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Research Article

Enhancing Teachers' Professional Competence through E-Learning Programs: Challenges and Benefits in the 21st Century Digital Era

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Abstract

The current study discusses how to enhance teachers' professional competence through E-learning programs: challenges and benefits in the 21st century digital era. E-learning is more valuable for teachers to improve their professional competence. E-learning is still in its infancy to assist teachers in their professional development. E-learning is a teaching-learning approach based on the use of digital tools. It employs technology to ensure teachers' professional competency at all moments and in every location. Teachers are trained and urged to engage with one another and accept alternative views as part of the learning process in e-learning in the 21st century digital era. Within the paper, we look at how e-learning might enhance teachers' professional development while also recognizing the challenges they face in today's digital world. The study is based on the idea that a future digital era is being raised through e-learning. This proposed study hopes to provide an insight into teachers' professional competencies in e-learning in today's digital age. As an outcome of their professional competence development programs, teachers can work more successfully. In addition to measuring their development and benefits, teachers who had completed the program's e-learning training were tested to participate in an ongoing study. When teaching students who have grown up with digitalization, teachers encounter various new challenges. To overcome the obstacles in e-learning programs, teachers' professional competence is rapidly turning to e-learning techniques in ongoing developmental programs. In the e-learning process, teachers' professional competency and lack of cooperation or contact all play a part. To reduce the challenges of e-learning, one must have a strong sense of purpose and robust professional competence skills in the digital era. There are many challenges in 21st-century educational systems. Still, teachers' professional competence and respect for teaching-learning in e-learning has enabled the author to overcome these challenges and benefit from their efforts in the 21st century digital era.

Keywords

Teacher's professional development, competency, e-learning, challenge, benefits, 21st century and digital era

Introduction

E-learning, whether in school systems or for individuals, has become increasingly relevant thanks to innovations such as e-learning, open educational resources, and new forms of web-based teaching. E-learning effectiveness is on the rise, and concerns possible problems in e-learning setups. E-learning is not an adequate substitute for classroom teaching (Palloff and Pratt, 2013). Multiple teacher professional development strategies are created, planned, and launched to prepare teachers to work in an e-learning atmosphere. Most of the current study on e-learning teacher professional development focuses on the meaningful changes teachers face (Megalou et al., 2010), related benefits of e-learn-

ing-focused teacher professional development, and why they are thought essential. As an outcome of the study, a strong foundation for e-learning teacher professional development is explored and offered. The original study's initial purpose, technique, outcomes, discussion and problems, and the conclusion are extensive explanations of the main conceptual underpinning connected to teacher professional development for e-learning. Teachers' professional challenges are vibrant for enhancing teacher skills using e-learning. When observing, teachers' teaching methods and performance after joining the program are evaluated. This study looks at a teacher's daily foundation to ensure today's digital era. The role of teachers in the twenty-first century has become exceedingly challenging in today's modern dynamic world, where information is practically limitless. Teachers need to become more computer savvy and accountable for their pupils' academic and personal success. E-learning has become an increasingly important aspect of teachers' professional development in the digital world of the 21st century. As stated previously, ICTs can be used in e-learning in various ways. Technology-enabled educational resources and perspectives fall under this broad category. An array of tools and resources are integrated into e-learning (Sife et al., 2007). The development of the societal information structure has led to new progress in e-learning, according to Kahiigi (Kahiigi et al., 2008). Teachers and students can benefit from the effectiveness of e-learning by employing its highlights (Kruse, 2002). Teachers must now serve as facilitators, assisting students in making judgments about the quality and continuity of alternate sources, accessible and considerable skilled professionals, involved pioneers, partner organizations, and critical suppliers among students and those who need and want to comprehend and refer to a particular provider. To ensure that his students use the most relevant e-learning, the teacher must record how much time they spend on the Internet. The teacher must address social and emotional issues that block pupils' learning, and be willing to make changes if their growth stagnates. The digital era is transforming the financial system. High-tech and "collective" abilities are becoming increasingly vital in the profession and e-learning development in the 21st century digital era.

Data and methods

The Concept of E-Learning

For one thing, it helps students move from memorizing facts to actively participating in classroom discussion and acquiring new skills. The most up-to-date technology is used in the entertainment and education of students and the general public. A student's motivation and capacity to study are directly linked to their self-perception created by technological breakthroughs. For those interested in e-learning or any other method that uses computers, e-learning is the most recent development. Without computers and networks, there is no efficient exchange of information. This new technology can be used for various locations, including classrooms and e-learning groups. In recent decades, there seems to have been notable growth in the usage of e-learning (Salmon, 2011). E-learning is a cross between conventional classroom instruction and the latest technological innovation. A pencil or notebook in the classroom is just as effective as cutting-edge technology. Because it is a mental ability, learning necessitates the use of technology. Because of its lack of technical complexity, a pencil may feel more comfortable in many people's hands. Technologies impact a wide range of issues, despite their numerous applications. Writing, interplay, visual imagery, and stocking up are just a few of the tools used in e-learning. Technology is required to generate and deliver e-learning. Digital tools and technologies are employed to enhance teaching-learning and evaluation. A range of e-learning technologies, equipment, platforms, and programs have made learning more flexible and adaptable. We can also say that e-learning is easy to grasp. Students can access educational

information via digital equipment while not in the school environment. An e-learning class, training course, or degree can be completed in digital form. E-learning, digitalized e-learning, web-based learning are just some of the words used to describe online, internet-based education. When referring to classes that can only be taken online, "e-learning" is used. As per the studies, they are using e-learning to enhance learning efficiency, which is challenging since teachers use various strategies to avoid making significant changes to their working conditions. Moreover, the study demonstrates that focusing solely on the fulfillment of post-learning goals as a usefulness measure inhibits developers from seeing unintended and unplanned changes in practice due to e-learning initiatives. This study aims to develop models that are used to explore the relationships among different factors that determine usefulness. Several categories are established under the framework: the context in which the e-learning solutions are utilized, the item (the e-learning solution actually), and the item's consumers. Developing an e-learning program, e-learning content must be generated and delivered quickly to succeed. Processes in the movement must be used creatively to create various intriguing and appealing compositions. This section will teach you how to develop interactive e-learning content, including gathering intelligence, employing learning approaches and media, and building an active output utilizing appropriate technology and e-learning programs in the 21st century digital era.

Study and Results

Professional Development for Teachers

The need for competencies in the development of future leaders has skyrocketed around the world, and the educational industry is scrambling to satisfy it. As a result, professional growth, which includes training and education to gain practical experience, has become a major focus. To have a positive impact on developing these skills in young people, teachers must have a strong understanding of 21st century capabilities and be well equipped to impart such abilities to students. The outcomes of an initial study on professional development for 21st century skills education, especially for teachers, are unsatisfactory. Teachers with experience anywhere at the educational level should remain up-to-date on scientific advances in a range of areas, and they must continue their professionalism as an outcome (Guskey 2000; 2002). As an outcome, several teachers will be needed to have a basic understanding of e-learning in parallel with a thorough mastery of instructional strategies and curriculum (Chikasanda et al., 2013; Salmon, 2011; Tschida et al., 2016). This is a severe problem since teachers who were trained and instructed using the traditional education paradigm in decades past lack the necessary abilities to establish a 21st century e-learning environment for their students' success. They have not yet gained adequate prominence in the study of the specific areas where they are lacking. This study has identified the skills and capabilities that teachers lack, then suggests ways to obtain or enhance these skills to stay current with educational reform, intending to provide better training and assistance to interested and involved parents, and the adoption of 21st century e-learning skills. These include new information into what teachers had previously stated as essential aspects of professional development to bolster enhancing those features. For instance, teacher education and the current leader's importance are highlighted more (Desimone and Garet, 2015). This is a significant worry since teachers who were trained and instructed using the old academic approach in previous decades lack the necessary abilities to develop 21st century e-learning environments to help their students succeed. They have not developed sufficient focus in the study for the precise areas they lack. This study has highlighted the skills and abilities that instructors need and strategies for teachers to acquire or improve these talents to keep up with educational reforms and to provide better support and education for fully integrated and 21st century

e-learning skills. An operation and maintenance theory should be considered when looking into teacher professional development. The first section of the study focuses on career development. Whenever it comes to the most critical features of collaborative learning, the focus should be on content, active education, and course cohesion (Desimone, 2009). It has been found that professional teacher development that includes models of effective practice enhances teacher development and student achievement. Teachers could integrate e-learning and teaching-learning using instructional and pedagogical frameworks and interactive models to develop a paradigm of strategies on which to base their development and performance in the twenty-first century digital era.

Teacher's Professional Competencies

Education is a personality development process for improving one's style by making one more rational, competent, responsive, and intellectual. It is a character-building method that enhances a person's character by making him/her more reasonable, thoughtful, responsive, and intelligent. Competence requirements are based on a teacher's professional principles and include the capacity to apply knowledge and skills. In the realm of education, there is a clear link between such a teacher's professional competence and student performance, and competence is usually associated with high outstanding competency. We must first determine competence before investigating the concept of teacher competency. Because competency is a term used by a wide range of people in a wide range of situations, it is defined in various ways. This word has two definitions: trainee teachers and quality of work. Competencies are the skills, information, and attitudes that a future teacher must possess to successfully finish a "competency-based" teaching method (Houston, 1987). According to some studies, "competence" is defined as skills, talents, and behaviours that can improve performance and the state or quality of being suitably qualified and capable of completing a task. The Professional Competence-based Action plan, initiated by David McClelland in the 1960s, aiming to move away from the traditional efforts to define basic competence in terms of understanding, skills, and behaviours, and instead focus on specific values, qualities, and motivating factors that continuously differentiate excellent performance from ordinary work performance. In a 1970 study titled "Planning the Executive Development Program", Craig C. Lundberg coined the term "competency", which was promoted by David McClelland in his famous 1973 book *Testing for Competence rather than Intelligence*. Richard Boyatzis and others have argued for it since then. Professional competence is frequently connected with outstanding high-level skills, and there is a clear correlation between a teacher's professional competence and educational performance. The word "competence" has two different connotations in education. From a theoretical standpoint, competence is defined as a framework for assisting with specific tasks. Competence appears to encompass a wide variety of higher-level work skills and abilities that demonstrate the ability to deal with complex and unusual circumstances. This concept, which requires an intentional decision judgment, encompasses knowledge, abilities, feelings, understanding of concepts, and creative preparation (Westera, 2001). Professional competence refers to a teacher's ability to perform certain professional activities and other specific tasks as required by the nature of their job. Skills in instructional approaches, student and classroom management, interpersonal interactions, evaluation and monitoring, and other areas establish a teacher's proficiency. Only in the context of effective learning should a teaching method be evaluated. As per the majority of studies, a competent teacher must have subject matter mastery, teaching abilities, and personal attributes such as excitability, inventiveness, and a great sense of humour. In any educational environment, the value of a teacher's skills and performance cannot be overstated. A range of performance standards for teachers might be beneficial in helping them become more competent and effective. Professional competency is the set

of information, abilities, beliefs, dispositions, capabilities, and ideas required by a group of individuals to excel in their chosen profession. Good teaching, economic, sociological, essential communication, personal, cognitive, and other professional competencies are needed in the twenty-first century digital era.

The Challenges in E-Learning

E-learning is a challenging system with many forms and varying student attention levels. To make e-learning more interactive, the teacher must make decisions at every stage of the process of learning. A potential challenge to e-learning is that it may not be as efficient in terms of things like clarifying and explaining concepts. Students benefit from having one-on-one time with their teachers. It's challenging for teachers in the digital era to improve their professional competence using e-learning in the twenty-first century digital era.

Technical Challenges: E-learning institutions face significant technological challenges. E-learning materials must be developed with the needs of the public in mind. E-technological learning challenges can be divided into two major classifications.

There is a lack of understanding of the strengths of e-learning: The importance of e-learning varies depending on students being aware of the tools' usage (Bhuasiri et al., 2012). Learners are usually unaware of good e-learning resources (Maldonado et al., 2011; Mirza & Al-Abdulkareem, 2011). The fact that so many of those we surveyed had no prior knowledge about e-learning resources was an eye-opening discovery of this study.

There is a lack of clarity as to what e-learning is: Students must identify their goals and select the new technology they will use to finish the work when taking an online course. E-learning systems' past success has been attributed partly to their ethnic applicability in the classroom (Rosenberg, 2001). Significant changes have been made to the way students are taught in public elementary and secondary schools (Al-Halabi & Al-Hawari, 2010). E-learning is impacted by people's reluctance to change from old-fashioned content delivery methods to the new e-learning foundation (Ali & Magalhaes, 2008).

There is indeed an issue with the e-learning website: E-learning systems that are simple, operational, and consistent have a tremendous effect on customer satisfaction, according to some studies (Motaghian et al., 2011; Bhuasiri, et al., 2012). Another significant issue with their college's e-learning was the non-contiguous ease of access to the webpage.

In e-learning courses, teachers and students do not have the same sense of contact or interaction: The teacher needs to be highly motivated and well-organized to mitigate potential implications.

The Benefits of e-learning

The potential benefits of e-learning make it an excellent method of instructing young adults in any subject area or field of study. Various studies and authors have found massive benefits to using e-learning technologies in the classroom (Klein & Ware, 2003; Algahtani, 2011; Hameed et al. 2008; Rosenberg, 2001; Downey et al. 2000; Nichols, 2003). E-learning has been seen in numerous studies to be adaptable to the unique learning styles of each student. Rosenberg believes that e-learning is more effective when it focuses on the students' needs rather than educational teachers and administrators. Research shows that classroom e-learning provides these benefits.

• It is very flexible in terms of when and where it happens. Classroom learning at any time and location is an option for every student. For both teachers and students or learners, Smedley (Al-Adwan et al., 2013) says, e-learning provides a great deal more flexibility regarding when and where information is conveyed or obtained.

• Besides making it easy to obtain vast amounts of information, e-learning enhances comprehension and professional certification attainment.

• Students can form new friends through internet discussion boards. E-learning eliminates obstacles to involvement, such as the apprehension of talking in front of a group of peers. The ability for learners to participate with each other while they are learning in an e-learning environment nurtures social contact and admiration for a wide variety of viewpoints. Educational securities are strengthened because of the ease with which people can exchange information via the Internet. According to Wagner (Wagner et al., 2008), e-learning provides new opportunities for interaction between teachers and students.

• Educators do not have to leave their homes to take advantage of the lower cost of e-learning. As a reward, it can save money by enabling more students to take advantage of educational opportunities with fewer facilities.

• E-learning acknowledges that each young person is unique. A course can be critiqued in its entirety by some educators, while others want to focus on just one or two aspects of it.

• The use of e-learning is assisting in helping relieve the shortage of academic staff, such as teachers, accomplices, and lab technicians.

• Students can go at their own pace with e-learning. The adaptive method, for instance, allows students to study at their own pace and speed. Stress is decreased, and joy increased (Amer, 2007; Urdan and Weggen, 2000; Algahtani, 2011; Rosenberg, 2001; Klein and Ware, 2003).

Conclusion

Despite the numerous advantages of e-learning, teachers do not use it as much as they should to improve their professional competence. The ability to properly handle significant challenges is pivotal to the development of e-learning in the classroom. Technical troubles, teacher concern about adopting e-learning techniques, and a lack of knowledge of the purpose and benefits of e-learning have all been challenges. Given the relevance of design challenges in e-learning systems, teachers have placed a high value on incorporating creative social media network design trends into e-learning systems in a way that continues to encourage students to use and engage with such processes. In the near future, a large-scale study will be conducted to understand better the challenges and facilities of e-learning in order to assure teachers' professional competency at all times and in all settings. The amount of technology experience and knowledge that teachers have has a big impact as to whether or not they can use e-learning to improve their professional competence. In under-developed nations, there is a strong desire to use e-learning. Education in poor countries suffers significant challenges, despite the fact that it faces major challenges such as a lack of relevant modern technologies, infrastructure and technology, and economic support. It is important to keep in mind that the way e-learning is adopted in classrooms is influenced by a variety of factors. These variations may occur due to various perspectives on how instruction must be provided. Due to the universal flexibility of the digital era, teachers can continue their professional growth while saving time and effort. Teachers can use their spare time on more vital activities using e-learning, often known as virtual learning. Digital classrooms, and also e-learning approaches with studies that catch their attention and motivate them to learn more, could provide teachers with vital professional development and competence through e-learning programs in the twenty-first century digital era.

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Research Article

The problem of language education from the perspective of the Russian linguacultural tradition and Russian linguists of the late 19ᵗʰ–early 20ᵗʰ centuries

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze views of Russian linguists of the late 19ᵗʰ–early 20ᵗʰ centuries on the issue of language education and find out whether they agree or disagree on the methods of teaching languages. We also aim to identify correlations that their views have with methodological theories of foreign scholars of different epochs. To fulfil the aim, the following methods were used: general scientific methods (analysis, synthesis, comparison), the descriptive-analytical method and the comparative-contrastive method. The scope of the findings includes such aspects as the connection between language and thinking in educational contexts; the role of textbooks in teaching young learners; the role of children in the evolution of language; positive and negative sides of learning foreign languages, ancient languages, the history of language, regional and local dialects; theoretical and practical, internal and external aspects of learning languages, the problems of bilingualism; national and individual languages; social and cognitive functions of language, and other issues. The results obtained lead to the conclusion that in the majority of cases the three Russian scholars (I. I. Sreznevsky, F. F. Fortunatov, I. A. Baudouin de Courtenay) share each other's points of view despite the fact that they belong to different research schools. The ideas they developed in the late 19ᵗʰ–early 20ᵗʰ centuries are further discussed and revised by other linguists and methodologists. All quotations analyzed in the paper show some mainstream ideas and convictions characteristic of the Russian linguistic tradition and fundamentals of Russian culture at the turn of the century.

Keywords

Native language, foreign language, thinking, school textbook, I. I. Sreznevsky, F. F. Fortunatov, I. A. Baudouin de Courtenay

Introduction

The scope of linguistic issues touched upon in the works of Russian scholars of the late 19ᵗʰ–early 20ᵗʰ centuries (I. I. Sreznevsky, F. F. Fortunatov, I. A. Baudouin de Courtenay) and its breadth is beyond doubt. Centuries after their linguistic discoveries and contemplations their value and relevance for Russian as well as for world-wide language studies remains. Their linguistic heritage is constantly revised and reconsidered in the modern research of Russian linguists: (Sheradzenidze, 1980), (Khukhuni, 1984), (Vekovisheva and Khukhini, 2013), (Valujtseva and Khukhuni, 2015), (Maslova, 2015), (Chernyshev, 2017), (Alpatov, 2020), (Stekolshchikova, 2019b), (Stekolshchikova, 2020a), etc.

It proves that reference to the works of I. I. Sreznevsky, F.F. Fortunatov, and I.A. Baudouin de Courtenay is relevant nowadays.

Apart from outstanding linguistic research, the scholars under consideration had teaching practice that let them share some observations and contemplations about the value of this or that method in teaching languages. The academic originality of this paper is in its addressing the analysis of methodological recommendations on teaching languages suggested by these linguists. This aspect grants a new research perspective that helps familiarization with a previously overlooked aspect of scientific legacy left by I. I. Sreznevsky, F. F. Fortunatov, and I. A. Baudouin de Courtenay. It also allows for a new look at teaching and methodology – not from the perspective of instructors or methodologists, but from the point of view of professional linguists.

