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Cultural Studies



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The Model of Formation of Functional Literacy of Students in the Conditions of Digital Transformation Taking into Account Regional Specificity

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Annotation. Nowadays, the problem of functional literacy is becoming a key issue in education. Thus, one of the indicators of the national project «Education» is the entry of the Russian Federation into the TOP-10 countries in terms of the quality of general education. That is why the formation of students' functional literacy acquires a national character. The aim of the study is to describe the model of the formation of functional literacy of students in the context of digital transformation based on the analysis of the formation of the components of functional literacy of students of the Priyenisei region. As a result of the study, the authors of the article, based on the results of regional diagnostic work of students studying in grades 6–8, aimed at studying individual components of functional literacy (reading literacy, mathematical literacy, science literacy), have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to increase the level of functional literacy. So, the model has been developed for the formation of functional literacy of students in the context of digital transformation taking into account regional specificity.

Keywords: a model of formation of functional literacy, functional literacy, mathematical literacy, reading literacy, financial literacy, science literacy, creative thinking, regional specificity, regional identity.

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Модель формирования функциональной грамотности обучающихся в условиях цифровой трансформации с учетом региональной специфики

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Аннотация. В настоящее время проблема функциональной грамотности становится ключевой в образовании. Так, одним из показателей национального проекта «Образование» является вхождение Российской Федерации в ТОП-10 стран по качеству общего образования. Именно поэтому формирование функциональной грамотности обучающихся приобретает национальный характер. Цель исследования – описание модели формирования функциональной грамотности обучающихся в условиях цифровой трансформации на основе анализа сформированности компонентов функциональной грамотности у обучающихся Приенисейского региона. В итоге исследования авторы статьи, опираясь на результаты краевых диагностических работ учащихся 6–8 классов, направленных на исследование отдельных компонентов функциональной грамотности (читательской грамотности, математической грамотности, естественнонаучной грамотности), пришли к выводу о необходимости повышения уровня функциональной грамотности. В связи с этим была разработана модель формирования функциональной грамотности обучающихся в условиях цифровой трансформации с учетом региональной специфики.

Ключевые слова: модель формирования функциональной грамотности, функциональная грамотность, математическая грамотность, читательская грамотность, финансовая грамотность, естественнонаучная грамотность, креативное мышление, региональная специфика, региональная идентичность.

Статья подготовлена за счет средств гранта, предоставленного РФФИ, Правительством Красноярского края и Краевым фондом науки: проект № 20–413–242904 «Разработка модели формирования функциональной грамотности обучающихся в условиях цифровой трансформации».

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Introduction to the research problem

The modern world has become much more complex, the visual-digital world has replaced the analogue-textological world, which requires the expansion and rethinking of the concept of «functional literacy».

The concept of «functional literacy» was introduced by UNESCO in 1957 as a set of skills to read and write to solve everyday problems in everyday life. Functional literacy in education is becoming one of the key issues for discussion at all levels: in the Ministry of Education, in the Council for Science and Education, in educational organizations. So, one of the indicators of the national project «Education» is the entry of the Russian Federation in terms of the quality of general education in the top 10 countries.

In addition, the problem of increasing functional literacy has become actualized today in connection with digital transformation. In the era of universal digitalization, new technologies and services are being created that can be effectively used in the process of education to form functional literacy of students and which will be of interest to representatives of young generations.

At present, the system of measures for the formation of functional literacy is being developed in Russia. So, in 2019, the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation initiated the project «Monitoring the formation of students' functional literacy», aimed at increasing the level of a person's ability to apply the knowledge gained to solving life problems (Basiuk, Kovaleva, 2019). However, along with the development and implementation of federal-level programs, not enough attention is paid to the formation of functional literacy taking into account the regional specificity.

The relevance of the problem predetermined the aim of this article – to describe the model of the formation of functional literacy of students in the context of digital transformation based on the analysis of the formation of the components of functional literacy of the students of the Priyeniisei region.

Conceptological foundations of the study

To achieve the aim, the following methodological approaches were used: a systematic approach, which made it possible to consider the process of forming students' functional literacy as a system of interrelated components; system and activity approach to the organization of the educational process, focusing on the priority of active teaching methods; a cognitive-visual approach that provides wide and purposeful use of the cognitive function of visualization in the process of forming functional literacy.

Within the framework of the study, epistemological principles are of particular importance: the relationship between theory and practice in the process of scientific cognition, the principle of consistency, the principle of objectivity, the principle of creative activity of the subject of cognition.

The problem of increasing functional literacy is currently being actualized in connection with digital transformation. Digital transformation is a current trend in the social, economic, industrial, and educational systems. The digital transformation of education is one of the leading components of the fourth industrial revolution.

A. Yu. Uvarov believes that «digital transformation (or the transition to a digital school) is a systematic and synergistic renewal of the basic components of the educational process (Fig. 1), including:

- results of educational work,
- educational content,
- organization of the educational process,
- evaluation of results» (Uvarov, 2019).

O.I. Popova in her article notes that «the essence of digital transformation (DT) of education is the achievement of the necessary educational results by each student through the personalization of the educational process based on the use of the growing potential of DT, including the use of artificial intelligence methods, virtual reality tools; development of the digital educational environment in educational institutions; providing public broadband access to the Internet, working with big data» (Popova, 2018).

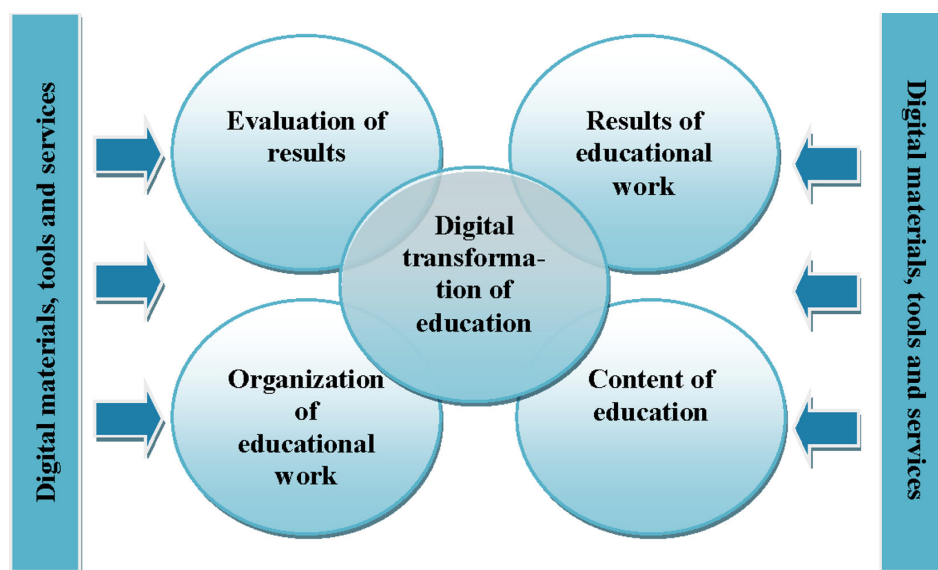


Fig. 1. Digital transformation as a system update of the basic components of the educational process in the digital environment

S. I. Makovskaya, the Minister of Education of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, in her report «Education 2020 +: quality management in the terms of changes» at the August Pedagogical Council on August 25, 2020 notes: «Speaking about the digital transformation of education, we understand that we get an additional opportunity to achieve the main priority, adopted last year at the level of the regional education system is a transition from mass unified education to individualized education aimed at ensuring the success and competitiveness of each child, which in the current situation retains its relevance and developing energy of the regional education system.»

Within the framework of the national project «Education», two federal projects are being implemented – «Digital educational environment» and «Teacher of the future» (Passport national'nogo proekta, 2018). The aim of the project «Digital Educational Environment» is to create conditions for the introduction of the modern and safe digital educational environment by 2024, which ensures the formation of value for self-development and self-education among students of educational institutions of all types and levels, by updating the information and communication infrastructure, train-

ing personnel, creating a federal digital platform.

Digital transformation (digitalization) of education is bringing the school in line with the challenges and opportunities of the modern information society and the digital economy.

Formulation of the problem

Nowadays it is the system of education that must ensure the final transition to the digital age and make education of the same quality for everyone.

The process of functional literacy of students in the context of digital transformation will be more effective taking into account the regional specificity of the educational environment.

In the context of our research, in order to create the model for the formation of functional literacy, the formation of its components (reading, financial, mathematical, science, creative thinking) in the Priyenisei Siberia (Krasnoyarsk Territory) is being analyzed.

Discussion

Let us analyze the results of the diagnostic work on reading literacy, obtained on the representative sample, which give a fairly volumi-

nous and objective idea of the reading literacy of sixth-graders in the Krasnoyarsk Territory. To obtain reliable data, in 2018, 18 schools of the region were included in the representative sample, and in 2019–17 schools in the region, in 2021–11 schools in the region. In 2020, the regional diagnostic work on reading literacy for students in grades 6 was planned for November 2020, however, due to the increase in morbidity and the transition of grades 5–8 in most cities to distance learning, this work was postponed to January 2021 (Krasnoyarsk COKO).

In 2018, 26,349 sixth-graders from secondary schools of the Krasnoyarsk Territory completed the diagnostic work on reading literacy (this is 91.03 % of the total number of 6th grade students in the region), and in 2019–27,997 sixth graders (this is 91.06 % of the total number of 6th grade students in the region), in 2021–28,528 students, which is 79.91 % of 6th grade students in the region (84.71 % of the number of possible participants).

The average percentage of completing the diagnostic work on reading literacy in 2019 in the region was 41.64 % (for option 1, this indicator is 46.62 %, for option 2–36.61 %). On average, the students scored 16.66 points (maximum score – 40). The girls did it better than the boys, and the difference between the completing the tasks by the girls and boys is greater than that of the students in urban and rural schools.

The average percentage of completion of the diagnostic work on reading literacy in 2021 in the region was 38.06 %. On average, the students scored 15.22 points (maximum score – 40). The average score on a 100-point scale is 41.66. The girls did it better than the boys, the difference between the results of the girls and boys is less significant than between the results of the students in urban and rural schools.

In the 2020–2021 academic year, the percentage of students who reached the basic and advanced levels (in the amount of 58 %) significantly decreased, and the percentage of the students who showed a reduced level and a level insufficient for further education (in the amount of 42 %) increased, which is primarily related to the impact of the pandemic (long period of distance learning, morbidity among

teachers and students). For comparison: in 2018 and 2019, 71 % and 73 % of sixth graders crossed the border of the basic level, did not reach the basic level of reading literacy of 29 % and 27 %, respectively.

In the studies of functional literacy conducted by the Center for Assessment of the Quality of Education of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, there is no data on the formation of financial literacy due to the fact that such diagnostic work is not carried out. It is worth noting that students of the Krasnoyarsk Territory take part in the Olympiads in financial literacy: the Moscow Olympiad for schoolchildren in financial literacy, the Online Olympiad «Young Entrepreneur and Financial Literacy», the All-Russian Online Olympiad in Financial Literacy, the International Olympiad in Financial Security, etc.

In March 2021, 7th grade students of all secondary schools of the Krasnoyarsk Territory completed the regional diagnostic work on mathematical literacy (KDR7) (no diagnostic work was carried out in 2018 and 2019). It was attended by 26,754 seventh graders, which is 87.44 % of the total number of 7th grade students in the region. The average percentage of completion for option 1 of the diagnostic work on mathematical literacy in the region was 37.15 %, for option 2–37.70 %. The average percentage of completing the diagnostic work on mathematical literacy in the region was 37.42 %. This year the girls completed the work slightly better than the boys (the average percentage of completion is 0.7 % higher). The average percentage of implementation of MFA7 in urban schools is more than 3 % higher than in rural ones. The border of the basic level was crossed by 67.45 % of the participants of the CRA7. Of these, 21.36 % showed an increased level. Approximately one in three seventh graders has not reached the basic level.

The assessment of the level of science literacy in world practice is carried out within the framework of the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), in which the Russian Federation also takes part. PISA (PISA, 2021) is a three-year study that compares the systems of education of several dozen countries. It is attended by 15-year-old students who

complete assignments in several areas, including natural science literacy. At the same time, the focus is not on the assessment of academic knowledge and content elements of a particular academic subject, but on the ability to act with their help, to comprehend facts, draw conclusions, and make decisions in situations as close as possible to real ones.

To ensure the objective conduct of the procedure and obtain reliable data on the state of affairs in the field of science literacy in the system of basic general education of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, a representative controlled sample of students has been compiled. The representativeness of the sample makes it possible to extend the conclusions obtained from the analysis of the results on this sample to the entire population of eighth-graders in the Krasnoyarsk Territory.

In 2018, 26,942 eighth-graders of all secondary schools of the Krasnoyarsk Territory performed the regional test in science (KKR8) (this is 91.3 % of the total number of 8-grade students in the region), and in 2019–25,266 eighth-graders (this is 89.22 % of the total number of 8th grade students in the region), in 2021–24,839 eighth graders (this is 86.66 % of the total number of 8th grade students in the region).

The average percentage of completion for option 1 of the diagnostic work on science literacy in the region in 2021 was 29.82 % (in 2019–40.28 %), for option 2–27.43 % (in 2019–40.64 %). In the 2020–2021 academic year, the girls did the tasks better than the boys (the average percentage of completion is about 3 % higher). For comparison: in 2019, the boys did it better than the girls. The average percentage of implementation of KDR8 in urban schools is almost 6 % higher than in rural ones, in 2019 the difference was 2 % (Krasnoyarsk COKO).

In 2021, PISA has introduced the assessment of creative thinking in the functional literacy research for the first time. As part of our research, following the conceptual provisions of PISA, by creative thinking we mean the ability to productively participate in the process of developing, evaluating, and improving ideas aimed at obtaining original and ef-

fective solutions and / or new knowledge and / or vivid expression of imagination (Framework for the Assessment of Creative Thinking in PISA-2021).

The conceptual approaches of the PISA study were adopted as the basis for the development of the toolkit for the project «Development of a model for the formation of students' functional literacy in the context of digital transformation». The PISA study is based on reliably established facts confirming the existence of significant differences in creative tasks in three areas: in the field of verbal expression, in the field of artistic expression, and in the field of problem solving – social, natural, mathematical (Kaufman, Baer, 2004; Chen et al., 2006).

In this regard, the following groups of tasks are given for the study of creative thinking:

- tasks requiring the use of artistic means of verbal and visual («tasks for verbal self-expression» and «tasks for visual self-expression»),
- tasks for solving problems – social and scientific.

A comparative analysis of the results of the performance of the diagnostic work by pupils of the 6th, 7th, and 8th grades in the Krasnoyarsk Territory for certain types of functional literacy allows us to draw the following conclusions, which will be checked in the course of further research:

- for all types of functional literacy, tasks in the PISA format remain unfamiliar to the majority of students in the Krasnoyarsk Territory, and their implementation causes difficulties;
- the results of the diagnostic work make it possible to assert that when completing tasks on all types of functional literacy, students of the 6th, 7th and 8th grades have a low level of formation of general educational skills, the main of which is the ability to work with information presented in various forms (texts, tables, diagrams or figures).

When completing the diagnostic work on reading literacy, 6th grade students of the Krasnoyarsk Territory confidently work with texts on literature, do tasks of various cognitive levels. At the same time, students have diffi-

culty working with texts that include diagrams, tables, etc. (non-continuous texts). It is worth noting that difficulties arise when completing tasks of a reproductive character – to find information given in an explicit form, correlate it with information from another source, and draw a conclusion. The reading literacy of students should be formed in the process of studying all academic subjects, it is necessary to constantly improve the professional skills of teachers, aimed at developing students' skills of conscious reading.

The results of the diagnostic work on science literacy testify to the insufficient practical orientation of the content of science education and its isolation from real life. Most science literacy tasks tested the skills that are not explicitly formed in science lessons. The results obtained indicate that, on the whole, the methodological skills associated with the analysis, generalization and assessment of the proposed situation have not sufficiently been formed among 8th grade students of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. It is in the tasks that require analyzing the results of the conducted science research, confirming or refuting the obtained conclusion using scientific argumentation, that the students showed low results, which actualizes the revision in this direction of the content of not only science, but also humanitarian education. Therefore, systematic work is needed to find effective approaches to the development of students' competencies that characterize science literacy in basic school.

The low percentage of correct completion of the tasks on mathematical literacy can be explained, on the one hand, by the format of the presented tasks, which is unusual for most students, which significantly differs from traditional tasks by a large amount of information and its problematic nature: the condition, as a rule, contains a description of a practical situation with redundant or missing data. The inclusion of plot (text) problems in the diagnostic work, which provide the possibility of applying knowledge in everyday life to solve personal and socially significant problems, helps the student to gain experience in the application of mathematical knowledge, expands understanding of the subject. It is obvious that an increase

in the number of such tasks in textbooks and didactic aids in mathematics in primary and secondary schools will improve the quality of subject training and ensure continuity in the development of mathematical knowledge of modern schoolchildren.

The results of the completing by the students of the region of the Olympiad tasks on financial literacy indicate that the structure of financial literacy requires a more detailed study of the toolkit with the study of the nature of the relationship for its objective assessment. A detailed development of this direction for schools in the Krasnoyarsk Territory is at the stage of formation, we are talking about a new special course that introduces the basics of financial knowledge as part of the educational program. At the same time, it should be considered that the developed tasks on financial literacy are aimed not only and not so much at diagnosing the level of financial literacy already achieved, but at getting acquainted with the conceptual framework of this type of functional literacy and the use of the tasks as a toolkit for the formation of patterns of behaviour in various life situations related to finances. They demonstrate the didactic significance of tasks and the possibility of their application in the process of education. An analysis of the problems that students faced when completing the assignments point to deficits in the financial literacy of primary school students and once again focus on the pedagogical potential of the assignments presented in the context of filling the identified gaps.

The reasons for the insufficiently high results of the students in science, mathematical and financial literacy may be associated with the fact that in the process of learning, the students have practically no experience in completing the interdisciplinary tasks, and the development of general educational skills is carried out mainly as part of academic subjects; students rarely find themselves in life situations (including those modelled in the process of learning) in which they need to solve social, scientific, and personal problems.

Note also that the existing banks of assignments for the components of functional literacy do not reflect regional specificity.

While there are tasks with regional themes in the regional diagnostic works. Therefore, the authors consider it appropriate to include a regional component in the substantive basis of the model for the formation of students' functional literacy in the context of digital transformation (Fig. 2), which will contribute to motivation for learning and the formation of regional identity.

For a holistic view of the process of formation of students' functional literacy, we have used the universal method of cognition, it is the modelling method. When creating the model, we were guided by the requirements put

forward by A. M. Novikov and D. A. Novikov (Novikov, Novikov, 2010): inertia, simplicity of the model and its adequacy.

As a methodological basis of the model, a systematic approach has been defined. It presupposes the functioning of a multitude of interrelated elements, united by a common aim of functioning and unity of management and acting in interaction with the environment as an integral phenomenon.

The graphical method allows to visualize the composition and structure of the modelled process of forming students' functional literacy. We have defined the main components of

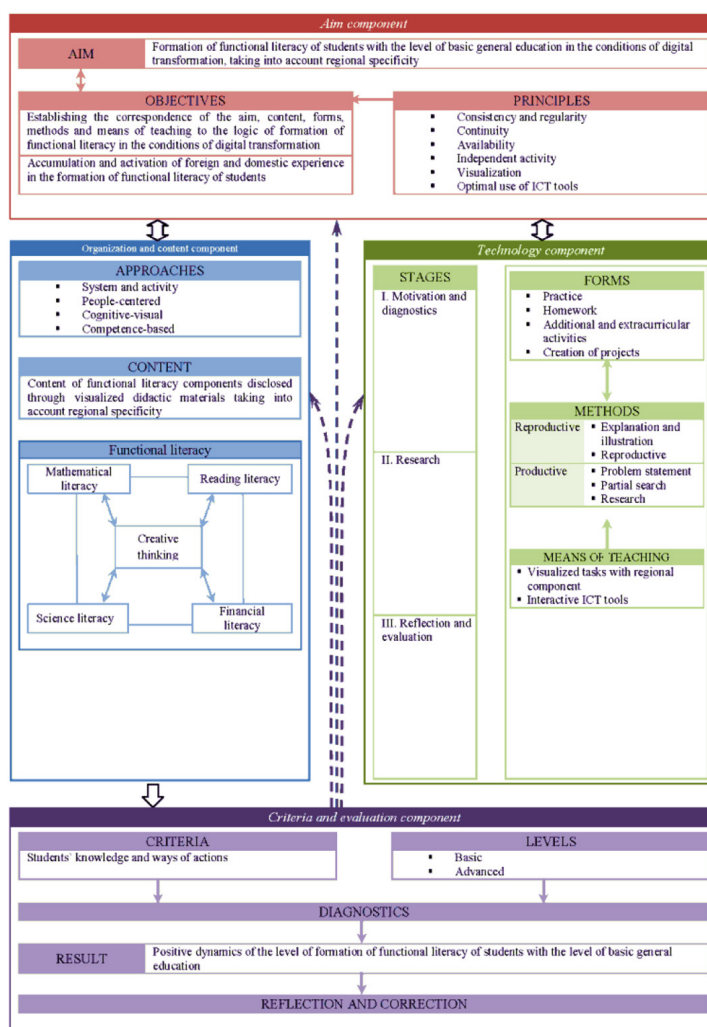


Fig. 2. The model for the formation of functional literacy of students in the context of digital transformation taking into account the regional specificity

the model: the aim component, the organization and content component, the technology component, and the criteria and evaluation component, which in our case are the main elements of the system.

Let us present the characteristics of each component.

The aim component of the model is represented by the following elements: aim, objectives, and didactic principles.

The aim of implementing the proposed model is to form functional literacy of students in grades 6–8 in the context of digital transformation taking into account the regional specificity. The authors believe that the choice of students in grades 6–8 is appropriate, since it is possible to compare with the results of the international PISA project (PISA, 2021), which is focused on 15-year-old students.

The formation of functional literacy acquires particular importance in the context of digital transformation, which implies a systematic update of the objectives and content of training, tools, methods and organizational forms of educational activity in the evolving digital environment.

To achieve the formulated aim, the following tasks were set:

- establishing the correspondence of the aim, content, forms, methods and means of teaching the logic of the formation of functional literacy in the context of digital transformation;

- accumulation and use of foreign and domestic experience in the formation of functional literacy.

The aim and objectives are implemented on the basis of didactic principles that reflect the requirements for the implementation of the pedagogical process: consistency and regularity, continuity, availability, independent activity, visualization and optimal use of ICT tools. The designated principles in the process of forming functional literacy are equivalent, interact with each other and function as an integral system.

The organization and content component includes approaches to learning (system and activity, people-oriented, cognitive-visual, competence-based), the content of learning,

which includes the content areas of the functional literacy components.

The technology component of the model under consideration includes a system of forms, methods, and teaching means aimed at the formation of functional literacy.

The stages of formation of students' functional literacy are highlighted taking into account the functional components of students' educational activities and are consistent with organizational forms, as well as methods and means of teaching.

The process of forming functional literacy is implemented through organizational forms of training: practice, homework, additional and extracurricular activities, and creation of projects.

When choosing teaching methods, we relied on the classification proposed by I. Ya. Lerner and M.N. Skatkin: explanatory and illustrative; reproductive; problem statement; partial search; research.

The criteria and evaluation component of the model determines the criteria, levels and indicators of the formation of the components of functional literacy.

Thus, the model developed by us for the formation of functional literacy of students in grades 6–8 in the context of digital transformation, consisting of four interrelated components (aim, organization and content, technology, criteria and evaluation), united by a common aim of functioning in accordance with the logic of the formation of functional literacy, focused on the positive dynamics of the level of its formation in the case of its implementation as an integral system.

Conclusion

Today it is important to talk not only about the assimilation of a certain amount of knowledge by students, but also about the quality of general education in Russia, which determines the importance of conducting research on the state of the problem of the formation of functional literacy. The analysis of the results of regional diagnostic work demonstrates the level of formation of students' functional literacy as a key indicator of the quality of the implementation of the national project «Edu-

cation» and can be used to develop and implement measures aimed at improving the quality of education and effective organization in 2022 and 2023 of the procedures «All-Russian assessment according to the PISA model». In this context, the authors propose a model for the formation of functional literacy of students in the context of digital transformation taking into account the regional specificity. The developed author's model consists of four interrelated components (aim, organization and content, technology, and criteria and evaluation) and is focused on the positive dynam-

ics of the formation of functional literacy in the case of the implementation of the model as an integral system. The content of the model is developed taking into account the specificity of the Priyeniye Siberia, which, according to the authors, will contribute to motivation for learning and the formation of the regional identity of students. The proposed results are, first of all, of practical value for researchers of the stated problem and educational practitioners. Further research in this area involves testing the proposed model to confirm its effectiveness.

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The Interplay of Cosmology and Theology in the Constitution of the Human Condition

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Abstract. The major topic of this article is the thematic centrality of humanity in the dialogue between cosmology and theology. Considered in a historical and philosophical perspective, it is demonstrated that this dialogue makes sense only as an intertwining hermeneutics of the human condition and thus represents an open-ended enterprise with no hope for the removal of the difference and distinction between cosmology and theology's representation of the sense of existence. Both, cosmology and theology deal with two different phenomenality of existence present in one and the same humanity which involve different and irreducible to each other narratives. Correspondingly, the dialogue between cosmology and theology represents another way of explicating the famous philosophical paradox of subjectivity. Cosmology is relevant to theology because it explicates the necessary conditions for existence of theologians as well as the physical possibility of the incarnation as its central dogma. Theology is relevant to cosmology because it interprets the very possibility of cosmology as knowledge of the cosmos referring to the human reason as a component of the human created condition in the image of the creator. The conclusion is that both cosmology and theology complement each other in the constitution and explication of the human condition.

Keywords: cosmology, dialogue (between cosmology and theology), history, humanity, phenomenality, theology, universe.

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Взаимодополнительность космологии и теологии в конституции человеческого состояния

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Аннотация. В статье обсуждается тематическая центральность человека в диалоге между космологией и теологией. Показано в исторической и философской перспективе, что диалог имеет смысл как взаимопересекающаяся герменевтика человеческого состояния и, как следствие этого, представляет собой открытое в будущее изыскание без какой-либо надежды снять различие между тем как космология и теология артикулируют смысл существования. Космология и теология имеют дело с двумя различными типами феноменальности в одном и том же человеке, которые влекут за собой два разных несводимых друг к другу нарратива. Соответственно, мы утверждаем, что диалог между космологией и теологией представляет собой еще один способ экспликации философского парадокса субъективности. Космология оказывается релевантной для теологии, потому что она эксплицирует как необходимые условия существования самих теологов, так и физическую возможность воплощения их центрального догмата. Теология релевантна для космологии потому, что она интерпретирует возможность космологии в качестве познания вселенной ссылкой на разум человека как составную часть его сотворенного состояния в образе творца. Делается вывод, что космология и теология взаимно дополняют друг друга в конституции и экспликации человеческого состояния.

Ключевые слова: вселенная, диалог (между космологией и богословием), история, космология, теология, феноменальность, человек.

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Introduction

The main objective of the present project on cosmology and theology is to reassess the current approach to research in the field of interaction/mediation/dialogue between modern cosmology and theology. The implied novelty is supposed to originate from the recent advance in the field of astronomy, astrophysics and cosmology as well as astrobiology, the advance which updates cosmological theories and hypotheses as well as the perception of the humanity's place in the universe. Methodologically, the implied novelty in understanding of the relationship between cosmology and theology will have to proceed from the advance of new philosophical methods elucidating both theological and cosmological claims about the

structure of the universe. It is difficult to speak of the progress of theology as such: understood as experience of the Divine in the world, it receives its expansion from the human experience of existing in the vast explored universe by accentuating with a new force the synthesis of the human natural smallness and its Divine-given greatness. The newly undertaken study in the relationship between cosmology and theology thus aims to contribute to the extension of the hermeneutics of the human condition as being created in communion with God. Thus the anticipated outcomes of this research will have not only an abstract academic character, but existential implications. Cosmology will contribute to the anthropology of the Divine image in what concerns the physical existence

of theologians. Theology, on its side, via an anthropological route, will contribute to understanding of the very possibility of the articulated image of the universe, that is, of the very possibility of cosmology as such.

The issue of cosmology and theology is a perennial one and this is the reason why when one poses a question of the relationship between cosmology and theology the answer is grounded in numerous historical references where this relationship appeared because practically every system of views about the world as a whole contained elements of theologies (*theologia* – knowledge of gods), as well as representations of the surrounding physical world. Examples date back to ancient mythologies, various Hellenistic theologies, as well as to the early Christian theology. This is the reason why to relate cosmology to theology and vice versa seems to be legitimate and not needing any justification. In ancient philosophies cosmology implied not only all knowledge related to the surrounding terrestrial nature, as well as the astronomical realm, but also some poetical, social and aesthetical extensions of the vision of the whole world. The very world *cosmos* (as beautiful arrangement) was a result of an aesthetical and even ethical attitude to the world. Christianity brought one essential amendment to such an understanding of the cosmos: it was created by God. Correspondingly if one implies a cosmological context of the Christian tradition in general, it relates to that part of creation which is *visible*, but serves as non-human background for the human existence. One must add that unlike the ancient mythological and philosophical narrative, this context was present not only in the Biblical accounts of creation and of the end of times, not only in the patristic commentaries and various theological works (where the discussion of the earthly projections of the overall cosmic reality is employed for the pedagogical and exegetical purposes), but in numerous manifestations of public (ecclesial) and private mystical worship. In other words, in many ways the universe was sensed not so much through its objective earthly and celestially displayed appearance, but a co-participating (together with man himself) in praise of God. Here one detects an existential element related to man's

role in the cosmos. One can speak of praise of God and his creation, but this is the human propensity telling more about man in the Divine image than of the universe itself. Then this multifarious experience of creation can be treated as a theological narrative whose relationship to cosmology can only be established via a human route. Can then one enquire whether the participatory experience of the universe has an «objective» sense making possible its relation to that which is present as a subject matter of cosmological narrative? This is a philosophical question that implies a different criterion for objectivity, objectivity which originates not only from the inter-subjective experience of the universe through reading theological books and prayers of the Church, but from the private, that is, mystical experience taking place not in a manner of some naturally predisposed causality, but as *events* which, being contingent in the historical and physical sense, yet are constitutive of a certain (but radically different from the scientific one) objectivity of the universe in that which this universe has to do with the human affairs. Contemporary philosophy terms such an alternative approach to the sense of objectivity as a different *phenomenality*: theology (including all forms of experience of God's presence through worship) deals with a radically different phenomenality of the universe implying a special cognitive faculty pertaining to man (traditionally termed *nous* (translated in modern usage as *spiritual intellect*)), which can be employed independently of and complementarily to the discursive reason. It is the possession by *nous* that allows man to discern the truth of the created world behind numerous metaphorical expressions of its presence in sacred texts and worship. To accept the presence of this truth means to include into the scope of humanity's capacity to assert (enhypostasize) the universe those phenomena whose *givens* (data) do not fall under the rubrics of *objects*. One then anticipates (in accordance with the thought formulated above) that the issue of the relationship between theology and cosmology, from a philosophical point of view, can be interpreted as a problem of co-existence of two different phenomenologies of the universe in one and the same human being: one of which

is *phenomenality of objects*, whereas another one can be called *event-like phenomenality* as being related to the singular perceptions of the universe through *events* of communion (either liturgical or related to individual sense of creaturehood) with God). But the events of communion are effectively propensities of life itself, so that one implies an event-like phenomenality of life as corresponding to the radical irreversible entrance of its own newness and unforeseen consequences into being. The alleged «objectivity» of the underlying cosmic phenomena in these two cases can be asserted only through assigning some ontologizing (objectivising) qualities to the human cognitive faculties which are traditionally called transcendental.

Modern cosmology as a natural scientific discipline is not a part of any philosophy, even less theology. It deals with the universe as an «object» of dispassionate investigation within the mundane phenomenality and natural attitude. Its logic and methods of research have their own historical roots, and, what is much more important, different tasks and objectives. Cosmology deals with the manifestation of the universe by explicating this manifestation in the discourse. Accordingly cosmology is thought of the cosmos as manifestation. It is concerned with that which concerns the manifestational givenness, of that which conditions it, that is, of the conditioning horizon (ontological horizon determining that part of the universe which is turned to humanity) which allows the unfolding of the manifestation of space and time and thus granting access to cosmic entities as objects. The phenomenality of these cosmic objects can be described as follows. Object (a galaxy, a cluster of galaxies, microwave background radiation, dark matter etc.) is such a thing which is fixed in its distance and accessible only via mediation through separation, that is extension in space or in time. Such a cosmic object remains exterior and reaches the subject only in vision, that is through its sense as being far away. In spite of the fact that an object is given in all its pieces and moments, in all its profiles, it remains in the distance enclosed in the surface of its appearance to us. The characteristic feature of objects is that they enter our perception and form a matter of our curiosity as they

are given to us, but they *do not concern us* (this can be expressed differently: being described mathematically, cosmic objects represent a form of stability with no intuitive content). We can meet objects because of their affinity to us in terms of nature (consubstantiality) because we themselves are part of the same nature. Certainly some cosmic objects are not objects *per se*; they are constructs of objects (examples Dark Matter and Dark Energy, as well as numerous representations of the origin of the universe). In this sense what characterizes objects with respect to us is their ontological uniformity with us as physical beings, as well as their intelligible uniformity within the scope of our intellectual sphere (a segment of the Platonic world of ideas accessible to us).

In the universe as it is revealed through communion with its Creator, that is through the primary revelation of life itself, the proximity and distance experience an inversion. One can say in the immediate experience of life as communion the universe gives itself in its distance, but by the means of proximity. The universe as it is given to us in the revelation of life has only half of its common measure with us. In a way, the universe given to us in revelation, is not the cosmos, which is supposed to be consubstantial with us, but that that impregnable otherness which while containing us, yet holds its distance from us. It is difficult to describe this distance in the language of constitution, it is not a sort of «space» disclosed to us through horizon of its conditioning of our knowledge, it is the *distance of non-manifestation* of the universe from which we are separated by the opacity of the visible and intelligible, that is of manifestation. This is the universe as it is lived through, as life itself which is phenomenologically given to us, but as such is invisible at distance. One can metaphorically say that the universe given to us through the revelation of life represents an invisible reality (not in technical terms) which is *given* as invisible, that is not as object. The question then is how this reality of the universe can be given effectively? What are the means of an unification of absence and presence of such a universe? Here human faculties of thinking and speech can be invoked, for this paradox of the presence in absence is as such a doing of

the humans. Yet this thinking and speech are not in their discursive function (which just reproduces the manifestation of the universe) but in the form of the operative «word» which is life itself. Life here, that is, human life, is that which is «sent forth» by that Who was «at the beginning with God» and in Whom «was life, as the life was the light of men.» As such life is operative since it makes presence of the universe only to a certain extent, not totally, nor exhaustively, as the Life (Divine life) which sends life in the universe, presents itself in a way that is perfectible, initiating a way along which one can endlessly walk. Life here is the truly and absolutely origin (*non-original origin, or originating origin*) which is beyond discourse in the same way as the inaugurated history of human life (as sacred history) is above and beyond the cosmic history whose necessary conditions form the discourse of the universe's manifestation only post-factum, that is already in the conditions of the operative life. The meaning and intentionality of the theological allusions to cosmological facts through stories of origins and images of the end of time in no sense represent the world in terms of its explanation and constitution of its destiny; they do not compose a cosmological discourse, but rather envisage a trans-cosmological meaning in the order of history (salvation history). The stories of the beginning of the universe and its end, as they are spelled out by the living humanity on the initiative of the Life itself, represent those events of Life's manifestation of itself through human enquiries into the sense of existence where life speaks of its own beginning and its consummation. In other words, the cosmological enquiries of the theological kind, as well as the cosmological discourse as unfold from within the order of history, deeply imbued with the major human preoccupation, that is, an incessant desire to grasp the sense of its own existence.

From what we have briefly discussed so far it follows that the question of a relationship between theology and scientific cosmology becomes problematic at its very inception: it attempts to co-relate two types of the human activity which in their visible practice develop independently from each other. This is the

reason why here a legitimate question arises about the very possibility and the sense of their co-relation. Any version of a response to this question requires such a philosophical insight which would «exceed» both, theology and cosmology (thus overseeing them both from «outside»). Philosophy will have to play here a role of the methodological ground and arbiter because any way of co-relating cosmology and theology without a philosophical justification would be historically contingent and logically arbitrary. Thus, first we need to proceed with setting the boundaries in the possible relationship between cosmology and theology and to make a general insight on the relevance of theology to cosmology. Then, as case studies, we will apply our conclusions to some particular «hot» issues in the dialogue between modern cosmology and theology in order to bring it to a new philosophical elucidation.

First of all, let us discuss terminology in order to understand what exactly is compared in theology and cosmology. The main question is the sense of what is that in cosmology which can be related to theology? Modern researches in the field of physical cosmology, when they attempt to think of their discipline in a wide historical, social and philosophical context, sometimes feel that there a distinction must be made between proper scientific aspects of cosmology (related to observations and mathematical models which aim to produce a credible and coherent account of the physical reality), and cosmological hypotheses which do not fall in the scope of scientific rationality. This happens when physical and mathematical hypotheses have a purely intelligible sense and are produced with respect to that which is unobservable. In this case philosophical ideas (and may be even theological motives) infiltrate cosmology. This happens because a human knower appeals to the abstract representations of the world or to its own experience of the rationally formulated belief in reality of that which exceeds the boundaries of the empirical. A typical example is a spectrum of models related to the origination of the universe («creation» of the universe), as well as hypotheses of the so called multiverse (plurality of worlds). Another example is the famous Anthropic Principle

(AP) where the physical and biological parameters of the human existence on Earth are related to the large-scale structure of the universe. In all its varieties the anthropic inference does not proceed from some intrinsic physical necessity. It implies a philosophical orientation (that is intentionality of consciousness seeking for the systematic unity of the world). In these examples cosmology is imbued with a wider system of ideas related to philosophy, as well as with some implicit theological intuitions. These aspects of cosmology which do not precisely follow the criteria of the scientific rationality (in contradistinction to the physical cosmology proper), can be called philosophical cosmology, metaphysical cosmology (meta-cosmology¹) or simply *cosmologia*,² a Greek word denoting cosmology as a part of *philosophia* as general knowledge.

Then the question present in the title of this article must be clarified: to what aspects of cosmology theology is related? Is theology relevant to physical cosmology, or to philosophical or meta-physical cosmology, or to *cosmologia*? In a historical perspective, when the distinction within these *modi* of cosmology was blurred, the question was not so cute because there was no clear distinction between philosophy and theology, but cosmology was always a part of general knowledge (philosophy). At present such a distinction is necessary implying that one needs to adopt a kind of an overseeing position in order to relate these various *modi* of cosmology to theology as if one was able to encompass in thought both of them. The employment of such an overseeing position aims to overcome the historical contingency related to the comparison of theology and cosmology. The historical contingency must be suspended (phenomenologically reduced) by placing the problem of the relation of cosmology and theology to the stratification of the different phenomena appearing to man. The objective in this case is not to compare theology and cosmology

on the level of their allegedly descriptive definition and judgments (as if one argued about ontological realities detected through an empirical experience and theoretical representations), but reducing them to their unity in their original existential (phenomenological) source in man.

By so doing one intentionally refuses a metaphysical methodology (implying some priorities among the models of reality standing behind cosmological and theological propositions) in favour of existential (phenomenological) stance placing man at the center of disclosure of the universe from within the originally given life whose experience (interpreted theologically) is equivalent to the experience of creaturehood, that is of communion with God. Indeed, since modern philosophy advocates «the end of metaphysics» in the sense that no ontology preceding that one which is asserted in cosmology or theology is possible (one of the arguments is that one cannot produce any realistic model of humanity by abstracting from its specific and concrete position in the universe as well as from its radically unknowable essence asserted by theology). Correspondingly that the most realistic approach to the mediation between theology and cosmology is based on an empirical ground that both theology and cosmology manifest human activities having one single source, that is, human conscious life. Then the enquiry into the sense of the relevance of theology to cosmology turns out to be an enquiry into the sense of the split between two phenomenologies of the human existence related to two types of experience of this existence. One can then generalise that humanity, the human phenomenon, becomes the central theme of the discussion of theology. The alpha and omega of all discussions in this vein is man as the center of disclosure and manifestation of the universe within the conditions of creaturehood in communion.

Thus the relation of theology and science (their dialogue) as free from the historical contingency becomes possible only in that case when the common source of their origination in human consciousness is retained in reflection. Cosmology and theology both proceed from this source whose embodied existence

¹ B. Carr, «Black Holes, Cosmology and the Passage of Time: Three Problems and the Limits of Science,» In Chamcham, K., et. al (eds.), *The Philosophy of Cosmology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 47-50.

² G. F. R. Ellis, «The Domain of Cosmology and the Testing of Cosmological Theories,» In Chamcham, K., et. al (eds.), *The Philosophy of Cosmology*, p. 4.

itself implies the *necessary* cosmic conditions of its possibility, as well as the *sufficient* conditions of articulating this source by this same consciousness. Then, once again we come to the question: what is that in cosmology which can be related to theology? From what we have discussed it follows that only those aspects of cosmology which touch upon the basic conditions of the human existence can be relevant to theology. Correspondingly, vice versa, only those aspects of theology which elucidate the very fact of the possibility of cosmology, can be properly relevant for the latter. If in some discussions on theology and cosmology one concentrates on their formal content, it is clear that since their narratives correspond to two different phenomenalitys, cosmology and theology can enter into the dialogue only in their non-descriptive modi (that is, as *meta-cosmology* or *cosmologia*). It is doubtful that scientific cosmology working in the natural attitude and dealing with the universe in the phenomenality of objects can be a partner in the dialogue with theology whose perception of the world is based through seeing it as a manifestation of communion with the Creator.

Indeed, if one narrows cosmology to its modern scientific standing, then the issue of «cosmology and theology» could be qualified as artificial and non-scientific. There is no logical or theoretical necessity in carrying out such an investigation. Scientific cosmology functions with no regard to either philosophy and theology. Correspondingly, whatever it claims about the physical universe remains within the limits of its competence. However, if cosmology attempts to generalise its findings towards the whole of being (understood either philosophically as the totality of existence or, theologically, as creation), it trespasses its own boundaries and thus ceases to function as a strictly scientific discipline. The scientific cosmology transforms in this case into a philosophical cosmology, or just into a sort of the world outlook in the style of the ancient Greek *cosmologia*. Then all its edifice turns out to be non-descriptive, that is simply hermeneutical, where such a hermeneutics (as produced eidetically, on the level of some intentionality) is related to the hermeneutics of the human con-

dition. The transition from the scientific cosmology to the philosophical one corresponds to the transition from the objectivised order of the cosmos to its particular version disclosed from within the order of history. The extent of objectivity of the order of the cosmos is diminished simply because it is placed within the universally subjective order of humanity. The cosmic hermeneutics turns out to be an expressed outwardly hermeneutics of the human condition. Since the latter is the subject matter of theology, the mediation between cosmology and theology becomes inevitable.

The same thing can be said about theology. If the latter shifts its concern from the order of history (related to humanity's relations with God) towards the structure of the world as if theology makes some descriptive propositions about ontology of the world, it also transcends its capacity because effectively it attempts to predicate something about God and his creation which are both incommensurable with a finite human being (even made in the divine image). If theology is apophatic with respect to its truth claims about God, it should be apophatic to the same extent with respect to world and man himself as made by the infinite and incomprehensible Creator. Theology can disclose the sense of the Creator's presence in the world, but it cannot exhaust the sense of the world as the latter is presented to God himself. This follows from the fact that the world is contingent. One can enquire into the 'what' of creation, but not of its 'why.' The order of history is a human order. Therefore the order of humanity (unable to know itself), being transferred to the whole world makes the cosmic order unknowable to the same extent as humanity itself. The cosmic order then becomes another form of a theological hermeneutics whose sense cannot have ultimate ontological foundations because they are concealed from humanity to the same extent as humanity hardly comprehends its own ontological foundations. One comes to a similar conclusion that was made above that the theological hermeneutics of the created world is implicitly a hermeneutics of the worldly human condition in communion with God.

It becomes clear that the mediation between cosmology and theology is something

which by definition exceeds the scientific, as well as strictly theological scope. In other words, if cosmology deals with the order of the cosmos, whereas theology deals with the order of history, the question of their interaction/mediation/dialogue becomes a philosophical question about the hierarchy of these orders in human consciousness. The problem of relation between theology and cosmology turns out to be a philosophical problem of the paradoxical enclosure of these orders one into another. Indeed, on the one hand the order of history is enclosed into the cosmic order as the necessary condition of the former. On the other hand the very cosmic order is disclosed and articulated from within the order of history. The premise of man's existence as a theologian is its cosmic place, whereas man's premise of being a cosmologist is its Divine image. Cosmology and theology become inseparable if these disciplines pretend to realistically contribute to the description of the human condition. As to the descriptive statements about the external world and its origin in cosmology and theology, they acquire either a philosophical sense in the style of *cosmologia* of ancient Greeks, whereas theology becomes at best *theologia naturalis*. The interaction between the latter is ever historically contingent without clarifying the source of the paradoxical phenomenality of the order of the cosmos and the order of history.

Before going in detail into philosophical aspects of mediation between theology and cosmology one must admit that modern cosmology (based on results of the scientific search promoted to the level of the world outlook) considered within modern culture becomes a sort of 'public theology'.³ Contemporary cosmologists are often seen as exercising a certain «priestly» role in modern society as if cosmological ideas had immediate existential and social impact which would catch and fascinate public opinion. Then it is naturally that this «new cosmic theology» (reminiscent to a mixture of ancient *cosmologia* and *theologia naturalis*) enters into polemic with the traditional theology. The latter cannot abstain from

this engagement because it must react towards a philosophical and pseudo-philosophical rhetoric of those who proclaim cosmological theories as ultimate truth. But doing so traditional theology engages not so much into the polemics on the nature of scientific claims about reality, but into a polemics on a particular social and cultural, sometimes explicitly atheistic, appropriation of cosmological theories.

The public nature of cosmology means that it contributes to the overall human culture by supplying the latter with a grandiose multifarious narrative some parts of which are based on interpretations of observations and mathematical modelling. In such a public appropriation cosmology is subjected to a hermeneutics exceeding the scope of the scientific. Whereas theology is aware of the fact that any hermeneutics of creation is historically contingent, science can hardly accept this because the latter implicitly follows a belief that any of its ideas expressed mathematically corresponds to reality in itself independently of how such a knowledge was obtained.⁴

Philosophy and theology are prepared to accept the public nature of cosmological knowledge as a constantly renewing narrative about the universe some parts of which are based in observations and mathematical modelling. This narrative includes up-to-date scientific discoveries and ideas, as well as many trans-scientific extrapolations and speculations which exemplify the open-ended status of any scientific enquiry. It is not difficult to grasp that such a narrative leaves a strictly scientific field transforming scientific cosmology into *cosmologia* as part of the overall concept of reality. The ambitions of such a cosmology to provide a descriptive representation of reality have even less grounds than scientific hypotheses themselves. Since in such a narrative the notion of the universe accessible to the scientific grasp is transformed into the totality of being, infinite by definition, cosmology loses its scientific status. Cosmology of the practically (and

³ T. Peters (ed.) et al., *Astrotheology. Science and Theology Meet Extraterrestrial Life* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2018), p. 46.

⁴ One can speak about an ontological commitment in modern mathematical cosmology based on indemonstrable supposition that any mathematical constructs corresponds to a sort of physical reality (see, for example, as an extreme case of such a view a book M. Tegmark, *The Mathematical Universe* (London: Allen Lane, 2014).

potentially) infinite universe cannot be ever accomplished and exhausted because of some fundamental physical and epistemological limits of the human knowledge of the universe.⁵ In this trivial sense cosmology picturesquely provides one with an example of the open-ended hermeneutics of the large-scale physical existence (as that background which is necessary for existence of humanity). Such a hermeneutics has its own limits because it must comply with the physical laws (expressed mathematically) accessible to man who is *constituted* on the basis of these laws. Thus this hermeneutics is open-ended but yet limited by the horizon of the human cognitive faculties in the conditions of corporeal existence. Here an analogy comes to mind with the apophatic sense of theology as admitting any possible hermeneutics of the infinite and incomprehensible God within the boundaries (*horos*) of dogmatic definitions. Can then the issue of the relevance of theology to cosmology become a question of a possibility of using a theological hermeneutics of creation together with the cosmological hermeneutics in order to produce a unified representation of one single whole (assuming that it is possible at all), although open-ended as well? This question is a legitimate one because it has precedents in history, where cosmology was a part of philosophy understood as knowledge, as well as of *theologia naturalis*. Yet, one needs to address an issue of whether we return to such a posing of a question on the relation between theology and cosmology as a historically contingent comparison of narratives related to modern era? Our objective, from the very beginning, was to avoid such a historically contingent approach by transferring the question into an *apodictic*, that is, philosophical frame. To interpret the «dialogue» between theology and cosmology as a comparison of two ongoing hermeneutics of the world is not philosophically deep. The genuinely non-trivial question is why there are two hermeneutics (in one and the same human being) but not one. This question brings any researcher back to the enquiry about the basic difference of two types of experience of existence in one and the same human condi-

tion: religious and natural (worldly). But this is a philosophical question so that the approach to the problem of a relation between theology and cosmology must be philosophical.

Indeed, in order to make a comparative analysis of two spheres of the human experience one must have an a-priori philosophical predisposition which is initiated not because of the scientific advance or socio-historical factors, but through the logical necessity to understand how two types of experience of the universe are possible in one and the same human being. Within such a philosophical concern the center of enquiry shifts from its objective pole (that is from truth claims about objective reality) to the subjective (noetic) pole related to the subject. This brings on board an anthropological (existential) dimension of the problem where it is a-priori clear that the question of the relevance of theology to cosmology or vice versa does not have too much sense, because it is the same as to ask what psychological experience of the universe is more relevant: the scientific one or that of theology? In fact, the word relevance becomes inappropriate here, because from the point of view of the empirical life both experiences are possible and both do not contradict each other for they do not affect actual life. It is a different story one does undertake a transmission of these experiences into truth-claims assigning them some epistemic or ethical value. In this case the enquiry into the interaction between cosmology and theology in one and the same human being becomes constitutive for man himself, that is the essence of humanity is determined by the presence in its activity of such a «dialogue.» This can be expressed in a different way: the disclosure and manifestation of the universe as it is studied in cosmology is intrinsically linked to the existential desire to explicate the human condition, human life as it is experienced in its immediate givenness by every human being. Here cosmology represents a certain *telos* (goal) of the human intellectual activity in order to exercise, in words of the founders of phenomenology, «worldification» or «enworlding,» whose scope is not reduced only to curiosity and wonder of the infinite skies and the *cosmos*, but is implanted in the very essence of the human telic constitu-

⁵ On limits to testing outcomes in cosmology see Ellis, «The Domain of Cosmology...» pp. 23–32.

tion. From within such a vision of cosmology a particular historical distinction between that in cosmology which is strictly scientific (as defined at this particular moment) and that which represents a much wider narrative has only a historical significance, implying that those perennial issues which humanity encountered at the dawn of its conscious existence, such as, for example, the sense of contingent facticity of all, the origin of the universe and life in it, etc. remain undisclosed and concealed in spite of their ongoing scientific hermeneutics. In spite of the fact that the ultimate origin of this concealment cannot be elucidated either scientifically or philosophically, one feels intuitively that it can be interpreted anthropologically, that is as related to the most immediate existential anxiety of the origin of life. Here one sees a different approach to cosmology not as to a discipline which explores something out there (that is, produces some descriptive claims about reality of things in the conditions of sheer incomprehensibility of why this exploration is possible and why the displayed facticity of the universe is such as it is), but as to some expression of the human existence in cosmic terms, existence considered as a primary philosophical fact. The scheme «there is the universe, therefore there is human existence» is replaced by a phenomenologically explicated existential inference from the human existence to the universe, where in the former the universe is treated as a necessary background for the appearance of the embodied consciousness, whereas in the latter the universe is treated as a product of the human articulation and constitution (as it happens in the sciences). Yet, the fact that the natural background of the universe is necessary for the human existence is an articulated and constituted fact, brought to light post-factum through observation and study of the universe whose possibility is based in the human intellectual capacity which is related to the physical necessities, but as an intentional activity is not implanted in them.

