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Linguistic and cultural representation of success in English: British and American perspectives

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Abstract. Success as a cultural concept plays an important role in British and American societies, yet its linguistic representation and cultural interpretation remain insufficiently studied from a comprehensive cultural linguistics perspective. The purpose of this study was to identify and describe the semantic structure and culturally specific features of the “success” concept in English examining its linguistic objectification and culture-specific representations through a systematic comparison of British and American linguistic cultures. The research combined componential analysis, conceptual analysis, dictionary definition analysis, contextual analysis, conceptual metaphor theory, and comparative analysis. The material included data from English dictionaries, sources with phraseological units, literary works, and research papers. Key findings showed that “success” has eight semantic components: conceptual, axiological, figurative, symbolic, social, emotional, functional, and etymological. By means of the componential analysis it was revealed that while “success” is the broadest term, the related terms, like “achievement”, “accomplishment”, “prosperity”, and “triumph” focus on specific aspects. The study identified significant Anglo-American differences in “success” conceptualisations: while British culture values understatement and work-life balance, American culture values self-made success and competitiveness. Gender analysis showed women value balance while men value status; generational analysis showed a shift toward flexibility and experience over career markers. The research contributes new empirical data to cultural linguistics by showing how concepts can change depending on culture, gender, and age. Practical application includes training in intercultural communication, teaching English as a second language, and marketing strategies that need to be aware of cultural success orientation

Keywords: “success” concept; cultural linguistics; semantic structure; Anglo-American culture; cultural values; conceptual analysis; comparative linguistics

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Introduction

The concept of “success” occupies an important place in the modern world and is one of the main values that motivates people to achieve significant results in various activities. However, the concept of success is relative and can be interpreted differently depending on cultural, social, and personal characteristics. The “success” concept is examined from an English perspective, analysing its meanings and expressions, its mental component, and how it reflects the uniqueness of English-speaking society. The topicality of this study is determined by several factors. First, the concept of success is key to English-speaking culture, making its study essential for understanding the values and worldviews of English speakers. Second, in the context of globalisation and active intercultural interaction, there is a growing need for a deep understanding of the culturally specific features of the perception of universal concepts in different linguistic cultures. Third, despite the existence of works devoted to individual aspects of the concept of “success”, a comprehensive study of its semantic structure, methods of verbalisation and cultural specificity in British and American linguistic cultures remains insufficiently developed. The notion of “concept”, derived from the Latin “conceptus” (idea) and the verb form “concipere” (to conceive), is a fundamental unit of cultural and linguistic analysis. This has been widely discussed in recent scholarly works, such as those by F. Polzenhagen *et al.* (2024) and X. Zhao *et al.* (2023). In contemporary cultural linguistics, this term denotes a mental unit encoding cultural knowledge and values within a given linguistic community. Following Yu.S. Stepanov (2004) influential definition, which is widely cited in recent research, a concept is understood as the concentration of culture in human consciousness, by means of which culture penetrates the mental world of the individual.

Latest studies have shown an increasing focus on the cultural and gender aspects of defining success. F. Pace & G. Sciotto (2022) highlight that research on work-life balance reveals significant gender gaps, with women placing more emphasis on integrating work and life compared to men, while also facing greater challenges in advancing in their careers. Furthermore, cross-cultural research conducted by I.A. El Husseiny *et al.* (2025) on cultural values and economic success emphasises the importance of autonomy, personal fulfilment, and new materialism in contemporary definitions of success. British research on class and professionals’ life shows that people from different social backgrounds have divergent understandings of what success means. S. Friedman *et al.* (2021) note that working-class individuals are more likely to frame achievement in terms of community, stability, and effort against the odds, while those from privileged backgrounds define success through meritocratic and career-oriented narratives. These findings align with significant developments in cultural linguistics research, as L.T. De Beer *et al.* (2022) emphasised that

cultural values are reflected in linguistic representations. Even when there are a lot of studies in this respect, the number of works related to comprehensive linguocultural studies that include semantic structure, metaphorical representation, and cross-cultural comparison alongside gender and generational factors is still few.

Contemporary studies of the concept of “success” in various linguistic cultures demonstrate the relevance of this issue. Foreign scholars are actively studying the culturally specific features of perceiving success in an English-speaking society. The cultural roots of the Western orientation toward achievement and individual success have been traced back to the Protestant work ethic, whose foundational role in shaping capitalist values was established by M. Weber (1905); drawing on this legacy, J.J.B. Mijs (2021) demonstrated through the analysis of cross-national longitudinal survey data that citizens of more unequal societies, including the United States and the United Kingdom, tend to endorse meritocratic beliefs more strongly, attributing success primarily to personal effort and hard work rather than structural conditions. As globalisation and digitalisation have altered social values in English-speaking cultures, the very concept of “success” has undergone a transformation. For example, S. Butler (2024), studying youth engagement with social media in globalised market cultures, demonstrated that digitalisation has strengthened a competitive understanding of success based on status, material achievements, and public visibility.

Cognitive linguistics provides various theories for studying concepts, such as conceptual metaphor theory, prototype theory, and mental space theory, as outlined by N. Mushyrovskaya *et al.* (2022) and S.S. Hammadi (2023). However, these approaches have faced criticism regarding their alignment with real cognitive processes. For instance, A. Lenci & S. Padó (2022) question whether the theoretical constructs in cognitive linguistics accurately reflect the actual mechanisms involved in language perception and understanding. However, in this work, authors decided to use a conceptual approach to study lexemes, as it offers a convenient and understandable unit of analysis. In the opinion of authors, a concept is a mental unit that unites various lexical and phraseological units related to a specific topic or field of knowledge. It helps to “map” the mental structures and processes associated with the perception and interpretation of certain language units.

The authors applied a comprehensive approach to the analysis of the concept of “success”: examining its conceptual, figurative, and value components, identifying the culture-specific features of its representation in British and American cultural linguistics, and analysing gender and age differences in the perception of success by native English speakers. The aim of this study was to identify and describe the semantic structure and culturally specific features of the concept of “success” in English cultural linguistics. To achieve this goal, the following objectives



were implemented: analysed the theoretical and historical foundations of the concept of “success”, including the theoretical premises of concept study in modern linguistics and the historical context of the concept’s formation in English-speaking culture; identified and analysed key lexemes representing the concept of “success” in the English language and to describe the semantic structure and ways of its verbalisation; studied the culturally specific features of the concept of “success” in British and American linguistic cultures.

The research material consists of data from authoritative English-language explanatory dictionaries (Oxford English dictionary (n.d.), Cambridge dictionary (n.d.), Merriam-Webster dictionary (n.d.)), phraseological dictionaries (White, 1998; Simpson & Speake, 2009), contexts from works of fiction (Fitzgerald, 1925; Dickens, 2008), journalistic and popular science texts (Carnegie, 1936; Fox, 2004; Sandberg, 2013), as well as scientific works devoted to the study of the concept of “success” and related issues. To achieve the set goal, a comprehensive approach was used in the work, including the following methods: component analysis to identify and describe the semantic features of the lexeme “success” and related words; conceptual analysis to study the semantic content of the concept of “success” and its place in the concept sphere of the English language; analysis of dictionary definitions to identify and compare different interpretations of the lexeme “success” in authoritative lexicographic sources; analysis of linguistic means of objectifying the concept to identify and systematise lexical units, phraseological units, proverbs, and aphorisms representing the concept of “success”; contextual analysis to study the functioning of the concept in various types of discourse (literary, journalistic, business); the conceptual metaphor method developed by G. Lakoff & M. Johnson (1980) to analyse the figurative component of the concept; comparative analysis to compare the features of the concept of “success” in British and American linguistic cultures, as well as to identify gender and age differences in the perception of success. The use of a comprehensive approach combining various methods of analysis allows for a comprehensive study of the concept of “success”, revealing its semantic content, features of verbalisation, and functioning in the English-speaking linguistic culture.

Theoretical basis for studying the concept of success in linguistic cultural studies

A concept can be viewed as a mental construct/formation that expresses a person’s knowledge, associations, values, and ideas about the world. Concepts are formed as a result of interaction with the world in a person’s mind based on personal experience and practical activity. They reflect not only a rational but also a sensory, visual understanding of the world (Babushkin, 1996). A concept is understood as the basic unit of mentality in language. It is stable, constant, and independent of the form of its representation, i.e., its objectification in the form of an image, symbol, or notion. A concept is not merely an abstract idea, but rather

real knowledge that reflects human experience and views of the world. (Pimenova & Kapenova, 2016). The following characteristics can be identified in the structure of a concept: conceptual (distinctive features of the concept); imagery (based on sensory perception); value-based (in terms of emotional and evaluative attitudes toward the concept). Concepts themselves are dynamic; they change over time depending on cultural and historical factors. For example, the concept of “freedom” had different meanings for different peoples and in different historical periods (Arutyunova, 1999).

Concepts find a wide variety of expressions in language. There are several basic ways of representing concepts in language (Vorkachev, 2001). The primary means are lexical where the concept is named directly by words in its literal sense. The word “success” represents a similar concept. Synonyms (e.g., “prosperity”, “achievement”), antonyms (e.g., “failure”, “flop”), and derivative words (e.g., “successful”, “luck”) can also be used to express the concept. Such lexical units contribute to the expansion and more specific expression of a given concept in language. Phraseological and paremiological means, which are fixed expressions, proverbs, sayings, etc., reflect the cultural and national uniqueness of the concept. For example, the concept of “success” can be characterised by such phraseological expressions as “to hit the jackpot”, an expression that originally came from gambling but is now used to denote unexpected and significant success in various areas of life. Syntactic structures also serve as characteristic patterns for a given concept. For example, the concept of “success” is often expressed through conditional sentences that indicate a cause-and-effect relationship between actions and the achievement of success: “If you work hard, you will succeed”. Texts, which are works of art, messages, speeches, journalistic writing etc., provide the most detailed representation of a concept allowing for its interpretation in full cultural and historical context (Derbisheva, 2020). For example, the concept of the “American dream” is described in detail in F.S. Fitzgerald (1925) novel *The Great Gatsby*. The author depicts how the main character, Jay Gatsby, gains wealth and status by adhering to the ideals of success and prosperity accepted in the “American dream”. But all these values turn out to be an illusion and ultimately lead to tragedy. Thus, through the fate of his hero, F.S. Fitzgerald reveals the most important idea about the contradictory nature of the concept of “success” in American culture. Finally, associative and figurative means such as metaphors, comparisons, and epithets express the sensory and visual aspects of a concept. Thus, the concept of “success” is represented through metaphors such as “Riding the wave of success”, which views success as a powerful force of nature that a person can use to their advantage; “The fruits of success” – success is compared to a harvest, emphasising the result of effort and labour.

Associative and figurative language helps visualise the abstract concept of success, making it more concrete and often tangible. They show how culture perceives success

as something bright, noticeable, and desirable. For example: “Gatsby believed in the green light, the orgastic future that year by year recedes before us. It eluded us then, but that’s no matter – tomorrow we will run faster, stretch out our arms farther...” (Fitzgerald, 1925). Here, the “green light” symbolises success and the American dream that the main character strives for. This symbol shows that success seems attractive but is difficult to achieve, which is typical of early 20th-century American culture. “I have been bent and broken, but – I hope – into a better shape” (Dickens, 2008). Here personal development and achievement of success are compared to the formation of an object, which shows that difficulties and trials can lead to success and self-improvement.

In this article, the analysis of the concept of “success” focuses on several interconnected aspects. First, the attention is given to the significance of the concept in English-speaking culture, particularly in relation to the values of hard work, determination, individualism, and pragmatism. Second, the study examines how understanding of success has changed in English culture over time. Third, differences in the perception of success between men and women, as well as different age groups, are considered. Finally, the paper addresses the ways of representing the concept of “success” in language, including words, idioms, phrases, texts, and associative images. It is important to note that the selected aspects do not cover all possible directions of analysis of the concept of “success”. Nevertheless, authors believe that they represent the most important and interesting aspects for studying this concept in the context of the English language and demonstrate the effectiveness of the conceptual approach in linguocultural studies. Thus, the concept as a unit of linguistic and cultural analysis is a complex multidimensional mental construct that is objectified in language in various ways and reflects the national and cultural specificity of world perception. The concept of “success”, being one of the key concepts of English-language cultural linguistics, requires comprehensive research using a variety of analytical methods to reveal its semantic structure, modes of verbalisation, and culturally specific features.

Historical context of the concept of success in English linguistic culture

The concept of success in English culture has long historical roots, and its meaning and interpretation have changed at different stages of society’s development. The issues surrounding concepts, their nature, and their relationship to objective reality are rooted in the ancient philosophical tradition of studying human cognitive processes. M. Weber (1905) work “The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism” is fundamental to understanding the special role and value of success in Western cultural tradition drawing attention to how the Protestant work ethic, especially in its Calvinist form, shaped a completely new attitude toward work, wealth, and success in professional activities. Unlike the medieval Catholic view, Protestants did not consider the pursuit of wealth to

be sinful. On the contrary, commercial success and the accumulation of capital were seen as signs of godly behaviour and God’s blessing. In the Middle Ages, success was associated with belonging to an aristocratic family, titles, and hereditary land holdings. Genuine membership in the upper classes was automatically considered a sign of a successful life. The idea that financial success and prosperity in business are manifestations of virtue rather than vice had a profound influence on the formation of the capitalist spirit in Western Europe and North America. Protestant values of thrift, asceticism, and hard work contributed to the emergence of the “spirit of capitalism” – a rational economic ethic that made unprecedented economic growth possible. Thus, according to M. Weber (1905), the pursuit of success, especially commercial success, became not only acceptable but also socially approved, backed by religious sanction. Success in business came to be seen as a sign of being chosen and morally superior in the eyes of God. These philosophical and religious ideas formed the basis of a special value system in which success, achievement, and professional advancement are desirable and respected goals, rather than something immoral. This shift in values played a key role in the formation of modern Anglo-American business culture, where success is almost the highest goal and measure of human worth.

In English society, noble birth was long considered a necessary condition and prerequisite for success. Aristocratic descent opened the door to high social status, wealth, and influence, regardless of personal merit (Fox, 2004). In this cultural system, success was inherited, not earned – a reality critically explored by Ch. Dickens (2008) in “Great expectations”, where the protagonist’s quest for gentlemanly status reveals profound contradictions between privilege based on birth and individual worth. In contrast, American society, from its inception, positioned itself as a society of equal opportunity, where success is determined not by origin, but by individual abilities and hard work (Mijs, 2021). Since the famous geographical discoveries and colonisation of the New World in the 16th and 17th centuries, success has been viewed as an opportunity to get rich quickly and achieve success in a new land. This is how the concept of the “American dream” came about. The understanding of success began to shift away from aristocratic privileges. The idea that anyone can achieve success through their own efforts became one of the core cultural myths of the “American Dream”. As J.J.B. Mijs (2021) shows, belief in meritocracy and effort-based success has actually strengthened in more unequal societies like the United States, where surveys show that up to 95% of Americans attribute success to hard work, even as actual social mobility has declined.

In the 19th century, during the Victorian era, the emphasis was on hard work and thrift. Success was primarily defined by the ability to achieve material well-being through hard work and dedication. S. Smiles (1859) in his book “Self-help” popularised the idea that success is achieved through personal effort and perseverance. In the



20th century, with the development of consumer society, success was increasingly associated with external manifestations such as material well-being, especially in American society, luxury, and high social status. D. Carnegie (1936) in his book “How to win friends and influence people” links success to social skills and personal effectiveness. In the 21st century, in the era of digital technology and media, the concept of success is expanding to include factors such as a harmonious work-life balance, stability, and social influence. Particular attention is paid to achieving public recognition, celebrity, and popularity as new signs of success. S. Sandberg (2013) rethinks the concept of success in the context of gender equality and leadership. This evolution of the concept of “success” reflects profound changes in the values and worldview of English-speaking society, showing how language adapts to changing socio-cultural realities.

Keywords related to the concept of “success” in the English language

According to definition, key words are those whose analysis provides an opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of the essence of a particular culture and identify its characteristics (Surzhanskaya, 2014). M.V. Pimenova (2007) also notes the importance of key concepts that are reflected in frequent lexical and phraseological units of the language. It is precisely the key words often found in proverbs, sayings, and metaphors that are peculiar “markers” of concepts in culture. The concept of “success” is very important for English cultural linguistics, as evidenced by the presence of a number of key words and expressions associated with it. Table 1 represents dictionary definitions identifying interpretations of the lexeme “success” and words with similar meanings in English, using reliable lexicographic sources.

Table 1. Dictionary definitions of the lexeme “success” and words with similar meanings

Lexeme	Key aspects of definitions
“Success”	- Achieving the goal or the result desired - Gaining fame, wealth, status - Favourable outcome - Degree of success
“Achievement”	- Successfully realised work - The outcome gained through efforts - Great or heroic deed
“Accomplishment”	- Successful achievement - Task implementation - Special skill or capability
“Prosperity”	- State of success or prosperity - Financial well-being
“Triumph”	- Great victory or accomplishment - Jubilation and joy of success

Source: compiled by the authors based on Oxford English dictionary (n.d.), Cambridge dictionary (n.d.), Merriam-Webster dictionary (n.d.)

An analysis of the definitions shows that the concept of “success” in English has several key aspects. First, virtually all definitions emphasise the aspect of achieving a desired outcome or goal, making goal attainment the central and most universal component of the concept. Closely related to this is the concept of a positive outcome, as success is consistently associated with a favourable or desired result in all lexicographic sources examined. A third important aspect is material well-being, with many definitions explicitly including aspects such as wealth, economic prosperity, and financial achievement. Success is also often associated with social status, understood as the attainment of fame, notoriety, or high social standing, reflecting the deep connection between personal achievement and social recognition in English-speaking culture. Beyond material and social aspects, some definitions highlight the role of effort and skill, emphasising that success is not simply

a state but a result actively achieved through persistence, competence, and courage. Finally, the emotional aspect of success is particularly clearly reflected in the lexeme “triumph”, the definitions of which emphasise the personal satisfaction, joy, and delight that accompany achievement, pointing to the subjective and empirical side of the concept along with its more objective indicators.