A contrastive analysis of the ideas developed by the aforementioned linguists will show the controversial nature of the results they obtained. It will help to find common and differential features of their theories, find correlations with the research of other scholars who also worked with similar problems. It will finally lead to general conclusions about the dominant theoretical views that existed in Russian practice of teaching linguistic disciplines in the late 19th–early 20th centuries.

Data and methods

The paper is based on the analysis of quotations from the published works of *I. I. Sreznevsky*, *F. F. Fortunatov*, and *I. A. Baudouin de Courtenay*. All the relevant quotations are presented in the Results and Discussion section. They are accompanied by our interpretations and commentary.

General scientific methods such as analysis, synthesis and comparison were used to work with definitions, classifications, different points of view on the phenomena under consideration and with the results obtained. The descriptive-analytical method was employed to outline theoretical issues of relevant linguistic theories and present text fragments that contain the scholarly ideas under analysis. The comparative-contrastive method was used to identify what common and differential views the scholars in question had on the issues of language education and language learning.

Study and Results

The Problem of Language Education in the Works of I. I. Sreznevsky

Izmail Ivanovich Sreznevsky (1812–1880), a Russian philologist, Slavist, ethnographer, paleographer, and Academician at the Petersburg Academy of Sciences is famous for his naturalistic views on language (Stekolshchikova, 2016, pp. 22–29) and for his observations about teaching and learning a language.

I. I. Sreznevsky in his work "On Studying Native Language in Childhood" (1860) emphasizes that **language is a living organism and peoples' treasure**:

"Всякий живой язык есть такое народное достояние, которым каждый член народа по закону природы должен пользоваться, воплощая его в себе, воплощая в нем все силы своего духа" (Sreznevsky, 2010a, p. 3).

'Any living language is such a national legacy that any individual representative of the nation should naturally use, embodying it in themselves, embodying the strength of their spirit in this language'[1].

Sreznevsky does not agree with the opinion, later developed by N. Chomsky in his universal grammar theory that the knowledge of language is inborn. Sreznevsky claims that **a person acquires this knowledge by learning a language**:

"Человеку не врожденно знание родного языка, и потому оно должно быть им

1. All the examples given in this paper were translated by E. Z., I. S.

приобретаемо посредством изучения…" (ibid.).
'The knowledge of a mother tongue is not inborn, that is why it should be acquired by learning'.

Though he believes that study skills are inborn:

"…но врожден закон, требующий этого знания – и он должен быть так или иначе исполняем" (ibid.).
'The law that demands this knowledge is inborn – it should be practiced anyway'.

According to Sreznevsky, in the process of knowledge acquisition children move from the simple to the complex, from the specific to the general, but from synthesis to analysis:

"Во всяком дитяти совершается это <…> от синтеза к анализу, от простого звука, обозначающего многое, к сложным звукам с разными видоизменениями для оттенения отдельно каждым особого понятия или представления, от отдельных слов к связным выражениям, от отдельных выражений к цельным рассказам" (ibid.).
'Any child moves from synthesis to analysis, from a simple sound that stands for a variety of things to complex sounds with different modifications used to specify some notions or ideas, from separate words to connected utterances, from separate utterances to complete stories'.

He compares a child's intelligence and memory with people performing particular social roles:

"Память работает как послушный работник, ум – как полновластный, нередко и прихотливый господин" (ibid.).
'Memory works as a diligent worker, while the mind works like a sole and often fastidious master'.

He also thinks that only the knowledge of a native language allows people to understand thoughts and emotions of other individuals:

"Только через посредство родного языка может он и воспринимать полно и свободно мысль и чувство другого" (Sreznevsky, 2010a, p. 5).
'Only through a mother tongue one can fully and freely perceive thoughts and feelings of the other'.

We may see that this idea finds an opposite interpretation in J. W. Goethe's "Maxims and Reflections", where this German writer and philosopher states that:

"Wer fremde Sprachen nicht kennt, weiß nichts von seiner eigenen" (Goethe, 1833).
'those who do not know foreign languages know nothing about their native language'.

They both tried to consider the notion of "otherness" but did it from different perspectives. Other people's thoughts and feelings as well as other languages can be consciously perceived only when an individual has substantial life experience or at least some general knowledge of the world. As a result, it will be reasonable to partially disagree with both scholars.

Learning to speak a native language is a life-long process, it is conditioned by nature:

"Работа над родным языком в человеке не прекращается никогда никаким приговором природы»" (Sreznevsky, 2010a, p. 5).
'No natural force can stop an individual from working on his native language'.

while learning several languages simultaneously is unnatural:

"Что неестественно человеку усваивать с детства несколько языков разом, сама природа к этому не ведет, это видно на детях…" (ibid.).
It is unnatural for a human being to imbibe several languages at once, nature does not lead to it and we can see it in the example of children'.

It is impossible for a human to think in different languages:

"Можно думать только на одном языке. Говоря на нескольких равно бегло, не владеешь ни одним из них как орудием мыслительности" (ibid.).
'One can think in one language only. Speaking several languages fluently means that you know none of them as a means of cognition'.

Sreznevsky sees the connection between language and thinking. According to his words, the ability to speak more than one language fluently does not imply that one can think properly in either of these languages.

The interplay of language and thinking is illustrated by Sreznevsky by accepting their joint participation in human intellectual and cognitive activity:

"Язык – не только орудие познавательной и мыслительной силы человека, но сама эта сила, тело, в котором и которым она живет и без которого замирает" (Sreznevsky, 2010a, p. 40).
'Language is not only a means of cognitive and thinking power of an individual, but it is this very power, its habitat where and by which it lives and without which it subsides'.

He associates and equates language with cognition.

Returning to Sreznevsky's **view on learning foreign languages**, we may find another idea that points to a destructive effect of using several languages. He claims that it does not contribute to brain work and only impairs the very ability to think as thinking becomes superficial:

"Приучаясь думать на нескольких языках, отвыкаешь думать совсем, остаешься при одном внешнем образе думы…" (Sreznevsky, 2010a, p. 5).
'While getting used to thinking in two languages, one stops thinking at all and stays only with the surface structure of thoughts'.

This idea might be of particular interest today when both linguists and instructors are studying bilingualism as a phenomenon.

The scholar states that reaching the level of an educated nation is impossible without the knowledge of a native language. We might assume that Sreznevsky addresses here the social function of language:

"Из этого одного понятно, что невозможна для народа образованность без языка, так же как и для языка без народа" (Sreznevsky, 2010a, p. 6).
'It is clear that education for people is impossible without language, as well as for a language without people'.

He comes to the conclusion that our native language determines our existence as humans. Native language is an integral part of our inner and outer life, by the outer life we should probably understand our social life and communication as such:

"Цель изучения родного языка – не счастливые ответы на каком-нибудь экзамене, а овладение им в должной мере для жизни, для жизни внутренней и вместе с тем внешней, без которой и сама внутренняя жизнь – вообще говоря – невозможна" (Srezvevsky, 2010a, p. 40).
'The aim of learning a native language is not limited to answers at exams but includes mastering it for the life both inner and outer. Without the latter no inner life is possible'.

Sreznevsky singles out some stages of teaching a native language using naturalist metaphors (seeds of knowledge, roots of knowledge):

"Первые семена знания родного языка сеются в дитяти в первые годы его жизни; корни его укрепляются в годы отрочества и юности" (Sreznevsky, 2010a, p. 19).
'The first seeds of knowledge of a native language are planted during the first years of children's life, it takes roots during adolescence and youth'.

This opinion implies that language acquisition is gradual and takes time.

In the work on the elementary course of Russian "Замечания о первоначальном курсе русского языка" "(Notes on the basic course of Russian"), Sreznevsky writes that the aim of general education in terms of teaching a native language is to teach it to use this language as a means of communicating thoughts, feelings, and knowledge:

"Цель, достигаемая в общем образовании изучением отечественного языка, есть развитие уменья пользоваться отечественным языком как необходимым орудием мысли, чувства, знания и общительности" (Sreznevsky, 2010b, p. 62).
'The goal achieved in general education by learning a native language is the development of native language skills as a means of thinking, feeling, knowledge and social behavior'.

Within the sphere of linguistic knowledge, Sreznevsky identifies inner and outer aspects. The inner aspect includes knowledge that an individual uses to satisfy personal needs, the outer aspect includes knowledge used to satisfy the needs and expectations of others:

"В знании языка можно отделить две стороны: а) знание внутреннее, знание про себя, для удовлетворения внутренних требований ума познающего, и б) знание внешнее, знание для других, для удовлетворения требований ожиданий их ума" (Sreznevsky, 2010a, p. 7).
'There are two aspects in the knowledge of a native language: a) the inner knowledge that is used to satisfy an individual's needs of the mind in the cognition process and b) the outer knowledge that is meant to satisfy the expectations of other people'.

He adds that inner knowledge includes information about words and their combinability. Outer knowledge includes the ability to use words in order to clearly convey the necessary meanings and concepts. It also involves the ability to build sentences, to articulate words and sentences correctly, clearly, and beautifully. Outer knowledge includes writing skills applied according to the existing rules and the individual's intentions (Sreznevsky, 2010a, p. 8).

Sreznevsky finds it important to study ancient languages, regional and local dialects as the "spirit of a nation" contained in the language is far stronger in dialects and weaker in the literary language:

"Как дополнение к главному должны быть изучаемы оттенки языка древнего и местные наречия" (Sreznevsky, 2010a, p. 14).
'Aspects of old language forms and local dialects should be studied in addition to the standard one'.

He also talks about theoretical and practical aspects of language education emphasizing the latter:

"Одна доля этого курса, теоретическая <…> стоит выкинуть все, что не ведет прямо к цели и не прилагается к другой части курса – практической" (Sreznevsky, 2010, p. 62).

'One part of this course is theoretical <...> everything that does not lead directly to the main aim and has no connection with the practical part should be left out'.

The theoretical part includes an overview of language features, forms of word building and word changing. The practical part of the Russian language course includes mastering, speaking, and writing skills (Sreznevsky, 2010b, p. 63).

The scholar's attitude to school textbooks is of particular relevance as he claims that they are not necessary at the initial stage of learning a native language:

"Вначале же учебник будет более вреден, чем полезен, приучая детей к заучиванию наизусть того, что должно быть не заучено, а просто усвоено – не для экзамена, а для жизни" (Sreznevsky, 2010b, p. 64).
'At the beginning a textbook will stand in the way, teaching children to learn by heart everything that should be understood and comprehended not for exams but for life'.

This statement implies that children should first learn to use Russian for the purpose of everyday communication. Language here is an equivalent to an indispensable tool or instrument of social interaction that at the next stages will be studied deeper and for more specific purposes. A similar approach to the role of a textbook was adopted by F. F. Fortunatov.

In general, I. I. Sreznevsky reflects on the problems of language education from the point of view that language is a natural phenomenon. He gives priority to learning a native language, comments on the theoretical and practical aspects of language education, emphasizing the practical side. Among his ideas there are some that can shed light on contemporary problems in the area of teaching languages, or give more food for thought to linguists who are concerned with the problem of language and thought relations and with modern cognitive studies.

The Problem of Language Education in the Works of F. F. Fortunatov

Filipp Fedorovich Fortunatov (1848–1914), an outstanding Russian linguist and Academician at the Russian Academy of Sciences, was a founder of the Moscow School of Linguistics. F. F. Fortunatov worked within the sphere of comparative and historical language studies (Fortunatov, 2015) and made a substantial contribution to this area (Stekolshchikova, 2019a, pp. 144-152), along with other scholars who studied the problems of comparative, historical and typological linguistics (Birukova and Popova, 2015, p. 41). He also had enormous teaching experience. This section will focus on **Fortunatov's ideas about teaching linguistic disciplines**.

In the book on comparative linguistics "Сравнительное языковедение" 'Comparative Linguistics' (1891–1892). F. Fortunatov distinguishes between studying languages for scientific and practical purposes:

"…языковедение, как науку, задача которой познать язык в его истории, нельзя смешивать, понятно, с изучением какого-либо языка для практической цели, то есть с целью владеть этим языком, как средством для достижения других целей, например для обмена мыслей" (Fortunatov, 2010, p. 7).
'Linguistics as a science aimed at studying languages in their development should not be compared with studying languages for practical purposes of achieving other aims such as ideas exchange'.

This idea seems relevant for the later distinction between language and speech (F. de Saussure) as knowledge of language as a system and actual usage of a language.

Unlike Sreznevsky, Fortunatov does not give priority to the practical aim of studying a native language at school. In his work on teaching Russian grammar in secondary school "О преподавании грамматики русского языка в средней школе" 'On teaching

Russian Grammar in Secondary Schools' (1904) he on the contrary claims that the practical aim is the main one in learning a foreign language:

"Понятно, что в применении к родному языку учащихся цель преподавания грамматики не может быть тою, практическою, которая представляется прежде всего, хотя бы и не в качестве единственной цели, по отношению к иностранному языку, изучаемому в школе…".
'It is obvious that the aim of teaching the grammar of a native language cannot be the same practical aim used for teaching a foreign language in school'.

The theoretical aim of studying grammar of both native and foreign languages is seen in the students' acquisition of a skill to think properly *навыка правильно думать* 'the skill of correct thinking' (Fortunatov, 1957, p. 433). Thus, knowing the phenomena of native language grammar should foster the students' thinking abilities.

F. Fortunatov separates teaching grammar from teaching orthography:

"Ошибочно также было бы думать, будто преподавание грамматики родного языка в школе необходимо для усвоения учащимися требований правописания".
It would be a misconception to think that teaching grammar of a native language in school is essential for mastering orthography rules'.

He thinks that only some areas of grammar can provide an explanation for the rules of Russian spelling. In general, he says that grammar has nothing to do with orthography as it is an independent discipline: *грамматика сама по себе* (ibid.) 'grammar is independent'.

Fortunatov shares the same **opinion on a textbook** being unnecessary at the start of learning a native language that was expressed by Sreznevsky:

"При изучении грамматики русского языка в низших классах, я думаю, нет надобности в каком бы то ни было учебнике" (Fortunatov, 1957, p. 437).
'No textbook is needed at an early stage of studying Russian grammar'.

According to Fortunatov, the course of Russian for beginners is all about students together with a teacher discovering and identifying different features of their native language but not about cramming theory and terms. This idea reminds us of an inductive approach to teaching grammar.

The scholar sees the main aim of teaching grammar in directing students to developing a conscious approach to the features of the language in which they speak and think:

"…вызывать в учащихся сознательное отношение к явлениям, существующим в том языке, на котором они думают и говорят…" (Fortunatov, 1957, p. 436).
'…to foster a conscious attitude of language learners to the phenomena that exist in the language they use to speak and to think in'.

Fortunatov also raises an issue of comparing the spoken language and literary language as means of conscious observation of the language that students speak:

"…сопоставление живого, разговорного языка с русским книжным языком помогает учащимся наблюдать факты того языка, на котором они говорят…" (Fortunatov, 1957, p. 438).
'…Comparison of a living spoken Russian language with bookish Russian helps students observe facts of the language they speak'.

He is convinced that even in primary school it is necessary to study the history of language (he is talking about Russian) in order to see the difference between the way letters sound and the way they are written as well as to identify the word stem and affixal morphemes:

"Указания на историю языка необходимо делать и в низших классах при

преподавании русской грамматики…" (Fortunatov, 1957, p. 439).
'References to the history of the language are important even at early stages of teaching Russian grammar'.

Moreover, the notion of the root of the word will be more comprehensive and scientific if there is reference to the history of language:

"Преподаватель, указывая на изменение языка во времени, на историю языка, может дать им понятие и о корнях слов <…> для самих учащихся должно быть вполне ясно, что из слов современного русского языка, без знания истории этих слов, нельзя извлекать какие-то корни" (ibid.).

'By pointing at historical changes in the language a teacher can help students discover the roots of words <…> it should be clear for the students that it is impossible to analyze the roots of modern Russian words without the knowledge of their history'.

Here Fortunatov's idea correlates with Sreznevsky's opinion that old Slavonic and old Russian should be obligatorily studied in schools (Sreznevsky, 2010, p. 37).

Fortunatov considers the necessity of explaining the nature of sounds, their properties, characteristics, and combinability to young language learners (Fortunatov, 1957, p. 442).

In accordance with linguists representing the naturalistic school, Fortunatov discusses the connection between language and thinking in his work on comparative linguistics "Сравнительное языковедение" 'Comparative Linguistics' (1891–1892):

"Язык состоит из слов, а словами являются звуки речи, как знаки для нашего мышления и для выражения наших мыслей и чувствований" (Fortunatov, 2010, p. 3).
'Language consists of words, speech sounds are words as signs for our thinking and for the expression of our thoughts and feelings'.

In other words, he means that people think in a particular language and communicate feelings and emotions through language. Human thoughts and feelings are expressed with the help of signs (sound clusters, words). Sound clusters that form words create certain images in the human mind:

"Язык представляет поэтому совокупность знаков главным образом для мысли и для выражений мысли в речи, а кроме того, в языке существуют также и знаки для выражения чувствований слова" (Fortunatov, 2010, p. 91).
'Language is a combination of signs used mainly for expressing thoughts in speech; moreover, there are signs that are used to express feelings'.

This idea finds further development in the theory of phonosemantics in the middle of the 20th century.

According to Fortunatov, in the development of language and thinking abilities people establish associations between certain sound clusters that can further bring about new associations with unrelated notions (Fortunatov, 2010, p. 96). The connection between language and thinking is considered by Fortunatov from the semiotic perspective, which is characteristic of F. de Saussure.

The phonetic content of the word is, according to Fortunatov, an integral component of the speech – thinking process:

"Значения звуковой стороны слов для мышления состоят, следовательно, в способности представлений звуковой стороны слов сочетаться между собой в процессе мышления…" (Fortunatov, 2010, p. 97).
'The meanings of the sound form of words are observed in the ability of the planes of sound in words to combine with each other in the process of thinking…'.

He suggests that speech sounds used in words can be signs of something that cannot find expression in thoughts, for example, abstract notions, sensory perception, etc. (Fortunatov, 2010, p. 98).

In his treatment of the language and thinking connection, Fortunatov shares Sreznevsky's opinion and considers them to be mutually dependent:

"Из данных мною примеров, я думаю, не трудно уяснить себе, что не только язык зависит от мышления, но что и мышление, в свою очередь, зависит от языка…" *(Fortunatov, 2010, p. 100).*

'From the given examples it is possible to conclude that not only language depends on thinking, but that thinking in its turn depends on language…'.

With the help of words an individual can think in a way that would be impossible without these signs, especially in the expression of abstract and general notions (ibid.). Signs of language become signs of thought, the author states.

Fortunatov considers interjections to be words used to express feelings, he seems to oppose them to notional words:

"Знаки языка в процессе речи являются главным образом знаками для выражения мысли или ее части, но вместе с такими знаками существуют в речи также и знаки языка для выражения чувствований; к этим знакам принадлежат слова-междометия" (Fortunatov, 2010, p. 101).

'Language signs in speech are mainly the signs used to express thoughts or their parts, but along with these signs there are others that are used to express feelings; these signs are represented by interjections'.

He explains that until interjections are used merely as results of involuntary movements of articulatory organs, they do not belong to language signs and cannot express feelings. They acquire this status only when these movements are motivated by the speaker's will under the influence of mental associations. This idea seems relevant for the problem of parts of speech classification, and the status of interjections in particular.

