

ISSN 1997-1370 (Print)
ISSN 2313-6014 (Online)

**Журнал Сибирского
федерального университета
Гуманитарные науки**

**Journal of Siberian
Federal University
Humanities & Social Sciences**

2020 13 (3)

ISSN 1997-1370 (Print)
ISSN 2313-6014 (Online)

2020 13(3)

Издание индексируется Scopus (Elsevier), Российским индексом научного цитирования (НЭБ), представлено в международных и российских информационных базах: Ulrich's periodicals directory, EBSCO (США), Google Scholar, Index Copernicus, Eriplus, КиберЛенинке.

Включено в список Высшей аттестационной комиссии «Рецензируемые научные издания, входящие в международные реферативные базы данных и системы цитирования».

Все статьи находятся в открытом доступе (open access).

ЖУРНАЛ СИБИРСКОГО ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА Гуманитарные науки

JOURNAL OF SIBERIAN FEDERAL UNIVERSITY Humanities & Social Sciences

Журнал Сибирского федерального университета. Гуманитарные науки.
Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences.

Учредитель: Федеральное государственное автономное образовательное учреждение высшего образования «Сибирский федеральный университет» (СФУ)

Главный редактор Н.П. Копцева. Редактор С.В. Хазаржан. Корректор И.А. Вейсиг
Компьютерная верстка И.В. Гревцовой

№ 3. 30.03.2020. Индекс: 42326. Тираж: 1000 экз.

Свободная цена

Адрес редакции и издательства: 660041 г. Красноярск, пр. Свободный, 79, оф. 32-03

Отпечатано в типографии Издательства БИК СФУ
660041 г. Красноярск, пр. Свободный, 82а.

<http://journal.sfu-kras.ru>

Подписано в печать 24.03.2020. Формат 84x108/16. Усл. печ. л. 11,9.
Уч.-изд. л. 11,4. Бумага тип. Печать офсетная. Тираж 1000 экз. Заказ № 11237.

Возрастная маркировка в соответствии с Федеральным законом № 436-ФЗ: 16+

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Introduction: Current Trends in Linguistic Research

Presenting breakthrough ideas and approaches in linguistics, endeavouring to explain the facts about the language, and introducing new methods of language analysis to the wider scientific community have generally been the guiding principles for all linguistic issues of "Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences". This issue focuses on several key areas of modern language research and, therefore, invites the scholars to a constructive dialogue and open discussion on a wide range of theories and conceptions.

The papers on regional specifics are given a priority status. Many languages and geographical areas get their linguistic description for the first time. This might result in outlining the promising directions for further studies of numerous languages on the linguistic map of the world. The language situation which has been witnessing special attention of both the linguists and the experts from other areas of the humanities is that in modern Kurdistan, a multiethnic region of high migration with a complex language policy towards the languages of thousands of displaced people (Rizgar M. Amin, Oksana V. Magirovskaya). Ethnographic description of the conditions of the sign language functioning on the territory of Krasnoyarsk Krai is also a new aspect of regional linguistic research. As an autonomous language system used as the only means of communication by a large and constantly increasing number of people of different ages, sign language requires a comprehensive analysis and development of new theoretical approaches to its institutionalization (Liudmila V. Kulikova, Sofya A. Shatokhina). Chinese is an equally important language for the analysis. A group of researchers give their precise attention to Chinese academic discourse. They identify the specifics of communicative restrictions in formal and informal academic communication,

the restrictions being determined by the principle of "saving the face" as a dominant principle of Chinese ideology (Natalia G. Burmakina, Iuliia I. Detinko, Irina G. Nagibina, Iana V. Popova). Reference to ancient historical contexts ensures continuous research on languages and cultures and provides for the scientific reflection on key concepts transformation through a course of the evolution of mankind. Thus, the interpretation of a tree-cross mythologeme in the old English tradition shows the evolutionary semiotic row, which represents both Christian and pagan symbolism as two ideas about the world and the way it is organized (Sergei G. Proskurin, Anna V. Proskurina).

No less important are the papers on the area of translation studies. By bringing them together, the issue aims to highlight the importance of research in this field of linguistic knowledge, especially in the light of extensive work being done by the experts of Siberian Federal University on the development and implementation of the Russian standard for translators and interpreters. Some of them also put emphasis on the regional specifics of the Eurasian space: Yakut and Buryat texts are chosen as databases for analyzing a polycultural focus in translating them as well as for justifying an interactive model that helps to overcome minor, yet culturally and linguistically specific, imperfections in the Russian translations (Irina S. Alexeeva, Albina V. Boyarkina); associations of the Russian and Buryat bi- and polylingual students are explored to reveal the difference in modes of cognizing and thinking in the two cultures involved in translation as well as to introduce and reinforce the importance of modeling the translating process (Polina P. Dashinimaeva, Larisa M. Orbodoeva, Vera B. Sambueva); Russian and Spanish serve the language combination to outline a teaching approach for the development of communica-

tive and textual sub-expertise of specialized texts in the fields of science and technology (Enrique F. Quero Gervilla, Inmaculada S. Garcia). Other papers give a systemic view on translation as a cognitive event involving a specific mental interaction of the representatives of different cultures: the authors introduce the algorithm of designing an associative thesaurus referred to cognitive signs of lexical marking as a major investigation tool of political discourse analysis and as the foundation for the original creative model of translation performance and didactics (Irina V. Ubozhenko), describe interactivity models of simultaneous interpreters as cognitive event actors (Elena V. Chistova).

The conception of any linguistic issue necessarily implies a discussion of the latest ideas and approaches to various facts about the language in terms of their properties, functions, and mechanisms that can be successfully integrated into the world practice of scientific research. New experimental studies based on computer technologies as a main processing tool aim at a higher degree of descriptive refinement of language and deeper elaboration of existing theories. The current issue gives detailed consideration to the hypothesis relating to the word order in the attributive group of a certain

type (healthy nourishing food vs nourishing healthy food) and experimentally verifies it through Google and Yandex searching (Olga A. Suleimanova, Inna M. Petrova); discusses the role of the age factor in the readers' comprehension of stylistically heterogeneous text fragments containing figurative noun groups of salient and non-salient character and studies the salience effects on eye movement and default responses in the oculographic experiment (Maria I. Kiose). A scientific debate might be also initiated by the papers on new approaches to various language phenomena: cognitive bases of stative formatting of knowledge about the world are revealed in the line of Cognitive Linguistics (Anna V. Pavlova), the method of determinantal analysis of language systems is actualized within a framework of modern scientific paradigms that results in interpretation of the traditional morphological classification of languages through the concept of inner determinants (Olga I. Valentinova, Mikhail A. Rybakov).

The Editorial Board expresses deep gratitude to all the authors for their valuable contribution to the issue and expects that the suggested approaches will fundamentally enrich a wide range of views on language and favour their further development.

Issue Editors

Liudmila V. Kulikova
Oksana V. Magirovskaya

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0555
УДК 81'272

Ethnic Language Use as a Symbol of Keeping the Nation's Culture and Traditions (the Case of the Displaced Peoples' Languages in the Kurdistan Region)

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Received 20.01.2020, received in revised form 01.02.2020, accepted 04.03.2020

Abstract. The research focuses on the role of ethnic language in keeping culture and traditions of the displaced people who fled to the Kurdistan region of Iraq due to the threats on their lives. It aims at exploring the use of the displaced people's ethnic language in different occasions in daily activities and the ways it determines the language maintenance and, consequently, favors the displaced peoples' culture and traditions. It is shown that family, religion, media, emotional and psychological sphere of a human's life are the domains which can be considered the most effective ones, as ethnic language keeps its dominance there. The novelty of the research is clear due to the vast research interest to such a high migrated region with a changing political situation as Kurdistan. The conducted sociolinguistic analysis of the language situation in this region is the first among its linguistic studies and serves a basis for further research work.

Keywords: Kurdistan, high migrated region, displaced people, ethnic language use, ethnic culture and traditions.

Research area: philology.

Citation: Ameen, R.M., Magirovskaya, O.V. (2020). Ethnic language use as a symbol of keeping the nation's culture and traditions (the case of the displaced peoples' languages in the Kurdistan Region). J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 286-295. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0555.

Introduction

Keeping culture and traditions has always been the subject matter to concern. The issue is especially vital for high migrated regions with daily situations of language contacts, Kurdistan being one of them on the map of the world.

The displaced people have been settling in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq since 2003. They can be viewed as one of those ethnic groups who preserve their culture and traditions through using their ethnic language in different domains. The displaced people are from different nations. Most of them are Arabs; there are also Turkmen and Assyrians. They are mostly from Mosul governorate on the border of Turkey and the Kurdistan region; some of them are from the central and northern part of the country. Their stay for years has left no chance for them to have a contact with the Kurdish language, since in a contact situation like migration one ethnic group comes into contact with another, the host society often exerting cultural influence on the immigrant group (Weinreich, 1953).

Still, the Kurds also have a chance to share their culture and traditions with the host society. This takes place when the natives get in contact with the displaced people and, consequently, with the Kurdish language, which is a Western Iranian language with two major dialects (Sorani and Kurmanji). Due to this challenge the situation in the Kurdistan region is worth being analyzed from a sociolinguistic point of view. This aspect of linguistic knowledge can provide a thorough description of the linguistic situation in the regions of multiple language contact and analyze the linguistic outcomes (language maintenance or language shift) of such contact and their effect (positive or negative) on the displaced people's culture and traditions.

Language maintenance as a factor to keep culture and traditions

Language maintenance is a situation in which a language maintains its vitality, even under pressure (Batibo, 2005). It implies, therefore, that the degree of resistance is strong enough to contain any pressure that may be coming from a dominant language.

In a situation of language maintenance, the domains of mother tongue remain largely the same and transmission of the language to the children is active and as perfect as possible (Batibo, 2005). Moreover, the number of speakers remains relatively stable and they maintain a strong allegiance to their language.

The term of the language maintenance is defined differently by the scholars. For Ferguson it is "the preservation of the use of a language by a speech community under conditions where there is a possibility of shift to another language" (Ferguson, Heath, 1981: 530). Hoffman and Cais define the language maintenance as the national ideal of a cultural 'melting pot', because they mostly regard their countries with a constant influx of immigrants going hand in hand with stressing a shift toward the common language of the new country (Hoffman, Cais 1984). For some scholars, language maintenance refers to the situation where speech community continues to use its traditional language in the face of a host of conditions that might foster a shift to another language. Veltman is one of these scholars. He argues that "language maintenance is the practice of speaking one's mother tongue throughout one's lifetime as the only language in daily use" (Veltman, 1991: 147). Yet, for Paulston the term is much more important. He states that language maintenance can be seen as a social resource by ethnic groups in competition for access to goods and services of a nation, and that language loyalty is not a natural phenomenon but a deliberately chosen strategy for group survival (Paulston C.B., Paulston R.G., 1980). Fasold defines language maintenance as "the long term collective result of language choice" (Fasold, 1984: 212). Moreover, the scholar claims that language maintenance occurs when the members of a given community decide to keep on using the language that their ancestors traditionally used (Fasold, 1984: 213).

There are different factors which may help people maintain their ethnic language. Fillmore states that there are internal and external factors that lead to the loss of the native language (Fillmore, 2000). The internal force for this choice is the preference for social acceptance and conformity to the dominant group

as well as the necessity to communicate with those members. On the other hand, the external pressure comes from the sociopolitical reason when the society opposes differences, divergence, and aliens.

Classifying the factors is a bit different for Weinreich who gives more details when he mentions that there is a relationship between ethnic languages and extra-linguistic factors like cultural, psychological, social and historical processes as well as non-linguistic factors like geographic areas, religion, race, sex, age, social status, occupation, all the factors leading to creating linguistic divisions between mother-tongue groups (Weinreich, 1953). According to his investigations, "some ethnic groups stick to their mother language because of the emotional involvement with it, as one learned it in childhood or because of the role of language as a symbol of group integrity" (Weinreich, 1953: 90).

Dorian discusses many other factors that lead to language maintenance. These are age and the use of language in a specific domain which have a great effect in maintaining the language and even in its transition to the next generation (Dorian, 1981).

The influence of the above factors is not the same in maintaining the languages. Factors like family, parents, and grandparents have greater role than others. Fillmore mentions that there is a role for family to play in minority children's first language maintenance. Parents have to be encouraged to find time to talk with their children, read to them (if this is a practice in the culture of the home), and teach them things that interest educated members of their group. Families that come from cultures with a rich oral tradition will have many stories and histories to share with the children. Teachers need to encourage them to use these materials and to regard them as equal to written materials that other families might use with their children at home (Fillmore, 2000). Clyne explains the importance of grandparents in the mother tongue maintenance. The home domain and particularly relations with older relatives who do not speak the national language well is one of the situations that elicit the use of the community language (Clyne, 1982).

Thus, language maintenance can be seen as the situation when the community members keep maintaining their ethnic language through using it in different domains because they regard it as a symbol of their culture and traditions.

Design and Methodology

The research aims at presenting the role of the displaced people's ethnic language use in keeping their culture and traditions in the Kurdistan region of Iraq and at identifying the prospects for the functioning of the minority's languages in this territory in the future.

The design applied in our research is interactive: multiple data gathering procedures were employed for the current purposes. To achieve the objectives of the research a sociolinguistic questionnaire was designed, community profile technique was used, and informal interviews were held.

The community profile is considered the main method of gathering information about the displaced people in the territory of the Kurdistan region of Iraq. It contains historical and sociolinguistic data relevant for the analysis of the language situation. These data are covered by the facts about 80 respondents who were purposively selected from different areas of the region. The demographic background information about the participants' general background includes the data about gender, age, ethnicity, marital status, residency, level of education, length of stay in Kurdistan, and the extent of language use.

The interviews were conducted with eight members of the community out of total 80. The questions were developed following the method used in several previous studies, i.e. Dweik (2000) and Al-Refa'i (2013). These questions covered historical and demographic data, occupational distribution, education, ethnicity, associations, residential composition, and communication peculiarities.

The questionnaire was composed specifically to meet the needs of our research, and namely to investigate the role of ethnic language use in keeping the displaced people's culture and traditions. It consisted of five parts and relied on similar previous question-

naires designed by the researchers who studied many ethnic minorities in different places in the world (Fishman, 1966; Dweik, 2000; Tuwakham, 2005; Nofal, 2011; Habtoor, 2012; et al.). Yet, it was adapted and modified by changing the items to suit the community under the research. Our questionnaire is characterized by (1) prescribed wording and order of questions to ensure that each respondent receives the same stimuli, (2) prescribed definitions or explanations for each question to ensure the interviewers handle questions consistently and can answer the respondents' requests for clarification if they occur, and (3) prescribed response format to enable rapid completion of the questionnaire during the interviewing process. The questionnaire was validated and tested before it was administered to a sample of participants from the displaced people in the Kurdistan region.

Analysis of the impact of ethnic language use on keeping culture and traditions of the displaced people in the Kurdistan region is one of the main goals of our research. For this purpose the following questions were suggested to the respondents:

- What language do you use to talk to your spouse, parents, brothers/sisters and grandparents?
- What language do you use in the neighborhood with your neighbours, acquaintances, and friends?
- What language do you use at school, at work, to greet people, to worship?

– What language do you prefer to follow the media?

– What language do you use to express your emotions?

Findings

The analysis results (see Table 1) show that home domain is still the key one for the ethnic language use, since it is not going to survive unless it is transmitted in home. Thus, the majority of the respondents (from 63% to 81%) need their ethnic language to talk to their spouse, parents, children, brothers/sisters and grandparents in their native language. They also prefer speaking it (but not Kurdish) when they keep in touch with family members during phone calls and various meetings.

We claim that using ethnic language at home and among family members means a lot for the displaced people, since they see it as a reason to maintain and keep their native language from death and to preserve their national identity as well. The results also prove the grandparents' great role in language maintenance as this generation often speak only the mother tongue and not the language(s) of the host society (65 respondents out of 80 confirm that they speak mostly or only their native language with their grandparents).

Concerning the language used in the neighbourhood, the participants' Kurdish language use is more frequent compared to the cases of the ethnic language use in communication with the family members and relatives.

Table 1. Language use at home and among the family members

<i>What language do you speak with</i>	<i>only Kurdish</i>	<i>mostly Kurdish</i>	<i>Kurdish and ethnic</i>	<i>mostly ethnic</i>	<i>only ethnic</i>	<i>total</i>
your spouse?	8	5	14	9	44	80
your parents?	5	5	15	9	46	80
your children?	6	5	12	9	48	80
your brothers / sisters?	6	5	17	7	45	80
your grandparents?	5	4	6	15	50	80
at family meetings?	5	3	14	8	50	80
family members during phone calls?	5	6	18	4	47	80
your relatives during phone calls?	4	6	18	6	46	80
your relatives when meeting them?	6	5	14	6	49	80

The results (see Table 2) show that 51.25% of the respondents use their ethnic language when they go outside their home territory, 12.5% of them use both languages and 36.25% use the Kurdish language. 41-45% of them use ethnic with their acquaintances and friends in the neighborhood, in weddings and social occasions, while 16-21% use both languages and 37-39% use the Kurdish language that is twice bigger than the correspondent figure for the cases of communication with the family members. This seems natural and it logically relates to the fact that the need to use the host language outdoors is greater and, thus, the ethnic language has a lesser chance to be maintained.

The analyzed situations demonstrate that Kurdish and ethnic languages are used by the displaced people when they talk with their friends and people in the neighborhood and when they talk with their colleagues and bosses. They use Kurdish due to mixing with other people from other minorities who do not know their ethnic language. This all means that language change is inevitable one day and for some people the language required for securing a job is more important than the maintenance of the mother tongue.

Due to the fact that the school programmes are mostly in Kurdish and teachers and running staff are Kurdish speakers the participants

have less chance to practice their native language (see Table 3). Using ethnic language is in a lesser degree and using mixed languages is, consequently, in a higher degree compared to the work domain. According to the results, 42-46% of the participants use ethnic language when they talk with their classmates, teachers and school running staff, 17-25% use both languages whereas 36-43% use the Kurdish language, the figures of the Kurdish language use increasing for the cases of communication with the school running staff.

When it comes to greeting new people in the street or introducing themselves to new people just two-fifths of the respondents use their ethnic language, about one fourth of them use mix language (Kurdish and ethnic) and around one third use only Kurdish (see Table 4).

Compared to the previous domains, the sphere of interpersonal communication during the first contacts with new people (greetings and introducing oneself) shows the lowest rate of the ethnic language use. It may be related to the fact that the introduction words are the most repeated words daily. Moreover, they are easier to get as they are rather short and clear.

Ethnic language use reaches its highest degree in the situations of pray (see Table 5). This is due to the fact that the majority of the partic-

Table 2. Language use in the neighborhood

<i>What language do you use in the neighborhood with</i>	<i>only Kurdish</i>	<i>mostly Kurdish</i>	<i>Kurdish and ethnic</i>	<i>mostly ethnic</i>	<i>only ethnic</i>	<i>total</i>
your neighbors?	13	16	10	7	34	80
your acquaintances?	15	15	17	4	29	80
your friends in the neighbourhood?	16	15	13	3	33	80
your friends in weddings and social occasions?	17	14	14	4	31	80

Table 3. Language use at educational institutions

<i>What language do you use at school, university, language courses with</i>	<i>only Kurdish</i>	<i>mostly Kurdish</i>	<i>Kurdish and ethnic</i>	<i>mostly ethnic</i>	<i>only ethnic</i>	<i>total</i>
your classmates?	16	13	17	2	32	80
your teachers?	13	16	14	4	33	80
school staff?	11	14	20	3	32	80

Table 4. Language use in the communicative acts of greeting and meeting new people

<i>What language do you use to</i>	<i>only Kurdish</i>	<i>mostly Kurdish</i>	<i>Kurdish and ethnic</i>	<i>mostly ethnic</i>	<i>only ethnic</i>	<i>total</i>
greet people in the street?	17	12	18	3	30	80
introduce yourself to new people?	18	10	20	4	28	80

Table 5. Language use in the place of worship

<i>What language do you use</i>	<i>only Kurdish</i>	<i>mostly Kurdish</i>	<i>Kurdish and ethnic</i>	<i>mostly ethnic</i>	<i>only ethnic</i>	<i>total</i>
when you invoke / pray?	-	-	3	9	68	80
when you speak with your fellow worshippers?	9	9	13	9	40	80
to read religious advice?	-	-	7	8	65	80
to talk to Imam?	8	8	15	8	41	80

Table 6. Language and media

<i>What language do you prefer to</i>	<i>only Kurdish</i>	<i>mostly Kurdish</i>	<i>Kurdish and ethnic</i>	<i>mostly ethnic</i>	<i>only ethnic</i>	<i>total</i>
listen to the radio?	8	9	15	9	39	80
watch news channels?	9	11	16	9	35	80
watch entertainment programmes?	10	10	11	8	41	80
read newspapers?	10	7	16	7	40	80
use social sites?	11	6	14	9	40	80

ipants are Arabs and Arabic is the language of Quran and worship not for the Arabs only but for all Muslims around the world, too. So, the obtained results show that the majority (96.25% of the participants) use ethnic language when they pray, 91.25% – when they read religious advice, 61.25% – when they speak with their fellow worshippers, and 61.25% – when they talk to Imam.

The results mentioned above in Table 5 prove that the role of religion in language maintenance can be a strong and important mechanism. The classical religious texts are also of significance here as they successfully maintain the intergenerational language maintenance and transmission.

The media is also the sphere which contributes to language maintenance (see Table 6). According to the results, more than a half of the participants prefer using their ethnic language

while listening to the radio, watching news and entertainment channels, reading newspapers and using social sites, whereas only about one-fifth of them use both languages.

Due to the fact that the media in the Kurdistan region are not for the Kurds only, other ethnic groups have their own media. That is the reason why the displaced people of the region have a chance to enjoy listening and watching programmes in their ethnic language. The results show that the ethnic language is still their choice. In the situation like this the media positively affects the status and the prestige of the ethnic language.

Personal sphere is also viewed as an indicator of the ethnic language maintenance. The analysis of the results (see Table 7) show that three-fifths of the participants (55-64%) use their ethnic languages to have dreams or when they get angry, anxious, confused,

Table 7. Language use and emotional self-expressions

<i>What language do you use</i>	<i>only Kurdish</i>	<i>mostly Kurdish</i>	<i>Kurdish and ethnic</i>	<i>mostly ethnic</i>	<i>only ethnic</i>	<i>total</i>
in your dreams?	12	8	16	8	36	80
when you are angry, anxious, confused or embarrassed?	10	8	14	8	40	80
to show your happiness?	10	5	14	13	38	80

embarrassed or showing their happiness whereas only one-fourth of them (19-25%) use Kurdish.

Such results are mainly due to the fact that emotions and feelings are personal and psychological issues, they deserve to be expressed in a language that is the most intimate to a human. The results we have obtained prove that the ethnic language is still the language of emotional and psychological life of the displaced people. Thus, it serves a good basis for the nation's culture and traditions.

Discussion

The use of language among the displaced people in the Kurdistan region is different in various domains. In some domains such as family, religious issues, emotional self-expressions and media ethnic language is still more preferable. In neighborhood, education, conducting business, greeting people and talking to governmental officials both languages (Kurdish and ethnic) are in circulation.

For the displaced people family is still a very strong domain to keep and maintain their ethnic language. This matches Clyne's conception that language is not going to survive another generation unless it is transmitted in the home, within the family (Clyne, 2003; Clyne, 2005). In the family domain the use of the ethnic language is in a higher degree when the other generations talk to their grandparents. This shows the grandparents' significant role in maintaining the ethnic language and agrees with Holmes' study of various communities in New Zealand. The scholar revealed that grandparents and older parents in the Greek community are very often monolingual and younger people have to translate for these older people,

especially in the situations where the older people are, for example, shop owners (Holmes et al., 1993).

Religious issues are also very vital. The majority of the displaced people in Kurdistan use their ethnic language while praying and being the participants of the religious ceremonies. This result matches with Baker's point of view about the role of religion in language maintenance. The scholar argues that religion can be a strong and important vehicle for the maintenance of a majority and a minority language. The use of classical Arabic in Islam, Hebrew in Judaism, and German among the Protestant Old Order Amish in Pennsylvania illustrates that religion can be a preserver of the language (Baker, 2011). Fishman also reports that classical religious texts such as the Quranic Arabic, Prayer book and Old Testament have successfully maintained intergenerational language maintenance and transmission (Fishman, 1991).

Ethnic language for emotional self-expression and media also more preferable for more than a half of the displaced people in Kurdistan. This situation matches Weinreich's observation that some ethnic groups stick to their mother language because of the emotional involvement with it, as one learned it in childhood or because of the role of language as a symbol of group integrity (Weinreich, 1953). Baker (2011), Cormack (2007), Namei (2012), Pauwels (2005) et al., in their turn, put the media in the focus of their attention and, thus, argue that media can be one of the important institutional support factors that are needed for the language maintenance.

The signs of language shift are seen in the situations of interpersonal daily contacts which are inevitable in the territories of diverse popu-

lation. The areas of such contacts are neighborhood, education, conducting business, greeting people, talking to governmental officials etc. This can be seen as the partial language shift and agrees with Fishman's conception which runs that the ethnic language is replaced only in certain areas of interaction and "a new pattern of inter-generational continuity is then stabilized" (Fishman, 1989: 178).

Conclusion

Ethnic language which is still much more preferred among the majority of the displaced people in the Kurdistan region at the most important domains of the humans' lives can be viewed as a strong proof of the displaced people's strive for their national identity and cultural unity. Attitude of the displaced people towards using their ethnic language is still high. According to the results of our research, about three-fifth of them see their ethnic lan-

guage as a symbol of keeping their culture and traditions.

At the same time they do not hide the value of the Kurdish language for having a better future for themselves and their children in the region. This fact seems very important and serves a significant characteristic feature of the language situation in Kurdistan. Thus, the displaced people use Kurdish when they talk to their friends in the neighborhood, communicate with their teachers and their friends at school and university as well as when they meet new people, speak with government officials, in shopping or at work.

What makes the language situation in the Kurdistan region peculiar is the use of both languages (the ethnic language and Kurdish) in the media domain. The displaced people's choice is still with the ethnic language. Yet, their tolerance and interest in Kurdish might serve a good platform for the dialogue of different cultures.

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Этнический язык как символ сохранения культуры и традиций (на примере языковой ситуации вынужденных переселенцев на территории Курдистана)

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Аннотация. В статье рассматривается роль этнического языка в сохранении культуры и традиций большой группы вынужденных переселенцев, бежавших в Иракский Курдистан из-за угрозы их жизни на родной территории проживания. Результаты социолингвистического анализа позволяют выявить области повседневной жизни и деятельности, которые во многом обуславливают сохранение этнического языка и, следовательно, благоприятствуют развитию этнической культуры и традиций. Наиболее эффективными выступают семья, религия, средства массовой информации и эмоционально-психологическая сторона проявления личности. Новизна исследования во многом определяется выбором региона исследования – территории Курдистана – как региона высокой миграции, который является областью интереса многих научных направлений в силу актуальности происходящих политических событий. Социолингвистический анализ языковой ситуации в данном регионе проводится впервые.

Ключевые слова: Курдистан, регион высокой миграции, вынужденные переселенцы, использование этнического языка, этническая культура и традиции.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0565
УДК 16.21.27

Sociocultural and Linguistic Contexts of the Russian Sign Language Functioning in Krasnoyarsk Krai

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Received 21.02.2020, received in revised form 25.02.2020, accepted 06.03.2020

Abstract. The article contains an ethnographic description of the conditions governing the use of the regional sign language in Krasnoyarsk Krai within the modern sociolinguistic context. The subject of the discussion is the problem of the linguistic design of sign languages in general, including some features of Russian Sign Language. The study provides statistical information and legal norms for the use of this iconic communication system. A study of the current state of Russian Sign Language functioning in Krasnoyarsk Krai allows us to talk about a change in the status of this sign language, an increasing interest in issues related to its applied significance, and reinforces the need to develop new theoretical approaches to its institutionalization.

Keywords: Russian Sign Language, fingerspelling, regional variants, Krasnoyarsk krai, language policy.

This research is supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFBR), Grant No. 20-012-00321 “Regional sign languages: multimodal electronic corpus (the case of the communicative space of Eastern Siberia)”.

Research area: linguistics.

Citation: Kulikova, L.V., Shatokhina, S.A. (2020). Sociocultural and linguistic contexts of the Russian Sign Language functioning in Krasnoyarsk Krai. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 296-303. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0565.

Introduction

According to the World Health Organization, there are approximately 366 million people with disabling hearing loss in the world. These people represent 5% of the world's population. In the Russian Federation, 14.6 million people suffer from hearing loss of one degree or another, which makes up 10% of the country's population. Among them, 220 thousands are officially registered as hearing impaired. According to the data of the Social Welfare Authorities of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the number of people with hearing disabilities reaches approximately 3,000. It is impossible to establish the exact number of deaf people, since statistics do not take into account the cases of obtaining the status of a disabled person as a result of other concomitant diseases. For a long time, sign languages used by the deaf as a means of communication were not qualified as full-fledged sign systems with the level organization not differing from spoken languages. According to ethnologue.com website, there are 144 living sign languages in the world, but it is also noted that this number is not accurate. Sign languages are practically not associated with spoken languages and develop naturally which distinguishes them from sign articulation. The linguistic investigation into sign languages began with a study of the sublexic structure of American Sign Language published by W. Stokoe (Stokoe, 1960) in 1960, and since then various linguistic descriptions, sociolinguistic studies, and comparisons on this topic there have appeared. American Sign Language tends to be the most studied at the moment, but the sign languages of other countries are also the subject of numerous studies (Zeshan, 2006; Johnston, Schrembri, 2007; Lim Jia Ying, 2016). In Russia, sign language studies are closely connected with the works of G.L. Zaitseva (Zaitseva, 2000). She was the first to describe Russian Sign Language as a complex communicative system. In addition, she emphasized the importance of using sign language in teaching the deaf and insisted on the need for bilingual education with the mandatory use of Russian Sign Language.

Sign languages are sign systems in which information is encoded using hands, facial

expressions, eyes, head and body positions. Thus, manual and non-manual signs are distinguished in linguistics of sign languages. Manual signs are performed with the help of hands and represent the most frequent type of signs. These can be one-handed or two-handed. Non-manual signs are performed with the help of the body, head and facial muscles. In addition, there are combined signs that merge manual and non-manual types. Studies describe a sign as a significant semantic unit with the specific structural organization. By analogy with phonemes in spoken languages, the American scientist W. Stokoe identified three main components of the sign: configuration, spatial position and movement (Stokoe, 1960). Later additional parameters, such as orientation (Battison, 1978) and non-manual markers (Valli, Lucas, 2000), were added. Even in the first works on the linguistics of sign languages, it was noted that sign languages have a complex morphology. Further studies showed that a specific feature of the morphological structure of sign languages is their simultaneous nature. Morphemes of a word are simultaneously superimposed on each other but not connected to each other, though this is quite common in spoken languages. Generalizations began to appear after empirical data was accumulated. Firstly, it was found out that such simultaneity is a characteristic of all sign languages. Grammatical categories encoded by many of these morphological structures, as well as the form they take, turned out to be very similar in different sign languages. In addition, some sign languages demonstrate constructions with sequential morphological processes. The most productive morphological tools in sign languages are reduplication, sign modification, compounding, and incorporation of numerals. Affixation is the least productive one (Valli, Lucas, 2000: 56).

It is important to distinguish Russian Sign Language from Signed Russian. The latter translates spoken Russian into signs, following the word order of spoken Russian, and is not a separate natural linguistic system. In addition to copying grammatical aspects, Signed Russian also uses artificially created gestures along with the signs of Russian Sign Language

(Zaitseva, 2000). There is no grammatical gender in Russian Sign Language; however, the biological sex is encoded. Signs representing words related to males are performed in the upper part of the face, mainly in the forehead, while those related to females – in the lower part of the face. There are various ways of expressing the number: performing a one-handed sign with two hands; multiple (according to the number of referents) performance of a gesture; joining after a nominal sign such signs as MNOGO ('many') or RAZNIJ ('different'). Tense in Russian Sign Language is expressed analytically by attaching signs BYLO ('was'), BUDET ('will'), or VCHERA ('yesterday'), ZAVTRA ('tomorrow') to the verb. Perfective aspect is also expressed analytically by adding such signs as ZAKONCHENO ('finished'), GOTOVO ('ready'). Verb signs can undergo various aspectual changes (Grenoble, 1992).

For a long time, sign languages developed in isolation, and there is all likelihood to believe that their variability was extremely high. Often the deaf had little opportunity to communicate and develop a stable version of sign language through constant communication that would be fixed as the main variant within a certain territory. A key factor in the formation of sign languages was the emergence of specialized schools, where the deaf and hard-of-hearing people got the opportunity to communicate. The existence of sign language families confirms this statement and demonstrates a strong correlation between similarity of the basic vocabulary of the languages and geography of distribution of specialized educational institutions for the deaf, which were founded by the graduates of the first schools. The history of Nicaraguan Sign Language formation is particularly representative. The existence of this sign language was not recorded until the first schools for the deaf and hard-of-hearing were founded in the 70s. The students of those schools created a full-fledged natural Nicaraguan Sign Language over the course of several decades (Senghas, Coppola, 2001: 324). In addition, an important factor in the development of any sign language is the level of state support, since official recognition of sign language allows deaf and hard-of-hearing people

to receive sign language services and claim an opportunity of learning in their native sign language. In Russia, sign language "is recognized as the language of communication in the presence of hearing and (or) speech impairment, including in the areas of oral use of the state language of the Russian Federation. A subtitling or sign language translation system for television programs, films and videos is being introduced. Translation of Russian Sign Language (sign language, tactile sign language translation) is carried out by interpreters of Russian Sign Language (sign language interpreter, tactile interpreter) with appropriate education and qualifications. The procedure for providing the services of translation of Russian Sign Language (sign language, tactile sign language) is determined by the Government of the Russian Federation", namely in accordance with Federal Law No. 296 "On Amendments to Articles 14 and 19 of Federal Law "On Social Protection of Persons with Disabilities in the Russian Federation" as of December 30, 2012. Earlier, Russian Sign Language was recognized as a means of interpersonal communication.

Russian Sign Language is distributed in the Russian Federation and the CIS countries and, according to the latest census, is native to 220 thousand people. The first school for the deaf and hard-of-hearing children was opened in Pavlovsk in 1806. Over the next decades, several more similar educational institutions were founded. Due to the significant territorial remoteness and absence of an established literary norm, numerous variants of Russian Sign Language have arisen since then. The identity of the functioning and the formation of these options is determined by sociolinguistic factors. The purpose of this article is to describe the historical and sociolinguistic contexts of the development and functioning of Russian Sign Language in Krasnoyarsk Krai. All the data for the research was obtained in archives. Methods of interviewing and questioning teachers, educators and sign teachers, as well as ethnographic and statistical methods were used.

Empirical evidence

Krasnoyarsk Krai is the second largest region of the Russian Federation which is locat-

ed mainly within Eastern Siberia. At present, there are three boarding schools for the deaf and hard-of-hearing children in Krasnoyarsk Krai: Krasnoyarsk School No. 9, Minusinsk Boarding School and Achinsk Boarding School No. 1. The first school for children with hearing impairments was opened in Krasnoyarsk in 1922 when Krasnoyarsk Krai did not exist yet, as this territory was part of the Yenisei Province. At that time this school was headed by Prokopii Paleev who was a graduate of the Petrograd School for the Deaf-mute. He set up classes at the Krasnoyarsk Shoe Factory in 1920, where he began to teach literacy and bootmaking to deaf and hard-of-hearing children (Dobrovolskaia, 2019: 75). Minusinsk Boarding School was founded in 1932 by Anastasia N. Schegoleva, who was the mother of three deaf children. In the same year, Achinsk School was founded. According to the tradition of those times, there were small farms in the territories of schools and training included not only the formation of speaking and speech understanding skills but also the development of practical skills, for example, bootmaking. For many years the oral method of teaching involving the rejection of sign language dominated. Based on the information received from teachers of boarding schools for the deaf and hard-of-hearing children, the situation changed only in the 2000s. The 90s became a transitional period. At that time, the use of signs during training was neither encouraged, nor prohibited. Currently, almost 100% of teachers speak sign language to one degree or another and use it as an intermediary language in situations when it is necessary to explain a specialized term or concept that students know little about.

Nowadays, the number of students in boarding schools is 320 people, and approximately 20% of them are students with cochlear implants. All classes in boarding schools are equipped with electro-acoustic hardware for collective and individual use. Individual, musical and rhythmic lessons, lessons in special acoustic classrooms are provided in addition to general disciplines. On average, there are six students in each class. Currently, specialized training is undergoing a transitional period and is being transformed due to the adoption of new

Federal Law “On Education”, which involves the introduction of inclusive education. Parents of children with hearing impairments have an opportunity to choose whether to send the child to an inclusive school or to a specialized one. In the Krasnoyarsk Territory, article 12 of Law No. 6-2519 “On Education in the Krasnoyarsk Territory” as of June 26, 2014, as amended on October 31, 2019, determines the organization of education for students with disabilities as follows:

1. Organizations are carrying out educational activities in Krasnoyarsk Krai according to the adapted basic general education programs for the deaf, hard-of-hearing, blind, visually impaired, with severe speech impairment, with disorders of the musculoskeletal system, with mental retardation, with autism spectrum disorders, with complex defects, and students with other limited health opportunities.

2. When receiving education in the regional state and municipal educational organizations, students with disabilities are provided with free special textbooks and teaching aids, other educational literature, as well as sign language interpreters and tactile language interpreters.

3. In Krasnoyarsk Krai conditions are being created for people with disabilities to receive a generally accessible and free preschool, primary general, basic general, secondary general education and secondary vocational education. The necessary conditions are created for people with disabilities to receive education in organizations engaged in educational activities for the implementation of basic educational programs, as well as in individual organizations engaged in educational activities based on adapted basic educational programs. Providing that it is impossible to train children with disabilities in basic general education programs in organizations engaged in educational activities, this training can be organized at home or in medical organizations, with the consent of parents (legal representatives) received.

However, almost all children with hearing impairment who were sent to a comprehensive school returned to specialized schools within six months. This tendency can be explained

by the fact that it is not possible to provide a sign language interpreter for each child, and their successful integration depends on the socio-psychological status and development of speech, literacy and the degree of deafness.

Deaf literacy is closely related to the level of proficiency in Russian Sign Language. An undoubted priority of specialized boarding schools in Krasnoyarsk Krai is to prepare children for the full integration into society. At the same time sign language is the native one for the majority of students and they learn spoken Russian as a foreign language. There are frequent cases when parents of deaf and hard-of-hearing children do not speak sign language and have to turn to the teacher as an interpreter. Children living in boarding schools do not want to leave for the holidays, feeling isolated from the usual communicative environment when they are at home. Some parents have expressed concern that their children use sign language and try to limit it, which is especially true for children with cochlear implants. The quality of education for the deaf depends on the level of sign language proficiency, and it should be noted that sign language is mentioned neither in state educational standards nor in laws on education.

Preschool education begins at the age of three and is aimed at the development of auditory perception and pronunciation training, as well as the development of speech. Articulation, finger, breathing exercises, training in phonetic rhythm, playing techniques in the production and automation of sounds are applied. All children learn fingerspelling, a peculiar form of communication where each letter is transmitted by certain positions of the fingers of one (one-handed dactylology) or both hands (two-handed dactylology). Through these movements of hands following each other in a specific order any word can be composed. The principle of visualization is used in teaching. Currently, the bilingual approach in teaching deaf children of Krasnoyarsk Krai is recognized as the most effective in the formation of children's personality. On the other hand, sign language is given a secondary role, since signs are used only if the child does not understand the oral or oral-tactile message. There is

a significant imbalance in sign language proficiency, since children from deaf families at the time of admission to kindergarten already know some sign language, while children from hearing families use natural pantomimic movements when communicating. Children with cochlear implants are most often taught in a separate group, and in this case sign language is not used, or have extra individual lessons. The recognition of sign language importance is proved by the existence of groups engaged in sign singing in all three boarding schools for deaf and hard-of-hearing children. Schoolchildren translate song lyrics into sign language, conveying the emotional component through the plasticity of their hands, facial expressions and position of the body.

It is a well-known fact that the lexical component of sign language is very variable because children in the process of communication tend to come up with new signs. Even within the same city, sign language variants may depend on the age of the participants in the speech act. There was a case when an elderly woman with hearing impairment who speaks sign language came to the Boarding School in Minusinsk, but the students understood her with difficulty. What is more, the so-called 'home signs', which are used in families with hereditary deafness, also affect the sign language variability. The existence of these variants is also confirmed by interpreters of Russian Sign Language of the Krasnoyarsk Technical School of Social Technologies since deaf and hearing-impaired people from the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Republic of Tyva, the Republic of Khakassia, Buriatia and Novosibirsk study there (Gubich, Kirillova, 2017: 80).

