIL Russian*]. Then I put them aside and do something else, and then at another point in the day I come back and I do these, because Russian and Arabic are two languages that are very interesting and important to me. They are objectively hard and difficult languages to me. They are languages that I have got a lot of study in, but I need more active practice. These two things that I consciously do. Apart from that, just in terms of the other languages, the bigger languages that I know better, like French and German and Spanish, I just try to read, to read really good literature, a good book or a

good novel in those on a regular basis. And then in terms of the other languages that I have studied, the older languages, the philological languages, that I have no chance to speak, likewise I try to balance. I read a book in Old Norse and then I read a book in Middle High German and then I read a book in another dialect. So I try to keep a cyclical balance going like that. I'm also teaching my sons a lot of languages. Every morning I sit down with my sons and we study German, Spanish, Russian, Latin and Korean. So I sit with them and we do those languages every morning. I speak French with my sons. I try to speak as much Korean as I can with my wife. At work there are some Russians. I try to speak Russian and Arabic at work too. I try to balance and integrate them into my life. At the time of the Michael Erard interview, I was living very isolated. All I could do was just sit and study at my desk and do not much else, whereas I am in the position now where I have a bit more ability to get some practical use and talk. So I try to do that. And like I said, a couple of years ago I kind of started to shift gears. I wanted to do something creative myself. I didn't want to just study grammar but do something creative. So I spend about, er, two hours or so, maybe sometimes three hours a day writing, while in the past that would all have been language study. So in the past it would have been more language study, more stuff like that [19, p. 230–231, 332–333].

T6: I mean, I don't plan it. My maintenance is not planned. My learning is. But it really has to do with the way I learn and maintain languages with my specific method. Once I get to the stage where I am speaking with native speakers freely, I just do it. I look up words, I do vocabulary, I memorize [*unclear*], and if there are any words that come up in conversation that I don't understand, then I look them up and try to learn them as best as I can and try to remember them for next time. So I don't sit down every morning and say: "Okay, today I am going to work on Russian, Italian, Spanish". I don't do that. When I am learning a language, I do. I have to do a lesson on German today, so probably I am going to do vocabulary. My maintaining typically has to do with speaking to native speakers. If I don't have a native speaker to talk to that day, maybe I listen to a couple of songs in that language or watch a newscast or maybe a funny video in that language. So it is not really systematic, more spontaneous I would say [19, p. 233–234].

T7: I knew when I started learning Polish that I didn't need to speak it perfectly or to very-very high level. Because I already speak Slavic languages at home and around me on a daily basis and because Polish is a Slavic language, there are certain things that remind you of Polish when you speak in a Slavic language. It never disappears completely. Okay. So my goal in Polish was to get communicational in the language at A2/A1 level where you can actually talk to people and it's fine. To revise that level of language wouldn't take very long. You are not talking about many words. You are not talking about 10,000 words like you need like, for example, for C2 or more level where you need thousands and thousands of words. You are talking maybe of 5,000 words. But when we are speaking about languages that are similar, we are probably talking about maybe 1,000, maybe max that are different. You know, I speak Macedonian at home, 'вода' is water in Macedonian, 'woda' in Polish. I think 1,800 words are the same in all Slavic languages. So before you begin with a language, of that family particularly, you already have all these words. Turkish: in the Macedonian language you already have 5,000 or 6,000 Turkish words... So if I haven't been speaking Turkish for a while, because I speak Macedonian, Turkish will never go completely. Reviving Turkish would be harder for somebody who just speaks English. So it is understanding where [*incomplete sentence*] what level you need, how much maintenance you can realistically put in. So for a language like Polish, I would probably not revisit Polish more than once a year [19, p. 238, 355–356].

T8: 1.c) LMS identifying proficiency levels and objectives: The bottom line of this is: we need discipline, passion, organization, but the more languages you speak, when you speak more than ten, it is *really* difficult to keep them all at the same level. You always have a core of languages that I can speak very well and I use, and other languages you speak less or that you are learning or that you speak less or that you don't use at all – depending on your priorities. If, next year I will go to China, just to give you an example, I will make sure that Chinese – Chinese is a very important language – so I will go back to it, but as of now I have other priorities. I have getting Hungarian to a decent level, getting Russian to a C2, and at the same time I want to keep practicing Polish and Japanese. These are four languages, and four is a lot, when you have also six, seven or eight in the background [19, p. 247].

T9: 1.b) LMS resorting to multilingual awareness: And how do you maintain? [...] You have got to go back to the books that you used to have. There is this cognitive psychology concept called the retrieval path and it is very explainable on the basis of the fact that knowledge is set up in networks. You encoded something in a network. This is the way it will be relearned, and this is the way it will be retrieved. Now. The smart thing to do forever is to keep your books or to go back and find your books. Let's say you studied German from a whatever book thirty years ago, go back and find those books and you will see the difference. Better yet, if they have kept your marginal notes, because then you see what something reminded you of. And once you have finished the review of the known stuff, then you go to the unknown stuff. Otherwise you are creating new cognitive networks, wasting time, not being sure what anything is [19, p. 243].

T10: 2.a) LMS practicing productive skills – speaking: I do use SharedLingo just to practice with people in their native tongue, which could be French or Portuguese or German and I then help them with a few minutes of English. I use HelloTalk as well, but I am not systematic about it, nor am I consistent about it. It is more the people that I am lucky to encounter whether at a language exchange or at my Language Lounge that I host in New York or wherever else I am hosting events, but I also go to events that other people are hosting and I look for the flags and I consciously speak that language that I want to get the practice [19, p. 251].

T11: LMS practicing receptive skills – listening: I used to watch a lot of American, mostly American – and this is where my accent comes from – American movies and American TV shows. Especially TV shows are very useful, because you get used to the characters and every episode it's mostly the same routine and it is very good for maintaining your language. I noticed, and I cannot explain it, when I watch movies, probably my articulation organs are following the actors' articulation and I feel that my pronunciation gets better, even if I don't speak it and I just watch it. When I start speaking it, my pronunciation sounds better. [...] Sometimes if I had the idea to brush up my Serbian, I would listen to some music and I would watch some movies probably [19, p. 255].

T12: And like Steve Jobs said in 2005 in that famous speech of his where he talks about this, that the job you have is a big part of your life. If you choose the job that you like, you know, that you love and you do what you love, then things are going to wind up and you are going to be satisfied. And I made that specific choice that allowed me not only to speak languages in real life, but also at work [19, p. 144].

T13: From my experience, people – at least at these kind of events, these language-related events – they are open-minded. They share their passion for languages. They are really cosmopolitan. [...] They share a globalist view. They are curious. They are eager to learn new things and new languages. And when you learn a new language, you learn a new culture. So you are more open to other kinds of cultures, to other kinds of religions, political views and so on and so forth, because every country is different. And when you are learning a language, you are learning the history of a country [19, p. 146].

T14: And so for me, again, the most important thing is to connect with them through their heart rather than using people to kind of practice or things like that, because if I wanted to practice, I could go on italki or go on HelloTalk. You know, there are so many apps [19, p. 151].

T15: It is for two reasons. Because for my inner world, my inside world, and for my outside world got so much better. In terms of my inner world, so to say, I understand people better, I understand different perspectives, it helped me understand how people think differently, to empathize with people, to find a job, to travel better, to warm up with people, to find friends, to find girls, everything has become so easy: communication, going out, finding people, finding jobs. It's amazing what the benefits of language learning are. And the second reason is because I want to understand the world. This is what drives me. Since I was a little kid I got these books, I was surrounded by books and I was surrounded by interesting people: my mother, my grandmother, my grandfather, all passionate and thirsty about knowledge and they really inspired me to understand the world. Languages for me are just a tool to understand the world. And another thing, and the second thing is that actually my brain actually works faster. So all the cognitive

benefits: I think faster, I elaborate faster. So language has to do with other things. So my brain has become more powerful. Language learning is a training. So it is a training for your mind, it is a training for memory, it is a training for thinking, trying to solve problems. So, on the one side it's the outside world and understand the world that make things so much easier and better and more interesting, and on the other side it is understanding myself better, because through the struggle or the quest of learning languages I have become a better learner and I my brain works faster. There is not one bad thing about learning foreign languages, and they even said it delays Alzheimer's. So better than this, I don't know [*laughs*]. What else, what other reasons do I need? [19, p. 156]

T 16: It is just very rewarding, because after your first, your second and your third language you start to understand like how to do it efficiently, and once you know how to do it efficiently, it becomes a little less painful, but also the reward stays the same. For me making yourself a more tolerant, knowledgeable, open person, I think, is very rewarding for anyone to have, and it can lead to many other very good personal qualities and it can lead to positive achievement. Positive – you know, improvement of the human race. That is a great thing, I think. Yes, that's my motivation. It's kind of a system in itself [19, p. 157].

Appendix 2

Holistic multilingual psycholinguistic systems

Participant	Language systems explored
PAR 1	Indo-European: Greek; English, German; Spanish, French, Portuguese, Italian, Romanian; Albanian; Russian; Hindi, Nepali, Bengali, Sinhalese. Classical languages: Ancient Greek, Latin; Sanskrit Non-Indo-European: Japanese; Bahasa, Khmer, Chinese, Modern Standard Arabic, Hebrew, Swahili, Wolof, Malagasy Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /
PAR 2	Indo-European: English, German, Italian (plus Neapolitan and Cilentano dialect), Spanish, Portuguese, French, Polish Non-Indo-European: / Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /
PAR 3	Indo-European: Italian (can do Italian dialects), French, Spanish, Portuguese; English, German, Dutch, Swedish; Russian, Polish. Classical languages: Latin Non-Indo-European: Hungarian; Japanese, Mandarin Chinese Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /
PAR 4	Indo-European: French, Italian, Spanish; English, German; Russian; Hindi. Classical languages: Latin Non-Indo-European: Tamil, Korean, Chinese, Japanese Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /
PAR 5	As he has spent all his life studying languages, he finds it difficult to tell how many languages he has explored. Borders between languages become blurred. He thinks in terms of language families. He knows the Germanic and the Romance family thoroughly, the Slavic family to a lesser degree. He also knows many languages that are not related to these families, like Korean. Languages mentioned in the interview: Indo-European: Old Norse, Middle High German, German, English, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish; Latin, French, Spanish; Russian Non-Indo-European: Turkish, Arabic, Korean, Chinese, Japanese, Swahili (Finnish added in 2019 after the interview, but mentioned in the data sheet) Constructed languages: / Sign languages: / On his website: www.foreignlanguageexpertise.com (no longer accessible) he assessed reading abilities in 38 languages: English, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Swedish, Old Norse, Middle High German, Old French, Latin, Middle English, Middle Dutch, Old Occitan, Old Swedish, Portuguese, Catalan, Norwegian (NN), Norwegian (BM), Danish, Modern Provençal, Esperanto, Afrikaans, Icelandic, Russian, Modern Standard Arabic, Korean, Persian, Modern Greek, Frisian, Old English, Old High German, Romanian, Gothic, Ancient Greek, Irish Gaelic, Hindi, Sanskrit. He also mentioned Euskara, Finnish, Shona (a Bantu language), Zulu, Ancient Egyptian, Quechua, Malay Indonesian, Swahili, Turkish, Hindi-Urdu, Arabic, Persian.
PAR 6	Indo-European: English (native), German; Italian, Spanish; Russian, Modern Greek. Classical languages: Latin Non-Indo-European: Arabic; Mandarin Chinese Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /
PAR 7	Indo-European: Swedish, English, German; Spanish, French; Russian; Hindi, Urdu, Persian Non-Indo-European: Indonesian, Mandarin Chinese Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /
PAR 8	Indo-European: English, German, Dutch, Afrikaans, Yiddish; Greek; Spanish, Catalan, French, Italian, Portuguese; Russian, Serbian. He can do British accents and dialects. Non-Indo-European: Hungarian, Hebrew Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /

PAR 9	Indo-European: Most Romance languages, most Slavic languages; most Germanic languages; Celtic languages like Manx, Welsh; Baltic languages like Latvian, Lithuanian; Indo-Aryan: Romani. Indo-Iranian: Farsi, Hindi; Armenian; Albanian; Greek. He can do British accents and dialects. Non-Indo-European: Estonian, Finnish, Georgian; Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Korean, Indonesian, Turkish, Azeri, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Malay, Honduran Lenca, Nahuatl, Arabic, Hebrew Constructed languages: Esperanto, Toki Pona Sign languages: British sign Language
PAR 10	Indo-European: English, German, Icelandic; French, Italian, Portuguese, Russian; Welsh Non-Indo-European: Basque, Hungarian, Finnish, Indonesian Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /
PAR 11	Indo-European: Russian; Serbo-Croatian, Ukrainian; French, Italian, Romanian; English, Dutch, German Non-Indo-European: / Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /
PAR 12	Indo-European: Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, Catalan; English, German, Swedish; Russian; Hindi Non-Indo-European: Hebrew, Arabic; Xhosa, Antillean Creole (Martinique), Haitian Creole (Patois) Constructed languages: Esperanto Sign languages: /
PAR 13	Indo-European: French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese; German, English, Dutch. Classical languages: Latin Non-Indo-European: Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, Korean Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /
PAR 14	Indo-European: Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, Polish, Slovak; English; French, Spanish; Hindi Non-Indo-European: Hebrew, Mandarin Chinese Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /
PAR 15	Indo-European: English, German, Dutch; French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian Non-Indo-European: Bahasa Indonesia, Mandarin Chinese Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /
PAR 16	Indo-European: French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian; English, German, Swedish; Slovene Non-Indo-European languages: Arabic, Korean, Japanese, Swahili Constructed languages: / Sign languages: /
PAR 17	Indo-European: English, German, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, Icelandic, Afrikaans; Greek; French, Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese; Russian; Lithuanian; Irish Gaelic Non-Indo-European: Finnish, Turkish, Arabic, Mandarin Chinese; Tagalog, Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Malayu; Japanese, Honduran Lenca Constructed languages: Esperanto Sign languages: American Sign Language
PAR 18	Indo-European: Italian, French, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese; English, German, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian; Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Serbian; Greek; Hungarian; Hindi; Sinhalese. Classical languages: Latin Non-Indo-European: Arabic, Turkish, Mandarin Chinese, Vietnamese, Constructed languages: Esperanto Sign languages: /

Appendix 3

Self-rated language proficiency in the language systems actively maintained

Participant	Self-rated language proficiency
PAR 1	Greek (native), English, Spanish, French, Portuguese (5) German, Hindi, Arabic, Albanian, Romanian, Hebrew (4) Russian, Nepali, Bengali, Bahasa, Malagasy, Sinhalese, Swahili (3) Japanese (2). She took it out of her language list. Wolof, Chichewa, Khmer (1)
PAR 2	English (native); Italian (4), German (4), Portuguese (4), Spanish (4), French (4), Polish (1)
PAR 3	Italian (native), English (5), French (5), German (5), Spanish (5), Dutch (5), Swedish (5), Russian (5), Portuguese (5); Polish (4), Hungarian (3)
PAR 4	French (native), Tamil (native, but can't read and write Tamil); English (5), Italian (5), Korean (4), Chinese (4), German (4), Spanish (3), Russian (2), Japanese (2) Hindi (1)
PAR 5	On his website www.foreignlanguageexpertise.com (no longer accessible) he assessed foreign language reading abilities in 38 languages. In the interview and in the data sheet corrected at the conference on Metacognition in Multilingual Development in Obergurgl (Austria) on 21 September 2019 he declares: English (native). He knows – as he has studied them thoroughly – the languages from the Germanic family such as German and Old Norse and all the other “dialects” and “variants”. The same is true for all the Romance family (Latin, French, and Spanish being the base, all the others the “variants”) and for the Slavic family to a lesser degree. In the Slavic family, he has focused on Russian after initially studying the whole family as well. He has studied almost all the Celtic languages, but does not know these well. In the Indic family, he has studied much Sanskrit and Hindi, but these are dormant. Likewise he developed good reading abilities in Persian and Greek in the past, but does not get to use them frequently. He also mastered, knows, and actively uses Korean and Arabic. He has never really mastered or spoken Chinese, Japanese, Swahili or Turkish, but he has studied them thoroughly. He has recently studied Finnish intensively and developed conversational abilities within two weeks in June 2019.
PAR 6	English (native), Italian (5), Russian (5), Spanish (4), Mandarin Chinese (3), Modern Greek (3), Modern Standard Arabic (2), German (1).
PAR 7	Swedish (native), English (5), Spanish (4), Mandarin Chinese (4), German (3), Indonesian (3), French (2), Persian (2), Russian (1), Hindi/Urdu (1)
PAR 8	English (native 5+), Greek (5), German (5), Russian (5), Afrikaans (5), French (4), Spanish (4), Hebrew (3), Yiddish (3), Dutch (3), Hungarian (3/4), Serbian (2/3), Catalan (2), Italian (2), Portuguese (1)
PAR 9	English (native). He states that it is impossible to be 100% accurate in answering this question as there are many levels which change constantly. He speaks five languages at home every day and regularly (English, Macedonian, French, Spanish, and German). He uses many others to varying degrees. Differences in passive and active ability make this question hard for him to answer adequately.
PAR 10	English (native), French (4/5), German (4/5), Russian (4/5), Welsh (4/5). Basque (2/3); Icelandic (1). Hungarian, Italian, Portuguese, Finnish (studied all the grammar, but elementary proficiency. Indonesian (1)
PAR 11	Russian (native), French (5), English (5); Italian (4/5), Serbian/Croatian (3), Ukrainian (3), German (2), Dutch (2), Romanian (2)
PAR 12	Spanish and Portuguese (native); English (5), German (5); Italian (4), French (4), Swedish (4), Russian (3), Hebrew (3), Catalan (3), Hindi (2), Arabic (1), Esperanto (1), Antillean Creole (1), Haitian Creole (1)
PAR 13	French (native); German (5), English (5), Japanese (4), Italian (3), Spanish (3), Dutch (2), Portuguese (2), Korean (1), Mandarin Chinese (1)
PAR 14	Russian and Belarusian (native); English (5), Ukrainian (4), Spanish (2), French (2), Slovak (2), Chinese (1) Hebrew (1), Polish (1), Hindi (1)
PAR 15	English (native), Indonesian (native), French (3), Spanish (3), German (2), Portuguese (1), Dutch (1), Italian (1), Mandarin Chinese (1)
PAR 16	English (native), Korean (4), French (4), Swedish (4), German (3), Spanish (3), Japanese (3), Slovene (2), Portuguese (2), Italian (2), Arabic (1), Swahili (1)
PAR 17	English (5), Greek (5), French (5), Italian (5), Spanish (5), Norwegian (4), Portuguese (4), Mandarin Chinese (3), Dutch (3), German (3), Catalan (3), Russian (2), Swedish (2), Turkish (1), Bahasa Indonesia, Tagalog (1)
PAR 18	Italian (native), French (5), English (5), German (5), Russian (5), Spanish (5) Dutch (3/4), Catalan (3/4), Portuguese (3/4), Greek (2/3), Esperanto (2/3), Arabic (1/2), Hindi (1/2), Hungarian (1)

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Eliciting Multilinguals' Strategies in Studying Ancient Languages

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Abstract. This paper discusses the ways polyglots study ancient languages. Understanding their methods helps to expand the inventory of effective linguo-didactic strategies. The relevance of this study is corroborated by the growing number of recent foreign publications devoted to the study of ancient languages by multilinguals. The introductory part of the article focuses on terminological differences between the concepts “polyglot” and “multilingual”. This issue is essential for selecting respondents participating in the study. Definitions of basic concepts are compared based on quantitative, value, ontological, teleological and behavioral criteria. The paper starts with the analysis of the interview with Maria Flaxman, a researcher of ancient Germanic languages. The discussion centers on how her experience of self-studying modern languages shaped her strategy for learning ancient languages. In the second part of the article the identified strategies are compared with the strategies of three other polyglots learning ancient languages. Altogether four polyglots (three men and one woman), who speak, in addition to many modern languages, several ancient languages (two to four languages), took part in the study. A comparison of their responses to a questionnaire, which included 21 points on quantitative and qualitative (age, period, value, behavioral and other) aspects, helped to reveal a number of general patterns, such as: ■ strong internal motivation; ■ the indispensable learning of Latin, regardless of the varying set of other ancient languages; ■ effectiveness of parallel study of modern and ancient languages; ■ the favorite ancient language for all respondents was the one in which they applied their individual strategies; ■ all respondents noted a reduction in the time it took to study their last ancient language compared to the first, as well as ■ the regularity of practicing these languages in the reading mode. The study, thus, makes a contribution to methods of acquiring ancient languages both within the framework of a university curriculum and in the process of self-study.

Keywords: ancient languages, polyglot strategies, motivation, parallel learning, auditory component, frequency of repetition

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Выявление стратегий мультилингвов в изучении древних языков

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена изучению древних языков полиглотами и направлена на расширение инвентаря эффективных лингводидактических стратегий. Актуальность исследовательской задачи подтверждается ростом числа новых зарубежных публикаций, посвящённых изучению древних языков мультилингвами. В вводной части статьи обсуждаются некоторые терминологические вопросы, связанные с определением понятий «полиглот» и «мультилингв». Данный вопрос имеет существенное значение, поскольку связан с принципом отбора респондентов, участвующих в исследовании. Сопоставляются определения полиглотов исходя из количественных, ценностных, онтологических, телеологических и поведенческих критериев. В первой исследовательской части статьи анализируется материал интервью с исследовательницей древних германских языков М. А. Флакман. Обсуждается то, как её история самостоятельного изучения современных языков повлияла на формирование её стратегии изучения древних языков. Во второй части исследования выявленные стратегии сопоставляются со стратегиями изучения древних языков тремя другими мультиязычными респондентами. Всего в анкетировании приняли участие четыре человека (трое мужчин и одна женщина), владеющих, помимо множества современных, несколькими древними языками (от двух до четырёх языков). Сопоставление их ответов на анкету, включающую 21 пункт и отражающую количественные и качественные (возрастные, временные, ценностные, поведенческие и другие) аспекты, позволило выявить ряд таких общих закономерностей, как: ■ сильная внутренняя мотивация; ■ обязательное присутствие латыни, независимо от варьирующегося набора прочих древних языков; ■ эффективность параллельного изучения современных и древних языков; ■ любимым древним языком для всех респондентов оказался тот, на котором они применили свои индивидуальные стратегии; ■ всеми респондентами отмечалось сокращение сроков изучения ими последнего древнего языка по сравнению с первым, а также ■ регулярность возвращения к этим языкам в режиме чтения. Таким образом, исследование позволяет внести вклад в методики усвоения древних языков как в рамках университетской программы, так и в процессе их самостоятельного изучения.

Ключевые слова: древние языки, стратегии полиглотов, мотивация, параллельное изучение, аудиальная составляющая, периодичность повторения

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Introduction

The topic of studying ancient languages for the purpose of activating students' linguistic abilities (metalinguistic awareness) is attracting more and more attention. A number of articles published abroad in recent years have been devoted to a multilingual approach to language learning using ancient languages. Primarily, it focused on Latin [4], [5], [14]. In fairness, it should be noted that the importance of studying Latin in connection with the topic of polyglottery was raised in Russian linguistics back in the 1990s and was one of the key topics in the book by Anatoly Yudakin, *Is It Possible to Learn 50 Languages?* [21].

In recent years, research has shifted to the experimental approach. Take for example the joint study by Ulrika Jessner, Valentina Török and Claudia Pellegrini [5] carried out as part of the LAILA project (Linguistic Awareness in Language Attrition) at the University of Innsbruck. The article deals with the experimentally revealed cognitive advantages of multilingual students who speak Latin compared to multilingual students who speak only one of the modern Romance languages for understanding text in an unfamiliar Romance language (Romanian).

Fifty native German students were studied. They were offered a short text: an authentic hotel description in Romanian as a language unknown to the students, but belonging to the Romance language family. Thirty participants formed the English/Italian group (Group A) and twenty the English/Italian/Latin group (Group B). Combining quantitative and qualitative analysis of their think-aloud protocols demonstrated *"a set of skills or abilities that the multilingual user develops owing to her/his prior linguistic and metacognitive knowledge"* [ibid., p. 86].

In fact, such articles justify the revival of teaching and learning ancient languages for the purpose of increasing the cognitive potential of students in general and their language abilities and competencies in particular.

In my opinion, the most interesting observation was that group A (German, English, and Italian) in understanding the Romanian text relied on one of the closest languages, Italian, while group B (German, English, Italian, and Latin) showed higher comprehension results, relying on the entire repertoire of their background languages: *"While members of group A mentioned mainly Italian as their supporter language (88.7%), test takers of group B deployed their entire language repertoire more extensively. They repeatedly mentioned Latin and English as possible sources for cognates and even thought about the potential of languages they do not speak (French and Spanish)"* [ibid., p. 96].

Studying Latin leads to what the authors of the article call *"qualitative change (catalytic effect) in experienced language learners"* or *"emergent property of a multilingual's cognitive system"* [ibid., p. 99]. As for the emergent properties in nature, see [1].

Discussion: Definitions of concepts "polyglot" and "multilingual"

At the recent round table discussion "Polyglottery" at the International Conference "Language, Consciousness and Communication: Methodology and Humanities Practices (Modern Challenges)" [17] Claudia Pellegrini delivered her paper "Language maintenance in multilinguals from a Dynamic Model of Multilingualism perspective: Research results" where she raised the question of the relationship between polyglottery and multilingualism and noted different approaches to their differentiation. As a complete failure to distinguish between the two concepts, she cited a statement from an article by Elka Todeva and Jasone Cenoz that "polyglot is typically defined as a generic term for a multilingual person, not infrequently in reference to people with an impressive number of mastery of languages" [20, p. 18], cf. [9, p. 15]. Unlike the speaker, I believe that this definition still implicitly contains a quantitative criterion ("impressive number of languages"). This number, which distinguishes a multilingual from a polyglot, was first explicated in the book by Dmitry Spivak [19]. Based on a survey of numerous polyglots, he proposed the so-called "rule of seven", which states that on average a person can know fluently no more than seven languages.

Commenting on the “rule of seven languages”, Michael Erard writes that although this rule is considered controversial, no one has yet proposed reasonable counterarguments. Erard himself indirectly confirms the “rule of seven” with statistical surveys, the results of which he summarizes in a special graph (Fig. 1):

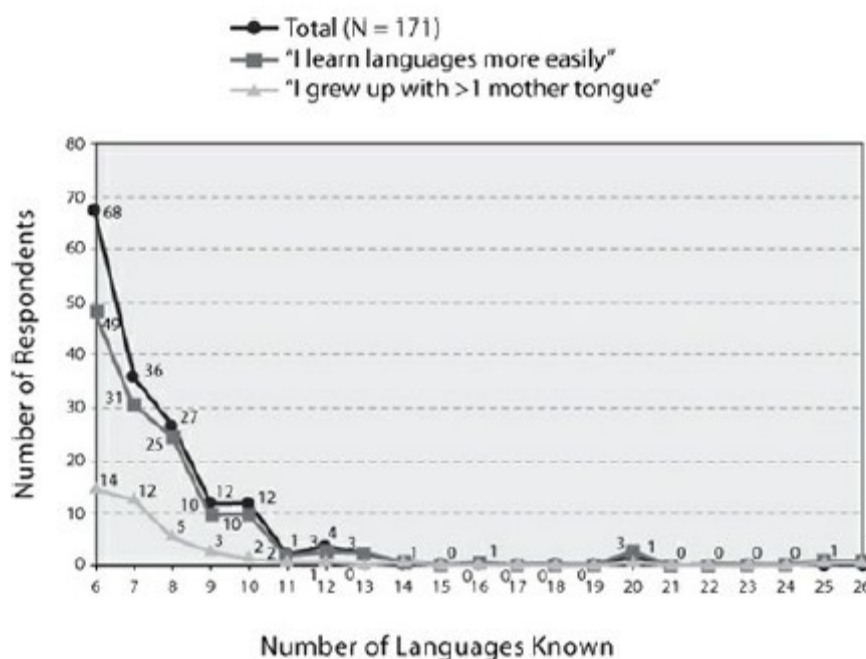


Figure 1. Polyglot language repertoires [2, p. 225].

Thus, among 171 respondents who stated that ■ they learn languages more easily or that ■ they grew up with more than one mother tongue, 117 people (68 and 49, respectively) reported that they knew six languages, while the total number of those who knew seven languages reduced by almost half and amounted to only 67 people (36 and 31, respectively).

In addition to the quantitative criterion, some researchers put forward another one that can be called *teleological*: “Perhaps the only difference between multilinguals and polyglots is that the latter *spend their time studying languages they do not need for everyday practical purposes*” [13].

Some researchers base their definition on the *value* criterion: “A polyglot is an experienced, autonomous learner of many languages who is characterized by a *life-long passion for language learning*” and “a high motivation, an *open-minded attitude* towards other languages and cultures, *perseverance* and *self-discipline* are characteristic features of a polyglot” [15, p. 301], [16, p. 47].

For the Russian school of polyglot research, the *ontological* criterion is important: “differentiating polyglots as individuals who know *multiple languages* as a result of *consciously learning them*, from multilinguals, those who can speak several languages thanks to having assimilated them unconsciously in a multilingual environment” [7, p. 135], see also [8].