Fortunatov also analyzes the language of facial expressions and gestures, which, according to the scholar, coexists with verbal language:

"Язык, как совокупность знаков для мышления и для выражения мысли и чувствований, может быть не только языком слов, то есть языком, материалом для которого служат звуки речи, но он может быть также и языком жестов и мимики, и такой язык существует в человечестве рядом с языком слов" (Fortunatov, 2010, p. 105).

'Language as a combination of signs used for thinking and expressing thoughts and feelings may not only be the language of words (the language where the building blocks are sounds of speech), but also the language of gestures and mimic signs; such language does exist in humanity along with the language of words'.

He then admits that verbal language is studied by linguists, but nonverbal language should be also considered in order to understand physical and spiritual conditions that could precede the appearance of verbal language (ibid.). The role of facial expressions and gestures at the first stage of human language development was also discussed by A. Hovelacque:

"Les gestes, les mouvements de la physionomie précédent le langage proprement dit, le langage articulé…" (Hovelacque, 1885, p. 3).

'Gestures and facial expressions precede the spoken articulated language'.

Fortunatov addresses the idea of inner speech that is also called mental speech, and is opposed to verbal speech as well as the idea of involuntary speech, which is called

thinking out loud (Fortunatov, 2010, p. 110).

In the work on teaching Russian grammar in secondary school "О преподавании грамматики русского языка в средней школе" 'On teaching Russian Grammar in Secondary Schools' (1904) Fortunatov comes back to the problem of the connection between language and thinking, and concludes that words are signs of language that stand for our thoughts:

"Язык в процессе нашей устной речи, когда мы говорим, выражая наши мысли, существует потому, что он существует в нашем мышлении; слова в нашей речи непосредственно выражают, обнаруживают такие мысли, в состав которых входят представления тех же слов как знаков для мышления…" (Fortunatov, 1957, p. 435).
'The language we use in spoken speech, when we express our thoughts exists because it is in our thinking; words in speech directly express and disclose such thoughts that contain conceptions of these words as signs of thinking'.

We can also find some of his thoughts on the means of expressing propositions in sentences:

"Мысль, выражающаяся в предложении <…> называют иногда психологическим суждением" (Fortunatov, 1957, p. 448).
'Thoughts expressed in sentences <…> are sometimes called psychological assertions'.

Though Fortunatov claims that propositions are studied by logic and thus there should be no confusion between grammar and logic as grammar is not concerned with correct and incorrect thinking:

"Понятно поэтому, что грамматика по предмету, изучаемому в ней, не может находиться ни в какой зависимости от логики, так как различие между правильным и неправильным мышлением не входит в область исследования грамматики" (ibid.).
'It is clear that grammar by its subject matter cannot be in any dependence on logic as differences between correct and incorrect thinking are outside the domain of grammar'.

The scholar defines a psychological proposition:

"В словесном психологическом суждении известное слово или словосочетание как знак, существующий в языке, или объединяется с другим словом или словосочетанием как с другим знаком того же, или отделяется от другого слова или словосочетания, как не объединяющееся с ним по значению…" (ibid.).
'In a spoken psychological assertion, a known word or word group taken as a language sign either combines with another word or word group or disconnects from another word or word group as different from it in meaning'.

This definition shows that words or word groups as signs join together on the basis of meaning. Thus, the notion of the sign finds its representation in logic as well as in grammar:

"…слова в нашей речи непосредственно выражают, обнаруживают такие мысли, в состав которых входят представления тех же слов как знаков для мышления, то есть как знаков или того, о чем мы думаем, или того, что образуется в процессе мышления о тех или иных предметах мысли" (Fortunatov, 1957, p. 435).
Words in our speech directly express and disclose such thoughts that include concepts of the same words as signs of thinking or as signs of something we think about, or something that is formed in the process of thinking about these or those subjects'.

In the attitude to language education F. Fortunatov follows the principle of compul-

sory study of a native language in its spoken, written, and dialectal variety. He also highlights the role of old Slavonic and old Russian languages, as well as nonverbal language in the educational process.

Language as an Object of Study and Problems of Language Education in the Works of I.A. Baudouin de Courtenay

Ivan Aleksandrovich Baudouin de Courtenay (1845–1929), a prominent Russian and Polish linguist, was a founder of the Kazan School of Linguistics. Even though he incorporated psychology and sociology into linguistic studies and considered language to be *a mental-social phenomenon* 'психически-социальное явление', I. A. Baudouin de Courtenay did not deny the naturalistic essence of language, especially in his early works (Stekolshchikova, 2020b, pp. 458-482). He also raised the issues of teaching techniques, which we are going to address and analyze here.

In the book "Language and Languages" 'Язык и языки' Baudouin de Courtenay raises the issue of the origins of human language. He distinguishes the birth of an individual language and phylogenetic beginning in the development of human languages: *начало языка во всем человеческом роде* (Baudouin de Courtenay, 2018c, p. 170) 'the initial stage of language in humanity'. The conditions underlying the development of these two types of languages are different. Thus, individual language is inherited from ancestors in the form of "linguistic predisposition" and language skills that are activated under the influence of a lingual environment. This process demonstrates the connection between language and thinking, according to the scholar:

> *"Индивидуальный язык рождается и возникает вместе с мозгом, вместе с психикой каждого отдельного человека; хотя человек говорит не сразу, но он приносит с собой способность говорить, а затем, под влиянием окружающих происходит постепенное развитие и рост данного индивидуального языка" (ibid.).*
> 'Individual language is born together with the brain, together with an individual's psyche; though a human being does not start speaking at once, but he brings with him an ability to speak, and then under the influence of the people around him the development of this individual language takes place'.

Individual language develops along with the development of the mental activity of its speaker under the influence of social surroundings. These ideas contradict the opinion on the adherent nature of human language developed by Sreznevsky, but overlap with N. Chomsky's theory that appeared half a century later.

Prehistoric language did not have such conditions for development that individual languages had. Baudouin de Courtenay claims that the emergence of human speech implies the emergence of a human being:

> *"…русский язык в своей беспрерывной преемственности восходит к той отдаленной эпохе, когда лингвистические предки нынешних русских только начинали говорить, то есть с этой точки зрения становятся людьми" (ibid.).*
> 'The Russian language in its eternal continuity goes back to the distant epoch when the linguistic ancestors of contemporary Russians only started to speak or just became humans'.

In his work on language as an object of studies "Значение языка как предмета изучения" 'The Role of Language as a Subject of Study"' (1906), Baudouin de Courtenay repeats, though with some changes, the thoughts of M. Muller, who belongs to the naturalistic school. He claims that individual language exists only as a part of a human being and dies with every uttered word:

> *"Индивидуальный язык прекращает свое существование только со смертью индивида <…> Нет вовсе ни русского, ни немецкого, ни какого бы ни было*

национального или племенного языка. Существуют только индивидуальные языки…" (Baudouin de Courtenay, 2018a, p. 217).

Individual language ceases to exist only with the death of the individual <…> There are no national or tribal languages like Russian, German. There are only individual languages'.

This idea implies that there are no national languages as language is the property of an individual.

Baudouin de Courtenay studies only living languages. He also criticizes the system of education based on studying books, monuments, letters, symbols as elements of the temporary, instead of human thoughts, language, sounds as elements of the permanent:

"…мы изучаем преходящее вместо постоянного, бывшее вместо настоящего" (Baudouin de Courtenay, 2018a, p. 218).

'…we study the temporary instead of the permanent and the past instead of the present'.

This educational principle is called *annihilating* by the scholar, as instead of the current state of things they study grammar rules and somebody else's utterances that *litter the students' minds, inflicting stupidity and confusion* 'загрязняющими головы учеников, оглупляющими их и водворяющими в их умах неимоверную путаницу понятий…' (ibid.).

While working on some general issues of language studies "Некоторые из общих положений, к которым довели Бодуэна его наблюдения и исследования явлений языка" 'On basic points Baudouin made during his observations and studies of language phenomena' (1897) Baudouin de Courtenay claims that only the linguist who has thoroughly studied a living language can analyze a dead language. Thus, the study of living languages should precede the study of dead languages:

"Изучение языков живых должно предшествовать исследованию языков исчезнувших" (Baudouin de Courtenay, 2018b, p. 103).

'The study of living languages should precede the study of dead languages'.

The educational role of classical languages, according to the linguist, is nothing but of an inherited relic:

"…не что иное, как унаследованный из прошлого пережиток…" (Baudouin de Courtenay, 2018b, p. 221).

'…nothing but a leftover inherited from the past…',

while F. Fortunatov insists on the importance of studying ancient languages.

Moreover, Baudouin de Courtenay states that only one [native] language should be studied as it is spoken by students as well as teachers. There should not be another obligatory language studied in school:

"По-моему, с точки зрения здравой педагогики, в каждой школе должно быть признано обязательным как средство развития ума изучение одного только языка, то есть того языка, который ученики приносят с собой в школу и который вместе с тем должен быть преподавательским языком. Ни один другой язык не должен быть обязательным" (ibid.).

'In my opinion, from the point of view of sound pedagogy all schools should accept the study of only one language as a means of intellectual development, it should be the language that students bring with them to school, and it should be the language used by teachers. No other languages should be considered to be obligatory'.

In the aforementioned work on general conclusions in the area of language studies.

Baudouin de Courtenay articulates twenty-two statutes which he will refer to in his later works. Some of these statutes are stated in brief without any comments. For example, the first statement reads that '*there are no phonetic laws*' *Нет никаких фонетических законов* (Baudouin de Courtenay, 2018b, p. 102). Other ideas are more developed. We will mention those that deal with language education.

The sixth statement discloses the reason of language changes that make the process of teaching easier:

> *"Причиною, двигателем всех изменений языка является стремление к удобству, стремление к облегчению в трех областях языковой деятельности: в области произношения (фонации), в области слушания и восприятия (аудиции) и, наконец, в области языкового мышления (церебрации)" (ibid.).*
> 'Languages move in their development towards simplification in pronunciation (fonation), acoustic perception (listening skills), and in cerebration (using language for thinking processes)'.

We may see that Baudouin de Courtenay compares a linguist with a biologist (a distinctive feature of naturalism) in his eighteenth statement that once again highlights that living organisms [languages] should be given priority over the relics:

> *"Только биолог (зоолог и ботаник), изучивший всесторонне живой язык, может приступить к исследованию палеонтологических остатков. Только лингвист, изучивший всесторонне живой язык, может позволять себе сделать предположения об особенностях языков умерших" (Baudouin de Courtenay, 2018b, p. 103).*
> Only a biologist (zoologist and botanist) who has fully studied a living language can get down to studying the paleontological remains. Only a linguist who has fully studied a living language can let himself make assumptions about the peculiarities of dead languages'.

Thereby, the comparison used by A. Schleicher in which he compares a linguist (who is interested in the way language is built) with a botanist (Schleicher, 1869, p. 33) is accorded more attention in the work of Russian linguists.

An interesting idea is expressed in the nineteenth statement where Baudouin de Courtenay mentions Darwinian biologists, and associates the language development of a child with regressive development. If a human embryo linearly goes through all the changes undergone by the human species, then in language development we see the opposite phenomenon:

> *"Ребенок не повторяет вовсе в сокращении языкового развития целого племени, но, напротив того, ребенок захватывает в будущее, предсказывая особенностями своей речи будущее состояние племенного языка, и только впоследствии пятится, так сказать, назад, все более и более приноравливаясь к нормальному языку окружающих" (Baudouin de Courtenay, 2018b, p. 103).*
> 'A child does not reproduce the language experience of the whole tribe but, on the contrary, takes this language into the future predicting its development. Only afterwards he moves back by becoming more and more accustomed with the normal language used by people around'.

Language norms and standards are built over the primitive patterns of children's speech.

In his twentieth statement Baudouin de Courtenay assigns the leading role in the evolution of language to children:

> *"Толчки к существенным изменениям племенного языка даются главным образом в языке детей. Дети проявляют стремление к известным значительным изменениям произношения и морфологического строя языка" (Baudouin de Cour-*

tenay, 2018b, p. 104).

'The impulse towards significant language changes is mostly present in children's language. They strive to particular pronunciational and morphological changes'.

According to his words, children tend to change the language they speak, especially its pronunciation and morphology. M. Muller thinks that women are responsible for language changes:

"Но влияние женщин на язык в каждом поколении гораздо значительнее, чем влияние мужчин" (Muller, 1868, pp. 36–37).

'Women's influence on language in each generation is far stronger than men's influence'.

He demonstrates this with the example of India, where women's speech and the speech of house servants tends to displace Sanskrit (initially used only by monarchs, noblemen and clerics) at first by entering the domain of literary language and then replacing it completely (Muller, 1868, p. 37).

As a result, language as an object of study in the works of Baudouin de Courtenay is a complex and ambiguous phenomenon. The scholar proves the idea that there are no *national or tribal* languages, there are only *individual languages*. He also speaks against the study of ancient languages as well as foreign languages.

Conclusion

To conclude all the outlined ideas, we may say that even though problems of language education were not given priority in the studies of Russian linguists of the late 19th–early 20th centuries, however, they were substantially discussed in their works on linguistics. The ideas of learning foreign languages suggested by Sreznevsky, Fortunatov and Baudouin de Courtenay differ from the opinions that exist today (Ivanova and Tivyaeva, 2015). Now no one considers learning foreign languages to be useless for mental and cognitive development. But the opposite opinions shared by the linguists under discussion clearly demonstrate some established ideas characterizing Russian linguistic and educational traditions at the turn of the century. We find Sreznevsky's approach to dividing knowledge of language into internal (for oneself) and external (for others) to be extraordinary and original. The attitude towards textbooks in schools being unnecessary, that is found in works by Sreznevsky and Fortunatov, is debatable, as well as their view on the necessity of studying regional and local dialects, the history of the native language and ancient languages for young learners. The *evil nature* of *school grammar* pointed out by Baudouin de Courtenay is also open for discussion. At the same time, we should admit that their reasoning is rather convincing, and correlates with those data from related sciences that existed and were available back then. In this way, the views of Russian linguists of the late 19th–early 20th centuries on language education are characterized by consistency, and their research contributes to the Russian practice of teaching languages.

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Research Article

Russian language in the global educational context

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Abstract

The question of the status of language in the period of serious globalization shocks is one of the most significant in the system of scientific knowledge. Attitude to language in terms of international contacts demonstrates a change in views on the economic, political, social spheres of a state's life. The role of the Russian language as a translator of the worldview of Russian citizens and the policy of the Russian state is undergoing significant transformations today. The most obvious changes occur in the educational sphere. This article examines the leading trends in the field of both language education policy in general and particular aspects of changes in the teaching of the Russian language abroad– teaching the Russian language as a foreign language, a heritage language, a second language, non-native language, as a lingua franca, as a diaspora language, as a language of Internet communication. The author specifies the contemporary status of the Russian language as a language of international communication. Recommendations are formulated to improve the quality of teaching Russian to foreigners.

Keywords

Introduction

Contemporary language education policy is being developed in a sophisticated environment and difficult conditions, which are connected with the challenges caused by the collapse of globalization, total uncertainty, complications in international relations, rethinking the factors of the formation and consolidation of national identity. In these conditions, the renewal and broad discussion of priorities in the field of teaching foreign languages is becoming one of the urgent tasks for researchers, educators, academicians, and practical teachers.

What are the causes of the transformations, which at the moment change noticeably the format of teaching foreign languages? There are a number of factors here, the sequential enumeration of which allows us to determine the scale of the changes and the timing of their introduction into the educational space.

The first factor is *the collapse of the globalization vector of civilization.* In the manage-

ment aspect, the global regulators have already been exhausted, the models based on "bipolarity", "unipolarity" of the world, "global hierarchy" cease to work, new strategic schemes of polyarchical global governance and interaction have not yet been worked out, or have just entered the phase of primary approbation (Starostin, 2017). No less significant are the changes in the global vision of social, national, state and personal identity (Banks, 2017; Kiseleva, 2015). Socialization by the type of traditional society has become obsolete, it does not cope with the new challenges of socialization in modern society. We see the domination of the regulators of multi-unit and multi-level identity, which, rather, disorients social groups and individuals, does not create long-term prospects for personal and social development. Thus, images of a new value-oriented strategy are being outlined, which should be an alternative to the globalization model, and this alternative strategy will entail a sharp change in the prevailing priorities in various areas, including education in general, and foreign language education in particular.

The second factor which poses new challenges for foreign language education is connected with the *virtualization of space* – a symbol of the information society. An individual strives for virtual communication, for access to information resources. Computerization, and as a consequence, informatization, influencing human thought, culture, life, become new objects of study, application and use, they embrace all spheres and processes of communicative interactions, which makes it possible to reach an entirely different system – a system of socio-cultural augmented reality (Akçayır and Akçayır, 2017). The format of interaction between subjects, their integration into a cultural space is changing. What is required is to modernize the process of teaching how to apply the instruments of "digital" interaction and "virtual" integration, namely, a foreign language as one of such effective tools. This has a direct effect on the changes in linguistic education practices (Tareva, 2015).

The third factor which determines the inevitability of changes in the sphere of teaching foreign languages is determined *by the networking of the modern world and the relations regulating it*. The theory of the network society (Castells, 2003), has emerged and developed dynamically, integrating with various scientific environments, ideally to unite the processes of globalization, integration and unification, on the one hand, and the processes of fragmentation, disintegration and isolation on the other. In reality, network time leads to the weakening of national states, to the strengthening of the role of supranational governing bodies (superglobalization), to the strengthening of the role of media that are capable of positively and negatively affecting the individual in the network space and network interaction (Hassan, 2017). These trends indicate the ambiguity of modern processes of interpersonal integration, the complication of communication processes, the increased possibility of conflicts at interpersonal and intercultural levels. These consequences affect the educational situation in general, predetermining the changes at the level of teaching foreign languages and the teacher of foreign languages

"A good foreign language teacher is expected to possess knowledge in the target language and culture as well as knowledge in educational science (pedagogy, psychology), which enables him/her to organize the class well, to motivate, present, explain and clarify the material in a comprehensible way" (Drakulić, 2020).

The fourth factor is connected with the strengthening of *the policy of "soft power"*, which in the educational sphere implies the demonstration by the state of its cultural, didactic, and moral values, which are attractive from the point of view of representatives of other countries (Kiseleva, 2015; Sergunin and Karabeshkin, 2015). Here we speak about the "export" of education. As an example of such educational ideological expansion we can see the spread of the dominant foreign language (today, as generally recognized, the English language), which translates (sometimes implants) cultural values and itself, in

fact, is the value (Tareva, 2016). In the process of competition, those languages that have long been in demand in the educational space of various geographical areas lose their positions.

The emergence and strengthening of these factors leads to significant changes in the global language education policy. Conditions are created for academic mobility, which demonstrates the triumph of internationalization and integration in the educational environment, the establishment of global educational standards. There is a convergence of national educational systems, leading to transnational education, satisfying the needs of individuals in overcoming tourist, cultural, academic, scientific and other borders. In this sense, the European Union is a good example of the search for new formats of international cooperation that can make European universities more competitive in the twenty-first century. The European Universities Initiative promoted by the EU is a good example of a commitment to internationalisation that seeks to create "networks of universities across the EU which will enable students to obtain a degree by combining studies in several EU countries and contribute to the international competitiveness of European universities" (data of 2017: https://ec.europa.eu/education/education-in-the-eu/european-education-area/european-universities-initiative_en).