Within Krasnoyarsk Krai, the regional branch of the Russian Deaf Community coordinates the activities of eight local branches, those located in Achinsk, Nazarovo, Kansk, Krasnoyarsk, Norilsk, Lesosibirsk, Minusinsk, Uzhur, and Uiar. The regional branch interacts with state and public organizations of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. In addition, regional offices provide sign language interpreters and organize cultural and other rehabilitation activities. Since 2013, the dispatch service has been operating on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk regional

branch of the Russian Deaf Community. Sign language interpreters regularly receive many messages from deaf people via Skype. These messages are mainly related to the transfer of information to various government agencies.

Conclusion

Russian Sign Language plays an important role in the life of the deaf and hard-of-hearing, being the mother tongue of thousands of people. For a long time, Russian Sign Language had an unofficial status. It was not recognized as a full-fledged means of communication and its importance in the formation of mental skills and identity of the deaf was ignored. In the Krasnoyarsk Territory there are three boarding schools for deaf and hard-of-hearing children with a long history, and, regardless of the attitude of teachers and authorities to the sign language, the language lived and developed. At present, the use of the sign language in schools is not subject to a strict ban but is also not being introduced as a compulsory component of the educational process. Often the situation is regulated individually, as some hearing parents insist that their children do not use sign language, while deaf parents sometimes do not recognize the value of speaking skills. The trend towards inclusion in education suggests that the system should take into account the characteristics and needs of each child and provide the necessary teaching aids. At the same time, the ultimate goal of teaching hearing impaired people is their successful integration into society. Such dualism raises questions about whether to use sign language in the educational process and

whether this will cause children to lose their motivation to learn oral and written speech. Back to 1931, the famous Soviet scientist L.S. Vygotskii wrote: "The struggle of spoken language with sign language, despite all the good intentions of teachers, as a rule, always ends with victory for sign language. This happens not because sign language is, from a psychological point of view, a true speech of the deaf-mute, not because it is easier, as many teachers say, but because it is genuine speech in all the richness of its functional significance. In its turn, the artificially grafted oral pronunciation of words is devoid of vital wealth and is only a dead cast from live speech. We must use all the possibilities of the speech activity of a deaf-mute child, not being disrespectful to sign language and not treating it as an enemy. We should understand that different forms of speech can serve not only as competitors for each other and mutually inhibit development one another but also as steps by which a deaf-mute child goes back to mastering speech" (Vygotskii, 2003: 226).

The current state of Russian Sign Language functioning in Krasnoyarsk Krai allows us to talk about a change in the status of sign language. There is an increasing interest in issues related to its applied significance and a need to develop new theoretical approaches to its institutionalization. The authors' further studies aims at identifying linguistic features of regional variants of the sign language of Eastern Siberia and developing a beta-version of the electronic corpus of sign languages of the second largest region of Russia.

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Социокультурный и лингвистический контексты функционирования русского жестового языка в Красноярском крае

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Аннотация. В статье предлагается этнографическое описание условий функционирования регионального жестового языка на территории Красноярского края в современном социолингвистическом контексте. Обсуждается проблема лингвистического оформления жестовых языков в целом, в том числе некоторые особенности русского жестового языка. Приводятся статистические сведения и правовые нормы использования данной знаковой системы коммуникации в рамках исследуемого пространства. Изучение современного состояния функционирования русского жестового языка в Красноярском крае позволяет говорить об изменении статуса жестового языка и возрастающем интересе к вопросам, связанным с его прикладной значимостью и необходимостью выработки новых теоретических подходов к его институализации.

Ключевые слова: русский жестовый язык, дактилирование, региональные варианты, Красноярский край, языковая политика.

Публикация подготовлена при поддержке Российского фонда фундаментальных исследований (РФФИ): проект № 20-012-00321 «Региональные жестовые языки: мультимодальный электронный корпус (на материале коммуникативного пространства Восточной Сибири)».

Научная специальность: 10.02.00 – языкознание.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0558
УДК 81-2

Communicative Restrictions in Chinese Academic Discourse

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Received 22.01.2020, received in revised form 01.02.2020, accepted 04.03.2020

Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of communicative restrictions (taboo) in the academic space of the People's Republic of China. Taboo in Chinese linguistic culture is based on the dominant principle of Chinese ideology – the principle of “saving of face” (face-saving), which allows people to effectively build harmonious relations in the academic community. The aim of the study is to identify the specifics of communicative restrictions in formal and informal academic communication within the framework of asymmetric, unequal, relations (“teacher – student”, “research supervisor – student”) and symmetrical, equal, relations (“teacher – teacher”, “student – student”). With the help of ethnographic, descriptive, and contextual analysis methods, the authors identify and present seven most relevant topics of taboo functioning in the process of formal and informal academic interaction. The results of the study can be used in theoretical and practical courses on communicative linguistics, discursive linguistics and discourse analysis, pragmalinguistics and intercultural communication. In addition, the work may be useful in developing cross-cultural trainings in the framework of interaction with China on academic mobility programs.

Keywords: Chinese academic discourse, communicative restrictions (taboo), principle of “saving of face” (face-saving), taboo topics.

Research area: linguistics.

Citation: Burmakina, N.G., Detinko, Iu.I., Nagibina, I.G., Popova, I.V. (2020). Communicative restrictions in Chinese academic discourse. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 304-315. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0558.

Introduction

The discursive construction of harmony is one of the dominant features of Chinese communicative style. Maintaining social harmony in the society is a part of language policy in the People's Republic of China (Wang, Juffermanx, Du, 2015: 300). Communicative restrictions and refusal to explicate certain meanings represent a discursive practice of establishing and maintaining harmonious relations in the society.

Over the past few decades, Chinese society has undergone significant changes in building relations between people, due to greater openness of culture and more frequent contacts with Western ideologies. Many topics that were considered closed in previous years are now openly discussed and they even become the subject of scientific research, for example, the intimate relationship of the youth (Blair, Scott, 2019). However, in the areas where there is a need to "declare a standpoint at issue unallowed or indisputable", Chinese culture still uses "strategic maneuvering", which allows using various techniques to evade a direct answer without breaking the taboo (Wu, 2019: 489, 490). The main idea of effective building of harmonious relations in Chinese linguistic culture is the principle of "saving of face". This article focuses on the specifics of academic interaction and taboo topics, based on this principle, which exist in Chinese academic discourse.

Theoretical framework and statement of the problem

In almost every culture, there are situations where explication of the verbal and semantic content of a statement is undesirable, unacceptable, forbidden for those who communicate. This causes the appearance of communicative restrictions (taboos) in the discourse. Most researchers equate taboos with prohibitions, what is forbidden and what should be avoided, believing that observance of taboos is mandatory for all members of the society, and their violation leads to public censure.

Taboo has been studied in the works by Russian and foreign researchers, such as Zh.Zh. Varbot (Varbot, 1979), A.M. Katsev

(Katsev, 1988), V.B. Kashkin and E.M. Smolentseva (Kashkin, Smolentseva, 2005), M.L. Kovshova (Kovshova, 2007), I.S. Kon (Kon, 2016), K. Malgozhata (Malgozhata, 2003), E.A. Melikova (Melikova, 2005), N.B. Mechkovskaia (Mechkovskaia, 1998), O.A. Ruter (Ruter, 2007), I. A. Sadykova (Sadykova, 2003), J.G. Frazer (Frazer, 1983), L.V. Tsurikova and L.I. Grishaeva (Tsurikova, Grishaeva, 2005), C. Balle (Balle, 1990), R. Dahrendorf (Dahrendorf, 1961), S. Ganguin and U. Sander (Ganguin, Sander, 2006), R. Keller (Keller, 1987), A. Musolff (Musolff, 1987), R. Rada (Rada, 2001), H. Schröder (Schröder, 2003), M. Lin and P. Zhou (Lin, Zhou, 2014) and others.

A number of scholars distinguish between the concepts of taboo and prohibition, explaining the difference by internal motivation, attachment to moral and ethical considerations of the first and external motivation of the latter, (cf.: Schröder, 1995: 19; Musolff, 1987: 17). In other words, a taboo is not a prohibition from outside, it is an internal need to avoid something for some reason (Keller, 1987).

In linguistic literature, taboos are considered within the framework of the existence of forbidden and undesirable for discussion topics in some culture (Gazizov, 2011) or in the aspect of changes in tabooing norms in relation to different types of culture and different types of discourse (Tul'nova, 2010).

Although the semantic core of the concept of taboo in different interpretations contains approximately the same meanings (restriction or complete prohibition), there is no single understanding of this term. At the same time, researchers note the bright cultural specificity of the taboo, which determines the taboo topics, the degree of tabooing, the choice of language, communication tools to express the corresponding meanings; and emphasize the extreme complexity and topicality, as well as the internal inconsistency and versatility of this phenomenon. From the point of view of functioning, taboo is a cultural, social, and linguistic phenomenon; from the point of view of origin and motivation, it is a psychological phenomenon always limited by time and space. "The modern taboo includes its own process-

ing as a moment of its existence. In this case, in the modern era, we can talk not about the disappearance of taboos in the act of processing, but about the constant updating of taboos in this very process ... Taboo does not disappear, but constantly works changing its semantic features” (Tsurikova, Grishaeva, 2005: 287). These conclusions explain the need to study the phenomenon of taboos in different areas of communication.

In this work, taboo is considered as a communicative phenomenon, which reflects the need to avoid certain expressions and topics, language nominations and non-verbal signs in a particular discursive situation, due to the pragmatic motivation of the communicator, taking into account the generally accepted language and conventional prohibitions, norms, traditions, values in the communicator’s linguistic and cultural community and regulations (Popova, Kulikova, 2019).

Such a necessity for the representatives of Chinese linguistic culture is the principle of “saving of face” which is the essence of Chinese discourse and defines social and normative behavior of any person. As T.V. Ivchenko notes, face in Chinese culture is something obvious and tangible, but at the same time elusive and omnipresent (Ivchenko, 2014).

Face constitutes the Chinese daily social interaction and discourse and is perceived by the representatives of the Chinese culture a priori (Wang, Zheng, 2013). In the Chinese language “face” is represented by the signs 脸, 面子, 脸面, 表面, 情面, 形象, 印象, 外表. Their unifying semantic core is “social status”, “conformity of a person to the norms of social behavior”, “external side reflecting this conformity”:

有面子 / have the honour; save/gain face;

爱面子 / be sensitive about one’s reputation; be keen on face-saving; be concerned about one’s face-saving;

给脸 / face-saving offer; be nice/considerate to others;

死要面子或受罪 / try to save one’s face despite great cost to oneself;

失面 / lose face; be humiliated;

给面子 / show deference or praise publicly; show due respect for sb.’s feelings;

死不要脸 / be dead to shame; be devoid of shame; extremely shameless; lose all sense of shame;

真丢脸 / lose face; be disgraced; bring shame (disgrace) on oneself;

丢人 / lose face; be disgraced;

不留情面 / be very strict; disregard other’s face or feelings;

厚脸皮和撕破脸 / brazen; shameless; impudent; cheek; thick-skinned;

人要脸, 树要皮 / face is as important to man as the bark is to the tree;

不看僧面看佛面 / not for the monk’s sake, but for the Buddha’s – (do sth. for a person) out of deference to sb. else; do sth. out of consideration for sb. else;

打肿脸充胖子 / slap one’s face until it’s swollen in an effort to look imposing; do sth. beyond one’s means in order to be impressive; puff oneself up at (to) one’s own cost; try to satisfy one’s vanity when one cannot really afford to do so;

面孔 / face; prestige;

笑面虎 / a man with a big smile and evil intentions; smiling tiger – an outwardly kind but inwardly cruel person; a wicked person with a hypocritical smile; be a wolf at heart but innocent in appearance;

面目 / appearance; face; features; self-respect;

体面 / face; dignity; honourable; respectable;

面皮 / feelings; sensitivity;

颜面 / prestige; face;

面貌 / face; features;

装门面 / put up a front; maintain an outward show; keep up appearances;

青面獠牙和八面威风 / a long-toothed man with a livid face; one’s face was blue and one’s teeth stuck far out; terrifying in appearance; with a green face and ferocious fangs; with a green face and jagged teeth like a saw; (devils) with hideous blue-black faces, showing their teeth.

The concept of “face” goes back to the ethical and political tradition of Confucianism and is perceived by the native speakers of the Chinese language and culture as a dogma, an immutable rule of behavior in general, and an accurately formulated rules of communicative behavior in particular.

Emphasizing the importance of the concept of “face” in Chinese communication, A.H. Smith compared this principle with the “golden key”, which will open the secret doors of the Chinese behavior (Smith, 1894). The Chinese concept of “face” is translated into English by the lexical unit “face”, in the Russian version we use the nomination “litso” (face). In non-Chinese versions, “face” is literally a reputation, a name, i.e. public opinion about the merits or demerits of someone. However, Chinese researchers agree that the signs 脸 and 面 have a broader meaning than their non-Chinese versions (Huang, 1991; Hou, Zhu, 2002; Guo, 2003; Gao, 2005; Wang, Zheng, 2013).

Chinese writer X. Lu points out that the loss of face is behavior that breaks the framework of accepted regulation of human’s actions (Lu, 1973: 130). At the same time, the writer and philosopher Y. Lin in his work “The Chinese” (中国人), which describes Chinese culture in correlation with European, considers the meaning of “face” for the Chinese. He identifies three “deities” that rule Chinese nation, namely: “face” (面子), “fate” (命运) and “virtue” (恩惠), the main of which he considers “face”. According to Y. Lin, “one cannot wash it [face] and one should not treat it with neglect, it is abstract and elusive” (Lin, 1994: 199). Face is a “cultural and communicative phenomenon of Chinese discourse that requires special attention and courtesy” (Nagibina, 2017: 108).

Thus, the emergence of communicative restrictions in Chinese linguistic culture is determined, as a rule, by the desire of its speakers to save face. The need to adhere to this principle in the process of interpersonal interaction is due to the ideas about values, about the conformity of a member of the society to the norms of behavior in this society, social status and the distribution of roles in different communicative contexts, in particular in academic discourse.

In this study, the authors understand the term “academic discourse” after L.V. Kulikova as “a normatively organized speech interaction with both linguistic and extralinguistic plans, using a certain system of professionally oriented signs, taking into account the status

characteristics of the main participants in communication (scientists as researchers and/or teachers, as well as students in the university education), interpreted as a culturally marked communication system” (Kulikova, 2009: 222). Academic discourse is considered as the whole set of communicative phenomena in the framework of interaction within scientific and pedagogical areas.

The development of linguistic interaction in all types of Chinese discourse, including academic discourse, is carried out in accordance with the dominant principle of “harmony”/中和, which is achieved by observing “hierarchical solidarity”. The beginning of this solidarity is enshrined in the classical Chinese expression 尊长爱幼 (“respect the elders, love the younger ones”) (Nagibina, 2017: 131), the postulate of proper communication in Chinese family. Since for the Chinese, the educational institution is a kind of “family hearth” (大学 就像 个 大家庭 一样), the principles of family speech interaction operate within its walls. In Chinese academic discourse, the concepts of “senior” and “junior” include not only age characteristics, but also gender and status relations. Chinese academic community is a strict projection of the social structure of China, functioning according to generally accepted restrictions of Confucian ethics and morality.

Material and methods

The research is based on the fragments of Chinese academic discourse in the situations of interaction in which the participants occupy different positions in the hierarchy of university communication. In particular, we analyzed official and unofficial professional communication among teachers, researchers and students in the educational and scientific academic communities.

In this study, we considered communication between students and teachers who are in asymmetrical, unequal, relations, where one partner has a higher, more important, primary position, and the other is subordinate, secondary, lower. In this light, we identified the following communication pairs: “teacher – student”, “research supervisor – student”.

In terms of symmetrical relations, i.e. relations based on equality, we identified the following communication pairs: “teacher – teacher”, “student – student”. It should be mentioned here that relations of the participants in both pairs are graded according to the degree of their intimacy: acquaintances (认识的人), people who know each other well enough (熟人), close friends (闺蜜 or 死党).

Using the ethnographic method of internal and external observation, we collected the situations of natural communication in Chinese academic environment, representing the implementation of the taboo, as well as some cases of taboo breaking (a total of 230 discursive fragments were analyzed). To interpret the language and communicative behavior and to characterize the taboo topics, a descriptive method and a contextual analysis method were used.

Results and discussion

As a result of the study, we identified the main taboo topics of official and unofficial professional communication in educational and research institutions of the People's Republic of China, determined by the linguistic and conventional restrictions, norms, traditions, values and regulations generally accepted in Chinese culture.

1. Direct explication of one's own scientific opinion

Communicative restrictions in Chinese official academic discourse are manifested in the ways of explicating one's own scientific ideas, innovative approaches and methodology that are not considered traditional for the university scientific school, go beyond its framework, and even more, contradict it.

This convention is tacit, but strictly enforced by all parties of communication. In the written and oral modes of academic discourse, even when expressing one's own conclusions, they invariably refer to specific “unshakable” authorities and authoritative works in each specific field:

– 根据XX所说, ……。 / According to the XX source, ...

– 按照马克思经济理论/说法的基石, ……。 / According to Marx's economic theory/doctrine, ...

– 在他的著作中曾说过: “引文”。所以我们认为…… / In his book it was said: “quotation”. So, we think....

In all discourse-forming genres of academic communication, Chinese scholars prefer to use quotes from literary works or from the works of great philosophers, rather than directly express their own opinions and conclusions.

The presented observation of restrictions in expressing one's own position in Chinese academic discourse is confirmed in the works of Chinese researcher R. Ping, who notes a tendency to duplicate previously created works and repeat the colleagues' scientific results (Ping, 2012: 153).

2. Critical assessment of the academic achievements of those who participate in scientific and educational activities

In academic discourse, when a student is criticized by a teacher because of his lack of respect for learning and poor results, as a rule, the teacher's speech is performed in the presence of other students. However, a Chinese teacher will first point out the achievements of a criticized person (if they are absent, he will emphasize the positive personal qualities), and then delicately assess the student's actions. Moreover, in terms of quantity, the first part of the statement will be much larger than the part containing the condemnation. According to many foreigners with experience of studying in Chinese universities, the Chinese teachers' speech evokes a greater sense of guilt and awkwardness compared to the teachers' speech in their own culture, which is focused on the explicitness of critical statements. Such speech, therefore, only harms face (损脸面), damages the reputation, but does not completely destroy it, so that the person who is criticized can escape loss of face (丢脸面).

3. Love relationship

This topic is normal for communication in the communication pairs “teacher – teacher”, “student – student”, who are in the status of close friends. Mentioning the topic of love

relationship in other communication pairs contains a threat to face of the interlocutor. This technique is used in case of intentional creation of a face-threatening potential:

- 你有对象吗? / Do you have a partner?
- 你有男/女朋友吗? / Do you have a boyfriend/girlfriend?
- 你和你对象怎么样了? / How are you and your boyfriend/girlfriend?
- 你对象把你照顾得很好啊。 / Your boyfriend/girlfriend takes care of you very well.
- 脸色怎么差, 被你对象甩了? / You look so bad, did your boyfriend/girlfriend abandon you?

– 成绩怎么差, 光顾着谈恋爱了? / Your academic results are so bad, you are not interested in anything except your romantic relationship.

In unequal relations, there is usually no addressee's verbal reaction to such statements: the silence of the addressee in Chinese linguistic culture can be interpreted as a desire to save one's own face (爱脸面, 要脸面) and recognition of the speaker's authority.

In symmetrical relations, rhetoric of this kind is interpreted as a way to harm face of the interlocutor (损脸面), while the addressee feels free to turn on the protective mechanism and to break the taboo on the topics that damage the addressee's reputation.

4. Personal life of a teacher

in the WeChat mobile communication system

It should be noted that this multifunctional program is positioned by the Chinese as a universal application “for all occasions”, with more than 900 million audience. In China, almost every smartphone owner uses WeChat, since it is not only a classic messenger, but also the system, including a mobile wallet, a built-in browser, an online store, etc. Publishing information about personal life is an unspoken taboo for university teachers and staff. This fact is due to the mechanism of face-saving and the desire to avoid potential self-discreditation.

X. Wang and other scholars point out that maintaining order in the virtual sphere is an urgent task for the Chinese state to construct and preserve language harmony in society (Wang, Juffermanx, Du, 2016: 309).

For these reasons, social media pages usually contain information related to professional activities, public holidays, cultural traditions as well as neutral interests and hobbies (Fig. 1).

5. Financial situation

and psychological situation

in the student's family

According to the Chinese conventional prohibitions, the problem of the unfavorable



Fig. 1. WeChat profiles of the Chinese professors

financial situation and psychological situation in the student's family is a topic that is not customary touched in communication within the pairs "teacher – student" and "student – student" being in the relations of acquaintances or people who know each other well enough.

In order to intentionally create a face-threatening potential, the participants of both communication pairs can violate the forbidden and stigmatized topic of financial support for the interlocutor:

– 家里这么穷, 还用这么好的衣服/手机/电脑? 你好意思吗? 你哪来的钱? / Your family is so poor, but your clothes/cell phone/computer is so good? Aren't you ashamed of yourself? Where did you get the money?

The topic of parents' divorce and incomplete family is undesirable and unacceptable in Chinese language culture. For this reason, its mentioning and discussion leads to the addressee's loss of face:

– 有娘生, 没娘养的。 / They gave birth to you, and there was no one to bring you up.

– 有人生, 没人教育。 / They gave birth to you, and there was no one to mentor you.

If the student's parents are divorced because of the use of domestic violence by one of the parties, then, in order to reduce the authority of the student himself, expressions that evoke negative associations in the communicant can be used:

– 你也有家暴倾向。 / You have a penchant for domestic violence too.

In the process of our observation, we also met the statements from the teacher as a way of collective pressure, addressed generally to the audience, without a specific nomination, while each of the participants in the communicative event understands to whom they are addressed and for whom they specifically represent a threat to the cultural and communicative self-sufficiency:

– 单亲家庭的孩子心里都不健全。 / The child's mental health in single parent families is bad.

Due to the fact that in such a communication pair the student is in the position of a subordinate, the only possible reaction of the implied addressee is silence, the absence of reverse verbal and nonverbal aggression.

6. Expensive and prestigious acquisitions, leisure time and gifts from the close people

The need to avoid this topic is primarily dictated by the Chinese social convention "wealth should not be visible" (财不露白), the archetype of which is an exhortation from the Chinese alphabet of the Ming dynasty, a collection of instructions for children: 客不离货, 财不露白。谗言不可听, 听之祸殃结。兄弟听之别, 朋友听之疏, 亲戚听之绝。 / Your own things cannot be trusted to casual travelers; wealth cannot be demonstrated in order to avoid theft; you cannot listen to slander: slander between brothers leads to disagreement, slander between friends leads to alienation, slander between relatives leads to a breakdown.

In modern Chinese discourse, in addition to the desire to avoid an envious attitude to new expensive items, a person respecting a taboo is also guided by the desire to save face of an interlocutor who does not possess similar material values and acquisitions.

Nevertheless, in the unofficial academic discourse in the communication pairs "teacher – teacher" and "student – student" being in the relations of acquaintances or knowing each other well enough, the taboo on this topic is often broken. In the first situation, breaking taboo is carried out by the owner of material value:

– 我老公昨天买了一台大奔。 / My husband has bought a Mercedes.

– 是吗? 花了不少钱吧? 贷款几年啊? / Really? It must cost too much! How many years will you pay off the loan?

In the second situation, breaking taboo is carried out by the communicant who does not have an expensive acquisition, and the interlocutor either minimizes the money invested in the purchase or seeks to unleash a communicative conflict, verbally expressing aggression, indicating a high material wealth of the interlocutor:

– 听说你老公昨天买了一台大奔。 / They say that your husband has bought a Mercedes.

– 全款买的! / It is bought on credit.

– 贷款买的! 谁像你家啊! / It was bought on credit. We are not you to buy in cash!

7. *Criticism of the university, its administration*

It is a culturally common taboo to express criticism of one's own university and its internal routine which is considered the strongest of all the conventional norms within Chinese academic community and, as a consequence, Chinese academic discourse. W.Y.W. Lo notes the strict hierarchy in Chinese scientific and educational space and the tendency to ignore the individual academic interests of its members (Lo, 2016: 35).

The university and its administration are perceived as their own family by all its research and teaching staff, students and technical staff (Cheung, Cheung, Hue, 2017). In this case, the university and its system have unshakable authority and authoritarianism (崇尚 权威), and their veneration, in turn, is one of the options for implementing the ancient principle of regulating ethical norms of social behavior, such as "devotion (service) to parents, norms (principle) of filial piety" (孝道).

The absence of criticisms and taboos on such communicative actions is also cemented by the Chinese nationalism as a unifying people ideology and preservation of the country's sovereignty through natural development, achievable through the strengthening of military and scientific potential.

One of the authors of this article being a lecturer at the Chinese university was a member of a group chat of Chinese teachers of Russian as a foreign language. Due to the fact that several colleagues from Russia were also teachers of linguistic disciplines, communication was carried out both in Russian and in Chinese, but according to strict standards of Chinese linguistic and cultural space. We witnessed the following message exchange in Russian, initiated by a Russian teacher:

– I don't understand why we are not participating in the competition organized by Guangdong University of Foreign Languages and Foreign Trade. We have always participated ... and stopped this year!

It should be noted that other teachers, including the head of the department, left this statement without reaction. Nevertheless, after two hours, the same Russian teacher again

made an attempt to draw attention to his question and get a response from potential interlocutors:

– My Russian colleagues and their students from other universities in China are constantly organizing open events. Life is in full swing ... And we have some kind of calm life, nothing is being done.

In response, a Chinese colleague sent a single comment:

– This is the university's decision.

A day later, the head of the department, the moderator of the group chat, acting within the boundaries of his own cultural and discursive space as a continuum of the flow of social experience and national traditions, excluded the Russian teacher who broke the taboo and tried to criticize the university's actions as an authoritative institution from the group chat.

The attempts by this teacher to clarify the reasons for his exclusion during personal communication were simply ignored, that is, there was no verbal and non-verbal reaction from the recipients. The ultimate, resulting reaction to the communicative event, interpreted as "assault on face" (让 丢脸 面), was the refusal to renew the work contract with this Russian teacher. At the same time, the reasons for the refusal were also not verbalized, and the management arranged the registration procedure in such a way that the teacher was unable to comply with the deadlines for submitting the documents.

Another example of violation of the conventional norms of Chinese academic discourse, which had a large public scale, was found at one of the largest universities in China, the country's oldest university. It happened on the eve of the Mid-Autumn Festival connected with admiring the full moon, treating each other with "mooncakes" and burning the incense in honor of Chang-e, the mythical resident of the Moon. The "provocateurs" of the loss of face by the administration of the educational institution were its students who exchanged comments on the quality of the gingerbread donated by the university to each of the students. We consider it important to note that this holiday is traditionally celebrated by the whole family, and the semantics of the "circle of the

family” is observed in sharing gingerbread cookies with everyone:

– 学校送的月饼真难吃。 / The university mooncakes taste really bad.

– 学校送的月饼真硬。 / The university mooncakes are really stale.

– 学校送的月饼和诺基亚差不多了。 / The university mooncakes are like Nokia.

These verbal evaluations were widely publicized in the Chinese media and attracted great public attention, which forced the university rector to make a public statement about the beginning of an internal check of the reasons for the unsatisfactory quality of confectionery products and to make a personal apology for what happened.

Conclusion

Thus, the functioning of communicative restrictions in the encoding and decoding information in Chinese academic discourse of official and unofficial formats is implemented by the principle of “saving of face” (脸面) as the main constituent of communication. Taboo

topics in Chinese academic communication are the following:

1) direct explication of one’s own scientific opinion;

2) critical assessment of the academic achievements of those who participate in scientific and educational activities;

3) love relationship;

4) personal life of a teacher in the WeChat mobile communication system;

5) financial situation and psychological situation in the student’s family;

6) expensive and prestigious acquisitions, leisure time and gifts from the close people;

7) criticism of the university, its administration.

The functioning of communicative restrictions is determined by the distribution of communicative roles within a specific communicative situation. Taboo, the refusal to explicate certain meanings within the above-mentioned topics, contributes to the establishment and maintenance of harmonious relations in the context of academic discourse in China.

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Коммуникативные ограничения в китайском академическом дискурсе

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена функционированию коммуникативных ограничений (табу) в академическом пространстве Китайской Народной Республики. В основе табуирования в китайской лингвокультуре лежит главенствующий принцип китайской идеологии – принцип «сохранения лица», который позволяет эффективно выстраивать гармоничные отношения в китайском академическом сообществе. Целью исследования стало выявление специфики актуализации коммуникативных ограничений в формальном и неформальном академическом общении в рамках несимметричных, неравных отношений («преподаватель – студент», «научный руководитель – студент») и симметричных, равных отношений («преподаватель – преподаватель», «студент – студент»). Для выполнения поставленных задач авторы использовали этнографический и описательный методы, а также метод контекстуального анализа. В результате исследования выделены семь наиболее актуальных тем функционирования табу в процессе формального и неформального взаимодействия субъектов академической коммуникации. Полученные результаты могут быть использованы в теоретических и практических курсах по коммуникативной лингвистике, дискурсивной лингвистике и дискурс-анализу, прагматической лингвистике и межкультурной коммуникации. Кроме того, работа может быть полезной при разработке кросс-культурных тренингов в рамках взаимодействия с Китаем по программам академической мобильности.

Ключевые слова: китайский академический дискурс, коммуникативные ограничения (табу), принцип «сохранения лица», темы-табу.

Научная специальность: 10.02.00 – языкознание.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0559
УДК 811.11'01:81'22

Interpretations of the Mythologeme “Tree-Cross” in Old English

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Received 24.08.2019, received in revised form 12.01.2020, accepted 06.03.2020

Abstract. The topicality of the appeal to the interpretation of a tree-cross mythologeme is caused by the change of the pagan worldview into Christian. The development of ideas about the Christian sign is complex, in one of the approaches to transforming the tree-cross, a part of the overcome ideas about the world as space around the world axis is preserved, i.e. the world tree. The coming era of Christianity inherits this view, and the cross itself appears as a world axis that defines the coordinates of space. The purpose of the article is to show the evolutionary semiotic row, which represents both Christian and pagan symbolism. Initially, the cross appears as a motivated view. Then the terms of the denotative plan appear, devoid of pagan connotations of the tree-cross type.

In general, in the evolution of the term continuity is traced, one designation is replaced by another. For some time, the second item copies the functions and forms of the first, replacing it in the subject line. The cross as an object of worship in Christianity replaces the world tree. All new nominations of the cross are associated with the motivation of the world as the center where the altar is installed, which was initially presented in the tradition as a world tree, and then became designated by the cross. The cross, as the main Christian symbol, often appears as made of wood and is identified with the cosmic world tree growing directly into heaven. Research methods which are used in this article are as follows: philological analysis of the text and semiotic analysis of texts. The set of communicatively relevant factors that determine the statement, as well as the situational and contextual relevance of the lexical meaning, are taken into account. In turn, the necessary initial amount of communicatively relevant information is obtained on the basis of linguistic methods. In particular, data from an etymological analysis are involved. The research material was provided by the Old English written monuments accessible to the modern researcher. Texts in other Indo-European languages are occasionally referred; they act as a background showing some parallels.

Keywords: cross, world tree, evolutionary semiotic series, paganism, Christianity, mythologeme.

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Research area: linguistics.

Citation: Proskurin, S.G., Proskurina, A.V. (2020). Interpretations of the mythologeme "tree-cross" in Old English. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 316-326. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0559.

1. Introduction

The mythologeme is a universal concept of something, extracted from the mythopoetic tradition. Thus, mythopoetic interpretations of the world reveal the central mythologeme of the world tree. The tree stands in the center of the archaic cosmos and determines the coordinates of space. At the same time, the tree transforms into a cross. "Seth goes to paradise for the oil of mercy, sees a tall, dry tree there among the greenery: this is the desired oil, the angel tells him. Adam enlightened the prophetic meaning of these words given to him by Seth, and himself condemns that the tree of life will grow on his grave. Further, Iericho, the son of Noah, transplanted this tree from Hebron, where Adam was buried, to Lebanon – and the familiar *auto* details follow. But the legend of the cross in Calderon's play is not limited to this: at the end of the flood, the dove brought Noah an oil branch (no one knows where) which he planted in Lebanon. A tree that grew out of it and seemed at the same time a palm tree, cedar and cypress, is surrounded by a general honor. Felled and unsuitable for the construction of the temple, it is thrown in the garden, and then serves as a bridge to the mountain where the Adam's head is buried (= Golgotha). On this trunk, which Solomon decides to protect as the greatest treasure, the Messiah will suffer" (Veselovskii, 2006: 333). This extract from the plot of Calderón's play "La Sibila del Oriente y Gran Reina de Saba" shows the desired transformation. The transformation of the symbolic code "tree" > "cross" is universal for cultures emerging from shamanism and experiencing

the influence of the Christian worldview. So, according to Mosco Moskov, the sign of the god Tengri Y in the Turkic area, which also originally denoted a tree, later serves as the basis for the image of the cross in the ancient Bulgarian Christian tradition (Proskurin, Tsentner, 2009) (Fig. 1).

The transformation of the sign is associated with the linguistic-cultural transfer in the tradition. After the adoption of Christianity, the sign of the god Tengri, which also denotes a tree, turns into a sign of the cross. As a Bulgarian researcher showed, a runic record of the Tengri name, consisting of four characters, a polygram, is gradually transformed by reduction into a monogram, which eventually becomes an ideogram. This final character has the following form: [Y].

The given sign in the context of the ancient Bulgarian culture exists as a symbol of the supreme deity, a magic sign, a talisman. With the adoption of Christianity, it turns into a sign of the cross – this process is sequentially restored according to archaeological data and images on amulets. Moreover, the final sign – a cross or a double cross – can be interpreted in two ways: either as the addition of a fork at each of the four ends of the cross, or as the addition at the central point of the four Tengri signs, the "four little Y".

We find the most interesting example of such a record of the cross when analyzing the inscription of the Bulgarian king Samuel dating back to 993 (Khaburgaev, 1986: 40). In the outline of the inscription, the Y-shaped elements of the cross are clearly visible, originally meaning the world tree. So, in the semiotic evolutionary

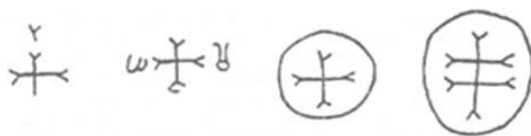


Fig. 1. Transformation tree-cross in Old Bulgarian tradition

rows, the "tree" – "cross", the second item – the deputy – retains the characterological features of the first in its appearance (Campbell, 2004: 249; Peirce, 1985). The evolutionary parameters of the transition "tree-cross" are found in the Old English tradition. The research material was provided by the Old English written monuments accessible to the modern researcher. Thus, this work analyzes the linguistic-cultural transfer, or transfer of information in time and space.

2. Linguocultural transfer wood-cross

2.1. Linguocultural transfer

in world traditions

The linguocultural transfer "world tree" – "cross" is found in a number of traditions. This identification of the cross with the World Axis is clearly expressed in the motto of the Carthusian monks "Star Crux dum volvitur orbis" (The cross stands, while the world rotates) (Guénon, 2008: 210). The symbol "Power", where the cross crowning the Pole, takes the place of the axis (Fig. 2).

In Chinese symbolism, a tree is known which ends are connected in pairs, depicting a synthesis of opposites or a resolution of duality in unity. Thus, a single tree is obtained, the branches of which are divided and reconnected at their ends (Fig. 3), there are three-lobed leaves connected with two branches at the same time, and cup-shaped flowers <...> are a process of universal manifestation: everything proceeds from unity and returns to unity; duality arises in the interval – separation or dif-

ferentiation, the result of which is the phase of manifest existence; the ideas of unity and duality, therefore, are united here, as in other images (Guénon, 2008: 211).

One of the variants of the world tree is its Christian image of a flourishing tree. Henry Suso (1295–1366) is an outstanding early German mystic whose mystical visions abounded in symbolic images. He called himself the "Servant of Eternal Wisdom," identified with Christ. The cited illustration (Fig. 4) (painted woodcut) is taken from the book "Das Buch gennant Seuse" (1482), which contains all of his main works.

Jesus Christ is crucified on a tree full of roses, six half-figures of angels and saints above it. A rose was for Suso as a symbol of special importance. It is believed that he was the first to introduce it as a symbol of the passions of Christ.

The vertical line of the cross – the image of the World axis – represents the trunk of the Tree, while the horizontal line forms its branches. This Tree rises in the center of the world in biblical symbolism, in particular, it is the Tree of life growing in the midst of earthly Paradise, which itself represents the center of our world (Guénon, 2008: 212–213).

Thus, the tree-cross mythologeme is opposed to the denotative designations of the cross that do not bear evolutionary implications. What designations appeared first (see: (Proskurin, Feshchenko, 2019).

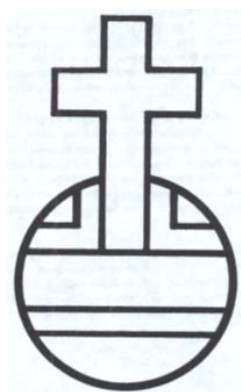


Fig. 2. The Cross victorious



Fig. 3. Chinese depiction of the world tree: every branch (Yin and Yang) generates a flower, the common beginning



Fig. 4. Cross as a thriving tree

2.2. Linguocultural transfer in the Anglo-Saxon tradition

Initially the cross appears as a motivated representation, i.e. explained, *besnaedan twigum and telgum and þeh taken wesan* (Dan. 515-516) “cut off branches, and there will be a cross”. According to other German notions, the cross is a sprouted world tree (*mittilo boum* – letters. “Middle tree”, preserving the cosmic function of the link between the underworld, earth and heaven. In medieval studies, the “world tree concept” undergoes a metamorphosis. It often refers to an “inverted tree” (Lat. *Arbor inversa*), growing from heaven to earth: “Its roots are in heaven, and its branches are on earth.” Here we see an example of a semiotic evolutionary row (the term, like the concept, was introduced into semiotics by Yu.S. Stepanov), when in continuity is traced in the evolution of objects, one object replaces another and becomes the heir to its functions). For some time, the second item can copy the functions and forms of the first, replacing it in the subject line (cf.: the cross as a worship item in Christianity replaces the tree of the world) (Proskurin, 2010).

Along with motivated designations, denotative (unmotivated) designations are also found. Such a lexeme is the Old English neologism *cross*. After the adoption of Christianity,

words with the meaning “tree-cross” are replaced by a neutral borrowing cross (“cross”), which has no pagan connotations. Three sources of borrowing the word cross are currently being discussed: 1. *crux* (Latin word); 2. *crois* (Norman word, previously borrowed from Latin, *crux*); 3. *cross* (an Irish word that was included in the vocabulary of the English language thanks to Irish missionaries) (Crystal, 2004: 31). The information transfer factor, excluding pagan connotations, influenced the choice of the word *cross* (“cross”) in the English Christian culture (Proskurin, 2015).

Pagan connotations influenced the choice of lexical means for designating the cross in the Old English tradition. So, the cross is often referred to as a tree, with evolutionary implications: *sigebeām* (“victory tree”), *syllicre trēow* (“best tree”), *bēam* (a) *beorhtost* (“brightest tree”), *holtwudu* (“tree from the forest”), *wealdendes trēow* (“the tree of the Lord”, “the tree of the Savior”), *wudu sēlesta* (“a very good tree”), *wuldres bēam* (“the tree of glory”). In the Old English period, there were designations of the cross as a sign, symbol *tācen*, *rōd*, which are also motivated by the fact that they included the implication of a tree. We give an example from the Old English poem “Visions of the Cross”, where the implications are especially obvious (the orig-

inal text of the poem is presented by: (Baker, 2007: 241):

The Dream of the Rood

<...> Onġyrede hine þā ġeong hæleð – þæt
wæs God ælmihtig,
strang ond stīðmōd. Ġestāh hē on ġealgan
hēanne,
mōdiġ on manigra ġesyhðe, þā hē wolde
mancyn lȳsan.

Bifode ic þā mē se beorn ymbclypte. Ne
dorste ic hwæðre būgan tō eorðan,
feallan tō foldan scēatum, ac ic sceolde
fæste standan.

Rōd wæs ic āræred <...>

<...> Āhōf ic rīcne Cyning,
heofona Hlāford, hyldan mē ne dorste.
Purhdrifan hī mē mid deorcan næġlum. On mē
syndon þā dolġ ġesīene
opene inwidhlemmas. Ne dorste ic hira
nānigum sceððan.

Bysmeredon hīe unc bütū ætgædere. Eall
ic wæs mid blōde bestēmed,

begoten of þæs guman sīdan siððan hē
hæfde his ġāst onsended <...>

<...> Crist wæs on rōde.
Hwæðere þær fūse feorran cwōman
tō þām æðelinge; ic þæt eall behēold.
Sāre ic wæs mid sorgum ġedrēfed; hnāġ ic
hwæðre þām secgum tō handa,
ēaðmōd, elne mycle.