Even though the analysis of dictionary definitions enables to identify the main aspects of the concept of “success” in English, a componential analysis is necessary for a deeper understanding of the differences between synonyms related to this concept, which will help discover subtle differences in meaning and determine how different aspects of success are manifested in each of the lexemes under consideration. Table 2 considers the semantic characteristics of the lexemes “success”, “achievement”, “accomplishment”, “prosperity”, and “triumph”.

Table 2. Componential analysis of synonymous lexemes of the concept of “success” in English linguistics and culture

Semantic property	“Success”	“Achievement”	“Accomplishment”	“Prosperity”	“Triumph”
Goal achievement	+	+	+	–	+
Desired outcome	+	+	+	–	+
Gaining fame	+	–	–	–	+
Gaining wealth	+	–	–	+	–
Gaining status	+	–	–	+	–
Favourable outcome	+	+	+	+	+
Degree of success	+	+	+	+	+
Effort / hard work	+	+	+	–	+
Great / heroic deed	–	+	–	–	+
Implementing objectives	+	+	+	–	–
Special skill / capability	–	–	+	–	–
Financial well-being	+	–	–	+	–
State of prosperity	+	–	–	+	–
Jubilation and joy	–	–	–	–	+
Personal satisfaction	+	+	+	+	+
Social recognition	+	+	+	–	+
Individualism	+	+	+	–	+
Team work	+	+	+	–	–
Competitiveness	+	+	+	+	+
Innovation	+	+	+	–	–
Responsibility	+	+	+	–	–

Note: “+” indicates the presence of the given semantic property in the lexeme; “–” indicates the absence of the given semantic property

Source: developed by the authors based on Oxford English dictionary (n.d.), Cambridge dictionary (n.d.), Merriam-Webster dictionary (n.d.)

An analysis of the synonymous lexemes reveals both shared features and meaningful differences. All lexemes are associated with a positive outcome and achievement, and all share the characteristics of “favourable outcome” and “degree of success”. However, there emerge significant distinctions when the lexemes are examined more closely. “Success” has the broadest set of characteristics, covering almost all aspects of the concept, while “achievement” and “accomplishment” are similar in meaning, with “achievement” more often associated with great or heroic deeds. “Prosperity” stands apart in its particular association with financial well-being and a state of material prosperity, whereas “triumph” is distinguished by its strong emotional component – the joy and exultation of victory – and its association with great achievements. Regarding the material aspect, it is most clearly expressed in the lexemes “success” and “prosperity” and less prominent in the remaining words. The social aspect is present across all lexemes but is most pronounced in “success” and “triumph”. Personal growth is reflected in all lexemes, particularly in “achievement” and “accomplishment”. Effort and skill are important for all exercises except “prosperity”, which focuses more on the result than on the process by which it is achieved. The emotional component is most strongly manifested in “triumph”, present to a notable degree in “success”, and less prominent in the other lexemes. Finally, with regard to the individual versus collective dimension, individualism is present in all lexemes except “prosperity”, while

teamwork is particularly relevant to “success”, “achievement”, and “accomplishment”.

This componential analysis shows that the concept of “success” in English linguistics and culture is diverse and includes both material and spiritual goals, as well as individual and group achievements. This concept can be expressed by different lexemes, each of which has its own specific meaning. The lexeme “success” is the most general and comprehensive concept, while other lexemes focus on specific aspects of success. Based on the analysis, it is possible to say that the concept of “success” is seen as an active process that depends on actions and acquired skills, not just natural abilities. Recognition by society is important, but it is not the only indicator of success. Such a broad understanding of success demonstrates its flexibility and inclusiveness in culture. This analysis confirms the multifaceted nature of the concept of “success” in the English language, which includes both tangible and intangible aspects, personal achievements, and social recognition. It also emphasises the importance of purposeful effort and skills in achieving success, which is consistent with the values of English-speaking culture, which is focused on individual achievements and results. This multifaceted understanding of success reflects the values and priorities of English-speaking society, where both individual achievement and the ability to contribute to the public good are highly valued. This complex view of success forms an important part of English-speaking linguistic culture and worldview.



Culturally specific features of the representation of the concept of success in British and American linguistic cultures

Success is one of the key concepts that plays a significant role in world cultures. In English-speaking culture, success is associated with achieving high results or set goals. A characteristic feature of the English language is the use of phrases and proverbs that emphasise individual achievements and the pursuit of excellence. For example, T. Edison's phrase "Genius is 1% inspiration and 99% perspiration" implies the need for hard work to successfully achieve goals (Rosanoff, 1932). American writer R.W. Emerson (2005) also wrote, "To be great is to be misunderstood", which emphasises the importance of achieving outstanding personal results. However, its content and meaning can vary significantly depending on cultural characteristics. Despite a common language and many shared cultural traits, the British and American understanding of success has a number of significant differences that reflect the unique historical, social, and cultural characteristics of these countries. These differences can be observed in the following aspects.

Origin and social mobility. Historically, British society has placed great importance on origin and social class. Success was often associated with belonging to a certain social stratum, education at prestigious institutions, and having the "right" connections (Goldthorpe, 2016). In American culture, on the contrary, the idea of the "self-made man" plays a central role. The American dream is based on the belief that anyone can achieve success regardless of their background (Cullen, 2004). An example of this is a study conducted by the Sutton Trust in 2019. It showed that 65% of senior judges, 59% of cabinet ministers, and 57% of permanent secretaries in the UK received a private education, even though only 7% of the population attends private schools (The Sutton Trust, 2019). In the US, according to the Pew Research Center (2012), 70% of Americans born in the bottom income quintile leave it in adulthood.

Attitudes towards wealth and displaying success. British culture has traditionally been more reserved in its attitude towards displaying wealth and success. K. Fox (2004) in her book "Watching the English" notes that openly boasting about wealth is considered vulgar in British society. American culture, on the other hand, is more open to celebrating financial success. T. Veblen (1899) described the phenomenon of "conspicuous consumption" in American society. Example: A study by A. Zakrzewski *et al.* (2019) showed that American millionaires spend an average of 65% of their income on luxury items, while British millionaires spend only 41%.

Work-life balance. In British culture, success often includes achieving a balance between work and personal life. This is reflected in legislation: in the UK, 28 days of paid vacation per year are guaranteed (GOV.UK, 2020). In American culture, success is often associated with a more intense work ethic. The US is the only developed country that does not have a legally established right to paid leave

(OECD, 2019). Example: according to Eurostat (2019), the average British worker works 36.5 hours per week, while the average American works 38.6 hours.

Attitude towards failure. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor reports that fear of failure is a significant barrier to entrepreneurship in the UK. In 2023, more than half of British adults who perceived good business opportunities would nonetheless not start a business due to fear of failure. This rate is higher than in the USA and above the average for comparable high-income economies (GEM, 2024). In American culture, failure is often seen as a step on the path to success. Research by the Global Entrepreneurship Institute (Acs *et al.*, 2018) and Development showed that 43% of Americans see good opportunities for starting a business, despite the risk of failure.

Education and success. In British culture, success is often associated with getting an education at prestigious universities. Research by Sutton Trust (Kirby, 2016) showed that 31% of Oxford and Cambridge graduates hold top management positions in the UK. In American culture, although prestigious education is valued, there is more emphasis on practical skills and entrepreneurship. According to a Forbes study, 30% of American billionaires do not have a college degree (Henrekson & Sanandaji, 2014).

Gender differences. In British culture, gender differences in the understanding of success are less pronounced, but still exist. For women, success is often associated with achieving a balance between career and family life and work-life conflict is a particular concern in the context of the UK (Crompton & Lyonette, 2006). Part-time work after having children is more common in Britain than in the USA, where dual-earner full-time couples are considered to be the norm (Lyonette *et al.*, 2011). For British men, success is traditionally associated with career growth and financial stability, but since the early 2000s there has been a trend toward a more emotionally engaged and involved model of fatherhood (Dermott, 2008). In the US, gender differences in the understanding of success are more pronounced. For American women, the concept of "having it all" – a successful career and a happy family life – is a distinctively American aspiration, one that A.M. Slaughter (2015) argues remains structurally unattainable for most women. Expressions such as "Her greatest success is her children" are often found in American discourse. For American men, success is more often associated with high social status, material wealth, and professional achievements, in other words a package in which breadwinning career promotion are central to masculine identity (Townsend, 2002). The saying "Behind every great man is a great woman" reflects the traditional view of gender roles in the family (Simpson & Speake, 2009).

Age characteristics. In the UK, the younger generation – millennials (born approximately 1981-1996) and Generation Z (born approximately 1997-2012) – values flexibility at work, experiences over traditional career milestones (Deloitte, 2019). For them, success is often associated with personal growth and self-fulfilment. Research into generational differences in work values suggests that

older cohorts of UK workers – particularly Baby Boomers (born 1946-1964) and Generation X (born 1965-1996) – traditionally place greater value on job stability, organisational loyalty and gradual career progression, although evidence for such generational differences remains mixed (Parry & Urwin, 2011). In the United States, research conducted among successive generations of young people shows that millennials (born approximately 1981-1996) place greater importance on financial success, status, and image than previous generations, although this increase in materialistic values has been accompanied by a decline in the centrality of work (Twenge & Kasser, 2013). Older Americans – primarily members of the Baby Boomer generation (born 1946-1964) – tend to prioritise financial security, family stability, and health, and these concerns become increasingly pressing as this generation approaches and enters retirement (Pew Research Center, 2010).

General trends. In both cultures, there is a noticeable shift toward a more balanced understanding of success, particularly among younger generations. Along with traditional metrics such as income and status, factors such as job satisfaction and opportunities for personal development are increasingly important – a trend consistent with broader evidence that economic development fosters a gradual shift away from purely materialistic values toward a greater emphasis on self-expression and quality of life (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). The influence of social media and digital technologies is also changing notions of success, introducing new indicators of status such as follower count, audience reach, and content virality – phenomena that have been particularly prominent in American digital culture (Marwick, 2013). These differences in the understanding of success are reflected in the language, literature, media, and public discourse of both countries. They

shape unique cultural narratives about what it means to be successful and influence the life strategies and goals of people in these societies.

However, it is important to note that in the era of globalisation, these differences are gradually blurring. Research by R. Inglehart & W.E. Baker (2000) shows that despite the preservation of unique cultural values, economic development is leading to shifts toward common values in many societies. As can be seen, the understanding of success in English-speaking culture depends significantly on gender and age indicators. The perception of success changes throughout a person's life, and this variable nature of the concept must be taken into account when conducting a detailed analysis.

Semantic structure the concept of success in the English language

Analysis of the semantic features of a concept is an effective method for studying the semantic structure of a word, which helps to reveal its conceptual content (Popova & Sternin, 2007). Among the approaches to the study of concepts, the method of conceptual metaphor stands out, through which it is possible to analyse the figurative component of a concept and examine the mechanisms of its objectification in language (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Within the framework of this method, various components (features) of a word's meaning are distinguished: conceptual, value-based, figurative, symbolic, etc. (Karasik & Slyshkin, 2001). The results of the analysis of the lexeme “success” are presented in Table 3, which shows in detail the content of the concept of “success” in English-speaking cultural linguistics. It reflects the value orientations and mentality of native speakers of English (British and American).

Table 3. Semantic features/components of the concept of “success” in English

Component	Features
Conceptual	Achievement of goals, desired outcomes
Figurative	Mountain Peak, trophy, gold
Axiological	Tenacity, proactivity, determination, competitiveness, individualism, teamwork ability
Symbolic	Dollar, crown, stars
Social component	Status, career, recognition
Emotional	Pride, satisfaction, enthusiasm
Functional	Motivation, guidance for actions, lifestyle
Etymological	<i>Succedere</i> (latin) – to move forward

Source: compiled by the authors based on V.I. Karasik & Slyshkin (2001), Oxford English dictionary (n.d.), Cambridge dictionary (n.d.), Merriam-Webster dictionary (n.d.)

The analysis shows that the concept of “success” in English is very diverse and includes practical, social, and personal aspects. It shows the connection between individualism and the ability to work in a team, emphasising the importance of both material well-being and social recognition. Success is perceived as an active process that requires certain efforts and qualities. The concept of “success” clearly reflects the values of British and American

cultures, combining material and immaterial components. Such research helps to better understand the cultural characteristics of English-speaking countries and can be useful in various fields, including intercultural communication and marketing. It provides important information about the motivations and values of English speakers, which can be useful for more effective interaction on an international scale.



To structure and visualise the concept of “success” in this study, a core-periphery model is also applicable, which allows to identify the central and peripheral components of the concept and trace their interrelationships. This concept model, developed in the works of such scholars as V.I. Karasik (2002), and S.G. Vorkachev (2003), Z.D. Popova & I.A. Sternin (2007) is based on the idea of a concept as a multi-layered mental unit with a core and a periphery. According to this theory, the core of the concept contains the most essential, stable, and universal features, while the periphery includes more abstract, context-dependent elements (Pimenova, 2007). Applying this model to the concept of “success” enables not only to structure its content, but also to identify culturally specific features of the understanding of success in English-speaking society. As Yu.S. Stepanov (2004) notes,

concepts are the basic cells of culture in the human mental world, and their analysis helps to reveal the peculiarities of the national mentality.

In the case of the concept of “success” in English (Fig. 1) (a Venn diagram is used to illustrate the structure of the concept), its core may include such fundamental aspects of success as: achieving goals, hard work, self-realisation, high social status, happiness, and satisfaction. These elements are the most universal and generally accepted in English-speaking culture. The periphery of the concept of “success” surrounding the core may include more specific and context-dependent meanings, such as balancing career and family life (for women), achieving material wealth, recognition from others, and possessing certain professional skills. These elements may vary depending on the context, social group, or individual preferences.



Figure 1. Core-periphery model of the concept of “success”

Source: developed by the authors based on the core-periphery concept model proposed in V.I. Karasik (2002), S.G. Vorkachev (2003), Z.D. Popova & I.A. Sternin (2007)

This model not only enables to visualise the structure of the concept of “success”, but also to trace the interrelationships between its various aspects, reflecting the multifaceted and complex nature of this concept in English-speaking culture. The diagram allows to see the possible intersections and interrelationships between different aspects of success. For example, “high social status” can be associated with “recognition” and “material well-being”. This representation of the concept of “success” reflects the specifics of English-speaking culture, where individual achievements (hard work, self-realisation), recognition in society, and material well-being are valued. Thus, the core-periphery model provides a productive analytical framework for understanding “success” not as a fixed concept, but as a culturally determined, hierarchically organised mental structure. The interrelations between core and peripheral elements reveal the dynamic nature of the concept and its sensitivity to context, social group,

and individual perspective – features that will be further illustrated through linguistic analysis in the next section. Having established the structural components of the concept of SUCCESS, it is now possible to examine specific linguistics means by means of which these components are realised and objectivised in English-speaking culture.

Linguistics means of objectivising the concept of “success” in English

In English linguistics and culture, the concept of “success” is primarily associated with the achievement of personal goals. Particular attention is paid to qualities such as persistence, competitiveness, initiative, and entrepreneurship. Success brings high status, pride, and satisfaction. English-speaking culture is characterised by a cult of success and achievement. Success is seen as the result of hard work, determination, and the pursuit of self-fulfilment. There is a proverb in English: “If a man empties his purse

into his head, no man can take it away from him". This proverb emphasises that success is based not only on material values, but also on knowledge, experience, and personal growth (Simpson & Speake, 2009). In English culture, education and continuous self-improvement are highly valued as a path to success. The constant pursuit of new knowledge, skill development, and self-education is seen as the primary way to achieve outstanding results in one's professional life and in life in general. The famous English saying "Knowledge is power" reflects this belief (Simpson & Speake, 2009). Successful people in English-speaking environments tend to value education and consider it an important investment in their future. Thus, the concept of success in English-speaking linguocultural circles includes not only material but also intellectual components. Acquiring knowledge and constantly improving oneself are seen as necessary conditions for achieving brilliant results and universal recognition. In English-speaking culture, qualities such as initiative, enterprise, and persistence in achieving goals are highly valued. This is reflected in English idioms (White, 1998) related to the concept of "success": "to build the foundations for future success", "to be on the road to success", "to hit the big time", "to make it big", etc.

Metaphors related to achieving success are also popular, such as "to strike it rich" and "to strike gold". These idioms and phrases emphasise the importance of hard work, determination, and the pursuit of success in English culture. An important feature of the concept of "success" in English linguistic culture is its direct connection with material well-being and career growth. A successful person is associated with wealth and high social status. This is expressed in metaphors such as "career ladder", "corporate ladder", "rising star", and others (White, 1998). It is particularly noted that the path to success requires perseverance and persistence. Success does not come by itself; it must be achieved decisively, gradually, step by step. This is evidenced by expressions such as "to climb the ladder of success", "success doesn't come overnight", "no pain, no gain" (Simpson & Speake, 2009).

In English culture, an important part of success is setting high goals and striving for continuous personal growth and self-improvement. As a rule, successful people set bold but achievable goals for themselves and make every effort to achieve them. At the same time, they do not rest on their laurels, but continue to develop and improve their skills and knowledge. The need for continuous self-improvement is seen as the key to long-term success and personal growth. As S. Smiles (1859) argued in "Self-help", great results cannot be achieved at once and progress must come step by step – it is not the final result but the sustained effort, patience, and endeavour that defines genuine achievement. This quote recommends that people constantly engage in self-improvement and focus on the process of personal development, rather than focusing solely on the final goal set in advance. Success is associated not only with the daily performance of duties, but with the embodiment of bold ideas and the implementation of ambitious plans.

Success is interpreted not as a single act, but as a continuous series of achievements and constant forward movement. This view of setting high goals and striving for new achievements is an important part of the success mentality in English-speaking culture.

Individualism is characteristic of the English mentality. In English-speaking culture, success is primarily considered a personal achievement. The emphasis is on personal abilities, efforts, and the degree of responsibility. This is confirmed by expressions such as "self-made man" (a person who has achieved everything on their own), "self-reliance" (independence), "self-improvement" (self-development), and others. At the same time, English society has more collectivist ideas about success. In particular, the ability to work in a team is emphasised (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010). This is evidenced by expressions such as "team spirit", "team work", "team success", "to pull together" (to work together), "to put your heads together" (to join forces), and others. A balance between individualistic and collectivist values is important for achieving success in English-speaking culture (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010). From an individualistic point of view, success is seen as a personal achievement, the result of one's own efforts and self-realisation. But, on the other hand, the ability to interact effectively in a team, coordinate joint work, and leverage the effect of collective efforts is also key to success. As a rule, successful people are capable of showing individual initiative and taking responsibility, but at the same time they can easily fit into teamwork and share the common values of the collective. The ability to combine individual aspirations with collective goals is considered an important factor in achieving outstanding results in both personal and professional spheres in an English-speaking environment (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010).