Simultaneously with positive trends in modern educational policy, a whole range of risks is outlined, among which one of the most notable is the change in the disposition of foreign languages as objects of mastery. In general, foreign language education has entered a period of severe competition for leadership in the global system of teaching foreign languages (Pietikainen et al., 2016). And this struggle is fiercer with the more obvious the desire to use education as an effective instrument of influence, as a means of increasing the economic and political prestige of the state. An example of victories and defeats in this "battlefield" is the statistics of how many foreign students are studying outside their homeland. The EU countries account for 40% of the total number of foreign students, 28% study in the USA, 7% in Australia and China, 5% in Russia (data of 2015 – https://www.unipage.net/en/student_statistics).

Data and methods

In connection with what has been said, it becomes necessary to identify the status of the Russian language, which is in a state of the re-confirmation of its status in the language "palette". New trends have actively influenced the change in its role and functions in the world community. The variety of the conditions for its functioning and the contexts of its existence must be identified, taking into account the prevailing geopolitical, social, economic and educational dominants.

The aim of this study is to examine the latest functions of the Russian language as a language of international communication, to clarify its current status and the role it plays in the context of interaction between different cultures.

The research questions are: What are the changes in the functioning of the Russian language as a language of international communication in the modern multicultural and multilingual world? What functions does the Russian language perform in the context of international interaction? What conclusions and regulations should be taken into account to improve the quality of teaching Russian to foreign students?

The Russian language is one of the languages whose status has been seriously transformed. In recent years, it has occupied a comparatively more modest place in the contemporary global language space than during the Soviet period, when the Russian language united numerous ethnic groups, serving as the main means of interethnic communication and familiarizing many nations with the latest achievements of science, culture, and technology. The status of the Russian language has changed due to the geopolitical upheavals of the last thirty years. It continues to change in the present day, responding to contempo-

rary needs.

Indicative changes in the status of the Russian language can be traced in the statistical calculations of *the Direction de l'évaluation, de la prospective et de la performance* (DEPP) of the Ministry of Education and Science of France (Repères et références statistiques, 2017). According to the data from September 2016, the English language is the leader in the category "*the first foreign language*": 95.4% of all students study it, 96.1% of whom attend private educational institutions and 95.3% study in state schools. The German language has been chosen by 3.4% of schoolchildren; other languages are studied by one student out of 100. The situation is different in the category "*the second foreign language*", the compulsory study of which was introduced in 2016. Among the second foreign languages, Spanish is the leader (72.2% of students). The second place is given to the German language, the position of which is getting stronger (15.9% in 2016 against 14.6% in 2015). In this category, Russian is practically not represented, it can be referred to the group "other languages" (ibid.), which only accounts for 1.4% of the total number of students learning foreign languages. The category "*the third foreign language*" refers only to 6.8% of schoolchildren; among them the most popular are Italian and Spanish. Then in descending order are Chinese (16.3%), Russian (5.7%), Portuguese (3.8%), German (2%). In general, in high school education the Russian language occupies an unstable eighth place with a modest 0.2% of students. The highest percentage of students studying the Russian language is in Corsica (14.3%), in other regions the percentage is incomparably lower: in the French overseas department of Reunion it is 4.9%, in the central region of Ile-de-France it is 4.4%, and in the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region it is 2.3%.

In an interview given in 2010 to the electronic educational magazine VOUS-NOUSILS, the President of the French Association of Russophones Philippe Comte noted that in the previous twenty years the study of the Russian language in France has decreased by 50%. Nevertheless, in P. Comte's opinion, France is one of the few Western European countries where the Russian language is still taught in high school and where the high quality of the Russian language teachers is preserved (*un des rares pays d'Europe occidentale à avoir gardé le russe dans le secondaire et il y a une très grande qualité du corps professoral*) (Enseignement du russe, 2010).

It is noteworthy that the interest in the Russian language is preserved in universities: from universities in France, 22 offer a program of training specialists in the Russian language and literature. In 2010, there were only 260 Russian teachers in France with the degree of agrégation or who passed the CAPES certification tests, which gives them the right to teach in a secondary school (ibid.). At the moment, there is a tendency to reduce vacancies for teachers of the Russian language. In 2017, only 4 vacant seats were offered for the CAPES certification test in the Russian language (Concours de recrutement, 2018).

The analysis of the changes that are taking place in the field of teaching Russian as a foreign language in European countries shows that today there have been significant changes in this area. In addition to objective political and economic reasons (in this article the author does not analyze these reasons), new trends emerged that can be considered as encouraging. These trends indicate that the Russian language abroad "reformats" the educational space of its existence in accordance with the new needs of potential customers. The vector of changes in this area can be briefly described as follows: from the predominance of *abstract humanitarian motives* for studying Russian as a language of high literature and culture, to the triumph of the utilitarian and professional interests of students; the latter relate the knowledge of the Russian language not so much to spiritual enrichment and the possibility of emotional development, but to existencial well-being, since this language can act as an effective tool in business, production, technology, tourism and science. Hence the interest in commodification – the transformation of language

into a commodity (Medway and Warnaby, 2014). This is an explanation for the paradox formulated by Yu. E. Prokhorov: The Russian language in terms of its number of students has "declined". But according to the number of those using it in communication it "has grown up" and continues to "grow" (Prokhorov, 2009). Nowadays, when in many countries there are significant diasporas of Russian language native speakers, its role as a language of co-existence in another culture is becoming more and more real and significant. One of the most striking examples is the recent discussion of the inclusion of the Russian language as a working language in the activities of the European community, in which Russia is not a member country. The presence of significant diasporas in many countries requires the availability of certain structures that can interact with native speakers of this language. Naturally, these structures use the language of the host country, but taking into account the national and cultural specifics of the diaspora requires proficiency and knowledge of this language and this culture. Co-existence in the global economic space requires the presence of specialists in the field of business communication with good knowledge of the Russian language. And the pragmatic needs of employers stimulate the teaching of Russian as a foreign language (Prokhorov, 2017).

In connection with the existing objective circumstances, it is quite obvious that the Russian language as an object of study by foreigners has changed the educational environment of its application: it was significantly reduced at the school level (we mentioned that above), but proportionally strengthened its positions in higher educational institutions, especially on non-linguistic, non-philological courses. According to a number of statistical studies, nowadays in European countries there is a specific wave of interest in the study of the Russian language, more and more students choose it as a second foreign language. 28,5 thousand students study Russian in the universities of Western Europe. In this status, the Russian language is more confident in positioning itself in the group of "market languages", "marketing languages". Employees of European firms engaged in trade must master these languages in order to understand the psychological strategy of the business partner and to achieve success in interaction. Judging by the latest data, Western firms (especially German firms), when dealing with Russian companies, more often use Russian than English, and attribute this to one of the ways for successful negotiations with Russian partners (Bilyalova and Nikiforova, 2017).

Study and Results

Changes in the status of the Russian language in the educational space of Europe and the whole world makes us think about the variety of options for teaching it: *Russian as a foreign language* is a term that weakly reflects the contemporary reality, it requires its specification, adaptation to the conditions of today's educational language policy. The feasibility analysis of implementing strategies for teaching the Russian language in the higher educational system and beyond has shown that at the moment the following variants of the Russian language as an object of teaching/acquisition can be identified and described:

Russian as a foreign language

This option involves the implementation of a traditional strategy for teaching the Russian language, according to which:

a) language training is usually conducted in Russia, the country of the language being studied; the training may be effective in this case due to the natural language environment (real and/or virtual) which surrounds the individual (Bourina and Dunaeva, 2018);

b) the leading motive is the practical goal of learning, which involves not teaching language as a system, but teaching with the help of language how to solve practical problems; in this sense, when teaching Russian as a foreign language, we feel a withdrawal (abandonment) from the perception of ideals in favour of goals-achievements;

c) learning is reduced to acquiring new ways of expressing thoughts;

d) language training is conducted on the basis of the principle of consciousness, activation of the corresponding cognitive processes of students, stimulating the strength and longevity of the development of speech habits and skills;

e) in education, the principle of minimizing the content of learning plays a dominant role, while maintaining the sufficiency requirements for communication.

Russian as a non-native language

In this case, the Russian language acts as a means of interethnic communication between the peoples of Russia, as well as migrants. This option is distinguished by the following features:

a) the study of the Russian language as a non-native begins in the secondary school in conditions of educational bilingualism;

b) native and Russian languages are studied in parallel (as a rule) in conditions of their coexistence in the surrounding language environment of the learner;

c) there are conditions for such language environment (see above);

d) there is a positive influence of the native language on the acquisition of the Russian language, and the negative influence of the first on the second (interference);

e) the teaching of the Russian language is conducted in a multicultural educational environment, with multicultural specificity.

Russian as a second language

In this situation the following variant of teaching the Russian language is applied:

a) it is studied after the native language;

b) it can be learned after the first foreign language; in this case, Russian becomes the second foreign language (the prevalence and popularity of this variant of teaching we described above);

c) it relies on the experience of acquiring the native and/or the first foreign language;

d) it can be taught both in the natural language environment (in Russia) and abroad.

Russian language in the situation of bilingualism

This is studying two languages at the same time (Poarch and Bialystok, 2015). This situation is characterized by the following features:

a) a bilingual is able to alternately use both languages depending on communicative intent and on the conditions of the situation;

b) conditions are created for the dominance of one of the languages - one that ensures the greatest social success;

c) bilingualism positively affects the development of mental mechanisms and cognitive processes of a child due to the actualization of compensatory ability, the ability to switch from one language to another, the availability of general educational skills (Edele et al., 2018);

d) in the process of targeted learning, a transition from unconscious to realized bilingualism can be realized;

e) both languages are fully-fledged instruments of a dialogue of cultures, when both cultures are equal for a person who speaks two languages and embodies both cultures.

The Russian language as a heritage language ("home language", "family language")

This variant is associated with the use of the Russian language in the families of the second generation of emigrants (Eriksson, 2015). According to statistics in the US alone, there are about 800,000 Russian immigrants. In this case, we cannot speak about the bilingual basis of acquiring the Russian language (in this case, a balance of languages would be

assumed) and about acquiring the Russian language as a native language when this language is the only one. We are talking about "unstable bilinguals" (Dubinina and Polinsky, 2013; Isurin and Ivanova-Sullivan, 2008; Polinsky and Scontras, 2020); that is, people who inherited the Russian language – those who, in the presence of initially a (in childhood) bilingual environment, later, under the influence of factors of domination of another language and culture, lose the features of bilinguals (Bermel and Kagan, 2000; Makarova et al., 2017).

It is noteworthy that the language is not forgotten at all. It is noted that more and more students of universities that have grown up in Russian families express a desire to learn Russian and improve their skills (ibid.). A direct consequence of the interest of immigrants in their family language is that an increasing number of such emigrants are enrolled in Russian language courses at universities, and as a result, an increasing number of universities create courses "Russian for Russians". A textbook for such students has already been issued (Kagan et al., 2002), and their presence in the classroom forces the teachers to radically change the traditional methods of teaching Russian as a foreign language. This is because these false bilinguals need to be taught according to their needs, and since they have deficiencies in the use of the language whose correction requires a detailed analysis.

The situation when Russian is a heritage language has a number of features:

a) the level of language proficiency of a bilingual heritage speaker is very low – mainly the language covers the areas of routine, everyday communicative functions;

b) those who speak the Russian family language experience difficulties both in generating speech and in understanding; This difficulty is even greater when it comes to the written language (Bermel and Kagan, 2000);

c) the availability of the initial base (perhaps even unconscious) ensures overcoming certain difficulties, and removes the abundance of obstacles that are common for those who did not speak Russian (Nagy, 2018);

d) the availability of the background simultaneously imposes additional obligations on the students because bilingual heritage speakers are expected (and they themselves expect) to achieve better results, they are supposed to understand more and to be able to say more; the probability of the effect of unfulfilled expectations and hopes is likely to be high, which can reduce motivation;

e) there is a need to search for ways of revival and development of the extinct linguistic ability of the emigrant.

The Russian language as the language of the diaspora

This variant of studying the Russian language and/or its improvement has obvious distinctive features. In particular, they include the following:

a) the Russian language in such a way of life is not a "sterile" tourist language, it becomes an instrument for the existence and development of culture; hence the attention to the cultural and/or socio-cultural aspect of teaching the Russian language;

b) the learner has special conditions for self-identification in a small community (for example through the Russian-language Cyberspace, for example (Yin, 2013));

c) in a diaspora, if there are similarities in the picture of the world, there may be (and very often are) significant differences in cultural attitudes, which should be taken into account when organizing teaching.

The Russian language as a lingua franca

The Russian language plays the role of a lingua franca in the post-Soviet space. In addition, according to some data, in this status, Russian is used (along with English) in 20 countries (for example, in Finland, Turkey, Montenegro, Cyprus), being the most popular among Russians in the tourist sense. Such a functional orientation of teaching the Russian

language requires a special educational context aimed at:

a) a significant change in traditional methods, textbooks, teaching materials in terms of abandoning the rigid normalization of the linguistic phenomena used, maximizing the principle of approximation (approximation to the norm) in pronunciation, tolerance of mistakes that do not complicate understanding, etc. (Ivanova-Sullivan, 2014);

b) creation of on-line courses, platforms, electronic manuals, mobile applications for teaching the Russian language as a lingua franca;

c) teaching practical skills in combination with understanding of the enchanting, captivating and multifaceted world of the Russian language, modern Russian culture and Russian humour (Pavlenko, 2016).

The Russian language as the language of the Internet

As of May 1, 2015, Russian-language content ranked second after the English language (w3techs.com). At the first stage of development of the Web network (Web 1.0), the use of Russian in Internet communication makes it possible to recognize that the materials placed on official Internet resources are targeted, in particular, for Russian-speaking readers. The second stage of the development of the Web environment indicates that Russian-speaking users are regarded as active communication partners (feedback forms, forums, blogs, Web 2.0). Finally, the introduction of rating services in Russian indicates a further increase in the communicative status of Russian-speaking participants in content ranking (polls, voting, Web 3.0) (Butorina, 2016). Nowadays we witness close cooperation between Russia and China in the sphere of the protection of sovereignty in opposition to perceived technological and governance hegemony of the United States (Budnitsky and Jia, 2018). Russian as the language of the Internet is used in all post-Soviet countries; basically these are sites related to business, finance and mass communication.

In this version, the method of teaching the Russian language as an object of study and acquisition is in need of:

a) interdisciplinary description of the features of the Russian-language Internet discourse, including difficulties in gaining competence in these features;

b) determining the degree of normality of the Russian language as the language of Internet communication, analyzing Internet jargon;

c) identification of specific parameters of speech skills that ensure the effectiveness of Internet communication in Russian;

d) didactic structuring of the virtual Russian-speaking environment.

Conclusion

The variants presented above prove the diversity of the utilitarian and functional status of the Russian language as an object of study and language acquisition by foreign students. These variants exist due to changes at the level of language education policy and, in general, the major globalization transformations that humanity has encountered. Given such diversity, new challenges arise for linguodidactics, and these challenges are difficult to handle. Teaching the Russian language to foreigners cannot be realized by obsolete "patterns", using traditional components of the classical system of teaching Russian as a foreign language. Each of the described options requires special attention and a new kind of didactical strategy. Apparently, it is time to talk about the official diversification of the types of the Russian language for teaching foreign citizens and, accordingly, about the development of a special technology for each case.

From these positions, there are many issues that need to be resolved in the short term. For example: *What are the linguistic and didactical parameters of each of the variants of the Russian language? How to optimize the content of teaching in view of the utilitarian and professional needs of students? What should a Russian textbook for special purposes be like? How to test*

the communicative competence of students in the presence of a wide variety of their interests and motives? What is the format of the Russian language for academic purposes, is there a need for it and how to respond to it? What is the potential of new educational technologies in relation to each of the variants of the Russian language as an object of study? There are no simple answers to these questions. We believe that it is necessary to organize discussion at the level of a highly professional academic community with the aim of improving the quality of teaching Russian for foreigners, expanding its popularity in different regions and social contexts, and at the same time increasing the attractiveness of the Russian Word and Russian Culture.

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Research Article

Cultural conditionality of stability of same frame scenario binomial phrases in Russian and English

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the variability of a binomial phrase structure correlates with the cultural specificity of the perception of the situation. It has been hypothesized that binomial phrases, such as patience and labour / labour and patience, can be viewed as a relator structure in which cognitive focusing is realized on the basis of such principles as the iconic order of words (positioning of the element of the structure) and distance of the structure elements from each other. The first component of the phrase bears the dominant concept specific to a particular culture. The low variability of the structure indicates that the cognitive focus in this phrase is stable, which means it has categorical values for this linguistic culture. A linguistic experiment based on the corpus-driven approach employing Google yielded the following results: in binomial phrases, comprising nouns of the same frame scenario, dominant and low-dominant concepts generally coincide in two languages, which may be due to the common information space of these abstract concepts; changes in cognitive focus specify cultural perception of these binomial pairs.

Keywords

A binomial phrase, frame scenario, cultural specificity, linguistic experiment, Google

Introduction

Cultural linguistic connections have long been in the focus of linguists' attention, since the ambiguity and variability of these connections is so great that it allows us to interpret language as an element, a part, a fact, a factor, a form, a source, a guardian, a monument, a translator, a condition for the existence of culture. One of the aspects of such connections deals with the relationship between syntax and culture, the study of which was pioneered by Frans Boas who considered that grammar dentifies and classifies various aspects of experience and studies their expression in language. Moreover, it performs another important function: it determines which aspects of a particular experience should be expressed (Jacobson, 1971).

The linguistic representation of reality and modelling of mental processes in the linguistic consciousness is the research field of modern cognitive linguistics, which investigates the process of conceptualization. In this regard, there is a broad study of concepts, which makes it possible to identify categorization specifics when representing real-life objects and processes in the speaker's mind (Baryshnikov, 2014; Boldyrev, 2018; Juilland and Roceric, 2019; Kemmerer, 2019).

The cognitive approach is also applied to the analysis of syntactic structures allowing for investigations into the nature of perception and cognition, and for studying the

relationship between cognitive processes and syntactic structures in the data of different languages. In this respect, researchers have attempted to determine the cognitive mechanisms underlying the production of sentences (Bloch et al., 2009; Boldyrev and Furs, 2004; Furs, 2013; Givon, 1985; Langacker, 1987, 1990, 1991). There are also studies of syntactic concepts (Kazarina, 2008) and syntactic communication (Davydova, 2006; Seagal, 2005). However, little research to date has examined how a phrase structure and its variability are related to the process of conceptualization in different cultures. This paper aims to address this question.

This study establishes how the diversity of the structure's form or its variability correlates with perception specifics in different cultural settings when the same situations are analyzed. A binomial phrase such as *patience and labour* and *labour and patience* acts as a language structure demonstrating the ability to vary. Such structures are considered to be relator structure, built on the basis of the relator (R) which is defined as a linguistic unit "having in its semantic-syntactic structure two syntagmatic slots, or relata (r), and establishing certain semantic-syntactic relations between them" (Langendonck, 2012, p. 410).

In other words, the relator structure is a complex linguistic sign comprising two predicative elements and implemented as a certain scheme, such as: r1–R–r2: *good* (r1) *and* (R) *evil* (r2). A detailed description of relator structures and their types is available in (Petrova, 2020).