Recapitulating the final point, one can approach cosmology not from the point of view of what it claims as a matter of fact (leaving this to the proper scientific cosmology), not from a point of numerous views of the universe start-

ing in the historical past and finishing by post-modern grand narratives (presented in abundance in popular books), but as an ever present modus of the human existential activity always directed to the future (being indeed a «cosmogonic» process of world-building). Seen in this way, cosmology, as aiming to explicate the sense of the universe, in particular its origin, forcefully demonstrates that it is this origin of the universe that forms the *telos* of cosmological explanation and thus, by its *constantly constituted* essence, is situated in the future of humanity as the anticipated goal of such an explanation. In spite of the seemingly paradoxical nature of this conclusion, it can receive a philosophical justification as the working of the *formal teleology* in the cosmological research which originates in the cognitive faculties as part of the human condition.⁶ If the whole of cosmological research related to tracing down the origins of the evolving universe can be seen as a certain formally *teleological* activity (pertaining to the order of history related to humanity), then the entrance of a *theological* dimension into this activity cannot proceed along the lines of a classical physico-theological argument (argument from design). Since we are dealing with the *formal teleology* as an attribute of the human consciousness, theology enters here as an enquiry into the facticity of this consciousness. In other words, theology enters implicitly as dealing with the foundation (inauguration) of the order of history as the history of consciousness. Then the problem of theology and cosmology transforms into the enquiry about the stratification of two different types of the intrinsically *teleological* contemplation of the world, which, in spite of their differences in content, have a common origin in the human condition. Then the goal of the very dialogue between theology and cosmology is to explicate the human condition dealing with two phenomenologies of the world having intrinsically teleological overtones. Here, in addition to the already formulated idea that the rela-

⁶ The ideas of formal teleology functioning in constructing the ideas about the systematic unity of nature have been developed by Immanuel Kant in his Critique of Judgement as well as in later works of the founder of phenomenology Edmund Husserl.

tion between theology and cosmology can be established on the level of its narratives about the universe, one must introduce one important aspect, namely that these narratives follow an intrinsically present goal which constitute these narratives, and this goal proceed from the author of these narratives who aspires to understand itself, that is to explicate the sense of its human existence. It is this inherent telos of humanity which initiates all hermeneutics of the created world, including scientific cosmology.

Theology never implied an accomplished cosmological synthesis because it dealt with the human situation in the created world and in communion with God. However theology, together with philosophy, engages with the cosmological discourse when man experiences emotional and spiritual predicaments in appropriating the findings of cosmology. First of all this happens when humanity has to face its radical physical insignificance in the universe and its contingency upon physical factors which are beyond its control. Whether one implies a single universe related to what we observe or multiverse, man's physical position in the cosmos can be described in terms of cosmic homelessness (M. Heidegger), non-attunement (J.-F. Lyotard) or restlessness (S. Frank), or, saying shortly as deprived of sense and value. This is confirmed not only through the modern estimate of the visible universe's size in terms of 92 billions of light years at whose background the habitable zone on the planet Earth with its atmosphere of 10 kilometres high seems to be infinitely small, but, in fact, through a fundamental chaining of humanity to the planet Earth. Indeed, as recent scientific results assert, any perspective in direction of the cosmic expansion of humanity beyond Earth seems to be bleak because of the penetrating cosmic ionising radiation which prevents cosmic travels and thus contradicts to existence of life beyond the planet. *Geocentrism* becomes for humanity not an option, but the imperative (it does not imply that humanity has to deny existence of life and intelligence beyond Earth, the question is about the possibility of being displaced in space). And it is in the background of this inevitability of geocentrism that all cosmological discoveries and estimates of the size and the

age of the universe seem to be very depressing if humanity treats itself only in physical terms. Cosmology in this sense explicates well the predicaments of the human condition. It provides a profound account of what humanity has achieved in a short historical period in terms of understanding of the outer cosmos, but, as such, cosmology does elucidate the sense of the human existence in the universe only apophatically: it tells how the universe is inhuman. Cosmology outlines the necessary conditions for existence of humanity, but it leaves untouched any question on the contingent facticity and the sense of existence in these conditions. Certainly this is not cosmology's business to deal with this issue. But, one must remember that cosmology as such exists only because there are human beings endowed with an intellect and whose existence as such is elucidated by this cosmology only to a «half». In this sense cosmology exists in the concealed conditions of its own possibility. In order to clarify what this means, it is enough to pose a question of how the 20 cm of the human brain is capable of producing an instantaneous conscious synthesis of the practically infinite universe. Philosophically, once can rephrase this question as to where from humanity has access to the idea of infinity? It is only in the background of this innate idea that humanity is capable of sensing its physical incommensurability with the universe, its homelessness, non-attunement and restlessness. All these sentiments belong to the interior sphere of the human subjectivity and reflect something in humanity which does not follow directly from the conditions of its physical existence. One can probably survive on this planet without ever thinking about the cosmic place just imitating an animal «freedom» from enquiring into the sense of existence. It is here that one observes a certain reversal of the situation with the cosmic place: the human obsession with its place in the universe transforms into the question of why this very obsession is given to humanity through the very fact of its existence. In other words, where the very possibility of cosmology comes from and what is its purpose in view of its depressive (but obviously scientifically dispassionate and objective) findings? All these questions are related

to the realm of the human affairs by treating cosmology as one of them. But human affairs take place within the order of history which is a subject matter of theology and here cosmology naturally meets theology in man. Cosmology receives its explication from within the human condition and human history, that is existentially. One finds the questions of the universe as a whole, of its origin, its suitability for the human existence etc. as grounded in the basic concern of humanity about the sense of its own existence. By doing cosmology humanity attempts to achieve existential goals functioning in the human psyche in rubrics of faith related to the vision of humanity's destiny as it is portrayed from within the order of sacred history. How then a vision of such existential goals cascades towards the vision of the order of the cosmos? The answer to this question contributes to the issue of the relevance of theology to cosmology.

**Theology and cosmology:
from a historical narrative
to the philosophical problem**

Every ancient mythology, every ancient philosophy that included «theology» under the guise of the *theologia civilis*, *theologia fabulosa* or *theologia naturalis*, contained cosmology (*cosmologia*) implying that the arena of the human affairs in their relation to deities was this physical world, this planet, this particular geographical setting. In many ways cosmology was a certain ideal mirror, a beautiful arrangement (*cosmos*), which humans were longing for in their social life, that is life of the *polis*.⁷ In most cases cosmology was mythological aiming towards the ideal picture of the remote hopes and aspirations of humanity. In this sense, in spite of the fact that the heavens were accessible to the human gaze, cosmology's motivation was not astronomical display and the natural order, but the order and sphere of the human ideals, that is of mythology. Truth and value of such cosmologies corresponded to the sentiments of the ancient epochs. Thus cosmology in its ob-

jectives was rather fabulous, than natural. Its truth was existential, but not metaphysical.

The Biblical narrative and its Christian exegesis, which historically followed the antiquity, did not have an objective of constructing an accomplished world-view, because its concern was the relationship between man and God so that the proper cosmological context (that is the description of reality of the universe) was of a secondary importance. Cosmology was present in major Christian writers but this was not an abstract teaching about the cosmos as it existed in itself, rather the sense of the latter was unfolded from within *human history* (sacred history) on Earth. One can say that the Biblical view of the cosmos became genuinely historical, because it was a part of the overall planned history for the Divine humanity. Seen in this perspective, the cosmic order was not a cyclic order of the eternal Greek cosmology, but was set up by God through creation of the world and man. The cosmos was arranged by the Creator for the sake of the human history (as a component of the sacred history of salvation)⁸ and man could potentially infer from the thus arranged world to God⁹ (the premise of *theologia naturalis* was cosmological). To see God's presence in the world man had to «listen» to the stars meaning the transcription of the Christian prayer «thy will be done in earth¹⁰ as it is in heaven,» where «earth» was always associated with the entire visible universe. Yet, the presence of the physical universe (as a generalised notion of earth) in the Christian context, if one attempts to describe creation in cosmological terms, implies that cosmology appears here as *cosmologia*, as that description of the overall material (visible, empirical) part of creation whose ultimate sense while being disclosed to man to a certain extent (thus making possible

⁷ See, for example, L. Brisson, F. W. Meyerstein. *Inventing the Universe. Plato's Timaeus, The Big Bang, And the Problem of Scientific Knowledge* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), p. 18.

⁸ See, e. g., J. Danielou, *The Lord of History* (Longmans, Green and Co Ltd, 1958), pp. 27–29; O. Clément, «Le sens de la terre», *Le Christ terre des vivants. Essais théologiques. spiritualité orientale*, n. 17 (Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellfontaine, 1976), p. 80.

⁹ This was a patristic conviction expressed, for example by Athanasius of Alexandria in *De incarnatione verbi Dei* 12, and *Contra gentes* 35.4.

¹⁰ Assuming that theologically Earth is the whole the visible universe (See, for example, Lossky, *Orthodox Theology*, pp. 64–65).

its study) yet remains hidden in the will and wisdom of the Creator.

Saying that cosmology of ancient Greeks was in many aspects *cosmologia fabulosa*, it is implied that *cosmologia* in ancient Greek philosophical thought, as well as later in Christian teaching was linked to the proper «science» of astronomy only to a limited extent. Astronomy was established on observations of the celestial objects and as such did not always correlate with particular philosophical or religious convictions. Cosmological and philosophical ideas used astronomical observations (for example planets' revolution). Astronomy and *cosmologia* were connected, but *cosmologia*, as a vision of the world as a whole, was based on philosophical (aesthetical, even ethical) convictions whose origin was in the world of culture and mental abstractions from the immediate physical reality. Yet, together with the *theologia naturalis* of ancient Greeks, as well theology of creation in Christian teaching, cosmological views of ancient philosophers and early Christian theologians (that is views related to the wholeness of the universe) could be qualified no more than *cosmologia naturalis* because it asserted that which was related to the nature of the empirically observed things although only limitedly. The question was mostly not the input of observations and realistic claims about the cosmos, but about the ethos of such a cosmology: man's interest to it was rather subordinated to the order of the human history and had sense for the life of the Greek society and humanity in general in Christianity.

From the modern point of view such a qualification for the ancient cosmology seems to be reasonable because cosmology, unlike astronomy, was not and could not be a «science» in a proper modern sense.¹¹ One can point to the Ptolemy's system of the world that used the Aristotelean model of the universe and which existed for more than a thousand years. It gives an example of how *cosmologia naturalis* remained a dominating in the mind of the Chris-

¹¹ The word 'science' in general was never used in Greek knowledge. Many of the ingredients of what we now regard as science were present: a developed language for describing nature, methods for exploring it, factual and theoretical claims emerging from such explorations, and criteria for judging the truth or validity of the claims thus made.

tian society the later advance of astronomy associated with the names of Copernicus, Kepler, Tycho Brage, Galileo and up to Newton, when cosmology received some mathematical formation, as well as its observational techniques advanced.¹² Fables and imagination have been replaced by the refined observations and mathematical insights. And this is the reason why the first historical examples of natural theology (*theologia naturalis*) were closely linked to such a cosmology because the former was an attempt of making inferences to the Divine on the basis of studying movements of the celestial bodies, was the only credible kind among ancient theologies since it related to empirical experience.

Yet the ancient relation between cosmology and theology was intrinsically philosophical. In a Christian context, since *theologia* (reasoning or discussion about the experience of God) is linked to truth¹³, a comparison between cosmology and theology can be done only with the help of philosophy (as love for wisdom), for philosophy as knowledge (*gnosis*) delivered a common perception of reality (not that of opinion (*doxa*)). Faith as such (as the foundation of genuine theology) is a concern for philosophers for, as Augustine concludes, «the true philosopher is the lover of God» (*verus philosophus est amator Dei*).¹⁴ Correspondingly, since philosophical systems of the antiquity (in particular

¹² Yet, even Kepler, when he attempted to construct a whole view of the Solar system (as the system of the world) invoked a purely intelligible model of the orbits which was rather a fable. Kepler in his treatise *Mysterium cosmographicum* attempted to explain the number of planets and geometrical position of their orbits by appealing to five Platonic solids whose boundaries determined extensions between planets. In spite of the fact that such an explanation does not correspond to the nature of things and is arbitrary in terms of a method, Kepler managed, according to his opinion, to explain the spatial extension between planets with the precision of 10 %. (J. Kepler, *Mysterium cosmographicum* (The Secret of the Universe), A. M. Duncan (tr.) (New York: Abaris Books, 1981). Yet this was still a *cosmologia naturalis* rather than a scientific cosmology in a modern sense.

¹³ Clement of Alexandria treats truth as something which is all-embracing, something which includes all particular kinds of truth. Truth is one, and it is God's truth (Clement of Alexandria, *The Stromatata, or Miscellanies*, Book I, Ch. 5,6 [ET: ANF, vol. 2]).

¹⁴ Augustine, *The City of God*, VIII, 1 [ET: H. Bettenson (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), p. 298].

those of Plato and Aristotle) were cosmological through and through, cosmology naturally entered Christian theology as part of that inheritance from the ancient times which Christianity as Good news had to deal with in the old surrounding culture. Since theology engaged with philosophy, whereas philosophy was always imbued with cosmology, cosmology naturally entered a relationship with theology. A question of relevance of theology for cosmology was a question of the relevance of religious convictions to the picture of the world of the time. During the long history of Christianisation of Greek and Roman civilisation, and later Byzantium and Europe this question went through a radical inversion because the world view became dictated by the Christian attitude to existence based in faith in God and tradition laid in the basis of all systems of the world. The question became not that one on the relevance of Christianity to ancient cosmology, but *vice versa*, on the relevance of ancient cosmology to Christianity. New Christianised cosmology was relevant for theology by definition since cosmology was based on of religious convictions. Yet cosmology in this context remained no more than a *cosmologia naturalis* which could not be disentangled from *theologia naturalis* because it was based not only on scientific evidence (implying, in modern terms, physical causality), but on religious hypotheses, that is sheer intentionality. One must understand that religious convictions were imported into cosmology via an adjusted philosophical route by showing that philosophy was absolutely relevant to cosmology, for cosmology as *cosmologia* could not be thought of without philosophy.

The question of the relevance of philosophy to cosmology became very acute in the 20th century when cosmology became an observational discipline encompassing extremely large spatial (and hence temporal) scales of the universe and thus pretending to make *scientific* claims about the universe as a whole. And the first question that arises is about a philosophical status of scientific claims about the universe as a whole. The pretence of cosmology for a scientific status of its claims was based on the new synthesis of the observational astronomy of the deep cosmos with the advance in theoret-

ical physics. One can speak about the inception of a new *scientific cosmology* in the beginning of the 1930s when Einstein's Relativity, applied by A. Friedman and G. Lemaitre to the cosmic scales, convinced scientific communities that the overall cosmos consisting of numerous galaxies experiences expansion, that is, evolves. This breakthrough was important philosophically because science received a chance to ascribe a common property to all objects in the universe, that is, to make an inference about the systematic unity of the universe, where the unity is related to the property of all parts of the universe to be involved into a universal cosmic expansion.

The major contribution of General Relativity was that it allowed to employ mathematical modelling for the entire universe. In fact, the very notion of the universe received its constructive mathematical elucidation as a combination of geometrical methods and known physical laws. This ultimately brought cosmology to the state when one could claim its place among the natural sciences. The major technical factor in assigning to cosmology (with its subject matter – the universe as a whole) a status of a scientific discipline was the rise of mathematical physics for the explanation of the observed and theoretically predicted phenomena. The universe became not only that which was observed through telescopes at the celestial sphere, but a synthesised *empirical* and *intelligible* whole comprising the ultimate realm of existence. Once again, the universe became consisting of the intelligible realm whose basic notion was exactly the notion of the universe as a whole. In other words, from a philosophical point of view, the intelligible counterpart of all ancient cosmologies (sometimes based on myths and fables) received its new formation via a mathematical path thus amending the old pictures of the universe by the new ones, whose extent of apodicticity and thus epistemic likelihood was based on the laws of logic and mathematical demonstration.

In other words, the *extensive mathematization* of the universe aimed to provide a criterion for the fact that science indeed deals with the cosmic phenomena which are objective according to the principle of causality (imple-

mented through mathematical methods), that is independent to some extent from the human hypotheses brought into the subject matter of cosmology on the grounds of sheer intentionality. As was expressed by Edmund Whittaker, James Jeans and other physicists in the middle of the 20th century in the context of the rising scientific cosmology, «the achievement of mathematical physics is precisely this, that is has constructed a scheme of the universe which is trustworthy (that is, predictions based on it are always verified by experience), and which can be carried backward, still retaining its meaning and validity, to a time before the emergence of any sentient creature.»¹⁵ A philosophical question, however, arises as to whether such a mathematical description of the universe covers all aspects of its existence. If not, there is again a distinction between *cosmologia* (which includes many aspects of the universe which are not mathematized, human life, for example) and cosmology proper (as a physical and mathematical discipline). Some philosophically oriented physicists of the 20th century understood this well thus seeing the limits of the physical cosmology. James Jeans, for example, asserts that «a mathematical formula can never tell us what thing is, but only how it behaves; it can only specify an object through its properties. And these are unlikely to coincide *in toto* with the properties of any single macroscopic object of our everyday life.»¹⁶ Yet, «...while it must be fully admitted that the mathematical explanation may prove neither to be final nor the simplest possible, we can unhesitatingly say that it is the simplest and most complete so far found, so that, relative to our present knowledge, it has the greatest chance of being the explanation which lies nearest to the truth.»¹⁷ In spite of all these reservations with respect to the sense of truth delivered through mathematical physics, the first apologists for new scientific cosmology in the 20th century made a leap towards *natural theology* exactly on the grounds of the mathematical efficiency in cosmology. Mathe-

matics, describing the universe as a whole¹⁸, in particular that the universe cannot have existed for an infinite time in the past under the operation of the present laws of physics (that is that there must come a time when for physical reasons life will be impossible) indirectly contributes to a philosophical (or rather a theological) argument that the world was created and its creator is extramundane.¹⁹ Here the advance of cosmology correlates with some general theological ideas on the origin of the world, so that one can claim that cosmology in a way is relevant for theology since it provides a scientific hermeneutics of that which theology asserts on different grounds. This scientific hermeneutics as such is not descriptive and does not compete with a theological hermeneutics. Rather it shows that cosmology as a natural science acquires more and more capacity to support some theological intuitions by using a different apparatus. It does not imply to «prove» them or to make «descriptive,» but rather to make theological intuitions more articulate and with an increasing amount of content related to the scientific scope. Yet, the expansion of a scientific hermeneutics as such does not guarantee any convergence of its ever-popping ideas to the ultimate objective reality. Cosmology does not replace the theological hermeneutics but fills it with a new content related to the fact that human culture as part of the order of history is irreversibly develops by enlarging the volume of that which theology speaks about without doubting the relevance of the latter and not denying the legitimacy of its existence.

The relevance of cosmology to theology was historically promoted through the varieties of the *natural theologies*, whose major aim was to use information about the surrounding world in order to make inferences about God.²⁰

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 133.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 131. Cf. «Modern scientific theory compels us to think of the creator as working outside time and space, which are part of his creation, just as the artist is outside his canvas» (Ibid., p. 145 (See also p. 144)).

²⁰ According to Jeans: «Today there is a wide measure of agreement, which on the physical side of science approaches almost to unanimity, that the stream of knowledge is heading towards a non-mechanical reality; the universe begins to look more like a great thought than like a great machine. Mind no longer appears as an accidental intruder into the realm of matter; we are beginning to suspect that we ought rather to hail it

¹⁵ E. Whittaker, *Space and Spirit. Theories of the Universe and the Arguments for Existence of God* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1946), p. 134.

¹⁶ J. Jeans, *The Mysterious Universe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), p. 142.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 146.

In fact, most of discussions on cosmology and theology since the very inception of modern cosmology up to recent debates in the dialogue between theology and science, proceed along these lines where, roughly speaking, traditional theology is adjusted to the ever extending scope of cosmological knowledge, defending its point that theological truths can hardly be amended by whatever the sciences teach us.²¹ All natural theologies are rather philosophical, that is an inference from cosmology to theology is carried out within discursive thinking, when the sought God-Creator is represented as an abstract and impersonal being (its identification with the God of Christian faith can be done only if one extends the naturalness of such a theology towards proper theological articles related to Christ-event, that is to Incarnation, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost etc.). In this case the relevance of such a philosophical theology (natural theology) to cosmology has a similar standing as the relevance of philosophy to cosmology.²²

For «strict» cosmologists (who was not interested in philosophical generalisations of cosmology) the problem of relation between cosmology, philosophy and theology did not exist. For their opposites, that is philosophising cosmologists and those who was predisposed to some religious ideas the actuality of the relation between cosmology and theology was reduced to the comparison of the Biblical picture of creation of the world with that one which was promoted by the physical cosmology. Philosophers of science and all those who belonged to the non-metaphysical trends in philosophy were from the beginning more cautious of the inclusion of scientific ideas into a theological context. The reason was that the notions of the universe and God (as an absolutely necessary

as the creator and governor of the realm of matter... « (Jeans, *The Mysterious Universe*, p. 148; see also p.149). A general discussion on theistic inferences in cosmology can be found in the paper H. Halvorson, and H. Kragh, Helge, «Physical Cosmology», in *The Routledge Companion to Theism* (Eds. Ch. Taliaferro, V.S. Harrison, and S. Goetz) (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), pp. 241–55.

²¹ V.N. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London: James Clarke, 1957), p. 106).

²² See in this respect an article E. McMullin, «Is philosophy relevant to cosmology?», in Leslie, J. (ed.), *Modern Cosmology and Philosophy* (New York: Prometheus, 1998), pp. 35–56.

being) have been fundamentally problematic after Kant's critical insights. These notions can be treated as regulative ideas, but their extrapolation towards ontology was illegitimate within the faculties of the understanding and reason. Correspondingly, any generalisation of the scientific representations of the universe for the whole world, an then, in the style of the physico-theological argument, ascension to the creator of this world was philosophically discredited. Kant's critical philosophy has shown that if one places the problem of cosmology and theology inside the transcendental faculties, this problem is reduced to the construction of an argument for existence of the creator. However this creator turns out to be no more than a demiurge, and architect of the world, but not the God of Christian faith created the world out of nothing.²³ The physico-theological argument cannot justify contingency through an appeal some trans-worldly creator. This is the reason why the ways of how to relate cosmology and theology must have been radically changed in order to avoid fallacies and antinomies while establishing such a relation. If one intentionally remains within the discursive cognitive faculties (the understanding and reason) a comparison of cosmology and theology is possible only on the level of their narratives about the world as a whole, that is by tracing how the constitution of the world (which does not entail the world's objectivity) is going on in science and theology. Shortly, any straightforward comparison and correlation between theological ideas and cosmological theories in what concerns the universe as a whole does not make sense apart from producing an indefinite set of non-descriptive statements. Such a comparison is possible as an abstract academic exercise, but its very objective is unclear if the differentiation in the narratives not traced in the internal split between structure of human consciousness, that is, if the whole issue is not entering the sphere of anthropology. What is obvious is that the dialogue between theology and cosmology cannot be carried out at all without relying on rigorous philosophical methods.

If the difference in the phenomenality of the world in cosmology and theology is as-

²³ I. Kant, *Critique Pure Reason*, A627/B635 [Smith: p. 522].

cribed to the human cognitive faculties such that man is placed by its origin (in the Divine image) in the conditions of their split, the elucidation of the sense of the «dialogue» between these faculties implies a turn to the anthropology of the Divine image, that is de facto to the development of theology of the created human condition by taking into account all scientific achievements which develop theology, although indirectly. The problem of the relation between cosmology and theology then turns out to be an element in the development of a philosophical and theological anthropology. In other words, the dialogue between cosmology and theology contribute in the open-ended hermeneutics of the human condition as being a corporeal existence in the world in communion with God. An explication of this inner split which pertains to life as such then becomes a major aspect of the dialogue between science and theology in general.

If one places the dialogue between cosmology and theology strictly in rubrics of religious faith then one must state that everything which science discloses about the world by definition contribute into theological representations about creation of the world and this world as such. In fact, if one remains in rubrics of faith, there is no problem of the relation between cosmology and theology at all. Cosmology describes the created world changing nothing in dogmas of creation, for the latter, according to theology, are themselves based in the foundation of cosmology as a human activity. The only issue remains is that of «adjusting» the relatively slow development of the traditional theology to the rapid scientific advance dictating its own criteria of rationality and objectivity with respect to the world. The main issue here is that theology adapts to new cosmological ideas thus not changing anything in properly theological representation of creation of the world and the world as such. In such an approach one remains in the framework of the old natural theology and changes nothing in theology as such, setting aside any attempt of a renewal of theology describing experience of God, a renewal in which cosmology could play an active role, but become a constitutive part of the Divine image. Another serious drawback of

a one-sided approach to the dialogue based in rubrics of faith only is that such a faith cannot elucidate the facticity, that its very possibility and sense of the dialogue. A reference to the fact that everything is arranged by God, as one possible expression of faith, remains unclarified by reason. Such a faith cannot explain what it believes in and thus any constructive dialogue with science becomes impossible.

In spite of the philosophical difficulties mentioned above if one relates theology and cosmology straightforwardly (or when the former adapts to the latter), the modern dialogue between science and theology *de facto* ignores these difficulties. This happens because science is treated as a most efficient cognitive tool having a universal character so that it is believed that it is able to overcome all traditionally formulated limits on knowledge of the universe. This is the reason why philosophers, being faithful to their commitment to logical clarity and truth, have to exercise at every stage of science's development a critique with respect to its limits and, as a result, to constantly reassess the very possibility of relating scientific claims to the religious outlook. As an example one can point to the article of Ernan McMullin of 1981, where the latter discusses three questions involved in all attempts to relate modern cosmology to Christian theology. We rephrase these questions as follows. The first question asks about the status of scientific claims about the universe as a whole. In its essence it is the same Kantian question whether an empirical knowledge supported by the understanding and brought by reason beyond the legitimate application of this understanding can bring one to the theoretical knowledge of the universe as a whole as it is in itself. Such a question is possible, but one can hardly expect that any answer to it will change anything in the Kantian argument that the notion of the universe as a whole is an idea of reason involving the latter into antinomies in spite of the fact that the boundaries of knowledge in cosmology expand but not disappear. The next question is no so transparent because it deeply appeals to the faculty of faith transcending discursive thinking. It enquirers under what circumstances (if any) the Biblical narrative and its consequent exegesis can

be given a cosmological weight in the sense of modern science? The answer to this question can be given depending on how to understand that which modern cosmology speaks about the universe. If the latter pretends to assert ontological truths then it seems doubtful that the biblical narrative can produce any justified judgement about them. If the cosmological narrative turns out to be no more than a possible hermeneutics of the physical creation (much more saturated with physical and mathematical ideas), then it is possible to compare the biblical narrative with the scientific one as an academic exercise, but in this case there is no sense to talk about a cosmological weight of the biblical narrative since it is just the same as to speak about the biblical weight of the cosmological narrative. By seemingly understanding the whole difficulty of this second question McMullin, in his third question he *de facto* proposed that both narratives complement each other for a sort of wholeness. This question sounds like this: if one assumes that there is possible a single world-view, what is the measure of the mutual relevance of theology and cosmology in this view. If one looks carefully at all three questions one sees that all of them imply a philosophical response to a much more general issue of what is that which holds logical (or existential) relations between theology and cosmology. This is a fundamental epistemic issue of why and how cosmology and theology can be brought to a correlation at all in view of the fact that in some cases theological and scientific propositions are developed in different (and hence straightforwardly incomparable) *epistemological attitudes* whose specificity cannot be detected by a non-philosophical mind. It is in view of this that, in order to avoid any naivety in the mediation between theology and cosmology it is reasonable, as it was formulated by Wolfhart Pannenberg, to seek such an intellectual level to which both cosmology and theology can be related. «Such a... level for the dialogue between natural science and theology has, in fact, always existed, namely, in philosophy.»²⁴ Pannenberg makes even more

²⁴ W. Pannenberg, *The Historicity of Nature. Essays on Science and Theology* (West Conshohocken, Pen.: Templeton Foundation Press, 2008), p. 28.

emphatic claim: «Theology's relationship to philosophy – that is, to philosophy's interpretation of the world – constitutes the basis for Christianity's dialogue with the natural sciences.»²⁵ Without philosophy the question of the relevance of theology to cosmology remains unanswerable and ill-conceived in general. Any step in its comprehension is intimately connected with the issue of the relevance of philosophy to cosmology as well as with a form of suitable philosophical mediation between cosmology and theology.

Here we return to two options in relation of the relevance of theology for cosmology: one of them can be metaphysical (appealing to some a-priori models of reality), another one –existential (phenomenological). In the first case research is conducted in the natural attitude when the presence of the articulating consciousness is implied but not articulated. Then the question of the relation between cosmology and theology is reduced to the comparison of the content with which theology and cosmology operate.

The first option is: if the enquiry into the relevance of theology to cosmology is going on in the natural attitude, that is when the issue of the articulating subject is neglected, then the question of the relevance becomes a matter of comparison of that content with which cosmology and theology (as two particular forms of knowledge) operate. In its essence this is McMullin's third question, assuming that both cosmology and theology produce descriptive claims about truth). If the universe is presented in the phenomenality of objects (galaxies, their clusters, background radiation, etc.) then we deal with physical cosmology proper. In this case the implied question on the relevance of theology for cosmology receives an immediate answer: theology is irrelevant because whatever theology speaks about the world is hardly to be relevant, for even if its claims are treated as ontological, they cannot be compared with the entities described by cosmology. Theology speaks about planet and stars (not galaxies) only in the context of the human affairs.

If, however, the subject matter of cosmology is presented as the *universe as a whole*, that

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

is cosmology attempts to represent the universe in the phenomenality of objects (that is in the natural attitude), such a representation turns out to be problematic (the universe as a whole cannot be an object because one cannot get out from it at to look at it from aside), so that cosmology naturally trespasses its scientific boundaries towards meta-cosmology or *cosmologia*. Such a cosmology loses its quality of a metaphysical discourse by transforming into a narrative about reality. It philosophical generalisations (only indirectly based on observations) and remaining hypotheses are brought into the discussion on the basis of intentionality rather than of the physical causality. In this case one can speak about the relevance of theology to cosmology in a trivial sense since the knowing subject produces two types of narrative – theological (Biblical), predicating the universe as created by God, and scientific one, asserting the universe either as originating in the Big-Bang type of singularity or subsisting in the Multiverse – so that one can compare these narratives not *metaphysically*, but *existentially*. The lack of any metaphysical certainty originates in that that both of these narratives are based on some indemonstrable assumptions thus escaping the rules of a philosophical demonstration and scientific justification. This excludes any possibility of relating theology and cosmology on metaphysical grounds: both of them deal with the non-descriptive approach to truth.

The inevitability of the appeal a phenomenological approach (as a second option of the philosophical dilemma formulated above) is in fact dictated by the ‘nature’ of theology. Theology employs a different type of justification based on faith understood as an acceptance of those *givens* in experience which transcend discursive reasoning.²⁶ Christian theology is not a form of *knowledge* of God, the knowledge which can be compared (as uniform) with knowledge of the universe. It represents a different type of experience placing all aspects of living and perceiving the world in the context of communion with God in a radical sense. The very definition of man, unlike numerous his-

torically attempted descriptions of humanity in terms of the physical things as well as by a reference to its intellectual capacity, implies life whose communion with its source is inalienable («man=man in communion with God.»²⁷) Theology proclaims existential truths, that is, its vision of God, man and the world is being subordinated to life (of Life) in its given phenomenological facticity. Correspondingly, according to Christian theology, it is cosmic history that unfolds from within the Christian history on earth (as related to men and understood typologically) marked by some inaugural *events*, and not vice versa. Epistemologically, this statement is transparent: the articulation of the universe is taking place within the delimiters of the human existence so that it is geocentric by its phenomenological constitution.

Saying differently, any cosmological view of the world is a mental construction by humanity and hence anthropic by definition. However the very possibility of cosmology as a form of knowledge of the universe remains undisclosed together with the mystery of the human existence, that is the facticity of the human history. Hence cosmology is seen as a *modus* of the human activity whose ultimate sense cannot be elucidated by cosmology itself but can be asserted only existentially (as a cosmological *modus* of consciousness) in the formula «man=man in communion with God» understood in the context of the Christian history. Life as a source of cosmological knowledge is antecedently (phenomenologically) present in its facticity in spite of the post-factum reconstructed cosmic necessary conditions (fixed in the Anthropic Principle, for example) for this life to exist. One implies here first of all the facticity of Homo Sapiens’ hypostatic consciousness which cannot be deduced from the physical on the grounds of causality. Here Christian theology enters the discussion by referring this facticity to: first, its creation by God (together with creation of the world), and second, to being archetypically structured²⁸ by the dual

²⁷ Zizioulas, *Communion and Otherness*, p. 248.

²⁸ Here is implied a structuring which is expressed in the famous philosophical paradox of a human subject: on the one hand man is a tiny physical part of the physical cosmos, on the other hand man is the center of disclosure and manifestation of the universe.

²⁶ These implied givens have been concretely discussed in numerous theological books. The generic sense of them can be drawn from that which is called revelation.

position of the incarnate Christ on Earth and beyond the world.²⁹ Seen in this perspective it is theology that provides a certain hermeneutics of the cosmological context of Christian history, that history which is subordinated to the very possibility of existence of humanity in the Image of God.

Here one observes a certain phenomenological reversal which is, in a sense, formally teleological: it is not anthropology which is subordinated to cosmology, but vice versa, cosmology as a system of articulated knowledge is subordinated to anthropology and thus is teleological because of the intrinsic teleology of all human activities. In a way, cosmology becomes an inevitable counterpart of anthropology of the Divine Image, contributing to the exclusively human privilege of not knowing itself³⁰ and thus searching for its sense among cosmic realities. Teleology consist in that man has an incessant desire and goal to know itself. To do this beyond a certain context is impossible so that cosmology, as such a context, becomes intrinsically teleological, but only formally, as the purposeful activity and not an attempt to get some accomplished description of reality which is subordinated to some goal. Since this teleology does not entail any ontological objective its only result consist in creating an open-ended narrative, a certain infinite hermeneutics of the universe subordinated to the human ends. Such a hermeneutics, in spite of the fact that it is saturated by the scientific content, remains, by its role in the human psychology, a rather mythological because its only task is to articulate the sense of the human existence here and now, and may be in the future, but on the basis of knowing the past. Here the whole discussion leaves the sphere of the natural sciences and de facto becomes a discussion about

the status of cosmology as a science of the human affairs and correspondingly about the relevance of theology to cosmology where the latter is considered in the modus of the human sciences.³¹

As we have seen, the extension of cosmology to *cosmologia* (in order to make sense of its engagement with theology) necessarily leads to the inclusion of the human subject into the whole issue. Indeed, if one adopts a phenomenological position that it is humanity that produces cosmological knowledge (that is, it is the center of disclosure and manifestation of the universe), as well as has experience of the Divine, and hence formulates the problem of the relevance of theology to cosmology, then the latter problem radically changes its meaning. It becomes not a dispassionate comparison of cosmological ideas in the context of God or without him, but as a purely human problem of reconciling of two different views, two different intentionalities, two different experiences of existence with which one and the same human researcher deals in its cosmically-based life. Theology and cosmology (either physical, or meta-physical) supply two types of the *givens* (data) of experience and the question is how to relate not some ontological projections of these data on the allegedly posed realities (that is, to make some metaphysical claims), but how to interpret the difference between these *givens* as constitutive for the subject, that is for man in general. Can then, the enquiry into the relevance of theology to cosmology become a particular type of hermeneutics of the human condition in which cosmology becomes a natural counterpart of anthropology (philosophical or theological)? One can say even more emphatically that an attempted dialogue, or mediation between theology and cosmology reveals itself as essentially an anthropological issue whose major concern is the sense of the human *existence*. Yet the major philosophical issue remains and it is the contingent facticity of both theology and cosmology. And here one has to transcend the very facticity of the mediation between them and to pose a question of

²⁹ What is implied here is the twofold position of the incarnate Christ in the world who, on the one hand accepted a «norm of a slave» of this world, and on the other hand retaining his place on the right hand of the Father, that is, the creator of this world. Being incarnate in one point of space-time, Christ as God was hypostatically present in the whole universe as its creator. It is not difficult to see that the dualistic structuring of the man's position in the world has its archetype in the incarnate Christ.

³⁰ J.-L. Marion, «Mihi magna quaestio factus sum: The Privilege of Unknowing,» *The Journal of Religion* 85 (2005), pp. 1–24.

³¹ See on the interplay between elements of the natural and human sciences in cosmology Nesteruk, *The Sense of the Universe*, pp. 184–197.

how such a mediation is possible at all. This brings the whole research to the question of that consciousness from which both theology and cosmology originate. Neither cosmology nor philosophy can give a definitive answer to this question. But in contrast with the sciences and philosophy theology (as a *modus of life* in the conditions of creaturehood in communion) points to the ultimate source of consciousness' facticity (and hence of theology and cosmology) in that Divine Life, whose logically preceding facticity is not disclosed by the discursive forms of this consciousness, but lies in its foundation. And it is this Life that is responsible for that split in intentionality of the earthly life, the split with which man is endowed together with the gift of life in the universe in communion with its source in the Divine Life.

Towards a philosophical methodology of mediation: theology needs cosmology, cosmology needs theology

Theology and cosmology are different in terms of their affirmation of the sacred (historical) and secular (cosmic) orders as related to the human reality. But both these orders, as being articulated by man, are related to the fact of the human existence. This means that in spite of the difference of these orders there exists a certain general frame of thought which levels them epistemologically in one and the same human being. Here the following question arises: if philosophy takes responsibility for formulating of the all-encompassing view of the human experience, can one establish a criterion of a difference in the *modi of experience* pertaining to theology and cosmology in order to transfer the whole problem in the systematic way? It is clear in advance, however, that the distinction and relation of theology and cosmology will have a minimal existential impact, for it will be maintained from within one and the same life of the subject. A genuine interest of such an enquiry lies in that to understand the extent of how the demarcation between theology and science contributes to the constitution of the human subject, that is, how this subject defines himself.

At the inception of the dialogue between cosmology (as a natural science) and religion,

or cosmology and theology, the very possibility of establishing a relation between the scientifically *given* (data) and that which can be qualified as the *given* in experience of the Divine, is implicitly assumed.³² Usually such a possibility is linked to the hierarchy of sensible images and intellectual representations of reality in a single consciousness without making distinctions in the means of access to these *givens* and the degree of their rationality, that is the modes of their *phenomenality*. Such a philosophical insensitivity to various modes of representation of experience of existence can lead to a reaction when the possibility of mediation between cosmological ideas and theological representations will be outright rejected because the mediation is applied to the fundamentally non-uniform «things.» Such a reaction could be exercised by the sceptically oriented scientists, as well as by the sincerely believing Christians neglecting scientifically established facts. All those, who deny the legitimacy of religious experience and its comparison with scientific cosmology implicitly justify their position by adopting a certain *ontological commitment* (that is a metaphysical basis) with respect to physical reality as radically different with that one referring to God. Such a reality is assumed to be immanent to itself and the sciences explicate it, that is, constitute its objectivity by using the understanding and criteria of rationality. The ontological character of such a reality in modern cosmology is asserted on the basis of its mathematical description, that is, mathematical constructs are themselves ontologized. In fact an ontological commitment in cosmology is based on a certain realistic interpretation of all mathematical descriptions. Such a commitment is possible, but as such, remains unclarified because such mathematical constructs as of the universe as a whole, its initial conditions, for example, have a purely intelligible, that is fundamentally unverifiable through any empirical experience character. Behind the ontological commitment in cosmology one finds a sort of commitment to belief that mathematical

³² We use the terminology of the «given» (instead of «data») in order to underline from the beginning the fact of the presence of human subjectivity in participation, detection, identification and articulation of phenomena in the form of «data».

thinking reproduces the structure of the world as a whole. It is natural then, that among those who follow such a commitments all theological claims not being supported by rational arguments and mathematically non-expressible have not authority at all.

In contradistinction to religious sceptics among scientists, all those who promote the legitimacy of religious experience, remain unable to express their position by using philosophical language that neutralises objections of sceptics. Indeed, one could be enough to pose one single question to mathematical cosmologists about the very possibility of mathematics in order to use it for the description of the universe in order to put into doubt its universality and efficacy for describing life and consciousness that comprise the universe. Both approaches, either that one which denies the relevance of theology, or an alternative one diminishing the necessity of taking into account rational arguments from the positive sciences, are both weak from a philosophical point of view, that is from the point of view of the holistic structure of the living experience.

In order to clarify the latter point one can consider a situation when the fervent apologists of faith pose a question of the following kind: why one must take into account cosmological ideas within Christian context while studying and developing theology? Theology deals with the specifically human way of existence, mystical, experience, liturgical life and Church, an ideal of salvation etc., and is not reduced to a mythology of the world. To what extent a Christian must be acquainted with the scope of knowledge of the physical world in order to be saved or even deified? This question has historical precedents and one can use, as a footnote, a reference to St. Augustine, who in his assessment of secular knowledge was cautious of employing it for matters of faith. Augustine stressed the usefulness of knowledge of natural facts if they are compiled in a systematic form to provide a minimum of information that Christians should know in order to understand things that are mentioned in the Scriptures.³³ Augustine affirmed that for a Christian, it is enough to believe that all natural things

³³ Augustine On Christian Doctrine 1.39.

are created by God.³⁴ However this argument could be considered as a valid proposition only if it takes into account an empirical fact that in order to believe one must physically exist. But the details of this existence become concrete in everyday experience, that is in appropriation of nature through disclosing it by the sciences.

Indeed, the very possibility of theology (as experience of the Divine), that is the reality of its own existence and existence of its different representations is determined by the possibility of existence of the incarnate carries of this theology, that is human persons. In other words, in order to theologise one must have *necessary* physical and biological conditions for the existence of theologians, the conditions which are ultimately cosmological. Cosmology and earthly physics (together with biology) explicate these *necessary* (not *sufficient*) conditions. From here one infers a simple conclusion that *any* theological proposition, expressing experience of the Divine contains truth about the world as such.³⁵ In this sense *cosmology is always relevant for theology*.³⁶ In theological terms, the physical world is the meaningful gift of God, the source of existence of human beings, which in itself is neither a partner in communion with God but the means of communion, that one which brings out the worth of the human person. Thus theology, being in this sense a product of human life in the world, is itself a gift of God in the conditions of the world.³⁷ As once Pierre Teilhard de Chardin once said: «Those who are diffident, timid,

³⁴ Augustine, Enchiridion 3.9 [ET: The Library of Christian Classics. Vol. 7 (London: SCM Press, 1955), p. 342].

³⁵ Zizioulas, Communion and Otherness, p. 242.

³⁶ Teilhard de Chardin expressed a similar thought: «So true is this that nothing can any longer find place in our constructions which does not first satisfy the conditions of a universe in process of transformation. A Christ whose features do not adapt themselves to the requirements of a world that is evolutive in structure will tend more and more to be eliminated out of hand...» («Christology and Evolution», Christianity and Evolution, p. 78).

³⁷ The same, expressed differently by John Zizioulas, asserts that «Human capacity...does not require a departure from creaturely conditions in order to exist. Communion with God is possible for humanity – and through it for the entire cosmos – only in and through creaturely existence. History is no longer, as it was for the Greek world, the obstacle to communion with God, but its ground» (Zizioulas, Communion and Otherness, p. 242).

underdeveloped, or narrow in their religion, I should like to remind that Christ requires for his body the full development of man, and that mankind, therefore, has a duty to the created world and to truth – namely, the ineluctable duty of research.»³⁸

It is not difficult to see that the argument for the relevance of cosmology to theology is ontological in the sense that it appeals to physical matter as the ground of existence of human beings. For Christian theology this fact has a particular meaning related to the Incarnation of Christ in flesh. It is the physical science that makes possible to understand that the universe must be such that it makes human life and hence the Incarnation possible. For the Word-Logos of God to assume human flesh, there *must be* this flesh. Since modern physics (and biology) are clear that for existence of such a flesh there must have passed at least ten billion years of cosmological evolution, it seems evident that for the Incarnation to take place the *necessary* physical conditions must have been fulfilled. To have the body of Jesus from Nazareth (and his Mother (Virgin Mary)) the universe must have had from the beginning the propensity to produce them. Then, once again, *cosmology is relevant to theology* because it explicates the conditions of the Incarnation.

One realises that the ontological argument for the relevance of cosmology to theology implies a certain logical sequence, placing theology and theologians in the realm of the physical and biological phenomena. The epistemological causation is from the world to humans and then to God. This type of causation is typical for natural theologies. The latter assume that one must seek God from within the world. Thus the whole trend of thought implies the presence of the natural world, as well as belief in that their must be some unifying principle of the world beyond the world.

For scientists it would be difficult to accept the idea of God, so that for them natural theologies are not «natural» in an epistemological sense because the employed reasoning is based on the articles of faith in God, and hence

unscientific. Correspondingly they can legitimately ask: «Why one needs to invoke theology for cosmology?» Regardless any particular element of Christian teaching the response may be the following. Let us quote Christos Yannaras: «The fact of the world constitutes reality only because there exists the human recipient of the world's invitatory reason – the reality of the world is created only by its being an invitation-to-relationship, regardless of whether it refers to the existence of that which is invited.»³⁹ Cosmology studies the state of affairs in the universe that it responds positively to the invitation-to-relationship yet without any reflection upon the possibility of this study originating in this invitation. Saying formally, cosmology operates without clarifying the sense of its own contingent facticity, that is, without clarifying the sense of the *sufficient* conditions responsible not only for the outcomes of the physical laws in order to have a given display of the universe, but also for the very possibility of knowledge and explication of the universe by human persons. Cosmology operates without giving an account as to how and why the study of the world as such forms a gift to the physically limited humanity to respond to the hypostatic Logos' invitation to study its creation. Although theology *does not explain* this fact either, it at least interprets it by pointing out that it is only human beings that have a rational capacity of transcending the physically finite, that is to go beyond their own bodies and immediate life-world by integrating the representation of the potentially infinite and intransient in their finite consciousness. Consciousness and reason form such characteristics of the human condition that cannot be explained by reducing them to the physical (ontological) and whose *elucidation* and *interpretation* is possible only through an appeal to the anthropology of the Divine image. Here is the difference between a philosophical assertion of the uniqueness of humanity which remains in essence empirical, and a theological claim for this uniqueness which follows from employing the archetype of the incarnate Christ who, being in the world remains «outside» it as its cre-

³⁸ P. Teilhard de Chardin, «Le prêtre», quoted in Claude Guénot, Teilhard de Chardin (Baltimore: Helicon, 1965), p. 40.

³⁹ C. Yannaras, Postmodern Metaphysics (Brookline, MS: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2004), p. 137.

ator and its sense-forming principle cascading to the human capacities of forming the sense of the universe.

This leads the argument for the justification of cosmology (as well as of theology) beyond the limits of science and philosophical ontology. Correspondingly, any cosmological vision of the world is implicitly imbued with theology in the sense that it is based in a Divine gift of faith in reality of good creation of Good God, as well as in the Divine origin of the human capacity of an intellectual and linguistic articulation of the universe. Then it would be natural to suggest that cosmologists are also theologians of a certain kind: they study with their own specific methods (possible because of the Divine Image) the world (in its natural; which was created by God, not only for the purposes of adaptation to it, but also as making back its thanksgiving offering to the Creator.

The ontological argument for the possibility of theology referring to its physical agents (that is humans), is a typical metaphysical justification based on the principle of causality (assuming that consciousness is an epiphenomenon of the physical). At the same time the referral of consciousness' rationality to the idea of God, does not have the same philosophical clarity as it was with the principle of causality. Here one introduces a theological argument that appeals to those *givens* in experience that are radically different in comparison with what is given in physics and cosmology. These *givens* are related to the very fact of the human existence understood as personal (hypostatic) consciousness acting as a centre of disclosure and manifestation of the world. It is the difference in the *modi* of the *given* revealed as the impossibility of avoiding cosmological insights in theology on the one hand, and in the implicit appeal to the theology of the Divine image for the possibility of cosmology (where the very fact of life turns out to be the inaugural revelation), on the other hand, that points towards an asymmetric relation between the metaphysical interpretation of the possibility of theology and theological justification of science. The «dialogue» between cosmology and theology thus becomes a discourse of clarification and explication of the difference in the ways of ap-

pearance and access to the *givens* (in cosmology and theology) in one and the same human subject. Then the issue of the relevance of theology to cosmology turns out to be the issue of clarification of the *modi* of appearance and access to the *givens* of the world in cosmology and theology.

First of all, the philosophical criterion of the difference in the *modi* (modes) of the *givens* in cosmology and theology can be formulated in the following way. Any research in scientific cosmology and any theory assume the acceptance of the system of metaphysics (*metaphysica generalis*), one of whose important parts deals with ontology, that is with the questions «what is there?» or «what exists?», so that such a research implies that it studies an *object* which must exist beforehand, that is to be an *existent* (*ens*). This requirement holds for every specialised metaphysics, that is for specific sciences, as well as for the representation of God in philosophical theology (*theologia rationalis*) (which is distinct from theology as communion with God). The requirement for the metaphysical certainty⁴⁰ can also be applied to theology as an historical or linguistic tradition. For example, there can be a metaphysical demand for the existence of Biblical events from the point of view of the historical sciences. In this case the first question is: how to establish (if it is possible at all) the difference (on a metaphysical basis) between philosophical theology (or simply philosophy) and theology as experience. The sense of this difference must be established in order to understand what is understood under the term theology in its relation with cosmology. A possible response to this question can be formulated like this: the difference consists in the extent of appearance (phenomenality or presence, display) of beings (existents) (that is, their «positivity») concerned, and of the ways of ontic verifications in philosophical theology and theology of communion. Then the difference between ontic sciences (majority of the human sciences, including theology) and ontological sciences (for example, physics, whose ontology

⁴⁰ Metaphysical certainty aims to determine certain things with respect to certain statements that, if they are true, would be descriptions of a reality that lies behind all appearances, descriptions of things as they really are.

is based in physical substance and rubrics of space and time) presupposes the difference in ontology behind these sciences, and the hierarchy of those sciences following from the «hierarchy» of ontologies (assuming that one can define one ontology as more fundamental than another). Then there arises another question as to whether exists such a system of thought that could assert the universal ontology, such that it could be placed in the foundation of both cosmology and theology, that ontology which could be somehow more generic than that of theology (either experiential or philosophical) and of philosophy and cosmology? A doubt in a positive response to this question follows from that both philosophical theology, as well as biblical exegesis can make sense only in the context of communion with God, filling the latter by the concrete existential content and thus overcoming their ontic limits. Can one then find a metaphysical basis for the events of communion and theology in order to compare them with cosmology?