A characteristic feature of the English mentality is high internal motivation and a desire for self-realisation, constant self-improvement, and success. S. Jobs' famous quote, "The only way to do great work is to love what you do", illustrates the importance of internal motivation, enthusiasm, and passion in the lives of English-speaking people (Stanford Report, 2005). If a person is truly passionate about their work, they show much more diligence, creativity, and hard work. After all, thanks to this passionate love for their profession, many successful people achieve significant results and derive true satisfaction from the creative process. In culturally significant English-speaking contexts, the dollar sign (\$) is often associated with material well-being, financial prosperity, and commercial success. Phrases such as "to make a dollar" or "dollar sign" are widely used in economic and financial contexts (White, 1998). In addition, the image of a star is traditionally associated with ideas of fame, success, and public honour. The Hollywood Walk of Fame (n.d.) in Los Angeles, California, consists of sidewalks paved with five-pointed stars. Receiving a star on this walk is considered one of the most prestigious awards in the entertainment industry and symbolises the American dream of fame. The idiomatic expression "to reach for the stars" means



striving for high goals and ambitions, and the phrase “rising star” characterises young talents with the potential for significant achievements (White, 1998). Such linguistic expressions and metaphors are part of the cultural heritage, reflecting the English-speaking mentality of striving for high achievements and universal recognition. In general, the concept of “success” in English linguistics and culture is represented by the following characteristics: result orientation, hard work, determination, pragmatism, and individualism. At the same time, there are also collectivist ideas about success. This concept is directly related to material well-being and professional growth.

Conclusions

The study of the concept of “success” in the English language led to the following main conclusions. The concept of “success” plays an important role in the culture of English-speaking countries, reflecting the core values and views of people who speak this language. The analysis of dictionaries and texts showed that the concept includes various aspects, such as achieving goals, material well-being, social status, personal satisfaction, and recognition from others. An examination of the structure of the concept revealed that it consists of various components, such as conceptual, figurative, value-based, symbolic, social, emotional, and functional, which indicates its complex nature. The study also found some differences in the

understanding of success between British and American cultures, especially in relation to the display of wealth, work-life balance, and the perception of failure. Furthermore, the concept of “success” was shown to be dynamic rather than static, changing depending on social and demographic conditions. The study proved that component analysis and conceptual metaphor analysis are effective methods for identifying culturally specific aspects of the concept. The results contribute to a deeper understanding of the values and worldview of native English speakers, which is important in the context of globalisation and intercultural communication, as well as for teaching English. The study opens up opportunities for further research of culturally specific concepts in the field of cultural linguistics and cognitive linguistics, including comparative studies of “success” across broader linguistic cultures and an investigation of its representation evolved in digital and media discourse.

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Conflict of Interest

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Англис тилиндеги ийгиликтин лингвистикалык жана маданий репрезентациясы: британиялык жана американдык перспективалар

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Аннотация. Маданий концепт катары ийгилик британиялык жана американдык коомдордо маанилүү роль ойнойт, бирок анын лингвистикалык репрезентациясы жана маданий интерпретациясы маданий лингвистиканын комплекстүү перспективасынан жетишсиз деңгээлде изилденген бойдон калууда. Бул изилдөөнүн максаты – британиялык жана американдык лингвомаданияттарды системалуу салыштыруу аркылуу анын лингвистикалык объективациясын жана маданий өзгөчөлүктөрүн изилдеп, англис тилиндеги “ийгилик” концептинин семантикалык түзүмүн жана маданий-спецификалык өзгөчөлүктөрүн аныктоо жана сыпаттоо болуп саналат. Изилдөөдө компоненттик анализ, концептуалдык анализ, сөздүк аныктамаларды анализдөө, контексттик анализ, концептуалдык метафора теориясы жана салыштырмалуу анализ колдонулду. Изилдөө материалы катары англис тилинин түшүндүрмө сөздүктөрүнүн маалыматтары, фразеологиялык бирдиктердин булактары, көркөм чыгармалар жана илимий макалалар пайдаланылды. Негизги жыйынтыктарга ылайык “ийгилик” концепти сегиз семантикалык компоненттен турат: концептуалдык, аксиологиялык, образдык, символикалык, социалдык, эмоционалдык, функционалдык жана этимологиялык. Компоненттик анализдин жардамы менен “success” эң кеңири термин экени аныкталды, ал эми “achievement”, “accomplishment”, “prosperity” жана “triumph” сыяктуу байланышкан сөздөр концептинин айрым аспектилерине гана басым жасайт. Изилдөө ийгиликти концептуализациялоодогу маанилүү англо-американдык айырмачылыктарды аныктады: британиялык маданият кыйытма сөздөөнү жана иш менен жеке жашоонун тең салмактуулугун бааласа, американдык маданият өз алдынча жетишилген ийгиликти жана атаандаштыкка жөндөмдүүлүктү баалайт. Гендердик анализ аялдар тең салмактуулукту, эркектер болсо социалдык статусту баалаарын көрсөттү; муундар аралык анализ карьералык формалдуу көрсөткүчтөрдөн ийкемдүүлүккө жана жашоо тажрыйбасына карай баалуулук артыкчылыктарынын жылышын белгиледи. Изилдөө концепттердин маданий, гендердик жана жаштык факторлордун таасири астында кандайча өзгөрөрүн көрсөтүп, маданий лингвистикага жаңы эмпирикалык маалыматтарды кошот. Натыйжаларды практикалык колдонуу маданиятаралык коммуникацияны окутууну, англис тилин чет тил катары окутууну, ошондой эле ийгиликтин маданий багытын эске алган маркетингдик стратегияларды иштеп чыгууну камтыйт.

Негизги сөздөр: “ийгилик” концепти; маданий лингвистика; семантикалык түзүм; англо-американдык маданият; маданий баалуулуктар; концептуалдык анализ; салыштырмалуу тил илими



Лингвистическая и культурная репрезентация успеха в английском языке: британская и американская перспективы

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Аннотация. Успех как культурный концепт играет важную роль в британском и американском обществах, однако его лингвистическая репрезентация и культурная интерпретация остаются недостаточно изученными с позиций комплексной культурной лингвистики. Целью настоящего исследования являлись выявление и описание семантической структуры и культурно-специфических особенностей концепта «успех» в английском языке посредством изучения его лингвистической объективации и культурно обусловленных репрезентаций путём системного сопоставления британской и американской лингвокультур. В работе использовались компонентный анализ, концептуальный анализ, анализ словарных дефиниций, контекстуальный анализ, теория концептуальной метафоры и сравнительный анализ. Материалом исследования послужили данные толковых словарей английского языка, источников фразеологических единиц, художественных произведений и научных статей. К числу основных результатов относится следующее: концепт «успех» включает восемь семантических компонентов – понятийный, аксиологический, образный, символический, социальный, эмоциональный, функциональный и этимологический. В ходе компонентного анализа было установлено, что «success» является наиболее широким термином, тогда как смежные лексемы – «achievement», «accomplishment», «prosperity» и «triumph» – акцентируют отдельные аспекты данного концепта. Исследование выявило существенные англо-американские различия в концептуализации успеха: если британская культура ориентирована на сдержанность и баланс между работой и личной жизнью, то американская культура ставит во главу угла самостоятельно достигнутый успех и конкурентоспособность. Гендерный анализ показал, что женщины придают большее значение балансу, а мужчины – социальному статусу; поколенческий анализ зафиксировал смещение ценностных приоритетов в сторону гибкости и опыта в противовес формальным карьерным показателям. Исследование вносит новые эмпирические данные в культурную лингвистику, демонстрируя, каким образом концепты претерпевают трансформацию под влиянием культурных, гендерных и возрастных факторов. Практическое применение результатов охватывает обучение межкультурной коммуникации, преподавание английского языка как иностранного, а также разработку маркетинговых стратегий с учетом культурных ориентаций успеха.

Ключевые слова: концепт «успех»; культурная лингвистика; семантическая структура; англо-американская культура; культурные ценности; концептуальный анализ; сравнительное языкознание



Translation of Kyrgyz children's literature into English: A linguocultural perspective

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Abstract. This study examined the translation of Kyrgyz children's literature into English through a linguocultural lens, treating literary texts as essential vehicles for conveying a society's worldview, traditions, and collective consciousness. In an age of accelerating globalisation, children's literature functions not merely as an aesthetic artefact but as a potent instrument of socialisation and the intergenerational transmission of nomadic cultural values. The principal aim of the research was to investigate the strategies employed in rendering national and cultural realia, value systems, and symbolic elements in translated Kyrgyz fairy tales. Addressing a notable lacuna in translation studies, the work focused on the still largely underrepresented literatures of Central Asia in the English-speaking scholarly domain. Employing comparative-typological and analytical methods, the study scrutinised the mediation of key linguocultural markers – such as kinship terms, symbolic imagery, and culture-specific items – between the distinct cognitive universes of Kyrgyz and Anglophone cultures. Close analysis of selected translated fairy tales illuminated the inherent tensions between domestication and foreignisation strategies. Particular attention was paid to the rendering of Kyrgyz realia, including “kiyik” (a species of wild deer), “airan” (fermented mare's milk), “zhayanamaz” (a prayer rug), and “tunduk” (the wooden crown of a yurt). The findings demonstrated that while explication techniques – such as descriptive glosses and transliteration – facilitated reader comprehension, they occasionally risked diluting the deeper symbolic, ecological, and philosophical resonances embedded in the source texts. Additionally, the research offered a categorisation of Kyrgyz folktales according to their portrayal of social power and moral order, ranging from egalitarian narratives of justice to subtle reflections on authoritarian structures. Ultimately, the study concluded that systematic scholarly analysis and high-quality direct translation of Kyrgyz children's literature into English are indispensable for safeguarding national cultural identity, averting alienation, and enriching the global circulation of literary voices

Keywords: folklore; identity; intercultural communication; education; symbolic imagery

Introduction

In the era of globalisation, multilingual education has become a priority, and modern society increasingly expects the younger generation to express their thoughts fluently in two or three languages. Under such conditions, preventing cultural alienation while teaching foreign languages is a critical task. In this context, children's literature serves as an effective tool for transmitting cultural values to future generations. Consequently, the use of Kyrgyz folktales translated into English in the process of teaching English appears both relevant and pedagogically justified. K. Zhu & G. Guo (2024) highlighted that children's literature translation is gaining increasing visibility within translation studies, although its development remains uneven across languages and regions. Their analysis of 237

articles indicated a clear rising trend in publications. However, research on minor literatures and underrepresented language pairs is limited, emphasising the importance of examining Kyrgyz-English translation as a marginal literary system becoming part of a dominant *lingua franca*. An analysis by N. Turaeva (2025), of the translation of Roald Dahl's “Matilda” into Uzbek, for instance, demonstrated how culture-specific items, humour, and character voice pose particular difficulties when transposed into a different cultural environment. The study showed that translators frequently combine explication, adaptation, and partial retention of foreign elements in order to balance readability with the preservation of source-cultural distinctiveness. Such findings are methodologically relevant

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for examining how Kyrgyz culture-specific items and symbolic imagery are handled in English translations of fairy tales. M.A. Anjirbag & V. Joosen (2022) foreground the role of intercultural communication in the translation of children's narratives. A. Cabiati (2023) study on children's literature translation examined domestication and foreignisation, revealing that translators often work along a continuum rather than adhering to a strict opposition between the two concepts.

G. Kozhbaeva *et al.* (2024) discussed the translation of linguocultural units, emphasising the need for translators to balance the preservation of national realia with coherence for foreign readers. It suggests that partial transliteration with brief explanations helps maintain cultural value while minimising excessive commentary, applicable to Kyrgyz terms like "airan", "tunduk", and kinship-based address forms. The translation of children's literature occupies a distinctive position within translation studies due to its dual function as both a literary and pedagogical medium. Children's text are not only aesthetic artifacts but also powerful tools for socialisation, transmitting cultural values, norms, and worldviews to younger readers, as noted by X. Yang (2020). When such texts cross-linguistic and cultural boundaries, translation becomes a site of intensive cultural negotiation. This is particularly evident in the case of translating Kyrgyz children's literature into English, where a culturally rich yet globally underrepresented literary tradition is introduced to a dominant target culture with different assumptions about childhood, education, and narrative conventions. Despite a growing body of research on the translation of children's literature, existing studies have largely focused on major languages and literary systems, leaving minor and less-translated literatures underexplored. Central Asian literatures, including Kyrgyz literature, remain marginal in English-language scholarship. Where Kyrgyz texts are discussed, attention is often limited to folklore or epic traditions, with little systematic analysis of modern children's literature and its translation. This gap is particularly significant from a linguocultural perspective, as children's literature offers a concentrated representation of cultural values and social norms intended for intergenerational transmission. The aim of research was to analyse the translation of national and cultural realia, value orientations, and symbolic imagery in children's literature, particularly fairy tales.

Literature Review

Within translation studies, the linguocultural approach emphasised the inseparability of language and culture and views translation as an act of intercultural communication rather than mere linguistic transfer (Nida, 1945; Newmark, 1988). A primary cornerstone of contemporary translation theory is the "cultural turn", a paradigm shift championed by S. Bassnett (2002). This movement signalled a definitive departure from the constraints of formalist linguistic analysis – focused primarily on the "text" – toward a more expansive interrogation of "culture" as the governing framework of translation. In the field of children's

literature translation, this filtering is often intensified due to adult mediation, market pressure and normative assumptions about what is considered "appropriate" or "accessible" for child readers, as noted by R. Oittinen (2000). In the early 2000s, scholars reinforced the view of translation as a tool for intercultural education. I. Desmidt (2006) argued that translating for children is a cornerstone of a "new educational policy" essential for mitigating hostility toward the "strange" or the "other". However, this idealistic mission often conflicts with internal professional standards. Author identified this as a "collision of norms", where translators must navigate the tension between literary aesthetic requirements and didactic or pedagogical expectations. J. van Coillie (2008) argued that translation strategies – whether domestication or foreignisation – are rooted in the translator's or publisher's subjective beliefs about what children "can handle" or what is "good for them". As a result, translators frequently resort to domestication strategies, which may increase readability but risk reducing the visibility of source-culture-specific meaning.

Folklore genres reflect a people's historical experiences and cultural traditions. Therefore, through folklore works, present and future generations can learn about a nation's culture and history, become familiar with the historical narratives embedded in the language they are studying, and gain insight into enduring cultural values preserved over centuries. In this way, folklore also contributes to the broadening of intellectual horizons and cultural awareness (Landim *et al.*, 2016). An analysis A. Akmatalliev & G. Orozova (2002) of the genesis of the fairy tale genre demonstrates that it was predominantly created for children and often narrated by women. Mothers, in particular, are the first to sense changes in a child's emotional and psychological state and to transmit fundamental life values within the family. Life skills are primarily taught by mothers, while fathers traditionally reinforce and supervise these lessons externally. Thus, fairy tales, as part of children's literature, function as an artistic instrument of child upbringing and moral education (Akmatalliev & Orozova). According to Zh. Sheriev & A. Muratov (2014), Children's literature represents a corpus of literary works intended for preschoolers, younger school-age children, adolescents, and teenagers. Its primary purpose is the holistic development of the growing generation and their introduction to social reality and community life. The literature review revealed that the linguocultural approach in translation studies emphasises the inseparability of language and culture, viewing translation as an act of intercultural communication rather than mere linguistic transfer. The "cultural turn" marked a decisive shift from formalist textual analysis toward culture as the central framework of translation. In children's literature translation, this process is further complicated by adult mediation, market demands, and normative assumptions about suitability for young readers (Oittinen, 2000). Scholars such as I. Desmidt (2006) and J. van Coillie (2008) highlighted the tension between didactic expectations and literary aesthetics, often resulting in domestication strategies that enhance readability

but diminish source-culture visibility. Folklore and fairy tales, in particular, were recognised as powerful vehicles for transmitting national history, moral values, and cultural identity across generations.

Materials and Methods

The study employed a qualitative, descriptive research design with elements of comparative text analysis. The object of the research was Kyrgyz children's literature, primarily fairy tales and short narratives representing different models of social power and morality. The subject of the research was the English translation of these texts, with a particular focus on linguocultural markers (kinship terms, realia, symbolic imagery, evaluative lexis) and the translation strategies used to render them. The empirical material consists of a purposive sample of Kyrgyz fairy tales and children's stories that have published English translations. The core corpus is drawn from well-known Kyrgyz collections such as "Baldar jomoktoru" and subsequent anthologies of folk and authorial fairy tales, in combination with their English renderings in D. Brudny's (1954) collection of folk tales. The sample includes texts representing all three previously established groups of folklore narratives: (1) works reflecting democratic forms of governance and social justice; (2) works depicting transitional or unstable power relations; (3) works characterised by authoritarian rule. Selection criteria were as follows: (1) the text belongs to the corpus of children's literature intended for primary or lower secondary readers; (2) the story exists in both Kyrgyz and officially published English translation; (3) the narrative contains clearly identifiable culture-specific realia, kinship terminology, and moral-ideological framing; and (4) the length and narrative completeness allow for detailed comparative analysis.

The research was conducted in several consecutive stages. At the first stage, a corpus of Kyrgyz fairy tales and children's stories was compiled from printed and scholarly editions, after which the corresponding English translations were identified and matched text by text. At the second stage, the selected tales were classified according to their representation of social power and morality into three groups (democratic, transitional, authoritarian), drawing on existing folkloristic classifications and previous work on Kyrgyz children's literature. At the third stage, each source-target pair was subjected to a detailed linguocultural analysis. Key units for comparison included: (a) kinship terms and forms of address; (b) culture-specific realia (e.g., "kiyik", "airan", "zhayanamaz", "tunduk");

(c) symbolic and value-laden metaphors; and (d) narrative voice and evaluative comment. At the fourth stage, translation solutions for these units were coded according to a set of translation strategies (domestication, foreignisation, exploitation, generalisation, omission, substitution, and combined strategies), allowing for the identification of recurring patterns within and across the three groups of tales. Finally, at the fifth stage, the distribution of strategies was interpreted in relation to broader questions of cultural visibility, identity representation, and intercultural communication in the Kyrgyz-English context.