Binomials such as e.g. *duty* and *responsibility* are treated as coordinative relator structures in which the relator (R), in the form of the conjunction and, coordinates positioning of the relata (r1, r2) expressed by concepts, which constitute the same frame scenario. Research on the variability of such phrases will make it possible to determine the preferable specificity in the word order of binomials. Word order transformation of a binomial phrase is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Cognitive structure of a binomial phrase

Phrase structure variant	Relatum 1	Relator	Relatum 2
Phrase 1	Concept 1		Concept 2
		and	
Phrase 2	Concept 2		Concept 1

The subject of the study is the stability of the relator structure, which correlates with the specific word order typical for a language culture. The stability of the relator structure is investigated by considering the variability of the cognitive focus in such structures. The cognitive focus in this study is understood as fixing the speaker's attention on an aspect of reality that is relevant to him / her, which is reflected in the structural organization of the elements of the utterance: in the case of the relator structure, the regulation of attention focusing is implemented on the basis of such principles as the iconic order of words (positioning of the element of the structure) and distance of phrase elements from each other (Petrova, 2020). It is hypothesized that the low variability of the structure indicates that the cognitive focus in this phrase is stable, which means it has categorical values for the given linguistic culture.

Thus, the purpose of this paper is to investigate the stability of binomial pairs placed in one frame scenario in Russian and English and determine which relatum occupies a more stable position in the cognitive focus in two languages. The aforementioned goal was achieved via a number of stages: establishing how variable the binomial phrases are; verifying if there is any change of cognitive focus in two languages with the stable relator structures of the same frame scenario; identifying the connection between the cognitive focus of the phrase and the speakers' preferences for a certain linguistic culture.

Data and methods

Our study's design required following a sequence of research procedures: 1) compiling a list of nominal binomials of the same frame scenario; 2) conducting a linguistic experiment aimed at identifying variability of the binomial structure; 3) comparing binomial pairs of two languages on the scale from the least stable to the most variable.

The Russian Comparative Associative Dictionary (Cherkasova, 2008) was used to form an experimental sample, which reflects the associative-verbal model of the language consciousness of Russians. Concepts expressed by abstract nouns were selected, which showed a significant number of associations. Nine nouns were selected. These nouns were combined into binomial pairs according to the following frame scenarios:

"human labour activity" (patience and labour),

"issues of social relations" (duty and responsibility, rights and duties, accounting and control),

"feelings" (kindness and generosity, love and sex),

"entertainment" (travel and adventures).

The generation of binomial phrases was carried out considering the data of the "Frequency dictionary of the modern Russian language (based on the materials of the National Corpus of the Russian Language)" (Lyashevskaya and Sharov, 2009). This approach allowed us to form the following models of the relator structure of the binomial pair, which in this paper we call **Phrase 1** and **Phrase 2**.

The structure of Phrase 1: *relatum 1 and relatum 2,* where relatum 1, due to the primacy of positioning, fixes the cognitive focus and sets the range of consideration of the situation, and relatum 2 expands the description of this frame scenario, for example, *patience and work* and *patience and perseverance.* Relatum 1 *patience* indicates labour activity and can be included in the *"labour activity"* scenario, whereas relatum 2 *work* or *perseverance* demonstrates the specificity aspect of the frame scenario. **The transformation of this phrase looks like this Phrase 2:** *relatum 2 and relatum 1,* where the position of primacy and cognitive focus is occupied by the concept that performed the function of expansion in Phrase 1. Thus, the essence of the linguistic experiment is to change the positioning of the relata. Position 1 indicates the cognitive focus of the structure and the relatum occupying this position is dominant in the structure. We designate the prior positioning of the relatum in the structure as Phrase 1 and the modified positioning of the relatum in the structure as Phrase 2.

The experimental study of structure variability was carried out on the basis of search queries in Google, which proved to be a reliable source in cognitive and linguacultural corpus studies (Kilgariff 2001; Petrova, 2019b; Souleimanova and Demchenko, 2018). The search engine query was limited by filters ("exact order of elements" and "text in pdf format") to obtain the number of occurrences of competing structures in the form of a text. The obtained data were entered in Table 2 and subjected to mathematical analysis, establishing the difference in the variability of the phrase to identify which of the selected phrases showed stability in the cognitive space of the language data.

To demonstrate this, an example of a binomial included in the frame scenario "human well-being" is used. In Russian, the Phrase 1 *красота и здоровье* (*beauty and health)* has 36,000 occurrences, while Phrase 2 *здоровье и красота* (*health and beauty)* has 21,700 occurrences. These data suggest that, although the relatum *beauty* dominates in this binomial, the importance of the relatum *health* is also high. One can state that the cognitive variability in this case is high, since the percentage ratio of Phrase 1 *beauty and health* and Phrase 2 *health and beauty* is 60.3%. English language data: Phrase 1 *beauty and health* 960,000 and Phrase 2 *health and beauty* 222,000 – show that the relatum *health* dominates in

this pair. Phrase 2 is more stable in English, and the percentage ratio is lower compared to the indicators in Russian: 43.2%. This suggests that there is a change in cognitive focus in the two languages, namely: although relata are variable in Russian, the relatum *beauty* prevails, whereas in English the variability of the relatum is less and preference is given to the relatum *health*. Thus, the analysis of this relational structure allows us to identify features that implement components of the frame script in different languages.

Study and Results

Table 2 presents data on binomials reflecting different frame scenarios, in particular: *"human labour activity" (patience and labour), "issues of social relations" (duty and responsibility, rights and duties, accounting and control), "feelings" (kindness and generosity, love and sex), "entertainment" (travel and adventures)*, etc.

Table 2. Number of Google occurrences and variability percentage of the relator structure

Phrase 1	Number of Google occurrences	Phrase 2	Number of Google occurrences	Phrases 1 and 2 (%)	Variability difference of Phrases 1/2 in Russian and English
1	2	3	4	5	6
терпение и труд	15400	*труд и терпение*	10600	68,8%	11,7
patience and work	634000	*work and patience*	511000	80,5%	
долг и обязанность	10600	*обязанность и долг*	1600	15,1%	26
duty and responsibility	467000	*responsibility and duty*	192000	41,1%	
права и обязанности	1330000	*обязанности и права*	134000	10,1%	5,9
rights and responsibilities	18300000	*responsibilities and rights*	768000	4,2%	
учет и контроль	160000	*контроль и учет*	116000	72,5%	17,1
accounting and control	7690000	*control and accounting*	4260000	55,4%	
красота и здоровье	36000	*здоровье и красота*	21700	60,3%	17,1
health and beauty	2220000	*beauty and health*	960000	43,2%	
путешествия и приключения	3110	*приключения и путешествия*	1840	59,2%	54
travel and adventure	1620000	*adventure and travel*	83800	5,2%	
таланты и поклонники	11300	*поклонники и таланты*	1	8,8%	11,1
talents and fans	15100	*fans and talents*	3	19,9%	
доброта и щедрость	1790	*щедрость и доброта*	1010	56,4%	22,1
kindness and generosity	198000	*generosity and kindness*	67900	34,3%	
любовь и секс	6670	*секс и любовь*	5000	75,0%	13,8
sex and love	516000	*love and sex*	458000	88,8%	

The data show the average variability percentage of relation structures calculated as the ratio of the number of Phrase 2 occurrences in relation to Phrase 1: Russian – 47.1%, English – 82.5%. Fig. 1 below shows the ratio of the transformed phrases in both languages.

Fig. 1. Average percentage of occurrences of the r1-R-r2 structure in nominal binomials of one frame scenario (abstract concepts)
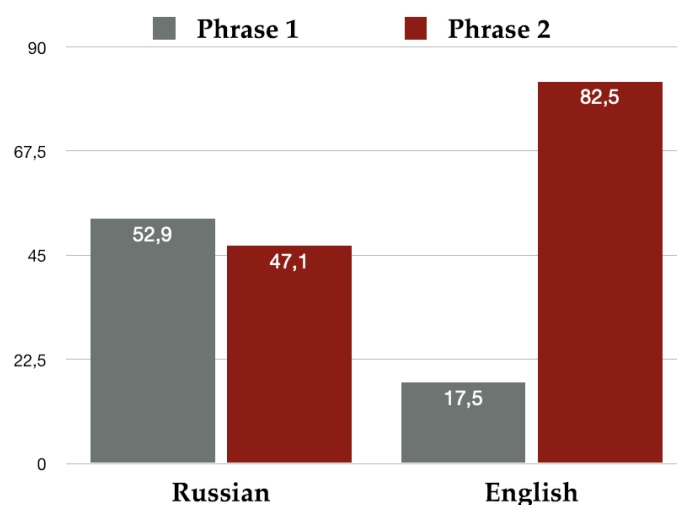
Discussion

The results obtained show that binomials of the same scenario are much more stable in Russian than in English. The variability of the position of relata in English reflects the significant dynamics of cognitive focus. Moreover, there is a change in cognitive focus in several pairs: for example, *beauty and health* (Table 2), where English-language data showed priority positioning of *health*, and Russian-speaking data showed *beauty*. We can also observe the discrepancy of priority ideas illustrated by the structure *love and sex*. Although the variability of the binomial in both languages is quite high, we see that the positioning of the elements does not coincide: in the English phrase *sex* occupies the dominant position as compared to *love*.

Experimental data indicate that abstract concepts included in the relator structure are characterized by rigidity in Russian, whereas in English they are dynamic. Accordingly, the variability of the cognitive focus of such structures in English is higher. At the same time, in binomials associated with the frame scenarios *"human well-being"* and *"feelings"*, there is a change in cognitive focus.

Data on the number of occurrences of Phrase 1 and Phrase 2 allowed us to distribute the obtained material according to the degree of variation of the binomial and compare the structures by the percentage of variation. The results of this comparison are shown in Table 3.

In the course of the study, nine positions were identified, the highest of which are occupied by structures that demonstrate a high variability in cognitive focus; the lowest positions are occupied by the most stable structures. Russian and English demonstrate the maximum variability in the phrase *love and sex*: Russian – 77%, English – 88.8%. This indicates a high variability of cognitive focus, and in this case, its change is observed. Thus, in the Russian-language material, the dominant structure is Phrase 1, whereas in the English-language material it is Phrase 2, which clearly indicates the priority of different concepts: in Russian it is the concept of *love*, in English it is the concept of *sex*.

Table 3. Russian and English phrases by the percentage of variation

Variability degree of cognitive focus (scale 1–6)	Phrase 1 and Phrase 2 (*Russian*)	Structure variability (%)	Phrase 1 and Phrase 2 (*English*)	Structure variability (%)	Variability difference of Russian/English phrases
1	2	3	4	5	*6*
1.	любовь и секс/ секс и любовь	75,00%	sex and love/ love and sex	88,80%	13,8
2.	учет и контроль/ контроль и учет	72,50%	patience and work/ work and patience	80,50%	8
3.	терпение и труд/ труд и терпение	68,80%	accounting and control/ control and accounting	55,40%	13,4
4.	красота и здоровье/ здоровье и красота	60,30%	health and beauty/ beauty and health	43,20%	17,1
5.	путешествия и приключения/ приключения и путешествия	59,20%	duty and responsibility/ responsibility and duty	41,10%	18,1
6.	доброта и щедрость/ щедрость и доброта	56,40%	kindness and generosity/ generosity and kindness	34,30%	22,1
7.	долг и обязанность/ обязанность и долг	15,10%	talents and fans/ fans and talents	19,90%	4,8
8.	права и обязанности/ обязанности и права	10,10%	travel and adventure/ adventure and travel	5,20%	4,9
9.	таланты и поклонники/ поклонники и таланты	8,80%	rights and responsibilities/ responsibilities and rights	4,20%	4,6

Positions 2 and 3, which reflect a high degree of variability of cognitive focus, are occupied by pairs correlated in two languages: *accounting and control* (Russian position 2, English position 3) and *patience and work* (Russian position 3, English position 2).

Position 4 reflects the change in cognitive focus in the binomial: in Russian, Phrase 1 *beauty and health* has more realizations, whereas in English, Phrase 2 *health and beauty* does. Position 6 shows the identity of the degree of variation of the phrase in both languages.

The minimal variability of the cognitive focus and stability of structure in Russian was demonstrated by the pair of *talents and fans* (8.8%, position 9), while in English this was *rights and responsibilities* (4.2%, position 9). The phrase *rights and obligations* occupied position 8 in Russian (10.1%), while in English it was *travel and adventure* (5.2%). Position 7 in Russian belongs to binomial *duty and responsibility* (15.1%), while in English it is *talents and fans* (19.9%). The result indicates that relatum 2 *responsibilities* has a stable position in both languages, while in Russian the most stable pairs are those that include this relatum.

A comparison of the three most stable structures within the experimental material allows us to conclude that the dominant concepts in both languages are as follows: in Russian *talents, rights, duty*, in English *rights, travel, talents*. The coincidence of two stable concepts indicates the proximity of conceptualization processes at this level.

Conclusion

The obtained results are in line with the study's hypothesis that the stability of the binomial phrase is connected with the speaker's preferences in conceptualization determined by the cultural perception of the situation. Structures with a high variability of cognitive focus show the low stability of the conceptual noun in the binomial, which marks the relatively low dominance of this concept in the linguoculture. The three most variable phrases in both languages show that the lowest dominant concepts in both languages are as follows: in Russian it is *love, accounting, patience*, in English it is *sex, patience, accounting*. In this case, a coincidence of two concepts (*accounting* and *patience*) is observed and a change in cognitive focus takes place. We also note the complete coincidence of the significant concept of *kindness* in both languages. Thus, a comparative analysis shows that dominant and low-dominant concepts generally coincide in two languages, which may be due to an almost unified information space in which these abstract concepts are implemented.

These findings are consistent with previous research (Petrova, 2019a; Petrova, 2020; Souleimanova and Demchenko, 2018; Suleimanova and Petrova, 2020), which states that there is a clear correlation between cultural conditionality and variability of the word order in a phrase. The emergence of advances in Big Data analysis allowed us to conduct cross-cultural studies which combine the linguistic and cognitive approaches to research in a cultural specificity.

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Research Article

The proper name: a Precarious stability

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Abstract

Fundamentally, the true function of a proper name is to stand for a unique entity, such as the White House, in Washington, a name allowed to take on a capital letter when it was attributed to the residence of the President of the United States. But in 1792, it was only a white-painted house, not different from other white houses in the country. As a matter of fact, if you try to go into the status of the proper name, you soon understand that its main characteristic is to be unsteady: a proper name may start being a common name, and then becoming a proper name, as above, but it may as well follow the other way round, from being at first a proper name. For example, Sandwich was the family name of Lord Sandwich, who was so addicted to playing cards that he would never be one to leave the party and preferred to quickly eat his slice of bread and meat without moving. This paper reviews some examples of the evolution of proper names in French and in other languages, taking also into account the particular case of pseudonyms.

Keywords

Proper name, common name, pseudonym

Introduction

A single entity

According to most reference works (Grevisse and Goosse, 1986, pp. 702–704; Martinet, 1979, p. 35; Martinet, 1982; Paul, 1993, p. 1802; Catach, 1994, p. 87), proper names form an open class of lexical units each supposed to designate a unique entity.

And this can easily be verified on many examples. In effect,
- *Mona Lisa* can only refer to the famous painting by Leonardo da Vinci,
- *de Gaulle* can only mention General Charles de Gaulle,
- the *Marseillaise* only recalls the song created during the French Revolution which became the national anthem of France,
- *Impressionism*, an artistic movement born in France and well circumscribed in time,
- the *Great War*, that of 1914–1918,
- the *Revolution* is, in France, the "French Revolution" of 1789. Otherwise, it would be necessary to specify, for example, the *Revolution of 1848*, or the *October Revolution* (1917, in Russia), or the *Velvet Revolution* (1989, in Czechoslovakia),
- the *Seine*, the river that bathes Paris and whose name has been attested in the Latin form *Sequana* since the 1st century BC (Deroy and Mulon, 1992, p. 439; Walter, 1994, p. 228),
- *Villers-Cotterêts*, a small town in the Aisne department, famous for its Ordinance of

1539 on the use of the French language in administrative texts.

All the examples of proper nouns cited above show that the entities can be very diverse: a painting, a human being, a song, a concept, a historical episode, a river, a city..., and the list is not exhaustive.

For there to be a proper name, there must have been a nomination, which encourages us to consider the brand name with its specificities (Botton and Cegarra, 1990).

Data and methods

Significance of the designation

The proper name most often results from a desire to name, as if an entity could only really exist as such if it were given a name. Thus, just as we solemnly give a first name to a child who has just been born to distinguish it among all others, we are accustomed to choosing the name that will allow it to be individualized, for example:

- a food product: *Taillefine, Nutella*, etc.
- a beauty cream: *Plénitude, Revitalift …*
- a perfume: *Diorissimo, N°5…*
- an appliance: *Frigidaire, Magimix*, etc., which are brand names, or even a literary or artistic work, by its title:
- *Les Précieux Ridicules* (a comedy by Molière), or
- *The Raft of La Méduse* (a painting by Géricault).

But the proper name has many other characteristics which appear more clearly when we go back, for each of them, through the course of its history.

The proper name can come from a common name

Although phonetic evolution erases in the long run the original form of the proper name, one can, however, most of the time, recognize the common name which gave birth to it: such is the case, for example, of *Casablanca*, the name of a city in Morocco.

This toponym does not pose a phonetic enigma, because one can easily discern the Spanish words *casa* "house" and *blanca* "white", that is to say in principle any "white house". But history reveals that this name retains the memory of a city in Morocco which had been completely destroyed in the 15th century, but where a white house seemed to have survived in the 16th century, the only one that could be seen on the heights. Since then, this name no longer refers to this old "white house", but to an entire city, *Casablanca*.

The other *White House* that comes to mind is the one that is now the residence of the Presidents of the United States. It was, since its construction in 1792, only *a* white house, like any other house of this color, and it was not until 1902 that it became **the** *White House*. On that date, it had at the same time acquired the status of a proper name and had taken, in its written form, capital letters (in English *the White House*).

Capital letters for proper nouns

The Mirage, taking a capital letter (*Mirage*), ceases to be an optical illusion to become a French fighter plane of a particular type, and *Poison*, with a capital **P**, has retained nothing of a lethal potion since the house of Christian Dior has thus named a perfume bearing its brand. The capital letter in this case removes any ambiguity.

But the capital letter is not an essential and sufficient criterion to identify a proper name, the orthographic tradition not always being reliable on this subject: in French, for example, as proper names, the names of cities or countries (**Paris, Russie**) and their inhabitants (*les **Parisiens**, les **Russes***) begin with a capital letter, while the names of languages all begin with a lowercase letter: *le français, le russe*. This is not the case for English, which does not know this distinction, and where the capital letter is required, both for the name of the language (**French, Russian**), and for the name of the inhabitants (**French, Russian**).

Different types of proper names

Among proper names, we can distinguish between toponyms, or place names in the broad sense, themselves subdivided into oronyms or names of mountains, hydronyms or names of watercourses, odonyms or street names, facing anthroponyms or names of human beings, with which we will begin our inventory.

From anthroponomy to common name

Among the common nouns derived from a proper name, the example most often cited in France is that of the substantive *poubelle*, whose origin is the name of a prefect of the Seine, *Eugène Poubelle*, who, in 1884, had issued an Ordinance obliging Parisians to put their rubbish in a box specially reserved for this purpose.