Christian theology has in its foundation very special inaugural *events* which cannot be assigned any metaphysical status, because they exceed any measure of causality related to the world. The term «event» becomes crucial here acquiring a completely new status thus inverting an ontological approach to theology at all. Events related to the sacred history take place in the world, but the very sense of the world, as an articulated image from within human history, emerges as derivative from these events, because these events define humanity. One cannot treat theology as experience of God (communion) in the context of the ontic status of the allegedly inaugurating events as if they would be only specific historical or physical events. If previously the notion of event presupposed a sort of metaphysical background, so that an event needed original ontology in order to take place (for example, in physics, there must be space-time for events to happen), what is implied here is that event «takes place» *in* the existent but *from beyond* the existent (being). One cannot assign a modus of the already conceived existence to *event*. *Event* can be described as the consummation of that, whose essence did not give the possibility of

its foreseeing as if one could foresee the inconceivable impossible from the perspective of the conceivable possible (that is from within metaphysics with its principle of causality).⁴¹ The essence of event is that it predetermines and redefines all possibilities of existents in their being and it is in this sense that it can be assigned a certain «ontological» status. One follows from here that the more a phenomenon manifests itself as event, the more it doubts its metaphysical modus of being, for its sheer possibility follows from its effective metaphysically understood impossibility. Theology as experience confirms this, for it deals with the events whose impossibility witnesses to what is expressed in the Bible in words «nothing is impossible for God» (Gen 18:14; Luke 1:37). One implies here the events such as creation of the world out of nothing, Incarnation of the Word-Logos of God in flesh of Jesus of Nazareth, Resurrection etc. These events resist the possibility of their non-contradictory comprehension (in a metaphysical sense) thus preventing the formulation of their identity status, that is, in different words, they challenge ontology behind them and hence any definition of God in terms of being. In other words, theology of events radically differs from philosophical theology.

The «essence» of events of creation of the world, Incarnation and Resurrection is exactly that that they do not reduce to that which follows ontological law patterns. These events make possible that which is not presented on the ontological level, which is not identical to itself and whose existence (taking place) contradicts its essence (if such is allegedly posited). One can express the same by saying that the «essence» of these events contradicts to itself, by referring to a biblical case when God «calls into being things that are not» (that is, God calls into being non-existent as existent, as if non-existent would exist) (Rom 4:17). These events acquire a «meta-ontological status» because they (events and all existents involved in them) contradict the laws implied by the ontology of the world.

⁴¹ See details on phenomenology of events in C. Romano, *Event and World* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009).

Since the dialogue between theology and cosmology deals not with facts related to the world as such, but with the ultimate origin of the world and these facts, this origin receives a new interpretation in accordance with that *event* in which the universe is granted its being: the universe acquires being in that event which exceeds the measure of any possible definition of the existent. Such a philosophical statement corresponds to that which is termed in theology as creation of the world. Being created, the existent receives its being from God; this being results not from the laws of the universe outlined by thought in rubrics of ontology. In spite of the fact that philosophically the rational idea of the universe as creation remains indemonstrable, that is subject to antinomies of reason (that amounts to the fact that this idea is regulative one and does not entail any theoretical content), the universe as creation in its inalienable givenness to humanity remains present through the saturating intuition. Saying differently, the intuition of creation functions within the human articulation of its own existence as an aesthetical idea. But since an aesthetical sense of the universe is inseparable from the fact of life in its unconditional givenness to a particular human being, it is this human life that becomes an inaugural event in comprehension of the universe and hence its constitution as objective reality. Since the very phenomenon of life together with the contingency of the universe represents (from a metaphysical point of view) sheer impossibility, whereas in their facticity the universe and life are possible, the classical relation between possible and impossible undergoes a reversal where the possible becomes to be determined by the impossible (as a characteristic of event). In application to the relation between theology and cosmology (philosophical cosmology) the latter entails that what is possible in scientific experience becomes to be determined by that which scientifically and metaphysically impossible, that is belonging to the sphere of that which can be characterised as a primary theological experience of life.

In view of what has been said, one can return back to the very beginning of the article and ask: if modern development of philosophy

doubts any possible universal ontology overseeing theology and cosmology, can then the posing a question of the relevance of theology to cosmology make any sense? The answer is negative if this relevance is sought in terms of facts and metaphysical statements. However, since cosmology naturally transcends towards meta-cosmology (*cosmologia*) dealing with the boundary situations where no principle of causality can be applied to the inaugural «phenomena» (Big Bang, for example, or the «choice» of this universe out of the multiverse), one can relate philosophical generalisations of cosmology with the biblical narrative. In this case the establishment of a relationship between inaugurating *events* in theology and inaugural «phenomena» in science can make sense as a comparison of two kinds of narrative related to these inaugural events and those «unique» phenomena. Then the «dialogue» between theology and cosmology, as an intrinsically philosophical enterprise, deals with the existential appropriation of these narratives and thus transforms into a comparative hermeneutics of the human condition. However since these narratives do not pretend to provide any description of reality in a metaphysical sense, the dialogue cannot pretend to reconcile worldviews in theology and science on the ontological level. The experiential and linguistic horizons of these narratives remain irreducible to each other.

The question now is: what is that specific to Christianity treatment of the universe from within the inaugural events which form the body and blood of Christian faith? Christian world-outlook (in conflict and radical distinction with Greek understanding of history based on pure reasoning and some ontological assertions) was based on the absolute significance of individual events and their interrelation. In other words, history is treated as continuation of these events. Christianity asserted not just «historicity» in a mundane sense, but sacred history in consistence with its basis in some inaugural events, the events which predetermine history not just in a temporal, evolving into the future sense, but *typologically* as the pattern of a larger arrangement of reality related to the inaugural events. Events here transcend temporality becoming those phenomena which

exceed any antecedent or post-cedent conditions. Saying differently, these events represent a break into the reality of the universe by effectively bringing this reality into existence. These events, one can say, inaugurate the *order of history* which radically changes the perception of the *order of the cosmos*, because the order of the cosmos (as represented in human consciousness) is now being built from within the order of history. Correspondingly, the question of the relevance of theology to cosmology can now be treated as the relevance of the *order of the cosmos as it is unfolding from the order of sacred history* (based on inaugural events), to that *order of the cosmos* which is disclosed in scientific cosmology. Since the order of the sacred history has its background in the cosmic conditions, the question then what is the cosmological significance of those inaugural events which initiate the sacred history (for example, what is the cosmological significance of the Incarnation). Is it possible to build an argument from this cosmological significance of inaugural events to modern views of the universe?

The difference between these two orders is seen as that the order of the cosmos, being in the background of the very short-lived humanity (on a cosmic scale), looks like a static structure which can be contemplated regardless to any changes in the order of history. Cosmology as a natural science creates a discourse of this order. In what concerns the order of history the situation is different: history is «contemplated» only post-factum, in reflection upon it. The present is given to human beings as that in which one must participate. Here one sees the difference between contemplation and participation. Correspondingly, the cosmological narrative and that of history are different: the order of the cosmos is fixed in its static description (a typical temporal scale of the most basic cosmological phenomena necessary for existence of life considerably exceeds the historical scale of the human existence); the order of history is caught through the directed in time narration associated with an open anticipation of that which will be after. But this «after» is anticipated not as it takes place in cosmological scheme

founded on the extrapolation of the physical laws, but as expectation of events which are unpredictable, not having any antecedent metaphysical or scientific context. The order of the cosmos turns out to be abstracted from real historical events. It is enhypostasized in the averaged consciousness of anyone from scientific communities, that is, in fact, as insensitive to contingencies and vicissitudes of human life. Past, present and future in the order of the cosmos, regardless their temporal hierarchy, yet express a different kind of the static (even not that of the cyclic cosmology of the Greeks), the statics of the frozen ideal image of the whole aeon of the universe. There is no future in such a cosmic order. To be more precise, the future is there, but its existential sense as having relation to life and hopes of human beings is absent, because there is no *hope* in the order of the universe. Cosmology foretells the decay of the universe and death of all its matter and life forms. But how this relates to human beings who will not be in existence by that time? Rephrasing the initial question, what is the relation of the order of the cosmos to the order of history if in the former there is no purpose, whereas the latter is constituted through man's vision of his end and his hopes? This question brings us to the issue of the human place in the order of the cosmos and the order of history.

Seen through the order of the cosmos man remains a passive agent of that, imposed on him, type of existence whose description does not clarify the main question: what man must do as a subject of choice and action or, how the order of the cosmos can elucidate the sense of his actions as the outward manifestation of man's existence. It is here that the order of history points to the fact that any question on the sense of the human existence is linked to this order's fundamental *irreversibility*, the historical irreversibility as a constant novelty of breaking into history and pointing to God as the Lord of the irrevocable instant which initiated history. Indeed, if there is history, there must be the inaugural «event» (that is event without any antecedent context) which launches this history, as well as other events related to the very being of man.

The order of the cosmos remains the necessary condition for the beginning of history, but one can abstract from it, because one does not need to participate in it (for example the physical uniformity of the lived time is neglected in a historical and social context). By participating in history, that is, *de facto* creating it, man implicitly participates in the very inception of this history (in its inaugural event), that is man communes with that One who launched this history. The vision of the creator becomes possible from within history, so that the cosmic order as created by God becomes visible from within the order of history. Man, as a subject of history, «creates» the universe as a certain order, but belonging to this order enhypostatistically as its author, he remains its physical part.

Theology interprets human history as a history of relations with God. This history is *metaphysically* contingent, specific and irreversible. It is based on events bringing novelty into existence and it is from these events that the sense of the future of man and his hope is formed. The order of the cosmos is present in this history as an arena, as a necessary condition, but the very possibility of cosmology which studies this order, cosmology as a *modus* of the human activity, is still rooted in the inaugural event of the beginning of the order of history. Since theology is concerned with this beginning in hope to elucidate its sense, cosmology is organically present in theology's concern. Then the problem of the beginning of the universe (as another inaugural event), as a problem of the scientific cosmology and philosophy, becomes organically inserted into the problem of the origin of man (who is the author of cosmology) and his history.

Theology is interested in the event-like character of the human history, its constant renewal in its linear unfolding. Theology, unlike any cosmological mythology, is concerned not with the static structure of the natural background of man's living, but with the salvific dynamics of the human condition which may bring man to his union with God. But this salvific dynamic has its foundation in events of communion with God which make this history irreversible. Such was a history in the Old Testament, even more radical it becomes

in Christianity. The incarnation of the Logos-Word of God in flesh of Jesus from Nazareth manifests the inaugural element of such a novelty. As a metaphysically impossible event, the incarnation broke into history correcting its course exactly in the way which Christ himself proclaimed through the inauguration of the Kingdom of God on Earth (universe) thus endowing humanity by the meaningful and valuable future. By entering into history through the Incarnation, God reminded to men that his presence in the world is not static and frozen, so that a memory of him is also dynamic and subject to renewal. This memory is radically different in comparison with the «memory» of the universe which is averagely static in terms of the unchanging human condition. The memory of the event of the Incarnation, being constantly transformed theologically and liturgically, is not that immortalized recollection of that which man can or cannot invoke all over again in his consciousness or actualise in action. The *event*-like character of the Incarnation (as a metaphysically impossible event), its irreversibility for all historical consequences, points theologically that the main principle of development of the world within the Judeo-Christian world-view is the creative activity of God, the creator of the world. Theology thus represents an infinite hermeneutics of the ongoing creation of the world. The structure of this hermeneutics depends on the world's causality and events of the human history. Its spontaneity and openness witness to the fact that this hermeneutics itself forms a *modus* of the event of creation of man by God. The hermeneutics of the human life in its link with the creator corresponds to the whole volume of the Biblical exegesis found in ancient and medieval patristics, modern theology and endless popularisations of the inaugural events of the Christian history. When one speaks of the 'Christ-event,' it comprises not only thirty three years of Christ's presence on earth but also a principal impossibility of finding any metaphysical foundation for the facticity of this event in the sense of «when» and «where» in the physical universe. Speaking of the Incarnation of the Word-Logos of God in flesh, remembering the Gospels's description of baby-Jesus' Nativity,

one does not make any sense to pose a question of «why not early?» or «why not later?» with respect to this event in the same way as it does not make sense to enquire into the «early» or «later» of creation of the world. The event-like ontology of the incarnation and all other elements of the New Testament history point towards a principally irreversible character of Good News' coming into the world and assigning to the human history a teleology of reaching the Kingdom of God.

Such a treatment of the order of history excludes cyclicity not only in history itself, but in the whole universe: since the latter is created, there is the beginning and the end. Saying differently, on the one hand the cosmic order is articulated by man from the historical events, on the other hand the very order of history is included in the stable cosmological scheme. One returns here to the paradox of the human condition which is now formulated in the language of the order of history and the order of the cosmos. Then the dialogue between theology and cosmology acquires the following sense: if theology is concerned with the order of the sacred history and man's position in it, that is by events which constitute man's essence in the perspective of salvation, then its major attention is directed towards the events of communion. This is the reason why the cosmological discourse has a little relation to theology which is interested in the natural history of the world only in the perspective that the world is created and contingent upon God. This is the reason why the «main» inaugural event for everything, including theology itself, is creation of the world. Thus we come back to that which has already been formulated, namely that there a logical possibility arises of relating (mediating between) theology and science: to relate hermeneutically two different views of creation within a tacit assumption that such a relation is possible and makes sense. In its essence it is the same as that was questioned in McMullin's paper (cited above) about the weight of the cosmological and theological in the assumed united picture of the world, however we enquire into the contribution of theology and cosmology as dealing with different phenomenologies (substances and their variations in space and time,

that is, objects in cosmology, and inaugural events in theology), so that their inter-relation makes sense only as taking place within one and the same human subject. Then the issue of the relevance of theology for cosmology becomes reformulated as an epistemological problem of the contributions of phenomenologies of theology and cosmology into the united picture of being which is assumed as possible because of the unity of the human person. This problem is not metaphysical but rather phenomenological since one implies to balance two types of narrative in one and the same subject understanding in advance that their ontological references are empirically, and may be even theoretically, inaccessible.

Here we come to the culmination point by claiming that there are only two aspects of cosmology where theology can constructively engage. The first one is related to the issue of origin of the whole universe. All scientific attempts to deal with this problem in the natural attitude position it as a hermeneutic of the origin of the universe from within the condition of the already existing man. The question of the facticity of this hermeneutic brings the cosmological discourse into the philosophical and theological anthropology, that is, into the problem of man as a creator of cosmology. Phenomenologically, if man is treated as the center of disclosure and manifestation, the problem of the beginning of the universe is similar to the problem of the facticity («beginning») of consciousness. This is a perennial philosophical problem and its «elucidation» (not explanation!) is possible only through the appeal to the theology of the Divine image. With all this the proper physical dimension of the problem of the origin does not disappear, for even if one refers to the facticity of consciousness this consciousness remains incarnate, that is, corporeal, whose necessary conditions of existence remain cosmological. In other words, a dualistic human condition in the world remains the alpha and omega of any philosophical query. A researcher has two options: either to accept this fact as an initial point of any philosophizing in the style of existential philosophy or phenomenology without any further metaphysical clarification of this condition, or alternatively

to give its theological interpretation founded in a human perceptual capacity beyond discursive reason. Here theology is relevant to cosmology in the sense that it *tells* (but this is not entirely human words) to cosmologists why their activity in the studies of the universe is possible at all. Cosmology as such turns out to be incorporated into the scope of experience of life (a created condition in communion with the Divine) as such a hermeneutics of nature which contributes to an elucidation (not explanation!) of the human condition. The latter means that the sense of cosmological theories needs to be clarified not through its inclusion into the traditional, classical issue of creation of the world out of nothing (which itself implies infinite hermeneutics), but as reflecting the human condition in the universe, characterised empirically, philosophically and theologically as the radical humanity's inability to know itself.

In any scientific practice this means that cosmologists do not enquire into the sense of why cosmology is possible and why exists consciousness etc. They work in the conditions of the already given consciousness as the «non-visible» and not phenomenalized «medium». Correspondingly, philosophy and theology enter into the discussion at that point when the human insight attempts to phenomenalise itself in the cosmic context. But this work is not for those whose mind can function only in the natural attitude. One needs an introspection upon those acts of constitution which affirm realities in cosmology. Here consciousness must suspend its intentionality directed to objects of the outer world and to question its own facticity leading one inevitably to the issue of the ultimate origin of life as that which is opposite to the non-living, that which originates from itself and makes possible the phenomenalisation of the world. Here one comes back to the issue of creation but on the level of creation of human persons. Theology interprets the «source» of consciousness referring to the Divine Life. It is this life that is in the foundation of the order of history from within which humanity is capable of enquiring about the order to the cosmos. If scientific cosmology is conscious that it unfolds from within the order of history, that is if it is honest to itself and accepts its human origin, it

must humbly accept that the whole picture of the cosmic reality available here and now is a result of a particular biological, social, cultural and technological development of the human civilisation and thus, in philosophical terms, is contingent upon this history, that is, upon a particular position in the post-factum constituted space and time. What kind of an argument then can be used in order to assert an objective reality of cosmological views (contingent upon human history), as that which forms the ultimate metaphysical reality which men were looking for as their ideal «home»? Cosmology finds such a reality by projecting mathematical construct onto the world. Theology on its side teaches that the very conditions of creaturehood give to humanity a chance to overcome the uncertainty of its physical existence by searching for a union with the Creator and thus grounding itself in the Kingdom of God. Cosmology, from its side, cannot offer anything like this because it predicts the ultimate decay and death of the universe. Cosmology is great in that it explains why humanity has a chance of existing in a very short historical period in the universe. But the problem is that the physical universe does not have any goal in its development (such a goal can be assigned to cosmology in abstraction but it will still be a goal associated with humanity), whereas man defines his existential role in terms of the order of history. Since the universe as such does not have a purpose, cosmology as a dispassionate account of the universe does not possess any intrinsic value, because humanity is practically absent from it. Cosmology as a scientific activity is valuable because it demonstrates the human ability to progress in knowledge of things, that is it demonstrates the progress of human consciousness. Yet, there remains a question of where this consciousness comes from and what is its intrinsic value as related to human life. Theology responds to this by pointing to the Divine Image in man. Values and goals come from that which makes men humans. They are encoded somewhere, where the natural order cannot be applied. Human moral predicaments are not predetermined by the natural laws, for they have an origin in those spheres which ancient Greek philosophies described in terms

of beauty, sincerity, empathy, love. All these moral, ethical and aesthetical categories point to that source of their origin which is always with us, but which cannot be caught in terms of thinking and seeing. Humanity from its dawn called this source God as that ultimate foundation without whom no life, no culture, no cosmology is possible. Without God one cannot see and study the universe because that which is called the universe is ultimately illuminated to man by their Creator.

When modern cosmology narrates about 96 % of the literally invisible (dark matter and dark energy), some of its apologists feel depressed for, honestly, they do not know what they speak about (they know how their own constructs of these entities function in theory, but they cannot provide any independent empirical verification of for existence of that which these constructs aim to signify). Theology and philosophy look at this situation with an irony and empathy, for they intuit that the whole sense of reality is not only not grasped by human researches, but, in fact, it cannot be grasped at all because of their radical finitude (humanity is consubstantial to 4 % of all allegedly existing; it is radically insignificant in terms of spatial and temporal dimensions). Christian writers asserted many centuries ago that asking, for example, a question of the age of the universe («Why creation not sooner or later?») is futile because one cannot get out from creation, and to «look» at it. The question of the details of creation is in the sphere of the will and wisdom of God which are unknowable to man. Cosmology nowadays says the same: the age of the universe is a physical constant implanted in the initial condition so that the elucidation of this age's facticity as an outcome of some trans-worldly laws is impossible. It does not refer to the will and wisdom of God, but the philosophical and existential result is the same: humanity is radically limited in its capacities to produce certain knowledge of the cosmological inaugural events because it is impotent even in explicating, for example, its own beginning (its own inaugurating event), that is the beginning of all humanity and of a particular person. Theology and philosophy honestly accept that humanity exists in the conditions of conceal-

ment of its own sense, that is in the conditions of its inability to know itself. Then it seems that cosmology must humbly accept a similar truth that the universe remains unknowable thus mirroring the fundamental unknowability of humanity by itself. This implies a methodological conclusion that cosmological theories contribute to the open-ended hermeneutics of the universe as well as of man. Cosmology thus contributes to theology (as unfolding the conditions for existence of life), whereas theology is implicitly present in cosmology thus initiating the very possibility of the latter.

Conclusions and their application to some hot issues in theology and cosmology

Any straightforward comparison of theological references with respect to cosmological facts in the narrative of creation of the world and in images of the end of times with the discourse of the universe in scientific cosmology is philosophically unjustified. It is because one compares the elements of the theologically non-descriptive narrative about the world as a whole with the ontologically descriptive propositions about the concrete physical properties of the universe. The same can be expressed in the language of phenomenological philosophy. Theology and scientific cosmology deal with different phenomenologies of the universe: theology treats the world as an *event* of the sacred history directly related to man; for cosmology the world is the *object* of its outward study. For theology the world is the component of one's experience of God, that is, it appears (in a phenomenological attitude) as that which is intrinsically inseparable from the perception of the fact of existence; for cosmology, the world appears as an external object, positioned in the natural attitude as transcendent with respect to consciousness. In other words, in theology, the world is inserted into the immediate empirical givenness of life, whereas in cosmology the world forms the physical condition for the possibility of this life. Theologically understood life and cosmological discourse initiate two non-uniform and irreducible to each other linguistic horizons, thus distinguishing and at the same time unifying them through the fact

of their same origin in life, manifested in man. Such narratives can complement each other in the united picture of all, assuming that this picture is admissible because of the unity of the human subject.

The question of the relevance of cosmology for theology could be answered by a reference to numerous natural theologies (*theologia naturalis*) of the past and present, making inferences from the order of the world to God as the creator of this world. However, despite the experimental and theoretical advance of modern cosmology, the antimonial predicaments of such theologies, explicated by Kant two hundred years ago, remain obstacles for the philosophical validity of natural theologies as ever. This shows that the sense of the question about the relevance of cosmology to theology requires some radical reevaluation by departing from the metaphysical conclusions about the world and God towards thinking of the role of cosmological conditions for the very possibility of theology, that is the possibility of existence of man as its subject. Here cosmology is evidently relevant to theology for it explicates the *necessary* conditions of existence of man. Any theological proposition thence contains implicitly cosmic factors as the condition of its own possibility. Here a Christological narrowing of the question on the relevance of cosmology is possible by pointing to the fact that the Incarnation of the Logos-Word of God in flesh of Jesus of Nazareth implies the presence of the conditions which go deeply in the evolving structure of the universe. The question on what kind of causality can substantiate the formulated primacy of the Incarnation implies the reversal of the question on the relevance of cosmology for theology towards the question on the relevance of theology for cosmology. The implication is that the ontological orders reverse: the order of the cosmos turns out to be included into the order of history, that order which is founded on the inaugurating events. Classical metaphysical ontology is replaced here by the ontology of the inaugurating events. Can one, in this reversal, avoid an implicitly present *teleology* in the development of the universe, related to the appearance of man (in the style of the Strong AP), and the Incarnation? The answer is yes, since

such a teleology would only be relevant with respect to the *necessary* conditions of man's appearance in the universe (and hence the Incarnation). The *sufficient* conditions which are not implanted in the natural conditions can invoke in mind only a teleology of a different kind corresponding to the «changed consciousness' attitude,» admitting teleology functioning in the realm of regulative judgements as originating in purposiveness pertaining to man's consciousness of his own origins. It is in this sense that one can justify philosophically a thesis that the world is subordinated to the inaugurating events of the human (sacred) history. Teleology of the universe as its purposeful development towards producing the conditions for life enters the discourse only because the salvific order of history is imbued with teleology that is transmitted toward the order of the cosmos. But this transmission has an epistemological character related specifically to the human condition of a creature in communion. From a philosophical point of view such a translation can only be a component of the creation narrative subordinated to its main theme of the Incarnation. But in no way such a transmission can be assigned an ontological character.

Finally, natural theologies can only infer from the necessary conditions of existence of humanity (and the beautiful cosmos) to the philosophical idea of the architect of these conditions. The necessary conditions as a part of the specially arranged cosmos can only cascade toward the necessary existence of that one who produced them. But the unknown sufficient conditions for the existence of the beautiful cosmos (and man as its part, as well as of the Incarnation), place the whole universe and humanity in rubrics of those contingent events which as such do belong to the order of the cosmos only tangentially. The inference towards the Creator can only be empirical (not theoretical), that is, existential. Christology supplies this inference by the specific and concrete content as related to humans and their history. The inaugural structure of Christ-event organises human consciousness not only around the mystery of man's existence as such, but also around the mystery of the universe which is related to the Logos-Christ in the same manner as hu-

manity is related to the incarnate Christ. Theology brings human consciousness of the universe to its particular vision as it is disclosed to man as being hypostatically inherent in the Logos-Christ, the creator and sustainer of the universe.

Cosmology and theology are mutually complementary for understanding the sense of the human existence. Cosmology represents the hermeneutics of the *necessary* physical conditions for existence of man. Theology provides one with the interpretation of the *sufficient* conditions of existence of man as made in the Divine image, that is being a creature in communion with God. Thus, theology elucidates the very possibility of cosmology as a kind of the human activity. It also formulates the goal and value of the cosmological knowledge as related to the incessant desire of man (in the Divine image) to clarify the sense of its own existence concealed from him through the fact of his createdness, as well as through the fact of imitating the image of that One who is unknowable. All this entails the main conclusion with respect to the discussion of cosmology and theology, namely, that the main theme of this dialogue is man endowed with life with its seemingly paradoxical split between the radical physical finitude (even insignificance) and mortality on the one hand, and his tragic longing for the infinite and immortal. The distinction and difference between the cosmological and theological in man is constitutive for man, so that the *modi* of the hermeneutics of the human condition (discursive cosmic and non-verbalised existential) are irreducible to each other simply because of the historically observed immutability of the human condition. Thus the question of the relevance of cosmology to theology or vice versa can hardly have any perspective in its «resolution» in favour of either cosmology or theology. Theology and cosmology deal with different but inseparable perceptions of the world and this reflects the basic riddle of the human existence.

Now, on the basis of these conclusions, one can outline a philosophical response to the «hot» issues in the dialogue between cosmology and theology.

1) Fine Tuning, Anthropic Principle, fitness of the universe for life, and the Incarnation

The Anthropic Cosmological Principle (AP) explicates that the *necessary* physical conditions for the existence of humanity are finely balanced (*fine-tuned*) in the evolutionary universe leading to the possibility of life on Earth. Thus AP contributes further to the articulation of consubstantiality of humanity with the *visible* universe. Orthodox theological anthropology accentuates this point through its stance of the microcosmic and meditational position of humanity in creation, humanity that mimics in its constitution the structure of the *visible* universe. While the AP observes that humanity indeed recapitulates only 4 % of the overall matter in the universe, as well as that cosmology of a large-scale structure of the universe proves that humanity's actual presence in the universe is radically insignificant in physical terms, theology (philosophically supported by existential phenomenology) claims humanity's centrality as being hypostasis (the center of disclosure and manifestation) of the universe. Yet, the Orthodox theological insistence that humanity is responsible for the transfiguration of the universe and overcoming the moral division between it and the Creator seems to be unclear in view of man's insignificance in space and time. Humanity can exercise such a meditation between creation and God epistemologically through doing cosmological research and thus imitating Christ. Theologically, this means a further enhypostatisation of the universe by man. Philosophically, man is treated as a center of disclosure and manifestation of the universe. The sense of the AP and observations of the fine tuning of the universe just confirms that the process of knowledge of the universe (as intrinsically human) is consistent with the human cognitive faculties which are related to the bodily conditions. Naturally, these conditions cannot contradict to cosmological findings for otherwise theory would be radically incoherent. Theology and philosophy make clear that the representation of the universe in cosmology, being constituted by humanity, contains the elements of the human presence. Theology insists that the universe is turned to man by that side which is consistent with God's intention to

effectuate the Incarnation. This entails a serious doubt with respect to the existential sense of 96 % of the technically invisible universe which is non-consubstantial with that part of the universe which contains humans. In this sense the AP has a very limited value because as such it manifests itself as a principle of the systematic unity of nature which has an intrinsically human nature as related to the formal *teleology* of knowledge in general. But such a *teleology* has nothing to do with the overall development of the universe, but is related to humanity's incessant search for the mystery of its own origin related to the theologically explicit inability of humanity to know itself. Thus the sense of the AP is to discover man behind its own image of the universe. Seen through such a prism, the whole discourse of the AP represents an advanced narrative of the human condition in the universe, thus manifesting a dualistic position of humanity in the universe being its hypostasis and at the same time its tiny physical part. It accurately explicates the conditions of existence of humanity and thus of the very possibility theology and cosmology. Yet the cosmological AP misses a major issue related to consciousness, that is to the sufficient conditions of existence of intelligent humanity. Obviously these conditions as such are not cosmological and physical, but related to the hypostatic propensities of humanity endowed by God. Thus the cosmological AP contributes only to a «half» of anthropology without clarifying the ground for its own facticity. Theology is relevant to cosmology in what concerns AP because it outlines cosmology's fundamentally limited scope leaving behind the question of the articulating hypostatic intelligence.

Since the doctrine of deification relies on the Incarnation of the Word-Logos of God in flesh of Jesus Christ, the actual theological flavour of the fitness of the universe for life relates to the fitness of the universe for the Incarnation. It is the physical science that makes possible to understand that the universe must be such that it makes human life and hence the Incarnation possible. For the Word-Logos of God to assume human flesh, there *must be* this flesh. Since modern physics and biology is certain that in order for life to exist, that is, to

have such a flesh, the duration of the cosmological evolution must have been no less than ten billion years, it seems evident that for the Incarnation to take place the *necessary* cosmological conditions related to the whole history of the universe must have been fulfilled. Correspondingly the ontological (physical and biological) aspect of the Incarnation is present in the reversed history of the universe as it is described in modern cosmology. One can then, based on the theological Dogma of the Incarnation as foreseen by God before creation, advocate for the *Theo-Anthropic* Cosmological Principle linking the evolution of the universe to the demand for the human race to develop in order to effectuate the hypostatic union with God. Certainly this is related only the *necessary* conditions for the incarnation (in similarity to the conditions of existence of intelligent life) leaving the *sufficient* conditions for it to happen undisclosed by the sciences and addressed theologically.

2) Multiple universes.

The «fine-tuning» issue relates to the very low probability of the initial conditions of the universe, if one assumes (in any possible sense) the potential existence of the ensemble of the universes, and hence a choice of that one out of them which represents our universe. The major problem with the hypothesis of the multiverse is its radically non-empirical status and hence with its testability entailing a doubt in a scientific nature of this hypothesis.⁴² The claimed proposals for scientific tests of the physical existence of a multiverse (most of which rely on probability concepts) are doubtful because it seems that one cannot use probability arguments in cosmology when only one universe exists. Probability arguments cannot prove a multiverse exists, they can only prove the self-consistency of multiverse proposals as such. Some cosmologists strongly advocate that any model of the multiverse is hypothetical (unverifiable) and hence non-scientific.⁴³ Yet some other cosmologists, in order to avoid the prob-

⁴² See, for example, G. F.R. Ellis, «Does the Multiverse Really Exist?», *Scientific American* (August 2011): pp. 38–43 (as well as Ellis and Silk, «Scientific Method: Defend the Integrity of Physics»).

⁴³ Ellis, «Does the Multiverse Really Exist?»

lem of the special initial conditions and consequent in some cases, appeals to the idea of creation of the universe and its creator, prefer the multiverse model by simply ontologizing its construct in a naively realistic fashion. From a philosophical and theological point of view, the perennial issue of the contingent facticity of the multiverse itself (as a new type of the highly undifferentiated 'substance') remains untouched by any of its models so that in no way the multiverse hypothesis can replace or «explain» *creatio ex nihilo*.

Yet, from the same theological point of view the idea of the multiverse can represent an interest if considered in a Platonic sense: God created many intelligible universes, but only one (or some of them) have received an embodied physical existence. Seen in this angle, cosmology is relevant to theology because it supplies the latter with another narrative of the plurality of the intelligible aeons which, as theology insists, can be hostile to humanity and thus in no need for exploration and salvation. More than that, the models of the intelligible universes can contribute to a more thorough description of the theologically understood *creatio ex nihilo*. Indeed, if some Patristic writers (Maximus the Confessor, for example) argued that the constitutive element of *creatio ex nihilo* as it is seen from our side of creation, is the basic *diaphora* (difference) between empirical sensible realm and that of intelligible realm containing angelic entities and Platonic ideas, then the modern version of the perennial idea of *plurality of worlds* presented in many versions of the multiverse theories provides theology with a new narrative of how this *differentiation* in creation is possible. It does not specify the sense of these worlds as angelic (demonic) or just Platonic, it just indirectly asserts a very special nature of our world as turned to man because of the human affinity with God who chosen this universe for effectuating his hypostatic union with man in the Incarnation.

Theology (and philosophy) is relevant to cosmology in the case of the multiverse discussions because in agreement with its scientific critiques it places the multiverse under rubrics of those aeons in creation which are anthropologically and soteriologically irrelevant. Being

intrinsically geocentric, theology (and philosophy) reminds to all proponents of the idea of plurality of worlds that this very idea is intrinsically human and represents another attempt to justify the contingent facticity of this world and that of man in it on the grounds of the intrinsically *teleological* move, by introducing the ideas of the multiverse as a regulative alternative to the sheer contingency of this universe as created by God. A theological *teleology* of creation of the world by God in order to effectuate the salvation of man through the Incarnation is replaced in the concept of the multiverse by the formal epistemological *teleology* with no hope to make the concept of multiverse genuinely theoretical. Theology (and philosophy) is relevant to the assessment of the concept of multiverse because it provides one with a clear demarcation in this concept between that which is existentially irrelevant and that which is in reality.

3) How much of life is in the universe: search for extraterrestrial intelligence (SETI), exoplanets and multiple incarnations.

This issue is immediately connected with the previous one, because the *plurality of worlds* is now reduced to the «worlds» related to other intelligent life forms in the universe. Here cosmology enters the discussion with theology in its astronomical, observational modus which is not related to the global structure of the universe and its origin, but is connected with the issue of existence of life in the universe, in particular intelligent life to which humanity has to establish its attitude. Indeed, the recent discoveries of exoplanets stimulated a new wave of the search for extraterrestrial intelligence in our galaxy assuming that the *necessary* physical conditions for biological life are fulfilled on these planets. Theology turns out to be very relevant to the question of a possible intelligent life in the universe because one must be understood in what sense this life is similar or alien to human life. Theology proposes its definition of humanity in the context of its relation to God. Correspondingly the issue here is what is the relation of other possible intelligent species in the universe to that God who descended on earth in order to effectuate his union with man. Since Christianity insists on the uniqueness

of humanity in the latter sense, there arises a question of the uniqueness of the Incarnation.⁴⁴

A theological response to the formulated problem will be formed on the grounds of doubts about the legitimacy of extrapolation of the idea of human life beyond the earthly existence. More specifically, from a theological (philosophical) point of view:

a) The similar necessary conditions of existence of life in the universe do not entail the same sufficient conditions leading to appearance of intelligent beings similar to those of humanity. This thesis can receive its support from the evolutionary biology asserting the uniqueness of the evolution in terms of its undisclosed initial condition and theoretical improbability of its similar outcomes (which we observe on earth), if life would have to start on Earth one again.

b) From a theological (and philosophical) point of view it is not clear in what sense can one speak of the other intelligent beings if they are not in the Divine Image, that is, philosophically, do we have an epistemological access to them. The presumption of the common sphere of the transcendental experience *de facto* position these beings as identical to humanity. This implies that the biological evolution on other planets, if it has taken place, is convergent with that on Earth thus making the human phenomenon common for the whole universe. The *sufficient* conditions of the initial steps of evolution and appearance of consciousness on this planet are transformed in this logic into the *necessary* conditions thus making religious experience being implanted in the natural causal conditions. Then all theological claims for the contingency of creation, the sense of the human salvific history and the very distinction between the order of history and that of the cosmos becomes obsolete reducing, *de facto*, experience of God to the experience of the world. In other words, if humanity will discover similar species in the cosmos, one will be

⁴⁴ A modern comprehensive discussion of the issue of multiple incarnations can be found in chapter 4 of the book edited by Ted Peters, *Astrotheology*. See also my paper: A. Nesteruk, «The Motive of the Incarnation in Christian Theology: Consequences for Modern Cosmology, Extraterrestrial Intelligence and a Hypothesis of Multiple Incarnations», *Theology and Science* 16 (2018), pp. 462–72.

able to claim that consciousness is the feature of the universe as such, but not that of God. Alternatively, Christianity will have to admit that God acts everywhere in the same way (probably including incarnation) so that Christianity's claim for the uniqueness of humanity becomes ungrounded. Theology also points to the fact that the convergence of all possible intelligent life-forms to that one of humanity entails a drastic conclusion about the Fall, once again transferring its Earthly consequences to the whole universe literally implying then that these intelligent life-forms all need salvation. The latter accentuates with another force the point that all salvific history is implanted in the cosmic causation and thus deprives Christianity of its main message about humanity's free will. Theology (and philosophy) thus is relevant to the modern search for extraterrestrial intelligence by pointing that the only kind of species humanity can discover and understand is that one which is similar to humanity itself. Such a position predetermines a Christian Orthodox position with respect to the question about a possibility of multiple incarnations as that one which insist on the uniqueness of the Incarnation and, if necessary, communication of its effects by humans to other inhabited worlds.

c) Christian theology doubts, on soteriological grounds, that we need to know and contact potential other beings in the conditions after the Fall, when the sense of our own world is obscured. Theology, unlike astrobiological speculations about other intelligent species in the universe, warns humanity that it is no clear in advance that their findings and attempts to implement them in interstellar contacts will not be harmful for humanity, for theology cannot exclude that these other species are not influenced by the demonic agencies fundamentally hostile to humanity.⁴⁵ Theology expresses a serious doubt that the issue of SETI can be disentangled from a theologically expressed concern that the cosmos at large can be devoid of grace and potentially threatening to humanity by being usurped by fallen angels. In view of the recent NASA's discoveries of the practical impossibility of cosmic travels because of the high exposure to the ionising radiation

⁴⁵ Cf. Lossky, *Orthodox Theology*, pp. 62–65.

from fast cosmic particles, the planet Earth with all its unique physical features remains the only place for humanity to exist which puts in doubt any phantasies of the human physical expansion in the universe. Thus the discovery of exoplanets in conjunction with the impossibility of the remote travelling in space, as well as the advance in the SETI, explicate further a theological claim for the centrality of Earth and geocentric uniqueness of the Incarnation. Theology here formulates the problem, cosmology (in this case astronomy) extends its elucidation. The sense of theological claims is elucidated by cosmology, whereas the value of scientific discoveries and hypothesis is assessed theologically.

4) The origin of the universe and *creatio ex nihilo*

The issue of origination of the universe represents a major challenge for scientific cosmology because of its lack of testability: here physical theories reach their limits. Theories of creation of the universe are obviously not directly testable and cosmological observations provide very weak limits on conditions immediately after creation because the inflationary phase of expansion wipes out most memory of that which preceded it. Alleged 'explanations' of creation rely on extrapolating some aspects of tested physics to situations where tests are not possible. Usually they employ physical theories (such as Quantum Field Theory, for example) held to be applicable in situations before space and time existed, in spite of the fact that their usual formulation assumes that space and time do exist. So the major issue here is, what features of cosmology (physics) depend on the existence of the universe, and which transcend it. Only those that transcend it can feature in theories of how the universe came into being. This raises a question of how to understand the transcendent features of theories in an ontological sense. What kind of existence is assigned to the theoretically constituted origin of the universe: is it indeed physical, or just mathematical (platonic), metaphysical, or intersubjective (remaining a regulative idea in a Kantian sense)? If one speaks of the scientific narrative, that is, as related to the universe in the phenomenality of objects, philosophy and

theology cannot say too much with respect to the validity of this narrative as having references to some objective realities. Theology and philosophy put some limits on possible ontological extrapolations of such a cosmological narrative referring not only to the impossibility of a metaphysical construing of the causal principle of the world, but also to the fact that this narrative is a human enterprise and as such is constructed in the conditions of the total incomprehensibility of its own possibility. This does not invalidate the cosmological narrative, but just alerts scientists to an obvious theological fact that the world is turned to humanity by its manifestly anthropic side, so that the universe as a whole and its origin as they are depicted in cosmology are all imbued with basic existential concerns for the sense of the human existence. In a way, because of the empirical inaccessibility, the cosmological description of the origins of the universe represents a kind of a top-down mental causation in the sense that the origin of the universe becomes a matter of the human *intentionality* ultimately looking for its own origin. Then one can claim that the «transcendent» features of the hypotheses based on the mental causation (related to scientific hypotheses of the early universe) provide a narrative of the presence of the Divine in the universe because God is present in man through the very fact of man's created existence. Theology (and philosophy) and cosmology enter an open-ended hermeneutics of the human condition by mutually elucidating their own advance in understanding of this condition.

In spite of all the issues raised above, the discourse of origination of the universe in a singular state (Big Bang) which is traditionally related to the theologically understood *creatio ex nihilo*, can be considered as the most developed in the context of the dialogue with theology. There exists an enormous bulk of literature on this topic across all Christian denominations. Orthodox theology provided lots of writings on creation of the universe out of nothing, but it was never concerned with the specifically cosmological aspects of creation because it never aimed to produce any accomplished cosmology. Any straightforward co-relation of the patristic ideas on cre-

ation with the modern cosmological narrative would be considered not only as anachronistic (because the Fathers did not have access to modern knowledge), but logically purposeless because of the historically contingent means of comparing of the two narratives. The essential feature of the patristic narrative of creation is to place it in the logic of transfiguration of the universe and human deification enabled through the Incarnation of Christ. In this sense the whole cosmology of the Fathers is through and through Christocentric thus approaching creation through its major motive – the Incarnation. Correspondingly the novelty in appropriation of modern cosmological narrative of the early universe by Orthodox theology would be by treating the origination of the universe as related to the motive of the Incarnation, that is, by linking the initial conditions of the universe to the *necessary* conditions for the Incarnation (and hence the existence of humanity). Theology and cosmology both admit that the «initial conditions» for the created world are contingent. Yet theology makes a correction that this contingency is yet necessary, because (typologically, not causally) subordinated to the Incarnation. Yet this subordination is not traditionally teleological, but rather regulative (that is formal) which humanity needs in order to construct a meaningful systematic unity of the world.

There are two other issues from theology of creation that can be relevant to the modern cosmological views of origination of the universe. First, theology asserted the dual structure of the created realm: the empirical (visible) and intelligible (invisible) as the constitutive element of *creatio ex nihilo*. In other words, in order to approach the issue of creation either philosophically or scientifically, in both cases concepts and models must contain the presence of that intelligible entities which are not subject to an empirical verification. Cosmology demonstrates this well not only by complementing its observational finding by highly abstracts mathematical models (representing a part of the intelligible world), but also by asserting the technically invisible dark layer of the universe which by its function in theory strikingly resembles another intelligible reality. One

can say that cosmology involuntary follows the same path in explication of the origination of the universe as was anticipated by the ancient theologians. The second theological intuition exercised by both Greek and Latin Fathers is that it was illegitimate to enquire about the «the details» of creation. For example, a most notable question on the «age» of creation, more precisely, a perennial question of «why not sooner?» of creation. This concern is related to the age of the universe (either biblical, or scientifically stated) which refers the issue to the contingency of the initial conditions of the universe (as the transcendent feature of cosmological theories) and hence to the unknown will and wisdom of the creator (his presence in the universe). Modern cosmological models corrected the biblical value of the age of the universe, but yet the contingency of the latter (particular numerical value of this age) was not clarified. Its narrative is more coherent and substantiated by observations, but the issue of the specificity of the initial conditions which predetermine the age of the universe remains undisclosed. This confirms that cosmological models of origination of the universe can be treated as contributing to the open-ended hermeneutics of the concealed contingent facticity of the universe thus expressing the ultimate unknowability of its creator. Some theologians (Augustine, for example) compared the issue of the concealed origin of the universe with that one of origin of man,⁴⁶ reminding that philosophically two cases represent an example of a phenomenological concealment of the inaugurating events (creation of the universe and birth of man), as well that both issues, de facto, relate to one and the same human concern about the origin of the facticity of its existence. In the case of the issue of creation, theology and cosmology complement each other by «elucidating» in their intertwining and unending narratives the scale of humanity's incomprehensibility of its own origin and the sense of existence.

5) Consciousness and the universe

⁴⁶ See details in A. Nesteruk, «The Sense of the Universe: St. Maximus the Confessor and Theological Consummation of Modern Cosmology», in A. Lévy et al. (eds.), *The Architecture of the Cosmos. St. Maximus the Confessor. New Perspectives* (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Society, 2015), pp. 310–25.

Physics in its classical form, when it works in the natural attitude and disregards the functioning of that subjectivity which predicates the physical world, cannot incorporate consciousness. The word ‘classical’ is used here not in order to contrapose quantum physics to that which is traditionally called ‘classical physics.’ This word is used in a philosophical sense related to that particular phenomenality with which physics deals (namely the phenomenality of objects), that is, with that which is allegedly objective and independent of the human insight. There are many speculations and hopes that Quantum Physics will change this approach to reality by bringing on board an enquiring subject. It suffices to mention all famous discussions on the role of the observer within the Copenhagen interpretation of Quantum mechanics. However all these discussions do not change anything in the understanding of the sense of humanity in the universe as embodied hypostatic creatures with their private sense of existence (in 1st person) which is not describable by any possible science. This is the reason why physics until now attempts to banish any enquiry into the sense of the personal consciousness by insisting on studying the objective world. This tendency seems to be strange, in particular when the same physics claims to seek for the ‘Theory of Everything’ which must include consciousness in the universe by its definition. Cosmology, at first glance, contributes to the diminution of humanity in the universe by proving its utter insignificance on the physical scale. Correspondingly the status of the embodied consciousness in the universe seems to be negligible and incidental. However this observation enters a direct conflict with the fact that this very observation is possible only because humanity is epistemologically central in the universe and that the overall picture of the evolving universe is the product of humanity’s mental activity. Hence the very possibility of existence of the universe in a humanly articulated form is possible only because of existence of human intelligent beings (theologically, made in the Image of God). Then, on phenomenological grounds, one concludes that human intelligence is rather a fundamen-

tal feature of the universe being its hypostasis in a theological sense. Yet since the hypostatic existence is possible only in the conditions of embodiment, the very enhypostasization of the universe indeed contains objective references of its very possibility. Then theological and cosmological hermeneutics of existence can be considered phenomenologically as constitutive of humanity as the centre of disclosure and manifestation of the universe. In this case the question of explanation of consciousness by some scientific and philosophical means loses its sense and acquires a different status, namely as that which manifests existence as such. Viewed in this angle, the ultimate foundation and origin of the hypostatic consciousness in the universe is treated not through a hidden mechanism of the transition from the animal consciousness to that one of Homo Sapiens, for example, but by studying consciousness’ ‘evolution’ through its acquisition of the world, and hence its allegedly metaphysical explanation of its own origin through constructing the origin of the universe. In no way, however, such an ‘explanation’ will have a theoretical, ontological sense: it will provide us only with a regulative approach and a possible pathway to how is possible to describe consciousness outwardly. Consciousness will always be encoded in theories and explanations of the universe but it will never be ‘seen’ as an *object*, as that which can be defined in terms of substance and its variations in space and time. It will always remain a (transcendental) condition of the disclosure and manifestation of the universe, that condition which humanity receives together with the gift of life from its Giver – the Creator. In this phenomenological view cosmology acquires the sense of a particular form of the human subjectivity dealing with the conditions of its physical existence. As activity, it becomes a *characteristic* experience of existence, when consciousness has to balance its internal sense of being a private person, with the existence of that other (the universe) in the background of which this privacy experiences its being. Seen in this perspective, theology and cosmology, being the *modi* of the human existence, manifest themselves through different narratives

which are rather complementary than exclusive. The split in the *modi* of existence does not threaten to the existence as such; rather it explicates the main predicament of this existence between the Scylla of the finite and insignificant place in the physical universe and Charybdis of longing for eternity and unconditional existence.

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Nanai Shamanic Vocabulary with the Component *-so/-su*

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Abstract. The article considers the component *-so/-su*, which, being added as a suffix to the root basis of the generating word from the group of common and ordinary vocabulary, contributes to the semantic shift by translating the derived word into the group of religious vocabulary. The identification of words with the root basis of *su* ‘amulet, talisman’, *sue* ‘the roots of the mythical shamanic tree’, or *sona* ‘group of shamanic spirits’ suggests that such a semantic shift indicates the origin of the component *-so/-su* from those roots. The authors consider that the method of word formation by word composition and subsequent reduction of the second root with partial preservation of the semantics of this second root is manifested not only in the words considered in the article, but indicates the presence of a certain pattern in the Nanai language that has not yet been investigated.

Keywords: Nanai language, shamanic vocabulary, word formation.

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Шаманская лексика нанайцев: компонент *-so/-su*

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Аннотация. Представлен анализ в нанайском языке компонента *-so/-su*, который, добавляясь к корневой основе производящего слова из группы бытовой лексики в качестве суффикса, способствует семантическому сдвигу, переводя производное слово в группу лексики религиозной. Выявление слов с корневой основой *су* ‘амулет, талисман’, *сусе* ‘корни мифического шаманского дерева’, *сона* ‘группа шаманских духов’ позволяет утверждать, что подобный семантический сдвиг указывает на корневое происхождение компонента *-so/-su*. Авторы полагают, что способ словообразования путем словосложения и последующего редуцирования второго корня при частичном сохранении семантики этого второго корня не только проявляется в рассмотренных словах, но указывает на наличие в нанайском языке определенной, но еще не исследованной закономерности.

Ключевые слова: нанайский язык, шаманская лексика, словообразование.

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Научная специальность: 24.00.00 – культурология.

Введение

Шаманская лексика нанайцев дает исследователю богатый материал для изучения истории нанайского языка, относящегося к доалтайской языковой группе¹. Одна из особенностей шаманской лексики – наличие отыменных лексем с формантом *-so/-su* в некоторых существительных (*сусу*, *мосо*, *дялансо*, *дэкасо*, *тавасо* и др.). Нанайский язык сохранил такой формант в определенном количестве слов, относящихся на современном этапе развития языка к ритуально-религиозной, преимущественно шаманской лексике, что косвенно подтверждает их архаичность. Интересующие нас лексемы не употребляются в повседневной речи и не распознаются обычно теми носителями нанайского языка, которые не вовлечены в шаманскую практику.

Данная группа слов выступает одним из наименее исследованных явлений нанайского языка. Одна из особенностей таких слов – наличие своеобразных пар слов (производящего и производного), имеющих одну корневую основу, но отличающихся при этом высокой степенью семантической дифференциации. Без компонента *-so/-su*, выполняющего функцию суффикса, производящее слово не имеет ритуально-религиозных коннотаций, тогда как при наличии его возникает существенный семантический сдвиг, и производное слово переходит уже в группу шаманской лексики, в некоторых случаях даже табуированной лексики ограниченного употребления. Иначе говоря, когда формант *-so/-su* добавляется в качестве второго компонента к словам бытовой лексики (таким как *мо* – дерево; *дэкан* – домик), это полностью меняет их значение, придавая им некую тайную коннотацию, скрытую от большинства носителей нанайского языка,

¹ Работа основана на данных полевого исследования, проводившегося среди нанайцев в 1980–2021 годы.

самостоятельно не практикующих тайные шаманские ритуалы. Так, с суффиксом *-so* слово *мо* (дерево) становится словом *мосо* – духовная связь между людьми, принадлежащими к одному генеалогическому древу. Слово *дэкан* (домик) преобразуется в слово *дэкасо* – некое местообиталище в духовном мире, населенное духами и душами.