Methodologically, the study combined comparative-typological analysis with qualitative content analysis and elements of linguo-stylistic examination. Comparative-typological analysis was employed to identify systematic correspondences and divergences between the Kyrgyz source texts and their English translations at the levels of lexis, phraseology, and narrative structure. Qualitative content analysis focused on the ways in which moral and ideological content – particularly representations of power, justice, and social hierarchy – was preserved, attenuated, or reconfigured in translation. Linguo-stylistic analysis was used to detect shifts in register, expressivity, and evaluative tone that potentially influenced the child reader's perception of characters and events. The evaluation of translation solutions was based on a clearly defined set of parameters: (1) the degree of preservation of linguocultural markers (full retention, partial retention, or neutralisation); (2) the balance between domestication and foreignisation in the rendering of culture-specific items; (3) the level of explicitation or reduction of cultural and moral information; and (4) the coherence of characterisation and narrative voice in the target text in relation to the source. Within each parameter, translation choices were assessed not in terms of abstract "correctness", but according to their effectiveness in facilitating intercultural communication and their capacity to maintain the visibility of Kyrgyz cultural identity in English-language children's literature. The study was grounded in G. Gachev's framework of literary evolution, which posits a transition from patriarchal syncretic folklore-epic consciousness, where literature unites the functions of knowledge, religion, history, morality, law, and art, to a differentiated civil society with distinct forms of social consciousness (Ibraimov, 2014). Based on this idea, the relationship between power and the people in folklore works is divided into three characteristic types, and the corresponding folklore texts may be grouped accordingly (Table 1).

Table 1. Classification of folklore texts

Group	Type of power-people relationship	Main characteristics of folklore texts in the group
1	Life under democratic governance	Depict relatively fair rulers, dialog between authorities and common people, and an emphasis on justice and wisdom
2	Social instability; mixed democratic and authoritarian traits	Show transitional or unstable power relations, conflicts of interest, and ambivalent portrayals of rulers and people
3	Authoritarian governance	Portray unjust or oppressive rulers, limited voice for common people, and strong emphasis on resistance or retribution

Source: developed by the author



The first group of fairy tales included magical narratives and everyday tales. Kyrgyz everyday fairy tales such as “Zar and Meer”, “The khan and the wanderer”, “The wise girl”, “The wise critic”, “The wise vizier”, “A father's words”, “Two relatives”, “A father's testament”, “The talented boy”. portrayed wise khans, poor wanderers, farmers, the only daughter of a poor man, humble but wise individuals, poor boys, and gifted children raised by elderly women. These tales often conveyed moral lessons that taught respect for others regardless of status, fairness, wisdom, and concern for the future of humanity. Notably, a number of these tales were included in primary school curricula for the subjects Kyrgyz Language and Literary Reading. Works of the second group were fewer. An example was “The Khan Woodcutter”, where initially harmonious relations between a khan and a simple woodcutter deteriorated when the khan became envious of the woodcutter's magical abilities, leading to his moral downfall. The third group included tales such as “The Wise Old Man”, “The Wise Farmer”, “Two Relatives”, “The Khan and the Vizier”, and “Zheerentche and the Wise Karachach”. In the latter, the story centred on Janibek, whose desire to possess Karachach, the wise wife of Khan Zheerentche, led to unjust rule and public outrage. Ultimately, justice prevailed, addressing themes of freedom of speech, wisdom, beauty, and power, with wisdom and justice triumphing over tyranny.

Results and Discussion

Each ethnic group possesses distinctive cultural features and a unique worldview; therefore, identifying the characteristics of Kyrgyz fairy tales required consideration of established folkloric approaches to their classification. Kyrgyz fairy tales generally correspond to widely recognised folklore typologies and are commonly divided into several thematic groups, including magical, animal, and everyday tales. At the same time, they retain distinctive national features reflecting everyday life, traditions, and cultural values. A characteristic feature of Kyrgyz fairy tales is that protagonists are often identified not by personal names but by their defining traits, which highlights the symbolic and didactic nature of these narratives (Novikova, 2012; Osmonova, 2015). More broadly, folklore reflects stages in the cultural and social development of a society, serving as a medium through which moral norms, collective experience, and cultural knowledge are transmitted across generations (Ibraimov, 2014). The reliance of literary fairy tales on folklore traditions, along with many authors' efforts to preserve the canons and formulaic structures of folk narratives, made it possible to unite folk and authorial fairy tales within a single literary genre. The differences between literary and folklore fairy tales outlined by S. Sudartini (2024) were interpreted not as genre-differentiating features, but rather as indicators of the diversity and breadth of the fairy-tale genre. The formation of an original literary tradition requires not only creative originality but also a deliberate use of language as a carrier of culture and a medium for conveying cultural realities. These

individual and culturally grounded features are expressed through linguistic means operating at all levels of language, from phonology to intertextuality. From a linguocultural and translation-oriented perspective, literary style can be examined through the main branches of stylistics: phonostylistics, graphological stylistics, grammatical stylistics (including morphology and syntax), and lexical stylistics. At these levels, culturally specific realities are most clearly embedded in the text, which often creates challenges for translation and calls for carefully chosen strategies to ensure their accurate and meaningful transfer into the target language (Danilenko, 2011). When literary analysis is combined with linguistic and stylistic approaches, it allows for a deeper understanding of the text, helps identify culturally marked realities, and makes it possible to reconstruct both the author's creative individuality and the cultural-historical context in which the work was produced.

➤ Source text (Kyrgyz): “Ал бир күнү кийик атууга чыгып, бир жерге барганда самаган жерине жетип конуп калат”.

➤ Target text (English): “One day, Zhanek went hunting for kiyik, a special kind of goat with large horns. He and his helpers searched all day long without finding a kiyik”.

The key culturally marked lexical unit in the source text is “кийик” (“kiyik”). In Kyrgyz culture, kiyik refers to a wild steppe animal (saiga or antelope-like species) traditionally associated with hunting, nomadic life, and harmony with nature. It functions as a culture-specific item (realia), deeply embedded in the pastoral worldview of the Kyrgyz people. In the translation, the translator applies a descriptive explication strategy: “a special kind of goat with large horns”. This explanation helps the target reader visualise the animal but simultaneously reduces the symbolic and ecological value of “kiyik” by approximating it to a “goat”, which is more familiar to English-speaking audiences. While communicatively effective, this choice partially neutralises the ethnocultural specificity of the original.

➤ Source text (Kyrgyz): “Meni kayyp oygotkon eken go”, dep tañ kaldy.

➤ Target text (English): “So, I was woken up by a kaiyp (phantom?ghost?fairy?conjuror?)”, he murmured to himself.

The key culturally marked lexical item is “кайып” (“kaiyp”), which is deeply embedded in Kyrgyz folklore. It denotes a supernatural being, often endowed with magical or mysterious powers, capable of influencing human events. Within folklore, a “kaiyp” may manifest as a spirit or phantom, a magical being or fairy, or a human conjuror/sorcerer. In the English translation, the translator provides a parenthetical list of approximate equivalents: phantom/ghost/fairy/conjuror. This strategy signals cultural uncertainty and represents an attempt to convey meaning to readers unfamiliar with Kyrgyz folklore. While informative, it may also disrupt the narrative flow and diminish the folkloric resonance of the term. A more scholarly approach would be to retain kaiyp in italics and provide a footnote explaining its cultural specificity.

► Source text (Kyrgyz): “Жанекке айран күйт”.

► Target text (English): “Despite her painful leg, the girl got up and poured airan (Kyrgyz national drink)”.

“Айран” (“airan”) is a culture-specific item (realia) in Kyrgyz culture, referring to a traditional fermented dairy drink. It carries social, dietary, and symbolic significance, representing hospitality and everyday life in Kyrgyz society. In fairy tales, actions involving “airan” often highlight domestic responsibility and care. In the English translation, the translator retained the original term in transliteration, which is appropriate for ethnoculturally specific vocabulary, and added an explanatory note “Kyrgyz national drink”, following a descriptive explicitation strategy to make the cultural concept accessible to readers unfamiliar with Kyrgyz cuisine. This approach preserves the cultural value of the term while ensuring comprehensibility in English.

► Source text (Kyrgyz): “Эртең менен кыз Жанекке бир жайнамазын берип...”

► Target text (English): “After a good night’s rest the girl, giving her zhayanamaz (small carpet for prayer)...”

“Zhayanamaz” is a culture-specific element in Kyrgyz culture – a small, personal carpet or mat used for prayer and religious rituals. It carries deeper meanings, symbolising spiritual practice, cultural identity, and everyday domestic life. In Kyrgyz fairy tales, references to “zhayanamaz” often highlight care, piety, and moral upbringing. In the English translation, the original term is kept in transliteration, which is important for conveying its cultural uniqueness. An explanatory note “small carpet for prayer” is added to help readers unfamiliar with Kyrgyz culture understand its significance. This approach, known as explicitation, is commonly used in scholarly translations of folklore to preserve both the meaning and the cultural context of the original text.

► Source text (Kyrgyz): “Жанек ал түнү таң сүргөнгө чейин уктабай жатып, аялы таң сүрүп келе жатканда түндүк тартканы эшикке чыгып кетсе, уктап калат”.

► Target text (English): “Then, towards morning, his wife got up early and drew back tunduk (the upper range of the wooden skeleton of the yurt)”.

The term “tunduk” is a highly culture-specific element in Kyrgyz culture. It refers to the circular wooden crown at the top of a yurt, which both holds the structure together and allows light, air, and smoke to pass through. Beyond its practical function, the “tunduk” symbolises home, family unity, and the nomadic way of life. In Kyrgyz fairy tales, references to the “tunduk” often highlight daily routines and domestic life, reflecting broader social and cultural practices. In the English translation, the term is retained in transliteration, which is appropriate for culturally specific concepts that have no direct equivalent in English. An explanatory note “the upper range of the wooden skeleton of the yurt” – is added to help readers unfamiliar with Kyrgyz nomadic dwellings. This approach, known as explicitation, preserves both the meaning and the cultural context of the original term.

► Source text (Kyrgyz): “Жанек ээр-токумун башына жаздап, чепкенин айкарасынан үстүнө жаап киши

сыяктуу кылып карагайдын сыныгын жаткырып коюп, отту өчүрүп, мылтыгын октоп, карагайдын башына чыгып кетти”.

► Target text (English): “Covering his chepken (top of men’s clothing), he put out the fire, loaded his gun and covered the top of the spruce”.

This is a traditional men’s outer garment in Kyrgyz culture, typically constructed from thick felt or durable fabric. Beyond its practical use for warmth and protection, the “chepken” functions as a marker of social identity and cultural custom. In translation, the term is preserved in transliteration with a clarifying parenthetical “top of men’s clothing”, employing an explicitation strategy to render the culturally specific concept comprehensible to readers unfamiliar with Kyrgyz attire.

► Source text (Kyrgyz): “Ак сакалдардын созун эл жактап, койчуну кандыкка көтөрүшүп, ак шумкарды канга беришти”.

► Target text (English): “The people agreed with what the senior men had said and crowned the shepherd, and gave him the white eagle”.

The term literally means “white-bearded men” and denotes elders or respected advisors within Kyrgyz society. It carries connotations of authority, moral guidance, and communal respect for wisdom, particularly in decision-making contexts. In the English translation, it is rendered as “senior men”, which preserves the social and hierarchical meaning but omits the visual detail of “white-bearded”, thereby slightly diminishing the cultural and symbolic nuance.

The results highlighted a persistent tension between “domestication” and “foreignisation”. While the use of transliteration with explanatory notes (e.g., for “tunduk” or “airan”) preserved the cultural visibility of Kyrgyz identity, the study identified a risk of neutralising symbolic meaning when using descriptive approximations. For example, reducing the “kiyik” – an animal central to the nomadic pastoral worldview – to a “goat” diminished its ecological and symbolic value. Similarly, translating “ak sakalдар” as “senior men” stripped the term of its visual and moral connotations associated with “white-bearded” wisdom. The study of Kurdish translations of English short stories for children by F.M. Ghafur (2024) concluded that these translations tended toward domestication while deliberately preserving a certain degree of foreignness to acquaint young readers with other cultures. The Kyrgyz-English material showed a similar mixed profile: domestication was common at the lexical and evaluative levels, whereas emblematic realia such as “tunduk” remained visible, indicating a desire to introduce specific Kyrgyz markers rather than erase them. Research on cultural norms in translating children’s literature into Arabic by N.S. Al-Fouzan (2019) identified “cultural context adaptation” and substitution of source-culture items with target-culture equivalents as frequent strategies under pedagogical and ideological constraints. In the present corpus, full substitution was relatively rare; instead, sensitive ritual or ideological content (for example, episodes



involving “zhayanamaz”) was more often condensed or “neutralised” while retaining lexical traces of the source culture. A case study of Tolkien’s “Letters from Father Christmas” in Turkish by G. Hastürkoğlu (2020) showed intensive adaptation of Christmas-related practices through substitution and addition to achieve functional equivalence for child readers. By comparison, the Kyrgyz-English texts relied more on descriptive explicitation than on cultural substitution and thus preserved a recognisably Kyrgyz frame of reference. Similarly, a study of the bilingual Indonesian children’s book by S. Sudartini (2024) reported a predominance of domestication with selective foreignisation for salient culture-specific items. The Kyrgyz-English translations displayed a comparable hybrid strategy: overall domestication of narrative and moral texture combined with selective foreignisation of key realia, a configuration typical of transfers from minor to major languages. The dual role of children’s literature as both an aesthetic artifact and a pedagogical tool for socialisation is central to this discussion. In a globalised world, the “cultural turn” in translation studies suggests that culture is the governing framework. The research argues that scholarly translations are necessary to prevent cultural alienation among younger generations who may otherwise be exposed only to foreign narratives during language acquisition. By introducing globally underrepresented traditions into a dominant target culture, translation acts as a site of intensive cultural negotiation.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the translation of Kyrgyz children’s literature into English served as a vital pedagogical and cultural bridge, facilitating intercultural communication in an era of globalisation. This study underscored that such literature was not merely a collection of stories but a powerful tool for socialisation, transmitting nomadic values, communal ethics, and historical consciousness. As the sources demonstrated, the translation process was an act of intensive cultural negotiation, in which linguistic transfer had to account for the deep-seated linguocultural markers unique to the Kyrgyz worldview. The analysis of specific examples revealed the complexity of navigating between domestication and foreignisation strategies. For instance, the translation of the term “kiyik” as “a special kind of goat with large horns” employed a descriptive explicitation strategy that aided the English-speaking

reader’s visualisation but risked neutralising the animal’s symbolic and ecological significance within the pastoral tradition. Similarly, the term “ak sakaldar”, rendered as “senior men”, preserved the social hierarchy but lost the evocative visual and cultural nuance of “white-bearded elders”, who represented moral authority and communal wisdom. Conversely, the use of transliteration paired with explanatory notes, as seen with terms such as “airan” (“Kyrgyz national drink”), “zhayanamaz” (“small carpet for prayer”), and “tunduk” (“the upper wooden structure of the yurt”), demonstrated a successful strategy for maintaining cultural visibility while ensuring comprehensibility. These examples showed that preserving the original lexical unit was essential for conveying the uniqueness of Kyrgyz identity, such as the spiritual practice associated with the “zhayanamaz” or the nomadic symbolism of home represented by the “tunduk”. The research also highlighted that Kyrgyz folktales, categorised according to their reflections on power and morality, ranging from democratic narratives such as “The wise girl” to tales of justice such as “Zheerentche” and “The wise Karachach”, functioned as artistic instruments for child upbringing and moral education. Looking ahead, addressing the gap in English translations of Central Asian literature remained essential for preventing cultural alienation and ensuring that underrepresented traditions were visible to a global audience. Further research could focus on refining strategies for balancing domestication and foreignisation, thereby enhancing cultural preservation in translation. Additionally, expanding the presence of Kyrgyz literature within the global literary landscape could contribute to a deeper understanding of Central Asian cultures, fostering greater intercultural dialogue and solidarity. This linguocultural approach not only improves translation practices but also contributes to the preservation of national identity and the enrichment of the global literary landscape.