We may know less well the story of the delicacy called *praline*, which comes from the name of the Duke of *Praslin* (1598–1675) whose butler is said to have invented this product of roasted and caramelized almonds.

On another level, we know that the name *nicotine* is due to *Jean Nicot* (1530–1604), a French philologist and diplomat, famous for his linguistic works, especially for his dictionary (Nicot, 1606) published two years after his death. However, following his embassy in Portugal, this erudite traveler had also introduced "Nicot grass" into France, that is to say "tobacco", from which we extract what was later called *nicotine*, the molecule responsible for tobacco addiction.

All these nouns have today lost their status as a **proper noun** in what was unique and specific about them, to merge with all the **common nouns** of the French language, and this passage from a proper noun to a common name is not limited to the French language but is found in profusion in many other languages (Bomhard, 1966; Beeching, 1989; La Stella, 1984).

This phenomenon manifests itself in the same way when it comes to toponyms.

From toponym to common name

We observe for example that *berline*, originally the name of a kind of carriage, evokes the German city of *Berlin*, where this vehicle was built in 1670. Later, *limousine* was the name of a car, horse-drawn originally, made in France in the Limousin, before designating today a large luxurious automobile. Similarly, we recognize under *palace*, the Latin name *Palatium*, the "Palatine Hill", where the Emperor Augustus had built his personal residence (Walter, 1988, pp. 271–276).

Study and Results

History of some toponyms that have become common names

We have gathered below, in chronological order, a certain number of common names derived from a place name, accompanied by their first attestation, which is sometimes very old (Bloch, 1950; Dauzat et al., 2000; Walter, 1991):

palais, attested in the 11th century: from the Latin *Palatium* (the "Palatine Hill"), where, as we have just seen, the Emperor Augustus had his personal residence built: it represents in a way, historically, the first *palace* in Europe;

province, 12th century, from the Latin *provincia* has resulted in two different forms in French: a geographical proper name (*Provence*) and, in a slightly different form, a common name (*province*). But when we oppose the *Capital* (Paris) to the *Province* (the rest of France), this name again falls into the category of proper names;

12th century **vernis**: from *Berenike*, today *Benghazi*, city of Cyrenaica, in Libya, famous in Antiquity for its fragrant resin;

13th century **sardine**: from Latin *sardina*, (fish) "from Sardinia";

13th century **beige**: from *Betica*, an ancient province in southern Spain, whose wool

was renowned;

13th century **solécism**: from *Solès*, today *Mezitli* (in Turkey), a former Greek colony, whose inhabitants were said to speak Greek imperfectly;

14th century **bougie**: from *Bougie*, today *Bejaia*, city of Algeria, formerly exporter of wax;

14th century **poulaine**: from (shoe) to the *Polish*;

14th century **galetas**: from the *Galata Tower*, in Constantinople. First designated a dwelling in the attic;

14th century **satin**: from the Chinese city of *Tzu Tung*, where this cloth was originally woven;

16th century **tarentule**: from *Taranto*, a city in Italy, where this type of large spider abounded;

16th century **baïonnette**: of *Bayonne*, city of France, which, at that time, possessed arms factories;

19th century **rugby**: from the college of *Rugby*, in England, where the game of the oval ball was invented;

late 18th century **faïence**: from the town of *Faenza*, Italy, where this type of ceramic was made;

19th century **bristol**: from *Bristol*, city in England where the first business cards were created on bristol paper, rigid and satin;

19th century **tweed**: from the crossing of *Tweed*, the river separating Scotland from England, and a brand name, Tweel, Scottish spelling of the English *twill* "carded woolen cloth, in two colors".

Differences in status from one language to another

All the examples already commented on lead to highlighting a usual feature of proper nouns: their ease in passing from one language to another, and even to several languages, while acquiring there the status of a common noun. But during its history, the status of the proper name can change meaning after it has passed from one language to another.

This modification of status can sometimes occur while sometimes keeping, in the original language, that of the proper name.

This is true for the toponym *Faenza*, which gave birth in the 16th century to *faïence* in French, and which then passed successively into Portuguese (*faiança*) in the 17th century, into English (*faience*) in the 18th century, and into German. (*Fayence*) also in the 18th century, still through French. But it so happens that in Italian, the common name for earthenware is not *faenza* (which remains the town of *Faenza*), but *maiolica*, itself derived from another toponym, *Maiolica*, the former name of the island of Majorca, where the export trade of objects in this material was very flourishing towards the end of the 14th century (Cortelazzo, 1979, p. 703).

This is also the case with the name of the island of *Jersey*, which nowadays serves to designate in French a soft and tight-fitting woolen fabric, made fashionable by Coco Chanel in the years following the World War I: in the *jersey form*, it has passed into Italian, Portuguese and German with the same meaning, but in Spanish it corresponds to our "pullover", meaning it had in English since the 19th century. Curiously, the neighboring island of *Guernsey*, which also gave rise to a common name in English (*guernsey* "large woolen jacket, usually blue, worn by sailors") did not have success outside English (Bomhard, 1966).

On the other hand, *Palatium*, the "Palatine Hill", already mentioned in the list above, has spread very widely, with *palace* in French, *palazzo* in Italian, *palacio* in Spanish, *palácio* and *paço* in Portuguese, *palace* in English and *Palast* in German.

Proper names without borders

Far from remaining confined within the language where they were born, certain proper names had an almost international destiny, and one can find them in the etymological dictionaries of several languages (Cortelazzo, 1979; Corominas, 1987; Cunha, 1986; Pfeifer, 1989).

This holds true for *Topazos*, name of an island in the Red Sea, which was already used in Latin to designate a precious stone: this name then spread to practically all the languages of Europe.

With the meaning of "mixture of fruits or vegetables", it is through French that the word macédoine passed into many other European languages, and it is the same for *mayonnaise* "emulsion based on eggs", which has spread very widely outside of France. This name recalls, according to some (Bloch and Wartburg, 1950), the victory of the Duke of Richelieu at Port Mahon (capital of Menorca).

Also coined in French, omnibus was born in Paris with the *Compagnie des Omnibus*, whose owner, a certain Monsieur *Omnès*, had found it fun to play with the Latin sounding of its name, going so far as to decline it: *omnibus*, (car) "for everyone" (Dauzat, 1987).

This same form is found in several other languages, and, in its abbreviated form, *bus*, it could later serve as a suffix, to form other vehicle names, such as *autobus, airbus, bibliobus, abribus*, etc.

Much older, the name *Pamphilus*, which originated from the title of a small book of Latin verses on love (*Pamphilus seu de Amore*, 12th century), is found in the 13th century in the form *pamphilet* in Old French, meaning "pamphlet". But it was in the English form *pamphlet* that this term subsequently spread, the new meaning of which, "satirical or polemical pamphlet", is attested in English at the end of the 16th century. Finally, it is with this last sense that it spread in the other languages of Europe from the end of the 18th century. However, we note that in English, it only has the meaning of "pamphlet" today.

Possible loss of meaning

It should also be pointed out that, as soon as it acquires the status of a proper name, this name can lose part of its meaning: for a long time, in Paris, the *jardin des Tuileries* no longer houses a tile factory and, in Madrid, the *Prado Museum* no longer evokes the meadow (*prado* in Spanish) on which it was built. Maurice Grevisse even goes so far as to affirm that "the proper name has no real meaning or definition" (Grevisse and Goosse, 1986, p. 702).

Thus, the proper name would be reduced to its essential role, which is above all to **designate**, to **name**. And this is particularly striking in the case of pseudonyms.

The special case of pseudonyms

This time it is a kind of deliberate "re-naming" (Coston and Ratier, 1994), which consists in concealing the real name received at birth under another name, the *pseudonym*, where, in the prefix *pseudo -*, we identify the Greek root meaning "false". Now, a remarkable fact is that these pen names, stage names or war names are very often the only ones that survive the people who bore them (Walter, 1997, pp. 126–135).

Pseudonyms across centuries

Historically, the voluntary modification of proper names is a very old practice, and has continued throughout the centuries.

The famous botanist of Antiquity known as *Theophrastus* (-371/-288) was actually called *Tyrtamos*, but it was only by the nickname given to him by his master Aristotle, *Theophrastos* (Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, 1834), literally "the one who explains like a god", that this great scholar has passed down to posterity.

In the 16th-century Germany, the Protestant humanist scholar Philipp Schwarzert

(1497–1560), believing that Greek was more prestigious than German, called himself *Melanchthon*, by an approximate translation of his German name.

Almost at the same time, Jacques Dubois (1478(?)–1555), author of the first French grammar published in France (1531), had not only written his work in Latin, but he had also chosen to publish it under the name *Sylvius*, translation by *Dubois* into Latin.

Other pseudonyms refer to a place of birth. Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), for example, to publish the *Provinciales* in 1656–1657, chose as pseudonym the name *Louis de Montalte*: one recognizes the Latin *mons altus* "high mountain", which actually recalls that Pascal was born in *Clermont*, in the *Puy-de-Dôme* (under *Puy*, we can identify the old French *puy* "height, mountain", from the Latin *podium* "high place").

In the 18th century, it was only under the name of *d'Alembert* (1717–1783) that we know the author, with Denis Diderot, of *the Encyclopedia, or dictionary of arts and crafts*. But his real name was *Le Rond*: natural son of the Chevalier Destouches and Madame de Tencin, he had been abandoned by his parents on the steps of the chapel of Saint-Jean-le-Rond, which explains his name (*Le Rond*), to which he later added *d'Alembert*.

For the writing of this great *Encyclopedia*, many other authors had been called upon, including *Voltaire*, whose name is also a pseudonym, forged from Jean-Marie *Arouet*. But we also know that this philosopher holds the record for the creation of assumed names, with at least 160 pseudonyms!

Some of the many pseudonyms of Voltaire

Apart from *Voltaire*, who is the only pseudonym under which Jean-Marie *Arouet* (1694–1778) entered into posterity, we know many other assumed names under which this French philosopher exercised his verve.

A few of them, most of which are little known, are grouped below.

In the religious field:

> *l'abbé d'Arty, guardian of the Capuchins of Ragusa*
> *l'abbé Bigex, the humble bishop of Alethopolis*
> *l'abbé de Bigorre, the Archbishop of Novogorod*
> *l'abbé de Tilladet, the Archbishop of Canterbury*
> *feu l'abbé Bazin, a Christian*
> *le curé de Fresne, a quaker*
> *le curé Meslier, Pastor Bourn*
> *le R. P. de l'Escarbotier, Cubstorf, pastor*
> *le R. P. Polycarpe, the corps of pastors of Gévaudan*
> *un bénédictin de Franche-Comté, Rabbi Akib*

In the field of medicine, law and politics:

> *le docteur Obern*
> *Belleguier, former lawyer*
> *docteur Ralph Cassen, lawyer at the King's Councils*
> *le docteur Goodheart Hude, Alderman of Amsterdam*

And also:

> *a famous author who retired from France*
> *the old man of Mount Caucasus*

And again:

> *Veuve Denys*
> *une belle âme*
> *Zapata...*

Other pseudonyms in the 19th century

The great authors of the 19th century also did not hesitate to publish some of their works under invented names.

For Victor Hugo, we know a few early verses published under the name of Victor *d'Auverney*.

Balzac, for his part, published his first writings under various pseudonyms, such as *Henri de Saint-Aubin, Alfred Couvreux* or even *Lord Rhoone*, the latter being in fact the anagram of his given name *Honoré*.

Stendhal (real name Marie-Henri *Beyle*) has shown the most diversity in this area, choosing names that are more or less transparent, more or less allusive, or more or less precise: *Henry, Henry Dupuy, Fabrice L'ennuyé, B. auteur de la vie de Rossini*, or even *C. de Seyssel âgé de cinquante-trois ans.*

Among the dozens of other pseudonyms of Stendhal, we will notice his pronounced taste for the Italian language and for the English language, with: *Domenico Vismara, engineer in Novara, Poverino, Love, Puff...*

Other authors contented themselves with two pseudonyms, sometimes just one, such as *Prosper Mérimée*, who also signed under the name of *Clara Gazul*, or *Gérard de Nerval*, whose real name was *Gérard Labrunie*

Pseudonyms in the press

Since the end of the 18th century, the law required the signature of all press articles, but did not make it compulsory to sign with one's real name, and the habit was very quickly taken to write under another name, more or less transparent. This was the case, for example, of Anatole *France* (1844–1924), who wrote literary reviews under this pseudonym for the newspaper *Le Temps*. But his real name was Anatole François *Thibault*.

In the 20th century the pseudonym could become the legal name, like that taken by *Émile Salomon Wilhelm Herzog*, whose pseudonym *André Maurois* (1885–1967) was approved as his official name from 1945.

During the Second World War, Philippe Marie de Hauteclocque called himself *Leclerc*, and it is under this assumed name that we know General *Leclerc* (1902–1947).

Pseudonyms were, moreover, an effective means allowing people to move around while covering their tracks during the occupation. Some names survived after the war:

Vercors was the pseudonym of Jean Bruller (1902–1991)

Forez that of François Mauriac (1885–1910)

Chaban, that of Jacques Delmas (1915-2000) (1900–1945)

Valentin Guillois, that of Robert Desnos (1900–1945)

Colonel Berger, that of André Malraux (1901–1976)

Rex (and Max), those of Jean Moulin (1899–1943)

Lucie Aubrac, Lucie Samuel (1912–2007).

A film, released in 1997, traced the story of this heroine of the Resistance.

Typology of pseudonyms

We can identify at least seven categories of pseudonyms from their form:

• **initials**, which actually function as a sort of summary of the original name. This is how the pen name of the creator of the Tintin comic strip, *Hergé* (1907–1983), whose real name *Georges Rémi* was coined, whose inverted initials RG can be read [ɛʀʒe]. In the field of cartoons, we can also cite Jean *Effel* (1908–1982), whose pseudonym is also represented by the initials of his real name *François Lejeune*, FL [ɛfɛl].

• **letters out of order:** the name of *Voltaire* (1694–1778) is more difficult to explain as the anagram of *Arouet l* (e) *J* (eune), because it is necessary to take into account the old spellings where u = v and j = i, whence *Arovet li*, whence, by modifying the order of the letters, *Voltaire*.

The anagram of *François Rabelais* (1494–1553), *Alcofribas Nasier*, did not have the same success.

On the other hand, the name of the French actor *Raimu* (1883–1946) completely erased his real surname, which was *Muraire*, and of which *Raimu* was the verlan.

• **the abbreviation of a surname:** for example that of the actor Pierre *Blanchar*, whose real name was spelled with a final -*d*, or that of George *Sand* (1804–1876), whose real name was *Aurore Dupin*, baroness Dudevant, who had chosen to take the name, in a shortened form, of her lover Jules *Sandeau*.

• **the name of a city:** *Stendhal* (pseudonym of *Henri Beyle*) is the name of a city in Germany, and *Bourvil* is the abbreviated name of a village in Normandy (*Bourville*) where the actor André *Raimbourg* (1917–1970) had spent his childhood

• **a first name:** that of the person himself, as for *Joseph Conrad* (1857–1924), who was actually called *Konrad Nalecz Korzeniowski*, or the first name of another person, as for *Louis Ferdinand Destouches* (1894–1961), who had chosen her mother's first name, *Céline*, to publish her first novel (*Le voyage au bout de la nuit*) in 1932.

• **chance:** the French actress known as *Gaby Morlay* (1893–1964), to choose her pseudonym, had randomly opened a railway indicator to find it, when her name was *Blanche Fémoleau*.

• **a joke:** the character who is known to posterity as the *Curnonsky* "the prince of gourmets", whose real name is Maurice Edmond *Sailland* (1872–1965), was a good friend of comedian Alphonse Allais, who had advised him to choose a Russian-sounding pseudonym, en - *sky*. Sailland had asked him: "Why - *sky*?". Alphonse Allais replied: "Why not –*sky*?" By translating this reply into Latin (*cur non sky*), the pseudonym was found!

We see that pseudonyms can take very varied forms, a characteristic that we find particularly well represented in brand names (Botton and Cegarra, 1990).

Brand names

From a formal point of view, they present an even greater diversity, with:

• **names that make you dream:** *Miracle* (by Lancôme), *Trésor* (by Lancôme)

• **acronyms:** *Lu* (initials of the surnames of Jean-Romain *Lefèvre* and his wife Pauline-Isabelle *Utile*), *Sopalin* (*So ciété de pa pier linge*), *Haribo* (name of the founder, *Hans Riegel* + the city of *Bonn*) …

• **onomatopoeia:** Pschitt, Crunch, Kodak…

• Latin or **pseudo-Latin forms**: *Vivendi, Volvo, Bibendum, Lego*, etc.

• **names** of famous or mythological characters: *Picasso, Vinci, Clio*, etc.

• English or **pseudo-English forms:** *Skyteam, Cuisiland* ...

• **French phrases:** *Vol de nuit* (TV show) ...

• **figures or numbers:** *N°5* (Chanel), *1664* (Kronenbourg beer), or the famous *Jean 51 trousers*...

•**a palindrome:** *Omo*…

Finally, it should be noted that brand names, originally conceived as proper names, can also sometimes change status and become common names. The following few brand names have been so successful that they have been lexicalized or are in the process of being lexicalized: *Frigidaire, Scotch, Klaxon, Kleenex, Nylon, Caddy, Cellophane, Pedalo* …

Conclusion

A transitory state in all languages

Reviewing once again all the examples cited, one can only conclude that the passage from the proper noun to the common noun knows no borders, but with nuances.

The word *poubelle*, born in France, remained very French, but *calepin*, derived from an Italian name (that of the 15th century lexicographer Ambrogio Calepino, became a typ-

ically - and perhaps uniquely – French word, as it seems although, despite its presence in Italian dictionaries, the word *calepino* is no longer part of the usual vocabulary of educated Italians.

The word *sandwich*, born from a proper name in England (*Lord Sandwich*, 18th century), has become international, but as a common name.

Finally, the movement from a common noun of one language, becoming a proper noun in many others, can be perfectly illustrated by *biblia*, neuter plural of *biblion*, which was in Greek a common noun simply denoting a set of several papyrus sheets. Over time, it then became, in Vulgar Latin, then in many other languages, the *book* par excellence, that is to say the *Bible*, with a capital **B**, sign of proper name (*Biblia* in Spanish, *Bíblia* in Portuguese, *Bibbia* in Italian, *Bible* in English, *Bibel* in German, etc.). However, thanks to metaphorical uses in the sense of "authoritative book", this proper noun can in turn reintegrate the class of common nouns, as in its original language, but with a new meaning.

Taking the metamorphosis even further, the Latin *provincia*, which was a common name, resulted in French in two different forms: a geographical proper name (*Provence*) and, in a slightly different form, a common name (*province*). But when one opposes the *Capital* to the *Province*, it passes again into the category of proper names.

Considered in this way from a historical angle, both in the same language and in different languages, the study of the proper name reveals its fundamentally transitory character: an unstable stage between the common nouns which are at the origin of its formation and those to whom it may give birth.

We will therefore conclude that the status of a proper name is never acquired once and for all. Far from becoming immobilized in its state of a proper name, it often happens to be only a transitory stage between the common name which gave birth to it, and the new common name which it may itself generate (Martinet, 1982; Walter, 1995a; Walter, 1995b).

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Research article

Why is there a place for humour when a heart breaks?