I support a *behavioral* criterion for identifying polyglots: the development of personal effective strategies corresponding to their own personality: “polyglots are people who, as adults, achieve impressive results in learning *multiple* new languages precisely due to the fact that, based on intuitively developed strategies, they were able to *use the full potential of their personality to optimize the process of language learning*” [12, p. 91], see also [10], [11].

For the purposes of my polyglottery research, which aims to apply polyglot strategies to ordinary language learners, the behavioral aspect in defining a polyglot is more important than the purely quantitative one. That is why my study included people who know five or more languages and have experience in independently learning languages, including several ancient ones, and using their own effective strategies.

Later, I would like to compare the results obtained with the experience of how ancient languages are learnt by hyperpolyglots, for example, Alexander Argüelles, who knows more than 50 languages, including 10 ancient ones: Old Norse, Old High German, Middle High German, Old French, Old English, Middle English, Middle Dutch, Old Occitan, Old Swedish and Gothic) [15].

Material & methodology: Interview with Maria Flaksman

My interest and further research were triggered by the presentation of one of the participants in the conference “Lingua Gotica: New Research” held at the Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, on April 5, 2022 [18]. A 33-year-old researcher from Saint Petersburg, Maria Flaksman, who is currently working at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (Munich), gave a talk entitled “Sound imitation in Gothic” (an unusual topic for an ancient language!). Gothic texts of a forth-century Bible translation are a very unlikely place to look for onomatopoeias. However, in the paper in question, the author studied sound imitations. She set out to figure out how such words as ‘to shout’ (*hropjan*), ‘to cry out, weep’ (*wopjan*), ‘to boast’ (*hwopan*), ‘to crow’ (*hrukjan*) etc. sounded in the Gothic language [3].

At that point, I thought that this researcher, obviously, places high value on the acoustic component, which, in general, is very unusual for researchers of “dead” languages. My hunch was also strengthened by how authentic Maria Flaksman sounded speaking modern languages, fluently switching from English to German during the discussion. My assumption was confirmed when, later, at a round table devoted to the problems of teaching the Gothic language, she casually noticed that she was learning Gothic while listening to an audio recording (!). This prompted me to write to her after the conference and ask for an interview. Part of this paper is based on the transcript of this interview.

From the very beginning of our conversation, Maria stated that she is not a polyglot, since she speaks only five modern and three ancient languages: *“I am a native Russian speaker, not bilingual. I speak English – professionally, German – fluently, I also speak, read, watch films in Spanish. And in Icelandic I speak on basic topics. Regarding my three ancient languages, I read literature in Old English (I teach it), in Gothic (I read all existing texts) and in Old Norse (I read quite a lot)”*.

In spite of her protestations, Maria obviously exhibits polyglot strategies, which is not surprising considering her life story. *“Almost all the languages that I learned, I learned by myself, just using various resources”*, she says. Like most polyglots, she developed her strategies as a teen-ager: when she was 13–14. *“My school was an ordinary one, not a specialized school. English was taught very poorly. At school, English was not perceived as a language, it was perceived as a kind of algebra. During math we solved equations, during English classes we substituted endings. It was a kind of analytical activity that had nothing to do with communication. I did not feel love for the English language, or the desire to do anything. But at the age of 13 or 14 I felt like reading a book in English. My favorite author is Isaac Asimov. My parents had a series of his five books. The first four were in Russian, and the fifth, the last one in the series, was only in English. It was in summer. I was in the country, I didn’t have a dictionary, and at that moment, of course, I didn’t have the Internet. My level then was A2, maybe a little higher. But I had this desire to read the book to the end. To understand it. In principle, I understood the plot. Later I found out that I understood everything correctly”*, Maria sums up.

So far, we have a typical **“reader strategy”**, described in my book about polyglot strategies *Speaking, Reading, Writing* as a strategy of Irina Shubina [11, p. 136–155]. Like Irina, Maria has strong logical thinking. She relied on visual contextual comparisons and learned to grasp the meaning of the whole: *“Learning a language is a joy for me. It’s something you experience when the unknowns come together”*.

However, unlike the typical “reading polyglot”, Maria needed an auditory component too. So when the 14-year-old Maria turned to *Harry Potter* after Asimov, she was eager to listen to the spoken text. She says: *“Then I bought the Harry Potter book. Downloaded the audio. I really liked the book. Then there were only four of them. I constantly read and listened at the same time. And sometimes I listened to passages that I had not read yet. I would listen more than once: not just two or five times, but maybe 100. The more I listened, the better I understood the text”*.

This is how “basic knowledge is gained: about pronouns, how the endings of verbs look like, how to distinguish between an adjective, a noun and a verb. And gradually you compile the most basic vocabulary, which you can use in further studies”. “Now I could see the logic of the text. It goes beyond your conscious effort of translation. I repeated words and phrases and linked them with the context. I understood how the words combine and what they mean”.

That is, reading and listening simultaneously became a necessary component of the learning strategy, which involved returning to the misunderstood text elements and writing out unfamiliar words, as well as multiple repetition and “absorption” of the familiar text by ear.

“I have never read Harry Potter books in Russian”, she continues. “And when I opened the translations, they seemed very strange to me, because I have never seen in dictionaries a lot of words that I learned by listening the book. I just knew what the word meant”.

“Later, when studying at the university, during translation classes, it was sometimes difficult for me to come up with Russian equivalents. I never learned words in a “dictionary” style: as two columns – a word and its translation. I understood the system of the English language as a whole, and of the Russian language – as a whole. But both systems were separate from each other. It was always difficult for me to translate, because English and Russian texts seemed like separate files lying on different shelves, and there was little interconnection”. When doing grammar exercises during English classes, I instinctively knew what was correct. That is, I proceeded from the text, from the big context to understanding the entire structure of the language”.

Later, Maria applied this same strategy to study German and Spanish. She continues: “This is how I learned living languages. And I decided that dead languages can be **revived**, because they also have some kind of communicative foundation”.

“Dead” language revival strategy

Maria first began to study the Gothic language while preparing for her PhD exams. At first it was a standard process of reading parallel texts, identifying grammatical forms, writing out the meaning of unfamiliar words using Wilhelm Streitberg’s Gothic dictionary. This is where all graduate students of Germanic languages usually stop. But for Maria this was just the beginning. Here is what she says:

“After that, I took my texts, where the meanings of words were written out in Russian, the Russian translation of the Gospel and a microphone. And I read these texts as an audio book to myself – as an actor, with passion, with feeling. After that, I started listening to this amateur recording of mine – as I would listen to any audio book. I went around with this audio book for at least six months. I knew what the verb looks like in this text, what forms the noun has, I could roughly understand the structure, where the subject and the predicate were, and I already knew some words, like “he said”, “he repeated”, “exclaimed” and those verbs that occurred most often. What seems to me very important in this case is that I knew the subject matter well. I had a certain general context and a general narrative in my head. And I began to recognize passages by a few phrases: Hey, this is the beginning of a parable... Now the story will change direction... And listening to the text every time in a circle [she rotates the palm at ear level – D.N.] (and it’s not very pleasant to listen to your own voice), each time I began to understand more and more of this story. And then I just didn’t pay attention, I just listened to it like a text, it became clearer and clearer and clearer. And then I realized that I could just open the text [she opens her palms in front of her like an open book – D.N.] and translate from any line. I could forget some words or phrases, but in general it was easy to read and translate the whole text”.

Thus, the sound component included a different level of acceptance of the Gothic text on an emotional level: “The Gothic Bible has a certain **rhythm** [Maria makes a spiral movement of her hand away from her – D.N.]. And it can be **hypnotic**, it can be soothing. I studied the Gothic language during an emotionally difficult period of my life, and the Gothic language helped me to overcome depression. This emotional attitude to the text immersed me in another world. It’s a joy that you listen and understand. And the language flows through the text, and not through a set of separate grammar rules”.

“And later I listened to Beowulf in Old English. This time it was not my voice but the readings of professional actors who read the tale of Beowulf and of the battle of Maldon beautifully, with expression and without a Russian accent. This is how I studied both living and dead languages”.

After graduating from the Linguistics and Intercultural Communication program at Saint Petersburg Electrotechnical University, Maria began to study Icelandic on her own and received a grant from Reykjavik University, lived in Iceland for about a year and attended a course in Medieval Studies there. Now she teaches the history of the English language, Gothic and Old Norse in German to German students at the University of Munich.

I decided to share this story because it serves as a confirmation of how effective a proactive approach to language learning is when based on a combination of visual, auditory and speech-motor strategies, on enhancing the emotional component and relying on parallel texts. This approach proves effective not only for the study of modern, but also of ancient languages, although they are not used for interpersonal communication nowadays.

Questionnaire for the study of ancient languages by polyglots

This interview prompted further research so as to determine the generalities and patterns of how polyglots learn ancient languages. Four polyglots took part in the study (three men and one woman), who know, in addition to many modern languages, several ancient languages (two to four languages). Their responses to carefully designed questionnaire helped elicit several general patterns.

The questionnaire included the following questions:

1. Have you studied ancient languages?
2. Why is it important for you to study ancient languages?
3. How many ancient languages do you know and which ones?
4. What does it mean to you to “know an ancient language”?
5. At what age did you start learning ancient languages?
6. Was it your decision or was it determined by the curriculum?
7. In what order did you study the ancient languages?
8. How did their study correspond in time with the study of modern languages?
9. Do you have a “favourite” ancient language and why?
10. Was there any ancient language in which you felt a particularly intense progress (breakthrough)?
11. What did you do differently in this case?
12. How do your methods of studying ancient languages differ from studying modern languages?
13. Have you achieved the skill of writing texts in any of the ancient languages?
14. Have you achieved the skill of speaking any of the ancient languages?
15. What did you do for this?
16. How long did it take you to master the first of your ancient languages?
17. How long did it take you to master the last of the ancient languages you studied?
18. At what age was it?
19. How much time per day / per week / per month do you devote to maintaining ancient languages?
20. What types of classes do you use to support the learned ancient languages and what is the ratio of these types of classes over time?
21. What other questions would you like to add to this questionnaire?

A comparative analysis of the data obtained revealed some general patterns.

- Intrinsic motivation. All respondents unanimously pointed to the priority of internal motivation (although for three out of four people the study of one or two ancient languages was included in the university curriculum), as well as to independent study of subsequent languages.

- Two main types of motivation: 1) ancient languages as a tool for accessing primary text sources and, therefore, for a deeper understanding of cultures, 2) ancient languages as a tool for a deeper understanding of modern languages. All respondents acknowledged both types of motivation, but with varying degrees of priority and intensity. The specific answer was that “their grammatical and phonetic structure is very pleasing”.

- The age of the most active study of ancient languages is from 14–17 to 29 years.
- A set of languages. All respondents invariably admitted knowing Latin (to some degree). The popularity of other languages in descending order is: Old English (three people), Old Church Slavonic / Old Russian (two people), Old Icelandic / Old Nordic (two people), Gothic (one person), Ancient Greek (one person), and Old Irish (one person).
- The effectiveness of *parallel study of modern and ancient languages*. All indicated parallel study for at least one of the ancient languages: Latin in parallel with English, Spanish and French (one person); Old Icelandic in parallel with modern Icelandic (one person); Old Irish in parallel with modern Irish (one person); and even Ancient Greek in parallel with Serbo-Croatian. At the same time, everyone unanimously noted that ancient languages were useful in studying modern ones.
- “To be proficient in an ancient language” for all respondents predictably meant “to read texts”, “to be able to read without difficulty”, “to be able to read and translate”, and “to understand essential texts”. Only one of the respondents added “to have a large vocabulary” and introduced a cognitive component: “to understand grammatical structure, understand connections with modern languages”. And another noted: “to be able to speak at least at a basic level”.
- When answering the question “Which ancient language is your favorite?” and “Which ancient language have you experienced particularly strong progress in?” everyone named the same language: the one in which they “*did something differently*”.
- To achieve intensive progress in learning the ancient language, the *auditory component* turned out to be fundamentally important for the majority of respondents! Thus, those three out of four who noted “especially intensive progress in one of the ancient languages” unanimously indicated that they “actively communicated and listened [in Latin]” (one person), “studied [Ancient Greek] daily using the Assimil method: listening to audio, then shadowing, parsing, etc.” (one person), and “recorded the [Gothic] text on audio and listened to it for several months on headphones” (one person).
- Therefore, it seems natural that all four wrote that for them the methods of studying ancient and modern languages are “practically the same”, “the only difference is in fewer opportunities to use the language to communicate”.
- Each of the respondents mentioned certain ways to make up for this “insufficient communication”: in addition to listening to audio recordings in ancient languages, two respondents “communicated in Latin”; one of them “compiled a Russian-Latin phrasebook with a friend, wrote each other SMS and holiday postcards, which created the basis for more active understanding and use”; the third respondent “tried to write letters in Gothic to the one who taught me to read it, but did not receive an answer”. Grigory Kazakov’s story about his proactive approach to the study of Latin deserves special attention: “During my student years the popularization of Latin turned for me into a major creative project and helped actively study and internalize the history of European culture. This included 1) conducting active classes in Latin in the 1st year (I approached lecturers with a request to conduct classes in different groups), 2) collecting a “Latin museum”: a collection of objects with Latin inscriptions, 3) compiling a Russian-Latin phrasebook, which was published by the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Area Studies of Moscow State University (I was then a 2nd year student), and 4) creating and conducting an open course “The World of Latin” (when I was a 3rd year student). Together with my like-minded friend Vasily Prusakov (a medic by profession), we combined all this into the project “Lingua Latina adhuc est viva” (Latin is still alive)... I can say that Latin was the beginning of my professional activity: my first publications were devoted to the popularization of Latin, and the desire to spread interest among others laid the foundations for my approach to teaching, aimed at increasing audience motivation and using active forms”.
- “Unyielding” ancient languages. Two out of four respondents indicated that there were languages that they began to study, but did not achieve desirable results: classical Japanese and classical Chinese (one person) and Biblical Hebrew (one person). Among the possible reasons they named: “difficulties of the writing system”, “lack of phonetic transcription”, and “lack of interest in that culture”.

- Regularity factor. All respondents noted the regularity of retrieving the learned ancient languages, but with varying frequency: daily – “The plan is 10 minutes per day for Old Church Slavonic, 20 minutes for each of the others, often only 10 minutes are available” (one person); weekly – 3–4 or more hours a week (one person) or 1–2 hours a week (one person); and annually – “In principle, I read Ancient Greek regularly: about 2–3 months a year, 20–30 minutes a day” (one person).

- Time factor. All four respondents spoke about a longer period of study of their first ancient language (from two semesters to 1–2 years) and a shorter period of study of the last of their ancient languages (two semesters / 3–6 months / 50 hours).

This observation about reduced efforts in acquiring subsequent languages finds an indirect explanation in recent neurophysiological studies. Using markers of language activity, measured with fMRI, four researchers compared native language processing in polyglots versus matched controls. Their research demonstrated that “polyglots (n = 17, including nine ‘hyper-polyglots’ with proficiency in 10–55 languages) used fewer neural resources to process language: Their activations were smaller in both magnitude and extent”. The researchers’ conclusion was that “the acquisition and use of multiple languages makes language processing generally more efficient” [6, p. 62].

Results

Thus, the survey of respondents made it possible to identify a number of strategies common to all polyglots that are effective in learning ancient languages:

- 1) Strong internal motivation: intellectual, emotional and aesthetic.
- 2) The set of languages varied for each respondent depending on his interests, but mastery of Latin at one level or another was indicated by everyone.
- 3) The effectiveness of parallel study of modern and ancient languages.
- 4) The favorite ancient language for all respondents was the one in which they felt particularly intense progress and applied their own non-standard strategies.
- 5) To achieve intensive progress in an ancient language, the auditory component turned out to be fundamentally important for the majority of respondents.
- 6) All respondents noted that their methods of studying ancient and modern languages are not fundamentally different.
- 7) The age frame for the most active study of ancient languages varied between 14–17 and 30 years. All respondents noted a reduction in the time it took to study their last ancient language compared to the first one, as well as the regularity of returning to these languages in the reading mode.

The conducted research, thus, contributes to the methods of mastering ancient languages both within the framework of a university program and in the process of their independent study.

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Uruapan's Place Name and the Identity of the Founders of the Town¹

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Abstract. This article is devoted to the study of the origins of the Mexican place name Uruapan, a city officially known as Uruapan del Progreso in the state of Michoacan, with the purpose of reconstructing the original name by identifying and comparing the diverse versions of the name throughout the time, as well as establishing the ethnic identity of the founders of the town. The main hypothesis developed in the article states that the toponymic data can shed light on the socio-historical processes and allow one to establish the ethnic identity of the founders of a place. The relevance of such research is grounded in the continuing interest in Mesoamerica's past and in the discrepancies regarding the interpretation of the toponymy of Uruapan. The materials used for this study are vast and comprehensive, integrating texts, archive materials, as well as cartographic and lexicographic sources. The method followed was based on a diachronic comparison of components including morphological, semantic, and cognitive structures. The article demonstrates the motivation behind the toponymy of Uruapan, alongside its static and dynamic dimensions. The proposed version of its Nahuatl origin is based on phonological, grammatical, lexicographical, semantic, and socio-historic data. Such an interpretation allows the authors to establish the Nahuatl identity of the founders of the town. It also reveals the ethnogenesis of the autochthonous population in Mesoamerica and in the state of Michoacan, as well as the migration patterns and the oscillations in the collective memory of the native population. The authors come to the conclusion that the place name for Uruapan comes not from Purepecha but from Nahuatl, which implies the Nahuatl identity of the founders of the town.

Keywords: toponymy, Uruapan, etymology, motive, identity, migration, Nahuatl, Purepecha

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El Topónimo Uruapan y la Identidad de los Fundadores de la Ciudad²

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Resumen. Este artículo está dedicado a la investigación de la etimología del topónimo mexicano Uruapan – nombre formal Uruapan del Progreso – en el estado de Michoacán con el fin de identificar y comparar versiones de su motivación, así como reconstruir y evaluar la identidad étnica de los fundadores de la ciudad. La hipótesis del artículo consiste en que los datos toponímicos arrojan luz sobre procesos sociohistóricos y permiten reconstruir la identidad étnica de los fundadores de tal o cual población. La relevancia del estudio se debe al continuo interés de los científicos por el pasado histórico de Mesoamérica y a las discrepancias en la interpretación del origen del topónimo Uruapan. El material de investigación incluyó corpus de textos y documentos de archivos, fuentes cartográficas y lexicográficas. Los métodos fundamentales de investigación fueron el análisis diacrónico-comparativo, descriptivo, componente, estructural, semántico y cognitivo. La motivación del topónimo Uruapan se considera en el artículo en dimensiones estática y dinámica. La versión de su origen náhuatl con base en datos fonológicos, gramaticales, léxico-semánticos y sociohistóricos propuesta por los autores permitió establecer la identidad náhuatl de los fundadores de la ciudad. Estas características son necesarias para comprender la etnogénesis de la población autóctona de Mesoamérica y del estado de Michoacán, los procesos migratorios, los vaivenes de la memoria colectiva de la población nativa. La principal conclusión de los autores consiste en que el nombre de Uruapan proviene no del purépecha sino del náhuatl, así que la identidad de sus fundadores fue náhuatl.

Palabras clave: toponimia, Uruapan, etimología, motivación, identidad, migraciones, náhuatl, purépecha

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1. Introducción

La etimología, así como la motivación de los nombres geográficos son el constante y tradicional objeto de los estudios toponímicos. A veces es posible reconstruir la historia en el simple acto toponímico. Por ejemplo, las nuevas ciudades fundadas por los españoles después de la Conquista ostentan el culto a Santiago, el apóstol guerrero de la Reconquista de España, el Vencedor de los Moros. Al otorgar ese nombre, los conquistadores recalcan la extensión del Imperio como una labor de evangelización. Así surgieron Santiago Matamoros, Santiago Tlatelolco, Santiago de Querétaro, Santiago Papasquiaro, Santiago de Saltillo, Santiago Maravatío, entre muchas otras poblaciones. Y otras veces los colonizadores delataban con el título su deseo de replicar el mundo conocido en sus nuevas tenencias: Mérida, León, Córdoba, Guadalajara, Laredo, Valladolid, etc. Con la llegada de misioneros organizados en órdenes, topónimos que aluden a mártires y beatos son frecuentes: San Juan Atenco, San Martín Texmelucan, San Francisco del Rincón, San Miguel de los Chichimecas, San Felipe, por citar algunos lugares. A pesar de estas vastas imposiciones toponímicas, algunos poblados mexicanos, al igual que los de toda América Latina, posteriores ciudades, preservaron su nombre anterior a la Conquista, o una versión de éste: *Apatzingán*, *Pátzcuaro*, *Zacatepec*, *Xochimilco*, *Amatlán*, *Coalcomán*, *Coatepec*, *Coyoacán*, entre muchos otros. *Uruapan* es otro ejemplo [8].

La ciudad de *Uruapan* – formalmente *Uruapan del Progreso*, perifrásticamente *Capital mundial del aguacate* – es la segunda ciudad más grande del estado mexicano de Michoacán, donde había tenido su asiento históricola etnia *tarasca*, portadora de la lengua *purépecha*. *Uruapan* (“*Uruapa*”) aparece en un mapamundi como pueblo bajo su propio topónimo solamente hasta el año 1804. La procedencia del nombre de *Uruapan* ofrece una paradoja etimológica y múltiples versiones. El principal objetivo de nuestro artículo consiste en – a través del polifacético análisis diacrónico comparativo – reconstruir la motivación de este topónimo michoacano y – a base de datos toponomásticos y extralingüísticos – averiguar la identidad étnica de sus fundadores y primeros pobladores.

2. Materiales y métodos

El material de investigación incluyó corpus de textos y documentos de archivos, mapas, fuentes cartográficas y lexicográficas. Como es propio para estudios toponomásticos, este artículo combina las metodologías de los análisis lingüístico, histórico y geográfico [1], [8], [25], [34]. Se basa en la documentación histórica, análisis lingüístico, estudio etimológico, clasificación semántica. Los autores parten de la premisa de la propiedad sistemática de la toponimia a nivel diacrónico y sincrónico. Por eso la etimología del nombre de *Uruapan* se evalúa con base de datos de la toponimia mexicana en general. Usamos métodos de la lingüística de las lenguas en contacto, así como el análisis diacrónico comparativo, descriptivo, componente, estructural, semántico, cognitivo. Para reconstruir y demostrar la identidad étnica de los fundadores de *Uruapan* aprovechamos el enfoque en datos toponímicos de un amplio contexto histórico y cultural, lo que permite evaluar su papel en la visión del mundo de los mexicanos en diacronía. A la vez recurrimos a los patrones migratorios, considerando el código lingüístico en su interacción con códigos culturales, o sea nos enfocamos también en lo que se denomina “el aspecto toponomástico etnolingüístico” [5, p. 30].

3. Visión histórica de la interpretación de la etimología de Uruapan

La más popularizada de las arbitrarias interpretaciones proviene de la publicación del segundo tomo de *México a través de los siglos* en 1882, obra de Vicente Riva Palacio, quien basó sus observaciones sobre “los tarascos” y la lengua “tarasca” en los “profundos y laboriosos estudios hechos por don Toribio Ruiz, vecino de Uruapan”. Es así como Riva Palacio llega a la conclusión de que *Uruapan* (*Urupan*) fue “capital de reino o señorío”, pues tiene la terminación característica: “*an*”; y significa “donde siempre los

árboles tienen fruto, fructificación constante” [33, p. 32]. La glosa ha subsistido, de una manera u otra. Nicolás León la consolidó seis años más tarde, en 1888, publicando en los *Anales del Museo Michoacano* lo siguiente:

“**URUAPAN.** Así como para la etimología, de Patzcuaro hay tan varias opiniones para con esta. Unos dicen viene de *Urani*, jícara; otros de *Urupa*, chirimolla (anona). Don Toribio Ruiz, indio de la sierra, decía venir de *Urápani*, verbo que significa el acto en que brotan los cogollos de las plantas y en general toda producción vegetal. Don Vicente Camela, indio de Uruapan, al interrogarle, nos remitió esta nota: ‘Título dialecto que se proporcionó para su pronunciación en el idioma castellano, del primitivo nombre tarasco que dice **UHRLUPANIO**. Esta palabra tan difícil de pronunciarse al castellano, como de escribirse con sus propias letras que apenas hoy comienza á salir á luz pública. Y su significado se originó de que en este lugar todos los árboles frutales, así como las plantas de flores continuamente producen flores, á proporción que unas van terminando su período otras van principiando. Por eso el indígena antigua raza pobladora tituló á este lugar con el título de **UHRLUPANIO**’ ” [23, p. 27].

Ambas interpretaciones se sostienen sobre una idea abstracta e implícita: Uruapan es “el lugar del sempiterno verdor” o, si se prefiere, “la ciudad de la eterna primavera”. Y ambas son erróneas por múltiples razones. Los nombres primigenios de localidades en las lenguas indígenas no contienen elementos abstractos. Esta noción también desecha la propiedad sistemática de la toponimia, ya que, para validar semejante inconcreto apelativo, éste requeriría de la presencia de otros similares en el entorno geográfico, y no existen. La glosa también ignora la característica primordial de la toponimia prehistórica: los lugares son bautizados a partir de atributos topográficos concretos. La vegetación y fauna existentes, o las peculiaridades del relieve, proveen la base para nombrar un lugar, rasgos ausentes en el nombre “*Uruapan*” en dicha interpretación. Aún más, ningún lugar o poblado conocido del mundo, cuyo nombre provenga de lenguas aborígenes, ha sido llamado usando el infinitivo. No existe el lugar que se llame “caer”, “estudiar”, “pintar” o “bailar”. En la explicación provista por don Toribio Ruiz, “*Uruapan*” se forma a partir del infinitivo, pues el sufijo “ni” es su marca verbal: *anchekuarheni* (trabajar); *ch'anani* (jugar); *karani* (escribir), etc.

4. Toponimia náhuatl

Los documentos originales de la historia de México presentan innumerables lugares y pueblos con la terminación *-apan*: Chicunahuapan (el lugar mítico de los nueve ríos que los muertos atraviesan con un perro); Ohuapan (el lugar donde crece el maíz y la espina verde); Miyahuapan (lugar acuoso donde se teje con las hojas de maíz); etc.³

El sufijo *-pan* (y sus variantes *-pam* y *-pa*) funciona como elemento locativo, es decir, sirve para identificar algo como un lugar. El origen de este sufijo puede vincularse con la tradición chichimeca de plantar una bandera blanca en los territorios conquistados o colonizados, de acuerdo con los *Anales de Cuauhtitlán* [30, p. 12–13], [38, p. 12].

En la toponimia náhuatl, por su carácter tanto histórico como regional, se pueden establecer claramente varias normas onomásticas anteriores a la Conquista de México: por ejemplo, la variante occidental, cuyo sufijo locativo es *-tan*; y la del altiplano central con *-man* como marca locativa [27]. Aunque dichos grupos están conformados a partir de su probable origen, de ninguna manera presuponen su ausencia fuera de estas regiones, ya que equivaldría a rechazar los movimientos migratorios fortuitos. A estas dos categorías es posible añadir la variante del sufijo locativo *-pan*, cuya distribución geográfica es dispar, con presencia tanto en el altiplano central como en el Occidente mesoamericano. La siguiente tabla hace más explícita esta idea (tabla 1):

³ Humboldt, A. von. General chart of the kingdom of New Spain betn. parallels of 16 & 38° N. from materials in Mexico at commencement of year of 1804. Library of Congress, loc.gov/item/2001622416/ (consultado el 7 de septiembre 2024).

Variante Occidental -tan	Altiplano central -man	Variante -pan
Amatan, Chiapas	Acolman, Estado de México.	Uruapan, Michoacán
Cacalutan, Guadalajara	Tecoman, Colima	Corapan, Nayarit
Huehuetan, Chiapas	Chocaman, Veracruz	Mexicapan, Zacatecas
Jocotan, Guadalajara	Ticomán, Morelos	Chimecapán, Querétaro
Juchitan, Tehuantepec	Jitaman, Puebla	Matlapan, San Luis Potosí
Mazatan, Guadalajara	Oztuman, Guerrero	Ohuapan, Guerrero
Amatitan, Tabasco	Tolman, Estado de México	Ixcateopan, Guerrero

Tabla 1. Variantes del sufijo -pan

Podemos aventurar que los topónimos se basan en patrones migratorios de distintas tribus hablantes del náhuatl; y que éstos no agotan el inventario de grupos toponímicos. Así, el sufijo -can (donde, lugar) parece apuntar a los asentamientos más tempranos en el Valle de México: Teotihuacan, Coyoacan, Colhuacan; en tanto que el sufijo -tepec (monte) correspondería a los más tardíos: Coatepec, Temascaltepec, Tlacotepec, Ecatepec.