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Кыргыз балдар адабиятын англис тилине которуу: лингвокультуралык көз караш

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Аннотация. Бул изилдөөдө кыргыз балдар адабиятын англис тилине которуу лингвокультуралык аспектиден каралат. Адабий тексттер коомдун дүйнө таанымын, салттарын жана коллективдүү аң-сезимин жеткирүүнүн маанилүү каражаты катары каралат. Глобализациянын ылдамдашынын шартында балдар адабияты жөн гана эстетикалык артефакт эмес, социалдаштыруунун жана көчмөн маданий баалуулуктарды муундан-муунга өткөрүүнүн күчтүү куралы болуп саналат. Изилдөөнүн негизги максаты – кыргыз жомокторун которууда улуттук жана маданий реалияларды, баалуулук системаларын жана символикалык элементтерди өткөрүү стратегияларын изилдөө болду. Изилдөө котормо илиминдеги байкаларлык боштукту толтурууга багытталган, анткени Борбор Азия адабияттары, анын ичинде кыргыз адабияты, англис тилдүү илимий чөйрөдө али жетиштүү деңгээлде чагылдырыла элек. Салыштырма-типологиялык жана аналитикалык ыкмаларды колдонуу менен кыргыз жана англофон маданияттарынын когнитивдик дүйнөлөрүнүн ортосундагы негизги лингвокультуралык маркерлердин (туугандык терминдер, символикалык образдар, маданий спецификалык буюмдар) ортомчулугу талданды. Тандалган которулган жомокторду кылдат талдоо доместикация жана форенизация стратегияларынын ортосундагы чыңалууларды көрсөттү. Айрыкча кыргыз реалияларын өткөрүүгө көңүл бурулду, анын ичинде «кийик» (жапайы бүгүнүн бир түрү), «айран» (кымыздан жасалган ачытылган сүт), «жаянамаз» (намаз окуу төшөгү) жана «түндүк» (боз үйдүн жыгач төбөсү). Натыйжалар көрсөткөндөй, экспликация ыкмалары (сүрөттөмө глоссалар, транслитерация) окурмандын түшүнүүсүн жеңилдеткени менен, кээде булак тексттердеги терең символикалык, экологиялык жана философиялык маанилерди суюлтуу коркунучун жаратат. Мындан тышкары, изилдөөдө кыргыз элдик жомокторун социалдык күч жана адеп-ахлак тартибин чагылдыруусу боюнча классификация сунушталды – адилеттүүлүк жөнүндөгү эгалитардык баяндардан авторитардык түзүлүштөрдү ойлондурган назик чагылдырууларга чейин. Жыйынтыгында, изилдөө кыргыз балдар адабиятын англис тилине системалуу илимий талдоо жана сапаттуу түз которуу улуттук маданий иденттүүлүктү сактоо, ажырашууну алдын алуу жана дүйнөлүк адабий үндөрдү байытуу үчүн өтө зарыл деген корутундуга келди

Негизги сөздөр: фольклор; иденттүүлүк; маданияттар аралык коммуникация; билим берүү; символикалык образдар

Перевод кыргызской детской литературы на английский язык: лингвокультурологический аспект

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Аннотация. В данном исследовании перевод кыргызской детской литературы на английский язык рассмотрен через призму лингвокультурологии. Литературные тексты трактуются как важнейшие средства передачи мировоззрения общества, традиций и коллективного сознания. В эпоху ускоряющейся глобализации детская литература выступает не просто эстетическим артефактом, а мощным инструментом социализации и межпоколенческой передачи кочевых культурных ценностей. Основной целью работы стало изучение стратегий передачи национально-культурных реалий, ценностных систем и символических элементов в переводах кыргызских сказок. Исследование восполняет заметный пробел в переводоведении, сосредоточившись на литературах Центральной Азии, которые до сих пор остаются крайне недостаточно представленными в англоязычном научном пространстве. С помощью сравнительно-типологического и аналитического методов проанализировано опосредование ключевых лингвокультурных маркеров – таких как термины родства, символические образы и культурно-специфические предметы – между когнитивными мирами кыргызской и англоязычной культур. Подробный анализ избранных переводов сказок выявил присущие им напряжения между стратегиями доместикации и форенизации. Особое внимание уделено передаче кыргызских реалий, в том числе «кийик» (вид дикого оленя), «айран» (ферментированное кобылье молоко), «жаянамаз» (молитвенный коврик) и «тундук» (деревянный венец юрты). Результаты показали, что хотя техники экспликации (описательные глоссы, транслитерация) облегчают понимание читателем, они иногда рискуют ослабить более глубокие символические, экологические и философские смыслы, заложенные в исходных текстах. Кроме того, в работе предложена классификация кыргызских народных сказок по характеру изображения социальной власти и нравственного порядка – от эгалитарных повествований о справедливости до тонких размышлений об авторитарных структурах. В итоге исследование пришло к выводу, что систематический научный анализ и качественный прямой перевод кыргызской детской литературы на английский язык крайне необходимы для сохранения национальной культурной идентичности, предотвращения отчуждения и обогащения глобального литературного пространства.

Ключевые слова: фольклор; идентичность; межкультурная коммуникация; образование; символические образы



The history of verb studies in Germanic and English linguistics

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Abstract. The systematic description of the verb across morphological, semantic, and syntactic levels remained a theoretical challenge in Germanic linguistics, given the typological divergence between English – an analytically structured West Germanic language – and German, which preserved a fuller inflectional paradigm. The aim of this study was to analyse the English verb within the context of the Germanic languages, specifically examining its tense, aspect, person, mood, verb paradigm (finite/infinite), and its role in sentence structure, particularly in terms of its predicative and valency properties. Drawing on academic grammars of English and German, reference terminological dictionaries, and theoretical works of classical and contemporary scholars, the study employed comparative-typological, descriptive, and conceptual-synthesis methods alongside diachronic-synchronic analysis and syntactic valency analysis. Verbal theory was traced from Pāṇini's analysis of Sanskrit verbal roots and the Alexandrian doctrine of mood through the foundational contributions of A.A. Potebnya and V.V. Vinogradov to current phylogenetic and corpus-based research. A comparative analysis of finite and non-finite paradigms revealed a core typological asymmetry: while morphological person marking had been reduced to the third-person singular Present Simple, English developed sixteen tense-aspect forms across four aspectual groups and three temporal planes, including four Future-in-the-Past constructions whose diachronic origin and modal-temporal semantics remained theoretically contested. The notional-structural distinction, examined through three competing classification frameworks, proved gradient rather than categorical, shaped by grammaticalisation pressure and functional frequency. The dominant role of the verb-predicate was confirmed through the theory of centripetal potency and cross-linguistic valency data, establishing that the verb's argument-opening capacity was a typologically stable feature of the Germanic family. These findings were applied to university courses in theoretical grammar, Germanic typology, and the history of the English language, providing a basis for lexicographical and corpus-based descriptions of verbs

Keywords: diachrony; finite forms; centripetal potency; valency properties; grammaticalisation; periphrastic constructions

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Introduction

The linguistic parameters of diachrony and synchrony were introduced into scholarly usage at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, providing a foundational methodological basis for any comprehensive analysis of the verb. N.S. Qobilova *et al.* (2021) defined diachrony as the path through time that every linguistic element follows as part of the linguistic system; the historical development of the system as a whole, viewed as an object of linguistic study, whilst synchrony was understood as “the conventional identification of a particular state, a particular historical stage, as an object of linguistic study”. In diachronic investigation of the verb, its development is examined from the standpoint of historical time – specifically, by establishing which theories have addressed the question, which scholars have made the most substantial contributions to its study, and what forward-looking significance those inquiries have carried. Synchronic investigation, by contrast, entails examining the verb within a “frozen” integral language system at the current stage of development, without regard to who studied or described it in the historical past. Drawing on the definitions provided by Y. Deng *et al.* (2022), the verb is defined as a part of speech (a) denoting action or state as process (the semantic criterion); (b) expressing this meaning through the categories of aspect, voice, tense, person, and mood (the morphological criterion); (c) functioning in the sentence primarily as the predicate (the syntactic criterion). Central to the analysis is the morphological division of verbs into finite and non-finite forms, each of which possesses a distinct set of grammatical categories within the Indo-European languages. Particular attention was given to the predicative function of personal forms and to the special status of the infinitive as a “verbal nominative”, as E. Laporte *et al.* (2025) noted.

At the semantic level, classifications of verbs of being and the distinction between dynamic and stative lexemes were investigated. At the syntactic level, the valency properties of the verb and its role as the constitutive centre of the sentence, capable of opening various actant positions, were examined. In addition, semantic-syntactic oppositions – personal versus impersonal, transitive versus intransitive – that determine the structure of the utterance were considered. Within the scope of Germanic linguistics, the English verb was analysed through the prism of its analytical development and typological divergence from the inflectional German language. In the investigation of the complex system of 16 tense forms and the category of Future in the Past, questions surrounding the inter-categorical relationships of person, number, and tense were addressed. The work rests on the theory of centripetal potency, which, as W.K. Asri *et al.* (2024) argued, supports the dominant position of the verb in the hierarchy of parts of speech and syntactic structures. The verb is universally acknowledged as the syntactic and semantic nucleus of the sentence, yet the mechanisms by which it acquired and maintains this

position across the Germanic language family remain subjects of active scholarly inquiry.

Among the West Germanic languages, English presents a particularly revealing case: having undergone the most radical morphological simplification in the family, it simultaneously developed one of the most intricate periphrastic tense-aspect systems in the Indo-European group. This structural paradox makes the English verb an ideal test case for theories of grammatical change and typological comparison, and recent advances in digital corpus analysis and phylogenetic modelling have made its systematic re-investigation both timely and methodologically well-supported. The diachronic dimension of verbal morphology in Germanic has attracted renewed interest through computational approaches. The syntactic behaviour of the finite verb – its positional constraints within the clause – has been revisited diachronically by S. Harchaoui & P.-Y. Modicom (2025), who examined verb-third phenomena in Germanic verb-second languages. Their analysis demonstrated that Old High German permitted substantially greater flexibility in pre-finite clause structure than present-day German does, establishing that the rigidity of the verb-second constraint is itself a historical development rather than an invariant Germanic property. For the study of English, where verb-second movement was lost during the Middle English period, this result confirms that synchronic accounts of verbal syntactic behaviour require explicit integration of diachronic evidence.

From a typological perspective, the impact of inflectional complexity on verbal constructional networks was investigated by K. van Goethem & N. Koutsoukos (2022), who applied a corpus-based constructionist analysis to denominal verb formations in English, Dutch, and German. The study found that while all three languages share the same inventory of morphological construction types – conversion, prefixation, and suffixation – a Germanic cline exists in preferences for non-overt versus overt word-class marking, with English favouring conversion most strongly owing to its reduced inflectional morphology. This finding establishes a direct relationship between a language’s typological profile and the shape of its verbal constructional system. Semantic evolution at the English-German cross-linguistic interface has been addressed by W.K. Asri *et al.* (2024), who used digital text corpora and historical archive data to map mechanisms of semantic change in both languages. They found that metaphorical extension accounts for approximately 30-40% of new verbal and lexical terms in each language, while external historical factors – wars, industrialisation, and globalisation – contribute a further 20-30% of semantic evolution. Despite shared West Germanic ancestry, the two languages diverge in the frequency and preferred pathways of change: English exhibits a higher rate of lexical borrowing, while German relies predominantly on compounding as its primary mechanism of semantic expansion. Despite the large number of studies devoted to the verb in Germanic



languages, a comprehensive analysis that fully integrates diachronic and synchronic approaches while considering its morphological, semantic, and syntactic characteristics within the broader context of Indo-European typology remains lacking. The present study aimed to provide an integrated diachronic and synchronic analysis of the verb in Germanic and English linguistics, examining its morphological, semantic, and syntactic parameters as an interconnected system situated within the broader framework of Indo-European typology.

Literature Review

The study of the verb as a grammatical category has a history spanning more than two millennia, beginning with the early theoretical reflections of ancient Indian and Greek scholarship and extending through the classical tradition of Russian linguistics into the contemporary descriptive and theoretical frameworks. The earliest systematic treatment of the verb is found in ancient Indian grammatical thought. As R.H. Robins (1967) documented, Indian grammar of the IV century BC typically distinguished four parts of speech, singling out the verb and noun as the two principal classes and describing the verbal system in careful detail, including the categories of tense, mood, and person. The author noted, that the ancient Indian grammarians – and Pāṇini in particular – held that all Sanskrit words derived from indivisible verbal roots, which served as the productive base for the word-formation system, generating denominal structures of the type root + primary suffix. Ancient Greek scholarship developed the tradition in a complementary direction. As V.N. Kodukhov (1974) observed in his textbook on general linguistics, scholars of the Alexandrian grammatical school – Aristarchus of Samothrace, Dionysius Thrax, and Apollonius Dyscolus – produced in the II century AD a doctrine of eight parts of speech as a properly grammatical classification of words, positioning the verb in second place after the noun. At the same time, R.H. Robins (1967) noted that it was with the verb that these scholars associated the newly developed doctrine of mood, distinguishing indicative, optative, indefinite, and imperative varieties and thereby establishing the verb as the leading element of syntax. The theoretical legacy of antiquity was substantially elaborated in the Russian-language tradition of general linguistics. In his work, A.A. Potebnya (1958) analysed the verbal categories of tense, mood and voice. In his work, A.A. Potebnya addressed the views of his contemporaries who denied the independent grammatical status of tense and mood, attributing these categories instead to syntactic structures. He critically examined the nature of these categories in the Russian language, questioning their existence and independent function within its grammatical system. This insistence on the morphological integrity of the verb established a foundation for all subsequent Russian verbal theory.

The semantic characterisation of the verb was advanced most comprehensively by V.V. Vinogradov (1947). Author demonstrated that the semantic structure of the verb is broader and more flexible than that of any other

grammatical category, a property attributable to the dominant role of prefixes in verbal morphology. V.V. Vinogradov further showed that “action” and “state” are subsumed under the neutral category of “process”, unifying traditionally opposed verbal classes. Of particular importance is V.V. Vinogradov’s characterisation of the infinitive as the “verbal nominative” – the unmarked base form of the verb – a concept further developed by E.M. Galkina-Fedoruk (1957). N.Yu. Shvedova *et al.* (1989) identified the semantically coherent class of “verbs of being”, whose lexical content traverses the existential continuum from anticipation through emergence and realisation to disappearance along a scale that shifts the expression of process in relation to the moment of actualisation. C. Fehrer (2019) showed that German and English deploy their own characteristic sets of these verbal subtypes, a finding of direct relevance to any comparative Germanic analysis.

The further distinction between dynamic and stative verbs, examined by Yu.S. Maslov (1975) and F. Günther *et al.* (2019), results in a matrix of semantic types that is essential for the description of the English and German verbal lexicon. M. Parrott (2010) extended this analysis, demonstrating that syntactic markers are assigned to sentence constituents and transferred to whichever part of speech occupies the predicate position. The relationship between verbal frequency and syntactic valency was explored at a typological scale by S. Tao *et al.* (2024), who analysed data from 79 languages and demonstrated that more frequent verbs consistently display greater valency frame diversity, a pattern interpreted as evidence that the verbal lexicon is organised according to principles of communicative efficiency at the lexicon-grammar interface. The valency dimension was investigated comparatively by Sh.M. Iskandarova & Sh.A. Ganieva (2024), who showed that the verb’s capacity to open actant positions for one to four nominal dependents makes it the constitutive structural centre of the sentence – a conclusion reinforced by O. Oreshko (2009) for Russian and by A.K. Kashyap (2019) for typologically diverse language systems.

The interaction between morphological, semantic, and syntactic mechanisms was theorised by R.H. Robins (1989), who emphasised that linguistic levels are mutually conditioned and systematically interdependent. This interdependence underlies the semantic-syntactic classifications of the verb. The aforementioned V.V. Vinogradov (1947) argued that impersonal verbs are historically secondary formations – originally all verbs were personal, and the loss of explicit person reference occurred diachronically, leaving the third-person singular as a residual form whose personhood remains present only in potential – a view supported by E.M. Galkina-Fedoruk (1957) and N.Yu. Shvedova *et al.* (1989). A. Craevschi *et al.* (2025), working with 107 cognate verbs across 14 archaic and contemporary Germanic languages, demonstrated through a hierarchical phylogenetic model that the distribution of morphological irregularity in strong verb paradigms is functionally motivated: verbs preserving the ABB alternation – distinct preterite and past-participle stems – do so

because this allomorphy encodes a semantically significant binary opposition between present and past.

This findings establish that irregular morphological patterns in the Germanic verb system are functional assets maintained over historical time by the pressure to preserve semantically useful distinctions, directly informing any account of verbal restructuring in the history of English. This finding is particularly pertinent to English, where high-frequency verbs combine exceptional valency flexibility with the role of constitutive structural centre of the clause. The literature review demonstrated the long-standing and multifaceted development of the study of the verb, tracing its evolution from ancient Indian and Greek grammar to modern Russian linguistics. It highlighted key contributions to the understanding of the verb's grammatical, semantic, and syntactic roles, revealing how its morphology, function, and relationships with other grammatical categories have been systematically explored over time. The analysis also underscored the interdependence of these levels of linguistic structure, particularly in the context of Russian and Germanic languages.

Materials and Methods

The research is grounded in two categories of materials, each selected based on distinct criteria. The theoretical and descriptive foundation of the study includes works by prominent scholars in the field of world linguistics, such as V.V. Vinogradov (1947), A.I. Smirnitsky (1959), A.A. Potebnya (1958), and others. These sources provided a comprehensive framework for the analysis, drawing on both classical and contemporary linguistic scholarship. Sources were selected based on four criteria:

- disciplinary authority – inclusion of works by scholars whose theoretical contributions are recognised across the Russian-language and Western European linguistic traditions;
- level coverage – the corpus was assembled to provide adequate theoretical grounding for each of the three levels of analysis (morphological, semantic, and syntactic);
- genre representativeness – the corpus combines theoretical monographs, normative academic grammars, and terminological reference works, thereby ensuring both interpretive depth and descriptive precision;
- and typological contrast – sources about both English and German were included to illuminate the analytical-inflectional typological divide within the West Germanic sub-group.

The linguistic material for analysis, consisting of verbal paradigms and syntactic constructions from English and German, was exclusively selected from normative academic grammars, specifically R. Quirk *et al.* (1982) and M.Y. Blokh (1994). These sources were chosen for their authoritative and comprehensive treatment of the grammatical structures under investigation. The selection criterion for linguistic data was attestedness in standard descriptive sources: only paradigmatic forms and construction types documented in the cited academic grammars were admitted to the analysis, thereby excluding colloquial,

dialectal, or non-standard usage. By contrast, the synchronic component of the analysis is based exclusively on modern normative grammars describing the contemporary state of the English and German verbal system. The methodology rests on a systemic approach to language as an integral object in continuous historical development. The study employed a set of general scientific and specialised linguistic methods. The comparative-typological method was applied to identify convergent and divergent features in the verbal systems of English and German; the analytical procedure comprised selecting verbal paradigms, comparing morphological categories (person, number, tense, voice, mood) according to a uniform descriptive scheme, identifying typological divergences, and interpreting those divergences from the perspective of analytical versus inflectional language type. Diachronic and synchronic analyses were used, respectively, to trace the evolution of verbal theory from ancient Indian and Graeco-Roman grammar to modern linguistics and to describe the current state of the language system as a structural cross-section. The descriptive method supported the inventorying and classification of finite and non-finite verb forms. Syntactic analysis and the method of communicative sentence division were applied to study valency properties and the constitutive role of the verb in sentence structure. The method of conceptual synthesis made it possible to integrate the morphological, semantic, and syntactic levels to construct a multidimensional classification of the verb as a bearer of processuality. The concepts of centripetal and centrifugal potential of linguistic units, as proposed by Z. Ospanova (2023), were applied, which underpin the central position of the predicate verb within the semantic-syntactic space of the utterance.