Вопрос, который мы пытаемся разрешить в настоящей статье, – это исследование путей словообразования при использовании компонента *-so/-су* и причин, по которым его присоединение к существительным указывает на дубликат, обозначающий аналогичный объект, «размещенный» в незримом духовном мире. Для решения этого вопроса вначале рассмотрим ряд таких лексических пар с целью фиксации закономерности как таковой, подтверждения ее наличия. Затем постараемся выяснить семантику форманта *-so/-су* в тех словах, где он проявляет себя как корень слова. Это лингвистическое исследование необходимо дополнить этнографическими материалами с тем, чтобы в междисциплинарном аспекте способствовать уточнению научных представлений о традиционных религиозных представлениях нанайцев и одновременно уточнить семантику лексем интересующей нас группы.

Отыменные неличные существительные с компонентом *-so /-су*

Поскольку добавление к слову форманта *-so/-су* ведет к называнию объектов духовного мира, не имеющих аналогов в мире физическом и не описанных в словарях, имеет смысл остановиться на значении некоторых из таких слов подробнее. Следует обратить внимание и на то, что такие слова бывают мало известны простым шаманистам, что обуславливает лишь частичное понимание нешаманами содержания исполняемых камланий (Smolyak, 1991; Bulgakova, 2016).

В качестве примера можно привести отыменное существительное *дэкасо* (*дэсо*), образованное с помощью форманты *-so* от слова *дэкан* – домик (*дэ* – дом): «У каждого нанайского шамана было собственное хранилище душ на своей, ему

принадлежащей территории» (Smolyak, 1991: 111). Освобожденную от злых духов душу больного шаман помещал в хранилище (Smolyak, 1991: 113). Оно располагалось внутри какого-либо реального объекта (скалы, большого камня, рёлки и т. п.) или рядом с этим объектом и выглядело внутри (по описаниям шаманов и сновидцев) действительно как дом (иногда дом, стоящий на звериных лапах), обнесенный забором, с воротами и дверями. Шаманка К., имеющая постоянный *дэкасо* для хранения в нем *панянов* (душ) своих пациентов, говорит, что в действительно существующей скале она может видеть двери, которые перед нею отворяются, и входит своими духами (не реальным своим телом) в эту реально существующую скалу. Об одном таком «посещении» *дэкасо* информант рассказывает так: «Я видела сон. Иду, вроде такая поляна, сопочка и склон какой-то. Иду и захожу. Этот склон открывается, и я вроде туда вовнутрь захожу. Там старушка такая древняя. Халат на ней такой длинный, что она запинаясь о его подол. Она меня пропускает в ту дверь, потом в ту дверь. В общем три двери. Она открывает эти двери, я захожу и вроде вот окошки, что ли. И солнышко (в окна) светит. Я сына ищу и никак не могу его найти. А там много-много детей. Там нары и на нарах много детей лежат» (РМВ: А.Б.).

Аналогичный перенос значения слова в плоскость духовного мира возникает при присоединении компонента *-so* к слову *мо* дерево. По определению А. В. Смоляк, *мосо* (по-ульчски *мусу*) – это «единая «жизненная линия» близких родственников... общий мусу имели члены каждого рода, семьи» (Smolyak, 1991: 173). Таким образом, если *мо* – это просто дерево, то *мосо* – это тоже дерево, но только дерево родовое, существующее не в физическом, но в духовном мире и соответствующее патрилиниджу, соединенному с определенными родовыми духами. Выражение «буэ *мосо* гурун» означает «мы люди одного рода». Согласно одному из наших информантов, «... от одного прадеда разные ветви как дерево-дорога, не считая женщин, которые уходят в дру-

гой род. От меня до прадеда – это дорога. Возвращаться на свой *мосо*, на свою дорогу нужно, чтоб помнить, какому *диулину* (духу) мы поклоняемся (РМВ: Н.Б.). *Мусунчу* называли удачливого человека (от хорошего *мусу*, присущего членам одного рода, семьи). Но наступало время, в роде или семье начинались неудачи: ссоры, болезни и проч. Старики говорили: «*Мусу* надо исправлять». Это делал шаман, который камлал, когда данный род устраивал очередное моление небу – *эдехэмбэ уйлэву*. В ходе обряда шаман обращался к духам с просьбой об исправлении *мусу* у рода, семьи (Smolyak, 1991: 173).

Еще один двойник реального дерева *мо* – это личное дерево человека. Считается, что у каждого есть душа-дерево *мосо* (*морсо*), неразрывно связанная с неким реальным деревом, растущим в тайге. Это дерево человек видел во сне. Если падает это реальное дерево, разрушается индивидуальное *мосо* (*морсо*) человека, и он умирает. «*Морсо* – это дерево человека. Если проверишь это дерево и увидишь, что оно засохло, то это конец. Если же кора у него живая и листья живые, то человек никогда не умрет. Даже если он тяжело болен, все равно поправится» (РМВ: Л.Б.). «Некоторые шаманы, говорят нанайцы, знали, где растет дерево каждого человека. Такой шаман мог сразу найти место гибели охотника» (Smolyak, 1991: 110). Женщина, муж которой погиб на войне, рассказывала о том, как его гибель возвестило его незримое дерево *морсо*: «Около нашего дома стоял кедр. Когда мой муж уходил на фронт, этот кедр до самой макушки остался без сучьев. Я видела это во сне, как это дерево осталось совсем без сучьев. Летом видела этот сон. Было лето, а муж ушел на фронт зимой. Дерево это, которое осталось без сучьев, не стоит, не будет стоять. Осталось ему только на землю упасть. *Морсо* моего мужа упало. Если бы это было дерево для жизни человека, оно таким не было бы. Мой муж пошел умирать» (РМВ: Л.Б.). Считалось, что незримое личное дерево человека возвещает об исходе любого опасного заболевания: «Канка зимой неожиданно заболела.

Из носа кровь пошла. Половину литровой банки крови натекло. Увезли ее в больницу. Я тогда села и вместе с зятем *нингмачи* на нее делала. Посмотрела ее дерево *морсо* во время этого *нингмачи*. Как только спать легла, увидела сон. Стоят за окном три дерева, вершины их высоко вверх поднимаются. Зеленые-зеленые, словно весной. И она поправилась. Если видишь, что дерево засохло, жить не будет. Дерево у нее нормальное, а муж ее плачет. Умрет, говорит, моя жена» (РМВ: Л.Б.).

Формант *-со* меняет также значение слова *тава* огонь, переводя его значение из реальной физической плоскости в плоскость духовного мира. Слово *тавасо* по-нанайски – «шаровая молния», но традиционное отношение к шаровой молнии, понимание ее природы выводит семантику слова за пределы физического мира. Считалось, что «движущийся огонь» – это зримое проявление энергии (духов) шаманов, энергии, отделяющейся от физического тела шамана и перемещающейся в пространстве. Информанты утверждают, что раньше, когда много было шаманов, часто можно было видеть движущиеся шаровые молнии, в настоящее время их практически не стало именно потому, что не стало «больших» сильных шаманов. Особенно яркими были «движущиеся огни» в случае, если у шаманов были агрессивные намерения. Поскольку же шаманские духовные войны были когда-то обычным делом, то «... даже днем видели люди огонь, видели, как огонь движется поверху. Ночью видели, как сверкает огонь. Днем белеет такой огонь, а ночью, сверкая, движется. Это ходят шаманы. Шаман в виде огня. *Тавасо* идет, сверкая... Это днем или ночью в сновидениях они обходили места, шли огнем *тавасо*» (РМВ: К.К.). «Шаманы воевали (друг с другом), и люди видели днем движущиеся огни поверху. Ночью они большими становились. *Посиар-р* – сверкали! А днем они белыми казались. Блестели, излучая свет, быстро двигались. Это шаманы так ходили. Когда такой светящийся предмет движется, идет в другие места, человек (шаман) в это время, спя, путешествует (*хэрэличи*). Это шаманский огонь... Большой

огненный шар. Детей, жену врага, всех убивает (этот шар)» (РМВ: К.К.).

Т.В. Мельникова сообщает еще об одном значении слова *тавасо* (*тавасоан*). По представлениям горинских нанайцев, шаровая молния *тавасоан* в случае, если она никому еще в данный момент не принадлежала, то есть не была воплощением духов какого-либо шамана, могла быть освоена охотником и принести ему охотничью удачу: «Если на глазах охотника шаровая молния входила в дерево, то у него появлялась реальная возможность заполучить в личное пользование «сокровище медвежьих душ» *мана сиулэн*, которое давало власть над любым зверем в тайге и даже медведем» (Mel'nikova, 2000: 146). Мельникова упоминает также о способе распознавания охотником природы шаровой молнии: «Прежде чем завладеть ею, охотнику следовало проверить, не был ли огненный шар шаманским. Инструментом для проверки служил верхний охотничий халат. Увидев молнию, охотник с головой накрывался этим халатом и разглядывал ее через рукав. Только таким способом он мог рассмотреть внутри шаровой молнии человека в шаманском наряде». Если такого человека охотник внутри молнии не видел, это означало, что он сам мог воспользоваться *тавасо* для обретения охотничьей удачи (Mel'nikova, 2000: 146).

Формант *-су* выводит из круга объектов физического мира также слово *бэ*, означающее ... приманку, наживку (на удочке), превращая его в существительное *бэсу* – незримая отравка, которую бросают в пищу² (РМВ). Использование *бэсу* было одним из проявлений шаманских войн. Шаман мог изводить соперника с помощью своих духов, незримым образом подбрасывающих ему в еду некую невидимую субстанцию (некоего духа *амбана*), способную его отравить. В этом случае, как говорят шаманы, «... *амбан* зайдет в человека, убить его может... и надо наточить три ножа и копье. Вот этим только и можно прогнать» (РМВ:

О. К.). Шаманка О.К. рассказывает: «Когда ты ешь, *амбан* бросит (наживку) в твою тарелку, и когда ты ее съешь, внутрь тебя войдет. В таком случае сразу надо точить ножи и копье. Со мной такое было дважды. Я готовила на кухне обед, нашинковала капусту и съела немного. У меня сразу живот заболел. Болит и болит. Едва доварила, взяла кастрюлю и внесла ее в дом. Как только поставила ее, сразу упала и ничего больше не помню, сознание потеряла. Потом мне рассказывали, бабушек много собрало, отец был. Шаманить стали, кричат, орут. И когда они кричали, меня вырвало, и сразу стало легче. Когда меня вырвало, бабушка крикнула: *Амбан* вылез, убегает! – Дважды со мной такое было» (РМВ: О.К.).

В ряду лексем, образующих пары, слово, указывающее на объект или явление физического мира, и слово с формантой *-со/-су*, определяющее аналогичный объект или явление, но в мире духовном, находится пара *дялан* 'сустав' и *дялансо* 'поколения' как некая целостность, складывающаяся из отдельных соединяющихся вместе поколений, которая также несет в себе духовное значение. Так, согласно традиционному мировоззрению нанайцев, духи наследовались, передавались от одного поколения к другому.

Обращаясь к вопросу об общей семантике компонента *-со/-су*, следует особо отметить группу содержащих этот компонент слов, указывающих на некое покрытие, оболочку, футляр, защищающий туман, дым, возможно, в целом, на некую защиту того или иного объекта от внешних воздействий. Например, блюдо для собирания жертвенной крови называется 'муксун': «Охотник из молодой семьи перед уходом на промысел приходил за бурханом и уносил его к себе на время совершения обряда. Глава дома закалывал жертвенную свинью или курицу ударом ножа в сердце, давал стечь крови в деревянное блюдо – муксун» (Гаег, 1984: 24). *Гармакта* 'комары', а отыменное существительное *гармасо/у* Нх, Бк 1) 'накомарник'; 2) 'накидка, надеваемая под охотничью шапочку от комаров или снега' (ср. *гармакта* 'комары'). Компонент *су* имеется в названиях футляра, чехла для ружья в на-

² *Бэсу* означает также «место бывшего села» (Openko, 1980: 87), представляющее, согласно верованиям, опасность для посещающих его людей.

найском, ороцском и орокском языках: нан. *моосо* ‘деревянный футляр, чехол для ружья’ (Openko 1980), ороц., орок. *моосу* ‘чехол для ружья’ (TMS1: 538), ср. *моо* ‘дерево’. Компонент *суу* добавляет значение ‘защитный амулет’ в существительных с корневой основой *монго* ‘шея’: ороц. *монгоросу* ‘узор на вороте халата’ (ср. *монготун* ‘шарф’); нег. *монгосо*, *монггосо* 1) ‘ожерелье’, ‘бусы’; 2) ‘платок’; 3) ‘воротник’ (ср. *монготун* ‘шарф’); уд. *монггосо* Хор, Бик ‘ворот одежды’ (ср. *моопти* ‘шарф’) (TMS1: 546); нан. *монгосоко* ‘воротник’ [O80]. То есть то воротник, ожерелье и прочее то, что покрывает, защищает шею. Возможно, сюда же относится лексема *бусу* ‘одежда для покойника’ [O80], которая образована от глагола *буу-* ‘умирать’, то есть одежда как покрытие, защита для покойника.

Не исключено, что даже эти слова (образ некоей оболочки, кокона, чехла) имеют опосредованное отношение к защите с помощью духов. Тем более, что подобный образ довольно распространен в нанайском повествовательном фольклоре и в обрядовых текстах. Так, *дэптон* – внешняя оболочка сказочного персонажа, которую он может сбрасывать с себя и вновь на себя надевать, это важная роль, придаваемая в ритуалах чехлам сакральных объектов (чехол для бубна, чехол для маски, специальный маленький домик для изображений духов), а также представление о *кова*. *Кова* – некий духовный незримый кокон, который для защиты от врагов в начале камлания шаманы якобы надевают на то помещение, где это камлание происходит. *Кова* – это также нечто вроде дыма или тумана, окутывающего шамана и его духов, чтобы скрыть их от возможного преследования. Считалось, что женщины обладают более плотным *кова*, чем мужчины, а наиболее непроницаемым *кова* обладают те шаманы, которые родились «в рубашке».

Личные существительные с компонентом *-со/-су*

Среди личных существительных с формантом *-со/-су* особый интерес представляет пара лексем *най* / *найсо* «человек». Слово

най широко используется в нанайском языке для синонимической замены практически любых личных существительных, указывающих на людей и на духов. Например, «*Хэрэ, хони-да би дякаңгони-да най тэхуэни ичэдиури, Най хасаңгоивани досидями дэрурухэни. – Хэрэ, какой бы най [дух, наставший на пациентку болезнь] ни был, ты [мой дух-помощник] видишь ее [пациентку] до самого дна, [насквозь]! Услышав разговор людей, она начала [болеть]» (силтамбани). Но при таком применении слово *най* является эвфемизмом, нейтральным маскирующим словом, заменяющим иные слова, особенно названия духов. Что касается слова *найсо*, оно встречается исключительно в фольклорной и религиозной лексике и означает человека удачливого и обладающего выдающимися умениями. Предположительно так косвенно называют в сказках шамана. Мы предполагаем также, что в случае, если пациентом шамана во время камлания является мужчина, то, обращаясь к духам, шаманка называет его «*найсо*».*

Что касается пациентки-женщины, то камлающий шаман называет ее «*асо*», «*асодэан*» в третьем лице, то есть обращается не к ней, а к духам. Например, в камлании шаманка поет: «*Асоандэамба дуилэчими нэргэчи*» – «На женщину ворожу, гадаю». (Bulgakova, 2016: 36–37). Она просит духов: «*Асоандо дякпадоани илими, илими, энувэни, силтамбани симболими, ачони!*» – «Рядом с женщиной [с пациенткой], встаньте, встаньте, чтоб болезнь ее, хворь ее, скинуть, снять!» (Bulgakova, 2016: 84–85). Или «*они бароани асоамба, эниэнэ, эниэнэ, энувэни, силтамбани... ониччани огоандосу!*» – «в [незримый сосуд] *они* женщину [душу-тень пациентки помещайте], матери, матери, болезнь ее, хворь ее... в *они* поместите!» (Bulgakova, 2016: 162–163).

В нанайском языке есть также группа функциональных личных существительных с компонентом *-со/-су*. В отличие от слов *асо* и *найсо* они могут использоваться и в бытовой лексике, указывают на лиц, обладающих особыми умениями, исходящими от духов, и образуют пары с однокоренными словами без форманта *-со/-су*...

Нингман – сказка, *нингмасо* – искусный сказитель, имеющий духов, дающих ему умение сказывать, регулярно приносящий им жертвы. В отличие от обычного сказителя *нингмасо* имеет возле своего дома *торо* – дерево-жертвенник, на котором изображены духи, дающие ему способность рассказывать сказки (или возле которого такие изображения ставятся). *Деурэнсу* – это скороговорка, присказка, а того, кто знает много *деуруэн*, называли *деурэнсу*. Поскольку в исполнении искусных *нингмасо* сказки были насыщены скороговорками и присказками, их называли одновременно и *деурэнсу*. *Нингмасо* могли также называть еще и *дяринсо*. *Дярин* – это песня, а *дяринсо* – человек, умеющий хорошо петь, или сказитель, не просто рассказывающий, но поющий длинные сказки. *Дяринсо* мог быть также и не сказитель, а человек, хорошо поющий песни. У *дяринсо* так же, как у *нингмасо*, есть дерево *торо*, на котором должны были быть изображены его духи (как правило, *ярка* [кулик] или *си-сирга* [скворец]). Благодаря форманту *-со* от названия того или иного фольклорного жанра образовывалась лексема, означающая не просто специалиста, в совершенстве владеющего данным жанром, но специалиста, получившего свои умения от духов, творчество которого обусловлено влиянием на него этих духов.

Можно назвать еще примеры отглагольных существительных. Нан. лексема *васо/у* Нх, К-У ‘умелый, хороший охотник, рыболлов’ образована от первичной глагольной основы *ваа-* ‘убивать’ добавлением компонента *су*. Лексема *ваачисо/у* – *васо/у* Нх, К-У ‘умелый, хороший охотник, рыболлов’. В орок. имеются синонимы *ваалинга*, *валунга* ‘удачливый охотник’ и *ваасунга* ‘ловкий, удачливый охотник’, вторая лексема образована путем сложения трех основ *ва-*, *су* ‘амулет’, *манга* ‘сильный’ (при этом от *манга* образован словообразовательный суффикс *-нга*). В орокском языке имеется лексема *ваасунга* ‘ловкий, удачливый охотник’, в которой можно предположительно обнаружить три компонента *ваа-*, *суу* ‘талисман, оберег’ и *манга* ‘сильный’; ср. орок.

ваалинга, *валунга* ‘удачливый охотник’. В данных лексемах формант *-со/-су* указывает на способности, даваемые человеку специальными духами. Считалось, например, что у удачливого охотника могла быть дух «лесная жена», которая обеспечивала его охотничьей удачей.

Между тем есть группа слов с компонентом *-со/-су*, либо не имеющая значения «человек, обладающий умением, обусловленным присутствием духов», либо такое значение еще не установлено:

а) в отглагольных существительных: *морасо* Нх ‘крикливый’; ‘крикун’ (*мора-* ‘кричать’) (TMS1, 546); *саасо/у* Нх 1. ‘знающий’, ‘сведущий’ 2. ‘знаток’ (*саа-* ‘знать’); *нгэлэсу*, *нгээлэсу* Нх, *лэлэксу* Бк, *нгэлэчису* Нх 1. ‘боязливый’, ‘трусливый’, ‘пугливый’; 2. ‘трус’; ср. орок. *нгэлэсу* 1. ‘боязливый’, ‘пугливый’, ‘трусливый’; 2. ‘трус’; *паорису* Нх ‘пловец хороший’ (*паори* Нх, *фаори-* К-У ‘плыть – о человеке’); *нямнясо/у* Нх ‘ловкий наездник’ (ср. *нямнямди*, *нямняго* Нх ‘всадник’, ‘верховой’; *нямня-* Нх, К-У ‘ехать верхом на лошади’); *гиолисо/у* Нх ‘гребца-мастер’ (*гиоли-* ‘гresti на веслах’); стрелок из лука *гарпасу* (*гарпа-* ‘стрелять из лука’) ср. орок. *галтасу* ‘меткий стрелок’; *галта-* ‘стрелять из лука’;

б) в отглагольных прилагательных *паорису* Нх ‘пловец (хороший)’ (ср. *паори* Нх, *фаори-* К-У ‘плыть – о человеке’); *намбосо/у* Нх ‘догадливый’ (*намбо-* ‘отгадать’); *гэмурису* ‘ворчливый’ (ср. *гэмури-* ‘ворчать’ от *гэмур-гэмур* Нх изобр. ‘бормоча’, ‘лопоча’); *одёчисо/у* Нх ‘бережливый’ (*одёчи-* ‘экономить’); *олосо/у* Нх ‘пугливый’, ‘нервный’ (*оло-* ‘испугаться’, ‘вздвогнуть’); *намасо/у* Нх ‘не умеющий ориентироваться’ (*нама-* ‘заблудиться’); *пакпарисо/у* Нх ‘сварливый’ (*пакпари-* Нх ‘сердиться’, ‘ругаться’); *пэбусу* ‘ворчливый’ (*пэбу-* Нх 1) ‘бредить’; 2) ‘бормотать’); *хойлисо/у* Нх ‘упорный’ (*хойлин-* ‘надоедать’; ‘проявлять настойчивость, упорство’); *пэдэмэсу* Нх ‘ретивый’ (TMS1, 459) (*пэдэмэ-* Нх ‘постараться’, ‘приложить усилие’; *пэдгуйди* Нх нареч. ‘стараясь изо всех сил’; *пэдэ* Нх, *фэдэ* Бк ‘быстрей’); *микусу-* Нх ‘хорошо ползающий’ (*мику-* ‘ползать’, ‘ходить на четверень-

ках?) (TMS1, 538); *мурчису* Нх ‘вдумчивый’ (*мурчи-* ‘думать’) (TMS1, 558); *намбосо/у* Нх ‘догадливый’ (*намбо-* ‘угадывать’) (TMS1, 574).

Лексема ‘су’ и слова с корневой основой *со, су*

Наконец, решающее значение для выяснения семантики компонента *-со/-су* имеет исследование тех слов, в которых форманты *со, су* являются корневой основой. Слово *су* в нанайском языке означает ‘амулет’, ‘талисман’. Приносящими удачу *су* могли стать необычные предметы, например «... найденный кусок серебра или увиденный фосфоресцирующий огонь, на месте которого охотник находил красную лягушку» (Gaer, 1984: 41). По данным Е. А. Гаер, обладатели таких амулетов никому о них не рассказывали и «... втайне совершали обряды кормления, прошения здоровья, счастья и удачного промысла. Такие предметы становились объектом поклонения отдельных охотников» (Gaer, 1984: 42).

В ороцком языке *со* – фольклорное слово, добавляемое к обращению: *со амини* ‘обращение жены к мужу’ (досл. ‘отец *со*’); *со энини* ‘обращение мужа к жене’ (досл. ‘мать *со*’), ср. ма. *со* ма. ‘знак (худой)’, ‘предзнаменование (недоброе)’. Можно предположить, что *со* имеет в данных словосочетаниях семантику, имеющую отношение к миру духов. В нанайском языке *со боца(н-)* Бк ‘олень (пятнистый)’ – лексема, присутствующая в названиях животных – духов шамана. Обычных пятнистых оленей называли *алха боца(н-)* (*алха* ‘пятнистый’).

Зафиксированное А. В. Смоляк слово *суе* означает ‘корни звучащего дерева’, то есть того, которого «нет ни на земле, ни на небе» и которое «есть только в шаманском сне» (Smolyak, 1991: 25). Речь идет о легендарном шаманском «дереве», растущем в загробном мире *буни*, корни которого – змеи, листья – шаманские диски *толи*, почки – шаманские колокольчики. *Суе* (другое название *чурукту*) называли также рога на шаманской шапке, в которой шаман совершал *каса*, отправлял души умерших в мир мертвых: «Нанайцы рассказывали,

что, когда большой шаман умирал, *чурукту* – *суе* с его шапкишивали на другую, простую, и в ней хоронили шамана. К отросткам рогов привязывали нитку, выводящуюся из земли на поверхность, где ее прикрепляли к жерди, стоявшей на могиле. Говорили, что через какое-то время *чурукту* выходят из могилы и переходят к новому *касаты*-шаману» (Smolyak, 1991: 231).

С корнем *су-* употребляется название покинутого селения: нан. *сусу*, нег. *сусу*, ороц. *сусу*, ульч. *сусу*, орок. *су* ‘селение (покинутое)’; ма. *сусу* 1. 1) ‘родина’, ‘отчизна’; 2) ‘пустошь’, ‘валежь’; 2. ‘опустелый (дом, город, селение)’; *сусу гашан* ‘захолустье, глушь’; *сусу-* ‘опустевать (о городе)’, ‘дичать’, ‘зарастать’; *сусубу-*, *сусунгя-* ‘опустошать’, ‘разорять’; ‘портить, ломать’, ‘бить (посуду)’; *да сусу* ‘родина’. Связь этого слова с духовным миром несомненна. Считается, что *сусу* сохраняет в себе память обо всех тяжелых происшедших в нем духовных событиях, совершавшихся умершими людьми, в нем, как говорят информанты, много духов, и поэтому «в *сусу*, в месте, откуда люди уехали, жить и шаманить нельзя – долго не проживешь» (РМВ: Л. Б.). Об одном из *сусу* его бывшая жительница говорит так: «Там (сейчас) все водой затопило. Раньше деревня была, а сейчас одна вода. Я во все эту деревню вижу. (Наяву там) сейчас одна вода, парход там ходит. Как это объяснить это? А во сне деревня!» (РМВ: Л.Б.). О другом *сусу* рассказывают: «Кто туда ходил, тот знает, как много там *амбанов* (злых духов). Мой отец видел, что человек там (в покинутом селении) ходит. Думает, что такое! Наверно, его оставил кто-то здесь. Говорит, иди сюда! А его нет! Ничего нет, растворился. Пока он шел, он (этот человек) был, а когда крикнул, он исчез» (РМВ: Э.О.). Словом *суси* бирарчены – тунгусы Маньчжурии – называли одну из душ детей (Smolyak, 1991: 125).

Интересно также в свете интересующих нас вопросов слово *сона* – группа духов одного шамана (РМВ: Г.Г.), которое используется исключительно в шаманской лексике

ке. Возможно, оно образовано от корневой основы *so* с помощью суффикса множественного числа *-на*, употребляемого с личными существительными. *So / сона* – ср. *мана / мапана, анда / андана*. Синонимично с ним слово *сомдо(н)* – это тоже образующая единую «стаю» группа духов, но, как представляют это шаманы, связанных между собой одним длинным ремнем. Словом *сомдон* называют также сам этот незримый ремень, соединяющий духов во время камлания. Например, шаман может следующим образом отказываться от того, чтобы исследовать всю группу духов своего пациента: «*Сонагоари мэнь суйлигусу!*» – Сами своими *сона* [своими личными духами] занимайтесь! (Bulgakova, 2016: 46–47). Шаман может также призывать своих духов присоединиться к его *сомдону*, к ремню, соединяющему всю группу его *сона*.

От основы *su* происходит еще одно слово *сунгкэ* – душа животного, аналогичная душе-тени человека *панян*. Интересно, что допустимо душу человека также называть *сунгкэ*. Можно, например, сказать «*най сункэни турини*» ‘человек свой *сунгкэн* (свою душу) уронил’, то есть человек умер. Слово *сунгкэ* также понимается как ‘счастье’. *Сункэни улэн най тэй*. ‘У того человека хороший *сунгкэн*’, то есть ‘он счастливый человек’.

В названиях жертвоприношений также прослеживается корень *so/su*: нан. *сугду(н)* Бк ‘пар (от пищи) ‘; *сугдур энэ*- К-У ‘подыматься пару (от пищи)’; *сугде*- К-У ‘ставить пищу’; *сугдичэ* Нх религ. устар. ‘жертвоприношение’; *сугдичи*- Нх религ. устар. ‘поставить жертву перед идолом’; ‘угощать духов’; нег. *сугдэ, сугдэчэ* религ. устар. ‘жертвоприношение’; уд. *согдо* пар; ульч. *сугду/-и-*, *сугдичи*- религ. устар. ‘поставить жертву перед идолом’; орок. *сугдитчи*- религ. устар. ‘ставить пищу (перед покойником)’; ма. *сугдухэн* ‘журавль’; *сукдун* 1) ‘воздух’; 2) ‘пар, испарение, чад’; 3) ‘дыхание’, ‘вдох’; 4) ‘дух’, ‘душа’; *сукдунга, сукдунги* 1) ‘воздушный’; 2) ‘испаряющийся, возносящийся вверх (о паре)’; *сукди*- 1) ‘подниматься вверх (о паре от пищи)’; 2) ‘приниматься (духами – о жертве)’; *сукдингэ ба* ‘угол дома

(юго-западный, где ставились таблички с именами предков)’; ср. ма. *со-, соо-* ‘прыскать, кропить кровью’; *соча* ‘крупа (пшено, рис или другая крупа, разбрасываемая во время молитвословия)’. Можно также назвать еще несколько слов шаманской лексики с основой *so/su*: *султу* – невидимая обувь, которую духи надевают на шамана для путешествий по пространству духовного мира (РМВ: Л.Б.); *солбо* – «сплетенный из прутьев обрядовый обруч. *Солбочо* – обряд, во время которого шаман обрядовый надевает на голову пациента обруч *солбо* и затем опускает его от головы до пят» (Smolyak, 1991: 367).

Заключение

Большинство слов с корневой основой *so/su* относятся к классу лексики особого семантического статуса, не используемой в бытовом общении и предназначенной исключительно для специальных коммуникативно-речевых ситуаций, возникающих в процессе шаманской обрядовой деятельности. Можно предположить, что рассмотренный в статье способ словообразования не единственный, что он указывает на наличие в нанайском языке (не только в шаманской лексике, но и за ее пределами) определенной еще не исследованной закономерности. В настоящее время можно указать не только на *-so/-su*, но и на некоторые другие суффиксы, которые имеют происхождение от корневых основ и соответствуют аналогичной словообразовательной модели. Например, присоединение к глагольной основе суффикса *-мди* «денотирует семантику ‘деятель, исполнитель той или иной работы’» (Gorbunova, 2020: 188): *ниру-* ‘писать’, *нирумди* ‘писатель’; *дэбо-* ‘работать’, *дэбомди-* ‘работник’; *хола-* ‘читать’, *холамди* ‘читатель’ и т. п. Мы предполагаем, что суффикс *мди-* мог ранее представлять собой редуцированный корень *модян* – умелец, мастер’. Аналогична, по-видимому, генетическая связь суффикса *-маси* (*-моси/-муси*) с корневой основой *маси* ‘сильный, крепкий’ (*ао-* ‘спать’, *аомаси* ‘сильно хотеть спать’, *оми-* ‘пить’, *омимоси* ‘сильно

хотеть пить, испытывать жажду³). Данные примеры указывают, возможно, на характерный прием словосложения, образования новых слов с помощью сложения корневых основ, становящегося источником образования суффиксов.

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The Image of a Woman in the Cultural-Philosophical Space of A.I. Solzhenitsyn's Epic Novel «The Red Wheel»

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Abstract. The article deals with the image of a woman presented in A. I. Solzhenitsyn's epic novel «The Red Wheel». Since the latter is devoted to the military and revolutionary events of 1914–1917, the theme of the feminine in its socio-cultural context acquires a target value for constructing the national tradition of culture, as well as a unified cultural and philosophical model of A. I. Solzhenitsyn's work. In the novel, the pre-revolutionary woman is represented by the images of her mother, companion and faithful assistant to her husband; while in the post-revolutionary period, a «new woman» appears in public life, symbolizing gender equality, an active life position, and independence in decision-making. The above change in the content of the feminine reflects the deep socio-political and cultural processes and breakdowns that shook Russia at the beginning of the 20th century.

Keywords: A. I. Solzhenitsyn, cultural and philosophical space, woman, man, family, war, revolution, «The Red Wheel».

Research area: cultural studies, philosophy.

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Образ женщины в культурфилософском пространстве романа-эпопеи А.И. Солженицына «Красное колесо»

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Аннотация. В статье рассматривается образ женщины, представленный в романе-эпопее А. И. Солженицына «Красное колесо». Поскольку роман посвящен военным и революционным событиям 1914–1917 годов, тема женского в его социокультурном контексте обретает целевое значение для конструирования отечественной традиции культуры, а также единой культурфилософской модели творчества А. И. Солженицына. В романе дореволюционная женщина представлена образами матери, спутницы и верного помощника мужа; в то время как в послереволюционный период в общественной жизни появляется «новая женщина», символизирующая собой равноправие полов, активную жизненную позицию, независимость в принятии решений. Приведенная смена содержания феминного отражает глубинные социально-политические и культурные процессы и сломы, потрясшие Россию в начале XX века.

Ключевые слова: А. И. Солженицын, культурфилософское пространство, женщина, мужчина, семья, «Красное колесо», война, революция.

Научная специальность: 24.00.00 – культурология; 09.00.00 – философские науки.

Введение в проблему исследования

Тема женского традиционно рассматривается сквозь призму многих гуманитарных наук, в том числе и в рамках философского и культурологического знания. Особое значение имеет изучение роли женщины в переломные периоды исторического развития, при которых происходят коренные изменения всех сфер общественной жизни. Женщинам в XX веке неоднократно приходилось не только брать на себя роль хранительницы быта, но и защищать свои семьи, в том числе с помощью оружия и тяжелого физического труда, выступать идейным вдохновителем семьи и ее духовной опорой.

Известный культуролог А. Я. Флиер выделяет хронологически (до наступления постиндустриальной стадии развития) четыре условных этапа (культурных текста) развития образа женщины, поскольку трансформация образа женщины в культуре может служить наглядной иллюстрацией этих этапов и степени достигнутой на том или ином этапе свободы быть самодостаточной личностью. В рамках третьего текста женщина рассма-

тривается как мать-воспитатель и домашний работник, а в рамках четвертого – как высокоиндивидуализированная личность, активно добывающая социальной эмансипации и достигающая успеха в этой борьбе. С середины XIX века в наиболее развитых странах женщины начали получать образование (все более повышавшееся в своем уровне от поколения к поколению) и появился такой феномен, как женщина-специалист (Flier, 2021). Аналогично и в России в 1875 году правительство пообещало предоставить женщинам высшее образование. Сначала появились высшие женские курсы, а с 1907 года женщин стали принимать в Петербургский политехнический институт (Patrikeeva, 2012: 38–46).

Борьба мужчины и женщины насквозь пронизывает все части «Красного колеса» и происходит на уровне отдельных людей, борьба человечности с жестокостью – на уровне нации. Указанное противоборство тесно связано между собой. Эпизоды той и другой борьбы, включенные в роман, придают эпопее неоспоримое величие и всеобщность (Niva, 2014: 227). Проблемы вза-

имодействия маскулинного и феминного начал выражены на страницах «Красного колеса» следующим женским суждением: «Нужно идти или навстречу друг другу, или в разные стороны. Других отношений между людьми не ценю и не желаю поддерживать. Вечные милые враги (мужчина и женщина)» (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 179).

По замечанию А. Аркатовой, именно мужчинам принадлежит ведущая роль в «Красном колесе» в части отображения исторических и культурных процессов, происходящих в России в начале XX века, а «масштабно-эпопейный характер произведения многосторонне отражает повседневную картину эпохи в ее не только историческом, но и любовно-семейном и эмоционально-психологическом проявлении» (Arkatoва, 2013: 359).

Французский историк литературы и славист Ж. Нива также пишет, что «женские образы у Солженицына часто кажутся невзрачными, неловко исполненными, подчас искусственными. У Солженицына не найти пламенных любовниц или женщин, подобных демонической леди Макбет. Можно сказать, что мир Солженицына – это мужской мир, и женщина в нем появляется как воспоминание, угрызение совести, случайная гостья, объект для флирта или идеал» (Niva, 2014: 119).

Концептологические основания исследования

В настоящее время культурологами и философами особое внимание уделяется исследованию вопросов мужского и женского в различных плоскостях социокультурной жизни. Такой интерес обусловлен усугубляющимся кризисом социокультурной идентичности и дифференциации. История культуры и искусства свидетельствует о неразрывной связи и сопряженности культуры и гендерных аспектов. Бытие феминности и маскулинности – смыслообразующие и неотъемлемые конструкты культуры, поэтому в общепринятых смыслах и традиционном понимании «быть женщиной» или «быть мужчиной» – означает воспроизводить определенный культурно-

символический ряд. Исследования женской субъектности, ресурсного ряда и статусов женщины были всегда актуальны в теории культуры. Например, Г. Хофстеде, развивая идею об универсальных основаниях культуры, в качестве одного из измерений национальных различий культуры называл противопоставление мужественности и женственности и связывал его с подразделением эмоциональных ролей между мужчинами и женщинами, а Л. Фробениус разделил все культуры на женские и мужские. Соответственно, и сегодняшняя культурфилософия немыслима без изучения общего и особенного в жизненном опыте женщин на различных участках социокультурного развития (Evseeva 2014: 241; Korceva, Reznikova, 2014: 28, 74).

На рубеже XIX–XX веков началась активизация художественного и философского осмысления вопросов, касающихся женственности. Заявленные проблемы практически сразу приобрели дискуссионный характер и полифоническое культурфилософское звучание. Участники полемики, каждый по-своему, видели в женщине источник нравственности, сохранение которой у одних мыслителей или требуемое изменение у других означало достижение гармонии в обществе. Женский вопрос в России, став предметом острых дискуссий, превратился из второстепенного в один из центральных.

Изучение женских образов и маркеров феминности позволяет моделировать социокультурную мозаику интересующего исследователя этапа исторического развития. Одновременно с этим посредством женских образов становится возможным отслеживать динамику и специфику политической и социально-экономической жизни. И наконец, через концепты женского мы можем конструировать культурфилософские воззрения автора на многие проблемы социального и культурологического толка.

Постановка проблемы

Стоит отметить наличие множества содержательных исследований, посвященных изучению различных аспектов женских

образов в художественных произведениях, классиков русской литературы с философским и (или) историческим содержанием.

Проблемное поле исследования обусловлено малоизученностью такого важного аспекта текстов А. И. Солженицына, как женские образы. Кроме того, исследование женских образов в произведениях А. И. Солженицына значимо как в историческом аспекте – позволяет обозреть описываемые писателем периоды через онтологию женской жизни, так и в культурно-философском, поскольку в литературном наследии отражена рефлексия женщин эпохи на культурные феномены. В этой связи закономерным оказывается тезис о том, что именно женщина в творческой концепции А. И. Солженицына способна сохранять, продуцировать любовь и отстаивать гуманистические ценности (Ви, 2018: 4–5).

В творчестве А. И. Солженицына женские образы исследованы лишь в некоторых его произведениях. С позиций культурно-философии образы феминного в самом крупном отечественном романе-эпосе «Красное колесо» не исследовались, что и определило содержание и композицию настоящей статьи.

Методология

Методологическую основу работы составили как общенаучные методы (анализ и синтез, обобщение, сравнение, индукции и дедукции, логический, системный и исторический подходы, развитие предмета исследования), так и методы, традиционно используемые в подобного рода исследованиях: культурологический анализ, контент-анализ литературы и метод культурно-философской традиции.

Обсуждение

О поведении женщины в браке

В главном мужском герое «Красного колеса» полковнике Георгии Воротынцеве (вымышленный персонаж) мать воспитывала «рыцарственное, преклоненное отношение к женщине», поскольку окружающий мир жесток и поэтому мужчина должен защищать свою женщину, «приподымать ее

над этой жестокостью», безгранично восхищаться. Вследствие такого отношения к женщине любовь становится безошибочной, так как дается один раз: «нежно любишь ты, нежно любят тебя, и мир замкнулся в наилучшем виде, приспособленном для твоего движения!» (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 119–120).

Супруга Воротынцева – Алина символизирует готовность женщины жертвовать («женский удел – жертвы») уютом ради мужчины, безоговорочно верить в путь, выбираемый мужчиной. Переезд после женитьбы на новое место жительства обернулся финансовыми и бытовыми трудностями, поэтому для Алины привычным стало «больше отказывать себе, чем разрешать» (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 9). Такая модель взаимоотношения полов укладывается в границы обыденного сознания, при которых женская бытийность связана «с женщиной как полом биологическим, физически более слабым по сравнению с мужчиной, вследствие чего ... женщине отведена роль последовательной исполнительницы воли мужчины» (Kardapol'seva, 2005: 64).

В романе поднимается проблема стремления к расширению женщиной влияния на мужчину, а мужчина имеет такую психическую организацию, что «когда-то для тебя это наслаждение, когда-то сносно, а вот уже и тяжело». В связи с этим приводятся слова генерала от инфантерии И. М. Левачева о том, что женщины нередко преувеличивают любовные переживания, незначимые амурные события и волнения, которые «слишком смакуются поэтами». Для мужчин характерен патриотизм и чувство гражданского долга, поэтому военнослужащие часто мыслят, что «семейная жизнь – не для воина» (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 122).

На примере А. И. Гучкова писатель обращается к теме успешного брака. Несмотря на опыт и понимание женщин, указанный политический деятель «женился опрометчиво и бездарно» и за годы, прожитые с М. И. Зилотти, на личном примере познал, как «может женщина измотать, издергать, задушить самого сильного мужчину».

Гучков понимал, что самые доблестные лета «прожил с женщиной чужой души, не способной ни оценить этих лет, ни помочь в них». Напротив, Гучков понапрасну растрчивал силы, часто теряя жизненный баланс, «занимался и общественной борьбой, даже с лишнею резкостью, лишь бы вырваться куда-нибудь» (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 87).

Параллельно с Гучковым описана судьба возлюбленной его молодости, представительницы русской театральной культуры Веры Комиссаржевской. Гучков – олицетворение мускулинности, завоеватель по своей природе, а она символ женственного начала, хрупкая девушка, которая «видит вдаль более важное, мимо плеч завоевателя». То, что для простых женщин было житейской радостью, «ее приводило в угнетенность и в новый толчок – очиститься и взлететь. Она – женщина была, но в ролях играла не женщин, а души их. Своим волнующим голосом, своим утлым станом – выводила их, выпевала, – необычно сложных, с такою внутренней тоской, на вечную нам загадку». Поэтому и в жизни Гучкова как бы имела транзитное значение, но только после ее безвременной кончины понял он, что прошла она «неотмирной тенью, как чтоб навсегда оставить ему одинокость, показать другую ступень бытия, не того тщетного, каким занимался он, другую ступень обладания – не того, что забывается воином через час, но цветом засохшим, а пахучим безсмертно». А смерть ее настала на гастролях в Ташкенте «в те самые недели, когда его борьба требовала все силы собрать: когда он стал председателем своей Третьей Думы» (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 213–214).

Женщины и война, военная служба мужей

В военное время «воюющему мужчине естественно знать ту женщину, к которой он должен вернуться, и весь его военный путь должен быть к ней» (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 226–227). Такое положение вещей делает более чуткими взаимоотношения женщины и мужчины, «обостряет» чувства, служит установлению глубинной духовной

связи. Так, в романе описано, как женщины на перроне Кракова встречают своих мужчин: раненых санитары транспортируют с вагонов в санитарные кареты, а женщины с «жадным страхом» всматриваются в лица прибывших солдат «между бинтами и простынями, ужасаясь угадать своего. Иногда раздавались вопли – узнавания или ошибки, и толпа сильнее сжималась и пульсировала как одно» (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 211).

Саша Ленартович, который «за светлое великое дело ... готов был бы умереть в любую минуту», после короткого ночного боя размышляет о ценности жизни, о красоте природы и, конечно же, важности и незаменимости женщины в жизни мужчины, с сожалением думая, как мог эти годы миновать женщин, «разве не они – самое главное, для чего мы все остаемся жить». Ведь полчаса назад в одночасье он мог «потерять все – и набранные знания, и убеждения, и кровообращенье. А память о женской любви как будто оставалась бы на земле чем-то вещным, не пропащим. Ее как будто пуля не брала» (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 314–315). Для него женщина должна быть созвучна вектору его жизни и готова к «размаху ожидаемой борьбы», а подлинный идеал женщины-спутницы представлен в стихотворении «Нет, я лгать не хочу – не случайно тебя...» (1884), принадлежащем перу поэта второй половины XIX века С.Я. Надсона. В романе приводится третья (заключительная) строфа указанного стихотворения, в котором поэт ставит выше общественное благо и служение людям, чем лично-интимные взаимоотношения. Поэтому для Ленартовича «женщина должна быть – помощница, соратница и сама по себе энергичная деятельница на общее благо» (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 97).

Война для женщин всегда сопряжена со страхом потерять своего мужчину, а также с вопросами его продвижения по службе. Поэтому А.И. Солженицын ставит вопрос: «Во время войны – жребии всех ли жен равны? Для всех: останется ли жив? Но для кадровых военных не менее важно – его место в армии: ведь военная служба вся направлена к продвижению, в этом смысл

ее, так она задумана». Воротынцев, уставший от военной службы и удрученный переводом из Ставки обратно в полк, не желал приезжать домой на месячный отпуск, а звал свою супругу приехать к нему, чтобы неподалеку от передовой снять квартиру. И Алина, как жена военнослужащего, «понимающая свой долг, должна знать и ступени жертв», поехала на передовую в месяц своего тридцатилетия (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 96–97).

Замужество как судьбу воспринимала «и не раскаялась никогда нисколько» и супруга горного инженера Петра Ободовского, так как «судьба – мужа, а ее – прилитая, и так – хорошо, верно». Вся совместная их жизнь была заключена в работе на общее благо, переездах и борьбе, так что «ни на что больше не оставалось и щелочки». У Петра с самой юности имелись жизненные убеждения и принципы, а у Нины фактически никаких, и со временем, что вполне закономерно, она «стала думать, как и он». Когда они в молодости жили в Петербурге, то Петр привлекал супругу к работе и классификации данных рудничных исследований. Если муж огорчался от качества ее работы, то она «готова была отказаться от чего угодно. Так и приучилась она жить – в радостном угождении».

Жизнь Нины проходила по заданной колее, обусловленной родом профессиональных занятий ее мужа. Тем не менее она приняла бытие таким, как оно есть, а в походной жизни усматривала источник вечно сохраняемой молодости. Она также отчетливо понимала, что не суждено ей уже познать ни финансового достатка, ни полноценного отпускного отдыха, ни развлечений. Удел ее жизни состоял в одном: быть его женой. А нередко ей даже приходилось рисковать жизнью из-за профессии мужа, например «если он вез из Иркутска на рудник динамит, оформлять же такой груз официально на все предохранности было слишком долго, – то просто вносили динамит в пассажирский вагон, Нуся садилась на роковой ящик и распушенной юбкой прикрывала от кондукторского глаза страшную упаковку. Так на потряхивании и ехала»

(Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 323–326). Н. Ободовская является яркой представительницей женщины-жены, поскольку смысл ее жизни состоит в самоотверженном и беззаветном служении мужу, полном подчинении ему, абсолютном самопожертвовании, живом и заинтересованном участии в осуществлении его жизненных задач (Urmanov 2005: 375). Такой тип женщины в супружеской жизни воспитывает в себе последовательность: не отклонять супруга с пути ни на волосок, всегда облегчать его жизнь – и никогда не стеснять, всегда присутствовать – если не требуется обратного (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 205), тихо работать для того, кто ведет ее по жизни (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 214).

Вообще для женщины военных лет характерно принятие на себя многих функций мужчины. Здесь следует упомянуть такой феномен, как «мужественная женственность», подразумевающий смелость, моральную и физическую силу, жизненную обособленность, эмоциональную устойчивость. В исследованиях нередко отмечается, что проявления «мужественной женственности» есть особенность времени, влияющая на ролевое самовыражение женщин (Kardapol'seva, 2005: 63). В «Красном колесе» мы можем найти соответствующие примеры. Так, в период Февральской революции имело место народоправство в провинции: «Весь апрель Одесса переживает эпидемию краж и налетов – от того, что в крупных южных городах сразу освободилось три с половиной тысячи уголовных и они большей частью стянулись в Одессу. А тут после отмены полиции никто не охранял имущества. Одна молодая женщина, муж которой на войне, полночи отстреливалась через окно от трех вооруженных грабителей» (Solzhenitsyn, 2010: 165).

Отдельно следует упомянуть об участии императрицы Александры Федоровны в вопросах государственного управления, когда из чувства долга и любви к супругу, который чрезмерно утомлялся от государственных дел, изыскивала в себе мужские волю и разум, участвуя в первых то советом, а то и реальными действиями. По этой причине императрица «выбилась из мало-

летства пятерых детей, – не было такого случая, чтоб она не имела определенного государственного мнения и мнение это было бы неправильно. Да слишком близко она стояла, чтоб разрешить себе не вмешиваться!» (Solzhenitsyn, 2007: 493).

Александра Федоровна гордилась, когда чей-либо доклад не оставался «в пределах специфически женской деятельности, но от частной проблемы поднимался до государственного значения. Со своей настойчивой волей она тотчас шла к важным решениям для укрепления и возвышения России – и затем либо внушала их Государю в письмах, либо сама искала кратчайшие пути исполнения здесь» (Solzhenitsyn, 2008: 167).

Императрица неоднократно ввремя предупреждала супруга об опасностях на фронте и во время народных волнений, «ее письма никогда не были женской болтовней, но со многими деловыми сведениями и энергичными советами», а когда он был в отъезде и «не было ничего, это успокаивало: Аликс всегда на страже и не пропустит опасного» (Solzhenitsyn, 2008: 481). При этом Александра Федоровна «гордилась, что она – мужчина среди женщин, одетых в государственные брюки, – и как бы сильно и славно она управилась, будь у нее прямая власть и здоровье!». В конце февраля 1917 года ощутила Александра Федоровна «себя женщиной безо всяких сил и преимуществ, и как же нужен был ей какой-то сильный, уверенный, старший мужчина рядом, кто бы сказал, что делать. И не было никого...» (Solzhenitsyn, 2008: 634).

А. И. Солженицын пишет о том, что «у каждой женщины в ее чувстве к любимому есть что-то материнское». И конечно, у императрицы ее супруг Николай II был в ней самой, в ее сердце и груди. Она была уверена в необходимости ее помощи государю, полагала, что Господу угодно, чтобы она оберегала императора и была ему ближайшим советником (Solzhenitsyn, 2008: 478).

О семейных разладах

Особенности поведения женщин во внутрисемейных разладах, описанные

в «Красном колесе», представим на примере семьи А. И. Гучкова. Женщинам характерна непоследовательность в конфликтных ситуациях с мужьями, которая трудна для восприятия последними. «Петлявость» и «попятность» часто вызывают к жизни «проблески ложной надежды». Кажется, что отношения дошли до крайней точки и более ничего не объединяет супругов, но дается какое-то повторенное многократно (и систематически несдерживаемое) обещание, и оно становится импульсом к кратковременному и зыбкому примирению. Появляется доверие и нежность между супругами. Но через непродолжительное время все возвращается к исходной разрушительной точке. Еще до рождения четвертого ребенка они оба понимали, что их семейное разделение неизбежно. Хотя собственно развод, как уверяла супруга Гучкова, невозможен «из-за детей и по особому гучковскому положению ... к ним пристальна вся Россия, и развода ему не простят». И Гучков оставил семью, но особенность семейных неурядиц состоит в бесконечном мысленном переключении проблем семейных: «может быть – я не таков был с ней, не достало терпения, надо было больше доверия, больше увлечь своим делом?» (Solzhenitsyn, 2008: 330–331).

Прошло время, и он вернулся в семейную жизнь, но в начале 1916 года состояние здоровья Гучкова стало совсем тяжелым и было ощущение, что в ближайшие дни он скончается. Вместо реальной помощи и поддержки «Мария Ильинична – как будто обрадовалась его смертельной болезни, как на добычу кинулась на ухаживание за ним». И он сожалел, что после его кончины именно она будет еще «полвека выступать на земле» его подругой, памятью, истолковательницей (Solzhenitsyn, 2008: 330–333).