En el aspecto semántico, la toponimia primigenia recurre, ante todo, a la descripción de características geográficas para situar un lugar por su nombre. Lógicamente, prevalecen ciertos rasgos en términos de la subsistencia. Para las tribus nómadas de Mesoamérica, el componente primordial de la supervivencia era el agua. Y esto se refleja en la mayoría de los topónimos -pan, particularmente en la combinación con sufijos -atl (agua) y -pan (lugar), resultando en -apan: Hueyatlapán (lugar del río grande); Tocoahuapan (lugar de agua); Chicnahupán (lugar donde hay un puente y un río), Achichiapan (lugar del manantial); Acuitlapán (lugar detrás del agua); Apan (lugar al borde del agua); Atizapan (lugar del agua de tierra blanca); Tutuapan (lugar del río con pájaros); Zoquiapan (lugar del agua cenagosa); Actopan (lugar de la tierra húmeda); Michapan (lugar donde se puede pescar); Acuitlapán (lugar donde hay mucho excremento en el agua); Chipaguacapan (lugar donde el agua es clara); Ixtapan (lugar del agua salada).

La evidencia citada nos permite afirmar la proveniencia del sufijo -apan, de la colonización y conquista en Mesoamérica por las tribus chichimecas hablantes del náhuatl (“mexicana corrupta”). Y este apunta a ser el caso de Uruapan. Esta afirmación implica la existencia de un futuro Uruapan poblado en el período del Urlichu Tardío, Posclásico Medio (1100–1350 de nuestra era), durante los años de peregrinación de los pueblos de Aztlan. Dicha hipótesis acepta el inicio del éxodo a partir del año 1100 de nuestra era, cuando al norte de Mesoamérica se originan cambios climáticos extremos con la caída en la precipitación anual pluvial y extensas sequías [2]. Ante el deterioro del medio ambiente y la consunción de los recursos naturales, la migración de tribus del Norte es inevitable. Los originarios asentamientos chichimecas en Uruapan no pudieron ocurrir antes del año 1247, y, por otra parte, para el año 1350 Uruapan ya debía estar poblado sin pertenecer todavía al Imperio Tarasco, pues la extensión del imperio fuera de la zona lacustre se lleva a cabo entre los años 1350 y 1400. Este es también el período cuando tienen lugar las primeras menciones de Uruapan [37, p. 24]. El arribo de las tribus chichimecas a la cuenca del río Cupatitzio de ninguna manera implica o niega la presencia de poblados y pueblos anteriores en la región. Este hecho simplemente marca los acontecimientos que desembocarán en el nombre de Uruapan.

5. La toponimia en el purépecha

La versión de Vicente Camela (UHRLUPANIO) es la que más luces nos da para comprender las equívocas interpretaciones. El “indio de Uruapan” instintivamente trata de incorporar el nombre al sistema toponímico del purépecha agregando una “o”, ya que es una característica primaria de los topónimos purépechas: “o” y “rho” en el tarasco antiguo eran los sufijos locativos. Sirvan como ejemplo algunos poblados cercanos a Uruapan: *Tingambato*, *Condémbaro*, *Paracho*, *Capacuaro*, *Tancítaro*, *Urecho*, *Ziracuaretiro*. Dicha integración respeta las normas de las lenguas de sílaba abierta. Para adaptar el término al purépecha, Camela decide otorgarle una terminación en vocal, ya que “En purépecha todas las palabras terminan en vocal” [39, p. 19]. Este cambio es contrario a la tendencia en la transcripción castellana del siglo XVI, que omite la vocal final [ibid.]. Estas peculiaridades fueron observadas incluso por los cartógrafos

del siglo XVII, quienes elaboraban sus mapas de acuerdo con terceros testigos de oídas. Así, un mapa de 1636 hecho en Ámsterdam sigue este patrón (*Nova Hispania et Nova Galicia*). Menciona “Pascaro”, “Zacapo”, “Paracho”, “Tarecuato”, “Indapapapeo”, “Tarimbaro”, “Acambaro”, “Ucareo”, “Cuseo” y “Situacuaro”; translitera “Hurechu” y copia “Pichat” omitiendo el locativo. En el mapa los poblados figuran como “Mi-choacán de los Tarascos”, parte de la provincia de “Mechoacan” (*Mexuacan Tarascorum sine provincia*).

Este rasgo es más visible en el primer mapa de Michoacán, primera mitad del siglo XVI, donde predominan concluyentemente las localidades con los sufijos *-o* y *-rho*. De esa manera obtenemos los siguientes topónimos del antiguo tarasco (tabla 2):

Después de las vocales “e” / “i”	Sufijo <i>-rho</i>
Timbineo	Yuririapúndaro
Ucareo	Acámbaro
Turundeo	Zitácuaro
Macutzio	Camémbaro
Enandio	Tupátaro
Tiquicheo	Zinapécuaro
Cutzio	Charo
Pateo	Guayangareo
Tungareo	Pátzcuaro
Senguio	Cupacuaro
Taimeo	Araró

Tabla 2. Distribución de los sufijos *-o* y *-rho*

El sufijo *-o* actúa como variante del sufijo *-rho* después de las vocales “e” / “i” para describir la noción de lugar en el caso de los topónimos, es decir, es locativo para los nombres propios, y se ha transformado en el contemporáneo sufijo *-rhu*. Para el hablante del purépecha, esta noción es inmediatamente reconocible.

El purépecha es una lengua con un sistema de casos, y el sufijo *-rho* (*-o* / *-rhu* / *-u*) agregado al nominativo, es decir, a la palabra misma, señala el caso locativo, del cual existen dos funciones: nombrar un lugar, e indicar dónde ocurre la acción de la oración [36]. La primera función prevalece en la toponimia del tarasco antiguo. Aunque existen otros sufijos para expresar el caso locativo, el sufijo mencionado tiene un carácter esencialmente toponímico, es decir, ante todo sirve para nombrar el lugar de la acción verbal en el tarasco antiguo. Una muestra del contemporáneo sufijo *-rhu*, que reemplaza el sufijo *-rho* del tarasco antiguo, se ve en el nombre purépecha de la Huatápera: *K’umanchikua Uandájpærakuarhu*, “casa de encuentro y diálogo”.

En el momento histórico que produjo el mapa de los “Estados del Gran Caltzontin”, principios del siglo XVI, Uruapan es un poblado desconocido. Están incluidos, en cambio, los pueblos de su alrededor: “Tanzitaro”, “Taretan”, “Urecho”, “Paracho” y “Tingambato”. Aunque también existe la posibilidad de una ausencia debida a la falta de su evangelización. Cien años después, Uruapan ya estará debidamente catequizado, de acuerdo con un mapa del Obispado de Michoacán de 1649 [19].

6. El nombre de Uruapan a base de datos cartográficos

Sabemos con exactitud que, para el 22 de diciembre de 1523, fecha de la llegada al pueblo de Antonio de Carabajal, el visitador encargado de contar y repartir tributarios entre encomenderos, Uruapan ya había adquirido dos versiones estables de su topónimo correspondiendo al contemporáneo: “Uruapan” y “Huruapa” [16]. Su diversidad, en cambio, se exhibe en la *Relación de Michoacán*, documento escrito posteriormente, pero describiendo sucesos anteriores a la *Visita* [18]. El lugar aparece ocho veces en la *Visita de Antonio de Carabajal*, y bajo el título de “Huruapan” es encomendado a Francisco de Villegas el 25 de agosto de 1524, y transferido a sus herederos como “VruaPa” [37, p. 31], [32]⁴. También lo en-

⁴ Gran Diccionario Náhuatl. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2012, gdn.iib.unam.mx (consultado el 7 de septiembre 2024).

contramos en el *Lienzo de Jucutacato* (*Lienzo de Jicalán*), documento de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI (1565), bajo “Vuruapan”. Estos ejemplos prefiguran la confusión unida al nombre del pueblo hasta fines del siglo XIX.

La *Visita* menciona por primera vez el río de la población (dos ríos, dice el documento) con nombres casi imposibles de leer y cuya paleografía nos ha dado las siguientes mutaciones: “Arlecici” y “Atlacece” (O. Talavera y B. Warren), o “Arlecici” y “Zenzun” (F. Warren) y “Atlacaca” y “Zenzum” (O. Talavera) [37, p. 31]⁵.

A diferencia de los mexicas, hijos de Huitzilopochtli, los atlaca nacen míticamente como vástagos de Opochtli. En una ceremonia semejante, los atlaca obtienen de su dios las armas de su subsistencia, según las fuentes de Bernardino de Sahagún [6]. Si se acepta la hipótesis de un asentamiento atlacachichimeca a orillas del río, entonces la primera mención de Uruapan en un mapa se hace en 1579, donde aparece bajo el sustitutorio nombre de Atapa, malinterpretación de Atlapa, elisión de Atlacapan (la omisión de sílabas y letrase la transcripción del náhuatl es una constante de la caligrafía castellana de la época). El vocablo *Atlapa* para definir a un poblado al borde del río se repite en otras partes de México: Atlapa del Río, Guerrero; Atlapa, San Luis Potosí; Atlapa Chico, Veracruz; y San Sebastián Atlapa, Tlaxcala. En nuestra opinión, el poblado al borde de un río bajo el nombre de “Atapa”, cercano al lago de Zirahuén y los poblados de Urecho (“Hurechu”), Angahuan (“Angua”), Apatzingán (“Apazcinga”) y Tancítaro (“Tancítaro”) en el centro de ese círculo mal dibujado, no puede ser otro que Uruapan [29].

La mejor descripción y el mejor ejemplo del sincretismo lingüístico en el topónimo citado, nos lo ofrece Santiago Atapan, Los Reyes, Michoacán. Dicho lugar incorpora el nombre del apóstol al ya existente, claramente definido por su localización al borde del agua, de acuerdo con un documento de 1728 [26]. Especulativamente, Uruapan sería llamado “Atapa” como deformación de “Atlacapan” (lugar de los que viven al borde del agua [“Atlacah”]), y el río relevaría al poblado, pues para el año del mapa ya eran diferentes los nombres del río y del poblado: Atlacacan y Uruapan, tal y como consta en la *Visita*. Y, sin embargo, todavía en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII se seguía confundiendo el río por el pueblo (Pablo Beaumont) [4, p. 35–36]. El fallo es justificado, pues los dos topónimos están derivados de su relación con el agua (el río).

El segundo río mencionado en la *Visita*, Zenzum, no existe, y la descabellada transcripción pareciera referirse al confín de los poblados que integraban Uruapan, descrito en términos del afluente y su cauce. Dicho límite puede considerarse la caída de agua Tzaráracua, cuyo significado (“cedazo”) se forma a partir del sustantivo *tzarha*, textura que permite colar o cernir (*tzarhá-ni*) [36, p. 141]. La posible interpretación del purépecha Tzaráracua como Zenzum, especulativamente, vendría del término náhuatl: *tzetzelhuia* (colar, cernir); y de un probable topónimo abreviado: *Tzetzehuapam* (lugar donde se cierne el agua, Zenzum)⁶. Así, los pobladores de Uruapan estarían mencionando dos lugares a lo largo del flujo de las aguas, pues el agua (lago, laguna, mar o río) es el fundamento lógico de dicha toponímica en el náhuatl [31]. El único río de Uruapan, Cupatitzio, será mencionado por su actual nombre solamente en 1862 [24]. Uruapan (“Uruapa”) será representado como pueblo bajo su propio topónimo solamente el año 1804, aunque esté situado de manera errónea (figura 1).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Humboldt, op. cit.



*Figura 1. General chart of the kingdom of New Spain... (1804), Alexander von Humboldt*⁷

En principio, es posible suponer un primer asentamiento naguatato de tribus atla a orillas del río, derivando en una emigración posterior a las cercanías de Peribán. Dicha población habría dado al río su nombre náhuatl. El topónimo de Uruapan entonces procedería de una subsecuente afluencia de chichimecas naguatatos. Entre las dos fechas indicadas: 1579 (Atapa) y 1804 (Uruapan), se forma un vacío cartográfico en torno al pueblo. José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez no lo menciona en su *Nuevo mapa geográfico de la América Septentrional, perteneciente al virreynato de Mexico* (1768), aunque a la localidad de Atapa es posible encontrarla en un mapa de 1650 [14].

Pero la más notable de las menciones del pueblo en este período, es la hecha por Francisco Javier Clavijero en el mapa que acompañaba su edición londinense de la *Historia antigua de México* (figuras 2 y 3) [10], [11]. Aparece bajo el topónimo de “Oloapan” en 1780.



Figura 2. “Oloapan” en Francisco Javier Clavijero [10]

⁷ Ibid.



Figura 3. *The History of Mexico, Collected from Spanish and Mexican Historians, Francesco Saverio Clavigero* [10]

Estos difusos antecedentes explican la inestabilidad en la transcripción del topónimo de Uruapan a lo largo de los siglos XVII, XVIII y XIX [15], [19], [10], [28], [17], [3], [21].

7. Discusión

El análisis del material recopilado pone de manifiesto que el nombre de Uruapan pertenece al sistema toponímico nahoa. Contiene un formante, una unidad de significado, ausente en otras lenguas indígenas. El formante en cuestión es “uapan” y sus variantes: “huapan”, “huapa”, “oapan” y “oapa”, cuya acepción se forma a partir de tres morfemas: el sufijo posesivo *-hua*, el morfema *-atl* y el sufijo locativo *-pan*, y cuya interpretación es “propio de un lugar sobre el agua”. El uso del sufijo *-hua* proviene del proto-náhuatl *-wa* / *-wan*, evidenciando una proveniencia antigua [20, p. 75], [13], [35], [7]. Estos son algunos de sus topónimos: Cozamaloapan, Coapan, Chalchioapan, Cacaoapan, Tocoahuapan, Miyahuapan, Cihuapan, Chiucnahuapan, Chicuallohuapan, Chicnohuapan, Cuetlaxcoapan, Icooapan, Mixcoapan, Oceloapan, Papaloapan, Tecoloapan, Teoapan, Hoapan, Totoloapan, y el ya mencionado Ohuapan. La fallida transcripción en los topónimos “Arlecaca” y “Uhr lupanio”, así como la hecha por el informante nahoa de Clavijero (“Olohuapan”), nos señala la presencia del fonema “tl” (/tʃ/), y la fluctuación entre vocales para el nombre. La más común de las fluctuaciones ortográficas en el castellano del siglo XVI, se da entre “o” y “u”. Es mucho más común cuando involucra el saltillo, cierre glotal, por ejemplo, en las distintas versiones dadas para el caballero noble o persona de la realeza: *tecutli*, *tecuthtli*, *teuctli*, *teoctli*. Esto se explica porque en el sistema vocálico del náhuatl clásico /o/ y /u/ son alófonos, variaciones de un mismo fonema. Dicho fenómeno se ve acentuado por la tendencia histórica al ascenso de las vocales medias en el purépecha. Esto significa que el fonema /u/ tiende a reemplazar al fonema /o/ (*-rho* → *-rhu*), reflejo de una variación existente tanto en el tarasco antiguo como en el purépecha contemporáneo [39], [1], [22], [12], [8], [5], [34], [9], [25]. Esta variación se da entre la vocal media posterior /o/ y la vocal altaposterior /u/. La traslación del topónimo náhuatl de Uruapan al castellano sufrió dos transformaciones. La primera es el reemplazo de la consonante “tl” (/tʃ/) por la consonante “r” (/r/) en la pronunciación purépecha y su

consecuente registro en el castellano. La segunda es la reproducción del fonema /o/ con su alófono /u/. Por estas razones el original debía leerse “Otlohuapan” resultando en la articulación fónica “Uruuápan”, de la cual se derivan las grafías consiguientes.

El topónimo Otlohuapan tiene su antecedente en Ohuapan, comunidad tributaria de la provincia de Tepecuacuilco en el siglo XVI (su nombre actual es Oapan en el estado de Guerrero). El término deriva, según su glifo, de “*Ohua -tl*” (espiga de maíz tierno), y el sufijo locativo “*pan -tli*”, siendo interpretado como “el lugar de las espigas de maíz tierno”. Otlohuapan se compondría de tres elementos: “*Otli*” (camino o sendero); “*Ohua -tl*” (espiga de maíz tierno), y “*Uapan*” (propio del río o perteneciente al río), y su significado sería “camino de las espigas de maíz tierno por el río”. Dicha noción estaría sustentada por la topografía. Además, encontramos innumerables “nacimientos” a lo largo y ancho de la ciudad, lugares propicios para el cultivo, y probablemente los sitios de asentamiento de los pobladores que le dieran su nombre a la ciudad y de los que la ocuparan antes de ellos.

El nombre de Uruapan deriva del náhuatl clásico, ya que contiene uno de los sufijos locativos propios de la lengua: *-pan*. La palabra también integra dos lexemas presentes en el náhuatl clásico: *-apan* y *-hua-pan*. Su exégesis en esta lengua se apoya en peculiaridades topográficas concretas, y encaja dentro del sistema toponímico del náhuatl clásico.

8. Conclusión

La investigación del topónimo Uruapan ha permitido establecer el orden cronológico de sus variantes fonéticas y gráficas, así como demostrar la hipótesis sobre el valor de los datos toponímicos para establecer la identidad de sus fundadores que en el caso de Uruapan fueron los nahuas, y no los tarascos.

Para resumir, la documentación histórica, análisis lingüístico, estudio etimológico, clasificación semántica del topónimo *Uruapan* han comprobado que éste forma parte inalienable de la toponimia autóctona mexicana, refleja las olas migratorias en el territorio del actual estado de Michoacán, lo que – a su vez – dio motivo para las equívocas interpretaciones de su etimología.

La etimología del topónimo Uruapan es del náhuatl clásico, ya que contiene uno de los sufijos locativos propios de la lengua: *-pan*. Su origen náhuatl está congruente con el sistema toponímico del náhuatl clásico. Uruapan procede de Otlohuapan, “camino de las espigas de maíz tierno por el río”.

A futuro, estudios de las etimologías de los topónimos autóctonos pueden fundamentar la comprensión de la cosmovisión de los antiguos habitantes de Mesoamérica así como las particularidades de su don de observación, sus prácticas humanas y denominadoras.

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Written Standardisation of Nahuatl Aimed at the Generation of Reading and Learning Resources

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Summary. This paper proposes an alphabet that can be standardized for writing the Nahuatl language in Mexico. Due to the extensive alphabetic dialectal diversification, each Nahua population writes its variety in a unique way, so there is no written consensus on the language as such, making it difficult to generate academic and other resources for teaching and learning it and even for access to basic services such as public healthcare. A compendium of resources is presented, composed of samples from the writing of diverse Nahua communities and from the institutionalized variety, which went through an evolution across the viceregal colonial period that spans from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, until Mexico's independent existence from the Spanish crown. Subsequently, a comparative analysis of their spellings and the relationship they have with phonetics is carried out to finally generate a standardizable writing alphabet. Only certain aspects of the dialectal varieties present in communities, municipalities or regions, ranging from the Mexican state of San Luis Potosí to Tlaxcala, are mentioned, and their crucial elements are taken for their harmonization with the historically institutionalized writing form, without delving deeply into each alphabetic dialectal variety because of how extensive this would be, apart from this not being necessarily aligned with the purposes of the project in the making. By combining graphic elements of the varieties mentioned here, an alphabet capable of being understandable both in Nahua communities and in the academic environment is proposed, facilitating the study of Nahuatl both among people who are beginning to learn it and those who speak it partially, as well as anyone seeking to complement their knowledge.

Keywords: language variety, etymology, Nahuatl, phonetics, grammar, colonial, alphabet, glyph, codex

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Abbreviations:

- N. I. – Institutionalized Nahuatl.
- S. N. P. – Sierra Norte de Puebla.
- S. M. C. – San Miguel Canoa.

Estandarización Escrita del Náhuatl Enfocada a la Generación de Recursos de Lectura y Aprendizaje

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Resumen. El presente texto propone un alfabeto que sea estandarizable para escribir el idioma náhuatl en México debido a la extensa diversificación dialectal alfabética que, como cada población nahua escribe su variante de forma única, no existe consenso escrito del idioma como tal, dificultando la generación de recursos académicos o de otra índole para su enseñanza o aprendizaje e incluso en el acceso a servicios básicos como a la salud pública. En primera instancia se analiza un compendio de elementos provenientes de la escritura propia de cada comunidad nahua y también de la forma institucionalizada a través de los siglos tanto en el periodo colonial virreinal que abarca desde el siglo XVI al siglo XIX, hasta el México independiente de la corona española. Posteriormente se realiza un análisis comparativo de sus grafías y la relación que guardan con la fonética para finalmente generar una escritura estandarizable. Se mencionan sólo ciertos aspectos de las variantes dialectales presentes en comunidades, municipios o regiones abarcando desde el estado mexicano de San Luis Potosí hasta Tlaxcala tomando elementos cruciales para su compaginación con la escritura históricamente institucionalizada, evitando ahondar profundamente en cada variante dialectal alfabética por lo extenso que esto sería y cuya acción no está necesariamente alineada con los fines del proyecto en ciernes. Al combinar elementos gráficos de las variantes aquí mencionadas, se propone un alfabeto capaz de ser comprensible tanto en las comunidades nahuas como en el medio académico, facilitando la enseñanza del náhuatl tanto a personas que lo comienzan a aprender como a personas que lo hablan parcialmente o busquen complementar su conocimiento.

Palabras clave: variante lingüística, etimología, náhuatl, fonética, gramática, colonial, alfabeto, glifo, código, grafías

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Abreviaciones:

N. I. – Náhuatl institucionalizado.

S. N. P. – Sierra Norte de Puebla.

S. M. C. – San Miguel Canoa.

Introducción

El idioma náhuatl es una lengua nativa de México, cuya presencia ha ido decreciendo desde el periodo colonial hasta el siglo XIX [13] debido al rol dado al español como lengua rectora para todo el territorio mexicano. Generar recursos que sirvan a su enseñanza-aprendizaje es fundamental para que no mengüe el número de hablantes contemporáneos y por consiguiente se encamine a una extinción epistemológica.

El náhuatl es una de las 68 lenguas autóctonas de México, la más hablada del país [4], perdurando a través de los siglos. La variante escrita que se institucionalizó a nivel nacional desde el siglo XVI cuenta con más de un milenio de antigüedad, cuya familia lingüística llamada yuto-nahua o uto-azteca junto con sus diversificaciones es rastreable en el tiempo hasta alrededor de 46 siglos de existencia [15]. Al momento de la caída de la capital mexica Tenochtitlan a mano de las huestes españolas, en 1521, el náhuatl fungía como puente lingüístico entre diversas zonas e idiomas en la región mesoamericana [13], siendo propio de culturas como la cholulteca, huejotzinca, tlaxcalteca y mexica, entre otras.

Contaba con un sistema grafico-sonoro¹ de escritura basado en un conjunto de unidades o glifos. Cada glifo difiere en contenido de información, ya sean frases de distinta extensión o fonemas específicos, y al conjunto de glifos ordenados en un libro se le conoce como códice o en náhuatl “amoxtli” [23].

La distribución del náhuatl en México es vasta pero no limitada al país, ya que se pueden encontrar variantes en otros países con una denominación distinta, como es el caso de El Salvador (figura 1):

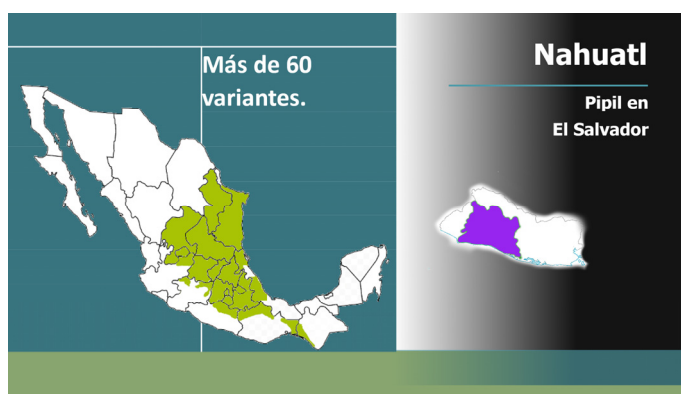


Figura 1. Mapa de la presencia del idioma náhuatl en México y El Salvador²

Debido a temas migratorios, su presencia se ha expandido llegando incluso a Estados Unidos, y gracias a los medios de comunicación masivos cada vez más eficaces, es posible la internacionalización de un idioma que hasta hoy día sigue estando a la periferia de la atención lingüística global.

Existen hasta el 2024 una cantidad considerable de diccionarios, libros de aprendizaje o la combinación de ambos en las distintas localidades donde el náhuatl continúa siendo el idioma de uso cotidiano, heredado por generaciones. Los materiales no sólo se han producido impresos, sino también digitales adaptados al caminar tecnológico, accesibles en internet a todo público. En la gran mayoría de éstos, se indica la variante del náhuatl de la cual es continente siendo, por ejemplo, de la sierra norte de Puebla, región Tlaxcala, de la Mixteca o de Calpan, entre otros. Sin embargo, estudiar y comprender una determinada variante no significa intrínsecamente que con ello se puedan asimilar otras.

La actual propuesta hace alusión a la importancia de tomar en cuenta tanto las variantes modernas con su escritura, como a la variante proveniente del periodo postclásico tardío³ de nombre “tecpillatolli” [13] la cual tuvo un proceso amplio de institucionalización a lo largo del tiempo, con el objetivo de plantear un alfabeto que funja como puente entre las diversas escrituras del náhuatl manteniendo familiaridad con la mayor parte de ellas, pero lo suficientemente general como para abarcar la diversidad de escrituras en las regiones mencionadas, siempre en línea con la fonética del idioma, fuente primordial de su continuidad a lo largo de los siglos.

¹ Término acuñado por el Dr. Joaquín Galarza referente al sistema pictográfico que los antiguos pueblos nahuas poseían a modo de escritura-pintura, véase [17].

² Imagen generada por el autor en el marco de las presentaciones sobre las culturas de México en colaboración con Cultura Connector INC, 2024.

³ Para la medición del tiempo de las culturas mesoamericanas se usa un sistema basado en tres periodos generales: preclásico, clásico y posclásico, teniendo sus propias subdivisiones, véase [21].

Al no existir consenso estable para escribir el náhuatl, se dificulta generar recursos de lectura-escritura tanto para la formación lingüística, como para el acceso a servicios básicos como a la salud, justicia y formación académica. Esto no significa que se proponga homogeneizar la escritura nahua, pues su diversidad es parte de la riqueza lingüística y cultural en México, sino encontrar consenso escrito a nivel nacional preservando la diversificación dialectal alfabética propia de cada región.

Con dicha finalidad, se realizó un análisis comparativo de diversas variantes de náhuatl escritas para posteriormente integrar los elementos pertinentes en un sistema alfabético amplio. Las variantes aludidas fueron elegidas para el presente estudio debido a que cuentan con material escrito consistente y representativo de su población.

Como ejemplo de ello se destaca el libro de gramática del náhuatl [9] generado a partir de la variante de San Lucas Atzala, perteneciente al estado mexicano de Puebla, con la peculiaridad de utilizar la escritura institucionalizada, generando una combinación que le da capacidad de trascender las fronteras de su región. Es dicha capacidad la que se pretende lograr con el alfabeto propuesto en el presente texto con el objetivo de ampliar el espectro a más variantes escritas.

Han existido diversas propuestas de lograr la unificación escrita del náhuatl pero no se ha podido hacer de manera consistente debido, entre otras cuestiones, a que se le separó de su escritura originaria de manera sistemática desde la conquista del territorio mexicano. La quema de libros y la prohibición de escribir en códice fueron fundamentales para la pérdida del complejo sistema de escritura en códice.

Así mismo, históricamente no ha sido un idioma homogéneo ni en lo escrito ni en lo fonético. Su diversificación histórica es similar a la de las lenguas romances en relación con el latín, pues del náhuatl arcaico derivaron variantes dialectales que ahora son tan similares como el español de Colombia y el de México, o tan disímiles como el francés con el portugués.

Dentro de los esfuerzos más remarcables por puntualizar en papel una estructura definida del idioma en ciernes, en 1940 Garibay publica la primera edición de “La llave del náhuatl” [7] donde describe la estructura de la gramática basada en el llamado náhuatl clásico, en un análisis lingüístico no fundamentado en una variante específica, sino en fuentes históricas como el huehuetlahtolli o en español “la palabra antigua”, refiriéndose a los escritos basados en conocimientos de hablantes del náhuatl sobre prácticas culturales de su sociedad⁴.

Ya en 1977 Rémi Siméon publica el “Diccionario de la lengua náhuatl o mexicana”. En él, describe un alfabeto específico fundamentado también en la evolución histórica del náhuatl pero sólo en la primera parte del libro [20]. A diferencia de Garibay, Siméon se centra específicamente en generar un diccionario. Ambos autores describen el náhuatl en su estructura y vocabulario puntualmente, por lo tanto, se toman como parte de la base teórica a partir de la cual se propone un alfabeto que busque converger en la medida de lo posible una parte de la diversidad de escrituras que tiene dicho idioma en México. Se busca un equilibrio entre las fuentes académicas como las mencionadas, los materiales generados en las propias comunidades y los esfuerzos conjuntos con distintos niveles de gobierno para lograr una mayor perspectiva tanto de lo que ya se ha propuesto como de lo que es viable generar.

El concepto de extinción epistemológica se refiere a lo que se busca evitar, con el fenecimiento paulatino del náhuatl, en tanto que la diversificación dialectal alfabética indica lagran cantidad de maneras de escribirlo dependiendo de la región o comunidad a la que pertenece.