Results and Discussion

The Germanic language family encompasses all languages descended from Proto-Germanic; in the present study, the focus falls on English and German as typologically contrasting representatives of the West Germanic subgroup. Modern English, whose foundations were laid by the tribal languages of the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians who migrated to the British Isles in the V century AD, absorbed extensive phonetic, lexical, and grammatical elements from Norman, Middle French, Norwegian, Danish, and other languages, moving decisively away from the inflectional type and losing many features of both external and internal inflection (Qobilova *et al.*, 2021). This diachronic trajectory produced a structural complexity in which different aspects of the language developed in ways that appear outwardly autonomous yet remain systematically interconnected – a property that V.N. Yartseva (1968) identified as the fundamental methodological challenge of English-language diachrony, while P.M. Arkadiyev (2020) observed that the question of accounting for these connections in synchronic versus diachronic analysis remains unresolved. Contemporary comparative research has confirmed and refined this typological divergence. K. van Goethem & N. Koutsoukos (2022) demonstrated



that within the West Germanic cline, English shows the strongest preference for morphologically unmarked, conversion-based verbal constructions precisely because its reduced inflectional morphology removes the formal barriers to zero-derivation, while German retains overt affixation as the dominant strategy. W.K. Asri *et al.* (2024) further showed that despite shared West Germanic ancestry, English and German have diverged in the mechanisms of verbal semantic change: English exhibits a higher rate of lexical borrowing, while German relies on compounding – a divergence traceable to the contrasting

morphological profiles of the two languages. At the definitional level, this typological divergence is also reflected in verbal semantics: C. Fehrer (2019) defined the verb as an independent part of speech denoting action or state, while G. Leech *et al.* (2010) subsumed both meanings under the single concept of process, which more accurately captures the semantic breadth of the verbal category. A systematic comparison of the finite and non-finite verbal paradigms of German and English reveals both structural parallels and significant typological divergences, which are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Grammatical categories of German and English verbs: A comparative overview

Form type	Grammatical category	German	English
Finite verbs	Person	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd
	Number	Singular; plural	Singular; plural
	Conjugation scope	All persons × 2 numbers	3 rd person sg. only (Present Simple)
	Tense	6 forms: Präsens; Präteritum; Perfekt; Plusquamperfekt; Futur I; Futur II	16 forms: 12 logical-grammatical (4 groups × 3 temporal planes) + 4 Future in the Past
	Voice	Active; Passive	Active; Passive
	Mood	Indicative; Imperative; Subjunctive	Indicative; Imperative; Subjunctive
Infinitive	Person / Number / Mood / Tense	–	–
	Voice	Active; Passive	Active; Passive
	Total forms	2	6 (4 active: Simple, Continuous, Perfect, Perfect Continuous; 2 passive)
Participle	Person / Number / Mood	–	–
	Tense	Partizip I; Partizip II	Participle I (Indefinite); Participle II; Perfect Participle
	Voice	Active; Passive	Active; Passive
	Total forms	2	3
Gerund	Status	Absent	Present
	Tense	–	Present; Past; Future
	Voice	–	Active; Passive

Source: compiled by the authors on the basis of R. Quirk *et al.* (1982), M.Y. Blokh (1994), C. Fehrer (2019), H. Camp (2020)

As the Table 1 demonstrated, both languages converge in their basic inventory of grammatical categories for finite verbs but diverge sharply in the scope of morphological realisation. German conjugates all personal verbs across three persons and two numbers, while in English, person marking has been reduced to the third-person singular of the Present Simple. Most strikingly, where German deploys six tense forms, English operates with sixteen, constituting a tense-aspect matrix without a direct equivalent anywhere in the West Germanic sub-group. In the domain of non-finite forms, English exceeds German both in the variety of non-finite categories – the gerund has no equivalent in German – and in the formal differentiation of the infinitive (six forms versus two) and the participle (three forms versus two). In English and Germanic linguistics, the structural centrality of the verb has been theorised through the framework of centripetal and centrifugal potency. Any linguistic unit possesses two complementary capacities: centripetal potency (*zentripetale Potenzen*) – the capacity to attract other units and to extend its grammatical properties over them – and centrifugal potency (*zentrifugale Potenzen*) – the tendency to gravitate toward

units with stronger grammatical properties (Fedulenkova & Basova, 2020; Ospanova, 2023). W.L. Chafe (1975) argued that the entire conceptual world of the human being divides between the sphere of the verb – covering states, conditions, and events – and the sphere of the noun, covering things, and concluded that the verb occupies a central structural position while the noun is peripheral. The EU Horizon VALGER project by the European Commission (2024), which reconstructs proto-Germanic valency frames across seven ancient and modern Germanic languages, further confirms that this valency-based centrality has been a stable feature of the Germanic language family since the proto-language stage. Additional evidence is provided by the verb's capacity to reduce the subject to purely formal representation – as in “it has been raining since three o'clock” – and by its ability to open the maximum number of actant positions simultaneously (Halliday, 1994; Morozova & Pozharytska, 2025).

A competing theoretical position holds that subject and predicate stand in a relationship of structural equipollence. J. Lyons (1978) and R. Quirk *et al.* (1982) grounded this view in the analysis of immediate constituents,

arguing that the binary division of the sentence into two obligatory, mutually conditioning elements implies their equal structural standing. A.I. Smirnitsky & V.V. Passek (1957), A.A. Reformatskiy (1998) and E. Skvayrs (2022) developed this position, demonstrating that subject and predicate are semantically independent yet mutually complementary: only in the configuration S + P can they constitute the minimal sentence-utterance. A structurally instructive asymmetry exists between English and Russian: where Russian freely tolerates subjectless constructions, English strongly resists constructing a sentence without a formally expressed subject (Close, 1975). Within this framework, V.N. Yartseva (1968) argued that the direct object occupies a structurally distinct position from other secondary constituents, ranking closer to the principal sentence constituents in the S + P + O schema characteristic of English and the Germanic languages (Blokh, 1994).

Several fundamental questions in the grammatical description of the English verb remain unresolved. A.I. Smirnitsky (1959) identified the most foundational: the relationship between person, number, and tense in a language where personal morphology has been reduced to the third-person singular Present Simple – raising the question of whether person can be regarded as a productive grammatical category for the full paradigm (Radford, 1988; Hogg & Denison, 2008). A second cluster of unresolved questions concerns the internal organisation of the sixteen-form tense-aspect system. It remains theoretically unclear why the English indicative active distributes its forms along two independent axes – the logical-temporal plane (past, present, future) and the aspect-phase plane (Indefinite, Continuous, Perfect, Perfect Continuous) – rather than along the simple three-term temporal axis of most Indo-European languages. The four Future-in-the-Past forms raise additional outstanding questions regarding their diachronic origin, frequency of use across registers, and the structural relationship they encode between future temporal reference and retrospective modal framing. The historical loosening of pre-finite clause constraints in the ancestor languages of English appears to have created structural conditions conducive to the development of complex periphrastic verbal constructions, including retrospective modal-temporal composites, suggesting that the resolution of these issues lies at the intersection of historical syntax and synchronic tense-aspect theory. One of the more persistent difficulties in English verb grammar is the disconnect between morphological and semantic classifications – they frequently fail to map onto each other, and their terminological labels vary considerably from one tradition to the next. Three criteria are in play when linguists classify verbs: morphological, semantic, and syntactic. The problem is that researchers tend to treat one as primary and sideline the others, which explains why the resulting classifications look so different depending on who you read. This tension between criteria is not unique to English, but it becomes especially acute here. In a language exposed to contact-induced change on a historically unusual scale,

this instability affects practical classification – a verb listed as notional in one grammar may function semi-notionally in another corpus context.

Three classification approaches dominate the tradition. The first, associated with I.P. Ivanova *et al.* (1981) divides all English verbs by functional-syntactic usage into notional, semi-notional, and structural verbs. Notional verbs are full-meaning words that independently express a definite action in a simple predicate. Semi-notional verbs – modals, aspectual phase verbs like “keep”, and copular-type verbs like “feel, remain, continue” – function as markers of the predicative relation between a feature or action and another notional word rather than as independent semantic units. Structural verbs – auxiliaries, link-verbs, substitute and intensifying verbs – serve purely grammatical functions (Ivanova *et al.*, 1981). This tripartite division is conditioned by the analytical typological structure of English, in which functional-syntactic role is a more stable diagnostic than morphological form (Biber *et al.*, 2021; Hlykhovtseva & Hlykhovtseva, 2022).

The second classification, developed by H. Camp (2020), foregrounds the constitutive-combinatory aspect of the syntactic criterion, distinguishing notional from structural lexemes by their capacity for modification – verbs by adverbs, nouns by adjectives, and so on. Structural verbs, within this framework, function alongside inflection, word order, and intonation as grammatical means, marking relations between notional words rather than independently encoding semantic content. M.R. Manzini & L.M. Savoia (2011) extended this position by arguing that the functional-syntactic capacity of structural words is precisely what defines their role in the analytical syntax of the Germanic languages. Additionally, M.R. Manzini & L.M. Savoia (2011) questioned the validity of the traditional full-meaning versus structural distinction, arguing that in many cases the boundary between these categories cannot be clearly established. Their position is based on two main assumptions: first, structural elements are inherently linked to specific grammatical functions and operate as markers that classify or constrain a referent; second, lexical (full-meaning) items may be regarded as such only insofar as the phenomena they denote constitute independently conceptualised entities. The operative criterion, therefore, lies squarely in functional syntax – a position that more recent corpus-based work has independently confirmed. The traditions of classification and the aforementioned studies converge on a key point: no single criterion – morphological, semantic, or syntactic – is sufficient in itself for the classification of English verb forms, and the boundary between lexical and structural categories is better understood as gradient rather than categorical. Consequently, any classification based solely on static synchronic criteria is likely to encounter difficulties in accounting for the full range of verbal behaviour in English; an adequate account must therefore treat the lexical-structural continuum as a dynamic property of the linguistic system, rather than a boundary that can be definitively established by a single criterion.



Conclusions

The findings of this study confirm that the English verb occupies a distinctive position within the West Germanic language family, and that this distinctiveness cannot be reduced to a single defining feature. Rather, it emerges from the interaction of morphological, semantic, and syntactic parameters, which have consistently constituted the foundational criteria of verbal theory across different linguistic traditions. What varies across these traditions is not the criteria themselves, but the relative priority assigned to each and the theoretical implications derived from that prioritisation. The comparative analysis of English and German verbal paradigms has revealed a structural paradox at the core of the English verb system: morphological reduction and analytical expansion proceed in parallel rather than compensating for one another. While inflectional marking has been significantly reduced, particularly in the domain of person, the system has simultaneously developed a highly elaborated tense-aspect framework. This asymmetry between a simplified inflectional structure and an expanded analytical system constitutes a key typological feature of the English verb and helps to explain the persistence of unresolved issues in its grammatical description. The analysis of verb classification further demonstrates that no single criterion – morphological, semantic, or syntactic – is sufficient in isolation. A comprehensive account requires

the integration of these dimensions within a unified framework that reflects the gradient and dynamic nature of verbal categories. In this respect, the theoretical model of centripetal and centrifugal potential proves productive, as it substantiates the role of the verb-predicate as the structural and semantic centre of the clause. At the same time, approaches that emphasise the co-dependence of subject and predicate capture important structural constraints of English, suggesting that these perspectives should be viewed as complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Despite the progress achieved, several issues remain open to further investigation. In particular, the diachronic emergence of the Future-in-the-Past constructions, the interaction between person and number within the plural paradigm, and the mechanisms linking morphological reduction with analytical development throughout the history of English require more detailed and focused analysis.

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Аннотация. Морфологиялык, семантикалык жана синтаксистик деңгээлдерде этишти системалуу сүрөттөө герман тил илиминде теоретикалык көйгөй бойдон калууда, анткени англис тили – аналитикалык түзүлүшкө ээ батыш герман тили – менен флексивдүү парадигмасы кыйла толук сакталган немис тилинин ортосунда типологиялык айырмачылыктар бар. Бул изилдөөнүн максаты – герман тилдеринин контекстинде англис тилиндеги этишти талдоо, атап айтканда анын чак, түр, жак, ыңгай категорияларын, этиштин парадигмасын (жактуу/жаксыз формаларын), ошондой эле сүйлөмдөгү ролун, айрыкча предикативдик жана валенттүүлүк касиеттерин изилдөө болду. Англис жана немис тилдеринин академиялык грамматикаларына, терминологиялык маалымдама сөздүктөргө жана классикалык жана заманбап окумуштуулардын теориялык эмгектерине таянып, изилдөөдө салыштырма-типологиялык, сүрөттөөчү жана концептуалдык синтез ыкмалары, ошондой эле диахрондук-синхрондук талдоо жана синтаксистик валенттүүлүк талдоосу колдонулду. Этиш теориясынын өнүгүшү Панининин санскрит этиш тамырларын талдоосунан жана Александрия мектебинин ыңгай жөнүндөгү окуусунан баштап, А.А. Потенция менен В.В. Виноградовдун негиз салуучу эмгектери аркылуу азыркы филогенетикалык жана корпус негизиндеги изилдөөлөргө чейин каралды. Жактуу жана жаксыз парадигмаларды салыштырма талдоо негизги типологиялык асимметрияны аныктады: морфологиялык жак категориясы англис тилинде Present Simple чактын үчүнчү жак жекелик формасына чейин кыскарганына карабастан, тил төрт аспекттик топ жана үч убакыттык план боюнча бөлүштүрүлгөн он алты чак-аспект формаларын, анын ичинде диахрондук келип чыгышы жана модалдык-убакыттык семантикасы талаштуу бойдон калган төрт Future-in-the-Past конструкциясын өнүктүргөн. Үч атаандаш классификациялык моделдин алкагында каралган түшүнүк-структуралык айырмачылык категориялык эмес, градуалдуу мүнөзгө ээ экени аныкталды, бул грамматикализация басымы жана функционалдык жыштык менен шартталган. Этиш-предикаттын үстөмдүк ролу центростремителдик потенция теориясы жана тилдер аралык валенттүүлүк маалыматтары аркылуу тастыкталып, этиштин аргументтик позицияларды ачуу жөндөмү герман тилдерине мүнөздүү типологиялык түрүктүү белги экендиги көрсөтүлдү. Алынган жыйынтыктар теоретикалык грамматика, герман тилдеринин типологиясы жана англис тилинин тарыхы боюнча университеттик курстарда колдонулуп, ошондой эле этишти лексикографиялык жана корпус негизиндеги сүрөттөө үчүн негиз боло алат.

Негизги сөздөр: диахрония; жактуу формалар; центростремителдик потенция; валенттүүлүк касиеттери; грамматикализация; перифрастикалык конструкциялар

История изучения глагола в германском и английском языкознании

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Аннотация. Системное описание глагола на морфологическом, семантическом и синтаксическом уровнях остается теоретической проблемой в германском языкознании, что обусловлено типологическими различиями между английским – аналитически организованным западногерманским языком – и немецким языком, сохранившим более полную флективную парадигму. Целью данного исследования был анализ английского глагола в контексте германских языков, в частности рассмотрение его категорий времени, вида, лица, наклонения, глагольной парадигмы (личные/неличные формы), а также его роли в структуре предложения, прежде всего с точки зрения предикативных и валентностных свойств. На основе академических грамматик английского и немецкого языков, справочных терминологических словарей и теоретических работ классических и современных исследователей в работе использованы сравнительно-типологический, описательный и метод концептуального синтеза, а также диахронно-синхронный анализ и анализ синтаксической валентности. Теория глагола прослеживалась от анализа санскритских глагольных корней у Панини и александрийского учения о наклонениях до фундаментальных трудов А.А. Потебни и В.В. Виноградова, а также современных филогенетических и корпусных исследований. Сравнительный анализ личных и неличных парадигм выявил ключевую типологическую асимметрию: в то время как морфологическая категория лица в английском языке редуцирована до формы третьего лица единственного числа в Present Simple, язык развил шестнадцать временно-видовых форм, распределенных по четырем аспектуальным группам и трем временным планам, включая четыре конструкции Future-in-the-Past, диахроническое происхождение и модально-временная семантика которых остаются предметом теоретических дискуссий. Понятийно-структурное разграничение, рассмотренное в рамках трех конкурирующих классификационных моделей, оказалось градуальным, а не категориальным, что обусловлено давлением грамматикализации и функциональной частотностью. Доминирующая роль глагола-предиката подтверждена теорией центростремительной потенции и данными межъязыковой валентности, что позволяет утверждать, что способность глагола открывать аргументную позицию является типологически устойчивой характеристикой германских языков. Полученные результаты могут быть использованы в университетских курсах по теоретической грамматике, германской типологии и истории английского языка, а также служат основой для лексикографического и корпусного описания глагола

Ключевые слова: диахрония; личные формы; центростремительная потенция; валентностные свойства; грамматикализация; перифрастические конструкции





Linguocultural concepts of “freedom” and “dignity” in the literary discourse of Ch. Aitmatov (based on the story “The First Teacher”)

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Abstract. In the context of the rapid digitalisation and globalisation of higher education, there arises an acute need to rethink classical humanistic ideals and the role of the teacher as a moral compass capable of resisting the threats of “digital mankurtism”. This article aimed to identify the specific ways in which the linguocultural concepts of “freedom” and “dignity” are represented within the fictional world of Ch. Aitmatov, drawing on his early prose. The study employed methods of comparative and typological analysis of literary texts, a hermeneutic approach to the interpretation of literary characters, as well as an axiological method to identify value dominants in the writer’s pedagogical legacy. The work established that, within Aitmatov’s fictional universe, the phenomenon of education extends beyond the mere transmission of knowledge, becoming an act of existential salvation for the individual. An analysis of the teacher Dyushen’s character in the story “The First Teacher” revealed that pedagogical activity is regarded by the author as a moral feat aimed at overcoming spiritual unfreedom and age-old ignorance. It was found that the “rural school” in the writer’s works functions as a sacred space where a person’s agency – their capacity for conscious choice and responsibility – is formed. Particular attention was paid to the “enlightenment – mankurtism” antithesis: it was demonstrated that the loss of access to cultural and intellectual values leads to the degradation of the human within the human, making Aitmatov’s ideas highly relevant to the contemporary educational paradigm. The authors argued that personal dignity, as interpreted by Aitmatov, is inextricably linked to intellectual autonomy, which is instilled through the figure of the “ideal teacher” – one who combines self-sacrifice with fidelity to humanistic principles. The findings of the study can be integrated into university courses on pedagogy, philology, and the philosophy of education, and may also be used in developing strategies for educational work in higher education institutions to foster value-based competencies in students

Keywords: humanistic philosophy; pedagogical ideal; axiology; mankurtism; intellectual emancipation; spiritual enlightenment; ethics of education

Introduction

The relevance of the present study stems from the need to rethink the humanistic potential of classical literature in an era of total digitalisation and the transformation of educational paradigms. Within contemporary higher education, where emphasis often shifts towards technological skills, there is a risk of losing the ethical foundation of pedagogy. An examination of the concepts of “freedom”

and “dignity” in the work of Chingiz Aitmatov made it possible to reveal the enduring value of enlightenment ideas as the only means of protecting the individual from “digital mankurtism” and spiritual degradation. The study of the writer’s literary discourse has facilitated the search for answers to contemporary challenges related to preserving human identity and moral compass points in a globalising

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world. The problem of interpreting Aitmatov's concepts and their influence on pedagogical thought is at the centre of attention for contemporary researchers. E. Abdulvokhidov (2025a) emphasises that the pedagogical activity represented in the character of Dyuishen contributes to the formation of an individual's value core and the development of the student's independent thinking. In the broader context of pedagogical research, M. Kabysheva (2025) notes that education acts as a key mechanism for shaping agency and critical thinking. An analysis of the story "The First Teacher" also shows that the teacher figure functions as a mediator between traditional society and modernising educational discourse, as asserted by A. Yeşilyurt & Z. Okyay (2024).