<...> Eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod.
Ālēdon hīe ðær limwēriġne, ġestōdon him
æt his līces hēafdum;

behēoldon hīe ðær heofenes Dryhten <...>

The cumulative properties of language as a part of culture ensure the preservation in the texts of representations of the preliterate (for Germanic peoples, pre-Christian) period. Traces of pagan beliefs are often preserved in early Christian texts in Old Germanic languages, including translations from Latin, and are of a formulaic nature (Proskurin, Tsentner, 2009: 172). So, there is a layering of the new, Christian picture of the world on the old, pagan one. These stratifications entail the interweaving

of pagan images in the Christian text in order to adapt them to understanding in accordance with the characteristics of the recipient culture (Proskurin, 2013a, 2013b; Watkins, 1987, 1995).

It is noteworthy that this text does not exclude pagan connotations. So, in the poem, the cross is called as follows: syllicre trēow ("the best tree"), bēam (a) beorhtost ("the brightest tree"), bēacen ("appearance"), eaxlegespan ("transverse beam"), gallows ("gallows"), Sigebeām ("tree of victory"), wealdendes trēow ("tree of the Lord", "tree of the Savior"), wudu sēlesta ("very good tree"), rōd ("cross"), holtwudu ("tree from the forest"), wuldres bēam ("tree of glory"), gealgrēow ("tree for the gallows"). Jesus Christ is called: Drihten ("Lord"), God ælmihtih ("Almighty God"), Cyning ("Leader"), heofona Hlāford ("Lord of the Heavens"), beorn ("Warrior"), Crist ("Christ"), Nealdend ("Lord"), Anweatda ("Lord").

The presence of pagan connotations in the text indicates the imposition of a Christian worldview on the pagan picture of the world. So, the wooden cross in this work has the ability to feel and speak. It is, as it were, the retinue of the Leader (Jesus Christ). It should be noted that in ancient German (pagan) culture, fidelity to their leader was especially valued. "If it came to a fight, it's shameful for the leader to yield to someone in valor, and it's shameful for the squad not to become like the valor of the leader. And to come out alive from the battle in which the leader fell is dishonor and shame for life; to protect him, to perform valiant deeds, thinking only of his glory, is their first duty: leaders fight for victory, warriors fight for their leader (Tacitus, 2010: 452). It is possible that at the dawn of Christianity for a smooth transition from paganism to the image of Jesus Christ was presented to Christianity as the image of a leader (cf. Cyning ("Leader"), heofona Hlāford ("Lord of heaven"), beorn ("Warrior"), Anweatda ("Lord")), and believers appeared to be his warriors. The German form *drauxti-naz (*druktinos), according to É. Benveniste, is a secondary term that serves to nominate a person who is at the head of a social group (Benveniste, 1995: 88). As researcher S.V. San-

nikov notes, the concept of "eldormen", which can be found in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle", is an analogue of the term "leader" (Sannikov, 2009).

Ancient Germans chose kings from the most noble people, and leaders from the most valiant. However, kings did not possess unlimited power; it was the leaders who ruled over them, captivating and admiring them with their examples (Tacitus, 2010: 449). In Germanic languages, this type of word formation is presented in several important derivatives: Gothic *ƿiudans* (from **teuta-nos*) "king, head of the community"; kindins (from **genti-nos*) "head" (gens) – they are parallel to lat. *tribūnus* from *tribus*. In the Old English *dryhten* "lord" (in the Christian texts "Lord") the form **drukti-nos* "leader *drukti*" is reflected. Such a hierarchy was characteristic of ancient German society (Benveniste, 1995: 88–89). These examples indicate that, perhaps, to introduce and consolidate the Christian faith among the ancient Germans, Christ appeared to them as the leader of the tribe. Over time, on the island of Britain, the image of Christ came to the fore, while maintaining a pagan connotation. We also indicate that at one time J. Grimm noted (Grimm, 1844–1854) that Christ was perceived in the early stages of Christianization as the ancient German god of storms, thunder and fertility – Thor, whose equipment included the Mjölhnir hammer. In this case, the hammer imitates the cross.

An analysis of the religious factor in the formation of the early forms of royal power among Germanic peoples is necessary to clarify the essence of the phenomenon of royal power, to understand the process of its transformation from the institution of tribal military leadership to the institution of early statehood (Sannikov, 2009: 51). Starting from V to X centuries Christianity spreads throughout Europe, and the place of ancient myths telling of warlike gods is occupied by gospel ideas about the Savior and Creator. The king appears to the people of that time as the "vicar of Christ", since he maintains his high position as the supreme religious leader and defines the religious preferences of his peoples. The new faith was attractive to Europeans due to the fact that it

gave life and death a positive meaning, in other words, explained the hardships and secrets of life.

It is worth noting that Christianity also influenced German legal institutions. Thus, the new faith prompted the "governors of Christ" to write down laws in the form of short codes. German codes show the implementation of Christian concepts – the initial equality of each before the Creator. Brief laws helped prevent blood feuds and maintain peace.

Considering the semiotic aspect of communication, we can assume that the communicative task was based on the fact that new information was understood through its transmission in the framework of the old image, already known to native speakers. Communication was based on a sociocultural base thanks to interindividual psychology. Thus, replacing the central cosmic symbol of the world tree with a cross that retains the features of a pagan symbol is an example of accessible communication. The task of transmitting information over time is to transmit information on an important Christian element of culture – the cross as a symbol of Christianity. The pagan image of the world tree is not at all important from the point of view of the semiotic aspect of information transfer, but it is important from the point of view of communication in the generation of Germans who have just adopted Christianity (Proskurina, 2018).

3. Center for the world as motivation of space in mythopoetic tradition

All these nominations of the cross are associated with the motivation of the world as the center where the altar is installed, which was originally presented in the tradition as a world tree, and then became designated by the cross. One example of the implementation of the concept of "world" in ancient Germanic culture is the common German **midja* (n) -*gardaz* – letters. "Middle fenced space" or more precisely "middle of the fenced space". In turn, these data, obtained on a linguistic basis, directly connect the origin of ancient German words with the meaning "middle world", with the symbolism of the central point of the world – the center in general, the cultural universal, typical in the

mythological traditions of different peoples. In the mythopoetic tradition, the center is always a region of the highest sacred, a region of absolute reality. Based on the polysemantic nature of *midja (n) -gardaz turnover in diachrony, we do not exclude "ambivalence" in the principle of composite nomination, which presumably suggests the possibility of a second reading of "middle enclosed space" (the Midgard concept) (Proskurin, 2010).

However it is the sacred nature of the central point of the world that makes it possible to understand the metonymic transfer of this term to the designation of "the world in general" – and thus combine the two named concepts. The restored picture of the preliterate period testifies to this: the center of the ancient Germanic world coincides with the center of sacred objects inscribed into each other (center, fenced place, etc.), demonstrating the heterogeneity and non-isotropy of the archaic cosmos (compare the typological diagram of the mythopoetic space of various cultures: the sacrifice on the altar in the center – the temple – his settlement – his own country, etc.).

In the written tradition, the "middle" – "tree" relationship, reconstructed for the Indo-European era, implicitly preserved in the Anglo-Saxon name of the "middle world", is indirectly reflected in the early Anglo-Saxon Christian monument "Daniel A", which contains a fragment about the "world tree" of the Germanic peoples. From the point of view of the poetic form, this fragment is an autonomous poetic text, a sample of ancient alliterated tonic:

on foldan faegre stode
wudubeam wlitig, se waes wyrtum faest
beorht on blaedum naes he bearwe gelic
ac he hlifode to heofontunglum
swilce he oferfaethmde foldan sceatas,
ealne middangeard oth merestreamas,
twigum and telgum (Dan. A. 498–504).

Two oppositions are noted in the text: "internal" – "external" ("habitable space" – "sea") and "lower" – "middle" – "upper". The sacred significant central place of the world is occupied by the wudubeam tree (compare lithua-

nian vidurys – "middle"), which crown extends over the world, restricting it horizontally, the trunk represents the world vertically, the root is a symbol of the bottom.

Despite the fact that such a view is fixed in the written tradition, the researcher has the necessary Indo-European material, suggesting that the specified text coincides in content with the most profound reconstruction of the Indo-European ideas about the world. In a later Old English poem, "The Dream of the Rood," the cross – beam (literal "tree") – appears as the central cosmic symbol connecting the "middle world" with heaven and determining the coordinates of space. In the extracted fragment of the description of the "tree-cross", the alliterative connections of the hemistiches in the verse are "relict", unusual for the text of the poem as a whole. In turn, this contributes to the inclusion of the description of the Christian sign – the cross – in the fabric of ancient German poetry and its interpretation through tradition:

on lyfte laedan leohte bewunden beam
beorhtost eall þæt
beacen waesbegoten mid golde
gimmas stodon faegre aet sceatum [...].
He þa on heofenas astag;
hider eft on þysne middangeard mancyn
secan (D. R. 4–7, 104–105).

In contrast to the contextual meaning in "Daniel" (see above), here in the middangeard concept the connection "lower" – "middle" – "upper", which dominates the Christian worldview, is updated. In general, the code of the world can be considered (and is being considered) in its symbolic, semiotic aspect. However, there is such a variety of encoded information when the object is reflected in the code word – a sign of the real world. Such symbolic semiotic codes in culture include the concept of a "tree" as a symbol of the pagan world, a cross as an object of Christian culture, etc.

4. Conclusion

In the semiotic code, the semiotic evolutionary series of objects is often actually represented, built on the principle of following



Fig. 5. Cross as a thriving tree or the fabric of the universe

these objects in history. One item is replaced by another item performing the functionally the same role. Over a period of time, the second item mimics the shape and characteristics of the first item. This important semiotic phenomenon is associated with the accumulative nature of human culture. So, for some time, the substitute item retains the characteristics of the item being replaced. In one evolutionary row, you can compare the carriage and the coupe, which at the beginning of its history directly copies the carriage, or rather a series of carriages located on the same platform. It retained this semiotic attribute to this day. In the semiotic evolutionary series, the carriage precedes the coupe, but the semiotic line of the carriage is relevant when creating another vehicle – a car, and is preserved in its structure (as a relic). We often encounter similar transformations in culture.

In any culture, there is one feature – objects and elements of culture usually form chains in the history in which some objects and elements replace others with the development of ideas, technologies and civilization. In the history of Indo-European pictures of the world, particular attention is paid to the change of the central cosmic symbol of the “world tree” with a cross, which plays the most important symbolic role in the new worldview – Christianity. These objects form evolutionary rows

with their names when one concept (denotation word) replaces another concept (denotation word) in the evolutionary semiotic series of central cosmic symbols.

The cross, as the main Christian symbol, often appears made of wood and is identified with the cosmic world tree growing directly into heaven. Most liturgical texts compare the cross with a pillar, mountain or staircase. Thus, the center of the world is part of the Christian picture of the world. It is worth noting that the image of the cross in the early Christian literature was presented as follows: four branches of the cross were associated with four dimensions of world space (width, long, high, depth (Lat. *latitudo, longitudo, altitudo, profundum*)). The cross itself was represented by the image of the crucified Christ, and its dimensions were associated with the position of the head, hands and body of the Savior. Mostly stable associations formed between the span of the hands of Christ and the width (*latitudo*) of the cross.

Let us give an example of the synthesis of images of the world tree and the cross. In the manuscript of the late 12th century Berthold Missal – “The Cross – A Prosperous Tree or Fabric of the Universe” The cross appears as a flourishing tree. Megalithic circles and spirals are visible on the manuscript, which represent the image of a world tree (more precisely, two trees) and at the same time the Prosperous Cross. Christ crowning the world axis is depicted on the upper branch. Under the horizontal crossbeam of the cross separating the upper from the lobar, there is a serpent, with the right rings around the double trunk of the Tree and four branches extending from it, also twisted into regular spirals, with graceful leaves of shoots. All lines are intertwined in the correct order, forming the “Universe fabric” according to the mandala pattern (Guénon, 2008: 226–227) (Fig. 5 by: (Guénon, 2008: 226–227)):

In this context the world tree represents the “world axis”, and the snake symbolizes the totality of cycles of universal manifestation. In this case, the snake represents danger and malignancy. He illustrates his involvement in an endless series of cycles of manifestation. The role of the snake is to preserve the symbols of immortality, to which it blocks access.

For example, he wound himself in a Colchis grove around the Tree of Life, on which a golden fleece was hung, or in the Hesperides garden, around a tree with apples (Guénon, 2008: 129–130).

Thus, the idea of the cross in the Old English mythologeme is stratified into three parts. The first of these refers to the cross as a geometric figure. On the other hand, evolutionary ideas about the cross as a tree dominate, i.e. as a cosmic symbol. There is also a third association connected with the alphabet, which we find in Rabanus Maurus's work (*De laudibus sanctae crucis*. PL 107.154):

In crus namque, quae iuxta caput posita est, sunt tres litterae, hoc est

A, M, Ω et quod significat initium et finem.

On the cross, in the place where the head is, there are three letters – A, M, Ω (omega), which means the beginning and the end (Proskurin, 2014).

Consequently, the variability of the designations of the cross is largely predetermined by the prevailing tradition. In developed Christianity evolutionary implications look redundant and gradually disappear from literature.

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Интерпретации мифологемы «дерево-крест» в древнеанглийской традиции

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Аннотация. Актуальность обращения к интерпретации мифологемы «дерево-крест» вызвано переломным характером эпохи смены языческого мировоззрения христианским. Развитие представлений о христианском знаке носит сложный характер, в одном из подходов в преобразовании дерево-крест сохраняется часть преодоленных знаний о мире как пространстве вокруг мировой оси, т.е. мировом древе. Наступившая эпоха христианства наследует это знание, а сам крест предстает мировой осью, определяющей координаты пространства. Цель статьи – показать эволюционный семиотический ряд, который представляет христианско-языческую символику. Изначально крест возникает как мотивированный образ. Затем появляются термины денотативного плана, лишённые языческих коннотаций типа *cross*.

В целом, в эволюции термина прослеживается преемственность, одно обозначение заменяется другим. В течение некоторого времени второй предмет копирует функции и формы первого, замещая его в предметном ряду. Крест как предмет поклонения в христианстве замещает мировое дерево. Все новые номинации креста связываются с мотивированностью мира как центра, где установлен алтарь, который изначально представлялся в традиции мировым деревом, а затем стал обозначаться крестом. Крест как главный христианский символ часто предстает как сделанный из дерева и идентифицируется с космическим мировым деревом, растущим прямо в небеса. Методы исследования – филологический анализ текста и семиотический подход к анализу текстов. Во внимание принимается совокупность коммуникативно-релевантных факторов, обуславливающих высказывание, а также ситуативная и контекстная отнесенность лексического значения. В свою очередь, необходимый исходный объем коммуникативно-релевантной информации получен на основе лингвистических методов. В частности, привлекаются данные этимологического анализа. Материалом исследования послужили доступные современному исследователю древнеанглийские письменные памятники. Тексты на других индоевропейских языках привлекаются эпизодически, они выступают в качестве фона, демонстрирующего некоторые параллели.

Ключевые слова: крест, мировое дерево, эволюционный семиотический ряд, язычество, христианство, мифологема.

Научная специальность: 10.02.00 – языкознание.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0350
УДК 821.161.1.035(=512)

Polycultural Character of Translated Russian Literature: Yakut and Buryat Cases

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Received 09.11.2018, received in revised form 21.11.2018, accepted 26.11.2018

Abstract. The article looks into the polycultural aspects of ethnic literatures of Russia translated into the Russian language and analyzes the shift from the two-step translation method of 20th century to a new interactive model as a way to provide the mentioned polycultural quality. The authors start from the retrospective analysis of ethnic text traditions and compare it with new experimental data of Yakut and Buryat texts in Russian translations.

Keywords: interactive polycultural model, Russian language as a cultural mediator, ethnic languages of Russia, genres of ethnic literatures, translation strategies, Russian literary norm, illustrated commentary.

Research area: philology.

Citation: Alexeeva, I.S., Boyarkina, A.V. (2020). Polycultural character of translated Russian literature: Yakut and Buryat cases. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 327-340. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0350.

"I am speaking: translation is everywhere"

Natalia Avtonomova

People predominantly read texts in their native language. The share of texts in foreign languages does not prevail over native texts even in the reading of philologists – specialists in other cultures. It refers to the texts of both everyday and literary character. Nonetheless we actively come into contact with texts from other cultures, and it happens due to the familiar mechanism – translation. The place of such texts in the general textual culture is quite specific, though obvious – it is another foreign literature. Yet there is not a single word written by a foreign author, everything is written by a translator from the culture of our own, and he relied on his own vision of the world and employed his own vocabulary and conceptual repertoire, his own understanding of language registers! On the other hand, there is a concept of "world literature" where works of literature in foreign languages are taken as parts of the whole, and the dichotomy "own" – "alien" is neutralized. The whole body of the world literature is constructed on the conceptual level, possesses theoretic conventionality, and has little reference to the crude linguistic matter. However, the texts conceived by the authors within a given culture must be different from the two-layered translated texts coming from other cultures, if only by the lack of double orientation and intrinsic secondariness. The phenomenon has long invited a thorough analysis.

The problem itself and the aspects of its analysis ask for a polydisciplinary approach embracing not only philological and cultural studies but also socio-cultural, ethno-historical, philosophical disciplines as well as legal documents. In their discussion of the need to preserve languages researches of polyculturalism (Zamyatin, Pasanen, Saarikivi, 2012; Koptseva, Bakhova, Medyantseva, 2011) stress its importance regarding it as a key to cultural well-being in the future (Alpatov, 2014; Galayeva, 2016; Kirko, 2015; Nesmelaya, 2016; Strizhevskaya, 2013, Razumovskaya, 2014 et al.), and the Russian legislation grants this opportunity (Federal Law, 1999; Strategiya

gosudarstvennoy natsionalnoy...; Silantyeva, Suntsov, 2016).

We will make an attempt to delve into the problem and analyze the possible solutions using literary translations in the cultures of the Russian North – Yakut and Buryat – as a study case.

The place of translations in the ethnic literature

Foreign literary works are appropriated by the recipient literature through various strategies. A range of them has been in use since ancient times though a scientific description of them was undertaken not long ago. Amongst the multitude of terms let us mention several which stand out in the translation theory: "estrangement" method (*Verfremdung*) suggested by Friedrich Schleiermacher, German Kulturträger, who called for preserving the text's national specificity in translation; strategies of "foreignization" (looking like "estrangement") and "domestication" (the opposite process of adaptation to the receiving cultures suggested by an American theorist Lawrence Venuti (Venuti, 2008), and finally, a variety of methods under the umbrella term "cultural adaptation" (Mikhaylova et al., 2007 and others). Apropos, talking about "estrangement" we would like to dispute the view of V. Razumovskaya who dates the term back to V. Shklovsky (Razumovskaya, 2016 II: 114-116), who, as we think, was likely to have read F. Schleiermacher's work mentioned above.

It is noteworthy that translated literary works can be used as models for creating literature in the receiving languages – so it happened in Ancient Rome with translations of Classical Greek comedies or lyrics and polyhymnias into Latin; so it was in Russia in the second half of the 18th century when Russian novels followed French patterns (M. Chulkov, M. Heraskov and others).

In other cases translations can be but a pale imitation, in which case they accentuate and throw into relief the quality of the recipient literature. For example, French translations of

F.G. Klopstock's odes proved the superiority of the French classical poetry in the 18th century.

Finally, the third variant – most widely spread and popular, it seems – is when the translated work enriches and complements the recipient literature and culture. In this case two seemingly opposite qualities of the coming literature are equally important: on the one hand, familiarity, closeness, usualness of the aesthetics, genre peculiarities, thematic or narrative patterns, on the other – novelty, strangeness, incomparability with anything familiar... While the former is important because the awareness of the cultural code creates the sense of kinship with a different nation and the entire human race, the latter is explained by the nature of art at large, including verbal art: it is alive and breeds new senses and forms without which people will not experience happiness at discovering new and beautiful things.

Allow us to make one more anticipatory remark. Genre variety, heterogeneous contacts, contribution to the world literature are often deemed the signs of development and richness of a given national literature. Can we assume then that Russian literature is more developed than Yakut, and French literature – more developed than Russian? Definitely not. No one can measure and compare the spiritual richness and the spectrum of feelings evoked by the native literature in the heart of the reader; no one can point to the trace left in the human life by a novella by Mopassant, or a fairy tale by Pushkin, or an Olonkho song.

Specific features of Russian experience

The contacts between Russian culture and other ethnic cultures of Russia have a long-standing tradition, and in each case it was a multifaceted and educating story. As of today, there are twelve officially registered languages in the Russian Federation, and most of them make use of the Cyrillic alphabet borrowed from Russian (Pismennyye yazyki ... 2000, 2003; Ivshin, 2010). We cannot disregard this fact of cultural interaction. The mass transition of Russia's written languages to the Cyrillic alphabet, preceded by the pervasive Romanization in the 20s, took place in 1937-38. Thus, we can speak of the close contacts between the cultures of

Russia, and more often than not the new initiative in cooperation came from the Russian culture. N. Koptseva notices that in 1930 a third of all publications (counted in titles) in the USSR was done in the ethnic languages while in Tzarist Russia, which was no less multinational, 90% of publications was in Russian (Koptseva, 2017 II: 142-143). To be objective we have to point out that the Russian initiative was not always conducive to the maintaining of the written language and literature of the peoples of Russia, especially indigenous peoples. Thus, as V. Alpatov claims, when in the 30s the Roman alphabet was countermanded, and all languages of the USSR were transferred to the Cyrillic alphabet, about 12 small peoples of Russia lost their written language (Alpatov, 2014). Let us limit our observations to the material provided by the cultural events in the 20th century.

While propagating their national culture, the speakers of other languages in Russia still create their literary works, including those based on folklore, in the Russian language. An epic example is the creative work of Kallistrat Zhakov, an outstanding philosopher and man-of-letters of the late 19th – early 20th centuries, representing Komi-Zyryan culture. K. Zhakov collected, reconstructed and wrote down in Russian *Byarmia*, the Northern epic of the Komi people (1916), which was back-translated into Komi only much later (translator M. Elkin, 1933) (Ostapova, 2017: 59). In reading *Byarmia* one is impressed by the merging of the folklore and the author's individual style, and this gives researchers reasons to call *Byarmia* a literary epic (see: Limerov, Sozina, 2014); in this quality it reminds the Finnish epic *Kalevala* by Elias Lenrott, published in 1835, which, however, was written in Finnish.

K. Zhakov's literary fairytales such as *The Golden Tale*, *The Silver Tale*, *Uriila* (Zhakov, 1990) are written in Russian and show the influence of the literary tales from the Silver Age in Russian literature. So we think that the polycultural approach to culture is manifested in the verbal component borrowed from the neighbouring language which linguistically serves this territory. In the analyzed case it is the Russian language, which explains why numerous cultural components – names, every-

day realia – are modified in accordance with Russian linguistic norms, and specifically poetic phenomena – rhythm, poetic foot, tropes, onomatopoeia and other poetic forms – are given Russian correspondents.

The above-mentioned sound of speech presents a cultural phenomenon in itself. The long history of communication among Russia's ethnic groups (and during the Soviet period even more so) suggests that every nation living alongside the Russian people and using Russian for different purposes has its own specific system of deviations from the Russian literary norm. These deviations are best noticed in the phonetic system which renders a certain aesthetic attractiveness to those who speak with a recognizable "Caucasian" or "Ukrainian" accent. A vivid example of such positive cultural connotation is the sound track for the cartoon *Gordy Mysh* (*A Proud Mouse*) based on the Ossetian fairy tale. It was made by the cartoonist N. Berezova within the Internet project *Gora Samotsvetov* (*The Mountain of Gems*) designed to acquaint children and adults with the folklore riches of the Russia's ethnic groups (See: Gordyy mysh, 2007). The main character not only has a name which breaks the grammatical norm of the Russian noun 'mouse' (being used as a masculine noun rather than feminine as the norm prescribes), but also has a recognizable Caucasian accent, as in fact have all other characters including the Moon and the Sun. This cultural version immediately attracts the wide audience as can be seen from the responses to this cartoon on Youtube.

The famous editor's office of Samuel Marshak is largely responsible for creating the algorithm of the cultural interaction between Russia's nations and languages and the Russian language and culture. In the 20-30s they created patterns for re-phrasing the national folklore, and especially ethnic fairy tales, into Russian. Apart from Chinese, Korean, Italian, Balkan tales, Marshak's editorial board and later his pupils in the publishing house *Detgiz* worked with the literary material of the peoples of the Russian North: Yakut, Chukchee, Yukaghir, Dolgan and other stories and tales. One of the first books of the Russian Northern folklore – *The Nenets Tales* – was published

in 1954 (Tereshchenko, 1954). The style of the Russian versions of the Nenets tales in this collection corresponds to the folklore tradition perfected in the translations of Oriental and Western fairy tales: fairytale word order, simplified syntax, archaic lexicon, conventional imagery, set patterns for the beginning and the end of the tale. Allow us to underline this: we deal with the phenomenon typical for the literary contacts between the ethnic texts and their Russian manifestations; we observe a two-level translation process when a translator's work (N. Tereshchenko) is complemented by the stylistic adaptation done by a professional stylist (Z. Zadunaiskaya) who brings the translation close to the genre norms. The purpose of this work is obvious: it is to make foreign texts closer to the Russian genre models, both originally Russian and translated into Russian from other languages.

The specific feature of the Nenets tales collection is its bilingual form. The adjacent positioning of the original and translated texts fulfills an important cultural and educating role: it strengthens the original written text as well as illustrates its appropriation by Russian cultural. Such equality is a vivid example of polycultural approach now practiced by the publishing business.

Active work of philologists to record and translate the texts of Russia's ethnic groups ran parallel to translating Russian literature into ethnic languages of Russia. Following the research done by N. Koptseva, we can typify the following process: a researcher studies a language and works of literature in it (as shown in detail on the example of G. Vasilevich who studied the Evenk culture, Koptseva, 2017 II: 81-100), records the oral folklore, translates it into Russian, translates Russian literature into an ethnic language, writes himself as an author of literature and journalism in this language, teaches and edits local ethnic authors. This way G. Vasilevich prepared for the publication more than 16 books of translations from Russian into Evenk (eight in Roman alphabet and eight in Cyrillic): among them are works of A. Pushkin, I. Krylov, L. Tolstoy, and 14 publications of Evenk authors and 4 books of Evenk folklore and fairytales.

Anyway, in all scenarios of cultural interaction the Russian word had a dominating position both in the Soviet times and in the post-Soviet period, that is why we have to speak primarily about translated literature from the ethnic languages into Russian and the place they occupied in Russian literature. This allowed to accumulate a lot of experience in the following spheres:

- recording the national oral lore in Russian (*Byarmia*);
- translation into Russian followed by stylistic and literary adaptation (*The Nenets Tales*);
- translation per se (scholarly analysis and translations by G. Vasilevich).

Genre interaction

The genre variety of every literature often depends on what works of other literatures it appropriated and in what number. Our research has shown that the most popular genres established in the written form in almost all Russia's national literatures are epic and fairytale. A fairytale is a universal genre where supra-national conventional feature prevail (see above); a multitude of the national fairytales translated into Russian account for the most comprehensive body of knowledge about the neighbouring cultures. This source of knowledge is rather archaic and mythological; it no doubt creates a far-fetched and non-realistic picture of the contemporary people which in no way facilitates a full-fledged cultural contact between nations, especially when we take into account incomplete and sketchy information about the present-day problems of the people.

Concerning epic, it likewise shows a lot of typologically similar features: existence of heroic and eschatological tales, poetic form, static imagery and others, but every people give its epic unique features which we shall discuss later.

However, in modern world literatures the genre spectrum consists of more than two or three elements. The literary exchange through translation can take place along the genre parameters and enrich both literatures, as it happened, for example, with Russian and German. Up to recently there was an exchange of novels,

stories, lyrical poetry, narrative poems, fantasy, belles-lettres genres, detective stories, children's literature, plays ... There was no parity only in one genre – non-fiction; there was little written in this genre in Russia, that is why Russian translations of German non-fiction far outnumbered its Russian counterparts in German translations. But what is the situation now? It looks like times have changed, or “translation enlightenment” did its work, but there has appeared a big number of quality non-fiction works in Russian (suffice it to mention *Dostay-uschee zveno* by S. Drobyshevsky in two volumes!).

Russian literature has no such exchange with any of Russia's ethnic literatures. It goes without saying that not every ethnic group in Russia enjoys a big variety of genres, yet several works of classical literature are translated in all languages of Russia (as a rule, the works of A. Pushkin, M. Gorky, L. Tolstoy). Such influences are subtle, and when we see familiar genres of a long story, a novel, a poem, essay, a lyrical poem in the national literature we cannot help noticing that these traditional forms have received different tonal characteristics in national literatures, which accounts for the ethnic colour in the genre interaction (we have studied the literary situation in Yakutia and Buryatia, and draw our conclusions from this research).

Cultural uniqueness and its reflection in literature

Talking about the national colour we touch upon the issues of cultural uniqueness, originality, non-reduction to the typical, which can be manifested in the cultural realia, plot structure, conflict, but above all – in the emotional charge and interpretation of the character's actions.

The general opinion about the national cultural originality is rather ornamental, if we can put it so, which means it abounds in vivid material detail creating the exotic image of each culture. Best of all it is expressed in the folklore which is justly considered the most varied source of the cultural specificity. Thus, the authors of the monograph *Creating Children's Literature in the Evenk language* find in

Dolgan tales a wide range of cultural information: clothes, food and drink, household possessions, dwellings, plants, animals, etc. (Koptseva, 2017 II: 246-259). Cultural realia become the main source of cultural information.

Yet deeper cultural aspects cannot be described through this outward entourage. They are more likely to be connected with the specificity of the world outlook and the group historic experience. Thus, while analyzing Yakut literature we paid attention to the special self-perception of man in the competition with wild animals and unpredictable weather conditions; naturalism in describing hunting or details of everyday life in the face of wild nature. These dominants lend the narration on any topic the dramatic colouring.

On the other hand, Buryat literature looks light and life-assertive; even the most tragic collisions unfold against the background of sunlit nature – we observe this in poetry, prose or drama and children's literature. This emotional colouring is certainly linked with the Buddhist literary tradition, or the religious traditions of the Buryat culture, and can easily be traced in the contemporary Buryat Buddhist fables. (Mukhanov, 2011).

Literary traditions and the author's individual style have an influence on the cultural representation in the national literature. Stern naturalism and belief in man in F. Smetanin's *Hunter's Tales* go back to the traditions of the epic *Olonkho*; the choice of epithets in descriptions of nature in the works of modern Buryat poets have its roots in the style of Buddhist literature.

This is the reason why we cannot speak of either pure genre forms or pure national styles; however, we do not consider it interference or mixture – it is always a case of creative revision.

The catalogue of strategies in translating ethnic literatures into Russian

In the time of the Soviet Union, since 1930s the main strategy of translating an ethnic literature into Russian was working with interlinear crib (for example, Pasternak's or Tikhonov's translations of Georgian poets (Zemskova,

2016), adaptations of folklore in the Leningrad branch of *Detgiz* editing office headed by S. Marshak. The efforts of the Soviet translators in translating from the ethnic languages of Russia into Russian are still waiting for proper evaluation, but working with interlinear cribs inevitably brought about literary adaptations, which led to losses and omissions (ideological editing of translated texts can be regarded as such, too).

The contemporary approach to translation from the ethnic languages of Russia is still being formed, but even at this stage we can point to its main distinctive feature – the translators of ethnic literatures are bilingual who command both native and Russian languages very well. This fact is a huge advantage, as linguacultural features of the original text can be accurately rendered in Russian – the knowledge of customs, ethnographic and religious or mystical realia help the translator to avoid unifying “abrasion” and keep the national colour. Nonetheless, the analysis of the present-day translations from the ethnic literatures into Russian revealed certain problems – deviations from the Russian literary norm typical for certain regions of Russia made their way into the translations, too. On the one hand, these deviations account for the specificity of Russian in the given region, on the other, they actively interfere with the understanding of the translated texts.

Throughout 2017-2018 the researches from the Strategic Centre of Translation Education in Russia (Russian Academy of Education) held a series of seminars in the universities of Yakutia and Buryatia. The seminars had its aim to revive the translation activity from the ethnic languages of Russia. In Yakutia we chose the works of Timofey Smetanin, a war veteran poet and writer. The genre spectrum was rather large: from war stories and poems to hunter's tales and children's literature. All the translations were done by professional translators – university trainers and students. In Buryatia we selected 12 contemporary authors; the genre and topical variety was wider, the translators were university trainers, students, volunteers, there were self-translations as well. The overall volume

of Yakutian texts was 250 pages, in Buryatia – about 300 pages.

The seminars mainly addressed two questions: the translation of realia which make up an important part of the national specifics of the text, and the issue of deviation from the literary norm of the target language in translations, in our case – Russian.

The texts of Timofey Smetanin, as well as the texts of contemporary Buryat authors, contain a large amount of cultural realia. They are geographic names (names of villages and towns), ethnographic (everyday life and culture), or religious and mystic phenomena, connected with the peoples' beliefs, and others.

The geographic realia (names of villages, regions, locations) are usually given in transcription, although one cannot always tell at once if the name refers to a locality or a business or an enterprise:

Бур. Батор Баторович, вы работали у нас в Улаан-Туя участковым инспектором, помните?

There are also attempts to introduce toponyms without transcription, which makes the meaning hard to grasp:

Бур. Ради этого я выехал спозаранку из районного центра, что в 20 километрах от моей родной деревни Шэнэһэтэ.

Ethnographic realia are actively used in Yakut and Buryat texts in the descriptions of everyday life, especially so in T. Smetanin's hunter's tales (for example, *чубуку* – bighorn sheep, *торбаса* – soft footwear made of deer leather, *пальма* – Syberian pole-arms). These realia require a special linguistic and cultural commentary, which was suggested the translators should do as a separate addendum to the book.

Religious and mystic realia are not very numerous in the text, yet they also invite a linguistic and cultural commentary:

1) Бур. Ай, бурхан! Я ведь не оказал почтения родному уголку, не угостил хозяев местности. Обязательно надо побрызгать сэржэм – от водки первинку (дээжэ), попросить прощения у Сахюсанов и Хозяев местности.

2) Бур. Холодом не повеяло, но чем-то спокойным или же мягким? Да, мягким,

мягким повеяло... мягкое, мягкое – какое красивое слово. Почему этого слова не хватает в трудные времена? Мягкая душа, мягкое слово, сейчас говорят «мягкая пища, мягкая постель», а как звучит «мягкое слово, мягкое образование».

3) Як. Свои кости, окрепшие на берегах Лены, оставили они на Землях Европы.

4) Як. Я не видел якута, у которого от ужаса на поле битвы кости дрожали.

A Russian reader from other regions would hardly make the connection with the national religious rituals of the mentioned ritual of treating the masters of the land, or the words *m'yagkiy* (soft) and *kosti* (bones).

A similar commentary is needed for all sorts of exclamations, oaths, etc, which translators choose to keep in the translation:

1) Бур. Хамар – дабаан!!!! Горы под покровительством вечного синего неба.

2) Бур. Когда солнце нового дня уже светило ярко, взяв в обе руки дар духов тайги – большого сильного соболя – произнес: Аа-хуры-й, аа-хр-ы-ы! Прибыла добыча!

3) Як. «Дети мои, потомки мои,
Вы отправляетесь в великий путь,
Не черните имя своей Лены-реки,
Не рухните от вооруженного ружьем,
Не упадите от вооруженного луком,
Уруй-Айхал!»

Likewise, interjections in transcription (without giving Russian counterparts) require commentary:

1) Як. Начинаю крякать, подобно уткам «маат-маат», «мээт-мээт».

2) Як. Вдруг слышу шум «сарк» – это, ведь, утка села близко.

3) Бур. – О-ё-ёо! Ха-ха-ха! Страшно прозвучал приговор?

4) Бур. Ой-е да-а.

Realia also embrace folk sayings and proverbs, idiomatic phrases, and the necessity to provide a linguistic and cultural commentary is obvious:

1) Бур. В конце концов с их «надежного рта дошло до собачьих ушей», т.е. все, кому не лень, узнали

2) Бур. Возможно, согласно поговорке «у огня не бывает прохлады, у гнева – рассудка»

3) Бур. Но начальник, пытавшийся заставить Цынгунова «лизать себе подошву», нашёл метод, который очень хорошо укоротил бы его нрав.

Another important question is deviation from the literary norm which is brought about by the violation of the normative collocation patterns or inaccuracy in the choice of lexical variants.

Thus, the following examples illustrate mistakes in the choice of lexical or grammatical equivalents:

Contamination of idiomatic phrases

1) Як. Голыми руками его не победишь.

2) Бур. Однако неожиданно-негаданно, ты сидишь, поешь, сразу не думала, даже в ум не брала.

3) Бур. Да, судьба как одарит некоторых, так одарит всем лучшим по высшей мере.

Inaccuracy in the choice of lexical variant

1) Бур. а сам присел на имитированную табуретку.

2) Бур. Кроме костра, который издавал щелчки.

3) Як. Решил немного вздремнуть и поутру пойти смотреть (осмотреть) окрестности.

4) Як. Смотря в цель входа, я уже смирился с тем, что встречу смерть здесь.

5) Як. Вот он сильно подпрыгнул, и я слетел с седла, упал торчком в грязь.

6) Як. Я забился в страхе за свою жизнь, но выбраться не смог, меня будто затягивало в эту липкую жижу.

Choice of verbs

1) Як. Огромные торбаса вылетели из ее ног.

2) Як. Все подо мной промокло – и локоть, и коленки: одежда впиталась холодной водой.

3) Як. Я подошел посмотрел: в ухе медведя было очень много муравьев, выходили-заходили.

4) Як. Ему только-только начался грезиться чудесный сон

Choice of aspect – perfect / non-perfect verb

1) Як. Сестренка крикнула: – Аа-аа-аа! Я не останусь, возьми меня с собой.

2) Як. Муравей медведя побеждал.

3) Як. И вдруг с высокой горы, и без того пугающей видом нас, что-то с грохотом падало.

4) Як. мы как-то наловчились поймать уток без промаха.

5) Як. При ударе с высоты со взмахом шест издавал свистящий звук, к тому времени утка успевала уклоняться и быстро ускользала.

Verbs of action or body parts

Як. Вдруг почувствовал в руке ожог, успел крикнуть «больно» оказалось, что я сижу, закинув руку себе в рот.

Collocations

1) Як. Хотел было голову почесать, да среди своих лохматых волос вдруг обнаружил яйцо!

2) Як. и стала горько реветь.

3) Як. Сутулясь низко, осторожно подкрался.

4) Бур. И он с осторожностью спросил у неё: «Почём цена?».

On the syntactical level there are deviations in verbal government or agreement, colloquial syntax, which can be illustrated by the following:

Government

1) Як. Прицелился, но лось был от меня в большом расстоянии.

2) Як. Испугавшись от моего шума, утки разлетелись в разные стороны.

3) Як. А сейчас идем в поле боя.

4) Бур. Я, что, должна была преградить путь собой перед двумя мужчинами?

Agreement in gender

1) Як. В то утро я встал рано, поел наскоро, взял в дорогу лосятину, вяленого мяса, верного друга – ружье и пошел по излучинам реки.

2) Як. и ружье зацепившись об тальник выстрелил.

3) Як. Друг взял мою утку и держал его за клюв и хвост, словно он еще живой.

4) Як. Чье ружье, которое раньше служил, рано взрывает.

5) Бур. Однако не стоять мне на ногах, если я сама не была б такой жилистой и проворной, – услышав такое, разочарованный саранча пошел восвояси, не став даже с ней разговаривать.

Agreement in number

Як. Поздней осенью я с другом вышли охотиться на лося в речку Силяннях.

Word order

1) Як. “Ну-ка, оттолкнись от камня!” – крикнул мне он. Я стал изо всех сил отталкиваться.

2) Як. Так я его повел на поводке.

3) Як. Если бы я поймал этого селезня, стало бы их три.

Omission of subject

1) Як. Увлекишься охотой, забыл, что ставил затвор ружья, когда целился на лося.

2) Як. Два передних копыта лося были в одной стороне ямы, а задние копыта в другой стороне. Я оказался между ними. Чуть ли не затоптал печень.

3) Як. А вид с того места на гору был устрашающий – стояли наклоном, будто вот-вот падают на нас.

4) Як. Постепенно стало шумно, вокруг кряканье усилилось. То садились, то улетахи.

The biggest number of deviations from the norm is caused by register disruptions, especially when a high-flown word is placed next to a vulgarism, which immediately created a comic effect, but also by repetitions, the use of vulgar colloquialisms or diminutives.:

Register disruption, unnecessary amelioration or pejoration of style

1) Бур. – Вытащите! Спасите! – стала она орать, что есть мочи.

– Смогу ли я такой, с набитым животом, справиться с этой миссией?

2) Бур. В 17 лет, как и все мои сверстники частенько игнорировал тёплую одежду.

Elevation of style

1) Як. Но это меня сильно не волновало, я дивился обилию птиц на озере и предвкушал богатую добычу.

2) Як. Тщетные усилия вконец вымотали меня.