Recursos lingüísticos

La naturaleza de los recursos de difusión, enseñanza o registro del náhuatl se adaptan a las circunstancias socio-tecnológicas como las aplicaciones digitales, desarrollo de diccionarios en línea o impresos, así como la edición escrita de tradiciones orales. Generalmente todo recurso indica la variante donde se gestó, dejando claro que la forma de escribir es propia de dicho lugar.

⁴ Los “huehuetlahtolli” se han escrito en náhuatl hacia el año 1547, véase [19].

El náhuatl es el idioma más hablado en México después del español, como lo muestra la siguiente gráfica (figura 2) sobre el número de hablantes con los que cuentan las distintas lenguas y/o grupos lingüísticos en México.

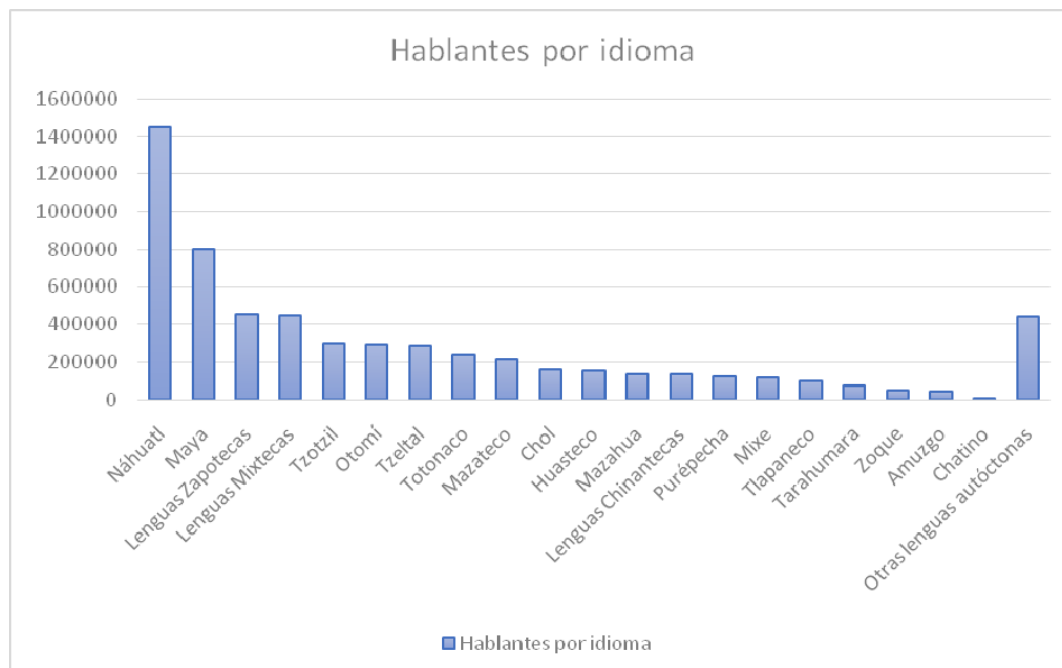


Figura 2. Perfil sociodemográfico de la población hablante de náhuatl (2005)⁵

Tomando en cuenta dicho preámbulo, el análisis comparativo comprende los siguientes recursos lingüísticos generados en distintas comunidades:

- compendio de cuentos y folklore tradicional nahua;
- diccionarios bilingües náhuatl-español y español-náhuatl;
- diccionarios con apartado gramatical;
- diccionarios en línea;
- fascículos dirigidos al aprendizaje del náhuatl;
- gramática como estudio y dirigida a la enseñanza;
- programas de enseñanza en educación básica.

Variantes modernas

Cierto es que en México la castellanización de los idiomas originarios ha llevado a muchos de ellos a su extinción lingüística-epistemológica. El espectro de afección de ello continúa y es algo que no se puede detener, pero es factible realizar esfuerzos para desacelerarlo. La gran mayoría de idiomas nativos de México están en peligro de extinción, como el Kiliwa que cuenta con sólo tres hablantes, siendo el caso más extremo.

La castellanización no ha sido un proceso unidireccional pues el español mexicano está completamente matizado por las lenguas originarias dependiendo de la región y más aún, la nahuatlización del español llega a afectar incluso la forma de expresarse como el múltiple sentido que una sola frase puede tener; la metáfora. Palabras como “guarura” que en México significa *guardaespalda*, proviene del idioma tarahumara, siendo “wa’rura”⁶ para designar a alguien físicamente imponente. El nombre *Eréndira* proviene del

⁵ Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, INEGI, inegi.org.mx/ (consultado el 19 de agosto 2024).

⁶ Guarura. Diccionario breve de mexicanismos de Guido Gómez de Silva, academia.org.mx/consultas/obras-de-consulta-en-linea/diccionario-breve-de-mexicanismos-de-guido-gomez-de-silva/item/guarura (consultado el 22 de agosto 2024).

purépecha siendo popular a partir de la mítica princesa del reino michoacano que resistió a la invasión española en 1522 [16]. Pesando en que la gastronomía es una de las áreas del conocimiento que más ha conservado palabras en los idiomas originarios, el término *chocolate* deriva del náhuatl “xocolatl” [10] literalmente “agua amarga”, mismo caso para *aguacate* proveniente de la voz “auhcatl” [10], entre muchos otros. También se debe mentalizar la convivencia entre las lenguas originarias a lo largo del territorio que ha permeado al náhuatl en su fonética y gramática.

Respecto a la escritura, cada comunidad tiene su manera e incluso sus propias grafías ajenas a las demás variantes, consecuencia del analfabetismo en el que se vieron sumergidas las lenguas nativas debido a la pérdida sistemática de su escritura y la posterior incorporación epistémica al alfabeto y lógica de escritura latina.

A continuación se mencionan algunas de las variantes significativas con sus características alfabéticas, dado que cuentan con material escrito consistente y representativo de sus regiones, pero no son las únicas que se toman en cuenta. En el apartado de la escritura dialectal, en la tabla 1, se incluyen recursos escritos provenientes de las variantes dialectales alfabéticas indicando su procedencia, alfabeto y grafías especiales en el caso de tenerlas. Más adelante, en la tabla 2, se incluyen fuentes académicas pertinentes para el estudio comparativo.

A pesar de la multiplicidad de variables en el uso de letras específicas, se pueden apreciar dos grupos alfabéticos dialectales que engloban las distintas maneras de escribir de las comunidades:

A) A, C, E, H, I, J, L, M, N, O, P, Q, T, U, X, Y, Z

B) A, E, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, S, T, W, X, Y

Se resaltan las letras que difieren en ambos grupos, como es el caso de la “k” o la “w”.

El grupo denominado “A” engloba mayoritariamente a las comunidades que han adoptado la escritura con mayor rango histórico en el náhuatl escrito, que en lo sucesivo se denomina escritura institucionalizada.

En tanto que el grupo “B” comprende a las comunidades que han adoptado una escritura influenciada por el material escrito e investigaciones generadas sobre todo a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XX.

Estos dos grupos alfabéticos generales, son causa de polémica alrededor de la pregunta: ¿Cuál es la escritura más acertada o coherente para el náhuatl?

No existe una respuesta sencilla al respecto, sin embargo es posible describir el contexto actual para un encaminamiento que pueda verter luz al respecto.

En primera instancia se necesita tomar en cuenta que su escritura original se ha perdido por completo en tanto que sistema de comunicación de uso cotidiano y es altamente complejo dadas las circunstancias históricas que siguieron a partir de la conquista, como la quema de pilas de libros en códice⁷.

Variante de la Sierra Norte de Puebla

Hablar de la variante de la Sierra Norte de Puebla es englobar al mismo tiempo diversas líneas dialectales que en ciertos casos pueden ser altamente distintas entre sí, empero, es una forma de sintetizar a dichas variantes como una región lingüística. En el territorio aludido, se comparte más la estructura escrita que la hablada, haciendo uso de letras como la “k”, “j” o “w” abundando también la pérdida del sonido “tl” entre otros, debido a la dificultad que éste presenta para ser pronunciado por la persona hispanohablante. Ejemplo de ello es la palabra “Yejua” referente a la tercera persona del singular enfáticamente (Nah. de la Sierra), sin embargo ésta proviene de la palabra “Yej-juatl”; el significado no cambió, pero la escritura y fonética sí. Continuando con la misma variante, la palabra *cuánto* se escribe “Keniu”, en tanto que en el N. I. es “Queniu”. Se observa cómo el sonido que se produce casi no hay diferencia, pero en la escritura es disímil.

⁷ En los llamados “autos de fe”, frailes de distintas órdenes religiosas realizaban la quema de libros prehispánicos en los territorios conquistados por la corona española. Véase [6].

Al incluir un pronombre se suma al verbo en una sólo palabra, como en “Kichiua”, indicando que latercera persona del singular realiza una acción, donde “ki” refiere a la tercera persona del singular y “chiua” es el verbo *hacer*. En contraste, la escritura institucionalizada separa el pronombre del verbo: “Qui chihua”, además de implementar el uso de las letras “qu” en vez e “k” haciendo uso de una “h” intermedia para completar el sufijo “hua”⁸.

En general la pronunciación es altamente similar, pero la escritura varía plausiblemente debido a la distancia entre poblaciones tanto física como históricamente. Dentro de los recursos generados para la enseñanza y aprendizaje de dicha variante se encuentra el diccionario AULEX⁹ náhuatl-español, donde se difunde su escritura particular definiendo en automático un alfabeto específico. Esto dificulta su comprensión para lectores que no tienen familiaridad con esa determinada manera de escribir.

La región de la S. N. P. comparte similitudes con las variantes dialectales de la parte media del estado de Veracruz, dada la cercanía y la geografía compartida.

Variante de San Luis Potosí: San Martín Chalchicautla – Huasteca potosina

Dentro del material escrito existente, se toma como referencia a la edición impresa “Etimologías de la lengua náhuatl”, del profesor Gregorio Bautista Lara [2]. En su tercera edición, se emplea un alfabeto institucional con la particularidad de incluir la letra “s” ocupando la mayor parte de las palabras para el fonema respectivo de dicha letra, y relegando el uso de la “z” a nombres ya arraigados como Zacatlán¹⁰. Fonéticamente las palabras en general no se han castellanizado, por lo cual mantiene en su mayoría las terminaciones básicas [9] de las palabras escritas como es el caso de “lli”, “tli”, “tli”, entre otras.

San Martín Chalchicautla se encuentra en la región de la Huasteca Potosina, en donde también se han generado otros recursos lingüísticos con escrituras divergentes. Cabe destacar que de forma paulatina todo material escrito o registrado que se genera en el tiempo se convierte en referente representante de la variante que contiene, dando como resultado que con el paso de los años la comunidad misma adopte tal o cual manera de escribir, aunado a la influencia que ejerce en ciertas ocasiones la Secretaría de Educación Pública al editar libros para las clases de formación básica en zonas rurales o, como se muestra a continuación (figura 3), el material generado en distintos momentos por el gobierno federal o estatal con el fin de difundir cierta información relacionada a programas gubernamentales.



Figura 3. Escritura de la huasteca potosina (detalle) [10, p. 5]

Como se puede observar en el ejemplo anterior en náhuatl de la huasteca potosina [8], una peculiaridad de su escritura es el sonido de la jota al final de palabras tanto en plural como en singular.

“Ipan Mexikomotlajtouaj 68 maseualtlajtolmej”

Esp.: *En México se hablan 68 idiomas indígenas.*

⁸ En náhuatl, el sufijo “hua” es común entre los verbos, se toma como una terminación básica de las palabras. Se puede encontrar también como “oa” o “ua”.

⁹ Diccionarios en línea AULEX, aulex.org/nahuatl/ (consultado el 10 de agosto 2024).

¹⁰ En México, no existe diferencia en la pronunciación de la “s” o la “z”, lo mismo que en la escritura nahua.

La variante de la S. N. P. cuenta con la misma terminación pero más suave, cambiando la “j” por la “h”: “masehualtlahtolmeh”. Ésta sutileza fonética queda reflejada en la manera de utilizar ambas letras y siempre conservando la misma estructura sintáctica.

Variante institucionalizada

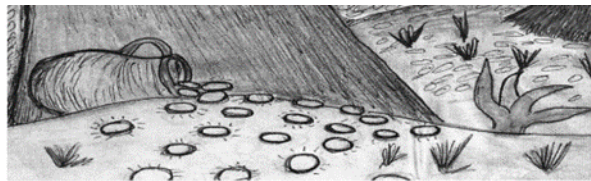
La escritura más repartida a nivel institucional (en documentos oficiales o señalética pública) tiene su origen dentro de las primeras veces que el náhuatl se escribió con letra occidental [10]. Consta de un abecedario comprendiendo las letras de uso más común en español, sin contar la letra “s” cuyo sonido siempre será representado por “z”. Por su parte Rémi Siméon, en su obra titulada “Diccionario de la lengua náhuatl o mexicana” incluye la cesedilla “ç”, en ciertas palabras realizando casi la misma función fonética que la “z”. Con ello se hace plausible que existe una relativa influencia de la escritura nativa de quienes realizan investigación relativa al náhuatl sobre los alfabetos que definen, pues la ce sedilla es frecuente en la lengua francesa.

El uso de letras o signos de mayor presencia en idiomas como el inglés o alemán se produce a posteriori, incorporando la letra “s”:

K, W, S.

Variante de San Miguel Canoa

La escritura concuerda con la institucionalizada [12], pero con diferencias sintácticas considerables respecto a la gramática del náhuatl clásico (figura 4):



In tomin

Cepa ocatca ce Tlaczintli; ahmitla ocpiaya; ahmo ocpiaya
tomin, za' otequitia ica imil. Momoztle oyahya in cuahtlan,

Figura 4. Extracto del cuento “In tomin” [13, p. 29]

En el náhuatl de S. M. C. se lee:

“Nentequitquin in tlacatzintli. Ocpiaya ce izoatzintli huan ce iconce. Ce tonal ¿matti tlen opanoc?”

Cuya traducción es: *Trabajaba mucho este hombre. Tenía una mujer y un hijo. Un día ¿Sabe qué pasó?*

Comparado con el N. I. su escritura cambia a “Nentequitqui inin tlacatzintli. O qui piaya ce cihuat-zintli huan ce conetl. Ce tonalli ¿Tic mati tlen o panoc?”. La diferencia más fehaciente es la separación de las palabras y los pronombres como en “ocpiaya” y “o qui piaya”, siendo “él tenía”. A su vez, las construcciones de las terminaciones de las palabras o el uso de las letras es distinto, a pesar de contar con el mismo alfabeto.

Las particularidades de la variante S. M. C. son:

- mayor uso de letras: “c”, “z”, “h”, “u”, “qu” antes de las vocales;
- pronombres: personales y posesivos unidos a verbos o sustantivos;
- plural: “h” como sufijo;
- grafías específicas: ‘

Variante de Tlaxcala

Dicha variante muestra distintas grafías específicas, siendo una parte de ellas empleadas para indicar donde antes existió un fonema que ahora se diluye paulatinamente en el habla contemporáneo [15]:

- A) ⁱ: palabras como “tlajtol” que deriva de “tlajtollī” o “tlahtollī”. En este caso, la “i” final se ha disuelto con el tiempo. Como indicativo de éste cambio fonético, la grafía “ⁱ” se emplaza donde otrora existió una “i”, sin ser pronunciada.
- B) ^l: es el mismo caso que el anterior, a salvedad de que en ciertos casos sí es pronunciable.
- C) ^l: funge como la doble “l” sólo en terminaciones de palabras “li”. En vez de “Kalli”, se escribe “ka ^li”.
- D) ⁿ: sin valor fonético, se pone para representar donde había antes una “n” como en “tonaltsi” otrora “tonaltsin”, escribiéndose “Tonaltsin”. “Xaltipa” se escribe “Xaltipan”.
- E) ^w: sustituye al sonido “hu”.

Por lo demás, el conjunto de consonantes y vocales se mantiene en concordancia con el N. I.

Escritura dialectal

Para generar a posteriori un método de enseñanza que factibilice la comprensión y consenso de diversas variantes lingüísticas del náhuatl, se propone un alfabeto que integre dentro de la escritura institucionalizada ciertos caracteres y sintaxis de las variantes mencionadas, en una simbiosis que respete al mismo tiempo las estructuras gramaticales propias del náhuatl en función de su fonética, siendo conscientes de la castellanización del mismo y sus consecuencias lingüísticas.

En el presente estudio, la fonética no es alusiva a debate tanto como la escritura por ser más homogénea ésta que su forma escrita.

Teniendo en cuenta lo anterior, se muestra el origen de cada componente sintáctico-alfabético de la escritura propuesta en dos grupos. El primero (tabla 1) se constituye de los alfabetos existentes en fuentes impresas o digitales representativas de cada región. En la primera columna de izquierda a derecha se menciona la variante y el estado del país al que pertenece, mientras que en la segunda se puede leer el alfabeto que contiene.

En ciertos casos como en San Luis Potosí, se ha tomado muestra de dos variantes, pues es una constante que cada estado de la república mexicana con presencia nahua cuente con más de una escritura dialectal alfabética.

De igual manera se observa en algunas variantes como es el caso de Tlaxcala, que cuentan con grafías específicas, sin embargo esto no quiere decir intrínsecamente que la pronunciación sea distinta a la de otras regiones, pero sí altera la forma escrita en su sintaxis.

Variante	Alfabeto
V. de San Martín Chalchicuatla [2] Estado de San Luis Potosí	A, C, CH, E, H, I, J, L, M, N, O, P, Q, S, T, TL, TZ, U, X, Y
V. de la Huasteca Potosina [8] Estado de San Luis Potosí	A, C, E, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, S, T, U, X, Y
V. de la región Matlalcueitl [14] Estado de Tlaxcala	A, E, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, S, T, TL, TS U, W, X, Y
Grafías específicas	ⁱ , ^l , ^l , ⁿ , ^w
V. de San Andrés Calpan [9] Estado de Puebla	A, C, E, H, I, J, L, M, N, O, P, Q, T, U, X, Y, Z
Grafías específicas	-
V. de San Miguel Canoa [12] Estado de Puebla	A, C, E, H, I, J, L, M, N, O, P, Q, T, U, X, Y, Z
Grafías específicas	ⁱ , -
V. de Zongolica [18] Estado de Veracruz	A, W, CH, E, H, I, K, KU, L, M, N, O, P, S, T, TL, TZ, X, Y.

Tabla 1. Variantes dialectales alfabéticas por estado y población

A continuación (tabla 2) se muestran las fuentes académicas y de consenso entre diversos estados para proyectos de envergadura nacional relacionados a la formación e investigación académica.

Fuente	Alfabeto
Universidad Pedagógica Nacional – Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología Estados de Morelos, Oaxaca y Veracruz [3] Alfabeto Fonético Internacional (AFI, 2006)	A, E, H, I, J, K, K ^w , L, M, N, O, P, S, T, ʃ, ʒ, TS, Th, β-W.
D. C. Wright Carr – Secretaría de Cultura – Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas [22] Náhuatl del periodo Novohispano Temprano (de 1521 a 1671 d.C.)	A, CH, C-QU, CU-UC, C-Z, E, H, HU-UH, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, T, TL, TZ, W, X, Y.
Fernández Martínez, M.L. – Instituto Nacional de los Pueblos Indígenas [5] Náhuatl institucionalizado	A, C, E, H, I, J, L, M, N, O, P, Q, T, X, Y, Z.
Naranjo Dulce, Ixhuatán de Madero, Veracruz [1] Traducción oficial de la Constitución Mexicana	A, C, E, H, I, J, L, M, N, O, P, Q, S, T, X, Y, Z.
Dirección para el Desarrollo y Fortalecimiento de Lenguas Indígenas de la Dirección General de Educación Indígena que pertenece a la Subsecretaría de Educación Básica de la Secretaría de Educación Pública, en conjunto con el Departamento de Educación y Comunicación de la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, unidad Xochimilco [11] San Luis Potosí, Guerrero, Veracruz, Estado de México, Puebla, Michoacán, Hidalgo y Morelos	A, E, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, S, T, U, W, X, Y.

Tabla 2. Fuentes académicas y de consenso entre comunidades e instituciones

Tomando los elementos de mayor repetición y la presencia histórica, en concordancia con las letras que se usan institucionalmente a nivel nacional se propone el siguiente alfabeto para su uso en la escritura del náhuatl que pueda servir en la comprensión de distintas escrituras (tabla 3), en línea con la integralidad fonética.

Alfabeto	A, C, E, H, H, I, J, L, M, N, O, P, Q, T, U, X, Y, Z
Grafías específicas	" ː, ː̃, ː̃̃.

Tabla 3. Proposición alfabética

Las fuentes académicas complementan al presente estudio por tener una perspectiva histórica. En Siméon [20], por ejemplo, se observan las letras “A, C, Ç, E, H, I, L, M, N, O, P, Q, T, U, X, Y, Z” siendo señaladas por el autor como las primeras usadas para la escritura en alfabeto occidental. Por su parte Á. María Garibay [7] realiza sus análisis concretos de gramática usando las letras “A, C, CH, E, H, I, L, TL, TZ, M, N, O, P, Q, U, T, X, Y, Z” ahondando en aspectos como los grupos vocálicos o fenómenos fonéticos.

Es oportuno resaltar que las letras propuestas en la obra de Siméon tienen peso histórico por usarse en los primeros escritos alfabéticos del náhuatl, mientras que Á. María Garibay describe a la escritura contemporánea en su momento, además de las fuentes históricas como el ya mencionado huehuetlahtolli [19]. A continuación se detallan solamente aquellos aspectos de la composición alfabética elegida cuya función afecta la gramática:

ː : Como se indica en el diccionario de la región Matlalcueitl [14], la grafía “ ː ” indica que existe una letra “n” en la palabra, pero se ha perdido su pronunciación en muchos casos. Por ejemplo en la palabra “cuatzin”, que es *amigo/a*, la terminación “tzin” significa respeto. Sin embargo por la castellanización del náhuatl la “n” final se ha perdido en algunas poblaciones, quedando como “cuatzi”.

Por tanto se sugiere el uso de la grafía “ ː ”, indicando que en determinada palabra existe una “n” no dicha en alguna variante como se ve en “cuatzi”.

La valía de indicar esto, es el reencontrar la gramática y fonética del vocabulario que se ha hispanizado acelerada y exponencialmente en algunas regiones debido a la influencia hispana o de otras lenguas extranjeras.

- : el guión medio se emplea para indicar una pausa en medio de una consonante y por consiguiente alargar su sonido, como en el caso de “ij-juitl”, que significa *pluma*, o “tej-juatzin”, siendo *tú* enfático. Cabe destacar que es variable la fuerza al sonido de la “j”, que a veces es sustituido por una “h” sonora. En variantes que usan el guión bajo para indicar saltillo, éste puede usarse para cambio de intensidad en el sonido medio: “ih-huipa”, que significa *para*. Nótese que la primera “h”, al llevar saltillo, se pronuncia, pero la siguiente “h” pierde fuerza y es prácticamente muda. Dependiendo de la variante dialectal alfabética existen distintas intensidades para dicho sonido, de más fuerza a menos la “j” pronunciada como en español, la “h” con saltillo más suave, “h” con un valor fonético apenas existente y finalmente la “h” muda.

ⁱ : como sucede con la grafía “ⁱ”, la “ⁱ” se coloca al final de palabras que han perdido su sonido “lli”, como en variantes donde se dice “tlajtol” que deriva de “tlajtollí”. Por lo tanto se escribe con la grafía mencionada para indicar que antes tuvo ese sonido de la siguiente manera: “tlajtolⁱ”.

H: la letra “h” con saltillo “_” es considerada aquí para representar un sonido intermedio entre la “h” casi muda y la “j”, pues existen los tres matices fonéticos.

U: de igual manera, se elige en vez de “w” por su presencia histórica institucional. A su vez se le da relevancia como sonido independiente de la “o”, pues en algunas escrituras sustituye completamente a la “u”. Sin embargo, ambas letras están presentes constantemente en la mayoría de los alfabetos nahuas.

Z: se elige la zeta entre “s, z, ç” para el mismo sonido a razón de estar presente en el náhuatl institucionalizado desde al menos el siglo XIX, aprovechando el consenso del que cuenta en documentos, señalética, apellidos, toponimia y demás contextos públicos.

L: no se incluye dado que se le atribuye la sustitución de la doble ele “ll”, decisión tomada en función de la fonética española y no en la nahua. Se conserva la presencia escrita de doble ele que en náhuatl no alude al mismo sonido que en español. En cuanto a la escritura, al combinar dos palabras para generar un concepto nuevo, la doble ele se divide para poder, por un lado determinar lo que es un sufijo básico del náhuatl y por el otro para que la palabra mantenga su lógica fonética. Por ejemplo, las palabras “calli” y “tlamachtilli”, al fusionarse forman “caltlamachtilli” significando *escuela*. Ambas palabras cuentan con la terminación básica “lli”, en tanto que al sustituir la doble ele por “L”, la palabra “ca Lli” debería cambiar dicho símbolo por una ele “l” al momento de fusionarse en “caltlamachtilli”, lo cual puede no ser tan claro como si se mantuviera la misma letra para el mismo sonido.

K: a pesar de su repetida presencia en la escritura contemporánea del náhuatl, no tiene peso histórico. No existe en los nombres o apellidos de personas, tampoco en la geografía o nombres de poblaciones. Por tanto no se incluye en la presente propuesta alfabética. La presencia de los símbolos a lo largo del tiempo es algo de suma importancia, ya que si no se toma en cuenta puede generar una ruptura abrupta entre lo ya existente y aquello que se está generando.

Es posible observar esto (tabla 4) al comparar la escritura nacional del náhuatl con la escritura que se ha gestado a la par que incluye letras más presentes en otros idiomas como en inglés, siendo la “k” o la “w”.

Concepto	Escritura institucionalizada (usada a nivel nacional)	Escritura posterior (no usada a nivel nacional)
País	México	Méjiko
Estado	Tlaxcala	Tlaxkala
Municipio	Tlatlahuquitepec	Tlatlawkitepek
Municipio	Tehuacán	Tewakán
Población	Zacatlán	Sakatlán
Población	Alpanocan	Alpanokan
Nombre de persona	Cuauhtémoc	Kwawtemok
Nombre de persona	Tezozomoc	Tesosomok
Apellido	Cuauhtli	Kwawtli
Apellido	Itzcoatl	Itskoatl
Volcán	Popocatepetl	Popokatepetl
Volcán	Iztaccihuatl	Istaksiwatl
Río	Atoyac	Atoyak
Río	Coatzacoalcos	Koatsakoalkos
Nombre de animal	Cacomixtle	Kakomixtle
Nombre de animal	Coyotl	Koyotl
Nombre de planta	Quilitl	Kilitl
Nombre de planta	Chilacayote	Chilakayote

Tabla 4. Ejemplos de escritura

Incluso a nivel internacional o en herramientas digitales, los nombres existentes son escritos de forma histórica o institucionalizada.

Es menester puntualizar que el debate aquí presente versa sobre la escritura alfabética del idioma náhuatl, pero su escritura-pintura¹¹ originaria es un sistema de comunicación escrito en glifos que juntos conforman los libros de códices [24].

Si bien no llega a ser equivalente al caso de lenguas como el mandarín que cuenta con la escritura pin-yin paralelo a sus caracteres, hay similitud en tanto que ambas lenguas tuvieron un sistema de escritura pictográfico antecesor, a salvedad de que el náhuatl perdió completamente el uso de su escritura mientras que los pictogramas originarios en mandarín continuaron el camino de la abstracción hasta su actual escritura.

A continuación se muestran tres ejemplos de la escritura en códice, acompañada de su equivalente en alfabeto latino y su significado en español (figuras 5–7). La traducción se centra específicamente en las formas centrales, no abarca a los significados alternos como lo son el color, los elementos que acompañan a la figura central (en el caso de “tepetl”) o la disposición. Esto para no ahondar en demasía sobre la iconografía específica de los códices y sus glifos ya que sólo se trata de muestras aisladas:



Figura 5. Tepetl¹²

¹¹ Las culturas nahua no separaron la escritura del dibujo o la pintura, por ello el término escritura-pintura. Los “tlacuilome” eran las personas especializadas que se dedicaban a escribir pintando ya sea de forma monumental o en libros de códices.

¹² Tepetl. Gran diccionario náhuatl. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), 2012, gdn.iib.unam.mx/diccionario/tepetl/11534 (consultado el 22 de agosto 2024).

Figura 6. Cihuatl¹³Figura 7. Ej-jecatl¹⁴

Acompañar el análisis del náhuatl con la escritura en código es crucial para desarrollar su sistema occidental alfabético, pues es consistente con la fonética del idioma y su historia.

Conclusión

Definir una forma determinada de escribir es crucial para la generación de recursos literarios, oficiosos, académicos o en general todo tipo de material que pueda sumarse no sólo a la preservación del náhuatl como idioma de uso corriente, sino para garantizar el acceso a servicios básicos de salud, educación y justicia sobre todo en las comunidades nahuas. Ciertamente es que el náhuatl es la lengua autóctona más hablada en territorio mexicano, pero ello no la exime de ser susceptible a una extinción epistemológica que sucede no sólo a través de la pérdida del idioma, sino de los usos y costumbres de quienes la hablan. Por lo tanto es crucial en la medida de lo posible buscar consenso, entre muchas otras áreas, en la escritura.