О равноправии женщин и создании «новой» женщины

В ходе революционных событий в женских обществах обсуждались проблемы участия женщин в политической жизни, одобрялось участие женщин в митингах «с требованием, чтобы женщины участво-

вали в выборах в Учредительное Собрание и даже могли бы становиться министрами». Были и иные точки зрения, согласно которым интерес в скором времени к вопросам равноправия должен утихнуть, поскольку «всякое государство всегда несправедливо к женщине», женщинам всегда было даровано лишь право «умирать за свободу наравне с лучшими мужчинами», но при этом за внебрачного ребенка осуждают лишь женщину, а мужчинам все прощается (Solzhenitsyn, 2008: 462). Подобного рода дискуссии свидетельствуют о том, что «в течение долгого времени женщина оставалась одним из самых значимых Других культуры. Роль Другого приписывалась ей андроцентрической культурой, где власть концентрировалась в руках маскулинного субъекта» (Shpinskaya, 2018).

С апреля 1917 года в революционных газетах публиковались призывы к женщинам (под предлогом того, что «заря новой жизни занялась») принять участие в строительстве Новой Свободной России (Solzhenitsyn, 2010: 16, 164). А с марта того же года призывы становятся более категоричными: «Женщина-работница, спавшая непробудным сном столько долгих лет, в полном подчинении мужчине, проснулась! Вставай, русская работница! Подбирай ключи от счастья женского, отпирай замки!» (Solzhenitsyn, 2008: 37).

Все это знаменовало, что «в мире выколывалась Новая Женщина», которой присущи иные психологические установки, новые социальные, культурные и политические запросы и ожидания, иная эмоциональность, самооценный и свободный внутренний мир, борьба за общечеловеческие интересы и ценности. Женщина стремительно переставала быть элементарным отражением мужчины, завоевывала в мужском восприятии роль самостоятельной социальной и духовной единицы. Для женщины теперь не составляло трагедии, если ее юношеский роман не заканчивался свадьбой или если муж ей был неверен – теперь она могла самостоятельно принимать решение, а наличие ребенка не могло стать поводом к общественному осуждению и препят-

ствием для дальнейшей успешной жизни, ведь в «их нелицемерных переживаниях сокрыта этика более совершенная, чем пассивная добродетель пушкинской Татьяны или трусливая мораль тургеневской Лизы» (Solzhenitsyn, 2008: 507).

По мнению А. И. Солженицына, слово, наиболее полно отражающее новых героинь, – «бунт», а именно массовое несогласие с предписаниями «однобокой сексуальной морали», неприятие подчиненной роли женщины в отношениях с мужчиной. Вполне закономерно, что в таких условиях женщина начинает бороться «со своей склонностью стать тенью мужа, его резонатором, отказаться от себя, раствориться в любви». Для новой женщины финансовая и бытовая самостоятельность становится нормой жизни (Solzhenitsyn, 2008: 508).

Впервые статья «Новая женщина» была опубликована в 1913 году А. М. Коллонтай и легла в основу одноименной концепции. Писатель приводит рассуждения из указанной статьи в своей художественной интерпретации с сохранением логики повествования (глава 631 «Марта Семнадцатого» посвящена появлению «новой женщины»):

«Прежняя мораль объективно мертва, и обращение к ее положениям губительно для образа новой женщины. В этой сфере существуют две актуальные задачи: «наилучшее воспроизведение потомства и психическое утончение человека в любви». Брак базируется на ошибочном принципе «безраздельной собственности». Неверно вступать в брак без достаточного понимания и ощущения родственности душевной и физиологической. Единственным законодателем в межличностных отношениях женщины и мужчины следует признать индивидуальную волю каждого, а «открытая смена любовных союзов на протяжении долгой человеческой жизни должна быть признана обществом как нормальная и неизбежная! Влюбление, страсть, любовь – это лишь полосы жизни, перебегающие под солнцем». Женщине следует относиться к любви не как к основе жизни, но как к ступени, основанию познания своего «Я» и бытийного предназначения. При таких обсто-

яательства женщина научится «выходить из любовного конфликта не с помятыми крыльями, но с закаленной душой». Любовный плен вреден для женщины, он мешает рациональному и взвешенному принятию решений. Если раньше для женщины «измена или потеря любимого человека» были фактическим крахом всего сущего, то для современной женщины самое страшное – «потеря самой себя, отказ от самой себя в угоду любимому», т. е. своего духовного «Я». Пренебрежение и фактическое игнорирование последнего культивировались мужчинами на протяжении всей человеческой истории (Solzhenitsyn, 2008: 508–511).

Заключение

В «Красном колесе» мы видим вплоть до революций преимущественно женские

образы матери, хранительницы быта, друга, верной жены, помощницы мужа, а концепт «новой женщины» утверждается в первые годы советской власти, поскольку в указанный период шли процессы разрешения противоречий между «ценностями традиционной русской духовности, основанной на соборных принципах и вере, и новой культуры, утверждающей ценность отдельного человека, разума и прогресса» (Mirkushina, 2014: 11). Изменение социокультурных ролей женщины, рассмотренных в настоящей статье и объективно представленных в исследуемом романе-эпопее, подтверждает тезис, согласно которому конец XIX – начало XX века являлись переходным периодом, ознаменовавшим качественные изменения экономической, политической, социальной и культурной жизни.

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Nation-Building on the Territory of the Evenk and Taimyr National Districts in 1920–1970: Cultural and Artistic Practices

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Abstract. A special role in the nation-building of the districts of the Soviet North is played by the phenomenon of Kultbaz as one of the leading cultural actors in remote territories, which are places of compact residence of indigenous peoples. The cultural centers followed the principles of the Soviet national policy towards the indigenous peoples of the North and performed an important social and cultural function. The authors describe the activities of the museums of Taimyr and Evenkia of these years, the specifics of exhibition activities, the work of key artists among the representatives of the indigenous peoples of the North, and the features of Arctic architecture in large cities of the districts. The significance of artistic visual practices lies in the fact that they represent the features of the structure of society, which are perceived through the optics of human reflection. The purpose of the article is to partially complete and comprehensively present the history of the formation of the Evenk and Taimyr national districts in the period of 1920–1970s in the optics of cultural and artistic practices.

Keywords: nation-building. Indigenous peoples of the North, artistic culture, Kultbaza, ethnic identity, Evenk national district, Taimyr national district.

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Нациестроительство на территории Эвенкийского и Таймырского национальных округов в 1920–1970-е гг.: культурные и художественные практики

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Аннотация. Особенная роль в нациестроительстве округов Советского Севера занимает феномен культбазы как одного из ведущих акторов культуры на отдаленных территориях, являющихся местами компактного проживания коренных малочисленных народов Севера. Культбазы следовали принципам советской национальной политики в отношении коренных малочисленных народов Севера и выполняли важную социальную и культурную функцию. Раскрывается деятельность музеев Таймыра и Эвенкии советского периода, специфика выставочной деятельности, творчество ключевых художников среди представителей коренного населения, особенности арктического зодчества в крупных поселениях национальных округов. Значимость художественных визуальных практик заключается в том, что они репрезентируют особенности устройства общества, которые воспринимаются через оптику человеческой рефлексии.

Цель статьи – восполнить существующие пробелы и представить комплексно историю становления Эвенкийского и Таймырского национальных округов в период 1920–1970-х годов в оптике культурных и художественных практик.

Ключевые слова: нациестроительство, коренные малочисленные народы Севера, художественная культура, культбаза, этническая идентичность, Эвенкийский национальный округ, Таймырский национальный округ.

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Введение

Национальное строительство (= нациестроительство) – это активный процесс формирования новых наций на основе эт-

нических групп, проживающих на территории бывшей Российской империи, вместо которой возникла государственность принципиально нового качества – Союз

Советских Социалистических республик. Политика по отношению к этим этническим группам, основанная на целенаправленном формировании новых наций, или советская национальная политика, была и остается одной из лучших в мире по отношению к коренному населению, проживающему на «окраинах» бывшей Российской империи. Приоритетность национальной политики в советский период была связана с реализацией принципа Ленина-Вильсона о праве наций на самоопределение, благодаря которому удалось выстроить международно признанное новое государство, территория которого была крупнейшей в мире.

Советская национальная политика по отношению к коренным народам Севера была спасительной для этих народов, которые к началу XX в. оказались на грани вымирания в связи с эпидемиями, голодом, нищетой, алкоголизацией большого количества представителей этнических групп коренных народов, которые были безграмотны, не имели существенной медицинской помощи или какой-либо социальной поддержки, кроме редких случаев благотворительности (характерных для крупных городов – Якутска, Красноярска, но не встречающихся в местах традиционного проживания этих народов).

Советский период в истории коренных народов Севера – это особый период, когда этнические группы получили новые силы, ресурсы, инструменты не только для выживания, но и для своеобразного процветания. Разумеется, новые этнокультурные группы формировались в сложных экономических и политических условиях, возможно, были допущены «перегибы», когда решались серьезные задачи всеобщего среднего образования или шла «борьба с пережитками». Однако именно в результате этой национальной политики сформировалось ядро современных российских этнокультурных групп коренных малочисленных народов Севера.

Далее будут рассмотрены основные принципы нациестроительства по отношению к коренным народам, а также исторические культурные практики этого нацие-

строительства, характерные для советского периода.

Принципы нациестроительства

Исследования коренных малочисленных народов Севера, проживающих на территории Эвенкии и Таймыра, ведутся на протяжении многих лет, как правило, на базе полевых исследований, если речь идет об актуальном статусе (Zabelina et al., 2020, 2021; Koptseva et al., 2021; Reznikova, 2018, 2019; Koptseva, 2015; Kistova et al., 2019), или на основе анализа архивных документов, если речь идет об истории этих народов (Zamaraeva et al., 2021; Kolesnik et al., 2021; Pchelkina and Degtyarenko, 2021).

Одними из самых ярких примеров внедрения культурной национальной политики советского периода стали процессы образования Эвенкийского национального округа. Анализ архивных документов по образованию и просвещению из фонда Эвенкийского архива в поселке Тура за 1928–1970 гг. позволил зафиксировать содержание ценностных установок в области культурного просвещения и образования коренных малочисленных народов Севера, раскрыть специфику региональных культурных практик формирования сложных форм этнокультурной идентичности в советское время (см. подробнее: Zamaraeva, 2018; Shpak, 2020; Shpak and Pchelkina, 2021; Zamaraeva, Koptseva, 2020).

Первая «пятилетка» (1928–1932) становится периодом культурного и языкового строительства этнонационального самосознания через политику коренизации Крайнего Севера, культивирующую уникальность национальных культур. Для практической реализации избран целый комплекс информационных и языковых практик, с помощью которых выполняется программа образования коренного населения и «культурного обслуживания» на родных языках. Было поставлено сразу несколько целей: 1) подготовка северной интеллигенции для их обязательного участия в качестве этнических (национальных) элит в управлении нации; 2) сближение национальных образований с советской властью; 3) при-

менение педологических практик по возвращению этнокультурного самосознания у нового поколения через первоначальное образование на языках национальностей СССР. Для решения целей реализовывался ряд задач: а) изучение культурных, экономических и социальных особенностей каждой национальности с помощью «максимального дифференцированного подхода»; б) скорейшее выравнивание всего фронта культурного строительства, оказание максимальной помощи отстающим национальностям, содействие полному расцвету национальных по форме, социалистических по содержанию культур народов Севера; в) всеобучающее просвещение и ликвидация неграмотности малых народностей (как оседлого, так и кочевого населения) Крайнего Севера. Потребовалось максимальное финансовое вложение государственных средств и господдержка для полного снабжения народов: разрабатывалось методическое сопровождение программы всеобуча (выполняла научно-исследовательская ассоциация при Центральном исполнительном комитете Севера), массово издавалась литература для школьного образования (через государственные полиграфические базы) (Zamagaeva, 2019).

Практические шаги: внедрение культурных планов и работа культурно-просветительских учреждений, школ, комплексных техникумов для взрослых, совпартшкол, рабфаков по народному образованию, семилетней школы с политехническим уклоном, создание образцовых районных школ, расширение в 1931–1932 гг. сети школ (с 232 до 322, из них 185 «туземных») (термин из тогдашних документов). Исполнителем культурного строительства является «советский актив», прошедший шестимесячные курсы для работы в условиях Крайнего Севера с изучением обязательных предметов: родной язык (обучение грамоте, письму и ликвидация малограмотности), русский язык (в объеме ликбеза), математика, обществоведение (вопросы культурного строительства, интернационального и антирелигиозного воспитания в условиях Севера), география, основы са-

нитарии и гигиены, советского делопроизводства и счетоводства.

Был утвержден алфавит для 16 северных языков, изданы учебники и массовая обучающая литература на северных языках (по математике, русскому и естествознанию), квалицированные педагоги ведут школьное преподавание на языках северных народов, в учебных целях создается кинематография северной культуры, для изучения языков и культуры народов Севера совершается научное экспедиционное отдаленных северных поселков. Языковое строительство ведется под руководством ученых Северного отделения Педагогического института имени А. И. Герцена, призванных создать национальную учебную и методическую литературу для реализации северной педагогики.

Вторая «пятилетка» (1932–1937) ярко характеризуется звучащими в текстах Постановлений Комитета Севера концептами: «осуществление сложной грамотности», «культпоход на Север» и «политика мира, проводимая Советской властью». На основании прежних ставятся новые цели: 1) народное просвещение на самом высоком уровне, 2) повсеместный охват северных территорий для ликвидации фактического культурного неравенства национальностей; 3) культурное строительство среди малых народностей Крайнего Севера. Трансформируется содержание культурно-политических и культурно-образовательных практик, направленных на борьбу с неграмотностью и развитие образования в целом. Государство активно инвестирует решение задач развития культуры и культурной революции.

Для реализации программного образования ведется: создание письменности, учебников, литературы и газет для многих ранее бесписьменных народностей, построение школы на родных языках национальностей, переход на новые программы, установление режима в школе и работа по твердому расписанию (Доклад наркома, 1939). Прежнее семилетнее образование модифицируется в социально-образовательную систему

просвещения. Нововведением в обучении становится изучение одного из иностранных языков (английского, немецкого, французского) с целью реализовать лозунг «Догнать и перегнать в технико-экономическом отношении капиталистические страны и привлечь последние достижения иностранной науки и техники на службу строящемуся социализму» (Zamagaeva, 2019, 28). Для стабильной реализации концепции народного образования районные школы активно комплектуются учебными кадрами (учителями), которые должны повысить самоорганизацию школьной работы (кустовые методические объединения учителей для обмена педагогическим опытом, система открытых уроков, выставки «лучшего школьного опыта», публикации в районной газете и кустовых стенгазетах).

Политпросвещение северных народов было поставлено на высокий уровень, поскольку с 1938 г. начинают работу передвижные «красные чумы», призванные привить идею советской идеологии социалистического строительства. В документах детально прописана специфика работы: «красный чум проводит свою работу в специально оборудованной палатке: юрте, яранге, чуме; действует круглый год, переезжая по определенным установленным маршрутам в районах расселения народов Севера; при обслуживании кочевого (оленоводческого, охотничьего) населения красный чум кочует с данной группой; работа красного чума среди каждой группы населения должна продолжаться от 1–2 декад до 3 месяцев» (ЭА. Ф-8. О-1. Д. 3).

Третья «пятилетка» (1938–1942) завершает период культурной революции. Это не менее сложный и динамичный этап реализации культурной национальной политики, вновь трансформирующейся в целях государственного и военного строительства.

С одной стороны, объявляется о завершении реализации программы культурного и языкового строительства: в начальной ступени школьного образования преподавание всех изучаемых предметов ведется на родном языке, фиксируется высокий уро-

вень знания родных языков среди учителей, имеется полное методическое сопровождение для преподавания родных языков, родители принимают участие в учебном процессе детей через родительские собрания. На VIII Съезде ВКП(б) в 1939 г. подводятся итоги второй пятилетки, и в отчетном докладе Сталина звучит: «С точки зрения культурного развития народа отчетный период был поистине периодом культурной революции. Внедрение в жизнь всеобщего обязательного первоначального образования на языках национальностей СССР, рост числа школ и учащихся всех ступеней, рост числа выпускаемых высшими школами специалистов, создание и укрепление новой, советской интеллигенции – такова общая картина культурного подъема народа» (Stalin, 1939). По данным переписи 1939 г., благодаря созданной обширной системе общеобразовательных школ уровень грамотности в СССР повысился до 87,4 %.

С другой стороны, обнаружилась серьезная проблема утраты знания русского языка среди коренных малочисленных народов (особенно у допризывников 1922–1923 гг. рождения). Из стенограммы выступления И. В. Сталина: «Но есть у нас один язык, на котором могут изъясняться все граждане СССР более или менее, – это русский язык. Поэтому мы пришли к тому, чтобы он был обязательным» (Сталин, 2006). Весь образовательный процесс стратегически перестраивается на изучение русского языка и культуры, литературных и художественных произведений (особенно исторической живописи).

Четвертая «пятилетка» (1946–1950) пришлась на первые послевоенные годы, сложный период для страны. Происходит полное прекращение программы всеобщего: нет связи между удаленными школами, между школами и районными центрами, отсутствует методическая помощь; идет резкое понижение числа учащихся из коренных малочисленных народов, особенно в старшей ступени. В документах сообщается: «За все время существования округа ни один из детей коренной национальности не закончил средней школы. Такое

положение с преподаванием учащимся по классам объясняется отсутствием необходимых условий для действительной коренизации национальных школ: в 16 национальных школах из 18 обучение ведется не на родном, а на русском языке по русским программам и учебникам русских школ, учителями, владеющими только русским языком, так как учителей, владеющих родным языком, в округе всего 8 человек» (ЭА. Ф-8. О-1. Д. 80).

Пятая «пятилетка» (1951–1955) – период возвращения к задачам всеобщего и культурному просвещению, но вне революционного контекста. Впервые проявляется *культурно-информационная практика просвещения о быте и укладе коренных малочисленных народов*. Для проведения программы всеобщего в северные районы отправляется комсомольский десант, который проводит ускоренные курсы для неграмотных и малограмотных в местах компактного проживания оленеводческих и охотничьих бригад.

В архивных документах не отражен дальнейший ход развития северных территорий в последовательном выполнении «пятилеток» СССР, но все следующие десятилетия были посвящены активной работе по сохранению и возрождению этнокультурной идентичности благодаря совместным усилиям представителей северных элит и специалистов научно-образовательных центров. Так, в 1960-е гг., согласно архивным документам, шла трудоемкая работа над созданием развернутых учебных планов для каждого класса районных школ с указанием видов работ с учениками, списками литературных текстов для чтения (ЭА. Ф-8. О-1. Д. 280).

В 1970-е гг. начинается экспериментально-опытный процесс по сохранению северных языков и поддержке этнокультурной идентичности среди детей коренных малочисленных народов Севера. Сотрудники сектора школ Севера НИИ национальных школ Министерства просвещения РСФСР проделывают огромную работу по сбору и анализу присланных из районных школ письменных работ учеников с целью изуче-

ния состояния знаний и навыков по русскому и родным языкам учащихся начальных классов коренных национальностей Севера. В документах говорится о выездных командировках научных сотрудников НИИ национальных школ в районные школы для проведения занятий по эвенкийскому языку (ЭА. Ф-8. О-1. Д. 280). Итогом проделанной огромной работы становится издание комплексного учебного пособия по русскому языку для подготовительного и первого классов школ с родным и русским языками обучения. Комплекты высылаются в районные школы.

В 1980-е гг. была вновь поднята проблема возвращения изучения родного языка в общеобразовательный процесс. Преподавание и обучение на родном и русском языках велось во всех районных школах, но обнаруживается недостаточность освоения родного языка на продвинутом уровне (4–8 классы). Эвенкийский язык становится школьным предметом, в рамках которого учащиеся-эвенки общаются к языку родителей-оленьеводов и охотников. В школах треть детей – представители коренных народов (эвенки, якуты и кеты) и других национальностей (украинцы, белорусы, казахи, немцы, эстонцы и др.). Концепцией школьного образования становится идея о дружбе народов многонациональной страны, в которой объединяющей силой являются взрослые выдающиеся люди – представители разных национальностей (например, организовывались встречи с оленеводами на открытых уроках по оленеводству авторами учебников на эвенкийском языке, художниками). Ежегодным становится праздник «День рождения Советской Эвенкии», проводится олимпиада по знанию родного языка. В дальнейшем изучение родного языка становится факультативным, проводятся внеклассные мероприятия («Неделя русского и эвенкийского языков»). В последнее десятилетие существования СССР происходит сокращение людей, владеющих родными языками, бытовая речь сохранялась в отдаленных поселках и оленеводческих бригадах. В конце 1980-х гг.

уже серьезно ставится вопрос о возрождении эвенкийского языка и внедрении практического опыта обучения родному языку.

С 1950-х гг. советская культурная политика нациестроительства становится менее интенсивной, и в 1953 г. ее кураторство переходит к Министерству культуры СССР, но этнокультурные группы, сформировавшиеся в предшествующий период, продолжили свое существование, сохраняя и культивируя свою этническую самобытность уже в иных форматах и практиках (Sitnikova et al., 2018, Seredkina et al., 2021; Lishchinskaya et al., 2021).

Культбазы как акторы культуры

Культбазы создавались для решения научно-исследовательских, образовательных задач и задач по ассимиляции коренного населения. Деятели культбаз открывали больницы, школы, библиотеки, музеи, ветеринарные лечебницы, больницы с амбулаторией, туберкулезные диспансеры, Дом туземца, бани с прачечной и т. д.

Появление и активизация деятельности Туринской культбазы в конце двадцатых годов (в месте стойбища эвенков Чапогирского рода, где сливаются реки Кочечум и Нижняя Тунгуска) и еще 17 культбаз на Севере связаны с именем легендарного для Эвенкии Иннокентия Суслова, блестящего картографа, географа, этнографа, идейного лидера Культбазы (именно в Эвенкии стартовали многие научные экспедиции, силами местных исследователей в 1932 г. была создана первая карта Эвенкии).

Музейная деятельность

Ввиду удаленности территорий и малочисленности населения музейных организаций и выставочных пространств было немного по сравнению с крупными городами СССР.

Фонды Эвенкийского краеведческого музея с начала его истории формировались путем сбора экспонатов для следующих коллекций – естественнонаучной, археологической, этнографической. Этнографиче-

ская коллекция представлена предметами декоративно-прикладного искусства: национальной одеждой, старинными украшениями, инструментами для упряжи оленя, календарями эвенков, музыкальными инструментами, предметами шаманского культа, включая костюм, бубны, амулеты, произведениями изобразительного искусства и документальными материалами. Эти произведения представляют культурную историю коренных малочисленных народов, демонстрируя исторические реликвии культуры эвенков, есейских якутов, кето, проживавших и проживающих на территории Эвенкии.

В создании коллекции принимали участия такие деятели, как доктор исторических наук В. Н. Увачан, этнограф, председатель Комитета Севера Красноярского края И. М. Суслов, археолог Г. И. Андреев, эвенкийский поэт Н. К. Оегир, художники Р. И. Ткунов, Н. Х. Ботулу, А. Эмидан и др. Фонды музея хранят архив В. Н. Увачана, народного художника РСФСР В. И. Мешкова, ветерана труда М. П. Койначенок и многих других.

В 1925 г. состоялся расширенный пленум Комитета Севера при ВЦИК СССР, в результате которого было принято решение о создании культурных баз. Специалисты Туринской культбазы решили основать в 1927 г. краеведческий уголок, деятельность которого сосредоточилась на сборе и первом этапе систематизации этнографического материала. Основные темы коллекции связаны с изучением природы, хозяйственно-производственных сил округа, истории классовой борьбы и социалистического строительства и ознакомлением с результатами исследования жителей округа для более сплоченного хозяйственного, социалистического и культурного устройства жизни округа.

В должности первого директора культбазы Н. П. Наумов (1902–1972) проводил научно-исследовательскую работу на ее территории и внес особый вклад в развитие музея. Он вел подробные и обширные записи о природе и о представителях коренного населения, их традиционных видах дея-

тельности, особенностях быта, собрал коллекцию этнографические предметы.

С начала основания музея не только специалисты были вовлечены в процессы его функционирования: краеведы-любители активно включались в работу. И представители коренного населения были заинтересованы в музее. Принимали участие не только взрослые, школьники пополняли фонды музея гербариями, описаниями флоры и фауны тайги, тундры. Например, в 1920-е гг. формированием музейного фонда активно занимались учителя, врачи, краеведы. Они собрали немногочисленную на тот момент коллекцию экспонатов, но включающую в себя предметы культового назначения – атрибуты шаманов и христианской религии, что позволило сделать выводы о сложной мировоззренческой системе эвенков того периода времени. Им удалось составить коллекцию из 80 экспонатов.

В начале 1930-х гг. работа музея была приостановлена в связи с нехваткой площади: экспонатам не могли найти и определить место хранения или экспонирования, в связи с чем они были размещены в неподходящих условиях – в холодном сарае музея, кладовой средней школы Туры. Музейная краеведческая деятельность в Эвенкийском национальном округе была заморожена, возвращение к деятельности произошло после упразднения Комитета Севера и ликвидации культбаз северных территорий – во второй половине 1930-х гг.

Часть коллекции пришла в негодность в связи с неверными условиями хранения (до 1947 г. музеем не выделяли отдельное помещение). Значимость краеведческого музея постепенно возрастала: ценными были экспонаты (в частности, ценный набор пушнины, коллекции полезных ископаемых, добытых на территориях округа, фотографии и документы, зафиксировавшие состояние, положения и быт эвенков).

1940-е гг. отмечены кочевым существованием музея и, как следствие, низким качеством и уменьшением количества экспонатов, постоянной сменой руководства. В августе 1945 г. произошло знаковое собы-

тие – музей был переименован в Эвенкийский окружной краеведческий музей.

В послевоенные годы – с 1945 г. до середины 1950-х гг. – государственная политика в области культуры была направлена на возрождение музейного дела, что наилучшим образом сказалось на Эвенкийском краеведческом музее.

В 1947 г. музей спустя десятилетия обрел помещение, в котором были относительно подходящие условия для экспонирования этнографических и краеведческих предметов. В 1948 г. заработали залы и выставки музея. В 1949 г. появляется новая ветвь деятельности музея – открывается научно-методический сектор, в котором были собраны и экспонировались материалы по колхозному строительству, сельскохозяйственному, промышленному развитию округа.

Постепенно происходят изменения на организационном уровне: активно проводятся тематические встречи с посетителями и специализированные (День краеведа, День открытых дверей для комсомольских активистов), беседы с учащимися школ, встречи со старожилами округа.

Директором музея в этот период являлся И.И. Суворов – член Союза писателей СССР, знаток эвенкийского языка и фольклора. Он был глубоко погружен в жизнь местного населения – кочевал по тайге, общался с представителями коренных малочисленных народов.

К началу 1970-х гг. музей насчитывал уже 6,5 тыс. музейных экспонатов в своей коллекции, в штате было 3 сотрудника. Музей становился более активным участником процесса развития музейного дела страны: в период этой декады Эвенкийский краеведческий музей дважды принимал участие во всероссийских и краевых выставках. В 1978 г. участвовал в смотре работ музеев РСФСР, посвященном 60-летию образования СССР. В 1978 г. в Байките был основан районный краеведческий музей, выставки которого посещали жители не только поселка Тура, но и других – Нидыма, Эконды, Ессея, Байкита, Полигуса, Ванавары, Чиринды.

Музей в 1970-е гг. уделял особое внимание патриотическому воспитанию. Одной из ведущих тем этого десятилетия было социалистическое соревнование. Например, был создан экспозиционный комплекс «Соцсоревнование на приз Г.С. Бояки, первого Героя Социалистического Труда». Для всех музеев страны в этот период главной темой экспозиций стал шестидесятилетний юбилей образования СССР, и Эвенкийский музей активно участвовал в этом процессе.

Таймырский краеведческий музей

На Таймыре в 1930-е гг. обсуждали необходимость создания краеведческого музея благодаря известному этнографу, североведу А.А. Попову, который выдвинул для обсуждения на заседании президиума оргкомитета Таймырского национального округа предложение об организации музея и краеведческого бюро в Дудинке (Blyudova, 2002, Lovelius, 2017). Дискуссии об этом продолжались несколько лет. И решением Президиума Таймырского окрисполкома Красноярского края от 4 сентября 1937 г. «О постановке архивного дела в Таймырском национальном округе и организации краеведческого музея в Дудинке» был основан музей, ставший здесь единственным государственным музеем, значимым актором культурной жизни региона и самым северным музеем России.

Направления деятельности музея обусловлены особенностями территории и проживающих здесь народов. С момента основания приоритетными направлениями его деятельности являются археологическое, научно-просветительское, этнографическое, ведущими темами – «История Таймыра и Дудинки», «Таймыр в годы Великой Отечественной войны», «Исследователи Арктики», «Культура коренных народов Таймыра», «Экология Таймыра». Имеется документальный фонд, редкие книги, коллекция живописи и графики, нумизматическая коллекция, коллекция фалеристики, исторических предметов быта.

Значимая часть музейной коллекции связана с религиозно-обрядовыми прак-

тиками нганасан, энцев, ненцев, долган, эвенков. К их числу относятся ритуальные маски, идолы, шаманские костюмы и атрибуты шаманского культа. Например, одним из ценных экспонатов можно назвать шаманский костюм последнего нганасанского шамана Тубяку Костеркина, состоящего из парки, нагрудника, обуви, головного убора.

В музее хранится обширная коллекция предметов декоративно-прикладного искусства. Коллекции, посвященные специфике этнической культуры народов Севера, представляют собой обширную источниковедческую базу для изучения традиционных культур арктических этносов Таймыра, особенностей быта, изменений в материальной и духовной сфере, произошедших за последние годы у коренных народов Таймыра.

В период 1930–40-х гг. Таймырский краеведческий музей формируется, до этого была нехватка материально-технической базы, кадров и помещения. Послевоенное же время было эпохой интенсивного строительства объектов соцкультбыта в поселках полуострова, но для музея это кризисный этап с точки зрения кадровой политики и с точки зрения материальной базы. Например, в 1950 г. А.Я. Мельдер была первым штатным директором и единственным сотрудником музея, и только летом 1955 г. было выделено помещение для музея с экспозиционной площадью 144 кв. м, но без фондохранилища.

К концу 1950-х гг. расширился штат сотрудников и были определены конкретные направления работы учреждения. Ими стали темы «Природные богатства Таймыра», «Быт местного населения», «Установление Советской власти на Таймыре», и соответственно им формировались перечни экспонатов и создавались тематические комплексы. Обновляются формы работы с посетителями: дни «открытых дверей», дни краеведа, встречи работников одной отрасли, встречи с пионерами и комсомольцами.

1960-е гг. характеризуются расширением состава посетителей: в 1968 г. первые

туристы посетили Таймырский музей. Небольшие группы туристов прибывали летом на теплоходах, следующих из Красноярска в Дудинку, или авиатранспортом. Рост числа туристов в качестве посетителей музея связан с тем, что музей заключил договор с Красноярским туристско-экскурсионным бюро. И в том году Таймырский краеведческий музей посетили 2060 туристов из разных городов СССР.

1970-е гг. для Таймырского краеведческого музея знаменуются расцветом деятельности – увеличился штат, и музей заявил о себе на всесоюзном уровне, начинается его сотрудничество с Ленинградским отделением Института археологии АН СССР, в результате которого разработали и воплотили тематико-экспозиционный комплекс «Бронзовый век». Увеличивается информирование людей о деятельности музея: появляются первые афиши и буклеты, статьи в газетах, репортажи на радио и телевидении. В 1976 г. музей перемещается в здание с семью экспозиционными залами, фондохранилищем.

Выставочная деятельность северных музеев

Как говорилось выше, ведущая роль отводилась этнографической и социалистической направленности их работы. В связи с этим часть выставок преимущественно посвящена предметам и произведениям этнической культуры проживающих в округах народов: «Чум – традиционное жилище эвенков XIX–XX вв.», «Декоративно-прикладное искусство эвенков XIX–XX вв.», «Культура и быт эвенков XIX–XX вв.», «Растительный и животный мир Эвенкии». Другая часть экспозиционного фонда связана с темами национально-государственного устройства в регионах, о коллективизации, освоении природных ресурсов, трудовой деятельности, о стахановском движении, о роли и участии жителей Эвенкии и Таймыра в Великой Отечественной войне: «Трудящиеся Эвенкии – XXIV съезду КПСС», «Лучшие люди Эвенкии», «Коммунисты – передовики девятой пятилетки». Расширяется круг посе-

тителей – в музей приезжают из Нидыма, Эконды, Ессея, Байкита, Полигуса, Ванавары, Чиринды и др.

Примером выставки на социалистическую тему является экспозиция «Развитие и расцвет Эвенкии за 60 лет советской власти». Ее создание связано с участием музея во Всероссийском смотре, который был посвящен советскому периоду. В ходе научно-исследовательской и собирательской работы были изучены, собраны музейные материалы по национально-государственному устройству в Эвенкии в 1920–1930 гг., коллективизации в округе в период 1930–1945 гг., развитию социалистической экономики в регионе. Не менее важной частью экспозиционной системы музея является комплекс, посвященный социалистическому соревнованию по выполнению планов 9-й пятилетки – «Соревнование на приз Г.С. Бояки, первого Героя Социалистического Труда». Экспозиция о соцсоревновании пополнялась в период развития музея материалами о победителях соревнований (М.Н. Курейский, А.В. Чапогир), гвардейцах пушного промысла (Ф.М. Гаянчук, В.К. Эспек, В.И. Бухарев), известных оленеводах округа (Л.Г. Грабкин, А.С. Гаюльский, В.К. Удыгир), звероведах (А.В. Скиданова, Л.Б. Черных, М.П. Бетти).

Важное направление выставочной деятельности связано с репрезентацией произведений изобразительного и декоративно-прикладного искусства местных народных мастеров. С подобными выставками Эвенкийский краеведческий музей принимал участие в краевых выставках прикладного и изобразительного искусства, дважды – во всероссийских в 1970-е гг.

Выставочная деятельность Таймырского краеведческого музея активно развивается в 1950-е гг. Государственная национальная политика влияла на формирование тем выставок: посетители могли увидеть комплексы с материалами о первых таймырских орденосцах – оленеводах, рыбаках, матерях-героинях, комсомольских и партийных работниках. Важной экспозицией стала выставка, посвященная Дудинскому

морскому порту как градообразующему предприятию.

История Таймырского полуострова в советский период представлена тематическими комплексами о коллективизации, вооруженном восстании в таймырской тундре, хранятся документы о расстрелянных кулаках, шаманах, промышленном освоении Севера и природных ресурсов Таймыра. Отражено культурно-просветительское освоение полуострова как своего рода документально зафиксированная летопись о первых учителях, медиках, председателях первых таймырских колхозов, оленеводах и т. д.

Тема войны экспонируется через документы и рассказ о защитниках порта Диксон и обороне Северного морского пути от фашистских захватчиков по время Великой Отечественной войны.

География выставок Таймырского краеведческого музея расширяется: в составе делегации Таймырского национального округа директор А.Е. Пичугова представила выставку из фондов музея в Москве на ВДНХ.

Изобразительное искусство: тема Севера в живописи

Пространство Севера как тема изобразительного искусства интересно с точки зрения живописного потенциала. Этот интерес обусловлен следующим: география регионов позволяет визуализировать безграничную перспективу, долго незаходящее солнце, бескрайнюю тундру, передать северное сияние, арктические закаты и рассветы, бескрайнее снежное пространство.

Выделяются два направления развития изобразительного искусства: художники – представители коренных народов (чаще всего самоучки, что не умаляет их одаренности и эстетического потенциала) и художники, которые писали произведения о Севере, не будучи сами представителями коренных народов (Sumakov, 2000). Внимание будет сосредоточено на первой группе мастеров.

В среде таймырских мастеров большое художественное значение имеет творчество художника-нганасанина М.С. Турдагина, художника-долганина Б.Н. Молчанова, ко-

торые являются одними из крупнейших мастеров 1950–1960-х гг. Их работы посвящены родной культуре, они запечатлевают интерьеры жилищ, природные просторы, культовые обряды.

Первым профессиональным художником называют именно М.С. Турдагина (1939–2002), он не закончил обучение в Красноярском художественном училище имени В.И. Сурикова, но развивал свое мастерство самостоятельно и постепенно приобретал известность. В 1969 г. состоялась первая для художника Окружная художественная выставка, на которой экспонировались произведения 20 художников из таймырских поселков, городов Дудинки и Норильска, из 200 работ в экспозиции 7 принадлежат авторству Турдагина (Sackaya, Zharkova, 1996).

Основное место в его творчестве занимают пейзажи тундры в разные времена года. Он уделяет большое внимание передаче тонких колористических сезонных особенностей северной природы, точно и поэтично фиксирует портреты, динамичные зарисовки, визуализирующие яркие образы жизни кочевников – обрядовые практики, захоронения, стоянки при перегоне оленей, трапезы и т. п.

Долганин Б.Н. Молчанов начал карьеру художника еще ребенком – его работа выиграла диплом третьей степени на X Всероссийской детской выставке в 1951 г. Как и большинство художников Эвенкии или Таймыра этого периода, он совмещал основной вид деятельности с художественным. В связи с таким укладом жизни работы выставлял на передвижных и стационарных выставках в своем районе и округе. В мастерской В.И. Мешкова художник освоил технику гравирования на линолеуме. Но полноценно заниматься творчеством Борис Николаевич возможности не имел, так как в далеком северном поселке недоставало необходимых для этого материалов.

Молчанов создавал преимущественно гравюры и графические произведения, которые репрезентировали повседневность таймырских жителей. Персонажами порт-

ретов становились оленеводы, охотники, рыбаки. Важным аспектом в отображении жизни этих героев является тема жизни в суровых природных условиях. Автор подчеркивает неразрывную связь своих героев с родной землей.

Н. Х. Ботулу (1932–1979) – художник из числа коренных народов Севера, якут по национальности, но его жизнь и творчество связаны с эвенкийской культурной средой. Он известный художник-график, мастер гравюры и художник-таксидермист. В 1950-х гг. являлся заведующим Красным чумом в Илимпейском районе, в Эконде. На его творчество и увлечение гравюрой оказал влияние В. И. Мешков. Ботулу приходил в мастерскую газеты «Эвенкийская новая жизнь» и наблюдал за работой мастера. Как мастер-таксидермист он изготавливал чучела для Эвенкийского окружного музея. Сотрудничал с газетой «Советская Эвенкия» и создавал для ее выпусков рисунки и гравюры.

Линогравюры Н. Х. Ботулу отображают ежедневные заботы народа Эвенкии, трудовые будни ее жителей. В его творчестве большое количество пейзажей, передающих красоту северной природы. Его работы просты и понятны, но при этом поэтичны – бытовой жанр и легкая, обобщенная манера изображения ясны всем зрителям.

Следует упомянуть таких местных эвенкийских художников, как А. Г. Амелькин, Р. И. Пикунов, А. Л. Эмидак, Б. Романовский. А. Г. Амелькин – художник-график, работал в технике пастели, создавал книжные иллюстрации. Сюжеты, характерные для северного мастера, – тундра и сопки Эвенкии, небольшие речки, стойбища оленеводов. Работы автора выставлялись на окружных, краевых выставках. Р. И. Пикунов – художник-портретист, причем мастер психологического портрета.

Б. Романовский – автор более двухсот картин, посвященных Эвенкии и эвенкам. Он отразил в тонких колористических решениях особенную местную природу, ее переходные от сезона к сезону состояния. Работы Романовского считаются довольно необычными среди местных мастеров

благодаря небанальным композициям, яркому колориту. Произведения мастера экспонировались на персональных, краевых выставках. Художник А. Л. Эмидак – пейзажист, портретист и мастер бытового жанра. Создаваемые им образы запоминающиеся, динамичные и поэтичные.

Арктическое зодчество

С приходом советской власти и созданием населенных пунктов в Эвенкии и на Таймыре началось возведение архитектурных сооружений иного типа и иного назначения, нежели сугубо жилое и национальное.

История арктической архитектуры в СССР напрямую связана с историей освоения Крайнего Севера. Так, в 1920-х гг. началось промышленное освоение Крайнего Севера, а в 1930-е гг. начался процесс северного градостроительства – это время появления Норильска, Мурманска и др. Активное и быстрое возведение населенных пунктов реализовывалось посредством труда заключенных ГУЛАГа. Они выступали не только рабочей силой, но зачастую и творческой, инженерной – в их числе были геологи, инженеры, архитекторы. В 1940-е гг. эти люди исследуют возможности адаптации традиционной застройки к полярному климату.

Населенные пункты Советского Севера были промышленными объектами и проектировались как необходимое основному производству пространство. В период 1920–1940-х гг. типичный образец жилой застройки арктического и северного населенного пункта – деревянные жилые дома барачного типа без системы канализации и водопровода с хаотичным расположением в пределах поселка или района города.

В 1950-е гг. подобный подход к строительству меняется. К этому времени города стали пониматься не как придатки для производственных предприятий, а места средоточия жизни. После XIX (1952 г.) и XX (1956 г.) съездов КПСС усиливается интерес к Сибири и Северу, реализуется партийный курс на их промышленное освоение. Эти территории становятся пространством активного строительства.

Для более качественной адаптации архитектурных сооружений были созданы институты, проектные организации, которые должны были разрабатывать, верифицировать и воплощать проекты, учитывающие экстремальные природно-климатические факторы, – Ленфилиал Академии строительства, проектный институт «Ленгипроарктика», ЛенНИИПградостроительства, ЛенЗНИИЭП, СибЗНИИЭП, – они разработали нормы и критерии планировки и застройки северных населенных мест, и этому своду следовали строители. Эти организации изучали эксплуатацию зданий на Крайнем Севере, а затем разрабатывали генеральные планы районирования городов. Но, по сути, у них не было возможности преобразовать и развить различные композиции дворовых пространств, кварталов городской застройки. Региональные НИИ занимались вопросами северного зодчества – существовали институты КрасноярскНИИпроект, Дальстройпроект, ЯКУТНИИПРОАЛМАЗ, ЦНИИЭП.

Многие архитекторы создавали проекты северных городов в 1960-е гг., в этот период возросли тенденции романтизации Севера, Сибири, Арктика, и на этой волне мастера обратились к традиции архитектурного модернизма. Разработанные идеи северного градостроительства оказалось невозможно воплотить на практике в полном масштабе по разным причинам: нехватка ресурсов, постепенное снижение внимания к Арктике по мере ее благоустройства, неполный учет специфики природных условий при реальном возведении объекта. Некоторые идеи о городе-саде в Заполярье не удалось осуществить, потому что деревья нужной толщины не приживались в суровых климатических условиях.

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В архитектурных проектах наметился поворот к потребностям человека, на сочетание научного подхода и комфорта эксплуатации жилья или иного рода помещения. Например, архитекторы принимали во внимание, что на Севере намного больше времени проводят в помещениях, нежели в других широтах, поэтому основной упор в градостроительстве делали на том, чтобы вся инфраструктура располагалась в крытых пространствах. Факторы окружающей среды повлияли на использование свайного фундамента и системы опор, устройство зимних садов, на внимание к возможностям управления ветровыми потоками и сохранения тепла.

Заключение

Следует признать, что основными практиками нациестроительства по отношению к коренным малочисленным народам Севера в советский период их истории были культурные и образовательные практики, содержание которых было, конечно же, политически определенным, но эти политические установки в высшей степени соответствовали интересам коренного населения, которое впервые получило государственные ресурсы в области здравоохранения, образования, культуры и искусства. Экономическое развитие территорий традиционного проживания коренных народов имело государственный плановый характер. Культурная политика по отношению к ним была в целом благоприятна для развития этнокультурного самосознания, на основе которого формируется ядро этнокультурной интеллигенции и появляются общественные лидеры, активно участвующие в экономических и политических процессах нынешнего (постсоветского) периода в истории коренных народов.

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Education and Healthcare as Nation-Building Practices Based on the Materials of Evenki Archive

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Abstract. This article examines the features of the implementation of the national policy of the USSR in relation to the indigenous peoples of the North in the field of education and healthcare in the Evenk National District of the Krasnoyarsk Krai up to the 1970s. We used the documents of the Municipal State Institution «Evenk Archive» as the main source for our study. As a result of the analysis of archival materials, the key directions of educational policy in Evenkia are systematized, the integral educational system for training national personnel existing during the Soviet period is shown, the dynamics of the development of the healthcare is described, characterized by strict centralized management, a clear hierarchical system of medical institutions and the concentration of resources.

Keywords: education of the indigenous peoples of the North; teaching the Evenk language; textbooks in the Evenk language; Institute of the Peoples of the North; national personnel; healthcare.

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Research area: theory and history of culture, art.

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Образование и здравоохранение как практики строительства нации (по материалам Эвенкийского архива)

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Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются особенности реализации национальной политики СССР по отношению к коренным малочисленным народам Севера в сфере образования и здравоохранения в Эвенкийском национальном округе Красноярского края вплоть до 1970-х гг. Основным источником для исследования послужили документы Муниципального казенного учреждения «Эвенкийский архив». В результате анализа архивных материалов систематизированы ключевые направления образовательной политики в Эвенкии, показана существующая в период советской власти целостная образовательная система подготовки национальных кадров, описана динамика развития системы здравоохранения, отличающаяся строгим централизованным управлением, четкой иерархизированной системой медицинских учреждений и концентрацией ресурсов.

Ключевые слова: образование, коренные малочисленные народы Севера, преподавание эвенкийского языка, учебники на эвенкийском языке, Институт народов Севера, национальные кадры, система здравоохранения.

Исследование выполнено при финансовой поддержке РФФИ в рамках научного проекта № 21-09-43014.

Научная специальность: 5.10.1 — теория и история культуры, искусства.

Введение

Настоящая статья опирается на документы Муниципального казенного учреждения «Эвенкийский архив». В частности, используются материалы Эвенкийского окружного отдела народного образования и здравоохранения исполнительного комитета Эвенкийского окружного Совета депутатов трудящихся пос. Тура Эвенкийского национального округа Красноярского края. Эти материалы касаются трех наиболее важных вопросов школьного образования: обеспеченность школами и интернатами; преподавание родных языков КМНС и учебная литература на эвенкийском языке. В советский период была создана целостная образовательная система, в обязательном порядке включающая и профессиональную подготовку лиц

из числа северных народов. На основе архивных материалов в статье рассматриваются условия и правила приема в средние специальные и высшие учебные заведения. Наряду с образованием отдельной практикой строительства нации рассматривается сфера здравоохранения, для которой в советский период характерно значительное развитие.

Обзор литературы

Современные исследования системы образования Эвенкийского национального (автономного) округа показали, что данная тема одна из актуальных на сегодняшний день. Общие интересы научного сообщества лежат в области сферы образования, просвещения и здравоохранения КМНС. Научными исследованиями занимаются такие

ученые, как Н. П. Копцева, Ю. С. Замаева, В. С. Лузан, К. В. Резникова, Н. М. Лещинская, Е. А. Сертакова, М. А. Колесник, Н. Н. Середкина, Ю. Н. Менжуренко, Н. А. Сергеева, А. И. Филько и ряд других исследователей (см. Amosova et al., 2020; Koptseva, 2017; Reznikova et al., 2017; Zamaraeva et al., 2019).

Государственная система образования является одним из значимых ресурсов, который определяет развитие территории. Так, например, в советский период образование в Эвенкийском национальном (автономном) округе решало проблему формирования «национальной интеллигенции» в округе (Seredkina, 2021). Образование как инструмент решения социально-экономических проблем местных сообществ рассмотрен автором в статье, посвященной описанию инструментария и основных типов социокультурных технологий развития образования (Tsurulnikov, 2016). Грамотное управление системой образования напрямую влияет на социально-экономическое развитие страны. Оно требует совершенствование мер государственной поддержки КМНС, новых подходов к образовательным процессам в среде КМНС и Сибири (Koptseva, 2021). Создание образовательных институтов, таких как Институт Севера, может стать эффективным средством экономического, политического и духовного возрождения и развития этносов (Gonina, 2016).

В сфере образования и просвещения интерес российских исследователей направлен на поиск новых образовательных практик. Анализ документов по образованию и просвещению из Фонда Эвенкийского архива в пос. Тура Эвенкийского муниципального района Красноярского края указывает на специфику и особенность этнопедагогических технологий в образовании КМНС (Zamaraeva, 2019). Описаны и проанализированы мировые и российские практики, направленные на сохранение и возрождение этнических языков, находящихся сегодня на грани исчезновения (Seredkina, 2018). Результатом полевых и научных исследований в пос. Тура стали научно-методические рекомендации по разработке и созданию учебной литературы на эвенкийском языке (Zamaraeva, 2018).

Социально-экономическое развитие северных территорий напрямую зависит из качества здоровья населения. В поле зрения ученых лежат проблемы развития здравоохранения как элемента социальной политики на государственном, региональном и местном уровнях (Nizova, 2018). Внедрение единой государственной системы мониторинга здоровья в области здравоохранения по результатам социологических исследований позволит улучшить качество жизни населения северных территорий (Sidorov, 2006). Медицинские мероприятия должны быть реализованы с учетом особенностей, сложившихся на протяжении длительного времени у КМНС (Nadtochiy, 2015). В рамках развития территории на местном уровне необходимо учитывать этнический состав населения (Obygraikin, 2012). В рамках исследования состояние здоровья семей, проживающих на территории Красноярского края, выявлены факторы, влияющие на здоровье семей КМНС. Для стабилизации ситуация в рамках трех основных институтов: образования населения, охраны здоровья населения и социальной защиты, разрабатываются новые технологии и методы работы (Baksheeva, 2012).

Школьное образование КМНС

Эвенкийского национального округа:

официальные свидетельства

Эвенкийский национальный округ был образован в 1930 г., и к этому времени на его территории функционировала одна культбаза, организованная в 1926 г. в Туре, включавшая в том числе школу, занимавшуюся ликвидацией неграмотности среди эвенков. Организация образования в Эвенкии столкнулась с такими проблемами, как нехватка учителей, стройматериалов и т. п. Тем не менее в 1940–1941 учебном году в Эвенкии работало уже 20 школ: из них начальных – 14, неполных средних – 3, средних – 3; всего классов – 112: 0–4 – 92, 5–7 – 13, 8–10–7¹. В 1940–1941 учебном году школы Эвенкийского нацокруга в основном были представлены школами-интернатами: в 16 школах-интернатах проживали в течение года 844 ученика, из них 612 эвенков, 115 – якутов и 117 – русских².

¹ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 48. Д. 76.

² ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 48. Д. 85.

Охват детей всеобщим образованием в 1940–1941 учебном году стремился к 100 %: «Учтено детей в округе, подлежащих всеобщему обязательному обучению в 0–7 классах, 1528 человек, охвачено школами 0–7 классами 1525 человек, что составляет 99,8 %. ... Контингент учащихся по сравнению с прошлым годом увеличился на 353 человека в основном за счет детей коренного национального населения»³. Исполком Окрсвета Эвенкийского национального округа решением от 25 апреля 1941 г. утвердил завершение ликвидации неграмотности в округе до конца 1941 г.⁴ По состоянию на 01.05.1941 неграмотных насчитывалось 963 человека, малограмотных – 992, при этом 473 неграмотных и 505 малограмотных уже проходили обучение, то есть порядка 50 %.

На 05.09.1969 в Эвенкии функционировало 3 средних школы (из них 1 городская); 4 восьмилетних, 17 начальных, 2 санаторно-лесных начальных⁵. На 1 сентября 1969 г. в Эвенкии насчитывалось 18 интернатов северного типа при школах, при этом 2 из них были открыты непосредственно 1 сентября – в Туре и в Полигусе⁶.