3) Як. Начинаю крякать, подобно уткам.

4) Як. Нет. Все прошло, – промолвил он и пошел вперед, показывая, что боль прошла. Но он все еще хромал.

5) Як. Я кладу в рот кусочек вкусного хлеба, я знаю, что это плод твоего неустанного труда.

6) Бур. Сегодня же, воочию узрев их снова, нутром их почувствовал.

7) Бур. Твое появление в родной деревне – радостное событие, благая весть на фоне размеренной тишины сельской жизни.

8) Бур. Но эта охота, которую он долго ждал, предзнаменовалась одним событием.

Use of obsolete words

1) Бур. Давеча, увидев Ивана Филипповича, поняв, что лишился ордера, он сразу не огорчился.

2) Бур. Спетая тобой давеча песня так тронула моё сердце и ещё появилось странное ощущение, как будто какой-то комок застрял у меня в горле.

Bureaucratic cliches

1) Як. Пришлось мне спастись от волка бегством

2) Бур. Пусть такие встречи состоятся завтра, а сегодня я должен осуществить свою давнюю мечту.

3) Бур. Зелень важно своевременно успеть собрать.

4) Бур. В ответ на поступившую просьбу Джордж вытягивает руку.

Colloquialisms

1) Як. Оставил на этой ветке один сучок, заточил его ножиком, и приделал «ошейник»

так, чтобы острый сучок впивался волку в загривок, если он дернется.

2) Бур. Но отмечая радость встреч с дорогими сердцу людьми, главное – не переборщить со спиртными напитками, ведь никто насильно не льёт тебе в глотку.

3) Бур. Ведь, кроме, как кушать, я ничего не умею, такой вот я несуразный, – лениво ответил саранча.

4) Бур. Чтобы выпендриться или с другой какой-то целью?

5) Бур. Достать его зимой в Ангарске нереально.

6) Бур. Достав из сумки харчишки и бутылку.

Repetitions

1) Як. А дождь с грозой словно гнался за мной и, догнав, стал лить как из ведра. На улице стемнело. Я перекинул ружье стволом вниз и спешно, переходя то на шаг, то на бег, направился к шалашу. Стало темно, хоть глаз выколи.

2) Як. С каждой охотой азарт становится сильнее, поэтому я этим не насытился, захотел еще больше.

3) Як. Тщетные усилия вконец вымотали меня и на меня навалилась дремота...

4) Як. На третий день обошли много лесных чащоб, но до полудня так и ничего не увидели. Мой друг пошел в шалаш готовить чай, тем временем я решил обойти одну лесную чащу.

5) Бур. Джордж вытягивает руку с наручными часами и с щеголеватым видом подносит их к глазам, скрывающимся за черными круглыми очками, напоминающими лягушачьи глаза.

In our analysis of rough translations we came across the cases of poor knowledge of Russian, or wrong ideas of the lexical meaning of words, which may create a comic effect. So it happened with a fashionable youth word *улет*, which in the quoted example means only a seasonal migration of birds:

Як. Издавала слышно, как кормятся утки перед осенним улетом, бойко плескаясь (плещась) и громко крикая в мелководье.

So, the adequate rendering of cultural realia and adherence to the Russian literary norm, chiefly the uniformity of style, comes to the fore in the present-day translations of Russia's ethnic literatures. In translations of cultural realia translators mainly resort to transcription / transliteration, transcription of exclamations and interjections, in-built textual commentaries of idiomatic units and proverbs. Yet most often a linguistic cultural commentary is needed as an addendum to translation.

Conclusions

Polycultural character of the translated literature now supersedes its mythological monoculturalism seen as an idealized (and ideologically charged) ambition, or a naïve attempt at equivalence or, if you please, a dream. Yes, we always dreamed that upon entering the noble circle of great Russian literature translated literature would acquire some classical features. In this respect translated ethnic literatures of Russia (and the USSR) underwent bigger adaptations and corrections than translated literary works of European authors – although this question is still pending research.

The two-step processing of the text (1 step – interlinear translator, 2 step – adapting translator), never fully represented the original text, but instead polished it levelling the texts belonging to different nations to the common denominator of “the Soviet people's creative work” and made possible the ideological treatment of it. It came to be substituted by a single-step interactive model employed in the cases when a translator has a native-speaker mastery of both languages, and, more importantly, exists in both cultures simultaneously. This situation, in our view, is possible only in the regions where two (or more) cultures have been actively practiced for a long time.

The interactive model implies a discussion of every text at bilingual seminars and webinars with at least two active parties: regional authors are involved as tutors, and specialists-supervisors act as guiding coordinators of the process. Russian becomes the main language of communication; a big part of editing is discussed via skype or electronic communication. Two manuscripts are prepared for the bilingual pub-

lication: the original text and the translation. A detailed cultural and historical commentary as a separate chapter of the book will provide cognitive support necessary for the polycultural text. Our experience has proved the need for illustrations for every cultural realia, as the cultural specificity of the original text calls for the visual support of the verbal translation.

The interactive character of this model will help to overcome the minor imperfections in the Russian translations which can be

chalked down to the flexibility of the norm in all modern languages rather than to the translators' remoteness from the exemplary models of the Russian language. In fact, mass media and the network culture bring users of language close to the literary norm so they do not feel at the world's end in terms of language use. On the other hand, the democratization of the language use and a wide spread of gadgets make possible almost instantaneous replication of linguistic changes and innovations.

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Поликультурность переводной русской литературы: якутский и бурятский опыт

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Аннотация. В статье рассматривается феномен поликультурности современных переводов произведений народов России на русский язык, а путь к достижению этого качества – как новая интерактивная модель, сменяющая собой двухступенчатый метод перевода XX века. Авторы отталкиваются от ретроспективы традиций обработки текстов народов России и противопоставляют ему новые экспериментальные данные переводов якутской и бурятской литературы на русский язык.

Ключевые слова: интерактивная поликультурная модель, русский язык как культурный посредник, языки народов России, жанры национальных литератур, стратегии перевода, литературная норма русского языка, иллюстрированный комментарий.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0227
УДК 81'246.3, 81'25

Conceptual Content of Bi- and Polylingual's Everyday Mind in the Framework of Translation

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Received 20.11.2018, received in revised form 24.04.2019, accepted 08.05.2019

Abstract. The project discovers a way one might explicate a conceptual content of everyday mind to finally reveal difference in modes of cognizing and thinking in the two cultures involved in translation. The methods applied in the study are an association experiment on the basis of most frequent words, conceptualization mode, and incorporating the data into a segmented translation act. The viability of the pilot project is supported by 18 basic frequent lexemes as stimuli to be further given associations in Buryat and Russian, and the processed data to expose versions of conceptual worldview. The paper shows that 80 bi- and polylingual students, who take part in the experiment, could be prototyped as the source and target culture bearers – the ones that contact in intercultural communication through the translator's mediation. The final idea is to introduce and reinforce the importance of modeling translating process in the framework of new methodologies which show that not mere words but concepts are to be translated in communication.

Keywords: everyday mind, translation, experiment, associate, image, concept, worldview.

The research is financially supported by Buryat State University, grant no. 44-OD, dated 02 February, 2017.

Research area: language studies.

Citation: Dashinimaeva, P.P., Orbodoeva, L.M., Sambueva, V.B. (2020). Conceptual content of bi- and polylingual's everyday mind in the framework of translation. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 341-351. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0227.

Introduction

For cross-cultural communication professionals working in the translation mediation domain to determine the worldview held by source culture bearers, which modern linguistics traditionally calls “the conceptual view of the world”, seems to be the main challenge. This issue acquires special relevance due to the fact that today a linguistics theorist does realize the deficiency of the horizontal translation model, which is based on learning the “2D” flat-line algorithm with one point (a word or a structure) associated with another one (a word or a structure):

*the source word ———→ *target equivalent (*submit* ———→ *представлять на рассмотрение*);

*source structure ———→ *target structure (*The conference expects to host up to 2,000 educators* ———→ *Мы планируем разместить до 2000 участников конференции*).

As a rule, traditional approaches to translation modeling explicate only one or two stages in the translator's verbal thinking activity: Linguistic Theory describes the final product of translation as a linguistic sign produced by the translator, while Functional Communication Theory mainly focuses on the initial stage, or the stage of identifying the connection between the meaning and function in the source text. The main problem of such an “intra-linguistic” approach is that it creates an illusion of identity between the worldviews, i. e. universal references existing in the cognitive space of each culture's bearers (“everything is the same everywhere”). However, an individual's social experiences, as well as emotional and moral settings, determine the major knowledge categorization vector, which, in the end, fails to provide universal processing or interiorization. This mechanism proves the validity of Leibniz's “salva veritate” postulate, which states that the truths of the mind do not always correspond to the truths of the outside world, and that “everything is different everywhere”, thus emphasizing the differences in cognizing and thinking.

Substantiation of the methodology for studying the everyday mind of culture bearers in translation

A deeper understanding of the intercultural communication mediation notion facilitates the necessity to implement the vertical principle and create a “3D” algorithm. This approach is reasonably called monadic / atomic, because it, firstly, brings us to the actual process of verbal thinking, i. e. to the addresser and the addressee's “black box” stage, which further prompts an attempt to explicate “what is thought behind the word”; secondly, to a certain extent it employs the idealization method in solving a research problem – a method that may lead the researcher away from implementing the reliability principle. In accordance with the *salva veritate* principle, it is important to reveal the differences in associative thinking in the two contacting cultures. It may become possible if we synthesize the data obtained from a frequency dictionary and an associative experiment.

It is worth noting that a frequency word list provides useful information for understanding a culture: the more frequent this or that lexeme in different text types is, the more expressively it indicates towards identification of cultural zones. However, the associative content of these zones remains unknown, which prompts an associative experiment with the most frequent – nuclear – lexemes serving as stimuli. We implemented a project of this kind within the framework of the grant project “Language determination of the everyday mind content in bi- and polylingual individuals” (Buryat State University, 2017). Such a project is of extra interest in a region like the Republic of Buryatia, where one can find bearers of different languages and cultures, for the following reasons:

1. It generally defines the basic conceptual guidelines of the source culture, whose bearer is involved in cross-language communication;
2. The subjects present a mini-sample of an intercultural space.

It should also be noted that frequency of the signs is an indicator or factor “exploited” for various research objectives. For example, Gideon Toury, a theorist from the University of Tel Aviv, employs the idea of frequency in his

probabilistic, conditioned translation concept to prove the lack of ready-made, universal correspondences. Thus, the principle of frequency as the basis of his theory says: the lower the frequency, the less universal is the use of a unit, and, conversely, the more obviously probabilistic and prognostic is the use of a corresponding unit. Toury argues that we cannot state that the correlating word use has a determined character due to the involvement of several mutually opposing factors: cognitive, cross-linguistic, communicative, socio-cultural; and all these factors cause heterogeneity of relations (Toury, 2004). In this case, frequency is understood at two levels – on the one hand, a “specific-synchronic” slicing of occurrence, and, on the other hand, a diachronic-generalized result, which makes a conclusion about frequency in the presence of a corpus database (Toury, 2004: 19). Toury’s concept brings us to an idea that the most important problem for translation theory is instrumentalization, or operationalization, of the translation methodology, so as to minimize the search for relevant correlates.

To develop a valid methodology for determining conceptual semantics, one must choose the most relevant genre for further research. The author’s conceptual worldview reflecting the everyday mind, is objectified most obviously in such genres as public speech, publicist text, newspaper and magazine information text. In this regard, in our study we turned to the publicist style.

Methods of the experiment

The research project algorithm consisted of the following research procedures:

1. Identification of two subject categories – bilingual, and polylingual ones who study foreign languages, including translation.
2. Selection of a frequency word list for Russian and Buryat languages based on publicist texts.
3. A free associative experiment.
4. Processing of the experimental data: descending order distribution of the received reactions according to their frequency, determination of associative fields.
5. Comparison of the associative meanings of Buryat and Russian common

correlates from the frequency word list, identification of the general and differential conceptual space.

6. Definition (in the first approximation) of the characteristics pointing to the Buryat conceptual way of thinking in the respondents who identified themselves as Buryats, but presented associations in the Russian language.

7. Identification of fragments of the Buryat and Russian conceptual worldview on the basis of frequency reactions.

8. Recommendations on translating Buryat and Russian texts that contain frequent words, taking into account their associative semantics.

A free association experiment was conducted from April to May 2017. For further portraiture the subjects were given a questionnaire in the Russian and Buryat languages. The respondents were asked to provide the following personal information: name, age, sex, education/course of study, place of the longest residence (city/village), mother tongue, other languages spoken by the subject. Next, they were presented with the following task: “Read this word and write the first reaction to it that comes to your mind”.

The experiment reached 40 bilingual subjects who speak Russian as a native language and a foreign language, and 40 polylingual subjects who speak Buryat as their mother tongue, Russian and a foreign language. The respondents were aged from 17 to 25, the geographical locale of the experiment – the Republic of Buryatia and Zabaikalsky Krai (Russia).

According to the results of the experiment, 40 Buryat-speaking respondents were divided into 3 groups:

- 1) 28 subjects who responded to Buryat stimuli in the Buryat language;
- 2) 2 subjects who responded to Buryat stimuli in the Russian language;
- 3) 10 subjects who chose stimuli in the Russian language, and, accordingly, responded in Russian, too.

This ratio is quite indicative, as it confirms the functional regression of the Buryat language, which has been described by linguists in Buryatia (Dyrkheeva, 2017; Zhalsanova, 2017). Our experiment shows that the

status of the Buryat language in 12 respondents (30 %) cannot be defined as the first/native language, and that their bilingualism has changed its format from Buryat-Russian to Russian-Buryat, although in the questionnaires these subjects mentioned Buryat as their native language. Such a factor as a quick response to a stimulus through the use of the Russian language code illustrates their cognitive inability to unconscious response activation in the Buryat language. This means that the corresponding neural connections responsible for objectifying the equivalents in the Russian language win the inter-language production competition.

The obtained data were processed in quantitative and qualitative aspects. As a result, all reactions formed an associative verbal network relevant for 2017.

It is essential to pay attention to the following:

1. Single reactions representing a unique way of the external world interiorization allow us to speak about the stochastic (indefinite-probabilistic) nature of mental images and personal significances. Therefore, they cannot be included in the worldview images hierarchy.

2. The conceptual content of the culture bearer's everyday mind is indicated not by the language code (language body), but by the associative content behind this body.

3. We determine the status of primary Buryat / primary Russian conceptual mind through the content, rather than the language code in which the response is given.

The course of the experiment and the primary processing of the material obtained

For the experiment we chose a word list based on *The Buryad Unen* newspaper's thesaurus compiled by P. Dashinimaeva from the materials that included all of this newspaper's issues for the years 2007 and 2008 (*The Buryad Unen* is the only regular newspaper published in the Republic of Buryatia in the Buryat language) (Dashinimaeva, 2017).

Personal and possessive pronouns, numerals and verbs have been removed from the list of 100 Buryat words representing significant

words. Thus, the first 18 words were included in the list of would-be stimuli: *azhal* (work), *zhael* (year), *olon* (a lot), *arad/zon* (nation/people), *hun* (man), *sug* (time), *ger* (house), *aimag* (village), *gazar* (land/home), *hain/haehan* (good/beautiful), *burkhan* (god/altar), *naerae* (name), *huuli* (law), *bagshah* (teacher), *khaan* (the king/owner), *udaer* (day), *shenae* (new), *uran* (skilled, clever), *sagaan* (white).

To select stimuli words in Russian, we turned to the "New frequency dictionary of Russian vocabulary" (Available at: <http://dict.ruslang.ru/freq.php> (date accessed – 02.03.2017)). This dictionary, in our opinion, is the most reliable and modern one, as it is based on the collection of texts from the National Corpus of the Russian language (the texts were produced in the period 1950–2007). The greatest advantage of this frequency dictionary is the distribution of lemmas by functional styles. In the dictionary the lemmas are arranged in alphabetical order and have one "total frequency" statistical indicator. Taking this indicator as the key one we selected words-stimuli – independent parts of speech – previously removing the same word categories as for the Buryat word list. As a result, we obtained the following list of 18 words-stimuli: *god* (year), *chelovek* (man), *vse* (all), *odin* (one), *vremya* (time), *drugoi* (another), *perviy* (first), *noviy* (new), *zhizn'* (life), *delo* (deed/business), *dva* (two), *den'* (day), *strana* (country), *slovo* (word), *dom* (home), *drug* (friend), *mir* (world), *posledniy* (last).

The results of the experiment show that the responses to the stimuli directly and indirectly indicate how an individual's everyday thinking occurs. After all, we do not think through interpretations of an object's physical properties and characteristics, which we can find in dictionaries, but through figurative associations of an object's copies that have been formed during one's life in the process of socialization. In order to get a clearer understanding of the inner worldview's content, we must define the type of the image-category, which will form the basis for further classification. These include living being images, quality images, abstraction images, reference images, institution images, and action images.

Thus, significant for the linguistic mind of a younger generation of Buryat polylingual speakers are:

- living being images: *zon* (people) (18), *hun* (human) (13), *basagan* (girl, daughter) (10), *Genghis Khan* (8), *aezhi* (mother) (7), *arad* (people) (7), *erae hun* (man) (7), *uhiboon* (child) (5), *bagshah* (teacher) (5), *Dalai Lama* (3), *khuboon* (boy, young man, son) (2);
- quality images: *tomo* (big) (8), *muu/moukhai* (bad) (6), *saeber* (clean) (5), *yekhe* (much, many) (5), *nogoon* (green) (5), *goyo* (beautiful, smart) (4), *hain* (good, well) (4), *khara* (black) (4), *uner* (smell) (3), *shene* (new) (3);
- abstraction images: *buryad* (Buryat,) (10), *delkhay* (world, light, earth) (7), *zhel* (year) (7), *uder* (day) (7), *sedhel* (thought) (6), *obog* (surname) (6), *hanaan* (thought, desire, intention) (4), *erdem* (knowledge, science, education) (4), *ubel* (winter) (4);
- reference images: *mungen* (money) (10), *naran* (sun) (10), *ger* (house) (9), *edean* (food, (8), *nom* (book) (7), *zula* (candle, oil lamp) (4), *gazar* (land) (3), *seseg* (flower) (3), *khubsahan* (clothes, dress) (2), *khargy* (road) (2), *altan* (gold) (2);
- institution images: *hurguuli* (school) (12), *ger bule* (family) (7), *dasan* (datsan – Buddhist temple) (6), *zasag* (power) (6), *hudalmeri/azhal* (work, labour) (6);
- action images: *mendeshelkhe* (to greet) (2), *zokhyokho* (to create) (2), *sai urgekhe* (to make offering with tea) (2).

It is interesting to compare the associative fields of the two respondents who gave their responses to Buryat stimuli in Russian. The first respondent found it difficult to suggest associations for the following words: *olon* (a lot), *hun* (human), *haehan* (beautiful), *burkhan* (God/altar), *huuli* (law), *uran* (skillful), the last four of which do not belong to the basic vocabulary, although in the publicist text they do, as such texts cover social issues. This inability to identify these Buryat stimuli at the individual level confirms the statement made by B. Bichakjian, who argues that language regression is a gradual “departure” to the previous positions (the basic vocabulary): sign A is regularly replaced by sign B, and the latter is recognized as having

a selective advantage (Bichakjian, 1999). This means that in the process of permanent selection Russian equivalents have already replaced less regular units from the bearer’s memory and reduced the lexicon to its basic state.

The second subject did not have a reverse stage in the native language functioning: she managed to understand all Buryat stimuli correctly, which means that her language proficiency is at the border point: further weakening of the language functioning will trigger reverse movement to the previous positions. However, the responses given by these two respondents in Russian drive us to a conclusion that their everyday mind still holds the Buryat conceptual worldview (e. g. *aimag* (native village) vs *rodina* (homeland), *zon* (folks/tribe) vs *rodniye* (kin), *burkhan* (god) vs *umirotvoreniye* (tranquility), *nerae* (name) vs *ya* (I), *sagaan* (white) vs *sebaer* (pure). The rest of the responses were characterized by a high degree of denotation – the meaning that weakly points to the conceptual-evaluative mind content.

Now we shall consider if the last conclusion could be attributed to the 10 Buryat polylingual respondents who chose both stimuli and responses in Russian. Of the whole group, the verbal behavior of 3 respondents proved to be the most obviously ethnically-oriented, as they presented their everyday mind in a slightly different way, thus expressing Buryat identity in an obvious manner. Analysis of such responses as *one vs tree*, *time vs eternity*, *another vs new*, *life vs nature*, *country vs map*, *state*, *year vs age*, *person vs head*, *time vs life*, *another one vs different*, *new*, *friend* – *zero reaction* suggests that their minds hold a certain world model formed by the generations of ancestors who had a nomadic lifestyle. As A.T. Zhanaev aptly notes, “the Oriental [Buryat] way of thinking is characterized by relativity and holistic thinking, which implies integrity of the part and the whole, non-dichotomous categorization, high context of statements, vision of the world as a dynamic whole” (Zhanaev, 2014: 6–7).

Thus, out of 40 subjects who identified Buryat as their native language, we could identify 33 respondents, whose everyday mind can be described as “Buryat-oriented”.

Further, we shall present 6 image-categories, which are reflected in the associations of 40 Russian-speaking bilingual respondents:

- abstraction images: mir (peace) (15), noch' (night) (15), Rossiya (Russia) (14), den' (day) (13), dva (two) (12), god (year) (11), yazyk (language) (9), zhizn' (life) (8), smert' (death) (7), rodina (homeland) (7), ljubov' (love) (7), para (couple) (7), tri (three) (7), rozhdiye (birth) (6), voyna (war) (5), gorod (city) (5), mesto (place) (5), chislo (number) (5), mesyatz (month) (4), utro (morning) (4), shchastye (happiness) (3), radost' (joy) (3), planeta (planet) (3), vseennaya (universe) (2), vechnost' (eternity) (2);

- quality images: luchshiy (best) (10), chuzhoi (alien) (7), mnogo (many) (6), horoshiy (good) (6), stariy (old) (5), svetliy (light) (4), geroi (hero) (4), vrag (enemy) (4), rodnoy (native) (3), vazhnoye (important) (3), posledny (last) (3), perviy (first) (3), nepohozhiy (unlike)

- (3), inoi (other) (3), bystro (fast) (3), lider (leader) (2), chistiy (clean) (2), dobroye (kind) (2);

- living being images: chelovek (human) (18), l'udy (people) (11), drug (friend) (9), lichnost' (personality) (6), ya (I) (5), muzhchina (man) (4), mama (mother) (3), roditeli (parents) (3), sushestvo (creature) (3);

- institution images: semya (family) (19), rabota (work) (7), biznes (business) (4), obshestvo (society) (2), uchyoba (studies) (2);

- reference images: solntze (sun) (11), chasy (clock) (11), dom (house) (7), zemlya (earth) (5), telefon (telephone) (3), ochag (hearth) (3);

- action images: idyot (goes) (2).

In addition to the above mentioned denotative-referential meanings of the associates there are also syntagmatic combinations that are not quite presentable for correlation with the conceptual worldview: predicative *logogens*, which are forms of a communication strategy *sai urgekhe* (*to make offerings*

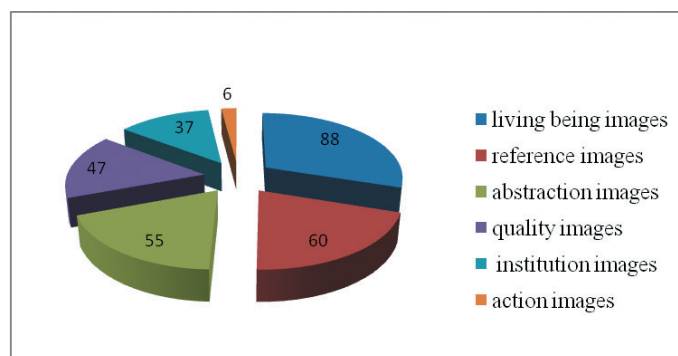


Fig. 1. The ratio of everyday mind images of 28 Buryat-speaking respondents

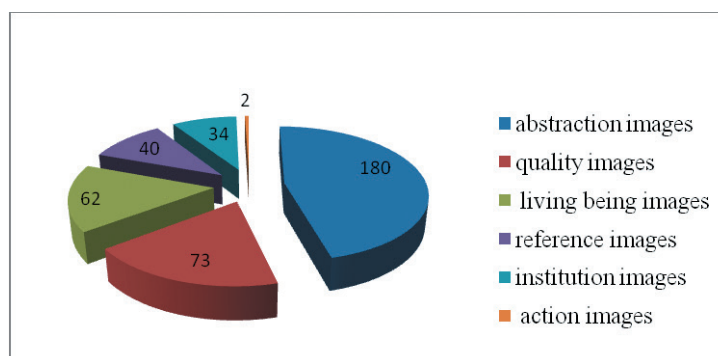


Fig. 2. The ratio of everyday mind images of 40 Russian-speaking respondents

with tea), *vremya idyot* (time passes), etc., semi-predicative combinations like *gaerei dabari* (homework), *Baeshuur aimag* (Bichura village), etc. Such reactions demonstrate in practice production and perception regularity of the combinations, which provides their easy unconscious activation prior to detecting their inherent paradigmatic connections and relationships.

The ratio of associative images behind the stimulus words in Buryat and Russian is presented in Fig. 1 and 2.

Determination of primary Buryat and primary Russian everyday mind conceptual content

Further, on the basis of correlation and convergence of the images according to the semantic kinship principle and verbal reactions frequency, we define the concepts that we understand as acts of consciousness determining the intention and the course of the thinking process; the associates that received 3 or fewer responses were excluded from conceptually significant space determinants. The concepts defined on the basis of the experiment only, which involved 80 participants of approximately the same age and one field of study, form only the *primary* Buryat or *primary* Russian conceptual worldview: a number of complementary experiments are necessary in order to obtain a closer approximation.

The primary Buryat conceptual content, allocated on the basis of 28 fields, consists of the following concepts (we do not include here the bi-coded reactions of 12 Buryat-speaking subjects that have been given certain assessment in the previous paragraph):

1. The WE – ETHNOS concept represented by the responses: zon, arad (people, nation) (18), hun (human) (13), buryad (Buryat) (10), Genghis Khan (8) (which points to the roots of the ethnic group going back to the era of Genghis Khan).

2. The I – FAMILY concept represented by the responses: ger (house) (9), ger-bulaa (family) (7), ezhy (mother) (7), basagan (girl, daughter) (10), erae hun (man) (7), obog (last name) (6), ukhiboon (child) (4).

3. The I – UNIVERSE concept represented by the responses naran (sun) (10), delkhey (peace, light, earth) (7), zhel (year) (7), uder (day) (7), nogon (grass, green) (5), ubel (winter) (4).

4. The I – MATERIAL WORLD concept represented by responses mungen (money) (10), edaen (food) (8), tomo (big) (8), muu/muuhei (bad) (6), ekhae (a lot, big) (5), goyo (beautiful, smart) (4), khara (black) (4).

5. The I – SOCIETY concept represented by the responses of hurguuli (school) (12), dasan (datsan – Buddhist temple) (6), zasag (power) (6), khudelmeri/azhal (work, labour) (6), bagsha (teacher) (5).

6. The I – SPIRITUAL WORLD concept represented by the responses: nom (book) (7), sad'hel (thought) (6), sebaer (pure) (5), erdem (knowledge) (4), hanaan (thought, desire, intention) (4), zula (candle, oil lamp) (4), hain (good, well) (4).

The primary-Russian everyday mind conceptual content selected on the basis of 40 associative fields (as above, responses from 3 to 0 were excluded as conceptual determinants):

1. The I – UNIVERSE concept represented by the responses: mir (world) (15), noch' (night) (15), den' (day) (13), god (year) (11), solntse (sun) (11), mesyatz (month) (4), utro (morning) (4).

2. The I – SOCIETY concept represented by the responses: drug (friend) (9), zhizn' (life) (8), smert' (death) (7), chuzoi (alien) (7), rabota (work) (7), lichnost (personality) (6), voina (war) (5), gorod (city) (5), ya (I) (5), mesto (place) (5), biznes (business) (4), muzhchina (man) (4).

3. The WE – ETHNOS concept represented by the responses: chelovek (human) (18), Rossiya (Russia) (14), l'udi (people) (11), rodina (homeland) (7), zemlya (earth) (5), geroi (hero) (4), vrag (enemy) (4).

4. The I – MATERIAL WORLD concept represented by the responses: dva (two) (12), chasy (clock) (11), luchshiy (best) (10), para (pair) (7), tri (three) (7), mnogo (many) (6), chislo (number) (5), stariy (old) (5).

5. The I – FAMILY concept represented by the associates: semya (family) (19), dom (house) (7), rozhdeniye (birth) (6).

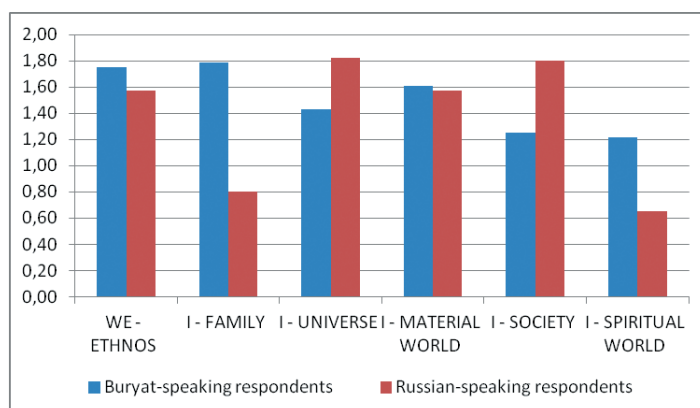


Fig. 3. Ratio of the everyday mind content in the two categories of respondents

6. The I – SPIRITUAL WORLD concept represented by the responses: *yazyk* (language) (9), *l'ubov* (love) (7), *khorošiy* (good) (6), *svetlyi* (light) (4).

Thus, from the associative fields formed on the basis of responses to 18 frequency stimuli, we could distinguish 6 general concepts, which nevertheless differ in their internal content. In the lists the hierarchy of concepts was built according to the frequency of language presentations. However, to obtain a relevant theoretical generalization, it is necessary to neutralize the asymmetry of the fields (28 and 40), i. e. to compare the conceptual content of the everyday mind in the two respondent categories on the basis of the given value – the coefficient relative to the participants share. As a result, we obtained the following ratio (see Fig. 3).

As one can see, the situation with Buryat-speaking participants is represented more by the I – FAMILY and WE – ETHNOS concepts, while in the case of Russian-speaking respondents the I – UNIVERSE and I – SOCIETY concepts dominated, which, in general, appears to be quite predictable.

Determination of the conceptual worldview of the source culture bearers as a starting point in pre-translation work

Within the framework of the cognitive-psychological approach, translation is considered not as a search for the most suitable correlates, but rather as the translator's ability to predict the meaning of the source text on the

basis of understanding the stereotyped conceptual worldview, which we have tried to present. However, a translator meets a certain language-culture bearer rather than a generalized culture representative, thus, it is extremely important for the translator to employ his/her ability to relativize the stereotypical knowledge of the nation's conceptual orientations through identification of the addressee's psycho-typical, social and personal characteristics. As a result, the translator identifies the author as a typical / average / peripheral representative of this culture. In order to be able to do this, the translator must undergo a certain evolution, which involves a qualitative increase in the ability to determine translation units within the following proportion rule: the lower is the translator's level of professional competence, the more formal-linguistic a translation unit is, and vice versa, the higher the translator's skill level, the more mental (internal) structure this unit becomes (Dashinimaeva, 2017):

- pre-professional level: formal translation unit (morpheme, word, syntagm, sentence);
- better developed translation skills: translation units as meanings of the source text, which are conditioned by its function;
- almost perfect translation skills: translation units as “internal” units – cognitive structures (primarily conceptual reference-points).

Moreover, this is not only about the ability to determine a concept as a translation unit, but also about the ability to model the translation

process as a semiotic mechanism consisting of mental, pre-verbal-pragmatic and verbal stages. In the didactic aspect, the first stage implies the need to develop the ability to predict and imagine the addressee's mental structures, and then, already being a shadow sender, to "try on" the addressee's everyday mind.

Let us illustrate this idea with an example of what might result from insufficient conceptual knowledge of the source culture and a neglected pre-translation stage: we will refer to a translation of Bair Dugarov's poem *The Nomad's Star* (1994). The translation was made by Laurie Daniels, an American poet, in 1996:

representative of his culture, which is proved by his poetry in general), so the sky cannot be part of a grass blade.

This example shows that mere knowledge of the target language is not enough: it is necessary to realize what concepts underlie the text. When it is necessary to reproduce in another language a Buryat text of this kind, where ethno-oriented content is significant, the translator needs, first of all, to find out about the associative content of the I – FAMILY and WE – ETHNOS, I – UNIVERSE and I – MATERIAL WORLD concepts, etc., then compare the representa-

ЗВЕЗДА КОЧЕВНИКА	THE NOMAD'S STAR
<p>Мужчине – путь, а женщине – очаг. И чтобы род мой древний не зачах, роди – молю и заклинаю – сына. Стрела летит, куда жив мужчина. Мужчине – дым, а женщине – огонь. И чтоб в бою мой не споткнулся конь, я должен знать, что юрту греет пламя, как предками завещанное знамя. В мужчине – дух, а в женщине – душа. Травинка держит небо трепеща. Без очага, без сына, без любимой, как одинокий смерч, развеюсь над равниной.</p>	<p>The road is to man, as the hearth is to woman. And so my ancient clan does not wither, A son is born – I pray and entreat. The arrow flies, as long as man is alive. Smoke is to man, as fire is to woman. And so my steed does not stumble in battle I must know that a flame warms the yurt, Like the banner hung by my forefathers. In the man lies the spirit, in the woman, the soul. The trembling blade of grass contains the sky. Without a hearth, without a son, without my beloved, I am scattered above the plain, like a solitary sandstorm.</p>

It is easy to see that this is a word-for-word linear translation (translation units are words and grammatical structures). The translator fails to detect, for example, what stands behind such concept words as (BURYAT) MAN, (BURYAT) WOMAN, HEARTH, SON, SKY, STEPPE (PLAIN), which all indicate the nomadic culture of Mongolian tribes. The reverse translation of the line *the trembling blade of grass contains the sky* sounds like *the sky is contained in the fluttering blade of grass*. The SKY concept is a derivative of the integral model of the world formed by Buryats' ancestors, and narrow meaning of SKY "is implemented and perceived in the framework of this model through involvement of a broad associative context" (Zhanaev, 2014: 3). The eternal high sky, indeed, occupies the highest position in the worldview hierarchy in the traditional everyday mind of Buryat people (the author is a traditional rep-

tions of these concepts with the relevant target language dictionaries, thereby forming a certain stereotypical representation of the differences in the worldview of the bearers of both cultures.

This work procedure to pursue recognition of the inner world borne by representatives of different communities is connected with the fact that the psychophysiological nature of the images and ideas behind the word always remains opaque for the translator. Nevertheless, a thoughtful translator must be able to predict the content of everyday mind: starting from the stereotypical conceptual content the translator makes it relative both for the author and the recipient, first asking the question "What would I mean, what would I imagine if I were the addressee?", and then "How would I understand the translated thought of the sender, if I were the addressee?".

Conclusion

1. The database, which is a frequency hierarchy of reproduction and perception of words, is an important resource for its further application in various research aspects. The significance of the resource is determined by our belief that multiple occurrence of certain words in a national language points to culturally significant clots of the meta-text in general, and of a specific text, in particular.

2. The associative meaning of the word-stimulus, which is the key to understanding the conceptual content of the everyday mind in bearers of the languages-cultures that come into contact through translation, has little in common with its dictionary meaning. Lexicographic interpretation is determined on the basis of the subject's scientific mind and is a foreknowledge in speech, while in thinking we depart from the conceptual content of everyday mind. This axiom is confirmed by the dif-

ferences between the associative experiments data, which are shown in our paper, and explanatory monolingual dictionaries representing sets of static meanings of corresponding conceptual words.

3. We believe it wrong to assume that the unique conceptual content of the source culture bearer's everyday mind should be interpreted through the cognitive apparatus of the translator's language, as this would naturally lead to a distorted understanding and inadequate translation of texts with a convex conceptual content. If it is not possible to carry out experiments to identify the relevant (at the time of the source text production) associative content of the key concepts, the translator should refer to the data provided by associative dictionaries. A good translator, in our view, sets the task to acquire valid data indicating the conceptual worldview of the culture bearer, whose language is the source language of translation.

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Концептуальное содержание обыденного сознания би- и полилингва в ракурсе перевода

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Аннотация. Работа посвящена описанию механизма определения базового концептуального содержания обыденного сознания носителей разных культур и подтверждению идеи его нетождества, что ведет к соответствующему порядку аппликации данных в сфере межкультурной коммуникации. Для решения задачи авторы прибегают к многоступенчатой методике, совмещающей определение списка наиболее активной лексики, ассоциативный эксперимент, метод определения концепта на основе результатов эксперимента, определение аппликативности данных в переводческом посредничестве. 80 бурятскоязычных и русскоязычных студентов выступили в пилотном проекте респондентами, которые могут быть приняты в качестве представителей исходной и целевой культур (наличие коих обеспечивает основное условие процесса перевода). Актуальность темы обусловлена слабой разработанностью методологии экспликации концептов и соответствующего встраивания результатов в моделирование переводческого процесса.

Ключевые слова: обыденное сознание, перевод, эксперимент, ассоциат, образ, концепт, картина мира.

Исследование поддержано грантом Бурятского государственного университета, № 44-ОД от 09.02.2017.

Научная специальность: 10.02.19 – теория языка.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0352
УДК 81'25=161.1=134.2

Communicative and Textual Competence as a Formative Element in the Subject of Translation in Science and Technology (Russian – Spanish)

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Received 15.10.2018, received in revised form 06.11.2018, accepted 20.11.2018

Abstract. This work is based on our experience as teachers of Translation in Science and Technology at the University of Granada. Based on the model of translation competence created by Dorothy Kelly, in this article we outline a teaching approach which includes different types of activities which further the development of communicative and textual sub-expertise during the training process of this subject.

This proposal is structured around three fundamental objectives: understanding linguistic elements necessary for understanding specialized texts and having the skills to rewrite them; being able to recognize and adequately analyse specialized textual genres in the fields of science in the language combination of Russian-Spanish; recognizing and analysing the necessary terminology to translate specialized textual genres in the fields of Science and Technology in the language combination of Russian-Spanish.

Keywords: translation didactics, communicative and textual competence, scientific and technical translation, Russian, Spanish.

Research area: philology.

Citation: Quero Gervilla, Enrique F., Soriano García, Inmaculada (2020). Communicative and textual competence as a formative element in the subject of translation in science and technology (Russian – Spanish). J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 352-362. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0352.

1. Introduction

The degree in Translation and Interpretation (TeI) at the University of Granada (UGR) is a four-year course and is structured around the study of a first foreign language, which the UGR calls Language B, and a second foreign language called Language C. Four options are offered for Language B: German, Arabic, French and English. Students matriculating in the Faculty of Translation and Interpretation must have a B1 level of competence (according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages CEFR), with the exception of Arabic, whose entrance level is A2 or above.

The faculty offers nine options for Language C: German, Arab, Chinese, French, Modern Greek, English, Italian, Portuguese and Russian. No prior knowledge of these languages is necessary (except in the case of French and English where it is normal to expect that students will already have a basic grounding in these languages). In the case in question, Russian, students begin their studies from zero. In the first year they are awarded 18 ECTS credits in Russian, to which another 24 credits are added, distributed over a further two years.

Regarding specialized translation, the curriculum of the current degree offers preliminary contact with specialized translation (scientific and technological as well as legal and economic) to students in the third year, in the subject called Translation B3 (Specialized Translation) which involves the students' first contact with specialized translation in their first foreign language, where they acquire a series of core skills for this area of translation. Thus, creating a foundation for the study of the subject Science and Technology Translation (hereafter TCT) in Language C which is the subject under analysis in this article. We propose a teaching approach for the development of communicative and textual competence in this subject for the combination of Russian-Spanish, taking into consideration the characteristics of the students of Russian in the faculty of Translation and Interpretation at the University of Granada. It should be taken into account that this is a subject involving specialized content aimed at the students' second foreign language, intended for students who began studying Rus-

sian in the first year, and who, when they take this TCT subject, have already gained a total of 42 credits in Russian language and 6 credits in Russian culture over six semesters. They will also have had previous experience in specialized translation in their first foreign language, language B, within the subject Translation B3.