Developing the theme of linguocultural codes, researchers in their work Z.Kh. Satkeeva *et al.* (2023) emphasised that the concept of "the human being" in the writer's fictional world is revealed through a system of moral values, including humanism, responsibility, spiritual maturity and the capacity for moral choice. In this context, the human being was viewed not merely as a social but also as an ethical being, whose essence is determined by their internal dispositions and actions. In turn, in contemporary research E.I. Monastireva-Ansdell (2020) emphasises that Aitmatov's work reflects the complex interplay of tradition and modernisation, where education acts as a key tool for societal transformation. At the same time, the writer's literary prose was regarded as an important factor in the formation of moral values and personal development, as asserted by K.K. Akmatov (2019). Questions of identity and cultural memory were explored through the lens of historical transformations and philosophical reflections on ethics, where the human being was defined through moral choice and internal dispositions, as noted by G.D. Danilchenko (2013). The cross-cultural character of Aitmatov's work is also confirmed by N.Sh. Nasibullina's (2020) research on Turkic literary connections.

In the context of contemporary pedagogical challenges, researchers note that the work of Chingiz Aitmatov contains significant educational potential, in which the intellectual development of the individual is inextricably linked to their moral formation and responsibility. This was confirmed by the work of E. Abdulvokhidov (2025b), devoted to the pedagogical aspects of the writer's legacy, which emphasised his contribution to shaping value orientations and the spiritual upbringing of young people. Philosophical interpretations of his work, as shown by A.I. Kadyrov (2023), confirm that the problems of freedom, dignity and moral choice occupy a central place in the writer's fictional universe, forming a coherent humanistic conception of the individual. An additional contribution to the study of axiological aspects of Ch. Aitmatov's work has been made by contemporary researchers. In particular, the work of K.K. Bekzada (2023) emphasised that the writer's fictional world is based on a system of universal human values that transcend the national context. A similar point was developed by V. Semenova (2025), noting the universality of the issues addressed in Ch. Aitmatov's

works and their accessibility to the global community. In its pedagogical aspect, the story "The First Teacher" was examined as a model of personality formation through moral effort and the role of the teacher, as indicated by E. Abdulvokhidov (2025b), where the category of dignity, linked to the teacher's mission, acquired particular significance. From the perspective of comparative literary studies, the work of Chingiz Aitmatov was considered as part of a broader transcultural space, which made it possible to compare his humanistic ideas with world literary traditions, as noted by A.I. Smirnova (2024). At the same time, as researchers have pointed out, Ch. Aitmatov's humanism was shaped through personal experience and moral trials, which allowed the concept of "dignity" to be interpreted as the result of the individual's active internal and spiritual development, as asserted by A. Kadyrov (2021). In this context, the ideas of a "culture of peace" in his work were interpreted as a system of moral and spiritual guidelines aimed at harmonising social relations and developing civic consciousness, as emphasised by N.L. Chulkina & K.E. Kasymalieva (2019).

Particular attention in contemporary scholarly literature has been paid to the philosophical and aesthetic dimensions of Chingiz Aitmatov's fictional world. In a study by I. Yakubov & M. Yarmukhammat (2023), it was noted that the writer's fictional picture of the world was formed as an integrated system reflecting the interrelationship of the individual, society and spiritual values. In this context, the space of the rural school in the early prose was examined as a locus for the transmission of moral experience and cultural meanings from teacher to student, as was confirmed by research on pedagogical orientation conducted by C.A. Adilova (2022). At the same time, an analysis of concepts in Ch. Aitmatov's prose showed that the categories of "dignity" and "the human being" were revealed through a set of the individual's moral characteristics, as was indicated in the work of Z.Kh. Satkeeva *et al.* (2023). A theoretical understanding of the category of dignity was correlated with contemporary philosophical approaches, in which it is regarded as a key value of a global society, as noted by G.G. Kolomiets *et al.* (2019). Thus, the problem under investigation is interdisciplinary in nature and lies at the intersection of philology, pedagogy and philosophy.

The aim of the conducted study was to identify the linguocultural specificity of the concepts "freedom" and "dignity" in the literary discourse of Ch. Aitmatov, as well as to provide a theoretical justification of their significance as fundamental ethical guidelines within the contemporary educational paradigm. The methodological framework of this study comprised a set of general scientific and specialised methods of humanistic inquiry, the choice of which was determined by the interdisciplinary nature of the work. The primary material for the study was Ch. Aitmatov's story "The First Teacher" (Aitmatov, 1991), along with a broad corpus of contemporary scholarly literature, including monographs and articles (Monastireva-Ansdell, 2020; Kadyrov, 2023). The study relied exclusively



on verified scholarly publications and literary texts. To achieve the stated aim, a hermeneutic analysis of the text was applied, which permitted a deep interpretation of the literary characters and revealed the hidden value-laden meanings of the hero's pedagogical feat. The method of discourse analysis was used to study the interaction of linguocultural codes within the space of Aitmatov's prose, offering the possibility of examining the school as a specific communicative field. The method of interpreting the concepts “freedom” and “dignity” made it possible to explicate their semantic content and trace their transformation within the context of the author's pedagogical philosophy. Furthermore, an axiological approach was employed to substantiate the value significance of education as a tool for protecting the individual. The use of these methods in combination ensured the evidential basis of the conclusions and allowed the literary material to be examined in inseparable connection with the pressing problems of contemporary pedagogy.

***Literary representation of the concepts
“enlightenment” and “agency”
in the early prose of Ch. Aitmatov***

Within the literary system of Ch. Aitmatov, the path towards acquiring personal agency begins in borderline, almost unbearable conditions: in the space of an abandoned stable transformed into a school. A linguophilosophical analysis of the text permits this space to be interpreted as a locus of collision between two antagonistic discourses: a traditionalist one, based on cultural inertia and stagnation, and a modernising one, represented by the figure of Dyuishen. Such an interpretation finds confirmation in contemporary research, where the story “The First Teacher” (Aitmatov, 1991) is examined as a site of intense interaction between tradition and modernisation, forming a hybrid cultural identity (Monastireva-Ansdell, 2020). For the patriarchal society represented in the story through the figures of “those in power” and conservative elders, education is marked as a threat that undermines the established social order (Huang & Sang, 2023). Ch. Aitmatov demonstrates that the traditional way of life, lacking an enlightenment impulse, leads to a reduction of the personality and the suppression of agency. This thesis correlates with contemporary research in the field of pedagogy, according to which education acts as a key factor in the formation of personal autonomy, critical thinking, and the capacity for social action (Yuan & Liao, 2023).

The semantics of the key metaphors in the story “The First Teacher” deserve particular attention. Dyuishen's crossing of icy water with his pupils is not merely a physical act but a profound linguistic allegory of spiritual transformation, which aligns with the interpretation of the teacher figure as an agent of sociocultural change and a conduit of new values (Monastireva-Ansdell, 2020; Shukurova, 2024). The icy water in this context functions as a symbol of the inert, hostile environment, whereas the act of carrying the children in his arms represents the teacher's messianic function, ensuring the transition from a

state of ignorance to knowledge. Within the philosophical paradigm of *mankurtism*, interpreted as the loss of agency and cultural memory, as noted by A.I. Kadyrov (2023), this episode acquires additional significance: education acts as a mechanism for overcoming the existential degradation of the individual. Thus, the educational process within the discourse of the story functions as a kind of “bridge” between a state of alienation and a state of freedom, understood as the acquisition of the right to one's own biography and self-determination (Özyurt, 2024).

The fate of Altynai Sulaimanova in the story “The First Teacher” (Aitmatov, 1991) represents an empirical model of personal transformation, in which enlightenment functions as a fundamental mechanism for overcoming social and cultural determinism. Research by E.I. Monastireva-Ansdell (2020) emphasises that the heroine's evolution – from a powerless orphan to a subject of intellectual activity – reflects the process of emancipating female identity within a traditional patriarchal society. This transformation correlates with a broader sociocultural paradigm in which education is viewed as a key tool for shaping agency and social mobility, ensuring the transition from a state of dependence to autonomy (Akmатов, 2019; Özyurt, 2024). In this context, the conceptualisation of freedom as the capacity independently to construct one's own biography acquires particular significance. For Altynai Sulaimanova, this freedom is formed under conditions of intense normative pressure, where practices such as forced marriage are legitimised through traditional discourse. However, within the literary system of Chingiz Aitmatov, such forms of social regulation are subjected to critical re-evaluation and are interpreted as manifestations of structural violence, hindering the formation of personality. In the broader historical and cultural context, this type of conflict correlates with the processes of transforming gender roles and the gradual emancipation of women in the first half of the twentieth century, where education acted as one of the key factors in overcoming patriarchal constraints (Konovalov & Bitokova, 2019). Thus, the narrative of Altynai Sulaimanova is constructed as a movement from a state of social subordination towards a space of personal freedom, understood as the right to self-determination and the realisation of an individual life trajectory.

The linguocultural code of “dignity” in the story “The First Teacher” (Aitmatov, 1991) is closely linked to the category of conscience. Ch. Aitmatov emphasises that dignity is not a social status, but an internal intention of the individual to resist circumstances. An analysis of the concept of “the human being” in the writer's prose indicates that human essence is determined through the capacity for moral choice and the preservation of the individual's inner integrity. Thus, Dyuishen instils in his pupils not only literacy skills but also an ethical core, enabling them subsequently to integrate successfully into the global space of culture. In the work of Chingiz Aitmatov, education functions as the primary mechanism for achieving personal autonomy, struggling against social and cultural constraints, and transforming the individual. The transition

of the characters, particularly Altynai Sulaimanova, from a subordinate state to freedom and self-determination demonstrates the role of enlightenment in liberation from patriarchal structures and traditional limitations. Consequently, the concept of “dignity” in the work of Ch. Aitmatov becomes the foundation for moral choice and the inner integrity of the individual, which permits integration into the global cultural context.

Transformation of Aitmatov's concepts in the context of challenges facing the contemporary educational paradigm

The theme of spiritual liberation through enlightenment, announced in “The First Teacher” (Aitmatov, 1991), finds conceptual development in the later work of Chingiz Aitmatov. The figure of Dyushen is typologically correlated with that of the teacher Abutalip Kuttybaev in the novel “The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years” (Aitmatov, 1988). Whereas Dyushen confronts total illiteracy, Abutalip Kuttybaev enters into a struggle with a more sophisticated form of oppression – *mankurtism* as the violent deprivation of memory. Both heroes act as bearers of “light” (enlightenment) in conditions of metaphorical “darkness”. The work of A.I. Kadyrov (2023) emphasises that the crisis of modernity is largely conditioned by recurrences of *mankurtism*, when an individual, under pressure from external systems, loses contact with their roots and ethical compass points. The concept of the *mankurt*, introduced by Ch. Aitmatov, reflects the essence of Heidegger’s “*Das Man*”, but possesses a specific social and historical dimension.

In the contemporary academic discourse of the first quarter of the twenty-first century, the ideas of Chingiz Aitmatov acquire new resonance. In conditions of total digitalisation, higher education is often reduced to a process of acquiring narrow technological competencies (Selwyn, 2021). However, the humanistic message of Ch. Aitmatov actualises a different goal – the formation of an individual’s ethical core. As noted by N.L. Chulkina & K.E. Kasymalieva (2019), in the writer’s work a culture of peace is based on intellectual and moral-spiritual dialogue, which acts as the foundation of contemporary civil society. This is particularly relevant in an era when the university should become a space of “ecology of the spirit”, akin to Dyushen’s school in the works of Ch. Aitmatov – a place preserving humanity in contrast to the algorithmisation of consciousness. Of particular significance is the antithesis of the concepts “knowledge/agency” versus “new ignorance”. In an era of information overload, a phenomenon of “digital *mankurtism*” arises, characterised by fragmented thinking and a loss of capacity for deep reflection. This phenomenon is linked to so-called clip thinking, in which superficial perception of information occurs, critical analysis declines, and chaotic cognitive patterns are formed. The university in this situation must perform the role of guardian of spiritual values, counteracting the de-structurisation of the knowledge system induced by digital technologies.

Academic freedom, in the Aitmatovian understanding, is not an absence of obligations but the courage to seek truth contrary to prevailing circumstances. As N.L. Chulkina & K.E. Kasymalieva (2019) emphasise, the writer’s legacy today acts as a guarantor of preserving “the human in the human being”, countering depersonalisation and the algorithmisation of consciousness. In conditions of digitalisation, this role of the university – to become an institution cultivating the moral-spiritual dialogue of which Ch. Aitmatov wrote – acquires particular weight. The dignity of the individual in the era of artificial intelligence is determined by the capacity to preserve uniquely human qualities: empathy, conscience and responsibility. In the current legal realities of the Kyrgyz Republic, actions that might previously have been interpreted within the framework of “customary law” have received clear legal qualification. Thus, Art. 172 of the Criminal Code of the Kyrgyz Republic No. 127 (2021) (abduction of a person for the purpose of marriage) and Art. 174 (coercion into marriage) recognise such acts as serious crimes. This marks the victory of the values for which Dyushen fought in Chingiz Aitmatov’s story “The First Teacher” (Aitmatov, 1991), where the teacher confronted patriarchal customs for the sake of freedom and education. The triumph of law over prejudice in this case is a direct explication of the concept of “dignity” on a state scale.

Investment in enlightenment, according to Aitmatov’s philosophy, is the only reliable means of protecting national and personal sovereignty. The figure of Altynai Sulaimanova, transformed from an oppressed orphan into an active subject of science, serves as a universal model for the development of society through the overcoming of the “inner slave”. Her fate symbolises the victory of enlightenment over ignorance and demonstrates how education can become an instrument of social advancement and the preservation of human dignity. The philosophical understanding of the category of dignity presented in the works of G.G. Kolomiets *et al.* (2019) confirms that, in a global world, recognition of the value of the human person becomes the foundation of sustainable development. The authors emphasise the connection of dignity with moral responsibility, which is particularly relevant in the era of AI, when technologies can both facilitate progress and exacerbate inequality or violate human rights. Summing up the analysis of the linguocultural codes of “freedom” and “dignity” in the work of Chingiz Aitmatov, it can be asserted that education in his discourse is understood as a sacred act of liberating the individual from prejudice and ignorance. As A.F. Kofman (2019) notes, in the writer’s works the teacher acts not merely as a transmitter of knowledge but also as a bearer of moral and cultural values, shaping the pupil’s spiritual core. “The labour of being human”, to which Chingiz Aitmatov repeatedly referred, remains a strategic compass point for contemporary higher education.

The mission of the university, according to the writer’s ideas, consists in not losing, behind the “digital facade” of technologies, the ethical foundation of pedagogy laid



down by the first teacher. The figure of Dyushen from the story “The First Teacher” remains a relevant symbol of mentorship. This figure, depicted as guiding disciples through historical transitions, exemplifies the pursuit of spiritual greatness through the conscious overcoming of the “icy rivers of ignorance” – a metaphor reflecting the struggle against prejudice and illiteracy (Shamuratova & Altynbaeva, 2018). As J.J. Murzakulova & I.K. Meerim (2025) emphasise, the works of Chingiz Aitmatov demonstrate that education is not only the transmission of knowledge but also a process of comprehending moral compass points through engagement with cultural heritage. This is particularly relevant in the era of digitalisation, when it is important to preserve humanistic values under conditions of technological progress. An analysis of theoretical sources showed that, despite an extensive bibliography, the linguocultural aspect of the concepts “freedom” and “dignity” specifically within the pedagogical discourse of the story “The First Teacher” (Aitmatov, 1991) required additional refinement in light of contemporary academic standards. In the course of the work, it was observed that Dyushen’s pedagogical feat correlates with contemporary understandings of academic freedom as the right to seek truth despite social pressure. Thus, introducing these concepts into scholarly circulation has made it possible to expand the boundaries of understanding Ch. Aitmatov’s humanistic philosophy.

In conclusion, in the work of Chingiz Aitmatov, education functions not merely as a process of transmitting knowledge but as an important mechanism for forming a personality capable of independent thought and action. In his prose, particularly in the story “The First Teacher”, the process of the characters’ educational growth reflects a struggle against the social and cultural constraints existing in patriarchal societies. The hero of the story, Dyushen, becomes a symbol of the teacher who not only transmits knowledge but also cultivates moral and cultural values, enabling the individual to attain freedom and dignity. In the context of contemporary challenges, such as digitalisation and *mankurtism*, Ch. Aitmatov’s ideas acquire new meaning. Contemporary education must combine technological achievements with ethical and humanistic values, preserving the role of universities as a space for the development of a personality capable of deep reflection and moral choice. The work of Ch. Aitmatov shows that the path to genuine freedom and dignity passes through education, which not only transmits knowledge but also forms the inner integrity of the human being under conditions of social and cultural change.