A qué darle prioridad en la unificación de la escritura de las variantes dialectales alfabéticas en México es un debate contemporáneo, nutrido y que no parece menguar en los años por venir. La presente propuesta se basa en el trabajo previo de comunidades, gobiernos e investigadores que han dedicado su esfuerzo al conocimiento del náhuatl, con el fin de concretar una propuesta de escritura equilibrada.

Entre elegir la escritura de determinada región por arraigo simbólico o estandarizar el uso de la escritura institucionalizada del náhuatl desde las primeras etapas del México colonial, el actual estudio propone una compaginación de ambas, buscando de manera consistente apegarse a la fonética nahua que a las hispanizaciones modernas cada vez más frecuentes en el idioma, facilitando su lectura y escritura siendo comprensible para personas hablantes de distintas variantes en tanto que la población nahua encuentre familiaridad y consenso entre la forma de escribir el náhuatl de su comunidad y la escritura fuera de su región.

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¹³ Cihuatl. Ibid., gdn.iib.unam.mx/diccionario/cihuatl/16925(consultado el 22 de agosto 2024).

¹⁴ Ej-jecatl. Ibid., gdn.iib.unam.mx/diccionario/ehecat(consultado el 22 de agosto 2024).

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Constructed Languages: A Chronological Description

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Abstract. This paper is devoted to the problem of the diversity of “artificial” or constructed languages. The aim of the work is to reveal in-depth the diversity of communication systems developed to varying degrees, as well as to find an answer to the question: what prompted people to create new languages? The author analyzes various types of invented languages, from international universal language projects to secret languages of closed communities, as well as fictional languages used in literature and common languages for use among kindred peoples. The material for the study is numerous examples from research linguistics articles and monographs. Instead of a detailed classification, the work uses the chronological order of the appearance of language projects, regardless of the place of their creation or the identity of the inventor. The chronological presentation of the material allows one to see the big picture. Special attention is paid to little-known projects that are not mentioned or poorly described in the literature on interlinguistics. Using the encyclopedic work of Alexander Dulichenko, *International Auxiliary Languages* (1990), as a starting point, the author significantly expanded the scope of constructed languages, not limited only to international projects, and supplemented the proposed list. In addition, this paper analyzes some phenomena that were mistakenly included in the list of constructed languages. The main result of this study is a list consisting of several hundred different communication systems described in the author’s unpublished book and partly presented here. The abundance of examples helps to understand the problem initially posed. The author has identified several motivating factors for the creation of new languages: the desire for communication; facilitating communication between native speakers of different languages; use in literary works; linguistic and philosophical research; communication in closed communities, etc. This work is complemented by examples of numerals from various pasigraphies (universal writing systems).

Keywords: constructed languages, fictional languages, universal writing, universal alphabet, pasigraphy, ideography

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Сконструированные языки: опыт хронологического описания

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Аннотация. Настоящая статья посвящена проблеме разнообразия «искусственных», или сконструированных языков. Целью работы является углубленное раскрытие многообразия разработанных в той или иной степени систем коммуникации, а также поиск ответа на вопрос: что подталкивало людей к созданию новых языков? Автор анализирует различные типы изобретённых языков, от международных универсальных языковых проектов до тайных языков закрытых сообществ, а также вымышленные языки, использованные в художественной литературе, и общие языки для употребления в среде родственных народов. Материалом для исследования служат многочисленные примеры из научных лингвистических статей и монографий. Вместо детальной классификации в работе использован хронологический порядок появления языковых проектов, независимо от места их создания или личности изобретателя. Хронологическая подача материала позволяет увидеть общую картину. Особое внимание уделено малоизвестным проектам, не упомянутым или плохо описанным в интерлингвистической литературе. Используя в качестве отправной точки энциклопедическую работу А. Д. Дуличенко «Международные вспомогательные языки» (1990), автор существенно расширил перечень рассматриваемых искусственных языков, не ограничиваясь только международными проектами, и дополнил предложенный А. Д. Дуличенко список. Кроме того, в настоящей работе анализируются некоторые феномены, ошибочно попавшие в список сконструированных языков. Основным результатом исследования является список, состоящий из нескольких сотен различных систем коммуникации, которые были описаны автором в его неопубликованной книге и частично представлены здесь. Обилие примеров способствует пониманию изначально поставленной проблемы. Автор выделил целый ряд факторов, побуждающих к созданию новых языков: стремление к общению; облегчение коммуникации между носителями разных языков; использование в литературных произведениях; лингвистические и философские исследования; коммуникация в закрытых сообществах и др. Настоящая работа дополняется примерами числительных из различных пазиграфий (систем универсального письма).

Ключевые слова: конструированные языки, вымышленные языки, всеобщее письмо, универсальный алфавит, пазиграфия, идеография

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Introduction

The creation (design) of languages has always been of interest to the scientific world and to ordinary people who have always sought to communicate while looking for new means to improve communication. Philosophically minded individuals offered the humanity a universal language; pragmatists developed intermediary languages (similar to modern assemblers used in computers); romantics invented languages for their “Cities of the Sun” and other utopias; adventurers included exotic languages in stories about imaginary overseas countries; and science fiction writers composed languages for the characters of their literary works.

In the twentieth century, there appeared authors for whom language design became an end in itself: they were more interested in the process of creating a language than in its practical application. Thousands of language projects emerged, created for the sake of pleasure. Designing languages became a common hobby. One of the first creators of such projects was John Ronald Reuel Tolkien (1892–1973). As he wrote, creating languages was his “secret vice”¹. He created two dozen languages. This passion led Tolkien to create an entire world, which he called Middle Earth. Since then, the number of similar projects has been constantly growing, and there are already tens of thousands of them.

In general and comparative linguistics, a significant amount of research has been concentrated on reconstructing ancestor languages, the so-called protolanguages. Recreating, for example, Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Uralic, Proto-Austronesian, and dozens of other protolanguages, in a certain sense, can also be regarded as linguistic design. Other examples of language construction are machine and telegraphic codes. Some of these projects have long been included in the catalogues of international auxiliary languages. The author does not see his task in excluding such projects, or in looking for new works. For example, the inclusion of just one shorthand project in the list would open the doors to the field of shorthand writing with hundreds of stenographic schools with their own methods (i.e. projects). The same would be true of cryptographic projects. Languages from fairy tales and fantasy require special analysis and, with rare exceptions, are not considered in this work.

The book by Alexander Dulichenko, *International Auxiliary Languages* (in Russian) [17], prompted the author to continue his research in the field of interlinguistics. The form of presentation of the material and the chronological sequence in which linguistic projects appear below is modelled on Dulichenko’s work. The purpose of this paper is to supplement Dulichenko’s book with “new” constructed languages, as well as to include other languages that are neither international nor universal.

Material and methodology

The unification of all categories of constructed languages into a single list, made in chronological order, with the inclusion of little-studied and unknown projects, became the topic of a large, as of yet unpublished book by the author. This book with the working title *Pasigraphy over the Centuries: Conceptually Constructed Languages and Word Symbols Supposedly Valid for Everyone* is devoted to the diversity of “artificial” or constructed languages. The purpose of this work is an in-depth review of the variety of communication systems developed to varying degrees.

In present article, the author will briefly present its concept and the main results of his work, including the motivating reasons for language creation. The following section provides examples selected by the author to illustrate each of these reasons.

The idea of constructing an international language that would perform a unifying function has been justified more than once, and many studies have already been done. The novelty of this work lies in the fact that in a single review it attempts to present various created languages, regardless of the purpose of their authors.

¹ Tolkien’s Not-So-Secret Vice, folk.uib.no/hnohf/vice.htm (accessed 24 August 2024).

In this regard, of particular note are the previous studies by Kuznetsov [29] and Rossella [50]. They analyze and classify universal languages in detail, and trace the history of the main interlinguistic concepts. Of interest is also Piperski's book [47], in which he examines international, fantasy and other types of constructed languages, both from a linguistic and from a historical point of view. Piperski, too, wonders about the purposes for which people invent languages.

There have been several attempts in interlinguistics to describe and classify language projects. The author took as a basis one of the most complete encyclopedic works by Alexander Dulichenko: *International Auxiliary Languages* (hereinafter abbreviated as DIAL) [17]. This encyclopedia covers the period from the first mentioned invented language (in this case, the second century AD) to the 1970s. More than 900 projects are presented in DIAL. As the name suggests, mainly international, auxiliary, universal, and common languages have been inventoried, while utopian, fantastic, fake, adventurous, and fictional projects remain uncovered. The author has significantly expanded and supplemented this catalogue, without going far beyond the same time frame.

The author's manuscript book *Pasigraphy over the Centuries: Conceptually Constructed Languages and Word Symbols Supposedly Valid for Everyone* lists attempts to create languages in all their diversity. The unified catalogue of constructed languages includes various types of linguistic projects, from international universal languages to secret languages of closed communities. It also includes fictional languages from literature and mythology.

More than 460 different communication systems described in the encyclopedic style cover the period from the first mention (in our case, between 1200 and 800 BC) to the 1980s. The work is complemented by examples of numerals from one to ten from various pasigraphies and a summary table of constructed languages indicating the authors of the projects.

In the course of the research, the author studied the primary sources of the projects presented in the references. This led to unexpected results. There are many errors, typos, and other blunders in interlinguistics works. The author of this study believes that dozens of projects mentioned in Dulichenko's book got there by mistake, and gives reasons for his opinion about each of such cases.

The monograph pays special attention to little-known projects that are not mentioned or insufficiently described in the literature on interlinguistics. The abundance of examples helps to understand the problem initially posed and substantiates the idea that the desire for communication has been pushing different people to create new languages for centuries.

Scrupulous work has been done to find unexplored constructed languages. Checking primary source books one by one, as well as numerous reviews, journals and articles, the author found a large number of well-known, little-known, and completely unknown languages.

The main part of the book includes only those projects mentioned in DIAL where the author does not agree with Dulichenko's conclusions or where the data (the name of the creator, or the time and place of creation) need clarification. The information collected is a selection of linguistic design material to help future researchers. Therefore, Esperanto, Idiom Neutral, Nepo, Interlingua, Occidental and dozens of other well-known languages are not included. At the end of the work, a summary chronological table of linguistic projects is presented (not included in this paper due to restrictions of space), including the names of the constructed languages, the years of creation, the full names of the authors, and examples of numerals. The table contains all the projects from DIAL, including the numbering adopted there. Dubious projects that mistakenly got into the interlinguistics literature are also listed in the table. Names of dubious languages are given in curly brackets. Substantial work has been done to establish the full names of the authors of the linguistic projects, as well as their dates of life and type of activity.

Attempts to construct languages have brought together well-known scientists, philosophers, and writers. The book contains, among others, the names of Dante, Thomas More, Francis Bacon, Newton, Jonathan Swift, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Fourier, Proudhon, and Voltaire. The idea of creating a language occupied the minds of Rabelais, Campanella, Cyrano de Bergerac, Blaise Pascal, Herbert Wells, and Gerolamo Cardano. Hundreds of people offered their language projects.

In the list of constructed languages, one can find languages that have long been regarded in linguistic works as natural ones. Among them are Sanskrit and Old Slavonic, modern languages such as Nynorsk, Modern Cornish, the official language of Israel – Hebrew – and the Efate language in the New Hebrides.

The list of language projects includes seemingly incompatible phenomena. On the one hand, there are detailed projects with a developed vocabulary and structure, such as Esperanto, spoken by up to 2 million people (naturally, some of such languages are limited to only a few speakers, and sometimes to just one native speaker). On the other hand, it includes works that deal only with general reflections on what a language would look like if it were created. There is no contradiction in this. Well-known encyclopedic works also include both types of language projects on equal terms.

The authors of some international language projects did not design any vocabulary or language rules at all and did not even propose anything new but simply justified the idea of using existing natural languages as universal ones (such as English, French, or Italian).

There is also a third side to this issue. Unfortunately, works on interlinguistics sometimes mention projects that were mistakenly included in the published lists of constructed languages, and these errors travel from one article to another. The author tried to trace the history of how this happened, using many such examples.

The structure of each entry includes:

1. The year of creation of the linguistic project.
2. The name of the linguistic project {curly braces enclose the names of projects that, in the author's opinion, raise doubts about their attribution to language construction}.
3. The creator of the linguistic project.
4. The country and city (locality).
5. Classification (*a priori*, *a posteriori* or mixed type)².
6. The corresponding number of the linguistic project in DIAL, if any.
7. A tentative description of the linguistic project.
8. A sample text (numbers from one to ten, if available).
9. Bibliographic references.

Examples

To illustrate his ideas, the author has included below several examples from his manuscript book that illustrate the main goals, principles and motivating reasons of language creators. The following selection also includes examples of the author's research on how erroneous (from his point of view) projects found their way into interlinguistics literature.

315 BCE. Διαλέκτους ιδίας. Alexarchus (Ἀλέξαρχος, 350–290 BCE), ancient Macedonian scientist, philologist, philosopher, commander, and ruler; son of Antipater (397–319 BCE) and younger brother of the king of Macedonia, Cassander (Cassander; c. 355–297 BCE). Ancient Greece.

An *a priori* – *a posteriori* language. Not in DIAL.

Ouranoupolis (Greek Οὐρανόπολις 'city of heaven') is an ancient city founded in 315 BCE by philosopher Alexarchus first on the Halkidiki peninsula on the isthmus behind Mount Athos and then transferred to Pamphylia. Heraclides Lembus (second century BCE) writes about him in the thirty-seventh book of the History as follows: "Having founded Ouranopolis, Alexarchus began to instill in it a special speech (διαλέκτους ιδίας)". Alexarchus tried to put into practice the ideals of human brotherhood and universal love, and to eliminate the differences of faith and languages. So, for the inhabitants of the City of Heaven, who called themselves Uranids, he invented a special language, the ideological basis of which was the philosophy of ancient cosmopolitanism and the equality of all people preached by the Stoics.

² *A posteriori* language projects are based on existing languages, while *a priori* ones do not have such a basis, their vocabulary and alphabet being uniquely designed.

The only thing that is known about the structure of this language is that words were built by combining two already known stems taken from oriental languages; the grammatical endings in it were similar to the Greek ones. It is worth noting that, in the formation of new words, Alexarchus acted as the predecessor of the Stoics with their theory of the natural connection between a thing and its name. The text of a letter that Alexarchus sent to the rulers appointed by Cassander has survived, as well as a few words in the Uranic language: 'rooster' ὀρθροβόας *orthroboas* (early-caller or crier, for *alektōr*, *alektryōn* 'rooster, cock'), 'barber' βροτοκέτης *brotokertēs* (man-cutter, for *koureus* 'barber'), drachma ἀργυρίς, ἀργυρίδα *argyris*, *argyrida* (silver-ish: a silver vessel), 'daily ration of a person' ἡμεροτροφίς, ἡμεροτροφίδα *hēmerotrophis*, *hēmerotrophida* (day-feeder, breadwinner, for a dry measure, the choinix, more than a pint and a slave's daily allowance), 'herald' ἀπύτης, ἀπύτην *apytēs*, *apytēn* (caller, roaring-out [of wind], for *kēryx* 'herald' (Attic ἡπύω *ēpuō*, Doric and Arcadian *apuō*, 'I call').

References: [3], [19].

Seventh century. Goídelc. Irish mythology. Ireland. The dating is tentative, connected with the work of Longarad, an Irish grammarian of the seventh century, *Auraicept na n-Éces* (*The Scholars' Primer*).

Old Irish, the ancestor of all modern Goidelic languages: modern Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx. Not in DIAL.

According to tradition, the ancestor of the Irish was the legendary king of Scythia, Fénius Farsaid (Phoeniusa, Phenius, Féinius; Farsa, Farsaidh), one of the leaders who built the Tower of Babel. After the confusion of languages happened, Fénius gathered 72 outstanding scholars to study them. Ten years later, they created a perfect language that took the best features from existing ones. Fénius named the language *Goídelc*, after Goídel mac Ethéoir. He also created several extensions (perhaps registers) of Irish (*bérla* (Old Irish *bélrae*) 'language'):

bérla tóbaide (*téibide*) 'the selected (lit. 'cut out') language, i.e. Irish';

bérla Féne 'the language of Irish law', after himself;

bérla na filed 'the language of the poets';

bérla etarscarta 'the language of separation' (i.e. Isidorean etymological analysis);

bérla fortchide na filed 'obscure language of the poets';

íarmbérla 'cryptic language', after Íar mac Nema.

Irish mythology claims that Fénius discovered four alphabets: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Ogham. He used *Beith-Luis-Nin* (Ogham) as a perfected writing system for his language (the word *ogham* refers only to the form of letters or script, *og-úaim* 'dot seam', denoting a seam made with a sharp instrument, while *beith-luis-nin* is named after the first letters of the alphabet).

The numbers one to ten are: *oen*, *da*, *tri*, *ceithri*, *coic*, *se*, *secht*, *ocht*, *nai*, *deich*.

Reference: [10].

1516. Utopian language. Thomas More (1478–1535), a humanist, professor, writer, lawyer, diplomat, and politician. London, England. Peter Giles (1486–1533), a humanist, printer, and secretary of the city of Antwerp. Antwerp, Duchy of Brabant.

A fictional language of either *a posteriori* or *a posteriori* – *a priori* type. Not in DIAL.

Thomas More (1478–1535) is considered the founder of modern utopian socialism. More invented a prosperity country and called it Utopia, which means both 'best place' and 'absent place'. The handwritten original of Utopia has not survived. In the new ideal society, Thomas More envisioned a new language, unlike any other. The Utopian language had an original 22-letter alphabet in which the letters are in the form of a circle, a square, and a triangle. The appendix to the book, written by More's friend Peter Giles, contains a short sample of the text, a quatrain in the Utopian language with a Latin translation. The book was written with a claim to authenticity; therefore, the author of the language is not indicated. So, both Thomas More and Peter Giles can equally be considered its creators. Most sources indicate that the language was created under the influence of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but Persian also played an equally important role. For example, "Narzan", a proper name meaning 'high', occurs twice and can be explained

only as a word of Iranian origin. The vocabulary of the Utopian language includes no more than a couple dozen words. As for the numerals, only “one” is represented, *bargol* (which is quite comparable, for example, with *bāragī*, which means ‘once’ in the Pashto language, or *bargat*, ‘good luck’ in Garhwali, used instead of “one” when counting).

References: [37], [59].

1623. Sensualische Sprache. Jakob Böhme (1575–1624), Christian mystic, theosophist, and founder of Western sophiology (the doctrine of the “wisdom of God”). Gorlitz, Saxony, Germany.

A linguistic project of a philosophical type. Not in DIAL.

Boehme experienced visions twice, in 1600 and 1610. This became for him a supernatural Divine revelation, which, he believed, brought him the ability to communicate directly with the Holy Spirit. There was no expressive language for the visions that were revealed to Jacob, and he had to invent it himself. Balthasar Walther (1558 – c. 1631), a Rosicrucian and practicing alchemist, gave Boehme the foundations of alchemy and Kabbalah, and helped him create his own language, skillfully using alchemical terms and symbols. Boehme’s sensual speech was both “natural” and “substantial”.

References: [6], [7].

1644. Chirolugia. John Bulwer (1606–1656), physician and early Baconian naturalist. London, England.

A sign language system. Not in DIAL.

Bulwer wrote five works exploring the body and human communication through gestures. Chirolugia, or the natural language of the hand, consists of “speaking” movements and gestures and focuses on body language. The section titled “Chironomy” discusses the use of gestures in rhetoric. Bulwer also explores lip reading for the deaf and dumb. The work clearly shows interest in developing an academy for the education of the deaf. In addition, the treatise *Philocophus* (1648) mentions a system called by Bulwer “Arthrorologie”, in which the letters of the alphabet corresponded to the joints of the fingers (for communication, the right joints were indicated in the right order).

References: [8]³.

1657. Lingua Atlantica (Lengua Atlántica). Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz (1606–1682), theologian, mathematician, and music theorist. Milan, Duchy of Milan.

A project of a universal language of the mixed type, based on Latin. Not in DIAL.

Caramuel admitted that he used this language to exchange secrets with some friends even before he turned twenty.

In lexical terms, the Lengua Atlántica does not differ from Latin. The change of grammatical categories is achieved by numerical morphemes, which makes Latin words unpronounceable or difficult to pronounce. The fact is that Caramuel applies to the Lengua Atlántica a system of graphical representation of numbers by analogy with Greek and Hebrew numbering. Thus, the first nine letters denote units, the next nine, tens, and the rest, numbers that are multiples of 10, starting with 100. Their possible combinations allow one to express all numbers to infinity.

The numbers one to ten are: *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j*.

Reference: [34].

1704. Formosan. George Psalmanazar, or Psalmanaazaar (c. 1679–1763), is the pseudonym of an adventurer posing as a native of Formosa. The real name and origin are unknown. France.

A fictional language of the *a priori* type. Not in DIAL.

The Formosan language was invented by Psalmanazar and is described in chapters 18 and 28 of his book. The language has its own alphabet of 20 letters.

3 Ulfvíðardóttir, Á. Some 16- and 17th-century manual alphabets, compared with the modern BANZSL and ASL alphabets, medieval-baltic.us/fingerspelling.pdf (accessed 24 August 2024).

Surprisingly, until the end of the eighteenth century, the vocabulary of this fictional language was repeatedly cited in literature as an example of the living language of the islanders of Taiwan.

The numbers one to ten are: *tauf, bogio, charhe, kiorh, nokin, dekie, meni, thenio, sonio, kon*.

References: [12], [28], [49].

1711. Little language & A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue.

Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), an Anglo-Irish satirist, publicist, philosopher, poet, public figure, and clergyman. Dublin, Ireland.

In DIAL, number 43 is Dr. Swift's "project of a revised, improved and refined language" called the "Little language".

In fact, these are two different projects.

The "Little language" (although Jonathan Swift used the term "Our language"), i.e. "baby talk", is found in *The Journal to Stella, AD 1710–1713*, a collection of letters, first published in 1766, after the death of the writer. This project is represented by separate phrases scattered throughout the text of Swift's correspondence with Esther Johnson (Stella, 1681–1728). Some of these phrases are a comic distortion of the English language. For example: *Dood mollow* = Good morrow ('Good morning'). In other cases, it is a simple encryption of the English language: *al bsadnuk lboinlpl dfaonr ufainfbtoy dpionufnad* ('a bank bill for fifty pound').

The second project, *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue*, is a reform of the English language. In 1711, Jonathan Swift outlined his proposals in a public letter to Robert Harley (1661–1724), a government leader appointed as an expert on the use of the English language.

References: [17], [51], [54].

1760. Lengua General. Fray Martín Sarmiento (born Pedro José García Balboa, 1695–1772), a Benedictine monk. Monastery of San Martín, Madrid, Spain.

An *a priori* logical project, pasigraphy based on the classification of things according to the decimal system, similar to the Polygraphia (1663, number 26 in DIAL) by Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680). Not in DIAL.

Martín Sarmiento's goal was to create a common, rather than a universal, language, limited to the field of terminology of natural sciences.

It is interesting to note how Sarmiento solved the problem of translating a written language into a spoken one. For this purpose, he used the idea of Francis Masclef, canon of Amiens, who invented a new method of reading biblical texts written in Hebrew, consisting exclusively of consonant characters. Thus, Sarmiento introduced additional five vowel sounds in the following order: *a, e, i, o, u*. In the same order, these vowels were inserted after the consonants of which the words of pasigraphy consisted. For example, "dolphin" corresponds to the number 2347, which is converted into four consonants: *G.D.P.L*. To pronounce the word, we insert four corresponding vowels and get *Ga-De-Pi-Lo*.

The numbers one to ten are: *B, G, D, P, K, T, L, M, N, S*.

References: [11], [33], [52].

Nineteenth century. Pantang Kapur (camphor language). Aborigines of the Malacca Peninsula. Johor (Johore), Malaysia. The dating is tentative, associated with the earliest mention of the "camphor" language made by James Richardson Logan, 1847.

An *a posteriori* project of a ritual language. Not in DIAL.

The phenomenon of the camphor language is the superstition associated with the collection of camphor by the Jakun natives. The vocabulary is built on that of Malay and Jakun (Djakun). The name "Pantang Kapoor" means 'taboo' (*pantang*) on the use of common Malay when searching for 'camphor' (*ka-poor*). During the season, this secret language was to be spoken not only by the collectors of camphor, but also by the natives who remained at home.

The numbers one to ten are: 1 *s'mambong*, 2 *dua mambong*, 3 –, 4 –, 5 –, 6 –, 7 –, 8 *lepen*, 9 *s'mêl*, 10 *s'pol*.

According to the Italian naturalist and traveler Beccari (Odoardo Beccari, 1843–1920), “many superstitions also prevail among the Kayans in Borneo when collecting camphor”, which implies the presence of a secret language. Details remain to be seen.

References: [30], [32], [35].

Nineteenth century. Une idée. F.D. France.

A project of a universal musical language. Not in DIAL.

An anonymous reader of *Pasilogie* of Anne-Pierre-Jacques de Vismes du Valgay, 1745–1819, number 92 in DIAL, with the initials F.D., presented a description of his pasigraphy project on the flyleaf (i.e., the flyleaf at the end of the book).

The author of the pasigraphy assumed that a string was stretched between two points located at a distance of one meter from each other. If one divides this space into 10 parts, like the neck of a guitar, and makes the string vibrate, one can get 10 sounds corresponding to 10 musical notes. They can be assigned immutable values corresponding to 10 vowels and diphthongs. Sixteen consonants will be used to change the above sounds. At the same time, each sound expresses a separate idea, and each articulation changes the expressed idea.

The numbers one to ten are: *un, in, i, eu, u, on, o, an, a, ou*.

Reference: [18].

1817. *.** Mary Baker Willcocks (1791–1864), an adventurer posing as a princess from exotic lands. Bristol, Avon, South West England.

An *a posteriori* project. Not in DIAL.

On April 3, 1817, Mary Baker Willcox appeared in Almonsbury (Gloucestershire, England). The adventurer pretended to be the princess of Caraboo, an island located not far from Japan, spoke in an incomprehensible language, and wrote in unknown characters from left to right. It was the language of her own composition, a mixture of Gypsy and invented words. For 10 weeks she managed to lead the whole aristocratic society of England up the garden path. Later she visited America, France, and Spain, where she again tried to continue playing her role but without any success. Mary Baker, thanks to her first biographer Matthew Gutch (John Mathew Gutch, 1776–1861), received the nickname “Psalmanaazaar in a Skirt” (see Formosan, by George Psalmanazar).

The numbers one to ten are: *eze, duce, trua, tan, zennee, sendee, tam, nunta, berteen, tashman*.

Reference: [58].

1859. Gavlensographie / Gavlensofonie. Maximilian Heinrich von Gablenz (1801/1804–1876). Dresden, Germany.

A universal alphabet. Not in DIAL, but this system is mentioned in the description of Mundografie in 1864 under number 157. It seems that this alphabet was removed from the list of linguistic projects or, more precisely, replaced by the Mundografie project.

Gablenz describes in detail the use of the new alphabet in the German language. It would be more correct to return Gavlensographie to the list that contains similar reforms, such as: Ilyin's project of a universal alphabet (Nikolai Sazontovich Ilyin, 1809–1890, number 122); Schmitt's pasigraphy (Anton Schmitt, number 161), which turned out to be a discussion of the form of letters in the Latin alphabet; the Common Language by Bernard Shaw (Bernard Shaw, 1856–1950, number 649), which is nothing more than a phonetic reform of the English spelling; a rational alphabet of an anonymous author (number 807.27); and an unnamed project by François Drojat (1795–18xx, number 830.53).

In DIAL, for the year 1875, an unnamed project of a certain Glaberg with reference to Petro Evstaf'evič Stojan (1884–1961) is listed under the number 837.57. Glaberg is repeatedly mentioned in the works of the late nineteenth century. Tellingly, this name always occurs in the same context, namely:

“...A. Renzi, Sunderwall, Anonymous (= Charles Stewart), Agnus, Système du Baron de Glaberg... Sini-baldo de Mas...”. If we trace where and when the list of pasigraphies appeared in the same order, we find a lecture *Zur Geschichte der weltsprachlichen Versuche von Leibnitz bis auf die Gegenwart* (“On the history of attempts at a world language from Leibniz to the present day”), given at the Nuremberg Teachers’ Club on November 11, 1874. The list of pasigraphies presented there seems to be the very source from which the confusion began. The fact is that instead of Baron Glaberg, Baron von Gablenz is listed there. With high probability, Glaberg is an error that occurred when reprinting an article written in the Gothic font in German when translating it into French. Most likely, we are talking about Gablenz’s project number 157.

References: [17], [20], [61].

1864. {Clave Harmónica}. Miguel Angel Mossi (1819–1895), an Italian priest.

The *Universal* project dated 1926 is included in DIAL under the number 892.112 among the linguistic projects with missing information. Below, an attempt is made to clear up the confusion.

First, the date. In 1916, the drama *Ollantay* was published, written in the Quechua language. It was accompanied by a Hebrew-Quechua-Castilian dictionary compiled by Mossi in 1860. Later, this dictionary was published separately in 1926 under the title *Diccionario analítico-sintético-universal* [*Universal synthetic-Analytical Dictionary*]. This is how this strange dating and glottonym *Universal* appeared.