Communicative and textual competence is an integral element of translation competence. The development of this competence is the principal objective of the degree in Translation and Interpretation, and its characterization and the analysis of the components of the degree have been studied by various authors (Delisle, 1980; Nord, 1991; Gile, 1996; Hurtado Albir, 1996; Hatim & Mason, 1997; Kelly, 1999, 2002; PACTE, 2000; Komissarov, 2002: 326), with particular emphasis on the design of the curriculum (Kelly, 2002, 2005; Hurtado Albir, 2007, 2008, 2017; Calvo Encinas, 2011). The model which we have used as our base is the one proposed by Kelly (2002) since we believe, in relation to other models, it is innovative in its addressing of the issue from a professional perspective and is different from previous ones. Kelly defines translating expertise as "the set of skills, abilities, knowledge and even attitudes which are found together in professional translators and which contribute towards translation as an expert activity, that is to say, together they distinguish the professional from the non-professional, the expert from the non-expert" (Kelly, 2002: 9). According to her proposal (Kelly, 1999, 2002, 2005), the components of translating expertise are: communicative and textual competence in at least two languages and cultures, thematic expertise, skilled use of professional tools, psychophysiological competence, interpersonal skills and strategic abilities. Below we will briefly outline what each of these elements of translating expertise consists of and how they are implemented in the subject TCT Russian-Spanish. Further on, we will look in more detail at communicative and textual competence.

Communicative and textual competence in at least two languages and cultures is reflected in this subject in two core areas: on the one hand in the understanding and restating of specialized texts, and on the other hand,

in the knowledge of textual conventions, and arguments within scientific and technological texts in Spanish and Russian. Firstly, it is indispensable to both understand the original text, and can correctly express the target text (Gile, 1986: 28). At this point special attention needs to be paid to terminology and the role which it plays in the area of specialized communication, as the student must be able to not only identify it in the original text but also be able to employ it in the target text. Secondly this competence is based on the analysis of scientific and technical discourses and in understanding textual conventions in both areas.

Regarding cultural and intercultural competence, the universal nature of scientific and technological discourse should be highlighted, this means that this competence focuses above all on the knowledge of a lexicon with a high proportion of cultural elements. Scientific texts are often perceived to lack cultural elements because of their expository nature and neutrality. However, along the lines presented by Sánchez Trigo and Varela Vila (2015), we are convinced that in these texts it is possible for these elements to be present and to see them reflected, for example, in the non-internationally shared usage of eponyms, medical structures, organizations or practices specific to each culture (Sánchez Trigo and Varela Vila, 2015: 502). It is along these lines that we try to develop competence in the subject TCT, showing students texts in which they themselves can identify and discover cultural references in scientific and technological texts, and the way they can be treated. In this respect, for example, they discover that the law which is known to us as “Lenz’s Law” (Ley de Lenz), for the Russians is attributed as much to Joule as to Lenz, and so in Russian it is referred to as “Joule-Lenz’s Law” (“La ley de Joule-Lenz”) (Закон Джоуля-Ленца). Ultimately, they learn that scientific and medical texts, independent of their neutrality, clarity and objectivity, are written within a specific context and culture.

Thematic competence is based on knowledge of the thematic areas in which a translator works, as well as access to specialized documents which allow translation problems to be solved. Obviously, at this stage in training it

is impossible to expect that students will be knowledgeable in all areas of specialization. That said, they are expected to know some basic elements which lead to an understanding and a deeper knowledge of more advanced aspects of this knowledge, as well as being able to manage material sources which will help them to access that information and knowledge which they lack.

Competence in using professional tools is developed during the course, based on the use of documentary, terminology and computer resources amongst others, as well as knowledge of the professional code of ethics and professional associations. This competence develops in tandem with the completion of translation projects which require the use of these resources or where emphasis is placed on the ethical conduct of the translator in various specific cases.

Psychophysiological competence, based on self-concept, confidence, attention span, stress management and task automation, is developed in the subject as in other parts of the degree. As the subject advances, students become aware of what they can achieve. In this way students develop characteristics, such as confidence, as little by little they become aware that they are capable of carrying out tasks which they felt incapable of performing at the beginning of the course.

Interpersonal skills, based on interaction with other professionals (translators, terminologists, documentalists, as well as clients, authors and users, amongst others) are developed in our subject in two main ways: firstly, working groups are formed as much in class as out of it, in a way in which students, while conscious of the advantages of independent learning, have to learn how to work as part of a team (Morón Martín, 2005; Huertas Barros, 2013). In this manner, it is recommended that students organize themselves into groups containing documentalists, translators, terminologists, proof-readers and project leaders and that the roles are rotated over different tasks throughout the duration of the course. To achieve this, the students collaborate following the professional model of Translation teaching proposed in the project AULAI NT “Aula virtual de Traduc-

ción”¹ (the virtual translation classroom). The aforementioned setting allows for the recreation of the development of a project as if it were in a translation agency, tackling assignments in an effective and organized manner within the scientific-technological field. Conversely, from the beginning of the subject, stress is placed on the use students make of professionals who can help them to solve specific translation problems arising from the texts which they are working on, particularly professionals from the spheres of health or technology such as doctors, physicists, chemists or biologists. There is no doubt that the interaction between translators and experts is a fairly common working formula in the translation market and thus desirable and always positive in students’ training.

Finally, strategic skills, which according to Kelly (2002: 15) are what direct the correct application of all other competencies, develop throughout the course thanks to the use of translations which allow students to develop organizational skills in planning, identifying and resolving problems.

The process of acquiring these competencies is interconnected throughout the different subjects which make up the Degree in Translation and Interpretation. Below we will cover in more detail how communicative and textual competency can be studied in at least two languages and cultures, in this case, Russian and Spanish.

2. Teaching method for developing communicative and textual competency in at least two languages and cultures

We are aware that any teaching method must have an objective. Therefore, before explaining the method itself we will begin by considering what the principal objectives are of the subject related to this communicative and textual competency.

- Knowledge of the linguistic elements necessary in order to be able to understand specialized texts and to have the ability to rewrite them.

- Recognition and appropriate analysis of specialized textual genres in the fields of science and technology in the linguistic combination Russian-Spanish. That is to say, awareness of the characteristics of scientific and technological discourse, the characteristics which define this textual typology and the textual conventions in Russian and Spanish.
- Recognition and analysis of the necessary terminology to translate the specialised textual genres in the fields of science and technology in the linguistic combination of Russian-Spanish.

Next, we will develop the particularities of each of the above mentioned objectives as well as some of the teaching proposals as to how to put them into practice.

2.1. Linguistic elements necessary to be able to understand specialised texts and to have the ability to rewrite them

Firstly, we believe it is necessary for us to pause and highlight certain particularities which accompany the study of Russian and which subsequently influence the development of translation subjects. These particularities are as follows: as stated above students who study the subject presented in this article have previously attained 42 language credits, 6 Russian cultural credits and one subject of general Russian-Spanish translation (6 credits). During the first three years of translation, students must achieve Level B2 of the CEFR or *Vtoroi* (Second) from the Russian state system (TRKI). In a relatively short space of time students of Russian must “confront” the translation of specialized texts in an extraordinarily complex language which typologically is very distant from Spanish. This ideal B2 level in Russian conditions the texts which are studied in class to a great extent. For this reason, the very careful selection of texts, which are always authentic, is a central element when addressing the success of this subject. The simple fact that it demands many hours of work and study on the part of the students to be able to read particularly specialized texts fluently must be taken into account. These intrinsic difficulties in the study of Russian lead us to believe that the FTI

¹ Available at: <http://aulaint.es/>

in the UGR should consider that specific languages necessitate greater dedication and that this should equally be reflected in the plan of studies within the undergraduate programme. Namely, we are venturing here to propose that the number of language credits in the Degree in Tel in the FTI should be restructured in relation to the work done and the intrinsic characteristics of Language C. It seems obvious that for students whose mother tongue is Spanish, it will be easier to gain a higher level in Portuguese, Italian or French than in Chinese, Russian or Arab during the first three years of Language C.

Moreover, a further difficulty to be considered is the level of Russian (often fairly unequal) which students have when they enrol on the subject. In relation to this, reference should be made to the wide range of exchange opportunities available to our students in the Russian Federation. Thanks to this, translation students from the UGR can choose to do exchanges lasting 1 or 2 semesters. These places create a lot of interest and are highly in demand. The double degree in Translation and Interpretation (UGR) and Translation and Translation Studies (Moscow State Linguistic University) should also be noted. These exchanges flow in both ways, that is to say, every academic year the FTI accepts Russian students from these universities and obviously they enrol in the subject TCT. This gives rise to a peculiar situation: for the students from Russia the subject automatically becomes a reverse translation subject, while for UGR students it is, as previously seen, a subject of direct translation. As can easily be seen, the level of existing knowledge of Russian is very different, as for some students it is their mother tongue whilst for others it is their second foreign language. This situation affects students as they often perceive it as an 'obstacle' (of both a linguistic and psychological nature) which is difficult to overcome (Soriano García, 2007, 2009, 2009b). Obviously the teaching faculty have to confront this situation and find feasible solutions which ensure the achievement of the identified objectives.

With the aim that every student will overcome this first phase of contact with the subject, which is always difficult, activities are

given to develop lexical-grammatical competence and to strengthen their ability to understand specialized texts in Russian and the skill to restate them in Spanish. To further the skill of reading scientific texts, the following activities are carried out:

- Reordering the paragraphs of a disordered text.
- Making a summary of the principal ideas of a text (using a maximum of 300 words).
- Identifying translation problems of a lexical-grammatical nature.

These are combined with cross-language translations intended to improve students' awareness of scientific and technological language in Spanish. For this we provide students with a text written in Spanish with specialized content so that they can rewrite it in a way understandable for "laypeople". This type of exercise allows students to understand the difficulties implicit in understanding a specialized text, and they become aware of the importance that terms acquire as transmitters of knowledge in these texts. The realization of the above mentioned exercises provide an initial contact with the translation process in TCT Russian-Spanish. Consequently, the choice and sequence of the texts is fundamental in the development of students' self-confidence.

1.2. Textual typology in the fields of Science and Technology

in the linguistic combination Russian-Spanish

The main objective in the analysis of textual typology is that students respect the necessary textual conventions in the target text. We propose a textual typology whose central aim is the differentiation between scientific investigative texts and technological texts based on existing differences between rhetorical devices and linguistic ones present in these types of texts. This brings us to examine the genres between which we differentiate in both subtypes:

- ✓ Scientific texts:
 - Scientific texts containing investigation results intended for specialists in each branch of science; reviews and press reports; interviews, specialized investiga-

tive articles, summaries of specialized texts, chapters of books on specific topics, conference papers etc.

- Texts on popular scientific topics.
- Consultative texts: encyclopaedias, dictionary entries.
- Educational texts: teaching manuals.

✓ Technological texts: referring to texts in the areas of Applied Science and Technology, focusing on their function, the following sub-types are distinguishable:

- Technological literature: product labelling, equipment and material specifications, guides and user manuals, patents and cooking recipes.
- Publicity and promotional materials: articles, commercial advertising (pamphlets, medical leaflets), exhibition catalogues, tourist information. It needs to be highlighted that a major part of these texts is often compiled in a digital format: working papers, websites, online shops, certificates, commercial contracts and reports on product quality.
- Software, mobile applications.

Based on this classification, in each case the communicative context needs to be adhered to, as well as the text and the translation assignment, so that the translator knows how to proceed. Students need to be made aware that they have to follow textual conventions in the target text, and consequently they need to know when to discriminate between whether to translate in one way or another. That is to say, at which moment they should adapt the textual conventions of the target text to the target culture or not.

For us, this professional perspective is a vitally important element and as such plays a fundamental role in the organization of the subject. As a result, the topics which are presented to our students correspond to the real necessities of the translation market in the linguistic combination of Russian-Spanish. The following areas have been identified: formal sciences (mathematics, cybernetics, computer science), life sciences (biology, pharmacology, medicine, physics) and different types of engineering (computer engineering, mechanical, electronic, construction, chemical and petro-

chemical engineering). In all these fields the most relevant subject matter is as follows:

- Mathematics: scientific modelling;
- Cybernetics: robotics;
- Computer science or computation: information technology, computer industry, electronics, semiconductors, internet, telecommunication devices, e-commerce or IT services;
- Plant biology: agro-industry and industrial plant cultivation;
- Forestry industry and its products: rural and urban furniture and fittings;
- Pharmacology: pharmaceutical manufacturing technology;
- Medicine: diagnostic devices and X-rays;
- Nutrition: food products;
- Software engineering: programming for creating software, video games and artificial intelligence;
- Mechanical engineering: industrial machinery for textile production and hydraulics, technical equipment and appliances (for lifting, transport, excavation, radar), arms (rocketry, firearms, missiles, military airplanes amongst others) and means of transport;
- Electronic engineering: electronic systems and devices;
- Construction engineering: technologies for construction, installation of reinforced concrete constructions, high voltage power lines, power stations, aeronautical infrastructure objects, housing;
- Chemical and petrochemical engineering: industrial products (synthetic fibres, colorants, softeners) and chemical products for plants (pesticides, insecticides and fertilizers);
- Construction materials: plaster, cement, concrete, thermal and acoustic insulation, ceramic and plastic products, waterproofing bitumen products;
- Fine chemicals: medicines, perfumes and cosmetics, beauty products, fertilisers, pesticides and colourants.

Given that the subject is made up of 60 hours, it is impossible to deal with all these areas and topics. For this reason, each year, based on the overall structure, a selection is made taking into consideration the interests and needs of

the students. The activities which make up our proposal for learning textual typology are:

- analysis exercises of specialized discourses (and the different levels of specialization);
- tasks to recognize different textual typologies in specialized fields;
- textual analysis activities focused on translation;
- analysis and study of different textual forms.

Throughout the first sessions and emanating from the body of texts chosen in Russian, students are encouraged to analyse the characteristics of scientific and technological discourses, and to establish the levels of specialization which are reflected in each. The main objective in textual analysis in translation is to bring students closer to the original text with a well-defined aim: to decide the translation strategies pertinent to each situation. Likewise, this relates to the idea of a translation project and contributes to the automation of the translation process. The activities proposed in this way are based on the textual analysis for translation proposed by Nord (1991). This analysis focuses on the study of extra-textual factors (issuer, intention, receiver, place, time, means, motive, function) and on inter-textual factors (themes, content, assumptions, genre and textual composition, non-verbal elements, lexical elements, syntax, tone, effect) which guide the student, as has been highlighted, towards the translation strategies which they have to apply in each specific situation when translating. They are tasks which are completed before beginning to translate and they allow students to become familiar with the strategies specific to translating specialized texts, prompt discussion and constitute an indispensable tool for orientating students towards when and how they need to adapt the conventions of the target text to the target culture.

We have seen that the implementation of an introductory phase based on the acquisition of certain concepts of specialization, analysis of specialized discourse and textual typology helps students to complete an analysis before translating and subsequently when translating the text.

2.3. Terminology in the fields of Science and Technology

From the beginning, students need to be aware that terminology work is not done abstractly, but that it is always a reply to a motive, which in this case is the necessity for a text to be translated. In the same fashion they should be aware that, just as in translation, the quality of the product is directly related to the fulfilment, or not, of the client's requirements of said product. To develop this objective and adequately use terminology, it is necessary to carry out specific tasks associated with skill in the use of translation tools. That is to say, to learn how to use documentary, terminological and computerized sources which offer access to specialized terminology in each translation assignment. This implies carrying out activities which:

- identify and analyse terminology;
- compile glossaries;
- develop conceptual systems.

To introduce students to the identification and analysis of terminology the following activity is offered: students are given an original Russian text and two versions of a Spanish translation. They need to choose the most appropriate version and justify their choice. In one of the translated texts the use of terminology, connectors and textual conventions will be more suitable. As well as giving useful terminology for future translations on the same subject this text also functions as a parallel text.

The main objective of activities connected with the compilation of glossaries is to introduce the student to the practical aspects of handling specialized terminology. Tebé and Cabré (2004: 218) make a distinction between glossaries *by* the translator and glossaries *for* the translator (the underlining in the text is the authors'/author's own). The former are glossaries which note diverse solutions offered by a translator during the preparation of a translation and the latter are much more systematic and moreover, contain information which can be useful for taking decisions in the context of a translation. "These glossaries, vocabularies, dictionaries... can contain a lot of useful information for the translator, such as contextual information: contexts, collocations, recom-

mendations; semantic information: definitions, related concepts, thematic frameworks; grammatical information: grammatical categories, training processes; and pragmatic information: varied formal, professional and geolectal registers, reliable codes, etc.” (Tebé & Cabré, 2004: 218). Along these lines, after being given a text and a specific translation assignment, students are asked to create a bilingual glossary and justify their choice of selected terms chosen for the glossary as well the information it contains (linguistic equivalents, contexts, definitions, comments on usage etc.). Thus the students need to think of themselves as translators who need to use a glossary to decide which information they will record. Obviously they will arrive at the conclusion that the more precise a glossary is (original terms, equal terms, context to be used, definitions, translator’s notes, commentaries etc.) the more use it will be for them and their colleagues when they translate further texts during the course.

The creation of conceptual systems in the teaching approach of the TCT is important as it allows knowledge to be organized to establish relationships between concepts and to fine tune unified terminology. All of this without forgetting that it is an indispensable tool for establishing equivalencies between distinct languages. Through conceptual systems we can comprehend the system which shows a set of elements as well as the relationships established between them and which serve to structure all the fields of learning. Furthermore, as Domínguez García and Monterde Rey summarized well in their interview with Heribert Picht (1997: 285): “without a conceptual system the internal relevance of a conceptual device cannot be revealed in a field of learning.” The creation of conceptual systems is helped by using the free software programme FreeMind. Students are given a specialized text, and from this, are asked to write a summary and a conceptual system. In this manner, the students begin to develop techniques to analyse a text and locate the concepts which will structure a specific subject. The purpose of this exercise is to produce a conceptual plan where the students have to present all the concepts present in the text as well as the relationships which

are established between them. The objective is not to translate the text, but to know in which way the information within it is structured. The activities related to the creation of conceptual systems are extremely useful as they bridge the gap between basic concepts, in general, and in particular, the analysis of a text beforehand, thus preventing students from making mistakes in meaning when they translate texts.

2. Conclusions

In this work we have outlined our experience as teachers of Translation in Science and Technology in the combination Russian-Spanish at the University of Granada and we have presented a didactic proposal to develop communicative and textual competence in Russian and Spanish, taking into consideration the conditions of the students and the resources which the undergraduate course in Translation and Interpretation has at its disposal.

The result has been the completion of a teaching proposal specific to the subject of Translation in Science and Technology (Russian-Spanish) organized around a consistent series of activities whose tasks and exercises are based on three fundamental objectives:

1. Knowledge of the linguistic elements necessary in order to be able to understand specialized texts and to have the ability to rewrite them.

2. Recognition and appropriate analysis of specialized textual genres in the fields of science and technology in the linguistic combination Russian-Spanish. That is to say, awareness of the characteristics of scientific and technological discourse, the characteristics which define this textual typology and the textual conventions in Russian and Spanish.

3. Recognition and analysis of the necessary terminology to translate the specialised textual genres in the fields of science and technology in the linguistic combination of Russian-Spanish.

To achieve these objectives and develop communicative and textual competence, pre-translation activities are proposed whose purpose is not to translate the text but to analyse it. For this we propose, amongst other activities: reading comprehension exercises,

exercises analysing scientific and technological discourses, exercises creating conceptual systems, exercises to access documentation, tasks recognizing different textual typologies in specialist areas, intralinguistic translation exercises, textual analysis exercises orientated towards translation and activities compiling glossaries. None of these activities are done in isolation or out of context but instead they are carried out as translation assignments, helping to determine the strate-

gies and techniques necessary for translating texts.

This article does not claim to be an exhaustive list but instead aims to show some examples of how to deal, in a deliberate manner, with introducing students to the practice of specialized translation in the linguistic combination Russian-Spanish, while taking into consideration the development of the different sub-competencies which are part of translation competence.

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Коммуникативная и текстовая компетентность как формирующий элемент научно-технического перевода (русско-испанская языковая пара)

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Аннотация. Работа основана на опыте преподавания предмета «Научно-технический перевод с русского на испанский» в университете Гранады. Основываясь на модели переводческой компетенции Д. Келли, мы предлагаем оригинальный метод, позволяющий студентам развивать в процессе обучения навыки устного и письменного перевода с использованием разных видов речевой деятельности для достижения следующих целей: овладение элементами языковой системы, необходимыми для интерпретации специализированных текстов, и способами их передачи на другой язык; знакомство с жанрами научно-технической литературы и документации на русском и испанском языках и анализ текстов, относящихся к данной области; овладение технической терминологией и лексикой для перевода текстов на испанский или русский язык.

Ключевые слова: дидактика перевода, коммуникативная и текстовая компетентность, научно-технический перевод, русский язык, испанский язык.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0566
УДК 81'25

Cognitive Political Discourse Analysis: Creative Translation Teaching Case

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Received 02.10.2019, received in revised form 14.02.2020, accepted 10.03.2020

Abstract. The paper elaborates on teaching creative translation and analyses the case of cognitive political discourse and its translation decision-making process. The research is based on the example of modern political terminology and non-equivalent political context vocabulary. Unlike traditional approaches that mostly relate creativity to literary texts interpretation, the study deals with the didactic methodology of comprehending and translating foreign academic and popular science sources. The cognitive comparative analysis of political concepts in their context use – both in English and Russian discourse – is aimed at professional explanation of motivation in selecting and choosing translation equivalents. The algorithm of designing an associative thesaurus referred to cognitive signs of lexical marking has been a major investigation tool of political discourse analysis represented in the paper as well as the foundation for the original creative model of translation performance and didactics.

Keywords: political discourse, teaching translation creativity, intuition in translation, translation cognitive modeling.

Research area: linguistics and translation studies.

Citation: Ubozhenko, I.V. (2020). Cognitive political discourse analysis: creative translation teaching case. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 363-374. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0566.

The Research Relevance and Novelty

The research of creative approaches to translation of informative texts suggests a novel view compared to the current studies of literary language and literary translation. The issue of the fundamentals of linguistic creativity, interdisciplinary by nature and highly debatable, presents a gamut of topical research challenges, and investigating didactic principles of creative translation process has been one of the most empirically resourceful and valuable.

The paper illustrates the first interdisciplinary research attempt made to combine the methods of translation didactics and political science through using cognitive paradigm fundamentals with the aim to explore highly urgent issues of both political cognition and translation studies linked to the cross-cultural conceptual analysis of basic political notions, their adequate interpreting, and consequently, operationalizing through translation.

In the paper the development of professional skills to make successful linguistic decisions while teaching translation of foreign (in our case English) academic texts (into Russian) is based on detailed cognitive analysis of parallel political discourses that finally results in mastering the academic faculties of choosing the correct translation equivalent involving all modern political background knowledge. Another research objective has been to create an integrated parallel bilingual thesaurus (glossary) comprising some definite representative cases of the examined subject fields of linguistic (political) realities units usage (such conceptual notions in the world politics as “governance”, “accountability”, “state”, etc.).

Thus the creative model of teaching translation offers an original associative mind-mapping scheme method of cognitive analysis and a novel didactic metalinguistic tool kit of making appropriate professional translation decisions in dealing with political discourse. Besides, the author’s term “translation creative occasionalism” is introduced and illustrated in the paper.

Research Background and Methodological Framework

Translation studies today have taken a new turn in different research directions: in

theory, teaching didactics, such applied fields as IT-translation, as well as various machine translation platforms development. This primarily is related to the launch to the translation industry market of a number of special computer programs and, what is more, neuro nets. In this regard, the interest of scholars to studying the anthropocentric translation phenomena has been increasingly growing, based on such linguistic paradigms and frameworks as language and cognition, language and mind, and taking into account the research concepts of natural vs. artificial intelligence and its actual representation in language and speech. All mentioned above justifies fairly to the fact that linguistic translology introduced in the past century has vividly become a renewed field of science that now relies on cognitive, interpretive, and creative approaches. This novelty makes us shed a new light on the issues of the translation process and its reflexive interpreting, intuition in translation, translation creativity. The study is aimed at the raised question of the translator’s intuition and his/her cognitive and mental/intellectual ability to create new versions and variants of translation.

The research is an attempt to suggest a theory of possible universal logical modeling of the translation process. It must be underlined here that our objective is to model the analytical operations with no concrete regard to traditional translation types (translating and interpreting) and their distinguished features: it is the fundamentals of cognitive theory that make the starting research push for our investigation. Moreover, the variants of interpreting the message of the original and the appropriate translation versions are being studied with the emphasis on inherent intuitive and creative skills of a translator, which are seen as possible to be further developed, initiated and activated in professional translation activity.

We start with claiming that the core role in the translation process is played by the one, who interprets the original (consciously or unconsciously): the translator with their all personal life and language experience. The studied literature on the research theme gives us a reasonable ground to formulate major theoretic axioms, which we see as basic fundamentals

for our creative model of the translation process.

1. In translation studies a huge number of research questions have been referred to the sphere of intuitive, subjective and individual aspects.

2. The translation process is of heuristic nature and involves a sequence of certain stages, when an adequate version is being chosen of all possible alternatives. These stages are actually mental states/mind operations of creative origin often performed by the translator intuitively using his/her knowledge, communicative competence and the intellectual ability to evaluate cognitive and culture specific distinguishing features of the translation recipient.

3. In order to reveal and describe the mental acts leading to the choice and interpretation of language units, it is necessary to make an attempt to describe the process, when the translator is shaping in their mind the mental representations of alternative translation options, and then makes a resulting final decision.

4. The analysis of reasons, ways, steps and varieties of choice in mental operations of a translator is of significant theoretic and applied research value, as it offers a chance to open “the black box” of a translator striving to observe the processes in his/her brain working.

The idea of the research initially derived from the author’s previous investigations of the translator’s intuition and creativity and her experimental attempts of thesaurus modeling of human thinking that finally resulted in the original methodical algorithm of teaching ingenuity in the field of practical translation.

As it is known, terminology and the so-called non-equivalent lexical units have been one of the most challenging, while making translation. In the given study of all nowadays heatedly debated in the world political science issues – such as government and governance, state, power, etc. – accountability has been chosen as a major research question due to its being truly polysemantic, context dependent, multifaceted, and abounding in shadows of probable meaning explanations. Judging by the political research experience accumulated by now the number of accountability types has been really impressive: general and specific ac-

countability (Goodin, 2004), external, internal, and transnational (Keohane, 2006), democratic (Behn, 2001; Sharpf, 2003; Goodin, 2004), legal and political (Ku, Jacobson, 2003), horizontal and vertical accountability (Morlino, 2009), accountability based on action, competition (Goodin, 2004), market conditions, so on and so forth. Various, including the above mentioned, definitions fairly justify to our hypothesis regarding the necessity to construct a cognitive cross-cultural thesaurus of the examined notion involving its possible mental representations in the two languages: English and Russian.

As the basic typology of accountability comprises its multilateral dimensions, regimes, mechanisms (Goodin, 2004) as well as the urgency of both bridging the gap between governance and the accountability and eliminating power abuses through accountability (Keohane, 2006), a thorough investigation of the pluralistic accountability system is being required for world politics (Ku, Jacobson, 2003).

Based on the said above, we claim that

- one of our basic axiomatic postulates considers the inner picture of the outer world of each person (a researcher, a translator) as well as the structure of his/her knowledge and associations as subjective and individual;
- in case of general universals dominating in the structure of the translator’s knowledge the variant of translation finally chosen will be pattern-like (ordinary), while the original structure of knowledge – when trivial and traditional cognitive vision does not dominate in his/her mind and does not prevent a person from blending concepts that at first sight seem impossible to be blended – and the individual cognitive mind structure presuppose the emergence (often immediately, intuitively) of the original, non-standard decision;
- the task of a professional teacher of translation is obviously to stimulate the student’s ability to involve the so-called “weak associative links” provoking in this way the original creative translation decision.

Though research on translation creativity has been very limited and rarely found in accessible sources, our review of relevant literature has shown the general correlation typical for all of them: translation strategies discussion depends on the variable chosen in the research. The list of variables, as a rule, includes source text variables, target language variables, task variables, translator variables, socio-cultural variables and reception variables. Of all the variables enumerated above the task variables must be considered, in our view, as both most significant for the process of translation and possible to be taken into account in evaluating the so-called “degree of creativity”. Besides the target (the task) of translation, the role of the commissioner, the client who commissions the translation, is often claimed as influencing the “degree of creativity used” in it. And I fully agree with this approach, as it is individuality that constitutes the greater part of the phenomenon of human creativity.

With this in view, I would like to start with explaining what exactly I mean by creativity in translation and how to differentiate between creative and non-creative translation decisions. Any act of *creativity* traditionally presupposes either *the process of choosing between the alternatives*, or the procedure of producing, making up, *creating* something absolutely *new* and original.

It was Theodore Savory, who in the second half of the twentieth century in his popular book “The Art of Translation” wrote that the continuous search for a successful translation variant of all possible alternatives and the very act of making a final choice was the essence of the creative nature of the translator’s art (Savory, 1968: 26). Professor Vilen N. Komissarov, a prominent Russian translation researcher, wrote in one of his last papers that choice was the heart of all creating, and where there was no choice there was no room for ingenuity. Intuition and creativity as the highest functions of human mind are not easily accessible to analysis but the complexity of the task is no excuse for the refusal to tackle it. Translators training programs should be based on a proper understanding and an objective description of the translating process (Komissarov, 2004: 13).

Thus *the creative translation decision* is defined here as either the one chosen from the dictionary alternatives, or a totally new one definitely not fixed in any dictionary, and therefore it may be considered as a pure translation *occasionalism* whose actual contextual meaning immediately evaporates as soon as the problem original unit has been placed in another contextual discourse segment. All other translation decisions, beyond the above described category, are, consequently, regarded as non-creative, *pattern-like*. I see occasionalism as the fundamental theoretic concept in translation creativity understanding. It may be adequately “read off” and interpreted only by the representatives of a definite language and cultural community, who percept the reality around as the shared cognitive environment. Moreover, I suppose, that the abilities of a person to produce, “construct” linguistic (translation) occasionalisms influence his/her general intellectual – both verbal and non-verbal – potential and should be developed in every possible way, including its mastering in the course of translation practice.

I am particularly making it a point that I am writing about translation, and not about consecutive or conference interpreting, or any other type of oral translator’s activity (which – being not excluded from our empirical research base – presently lies beyond the frames of the given paper). It is recognized that the major purpose of a qualified translator is to adequately transfer the meaning of the original into the target language. But it is equally admitted that the multifaceted notion of “meaning” itself has still been vague, highly polysemantic, and has been interpreted variously and differently not only by researchers in linguistics, translation studies and cognitive science, but also by philosophers, sociologists, semioticians and representatives of many other related fields of science.

In our study meaning is understood, on the one hand, as a communicative information content entity, according to L.A. Chernyakhovskaya (2011), a leading Russian and now also American cognitive linguist and translation scientist, and on the other hand, according to T.A. Kazakova (2006), Professor of Transla-

tion Studies at St. Petersburg State University (Russia), it is seen as a specific, often highly individual semiotic complex of a person's associations that exists in his/her mind and obligatory needs to be revealed and transferred in the process of translation from the source language into the target one (Kazakova, 2006: 133).

Verbal communication is exchanging communicative information, not just word meanings and sentence patterns, and translators should focus more on the information structure of messages, while the "mind grammar" invariant requires a new verbal re-shaping in the target language. Hence, "content entities of various ranks, as well as their information parameters, may be used as translation units of respective ranks" (Chernyakhovskaya, 2011: 284).

Therefore, our *key problem issue* states that *the translator's thinking thesaurus may be seen as an individual combination of pivotal (steady) associative links and remote (weak) associative links*, or, using Chernyakhovskaya's terminology (2011), "*content entities of various ranks*" that exist in a person's mind (in terms of the neuro paradigm, brain) and *can be activated in the course of teaching translation by means of certain* so-called "push-" or "*trigger words*" such as, for example – if to rely on the student's *knowledge of translation theory* – "context", "style" (formal, informal, neutral), "background" (linguo-specific, culture-specific, encyclopedic), etc. (Ubozhenko, 2012: 162).

In this connection, the methodology suggested here is focused on the idea of the "indicator word", "assistant word", "marker word" which performs the role of an intensifying incentive meant to push a translator (or a student who is learning translation) to making an equivalent and most adequate linguistic decision. This word, after having been identified through the detailed reflexive semantic analysis of the original unit, serves as an activator of the whole scope of a person's knowledge and as a trigger of those weak associative links which remain unconscious until the new categorization procedure has been deliberately forced upon the student by a professional teacher.

The metalinguistic algorithm involves such linguistic and cognitive tools as

- word-by-word translating,
- polysemy solving (relying on the context),
- meaning explicating and argumentative explaining,
- revealing communicative intentions of the original,
- distinct utterance's target formulating, and
- following (often intuitively) the "norms" of idiomatic (natural) correlation of separate word meaning elements.

The role of "*triggers*" in the course of *cognitive discourse analysis* may also be played by purely *lexical key markers*, in other words, *core concepts* (words, phrases, sentences and other utterances of different syntactical ranks) that can serve as pushing elements for *activating sub-concepts or periphery notions*.

The present research relies on the *interdisciplinary methodology* including

- ✓ logical meditation,
- ✓ analytical modeling,
- ✓ cognitive and comparative analyses,
- ✓ the synthesis of information learned with its further critical evaluation,
- ✓ reflexive thinking,
- ✓ making deductive/inductive conclusions.

Research Design and Empirics

We suggest our cognitive model of the ongoing processes that result in choosing an appropriate solution to the translation task: we see our scheme as the most completed and detailed description of the creative steps of the translator's search for the most adequate decision.

1. The first stage is devoted to shaping the background of the cognitive translation process that involves the entire complex of necessary multifaceted knowledge of linguistic, meta-linguistic and extra-linguistic kinds (in cognitive terms, the translator's backstage cognition formation). Here we imply:

- 1) the professional knowledge of the translator's working foreign languages;
- 2) general erudition and broad outlook;

3) the knowledge in linguistics, lexicology, stylistics and some other language and linguistics courses;

4) background knowledge (the translation communicative situation, the knowledge of similarities and differences in conceptual world pictures of different national and cultural communities);

5) the knowledge in translation theory and understanding its actual links and relations to translation practices;

6) the professional translation competence regarding text producing, communicative, cognitive, technical skills as well as a certain set of personal skills and individual characteristics;

7) the knowledge in psychology, sociology, philosophy, political science as well as in a wide range of such relevant to linguistics subject fields as text linguistics, psycholinguistics, contrastive linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmalinguistics, etc.;

8) the knowledge in disciplines beyond purely linguistic frames: from the culture history and literature history to socio-cultural and country/regional studies;

9) the understanding of the relation of translation to the author of the original, taking into account the author's intention;

10) the knowledge regarding phonological effects on translation (Snell-Hornby, 1988).

2. The second stage is aimed at combining the elements of that accumulated initial knowledge base, where comparison and selection lead to the search for a mental program image of all possible translation variants: here the meaning construction processes are researched through individual mind-mapping mental spaces analysis. This assumes:

1) shaping in the translator's consciousness the mental images of all possible translation versions of the original translation unit;

2) comparing the versions' message with regard to the context, then the stylistic formation of the translation verbal act;

3) choosing between the most adequate translation variants equivalent to the original message.

3. The third stage marks the final choice and taking a most adequate translation decision. Here we speak about:

1) the choice of the most appropriate equivalent version (relying on the idiomatic correlation concept, according to Apresyan I., the Russian linguist, researcher of lexical semantics);

2) the verbalization of a final translation solution made.

The practical part of the research conducted that proves the model validity consists of the two above mentioned illustrative cases. The first will very briefly demonstrate the importance of awareness of translation theory and the mechanism of context domination, while taking the adequate creative translation decision, illustrated by the example of translating a sentence from a short political context segment. The second one will dwell on translating a larger political discourse extract in detail.

Example I.

SL: Governing responsibly – *as opposed to purely responsibly* – involves setting priorities and making difficult choices.

TL: Руководить ответственно – *а не просто выполнять поставленные задачи* – значит уметь расставлять приоритеты и принимать сложные решения.

Word by word back translation from Russian:

To govern with responsibility means to be able to rank priorities and take hard decisions and *not just to perform the tasks set*.

Step 1: explication of meaning and argumentative explanation.

Following the steady associative link in the process of our conscious speculating, the major meaning component to be revealed is "to give an appropriate feed back, if asked to accomplish a task".

Step 2: revealing communicative intentions of the original.

The word "purely" in the original bears the core emotional connotation of the whole problem phrase stressing that being in politics one should not act as a machine but think hard and analyze all the circumstances before actually acting.

Step 3: formulating an adequate verbal translation decision (*now consciously observing the rules of idiomatic correlation* of all meaning elements of separate words).

The translator should verbalize the idea of “giving a smart conscious feed back as opposed / vs to the machine working” (which is a weak associate here, in the chain of purposeful meditations of a translator).

Hence:

SL – *as opposed to purely responsively*

TL – *а не просто выполнять поставленные задачи*

The linguistic decision described above is proved as creative as the Russian equivalent unit is far from being merely a word for word replacement by dictionary versions what justifies the status of the decision as a *translation occasionalism*.

Example II.

Here the cognitive scheme discourse analysis as the basis for making up an associative thesaurus is presented.

The below given analyzed discourse *quotation 1* is referred to *the concept of accountability and its cognitive structure*.

SL:

What Do We Mean by *Accountability*, Anyway?

During 1998, for example, questions about President Bill Clinton's campaign fundraising and personal behavior generated numerous calls to hold someone accountable. “Perjury,” said U.S. Representative (and speaker designate) Bob Livingston when he announced his retirement from Congress, “is a crime for which the president may be held accountable, no matter the circumstances.” Former senator Bob Dole criticized Attorney General Janet Reno's failure to appoint an independent counsel to investigate the fundraising practices of the 1996 Clinton-Gore campaign committee and hoped that “someone in Congress will hold the attorney general accountable.” Allegations of Chinese espionage at U.S. nuclear laboratories caused Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott to remark that somebody “made some major mistakes, and somebody needs to be held accountable.” Everyone wants people – other people – to be held accountable. Mark Moore of Harvard University and Margaret Gates, a consultant to nonprofit agencies, write of “the public's demand for *accountability*,” of “an unquenchable thirst for *accountability* that cuts across the political spectrum.”

...Those whom we want to hold accountable have a clear understanding of what *accountability* means: *Accountability* means punishment. This punishment can be a fine, a jail term, the loss of one's job – all of which are subject to the requirements of due process. But the punishment can also be the public humiliation of being grilled by a hostile legislator, of being sued by an aggressive lawyer, of being subpoenaed by an unctuous prosecutor, or of being defamed by an investigatory journalist – none of which requires much due process. When people screw up, there are a variety of ways to hold them accountable – to punish them (Behn, 2001: 73).

The following discourse quotation 2 analyses *the sub-notion of mutual accountability, its cognitive scheme analysis and Russian translation version*. Words marked in italics and underlined words in both quotations as well as in the translation indicate the units identified as nuclear, associative, and then steady and weak associate ones respectively by using our original cognitive mind-mapping methodology (see Table 1), which combines the linguistic grammar technique known as “core-shell” analysis with the analytical political science method of “conceptual stretching” – first introduced by Sartory – aimed at concepts' categorization and classification (see: Collier & Mahon, 1993).

SL:

Mutual accountability requires cooperation. A compact of mutual, *collective responsibility* is designed to foster that cooperation among the web of people and organizations in the accountability environment. The parties to such a compact would seek to establish the terms under which they – and, they hope, others in the accountability environment – would cooperate to enhance government performance, subject to some agreed-upon constraints to ensure the proper use of finances and the equitable treatment of people.

Indeed, without such a responsibility compact for performance, those seeking to improve performance may be unable to move beyond an obsession with the rules for finances and fairness. Who, however, will agree to cooperate? Who will sign on to a “compact” that guarantees nothing more than experimentation? Who will trade *individual accountability* for *mutual accountability*?

Who (besides a public manager) will trade his or her well-understood (and relatively limited) *individual*

Table 1. Final Table Based on Cognitive Mind-Mapping Scheming

Cognitive Mind-Mapping Scheme			
1. nuclear units	2. associative units	3. steady associates	4. weak associates
1. Accountability	accountable	to hold someone accountable	punishment
		to be held accountable	
2. Measures of Performance	the public's thirst for accountability	by suing	by convincing juries
3. Mechanisms of accountability	the accountability system	accountability holder accountability holdee	official and unofficial accountability holders
4. Hold someone [in government] accountable	punishment	jail term	the public humiliation

accountability (often defined by professional peers) for some vague sense of *mutual, collective responsibility* that will be devised, refined, and revised sometime in the future by people with unknown or even incompatible values? Who has an incentive to cooperate? And even if people do sign on to such a responsibility compact, will they remain bound by this informal (and not very enforceable) agreement? Who has an incentive to continue to cooperate? (Behn, 2001: 129).

TL (transliteration of the Russian version):

Kollektivnaja podotchjotnost' trebuje sotrudnichestva. Soglashenie o *vzaimnoj kollektivnoj otvetstvennosti* naceleno na iniciirovanie takogo sotrudnichestva mezhdu *vzaimodejstvujushhim* i *vzaimosvjazannym* *soobshhestvom* *ljudej* i *organizacij*, *funkcionirujushchih* v srede podotchjotnosti. *Storony* podobnogo soglashenija budut stremitsja zakrepiť uslovija, pri kotoryh oni – i, kak oni predpolagajut, drugie uchastniki jetoj sredy podotchjotnosti – budut sotrudnichestvo cel'ju uluchshenija dejatel'nosti pravitel'stva, pri uslovii nekotoryh ogorovonnyh ogranichenij, garantirujushchih dolzhnoe ispol'zovanie finansov i dostojnoe otnoshenie k ljudjam.