В 1969 г. из 2852 школьников Эвенкии 1030 (36,1 %) были коренной национальности. Дети-эвенки обучались в семи начальных школах; в Ессейской восьмилетней школе обучались дети-якуты. В трех школах округа – Ногинской восьмилетней, Бабкинской и Чемдальской начальной – обучались исключительно дети коренных этносов⁷. В 15 школах округа (3-х средних, 3-х восьмилетних и 9-ти начальных) зафиксирован смешанный состав учащихся: как коренных этносов, так и других национальностей. Неоднородность этнического состава обучающихся привела к тому, что в школах Эвенкийского национального округа были актуальны три учебных плана: учебный план для школ Крайнего Севера – по нему работали школы, в которых учились дети КМНС; учебный план для школ автономных республик, автономных

областей и нацокругов с изучением родного языка как предмета – по нему работали школы со смешанным этническим составом учеников; учебный план массовой русской школы – по нему работали школы, где ученики из КМНС отсутствовали⁸.

В планах на 1968–1975 гг. было строительство 21 объекта сферы образования в Эвенкийском национальном округе: 11 школ и 10 детских садов⁹; 8 из запланированных к строительству объектов – это школы-интернаты. Но введены эти объекты в 1975 г. так и не были несмотря на то, что потребность округа в школах-интернатах была значительной¹⁰.

Преподавание родных языков КМНС в Эвенкии

До конца 1930-х гг. преподавание родных языков КМНС в Эвенкии носило спорадический, несистематический характер. Положение дел начало выравниваться в связи с разработкой алфавитов родных языков КМНС на кириллической основе. По сведениям Эвенкийского ОкрОНО, «новый алфавит на русской основе учащимися усваивается хорошо, труднее усваиваются орфографические правила по правописанию слов с отдельными звуками»¹¹.

Несмотря на положительную динамику, преподавание родных языков велось отнюдь не во всех школах, в которых обучались дети КМНС. В 1940–1941 учебном году в Эвенкии насчитывалось 16 нерусских школ и 1 – смешанная; всего в них обучалось 805 детей (из них эвенков – 690, якутов – 115). Но преподавание родных языков велось только лишь в 9 из 16 школ¹². В двух третьих из этих 9 школ родные языки преподавались только в нулевом и первом классах; преподавание во всех начальных классах зафиксировано только в двух школах – Байкитской и Туринской.

Причина достаточно слабого распространения преподавания родного языка по школам связывается с тем, что в Эвенкии

³ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 48. Д. 76.

⁴ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 48. Д. 97.

⁵ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 232–233. Д. 45.

⁶ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 232–233. Д. 46.

⁷ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 232–233. Д. 45–46.

⁸ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 232–233. Д. 46.

⁹ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 232–233. Д. 96.

¹⁰ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 232–233. Д. 117.

¹¹ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 48. Д. 87.

¹² ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 48. Д. 88.

остро стояла проблема «коренизации преподавания в нерусских эвенкийских школах», состоящая в том, что приезжие учителя не знают эвенкийского языка; в процессе обучения детей они овладевают им в течение 2–3 лет, к тому времени как уезжают за пределы округа; «преподавание родного языка ведется в некоторых школах, да и то примитивным кустарным и упрощенным методом, так как кратковременное индивидуальное изучение языка не дает возможности изучения основ знания языка (орфограм, грамматических форм), а ведет в лучшем случае к овладению разговорной речью»¹³.

Учебная литература на эвенкийском языке

План-заказ изданий литературы для народов Крайнего Севера на эвенкийском языке, сделанный заведующим Эвенкийским ОкрОНО на 1941 г., позволяет ознакомиться с перечнем имеющихся на начало 1940-х гг. актуальных изданий для северной школы¹⁴. В него входят преимущественно учебники для начальной школы. Перечень изданий позволяет предположить, что в национальных школах Эвенкии наблюдалась нехватка учителей начальных классов из эвенков: практически все издания для учителя – «контрпереводы» или переводы с эвенкийского языка.

В конце 1960-х гг. в Эвенкии, несмотря на активную работу ленинградских ученых, продолжали существовать проблемы с обеспеченностью учебной литературой. В 1969 г. Эвенкийский ОкрОНО отмечал нехватку букварей эвенкийского языка, а также почти полное отсутствие «переводной на эвенкийский язык художественной литературы»¹⁵.

Интересными с точки зрения издания учебной литературы на эвенкийском языке являются 1970-е гг.: прежде работа по созданию учебников на эвенкийском велась в основном в Ленинграде, но в 1970-х гг. уровень не только владения эвенкийским языком местными жителями, но также пе-

дагогический опыт и учебно-методические наработки местных кадров стали настолько весомыми, что эвенкийских учителей начали привлекать к обсуждениям рукописей учебников. В 1971 г. заседанием учебно-методического Совета ОкрОНО Эвенкийского нацокруга по обсуждению рукописи учебника русского языка для подготовительного класса эвенкийской школы (автор А. Ф. Бойцова) от 10 марта было решено рекомендовать рукопись к печати с учетом замечаний участников УМС¹⁶.

Профессиональное образование коренных малочисленных народов Севера

Система профессионального образования для коренных малочисленных народов Севера начала формироваться в 20-е гг. XX в. В это время в контексте общей задачи подъема уровня социально-общественной и культурной жизни северных народов возникла необходимость создания ступенчатой системы образования, которая включала бы в обязательном порядке и профессиональную подготовку национальных кадров. В первые годы советской власти основной формой подготовки были различные по продолжительности и содержанию учебных программы курсы (Uvachan, 1971). Ведущим центром по организации курсов для представителей северных народов был Институт народов Севера в Ленинграде. Он обеспечивал подготовку национальных кадров в формате четырехгодичных курсов на уровне среднего специального учебного заведения.

Среди региональных учебных заведений подготовку национальных педагогических кадров для школ Эвенкийского и Долгано-Ненецкого округов Красноярского края осуществляло Игарское педагогическое училище, основанное Постановлением Совета Министров СССР в 1939 г. В Игарское педучилище народов Севера на первый курс можно было поступить уже после 7 класса. После 8 и 9 классов выпускники школ поступали на 2 и 3 курс соответственно.

В педучилище принимались лица в возрасте от 15 до 35 лет. Все учащиеся, которые направлялись на обучение в педучи-

¹³ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 48. Д. 87.

¹⁴ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 23. Д. 19.

¹⁵ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 232–233. Д. 53.

¹⁶ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 232–233. Д. 165.

лице, должны были быть полностью обеспечены летней и зимней обувью, верхней одеждой, нательным бельем не менее двух смен, а также шапкой, рукавицами, костюмом. Это было одним из условий со стороны дирекции педучилища для организаций, направляющих студентов из числа коренных народов Севера на обучение. Все принятые в педучилище студенты получали стипендию в размере 200 рублей в месяц¹⁷.

Помимо педагогических национальных кадров средние специальные учебные заведения готовили работников сельского и промышленного хозяйств, а также медицинских работников. До войны кадры для всех отраслей хозяйства готовила окружная политехшкола¹⁸.

Высшее образование лица из числа коренных малочисленных народов Севера могли получить в Ленинградском государственном педагогическом институте им. А.И. Герцена, к которому в 1940-х гг. присоединился Институт народов Севера (URL: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Институт_народов_Севера). При Ленинградском институте им. А.И. Герцена были организованы подготовительное отделение, педагогический институт и учительский институт.

Поступить на *подготовительное отделение* можно было после 7 класса средней школы. Принимались на отделение лица в возрасте до 18 лет. Лица некоренной национальности на подготовительные курсы не принимались. Учащиеся подготовительных курсов находились на полном государственном обеспечении. Все поступающие должны были в обязательном порядке владеть родным языком и не иметь медицинских противопоказаний.

Весь процесс приема студентов в Ленинградский педагогический и учительский институты народов Севера подробно расписан в инструкции, утвержденной начальником Управления подготовки учителей НКП РСФСР от 20 декабря 1939 г.¹⁹.

Согласно инструкции, Ленинградский педагогический институт народов Севера

комплектовался по разверстке, утвержденной Наркомом Просвещения РСФСР, из граждан, проживающих на территории Крайнего Севера. Для отбора кандидатов организовывались при ОкрОНО или РайОНО отборочные комиссии под председательством заведующих данных отделов народного образования.

В *педагогический институт* принимались лица обоего пола в возрасте от 17 до 35 лет, имеющие законченное среднее образование (десятилетка, рабфак, техникум, педагогическое училище, средняя школа для взрослых, в объеме программы средней школы). При поступлении существовала поощрительная система для окончивших средние учебные заведения с отличием. Они поступали в институт без вступительных экзаменов. Остальные должны были сдавать экзамены: русский язык (устно и письменно), литература (устно), история народов СССР (устно), география (устно), один из иностранных языков (по выбору поступающего) (устно) – английский, немецкий или французский, один из национальных языков народностей Крайнего Севера (устно). Зачисленными в институт считались те лица, которые получили на вступительных экзаменах высокие оценки, не ниже оценки «посредственно».

Правила поступления в *учительский институт народов Севера* были аналогичными. Отличием являлось лишь то, что в учительский институт, согласно инструкции от 1939 г., можно было поступать лицам обоих полов в возрасте от 17 лет до 40 лет, имеющих образование не ниже 8 классов средней школы. Как и студенты подготовительного отделения, зачисленные лица коренных народов Крайнего Севера в учительский институт принимались на полное государственное обеспечение.

Учительский институт народов Севера в своей структуре имел три факультета: русского языка и литературы, исторический и естественно-географический. Для поступления необходимо было сдать вступительные экзамены, которые отличались в зависимости от направленности факультета.

¹⁷ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 32. Д. 14.

¹⁸ ЭА. Р-98. О-1. № 103.

¹⁹ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 35.

Кроме Ленинградского института народов Севера, получить высшее профессиональное образование представители коренных малочисленных народов Севера могли также в региональных учительских институтах Иркутска, Красноярска, Томска.

В Томском государственном педагогическом университете студенты из числа северных народов могли обучаться на заочном отделении. Здесь принимались лица любого возраста. Единственным требованием была сдача вступительных четырех экзаменов. Основными предметами, которые сдавались при поступлении на любой факультет, были экзамены по литературе и языку. Другие два экзамена варьировались в зависимости от специализации факультета. Без вступительных экзаменов в институт могли поступить выпускники десятилеток, педучилищ, рабфака, школы взрослых, окончившие эти учебные заведения с отличием.

Отделение заочного обучения Томского государственного педагогического института включало в себя 4 факультета с различными сроками обучения. На историческом факультете срок обучения составлял 4 года, на факультете литературы и языка – 4,5 года, на физико-математическом и естественном факультетах – 5 лет²⁰.

После окончания высшего учебного заведения выпускники из числа коренных малочисленных народов Севера имели возможность продолжить свое обучение в аспирантуре, открытой также при Институте народов Севера и при Академии общественных наук при ЦК КПСС.

Национальная политика СССР по отношению к коренным малочисленным народам Севера в области здравоохранения

Советский период характеризовался значительным развитием сферы здравоохранения во всех районах Крайнего Севера и Арктики. Здравоохранение в этот период было полностью прерогативой государственных органов власти, и его развитие носило пла-

новый характер. В послереволюционный период правительство и медицинское сообщество пришли к выводу, что единственным способом существования и развития здравоохранения может быть концентрация ресурсов и централизация управления и планирования отрасли. На V Всероссийском съезде Советов 11 июля 1918 г. был учрежден Народный комиссариат здравоохранения, и первый нарком положил в основу предложенной им системы здравоохранения ряд идей, которые реализовывались повсеместно в Советской России. Кроме того, была выстроена четкая система медицинских учреждений, которая дала возможность достичь единых принципов организации здравоохранения для всего населения страны, включая отдаленные местности и территории Крайнего Севера с экстремальными условиями жизни. Эту систему можно представить в следующем виде: фельдшерско-акушерские пункты – участковые поликлиники – районные больницы – областные больницы – специализированные институты. Местами еще сохранялись ведомственные медицинские учреждения (железнодорожников, армии, шахтеров и др.). Особое внимание советская медицина уделяла вопросам материнства.

В дальнейшем значительным событием в истории развития советского здравоохранения стала реформа, направленная на перестройку структуры организации здравоохранения, произошедшая в 1948 г. Она предусматривала объединение больниц и поликлиник, создание в районах центральных или объединенных (номерных) больниц. Кроме того, изменялась подчиненность санитарно-эпидемиологической службы: районные санитарно-эпидемиологические службы (СЭС) становились самостоятельными учреждениями. В результате вся служба санэпиднадзора стала самостоятельной и вышла из подчинения Минздраву.

В последующие десятилетия XX в. параллельно с развитием сети медицинских учреждений нарастало внимание к развитию специализированных служб, обеспечению населения скорой и неотложной помощью, развитию амбулаторно-

²⁰ ЭА. Р-8. О-1. № 32. Д. 14.

поликлинических учреждений и строительству крупных многопрофильных больниц со всеми видами специализированной помощи. Очень стремительно развивалась хирургия, активно разрабатывались принципы трансплантологии и протезирования органов и тканей, а также микрохирургии. С середины 1970-х гг. много внимания уделялось сердечно-сосудистым и онкологическим заболеваниям, совершенствовалась охрана материнства и детства, активно открывались диагностические центры.

Система здравоохранения на северных территориях, разумеется, следовала общесоветским принципам организации и устройства, однако имела свою существенную специфику. Своеобразие северной системы здравоохранения было обусловлено рядом факторов: экстремальные климатические условия, слабое развитие или отсутствие транспортной инфраструктуры, низкая плотность населения, наличие труднодоступных населенных пунктов, где проживают малочисленные народы, слабое санитарное состояние поселений и жилищ, неосведомленность кочевого населения об элементарных нормах гигиены и санитарии. Перед северным здравоохранением в СССР стояли серьезные задачи по совершенствованию оказания медицинских услуг.

Здоровье этноса – один из показателей, влияющий на этнокультурную динамику. Многие исследователи обращаются к изучению течения ряда заболеваний у представителей коренных народов, обусловленных особенностями быта, культурными традициями. В 1920–1970-е гг. на территории Эвенкийского национального округа частым явлением были вспышки заболеваемости туберкулезом, цингой, брюшным тифом, дизентерией, дифиллоботриозом и др. И, как следствие, основной задачей медучреждений стала борьба с очагами и с распространением инфекций путем функционирования специально открытых диспансеров, проведения лекций и бесед с медработниками, проведения санитарно-просветительной работы с населением, вакцинации и др.

До 1930 г. в Эвенкийском муниципальном районе не было не просто каких-либо

медицинских учреждений, но и врачей. Коренные жители прибегали к помощи шамана. Но уже в первые десять лет с момента образования Эвенкийского национального округа стали появляться больницы, фельдшерско-акушерские пункты, противотуберкулезные диспансеры, роддомы, детские ясли и др. Более конкретную и подробную информацию о внутренних процессах системы здравоохранения на данных территориях можно получить только на основании сохранившихся архивных документов. Материалы о состоянии по здравоохранению представлены в большинстве своем в виде статистических и текстовых отчетов, сводок, докладов, справок и актов, оформленных в результате различных проверок, служебных переписок, решений окружного исполкома и др.

Медицинская сеть на территории Эвенкийского округа начала зарождаться к 1927 г. с организацией Туринской культбазы. При ней была открыта больница на 15 коек с одним врачом и двумя фельдшерами. С организацией и ростом культурно-бытовых условий Эвенкийского национального округа стало быстро развиваться здравоохранение. Вместе с ростом бюджета на культурно-просветительные мероприятия по округу росла сеть медицинских учреждений.

Эвенкийский окружной здравотдел с 1934 г. принимал ежегодные отчеты больниц и медпунктов, в которых были обозначены, в частности, результаты проверок санитарной комиссии. В годовых отчетах приводилась подробная характеристика амбулаторной деятельности медучреждений: количество принятых первичных и повторных больных; количество госпитализированных из них; число выездов в чумы; число вакцинаций против распространенных инфекций и ревакцинаций. Во многих отчетах отмечается увеличение амбулаторной посещаемости эвенков, которая объясняется работой курсов советского строительства для эвенков²¹. В населенных пунктах округа при школах, школах-интернатах и медучреждениях систематически прово-

²¹ ЭА. Р-1. О-1. № 65.

дились беседы по санитарии, гигиене и различным болезням, борьбе с туберкулезом, по анатомии человека, о лечении переломов и ран, об оказании первой медицинской помощи.

Одной из основных задач для руководства была задача привлечь массы в работу советов, тесно взаимодействовать в повседневной работе с избирателями. Так, в 1936 г. было организовано 46 секций, работой которых решалась неотложная задача – укомплектование всех медицинских пунктов врачами, специалистами и средним медперсоналом, необходимо было серьезно заняться оборудованием и завозом необходимого инструментария. Увеличение медицинской сети и медицинских работников в округе сыграло решающую роль в ликвидации старых пережитков у населения, как, например, лечение у шамана.

В своей практической работе по организации и совершенствованию медицинской помощи населению округа Отдел здравоохранения руководствовался решением 23 съезда партии, постановлением ЦК КПСС и Совета министров СССР о мерах по дальнейшему улучшению здравоохранения и развитию медицинской науки в стране; решением 4-й сессии Верховного Совета СССР от 25 июня 1968 г., а также решениями Краевого и окружного Советов депутатов трудящихся, приказами и указаниями вышестоящих органов здравоохранения.²²

Заключение

В 1930-х гг. основными направлениями образовательной политики в Эвенкии были ликвидация неграмотности среди взрослого населения, обучение детей в начальных и средних школах, обеспечение школ и ликпунктов местными этическими педагогическими кадрами. На 1930-е гг. приходится резкий рост числа школ, включая интернаты, значительный охват образованием детей и взрослых. Но при этом фиксируется ряд важных проблем: срыв сроков ввода новых школ в эксплуатацию, нехватка квалифицированных педагогических работников и др. Несмотря на проблемы, цель всеобу-

ча была практически достигнута к 1941 г. К концу 1960-х гг. в Эвенкии больше трети школьников были коренной национальности (преимущественно эвенки). Неоднородность этнического состава обучающихся привела к тому, что в школах Эвенкии были актуальны три учебных плана.

Систематическое преподавание эвенкийского языка началось в национальном округе только с конца 1930-х гг. в связи с разработкой алфавита на кириллической основе. Но, несмотря на положительную динамику, преподавание родных языков велось отнюдь не во всех школах, в которых обучались дети коренных малочисленных народов Севера. Одной из главных причин этого являлась нехватка учителей начальных классов из эвенков. До конца 1960-х гг. в Эвенкии сохранялись проблемы с обеспеченностью учебной литературой. Но уже в 1970-х гг. уровень не только владения эвенкийским языком местными жителями, но также педагогический опыт и учебно-методические наработки местных педагогов стали настолько весомыми, что эвенкийских учителей начали привлекать к обсуждениям рукописей учебников.

В результате планомерной политики советской власти по формированию национальных кадров к 1970-м гг. на Севере Красноярского края сложилась определенно положительная тенденция роста числа лиц со средним специальным и высшим образованием. На Таймыре в 1959 г. на 1 тысячу жителей имелось 385 человек с высшим и средним образованием, а в 1970 г. – уже 556. В Эвенкии соответственно 342 и 453 человек. На 1 тысячу в 1970 г. высшее и среднее образование имели: на Таймыре 683, в Эвенкии 589 человек²³.

Наблюдается стремительное развитие и медицинской системы уже в первые десять лет с момента образования Эвенкийского национального округа в 1930 г. В это время появляются первые больницы, фельдшерско-акушерские пункты, санатории, тубдиспансеры, родильные дома, ясли и др. В 1940-х гг. медицинская сеть по районам существенно рас-

²² ЭА. Р-9. О-1. № 91. 1969 г.

²³ ЭА. Р-98. О-1. № 105.

ширятся и комплектуется опытными медицинскими работниками. Развивается система скорой и неотложной помощи, в том числе кочевому населению в чумах и бригадам охотников и оленеводов, открываются рентген-кабинеты и бактериологические лаборатории. По требованию окружных здравотделов в районах проводилась систематическая работа по повышению уровня квалификации медперсонала: лекции, кружки, конференции, обучение в фельдшерско-акушерских школах и в институтах. Медперсонал, в свою очередь, проводил постоянную санитарно-просветительную работу, которая включала кружки и походы, а также лекции и радиолекции, беседы, статьи в газетах и заметки в стенгазетах на самые различные темы, касающиеся гигиены и санитарии, а также тех заболеваний, которые представляют для населения округа наибольшую эпидемиологическую угрозу. Последний факт был особенно обострен в послевоенное время, когда росло распространение заболеваний, часть из которых была завезена переселенцами. Санитарно-просветительная работа имела особое значение на территориях округов ввиду слабых санитарных условий жизни, употребления в пищу сырой рыбы и некачественной воды, а также слабой информированности населения периферийных участков об элементарных правилах санитарии и гигиены. Кроме того, в округах

особое внимание уделялось вопросам материнства и детства. Система здравоохранения в Эвенкийском национальном округе, как и повсеместно в СССР, была строго централизована, иерархизирована и носила плановый характер. Районные здравотделы готовили ежемесячные, ежеквартальные и ежегодные подробные отчеты – статистические и текстовые – в окружные здравотделы о специфике работы каждого медучреждения и каждого его отделения. В свою очередь, окружные здравотделы вели отчетность перед Краевым отделом здравоохранения. Краевые медицинские комиссии выезжали на обследования коренного населения. Однако, несмотря на стремление правительства всячески поддержать и строго регламентировать систему здравоохранения в округах, было и множество недостатков, решение которых требовало времени и бюджета.

Медицинское обслуживание имело особое значение не только для здоровья коренного населения, но и для его социокультурного развития. Медицинская практика советских врачей, в частности, оказала влияние на культурно-религиозные представления коренных народов, которые долгое время не могли противоречить многовековым культурным устоям и, отказавшись от «лечащей» помощи шамана, принимать медицинские препараты, выполнять необходимые медицинские процедуры.

Список сокращений

ЭА – Эвенкийский архив: Муниципальное казенное учреждение «Эвенкийский архив».

Р-1 – Раздел 1: Исполнительный комитет Эвенкийского окружного Совета депутатов трудящихся п. Тура Эвенкийского национального округа.

Р-8 – Раздел 8: Эвенкийский окружной отдел народного образования исполнительного комитета Эвенкийского окружного Совета депутатов трудящихся п. Тура Эвенкийского национального округа Красноярского края.

Р-9 – Раздел 9: Эвенкийский окружной отдел здравоохранения исполнительного комитета Эвенкийского окружного Совета депутатов трудящихся п. Тура Эвенкийского национального округа Красноярского края.

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О – Опись.
Д – Документ.

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Philology

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Situational Modality as a Vital Element of Gender Constructed Speech

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Abstract. This paper introduces results of analysis of Anton Chekhov's short stories: gender constructed speeches will be described, paying special attention to realization of meanings of situational modality (obligation/ necessity, possibility and desirability). The semantic category of modality, have not been considered in relation to gender linguistics, although the modality is a sociocultural phenomenon as the gender is. Taking into account linguistic and extra-linguistic factors we clarify the frequency and nature of using modal explicators in social interaction. The study of semantic category of modality with gender is a vital issue, because the clarification of cognitive processes like our inner attitude towards the reality will make us closer to understanding and reflection of the origin of gender interaction.

Keywords: gender, modality, men's and women's language, sociocultural interaction, cognitive processes.

Research area: philology.

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Ситуативная модальность как важный элемент гендерно конструированной речи

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Аннотация. В данной статье рассматривается связь языковой категории модальности и гендера как двух социокультурных феноменов. Представлен функционально-семантический анализ произведений Антона Чехова. Особое внимание уделено гендерной специфике реализации значений ситуативной модальности (желательности, долженствования/ необходимости и возможности). Семантическая категория модальности недостаточно хорошо изучалась в рамках гендерных исследований языка, хотя является важнейшим элементом речемыслительной деятельности как категория, которая выражает отношение говорящего к реальности. Изучение модальности в гендерной лингвистике откроет новые возможности в эффективном социокультурном взаимодействии.

Ключевые слова: гендер, модальность, мужской и женский языки, социокультурное взаимодействие, речемыслительная деятельность.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

Introduction

The idea that a person's identity is reflected in the language he/she uses is taken seriously by many in the speaker-oriented paradigm of linguistic research (Tannen, 2005, 2009, 2010; Cameron, 2005, 2007, 2009; Lakoff, 1975; Vasilieva, 2007; Talbot, 1998; Ericsson, 2012; Coates, 2013). And accepting this idea, it is impossible to ignore the concepts of «masculinity» and «femininity» as the principle aspects of gender identity. Therefore a great deal of gender and language studies investigates the issues of constructing gender identity by focusing on linguistic elements: the nominative system, vocabulary, syntax, linguistic categories, including the one of modality.

Statement of problem

The importance of modality in gender studies is hard to overstate. Modality is one of the key semantic categories, realizing the connection between language and extra-linguistic reality and determining the communicative potential of the utterance.

Until nowadays there is very scarce volume of research dealing with problem of the modality/gender connection. It turns out that semantic category of modality, have not been considered in relation to gender linguistics, although modality is a mean of social interaction, as a socio-cultural phenomenon as the gender is (Turayeva, 2012, 105).

Classical Russian writer Anton Chekhov lived in the late 19-th century the period of time when dramatic changes in social life were taking place in Russia. Those changes also concerned attitudes towards women and their status in Russian society. The noteworthy facts of this period of Russian history are works of scientist and writers (Skalkovskiy, 1886; Lombroso, Ferrero, 1892).

For instance, satirical writer K. Skalkowski exclaimed that women were not able to manage with mental challenge because the size of their brain is smaller than male (Skalkovski, 1886). Chekhov who kept another point of view considered the absurdity of social changes, in his letters to his friend-publisher A. Suvorin

(Chekhov, 1888–1903). Thereby, employing modal attitude in character’s speech Chekhov ironically reflected relationships of the bossy independent new era women with masculine features or weak men who talking about the social rules and what women must do.

Minding the extra-linguistic factors, our goal is to show how meanings of modality have a strong influence on gender constructed speech.

Methods

The modality that reflects our attitude to utterance and attitude of utterance to the reality – is universal category. Many approaches of understanding modality have appeared because of it’s contradictory nature. All these points of view can be divided into logical and functional approaches as a whole. The representatives of the first approach, based on formal logic according to which modality divides into epistemic and deontic, but the biggest drawback of this approach is lack of full semantic diapason. The functional approach covers all language levels, all parts of speech and allows to find and analyse the very big diversity of meanings. According to the representatives of functional ap-

proach, modality can be divided into objective and subjective, also known as author modality. Objective modality in it’s turn has main body (including real/irreal meanings), and periphery – the so called situational modality, which includes such meanings as: desire, ability/possibility and necessity/ obligation (Bondarko, 1990, 42–43).

Logic approache of modality divides into epistemic and deontic (Fig. 1).

So **functional approache** creates more real picture (Fig. 2).

Discussion

The leading **research method** is functional-semantic analysis. In accord with scientific works of Russian and international scientists who researched modality (Vinogradov,1975; Bondarko,1990; Elliott, 2000; Portner, 2009; Palmer 1994; Kaufman, 2006) we analyzed 70 short stories written by Chekov. While we made our research, we mainly collected explicators of situational modality- part of speech and language units, which we define as explicators.

In this case **explicators** – are part of speech or words, by mean we show our attitude. There

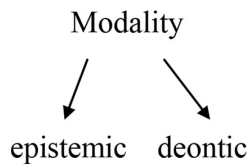


Fig. 1

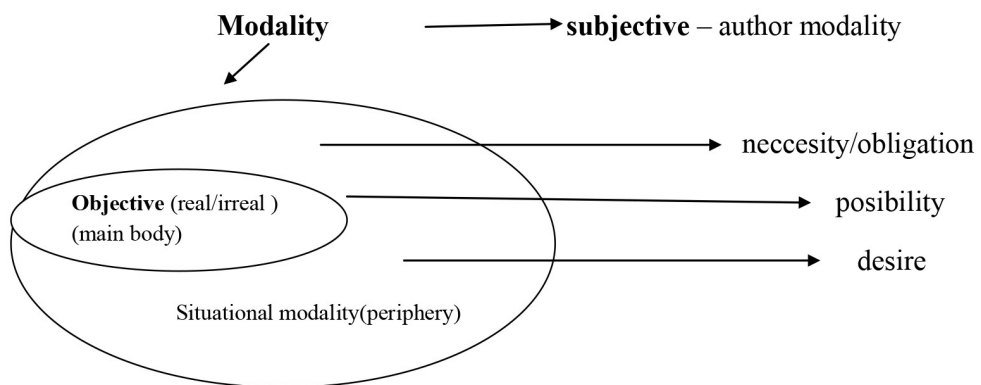


Fig. 2

are can be **explicit explicators** for example *ability* reflected by modal verb *can, could*, and **implicit explicators** that show the same meaning but by the other means for example **able, managed, reached etc.**

So let's have a look how women and men show their modality or in other simple words their attitude.

For example in «The Lady with a dog» the main hero Dmitri Gurov had been a fortnight in health resort in Yalta and met the heroine Anna Sergeyevna, so he thought «If she's here without her husband, and without any friends, *it wouldn't be* a bad idea to make her acquaintance.» So, *wouldn't* is epistemic modality, as explicator of judgment, inner attitude of man, that reflects his sexual desire. Then after love affairs, each of lovers returns to their family, they understood that they fell in love.

«Gurov began to feel an overwhelming *desire* to share his memories with someone. But he *could not speak* of his love at home, and outside his home...» So this is the clear example of the collision between desire for something and the possibility to reach it. (Checkov, 1974–1983, 291).

As for Anna Sergeyevna, she self-reproaches for adultery. She really loves Gurov, but the first is her duty of married woman, and responsibility. That's why she use modal verbs(must, should, ought) and other explicators of deontic modality or as we call it modality of obligation/necessity.

«*It's a good thing* I'm going,» she said to Gurov. «It's the intervention of fate.»; «I shall think of you. . . I shall think of you all the time,» she said. «God bless you! Think kindly of me. We are parting forever, *it must be* so, because we *ought* never to have met. Good-bye – God bless you.» (Checkov, 1974–1983, 293). Or after seeing him again: «How you frightened me!» she said, breathing heavily, still pale and half-stunned. «Oh, how you frightened me! I'm almost dead! *Why did you come?* Oh, why?» (here rhetorical question means obligation «*you ought not come*»). «*You must go away,*» «D'you hear me, Dmitry Dmitrich? I'll come to you in Moscow. I have never been happy, I am unhappy now, and I shall never be happy – never! Do not make me suffer still more! I will come to you

in Moscow, I swear it! And now *we must* part! My dear one, my kind one, my darling, *we must part.*» (Checkov, 1974–1983, 293).

So we are able to observe that there are commonly explicators of modality of desire and modality of ability/possibility in male speech. This fact can be a triking demonstration of male ego – to *wish* for something and *ability* to reach it (as an index of his success). While in female speech we observe conflict between the desire and obligation. So, in this kind of situation we see male egoism and high moral principles that woman can have. Also we find out that there is the difference in the way of using of explicators. So, if women use the modality of obligation/necessity they don't only talk about their duty, but even about their wishes and desire while men use these explicators for duty (that they don't want to do) or as matter of fact as law of nature or social rule. We can observe this tendency in Arianne's story about frivolous light-minded young lady, she is image of a famous Russian drama actress Yavorskaya with whom Chekhov had close relations. So, Ariadne do nothing, she only wants to be reach, loved and happy of course. And she wants to attract the attention of the young man Shamokhin (Checkov's image) who is very shy and Ariadne wants him to behave another way using explicators of obligation to make her desire implicit: «You're really not a man, but a mush, God forgive me! A man *ought to be able* to be carried away by his feelings, he *ought to be able to be* mad, *to make* mistakes, to suffer! A woman will forgive you audacity and insolence, but she will never forgive your reasonableness!» (Checkov, 1974–1983, 74). Or using explicit explicators: «*I want you to be* here, you are so pure.» (Checkov, 1974–1983, 83). Also, using the modality of obligation to express hidden desire: «*They must not know* I'm without a chaperon,», meaning that she doesn't want they know about her loneliness»; or giving strong advice and also expressing desire «I will introduce you to a Russian family here, but please buy yourself another hat. Abbazzia is not the country, here *one must be comme il faut.*», meaning she wants him to change his image (Checkov, 1974–1983, 82).

While men use the same explicators for expressing the different meanings: Lubkov

Ariadne's first lover talking about the laws of nature used modality of obligation: «to my thinking, a woman's a woman and a man's a man. Ariadne Grigoryevna may be poetical and exalted, as you say, but it doesn't follow that she *must be superior to the laws of nature*. You see for yourself that *she has reached the age when she must have a husband or a lover.*» (Checkov, 1974–1983, 76). Also, talking about his duty that he didn't want to do: «Would you believe it, I have only eight francs left, yet *I must send my wife a hundred and my mother another. And we must live here too*. Ariadne's like a child; she won't enter into the position, and flings away money like a duchess. And, tell me, What object is there in our going on playing at being good children? Why, our hiding our relations from the servants and our friends costs us from ten to fifteen francs a day, as *I have to have a separate room.*» (Checkov, 1974–1983, 76). And the same tendency we are able to observe in Shamokhin's speech when he doesn't want to marry: «Of course, all attraction is over; there is no trace left of my old love, but, however that *may be, I am bound in honour to marry her.*» (Checkov, 1974–1983, 83).

Analyzing the speech of other male personages we found out, that many of them use explicators of modality of obligation talking about social rules. For instance, Belikov the teacher from «The man in the case» he is always teaching people how to live, what they have to do: «you *must be* very, very careful in your behaviour, and you are so careless – oh, so careless! You go about in an embroidered shirt, are constantly seen in the street carrying books,

and now the bicycle, too. The headmaster will learn that you and your sister ride the bicycle, and then it will reach the higher authorities. . . . Will that be a good thing?»; «If you speak to me in that tone *I cannot* continue,» he said. «And I beg you never to express yourself like that about our superiors in my presence; you *ought to be respectful* to the authorities.»; «*I ought only to warn* you: possibly someone *may have* overheard us, and that our conversation may not be misunderstood and harm come of it, *I shall be* compelled to inform our headmaster of our conversation. . . in its main features. *I am bound to do so.*» (Checkov, 1974–1983, 269).

Another clear example is Modest Petrovich – he old office employee who married to young girl named Ann, from «*Ann on the neck*»: «Every one *ought to have* his duties!» (Checkov, 1974–1983, 127).

Conclusion

To sum up, semantic category of modality plays a vital role in gender constructed speech. Chekhov's short stories appeared to be such a rich material for research. The graph below shows the gender peculiarity of realization of situational modality (Fig. 3).

As we see, the quantity and the quality of using explicators of situational modality has gender predisposition, so their realization depends on gender origin of speaker.

Looking back to previous study we are able to see the influence of gender factors on language. Taking into account that the inner thoughts are primary and then we transfer our thoughts by mean of language into utterance, we have a number of questions without an-

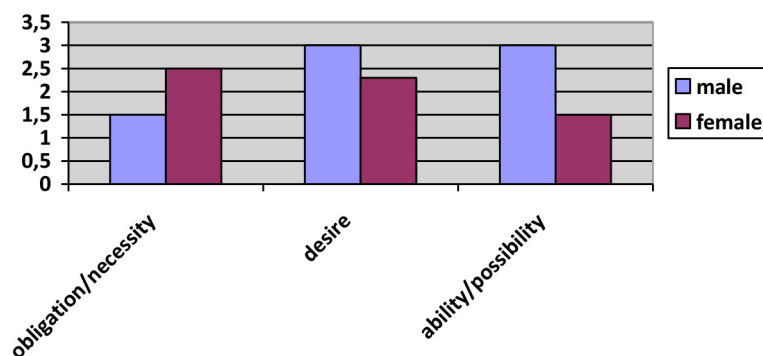


Fig. 3

swers: how do occur these psycho-linguistic processes in male and female mind? What the origin of these communicative strategies that include the modality and speaker's attitude of course? The gender study of our inner attitude will open to us the diversity of meanings. That

is why the study of semantic category of modality with gender is a vital issue. Because of the numerous linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, it is the new face of research that requires further scientific studies, reflection and understanding.

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Dialect Worldview as a Linguo-Culturological Phenomenon

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Abstract. Language interprets the world and human existence in it. Following the path laid by Étienne de Condillac and Friedrich von Humboldt, modern linguists try to understand how the thought takes shape in the language, i. e. the epistemological essence of language. The idea of the linguistic worldview was coined within the Neo-Humboldtism movement. The term linguistic worldview was derived from the concept of linguistic worldview. The study of the dialect derivatives of the Russian language is relevant in that it fills in the gaps in the description of the dialect worldview. The current research features dialectal lexical derivatives. The present linguo-cultural analysis employed the method of propositional frame modeling. The present paper focuses specifically on the dialect derivatives with –yш/a/ [–ush/a/] formant within the frame of axiological characteristics of rural women. The research revealed some stereotypical propositions within the framework of thought, as well as the emotional perception of the women referred to, thus revealing the unique nature of the rural worldview. The spiritual values that shape the dialect worldview are verbalized in the nomination of human qualities that are significant for the dialect speaker. Of all the formants in the dialect system, the dialect speaker intuitively selects the one that can explicate the whole range of evaluations that shaped the traditional value system. Thus, the propositional frame analysis of derivatives within one particular derivational niche makes it possible to describe the fragments of a unique dialect worldview and the peculiarities of its emotional interpretation by rural residents.

Keywords: dialect worldview, linguistic stigmatization, pejorative, derivational formant, propositional structure, proposition, propositional frame modeling method.

Research area: culturology.

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Диалектная картина мира как лингвокультурологический феномен

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Аннотация. Язык является интерпретацией окружающего мира и человеческого бытия в нем. Работы Э. Б. де Кондильяка и В. фон Гумбольдта предопределили обращение современной лингвистики к выявлению особенностей реализации мысли в языке, гносеологической сущности языка. Представители неогумбольдтианства обосновали существование языковой картины мира. Это привело к появлению наряду с термином «языковая картина мира» термина «диалектная картина мира». Рассмотрение диалектных дериватов русского языка является актуальным и направлено на восполнение пробелов в описании диалектной картины мира. Особая значимость настоящего исследования связана с рассмотрением диалектной производной лексики в рамках лингвокультурологического аспекта с использованием метода пропозиционально-фреймового моделирования. В статье подвергаются анализу диалектные дериваты, входящие в словообразовательную нишу с формантом –уш/а/ в пределах фрейма «аксиологическая характеристика сельских женщин». Выявлены стереотипные пропозиции в рамках направляющих мысль пропозициональных структур, а также эмоциональное восприятие именуемых женщин, что позволило увидеть уникальность мировидения сельских жителей. Заложенные в диалектной картине мира духовные ценности вербализуются в акте номинации значимых для диалектоносителя человеческих качеств. Из функционирующих в диалектной системе формантов носитель диалекта интуитивно выбирает тот, который способен эксплицировать спектр оценочных суждений, сформированных в соответствии с традиционной системой ценностей. Пропозиционально-фреймовый анализ производных единиц в границах словообразовательной ниши позволяет представить фрагменты уникальной диалектной картины мира и особенностей ее эмоциональной интерпретации сельскими жителями.

Ключевые слова: диалектная картина мира, языковая стигматизация, пейоративность, словообразовательный формант, пропозициональная структура, пропозиция, метод пропозиционально-фреймового моделирования.

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Introduction

Traditionally, the phenomenon of the dialect worldview is considered in the context of the German philosophy of the 20th century. The philosophy in question predetermined the emergence and empirical substantiation of a number of terms, e. g. *linguistic worldview* and *dialect worldview*. As a rule, the concept of the linguistic

worldview is interpreted from two main viewpoints. On the one hand, there is the school of Friedrich von Humboldt and Neo-Humboldtism, represented by Leo Weisgerber, with its internal form of language. On the one hand, there is the American ethno-linguistics with its hypothesis of linguistic relativity developed by Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf.

The concept of dialect worldview sprung from idio-ethnic language studies. The dialect is opposed to the national language, first of all, because it lacks codification. However, there are other peculiarities, e. g. its archaic character, alternative form of learning, and a wide range of connotation units, which can be pejorative and may even trigger the processes of language stigmatization.

The term *dialect worldview* has a fairly broad semantic field of definitions. Most often, it is defined as a certain structure of a system of specific linguistic units explicated in accordance with the hierarchy of the language in general. Dialectisms are usually considered at the word-formation level, since it reflects the cognitive processes of speech generation. The dialectal worldview is known for its natural character, which is determined by the relative isolation of the dialect community. It is closely connected with the peculiarities of rural lifestyle and the proximity to nature. As a result, the traditional system of values often acquires rather specific forms in dialect speakers. An analysis of dialect speech can reveal some of these peculiarities.

Initially, domestic dialect studies focused mainly on the phonetic and lexical levels. However, they received a new aspect in the late 20th century, when word formation cemented its place as an independent linguistic science. At present, cognitive approach to the word-formation system and its complex units (word-formation types, nests, niches, etc.) is becoming more and more relevant. The Kemerovo Derivatological School is often named among the fundamental works that investigate the dialect as a system of word-formation units at the syntagmatic and paradigmatic levels (Araeva, 2009; Araeva et al., 2015; Evseeva, Kreidlin, 2017; Araeva, Obraztsova, 2016; Proskurina, 2010; Araeva et al., 2018 et al.).

Conceptual basis of the study

The present research was based on the concept of mutual conditionality of language and thought (see works by F. von Humboldt, E. S. Kubryakova, A. A. Potebni et al.) and the recognition of language as a symbolic embodiment of culture (N. N. Boldyrev, Yu. S. Stepanov et al.). These approaches were fundamental in

revealing the peculiarities of the way dialect speakers interpret the world in the case of the word-building niche with a formant $-y\text{ш}/a/$ [$-ush/a/$]. The study employed the method of the propositional frame modeling. This method has been used by the Kemerovo Derivatological School for 27 years and lies at the basis of more than 1000 scientific works featuring word-formation types, niches, and derivational nests of single-root words, word-formation and propositional synonyms, multi-valued derivative words, and compact thematic clusters of derivatives in the Russian, Chinese, and Turkic languages (see the works by L. A. Araeva, E. V. Belogorodtseva, O. A. Bulgakova, K. A. Demidenko, I. V. Evseeva, T. V. Zhukova, P. A. Katysheva, T. V. Kovaleva, U. V. Kereksibesova, M. S. Kosyreva, I. A. Krym, V. S. Kuznetsova, S. I. Li, E. E. Maksakova, M. N. Obraztsova, S. V. Oleneva, M. A. Osadchy, A. V. Proskurina, S. K. Sokolova, M. J. Tagaev, I. P. Falomkina and A. N. Shabalina).

The analysis reveals the propositional knowledge structures, i. e. abstract evaluations of predicatively connected actants. These propositionally organized evaluations are identical for all representatives of modern civilization, which is consistent with the idea coined by F. von Humboldt. According to it, all languages are identical at their most abstract level, so that it is possible to speak about a single human language (Humboldt, 1984). Propositional structures are verbalized in propositions, which manifest a unique way of world cognition shaped under the influence of a specific linguistic form and ethnocultural peculiarities. Thus, the semantics of the derived word is a reduced judgment. As a result, the research uses the method of the propositional frame modeling, since it manifests the epistemological essence of the subject.

Problem statement

The article deals with the frame that presents axiologically colored nominations of women. It features the derivational niche with the formant $-y\text{ш}/a/$ ($-ush/a/$). Human cognition of the world is emotional; therefore, a description of the axiological component that reveals a stereotypical attitude towards a person in rural areas makes a substantial contribution to the dialect worldview studies.

Methods

Along with the method of the propositional frame modeling, the research employed the descriptive method and the method of macromodeling. The study was based on derivatives with formant $-yш/a/$ ($-ush/a/$) obtained with the help of the continuous sampling method from various dictionaries of Russian folk dialects.

Discussion

The research focused on the word-building aspect of dialectisms, since the level of word-formation meanings presents the knowledge native speakers have about the world around them. In a way, this level contains reduced and propositionally organized judgments about a particular subject. Along with the motivating word, the formant is an important structural component of the lexical word-formation meaning: it is the functional carrier of word-formation and lexical meaning. Among a wide range of Russian formants, archaic suffixes are of particular interest to researchers. They function mainly in the dialect system of the Russian national language. Formant $-yш/a/$ ($-ush/a/$) is one of such formants. It is a means of language stigmatization used by the dialect speaker to characterize people in various aspects of life.

The hypothesis about the predominantly dialectal sphere of its functioning can be proved by the fact that in S. I. Ozhegov and N. Yu. Shvedova's Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian language there are only seven derivatives with $-yш/a/$: *волокуша* (a drag), *горбуша* (pink salmon), *дорогуша* (sweetheart), *квакуша* (a frog), *кликлуша* (a calamity howler), *копуша* (a slow one), *чинуша* (a bureaucrat). In the absolute majority of the cases, they are marked as colloquial or slangy (Ozhegov, Shvedova, 2006). However, various dictionaries of Russian folk dialects contain about six hundred derivative words with this formant. The analysis of these derivatives in the dialectal system of the Russian language allowed the authors to reveal the peculiarities of the worldview typical of dialect speakers.

A word-formation niche includes word formation types with identical formant and motivating units of different lexical and grammatical classes. A cognitive analysis of derivatives in a

word-formation niche is promising and relevant; however, it has long been on the periphery of science. There has been only one work in the cognitive linguistics so far, in which the word-formation niche with a formant $-н/я/$ [$-n/ya/$] was analyzed in Russian folk dialects at the level of the macrosystem (Falomkina, 2012).

Herewithin, a word-building niche is understood as a mental-linguistic category, the members of which are connected by a single formant and invariant word-formation meaning (for the types of word-formation, see (Araeva, 2009)). This category makes it possible to detect the mechanism of world cognition at the level of mundane consciousness of dialect speakers. Within one niche, fragments of the linguistic worldview are recorded. Propositional structures and propositions that form frames and stereotypical situations set the vector of thought in the cognition of the world. The method of propositional frame modeling makes it possible to demonstrate the mechanism of world perception by dialect speaker and their emotional attitude to the world.

The present paper features a frame that contains woman-naming dialectisms. The wide range of their emotional coloring, from meliorative and neutral to pejorative, is rather remarkable. However, there are more words with pejorative connotation, which indicates that the main function of the $-yш/a/$ formant is language stigmatization.

Thus, one of the features of the dialectal categorization of the world within the word-forming niche with the $-yш/a/$ formant is its emotional coloring. It implies that there are subjective elements in the speech-generating process of the dialect speaker, for whom emotional tone proves to be important.

We made a classification of dialectisms with $-yш/a/$ denoting women. The dialectisms were obtained from various dictionaries of Russian folk dialects. The classification made it possible to identify the propositional structures and propositions within the analyzed frame.

The semantics of the nuclear derivatives was based on a proposition that includes the naming units for women according to expediency and informativeness of the speech act: *object (animated) according to its mental characteristic*.

Балабуша [balabusha] – a woman who chats a lot (Dahl, 1998: 42);

болтуша [boltusha] – a woman who talks a lot and can be deceitful (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 1968: 83);

брякуша [bryakusha] – a woman who talks too much and may say something indiscreet (Dictionary of Perm dialects, 2000: 62);

блекотуша [blekotusha] – a woman who talks too much, «beats the air» (Yaroslavl Regional Dictionary, 1981: 63);

щекуша [shchekusha] – a woman who is a chatterbox (Dictionary of Russian dialects of Karelia, 2005: 927);

говоруша [govorusha] – a woman who talks a lot and does not care about her interlocutor (Yaroslavl Regional Dictionary, 1984: 84);

калякуша [kalyakusha] – a woman who talks a mile a minute (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 1977: 12);

хлопуша [khlopusha] – a chatterbox; a woman who likes talking a lot, singing songs, and telling tales (Dictionary of Perm dialects, 2002: 501);

потрекуша [potrekusha] – a woman who talks a lot, blabs about (Dictionary of Perm dialects, 2002: 189);

секуша [sekusha] – a woman who talks a lot and quarrels with everyone (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 2000: 209);

тырыкуша [tyrykusha] – a woman who talks fast and incomprehensively (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 2012: 339);

чекуша [chekusha] – a woman who talks idly, speaks up when it is inappropriate (Dictionary of Perm dialects, 2002: 524);

щелкуша [shchelkusha] – a gossip (Vologda Regional Dictionary, 2006: 575).

The dominant class of these derivatives verbalizes the attitude of the dialect speaker towards a woman (sometimes towards a man) through the prism of traditional values, according to which it is bad to enter the process of communication for no obvious reason, and multiloquence is regarded as negative. Hence, the pejorative nature of the dialectism is achieved via language stigmatization with the help of the formant –yш/a/.

It should be noted that the expressive characteristic of women according to the manner of speaking was manifested in a large number

of synonyms. Each of the synonyms stresses a characteristic feature that is not accepted by the society: she speaks too quickly / talks idly / gossips / quarrels / shouts / does not watch her tongue, etc.

This group was followed by another, semantically similar class of derived words. They nominate a woman according to the dichotomy of intelligibility / unintelligibility of her speech with an emphasis on the phonetic level: *an object (animated) according to speech characteristics*.

This group contained the following dialectisms:

Веньгуша [ven'gusha] – a woman who speaks in a high key (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 1969: 118);

вякуша [vyakusha] – a woman with a bad articulation who likes to talk, nevertheless (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 1970: 78).

The pejorative connotation revealed by the context indicated that the dialect speaker evaluates adequate perception of information as important and stigmatizes a woman incapable of adequate communication due to articulation defects.

Another group of derivatives with the formant –yш/a/ was especially important within the framework of the axiological approach to the definition of the dialectal worldview of Russian speakers. It identified a woman according to her appearance and neatness of clothes: *object (animated) according to external characteristic*.

нарядуша [naryadusha] – a woman who likes dressing-up (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 1985: 145);

толстуша [tolstusha] – an obese woman (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 2012: 213).

In the groups mentioned above, the pejorative character of the lexeme was dominant but not absolute. In the next group, the function of linguistic stigmatization of the formant –yш/a/ consolidated with the semantics of the producing words and was obvious in all the examples of female behavior as seen via the dialect worldview. The list of bad qualities included laziness, profligacy, disgust, anger, and malice, unsociable demeanor, frivolity, untidiness, etc.

бегуша [begusha] – a woman who left her husband (Dictionary of Russian dialects in Karelia, 1995: 48);

брезгуша [brezgusha] – a fastidious woman (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 1968: 174);

дикуша [dikusha] – a woman who is afraid of everyone, farouche (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 1972: 65);

дрызгуша [dryzgusha] – an untidy woman (Yaroslavl Regional Dictionary, 1985: 21);

моргуша [morgusha] – an unapt woman who cannot do anything about the house (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 1982: 257);

мякуша [myakusha] – a woman who needs to be forced to do something about the house (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 1983: 81);

неркуша [nerkusha] – a woman who constantly grumbles (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 1986: 143);

потаскуша [potaskusha] – a woman of easy virtue (Vologda Regional Dictionary, 2006: 396);

разваруша [razvarusha] – a lazy woman (Dahl, 1998: 184);

расхлябуша [raskhlyabusha] – a woman with a wobbly gait (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 2000: 298);

ругуша [rugusha] – a woman who uses strong language (Dictionary of Russian dialects in Karelia, 2002: 575);

таскуша [taskusha] – a woman who rarely happens at home, «drags about» (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 2010: 301);

хвостуша [khvostusha] – a woman who likes to brag (Dictionary of Russian dialects in Karelia, 2005: 710).