Second, was there actually a language project? There is no mention of a “universal language” in the said “dictionary.” Mossi tried to prove the Hebrew origin of Quechua. To this end, he compiled a Hebrew-Quechua dictionary of 525 Hebrew roots corresponding to Quechua roots in order to arrive at the “true Quechua alphabet”.

However, Mossi did work on the topic of a “universal language”. This work is the *Clave Harmónica* (*Harmonic Key*), 1864. In it, Mossi considered the history of the creation of international auxiliary languages and came to the conclusion that a universal language cannot be created by man. At the same time, he promoted the project *Lengua Universal y Filosófica* (number 136 in DIAL) by Bonifacio Sotos Ochando (1785–1869).

Comparing two dozen natural languages such as Indo-European, Semitic, and South American ones, as well as Chinese, Mossi concluded that Hebrew is the true universal mother language (*verdadera lengua madre universal*).

Thus, the project considered here is not related to linguistic design, but rather refers to the field of language origins.

References: [13], [17], [39], [40], [41], [42], [43], [44].

1869. Pasigraphie (*Langue Universelle*). Willhelm-Léo Taillian. Marseille, France.

An *a priori* project, pasigraphy. Not in DIAL.

Taillian combined shorthand, mnemonics, and pasigraphy in one work, assuring that these three sciences can be comprehended in 24 hours. “Shorthand and mnemonics combined can be seen as a prelude to pasigraphy, or a universal language expressing not only sounds, but also ideas... that will be understandable to all people, regardless of what language they speak or write”.

The numbers zero to nine are: *se, te, ne, me, re, le, je, ke, fe, pe*. Ten consonants, from zero to nine, correspond to a mnemonic phrase: *si tu n'ai mes rien loue gens qui font bien* (“if you have nothing, praise people who do well”).

Reference: [55].

1879. Modern Hebrew. Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (born Eliezer Yitzhak Perlman, 1858–1922), the “father” of modern Hebrew and founder of the Hebrew language movement. Jerusalem, Palestine.

An *a posteriori* project. Not in DIAL.

Hebrew separated from the related Semitic dialects more than three thousand years ago, but modern Hebrew, which is spoken in Israel today, is only one and a half hundred years old. Hebrew ceased to be a spoken language at the end of the second century CE. It was supplanted by Greek and Aramaic, the latter

being close to Hebrew. However, for the Jews, it remained the sacred language: *leshon ha-kodesh*. The “new ancient language” was revived thanks to the enthusiasm and efforts of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda. In 1879, his article entitled *Sh’elāh Lohātāh* (הַטְהוּל-הַלְאֵשׁ ‘The burning question’) appeared in the Hebrew magazine *Ha-Shahar* (*The Dawn*) in Vienna. First of all, Ben-Yehuda and his associates had to make a choice between two varieties of Hebrew – Ashkenazi and Sephardic – which differ significantly in pronunciation. Although Ashkenazi Hebrew was familiar to the reformers themselves, they opted for the Sephardic version, as it was closer to the language of biblical times. The next and most important step was to determine by what principle new words would be created. Initially, Ben-Yehuda intended simply to construct new roots from the still unused combinations of sounds and also to replenish the Hebrew vocabulary at the expense of the Arabic loan words. However, both proposals were rejected, and Ben-Yehuda found the only methodologically correct solution: the ancient language itself should become the source of word creation. The replenishment of Hebrew with new words now goes in several ways. First, new meaning is given to existing words. Secondly, from existing words, according to the laws of Hebrew grammar, new ones are formed. A characteristic feature of Hebrew – the expression of concepts using a close combination of two words – was also widely used. In medieval Hebrew, there appeared words that were constructed from the initial letters of several words at once. This principle also helped create new words. Some of the vocabulary was borrowed from the Aramaic language.

References: [4], [21]⁴.

Twentieth century. Lisepsep (Lisefsef). The aborigines of the New Hebrides, now renamed Vanuatu. The dating is tentative, based on Crowley’s research (Terence Michael Crowley, 1953–2005).

An *a posteriori* project of the language of invisible entities living in the bush of the islands of Ambrym, Espiritu Santo, and Paama according to the beliefs of the islanders. Not in DIAL.

Lisepsep is one of the few characters in the mythology of Melanesia endowed with their own language with documented vocabulary. The best known Lisepsep phrases in the Daakaka region are magic spells to control the forces of nature. One of the features of the Lisepsep speech is that the markers of time, aspect and modality are not used.

Compare the numbers one to ten:

Lisepsep: *tāga* (*taagaa*), *luāga* (*luaagaa*), *teluga* (*telugaa*), *hatuga* (*hatugaa*), *limaga* (*limagaa*), *kuana* (*kuanaa*), *tīti* (*tiitii*), *vālo* (*vaaloo*), *tēga* (*teegaa*), *luri* (*lurii*);

the archaic language of the Ambrym Spirit (Tamar): *sŋae*, *naloe*, *natolu*, *tɔlunɛmba*, *nImbanɛɛɛ*, *naorɛɛɛ*, *naorbIsi*, *bIsInɛɛɛ*, *tanɛɛɛ*, *tanɔɔlo*.

References: [9], [14], [46], [48].

1908. Eskayan. Mariano Datahan (1875–1949), a Messianic rebel soldier and veteran of the Republican army. Bohol, Philippines.

An *a posteriori* or *a posteriori* – *a priori* language. Not in DIAL.

An artificial auxiliary language of the Eskay people in Bohol, an island province of the Philippines. According to a legend, the Eskay language and syllabic writing were the creations of Pinay (the heroic ancestor of the Eskay people). It was “discovered” by Mariano Datahan at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was not until 1980 that the Eskaya were “found” by agricultural advisers in the isolated village of Taitai.

Currently, there are approximately 3,000 known people using the Eskay language and writing system. They live in the villages of Kadapapan, Biabas, Taitai, Lundag, and Kanta-ub in the southeast of Bohol. Lexicostatistical analysis indicates that the time of the origin of the language is not earlier than the nineteenth century. Grammatically, it is Boholano, the Bohol language with substituted vocabulary. The basic “alphabet” of 46 characters makes up most of the common sounds and syllables used in Eskayan. More than 1,000 symbols are used to represent the rest of the syllables.

⁴ Felman, D. Eliezer Ben-Yehuda: vozrozhdenie ivrita [Eliezer Ben-Yehuda: The revival of Hebrew], alefbeys.mybb.ru/viewtopic.php?id=15 (accessed 24 August 2024).

The numbers one to ten are: *oy, tre, coy, pan, sing, nom, pen, wal, sim, pon*.

References: [26], [27]⁵.

1914. Rolfs Sprache. Paula Moekel (born von Moers, c. 1870–1915), an animal protector and hoax writer. Mannheim, Germany.

A fictional language attributed to a dog (Rolf Airedale) with a “human mind”. Not in DIAL.

A curious incident took place at the beginning of 1914, when the entire German press was clamoring about the dog’s amazing abilities. Rolf, no more, no less, communicated with his mistress using the original sound-shock alphabet (similar to Morse code). In studying this phenomenon, doctors Wilhelm Neumann and Ferdinand Lothar concluded that Rolf was simply responding to the hostess’s unconscious signals.

References: [36], [60]⁶.

1931. Medefaidrin (Medefidrin). Oḃeri Ȯkaimḡ script. Michael Ukpong and Akpan Akpan Udofia, two leaders of a sect of believers in the spirits of good and evil, founded around 1928. Ikpa village near Iere, Itu District, Calabar Province, Nigeria.

An *a priori* project, served as the language of the cult for the members of the sect. Not in DIAL.

In its structure, the language largely resembles English, although the semantics are closer to the Ibibio-Efik language. Sectarians believed that the name of the language was given by the Seminant, or “holy spirit” of the sect. In 1936, the followers of the sect founded a school where they taught a new language and a new script. The language had an original 32-letter alphabet and even special sounds that were not peculiar to Ibibio. The vigesimal number system is used.

The numbers one to ten are: *airi, greid, se:ta:, aidu, dzito, tarisi, fuda, eitia, pikn, pa:ri:d*.

References: [1], [15], [56].

1937. Falso Persiano. Tommaso Landolfi (1908–1979), a writer and translator. Rome, Italy.

An imaginary language of the *a priori* type in the story *Dialogo dei Massimi Sistemi*. Not in DIAL.

One of the characters, a poet named Y, wrote three songs in “Persian”, taught to him by a certain captain. Later, the poet learned that it was a nonexistent language, completely invented by the captain.

Perhaps this idea served as a prototype for the story by Wolfgang Kohlhaase (born in 1931) and the script of the movie *Persian Lessons* of 2020 directed by Vadim Perelman (born in 1963).

References: [16], [31]⁷.

1942. Navajo Code Talkers. Philip Johnston (1892–1978), a World War I veteran and engineer. Los Angeles, California, USA.

A cryptography project. Not in DIAL.

Johnston believed that the Navajo language could be used to convey military messages, since it contains sounds that have no analogues in European languages and is difficult to learn. Johnston presented this idea to the United States Marine Corps (USMC). Navajo ciphers (*Diné bizaad yee nidaazbaa’ígíí*) transmitted reports by radio and telephone in their own language from 1942 to 1945. Despite the fact that the Japanese were well versed in cryptography, they failed to unravel the Navajo cipher.

The idea of using Indian languages to send encrypted military messages was first tried out during the World War I. There are 18 known tribes that supplied signalmen-encryptors for the US Army, for example, Cherokee (September 1918), Choctaw (September – November 1918), Hopi (1943), Mesquaki (or Fox, Meskwaki, January 1941), and Comanche (June 1944). Among others are Cree, Creek (or Muscogee,

⁵ Galambao, M. Eskaya language, web.archive.org/web/20090918002819/http://www.ling.hawaii.edu/~uhdoc/eskaya/Eskaya.html (accessed 24 August 2023).

⁶ Ráth-Végh, I. Komediia Knigi: 11. Memuary sobaki [Comedy of the Book: 11. Memoirs of a dog], lingua.russianplanet.ru/library/rat-veg/11.htm (accessed 24 August 2024).

⁷ Albani, P., & Buonarroti, B. Aga magéra difúra. Dizionario delle lingue immaginarie, paoloalbani.it/Aga.html (accessed 24 August 2024).

Muskogee), Crow, Kiowa, Menominee, Mississauga, Navajo, Ojibwe (Chippewa, Ojibwa, Ojibway), Oneida, Pawnee, Sac, Seminole, and Sioux (Lakota). Basques were used in a similar manner by the US Army (Basque, May – August 1942). Additional research is required for each of these codes.

The numbers one to ten used by Navajo Code Talkers are: *ak'ah tsah ajaa'* ('oil-needle-ear'), *dééh dlq'ii ak'ah* ('tea-weasel-oil'), *dééh tsii' gah ajaa' dzééh* ('tea-hair-rabbit-ear-elk'), *ch'ö ak'ah shidá gah* ('fir-oil-uncle-rabbit'), *ch'ö tin ak'ehdidliní ajaa'* ('fir-ice-victory-ear'), *dibé tin alna'asdzoh* ('sheep-ice-cross'), *dibé ajaa' ak'ehdidliní dzééh tsah* ('sheep-ear-victory-elk-needle'), *ajaa' tin at'ééd tsii' dééh* ('ear-ice-girl-hair-tea'), *tsah tin ach'ííh ajaa'* ('needle-ice-nose-ear'), *dééh ajaa' tsah* ('tea-ear-needle').

References: [24]⁸.

1952. Astraglossa. Lancelot Thomas Hogben (1895–1975), a scientist, biologist, and creator of the artificial language of Interglossa (number 600 in DIAL). Birmingham, England.

A scheme of radioglyphs for interstellar communication. Not in DIAL.

Hogben spoke about the project in a 1952 lecture to the British Interplanetary Society entitled "Astraglossa, or first step in celestial syntax".

He proposed to represent numbers in the form of ordinary impulses and mathematical concepts with the help of distinctive signals: radio glyphs.

This is what a two-dimensional triangular number series looks like: 1, 1.1, 1.1.1, 1.1.1.1, 1.1.1.1.1, etc.

Hogben's radioglyph scheme was improved by MIT professor Philip Morrison (1915–2005) in 1962. In Morrison's version, numbers are represented by rectangular pulses, and mathematical operations are represented by other pulses.

References: [23], [38].

1954. 999 (i.e. Novecento novantanove) Cod. Carlo Allioni & Ernesto Boella (Dulichenko's Boellu is a misspelling). Turin, Italy.

A code for friendly international correspondence. Digital pasigraphy is indicated in DIAL under the number 901.121. In the same edition, Dulichenko mentions the linguistic project Arioni-Boera, number 854.74, referring to Fuishiki Okamoto (Rikichi, or Fuishiki, Okamoto, 1885–1963).

Perhaps we are dealing with the same project. Indeed, in the introduction to his book, Okamoto lists several works that influenced the Babm⁹ language, including Arioni-Boera. Taking into account that Okamoto's native language is Japanese, it can be assumed that the Japanese spelling was the source of the confusion. The thing is that there is no "l" sound in the Japanese language. Instead, they pronounce "r" (voiced alveolar flap [ɾ]). The surnames Allioni and Boella could easily have been transformed into Arioni-Boera in some Japanese source.

In order to distinguish cardinal numerals from other numbers corresponding to code words, they are written in parentheses: (1), (2), (3), etc.

References: [2], [17], [45], [53].

1965. Ptydepe & Chorukor. Václav Havel (1936–2011), a writer, playwright, human rights activist and statesman, the last president of Czechoslovakia (1989–1992), and the first president of the Czech Republic (1993–2003). Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Two projects of the *a priori* type. Not in DIAL.

Attempts to demonstrate internal linguistic patterns by bringing them to the point of absurdity have been met more than once before. Václav Havel for his satirical play *Memorandum* (*Vyrozumění*, 1965) ridiculing bureaucracy created the languages Chorukor and Ptydepe. They demonstrate opposite principles of construction: in Chorukor all words are as similar to each other as possible, whereas in Ptydepe

⁸ MacDonald, P. Real code talker interview, navajocodetalkers.org/peter-macdonald-real-code-talker-interview/ (accessed 24 August 2024).

⁹ Babm is pronounced [bo'ɑ:bəm].

no words are alike. As a result, it is impossible to use either of the languages. Thus, this experiment of the Czech writer demonstrates the need for a harmonious balance between insufficiency and redundancy of means to achieve an end (which are automatically achieved in natural languages).

The names of the seven days of the week from Sunday to Saturday in Chorukor are: *ilopagor*, *ilopagar*, *ilopager*, *ilopagur*, *ilopagir*, *ilopageur*, *ilopagoor*.

References: [22], [25].

1971. Yerkish. Ernst von Glasersfeld (1917–2010), a philosopher and professor emeritus of psychology. Yerkes Regional Primate Research Center. Atlanta, Georgia, USA.

An artificial language developed for chimpanzees and gorillas. Not in DIAL.

Glasersfeld named the language after Robert Mearns Yerkes (1876–1956), the founder of the laboratory. Glasersfeld used symbols, which he called “lexigrams”, and developed a grammar regulating their combination. The first monkey trained to communicate in Yerkish was the chimpanzee Lana.

Reference: [5].

1972. Makaton. Margaret Walker (born in 1938), a speech therapist. London, Great Britain.

A language program that combines spoken speech, gestures, and symbols to help people with learning disabilities or developmental disorders to communicate. Not in DIAL.

The name “Makaton” comes from the first letters of the names of three therapists who helped develop the program in the 1970s: **M**argaret Walker, **K**atherine Johnston, and **T**ony Cornforth. Walker created the Makaton Core Vocabulary, which contains 350 concepts needed to express daily needs. The signs were taken from the British Sign Language. The program has been adapted for use in more than 40 countries around the world.

References: [57].

Conclusions

In conclusion, it should be noted that the author did his best to cope with the maximum coverage and detail of the material. An overview of various types of constructed languages, including complex and carefully designed ones, has been undertaken. As a result, the list of constructed languages has been significantly expanded. In addition, dozens of instances of erroneous and unverified data were found, analyzed and corrected in the course of the work, which, hopefully, will contribute to the restoration of historical justice and accuracy. However, a number of projects mentioned in linguistics literature have not been considered due to the unavailability of information sources. The classification of individual projects, too, needs further clarification. For subsequent researchers, it can be recommended that more attention be paid to the detailed classification of the languages identified.

One of the novel contributions of this study is identifying the main motivating reasons for the creation of new language projects. Based on the examples, the following motivations were revealed:

1. The desire for communication.
2. Facilitating communication between native speakers of different languages.
3. Use in literary works.
4. Linguistic and philosophical research.
5. Communication in closed communities.
6. An ideal language for an ideal society of the future.
7. Communication with God and other higher powers.
8. Communication with an alien mind.
9. Communication with animals.
10. Education for the deaf and dumb, and people with other disabilities.
11. Adventurism or profit-taking.

12. Secret communication and secret writing.
13. The revival of dead languages.
14. Reforming natural languages.

Thus, the collected material may allow further researchers to see more fully the picture of language creation in a historical context and to study more deeply the goals and objectives of constructing languages. This seems particularly relevant in the light of the modern computerization of international communication and the development of artificial intelligence, which require new formalized coding systems. In this regard, the mankind's accumulated experience of language construction must be of high value, and the present paper may be able to add some food for thought.

Although the list compiled by the author is not complete or final, it allows us to see that the problem of language construction is not limited only to international auxiliary languages. There are still a huge number of languages outside the current focus of research that are not "natural". These include cryptography, machine and telegraphic codes, reconstructed protolanguages, and thousands of programming languages. Perhaps, this work will encourage researchers to further catalogue and analyze the remaining uncovered language projects.

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Appendix

Numbers one to ten in various pasigraphies

Mudrā, Hāsta. India, Between 1200-800 BCE	Chinese knotting China, II c.	Dactylogia Beda (Venerabilis) VII-VIII c.	Notes Tironiennes IX c.	Ignota Lingua Hildegard 1150	Nūshu. Jiāngyǒng XIII-XIV c.	Figures et Fictiys G. Fontana, 1420	
1		10		2X937X99	/		
2		20			4		
3		30		379X99	3		
4		40					
5				79X37X99			
6							
7				X9X99			
8				379X99			
9							
10							
Polygraphie J. Trithemius, 1496	Steganographia J. Trithemius, 1499	Celestial Alphabet Cornelius Agrippa. 1510	Utopian Thomas More, Peter Giles. 1516	Plains Indian Sign Language. N. American Aborigines, 1527	Quipu. 1533 Incas, Andes mountains	Bālai Balan Muhyi-i Gülşeni, 1550	De Artibus G. Cardano, 1550
1			ΘΟΠΘΛΞ			بار	Γ
2						برا	Γ
3						جل	Γ
4						رم	Γ
5						من	Γ
6						وس	Γ
7						زا	Γ
8						با	Γ
9						ا	Γ
10						ا	Γ
Hieroglyphica P.V. Bolzanii, 1556	Enochian John Dee, 1583	*** H. Hugo, 1617	Noui Carattiri e Zifre. T.C. Castelli, 1632-1654	Harmonie Universelle. Marin Mersenne 1636	Chirologia J. Bulwer 1644		
1		V					
2		B					
3		G					
4		X					
5		X					
6		X					
7		X					
8		X					
9		X					
10		X					

One-Line Cipher Charles I, 1646	New Perfect Language Francis Lodwick, 1652	Short Writing Goubarts 1653	Ortographia Arctica Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz, 1656	Universal Character Cave Beck, 1657	Clavis Conveniente Linguarum J.J. Becher, 1661	Mirabilia graphica Gaspar Schott, 1664
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
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8						
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10						
Ars Notaria J. Caramuel y Lobkowitz, 1665	Philosophical Language J. Wilkins 1668	Pasigraphia J.Ch. Sturm 1676	La Première Langue du Monde. R.P. Alphonse Costadau. 1717	Allgemeine Schrift David Solbrig 1726	СЛАВЕНСКИЙ ПИСМЕНЫ Matej Karaman 1738	
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
Chinesische Pasigrafie, Ch.G. von Murr, 1777	Allgemeinen Rede und Schriftsprache. 1779 Ch G Berger	Le Parfait Alphabet Ch.-A. de Moy, 1786	Palais des 64 fenêtres J.-P. de Baulmes De-Ria, 1788	Système de Claude Chappe, 1792	Pasigraphie J. de Maimieux, 1796	Théorie des Signes R.-A.C. Sicard 1799
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						

	Pasigraphie und Antipasigraphie Vater, 1799	Okygraphie H. Blanc, 1801	Symbolic Character J. Anderson 1802	Pangraphie H. Bürmann, 1805-1807	Une idée F.D. 18..	Pasigraphia J.M. Schmid 1807	Sinnensprache Andreas Riem, 1809	Lingua Slavica Josef Dobrovský, 1810-1822
1	1				un		a	
2	2				in		b	
3	3				i		c	
4	4				u		d	
5	5				n		e	
6	6				on		f	
7	7				o		g	
8	8				an		h	
9	9				a		i	
10	10				ou		k	

	Lacographie, Zalkind Hourwitz, 1811	Pasitélégaphie Armand C. de Firmas-Périers, 1811	La Langue Hébraïque Restituée, A.F. d'Olivet 1815	Caraboo Mary Willcocks, 1817	Solresol J.-F. Sudre 1817-1866	Notography E.T. Vidal 1819	Night alphabet Ch. Barbier, 1821	Braille Alphabet Louis Braille, 1824
1								
2								
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9								
10								

	Phonarithmetic William-Henry Henslowe 1827	Reformed Egyptian Joseph Smith 1827	Aérogaphie. M.U.P. Delatour, 1831.	Homographie Sophie Scott 1831	The philosophic alphabet, 1832 G. Edmonds	Langue Universelle Augustin Grosselin 1836	Langue Universelle Anonymous, 1837
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							

Polyglotte Improvisé A. Renzi, 1840	Algebra der Griechen. G.H.F. Nesselmann, 1842	Universal Lingual Reform A. Thibaudin, 1842	Hieroglyphes Français. 1843 Camille Chesnier-Duchesne	Pantography Benajah Jay Antrim, 1843	Moon writing W. Moon, 1843	Idéographie S. de Mas 1844
1 L —	Г	28N'	1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.	03n	^	
2 L =	Г	T2	9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	[to]	u	
3 L .	Г	THR6	9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	hre	C	
4 L ..	Г	F5R	9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	[fær]	U	
5 (—	Г	F96V'	9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	[fiv]	U	
6 (=	Г	S6KS'	9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	[syks]	Г	
7 (.	Г	S8V'N'	9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	[sevn]	Г	
8 (..	Г	86T'	9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	[aet]	Г	
9 — —	Г	N96N'	9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	[nin]	o	
10 — =	Г	T8N'	9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	[tan]	i	
Langue Universelle et Analytique E.T. Vidal, 1844	Orbidäic J. Bazin 1844	1845-1852, Lengua Universal y Filosofica Bonifacio Sotos Ochando	Pasilogia E. Groves, 1846	Langue Universelle A.-D. Gautier, 1852	Pasigraphie A. Bachmaier, 1852-1868	The Deseret G.D. Watt, 1853
1)	un une	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	P	1	i	W4.
2)	deu?	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	P	9	2	70.
3)	foie	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	P	6	3	L4.
4)	tafe	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	P	U	4	P0.
5)	seni	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	P	E	5	P4.
6)	die	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	P	0	6	8+08
7)	sof	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	P	7	7	84.
8)	vuit	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	P	7	8	E1.
9)	neue	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	P	2	9	44.
10)	die	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	P	3	i0	74.
The Universal Language W. White, 1854	Cosmoglosse Ponce Nollet, 1857	Pasigraphie Moses Paic, 1857	Universal Alphabet Amasa D. Sproat 1857	Duodecimal numbering Isaac Pitman 1857-1860	Gavlensofonie / Gavlensofonie, M.H. von Gablenz, 1859	The Tonal System J.W. Nystrom, 1859
1 wun	1	.	—	1 w3n	ain.	1
2 to	2	..	—	2 tu	dsvai.	2
3 tre	3	...	—	3 bri	drai.	3
4 for	4	—	—	4	fär.	4
5 fiv	5	—	—	5 feiv	fünf.	5
6 siks	6	—	—	6 siks	seks.	6
7 sevn	7	—	—	7 seven	agt.	7
8 at	8	—	—	8	neun.	8
9 nin	9	—	—	9 nein	dsæn.	9
10 ten	1	—	—	7 ten		

	Ecriture Universelle D.-A. Perier, 1860.	Visible Speech A.M. Bell, 1864	Mundografie M.H. von Gablenz, 1864	Scriptura Universalis, J. Hunkeler, 1866	Idéographie Lunaire, R.-A. de Vertus, 1868	Pasigraphie W.-L. Taillien, 1869	Tachygraphie, 1872, E.G.A. Baumgarten	Duodenal Arithmetic - J.W. Nystrom, 1875
1	un, 1, un	אָן, אַ	nt	אָן	)	)	אָן	1
2	dô.	אָן, אַ	rée	אָן	)	)	אָן	2
3	trê.	אָן, אַ	ra	אָן	)	)	אָן	3
4	catr	אָן, אַ	rt	אָן	)	)	אָן	4
5	si	אָן, אַ	rw	אָן	)	)	אָן	5
6	sîz. sî	אָן, אַ	ru	אָן	)	)	אָן	6
7	set	אָן, אַ	ka	אָן	)	)	אָן	7
8	lit.	אָן, אַ	kt	אָן	)	)	אָן	8
9	nzf.	אָן, אַ	kw	אָן	)	)	אָן	9
10	dîz. di	אָן, אַ	reni	אָן	)	)	אָן	10
	Modern Hebrew E. Ben-Yehuda, 1879	Idéographie S.I. Baranovskij 1884	Pasigraphia J.N. Bobula, 1886	Nal Bino S. Verheggen, 1886	Universal Phonography W. Benson, 1887	Octonary Numeration, A.B. Taylor, 1887	Pasistenographie Abraham D. Lutimirski, 1887	American Language E. Molee, 1888
1	אָן	1	1	ba		L	1%	an
2	אָן	2	2	de		C	2%	an
3	אָן	3	3	fi		E	3%	an
4	אָן	4	4	go		F	4%	on
5	אָן	5	5	lu		P	5%	ön
6	אָן	6	6	kê		G	6%	on
7	אָן	7	7	la		B	7%	in
8	אָן	8	8	me		LO	8%	sn
9	אָן	9	9	na		LL	9%	un
10	אָן	10	10	ban		LC	10%	po
	Lengua Universal L. Selbor, 1888	Chinook Stenografie Jean Marie Raphael LeJeune, 1891	Martien Hélène Smith 1894-1899	Veltlang F.J. Braendle 1910	Pitmanic Phonography I. Pitman, 1910	Scientific Dial A. Hallner, 1912		
1	1, lo,	1	1	1	1	1		
2	2, jo,	2	2	2	2	2		
3	3, fo,	3	3	3	3	3		
4	4, ho,	4	4	4	4	4		
5	5, jo,	5	5	5	5	5		
6	6, fo,	6	6	6	6	6		
7	7, bo,	7	7	7	7	7		
8	8, po,	8	8	8	8	8		
9	9, fo,	9	9	9	9	9		
10	10, lofo,	10	10	10	10	10		

Signala E. Molee, 1915	Rennellese Sign Language Kagobai 1915	Философский Язык J. Linzbach, 1916	Sign Talk E.Th. Seton, 1918	Isotype O. Neurath, 1920	Eskayan 'Pope Pinay', 1920-1937	Boyscout Language R.S.S. Baden-Powell, 1st Baron Baden-Powell, 1921
1		0001				
2		0010				
3		0011				
4		0100				
5		0101				
6		0110				
7		0111				
8		1000				
9		1001				
10		1010				

Fonoline D.W. La Rue 1922	Ideografia Analityczna E. Erdman, 1925	Key-Way W.E. Irish, 1925 - 1927	Labanotation Rudolf von Laban 1928	Oberi skaime 1931	Bulilağ. G.E. Tolentino, 1937	Global Alphabet R.L. Owen, 1943
1		1			1.	
2		2		4	2.	
3		3		4	3.	
4		4			4.	
5		5			5.	
6		6			6.	
7		7			7.	
8		8			8.	
9		9			9.	
10		0		7	01.	

Mānavabhāṣā S. Satyabhakta 1943	Tsolyáni. late 1940s. Muhammad Abd-al- Rahman Barker	Antibabele Gaj Magli, 1950	Unifon J.R. Malone, mid-1950s	Lincos H. Freudenthal 1960	Ashoke Oklahoma, USA 1950s-1980s	Shavian G.B. Shaw, 1962	74-07 WUM, 1967	Klingon Marc Okrand, 1984
1 कन		I I	WUN	1 .				
2 गान		L II	TU	2 .				
3 चिन		4 III	BRI	3 :				
4 बीन		5 IIII	FAR	4 .				
5 दून		5 IIII	F&V	5 :				
6 हून		6 IIII	SIKS	6 :				
7 तेन		8 IIII	SEVEN	7 :				
8 देन		8 IIII	ΔT	8 .				
9 पोन		9 IIII	N&N	9 . .				
10 बीन		9 IIII	TEN	10 . .				