Bezuslovno, pri otsutstvii podobnogo soglashenija o *vzaimnoj otvetstvennosti* v processe ih dejatel'nosti, te, kto stremjatsja povysit' kachestvo poslednej, mogut okazat'sja ne v sostojanii prodvinut'sja dalee polnogo pogruzhenija v ramki razumnogo rashodovanija finansovyh sredstv i spravedlivogo obrashhenija s grazhdanami. Kto zhe, odnako, soglasitsja pojti na takoe sotrudnichestvo? Kto soglasitsja podpisat'sja pod soglasheniem, kotoroe ne garantiruet nichego, krome uchastija v nekom jeksperimente? Kto

soglasitsja promenjat' *individual'nuju otvetstvennost'* na *vzaimnuju podotchjotnost'*?

Kto (pomimo gosudarstvennogo upravlenca) soglasitsja promenjat' emu/ej horosho ponjatnuju (i otositel'no ogranichenuju) *individual'nuju otvetstvennost'* (zachastuju opredeljaemuju professional'nymi jekspertami) na nekoe razmytoe chuvstvo vzaimnoj, kollektivnoj otvetstvennosti, ponjatie kotorogo budet razrabotano, a kogda-nibud' v budushhem otkorrek-tirovano i peresmotreno ljud'mi, cennosti kotoryh neizvestny ili voobshhe somnitel'ny? U kogo est' stimul sotrudnichestva? I esli dazhe kto-to v itoge podpisetsja pod podobnogo roda soglasheniem o *vzaimnoj otvetstvennosti*, budet li jetot chelovek po-prezhnemu ostavat'sja svjazannym dannymi neformal'nymi (i ne osobo real'no vypolnimymi) objazatel'stvami? U kogo est' stimul prodolzhat' sotrudnichestvo?

Results Obtained and Anticipated

1. In this connection, the analysis performed has shown that the steady associative links regarding the important but still elusive and even murky (as R. Behn (2001) puts it) notion of accountability comprise such core fields of conceptual meaning as “holding people accountable”, “responsibility”, “the accountability system and its mechanisms”, “liability” and “answerability”, “responsiveness” (Morlino, 2009), and some others.

2. Simultaneously the accountability concept covers such periphery notions (or sub-notions based on the weak associative links traced in the analyzed discourse) as “the accountability holder” (including regulators and legislatures, politicians, auditors, lawyers

and, what is more interesting, scholars and journalists) and “the accountability holdee” represented, in its turn, by the President, government officials, government bureaucracies, an agency’s clients, managers, donors, taxpayers and a number of other players and stakeholders each of whom may be researched as a separate push-notion (theoretically considered as a steady associative link).

3. Of high research interest may be such associative derivatives of “accountability” as “the accountability environment” (in contrast with, at first sight, close, but actually different semantic field and reality notion of “the accountability system”) and a very resourceful and controversial weak associate of “punishment” (never mentioned in any dictionaries as a connotation part of the meaning of the word “accountability”) leading not only to the traditional things understood by it such as fines, jail terms and the loss of one’s job, but also to such an associative link as “the public humiliation” (for some “wrongdoing”) which may be extremely useful as a part of the whole thesaurus regarding the concept of accountability.

4. The cognitive discourse analysis of the sub-notion of mutual accountability is associated with government performance that has definitely to be improved, with the controversy of individual and collective values as well as with an informal responsibility compact and the necessary incentive to cooperate.

5. All cognitive elements of the concept under study identified and mentioned above were taken into account, when the presented here versions of the translation were being made by the author of the paper.

6. The creative model of teaching translation has been introduced, suggesting an original way of the cognitive scheme discourse analysis and new didactic devices used in developing linguistic creativity through training translation. The author’s idea of a “translation creative occasionalism” has been explained in the paper.

7. The research of language creativity has been carried out by performing a cognitive discourse analysis of the extracts from foreign language texts abounding in modern political terminology.

8. The study proves that the experience of reflexive thinking is necessary, while searching for the right associative “prompt”, “push-stimulus”, “trigger-words” leading to making the translator’s creative choice (often intuitively) that finally results in choosing the most acceptable variant of translation and following certain definite conscious methodological steps (the algorithm).

9. All the analyzed notions and sub-notions need an adequate interpretation in Russian with its further implanting in the mental thesaurus of both the Russian ordinary speakers and professional political scientists.

Conclusions and Prospects for Further Research

Despite often expressed academic misgivings and prejudices regarding the possibility and scientific usefulness of the attempts to research and, what is more, teach creativity, it has apparently been found that to teach linguistic and translation creativity is methodologically justified and valuable.

I particularly stress that it can hardly be overestimated that all the prospects for researching creativity as a whole should necessarily lie in the field of multidisciplinary studies in the Humanities and social sciences, political science including. The model of teaching creative translation is obvious to be necessarily based on mastering the skills of individual interpreting the reality around that means training the ability to think, to meditate logically, reflexively, consciously and purposefully in order to argumentatively and again consciously choose the variant of a final decision. If a translator has had that kind of learning experience, in case the accumulated un(sub)conscious techniques should be required in a problem situation, they will definitely emerge in the memory triggered by his/her intellectual efforts to produce the targeted professional decision, adequate in the given circumstances.

Following L.A. Chernyakhovskaya (2011), we assume the element of creativity in the process of translation has been fairly proved by the fact that “some information components implicit in the original become explicit in a translation, and vice versa, as they are addressed to

people of different cultures. Depending on the peculiarities of a target language, a translation may suggest a different verbal presentation". The creative variety of information verbal presentation surely needs special research, which may result in a very different – cognitive, interpretative, creative – translation theory that would "shed more light on the translation/interpretation process, seriously assist in improving the quality of translation in general and become an important tool in understanding and mastering translation/interpretation process, as well as in qualified interpreters/translators training" (Chernyakhovskaya, 2011: 298). In its turn, actualized translation versions will make a profound grounding for the construction of adequately conceptualized and operationalized academic terminology extremely necessary for any professional research, the political science field being no exception.

Training translation proficiency should be based on the profound comprehension of all factors needed for the production of a successful translation solution. Students should be taught objective methods of describing the translation process. The creative ability of a translator to interpret the original may be developed, while their actual working as well

as in the course of specialized training with a certain complex of exercises and creative translation tasks to be solved. In my view, it is the activation of translation intuition that serves as the key foundation of the translator's creative and interpretive skills. This mental act/state may be seen as the actual practical/professional use of the accumulated cognitive experiences discreetly, tightly folded in the human memory, cognition and consciousness. Besides many other necessary methods and translation decision making ways, such proficiency contains a certain classified/categorized instrumental tool kit of typical well-mastered empirical solutions. In terms of synergy here we may speak of a self-constructing process of mind structures (visual and mental images, ideas, representations) on the ground of brain and in the field of consciousness at its two stages: when combining/comparing the versions and when making a final decision. It is significant to stress that the translator is able to explain, why his/her variant seems to be the most adequate in that very context, and to give reasons for that solution only post factum, when the task has been already solved, and never exactly at the moment, when the so-called twinge of intuition or insight emerges.

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Когнитивный анализ политического дискурса: обучение поиску творческих переводческих решений

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Аннотация. Данное исследование предлагает авторскую концепцию обучения творческому переводу на примере возможного алгоритма когнитивного анализа отрывков политического дискурса. Особый интерес представляет тот факт, что материалом изучения послужила современная политологическая терминология и ряд примеров безэквивалентной лексики в рамках политического контекста. В отличие от традиционного подхода к пониманию творчества применительно только к художественным текстам в статье анализируются переводческие аспекты англоязычной терминосистемы на базе научных и академических источников. Когнитивный анализ контекстуальной актуализации конкретных политических концептов в англоязычном и русскоязычном дискурсах служит инструментом сравнения и профессионального объяснения причин выбора соответствующих переводческих эквивалентов. Предлагаемый алгоритм построения ассоциативного тезауруса на основе когнитивных схем и лексических маркеров используется автором в исследовании как главный способ политического дискурс-анализа и как эмпирическая основа оригинальной творческой модели обучения поиску нестандартных переводческих решений.

Ключевые слова: политический дискурс, обучение переводческому творчеству, интуиция в переводе, когнитивное моделирование перевода.

Научная специальность: 10.02.20 – сравнительно-историческое, типологическое и сопоставительное языкознание.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0560
УДК 81'25:316.642.3

Interactivity of Simultaneous Interpreters as Actors of a Cognitive Event

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Received 20.01.2020, received in revised form 01.02.2020, accepted 04.03.2020

Abstract. The paper refers to studying interactivity models of simultaneous interpreters in the field. It describes the process of simultaneous interpretation as a cognitive event considering two participants in the context of cognitive dissonance and problem solving. The key concept of identifying the models is empathy to a booth mate which has never been studied in the context of Cognitive Translation Theory before. The results of Cognitive Event Analysis show four main interactivity models: empathic productive, empathic unproductive, empathic destructive and no empathic. The examples of empathic productive interactivity model demonstrate both material, verbal and cognitive empathy. The trajectories of giving a hint show three obligatory cycles of creating productive empathy: identifying cognitive dissonance, illustrating emphatic behavior and inviting to interactivity. The most precious hint happens when deep cognitive empathy between the partners can encourage them by embodied help without any verbal or material hints. It includes two additional cycles: mutual cognitive dissonance and individual attempt to solve the problem. This model is observed mainly in pairs of highly qualified interpreters with enough experience of coupling. Novice simultaneous interpreters are not able to show empathy, so tutors should train the skill of overcoming this gap. Empathic unproductive or destructive interactivity models are observed in pairs of highly qualified interpreters with no experience of coupling because of incongruent mental processes of subject and object.

Keywords: cognitive linguistics, translation studies, distributed cognition, translation event, cognition, communication, empathy.

Research area: language theory.

Citation: Chistova, E.V. (2020). Interactivity of simultaneous interpreters as actors of a cognitive event. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 375-384. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0560.

Introduction

During the long history of theory and practice of translation, scholars have been trying to study the process of making translation decisions, to find out the factors contributing to the search for the most effective solutions, and to explain the nature of cognitive processes occurring in the mind of an interpreter at the moment of decision making. The study of the “black box” of simultaneous interpreters seems to be the most interesting from the perspective of cognitive translation studies, since it is referred to as “the extreme type of cognitive processes” (Hervais-Adelman, Moser-Mercer, Golestani, 2015; Konina, Chernigovskaya, 2018: 178) and the most difficult type of translation from the perspective of methodology and cognitive abilities.

Theoretical Framework

It is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to explain the interpreters’ mental processes when perceiving them as a cognitive living system by considering linguistic factors only.

There is a significant number of works devoted to the study of the cognitive mechanism of simultaneous interpretation (Gerver, 1976; Daro, Fabbro, 1994; Gile, 1991), designing cognitive models of simultaneous interpretation (Gile, 1999; Paradis, 1994; Seeber, Kerzel, 2012), description of cognitive skills required to perform simultaneous interpretation (for example, working memory – (Padilla et al., 1995; Shlesinger, 2003); cognitive control – (Riccardi et al., 1998; Strobach et al., 2015); cognitive flexibility – (Yudes et al., 2011); stress resistance (Kurz, 1997; Cooper et al., 1982), etc.

When scholars explore the interpreters’ working results without considering the environment, it leads to the wrong way of understanding the process. For example, the phrase “poor-quality interpretation” in the textual context could only seem to be the “good job” considering the complicated circumstances that the interpreter was in at that time. Thus, studying the interpreters’ cognition in the field (Risku et al., 2017) and considering all the things around could be a more productive way of.

In existing studies on simultaneous interpretation, scholars tend to focus on one inter-

preter trying to acquire and improve linguistic and cognitive skills as well as algorithms for making translation decisions. However, in global practice interpreters, as a rule, work in pairs and we should also study their activities in collaboration. Thus, the purpose of the paper is to describe interactivity of simultaneous interpreters as actors of a cognitive event in the field. From this perspective, it is interesting and important to study the process as a translation event which includes situations happening to the interpreters during their work in the booth.

Interactivity means “sense-saturated coordination that contributes to human action” (Steffensen, 2013: 212). We engage in sense-making as our bodies integrate present circumstances with autobiographic memories and sociocultural histories: the not-here and the not-now saturate our here-and-now coordination via sense-making. The concept of ‘human interactivity’ grounds anti-disciplinary (pace Peter Jones) empirical work that attempts to move beyond the microsocial study of social interaction, beyond the cognitive study of functional, computational systems and minds, and beyond the study of biological organisms *sui generis*. It presupposes a crucial distinction between ‘interaction’ and ‘interactivity’: interaction captures relation of dependence between separable systems, whereas interactivity explores their bidirectional coupling.

Methods

We describe interactivity of simultaneous interpreters by using cognitive event analysis introduced by Sune Steffensen in 2013. It studies cognitive ecosystems via a microscopic focus on the bodily and inter-bodily dynamics of gesture, prosody, movements, etc. It has been both applied to naturalistic and experimental data. The analysis focuses on cognitive ecosystems by investigating the system’s cognitive trajectory, that is, the dynamical and nonlinear path that the system creates as it achieves a given cognitive result. It particularly focuses on phase transitions along this trajectory (Steffensen et al., 2016).

Cognitive event analysis is a way of approaching the interactivity of problem-solving. Thus, the study of simultaneous interpretation

as a cognitive event is, in our opinion, the most promising and forward-looking. Simultaneous interpreters should be perceived as a living cognitive system that can demonstrate an approach to solving problems in field based on the principle of interactivity.

The material for the analysis includes video recordings of simultaneous interpretation that we managed to shoot during real-life sport events (head of delegation's meetings, team captains' meetings, press conferences, etc.). The participants are presented by highly qualified interpreters with no experience of coupling with each other before and experienced interpreters with more than 100 hours of working together. They were informed about the video camera but they did not know the exact purpose of the research. They thought it was both for the experimental data and for their protection in case of complaints about the quality of service or controversial situations on the venue. The interpreters tried to predict the details of future interpretation getting as much information as possible. They did not pay attention to the video camera because they were interpreting at an important event. They felt relaxed during the recording because they sometimes used inappropriate vocabulary during setting up and breaks to express their real emotions.

The material also includes the videos of students who were filmed during their practice classes at the School of Interpretation after 3 months of their training. They were also informed about the video camera. They thought it was both working as a control tool for self-assessment and for getting the experimental data.

They did not know the details of the future analysis.

The videos of interpreters' cognitive interaction last 8 hours 13 minutes. Table 1 summarizes the details about the video timing and characteristics of interpreters.

Apart from cognitive event analysis, we also use the method of observation made by the researcher because some interpreters refuse either to be filmed or to give permission to make these recordings public. The work also involves the method of interviewing interpreters, as the real situation is not always clear from the video. The camera shoots interpreters in the booth, but the speakers can only be heard via recording. Accordingly, it is not always possible to synchronize the events correctly to match the audio and video recordings made on different media. In this case the interview helps to restore events, make adjustments, and clarify the important points from the agents of a cognitive event.

Results: empathic productive interactivity model

The first model identified via cognitive event analysis is called "empathic productive interactivity". We decided to call it this way because it demonstrates the way interpreters may be helpful to each other, the way they may predict the difficulties during the work of a partner and influence them to improve the situation (Chmiel, 2008). The crucial point here is to achieve the result which means to choose the most effective way of encouraging and make the partner "save" the translation. Being empathic in this case is considered as

Table 1. Research corpus characteristics

Video No.	Video Length (min)	Interpreters' Characteristics
1	42	novice simultaneous interpreters
2	54	novice simultaneous interpreters
3	161	experienced interpreters with 5 years of coupling
4	31	highly qualified interpreters with no experience of coupling
5	72	highly qualified interpreters with no experience of coupling
6	91	highly qualified interpreters with no experience of coupling
7	37	highly qualified interpreters with no experience of coupling

being able to predict the partners' cognitive dissonance, to feel sympathetic to the situation and solve the problem quickly and productively. Thus, empathic productive interactivity model includes the following actions: interpreters help to switch the channel with different languages on the equipment, turn over the presentation pages, write down the numbers, suggest or correct the terms, sometimes help to remember or use the right word using gestures and symbols.

Here is an example of empathic productive interactivity. In the episode of video recording (Fig. 1) we can see the same couple of experienced interpreters with 5 years of working together (White and Grey). The case shows a problem with terminology, since the materials were not provided for the interpreters in time. First of all, Grey couldn't understand a short form of the term "proximity card", because of vague speech of the orator who has shortened the term in her own style like "proxycard" (the unusual written form used in the presentation). Grey interprets from English into Russian. There is a translation text:

– Если это главы ... делегаций, то вам нужна будет ... Что такое проксикарс? ...

то вам нужна будет ... с проксикарами... вам нужно подавать заявку... и нужно ... предоставлять проксикарту. Что касается спортивных.... [If these are heads of ... delegations, then you will need ... What are "proxicars"? ... then you will need ... with proxicars ... you need to apply ... and you need ... to provide a proxicard. As for sports ...].

In the Fig. 1, we can see Grey interpreting and White sitting right next to her. There is no interaction between the partners, but the off-mike interpreter in White is engaged in the process by concentrating as she is holding hands together in a closed position on the table and looking at the screen with the orator. Having listened to the first hesitations of Grey and noticed her puzzled face in Fig. 1b, White starts to monitor the presentation. Feeling frustrated about her interpretation, Grey decides to ask for help in Fig. 1c. She presses the Mute button and quickly asks: "What are "proxicars"?" In Fig. 1d White shakes her head indicating that she does not know the term either. In the next Fig. having got no verbal hint Grey tries to guess what the speaker means. While her partner goes on seeking for the right translation Grey finds the term relevant to the context.

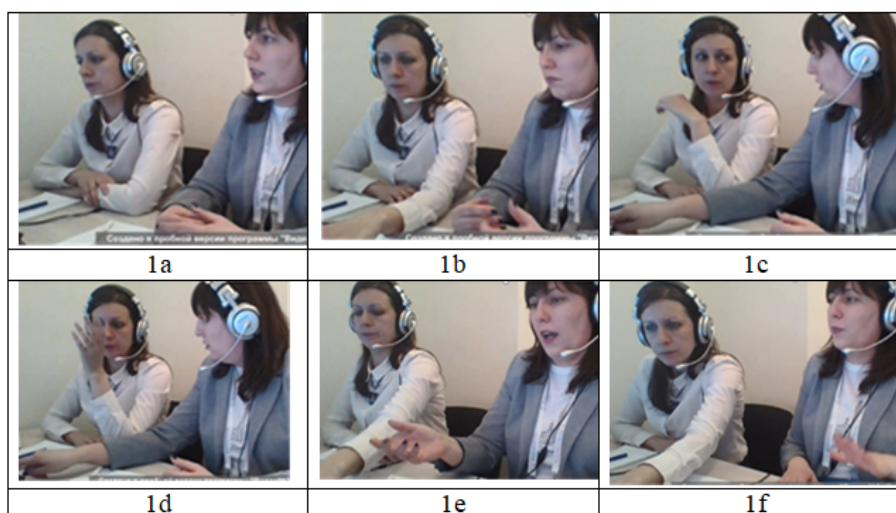


Fig. 1. No hint is good hint. 1a (03,84): Grey is interpreting, White is observing the situation. 1b (08,05): Grey looks puzzled, White tries to find necessary information in the presentation that they can see on their screen in the left corner of the table. 1c (11,02): Grey presses the Mute button to ask White for a hint. 1d (11,68): White shows that she doesn't know the concept the speaker is talking about. 1e (13,06): Grey continues interpreting, White goes on seeking for the term in the presentation. 1f (17,63): Grey manages to find the adequate term without any verbal hint

According to computerized timing (Fig. 2), the episode is divided into 6 cycles. The first cycle demonstrates individual work of the partners with no interactivity. The second cycle changes the situation as White manages to identify Grey's cognitive dissonance by hesitation, gestures and mimics. White immediately turns to Grey and stretches out her hand both searching for the information in the laptop and getting closer to the partner. This gesture makes Grey feel her partner's empathy as she decides to ask her for the verbal hint. But during the fourth cycle they both understand mutual cognitive dissonance. White lifts her hand in dismay and nods her head slightly pronouncing some strange sounds without any words. This is an event point, as we think, because it is a transition cycle which makes Grey change the strategy. Having understood that something is wrong with the pronunciation of the term Grey starts to choose the most notion via context. During the fifth cycle we can see her gesturing a lot that means a sort of brainstorming work in solving the problem. Meanwhile, her partner is always looking for something in the laptop with her hand stretched Grey. In about 4 second Grey leans her back to the chair and creates a gesture like putting the dot in a sentence. In the very moment she corrects her interpretation having guessed what term is used by the orator.

This example shows deep cognitive empathy between the partners when they can encourage each other by embodied help without any verbal or material hints. In my opinion, White's lifting hand in dismay is like a bifurcation point that changes the general mental trajectory.

Results: empathic unproductive interactivity model

The next model we manage to identify via video recordings is an empathic unproductive interactivity model. We call it "unproductive" because there is no expected result in the end. The partners feel empathic and try to help each other but they cannot choose the most effective way of doing it. Why does it happen? The roots of the problem can be found in the phenomenon of empathy.

According to our research corpus we manage to find two reasons of incongruent behavior in the context of the model. First, it is caused by the lack of either interpreter's experience on the whole or no experience of coupling (incongruent mental processes of subject and object) because an interpreter can only demonstrate primitive emotional identity but cannot accomplish a desired action. In other words, they are not capable of feeling the partner as deep as the situation demands. Thus, the model includes the following actions: the interpreter gives a hint when a partner is in the headphones (Fig. 3a) or writes a hint far from the partner's gaze (Fig. 3b), for example. However, the last but not the least example may be presented in the discharge of an empathic destructive interactivity model (see below), when the passive interpreter begins to write something in his/her notepad, thereby diverting the active interpreter who continues to work just realizing that it does not matter at the moment.

Pedagogical training might be another reason for such behavior. This happens when, for example, a passive interpreter writes down a hint, closing it with a hand (Fig. 3c). It happens

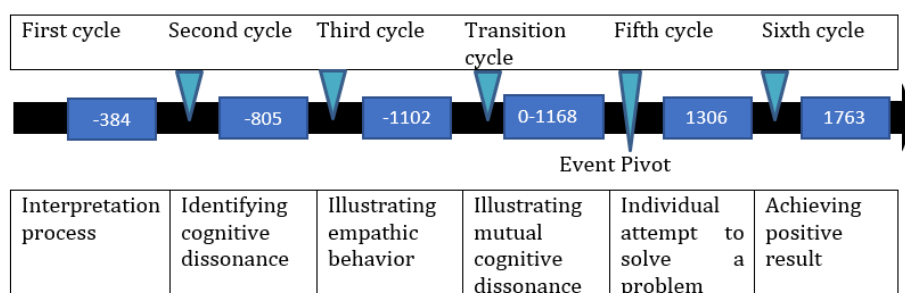


Fig. 2. The trajectory of Spotted's giving material hints (from -256 to +2913). The figure shows four stages that the DCS undergoes as Spotted manages to give a hint



Fig. 3. Examples of empathic unproductive interactivity model

if the partner has noticed a communicatively insignificant error at the moment which can be mentioned after the session of simultaneous interpretation as it will not affect the outcome of events.

Results: empathic destructive interactivity model

The next model is called as “empathic destructive interactivity model”. If one distracts the active interpreter with additional channel of information, it might not be productive but might, for sure, be destructive. For example, the video shows a case when the supervisor from the audience demanded an urgent correction of

a mistake in terminology (Fig. 4a), so the conference manager had to show the correct version on her phone. However, the attempt failed (Fig. 4d) and the interpreter barely managed to restore the process of interpretation (Fig. 4e). As recent studies show, multitasking splits our brain because it can simultaneously perform only two tasks. At this time, two hemispheres of the human brain are involved in work. Thus, people being around the active simultaneous interpreter should take this fact into consideration.

This model can also be traced when the passive interpreter pushes the active one to indicate an error (Fig. 4f). At the same time,



Fig. 4. Examples of empathic destructive interactivity model

there is no hint, but only the fact of an error is mentioned. Such behavior is also considered to be destructive.

Results: nonempathic interactivity model

A nonempathic model includes such actions as: partners are not looking at each other (Fig. 5 (11a, d)), behaving indifferently (Fig. 5 (11b)), texting on the phone (Fig. 5 (11f)), taking pictures (Fig. 5 (11c)), etc. On the one hand, this may be demonstration of relaxing after exhausting interpretation, but only in the case of a long-term process during the day. In our case, the interpreters worked for several hours with long intervals, so most likely this behavior relates to non-empathy.

There are also cases of non-interactivity. If there are interpreters of the same gender in the booth, it is difficult for the listeners to understand by their voices who is interpreting at a moment. In case of bad interpretation of one of the interpreters, the good partner prefers to get out of the booth, so that the listeners could understand that it is not him or her who interprets so badly.

Conclusion

The study by cognitive event analysis leads to the following conclusions:

1. Simultaneous interpretation is a cognitive event that requires empathic interactivity with a partner in a situation of cognitive dissonance in order to eliminate communicatively significant errors at the moment and ensure high-quality simultaneous interpretation.

2. Productive interactivity is the most important characteristics of a simultaneous interpretation in addition to stress tolerance, efficiency and endurance.

3. According to the results of the study in the field, interactivity between partners appears in the situations of cognitive dissonance during the simultaneous interpretation. Interactivity is caused by empathic attitude to the partners and needs more detailed research

4. The trajectories of giving a hint in the empathic productive interactivity model show three obligatory cycles of creating productive empathy: identifying cognitive dissonance, illustrating emphatic behavior and inviting to interactivity. These cycles are enough to pro-



Fig. 5. Examples of nonempathic interactivity model

vide verbal hint only. In case of material hint it is necessary to include mutual cognitive dissonance. The most precious hint happens when deep cognitive empathy between the partners can encourage them by embodied help without any verbal or material hints but including 2 additional cycles: mutual cognitive dissonance and individual attempt to solve the problem.

5. An empathic productive interactivity model is observed mainly in the pairs of experienced interpreters. Novice simultaneous interpreters, as the analysis has shown, are not

able to provide empathy – tutors need to specifically draw their attention to this gap and teach them.

6. The empathic unproductive and destructive interactivity models are more common among highly qualified interpreters with no experience of coupling and novice simultaneous interpreters.

7. The nonempathic interactivity model is more common among novice simultaneous interpreters and can be an indicator of a non-professional.

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Модели взаимодействия синхронных переводчиков как акторов когнитивного события

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Аннотация. В статье рассматривается процесс синхронного перевода в контексте теории распределенного познания. Распределенный характер деятельности синхронных переводчиков подразумевает взаимообусловленность индивидов, языка, коммуникации, материальных объектов. Объектом анализа выступает взаимодействие переводчиков-синхронистов, работающих в «естественных» условиях – во время реального мероприятия с обеспечением синхронного перевода. Цель статьи – выявление моделей взаимодействия акторов в когнитивном процессе синхронного перевода. В работе впервые в переводоведении используется метод анализа когнитивного события в парах синхронистов: 1) высококвалифицированных специалистов с опытом совместной работы, 2) синхронистов, не переводивших ранее в одной кабине, 3) а также начинающих переводчиков. Границы одного когнитивного события определяются временным отрезком, направленным на решение определенной задачи, требующей от партнеров активного взаимодействия для формирования единой когнитивной системы распределенного характера. В качестве параметра идентификации моделей взаимодействия установлена категория эмпатии, впервые рассматриваемая в контексте когнитивного переводоведения. В результате исследования были выявлены четыре модели взаимодействия переводчиков-синхронистов: эмпатичная продуктивная, эмпатичная непродуктивная, эмпатичная деструктивная и неэмпатичная. Сделан вывод о том, что категория эмпатии сопряжена с профессионализмом переводчика, однако она актуализируется в поведении не всех представителей профессии или не всегда. Помимо вербальной и материальной помощи партнера по кабине, наиболее эффективной является его когнитивная поддержка, например, когда благодаря эмпатии взаимный когнитивный диссонанс, испытываемый обоими партнерами при решении определенной задачи, мотивирует переводчиков оказывать взаимовлияние посредством обмена когнитивными реакциями и оба профессионала таким образом становятся частью когнитивного опыта в ситуации «здесь и сейчас».

Ключевые слова: когнитивные науки, распределенное познание, когнитивный агент, когнитивное событие, когниция, коммуникация, эмпатия.

Научная специальность: 10.02.19 – теория языка.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0561
УДК 811

Using Big Data Experiments in Cognitive and Linguo-Cultural Research in English and Russian

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Received 05.06.2019, received in revised form 03.02.2020, accepted 10.03.2020

Abstract. Big data search instruments, Google and Yandex and others, offer new research opportunities, statistically very impressive. The questions arise here as to what extent we can trust the statistical data obtained, what kinds of hypotheses can be verified through Google and Yandex searching. The authors try to experimentally verify the hypothesis relating to the word order in the attributive group of the kind *healthy nourishing food vs nourishing healthy food* using Google and Yandex and, in this way, test the explanatory potential of the big data sources. The choice of word order is related to the theory of classes which explains cognitive mechanisms that govern the order of adjectives in a noun group. The empirical results obtained via Google and Yandex help to verify this hypothesis and identify cognitive grounds for choosing the order of attributes. The authors claim that data search engines, particularly, Russian Yandex and Google corpora, can help identify linguistically and culturally relevant concepts.

Keywords: Big data, cognitive principle, semantic experiment, theory of classes, word order of adjectives in the attributive group.

Research area: linguistics.

Citation: Suleimanova, O.A., Petrova, I.M. (2020). Using big data experiments in cognitive and linguo-cultural research in English and Russian. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 385-393. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0561.

Introduction

The paper focuses on the issue of word order (WO) in the attributive group:

the authors will critically analyze current theories explaining WO (1);

put forward a hypothesis which accounts for WO (2);

support the theory with the experiment based on the big data (3);

analyze the potential and restrictions on the Google and Yandex experiments when exploring semantics (4).

1. Critical analysis of current WO theories

Linguists often claim that linguistics, as well as any other field of science, in its spiral progress keeps returning to “old” problems already seemingly extensively explored, but it approaches them from new, sometimes unexpected angles, discovering new features and trying new research methods and techniques. One of the problems which keeps linguistic minds excited is word order (WO) in attributive constructions, e.g. *healthy nourishing food* vs *nourishing healthy food*. This issue is also a challenge, teaching practice-wise.

Practitioners tend to rely either on their intuition and vast experience (if they are native-speakers of English, or any other language they are teaching), or on the self-explanatory potential of statistics. For instance, comprehensive research by S. Wulff (2003) reveals the so-called GSSSACPM rule (general-specific opinion-size-shape-age-color-provenance-material). However, the linguist claims that the rule is satisfactorily applicable to only 78% of the cases, while the remaining – statistically quite convincing, we have to admit – 22% are not covered by this rule. These 22% make it necessary to focus on the plausible explanation and to offer some convincing cognitive interpretation of the principles that govern the use of WO which the speaker opts for.

Other authors claim that deviations from the statistically preferred WO can be related to the individual choice, thus often leading to stylistically marked utterances, such as *great tawny-coloured intelligent eyes*. We believe that any stylistic idiosyncrasy, however, is based on

some cognitive mechanism and should find a logical explanation which we shall offer below.

For instance, some authors suggest sequences: opinion – size – quality / character – age – shape – colour – participle – origin – material – type – purpose (Eastwood, 2002; Cohen & Lefebvre, 2005; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Matthews, 2014). The sequence, unfortunately, can neither explain the equal acceptability of the word combinations *healthy nourishing food* and *nourishing healthy food*, nor the unacceptability of some of them.

Another approach is based on the statistically calculated principle: size – volume – softness – temperature – humidity – heaviness – form – age – colour (Ter-Minasova, 2008: 34) – *thick straight blond hair*. The adjectives denoting colour are located closest to the noun, while those denoting size are most distant: *little round green tables*; *big multicolored skirts*; *short thick blond hair*; *fat smooth round face*. Or in (Ter-Minasova, 2008: 229) the sequence is as follows: determiner – quality – size – length – form – colour – material – purpose: *a very valuable old gold watch*; *those smart brown snake skin shoes*.

The short list above demonstrates:

1) diversity of opinions related to the WO;

2) the terms used to define the semantic groups are not explicitly defined – it remains unclear what is meant by *quality*, or how *shape*, *form*, *length*, etc. are related;

3) variability of the type *a fat old lady* vs. *an old fat lady*, or *a wet dirty cloth* vs. *a dirty wet cloth* is not explained, though both of the options are acceptable.

It means that the above-mentioned theories lack sufficient explanatory potential as they are based on general and linguistic intuition rather than well-substantiated cognitive principle (Suleimanova & Petrova, 2018). We will try to combine the theoretical background with the research potential of a relative newcomer to the tool pool, investigation-wise, big data search systems.

2. Hypothesis accounting for WO

Further, we will define the key ideas, voiced by linguists, which will help us lay the

cognitive foundation of the theory we promote. We relate the approach to the theory of classes and their language categorization. Linguistic categorization has been in the focus of research attention, especially in the light of E. Rosch's works (1975; 1977, etc.) and in the papers to follow (Taylor, 2003; Cohen & Lefebvre, 2005; Tsohatzidis, 2014, etc.) where the authors claim that categorization as a cognitive idea is directly related to the physical survival of mankind in the hostile surroundings. To safely communicate with the unpredictable world, an individual has to be able to foresee and predict the properties of the objects s/he communicates with, s/he had to categorize the world, and each new object is immediately put into some category or class of objects, which makes communication successful, and leads to the individual feeling safe (Suleimanova & Petrova, 2018). So world categorization reflected in the language, as the projected world (Jackendoff, 1999), is of survival value.

What is relevant here is the degree of class definition, e.g., there are adjectives which define a stable (sub)class of objects that is easily empirically verified as the criteria defining the class are quite obvious and universally recognized. For example, in the word combination *a new beautiful nine-storeyed building* it is the attribute *nine-storeyed*. The word *new* also distinguishes a stable (sub) class, while the adjective *beautiful* introduces a vaguely defined class of objects as the criteria defining the boundaries of this class may essentially differ from person to person (Suleimanova, 1987). This difference leads to a hypothesis that it is along the boundaries of these subclasses the diversified variants can be expected – it can make the focus of special research in the future.

So cognitive categorization – with high probability – is reflected in the projected world, in particular, in WO of the attributive word combinations.

In line with the theory suggested above are similar views (though not enough explicit in some cases), such as that of M. Halliday, whose ideas rely on the theory of classes. He suggested four types of WO: Deictic, Numerative, Epithet and Classifier (Halliday & Mat-

thiessen, 2014: 364). Although M. Halliday does not offer a general explanatory cognitive principle, not to mention the vagueness of the term “epithet”; he distinguishes classifiers, which can directly precede the noun. The “classifying” potential is shared by the names of the following categories: material, scale and scope, purpose and function, status and rank, origin, mode of operation as well as some other minor properties of the objects, forming their own categories (Halliday, Matthiessen, 2014: 377).

We share the view by N.A. Kobrina (2007) in that “the closest to the noun is a *classifying* adjective, as it expresses *constant, inherent properties and qualities* of the object. The next slot to the left is dedicated to explicative, a descriptive adjective...” (Kobrina, 2007: 127) (*italics is ours – O.S., I.P.*). As the linguist does not explain what is meant by the *classifying* feature (which, by the way, cannot be treated as self-explanatory), it is unclear which properties and under what conditions can be treated as *inherent* (see above).

Apparently many linguists tend to agree that the position closest to the noun belongs to words, denoting stable quality, more innate property, more intrinsic (Glucksberg & Danks, 1971), but it remains unspecified which qualities are stable, and which are not; what is more, why in some cases they are stable and, in a minute, they cease to be stable and are shifted from the stable position into a less stable one. It means that it is necessary to establish a clear link between the cognitive operations and their verbalization.

To the speaker it is relevant if there exists a class of objects he or she may refer to and how relevant it is for him or her to distinguish this particular class under the circumstances. The attribute which directly precedes the noun serves to denote such a class. For example, the Russian attributive group *узкая проселочная дорога* (narrow country road) implies that there exists a (sub)class of country roads, as opposed to highways; the property *narrow* is not treated as an absolute, universally recognized parameter and can be easily challenged: *It is not narrow – two cars can easily drive along; Какая же она узкая! Вполне можно разъехаться!*

In a neutral context *a fat old lady* is more probable as there exists a class of old ladies, besides the age is an extremely relevant characteristic. The word combination *an old fat lady* can occur in the contexts related to dieting, eating habits, obesity or fitness, where among the fat ladies the speaker singles out an old one. Similarly, choosing between word combinations of the type *white healthy teeth* vs *healthy white teeth* in the neutral context the speaker is likely to opt for *white healthy teeth*, as there exists an objectively identifiable class of people with healthy teeth (and this property is really important for people), and within this class the speaker distinguishes white-teethed people. On the contrary, the word combination *healthy white teeth* refers to white-teethed people (a less numerous class), and among them there are individuals with healthy or unhealthy teeth.

In other words, WO within the attributive group is defined by the relevance of some subclass for the speaker. The more typical the property is (cf. the statements in the theories analyzed above that the property is *stable, inherent, innate property*, actually defining the relevance), the closer it is to the noun; vice versa, the more subjective the assigned property, the farther it is from the noun. The speaker starts with the subjective feature to complete with the reference to the class: *a beautifully decorated tree-bedroom apartment*.

We have to say, though, that sometimes it is not very relevant for the speaker to prioritize between the properties, choosing one in favour of the other, as the properties may be equally relevant. For example, we can say in Russian *Я хочу найти себе красивого и умного мужа / умного и красивого мужа*, or in English *I want to marry some rich smart / smart rich guy*, where both features are equally important.

In other words, the principle which governs WO in the attributive group is related to the theory of classes and serves as the cognitive ground for the speakers' choice. The hypothesis based on the theory of classes was verified and the cognitive grounds for choosing WO were proved through the Google-based experiment (Suleimanova & Petrova, 2018).

3. Big data – based experiment

The suggested WO governing principle needed experimental verification. The original utterances were collected from the British National Corpus, the Russian examples were taken from the Russian National Corpus of the Russian Language (NKRJA); the WO in the attributive group was then changed and the resulting utterances were assessed as either acceptable or not. Earlier, linguists relied on the English native speakers who were asked to assess the utterances featuring such attributive constructions with regard to the acceptability of those utterances. Nowadays, linguists can rely on big data bases such as Google and Yandex and search for “hypothetical” word combinations (Suleimanova, 2019; Suleimanova & Demchenko, 2018; Petrova, 2018, 2019). If the search returns a compelling number of occurrences, it testifies to acceptability of the word combination in question. Such experimental procedure allows the authors to verify the hypothesis (see the detailed definition above), explaining the principles of WO, namely WO in the attributive word group is determined by the speakers' choice/focus on of the class of objects in the context.

We conducted both Google and Yandex-based search, which included a request for “competing” attributive phrases. There were 14 phrases: 7 Russian and 7 English with the following structure: attribute 1 + attribute 2 + attribute n + Noun. For example, in the attributive phrase *a beautifully decorated tree-bedroom apartment* the attribute *tree-bedroom* refers the noun *apartments* to a certain class of dwelling, while *beautifully decorated* attributes some subjectively identified feature to the apartment. When we change the WO in the phrase, we change the identification of the class by the speaker in terms of the features relevant for the speaker.

The results of the experiment can be seen in Table 1 which shows the results obtained via Google and Yandex for WO 1; Table 2 reflects the results for WO 2.

As our results indicate, WO 1 Phrases and WO 2 Phrases have different numbers of entries in Google and Yandex, but the relative ratio of values allows us to draw conclusions about the

Table 1. Occurrences of WO 1 in Google and Yandex (accessed 28/12/2018)

	WO1 Phrase	No. occurrences, Google Search	No. occurrences, Yandex Search
1	умная красивая девушка	662,000	80 000000
2	a smart beautiful girl	61,100,00	82 000000
3	большой красивый дом	2,280,000	121 000000
4	a big beautiful house	244,000,000	93 000000
5	умный сильный мужчина	258,000	50 000000
6	a smart strong man	148,000	80 000000
7	умный здоровый ребенок	539,000	77 000000
8	a smart healthy child	67,900,000	60 000000
9	вкусная здоровая пища	113,000	46 000000
10	delicious healthy food	75,900,000	43 000000
11	счастливая крепкая семья	238,000	42 000000
12	a happy strong family	189,000,000	53 000000
13	полная пожилая женщина	1,690,000	55 000000
14	a fat elderly woman	64,500,000	49 000000

Table 2. Occurrences of WO 2 in Google and Yandex (accessed 28/12/2018)

	WO 2 Phrase	No. occurrences, Google Search	No. occurrences, Yandex Search
1	красивая умная девушка	457,000	82 000000
2	a beautiful smart girl	54,800,000	79 000000
3	красивый большой дом	639,000	117 000000
4	a beautiful big house	182,000,000	96 000000
5	сильный умный мужчина	527,000	53 000000
6	a strong smart man	124,000,000	78 000000
7	здоровый умный ребенок	1,550,000	72 000000
8	a healthy smart child	24,100,000	57 000000
9	здоровая вкусная пища	189,000	46 000000
10	healthy delicious food	74,900,000	42 000000
11	крепкая счастливая семья	238,000	43 000000
12	a strong happy family	15,700,000	54 000000
13	пожилая полная женщина	1,670,000	0
14	an elderly fat woman	55,900,000	75 000000

preference of a particular phrase among the users. So, the experimental data contribute material for further analysis of WO of attributive phrases in Russian and in English and provide certain evidence of different tendencies in cultural perceptions and attitudes.