On the contrary, dialectal lexemes that identify women according to their social function have a neutral color, which is not characteristic of derivatives with the suffix *-уш/а/* in words denoting animate objects. In this case, the neutral coloring can be explained by the fact that female behavior is assessed not in axiological but in functional aspect. For example, tools are mainly referred to by their function, without any emotional coloring:

Роговуша [rogovusha] – a woman who hands over the dowry of the bride and serves in the bedroom of the bride and groom (Vologda regional dictionary, 2006: 437);

рогоуша [rogousha] – a woman serving the bride and giving her advice before the wedding night (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 2000: 126);

плакуша [plakusha] – a wailer at a funeral (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 1992: 79);

зыкуша [zykusha]; **заплакуша** [zaplakusha] – a leading singer at the lamentation of the bride during the wedding ceremony (Dictionary of Russian folk dialects, 1977: 323–324).

It should be noted that the nomination units denoting women according to their characterization value, which are based on the propositional structure *object (animate) according to characteristic action*, are formed mainly from the corresponding verbs. An adjective or a noun much less often serves as a motivating word. Thus, in the word-forming niche under consideration, *Verb + -уш/а/* is the nuclear word-forming pattern at the frame level.

Conclusion

Cultural traditions and stereotyped thinking formation are reflected in the Russian national language. Dialect studies help to achieve a thorough understanding of the productivity of various word-building elements. Dialect studies make it possible to understand the nature of these elements and identify the patterns that have influenced the formation of the dialect norm. The analysis of the word-formation models presented in the paper allowed the authors to get an insight into the processes of evaluation and expressiveness formation.

The spiritual values that shape the dialect worldview are verbalized in the act of nomination of those human qualities that bear some significance for the dialect speaker. Intuitively, the dialect speaker chooses the formant that is able to explicate those evaluations which correspond with the traditional value system. The propositional frame analysis of derived units within the boundaries of a derivational niche allowed the authors to present some fragments of a unique dialect worldview and the peculiarities of its emotional interpretation by rural residents.

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Onomatopoeia and Regular Sound Changes

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Abstract. The article deals with the problem of diachronic development of onomatopoeic lexicon and discusses how regular sound changes affect imitative words. The classification according to the degrees of the impact of regular sound changes is devised and applied to the bulk of English sound-imitative words.

The aim of the article is to establish which regular sound changes of the English language had the most detrimental effect. In order to achieve this aim, all major English regular sound changes are classified into phonosemantically significant and phonosemantically insignificant. This classification is based on the use of methods of historical-comparative linguistics and etymological analysis.

The main result is the revelation of the fact that not all regular sound changes are equally detrimental to the iconic lexicon of a language. They are only so if: 1) touch upon salient, meaning-bearing phonemes of an iconic word; 2) change the original phonotype of a phoneme; and 3) take place when the word still retains its original sound-meaning coherence. The devised classification is potentially universal and applicable to the onomatopoeic lexicons of related and unrelated languages.

Keywords: onomatopoeia, regular sound changes, diachronic linguistics, iconicity, sound symbolism, etymology, phonosemantics.

Research area: philology.

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Звукоподражания и регулярные фонетические изменения

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена вопросам изучения звукоподражательной лексики в диахронии и рассматривает, какое влияние оказывают регулярные фонетические изменения на слова с иконической связью между фонетическим обликом и денотатом. В работе обсуждается предложенная ранее классификация регулярных фонетических изменений на фоносемантически значимые и фоносемантически незначимые, дается обзор основных фонетических изменений английского языка. В исследовании применяются методы сравнительно-исторического языкознания и этимологического анализа. В результате проведенной работы удалось выделить группы фонем, являющиеся ключевыми для основных классов английских ономапов, а также потенциальные группы фонемных сочетаний, изменение которых в будущем может повлечь за собой утрату иконической, подражательной связи, изначально присущей любому звукоизобразительному слову. Одним из наиболее значимых результатов исследования является выделение критериев фоносемантически значимых регулярных изменений. Чтобы считаться таковым, изменение должно: 1) затрагивать центральные, смыслонесущие фонемы звукоизобразительного слова; 2) выводить фонемы за рамки фонотипа; 3) происходить в слове, еще не утратившем первоначальную семантику, связанную со звукообозначением. Предложенная модель классификации регулярных фонетических изменений потенциально применима к языкам других групп и семей.

Ключевые слова: звукоподражания, ономапоея, регулярные фонетические изменения, диахрония, иконичность, звукоимовизм, этимология, фоносемантика.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

Introduction

Onomatopoeia has always been enigmatic to the researchers of language. It creates a link between the seemingly isolated universe of human language and the rest of the world in its diverse manifestations.

Even Ferdinand de Saussure, one of the founders of modern linguistics admitted (Saussure, 2006: 81) that onomatopoeic words were a hindrance to the otherwise perfect theory of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign. Such words considerably 'spoiled' the impeccable picture where form and meaning existed independently of each other and nomination was a mere convention.

Ever since the appearance of Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale* onomatopoeia

has been an 'unwanted child' of structuralism, and later of the domineering theory of generative grammar. The notion of existence of nonconventional, natural link between sound and meaning simply doesn't fit into these theories.

These notions result in the marginalization of onomatopoeic words and create a view that they are nothing but linguistic oddities, peculiar items in the Cabinet of Curiosities of modern linguistics.

In the present article I challenge this view and aim to show how evolutionary processes in the language obscure originally onomatopoeic words, making their originally imitative nature invisible for the present-day researchers.

Theoretical framework

It is impossible to speak about onomatopoeia without mentioning *iconicity*. ‘Iconicity’ is a term belonging to the realm of semiotics. It describes a relation between sign and its object as a relation of *similarity*.

The semiotic triad *image – icon – symbol* was first introduced by Charles Sanders Peirce (Peirce, 2018) and later applied to the human language. The vast majority of the present-day words are symbols (arbitrary relation between sign and its object, or word form and its denotatum); and onomatopoeic words – which are a minority – are linguistic icons.

Studies of linguistic iconism now encompass general theoretical problems of linguistic sign (Jakobson, Waugh, 1979; Jespersen, 1933; Wescott, 1980), studies on reduplication (Rozhanskii, 2011; Moreno Cabrera, 2017), sound symbolism (Abelin, 1999; Hinton et al., 1994; Kuzmich, 1993; Marchand, 1959; Slonitskaia, 1987; Bartens, 2000), onomatopoeia (Voeltz et al., 2001; Voronin, 1998; Lapkina, 1979; Shliakhova, 1991; Veldi, 1988) and other related issues (Anderson, 1998; Voronin, 2005, Voronin, 2006; Gazov-Ginzberg, 1965; Kankiia, 1988; Dingemanse and Akita, 2017).

Over the past decades appeared several specialized dictionaries of onomatopoeic words (Taylor, 2007; Flaksman, 2016; Written Sound, 2018; Iconicity Atlas, 2018) and the studies of onomatopoeic lexicons in different languages are gaining ground.

On the whole, the growing bulk of data from languages of different language families is paving the way for the re-examination of the role played by iconicity in the human language.

Problem statement

Despite the continuous appearance of books and articles on onomatopoeia in various languages (see the paragraph above), most of these works deal with the synchronous level of language, rarely taking into account diachronic problems of onomatopoeia (outstanding exceptions to this tendency see – Brodovich, 2008; Joseph, 1997; Liberman, 2010; Malkiel, 1990). Yet diachronic approach gives a new insight into the nature of onomatopoeia.

In the present paper we continue the discussion we started in (Flaksman, 2015; Flaksman, 2017) and describe how regular sound changes affect English onomatopoeic word, focusing on the five main sub-classes of imitative words – instants, continuants, frequentatives, instants-continuants and frequentatives-instants-continuants (see Voronin, 2006: 39).

Methods

Methods applied in the present research are historical-comparative method, etymological analysis and the method of phonosemantic analysis (introduced in Voronin, 2006: 87).

The method of phonosemantic analysis is a combination of etymological investigation and typological comparison which takes into account such salient iconic traits as reduplication (e. g. E. *clap-clap*), syllable-lengthening (E. *baa-a-a*), expressive ablaut (e. g. E. *tick-tock, flip-flop*), metathesis, expressive gemination, etc. (Voronin, 2006, *op. cit.*: 91).

The method is used when there is a need to establish or verify the iconic origin of a word, and, therefore, in the present study is used supplementary.

Stanislav Voronin’s classification of onomatopoeic words

For the purposes of the present article I briefly describe the classification of onomatopoeic words designed by S. V. Voronin (Voronin, 2006). His classification is based upon a comparison of the oscillogram recordings of speech sounds and the sounds of the natural world.

According to Voronin (Voronin, 2006, *op. cit.*: 39), onomatopoeic words are classified into five major categories: three pure – *instants*, *continuants*, *frequentatives* and two mixed – *instants-continuants* and *frequentatives-instants-continuants*. Here are the main characteristics of these sub-classes of onomatopoeic words:

- ***Instants*** imitate pulse-like natural sounds via usage of plosives;
- ***Continuants*** imitate prolonged tones or noises via usage of 1) (long) vowels or 2) fricatives and/or sibilants;
- ***Frequentatives*** imitate vibratory dissonance-like sounds via trills;

- **Instants-continuants** imitate sounds which combine the traits of pulses and tones;
- **Frequentatives-instants-continuants** (FIC) designate sounds combining the traits of dissonances, pulses and tones.

Thus, examples of instants in English will be *tap*, *tick*, *clap*, *pip*. Here the plosive nature of /b/, /p/ acoustically reflects intense natural sounds of short duration. To tonal continuants belong *hoot* and *peep*; to noise continuants – *sizzle* and *hiss*. To the sub-class of frequentatives belong *purr* and *chirr* (historically /pʊr/ and /ʃɪr/). Examples of instants-continuants are *plump*, *clash*, *flap* and *slump*; of frequentatives-instants-continuants – *crash*, *rush* and *scream*.

The given division of onomatopoeic words into these categories is based on the comparison of acoustic characteristics of the phonemes (as they are pronounced in speech) with the acoustic characteristics of natural sounds.

Phonosemantically significant regular sound changes

The nature of sound changes is very elusive. Small changes like grains of sand in an hour-glass slowly make a huge difference. Therefore, one can't draw a strict line and say that yesterday the word was more iconic than today because a sound change has happened overnight.

In addition to that, not all regular sound changes of a language are equally 'dangerous' for imitative words.

For example, in the word *tap* 'a light blow or knock' two plosives iconically denote abrupt sounds they have acoustic similarity to, and the vowel between them is positioned to avoid forming a vowelless syllable **tp*. Therefore, any potential sound change affecting this vowel is less 'drastic' from the standpoint of phonosemantics than any change touching upon either of the consonants.

In order to differentiate the regular sound changes I proposed to classify them into *phonosemantically significant* and *phonosemantically insignificant* (Flaksman, 2015: 93).

To be considered phonosemantically significant a sound change should:

- touch upon salient, meaning-bearing phonemes of an iconic word;

- change the original phonotype of a phoneme (e. g. plosives);
- take place when the word still retains its original sound-meaning link.

When and only when these three conditions, as explained below, are fulfilled, a sound change can be pronounced phonosemantically significant.

Condition 1

In order to establish which of the phonemes constituting an imitative word bear the specific, mimetic meaning, one should consult either S. V. Voronin's universal classification of onomatopoeic words or the basic description of iconic lexemes, like we did with *tap*.

In case the sound change occurs in the words of corresponding iconic classes and touches upon respective phonemes it may be regarded as phonosemantically significant (if conditions 2 and 3 are fulfilled as well).

For instance, the vocalization of /r/ which started in the 16th century in the British English and touched upon *snore* (an imitative word belonging to the FIC class) made /r/ (the meaning-bearing phoneme) lose its acoustic quality necessary for denoting a coarse vibrating sound heard when someone breathes through nose and mouth while asleep. At present, *snore* is pronounced /snɔ:/ and its form is far less capable for miming its meaning. Note, that in other languages the notion *to snore* is conveyed through related and unrelated words, containing R of one quality or other (Russ. *xpanemʹ* /xrapetʹ/, Germ. *schnarchen*, Sp. *roncar*, It. *ronfare*, *russare*).

The meaning-bearing phonemes for different classes of imitative words are listed above with special reference to English (see Table 1).

Condition 2

Not all sound changes can have a significant impact on iconic words even if examined separately, disregarding Condition 1. For instance, the a>æ change (acknowledged by most of the linguists) cannot be phonosemantically significant, as acoustic characteristics of both sounds are more or less similar (both vowels are lax, low and front).

There is a want of appropriate examples in the history of the English language, as /æ/ sound

Table 1. Meaning-Bearing Phonemes According to Subclasses of Onomatopoeic Words (In English)

Onomatopoeic Words				
Phonosemantic Class		Phonotypes, meaning-bearing phonemes belong to	Meaning-bearing phonemes in English	Examples
Instants		plosives and affricates	/p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/ and /tʃ/, /dʒ/	<i>tap, knock, blip</i>
Continuants	Pure Tones	(long/tense) vowels	/u:/, /a:/, /i:/, /ɔ:/ + historical long vowels and modern diphthongs	<i>hoot, screech</i>
	Pure Noises	sibilants, fricatives	/s/, /z/, /ʒ/, /ʃ/, /θ/, /ð/, /f/, /v/	<i>fizz, flash</i>
Frequentatives		R (vibr. or other)	/r/	historically <i>chirr</i>
Instants-Continuants		plosives + sibilants, fricatives	/p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/ + /s/, /z/, /ʒ/, /ʃ/, /θ/, /ð/, /f/, /v/	<i>flap, thump, clash</i>
FIC		plosives + sibilants, fricatives + R	/p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/ + /s/, /z/, /ʒ/, /ʃ/, /θ/, /ð/, /f/, /v/ + /r/	<i>thrum</i>

does not happen to be a chief ‘carrier’ of the iconic meaning in any types of imitative words (see Table 1), and therefore Condition 2 cannot be fulfilled while Condition 1 is fulfilled. The a>æ sound change occurring in such imitative words like *flap* and *brattle*, is not phonosemantically significant because it doesn’t touch upon meaning-bearing phonemes (in this case phonesthemes) *br-* and *fl-* (Condition 1 is not fulfilled) and because it doesn’t change the phonotype of concerned phoneme (Condition 2 is not fulfilled as well).

Condition 3

A sound change cannot be phonosemantically significant if it occurs after the loss of the word’s original meaning. In this case, the sound-meaning correlation is already destroyed and the word is no longer iconic. The only harm such sound change can make is to complicate the etymologist’s work, as the task of unraveling the iconic origins becomes more and more difficult with every sound change.

Let’s consider, for example, the v>ʌ change happening in the 17th century in the word *lunch*, originally a denotation of the chewing motion accompanied by a munching sound. The sound change cannot bear any effect whatsoever on the sound-meaning correlation of the word – by the time the sound changed started the word had already lost its original sound-related meaning and the new one – ‘a type of meal’ – had but arbitrary connection to its form.

Some remarks on the classification

It should be noted that *one and the same regular sound change can be phonosemantically significant for one word while not so for other*. For instance, v>ʌ sound change that occurred in the English language in the 17th century was phonosemantically significant for *bubble*, a sound symbolic word, denoting a round object, as it has broken the labial cluster /bvb-/, that iconically copied the articulation (for the discussion of iconicity in denotation of round objects – see Slonitskaia, 1987). The same regular sound change (v>ʌ in the 17th century) was not phonosemantically significant for such word as *scrub*, another FIC. The main meaning-bearing phoneme for words of such type is /r/, and the sound change affecting /v/ has no effect on the iconic sound-sense correlation ‘a harsh, scraping sound’: /r/’s acoustic characteristics.

Phonosemantically significant regular sound changes of the English language

The research has shown that the phonosemantically significant sound changes of the British English are (on condition that they have taken place not after the loss of the original meaning):

- **r-vocalization** in the 16th century – for all frequentatives (as in *chirr* where /r/ conveyed a shrill trilled sound, missing in modern pronunciation /tʃɜ:/); for all FIC groups (as in *snore* – see above); for for individual iconic words where the quality of preceding vowel changes significantly

as well (as in *squirm*, where the vowel's pitch lowers in the course of r-vocalization);

- **Great Vowel Shift** (predominantly i:>ai and u:>au changes) – for continuants (pure tones) where change of vowel quality or its diphthongization are phonosemantically significant (as in *howl* (ME /hu: lən/) where u:>au change transformed /u:/ sound which is most suitable for denoting a low-frequency wail characteristic of a wolf or a hound);

- **u>a change** in the 17th century – for several onomatopoeic words (e. g. *bumble*, *fuzz*, *mutter*);

- **other regular sound changes** occurring rarely in individual iconic words – e. g. the loss of initial /k/ in *knock* is phonosemantically significant because the sound belongs to the phonotype 'plosives' and the word is an instant according to the Voronin's classification.

Thus, regular sound changes gradually obscure the iconic sound-sense link between originally existing in every onomatopoeic word, making it invisible to the present day investigation.

Conclusions and discussion

Iconicity loss is a gradual process, invisible to the eye, but evident from the diachronic perspective. Every new generation of speakers alters the sound shape of onomatopoeic words unconsciously using patterns of sound change existing in their language. Accumulation of such

changes leads to the weakening of the sound-sense link which, on the first place, makes onomatopoeic words iconic, that is, easily recognizable as bright, vivid allusions to the sounds of nature. Some regular sound changes forcibly accelerate the process of iconicity loss, as they touch upon the most salient phonemes used in sound imitation.

In order to outline these changes in the history of a particular language one should, first of all, turn to the study of the structures of onomatopoeic words of this language. Whereas patterns of imitation show a striking similarity across languages of different families, varying phonemic inventories and rules of phonotactics add to accumulation of language specific traits in onomatopoeia. Upon establishing the 'key' phonemes in the onomatopoeic words' structure one can turn to the regular sound changes and see whether these changes alter the phonotypes of the phonemes in question and whether they take place before the word has lost its original meaning via metaphor and metonymy. After these procedures one can decide whether the changes have been phonosemantically significant or not.

The proposed approach to the examination of regular sound changes sheds light to the hidden history of onomatopoeic words and reveals that the role they play in the obscuring traces of iconicity in the language should not be underestimated.

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Corpus-based Contrastive Study of Discursive Strategy of Construing Interpersonal Relations in English Language Academic Discourse

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Abstract. Based on comparison of two corpora, BE2006 sub-corpus of learned (academic) prose and corpus of English language texts written by Russian scholars compiled by the authors, the article seeks to find out differences in interpersonal relations as they are construed in English-language L1 and English as a foreign language academic discourse. The study focuses on the use of the first person plural pronoun that being a genre convention admits exclusive and inclusive uses in their reference and represents culturally determined discursive strategy of construing communicative categories of solidarity, credibility, politeness, etc. Applying corpus methodology, the authors intend to reveal if there is a statistically significant difference in the frequencies of the first person plural pronoun, and what the use of the first person plural pronoun reveals about interpersonal relations within the compared data from academic discourses under study. Although the statistical tests did not indicate significant differences in the frequency of the pronoun in the contrasted corpora, qualitative analysis of the discourse data revealed that in the EFL corpus inclusive we is employed to persuade the addressee to share and accept the author's arguments whereas in the BE2006 corpus it is used to construe solidarity based on common background, shared beliefs and opinions.

Keywords: discourse, academic discourse, corpus, corpus methodology, English language, CQPWeb, AntConc.

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Корпусное контрастивное исследование дискурсивной стратегии конструирования межличностной интеракции в англоязычном академическом дискурсе

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Аннотация. Основываясь на сравнительном анализе двух корпусов письменной академической речи, подкорпуса научной речи BE2006 и собственного корпуса научных статей российских авторов, написанных на английском языке, в статье выявляем различия в дискурсивной стратегии конструирования межличностной интеракции участников дискурса. В фокусе анализа находится частотность использования местоимения первого лица множественного числа, которое, будучи конвенцией жанра, в референциальном отношении обладает инклюзивным и эксклюзивным значениями и репрезентирует культурно обусловленные коммуникативные категории солидарности, достоверности, вежливости и т. д. Используя корпусную методологию, авторы определяют и сравнивают частотность использования местоимения в анализируемых корпусах, демонстрируют специфику дискурсивного конструирования межличностного взаимодействия участников научного дискурса. Несмотря на то, что статистические тесты не показали значимых различий в частотности использования указанного местоимения, качественный анализ дискурса выявил, что в текстах корпуса научной речи русскоязычных авторов инклюзивное *we* используется в дискурсивной стратегии убеждения адресата принять точку зрения автора, в то время как в подкорпусе научной речи BE2006 инклюзивные местоимения употребляются в дискурсивной стратегии репрезентации солидарности, основанной на апелляции к общим фоновым знаниям, убеждениям, ценностям и мнениям.

Ключевые слова: дискурс, академический дискурс, корпус, корпусная методология, английский язык, CQPWeb, AntConc.

Исследования финансировались Российским фондом фундаментальных исследований и правительством Волгоградской области, грант № 18-412-340007.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

Introduction

Based within the framework of discourse theory, the study focuses on the use of the first person plural pronoun that is a means of construing interpersonal relations in academic prose by English L1 and Russian authors who uses English as a foreign language. To date, qualitative research is reinforced by corpus methodology as the advanced field that relies on statistical

measures, thus providing reliability in revealing important patterns in the data. Corpus-based approach can give precise and accurate picture of how language is used across various genres, text types and registers. As genre conventions vary across countries, and texts produced in English by non-L1 speakers often incorporate linguistic features characteristic of their academic culture into foreign language writing, overuse/underuse

features because of lack of linguistic competence or employ different discursive strategies to build relationships between participants of the communicative act that are socially and culturally marked.

Employing the corpus-based approach to compute and compare the use of linguistic features, prior studies have found that English as first language and EFL writing differs in many different ways. Research has been done on differences and similarities in the use of linking adverbials, modal verbs, conjunctions, collocations and lexical bundles (Altenberg, Granger, 2001; Martin, 2003; Gao, 2016; Yang, 2018; Siyanova & Schmitt, 2008; Chen, 2010). Studies compare and contrast academic texts produced by non-English speakers from many parts of the world and English as L1 writers.

The study of academic English papers written by authors with Russian as L1 is a relatively new field of research, and few papers have been published on the topic. Based on extensive linguistic corpus data that cover 10, 000 paper titles authored by native Russian and English speakers, N. K. Ryabtseva investigates the titles of academic papers written by Russian scholars as compared to native language speakers. The study reveals cross-cultural incongruence between the corpora that arises from word-for-word translation of paper titles from Russian into English that often fails to map standard stylistic patterns characteristic to academic English. Among other reasons that account for the difference, conventions of academic genres in the two languages are mentioned. The Russian academic style uses rather extended titles with (multiple) abstract nouns, genitive constructions, etc., incorporated into a single noun group whereas the English academic style prefers a two-part title pattern, which, in its turn, employs the *and*-conjunction, a colon, non-finite forms of the verb, prepositions, interrogative constructions, etc. (Ryabtseva, 2018). In a comprehensive contrastive research of two broad classes of discourse markers, namely organisers and regulators, E. Yu. Viktorova revealed significant differences in the English and Russian academic discourse, of which the latter underuses linking elements of both types to a certain extent (Viktorova, 2015). Based on frequency of linguistic features that indicate writ-

er's stances, namely the researcher, the opinion holder, and the representative, O. Krapivkina compared papers written in English and in Russian. It was found that Russian authors preferred first-person plural pronouns, the third person and agentless passives while English language writers used both first-person singular and plural, agentless constructions, third person with human reference, and personified point of view constructions (Krapivkina, 2015). Although the studies mentioned provide some quantitative data and the results seem plausible, they can hardly be validated as the authors do not employ corpus methodology.

Being spatio-spatial indicators of discourse, personal pronouns belong to the realm of interpersonal relations as they indicate participants within a communicative act, and are used for various pragmatic purposes representing communicative categories like politeness, cooperation, academic modesty, solidarity, credibility, ideological stance and social status. First person plural pronoun *we* admits inclusive and exclusive uses in their reference. In linguistics, *clusivity* is understood as semantic distinction between contextual meanings of the first person plural pronoun that influences verbal morphology. The meaning of *we* can be decomposed as follows: inclusive *we* means *I + you* (sing.) or *I + you* (plural), while exclusive *we* means *I + he/she*; *I + they* (Clair, 1973). Taking quantitative data as a starting point for a study, the paper seeks to reveal the underlying complex relations between language and people as they are construed in academic discourse by writers with English as L1 and English as a foreign language. Since discourse patterns are thought to be culturally determined (Salager-Meyer, 1998), interpersonal discourse strategies may differ as they are influenced by the writers' cultural background.

Statement of the problem and methods

Based on the corpus methodology to the study of 'language in use', we use a comparative research design, which is a very common scientific procedure, in which we compare two or more samples to establish whether there is a difference between them, and addresses the following research questions: 1. Does the writing produced by

English academic authors and Russian scholars using English for Academic Purposes contain significantly different frequencies in the use of the first person plural pronoun? 2. In what ways do English and Russian academic authors use these features differently in the context of their writing, and what do these differences reveal about interpersonal relations between discourse participants?

To conduct the study, we compiled a corpus of articles written in English by Russian language authors comprising 85 texts with the total number of words 316,716. To bring out similarities and differences with English as L1 academic writing, we chose British English 2006 corpus of written English and restricted our search to the sub-corpus of learned (academic) prose that consists of 80 texts with the total number 182,121 words (Table 1). We used the functionality of the CQPweb to extract data from the corpus (Hardie, 2012). To process the EFL corpus, we employed *AntConc* software tool (Lawrence, 2018). Statistical tests and visualization techniques were performed by using Lancaster statistic tools online (Brezina, 2018).

Corpus structure

The corpus of EFL academic writing consisted of articles written by Russian authors in English and published in the online editions of open access journals. The corpus included texts dealing with a wide range of scientific topics, such as engineering, natural sciences, art and

humanities, social sciences, education and medicine. The articles were chosen randomly and the number of texts per journal has been adjusted according to the periodical's impact.

When comparing different corpora, making informed statistical choices is an essential skill ensuring *reliability* (i. e. how consistently and systematically the study analyses data) and *validity* of a quantitative study (i. e. how closely the study reflects linguistic and social reality) (Brezina, 2018). We have to make decisions about appropriate statistical tests to perform in order to find out whether variation in occurrences is accidental or it signals a certain difference with respect to the corpora under investigation. At the next step, the data obtained from discourse were subject to statistical tests and visualized using online stat tools (Brezina, 2018) to immediately spot statistically significant differences between the groups. Qualitative analysis of the discourse data was performed with the focus on the discursive strategies spectively of the findings.

Discussion

To answer research questions, normalized frequencies for the first person plural pronoun were computed for each of the corpora and for each category within the corpora. The Table 2 shows absolute and normalized frequencies of the first person plural pronoun in the corpora under investigation.

As the data demonstrate, the compared corpora do not indicate statistically significant

Table 1. Comparison of learned (academic) prose sub-corpus of BE2006 and academic prose English as a foreign language academic prose corpus

	Learned (academic) BE2006	English as a foreign language academic prose corpus (EFL)
The number of texts	80	85
Average words per sample	2, 276.51	3, 726.07
Total number of words	182, 121	316, 716

Table 2. Frequency of the first person plural pronoun we in the compared corpora

Part-of-speech tags	BE2006 (learned (academic))		EFL	
	AF	NF	AF	NF
Pronoun we	402	2, 201.83	1090	3, 170.94

differences in the use of the first person plural pronoun. To further investigate how interpersonal relationship are construed in English L1 and EFL texts, we computed normalized frequencies for the first person plural pronoun across different categories of texts and analysed contexts to spot inclusive and exclusive meanings (Table 3).

To explore the trends in the data in greater depth, Fig. 1 displays the information from the table in the form of a boxplot. The boxplot shows the distribution of a linguistic feature (the first

person plural pronoun) in each category of texts (marked by circles in the graph). The box itself delineates 50 per cent of the values in the distribution, while the ‘whiskers’ extending from the box show the minimum and the maximum values with the exception of outliers. i. e. very distant values from the rest of the group. The long thick horizontal line shows the middle value (median), and the short horizontal line represents the mean. This form of a box plot is an informationally rich presentation of data distribution and the group tendency.

Table 3. Normalised frequencies of the first person plural pronoun *we* across the BE2006 and EFL corpus

Type of text	BE2006 (academic prose)			EFL		
	we	Inclusive	Exclusive	we	Inclusive	Exclusive
Art&Humanities	2835.75	252.06	2530.63	4045.06	925.80	3119.25
Education	3928.57	2232.14	1696.42	2481.97	838.50	1626.69
Medicine	2290.67	194.95	2046.03	5144.70	837.42	4306.73
Natural Sciences	1214.08	73.58	1434.87	4678.18	641.36	4565.00
Social Sciences	1632.33	165.30	1425.73	2009.58	490.71	1295.19
Technical	2083.51	354.67	1640.36	3434.19	185.63	3434.19

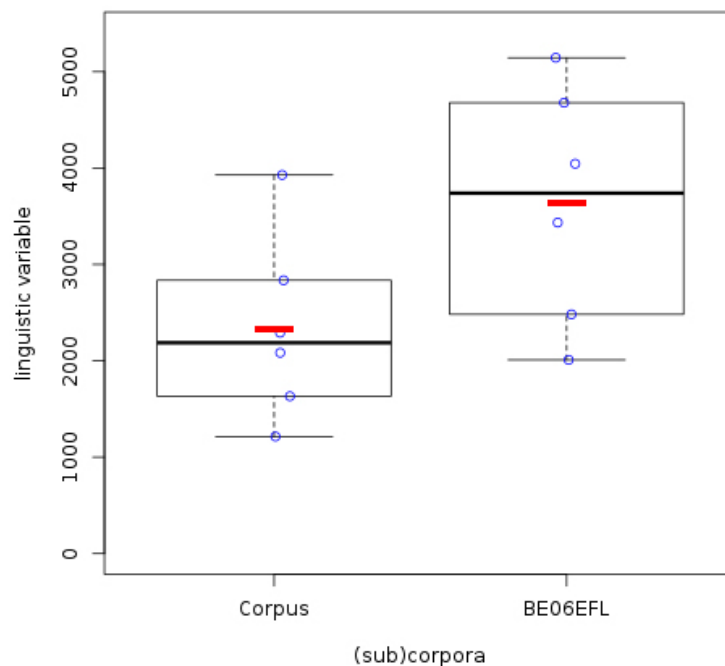


Fig. 1. The distribution of the pronoun *we* in BE2006 and the EFL corpus

Further analysis was carried out to reveal differences in the use of inclusive and exclusive meanings of *we* across the corpora. To answer empirical question about what the data have to say about the topic of our interest, at the most basic level we need to provide an overview of the key tendencies in the data. A mean is the summary statistics of the central tendency in the data and standard deviation represents the distribution of individual values relative to the mean. The mean for inclusive use of the first person plural pronoun in the EFL corpus is 653.23, standard deviation is 278.47. The mean for exclusive use of the first person plural pronoun is 3057.84 and standard deviation is 1351.42. As we see, the mean is fairly good representation of the central tendency in the group because the standard deviation is small relative to the mean. In the BE2006 the mean for inclusive use of the first person plural pronoun is 583.60, standard deviation is 923.81. The mean for exclusive use of the first person plural pronoun is 1795.67 and standard deviation is 425.17. As we see, the mean for exclusive use of the first person

plural pronoun is fairly good representation of the central tendency in the group because the standard deviation is small relative to the mean. However, in case of inclusive meaning standard deviation is much larger than the mean because of the large amount of variation between groups of texts.

Visual representation of the data can be demonstrated by using error bars plot that shows an interval within which the mean value for the group is likely to appear in 95 per cent of the samples taken from the same population. Large overlap on the error bar plot indicates that there is no statistically significant difference in the use of the first person plural pronoun between the corpora. As Fig. 2 shows, statistically significant differences in the use of inclusive and exclusive meanings of *we* in the EFL corpus are indicated by non-overlapping error bars. Slightly overlapping error bars, as is the case with inclusive and exclusive meanings in the BE2006 corpus, can still be statistically significant. However, no statistically significant differences are observed in the use of inclusive and exclusive meanings

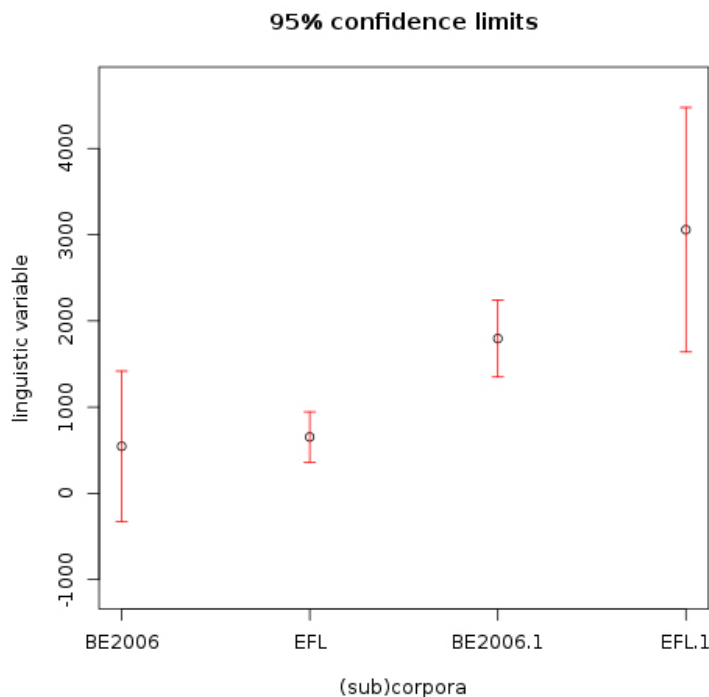


Fig. 2. Error bar plot for inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronoun in the EFL corpus and BE2006 corpus

of the first person plural pronoun between the corpora.

Close analysis of concordances lines shows that in the EFL corpus *inclusive* meaning of the personal pronoun *we* is found in the following: (as) *we can see...*, *we can assume...*, *we can/cannot (definitely) say...*, (as) *we can/may observe...*, (as) *we observe...*, *we (can) find here...*, *we might suggest that, we can trace...*, *we (can) face, (as) we know/realize...*, *we can identify...*, etc. Using the pronoun *we* followed by a modal verb and a lexical verb, the discursive strategy is aimed to involve the reader in the course of his arguments, thus making him an active proponent of his point of view. E.g.: *As we can see from the examples, these basic national values have 'umbrella' conceptual metaphors reflecting the presidential vision of the country and its development (dual we). Comparing English and Russian folklore world views, we can identify some similarities and differences.*

In the EFL corpus discursive strategy that makes use of *inclusive we* also refers to the addressee as a member of national community, or as a member of 'academic community', with which the author identifies themselves. E.g.: *Nowadays we are facing a problem of PSA effectiveness because it becomes difficult to attract attention to the definite social problem.*

Discursive strategy in the learned prose of the BE2006 corpus employs *inclusive we* in the similar ways (*we can see, we have seen, we see*), but it also tends to use *inclusive* meaning in general statements, communicative acts of warning, rhetorical questions, which indicate a range of pragmatic functions and serve to establish common background, appeal to common values and beliefs, introduce a topic for research, express politeness. Eg. *Using the terms differently can be confusing unless we are careful; What do we know about the best balance of caring and working? Indeed, we DO know one very good reason...*

Close study of concordances lines with *exclusive we* in the EFL corpus shows that it is observed in constructions with stative/non-action verbs, mostly mental such as *we focused on the period...*, *we assume that there is a correlation between...*, *we hypothesize that...*, *we would like to know how our measures...*, *we expect our re-*

sults to reflect..., *we consider the following linear regression model...*, *we think over a question...*, etc.) and *relational (we deal with, we rely upon, we need, ..., etc.)* predicates.

Exclusive we is used in predicative constructions with 'action/dynamic' verbs describing the actions taken by researcher/researchers to obtain the results presented in the paper: *we coded commissioned ranks as they appear on...*, *we included 8 lexemes recorded in 71 cases of us...*, *we introduced additional grades for lower ranks...*, *we calculated the mass and volume of basalt...*, *we studied the process of catalytic hydrogenolysis...*, *we used the nanoscale Ru and Ni metallic...*, *we obtained much more accurate results...*, *we applied the fast algorithm for computing...*, *we replaced G by an isogenous group...*, *we collected this species in two localities in...*, *we presented the data from the first description, etc.*

With respect to the use of *exclusive we*, the compared corpora show much less difference, as BE2006 corpus contains contexts with mental predicates such as *believe, think, assume, consider, expect, concentrate etc.* and action/dynamic verbs such as *construct, include, compare, undertake, adopt, etc.* These are employed to state agency through describing stages of research in a report-like style that suggests objectivity and construes credibility in discourse.

Conclusion

Empirical analysis revealed that English L1 and Russian language writing do not show statistically significant differences in the frequency of the first person plural pronoun that is used in discursive strategies to construe interpersonal relations between the participants of a communicative act in academic writing. Statistical tests as well as visual techniques prove that the compared groups of texts are homogeneous as the means indicate central tendency fairly well. However, it was found that with respect to *inclusive* and *exclusive* meanings of the pronoun statistically significant differences are observed both in the EFL corpus and BE2006 corpus.

In pragmatic perspective, *inclusive* meaning represents communicative categories that are likely to be culturally determined. In the BE2006 corpus, discursive strategies with *inclusive we*

perform a much wider range of pragmatic functions than in the EFL corpus, as they are used to construe the interpersonal relations of solidarity based on common background knowledge, shared beliefs and opinions, whereas in the EFL corpus discursive strategies employ inclusive *we* to persuade the addressee to share and accept the author's arguments. Both corpora employ action/dynamic verbs and mental predicates in a report style manner to support arguments and build academic credibility.

The results of research may be useful in teaching academic discourse as it is important to be aware of different pragmatic functions of linguistic means used to verbalize discursive strategies in academic writing. Differences observed in the use of the first person plural pronoun across English and Russian might be also helpful to Russian students and researchers as they need to know the conventions which are favored in EL academic writing.

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Highly Likely: Anthropological Patterns in Perceptions of Probability

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Abstract. The paper addresses relations between probability as a measure of the likelihood that an event will occur and pragmatic functions of «highly likely» hedging device in modern political, legal and social media discourses, particularly in the context of infamous Scripal case in Great Britain in March 2018. On the other hand, «highly likely» pattern is viewed as anthropological linguistic phenomenon in virtual interaction between two high-profile politicians – the British Prime Minister Theresa May and the Foreign Minister of Russia Sergey Lavrov in a situation of political accusation (the native speaker) and diplomatic defense (the actor alternates between two languages). The paper offers an approach to understanding the relationship between social processes and linguistic forms. Besides, five modern language corpora provided database for study of randomly selected contexts («highly likely» concordance), that allows to figure out several reasons of «highly likely» phrases to hedge which do not necessarily relate to probability, but may be applied to avoidance, uncertainty, imprecision, mitigating criticism, and modifying.

Keywords: linguistic anthropology, probability, highly likely, hedging, Scripal case, Sergey Lavrov, Theresa May, fact vs opinion.

Research area: linguistics, corpus linguistics, linguistic anthropology

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Highly likely: антропологические паттерны восприятия вероятности

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Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются отношения между вероятностью как мерой возможности возникновения тех или иных событий и прагматическими функциями лингвистической хеджирующей конструкции «highly likely» в современных политических, правовых и социальных медиа-дискурсах, особенно в контексте пресловутого дела Скрипалей в Великобритании в марте 2018 года. Лингвистический феномен «highly likely» в контексте виртуальной конфронтации двух высокопоставленных политических деятелей современности – британского премьер-министра Т. Мэй и российского министра иностранных дел С. В. Лаврова рассмотрен в антропологических рамках как ситуация политического обвинения на высшем уровне (Мэй, английский язык) и дипломатической защиты (Лавров, переключение английского и русского языковых кодов). Рассматриваемые примеры позволили усилить понимание взаимосвязей между социальными процессами и лингвистическими формами. Контексты из пяти современных языковых корпусов позволили выявить ряд прагматических функций хеджирования, которые не обязательно относятся к области вероятности, но могут быть применены к ситуации уклонения, неопределенности, неточности, смягчения критики и модификации.

Ключевые слова: лингвистическая антропология, вероятность, «highly likely», хеджирование, дело Скрипалей, Сергей Лавров, Тереза Мэй, факт и мнение.

Научная специальность: 10.02.00 – лингвистика, корпусная лингвистика, лингвистическая антропология.

Introduction

Probability is increasingly important for understanding of the world. Successfully working your way through probability issues means understanding some basic rules of probability along with continuous probability distributions in various fields. Many scholars at all times (*Kerrich, 1946; Feller, 1968; Jaynes, 2003; etc.*) were thrilled with the idea of probability. «We use probability when we want to make an affirmation, but are not quite sure,» – the words belong to John Randolph Lucas, a modern British philosopher. Bertrand Russell, a mathematician and Noble laureate pointed out, «Probability is the most important concept in modern science, especially as nobody has the slightest notion what it means.»

There are many interpretations of the word *probability* which involve talk about chances,

odds, uncertainty, prevalence, risks, expectancy, etc. A complete discussion of these interpretations mostly refers to the areas of mathematics (probability theory, Bayesian probability), philosophy (foundations of probability), religion (theistic probability), etc. For many areas of study, *probability* is considered to be the measure of the likelihood of an event happening. Probability is quantified as a number between 0 and 1, with 0 indicating impossibility and 1 indicating certainty. The higher the probability of an event, the more likely it is that the event will occur. An elegant example is the tossing of a fair coin, a popular way of picking a random winner, where the two outcomes – «heads» and «tails» – are both equally probable, with no other options are possible.

The word *probability* itself derives from the Latin *probabilitas*, which can also mean *probity*,

or *soundness*, a measure of the authority of a witness in a legal case in Europe, and often correlated with the witness's nobility. The old usage differs from the modern meaning of *probability*, which, by contrast, is a measurement tool of empirical evidence, and is arrived at from inductive reasoning and statistical inference.

In the English language, the ways to express probability, to say the least, are widely studied, described (Palmer, 1979, 2001; Carter, McCarthy, 2006; Crystal, 1997, etc.) and broadly presented: first of all, these are modal verbs (might, must, cannot, etc.), as well as words and phrases that express possibility and probability (maybe, it's possible, etc.). They also include adjectives *likely* and *unlikely* which are similar in meaning but different grammatically. Some adverbs such as *very*, *quite*, *highly* and *extremely* go before *likely* and *unlikely* to make their meaning, and thus, probability, sound stronger.

On the other hand, all these language units belong to the complex semantic category of hedges, which is associated with unclarity or fuzziness (Lakoff, 1972: 195): «Hedging is a rhetorical strategy. By including a particular term, choosing a particular structure, or imposing a specific prosodic form on the utterance, the speaker signals a lack of a full commitment either to the full category membership of a term or expression in the utterance (content mitigation), or to the intended illocutionary force of the utterance (force mitigation).» (Bruce, 2010: 201).

Probability in modern contexts: the Scripal case

Probability is a frequent visitor in today's fast-paced and complex political environment, where politicians, newsmakers and news consumers often make rapid-fire statements and judgments. International agendas can give strong momentum for unexpected speculations over supposedly common language uses and lead to empirical or critical discourse analysis, and more than that to the interests of linguistic anthropology on what was said or reported. Linguistic anthropology is known to assume that the human language faculty is a cognitive and a social achievement that provides the intellectual tools for thinking and acting in the

world (Duranti, 2002: 8899), and the interface between language and political resources leads to the study of the linguistic dimensions of power and control.

In March 2018, the British government accused Russia of attempted murder of a former double agent Sergei Skripal and his daughter who were poisoned in Salisbury, England, with a so called Novichok nerve agent, according to the official UK sources and the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW). The Prime Minister Theresa May, speaking in the British parliament, delivered a statement on the incident: «...the Government has concluded that it is *highly likely* that Russia was responsible for the act against Sergei and Yulia Skripal.» (PM Commons statement on Salisbury...; italics added). For politicians, language is always a powerful tool to loose or to win, their language is often vague, imprecise, or general, they tend to protect themselves against any future possible criticism (Taweel et al., 2011: 169). The political scandal turned into a series of measures and speculations, including those around «highly likely» words. Name a few, the Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov speaking exclusively to HARDtalk's Stephen Sackur, said: «You have hard talk, ... we want hard facts. And «highly likely» is really ridiculous... [It is] a new invention of the British diplomacy to describe why they punish people – because these people are highly likely guilty, like in *Alice in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll – when he described a trial. And when they discovered that the jury could be engaged, then the King said «Let's ask the jury» and the Queen shouted «No jury! Sentence first – verdict afterwards.» That's the logic of *highly likely*.» (Lavrov, March 2018). In numerous interviews and official comments, Lavrov switches English-Russian language codes, talks again and again about the «infamous «highly likely» approach» (Lavrov, May 2018) and does not mince his words: «Now this «highly likely» thing is becoming contagious. The assertion... in the same vein: «highly likely» and we are not given any single fact.» (Lavrov, July 2018). In this manner, it became impossible to get different actors from different cultures to agree upon the same perception on the «highly likely» degree of probability.

In the meantime, Russian social network users created a hashtag #HighlyLikelyRussia to highlight their attitude to the claims of the British Prime Minister, which indicated that «highly likely» statements do not add trust in the received information (<https://twitter.com/hashtag/highlylikelyrussia>; <https://www.instagram.com/explore/tags/highlylikelyrussia/?hl=en>).

However, some news consumers attempt to give a deeper insight into the English language peculiarities in sense of the «highly likely» expression. Boris Maksimov of the BBC's Russian Service makes out that the Englishman's «highly likely» means that he is 99.99 % sure that what happened really took place (Maksimov, 2018). Nikolay Voronin, the BBC's Multimedia Editor, lumps together factual and opinion statements and revoices that many language forms «do not have adequate translation into Russian due to the difference of cultures» and in the first instance, the «Great British Art of Understatement». In his blog, Voronin goes on that «when an Englishman says «highly likely», it should be understood unambiguously: it is no «possible», but confirmed, or dead right, absolute truth, all the facts indicate that.» (Voronin, 2018).

Still, not everyone sees problems in such cases, and answering the question «What is the best approach to inter-culturality in a society with people from different origins and languages?», Romero-Trillo cites Istvan Kecskes: «...inter-cultural communication [is] a *normal success-and-failure* process rather than a collision of cultures.» (Romero-Trillo, 2014: 621).

At the same time, a Canadian educator Jim Miles, in his comments on the UN Security Council discussion about the Skripal case, sees a legal dodge and lack of alternate explanations in the «official» UK theory, and advances a different opinion about the «highly likely» use in this context, that is «a reflection of the British judicial system in that «only a court can finally determine culpability» but the case has not reached the court yet (Miles, 2018).

In 2018, outside the Skripal context, the Sherman-Kent School, USA, provided the study based on the data gathered from Reddit's/r/sample-size community, that is opinions of people of all ages from around the globe (Perceptions of probability and numbers, 2018) (Fig. 1). The

study revealed 17 overlapping degrees of probability perceptions, from the degree «chances are slight» to «almost certainly», with «highly likely» on the sixteenth position.

In summary, the «*highly likely*» can give a substantial food for thought not only for politicians, and wide public, but for linguistic anthropologists as well. Language plays a crucial role in mediating differences in power between speakers. In an anthropological approach, language is seen as permeable to social situations and social roles while at the same time helping to define those situations and roles (Duranti, 2002: 8902).

Facts vs opinions

These findings and speculations lead to the simple question: How likely is highly likely? – 99.99 %? Less? More? What is the degree of probability? Does probability here measure the real, physical tendency of something to occur, i. e. facts, or is it a measure of how strongly one believes it will occur, i. e. opinions, or does it draw on both these elements? Being able to distinguish between fact and opinion helps to discern the reliability of the acquired bits of information, which can be presented as facts when they may be just an opinion. It may seem at first that differences are easy to recognise, however, it is not the case. The main distance between fact and opinion is the capacity to be proved or disproved by objective evidence (Mitchel et al., 2018: 4). In general, fact and opinion can be compared by a number of references: type of text, verifiability, objectivity, changeability (Table 1).

Coming back to the British Prime Minister's statement, it can be regarded as a piece of official information presented as having objective reality, on the one hand, and still has not been proved with evidence, does not look neutral and unchangeable, particularly because of the «highly likely» phrase, on the other side. The phrase as such might belong to the complexity of the meanings of the hedging devices and mean that the author wants the public to know that by now she does not claim to have the final word on the subject. She is confidently uncertain, and intentionally uses noncommittal and ambiguous statement with a very high perception of probability.

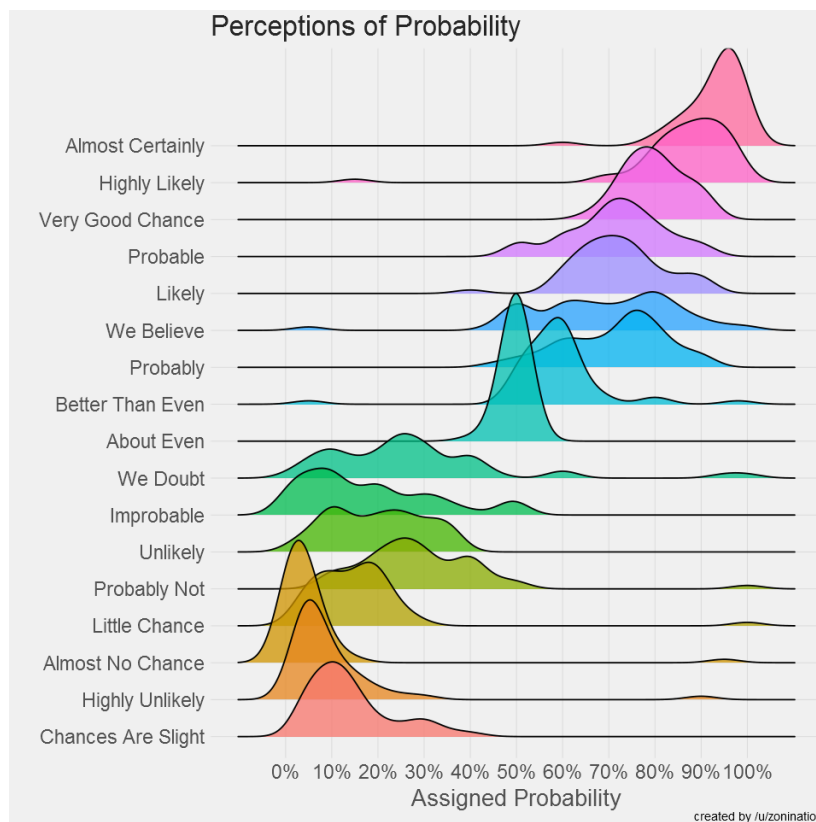


Fig. 1. Perception of Probability: Study of the Sherman-Kent School, USA

Table 1. Fact versus opinion

Reference	Fact	Opinion
Type of text	Piece of information presented as having objective reality	View or judgment about something
Verifiability	Can be proved or verified with evidence	Cannot be proved with evidence
Objectivity	Objective and neutral	Personal and subjective
Changeability	Does not change	May differ according to different people

Corpora for the «highly-likely» study

The best instruments to investigate the character of «highly-likely» phrase can be provided by modern corpora means and opportunities. For this small research, large resources of the five modern corpora were used:

1. The British National Corpus (BYU-BNC), a completed project, a famous 100-million electronic collection of samples of modern British English of a wide range of genres from the later part of the 20th century.

2. The iWeb corpus, the largest collection containing 14 billion words in 22 million webpages. Chosen for a large amount of recent data.

3. CORE: Corpus of Online Registers of English which contains more than 50 million words of text from the web. Unlike other corpora from the web, which are just big «blobs» of data, this is the first large web-based corpus that is carefully categorized into many different registers.