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The Geolinguistics of State Foreign Language Education Policy Regarding Rarely Taught Languages of the Global South

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Abstract. This paper is based on a talk given by the author at the round table discussion on Current Trends in the Development of Language Policy in CIS, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean (MGIMO University, Moscow, October 12, 2023). Geolinguistics in the context of Russian government foreign language policy planning was discussed in terms of languages of the Global South not yet taught in the Russian Federation. Based on the principle that political multi-polarity implies linguistic multi-polarity, many languages of regional importance were identified. Although great-power status for Russia is assumed to apply at present, demographics suggest that this will change in the future. Nevertheless, with proper foreign language education planning, Russia's soft-power status can be preserved indefinitely. Different approaches with regard to language policy can exist. One approach is that of promoting homogeneity in language use. Another is encouraging transparency in the transfer of information through multilingualism. Yet another one is that of promoting linguistic multi-polarity, where national, international, and local languages are valued equally. Government language education policies, whether idealistic or Machiavellian, must have concrete, usually politically determined, objectives. On the basis of political and economic considerations, Kurdish, Nepali, Burmese, Sinhala, Tamil, Cambodian, and also Tagalog were recommended. A case was also made for the pidgin and creole language studies being taken seriously. Various African languages of national importance were mentioned, as well as Sundanese a language spoken in Indonesia and Cebuano, a language spoken in the Philippines, on the grounds that they are included on Google and/or Yandex Translate. Finally, emoji was introduced as a worldwide pidgin that is rapidly developing into a language for written communication, especially among people who use sign languages. Language education policies can have political objectives which are positive, negative, or neutral. Though there are too many languages of potential importance to teach all, Russian advocacy of multi-polarity must presuppose a commitment to multilingualism and to transparency as to its methods and objectives.

Keywords: geolinguistics, sociolinguistics, language policy, language education, rare languages, Global South

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Геоллингвистика государственной политики в сфере иноязычного образования в отношении редко изучаемых языков глобального Юга

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Аннотация. В основе данной статьи лежит доклад, прочитанный автором на круглом столе «Современные тенденции развития языковой политики в странах ближнего зарубежья, Азии, Африки и Карибского бассейна» (Москва, МГИМО МИД России, 12 октября 2023 г.). Геоллингвистика в контексте планирования государственной иноязычной политики России обсуждалась с точки зрения языков глобального Юга, которые ещё не преподаются в Российской Федерации. Исходя из принципа, что политическая многополярность подразумевает языковую многополярность, было выделено множество языков регионального значения. Хотя в настоящее время предполагается, что Россия имеет статус великой державы, демографические показатели говорят о том, что в будущем эта ситуация изменится. Тем не менее, при правильном планировании иноязычного образования статус «мягкой силы» России может сохраняться на неограниченный срок. Существуют различные подходы к языковой политике. Один из них заключается в поощрении однородности в использовании языков. Другой предполагает поощрение прозрачности при передаче информации с помощью многоязычия. Ещё один подход заключается в поощрении языковой многополярности, когда национальные, международные и местные языки ценятся одинаково. Государственная политика в области языкового образования, будь она идеалистическая или макиавеллистическая, должна преследовать конкретные, как правило, политически обусловленные цели. Исходя из политических и экономических соображений, были рекомендованы курдский, непальский, бирманский, сингальский, тамильский, камбоджийский, а также тагальский языки. Кроме того, было указано на необходимость серьёзного отношения к изучению пиджинов и креольских языков. Были упомянуты различные африканские языки национального значения, а также сунданский язык, на котором говорят в Индонезии, и себуано, язык, на котором говорят на Филиппинах, на том основании, что они включены в сервисы *Google Translate* и/или *Яндекс Переводчик*. Наконец, эмодзи были представлены как всемирный пиджин, который быстро превращается в язык письменного общения, особенно среди людей, использующих жестовые языки. Политика в области языкового образования может преследовать положительные, отрицательные или нейтральные политические цели. Хотя потенциально важных языков слишком много, чтобы преподавать их все, продвижение Россией идеи многополярности должно предполагать приверженность многоязычию и прозрачности её методов и целей.

Ключевые слова: геоллингвистика, социоллингвистика, языковая политики, языковое образование, редкие языки, глобальный Юг

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This paper had its origin as a talk given by the author at the round table discussion on Current Trends in the Development of Language Policy in CIS, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean held at MGIMO University in Moscow on October 12, 2023. The reasons for writing this article are 1) to promote geolinguistics, as it was originally formulated, as a means for determining policy recommendations with regard to foreign language education and use, and 2) to illustrate how this might work with regard to the choosing of new foreign languages to be taught in the Russian Federation. The goals this paper is aiming to achieve are 1) providing an overview of regionally important languages in the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa; 2) bringing attention to the importance of pidgin languages and creoles; 3) introducing the concept of emoji as an emerging language; and 4) providing an explanation of how foreign language education policy can intersect with and strongly affect political and economic policy vis-a-vis other nations.

A geolinguistic perspective on language policy

Firstly, a word about geolinguistics. Briefly stated, to the extent that accurate census data would be available, geolinguistics was originally conceived of as the study of language use in the context of government policy planning [5, p. 33]. Dictionary makers, however, chose to emphasize definitions that tended to shift focus to dialectology map-making [3, p. 47]. Thus, two traditions of geolinguistics developed. In America, the original emphasis was on it being a potential tool for helping to formulate policy solutions to politically perceived language problems, and this continued to be emphasized [5].

The American approach to geolinguistics is also the case in Nepal as the state is required to deal with many language-related issues. This is because Nepal is a country where the national language is not the native language of a majority of the population¹.

In Japan, where language standardization is advanced and, building on a state-funded basis of dialectology studies about mostly quickly disappearing dialects, the focus has continued to be on map-making activities in furtherance of the study of linguistic history [2, p. 568]. Here, geolinguistics is used to describe linguistic events rather than to prescribe what actions the state should take concerning them [ibid.].

In the case of the Russian Federation, however, it would seem that using geolinguistics to look at language prescriptively rather than descriptively might generally represent a more useful application of this field of intellectual endeavor. It was with this assumption in mind that this paper was first envisioned as a talk at the said round table held at MGIMO². The reason for seeing a geolinguistics approach as natural was due to the author's direct experience as a former president of geolinguistics organizations in both Japan and the United States and as the person who initiated the founding of the now nationally recognized Geolinguistics Society of Nepal.

The assumption made was that, if a language of the Global South was not taught at MGIMO, then the chances were great that it was not elsewhere taught in the Russian Federation. There were, in fact, a considerable number of languages identified which would seem to be of potential importance with regard to Russia's foreign policy and international trade. As such, they are worthy of being considered when developing policies aimed at consolidating Russian soft-power status during this era of political and economic multi-polarity.

¹ Regmi, D.R. Languages of Nepal in 2021 census: An overview, academia.edu/108556723/LANGUAGES_OF_NEPAL_IN_2021_CENSUS_AN_OVERVIEW (accessed 24 August 2024).

² RAMI: Transformatsiia iazykovogo obrazovaniia: trendy, traektorii, perspektivy [Russian International Studies Association: Transformation of language education: trends, trajectories and perspectives], mgimo.ru/about/news/announce/xv-risa-lang-edu/ (accessed 23 August 2024).

Language policy as soft power

Russia can be identified two times previously in Eurasian history as having functioned as a great power and one time when it functioned as a superpower. Its first era of great-power status was during the 10th and 11th centuries when the Russian state of the feudal era reached its peak of power during the relatively long reigns of Saint Vladimir the Great and his son Yaroslav the Wise. These two rulers, Vladimir and Yaroslav, used their control of inland waterway trade as the basis for transforming into a great Eurasian power the speakers of the many languages used by the numerous different Slavic and non-Slavic tribes which they ruled over [4, p. 53].

A second era of multi-polarity with Russia as a great Eurasian power happened under the rule of the Romanovs, beginning with the reign of Peter the Great [20, p. 1]. Then, after the post-World War I collapse of the Russian Empire and Russia's re-emergence as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, it achieved superpower status as a result of World War II. And, now again, Russia has emerged as a great Eurasian economic power in the company of China, India, and Iran, competing against a rapidly declining North American United States and cooperating with a steadily rising South American Brazil [7, p. 16]. In spite of, or, one might argue, because of the censorship now so common in the Collective West, the Russian Federation is also rapidly approaching a superpower status in terms of its soft power, in its ability to capture attention and influence how people think about the world in political, military, and cultural terms and how they react to it³.

Nevertheless, demographics and commonsense would strongly suggest that the current rise in Russia's share of the world's GDP will clearly decline over time, even though Russian citizens, as individuals, might very well get richer. However, finding confirmation of this in English language texts is close to impossible, due to the fact that any Google search will show that the confirmation bias of the Collective West demands that English-language writers of Russian affairs portray the future of the Russian Federation in gloomy terms, never positively.

In terms of total Price Purchasing Power GDP, however, it seems clear that, in the coming decades, China will continue to rank number one, and then India⁴. It also seems clear that Russia will have to devote considerable diplomatic energy to keeping deep-seated rivalries between these two countries from developing in a dangerous direction. Nevertheless, commonsense would also suggest that neither of these countries will be able to maintain their relative shares of the world's GDP permanently. America's era of superpower status will, in any case, become more and more of a distant memory as the century progresses.

Soft power, though, is something quite different from military power. The Russian Federation now has the rare opportunity of becoming a superpower in terms of its soft-power status. Moreover, this preeminence could, with proper management, develop and last well into the next century. But, proper management means proper funding across a broad range of cultural and educational endeavors. How long the Russian Federation's emerging soft-power superpower status will last is something which is impossible to predict. Without proper planning combined with proper funding, it might even suffer a stillbirth. Careful application of the principles of practical geolinguistics could allow it to last indefinitely.

Nevertheless, by analogy with French soft-power projection successes, it is clear that the future success or failure of the Russian Federation in creating, maintaining, and extending its soft-power status will be directly connected with the success of its language education policies, the language policies which promote not only the study of foreign languages, but also the study of Russian and the many other languages of the numerous ethnic groups that make up this country [17, p. 1]. With this in mind and before taking a quick look at rarely taught languages that might be of use in maintaining and in building further the soft-power image of the Russian Federation, let us now consider the different principles which nations choose and upon which they base their language policies, whether for national languages, minority languages, or languages to be taught as foreign languages.

³ The world in 2050, [pwc.com/gx/en/research-insights/economy/the-world-in-2050.html](https://www.pwc.com/gx/en/research-insights/economy/the-world-in-2050.html) (accessed 23 August 2024).

⁴ Ibid.

Approaches to language policy

One principle many nations use is the principle of **promoting homogeneity in language use**. This is usually based on the underlying assumption that, if everyone speaks in the same manner, population control will be easier and that, with improved population control, it will be easier to destroy inconvenient memories of local history and traditions and, thereby, to better control matters that might disturb social harmony. Due to this belief, language homogeneity has been popular in many different eras over many parts of the globe. In France, every French government since that of Louis XIII in the mid-17th century⁵ has adhered to this principle. In the United States, it began in the British colonial period and continues even today as a popularly supported policy in many American states⁶. In Japan, it was adopted from the third quarter of the 19th century and has been accepted with continued unconscious pride until the present time in the belief that linguistic homogeneity provides proof of Japan's national ideology of racial and cultural uniqueness [14, p. 311]. The author's personal experience over the last 50 years would suggest that most Japanese, in fact, came to accept the idea that uniqueness and diversity are two incompatible objectives, though theoretically, this need not be the case.

Another principle that can be seen promoted by design in the language policies of the European Union and possibly as a side-effect of political structure in the Russian Federation is that of **encouraging transparency in the transfer of information through multilingualism** [18, p. 173]. It can be argued that this has been the case throughout Russian history. For instance, there are many recorded instances of Catherine the Great's Romanov descendants being fluent and well-read in not only Russian and German, but also in English and French⁷. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a more or less similar tradition of multilingual foreign language education was followed on a customary basis and the transparency of information transfer across languages was seen as desirable [11, p. 269]. And, as concerns Russia, local languages and customs, especially in areas of the empire with a history of literacy, tended to be respected, no matter what the period of Russian history it might be [8, p. 412]. Moreover, it would seem that these were attitudes that had nothing to do with constitutional structures or imperial personalities, but which permeated and still permeate what this paper perhaps arbitrarily designates as the Russian imperial system, an approach to governance that seems to have been generally held in common by all rulers of Russia, whether the Rurikids, the Romanovs, the commissars of the Soviet Union, or the bureaucrats of the present day Russian Federation.

Both concerning language and other spheres of governance, we can see the unfortunate results of differences in approach when comparing the homogenizing approach in imperial governance characteristic of the United States with the transparency of information exchange approach historically characteristic of Russia. Considering the influence of the CIA and related agencies on Japanese and American foreign policy, all one needs to do is to look at the current range of foreign policies being advocated by these countries to become immediately aware of the glaringly inadequate analytical skills of most members of this extended intelligence community in the United States. But these individuals are supposedly the cream of the crop. Comparing the average educated Japanese and American with the average educated Russian, educated Russians, whether in a position of government authority or not, tend to be better informed about the world at large than the citizens of these two other just mentioned nations.

Another possible principle that could be used in the formulation of language policy, whether foreign or local, is in the process of being formulated now, but it is one which commonsense would indicate can function well only when co-existing with the principle of transparency in the transfer of information. Precisely because it is in the process of formulation, no country comes to mind which has so far thought to apply this new principle of language education policy with regard to their national language, minority

⁵ Les missions, academie-francaise.fr/linstitution/les-missions (accessed 23 August 2024).

⁶ What is the official language of the United States?, lingoda.com/en/content/what-is-the-official-language-of-the-united-states/ (accessed 23 August 2024).

⁷ What languages did the Romanovs speak?, rbth.com/history/329404-romanovs-language-spoke (accessed 23 August 2024).

language, or foreign language policies. This principle is what, by analogy to a phrase popularized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, could be called “**the multi-polarity approach to language education policy**”. That is, what is to be actively promoted is the friendly and mutually respectful competition of languages. At the very minimum, trilingual competence at a high level in at least one national, one local, and one foreign language each should be seen as something to respect and as something for government language policy to encourage.

Though national languages will continue to have preeminence, because of rapid developments in machine translation, the age of unthinking national language dominance will become increasingly untenable. Linguistic competition can no longer be permanently suppressed, so it would seem to be a better approach to embrace it. The aim should be a mutually respectful competitive promotion of languages as a means of encouraging transparency in the transfer of information. The goal should be mutual enrichment in terms of cultural production, whether in terms of literature or in terms of debating skill and diplomacy. The cultural spill-over would include exciting developments in journalism, cinema, drama, and song. It goes without saying that the political soft-power advantage acquired in this manner would be incalculable.

Promising languages of the Global South

Nevertheless, government language education policy is not only a development of principles that are accepted by a society as axiomatic. Linguistic or, otherwise, government language education policies must have concrete, politically determined objectives that are popularly seen as desirable. Otherwise, long term funding cannot be expected. Objectives can be idealistic and objectives can be Machiavellian. Objectives can be both at the same time without changing basic principles. This will be discussed later with concrete examples.

But now, having introduced the topic and the author’s personal bias at play in writing this paper, it would now be appropriate to introduce a select number of languages that, for various reasons, might be considered as candidates for formal instruction in the Russian Federation. This is not a complete list; a complete list could easily include perhaps as many as a thousand or more languages which, at the present time, would be too many to be considered seriously by any government ministry charged with formulating language policy or any educational institution charged with its implementation.

Starting with Asia, Kurdish is a language which needs to be considered because it is a language used by millions of people in Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran, and also because, in particular with regard to Turkey, it is a focal point for conflict [12, p. 1]. There seem to be many reasons why, at the very least, well-trained, fluent, Kurdish-competent employees of both the ministries of defense and of foreign affairs could be of great utility in helping these ministries avoid making unnecessary future policy mistakes.

Moving more to the east in **South Asia**, Nepali, Burmese, Sinhala, and Tamil make attractive candidates for further investment, being languages having national status and each possessing numerous speakers. Considering the volatile nature of politics in this part of the world, investment in these languages could bring very good returns in enabling the Russian Federation to maintain balance in a still politically, culturally, and socially imbalanced part of the world. Additionally, a case could be made for adding Cambodian, and also Tagalog, the language of the ordinary people of the Philippines, to the foreign language curriculum at MGIMO. This would seem to have importance in countering American-led attempts at containing China and limiting Russian influence. The American government has, furthermore, long been active in trying to destabilize the current regimes in the region and to force them to take sides in support of America [19].

This brings us to Papua New Guinea in **Melanesia** and will take us in a perhaps surprising manner to the Caribbean and to Africa. There are serious geolinguistic reasons for suggesting that a creole and pidgin language university consortium should be established. There are many such languages, some of which are very important for intercommunication between people of the various countries these languages exist in, no matter what continent we look at in the Global South. In Papua New Guinea, Tok Pisin is

a recognized national language understood by almost everyone in that nation⁸. The neighboring island nation of the Solomon Islands has Bislama, a different creole, acting as a national language⁹. Going to **the Caribbean**, Papiamentu, Guyanese Creole, Sranan Tongo, and Haitian Creole occupy positions of importance. In the case of Haitian Creole, it is considered as being of such importance that it is included in the curriculum of the School of Language Studies of the Department of State of the United States¹⁰. Moving on to **Africa**, other creoles of importance are those of Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Cameroon, the Central African Republic and Chad. In particular, the number of speakers of Nigerian Pidgin is huge. In 2020 it was estimated as having 4.7 million first language native speakers and 116 million second language speakers¹¹. Moreover, the United Kingdom considers it important enough for the BBC to have developed a website using a West African Pidgin English variety that is fully intelligible to Nigerian Pidgin speakers and which is much appreciated by them, but which is not considered by them to be the Pidgin that they, themselves, use in daily life [6, p. 78].

Considering the admission of Ethiopia to BRICS and the many linguistically based ethnic conflicts inside that country and on its borders, it would seem wise to at least consider whether or not to invest in Tigrinya, the language of the Tigray region and also the most important language of the neighboring country of Eritrea¹². A similar situation would apply to Somali¹³. Oromo, on the other hand, is a native language of Ethiopia spoken by more people than Amharic, the national language¹⁴. Also, Dinka deserves consideration because of its importance as the most important of the native languages of South Sudan, another historically unstable neighboring country of Ethiopia¹⁵.

Among the native languages of **West Africa**, there are several that deserve further investigation because of increasing involvement of the Russian Federation and China in the Sahel. Wolof, Hausa, Twellemmet, Fula, Yoruba, and Igbo come to mind and are each languages that can be considered important. Wolof is an indigenous language spoken by a significant number of people in Senegal¹⁶. Fula holds a similar position in Guinea¹⁷. For the same reason, Mossi in Burkina Faso¹⁸ and Bambara in Mali¹⁹ deserve consideration. As for Hausa, it is the language of a majority of the population of Niger, plus it is one of Nigeria's most used native languages²⁰. Two others of importance are Yoruba and Igbo, the first languages of a large portion of Nigeria's citizens²¹. In addition to the role of Hausa in Niger, another important native language is Tawellemmet, a Berber language used by the Tuaregs²², who are a large ethnic group whose insurgency has been used by Western powers to destabilize the governments of Niger and Mali²³. It would seem to be in the interest of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Russian intelligence services to have a certain number of trained individuals capable of direct communication with this Tuareg people, so as to more efficiently counter tricky political issues.

Another large African country with a massive population is the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The three most important native languages are Kituba, Lingala, and Tashiluba²⁴, each with more native speakers than many European languages which are currently taught at MGIMO. Kirundi of Burundi

⁸ Seigel, J. Tok Pisin, hawaii.edu/satocenter/langnet/definitions/tokpisin.html (accessed 26 August 2024).

⁹ Meyerhoff, M. Survey chapter: Bislama, apics-online.info/surveys/23 (accessed 23 August 2024).

¹⁰ Foreign language training, state.gov/foreign-language-training/ (accessed 23 August 2024).

¹¹ Faracias, N. Structure dataset 17: Nigerian Pidgin, apics-online.info/contributions/17 (accessed 23 August 2024).

¹² Tigrinya speaking countries, worlddata.info/languages/tigrinya.php (accessed 23 August 2024).

¹³ Somalia: Language situation and dialects, landinfo.no/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Somalia_language-situation-and-dialects.pdf (accessed 23 August 2024).

¹⁴ Language map of Ethiopia, translatorswithoutborders.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Ethiopia-Language-Map-Static-EN-1.pdf (accessed 23 August 2024).

¹⁵ Dinka, languagesgulper.com/eng/Dinka.html (accessed 23 August 2024).

¹⁶ Wolof speaking countries, worlddata.info/languages/wolof.php (accessed 23 August 2024).

¹⁷ Fula, languagesgulper.com/eng/Fula.html (accessed 23 August 2024).

¹⁸ 10 main languages of Burkina Faso, tilti.co.uk/burkina-faso-languages/ (accessed 23 August 2024).

¹⁹ Bambara speaking countries, worlddata.info/languages/bambara.php (accessed 23 August 2024).

²⁰ The Hausa language, iaaw.hu-berlin.de/en/africa/linguistik-und-sprachen/african-languages/hausa (accessed 23 August 2024).

²¹ Language data for Nigeria, clearglobal.org/language-data-for-nigeria/ (accessed 23 August 2024).

²² Languages of Niger, forum.unilang.org/viewtopic.php?f=132&t=59418 (accessed 23 August 2024).

²³ Olawunmi, K. The movement for the liberation of Azawad, tdhj.org/blog/post/liberation-terror-azawad/ (accessed 23 August 2024).

and Kinyarwanda of Rwanda are of great importance in these nations [13, p. 11] but these nations may or may not be of particular importance to the Russian Federation. As for languages of importance in the **southern regions of Africa**, besides Swahili, which is already part of the curriculum of MGIMO, Fang of Gabon and Equatorial Guinea²⁵, Bemba of Zambia²⁶, Shona and Ndebele of Zimbabwe [15, p. 2849], Setswana of Botswana [1, p. 116], Oshiwambo of Namibia²⁷, Siswati of Eswatini [10], Sesotho of Lesotho²⁸, Zulu and Xhosa of South Africa²⁹, Malagasy of Madagascar³⁰, and the Swahili-based Comorian language of the Comoros Islands³¹ may all be considered as languages of national importance for the nations they are each most strongly represented in.

Among the African languages considered important enough to be included on Google Translate, we have the Amharic language of Ethiopia, the Twi and Ewe languages of Ghana, the Chichewa language of Malawi, Swahili of Kenya and Tanzania, Krio (a creole of Sierra Leone), Kinyarwanda of Rwanda, Oromo of Ethiopia and Kenya, Sepedi, Tsonga, Xhosa, and Zulu which are four of the national languages of South Africa, Sesotho of Lesotho, Shona of Zimbabwe, and Somali of Ethiopia and Somalia. Among the Asian languages supported by Google Translate can be found Sundanese, a minority language with 40 million speakers in Indonesia, and Cebuano, a minority language spoken by 22 million people in the Philippines. If a language is included on Google Translate, it can be taken as representing a part of the world the United States government is interested in, either for political reasons or for the purpose of some form or other of economic exploitation³². For this reason, these languages, whether eventually taught or not, should, nevertheless, undergo careful scrutiny.

Emoji

Finally, there is one last language variety, emoji, that has already become a worldwide pidgin and applies as much to the smartphone users of the Global South as elsewhere. Having watched from the beginning the development of translation software, from his personal experience, the author would suggest that within 20 years it will reach creole status as the basis for giving a common written literary expression to the many sign languages throughout the world, including those of the Global South, none of which have yet developed a written literature. Moreover, emoji is already supported on Yandex Translate and is in the process of developing at an accelerating pace³³. Currently, because grammatical usage and lexical values have not yet solidified across cultures, the quality of Yandex emoji translations is poor, rather like translation software was for Japanese to English and vice versa at the turn of the century [9, p. 22]. But, at current rates of development, it will match the quality of present day translation software translating between Russian and English and vice versa, which is excellent. Precisely because emoji is a pure eye language, it has the potential for developing into a language that could conceivably be read and understood visually by users of not only sign languages but also of spoken language users as a means of general intercommunication.

In theory, otherwise monolingual speakers of widely differing languages could be rapidly trained to use it for purposes of instant communication. In this age we are living in, what is conceivable is no longer in the realm of science fiction, but is something that can be considered as highly likely. The main

²⁴ The four national languages of DRC, translatorswithoutborders.org/four-national-languages-drc (accessed 23 August 2024).

²⁵ Fang speaking countries, worlddata.info/languages/fang.php (accessed 23 August 2024).

²⁶ Bemba (Chibemba), omniglot.com/writing/bemba.php (accessed 23 August 2024).

²⁷ Oshiwambo, ethnologue.com/language/kua/ (accessed 23 August 2024).

²⁸ Sesotho speaking countries, worlddata.info/languages/sesotho.php (accessed 23 August 2024).

²⁹ Distribution of languages spoken by individuals inside and outside of households in South Africa 2018, statista.com/statistics/1114302/distribution-of-languages-spoken-inside-and-outside-of-households-in-south-africa/ (accessed 23 August 2024).

³⁰ Malagasy speaking countries, worlddata.info/languages/malagasy.php (accessed 23 August 2024).

³¹ Comorian, britannica.com/topic/Comorian-language (accessed 23 August 2024).

³² Ahmed, N. Google: A DARPA enterprise run by the Central Intelligence Agency, themillenniumreport.com/2017/09/google-a-darpa-enterprise-run-by-the-central-intelligence-agency/ (accessed 23 August 2024).

³³ Yandex Translate, translate.yandex.com (accessed 23 August 2024).

problem, and it is a big one, concerns public perceptions. Emoji now tend to be perceived of as too cute to be taken seriously. But, if this continues to be true, then Chinese characters could be developed as a literary development of sign language. At least, Chinese characters are not generally considered to be cute, a matter which takes us full circle to a consideration of the function of objectives in formulating language education policy.

Possible language education policy objectives

Language education policies can have objectives which are positive, negative, or neutral. For example, the principle of linguistic multi-polarity could be used to throw a rival government off balance. And, in the world in which we live, this is sometimes a strong recommendation for policy implementation. What follows, thus, is an example which, although not directly connected with the topic the round table on language policy is supposed to address, has the advantage of being easily understandable and illustrating the point well.

For instance, the United States could be made to become intensely worried, if the Russian Federation were to combine its cultural power with that of China to create active internet-based programs for promoting the rapidly disappearing indigenous languages of North America and particularly those of the Arctic Ocean, the native languages of Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and northern Scandinavia. The strategic and economic value of the Arctic Ocean is becoming ever greater and Russia's natural advantages in the region are a matter of increasing concern for the United States and NATO. To further throw people off balance, the net could be further extended to include Hawaiian, Navaho, Cherokee, Pennsylvania Dutch, Louisiana French, Quebec French, Haitian Creole, Spanglish, Gulla, Nahuatl, Yucatan Mayan, and Belizean Creole.

If the aim were to make Japan nervous, sponsoring language and cultural programs in Ainu and in the various languages of the Ryukyu Islands could achieve the same effect, as could the sponsoring of dialect language programs. Such programs, whether aimed at Japan or North America, would be meaningless in economic terms, but could be both culturally productive as well as politically irritating at the same time.

Conclusion

The conclusion is merely a statement of commonsense. There are too many languages of potential importance to teach all. However, in the case of the Russian Federation, its advocacy of multi-polarity in international relations means that the more foreign languages that can be taught, the greater the impact its foreign policy initiatives will eventually have. In a world where multi-polarity becomes the norm, multilingualism becomes an essential educational strategy and polyglottery a common outcome [16, p. 1]. Moreover, properly carried out, creating and maintaining long term superpower status in terms of soft power will be assured, because a multi-polar language education policy makes opaqueness in the transfer of information difficult and promotes transparency.

And, in the world of today, democracy is not what is needed. It is transparency that is needed, the knowledge of who makes what decisions for what reasons, when and where. If people have transparency and if the freedom to the unimpeded transfer of knowledge to one another is guaranteed, then all governments where such policies are in effect, whether pure democracies or absolute autocracies, will tend to converge to a common level of positive public service. If the transfer of knowledge remains opaque, it will be rather much like things are at present in many NATO countries where censorship is common, where the gap between rich and poor continues to grow, and where the exploitation of the great majority becomes ever more unbearable³⁴.

³⁴ Durden, T. NATO's new mission: Peace through censorship, zerohedge.com/geopolitical/natos-new-mission-peace-through-censorship (accessed 23 August 2024).

In such a world, democracy is meaningless. Hitler was a democratically elected leader. So was Mussolini. Mr. Zelensky, also. In Russian history, Vladimir the Great, Yaroslav the Wise, Peter the Great, Catherine the Great, and Alexander II were all unelected autocrats, who each, in their own way, promoted transparency in the transfer of information. If it is a choice between democracy or transparency, it is transparency as to methods and objectives that should be chosen, especially in the context of formulating foreign language education policy.