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Abstract

This article is devoted to the problematic area of humour in a story with an essentially serious plot. The author analyzes the text of the novel *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* written by Jonathan Safran Foer, which is known as a description of a life-after-tragedy experience. The main goal of the paper is to understand why the author uses humour in such a story. The methodology of the study is rather complex; such methods as the continuous sampling method and the quantitative method, as well as methods of semantic and pragmatic analyses based on the Semantic-Script Theory of Humour and General Theory of Verbal Humour are used. The term "humour" is applied as a generic term. The author defines 177 extracts with a humorous effect and distributes them according to two communicative situations (author/reader and character/character). The main functions of humour in the novel are to describe a character, to make a contact/ to capture attention, to cope with a problem, to add an aesthetic value, to arouse an interest, to humiliate, etc. The distribution of the extracts with a humorous effect provides the possibility to illustrate the humour melody of the novel and show the general development from humour to seriousness. The results could be helpful to analyze the author's idiostyle, to better understand some linguo-cultural nuances, as well as for translation studies.

Keywords

Introduction

Humour studies at present are very popular in different fields of knowledge. It is interesting to understand (or at least to try) its nature, the impact it has on people, where it could be used, the purpose of its usage, the rules that govern its usage, the difference between humour creation and comprehension in different cultures, and much more besides.

Talking about literary texts, scholars are mostly interested in the problems of an author's idiostyle and some textual peculiarities connected with humour, but "the analysis of longer humorous texts has been a major challenge for humor researchers" (Chłopicki, 2017). Traditionally, humour has been assessed in a literary text by analyzing the general topics it covers or linguistic units that could be used to express it.

One of the issues on scholars' radar screen nowadays is the realization of such an opposition as the humour/laughter and pain/death/trauma. It is intriguing to understand why people use humour when it is more logical for them to cry and why authors insert humour into their texts.

The novel we chose for our study is entitled *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* and "deals with loss and trauma after 9/11" (Quintero, 2019). It was written in 2005 by Jonathan Safran Foer (an American novelist) and called "the soaring flight of Foer's very

sad and very funny story" (Mudge, 2005). The author himself did not want to explain his intentions about the book, but said that "a book is a little sculpture <...> not just a vehicle for words" (Mudge, 2005).

Its breathtaking plot about the search of a nine-year-boy Oskar Schell includes the description of the firebombing of Dresden, the death of a pregnant young future-happy-wife, the loss of a child / grandchild / father / husband, the fears and scares, the inability of talking because of traumatic experience... The hearts break, but nevertheless there is a place for humour, which is quite peculiar within the humour / seriousness frame though. As one of the researchers pictures it, "the brilliance of Foer's storytelling lies in its poignant, wide-hearted, utterly seductive humor. Extremely Loud & Incredibly Close brings a reader to that high level of seriousness that only the very best comedy can achieve" (Mudge, 2005).

The text of the novel has already been regarded as an object of various studies, mostly in the context of traumatic experience study or ethics, as an example of a description of 9/11 or in the context of literary studies as a postmodern text, or as an object of interdisciplinary studies (Collado-Rodríguez, 2005; Uytterschout and Versluys, 2008; Saal, 2011; Vanderwees, 2015; Dowling, 2017; Lexana, 2017; Arnold, 2018; Quintero, 2019, etc.). But the humour of the novel has not been observed and analyzed from the linguistic point of view, although the problem of laughter through tears has been discussed by O. B. Karasik as one of the problems of literary studies (Karasik, 2011).

Thus, the necessity to understand the author's idea and the value of humour throughout the text with such a serious plot determined the aim of this study. To answer the question we pose in the title of our paper, three main steps should be taken:
- to identify the number of humorous lines / extracts used in the text of the novel;
- to analyze their functions;
- to find the place they occupy in the text.

The paper will logically follow these steps as the plan of our research.

Data and methods

Dealing with humour is not a simple matter, not least because of its elusive nature. In our paper humour is used as a general term without any specifications. Humour is always subjective, and its subjectivity, both in production and perception, arises from our differences as human beings.

To begin with, two main points should be discussed in connection with humour studies. First and foremost, the paper is based on two famous theories of humour: the Semantic-Script Theory of Humour (Raskin, 1985) and the General Theory of Verbal Humour (Attardo, 2001).

According to the former theory, a joke can be seen when the text "is compatible, fully or in part, with two different scripts; the two scripts with which the text is compatible are opposite (...). The two scripts with which some text is compatible are said to overlap fully or in part in this text" (Raskin, 2001). According to the latter, there are six Knowledge Resources that should be analyzed in a text to prove the existence of humour: script-opposition, logical mechanism, situation, target, narrative strategy and language. We would like to mention here that various studies within the cognitive paradigm and frame / script-based boundaries are topical now (Suleymanova et al., 2020).

The second vital issue is the unit of humour. Different authors use different terms denoting the part of a text with a humorous effect, which we do not clarify here as amusement, a humorous tone or something else. We strongly believe that using the term's extracts with humorous effect for the long narrative of a literary work is more appropriate. It allows to take into account not only a trigger but the context of the novel, and does not rely fully on the laughter of the recipient (Abaeva, 2017).

Thus, semantic and pragmatic analyses are applied to find out all the possible script oppositions throughout the text of the novel in connection with the other knowledge resources, when possible. The whole procedure probably could be defined as a cognitive analysis of a special type. This type of analysis is combined with the continuous sampling method and philological analysis of the text itself to find out all the possible extracts and count them. The aforementioned algorithm allows us to consider different types of extracts so that all of them are included in our list.

1. The extracts when a context is greatly separated from a trigger were counted and registered by the position of a trigger:

*My first **jujitsu class was three and a half months ago**. (p. 4) <...>My last **jujitsu class was three and a half months ago**. (p. 6).*

It should be noted that in this very example there are 342 words between the context and the trigger. What is more, we witness an extract when the first lines of the novel contain the first word of the context and the part with a trigger is placed in the final pages:

***What about a teakettle?** (1) What if the spout opened and closed when the steam came out, so it would become a mouth, and it could whistle pretty melodies, or do Shakespeare, or just crack up with me? I could invent a teakettle that reads in Dad's voice, so I could fall asleep, or maybe a set of kettles that sings the chorus of "Yellow Submarine," which is a song by the Beatles, who I love, because entomology is one of my raisons d'être, which is a French expression that I know. (p. 3) <...>**What about a teakettle?** (2) (p. 404).*

2. All the trigger/context cohesion cases were taken into account as separate extracts:

*I got tired, I told him. Not worn out, but worn through. Like one of those wives who wakes up one morning and says I can't bake any more bread. You never **baked bread** (1), he wrote, and we were still joking. Then it's like I woke up and **baked bread** (2), I said, and we were joking even then. I wondered will there come a time when we won't be joking?*

Here, two extracts are analyzed because the trigger of the first one is the context of the second, which is frequently used in dialogues:

(1) I can't bake any more bread (context) + You never baked bread (trigger);

(2) You never baked bread (context) + Then it's like I woke up and baked bread (trigger).

3. Some failures in humour comprehension were also regarded as a part of our material because we do not correlate the laughter or misunderstanding with the humour itself due to its subjectivity. Humour functioning in the literary text touches upon all the cases of potentially deduced humour, so the cases when there is a failure of humour comprehension are also important, as in the following example:

"I was gonna go buy some tuna fish at the A&P. I clipped some coupons from the Post this morning. They're five cans for the price of three. What a deal! I don't even like tuna fish. It gives me stomachaches, to be frank. But you can't beat that price," she was trying to make me laugh, but I shrugged my shoulders and stirred my coffee.

For our study we believe that two different communicative situations should be analyzed separately due to the long literary narrative. The first is discovered when the primary recipient of humour is a reader and the second when the primary recipient is a character, and which is more frequently met in dialogues. These two levels are discussed as well, for example, as "the intercharacter level, representing the fictional participants' interactions, and the recipient's (i.e. the viewer's) level" in the papers devoted to the workings of humour in comedy (Dynel, 2013).

Pragmatic analysis is applied then to the extracts with humorous effect within the

whole context of the novel to reveal the functions of humour and demonstrate the way these functions are distributed according to the communicative situations. To avoid inconsistency with data and make our study more robust, only one dominant function was regarded for each case of an extract with a potentially humorous effect, although we know that "humor is incredibly versatile and any one instance may perform multiple functions – sometimes even simultaneously" (Schnurr and Plester, 2017). Finally, again the quantitative method is applied to show the correlation between the part of the novel and number and position of the humorous extracts.

Study and Results

As the main purpose of the study is quite complex and the methodology used is elaborate, the results are multidimensional as well.

Thus, due to the aforementioned methodology all the results are grouped into three parts: how many extracts there are in the text of the novel (**number**); why they are inserted in such a story (**functions**) and what place they occupy throughout the text (**melody**).

Number

The continuous sampling method was used to detect the quantity of extracts in the text of the novel. All the problematic nuances connected with the different structure of the extracts and their combinations are discussed in the section **methods**. We would like to point out that the extracts were not only structurally different, but their length was not identical either.

The scope of our material includes 177 extracts with a potential humorous effect which are being analyzed and discussed further. The total number of the extracts along with the plot itself allows us to categorize it clearly as a dramatic story with an essentially serious plot and comparatively many humorous diversions (Chlopicki, 2001).

As the second step for this part of the study, all the extracts are differentiated into two big groups according to the communicative situation – author/reader or character/character – as mentioned above. The results of the distribution are presented in Fig. 1.
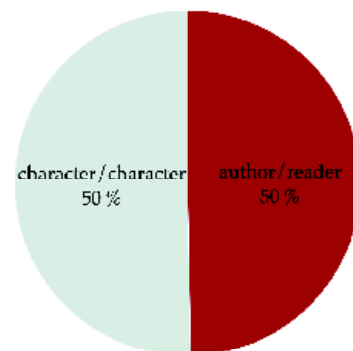

Fig. 1. **Distribution of extracts according to communicative situation**

The number of extracts in each of the group is practically identical: it is a bit more when the communicative situation implies the character as the primary recipient of humour (89 extracts) and less when the primary recipient is a reader (88 extracts).What is more, this distribution helps us separate the functions that is our next question to be explored.

Functions of humour (according to the communicative situation)

Functions of humour are usually discussed within the framework of different communicative situations and different life contexts. For example, in one study that illustrates "the functions of humor in friendship groups and how the sex composition of such groups affects humor usage" (Hay, 2000) the author develops the framework that originates from

the general function and strategies: solidarity (to share, to highlight similarities or capitalize on shared experiences, to clarify and maintain boundaries, to tease), the psychological base (to defend, to cope with a context) and power (to foster conflict, to control, to challenge and set boundaries, to tease). Analyzing the humorous usage of proverbs, such functions as excusing, greeting someone, and creating the atmosphere of negotiation, etc. are defined (Lauhakangas, 2009).

As so many scholars analyze the traumatic experience in the novel, it could be important to enumerate the humour functions from the research dedicated to the so-called "genocide humour": "A primary function of genocide humour is coping. It can be seen as an emotional mechanism: a reduction of, or an escape from pain" (Üngör and Verkerke, 2015). The functions of expressing solidarity and being critical are also important here.

Among the broad functions there are solidarity-oriented functions, controlling others, conflict, exploration and coping, boundary function (Hay, 2000), etc.

In literature humour functions slightly differently. For example, in Chekhov's prose scholars believe humour helps to make people laugh, cure some social diseases and make this world a better place. Chekhov creates humour "to satirise people's distance from each other and their materialism, their urge to submit to authority and to show that people's expectations hardly come true in a world where there is a legitimacy of incongruence" (Yilmaz, 2019). Humour in film discourse "is orientated towards entertaining, yet not necessarily amusing" (Dynel, 2013). In novels humour could be used to create an aesthetic value, to arouse an interest/attract attention, to describe a character and so on (Abaeva, 2016).

We can clearly see that many scholars have already thought about the functions that humour can perform in different contexts. But, unfortunately, there is no classification to fit all the communicative circumstances. Thus, for our specific purposes we entirely draw the functions from within the context of the novel.

Sometimes the characters of the novel describe the reason for using humour themselves; they do it **to support each other**:

How could such a lonely person have been living so close to me my whole life? If I had known, I would have gone up to keep him company. Or I would have made some jewelry for him. Or told him hilarious jokes. Or given him a private tambourine concert.

To cope with the problem:

<…> because if I could make him crack up, my boots could be a little lighter.

Or:

We all rode in the limousine together. I could not stop touching you. I could not touch you enough. I needed more hands. You made jokes with the driver, but I could see that inside you were suffering. Making him laugh was how you suffered.

Or:

"He had a great laugh. I remember that. It was good of him to laugh, and to make me laugh. He was laughing for my sake."

To share common experience and to show love:

Our marriage was not unhappy, Oskar. He knew how to make me laugh. And sometimes I made him laugh.

Talking about the functions of humour in the novel we should again point out the specific situation of a literary text's context with its double communicative situation (author/reader and character/character). These two communicative situations merged into one text obviously give us more functions than when taken separately. This is clearly illustrated in Table 1 below.

It is apparent from the table that only four functions are used in both communica-

tive situations (to describe a character, to cope with a problem, to add an aesthetic value, to avoid a conversation//to skirt a conflict).

Table 1. **Functions of humour in *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close***

№	Functions	Number of extracts	
		Author/ Reader	Character/ Character
1	to describe a character	69	29
2	to make a contact/to capture at	-	19
3	to cope with a problem	9	7
4	to add an aesthetic value	6	7
5	to arouse an interest	-	6
6	to humiliate	-	5
7	to avoid a conversation/to skirt a conflict	1	5
8	to tease each other	-	3
9	to criticize	3	-
10	to share common experience	-	2
11	to pay a compliment	-	2
12	to support	-	1
13	to motivate	-	1
14	to persuade	-	1
15	to defend	-	1
	Total number	**88**	**89**

Interestingly, critically used humour appears only in the author/reader communicative situation as in the example below where the author uses humour to show the absurdity of society:

> One of my favorite parts is the beginning of the first chapter, where Stephen Hawking talks about a famous scientist who was giving a lecture about how the earth orbits the sun1, and the sun orbits the solar system, and whatever. Then a woman in the back of the room raised her hand and said, "What you have told us is rubbish. The world is really a flat plate supported on the back of a giant tortoise." So the scientist asked her what the tortoise was standing on. And she said, "But it's turtles all the way down!"

Moreover, this function is the only one which is absent when the recipient of humour is a character.

The next thing is not so surprising: **the function of describing a character** more often appears in the author/reader communicative situation, although it is frequently used in both situations. Humour helps the author show different shades of a hero's personality, as, for example, Oskar's naivety, cleverness and creativeness, lack of life experience and failure to comprehend the rules of social interaction. Oskar wants to love and be loved. One of the scholars gives such explanations of the boy's personality: Oskar is an atheist who believes in science and logic only; he cannot see the nuances of life, so knowing the plain truth is the only possible scenario for him; besides, he has some problems when people "use irony, idiomatic expressions or complicated words" (Quintero, 2019).

All these traits are depicted through humour and the example below is a nice illustration:

> She said, "I know what I am." I nodded my head, even though I didn't know what she was talking about or what it had to do with anything. "Even if I don't like what I am, I know what I am. My children like what they are, but they don't know what they are. So tell me which is worse." "What are the options again?" She cracked up and said, "I like you."

One important comment should be made here as Oskar does not always use humour intentionally. The humorous effect can be oriented to the reader's or another character's experience and, as a result, perception. For example, Oskar is told that in one apart-

ment he wants to visit a ghost is living:

I walked back up the steps, this time past our floor and to the sixth. There was a mat in front of the door which said Welcome in twelve different languages. That didn't seem like something a ghost would put in front of his apartment.

The **function of avoiding a conversation** is more fruitful for the character/character communicative situation:

She took my pen from me and wrote on the next blank page of my daybook, the final one: Please marry me. I flipped back and pointed at, "Ha ha ha!" She flipped forward and pointed at, "Please marry me." I flipped back and pointed at, "I'm sorry, this is the smallest I've got." She flipped forward and pointed at, "Please marry me." I flipped back and pointed at, "I'm not sure, but it's late."

As there are a lot of dialogues in the novel and the communicative situation between characters is obviously well-presented, the number of functions there is vast: 10 out of 15 functions appear in this communicative situation exclusively (to make a contact/to capture attention, to pay a compliment, to arouse an interest, to humiliate, to tease each other, to share common experience, to support, to motivate, to persuade, to defend).

Turning now to the last question, we should define the humorous extracts' positions throughout the text of the novel.

Humour melody of the text

The quantitative method is used in this paper to show the place of extracts with a potential humorous effect. The final point is the illustration of the humour melody of the text which is set out in Fig. 1 below. To show this melody we need to distribute the extracts throughout the text and bring them into correlation with the number of pages. The clusters and trigger/context cohesion cases are reflected in peaks: the more extracts a part of the text has, the higher the peak.

Fig. 1. **Distribution of extracts in *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close***

From Fig. 1 we can see that the first part of the novel (up to page 200) has more peaks than the last part and most of them are higher: five clusters with more than five extracts compared with only one cluster with five extracts in the second part of the novel. We would like to note that some chapters lack any humour at all. But, of course, the text of the novel has enough clusters which can logically appear in the dialogues or be the marker of a child's spontaneous way of speaking; thus, every previous extract functions as the warm-up background for the next one.

Cher Marcel,

*Allô. I am Oskar's mom **(1)**. I have thought about it a ton **(2)**, and I have decided that it isn't obvious why Oskar should go to French lessons **(3)**, so he will no longer be going to go to see you on Sundays like he used to. I want to thank you very much for everything you have taught Oskar, particularly the conditional tense **(4)**, which is weird **(5)**. Obviously, there's no need to call me when Oskar doesn't come to his lessons **(6)**, because I already know, because this was my decision **(7)**.*

*Also, I will keep sending you checks, because you are a nice guy **(8)**.*

Votre ami dévouée,

Mademoiselle Schell

Turning again to Fig. 1, we would like to note that fewer peaks tell us about the author's strategy to lead us from the life that could be funny to the serious idea of life that could be not funny. Analyzing another novel by the author (Everything is Illuminated), O. Karasik tells us that "the story that was a funny adventure in the beginning, gradually takes on an increasingly serious tone" (Karasik, 2011). As we can see the same direction

in the author's second novel, we might suggest that probably it is the author's idiostyle. Humour draws the reader in to show real life with pain, death and tears, but finally there is always a positive moment in the end. It is a brilliant strategy of drawing the reader into the world of the novel where, as in our life itself, there is always a place for everything.

We believe that some future research devoted to the problem of humour and pain/death/trauma could be done using this method because the distribution of humorous extracts and, for example, words from the lexico-semantic group "death" throughout a text could possibly be an illustration of some specific correlations, if any. Of course, there are a lot more things to discuss and analyze in the novel through the prism of humour, for example, thematically we can see there **cases of black humour**:

Next I went to the penitentiary. My uncle was a guard there. I was able to get the handwriting sample of a murderer. My uncle asked him to write an appeal for early release. It was a terrible trick that we played on this man.

From the angle of literary studies, we can see **the cases of irony**:

You asked me in your first letter if you could be my protégé. I don't know about that, but I would be happy to have you join me in Cambridge for a few days. I could introduce you to my colleagues, treat you to the best curry outside India, and show you just how boring the life of an astrophysicist can be.