For example, the request for “competing” attributive phrases (no. 1-2) *умная красивая девушка* (a clever beautiful girl) and *красивая умная девушка* (a beautiful clever girl) reveals the following statistics – *умная красивая девушка* – 662.000 (Google)/80 000000 (Yan-

dex) entries, while *красивая умная девушка* – 457 000/82 000000 entries. Yandex does not provide a great difference in results, while Google is more specific. What follows is that the Russian cognitive practice admits existence of both clever, and beautiful girls, but higher frequency of the class of beautiful girls (if this figure is taken as 100%) against clever girls (70%) means that for the Russian linguistic picture of the world it is more natural to distinguish beautiful rather than clever girls. We can also conclude that this class is more culturally relevant for the Russian mentality.

The Russian word combinations *умный сильный мужчина* and *сильный умный мужчина* (a strong smart / smart strong guy) are related in a slightly different way: Russian mentality distinguishes a stable class of smart guys – 527 000 entries, and a less stable class of strong guys – only 258 000 entries, according to Google.

Comparing word combinations (we emphasize once again that different word orders are acceptable, and rigorously defined rules do not reflect the linguistic reality) can help define more “natural” classes, mirrored in the national cognitive practice. In this case, what is crucial is comparative data, rather than absolute figures, as taken separately, the figures would show only word combinations frequencies. As a research perspective we can suggest a comparative analysis of experimental data fished out of big data systems such as Yandex, Google, etc., which might provide unlimited material for linguistic and linguo-cultural research.

In the Russian cognitive experience, the child (no. 7-8) is seen in the same way as in the English language. A strong family (no. 11-12) in the UK (and the rest of the English-speaking world) is more important than a happy family (189 million vs 16 million entries), and in Russia the definitions are similar. The taste of food (no. 9-10) (189 thousand) in the Russian experience is more relevant than healthy food (113 thousand) – we have a more hedonistic vision than people in the English-speaking world, where these data are equivalent (75 and 76 million).

The search tools can also be quite instrumental in re-visiting the previous data. For ex-

ample, in the doctoral theses by O.V. Afanasjeva (1994) devoted to the adjectival vocabulary, the author tackles the word order in the attributive word combinations and claims that in the combination, e.g. *коричневый деревянный стол* / *a brown wooden table* “out of many properties inherent to the object the speaker starts with choosing, as the most relevant, the indication to the material, thus relating the object some class <...> what concerns the word combination *деревянный коричневый стол* / *wooden brown table*, the analysis reveals that out of the class of brown tables the speaker singles out a sub-class of brown tables made of wood” (Afanasjeva, 1994: 322) (the translation is ours, O.S., I.P.). Though the author draws attention to variability in the WO, she explicitly claims that in English only one word order in the phrase *brown wooden table* is acceptable (Afanasjeva, 1994: 322). We tried searching through Yandex and found phrases *wooden brown table*, though in specific contexts – when pieces of furniture are discussed, that is why the colour is one of the key properties: *wooden brown table and blurred background, view from above, dishes on a wooden brown table*. In the last phrase, the crockery is referred to and how it is attenuated against the colour of the table. Then this phrase is widely used in the *antique furniture* slot.

When colour choice is in question, this WO is acceptable. We have a hunch that the cognitive principle we promote here may be treated as practically universal, or at least works for quite a few languages, and it might be quite a promising field of research.

4. Assessing the potential and restrictions on the Google and Yandex experiments when exploring semantics

The full potential of the search engines is not yet explored to full extent; we are facing only the beginning of such experimental procedures. Statistically, these tools offer compelling numbers as compared to the text corpora, e.g. COCA or BNC. The problem is that the search engines do not classify texts – the way texts are represented in the text corpora. Moreover, English texts in Google can be authored both by English native speakers and by those who speak English as their second/third lan-

guage, as English is spoken worldwide as the most popular international language. It means that English texts cannot be trusted linguistics-wise, and those systems are still to find ways to distinguish texts produced by different groups of people, for different purposes and in different styles. This state of affairs imposes strong restrictions on data in English.

As for Russian, either in Google or Yandex, the situation is different as Russian as a native tongue is spoken mainly in Russia and its former republics. What follows is that the Russian-based texts can be trusted, besides, the national mentality can be studied using both Yandex and Google Russian texts. The number of non-Russian native speakers contributing to these systems is negligible, statistics-wise.

Conclusion

The paper investigated the potential of **big data** experiments in cognitive and linguo-cultural research. The study reveals the potential of using search engines both as the source of reliable data and as the experimental tool

that allows to verify the hypothesis explaining WO in the attributive phrase in cognitive terms. The hypothesis is based on the theory of classes, it admits WO variability in attributive groups, cf. *healthy nourishing food* vs *nourishing healthy food*. The choice of WO is related to the speaker's perception of the object and its relevance to him/ her. i.e. whether s/he distinguishes some (sub)class of objects s/he is further attributing some specific property to. The experiment allowed to distinguish more "natural" classes of objects projected onto the linguistic picture of the world. What remains unclear and calls for special investigation is that to define under what circumstances the speaker opts for this or that class is not possible through this experiment. Still, through analyzing attributive groups it is possible to draw conclusions about the mentality of the nation if we deal with the languages which are not spoken worldwide, such as Russian. At the moment the experimental potential of big data systems has not yet been extensively researched into and needs in-depth investigation.

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Использование больших данных в когнитивных и лингвокультурологических исследованиях английского и русского языков

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Аннотация. Инструменты получения больших данных, Google, Яндекс и другие, предоставляют статистику, которая открывает новые возможности для исследователей. Это, в свою очередь, порождает вопросы о надежности таких данных, а также о том, какие гипотезы могут быть проверены с помощью поиска в Google и Яндексе. Авторы экспериментально проверяют гипотезу, связанную с порядком слов в атрибутивной группе типа *healthy nourishing food vs nourishing healthy food*, используя Google и Яндекс, и, таким образом, подтверждают объяснительный потенциал данных инструментариев. Выбор порядка следования атрибутов в группе связан с теорией классов, которая объясняет когнитивные механизмы, управляющие очередностью расположения прилагательных. Эмпирические результаты, полученные с помощью Google и Яндекса, позволяют подтвердить эту гипотезу и выявить когнитивные основания для выбора порядка следования атрибутов. Авторы утверждают, что поисковые системы, в частности русскоязычный Яндекс и англоязычный Google, могут быть полезны при исследовании языковых и культурно значимых концептов.

Ключевые слова: большие данные, когнитивный принцип, семантический эксперимент, теория классов, порядок слов прилагательных в атрибутивной группе.

Научная специальность: 10.02.00 – языкознание.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0562
УДК 81'1; 81'37

Age Factor and its Role in the Readers' Comprehension of Stylistic Heterogeneity: Evidence from Eye Movements and Default Responses

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Received 15.01.2020, received in revised form 01.02.2020, accepted 06.03.2020

Abstract. The article discusses the role of the age factor in the readers' comprehension of stylistically heterogeneous texts, here the text fragments containing figurative noun groups of salient and non-salient character. The salience effects on eye movement and default responses are studied in the oculographic experiment where the secondary school children had to read the sentences displaying figurativeness. The earlier detected statistically significant corpus salience indices of referential, linguistic and discourse parameters in figurativeness construal get verified experimentally. In accordance with the Graded Salience and Defaultness hypotheses I assumed that the interpretation of figurative noun groups of varied referential, linguistic and discourse salience will require different cognitive effort in terms of both eye movement reactions and default inferences. Several eye-tracking experiments with adult participants sufficed to prove the dependency, however, the results obtained with children did not support the Salience hypothesis in the part of visual perception. The eye movements of children facing figurative noun groups did not show steady correlation patterns with the salience effects of these groups, whereas the default interpretations correlated strongly with referential, linguistic, and discourse salience. The results show evidence in favor of Mixed-Effects Model of interpretation.

Keywords: stylistically heterogeneous texts, readers' comprehension, eye-tracking experiment, secondary school children, salience, eye movements and default responses.

This research is financially supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, project No. 20-012-00370 "Textual heterogeneity and the factors of its successful reading comprehension" at Moscow State Linguistic University.

Research area: linguistics.

Citation: Kiose, M.I. (2020). Age factor and its role in the readers' comprehension of stylistic heterogeneity: evidence from eye movements and default responses. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 394-406. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0562.

Introduction

The problem of cognitive load distribution which a reader has to face when dealing with heterogeneous texts has received a lot of attention and has resulted in the experimental boom in recent years (Sweller, et al. 2011; Ginns, Leppink, 2019). Heterogeneity may be present in different forms, for instance, in the intersection of stylistically or culturally heterogeneous text fragments, in the interplay of language codes, modalities or media channels. All these forms represent different factors which determine different functions of communication (Jakobson, 1960). However, irrespective of the form in which heterogeneity is expressed, it imposes on the reader the necessity to adapt his or her eye movements and interpretation procedure to the new construal schemes. In this study I look at the stylistically heterogeneous textual fragments as potentially hampering the reader's smooth interpretation process in the situation of the reader being a secondary school child.

Stylistic heterogeneity is shaped in various linguistic forms in children's literature, which a child has to comprehend.

Thus, in (1) the figurative nominal group is expressed by the indirect non-entrenched noun *guest*, in (2) – by the entrenched idiomatic group, comprising the indirect verb and noun, *dropped the subject*. In (3) that is the indirect non-entrenched verb *jumped* standing for the animated action of non-animated object. Other detected examples of figurativeness involved indirect adjectives and indirect phrases.

1) *There, inside, looking up at her, was the newborn pig. [...] At this moment her brother Avery came into the room. [...] "What's that?" he demanded. "What's Fern got?" "She's got a guest for breakfast," said Mrs. Arable* (E.B. White. *Charlotte's Web*).

(2) *The Mole knew well that it is quite against animal-etiquette to dwell on possible trouble ahead, or even to allude to it; so he dropped the subject* (K. Grahame. *The Wind in the Willows*).

(3) *The egg jumped* (P.D. Eastman. *Are you my mother?*)

The study is aimed at detecting the interpretation models a child adopts when reading and processing textual fragments with integrated referential ambiguity caused by stylistically heterogeneous character of figurative noun groups. Multiple experimental studies have shown that children's and adults' interpretation models are not concurrent, which is explained by the differences in their executive functions (Miyake et al. 2000), expressed in three main components, working memory, cognitive flexibility (the ability to switch from one construal scheme to another), inhibitory control (which is supposed to inhibit one's dominant response to a textual situation in favor of the task requirement) (Lehto et al. 2003; Cutting et al. 2009; Cantin et al. 2016, among others). Interpretation can be assessed in terms of the construal process a child has to accomplish (the construal models he recognizes ad hoc, which we will name default interpretations after (Giora, 1999; Jaszczolt, 2005)), and in his or her eye movement reactions, which we will test oculographically applying the eye-tracking assessment parameters developed in (Rayner, 1998; Staub, 2015) to test the reading performance skills. These two methods of assessment will give us the opportunity to evaluate the degree of cognitive load in each individual case and detect the more and less common interpretation models applied to read and comprehend a stylistically heterogeneous text fragment.

Salience, Textual Heterogeneity and its Interpretation Models

To this date there exist three partly mutually exclusive hypotheses on how we process stylistically heterogeneous information, i. e. the fragments containing lexical or grammatical ambiguity, and select this or that construal scheme. There is the Parallel Process Hypothesis (or the Unrestricted Race Hypothesis) which assumes a single cognitive mechanism for different construal schemes and

parallel processing of several interpretations (van Gompel et al., 2001). According to the Direct Access Hypothesis (Martin, McElree, 2011), the default meaning is accessed directly without the processing of non-default ones. The Strategic Underspecification Hypothesis (Swets et al., 2008) is radically different as it claims that a reader does not in all cases resolve ambiguity, only when it becomes absolutely necessary. These three hypotheses have been continually challenged with none of them being acclaimed as veritable in all cases (cf. (Logacev, 2014)). With the common interpretation theory still unclear, the possible solution of the interpretations modelling problem may be the study of the neural connections which are formed in the mind of a reader when he or she processes the heterogeneous information. Consequently, while verifying the hypotheses the researchers have developed a new cognitive experimental direction exploring the neural connections as the basis for ambiguity resolution.

The Connectionist Model (Feldman and Ballard, 1982) is a network according to which the ambiguity feedback is based on the “best fit” senses of a word when its meaning is processed from lower to upper levels of language. This model has produced several variations (cf. (Small et al., 1988)). Two of its earlier common approaches were the interactive one which holds that only a single meaning is accessed (the Prior Decision Hypothesis) and the modular view which states that all the meanings are accessed simultaneously (the Post Decision Hypothesis) with these two models accompanied by the resolution variant in the form of Semantic Priming Model (Wickelgren et al., 1980) which accounts for faster default effects in case the default meaning is associated with the prime (e.g. if the ambiguous word *key* is preceded by the word *door*). Later connectionist views have given rise to the Cue-Dependent Model (van Dyke, McElree, 2011), Good-Enough Model (Ferreira et al., 2002), Garden-Path Model (Christianson, 2001), Mixed-Effects Model (Pinheiro, Bates, 2000) and even Random Effects Model (Barr, 2013).

Compared to adults, children adopt a different strategy in figurative language read-

ing and comprehension (Ferguson, Slobin, 1973; Gibbs, 1991; Levorato et al., 2007; Rubio-Fernández, Grassman, 2016) which is explained by the specificity of their executive functions development. In this study I will detect the dominant interpretation models applied by the secondary school children reading stylistically heterogeneous text fragments displaying higher and lower degrees of salience, that is more or less typical language construal patterns. The Graded Salience and Defaultness hypotheses (Giora, 1999; Jaszczolt, 2005) have already received approbation in a number of experiments carried out with adult participants (Giora et al., 2015; Giora et al., 2018; Kiose, 2018), however its influence on children's interpretation models still needs to be verified. These experiments have sufficed to show that the reader's default reactions are highly resonant with the salience of lexical, syntactic and discourse construal patterns. Furthermore, salience is graded, which can be assessed statistically by means of parametrical corpus analysis, and then verified experimentally by faster readers' reactions and higher index of default answers, although the interplay of salience parameters also plays a role (Kiose, 2020, in press).

With the secondary school children as experiment participants I will find out what role salience plays in selecting the interpretation model, and whether it is possible to distinguish one dominant interpretation model for defaultness procession and eye movements reactions.

Methods and Experiment Design

In (Kiose, 2019) by means of parametrical corpus analysis I disclosed the age-dependent salience parameters of focusing (Iriskhanova, 2014) which are exploited by the authors of successful Russian literature in their use of figurative language. Additionally, some schemes of parameters interplay, that is when some combinations of salience parameters are frequently exploited together, were also found. In this study the salience parameters of figurative language will be used to assess the interpretation models the children apply to comprehend more and less salient figurative language. Corpus analysis was conducted with reference to 57 fo-

cusing parameters of 8 groups: 1) Embodiment parameters, 2) Reference parameters, 3) Metaphor and metonymy mapping models parameters, 4) Linguistic parameters (morphological, lexical, syntactic, textual), 5) Co-reference parameters, 6) Graphic parameters, 7) Pragmatic parameters, 8) Event construal parameters. The value of each parameter was marked in binomial regime (presence vs. absence). For instance, the presence of Embodiment parameters was acknowledged in the following sentences (4–7). Figurative units are given in bold.

In (4) the parameter of explicit exteroception is present:

(4) *Жук карабкается, как по канату, по шнурку от тапочки* (В. Крапивин);

Tr.: [the beetle] [climbs] [**like up an (anchor) cable**] [along the shoelace].

In (5) embodiment is expressed in the explicit visual mode:

(5) *Но снеговик задумчиво глядел куда-то своими угольками* (Л. Воронкова);

Tr.: [but] [the snowman] [looked] [somewhere] [with his **embers**].

In (6) and (7) these are the explicit kinesthetic and auditory modes present:

(6) *Подпрыгивает телега, гремят пустые бидоны* (Н. Калинина);

Tr.: [**jumps**] [the cart], [bang] [the empty cans].

(7) *Испугалась Вода, зажурчала тихим голосом* (Я. Таяц);

Tr.: [got frightened] [the water], [jingled with] [quiet] [**voice**].

Having annotated the parameters of four compiled subcorpora (450 pages each) of short stories addressed to four age groups: pre-school, primary, secondary school (11-14) and (15-17) I have detected the resonant parameter values for each age group. As in this study I will focus on the secondary school children as the experiment participants, I will give the values of the resonant parameters for this age group which will underlie the stimulus text design. In Fig. 1 several of the resonant parameters are shown as well as the parameters which do not display variability across the parameter values for 4 age groups.

The parameter values demonstrate the salience effects across the four age groups. Thus, the parameter of exteroception in pre-position to the figurative noun group is equally salient whereas the parameter of visual mode is more salient for secondary school literature. Object reference is less salient (more frequent event reference construal is typical of this age group), but the lexemes tend to display more often phonetic or morphological motivation.

Consequently, the selected group of parameters (whose values demonstrated both significant variance with the mean values and similar values to check the hypothesis) were considered to compile the text fragments for the stimulus text for the oculographic experiment. The null hypothesis was that the salience effects in children's reading and understanding the stylistically heterogeneous text fragments

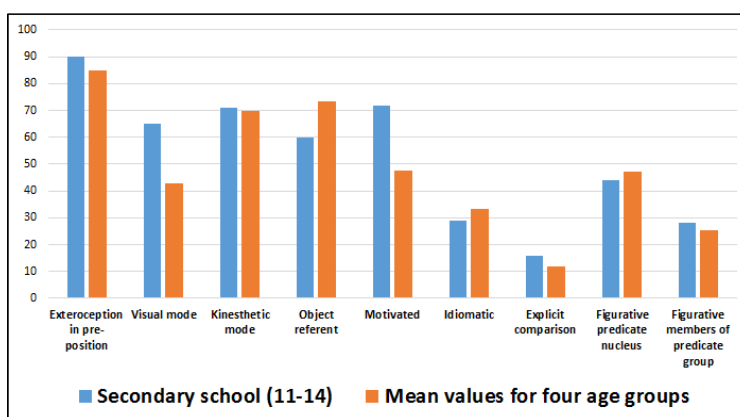


Fig. 1. Resonant and non-resonant focusing parameters for secondary school literature

will correspond to defaultness effects and faster reading reactions.

To assess the defaultness effects, I collected the readers' responses about the reference recognition of the figurative units or groups (Identification Index). To evaluate the reading reactions, I collected data on Reading Path, Reading Time, and Duration of Fixations.

The participants of the experiment were 15 secondary school students (13-14 years old); their parents signed the consent for their participation.

The task set for the participants was to read the sentences presented on the computer screen once and after reading every sentence say aloud what the word in bold stands for, that is what referent it stands for. The students first received some practice doing this task without eye-tracking equipment so that I could become sure they fully understood the task.

The experiment was run with a portable EYETRIBE eye-tracker set, 30 Hz, in order to process the raw data the special software was developed, EYE-TRACK-PROC, to comply with the experiment needs.

The stimulus text contained 12 sentences elicited from the texts for secondary school children with contrasting values of the salient and non-salient parameters. In these sentences the figurative units and complexes were in bold. The reference of these words the participants had to detect and say aloud when reading each sentence.

The sentences presented the contrasted groups of salient and non-salient parameters. The first sentence was given for tuning in for the experiment, its results were not considered. The stimulus text is given in Fig. 2.

The text transcript is given below.

[in] [window] [Kuzma, name] [could see] [long] [empty] [street], [along] [which], [like] [along] [**tunnel**], [runs] [wind].

[Kolya, name] [no way] [couldn't] [get used] [to] [hunger], [and] [his] [hollow] [eyes] [angrily] [flickered], [constantly] [searched for] [**prey**].

[since] [those] [times] [these] [swings], [which] [earlier] [were] [almost] [in] [every] [yard], [forever] [remained] [**memory**].

[somewhere] [escaped] [from] [opened door] [song], [buzzed], [like] [flying by] [**bumble-bee**], [and] [quieted].

[his] [bright] [red] [car], [roaring] [engine – Acc Case], [dashed] [forward], [until] [not] [got out of] [noisy] [**herd**] [and] [disappeared].

[bread] [melted] [with] [unrestrained] [power]: [and] [soon] [in] [hand] [boy – Gen Case] [remained] [thin – Dimin Affix] [**crescent**]. [and] [it – Gen case] [soon] [didn't remain] ...

В ОКНО КУЗЬМЕ ВИДНА ДЛИННАЯ ПУСТЯЯ УЛИЦА, ПО КОТОРОЙ, КАК ПО **ТРУБЕ**, НОСИТСЯ ВЕТЕР.
КОЛЯ НИКАК НЕ МОГ ПРИЛАДИТЬСЯ К ГОЛОДУ, И ЕГО ВВАЛИВШИЕСЯ ГЛАЗА СЕРДИТО ПОБЛЕСКИВАЛИ, ПОСТОЯННО ИСКАЛИ **ДОБЫЧУ**.
С ТЕХ ПОР ЭТИ КАЧЕЛИ, КОТОРЫЕ РАНЬШЕ БЫЛИ ПОЧТИ В КАЖДОМ ДВОРЕ, НАВСЕГДА ОСТАЛИСЬ **ПАМЯТЬЮ**.
ГДЕ-ТО ВЫРВАЛАСЬ ИЗ РАСКРЫТОЙ ДВЕРИ НА УЛИЦУ ПЕСНЯ, ПРОГУДЕЛА, КАК ПРОЛЕТАЮЩИЙ **ШМЕЛЬ**, И СТИХЛА.
ЕГО ЯРКО-КРАСНЫЙ АВТОМОБИЛЬ, РЯВКА ТУРБИНОЙ, РИНУЛСЯ ВПЕРЕД, ПОКА НЕ ВЫБРАЛСЯ ИЗ ШУМНОГО **СТАДА** И ИСЧЕЗ.
ХЛЕБ ТАЯЛ С НЕУДЕРЖИМОЙ СИЛОЙ: И ВСКОРЕ В РУКЕ МАЛЬЧИКА ОСТАЛСЯ **ТОНЕНЬКИЙ ПОЛУМЕСЯЦ**, И ЕГО СКОРО НЕ СТАЛО...
В ОБЕД, КОГДА КУЗЬМА ЗАГЛЯНУЛ В МАГАЗИН, ТАМ СТОЯЛ **ПОЛНЫЙ ТАРАРАМ**. ВСЕ БАНКИ И КОРОБКИ ПО ДЕСЯТЬ РАЗ ПЕРЕСЧИТЫВАЛИ.
ХОЗЯИН ОСОБНЯКА ЕЩЕ В ЯНВАРЕ УЕХАЛ В ПАРИЖ. В ГОРОДЕ НАЧАЛОСЬ **ВАВИЛОНСКОЕ СТОЛПОТВОРЕНИЕ**, НО НА ДОМ НИКТО НЕ ПОСЯГАЛ.
СИТУАЦИЯ СТАЛА НАПОМИНАТЬ **ЗАДАЧКУ НА ЛОГИКУ**: КТО РАЗБИЛ ОКНО, ЕСЛИ ИЗВЕСТНО, ЧТО СОВРАЛ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН МАЛЬЧИК, У ВАСИ НИКОГДА НЕ БЫЛО СОБАКИ, А КОЛЯ ХОРОШО ИГРАЕТ В ФУТБОЛ?
ТИШИНА БЫЛА ПОХОЖА НА **ПШЕНКУ В ЕГО МИСКЕ** — ОНА БЫЛА ТАКОЙ ЖЕ ГУСТОЙ И ВЯЗКОЙ; ОНА ДЕФОРМИРОВАЛА ГОЛОСА, КОТОРЫЕ ЗВУЧАЛИ НА ЕЕ ФОНЕ ОТРЫВИСТО И ИСТЕРИЧНО.
ПОЗДНЕЙ ОСЕНЬЮ ПЕРЕМЕНЯТ БЕЛКИ СВОИ **КРАСНЫЕ ПЛАТЫЦА** НА СЕРЫЕ ЗИМНИЕ ШУБКИ.
НАКОНЕЦ БАБУШКА ПОДОШЛА К НЕМУ И СКАЗАЛА: — ОТВЕДАЙ, ВНУЧОК, МОЕГО КОРЖА. КАКАЯ-ТО **СКРЫТАЯ ПРУЖИНА** СРАБОТАЛА ВНУТРИ — РУКИ МГНОВЕННО УСТРЕМИЛИСЬ К КОРЖУ, ПАЛЬЦЫ КРЕПКО СЖАЛИ ЕГО И ПОТЯНУЛИ В РОТ.

Fig. 2. Stimulus text for secondary school children

[at lunch], [when] [Kuzma, name] [looked into] [shop], [there] [stood, meaning was] [complete] [**tararam**, meaning bedlam]. [all] [tins] [and] [boxes] [for] [ten] [times] [were counted again].

[master] [mansion – Gen Case] [already] [in January] [went to Paris]. [in] [town] [started] [babel] [**crowd-make**, meaning pandemonium], [but] [on] [house] [nobody] [infringed].

[situation] [started] [remind] [**task** – Dimin Affix] [for] [logics]: [who] [broke] [window], [if] [known], [that] [lied] [only] [one] [boy], [prep] [Vasya, name] [never] [not] [had] [dog], [and] [Kolya, name] [well] [plays] [football]?

[silence] [was] [alike] [prep] [**mills**] [in] [his] [bowl] – [it] [was] [in the same way] [Particle] [thick] [and] [gluing]; [it] [transformed] [voices], [which] [sounded] [on] [its] [background] [abrupt] [and] [hysterical].

[late] [in autumn] [will exchange] [squirrels] [their] [**red**] [**dresses** – Dimin Affix] [for] [grey] [winter] [coats – Dimin Affix].

[at last] [grandma] [came] [to] [him] [and] [said]: – [taste, verb], [grandson – Dimin Affix], [my] [cake]. [some] [**hidden**] [**spring**] [worked] [inside] – [hands] [momentarily] [fastened] [towards] [cake], [fingers] [firmly] [clasped] [it] [and] [pulled] [into] [mouth].

In sentences 2–4 the more and less salient embodiment parameters are contrasted. In the second sentence there is an explicit marker of the visual mode in *eyes* and *flickered*; in the third sentence no explicit exteroception was present; the fourth sentence contained markers of multimodal (auditory, kinesthetic) exteroception in *buzzed* (auditory), *flying* (kinesthetic), and *quietened* (auditory). In sentences 5–6 the linguistic parameters of syntax are contrasted, i. e. in syntactically non-focal *herd* and focal *crescent*. In sentences 7–8 these were the parameters of phonetic motivation, present in *tararam* and absent in *pandemonium*. In sentences 9–10 these were the reference parameters of singular and abstract reference in

task and *mills*. The sentences 11–12 show the contrasting parameters of metaphor mapping models, OBJECT₁ IS OBJECT₂ in COATS ARE DRESSES and STATE IS OBJECT in RESTRAINING AN EMOTION (*not allowing oneself to eat something*) IS A MECHANISM (*a spring*).

It was obvious that the same parameters of salience were present in all the 12 sentences and might have influenced the readers' interpretation, that is why I have annotated all the 12 sentences to see if some parameters will be so active that their effect will be detected in the reading schemes and reference recognition of all the sentences or in most of them.

Experiment Results and Discussion

In the experiment I assessed 1) the Identification Index of the sentences with contrasting parameter values, salient and non-salient, 1) the Reading Paths of the participants, 2) the Reading Time and Fixation Duration.

First, I will demonstrate the results connected with the Identification Index, that is the reference recognition index, which varied a lot within the twelve units. Fig. 3 shows that (apart from sentence 1, which was not considered) the highest Identification Index was in Sentences 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10.

A quick look at the correspondences between the sentences with contrasted salient and non-salient parameters (i. e. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11 displaying salient parameters), shows that single salience parameters do not correlate with default reactions. There must be more complex parametric correlations existing. Correlation analysis (Pearson correlation) of salient and non-salient parameters present in all the 12 sentences has revealed several significant values. In Fig. 4 I give the binomial annotation results of the 12 Noun Phrases (NP), the parameters annotated, the Identification Index of the Noun Phrases, and the Correlation Values.

There are several parameters with higher correlation values. Only one parameter actually works as resonant, that is the presence of direct noun phrase in pre-position. Some others were also highly predictable, for instance, fuzzy boundaries or collective character of the object which hampered identification. But the influ-

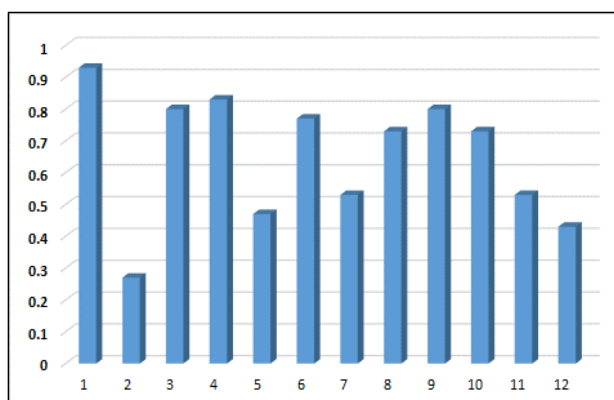


Fig. 3. Identification Index in Figurative Noun Phrases of Sentences 1–12

	NP1	NP2	NP3	NP4	NP5	NP6	NP7	NP8	NP9	NP10	NP11	NP12	Correlation
Direct NP in pre-position	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0.736684855
NP related to Direct NP (hypo, hyper, meronymy, antonymy)	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	-0.53277649
Direct NP reference	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0.350243849
Explicit visual mode	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	-0.46799419
Explicit kinesthetic mode	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0.358024659
Explicit auditory / gustatory mode	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	-0.2376879
Explicit bodily mode	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-0.2343737
Explicit multimodality	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	-0.2376879
Main syntactic focus (predicate, nucleus)	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0.075639012
Secondary syntactic focus (predicate, non-nucleus)	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0.135869789
Syntactic defocusing (subject)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-0.35024385
Second main syntactic focus (explicit comparison)	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.535119508
Entrenched NP, explicit phonetic motivation	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	-0.1922391
Entrenched NP, explicit morphological motivation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0.123770383
Object, distinct boundaries	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.151309538
Object, fuzzy boundaries	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-0.60305144
Collective object	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-0.49715991
State	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-0.16795722
Event	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0.262475729
EVENT 1 is EVENT 2 transfer	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	-0.05077776
OBJECT 1 is OBJECT 2 transfer	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0.086462593
OBJECT is EVENT (OBJECT PROCESSING or CONSTRUCTUAL) transfer	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-0.27341873
EVENT is OBJECT transfer	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0.382786217
STATE is OBJECT transfer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-0.16795722
NON-ANIMATED is ANIMATED transfer	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-0.00390598
ANIMAL is MAN transfer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-0.1922391
Id Index	0.93	0.27	0.8	0.83	0.47	0.77	0.53	0.73	0.8	0.73	0.53	0.43	

Fig. 4. Pearson Correlation Index of Saliency Parameters and Identification Index in Sentences 1–12

ence of one parameter was inexplicable, that is explicit visual mode which somehow hampered identification. Perhaps, it worked as a distractor as it does not give the direct key to inferencing the meaning of figurative groups. In general, the default reactions followed 1) a direct noun phrase in pre-position, 2) a noun phrase related to a direct noun phrase in pre-position (hypo, hyper, meronymy, antonymy relations), 3) absence of explicit visual mode present, 4) explicit kinesthetic mode, 5) absence of syntactic defocusing, 6) noun phrases in explicit comparison (simile), 7) absence of the reference object with fuzzy boundaries, 8) absence of collective object of reference, 9) naming event (rather

than state), 10) absence of the mapping model OBJECT IS EVENT, 11) the model EVENT IS OBJECT.

All in all, saliency parameters did activate default reactions, although the activation schemes were not so straightforward. Thus, Cue-Dependent Model (van Dyke, McElree, 2011) or Good-Enough Model (Ferreira, et al. 2002) are most likely employed for reference identification, although in most cases that is not the single cue affecting default reactions, but a Mixed Cue-Dependent Model.

Next, we proceed to the analysis of the participants' reading paths. Bearing in mind that saliency parameters must work as cues facili-

tating the reading trajectories, I was prepared to see the steady reading paths in the cases of better defaultness reactions. It would mean that Cue-Dependent Model or Good-Enough Model of interpretation was employed not only for default responses procession, but also for the eye movement process. However, I received the trajectories which were far from exemplar. Two contrasting reading paths are given in Fig. 5.

As Fig. 5 shows, the second participant's reading path displayed many chaotic eye movements and reverse saccades, clearly demonstrating top-to-bottom reading (Kliegl, et al. 2006). The trajectory may be caused by activating Garden-Path Model (Christianson, 2001) or Random Effects Model (Barr, 2013). At the same time, the first participant's reading path conforms to the Cue-Dependent Model or Good-Enough Model of interpretation. 11 out of 15 Reading paths obtained demonstrated the effect of bottom-up reading

schemes sufficing the Cue-Dependent Model. All in all, the general interpretation model for the reading paths may be described as Mixed-Effects Model (Pinheiro, Bates, 2000) where the default decisions were taken either based on the sentence cues met by the reader during bottom-up reading, or based on a series of cues which he or she searched for intensely throughout the sentence and even the text in top-to-bottom scheme.

Finally, I proceed to the analysis of Reading Time and Fixation Duration. I hypothesized that longer reading time and longer fixations would correspond to better defaultness reactions. As the participants gave their responses after they had read the whole sentence, the method of calculating the Reading Time and Fixation Duration in the areas of interest (in the areas containing only figurative noun phrases) would have led to inherently incorrect results. That is why I evaluated the Reading Time and

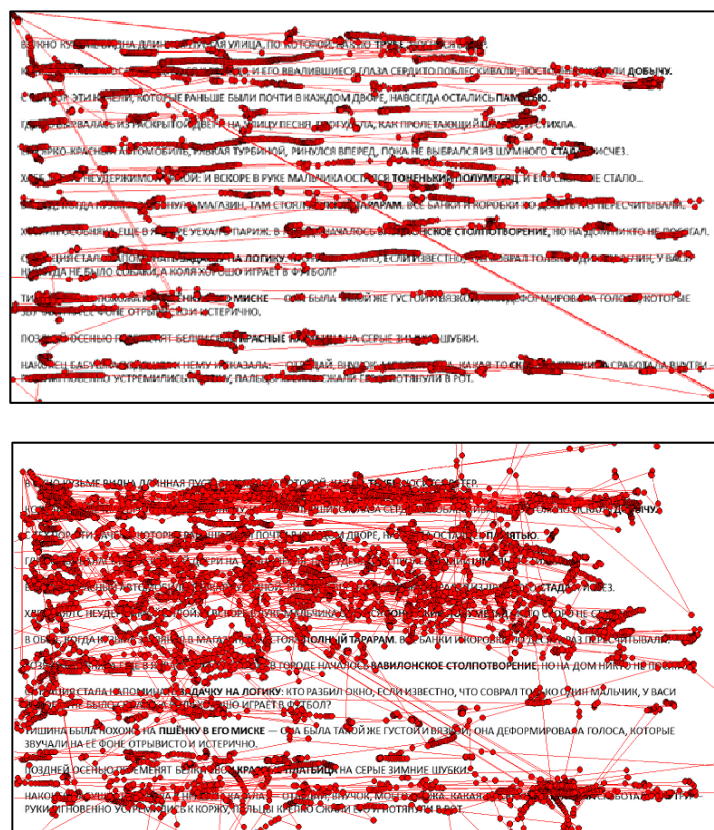


Fig. 5. 2 Reading paths

Fixation Duration on the whole sentence considering the average reading time per one sign. Such assessment also demonstrates the measurement error connected with the presence of other factors which might have influenced the results, but it is less significant than the error received in case of areas of interest evaluation. In Fig. 6 the Reading Time of each sentence per sign (NP Sent) is given per each participant (1–15). The average Reading Time (Average) as well as the Identification Index (Id Index) are also calculated.

Surprisingly, the Pearson correlation analysis did not show the rigid correlation (with r equal to -0.2) of average Reading Time and default responses. Although this might be due to other factors of the textual event con-

strual, I am nevertheless inclined to think that this happens because the eye movement interpretation models of children at this age are still not stable.

As for the Fixation Duration the results do not support our hypothesis either. In Fig. 7 I give the diagrams (they are presented here so that the corresponding character of their axes will benefit, although their size in this case differs) showing the Fixation Duration in case of a) correctly and incorrectly identified reference (default and non-default responses) and b) only correctly identified reference (default responses).

As the diagrams show, Fixation Duration did not happen to be uniformly higher in the cases of default responses, although their dis-

	NP1Sent	NP2Sent	NP3Sent	NP4Sent	NP5Sent	NP6Sent	NP7Sent	NP8Sent	NP9Sent	NP10Sent	NP11Sent	NP12Sent
1	0.08489	0.100518	0.164678	0.201242	0.227375	0.27934	0.309896	0.341034	0.312494	0.389013	0.931693	0.485764
2	0.118207	0.100527	0.164322	0.209653	0.240837	0.288764	0.307287	0.35812	0.291141	0.400556	0.928147	0.409759
3	0.324939	0.312473	0.413	0.449463	0.45925	0.528509	0.561574	0.636239	0.579924	0.836797	1.799	0.786549
4	0.196183	0.306427	0.455933	0.601284	0.643404	0.723019	0.726374	0.887043	0.696894	0.870987	1.930027	0.847872
5	0.410244	0.462064	0.669467	0.780442	0.835558	0.935736	0.968226	1.041906	0.815429	1.012261	2.191147	0.980415
6	0.124293	0.129291	0.209089	0.258042	0.282471	0.330557	0.372835	0.385735	0.284082	0.335902	0.70788	0.290026
7	0.128744	0.155327	0.270511	0.335874	0.463087	0.551123	0.622687	0.691744	0.548182	0.689856	1.5432	0.674328
8	0.148244	0.189836	0.336389	0.387758	0.449317	0.506189	0.540139	0.590402	0.478435	0.675922	1.489467	0.615744
9	0.097902	0.175618	0.593567	0.6444	0.683433	0.782708	0.835852	0.924615	0.734906	0.918438	1.998853	1.021236
10	0.132	0.2168	0.463333	0.524495	0.574221	0.668962	0.715661	0.804487	0.690624	0.94434	2.03836	0.856067
11	0.27539	0.337	0.569167	0.637032	0.741712	0.914991	1.088696	1.183949	1.007624	1.368405	3.169467	1.331923
12	0.158805	0.229509	0.3649	0.428779	0.459567	0.515934	0.539852	0.61688	0.488041	0.567516	1.23944	0.566897
13	0.429329	0.624045	0.981433	1.088958	1.129548	1.241462	1.268843	1.364726	1.153388	1.432621	3.304013	1.578221
14	0.272951	0.398464	0.591744	0.6812	0.727615	0.832981	0.855539	0.956778	0.789947	1.059712	2.476227	1.0682
15	0.202683	0.312173	0.479611	0.535011	0.592154	0.710443	0.747809	0.823274	0.634394	0.76649	1.72528	0.812856
Average	0.206987	0.270005	0.448476	0.517575	0.567303	0.654048	0.697418	0.773795	0.6337	0.817921	1.83148	0.821724
Id Index	0.93	0.27	0.8	0.83	0.47	0.77	0.53	0.73	0.8	0.73	0.53	0.43
												-0.20341

Fig. 6. Reading Time per sign in Sentences 1–12 containing Noun Phrases 1–12

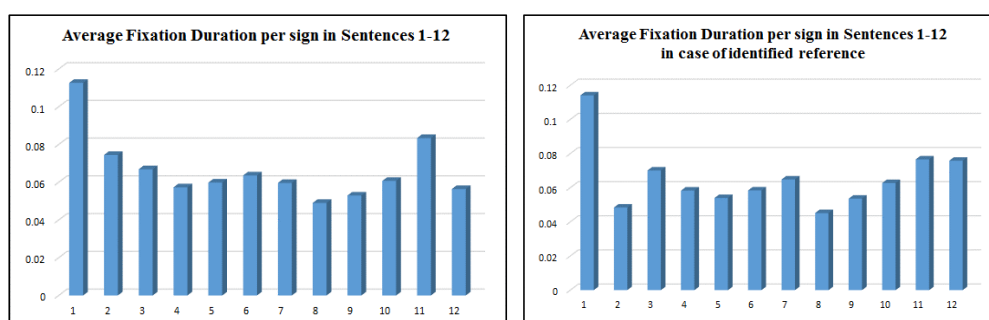


Fig. 7. Fixation Duration per sign in Sentences 1–12 containing Noun Phrases 1–12 in a) all responses, b) default responses only

tribution has a specific character. Surprisingly, the lowest Identification Index of Sentence 2, which means the lowest number of default responses given, might have correlated with longer fixations of those participants who managed to give these default responses; however, this did not turn out to be true. At the same time, Sentence 9 with high Identification Index has practically equal fixation duration in case of default and non-default responses. In total, the eye movement results obtained provide support for the Mixed-Effects Model of interpretation, where the reading paths and reading times are highly dependent of a range of randomly selected factors. Although, the default responses procession model is more likely to be Cue-Dependent or Mixed Cue-Dependent, as the sufficient number of steady salient parameters were found to correlate with default responses.