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Linguistic Diversity in the Philippines

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Abstract. The article is focused on the linguistic situation in the Philippines, shaped historically both from outside (colonization by Spain and the USA which brought about Spanish and English as the state languages), and from inside (bringing Tagalog out of 170 local languages to the fore and renaming it into Pilipino and later Filipino). Being the language only of the fourth part of the population, it was, nevertheless, conceived of as the only state language of the Philippines. The policy of its “intellectualization”, elevating the language to a high state status, has encountered a number of obstacles, among which is the lack of the governmental support and interest among the population in reading books only in Filipino, the absence of translation centers which could popularize local literature, the shortage of professional translators and insufficient fees for their work. The process is slowed down by the influence of the English language supported on the level of the government and remaining the main official language in state structures and organizations, legal system and universities. The University of the Philippines is the most powerful institution in enhancing the role of Filipino. The study of mass media in the Philippines has brought to light the variety of languages used in newspapers: all broadsheets are printed in English, whereas tabloids are released in local languages, Tagalog primarily, but also in Bikol, Ilocano, Cebuano, Waray and Hiligaynon. There are also newspapers issued in Spanish, Mandarin Chinese, Japanese and Korean. The same linguistic kaleidoscope is reflected in TV and radio programs, which maintains cultural identity, emotionality and unique storytelling of the Filipinos.

Keywords: Filipino, state languages, intellectualization of the language, local languages, colonial invasions, multiethnic population, education, mass media

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Языковое разнообразие на Филиппинах

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена рассмотрению языковой ситуации на Филиппинах, которая сложилась как в силу исторических внешних событий (колонизации Испанией и США, в результате которой испанский и английский языки стали государственными на Филиппинах), так и в силу внутренних языковых процессов, из 170 местных языков выдвинувших на первый план тагальский язык, переименованный в пилипино, а позже в филипино. Будучи языком четвертой части населения страны, он был задуман как государственный национальный язык Филиппин. Политика его «интеллектуализации», то есть придания языку филипино высокого государственного статуса для использования в различных сферах жизни, столкнулась на своём пути с рядом препятствий, среди которых отсутствие государственной поддержки и интереса населения к чтению книг только на филипино, отсутствие переводческих центров для популяризации местной литературы на английском языке и усиления статуса государства, нехватка профессиональных переводчиков и низкая оплата их труда. Замедление процесса «интеллектуализации» филипино было также вызвано и популярностью английского языка, поддерживаемого государством и укрепившего свой статус государственного языка в системе высшего образования, на государственной службе, в бизнесе и юриспруденции, в международных отношениях. Наиболее влиятельным учреждением в деле повышения роли филипино как государственного языка является Университет Филиппин. Изучение средств массовой информации на Филиппинах выявило разнообразие языков, на которых издаются газеты: все широкоформатные газеты выходят на английском языке, а таблоиды издаются на местных языках: в основном на тагальском, но также на бикольском, илоканском, себуанском, варайском и языке хилигай-нон. Газеты также выходят на испанском, китайском, японском и корейском языках. Тот же языковой калейдоскоп отражается в теле- и радиопрограммах, которые сохраняют культурную самобытность, эмоциональность и неповторимый стиль повествования филиппинцев.

Ключевые слова: филипино, государственные языки, интеллектуализация языка, местные языки, колониальные вторжения, многонациональное население, образование, средства массовой информации

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Introduction

The Philippines is one of the most linguistically diverse countries, with about 175 languages, 11 of which are at the stage of extinction as of 2016, 28 are experiencing certain difficulties, and some have already fallen out of use, according to the non-profit American organization Ethnologue (Texas) [19]. The Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages has found that the Philippines is among the top 10 hottest “language spots” in terms of the rate of language extinction.

To better understand the linguistic variety in the Philippines, it is necessary to look into the ethnic composition of its population. According to the 2010 census, the multiethnic nation includes the Visayas (33.7%), Tagalogs (24.4%), Ilok (8.8%), Bicol (6.8%), Pampangans (3%), Pangasinans (2%), Ibanags (0.5%), Muslim Moro peoples (about 6%), and Filipino mountain peoples (about 3.5%), as well as Aeta (up to 1%). About 0.2% of the population of the Philippines is foreigners, the majority of whom are from the United States (0.03% of the population – 30 thousand people), China (28.7 thousand people), Japan (11.6 thousand people) and India (9 thousand people). The population of the Philippines in 2020 was 109,581,078 people, or 1.41% of the world’s population. The country ranks 13th in the world in this indicator. Forty-seven percent are urban residents; 58,077,971 people constitute the rest of the population [16], [18], [10]. Although there is a natural increase in the population in the Philippines, there is at the same time a high immigration of the population to other countries. The 13 largest cities in the Philippines are home to 17.8% of the country’s residents: Manila, Quezon City, Davao, Cebu, Taguig, Las Piñas, Antipolo, Zamboanga, Cagayan de Oro, Dasmariñas, Angeles, Bako, and Lapu Lapu.

A historical background of linguistic diversity

In its history, the Philippines has undergone two invasions, each of which has left its imprint on the linguistic situation in the country. Spanish reigned as the sole official language for three centuries of colonization (from the 16th century to 1898) and maintained its status until 1987. The outcome of this invasion is in the fact that it is still spoken by 0.5% of the population [13]. The American colonization between 1898 to 1946, though incomparable in its duration with the Spanish one, had a great impact on the country as it had brought its system of education, books and programs well developed by then. English has remained one of the official languages widely used in education and state institutions.

A really big event in the history of the country was the establishment of the Institute of the National Filipino Language, which was to create a nationwide Filipino language based on one of the regional languages. The Tagalog language, the language of the fourth part of the Philippines’ population, was declared “the official language of the country along with English and Spanish” in 1940. A large part of the population did not welcome this decision because Tagalog is not the language of the majority. In the 1974 Constitution, Filipino took the place of Spanish. Based on Tagalog, from 1937 to 1958 it was called the national language, in 1959 it was renamed Pilipino, and in 1987, Filipino [17].

Filipino is characterized as “a combination of Spanish, Tagalog, and English” “with an aesthetic impression” [13]. Since 1987, Filipino and English have been the official state languages. In 1988, President Corazon Aquino issued a decree on the use of the Filipino language in correspondence, communication and trade operations¹. The policy of bilingualism in 2012–13 was replaced by the policy of multilingualism. Regional languages, which were considered auxiliary until then, entered the educational process of primary schools up to grade 3, which reflected the policy of education based on the native language, or MTB-MLE (mother-tongue-based multilingual education). By Order of the Department of Education No. 16 of 2012, the following main languages were adopted within this framework: Tagalog, Kapampangan, Pangasinense, Iloko, Bicol, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Varai, Tausug, Magindanaon, Maranao and

¹ Executive Order No. 335, August 25, 1988, lawphil.net/executive/execord/eo1988/eo_335_1988.html (accessed 1 July 2024).

Chavacano. The following year, the department issued Order No. 28², which added Ybanag, Ivatan, Sambal, Akianon, Kinaray-a, Yakan and Suriqanon to the list. According to the pedagogical staff, teaching in local languages at primary schools gave immediate results: better students' academic performance [9], [6].

The main official languages, however, have remained English and Filipino, which were meant to be used at all levels of education, but the inspectors of the quality of education revealed a lot of problems in teaching in Filipino: the lack of qualified teachers, manuals and experience [7], [1], [4]. The slogan to "intellectualize" Filipino was then called for, and its realization took the form of different events like seminars and conferences to introduce and disseminate various methods of teaching in Filipino, callings to translate books into Filipino in order to raise the prestige of the language, and holding annual National Language Weeks. The whole period from 1988 to 1998 was announced "The Decade of the Century of Philippine Nationalism, the Nation and the Philippine Revolutionary movement" (Official Statement No. 269, 1988)³, in accordance with Francisco Baltasar, the creator of the literary Tagalog language. More than that, the national language was seen as an instrument for achieving true freedom (Memorandum No. 151 of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports dated July 13, 1988) [6], [23].

An important step in raising the status of Filipino was the adoption of the working description of the Filipino language on May 13, 1992, by the Resolution No. 92-1⁴, which runs as follows:

"It is an indigenous language, spoken and written, in Greater Manila, the State Capital Region, and other central cities of the archipelago, which is used as a means of communication between ethnic groups. Like any living language, Filipino is in the process of development through borrowing from Filipino and non-Filipino languages and through the development of various language variants for different social situations, among speakers with different social positions, for different topics of discussion and academic disciplines" [ibid., p. 711–712].

It was a necessary step to impart more weight and status to the language, but in reality about 3% of schools had not even started to implement the Filipino language, while 1,5% of schools had started doing it some years later [11], [12]; some teachers, students and administrators resisted the use of Filipino, preferring to teach all subjects in English as the language of prestige, power and international communication. Also, the situation in schools revealed the shortage of qualified specialists [20, p. 116–117].

The implementation of Filipino into all spheres of life was not as it was expected from the very beginning. In 2003, when a new president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo came to power, the policy of the government regarding the Filipino language started to change. The president announced the return to the English language as the primary language of instruction as all exams for aspiring specialists are held in English. It concerned civil service, law (licensing exams for practicing law were conducted in English), and entrance exams to public colleges for obtaining a bachelor's degree at the universities [24], [25]. Still, the struggle to implement and improve the quality of teaching in Filipino is going on and the University of the Philippines plays a big role in it [9].

The "intellectualization" of the Filipino language

Of special interest is the term "intellectualization" coined to denote the very process of ennobling the Filipino language, elevating its status and making it the language to study and speak not selectively but comprehensively, in different spheres of life. Cordero stressed the importance of solving this problem by translating popular literary texts from English into the local language. This process of intellectualization was based on the popularization of Filipino in the world. A lot of effort has been put into translating

² DO 28, S.2013 – Additional Guidelines to DEPED Order No. 16, 2012, deped.gov.ph/2013/07/05/do-28-s-2013-additional-guidelines-to-deped-order-no-16-s-2012-guidelines-on-the-implementation-of-the-mother-tongue-based-multilingual-education-mtb-mle/ (accessed 3 July 2024).

³ Proclamation No. 269, June 10, 1988, lawphil.net/executive/proc/proc1988/proc_269_1988.html (accessed 3 July 2024).

⁴ Policies on the use of the Filipino languages, rappler.com/newsbreak/iq/65938-policies-filipino-language/ (accessed 1 July 2024).

works from Filipino languages into English to make them popular in the world but the lack of governmental support hampered it since MTB-MLE (mother-tongue-based multilingual education) established an extensive practice of translating into regional languages didactic materials for teachers. Besides, the number of readers in Filipino languages was insufficient. They preferred to read books in English, the prestige of which was consistent and maintained by the government. Another important factor was the absence of official translation centers, as well as the lack of experienced speakers and qualified translators. The University of Santo Tomas (UST) is the only center dedicated to the study of translation [ibid.]. In order to make the establishment of translation centers in universities the norm, supporters of this innovative translation center consider it necessary to adopt a law regulating their institutionalization in Philippine universities. Translation centers required experienced speakers and qualified translators, as well as appropriate salaries or fees for this work. Interestingly, the attempts to “intellectualize” Filipino can really be seen as the concrete steps of how to form identity; all translation work is part and parcel of this process as it gives the population of the country equal access to education and knowledge, and unites the whole nation.

Languages of mass media in the Philippines

Linguistic kaleidoscope finds its reflection in mass media, in different forms and genres. Suffice it to look into the publishing materials, TV and radio programs [14].

a) Newspapers

Mass media in the Philippines include information newspapers, online newspapers, tabloids, and regional newspapers [15], [21]. According to the data found at Wikibrief⁵, information and business bulletins (broadsheets) are printed in English. They include national newspapers *Business Mirror*, *Business World*, *Malaya*, *Manila Bulletin*, *Manila Standard*, *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, *The Daily Tribune*, *The Manila Times*, *The Philippine Star*, and *United News*.

Among online daily newspapers – *Rappler*, *CNN Philippines*, *ABS-CBN News*, *Interaksyon*, *GMA News Online*, and *CDN Digital* – only *ABS-CBN News* is published in Filipino, all the rest are in English.

All the tabloids found in this list – *Abante*, *Abante Tonight*, *Bandera*, *Bulgar*, *Filipino Mirror*, *Pilipino Star Ngayon*, *X-Files*, and *Pinas* – are published in Tagalog; only two tabloids from this list are published in English: *People's Journal* and *Tempo*.

Speaking about regional and public tabloids mentioned in the list, some of them are in English (*Minda News*, *Mindanao Times*, *Mindanao Star*, and *Mindanao Examiner*) but most are published in both English and local languages: in Bikol (*The Bikol Chronicle*, *The Bikol Regional Weekly Digest*, and *The Mayon Times*); in Ilocano (*Isabela Star*, *La Union Herald*, *MLDC Valley Times*, *Northern Dispatch*, *Northern Light*, *Urduja Mirror*, and *Vigan Chronicle*); in Cebuano (*Banat*, *Bohol Times*, *Brigada News*, *Hublas nga Kamatuoran*, *The Reporter*, etc.). There are also tabloids in Tagalog (*Bikol Periodyko*, *Libre*, *Operation Exposé*, *Palawan Daily News*, and *Latigo Weekly Newspaper*); in Waray (*Eastern Visayan Examiner*, *Eastern Visayan Mail*, *Leyte-Samar Daily Express*, and *Samar News*); and in Hiligaynon (*Daily Guardian*).

The impressive linguistic variety of newspapers published in English, Tagalog and other local languages is expanded by newspapers printed in other foreign languages: Spanish (*Revista Filipina*, *Semanario de Filipinas*, *La Jornada Filipina*), in Mandarin Chinese (*Chinese Commercial News*, *Philippine Chinese Daily*, *United Daily News*, etc.), in Japanese (*Manila Shimbun*), and in Korean (*Ilyo Sinmun*, *Manila Seoul*, *News Gate*, *Weekly Manila*).

The adduced list of broadsheets and tabloids is a splendid manifestation of the linguistic kaleidoscope, which makes the Philippines a unique country [9].

⁵ List of newspapers in the Philippines, ru.wikibrief.org/wiki/List_of_newspapers_in_the_Philippines (accessed 2 July 2024).

Modern technological trends, however, find their reflection like in any other country. According to Sue Amurthalingam [2], broadcast media as one of the oldest technological means is becoming more pervasive, reaching the remotest rural areas of the country; on the other hand, it leads to some decline in the popularity of print publications.

b) Television

An even more kaleidoscopic language picture is found on television, due to the accessibility of programs in any language from any other country via the Internet. According to the Media Ownership Monitor Philippines 2023, in 2022 the Filipinos spent three hours and 28 minutes daily watching television. While nine out of ten had an access to or were exposed to TV, only six out of ten watched it, and five out of ten watch TV for news [15], [8], [26].

When ABS-CBN was shut down in 2020, its rival, GMT Network, got a control of over 225 other television stations (42,68%), and with its subsidiary station GTV (10,47%) received the lion's share of audience. According to the resource [3], there are 688 TV stations in the Philippines (as of June 2023), and the top TV outlets are GMA-7 (5,10%), TV5 (1,30%), GTV (1,00%), A2Z (0,70%), and Kapamilya Channel (0,40%). According to Nielson Consumer and Media View Report for the second quarter of 2023, while they all air news, a number of the top 10 outlets broadcast musical shows, drama or comedy programs, or movies [ibid.].

Filipino movies and TV shows demonstrate the country's linguistic diversity, broadcasting mostly in Tagalog, the prominent language of the Philippines, which reflects the Filipinos' identity, their emotions and storytelling. It translates the relationships of the people and celebrates the richness of the language. Cultural diversity is vividly displayed in "Ang Probinsyano", a TV drama series with the international title "Brothers", which features a mix of Tagalog, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon and explores the complexity of Filipino culture and identity. Movies and shows in local languages always create a connection with the people and translate solidarity and emotionality:

"Filipino language plays a crucial role in Philippine cinema, bringing to life the cultural diverse of cultural heritage on the big screen. Tagalog, in particular, enhances emotional depth and relatability by weaving cultural nuances into narratives. By incorporating authentic Filipino language and storytelling, movies promote heritage preservation and celebrate the country's identity" [21].

Movies and programs in Filipino, undoubtedly, promote local languages and raise interest and desire to learn them. It is a good channel for popularizing local culture and identity. However, Filipino movies, drama and comedy programs run also in English and Chinese.

c) Radio

Radio remains a significant source of information for the Philippines, especially for remote areas of the country. According to Media Landscape, which adduces the data of 2013, about two out of five Filipinos (41,4%) listen to the radio at least once a week. Radio reaches at least 85% of households, based on 2012 data (National Commission on Culture and Arts, cited by Communicating with Disaster-Affected Communities Networks) [22]. Because it is the most pervasive medium, hundreds of regional and community radio stations operate in the country reaching their consumers with the purpose to inform, to advertise, to discuss some issues and disseminate information. According to Isagani de Castro Jr., radio has changed a lot over the last ten years, "Radio today is far different from radio of yesteryears. It's now 'interactive radio', since many radio shows are also streamed on social media, in particular, Facebook, which allows listeners to interact with the show's host and post comments" [5].

Another proof of radio being alive and popular in the Philippines now is the following words by Isagani de Castro: "Radio hasn't died with the rise of streaming platforms and social media. A survey by polling firm Pulse Asia in September 2021 found that radio was still next to television in terms of how Filipinos got their news" [ibid.].

Of interest are the following data about radio listeners. The importance of radio for news is much higher among low-income people; also, ratings of radio are higher for those who live in Visayas (76%) and Mindanao (64%) compared to those in Metro Manila (29%) and rest of Luzon (40%). A more recent study by the Reuters Institute, University of Oxford, on the media situation in the Philippines, which compared traditional media with digital media, came to the conclusion that “TV and radio news remain important for those who are not online” [ibid.].

Reuters/Oxford Digital News report 2023 said 23% used GMA Network’s *24 Oras*, *Saksi*, and GTV to get their news, while 41% cited ABS-CBN’s *TV Patrol/NAC* and its Kapamilya channel on cable television.

GMA’s Super Radyo DZBB (Super Balita) got a reach of 13%, which shows that online and social media are more popular with urban Filipinos, while TV and radio, which are low-cost media of communication, remain popular with those who do not use the Internet [3].

As the study of mass media in the Philippines demonstrates, the Filipinos have a big range of media resources in order to get information or to entertain themselves by watching music programs, movies or drama or comedy shows. These are increasing in number with modern technologies, which gives people access to different sources in different languages [9]. All the resources testify to the fact that local languages are widely used in the country (in the newspapers, mainly tabloids, television and radio) along with Filipino and English, which are two official state languages.

As the study shows, English is popular in Manila, among teachers, and those working in business, state organization, and commerce where it is used as the working language. But everywhere in the Philippines two or more languages are used, which makes Filipino’s speech a mirror of both Asian and Western cultures, a bearer of their own cultural identity.

The identity of the Filipinos’ speech

The kaleidoscopic linguistic picture in the country could not but reveal itself in the speech of the Filipinos, which imprints all the national multiethnic uniqueness. The two state official languages come into contact and interplay influencing each other and creating a colorful mix of Western and Eastern civilizations. The Filipinos use both languages to a different degree of mastery. However, the ethnic peculiarity is manifested first of all in culturally specific lexis: words denoting plants, flora and fauna of the islands, such as *abaca* (a banana plant), *taclobo* (a mollusk), *tamarau* (a black buffalo); words of their every day activity: *barangay* (from Tagalog, a village), *despedida party* (from Spanish, a social event in honour of someone who is leaving), *pan de sal* (partly from Tagalog, partly from Spanish, a bread roll), a *sari-sari store* (from Tagalog and English, a small store selling a variety of goods), a *carnapper* (a car thief), *comfort room* (a toilet), *high blood* (angry), *presidentiable* (a candidate for president), *mani-pedi* (manicure and pedicure), and a lot of other words which are the result of the contact of two, three or even more languages in the Philippines.

Language contact is traced not only at the level of vocabulary but also at the level of grammar. The peculiarities of sentence constructions and tense usage in English remind me of Substandard English, where the rules of Simple or Perfect tenses usage are switched (“I have done it last week”), and where the continuous forms are misused or used instead of simple tenses (“She is driving to work every day”), or there are mistakes in using modal verbs (“would” instead of “will”). Modal verbs are, arguably, the most difficult aspect of English grammar and the indication of the English language mastery; that is why I would rather regard such mistakes in grammar as insufficient mastery of English. Being an official state language, English goes with Filipino and other Filipino languages, which explains a lot. The list of frequent mistakes also includes the articles, and the use of singular or plural forms with the verbs – a usual set of students’ mistakes when learning a second foreign language.

⁶ The words are borrowed from Introduction to Philippine English, oed.com/discover/introduction-to-philippine-english?tl=true (accessed 4 July 2024).

The phonetic side of Philippine speech has also some features to note: some sounds difficult for the Filipinos to articulate like “th” and “ch” are pronounced like [t], while [v] is always voiced into [b]. Abbreviation of words, and concatenation of the English words (like in the word “promdi” from the English “from the province”) is another peculiarity, among other features [17].

Another characteristic of Philippine speech is a switch from one language into another: from English into Tagalog. This is called Taglish, as in the examples below:

T: Kumain tayo sa Wendy's.

E: Let's eat at Wendy's.

T+E: **Eat tayo sa Wendy's.**

T: Pakitawag ang tsuper.

E: Please call the driver.

T+E: **Paki-call ang driver.**

T: Maaaring ipaunawa mo sa akin?

E: Can you explain it to me?

T+E: **Maaaring i-explain mo sa akin?**⁷

The adults disapprove of Taglish because it is too informal but for the young people it is a normal everyday communication form. There is also Cono (or Conyo) English, the language originated from the younger generation of rich Filipinos from Manila, which carries a negative connotation with regard to the people who speak it⁸. In *Urban Dictionary* we find the following definitions of Conyo English:

1) ...it means who speaks bilingual – English and Filipino. One who combines two languages in at least a single sentence. In Filipino perspective, one is a “conyo” when Filipino words are being liaised and pronounced like American English.

That guy is a conyo, he said, “Don't tapakan ang grass!”

Translation: Don't step on the grass / Keep off the grass.

(by PinoySlang, February 22, 2018)

2) ...used in the Philippines as a semi-derogatory term for people who seem to be high-class and vain or conscious about their social status and speak in Taglish or broken-Tagalog mixed with English.

3) Conyo is a term used in the Philippines to call other Filipinos who type messages/speak in a mix of Tagalog of English sentences. They do that because they think highly of themselves just because they can speak English, or they have forgotten the right Tagalog words to use. Conyo people will either have decent grammar or a really horrible one.

Hey, how are you po? My name is Juan, and gusto kita. Have you eaten na? Hehe, sorry po miss, I'm just a simpleng tao. There's no problema with being a conyo po. Sana po you won't disrespect me.

Translation: Hey, how are you? My name is Juan, and I like you. Have you eaten? Haha, sorry miss, I'm just a simple person. There's no problem with being a conyo. I hope you won't disrespect me.

(by aNythIngchicKKeInJOY, October 29, 2021)⁹

⁷ The examples are borrowed from Pulse of Asia, 1stopasia.com/blog/taglish-the-mastery-of-code-switching/ (accessed 3 July 2024).

⁸ English words used in Filipino: How much Taglish do you know?, filipinopod101.com/blog/2021/05/13/english-loanwords-in-filipino/ (accessed 3 July 2024).

⁹ All examples are taken from *Urban Dictionary*, urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=conyo (accessed 5 July 2024).

In the article “Conyo language: The practice of code-switching”¹⁰, John Steven C. Espenido remarks that the Filipinos have a very rich cultural and linguistic variety and it is natural for them to switch from one language to another. Usually they have a command of three languages: a mother tongue, Tagalog and English, which allows them to transit from one language to another depending on the context and their communication needs. Code-switching is influenced by social and psychological factors, by their feelings of convenience, emotionality, or by their collective identity. On the one hand, it reflects the diversity and colorfulness of Philippine culture; on the other hand, code-switching allows them to preserve native languages.

Conclusion

The material analyzed and presented in this paper suffices to demonstrate the multinational and multi-layered character of the population in the Philippines, which finds its reflection in the linguistic diversity of their speech translating their values, attitudes, and cultural identity. Native languages, studied in primary school (grades 1–3), are preserved and spoken in natural surroundings of the Filipinos, in the circles of their families and friends thus allowing them to share their identity, values and feelings of belongingness. English has remained an official state language, spoken on the highest levels of the social ladder, in state legal, governmental, educational and business institutions. Tagalog, or Filipino, is another official state language taught at schools, spoken at work and in different spheres of life. It is not on a par with English, as there was no equal footing for them to be used at schools and universities because of the deficiency in trained teachers and professional translators who could popularize and “intellectualize” it. However, what cannot be denied is that the Philippines, like any other country, could not avoid globalization processes (demonstrated by the role of the English language in the country) or, on the other hand, the localization process (best embodied in the mix of Tagalog and English in Taglish and in the coexistence of more than one hundred languages and variants). The two opposite processes are often called glocalization, a very promising field of sociolinguistic research, which should certainly be furthered.

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¹⁰ Conyo language: The practice of code-switching. Inquirer Net, 4 December 2023, opinion.inquirer.net/168714/conyo-language-the-practice-of-code-switching (accessed 5 July 2024).

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Language News across the World 2024

Prepared by Grigory Kazakov

Africa

A new South African education law has caused heated debates in this country. The law, signed by President Cyril Ramaphosa, allows regional officials to override school admissions and requires schools to offer instruction in multiple languages in order to combat racial exclusion. Some politicians and activists argue that it threatens Afrikaans-based education, while others associate this language with the legacy of apartheid. This debate highlights ongoing tensions related to language, education and racial inequalities in the complex history of South Africa (*The Guardian*, 15 September 2024).

Asia

The first volume of a new journal, *Geolinguistic Studies: Language Contact, Conflict, Development and Education*, saw the light in Japan¹. It was published by the American Society of Geolinguistics Publications in Tokyo and was devoted to the memory of Wayne Finke, former editor of *Geolinguistics* (New York), who passed away in 2023. The new journal is the successor of the series of volumes *Multilingual Perspectives in Geolinguistics* (2015), *Geolinguistic Studies in Language Contact, Conflict and Development* (2017–2018), *Recent Research in Geolinguistic Ethnography* (2018–2019), and others, edited by Hikaru Kitabayashi. Another journal that follows this tradition is *Journal of Himalayan Geolinguistics*, the first issue of which was published in Nepal in 2023.

Australia

Researchers from the Australian National University in Canberra analyzed the role of islands in language evolution. They pointed out that islands which comprise less than 1% of the inhabited land are home to one-sixth of the world's languages, and 10% are spoken only on islands. It is argued that islands stimulate language diversification, with fewer phonemes in island endemic languages as isolation increases (*Nature Ecology & Evolution*).

¹ *Geolinguistic Studies: Language Contact, Conflict, Development and Education*, vol. 1 (2024), sites.google.com/view/asgpjapan/home/asgp-e-journal/volume1_2024 (accessed 15 September 2024).

North America

A new study at Massachusetts Institute of Technology explored how different languages coexist in a polyglot's brain. Using functional magnetic resonance imaging, a group of researchers observed how the language network in the brain responds to stimuli in languages that a polyglot knows to varying degrees of proficiency. The study revealed that the higher the level of competence in a given language, the greater the polyglot's brain activation in response to this language, except for the native one. This study is a continuation of the previous project undertaken in 2021 (*Cerebral Cortex*, vol. 31, no. 1; vol. 34, no. 3).

* * *

Researchers from the University of Michigan looked into how new words spread across the country. They argue that cultural innovations, including vocabulary, are adopted regionally for two main reasons: identity and network. However, these factors play different roles in urban and in rural areas. The study showed that new words have a tendency to spread in cities when people imitate their friends, while in the countryside people use them to express a common identity. As a result, nationwide diffusion of innovative vocabulary requires the interaction of both factors (*njp Complexity*, 1).

Russia

A round table discussion on Polyglottery conducted as part of the conference on Language, Consciousness and Communication: Methodology and Humanities Practices took place in Moscow on April 6. The round table featured talks on language maintenance in multilinguals (Claudia Pellegrini), polyglottery in comparison with sport (Grigory Kazakov), polyglots' strategies in relation to ancient languages (Dina Nikulicheva), and the acquisition of new grammar constructions by polyglots (Yan Aleshkevich-Suslov). It also highlighted the lack of a unified terminology in the field of multilingualism, the focus on fundamental psychological factors in modern research on polyglottery, and the need to develop experimental methods for further study of this phenomenon.

South America

Ckunsá (Kunza), a language declared extinct decades ago, is experiencing a revival among the Lickantay people in Chile. Ilia Reyes Aymani, one of the last speakers, sings to preserve the language, which was traditionally spoken in the Atacama Desert area. In spite of being considered extinct since the 1950s, Ckunsá is now being reintroduced in schools and community meetings. Since 2017, Chilean schools with a significant indigenous student population are required to teach an indigenous language as part of their curriculum. Ckunsá language activists express determination and optimism about keeping their cultural heritage alive (NPR, 11 May 2024).

Western Europe

The world's second master's thesis on polyglottery was defended at Regensburg University of Applied Sciences in Germany. This was Olga Koeva's work *Language Competence and Access to Coping in New-cultural Environments among Polyglots*. The first MA thesis of this kind seems to have been Laia Herlevi's *Polyglot Identities: Cultural Negotiations, Linguistic Ties and Social Belongings of Avid Language Learners* (University of Helsinki, 2020). Both theses examine the socio-cultural aspects of polyglottery.