From the linguistic point of view, several interesting **examples of word play**, especially based on malapropisms in a child's speech, could be discussed:

"But it's not for a fixed safe, I don't think. Nothing too big. Maybe something portable. Could be a safe-deposit box, actually. An old one. Or some kind of fire-retardant cabinet." That made me crack up a little, even though I know there's nothing funny about being a mental retard.

For the purposes of our research, however, we have examined only systematically registered issues.

Conclusion

Answering the main question, which was the driving force for the paper – Why is there a place for humour when a heart breaks? – we have come to several conclusions. First of all, we could determine that there is a relative abundance of humour in this evidently mournful novel: we found at least 177 extracts with a potential humorous effect based on SSTH and GTVH.

Then, discussing the purpose of humour usage, fifteen functions were defined and distributed according to the two communicative situations relevant for a literary text: five functions within an author/reader communicative situation and fourteen functions for a "character/character" situation. In general, the main functions are to describe a character, to make a contact/to capture attention, to cope with a problem and to add an aesthetic value.

The humour melody of the text helps us understand the strategy of the text's development (from humour to serious topics) and the author's desire to paint the picture of a real world. The presumable correlation between humour and grief/pain/death (although more studies on the topic are needed) allows the author to create a reality.

The data we observed and results we discussed are important for the perception of an author's idiostyle, as well as for future research in the field. Some comparative studies connected with the sphere of linguoculture could be undertaken with the help of the suggested system. Moreover, it could be evidently helpful for a translator to analyze a text and find an adequate translation strategy.

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Research Article

Ideas of destiny and providence in American literature: From realism to modernism

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Abstract

This article examines changes that have taken place in the interpretation of ideas of destiny and providence in American literature during the two centuries of its development. Typical features of these changes in the novels by prominent American writers Mark Twain and J. D. Salinger are explored. To identify specific elements of the ideas in the books under discussion, the authors have made a detailed investigation of these writers, as well as the structures and symbols in their works. The article offers a conclusion about different aspects of concepts analyzed in the 19th and 20th centuries. Problems of religion and morality have preserved their significance for the US population since the country's foundation.

Keywords

American literature, destiny, protagonist, providence, self-identification, teenager

Introduction

Two centuries ago, the USA witnessed significant changes in society regarding religion and philosophy. The religious crisis among Americans at that time is noted by some scholars (Baritz, 1964). It causes the lack of faith in God for many citizens. The above-mentioned component in their lives in the second half of the 19th century was no longer as important as it used to be. These points are reflected in the works of realist writers, which include Mark Twain (1835–1910), one of the most original and popular authors in the United States. 20th century authors continue to research this issue in their works, although its meaning has changed. However, the ideas of destiny and providence are still the most important features of poetics, as the novel *The Catcher in the Rye* (1954) by J. D. Salinger (1919–2010) shows.

Methods

To identify the specifics of destiny and providence throughout two centuries in classical American literature, the authors of this article use comparative and narrative analyses as their main working methods.

Various approaches to distinguishing the essence of the concepts under analysis

(psychological aspects of the characters' growing-up, the meaning of their beliefs) make this the object of investigation in different studies devoted to the matter in modern literary studies (Chupryna et al., 2018; Baranova and Fedorenko, 2022). These novels written by Mark Twain and J. D. Salinger have been used as the material which reveals some leading tendencies of US literature.

The theoretical significance of the results presented in the article can be identified as the specification of destiny and providence in the prose of American realists and modernists. The research contributes to the development of narrative studies. It highlights existential experience and teenagers' self-identification (Zheltukhina et al., 2023) and also emphasizes the importance of the ideas touched upon in connection with the aforementioned trends in the US literary process.

The practical vector of the article enables the results of the investigation to be used in teaching American literature, as well as the theory of literature (Tareva and Tarev, 2017).

Discussion

In 1876, M. Twain's stand-out novel *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* was published. The concepts in question are presented there with a slight degree of irony, and are not perceived by people in the conventional way. Society in those years was beginning to understand that it was not reasonable to rely in everything only on the Creator, that it was vital for people to build their own destiny themselves. Faith in predestination still existed, but the attitude to that phenomenon had become quite altered. This point of view is reflected in the above-mentioned novel, which focuses on the lives of two American boys: Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn (Huck Finn).

The characters of the novel treat the idea of God's plans and providence differently. For example, Widow Douglas, one of the town's residents where the events take place, sincerely believes that everything depends on the Lord's will, but most of the townspeople only formally pay tribute to the Puritan traditions. Very few of them have true religious beliefs, but the ideas of destiny, faith and providence are still present in their lives. The same acceptance of religion can be observed in the adolescent characters. Thus, Tom and Huck have no doubt that both praise and punishment are premeditated by the higher powers, and they obtain them rather at the level of belief in certain prejudices. But real life gives the boys very specific and peculiar surprises: what they think is bound to happen does not always happen. Therefore, for example, in one of the episodes, when, as researchers emphasize, "superstition does not work" (Afanasjeva, 2012, p. 12), Tom instantly finds the reason for this as the boy blames the witch and her influence:

He puzzled over the matter some time, and finally decided that some witch had interfered and broken the charm (Twain, 2011, p. 63).

Tom realizes that it is necessary to follow religious tenets but he regards this as an unfortunate obligation, and often tries to break these rules. The teenager is not interested in prayers, and he tries to evade this boring procedure whenever possible:

Tom turned in without the added vexation of prayers, and Sid made mental note of the omission (Twain, 2011, p. 24).

In another episode, where Tom explains how he obtained a copy of the Bible, he uses deception, which in religious terms is regarded as a kind of sin, yet the protagonist does not care. The teenager is rather pragmatic and is not going to delve into the texts and the divine truth. It is essential for him to receive this important-for-all-believers book in the form of the prize just to be respected by his peers:

…Tom's mental stomach had never really hungered for one of those prizes, but unquestionably his entire being had for many a day longed for the glory and the éclat that came

with it" (Twain, 2011, p. 29).

The course of the boy's reflection is clear. It is vital for him to achieve the goal in order to have influence among his peers. That is why the violation of Christian morality, which happens in this case, is treated as a minor factor. Following society's obligatory rules, the boy shows the adults that he obeys their requirements, although they only burden him.

However, despite the negative attitude towards the notion of the providential nature of what is happening, Tom admits that the punishment for bad actions may come from God. This is how he regards the storm, which he believes is a manifestation of the Creator's grudge:

And that night there came on a terrific storm <…> He believed he had taxed the forbearance of the powers above to the extremity of endurance, and that this was the result... (Twain, 2011, p. 155).

The Almighty was not satisfied by the teenager's behaviour and decided to use His own power. Superstitiousness, which the author ironically presents as the result of the manifestation of divine power, is repeatedly encountered in the course of the development of the plot. So, noticing a worm on his leg, Tom concludes that this is an omen:

He [Tom] sat as still as a stone, with his hopes rising and falling by turns as the creature <…> came decisively down upon Tom's leg <…> that meant that he was going to have a new suit of clothes … (Twain, 2011, p. 100–101).

The boy believes the worm is God's prophecy that he will soon have the new suit he dreams of. By introducing this naive boyish explanation of the Almighty's work, the writer reveals the pragmatic essence of religious dogmas and the teenager's ironic attitude towards them.

Other friends' expectations, which they regard as providential, are also shown ironically in the narration. So, Tom and Huck are aware that the doctor's murderer is Injun Joe, though the latter convinces everyone that it is Muff Potter. The boys have no doubt that Joe's actions and words can never get the approval of God. They are sure the Creator will punish the Indian:

Then Huckleberry and Tom stood dumb <…> expecting <…> the clear sky would deliver God's lightnings upon his head, and wondering to see how long the stroke was delayed (Twain, 2011, p. 83).

Nevertheless, God's punishment is postponed. Despite the delay of the expected censure, the two friends are sure that their conviction is right. They just ascribe the result to the fact that Joe had some connections with the devil. The irony in implementing the ideas of destiny and providence in the text are seen in Tom's comparison of the church and the circus. At the same time, it proves that the adolescent prefers the latter:

I've been to the circus three or four times — lots of times. Church ain't shucks to a circus (Twain, 2011, p. 57).

In other words, the protagonist shows some disapproval of the religious institution, which still has a significant impact on the life of American society in the 19ᵗʰ century. A certain insincerity from fellow citizens in relation to the significance of religion is also evident in another episode of the novel. Tom, along with the other parishioners, is in the church listening to the priest's sermon. The boy is not interested in the content, he is bored to death and focuses his attention on the poodle and the insects (a beetle and a fly) that appear inside the hall. The adult members of the congregation do the same, they are not listening to what the cleric is saying:

By this time the whole church was red-faced and suffocating with suppressed laughter,

and the sermon had come to a dead standstill… (Twain, 2011, p. 41).

This episode proves once again that for many Americans the church is not really an important institution and plays only a secondary role in society. Most people attend religious events out of choice, and even sometimes do inappropriate things during the service.

The analysis of the text clearly shows some very important changes in attitudes to religious dogmas. The same can be applied to the motifs of destiny and providence. Tom, together with a group of teenagers, comes into the church when everything is ready for a funeral. This fact the parishioners and the boys' relatives accept as a manifestation of God's will, for which they thank Him. However, the adults are well aware that the children have just tricked them. The outward expression of gratitude to the Creator and falsehood of reality come into conflict with each other, which is ironically shown by the author. All citizens follow the words of the priest: "*Praise God from whom all blessings flow …*" (Twain, 2011, p. 126). In other words, the children's salvation is attributed to higher forces, for which the people thank the Lord. The author depicts this opposition to reality as especially important in the above-mentioned passage, and offers some explanations from the church minister which are supported by all present.

In 1884, Mark Twain's novel *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was published. This sequel to *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* is also known in most countries of the world. The main character is Huck, and the story is told from his point of view. The matters that the author raises in his narration are the issues of slavery and freedom, which were very relevant in that period of time. The plot's main development takes place during a trip on the Mississippi River. It is made by Huck with a coloured man, Jim by name, whom the boy helped to escape. This is only the external course of events. In fact, here the novelist meditates on the significance of spiritual values, on the formation of personality and the search for true freedom. This writer's work can be perceived as a novel, the symbol of which is the river. After all, on the one hand, the mighty Mississippi symbolizes the current of real life, and on the other, it shows the path to adolescence, its development, the road along which the search for spiritual values takes place. The ideas of destiny and providence are also clearly seen in the novel.

The protagonist constantly expresses his doubts about the basic postulates of Puritanism, he constantly seeks appropriate alternative views. He is bored by stories about the Prophet Moses, who died a long time ago. The teenager is not interested in stories about Paradise either, because his best friend will not get there anyway. Huck, as well as Tom, is pragmatic. From his point of view, any prayer should necessarily bring practical benefits, otherwise it is absolutely useless:

Then Miss Watson <…> prayed, but nothing come of it. She told me to pray every day, and whatever I asked for I would get it. But it warn't so (Twain: URL).

Huck tries to pray to God to escape the consequences of his wrongdoing. He wants to do something good that is associated with the established rules of good behaviour.

Huck compares Miss Watson's teaching to Douglas' understanding of God's work. The boy comes to the conclusion that there are two Gods. One of them is not so severe and terrible, and this is the God of the widow. However, the second one, Miss Watson's Lord, who is the true Puritan God, punishes everyone:

I judged I could see that there was two Providences, and a poor chap would stand <…> with the widow's Providence, but if Miss Watson's got him there warn't no help for him (Twain: URL).

The teenager tries to abide by the former, although he sees no benefit in that:

I would belong to the widow's if he wanted me, though I couldn't make out how he was

a-going to be any better … (Twain: URL).

Huck wants to inform Miss Watson of Jim's whereabouts. He knows he has to do that. But, at the same time, the boy realizes his friend's desire for freedom and believes Jim deserves it. The teenager remembers his kindness and feels he cannot betray the coloured man. Thus, the boy has got a problem: to tell Miss Watson everything, or to be silent about the place where her fugitive slave is. Huck cannot find the only possible correct answer. From one perspective, he should act as it is required by society's laws. From the other perspective, this solution is betrayal of his friend. Furthermore, Huck is convinced that Jim like any individual has the right to be free, and the boy is sure that the Creator also sees his doubts:

… here was the plain hand of Providence slapping me in the face <…> [I] was being watched all the time from up there in heaven … (Twain: URL).

Since providence is all-seeing, the boy understands that he will get to hell:

"… people that acts as I'd been acting about that nigger goes to everlasting fire" (Twain: URL).

Hence, in Huck's philosophical reasoning the author tries to show a peculiar victory of human qualities over society's prejudices. However, the boy still doubts that God really exists. He is not inclined to believe the great role of destiny and providence in real life, but thinks that God may be watching him when he does something wrong. At times Huck cannot even utter the words of a prayer, as he has not sincerely repented:

And I about made up my mind to pray <…>. So, I kneeled down. But the words wouldn't come (Twain: URL).

Trying to find the reasons for this event, the boy again returns to the problems connected with the all-seeing eye of the Lord:

"Why wouldn't they? It warn't no use to try and hide it from Him" (Twain: URL).

Analyzing God's actions, the teenager tends to think of His ability to precisely interpret the origin of events that happen:

"It was because my heart warn't right; it was because I warn't square; it was because I was playing double" (Twain: URL).

Huck is conscious of his inability to utter words of repentance. He explains it by the fact that inside he is torn apart by contradictory feelings:

"He knowed it. You can't pray a lie - I found that out" (Twain: URL).

It is impossible to pray and lie simultaneously – that is Huck's final conclusion.

Summing up the analysis of the novels *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, it is possible to say that they are opposed to the peculiar boring didacticism of children's books, which had always distinguished Puritan culture. Being a realist writer, Mark Twain emphasizes the belief in predestination among his fellow citizens throughout the 19th century. However, the power of this belief is waning considerably. The novelist also shows the changes that have taken place in society and the whole institution of the church's and religious dogmas.

The Catcher in the Rye by J. D. Salinger is one of the most important novels about maturation in 20th century US literature. The book is narrated by teenager Holden Caulfield, who explains what happened to him during a few days in New York (Afanasjeva et al., 2020). The young man was expelled from school, he wandered around the city, met different people and in the novel the boy shares his thoughts and feelings with the reader. The title of the book is linked with ideas of destiny and providence, as well as the indirect reference to the Almighty. The literal translation of the noun *catcher* into Russian conceals

its important connotations, which allude to "the savior of human souls", as Christ sometimes is referred to. The storyteller's dream is to catch children who are playing on the edge of the precipice, to prevent the misfortune that can take place. In other words, he is trying to protect them from doing wrong.

The events described in the novel happened just before Christmas. Holden emphasizes this fact at the beginning of the book: "*This madman stuff that happened to me around last Christmas*" (Salinger, 2006, p. 5). This period is traditionally connected with the motif of birth and wonder, the opportunity to turn to God and reflect on various things. The events depicted in the text take place within three days (Saturday, Sunday, Monday). These days bring certain symbolism into the narrative. Saturdays are filled with memories as the protagonist analyzes his life; Sunday is dedicated to the teenager's confession when he honestly tells his sister that he has done wrong; while Monday is associated by him with the opportunity to begin a new period in his life. The Christmas rush, the holiday atmosphere, the anticipation of a miracle is described by the narrator in a positive way: "*So it wasn't too bad walking on Fifth Avenue. It was fairly Christmasy*" (Salinger, 2006, p. 65). However, this period of the year is not very pleasant despite the fact that it is associated with the family holiday, the warmth of home comfort, the expectation of miracles and the Christmas church service. Cold and desolation become essential in the description of this pre-Christmas time. These moments amplify the main character's loneliness and sense of hopelessness.

The time shown in the text is related to the teenager's appeal to God, which can be understood in different ways. First of all, the ideas of providence and destiny are realized in connection with the boy's reflections on the Bible, Christ and the apostles. The problem of true and false faith is shown in the episode of his meeting with the nuns: gentleness predominates in the air. Holden treats them with sympathy and compassion. The opposite feeling can be seen in the description of the Christmas mime:

It's supposed to be religious as hell, I know, and very pretty and all, but I can't see anything religious or pretty, for God's sake, about a bunch of actors carrying crucifixes all over the stage <…> I said old Jesus probably would've puked if He could see it - all those fancy costumes and all (Salinger, 2006, p. 120).

The most evaluative phrases are those highlighted in the quotation, because the participants of the performance are called "a bunch of actors carrying crucifixes". The end of the play is accompanied by the following comment made by the teenager:

When they were all finished and started going out the boxes again, you could tell they could hardly wait to get a cigarette or something (Salinger, 2006, p. 121).

Holden emphasizes the "phony" enthusiastic behaviour of the audience because people want to see the end as they wish to get on with their daily routine. True and false beliefs are again opposed in another episode of the novel. Although Holden Caulfield has a direct dialogue with God and sincerely believes that everything beautiful and good on earth is connected with Him, the guidance of his teacher, who preaches similar views, is presented in a sarcastic way:

Then he started telling us how he was never ashamed, when he was in some kind of trouble or something, to get right down his knees and pray to God <…> He said he talked to Jesus all the time. Even when he was driving his car (Salinger, 2006, p. 32).

The call to talk to God when any problem arises, addressing Him as a friend, even when driving, makes Holden smile. This is due to the teenager's special sensitivity to sincere and insincere intentions, his ability to distinguish deceitful values from genuine cordiality. The idea of false faith is demonstrated during Christmas. At the beginning of the novel, Holden's friend Sally invites him to decorate the tree:

Are you or aren't you coming over to help me trim the tree Christmas Eve? I have to know (Salinger, 2006, p. 82). Although only a few days have passed, the boy watches that very Christmas tree, which is now surplus to requirements, being pulled from the truck with the following comment: "*Hold the sonuvabitch up! Hold it up, for Chrissake!*" (Salinger, 2006, p. 132). The boy pays attention to the discrepancy of these words with the subject of conversation: "*It certainly was a gorgeous way to talk about a Christmas tree*" (Salinger, 2006, p. 132). It is possible to see bitter irony in his thoughts. According to the narrator, the moment when the tree is thrown away is a "magnificent" way to discuss it. This symbol develops the theme of true and false faith: the external attributes of Christmas are deprived of any significance for people and serve only as material objects.

It is to the Lord that the boy most often confesses that he is mad and asks for His protection and patronage: "*I swear to God I'm a madman*" (Salinger, 2006, p. 72). In most desperate situations the teenager relies on providence and believes in destiny. The word "God" is used in the novel more than a hundred times. The storyteller usually begins a lot of phrases with the words: "*I swear to God*". He utters them repeatedly. The most common word for the narrator is "goddam". Thus, the ideas of providence and destiny are revealed in the speech of a rebellious protagonist. Despite the criticism of the outside world, the rejection of reality, deep down Holden relies on the Creator and hopes for His help. This fact makes providence and destiny important constituents of social and cultural values within American society (Chupryna and Baranova, 2022).

Conclusion

Ideas of providence and destiny have deep significance for American writers of the 19th and 20th centuries. However, the attitude of the inhabitants of the country to these issues changes significantly during this period, which is reflected in the works analyzed above. The interpretation of the ideas in question is substantially transformed, and themes connected with providence and destiny can be interpreted ironically by these authors. A certain loss in their significance during the 19th century appears to be forgotten in their further development as they are revived again in the works of American modernists of the 20th century, though with new and sometimes unexpected outcomes.

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