Conclusion

The study has shown that the secondary school children are already well-tuned for processing default responses in stylistically heterogeneous texts containing figurative noun groups, however, their eye movement reactions still do not show preference for a steady reading model of interpretation. In the experiment carried out with the participants of 13-14 years of age, I have found that their default responses in case of figurative groups of higher salience were more frequent, which sufficed to sup-

port the activation of Cue-Dependent Model or Mixed Cue-Dependent Model. At the same time, it should be pointed out that the interplay of salience factors demands further research as their influence is not always consistent.

Surprisingly, the eye movements did not display any rigid correlation with default and non-default sentence processing, which supports the Mixed-Effects Model of interpretation. I assume that its activation results from the children's comparatively little experience in heterogeneous texts reading, whereas their executive functions for processing default responses are sufficiently well-tuned. Both reading time and fixation duration assessment showed that the children applied unstable reading regimes coping with the heterogeneous text. Reading paths analysis additionally proved that the children use both bottom-up and top-to-bottom reading strategies to produce default responses.

All in all, the study suggests that various models of heterogeneity interpretation could be true when we deal with the children's interpretation. What is more, the children's default responses procession may respond to the Cue-Dependent model, whereas their eye movement reactions may follow a different one. This inconsistency may serve to assess the individual child's executive functions development, as well as to disclose the potential success of a heterogeneous text with its future readers.

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Фактор возраста читателя и успешная интерпретация стилистической гетерогенности текста: окулографические и когнитивные показатели

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Аннотация. В работе устанавливается влияние фактора возраста читателя на понимание стилистически гетерогенного текста, в качестве которого рассматривается текст, содержащий фрагменты более и менее салиентных не прямых номинативных групп. В ходе окулографического эксперимента с участием детей среднего школьного возраста определяются глазодвигательные показатели и показатели распознавания референции номинативных групп, демонстрирующие зависимости от эффектов салиентности. Сами показатели салиентности в отношении референциальных, лингвистических и дискурсивных параметров предварительно выявляются в ходе корпусно-статистического анализа, а в данном исследовании их значимость для интерпретации получает экспериментальную верификацию. Согласно положениям концепций градуальной салиентности и интерпретации «к случаю, по умолчанию», ожидалось, что интерпретация не прямых номинативных групп с разной степенью проявления референциальной, лингвистической и дискурсивной салиентности потребует отличающихся показателей когнитивного напряжения, что обнаружится в изменениях глазодвигательных показателей и в успешности распознавания не прямых значений слов. Данные экспериментов с участием взрослых эту закономерность подтвердили, однако в отношении детей гипотеза градуальной салиентности получила лишь частичное подтверждение, так как изменения глазодвигательной активности не продемонстрировали значимых различий в случае более и менее салиентных групп. При чтении и распознавании контекстуальных значений не прямых номинативных групп не были обнаружены корреляции с проявлениями референциальных, лингвистических и дискурсивных параметров салиентности; в то же время устойчивые корреляции были обнаружены между проявлениями этих параметров и индексами успешного распознавания не прямых значений. Полученные результаты свидетельствуют в пользу реализации смешанной модели интерпретации гетерогенности в детской группе рассматриваемого возраста.

Ключевые слова: стилистически гетерогенные тексты, понимание читателя, окулографический эксперимент, дети среднего школьного возраста, салиентность, глазодвигательные движения и распознавание значений «к случаю, по умолчанию».

Исследование выполнено при финансовой поддержке Российского фонда фундаментальных исследований, проект № 20-012-00370 «Гетерогенность текста и факторы ее успешной интерпретации читателем» в Московском государственном лингвистическом университете.

Научная специальность: 10.02.00 – языкознание.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0563
УДК 81'1; 81'37

Stative Format of Linguistic Knowledge: Cognitive Linguistics Perspective

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Received 20.01.2020, received in revised form 01.02.2020, accepted 06.03.2020

Abstract. The article discusses issues revealing cognitive bases of stative formatting of knowledge about the world. In line with Cognitive Linguistics commitments and basic assumptions the paper highlights the problems pertaining to 1) a universal ability of human cognition to construe the world in language statively, 2) the principles and results of stative interpretation of knowledge about the world. Conveying the necessity of investigating a set of stative forms in language within the cognitive linguistics perspective, the article introduces a conception of stative formatting of knowledge about the world. Combining cognitive-matrix analysis of the stative concept with conceptual-configurative analysis of the category of linguistic stativity the study deciphers the structure and contents of stative concept in contemporary English. The elaborated conception contributes to the problem of ascribing possible ways of construing the world in language.

Keywords: state, stativity, format of knowledge, conceptualization, categorization, interpretation.

Research area: linguistics.

Citation: Pavlova, A. V. (2020). Stative format of linguistic knowledge: Cognitive Linguistics perspective. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 407-412. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0563.

Introduction

In the current context of rapidly increasing cognitive linguistics studies with the focus on the relationship between human language, the mind and socio-physical experience, stative forms research is gaining great importance. A large number of investigations pertaining to representation of knowledge about the world statively is concerned with theoretical and empirical studies of 1) separate stative concepts as in Aburto et al. (2017), Boichuk (2014), Lavrova (2015), Ströbel (2015) and whole stative domains as in Oatley et al. (2006), Goddard (2010), Chen (2016); 2) vocabulary-based and corpus-based data as in Oster (2018), Rice & Newman (2018), Semino et al. (2018), Jugnet & Lhôte (2019); 3) specificity of stative interpretation of knowledge about the world in various types of discourse as in Solan et al. (2012), Chen (2016), Englebretson (2017), Robinson (2017). Much evidence unravels the dominant role of metaphor in forming different stative senses as in Kövecses (1990), Lakoff & Johnson (2003), Evans (2013), Semino et al. (2016).

This brief overview, on the one hand, proves the stative concept to be the crux of present-day linguistic research, and on the other – highlights uncertainty in its understanding, fragmentary nature of studies and lack of theoretical explanation and description of a system of linguistic interpretation of knowledge about the world in the stative format. Therefore, the aim of the paper is to provide a theoretical account of how the knowledge about the world is organized in the stative form of linguistic cognition revealing the problematic issues concerning the nature of the stative concept, principles of stative interpretation, dominant conceptual state-forming and state-structuring characteristics, methods of STATE and stativity research. Generally speaking, the paper introduces the key aspects of the conception of stative formatting of knowledge about the world.

In doing so, we, firstly, ascertain what theoretical grounding essential for our study has been developed lately; secondly, outline the most influential ideas; and, finally, elaborate on crucial issues of stative interpretation providing examples from the contemporary English language.

The starting point of our research is a four-part situation-type classification presented by a precursor of Cognitive Linguistics, Z. Vendler (Vendler, 1957). His crucial contribution to understanding the way the knowledge about the world is construed in language brought about a number of investigations delving into how theoretically ascribe and experimentally prove the specificity of each situation type (see critical historical overview in Tenny & Pustejovsky, 2000). Though Vendler's classification occupies dominant position in contemporary studies of different situation types, we tend to consider Bach's eventuality type classification (1986) as the grounding for developing the conception of stative formatting of knowledge about the world. There are several reasons for such a choice. To begin with, Bach was the first to argue for the state to have a wider linguistic representation and chose the static characteristic as one of basic (see Fig. 1).

What is more important, stativity and dynamicity criteria as the classification basics gave rise to differentiating between "pure" or static states ('be in New York', 'own a house', 'have an idea', 'feel like', 'want', 'understand', etc.) and dynamic states ('sit', 'stand', 'lie', etc.), being instantiated mainly in position verbs. Their potential ability to be used in progressive creates a transmission area between state and non-state eventuality types. All in all, this Philosophy of Language approach was groundbreaking and gave a start for linguistic studies of fundamental problems in construing the world in language.

After pointing out the philosophic background it is essential to address another influential approach – Cognitive Psychology. According to Barsalou (1992), as our cognitive system is in the continuous process of cognizing the constantly changing world, our conceptual system should have a form which is quickly adapted to different changes. More detailed observation of this comprehensive idea results in conveying the conceptual basis for elucidating the significant role of stative form of linguistic cognition for human successful activity. To function effectively, adequately select, classify and evaluate the information and provide a necessary reaction to it, human cog-

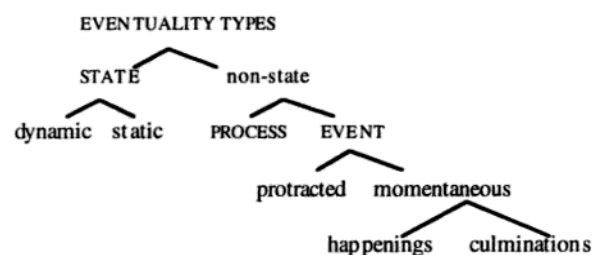


Fig. 1. Bach's eventuality types classification

nitive system with the help of language learnt to “stop the moving world” and linguistically interpret it in the form of a state (see more details in Pavlova, 2016). To provide a theoretical account for this form of linguistic cognition let's highlight the main issues of construing the world knowledge in the stative format.

Discussion

One of the main issues of the problem under discussion is the structure of the conceptual space of the stative format of linguistic knowledge. As the data of the study is the contemporary English language, it is obviously necessary to point out some aspects of English cognitive grammar studies. According to Radden & Dirven (2007), the language represents any situation as instantiated in factual, projected or potential reality or as unreal. We will concentrate only on the real situations and states grounded in them. States in factual reality are viewed as known (past states) and immediate (present states). Projected reality states are represented by future forms and potential states – by modal forms (Radden, 2007). These introductory remarks are helpful for revealing the conceptual structure of the stative format.

The analysis of different stative forms gives the opportunity to ascribe the cognitive matrix structure of the stative format of linguistic knowledge. The dominant elements of the state cognitive matrix are the conceptual and thematic domains of stative interpretation of knowledge about the world: MAN, NATURE and ARTIFACTS. So, a state cognitive matrix is viewed as a system of interrelated cognitive contexts which represent the world knowledge in the stative form of linguistic cognition. The integral state-forming characteristic – “ab-

sence of change” – finds its realization in the following state-structuring concepts:

EXISTENTIAL STATE interprets absence of change in relation to various aspects of being and existing. The term “existence” in this case covers all possible stative interpretations of objects and events of the world. Being related to one of the dominant conceptual and thematic domains of stative interpretation, the existential stative characteristic finds the corresponding realization. For instance, within the conceptual and thematic domain MAN existential conceptual characteristic is realized in such stative senses, as, for instance, ‘be sane’, ‘be alive’, ‘be ill’, ‘be aware’, ‘exist’, ‘want’, ‘understand’, ‘be a millionaire’, ‘think that’, etc. The potential of stative conceptualization of knowledge about the world reveals the structure of EXISTENTIAL STATE concept referring to different human states: emotional, mental, physical, financial, etc. Within the conceptual and thematic domain NATURE the existential conceptual characteristic finds realization in such stative senses, as, for instance, ‘be warm’, ‘be sunny’, ‘be cloudy’, ‘be frosty’, etc. Generalizing and regular character of stative interpretation of natural phenomena lead to outlining specific stative concept of CLIMATE, e.g. *It is usually foggy in winter in this area*. Within the conceptual and thematic domain ARTIFACT existential conceptual characteristic finds realization in such stative senses as, for instance, ‘be slow’ (about a clock), ‘be funny’ (about a story), ‘be a fake’ (about works of art), etc.;

POSSESSIVE STATE interprets absence of change in relation to physical (‘have a book’) or abstract (‘have an idea’) possession. Depending on the object, physical possession may

refer to human financial state ('own a helicopter') and abstract possession – to mental state ('possess the talent of doing smth') or physical state ('have a temperature', 'have a flu'). The formation of the corresponding stative sense is dependent on the conceptual and thematic domain the possessive stative characteristic is related to. For instance, within the domain of NATURE the possessive characteristic finds realization in such stative senses, as, for instance, 'have leaves' (about a tree), 'have two wings' (about a bird), etc. It helps to further typological division, giving a chance to point out inalienable possession ('have blue eyes') and alienable possession ('have blue jeans on'). Within the domain of ARTIFACT the possessive characteristic can be realized in inanimate inalienable possession ('have three windows' (about a room)), etc.;

SPATIAL STATE interprets absence of change in relation to some spatial location of a human being, natural objects or phenomena, artifacts, etc., for instance, 'be/live in Saint-Petersburg', 'be in bed', 'be in prison', 'be in church', 'be in class'. It also interprets some position states which have a dynamic nature, for instance, 'sit', 'stand', 'lie', etc. Moreover, SPATIAL STATE provides the basic characteristics ('up', 'down', 'at', 'in', 'on') for secondary stative senses, for instance, 'be down' – 'be unhappy', 'be down with' – 'be ill', 'be up for' – 'be enthusiastic about an upcoming event', etc.;

QUALITATIVE STATE interprets absence of change in relation to some qualities of human beings, objects of nature and artifacts. Within the domain of MAN the qualitative stative characteristic finds realization in such senses, as, for instance, 'be strong', 'be smart', 'be kind-hearted', 'be tall', 'be good company', 'be overweight', 'be a scholar', etc. interpreting physical strength, mental abilities, personal traits of character, profession, etc. Within the domain of ARTIFACT this characteristic refers to functional specificity of artifacts and realizes in such senses, as, for instance, 'be comfortable', 'be fresh', 'be delicious', 'be light', 'be spacious', etc. Within the domain of NATURE the qualitative stative characteristic refers to the corresponding parameters of natural objects quality and finds realization in such sens-

es, as, for instance, 'be ripe' (about fruit and vegetables), 'be polluted' (about water, air, soil, etc.), 'be fertile' (about the land), etc.;

QUANTITATIVE STATE interprets absence of change in relation to some quantity. Within the conceptual and thematic domain of MAN the quantitative conceptual characteristic refers to intellectual, physical, financial states and finds realization in such senses, as, for instance, 'can read 200 words a minute', 'be 2 meters high', 'weigh 100 kilos', 'earn a million dollars a year', etc. Within the domain of NATURE this characteristic can refer to weather conditions, for instance, 'it is 30° below zero', 'wind speed is 15 meters per second', 'humidity is 90%', etc. Within the domain of ARTIFACTS this stative characteristic refers to qualitative features of objects created by man, for instance, 'a hundred-year-old house', 'a million-euro mansion', etc.;

So, the suggested typology as an attempt of structuring the conceptual space of the stative format is not supposed to be a comprehensive one, but tends to show its pivotal role of STATE in human conceptual system and the possible direction of pointing out the state types in the contemporary English language. As the logic development of prof. Boldyrev's Theory of Linguistic Interpretation (2019) the conception of stative formatting of knowledge about the world describes the stative format as a multidimensional research area. In line with Cognitive Linguistics commitments and basic assumptions proposed by Lakoff (1990) the conception of stative formatting of knowledge about the world points out the anthropocentric principle as the leading one of the stative interpretation of world knowledge. On the conceptual level it is manifested in the number and detailed character of concepts of different human states. The linguistic representation of states of nature and artifacts also refers to human states, for example, *It is piercing cold outside, put on your coat*. 'Piercing cold' in this utterance shows how a human being perceives the temperature of the air outside. In another example, *The book reads well*, through the evaluative characteristic of the book a human mental state is outlined (see more details in Pavlova, 2017).

Conclusion

The presented key ideas of the conception of stative formatting of knowledge in Cognitive Linguistics perspective tend to unravel the problems of construing knowledge about the world in language. Among the most novel findings is the matrix structure of the stative format, its complicated conceptual space, its integral conceptual state-forming characteris-

tic – absence of change. The suggested typology of state-structuring existential, possessive, spatial, quantitative and qualitative characteristics reveals the structural specificity of stative concept in the contemporary English language. The anthropocentric nature of the stative format defines the dominant principle of the stative interpretation of world knowledge with the main focus on human states.

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Статальный формат языкового знания: когнитивный подход

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена описанию когнитивных основ статального форматирования знаний о мире. С опорой на основные постулаты когнитивной лингвистики в ней раскрываются нерешенные проблемы, касающиеся одной из универсальных способностей человеческого сознания конструировать мир в языке в статике и представлять эти результаты в статальном формате согласно определенным принципам. Обосновывая необходимость изучения набора статальных языковых форм в рамках когнитивного подхода, автор представляет ключевые аспекты концепции статального форматирования знаний о мире. С помощью когнитивно-матричного анализа статального концепта и концептуально-конфигуративного анализа языковой категории статальности выявляется структура и содержание статального концепта в современном английском языке. Разработанная концепция вносит вклад в решение проблемы конструирования мира в языке в разных форматах.

Ключевые слова: состояние, статальность, формат знания, концептуализация, категоризация, интерпретация.

Научная специальность: 10.02.00 – языкознание.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0564
УДК 81-13

Basic Principles of Analysis of the Inner Determinant in Linguistic Systemology

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Received 18.01.2020, received in revised form 01.02.2020, accepted 12.03.2020

Abstract. The paper discusses the concept of the inner determinant of a language proposed by the founder of systemic linguistics G.P. Mel'nikov in continuation of W. von Humboldt's idea of the inner form of language. The purpose of the research is to actualize one of the methods of systemic linguistics in the light of modern scientific paradigms. We examine the method of determinantal analysis of language systems and the notions which are closely related to it: morphological type of language, nominative and communicative angles of presenting a situation in a typical utterance, ways of organizing grammatical semantics in languages of various types.

The research shows that G.P. Mel'nikov's concept of inner determinants of languages allows to interpret the traditional morphological classification of languages as a system of types opposed according to their inner determinants in historically formed specific communicative conditions acting as external determinants of languages.

Keywords: determinant, linguistic typology, general linguistics, system, systemology.

The reported study was funded by RFBR according to the research project No. 19-012-00014.

Research area: philology.

Citation: Valentinova, O.I., Rybakov, M.A. (2020). Basic principles of analysis of the inner determinant in linguistic systemology. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 13(3), 413-422. DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0564.

Introduction

Prof. G.P. Mel'nikov's linguistic theory which appeared in the 60-90s of the twentieth century and was referred to as system linguistics in his writings, is little known to modern researchers. G.P. Mel'nikov's creative heritage was turned to by his students and followers, such as V.N. Belozarov, G.M. Bogomazov, A.F. Dremov, T.V. Lipatova, S.A. Lutin, O.I. Maksimenko, A.A. Polikarpov, M.Iu. Fedosiuk (Russia), A. Danylenko (USA), Sundaram Sai Kalpana, J. Prabhakara Rao (India), however, the number of publications that reveal the basic methodological principles of system linguistics and the prospects for its use in linguistic typology and other areas of linguistics is extremely small.

Among the research centers that use some ideas and methods of system linguistics are the Department of General and Russian Linguistics of the RUDN University and the Laboratory of Computer Lexicography of Moscow State University.

Theoretical Framework

The idea of universal connectedness of elements and properties of language as the central idea of system linguistics (the developed by G.P. Mel'nikov scientific field based on the general theory of systems in synthesis with fundamental ideas of such prominent linguists as W. von Humboldt, I.A. Baudouin de Courtenay and A.A. Potebnia) required a system of concepts suitable for the search for an answer to the questions "why?" and "what for?" at all levels of the language system, as well as of any self-regulating adaptive system: a biological organism (human, animal...), individual mind, society or nature, at each of its points. The general theory of systems, widely used in such sciences and interdisciplinary subjects as biology, ecology, mathematical and technical modeling, automata theory, urban studies, etc., is, unfortunately, little known to linguists, despite the widespread (meaningful and meaningless) use of the term "system" in linguistic publications since the time of F. de Saussure.

The connectedness of concepts in system linguistics reflects the causal systemicity of language, being its derivative. According to

G.P. Mel'nikov, **exhaustive causality as the main internal generative principle of a system of concepts** determines the ability of any concept, while disclosing its content, to initiate a chain reaction in the explanation, continuing until the entire system of concepts is actualized and the circle is closed.

Aimed at revealing universal causality in language, system linguistics needed not a list, but a system of concepts. Therefore, G.P. Mel'nikov does not **adapt himself** to "alien" terms and does not **adapt** "alien" terms **to himself**, but creates a "hermetic", according to the precise expression of S. Iu. Preobrazhenskii (Preobrazhenskii, 2016: 309), system of concepts necessary for a comprehensive understanding of interconnectedness in language.

The notions worked out by G.P. Mel'nikov categorically lack functional synonyms. Their content is insofar beyond the competence of the existing professional (conceptual) dictionaries, and is not included in the apperceptive background of a linguist who is not substantively familiar with the scientific heritage of G.P. Mel'nikov. But even in the writings of the founder of modern systems linguistics, these concepts are not given in the complete formulation. Such a highly complex object of study as the incessant reconfiguration of the language system as a whole requires an uninterrupted development of thought.

Progressively deepening understanding makes the uninterrupted enrichment of a concept natural. Therefore, only the resumption of the entire corpus of texts written by G.P. Mel'nikov including the unpublished lecture notes, which has been undertaken by the authors of this work, will allow to develop a relatively integral view of an evolving concept. Disclosing the content of the nuclear concept of system linguistics, that of the determinant, makes it possible to objectify the principle of generation and, as a consequence, the principle of reproduction of the concept system in G.P. Mel'nikov's teaching.

Statement of the problem

The objective of the present study is to actualize one of the methods of system lin-

guistics, namely, the method of determinantal analysis of language systems, in the light of modern scientific paradigms. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to consider the theoretical foundations, methodological techniques and the potential use of G.P. Melnikov's method of analysis of inner determinants of language as an integral part of the method of determinantal analysis of language systems.

Methods

The main method used by the authors of the research is the method of conceptual field reconstruction.

The determinant as a universal characteristic of any self-regulating adaptive system

The determinant as a universal characteristic of any system, not only of a language system, becomes the most general generic notion in the hierarchy of determinants. At the same time, the determinant of "a system in general" is treated also as a **characteristic of a system**, i.e. the most important synthetic characteristic of a system which allows to express the nature of the system in question in the "whole-system" way, i.e. "through the **only** hierarchically leading feature which implicitly contains other features substantial for different tiers and stages of development" (Mel'nikov, 2003: 73), and **as the singularity** of conditions in which the individuality of a system is formed. Thus, the determinant as a specific substantial property of a system is a direct consequence of the determinant as particular conditions (Mel'nikov, 1978: 86).

To distinguish the determinant-cause (conditions in which the individuality of a system is formed) from the determinant which is the consequence of this cause (appearance of a specific substantial property of the entire system) G.P. Mel'nikov introduces qualifiers: outer determinant and inner determinant.

The contents of the notions of outer and inner determinants are specified through the fixation of significant change which has taken place in the correlation of the categories of dialectical triads: matter-form-content and substrate-structure-substance.

Inner determinant of language is the general configuration of the nominative sense of a typical utterance which is being formed in the listener's mind under the impact of the commands upon the tactics of guessing the intention of the speaker which are represented by the signs of the speech flow; as to diachrony of language, it is the most stable trait of the grammatical structure of a language (see Mel'nikov, 2000: 30); and as to synchrony, it is the specific inner form of the language structure (see Mel'nikov, 2000: 45).

G.P. Mel'nikov returns to this concept more than once, and elucidates it in the context of intra-system relations in the following way: "the most stable property of a system which has been acquired as the result of its formation, manifests itself at the highest tier and is supported by the singularity of all the deeper tiers" (Mel'nikov, 2003: 91), "the abstraction which contains and which entails the entire completeness of the specific" (Mel'nikov, 2003: 359). In the context of relations with the suprasystem, it is explained as "the consequence of a cause which can be located only outside the system, i.e. the consequence of the outer determinant" (Mel'nikov, 2003: 360).

The inner determinant can be formulated only when the whole system is "drawn" into the field of vision of the researcher who is forced to cross the boundaries of the initial subsystem in order to overcome the evident inner contradictions in some data (Mel'nikov, 2003: 145-146).

The inner determinant of a language of a certain type is revealed as the consequence of its outer determinant within the following logical chain:

Typical communicative task → typical semantic pattern of the utterance construction (inner form) → typical syntactic relations → typical morphological formalization.

This is why the formulation of the **inner determinant** of a system is a concentrated formulation of the peculiarity of its system organization (Mel'nikov, 2003: 146).

Investigation of such a chain inevitably involves all the language levels, from the utterance to the morpheme and even the phoneme, because the outer determinant makes demands

not only to the structure, but also to the substance of language.

Besides, the analysis of the language structure in the aspect of synchrony becomes complete only in case diachrony is turned to, because synchrony is constantly erasing inner forms in the language and establishing direct reference to denotates. Turning to diachrony involves methods which are necessary for studying the dynamics of the language, thus allowing to implement a wider circle of tools of analysis, to explain the surface discrepancies of forms and functions typical for synchronic states and in this way to complete the system research along this axis as well.

The inner determinant of a system, being the most stable property of a system, sets the principal permissions and the principal prohibitions on the ways of realization of *specific functions*, i. e. functions of separate elements and tiers of the system (Mel'nikov, 2003: 359).

The inner determinant of a language type "is most fully characterized by the fact that it remains the most stable trait in the inner form of messages in the given language, i.e. in the senses of utterances, notwithstanding their practically endless variety" (Mel'nikov, 2003: 105), and, being the sense of utterances, "serves only as a **hint** at the stages of an occasion being transformed into a plot" (Mel'nikov, 2003: 104).

Thus, the inner determinant should be understood as "the list of preferable means of hinting [to which preferable class of images the nominative sense belongs, what substantive and compositional means are preferable to "portray" this sense with the help of the utterance, what the well-tested devices of "tying" the "portrayed" sense of the utterance to the components of the occasion and the plot are], providing the most effective communication at the set outer determinant of the language" (Mel'nikov, 2003: 106).

The inner determinant of a language as a system is derived from the **first (inductive) stage of language study** from the standpoint of the **determinant approach**.

The derivation of the inner determinant of a language (the internal determinant of a language is, actually, derived, but not found)

allows to explain the interdependence of all levels of a language: the composition of vowels and consonants, the syllable structure, morpheme and word form, the means of syntactic connection of words in a sentence, features of the inner form of the language (Me'lnikov, 2003: 92), as well as the direction of this interdependence, that is, the vector of cause-effect relationships within the language system – between the subsystems of different levels of language and within the subsystems:

«...the features of the inner determinant entail the identity of composition and semantics of material morphemes, transnominative (derivational) and cognominative (syntactic) morphemes, which fact allows also to determine the most optimal, preferred **acoustic and articulatory** characteristics of speech flow units at the accepted composition of meaningful language units and their syntactic relations" (Mel'nikov, 2003: 107).

For example, G.P. Mel'nikov found that the agglutinative structure of language was a response to the request of the suprasystem characteristic of large homogeneous groups of nomadic pastoralists, who were separated for most of the year, and during certain periods of the annual cycle almost all of them came together and intensively exchanged socially important information. After a long break in communication, they would talk about well-known persons and objects and the main question of the listeners' interest in the speaker's message would be: what are the properties of a well-known subject or object now as compared to those well-known properties that they had before the break in communication. Therefore, the **angle of presentation** (communication angle) in such a language will be **attributive** (Mel'nikov, 2003: 121–122) (**qualitative-attributive** (Melnikov, 2003: 349)).

Derivation of the inner determinant of agglutinative languages as a principle of collectivity and a principle of economy of auxiliary means, allows to substantiate the vector of causal relationships within the language system: between subsystems of different levels of language and within subsystems.

Synharmonism began to be considered as a consequence (and, therefore, a means) of

agglutination, i.e. as a consequence of such a method of combining morphemes into a word, in which the boundaries between morphemes are not blurred. And the composition and phonetic-phonemic properties of vowels began to be considered as a consequence and a means of ensuring harmonic vocalization.

Phonological features of vowels ceased to be enumerative, and lined up in a hierarchy.

Differential features of vowels in agglutinative languages (for instance, Turkic, as classical agglutinative languages) perform both sense-distinguishing and word-delineating functions.

As far as the distinctive function is the principal one, the features capable of providing the most substantial, materially expressed difference of vowels, will be used as distinctive. Such a feature will first of all be height, because it is along the height axis that the acoustic distance between the vowels can be quite large, which means that they can be freely distinguished by hearing.

On the contrary, vowels providing synharmonic variants of one morpheme in terms of meaning, should be characterized by a common acoustic feature which is clearly perceived by hearing, and differ by a feature that is much less perceived materially. Such a feature is primarily the feature of backness (and in Turkic languages also roundedness).

Synharmonism as a means of adaptation of the characteristics of affixal morpheme vowels to the vowel of the first syllable, the root vowel, and features of vowels supporting this property, act as a means of word delineation in the flow of speech just because a weakly distinguished acoustic sign acts as a means of combining morphemes in one word.

Word forms are not chosen from the system of possibilities represented in a ready paradigm, as it occurs in inflectional languages, but each time they are compiled of morphemes, composed according to the requirements of the actual communicative situation. The more auxiliary information made obvious by the context, the less the need for auxiliary elements. Since, according to G.P. Mel'nikov, agglutination occurs where there is no need to transmit the same news linearly via a multi-

link communication channel and where the speaker transmits information simultaneously to all those interested or to each person in turn, which means that the situation of communication is quite obvious to everyone who is communicating. In this case, a number of auxiliary service affixes is omitted: Uzb. *Toshkent bardi* – ‘Tashkent went’ implies ‘he went to Tashkent’ (Kononov, 1960).

In an extremely obvious communication situation, each root will be able to perform the functions of an independent word.

Since the speech chain may consist of roots only, the roots must consist of vowels and consonants, so that the speech remains articulate. In addition, to ensure that the boundaries between morphemes are well captured by hearing, morphemes do not begin with consonant junctions.

To make it possible to easily extract a “redundant” affix in a well-known situation, fusion is not formed at the junction of morphemes, and the function of tying morphemes into a whole word is assigned to vowels: the link between a given affix and a given root is expressed by vowel harmony, i.e. assimilation of affix vowels to the root vowels. Since it is the root that does not change, only affixes attached to the root change.

To change the meaning of the root without auxiliary elements, it is necessary to introduce other lexemes, expanding the context. And the lack of expressing relationships between words in a sentence with the help of morphemes can be compensated by a rigid word order.

The number of relational connections is minimal, and they are expressed by placing an attribute that replaces determinative, objective, and adverbial relations after the defined word: Bashk. *Ol bistinge hunnun kelir chuve* – ‘he is a to-us coming thing’ (‘he comes to us daily’) (Kononov, 1960).

When even the most complicated relations are expressed in such a way, compound sentences are practically unnecessary.

Since the new image differs from the previous one only by additional features expressed by attributes, a sentence in languages of this type implements the “he is a driver he” scheme in which the theme stands first, and the follow-

ing rheme consists of the repeated theme and attributes to the repeated theme.

Inner determinants of morphological types

G.P. Mel'nikov research has objectivated four types of inner determinants inherent in the four morphological types of languages, and, accordingly, **four inner forms of languages** and **four communicative angles**:

background inner determinant is typical for incorporating languages,

attributive inner determinant – for agglutinative languages,

event inner determinant – for inflectional languages,

occasional inner determinant – for isolating languages.

The inner determinant of agglutinative (affixal-agglutinative) languages is the currently necessary auxiliary information.

That is why, as Baudouin de Courtenay showed in his “Detailed program of lectures for the academic year 1877-78” (Baudouin de Courtenay, 1963: 103–106), creation of an agglutinative word (as compared to creation of an inflectional word) requires a lesser formal differentiation of grammatical classes of word forms, a greater degree of variability of the array of morphemes in a lexeme, a greater significance of word order in a sentence, more prohibitions on fusion when morphemes are united into word forms (Mel'nikov, 2003: 92).

The inner determinant of incorporating languages (established by GP Melnikov) is

the tendency to dispense with the minimum of (specific) morphemes and construct utterances mainly from very abstract morphemes, but with material meaning, using these morphemes to denote both the actants of the situation expressed and the relations between the actants, thereby reflecting the network of relationships in a situation.

The inner determinant of root-isolating languages is the tendency to express not only lexical, but also grammatical information using morphemes – carriers of lexical meaning (Mel'nikov, 2003: 92).

The inner determinant of inflectional languages in correlation with the inner determinant of agglutinative languages is the noted by W. von Humboldt usage of ready-made word forms which are reproduced (not produced) in the act of communication. I.A. Baudouin de Courtenay (Baudouin de Courtenay 1963: 103–106) derived consequences from the inner determinant of inflectional languages: the appearance of a tendency toward the development of fusion on the morpheme merge and toward a clear differentiation of formal grammatical classes of words, as these classes are designed for use in certain positions of a sentence. So, for instance, a verb is a typical predicate, an adjective is a typical attribute, a noun is a subject and an object and an adverb is a typical modifier.

Thus, in relation to the language system, the outer and inner determinants are distinguished, and in relation to the dynamics of the language, the initial, current and extreme de-

Table. Concept field of the language determinant

Determinant	Outer	Inner
Initial	1) community type 2) type of knowledge 3) type of characteristic plots	condition matter substrate (general initial inner form of a language family)
Current	cause form structure	consequence content substance (close current inner forms of languages)
Extreme	–	Formal types of the structural classification of languages

terminants are distinguished. Correlating these two classifications with each other allows to see the general plane of the conceptual field of determinant (Table).

Discussion

The basis of G.P. Mel'nikov's system typology of languages is the **determinant study of languages (determinant approach in linguistic studies)**.

The determinant study of languages lifts the contradiction between synchronic and diachronic approaches to linguistic research, because it "allows to unveil the system interdependence of all the tiers and components of a language in its synchronic state through the reconstruction of the picture of dynamics of its adaptation" (Mel'nikov, 2003: 358). The determinant approach in linguistic studies consists of three stages:

the first stage is inductive: it involves analyzing the system in order to identify the inner determinants of the language.

The inductive stage of research is based on the principle of functional significance of the phenomenon under study accepted by I.A. Baudouin de Courtenay. The principle of functional significance of the phenomenon under study involves the necessity of finding out, with which objects of the same level it interacts, an element of which suprasystem it is and, hence, what its function in the suprasystem is (Mel'nikov, 2003: 358).

the second stage is the stage of dialectical deduction (determinant synthesis): it involves the determinant synthesis of the system and the explanation of the system interdependence of all its components and tiers in synchrony and diachrony, as well as theoretical identification of those characteristics of the system which could not be identified inductively, at the first stage of the research;

After the inner determinant is identified (the identification takes place at the first stage of the determinant study of a language) it is easy to establish the hierarchy of the specific functions of the elements and tiers of the system according to their significance for the main function, i.e. the function of the language as an integrity. The knowledge of the environment

in which the system is functioning, of the substantive potentials of the system's components and of principal laws of a system's adaptation to changing conditions allows to reconstruct the history of consecutive stages of the formation of the system which is observed at any given time at any synchronic cut. The knowledge of the history of consecutive stages of the system's formation gives an understanding of the cause-effect connections both in the system's evolution, and in its present-day state. That is why deduction helps to discover the properties of the system that were not identified at the first (inductive) stage of the research (Mel'nikov, 2003: 359).

The third stage is "explaining the inner determinant by the outer determinant, i.e. by the singularity of the typical conditions of the language functioning under which the presence of this very inner determining property makes the language system a perfect tool of social communication" (Mel'nikov, 2003: 358).

The inner determinant of a language type is "most fully characterized by the feature that remains the most stable in the inner form of messages despite their practically infinite variety" (Mel'nikov, 2003: 105) and, being the sense of utterances, "serves only as a **hint** at the stages of transformation of an occasion into a plot" (Mel'nikov, 2003: 104).

Conclusion

Thus, the inner determinant should be understood as "the list of preferable means of hinting [to which preferable class of images the nominative sense belongs, what substantive and compositional means are preferable to "portray" this sense with the help of the utterance, what the well-tested devices of "tying" the "portrayed" sense of the utterance to the components of the occasion and the plot are], providing the most effective communication at the set outer determinant of the language" (Mel'nikov 2003: 106).

The prognostic potential of the determinant approach in linguistic research allows to calculate with a certain degree of probability the further changes of the language system, on the basis of understanding which links of the system have already been formed, and which

links of the system have not yet been formed and are able to lead to the next chain of changes.

Such understanding is entailed by the knowledge of

- the **inner determinant** of the language, which means the hierarchy of **specific functions of the system as to the main function**,
- the environment in which the system is functioning,
- the substantive potential of the system's components,
- the principal laws of the system's adaptation to the changing conditions (Mel'nikov, 2003: 358).

The progressive explaining of the content of the determinant makes it possible to understand that, according to G.P. Mel'nikov's conception, the determinant is a system of notions, which is complete and interdependent, possesses clear contours and principles of singling out, unlike, for instance, W. von Humboldt's idea of the "inner form" or A.F. Losev's "symbol", the boundaries of which notions are not always obvious and their content enters an endless chain of meanings.

At the same time, it is obvious that the notion of the determinant is explained through various types of correlations with other notions of system linguistics: "communicative angle (angle of portraying information) of a language", "inner form of a language", "inner form of messages", "structure", "substance", "material", "sense of an utterance", "nominative sense", "hint", "occasion", "plot", "connection (linear or network) of plots", "aspects of mismatch between the occasion and the plot", "current images", "individual images", "generic-species images (images of world understanding", "principle of the functional value of the phenomenon (object under study", – the content of which is far from being self-evident and requires further penetration into the closed system until the system of notion is completely exhausted. It should be noted that the complexity of penetration is increased by the fact that many notions have no name, but have a description, and vice versa:

some notions, albeit named, were not characterized by G.P. Mel'nikov separately, and require an explanation of their content ("initial determinant", "current determinant", "extreme determinant"). Besides, the seeming obviousness of the meanings of some words prevents them from being seen as scientific notions, while reference to the work (often difficult to access) in which the content of a notion is unveiled, disesteems the scientific potential of a term which is erroneously taken for a word of general use. For instance, the notion of adaptation is treated in system linguistics as "any change of a system's properties directed at the functionality of its determinant, i.e. the increase of the system's ability to help maintain the stability of certain properties of the suprasystem by means of its elder, most stable maintained properties" (Mel'nikov, 1980: 21). The ability of adaptation in system linguistics is understood as the key feature of system objects: the higher the degree of adaptability, the more stable the determinant, the higher the degree of the object's system character (Mel'nikov, 1980: 22).

The adaptation process begins with **the initial outer determinant**, the change of which makes it necessary that the language system adapts itself to the new life conditions of the language community; it ends in **the extreme inner determinant** fixing the results of the language structure transformation regarding the change of functions, and manifests itself in the morphological structure of the language determining the ways of nominative organization of utterances transmitting information in typical communicative situations, as well as the possible transformation of typical (neutral, frequent) surface structures in case communicative content is to be formalized and transmitted in untypical situations

Thus, the content of the notion "adaptation" leads to the content of the notions of "initial, current and extreme determinants". Noe it is clearly seen that interpretation of each notion introduced by G.P. Mel'nikov, will lead to the consistent forming and actualization of the whole system of notions until the cause-effect circle is closed.

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Основные принципы анализа внутренней детерминанты в лингвистической системологии

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Аннотация. Темой статьи является понятие внутренней детерминанты языка, предложенное основателем системной лингвистики Г.П. Мельниковым в развитие идеи В. фон Гумбольдта о внутренней форме языка. Цель исследования – актуализировать в свете современных научных парадигм один из методов системной лингвистики – метод детерминантного анализа языковых систем и тесно связанные с ним представления о морфологическом типе языка, номинативном и коммуникативном ракурсах представления ситуации в типичном высказывании, способах организации грамматической семантики в языках различных типов. Проведенное исследование показывает, что разработанное Г.П. Мельниковым понятие внутренней детерминанты языка позволяет трактовать традиционную морфологическую классификацию языков как систему типов, противопоставленных по своей внутренней детерминанте в исторически сложившихся специфических коммуникативных условиях, которые выступают в роли внешней детерминанты языков.

Ключевые слова: детерминанта, лингвистическая типология, общее языкознание, система, системология.

Исследование выполнено при финансовой поддержке РФФИ в рамках проекта № 19-012-00014 «Реконструкция концептуального содержания понятийных полей системной лингвистики».

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

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университета**





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