4. The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) is the largest freely-available corpus of English, and the only large and balanced corpus of American English. COCA contains more than 560 million words of text, 20 million words each year 1990–2017, and is probably the most widely-used corpus of English.

5. The British Law Report Corpus (BLaRC), an 8.85 million-word legal corpus of 1,228 judicial decisions issued between 2008 and 2010 by British courts and tribunals. The BLaRC is structured into five main sections reflecting the different jurisdictions of the British judicial system. Chosen as a special corpus, fundamental for identification of the specialised vocabulary of the legal English genre.

To get a clearer sense, we need to apply to detailed study of the corpora transcripts, in conjunction with some basic techniques such as keyword listing, frequency analysis and concordancing. All the five corpora give a representative amount of «highly-likely» entries, with salient 13,492 instances in the largest corpus (Table 2).

Numerous examples of «highly-likely» entries ranging across degrees of probability or certainty shed light on how appreciation of what is reported can be created or constrained in different situations, as well as on pragmatic functions of the hedging device:

1) «... the United States in the late 1960s consistently opposed an increase in the official price of gold. It is **highly likely** that there was no possible adjustment to the gold price in the 1960s which would have ensured an adequate flow of gold into the reserves of the USA and other countries.» (Source: BNC, retrieved from

Harrison, J. et al. *Capitalism since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

Possible pragmatic function: the author expressed uncertainty and imprecision when the precise information was not available.

2) «... as Eisenhower later publicly admitted, on 17 March Washington took the decision to prepare an invasion of Cuba (*The New York Times*, 13 June 1961, p. 18). Whilst there is no conclusive proof, it seems **highly likely** that this piece of information would have reached Castro's ears soon after.» (Source: BNC, retrieved from Miller, N. *Soviet relations with Latin America*. Cambridge: CUP, 1989) «No conclusive proof» does not expect confirmed truth.

«Whilst there is no conclusive proof» tells about lack of information, the author demonstrates imprecision.

3) «Scotland's first minister has said a second independence referendum is **highly likely** after the UK voted to leave the EU.» (Source: iWeb, retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-36621030>).

The minister mitigates direct criticism and incitement.

4) «It is **highly likely** that the decision of the governors of Altrincham Grammar School for Girls to suspend two Muslim girls who wished to wear head scarves to school for being in breach of school uniform rules would also have been unlawful.» (Source: BNC, retrieved from Johnstone, S. et al. *The legal context of teaching*. UK, Longman, 1992).

The pragmatic function is as in sample 3.

5) «The whole plot would have been vastly over elaborate, required far too many people in on it and would have been **highly likely** to go

Table 2. Representation of «highly-likely» phrases in selected corpora

Corpus	Size in words	Issue years	Size in «highly-likely» entries
BNC	100 mln	1880s-1993	70
iWeb	14 bln	released in May 2018, ongoing	13,492
CORE	50 mln	2013–2016	94
COCA	500 mln	1990 – ongoing	259
BLaRC	8.85 mln	2008–2010	735 documents matched the query, both <i>likely</i> and <i>highly likely</i>

wrong.» (Source: CORE, retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/theeditors/2008/10/caught_up_in_a_conspiracy_theo.html).

Possible pragmatic function: avoiding the author's direct involvement.

6) «*Nicola Sturgeon, Scotland's first minister, said on Friday that a new referendum on independence in Scotland was «highly likely» now that Britain has voted to leave the European Union. Voters rejected an effort to break free from the United Kingdom in a 2014 referendum, but Ms. Sturgeon said Scotland would take measures to protect its place in Europe and maintain access to the single market»* (Source: COCA, retrieved from *New York Times*, 2016–06–24).

Possible pragmatic function: the minister reduces the risk of opposition.

Some instances add factual information to the contexts, thus complimenting to higher degree of certainty:

1) «*Children in their study who had experienced a sexual assault of any kind also were highly likely (97 %) to have been victimized in other ways, such as physical assault, witnessing the assault of another, child maltreatment, and having their property damaged or stolen.»* (Source: COCA, retrieved from Brown S., et al. *Traumatic Symptoms in Sexually Abused Children: Implications for School Counselors. USA: Professional School Counseling*, 2018, Vol. 11).

2) «*When asked whether special education teachers who meet highly qualified requirements are better prepared and more skillful at teaching core academic content than teachers who do not meet those requirements, respondents differed in their perceptions. Teacher educators (n=13) were most likely to agree with that statement (84 % of respondents). Administrators (n=101) were also highly likely to agree with that statement (74 % of respondents). Teachers (n=184) were less likely to agree with that statement (52 % of respondents).»* (Source: COCA, retrieved from *Rural Special Education Quarterly*, 2010, Vol. 29. Issue 3).

«Highly likely» in legal discourses

Interestingly, *highly likely* devices turn to be common in the British legal discourses which refer to the acts of communication used

in the practice of law and are meant to be as objective as possible. The British Law Report Corpus (BLaRC) gives many instances of this type from the court judgments, court decisions on pre-hearing reviews, opinions of the lords of appeal for judgment in the cause, etc.:

1) «*This is highly likely to be a psychotic experience, namely an auditory hallucination.»*

2) «*In all the circumstances it was therefore highly likely the Pursuer, he suggested, would have told the Defenders of his injury when discussing the defect that caused said accident.»*

3) «*Given the nature of the offence, it is highly likely that there will be admissible evidence of the offence.»*

4) «*However, it is highly likely that she is shouldering some of the responsibility for the Defendant's sexual abuse.»*

5) «*It is highly likely that, together with a guilty plea and in mitigation, the Defendant will express remorse and shame for what he has done to B. He is unlikely to give any evidence in the criminal proceedings and is, therefore, unlikely to be challenged.»*

6) «*I accept that it is highly likely that JB was chaotically abusing heroin at the time at which JJ suffered his injuries.»*

(Source: BLaRC, all retrieved from <http://flax.nzdl.org/greenstone3/flax?a=fp&sa=collAbout&c=BLaRC&if=>).

It is often believed that legal discourses are factual, they convey facts via direct language. However, imaginary «*This is a psychotic experience, namely an auditory hallucination*» instead of the first instance or «*I accept that JB was chaotically abusing heroin at the time at which JJ suffered his injuries*» for the sixth go beyond the scope of norms of the legal language. It is well-regarded that an important feature of a legal discourse is the concept of cautious or vague language. In other words, the actors have to make decisions about their stance on a particular subject, or the strength of the claims they make. Different subjects prefer to do this in different ways, and *highly likely* language patterns are very convenient hedging devices in «strengthening the arguments by weakening the claims» (Taweel et al., 2011: 173). In all the six instances the authors are either express and show politeness (1, 2, 4, 6), or modify the discourse (1, 3, 5).

Subjectivity of highly likely patterns

A pattern is essentially repetition (Hunston, 2012: 152). Recognising a pattern itself a «tricky exercise» (Scott, 2012: 140) and includes manual extracting sought concordance strings. In the wide range of different patterns in the corpora mentioned above, the case of *very/highly likely* phrases were frequent enough to be easily recognised and retrieved. Examples of this pattern, illustrating the degree of probability, would include:

It seems very likely (that) ...

It seems highly likely (that) ...

It looks highly likely (that) ...

It looks very unlikely (that) ...

Generally, «it seems/looks» phrase is used to underline that someone thinks that something is true:

1) «*Despite the unforgivable reticence of the Government to make any commitment on the future of EU nationals, **it still seems highly likely** that generous transitional arrangements will be made if the UK does not join the EEA.*» (Source: *iWeb*, retrieved from <https://www.freemovement.org.uk/brexit-what-should-eea-and-eu-nationals-and-their-family-members-do-now/>).

2) «*There are no records that confirm that Constable visited the gallery, but **it seems highly likely** that during his extended stays in Brighton in the 1820s he would have dropped in to see the impressive display of high quality art.*» (Source: *iWeb*, retrieved from <http://brightonmuseums.org.uk/discover/2017/05/04/john-constable-and->

brightons-beautiful-and-splendid-cabinet-of-the-arts/).

3) «*In next year's national elections, with dissatisfaction growing and Merkel's popularity waning, **it looks highly likely** they could cross that 5 per cent threshold.*» (Source: *iWeb*, retrieved from <http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2016/09/alternative-fur-deutschland-forced-german-politics-right/>).

4) «*Whilst there is no conclusive proof, **it seems highly likely** that this piece of information would have reached Castro's ears soon after.*» (Source: *BNC*, retrieved from Miller, N. *Soviet relations with Latin America*. Cambridge: CUP, 1989).

Observing the pattern in this set of examples involves perceiving a higher level of subjectivity in each statement.

Conclusion

In the preceding examples retrieved from modern political, legal and social media discourses, an attempt has been made to identify «highly likely» phrases, and detect their pragmatic functions and anthropological backgrounds. Regardless of the large speculations and insights into «new» type of official language, caused by Scripal case, it should be acknowledged that hedging has been a common strategy to express both facts and opinions indirectly. By hedging, speakers tone down statements – facts and opinions – to avoid direct incitement or criticism, to reduce the risk of opposition, to mitigate claims, to avoid hurting others and express politeness, to request the receivers' involvement.

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Two «Characters» in the Russian Linguistic Worldview: «We» and «They»

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Abstract. The article reconstructs semantic context (evaluation, movement, actions, etc.) of WE and THEY – two usual subjects of the Russian linguistic worldview. Monologues and dialogues recently collected in Krasnoyarsk reveal the main characteristics of this opposition. A relatively big number of contexts have indefinite-personal verb forms such as [they] «buy», «make», «climb», «cover up for», «turn», «serve», «locate», «repair», «accommodate», etc. Due to their grammar and semantic realization in the oral speech they are included in the syntactic connection with the personal pronoun «they» – the representative form of some indefinite collective subject. This group of predicates, as well as their closest linguistic entourage, «tells» about the circumstances and details of «Their» actions, «Their» characteristics and «Their» partners, forming the distinctive specificity of the text content. In the same contexts there happens to be no less active collective subject – the author’s «We». «We» and «They» are realized in different event-based and qualitative interactions, given by spatial and temporal coordinates, where these two «characters» distinguished by linguistic consciousness live and act. This semantic field in the Russian language common worldview is divided into several parts, for example: power environment, professional environment. Inter-ethnic communication, sacred communication, etc. As a result, the indistinctive subject «They» developed by the indefinite personal form of the verbal predicate and the pronoun «There» turn out to be only a mask – superficial uncertainty. It is easily removed by the subsequent context and specified through the parameters «place» (for example, «in power», «at work»), «social status of the subject» («officials», «bosses», «the rich», «owners»), «the character of the situation» (irrational, useless action – or rightful, useful for «Us», ordinary members of the community, «folks», «people»). The grammatical uncertainty itself is transformed into semantic markers of two definite evaluations – evaluations of distrust and unbelonging (often in relation to «Them») and self-evaluations of rightness and sympathy (often in relation to the subject «We»).

Keywords: concept of «our (own) – alien (other)», ordinary (linguistic) worldview, semantics, semantic field, «We», «They», predicate.

Research area: russian language; language theory.

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Два «героя» русской языковой картины мира: мы и они

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Аннотация. В статье реконструировано событийное и оценочное поле двух субъектов обыденной картины мира – МЫ и ОНИ. На материале разговорных монологов и диалогов современных жителей Красноярска и с помощью лингвистического анализа выявлены смысловые характеристики этой ключевой оппозиции. Довольно большое число контекстов имеет в своем составе неопределенно-личные глагольные формы: «покупают», «делают», «лезут», «выгораживают», «переворачивают»; «обслуживают», «размещают», «ремонтируют», «приспосабливают» и т. п. Грамматические и семантические условия реализации этих форм в разговорной речи доказывают их включенность в синтаксическую связь с личным местоимением *они* – репрезентантом некоего неопределенного группового, коллективного субъекта. Данная группа предикатов, а также их ближайшее языковое окружение «рассказывают» об обстоятельствах и деталях «Их» действий, «Их» характеристиках и «Их» соучастниках, формируя явную специфику содержания. В тех же контекстах обнаруживается не менее активный коллективный субъект авторского «Мы». «Мы» и «Они» входят в определенное событийное и качественное взаимодействие, заданное пространственными и временными координатами, в границах которых обитают и действуют два «героя», выделенные языковым сознанием. Это семантическое поле в обыденной картине мира разделено на несколько частей, например: среда власти, профессиональная среда, среда межнационального взаимодействия, сакральная коммуникация и т. д. В результате неопределенность субъекта «Они», на первый взгляд, развиваемая неопределенно-личной формой глагольного предиката и местоимением «Там», оказывается лишь маской – поверхностной неопределенностью. Она с легкостью снимается последующим контекстом и конкретизируется через параметры «место» (например, «во власти», «на работе»), «социальный статус субъекта» («чиновники», «начальство», «богатые», «хозяева»), «характер деятельности» (действие нерациональное, бесполезное либо правильное, полезное для «Нас» – рядовых членов сообщества, «народа», «людей»). Сама же грамматическая неопределенность трансформируется в семантические маркеры двух определенных оценок – оценки недоверия и непричастности (часто в отношении к «Ним») и самооценки правоты и сочувствия (часто в отношении к «Нам самим»).

Ключевые слова: концепт «свое – чужое», обыденная (языковая) картина мира, семантика, семантическое поле, «Мы», «Они», предикат.

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Introduction

The juxtaposition of «our» and «alien», according to Yu. S. Stepanov, «in different kinds permeates the whole culture and is one of the main concepts of any collective, mass, folk, national perception. Including, of course, Russian. Depending on the size of the team considered we can find in it a somewhat special, but always distinct difference between «Our» and «Alien» (Stepanov, 2004: 126–143).

This opposition is based on the differences in the system of moral and ethic regulations, customs and traditions, being realized as an antithesis: «we» – «they» / «our – alien», «I – other». There is a concise quotation: «A person as a subject and a personality does not exist without the Other – such unit or starting point, which gives an impression about of a man's commensurability in comparison with peers» (Mullagalieva, 2008: 138).

Contemplating about the origins of the conceptual opposition «our – alien», Yu. S. Stepanov attributes them to cultural specifics and connects them with the emergence and development of an ethnos. The scientist discerns a behavioural component in this opposition, which, in his opinion, goes back to the animal nature of man and is associated with differing interactions with respect to objects classified as «our» or «alien»; these interactions accordingly range from benevolent and to varying degrees hostile. Based on E. Benvenist's analysis of Indo-European languages, the author proves the existence of this conceptual opposition in all groups of these languages and notes that the concept «our» was originally an awareness of the blood kinship of some a group of people (tribe, clan) within which a person at the same time perceives him- / herself «... free by birth» and contrasts him- / herself with «others» – «alien, enemies, slaves» (a friend or a foe concept) (Stepanov, 1997: 480). Due to the presence of a semantic community, represented in the components of «our tribe, people» and

«the place where law and order prevails», the language embodiment of the abovementioned opposition has some specifics in different languages.

As regards the concept «alien», Yu. S. Stepanov points to the peculiarity of its representation in Russian culture because of the relationship and in some cases the contamination with the concept «miracle». This specificity seems fully justified, since «the concept, consisting in the opposition of «our – alien» is in the closest connection with the self-consciousness of an ethnic group and its stereotypical behaviour» (Stepanov, 1997: 486).

In this context the comparative works are of particular interest. For instance, I. Z. Borisova in the article «The concept of 'alien' in the linguistic worldview» gives the presentation of the binary concept in the Russian, Yakut and French linguistic worldviews. Analyzing phraseological units, the researcher concludes that there are common features in the concept representation in the linguistic cultures under study, which «is evidence of some common perception of the world by representatives of these cultures» (Borisova, 2014: 223), and also highlights a number of significant differences. Determining the dominant component of the concept, the author notes that in the French linguistic worldview the component «our own» is dominant, which can be explained the self-identification of the French as a nation of enlighteners in relation to other peoples. The Russian linguistic worldview is subject to the «alien» component, which is due to Russia's location between the West and the East and the corresponding need for «self-identification in relation to the 'alien', often through denial». In Yakut culture, the core concept «alien» is the meaning of «other stratum, kin, people» (Borisova, 2014: 223).

On the basis of dictionaries V. A. Ermakova in her work «Paremic verbalization of opposite 'our – alien' concepts in differently

structured languages» defines a meaningful minimum of concepts that make up the binary opposition of «our – alien» in the Russian and English Languages. The author marks similarity of the semantics of the components in the opposition «our own» and «one's own» and tells about the wider semantics of the second component of the opposition in the English language («other»), which is in addition to the lack of possession or indication of similarities between subject and object «accentuates the existing differences between the subject and the object, their disparateness; ... The word 'Others' in English may also represent a non-personalized group of people» (Ermakova, 2011).

S. Y. Sazonova in the work «The concept of 'our (own)' in the Russian and German language linguistic worldview» uses etymological, phraseological dictionaries and thesauruses for the analysis; she reveals the specifics of the concept of «our (own)» in the Russian and German linguistic worldviews. The author draws a conclusion that there is a similarity in two languages in core («our», «own») and additional meanings representing the concept (Sazonova, 2010: 150).

The research material in comparative works includes not only lexicographical sources, but also mass media texts.

The opposition «our – alien» is considered. In particular. In modern studies as a way to describe the Russian linguistic worldview in the structure of metaphorical models found in the German press.

N. A. Santsevich in the article «Metaphorical models and the opposition 'own – alien' as a way to describe the linguistic worldview of Russia in the German periodical press» examines how this opposition is used in the monarchical metaphorical model, being realized in the particular varieties: «nation – power (government)» and «the East (Russia) – the West (Germany)», «dangerous – not dangerous»; and in the militaristic model, where the opposition «own – alien» (a friend or a foe) is already embedded in the concept. To actualize the concept «alien» the German mass media use special lexical markers («spy», «outsider», etc.) (Santsevich, 2002). The same author in the thesis

«Modelling the variability of the linguistic worldview on the basis of the bilingual corpus of journalistic texts (metaphors and semantic oppositions)» carries out a comparative analysis of metaphorical models and the opposition «own – alien» presented in them on the basis of the materials of Russian and German mass media, eventually drawing a conclusion about the variability of the Russian and German linguistic worldviews (Santsevich, 2004).

In the article «Intentional potential of a pragmatically marked word: the interaction of ideological and evaluative components» by E. Y. Bulygin and T. A. Tripolskaya, the opposition «our own – alien» is considered in the aspect of its axiological content. The «our – alien» component is usually connected with the axiological content in the pragmatic macrocomponent structure, with negative connotation in the overwhelming majority of cases. The researchers define the following vocabulary groups (words) containing the semantic opposition «our – alien» in their meanings:

1. Political lexicon: *tovarishchi, tovarishchi iz bratskikh kommunisticheskikh partii, soratniki po partii, vernye lenintsy, zapadnye partnery, politicheskie opponenty, liberaly, demokraty, pochvenniki, patrioty* [comrades, comrades from fraternal communist parties, party associates, loyal Leninists, Western partners, political opponents, liberals, democrats, *pochvenniks, patriots*], etc.

2. Religious lexicon: *pravoslavie, musul'manstvo, iudaizm, religiia, Bog, Vsevyshnii* [Orthodoxy, Islam, Judaism, religion, God, the Almighty], etc.

3. Nominations on national, racial and ethnic grounds, which at all times have potentially contained an ideological component. Being neutral, as according to the dictionaries. In real communication they acquire negative connotations: *kavkazets, litso kavkazskoi natsional'nosti, gruzin, chechenets, nemets, evrei, tsygan, chukcha* [Caucasian person, a person from the Caucasus, Georgian, Chechen, German, Jewish, Gypsy, Chukcha], etc.

4. Nominations for persons of traditional/non-traditional sexual orientation: *geterosesualy, gomoseksualisty, golubye, lesbiianki, seksmen'shinstva, geiropa* [heterosexuals, ho-

mosexuals, fags, lesbians, sex minorities, Gay-rope], etc.

5. Nominations on territorial belonging (centre – periphery): *regiony, periferiia, stolitsy, megapolis, gorod, derevnia, selo, glukhoman', zamkadyshi* – «te, kto prozhivaet za moskovskoi kol'tsevoi avtodorogoi'» [*regions, periphery, capitals, metropolis, city, village, settlement, hinterland, zamkadyshi* – «those who live outside the circle formed by the Moscow ring highway (MKAD)»] (from NTV show), etc.

6. Social and professional lexicon: *militsiia – politsiia, menedzher – upravlenets, razvedchik – shpion* [*militia – police, manager – administrator. Intelligence officer – spy*], etc. (Bulygina, Trypilska, 2015: 12–13).

The conceptual opposition «our (own) – alien» acts as an object not only in linguistic but also in literary studies.

V. V. Kolesov in the work «The world of man in the word of ancient Russia» scrutinises features of representation of the concept in the Old Russian literature. The author spots the expansion of the concept «our (own)»: in the world history different people were called by this term at different times, and the development of this terminology consisted in the fact that the circle of «our (own)» constantly enlarged, but at the expense of friends and relatives (Kolesov, 1986: 11).

Analyzing the representation of this concept in the literature data, V. Zusman acknowledges that the study of this opposition is based on comparison. «Comparison of these concepts includes: 1) comprehending 'one's own' against the background of 'alien'; 2) 'estranging' one's own and imparting 'personal' to the alien. When comparing, one can discover direct connections and feedback coming to the fore. It is also important when the 'own' is retreating, while the 'alien' is approaching» (Zusman, 2003). Opposition «our (own)» and «alien» is seen by the researcher in relation to other concepts. Thus. In L. N. Tolstoy's novel «War and Peace» one can observe the intersection of the concepts «Austria and Austrians» and «our (own) – alien», which leads to the concretization of the semantic content of the concepts: «The 'own – alien' opposition takes the form of

'deep – superficial'. Our own is deep; the alien is strange, superficial» (Zusman, 2003). Implementation of the concept in the literary text, as a rule, is associated with the advancement of meaningful for the author semantic components. In Tolstoy's novel, the basis for the characterization of «aliens» is careerism and dry rationalism, while «our own», on the contrary, are always associated with the general course of history, brotherly, folk and communal origins. As a result, as the researcher assumes, «the concepts of 'our own' and 'alien' gradually lose their purely ethnic character in «War and Peace», and, coupled with it, their sharp contrast» (Zusman, 2003).

In M. M. Prishvin's novel «The Kasheev's Chain», the concepts of «our (own)» and «alien» are viewed as the basis for the Russia-German opposition. According to L. N. Yurchenko, «the path of the hero of the Kasheev's Chain from Germany to Russia (from alien to one's own) turns out to be the way of the prodigal son of the revolutionary intelligentsia, who has destroyed her home, lost her homeland and now is returning to it. This is the starting point for liberation from the inner blinders and manacles, a return to nature, to the foundations of existence» (Yurchenko, available at: <http://prishvin.lit-info.ru>, date of access: 18.12.2018). Analyzing Prishvin's novel «The Kasheev's Chain», M. Kh. Morozova consociates the opposition «our (own)/alien» with the originality of the image of the land and points out that «the native land ... its extemporaneous power, grandeur, maternal power are presented by the writer as the basis of the great unity of the world» (Morozova, 2014: 56).

L. N. Tretiakova studies the opposition «our (own)/alien» from the standpoint of argumentation theory. She chose A. T. Tvardovsky's poem «Vasily Terkin» as the research material. In which the war divides the opponents into one's own and others, while «our (own)» in this context is filled with such characteristics as *honest, responsible, and kind to people*; the concept of «alien (other)» forms a nominal field with a number of synonyms: *nemets – protivnik – svoloch' – podlets – zver' – vrag – pes – chert – podlyi narod* «*the German – enemy – bastard – rascal – scoun-*

drel – beast – foe – dog – devil – sneaky people] (Tretiakova, 2013: 54). In the poem, the concept «own» – «alien (other)» is emotionally experienced and reflected through the prism of likings and dislikings, represented by the means of cognitive metaphors (zoomethaphors and religious metaphors). The author of the article finds the sensory characteristic in the zoomethaphor, which is associated with the component «ethnic smell»: «The ancient peoples of Europe believed that every nation had a 'different distinctive smell'. In fairy tales of different peoples there are expressions like «There is a smells of this or that people. In A. T. Tvardovsky's poem «Vasily Terkin» German enemies have a bad smell, and everything which is «our (own)» emits wonderful Russian «smell» (Tretiakova, 2013: 55).

In works devoted to literary studies, the opposition «own-alien» is explored in a slightly different aspect as well. Thus, looking into the specifics of Ershov's literary fairy tale «The Humpbacked Horse», T. V. Rezanova assumes that Russian and German folklore texts could act as possible sources of the plot, noting that «alien (other)» European tradition, being disembodyed in the literary Russian fairy tale, becomes «our (own)» due to the eternal and generally valid model of happiness as Good and Life. «Alien (other)» in this sense is completely assimilated with «our (own)» (Rezanova, 2003: 131). In the article, the folklore opposition «our (own) – alien (other)» is discussed in a traditional way in relation to P. P. Ershov's fairytale poem «The Humpbacked Horse»: as a contradiction of «our (own)» and «alien (other)» fairytale worlds, at a higher level – as a contradiction of good and evil, life and death. Ivan the Fool with his humpback horse is the embodiment of a good start, «our (own)» world, which is in conflict with the tsar and chamberlain of the bedchamber, representatives of the other, evil, alien world (Rezanova, 2003: 132).

One of the components of the concept is its dynamism, i. e. the ability to reflect the transformation of the linguistic consciousness of an ethnos: «Characteristics of the concept are subject to constant changes due to the variability of the nature of being. Their instability

can be explained by individual interpretation, which causes many different opinions on the same subject or phenomenon, disagreements among communicators. The communication participants understand the main essence, but deny the opponent's point of view, treating the concept as a phenomenological entity (Krapivkina, 2017: 216), as, for example, when comprehending «our (own)» and «alien (other)» in a peculiar situation of rumour spreading (Osetrova, 2016).

The works by I. S. Vykhodtseva (Vykhodtseva, 2006; 2016) are devoted to the identification of the concept's content scope. Comparing the representation of the category «our (own)» in folk and elitist cultures, the author distinguishes four thematic groups for the elitist one: «family and clan»; «land, house, property»; «close relations or joint activity»; «external and internal world of man». The category of «alien (other)» in folk culture is represented by two thematic groups: «not of our land, foreign» and «not ours, belonging to others». In elitist culture, this category is expanding, and we can distinguish another thematic group in it, namely «alien, devoid of property» (Vykhodtseva, 2016: 61–62). On the basis of diachronic analysis, the researcher comes to the conclusion that in Soviet verbal culture the semantics of the concept «our (own) – alien (other)» is transformed: the division into «our (own)» and «alien (other)» is imbued and filled with ideological content. Among «our (own)» there can be found disguised «alien (other)» both in one's own families, between close friends and fellow party members. As for «alien (other)» the most dangerous and strongest are internal enemies, former «one's own». This new ideological content makes the analyzed concept central, basic in the Soviet conceptual sphere (Vykhodtseva, 2016: 63).

Cultural omnitude of the concept leads to the fact that through it a person habitually explains to him-/ herself and others all kinds of processes and phenomena of modern life. In this connection, we should remember about two well-known illustrative philological works – «The Russian word, our own and someone else's: Studies in the modern Russian language and sociolinguistics» by L. P. Krysin (Krysin,

2004) and «Our» among «alien»: myth or reality?» by V. V. Krasnykh (Krasnykh, 2003), where this opposition is used as the main idea organizing the scientific text.

In general, the binary opposition «our (own) – alien (other)» (Rudnev, 1997: 38–39) is based on differences in the system of moral and ethical norms, customs and traditions, manifested in the form of antithesis: «we – they», «our – alien», «I – other». Man as a subject and as a person does not exist without the *Other* – such element, the point of reference, which gives an idea of the commensurability of man in comparison with their peers (Mullagalieva, 2008: 138).

Statement of the problem

According to the authors of this study, the binary concept «our (own) – alien (other)» (Rudnev, 1997: 38–39) as a general reference point for textual analysis helps, among other things, to comprehend the ideas of the Russian everyday consciousness about the social structure of the surrounding world, the hierarchy that underlies it, and, no less importantly, to describe the attitude to this hierarchy.

The opposition *My – Oni* [*We – They*], which was mentioned in the title of the present article, is one of the specific linguistic embodiments of the concept, which actualises its subjective constituent. Hence it is a subject of further research.

Methods

Modern linguistics uses a number of methods for analyzing concepts – linguocognitive, conceptual, component, definitional, cluster analysis, whose effectiveness is proved. Inter alia, by this study.

Linguocognitive analysis of concepts is used. In particular. In the dissertation study by T. G. Ardasheva (Ardasheva, 2012); conceptual analysis as a leading method used to be applied by D. S. Likhachev (Likhachev, 1993), V. I. Karasik, G. G. Slyshkin (Karasik, 2007; Karasik, Slyshkin, 2008), E. S. Kubriakova (Kubriakova, 2008; 2009), I. G. Serova (Serova, 2007), D. R. Valeeva (Valeeva, 2018) used component analysis as a way of revealing the content of the concept in the works

by N. A. Stadul'skaia (Stadul'skaia, 2012) and A. A. Lepenysheva (Lepenysheva, 2011: 170).

To solve linguistic problems, one of the most appropriate method. In addition to the aforementioned, can be a hierarchical cluster analysis, the essence of which is consistent combination of smaller clusters into larger or division of larger clusters into smaller ones (Nurgalieva, 2013: 455). The cluster analysis of emotional concepts has been extensively used by V. Y. Apresyan in his works (Apresyan, 2011a; 2011b).

As for the study of the conceptual structure – «our (own) – alien (other)» opposition in general and the opposition concept «*We – They*» in particular, the cluster analysis is applied here insofar as the identification of semantic and discursive embodiments of the concept implies their subsequent typological unification or specification.

The basis of research observations are materials from the authors' textual archive. Decoded conversational dialogues and interviews with modern residents of Krasnoyarsk, a large industrial city of Siberia, are useful for speech studies and various linguistic researches.

In the process of processing the material, we paid attention to quite a large number of contexts, which contain indefinite personal verbal forms:

pokupaiut, delaiut, lezut, vygorazhivaiut, soobshchaiut (v militsiiu), (palatku) perevorachivaiut; obsluzhivaiut, razmeshchaiut, remon-tiruiut, prisposablivaiut

[such as [they] buy, make, crawl into someone else's business, protect, report (to the police), turn over (the tent); serve, locate, repair, accommodate], etc.

The grammatical and semantic realizations of these forms in colloquial speech are such that they are actually or potentially included in the syntactic connection with the personal pronoun *Oni* [*They*] – a representative of a certain group, collective subject («some people» in the wording by E. N. Shiriaev).

This group of predicates, as well as their immediate linguistic context, explains the circumstances and details of *Their* actions, *Their* characteristics and *Their* accomplices, which forms a clear specific content. In the same con-

texts, the collective subject of the author *We* also functions more or less actively in the world shaped by the language efforts.

The analysis shows that *We* and *They* are a part of a certain event-based and qualitative interaction, conditioned by spatial and temporal coordinates. This fact, eventually, 1) allows us to speak of a single semantic space in which these two heroes, singled out by the language consciousness in the ordinary worldview, live and work, and 2) encourages us to reveal their event-based and evaluation semantics, making these subjects (heroes) the object of linguistic analysis, the main results of which are presented below.

Results

Indefiniteness as an apparent characteristic of the subject *Oni* [*They*] in a number of cases is backed up the indefiniteness of the locative – typical *Tam* [*There*]:

Oni mne skazali / tak chto-o-o mozhetyt' budet v Paskhu / znach(it) // Tam u nikh raspisanie visit / nado budet ego posmotret'; My von videli / tam zagoraiut / my kak raz cherez most proezzhali; Tam paek takoi khoroshii dali / izvini / esli by tam paek etot vydavali / normal'no.

[They] told me / so oh maybe it will be on Easter / it me[ans] // There they have a schedule hanging / we need to see it over; We saw / there [they] sunbathe / we were just passing across the bridge; There [they] gave such a good ration / sorry / if there were ration this given / normally].

At the same time, the apparent uncertainty of details in almost every context is overcome so consistently that it allows us to identify the typology of their semantic habitats and activities of *Ikh* [*Them*], to which *My* [*We*] have direct relation:

- «Environment of power», cf.:

K Universiade khot' poriadok oni v gorode naveli / v tsentre // Doma takie nichego / seroi krasochkoi pokrasili / skuchnovato konechno / no chisto // Ploshchad' Revoliutsii tozhe / gamaki besedki // O detiakh ... liudiakh dumaiut / o sebe naverno tozhe / da

[For the Universiade, [they] at least have put order in the city/in the centre // The hous-

es are good enough / coloured [them] grey / boring, of course / but clean // the Revolution Square, too / hammocks pavilions // About the children ... people [they] think / about themselves probably, too / yes];

and

Slushai menia / oni vse sdelali tak / chto-by on ushel ot otvetstvennosti / oni normal'no ne mogli / nasudit' spustia god / tam polgoda // Normal'no eto delaetsia vse i srazu.

[Listen to me / they did everything so that / he got away with it / they couldn't normally / adjudge to in a year / some half a year // Normally it is all done at once].

Meanwhile, propositions of social action and movement with a pronounced meaning of activity, which describe actions for which anaphorically represented authorities are responsible, can be neutral: *prislali, skazali, otpravili, otdali, uzakonili, pozvonili* [*sent, said, dispatched, gave, legalized, called*]. However. In many cases verbal predicates are loaded with evaluative semes, cf.: *obdiraiut, che popalo delaiut, tolpu sozdaiut, unichtozhaiut, ne puskaiut, «volokut', orut na nas – pensiiu podnimaiut, l'goty vyplachivaiut, o liudiakh dumaiut, novuiu plitku kladut; gorod ukrashaiut* [*ripping off, doing mishmash, generating crowds, destroying, don't let, «dragging», yelling at us – raising the pensions, paying benefits, thinking about people, putting new pavement decorating the city*].

- «Criminal environment»:

A: *[Otets] grit / vot tol'ko kupil / uperli // Nu vygrebli vse / grit / televizor / dva vidika / ... Odezhdu kakuiu-to // Prichem vsiu odezhdu unesti ne smogli / v koridore brosil // I kholodil'nik / vobshche / pustoi // <...> A / zoloto eshche vse zabrali //*

B: *U nas / u znakomykh kvartiru vskryli / vobshche / ponial / vynesli vse.*

A: *[Father] sais / just bought / just been snatched // Well, raked everything off / sa[y]s / TV / two VCR / ... Some clothes // And all clothes [they] could not be carry away // threw in the corridor // And the refrigerator / actually / empty // <...> Oh / all gold [they] took away, too //*

B: *At our / acquaintances [they] broke into the apartment / actually / understood / took out everything].*

Here the attitude of the linguistic consciousness towards criminal *Them* is undoubted and absolutely unambiguous in its critical pathos despite the initial neutral semantics of some predicates: *unesli, zabrali, vynesli* [take away, carry away, take out];

• «Environment of professional relationships:

Nu znaesh' / kak by / esli oni schitaiut za durochek / to oni sami duraki / polneishie / <...> prosto / my tak poniali po vsem zvonkam / chto oni na dannyi moment delaiut / nu tri zakaza / i to u nikh kakie-to problemy / oni rugaiutsia tam vse... i nam eshche govoriat / «devochki / zvonite / che vy sidite // Zvonite tam / vsem predlagajte vse' ...

[You know / as if / if [they] took as stupid / they're fools themselves / they're totally / <...> just / we've got it by all calls / what they're doing at the moment / well, three orders / and yet they've got somewhat problems / they're quarrelling there everybody ... and we're still told / «girls / call / why are you sitting // Call there / offer everyone everything» ...]

• «Environment of rich and successful» is located far away from the ordinary life space of an ordinary person: he or she does not have direct access to it and probably does not want to be like *Them*, having his or her «own pride and dignity»:

[talking about former classmates from wealthy families]:

A: *Nu u nikh poluchilos' blagodaria...*

B: *Oni / izvini menia...*

A: *Oni prosto postupili tuda blagodaria roditeliam / no-o...*

B: *Roditeliam / roditeliam...*

A: *I to / chto oni imeiut mashiny / i vse takoe / eto blagodaria roditeliam //*

B: *A u menia chuvstvo gordosti za sebia / chto ia smogla / sdelala tak / kak ia khotela // Ia vse-taki s soboiu... to / chego khotela... to/ chto ia khotela / ia dostigla.*

[A: *Well, they made it thanks to...*

B: *They/excuse me...*

A: *They just entered these thanks to their parents / but-oh...*

B: *Parents/parents...*

A: *And what /that they have cars / and all that / it's because of the parents //*

B: *And I have a feeling of pride of myself /that I could /do it // as I wanted to // I did it with myself... what I wanted... what I wanted / I achieved].*

• «Environment of interethnic relations»

Contrary to research expectations it did not show vividly expressed conflict semantics; at any rate, this could have been asserted with regard to the reviewed material. Rather, this opposition is accompanied by an emotion of condescendence:

A: *Znakomaia priezzhala / u nikh /grit / pol-Ameriki / zhenshchiny / grit / uzhasnye // A muzhiki bolee luchshe vygliadiat chem zhenshchiny / to est' muzhiki v kostiumakh khodiat / kak prilichnye // A baby vo-pervykh / tolstye / odety /... nu u nikh zhe / grit /odezhda udobnaia / prosto udobnaia // A u nas-to na kablukakh / vidish' / khodiat kak / da / nu / malen'ko sebja podderzhivaiut // Tam / grit / vo-pervykh / tolstye / vo-vtorykh odezhda / kak meshki visit na nikh / to est' prosto dlia udobstva <...>*

B: *Ol'ga rasskazyvala <...> oni [amerikantsy] poshli / ketchupov ponabrali / eto v nashikh poniatiiakh / ponabrali / vse vot govoriat / netu u nikh dobrotnogo // U nikh pochemu vot shchas / ikh sportom zastavliaiut zanimat'sia / chtoby oni bolee-menee sebja podderzhivali // Oni vse zhe s narusheniem obmena veshchestv <...> Vot naverno / ostalos' edinstvennoe / gde natural'nye produkty / eto Kitai / i my shchas.*

[A: *An acquaintance came / [they] have / sa[y]s / half-America / women / sa[y]s / horrible // And men look better than women / that is, men wear suits / as decent // While women-folks are, first / fat / dressed /... well, they have / sa[y]s / comfy clothes / just comfortable // And we – on heels / you see / [they] walk as / yes / well / hardly keep fit // There / sa[y]s / first / fat / second clothes / as bags is hanging on them / that is just for convenience <...>*

B: *Olga told <...> they [Americans] went / picked up ketchups / this is in our notions / picked up them / everybody says / they have no good quality // Why do they have now / they are forced to do sports / so that they could more or less keep fit // They all are with metabolic disorders <...> That's probably / that's the only place left / where natural products / this is China / and we are now].*

At best, otherness evokes respect, developed alongside the same opposition, but with a changed attribution of evaluation, oriented to the widespread stereotypes «they have, but we do not have» or «they can, while we are not able»:

[conversation in a travel agency; manager's monologue]

A chashche vsego / oni dazhe na russkom ponimaiut // Kak-to problem ni u kogo ne bylo // Mezhdunarodnyi iazyk zhestov on vseгда dokhodchiv // [smeetsia] Nu / a esli s angliiskim vot/ esli vy znaete / to ochen' mnogie // Tem bolee u nikh seichas usilennaia programma / izucheniia angliiskogo iazyka k olimpiade // Poetomu u nikh seichas / vsia sfera obsluzhivaniia / usilennno uchit angliiskii <...> nikto eshche na zhalovalsia // V Pekine vot / po krainei mere tam gde nakhodiatsia russkie turisty / ochen' mnogie govoriat na russkom iazyke / gidy te zhe / kitaitsy / no russkogovoriashchie // V oteliakh liudi tozhe staraiutsia govorit' na russkom.

[And most often / they even understand in Russian // Somehow nobody had any problems // International Sign Language it is always comprehensible // [laughs] Well / and as for English here // if you know / that a lot of people // Especially now they have an enhanced program / English language learning for the Olympics // That's why they have now / the whole sphere of service / are intensively learning English / nobody has ever complained // In Beijing here / at least where there are Russian tourists / very many people speak Russian / guides do, for example / Chinese / but Russian speaking // In hotels people also try to speak Russian].

- «Environment of sacred»

A: A tut kstati budet bogosluzhenie e-e vsiu etu nedeliu kak by utrom // Vot // Ia dumaiu mozhet ia v piatnitsu skhozhu / tak kak u nas k chetyrnadtsati tridtsati //

B: Strastnaia piatnitsa //

A: Da // Bol'she v drugoi den' kak-to ne poluchaetsia // <...>

B: V raznykh tserkviakh po-raznomu poiut //

A: Nu konechno //

B: Voobshche vot luchshe vsego poiut v Pokrovskom sobore <...> kotoryi na Surikova //

A: A! Nu tak eto Surikovskaia tserkov' / Ia ee nazyvaiu Surikovskaia //

B: Ne / vot tam vot poiut // Na moi vzgliad // A vot v Blagoveshchenskom ne ochen' khorosho.

[A: By the way, there will be a divine service eh-eh-eh all this week as if in the morning // So // I think maybe I'll go on Friday // because we have to fourteen oh three //

B: Good Friday //

A: Yes // More on a different day somehow [we] can't make it // <...>

B: Different churches sing differently //

A: Well, of course.

B: Generally speaking, the best singing is in the Cathedral of the Intercession <...> which is on Surikova Street //

A: Ah! Well, it's Surikov's church / I call it Surikov's //

B: No / there they sing // In my opinion // But in the Annunciation church [they sing] not very well].

As it seems, even such a sacral sphere as the religious one is not free from the assessment of a layman, however, one should admit the caution and correctness of such characteristics, which apply to the external and secondary attributes of the religious rite, without affecting its essence.

Finally, a very special place in our typology is occupied by what we have called the environment of the «alienated our own». In contrast to the above mentioned categories, which have quite perceptible spatial dimension and sometimes even specialized loci – «administration», «place of work», «church», «foreign state», etc., this category has rather blurred borders. To be more precise, these borders are absolutely conventional and are drawn by *We* in the process of speech. This happens when for some reason the speakers want to designate the distance between themselves and ad hoc *Them*, who are in their habitual zone and who are ready to part with the fleeting status of alienation, to return again to the boundaries of the usual «*We are together with you*». Such role mobility is noticeable in the stories about relatives, friends, acquaintances or colleagues at work, the narrative characteristics of which determines some detachment:

[talking about the family of acquaintances]

On gorit / eto samoe / oni plokho zhili / on eto samoe / gulial zhe / gulial // V piatnitsu uezzhaet / i vecherom v voskresen'e priezzhal

[*He says / this is a sort of / they lived badly / he is a sort of / «betray // On Friday [he] leaves / and arrived on Sunday evening*];

[talking about a female relative]

A: *Kak u Diny-to s golovoi-to? // S davleniem s ee?*

B: *Proshlo // Pomerili ei // Bylo koroche // sheisiat na sto devianosto*

[A: *How's Dina doing with her head? // With her pressure?*

B: *It passed // They measured it // It was in short // It was sixty over hundred and ninety*];

[mother's conversation with her son before he left home]

Ty ukhodish' tak pozdno / dazhe ne khochu tebia otpuskat' ... Oni [rodstvenniki] khot' pust' taksi tebe vyzovut obratno

[*You're leaving so late / I don't even want to let you go... They [the relatives] let them call you a taxi back*].

Sometimes *Our (own)* become *They*, being separated from the general public by some social attribute or characteristic: men in relation to women, women in relation to men, workers from other industries, people who have received a sudden reward or, conversely, damage, older members of the community, see, for example:

[the story about going to one's grandmother's grave]

A my kogda vot v Kansk priekhali v eto leto / k nei / na kladbishche <...> Menia ne pomniat / Ol'gu pomniat / menia plokho pomniat // Tam / kto vot / s ch'imi det'mi / ia obshchalas' / vot te / pomniat menia / a Ol'gu khuzhe / a te kto bol'she pomniat starshee pokolenie tam konechno

[*And when we arrived in Kansk this summer / to her / at the cemetery <...> I am not remembered of / Olga is remembered of // I am not remembered of enough // There / this is someone who / with whose children / we were friends / they are those / who remember me / and they remember Olga poorly / and those who remember more is the older generation there, of course*].

In general, there is a very definite picture of *Their* life activity. If we take for granted that the linguistic worldview in everyday consciousness is divided into three global spaces – «our own», «alien» and «other», *They* find the conditions for action and relationships with *Us* within the boundaries of each of them. «Power», «bosses», «wealthy people» and «criminals» live in the space of alien / other, which in turn is heterogeneous and divided into «bottom» (for criminals) and «top» (for others). As for the sacral or foreign space, *They* can be naturally attributed to the space of «other», being placed at either the high levels or those «similar to *Our*» / «low».

They also operate in the space reserved for *Our (own)*. Unlike the above cases, where *Their* alienation has signs of an inert, frozen characteristic, here it turns out to be very mobile, being easily overcome within a single context. In fact, this is not even alienation, but a certain degree of detachment of the narrator from one of the characters of the story, which is necessary for the author to take the character beyond the boundaries of his/her personal sphere.

The main actor in all the described environments is *They. We* and/or *I*, which is the author's active and event-based position coming to the fore from time to time, should be characterized as the second actor. These actors are subject to two semantic modes of interaction. If the speaker chooses a unidirectional interpretation of events, then the «autonomous» mode of description comes into force, and the text itself exerts *They* (acting without any restrictions) or harmoniously existing *We*. If the author's view is less unambiguous, it leads to the activation of the semantic mode, which can be characterised as «joint action» of the two withdrawn participants. And then one can observe an unequivocal opposition developing into a conflict.

The expression of both subjects through pronouns is only the primary way of their representation: in the right context it is specified regularly and demonstrably, proving the substantivization of personal pronouns. Both the author of the statement and the listener clearly understand who the pronounced text is about. This content may imply concretization through the introduction of spatial coordinates:

v sude, v nalogovoi, v administratsii, nav-
erkhu, v Kitae, v sobore [in court. In the tax
office. In the administration, at the top. In
China. In the cathedral], etc; or may give a
direct nomination such as: vlast', nalogovaia,
sud'i, menty, beznesmeny, amerikantsy, bo-
gatye, vor'e, mafia, kommunal'shchiki, organy
zdravookhraneniia [the power, the tax author-
ities, judges, cops, businessmen, the Ameri-
cans, the rich, the thieves, the mafia, the public
utilities, the health authorities], that is, They; or
(prostye) liudi, narod, bol'shinstvo, studenty,
rabotiagi, pensionery [(ordinary) people, the
folks, the majority, the students, the workers,
the pensioners], that is, We.

Often the subject is specified to the maxi-
mum extent, up to the introduction of nomina-
tions of the process participants, representing
a particular group or agency; cf. a typical ex-
ample:

[conversation between a driver and a pas-
senger during a city trip]

A: Nu kak oni ubiraiut? Koldobina na
koldobine! Kak budto po poli u edesh'! Shchas
pristegnus' //

B: Znaete takoi «Bionorm' / oni zakupili
// V tridtsat' gradusov kak po luzham edesh' /
vse topit // Eto mer dal rasporiazhenie / Egorov
... Net Eremin //

[A: Well, how do they clean up? A pothole
in a pothole! It's as if you're going across the
field! I will buckle up now //

B: You know what «Bionorm» / they
bought // At thirty degrees when you're going
across the puddles / everything's drowning
// It's the mayor who gave the order / Egorov
... No, Eremin //].

As can be seen, there are evaluations in
the immediate vicinity of the predicate that
undoubtedly qualify the described action as
negative.

In general, evaluativeness, which is con-
sidered to be an optional modus operandi when
describing the sphere of interaction between
They and We, changes its status, becoming one
of the main elements of the description, almost
as necessary as, for example, the main propo-
sition or the subject argument (actor). Their
being in power and professional activity causes
feelings of detachment. Indignation, irritation;

hopelessness and apathy; or, quite the opposite,
satisfaction and approval; cf:

Tam vsia eta mut' // A vse grazhdanskoe
stroitel'stvo / i tam / khoziaistvo / narodnoe
/ oni ego vsiu zhizn' / obdiraiut / che popalo
delaiut // Odin pridurok pridet / kukuruzu v
kolymskoi tundre seet / drugoi sobiraet kuku-
ruzu / a tolku net //

[There's all this gibberish // And all this
civil engineering // and there / economy / pub-
lic / they spend their lives / ripping it off / doing
crap // One jerk comes / sows corn in the Koly-
ma tundra / another collects this corn / and it
is no sense //];

and

[conversation between a driver and a pas-
senger]

A: A oni otremonirovali s»ezd na Sverd-
lovskuiu / voobshche udobno stalo // A novyi
most / chetvertyi / oni otkryli razviazku / khor-
sho stalo // Ia vchera s pravogo do doma za piat'
minut doekhal // Dazhe ne ozhidal / tak bystro!

[A: And they have repaired the inter-
change ramp to Sverdlovskaya St. / all in all it
became comfortable // And as for a new bridge
fourth / they opened the junction / it became
good // Yesterday I came home from the right
bank in five minutes // I did not even expect // so
quickly!]

They are like foreigners and «alienated
'one's own» are able to awaken in the speaker
irony, condescension or sympathy:

[conversation between a driver and a pas-
senger during a car ride; characteristics of the
Japanese cars are being discussed]

A: U nas «iapontsy' pri tridtsati gradu-
sakh uzhe normal'no ne ezdiat // Prosto dazhe
ne rasschitany //

B: Dazhe zhalko ikh... Net / nu podozh-
di // oni zhe delaiut levorukie dlia Evropy
// Znachit dolzhny zhe / kak-to i temperaturnyi
rezhim uchityvat' //

A: Da // No eto tol'ko u levorukikh //

[A: In our places «Japanese» at thirty de-
grees drive no longer normal // Just they have
not been even designated for this //

B: I even can feel sorry for them... No /
well, wait // they do make left-hand for Europe
// So they should / somehow take into account
temperature mode, too //

A: *Yes // But it's only right for left-hand cars //*.

Our own actions in describing various kinds of social failures cause sympathy, directed by the speaker to him- /herself, more precisely, to the people alike. *We* evaluate successful actions (from the point of view of society) positively, *We* are proud of them. In public sphere, this common view as if extrapolates a positive halo to what has not yet been done, but what is planned for the near or the distant future; cf.:

[from the electoral leaflet of the United Russia party]

Nasha obshchaia sud'ba – Krasnoiariskii krai [*Our common destiny is the Krasnoyarsk Krai*];

[from A Just Russia Party's election leaflet]

Eti vybory opredeliat nashe budushchee na 5 let vpered. Eto shans vosstanovit' spravledlivost' [*These elections will determine our future for five years to come. This is a chance to restore justice*];

[from the Communist Party's election leaflet]

Nam predstoit nachat' uskorennoe vozhozhdenie [*We have to start the accelerated rise*].

Conclusion

As a result, the uncertainty of the subject *They*, at first glance, developed by the indefinite personal form of the verb predicate and the pronoun *There*, turns out to be only a mask disguising a superficial uncertainty. It is easily removed by the subsequent context and concretized through the parameters «place» (for example, *vo vlasti, na rabote* [*in power, at work*]), «social status of the subject» (*chinovniki, nachal'stvo, bogatyie, khoziaeva* [*officials, bosses, the rich, owners*]), «nature of activity» (irrational, useless or correct actions; actions useful for *Us* – ordinary members of the community, *naroda, liudei* [*people, folks*]). The very grammatical uncertainty transforms into semantic markers displaying two certain polar evaluations: 1) distrust and non-confidence (often in relation to *Them*) and self-evaluation of rightness and compassion (often in relation to *Us*).

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