Conclusions

The conducted study of the linguocultural concepts of “freedom” and “dignity” in the literary discourse of Chingiz Aitmatov permits the formulation of the following concluding points: It has been established that in the story “The First Teacher”, the concepts of “freedom” and “dignity” are objectified through the opposition of two discourses – traditionalist (stagnation, ignorance) and modernising

(enlightenment, agency). The school space is interpreted as a locus of collision between these forces, where education acts as the sole mechanism for acquiring personal autonomy. An analysis of key metaphors, in particular the episode of crossing the icy river, demonstrated that the characters’ physical actions are profound linguistic allegories. The icy water is marked as a symbol of an inert, hostile environment, while the act of rescuing the children by the teacher Dyushen represents the teacher’s messianic function as a guide from “*mankurtism*” towards knowledge and freedom. Using the example of Altynai Sulaimanova, it has been shown that in Aitmatov’s literary system, enlightenment functions as an instrument of identity “de-occupation”. The heroine’s transition from a state of social subordination (powerless orphan) to the status of a subject of intellectual activity (academic) demonstrates the victory of humanistic values over patriarchal constraints and structural violence.

It was revealed that the linguocultural code of “dignity” in the writer’s discourse is not a static social status but is defined as an individual’s internal intention towards moral choice and resistance to circumstances. This ethical core, instilled by the teacher, enables the individual successfully to integrate into the global cultural space. It has been established that Aitmatov’s “code of enlightenment” retains its significance within the contemporary educational paradigm. In the era of “digital *mankurtism*” and clip thinking, the university must transform into a space of “ecology of the spirit”, where academic freedom is understood as the courage to seek truth and protect human uniqueness from the algorithmisation of consciousness. The conducted analysis showed that Aitmatov’s ideas concerning the protection of personal dignity have found direct reflection in the current legislation of the Kyrgyz Republic. The criminal law prohibition on forced marriage is a factual explication of the triumph of law over prejudice for which the writer’s heroes fought. Thus, the findings of the study confirm that the work of Chingiz Aitmatov forms a coherent humanistic conception in which education is viewed as a sacred act of liberating the individual, and “the labour of being human” remains a fundamental compass point for contemporary higher education. Prospects for further research in this area may include an in-depth analysis of the interrelationship between the concepts of “freedom” and “dignity” in the context of contemporary educational and sociocultural transformations, as well as a study of the role of Aitmatov’s “code of enlightenment” in the context of globalisation and digitalisation.

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Ч. Айтматовдун көркөм дискурсындагы “эркиндик” жана “ар-намыс” лингвомаданий концепттери (“Биринчи мугалим” повестинин негизинде)

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Аннотация. Заманбап жогорку билим берүүнүн тездик менен санариптешүүсү жана глобалдашуусу шартында классикалык гуманисттик идеалдарды жана “санариптик манкуртизм” коркунучтарына туруштук бере ала турган моралдык багыт берүүчү катары педагогдун ролун кайра карап чыгуунун курч зарылчылыгы келип чыгууда. Бул макала Ч. Айтматовдун көркөм дүйнөсүнүн алкагында анын алгачкы прозасынын негизинде “эркиндик” жана “ар-намыс” лингвомаданий концепттеринин чагылдырышынын өзгөчөлүктөрүн аныктоого багытталган. Изилдөө процессинде адабий тексттерди салыштырма-типологиялык талдоо методдору, көркөм образдарды чечмелөөдө герменевтикалык ыкма, ошондой эле жазуучунун педагогикалык мурасындагы баалуулук доминанттарын аныктоо үчүн аксиологиялык метод колдонулган. Изилдөөнүн жүрүшүндө автор тарабынан Ч. Айтматовдун көркөм дүйнөсүндө билим берүү феномени жөн гана билим берүү алкагынан чыгып, инсандын экзистенциалдык куткаруу актысы болуп саналары аныкталган. “Биринчи мугалим” повестиндеги мугалим Дүйшөндүн образын талдоо көрсөткөндөй, автор педагогикалык ишмердүүлүктү руханий эркиндикти жана кылымдар бою келе жаткан караңгылыкты жеңүүгө багытталган адеп-ахлактык эрдик катары карайт. Жазуучунун чыгармаларындагы “айылдык мектеп” аң-сезимдүү тандоого жана жоопкерчиликке жөндөмдүү адамдын субъекттүүлүгү калыптана турган ыйык мейкиндик катары чыга тургандыгы далилденген. “Агартуу – манкуртизм” антитезасына өзгөчө көңүл бурулган: маданий жана интеллектуалдык баалуулуктарга жетүүнүн жоголушу адамдагы адамдык касиеттин деградациясына алып келери далилденген, бул Айтматовдун чечмелөөсүндө инсандын кадыр-баркы интеллектуалдык көз карандысыздык менен тыгыз байланышта экендиги, ал өзүн курмандыкка чалууну жана гуманисттик принциптерге берилгендикти айкалыштырган “идеалдуу мугалимдин” образы аркылуу калыптанары автор тарабынан негизделген. Изилдөөнүн жыйынтыктары педагогика, филология жана билим берүү философиясы боюнча окуу курстарына киргизилиши мүмкүн, ошондой эле студенттердин баалуулук компетенттүүлүгүн калыптандыруу үчүн жогорку окуу жайларында тарбия иштеринин стратегияларын иштеп чыгууда колдонулушу мүмкүн.

Негизги сөздөр: гуманисттик философия; педагогикалык идеал; аксиология; манкуртизм; интеллектуалдык эмансипация; руханий агартуу; билим берүү этикасы

Лингвокультурные концепты «свобода» и «достоинство» в художественном дискурсе Ч. Айтматова (на материале повести «Первый учитель»)

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Аннотация. В условиях стремительной цифровизации и глобализации высшего образования возникает острая необходимость переосмысления классических гуманистических идеалов и роли педагога как нравственного ориентира, способного противостоять угрозам «цифрового манкуртизма». Данная статья была направлена на выявление специфики репрезентации лингвокультурных концептов «свобода» и «достоинство» в рамках художественного мира Ч. Айтматова на материале его ранней прозы. В процессе исследования применялись методы сравнительно-типологического анализа литературных текстов, герменевтический подход к интерпретации художественных образов, а также аксиологический метод для выявления ценностных доминант в педагогическом наследии писателя. В ходе работы установлено, что в художественном мире Ч. Айтматова феномен образования выходит за рамки простой трансляции знаний, становясь актом экзистенциального спасения личности. Анализ образа учителя Дюйшена из повести «Первый учитель» показал, что педагогическая деятельность рассматривается автором как нравственный подвиг, направленный на преодоление духовной несвободы и векового невежества. Выявлено, что «сельская школа» в произведениях писателя выступает как сакральное пространство, где формируется субъектность человека, способного к осознанному выбору и ответственности. Особое внимание уделено антитезе «просвещение – манкуртизм»: доказано, что утрата доступа к культурным и интеллектуальным ценностям ведет к деградации человеческого в человеке, что делает идеи Айтматова крайне актуальными для современной образовательной парадигмы. Обосновано, что достоинство личности в трактовке Айтматова неразрывно связано с интеллектуальной самостоятельностью, которая закладывается через образ «идеального учителя», сочетающего в себе самопожертвование и верность гуманистическим принципам. Результаты исследования могут быть интегрированы в учебные курсы по педагогике, филологии и философии образования, а также использованы при разработке стратегий воспитательной работы в вузах для формирования ценностных компетенций у студентов

Ключевые слова: гуманистическая философия; педагогический идеал; аксиология; манкуртизм; интеллектуальная эмансипация; духовное просвещение; этика образования





English writing difficulties among students learning English as a foreign language

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Abstract. This study investigated the difficulties faced by university students learning English as a foreign language in developing academic writing skills. Writing remains one of the most challenging language skills for EFL learners, particularly in contexts where systematic writing instruction is limited. The aim of this study was to identify linguistic, psychological, and pedagogical barriers that affect students' writing performance at Bishkek State University. A mixed-methods approach was used. Quantitative data were collected through a questionnaire administered to 60 first- and second-year students, while qualitative data were obtained from semi-structured interviews with six English language instructors. The findings revealed several key challenges. More than 70% of students reported experiencing anxiety and fear of making mistakes while writing. Linguistic difficulties such as limited vocabulary and frequent grammatical errors were also identified as major obstacles. In addition, over 90% of respondents indicated that they practiced writing only when it was required by teachers, suggesting insufficient opportunities for regular writing practice. Teachers confirmed that the absence of specialised writing courses and limited training in process writing methodology further complicate effective instruction. The study highlighted the need to strengthen academic writing instruction through structured feedback, increased writing practice, and teacher professional development. The findings of this research would provide great benefits to the instructors of the English language and curriculum designers to address the writing difficulties that might be encountered by learners of English, contribute to the limited research on EFL writing difficulties in Central Asia and offer practical recommendations for improving writing pedagogy in higher education

Keywords: academic writing pedagogy; process writing approach; formative feedback; peer collaboration; revision strategies; learner motivation; higher education

Introduction

In recent years, the issue of academic writing difficulties among students learning English as a foreign language (EFL) has attracted increasing scholarly attention worldwide. Academic writing plays a crucial role in higher education, as it enables students to communicate ideas, demonstrate critical thinking, and participate in academic discourse. Several studies have investigated the difficulties EFL students face in academic writing across diverse contexts. These challenges are often associated with insufficient language proficiency, limited exposure to academic genres, and a lack of effective instructional support. Furthermore, psychological factors such as writing anxiety and low self-confidence significantly influence students' ability to produce coherent and well-structured texts.

For instance, G. Alzahrani (2025) examined students at Najran University and found that limited vocabulary,

grammatical errors, poor organisation of ideas, and weak paraphrasing skills hinder learners' ability to produce coherent texts. Similarly, S. Asnas & I. Hidayanti (2024) reported that Indonesian EFL learners struggle with grammar, academic vocabulary, coherence, cohesion, and the construction of thesis statements, highlighting the complexity of developing arguments in academic writing. A. Sulukiyyah *et al.* (2026) emphasised the challenges faced by first-year university students transitioning from high school to tertiary-level writing. Their findings revealed difficulties in maintaining academic style, organising ideas, and developing logical arguments, suggesting that the shift to university writing requires more advanced skills than students typically acquire in secondary education. In the Kurdistan region, B. Mustafa & M. Shahab (2024) identified grammatical errors, sentence structure problems,

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and weak introductions and conclusions as common issues, while also noting students' lack of confidence in their writing abilities. Complementing these findings, S. Aldabbus & E. Almansouri (2022) demonstrated that independent language skills and writing strategies significantly influence integrated writing performance among Chinese secondary EFL students. Their study underscores the importance of both linguistic competence and strategic awareness in producing high-quality academic texts. Likewise, N. Mochizuki (2025) explored EFL undergraduates' genre awareness and cognitive processes, showing that difficulties often stem from limited understanding of genre conventions and inadequate metacognitive engagement during writing. Finally, S. Keller *et al.* (2024) analysed argumentative texts and revealed that weaknesses in language quality, content development, and structural organisation are key indicators of underdeveloped writing skills among EFL learners.

These difficulties are global in nature and appear across countries regardless of the level of development of their educational systems and most empirical studies on EFL writing difficulties have been conducted in East Asian, Middle Eastern, or Western educational contexts. Comparatively little research has explored the challenges faced by university students in Central Asia, particularly in Kyrgyzstan. As a result, the specific linguistic, psychological, and pedagogical barriers influencing academic writing development among Kyrgyz EFL learners remain insufficiently examined. Addressing this gap is essential for improving writing instruction in the region and developing context-appropriate pedagogical strategies. Therefore, the present study aimed to identify the main challenges faced by students at Bishkek State University while learning academic writing through the process writing approach. Specifically, the study investigates linguistic difficulties, psychological barriers, and instructional factors that influence students' writing performance. The findings are expected to contribute to the limited body of research on EFL writing in Central Asia and provide practical recommendations for improving writing pedagogy in higher education.

Literature Review

Teaching writing through a process writing approach has become a central component of EFL pedagogy, as it transforms writing into an interactive and recursive activity. Each stage such as prewriting, drafting, revising, editing, and publishing develops metacognitive awareness and encourages peer feedback, thereby equipping learners with the skills needed for complex academic writing (Setyawan *et al.*, 2020; Zhang, 2024). Similarly, P. Sulistio *et al.* (2025) investigated the strategies employed by students in academic writing classes and reported that successful writers frequently use planning and revising strategies during the writing process. Recent studies confirm that process-oriented strategies enhance linguistic accuracy and learner engagement, particularly in higher education contexts (Feng, 2025). R. Al-Jarf (2026) offers to change writing pedagogy from product-oriented, error-focused

approaches to process-based, communicative methods that reduce cognitive load and allow students generate ideas before creating a writing piece. Numerous studies have demonstrated that process-based writing instruction can improve both linguistic accuracy and students' engagement in writing activities (Setyawan *et al.*, 2020; Zhang, 2024). Moreover, the process-genre approach has been shown to support international students in adapting to academic conventions and overcoming writing difficulties (Miller & Hulcup, 2025). Teachers play a crucial role in scaffolding these stages, guiding students through revision and providing constructive feedback (Sowell, 2020). Recent research highlights the importance of formative feedback and collaborative learning in strengthening students' revision practices and developing their academic writing competence (Feng, 2025; Tran, 2025). These strategies allow students to plan, monitor, and evaluate their writing process. F. Teng & J. Huang (2019) reported that the use of self-regulated learning strategies strongly predicts EFL learners' writing proficiency. Students who actively employ strategies such as planning and revising demonstrate higher levels of writing achievement. Supporting this view, L. Teng (2022) argues that explicit strategy-based instruction can significantly improve students' academic writing skills. According to the author, teaching students how to regulate their learning process helps them become more independent and effective writers. At Bishkek State University (BSU), students acquire all four language skills simultaneously through the "Practical Course of the English Language". Writing instruction is integrated from the first year. By the second year, students progress to research writing, which requires more advanced academic skills (Bishkek State University, n.d.). Within this framework, teaching methods vary from product-oriented to process-oriented approaches, as well as task-based learning (TBL) and blended learning.

The integration of diverse pedagogical approaches reflects global trends in EFL writing instruction. For instance, active learning, task-based learning, blended learning, collaborative learning, and cognitive approaches have been identified as effective solutions to writing challenges faced by Malaysian students (Akhtar *et al.*, 2019). These methods emphasise learner engagement, autonomy, and interaction, which directly address motivational and psychological barriers to writing. In particular, M. Alharbi (2021) demonstrated that blended learning not only improves EFL learners' writing performance but also enhances their self-efficacy, thereby reducing writing anxiety and fostering confidence. Taken together, the BSU curriculum and international evidence suggest that combining process-oriented writing instruction with innovative pedagogical strategies such as blended and task-based learning can provide a practical pathway to overcoming the linguistic and psychological difficulties identified in this study. This alignment between local practice and global research highlights the potential for adapting proven methods to the Central Asian context, thereby strengthening students' academic writing competence and confidence.



Despite the benefits of process writing, many EFL learners continue to struggle with academic writing. Research highlights persistent problems such as limited vocabulary, recurrent grammatical errors, weak text organisation, and writing anxiety (Mustafa *et al.*, 2022; Bhandari, 2024). Psychological factors such as low confidence and fear of negative evaluation may further discourage students from actively participating in writing tasks or peer-review activities (Nan, 2018; Tran, 2025). Recent work also emphasises the importance of feedback quality: AI-generated and teacher feedback, when sequenced effectively, can significantly improve revision practices (Tuong & Tran, 2025; Tran, 2025). Motivation remains another critical factor, with studies showing that higher levels of writing motivation correlate with greater proficiency (Cahyono & Rahayu, 2020). Finally, the absence of authentic instructional materials continues to hinder effective implementation of the process writing approach (Kamariah *et al.*, 2018).

Another key factor influencing writing performance is students' belief in their own writing abilities. Previous research has shown that writing self-efficacy plays a crucial role in students' academic writing success. For instance, T. Sun & C. Wang (2020) demonstrated that students with higher levels of writing self-efficacy are more capable of organising ideas and producing structured texts. Similarly, Q. Zhou *et al.* (2022) found that self-efficacy significantly predicts writing performance among EFL university students. Their study revealed that learners who believe in their writing abilities tend to produce more coherent and logically organised essays. C. Wang & B. Bai (2017) validated instruments for measuring EFL learners' self-efficacy beliefs and self-regulated learning strategies, highlighting the close connection between these constructs. Their findings suggest that students with stronger self-efficacy are more likely to apply effective strategies during the writing process. Furthermore, G. Wang (2023) found that self-regulated learning strategies positively influence students' writing self-efficacy, indicating that strategic learning can enhance learners' confidence in completing writing tasks. Individual differences among learners may also influence how students approach writing tasks. A. Umamah *et al.* (2022) explored the role of individual differences in the use of self-regulated writing strategies among EFL learners and found that motivation and prior learning experience significantly affect strategy use.

Finally, metacognitive awareness has also been identified as a crucial element in writing development. D. Zhang & L. Zhang (2019) emphasise that metacognition enables learners to monitor and control their learning processes more effectively. Through metacognitive strategies, students can evaluate their writing progress and improve the quality of their texts. Overall, previous studies highlight the important role of self-efficacy, self-regulated learning strategies, motivation, and metacognitive awareness in the development of EFL writing skills. Understanding these factors can help educators design more effective instructional practices that support students in improving their academic writing competence.

Materials and Methods

The present study employed a mixed-methods research design in order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the difficulties students experience in learning academic writing. This approach allowed the researcher to combine quantitative data obtained from student surveys with qualitative insights derived from teacher interviews. The research was conducted at Bishkek State University named after K. Karasaev. The university was selected as the research site due to the author's teaching experience, which revealed persistent weaknesses in students' writing skills. The survey and interviews were conducted between September and October 2025 during the fall semester. This timeframe was chosen because students were actively engaged in coursework that required academic writing, allowing the researcher to capture authentic experiences and challenges. The participants consisted of sixty first- and second-year students enrolled in the English language programme and six English language instructors with more than five years of teaching experience. These groups were selected because students at this stage of study are expected to develop academic writing skills, while experienced teachers can provide professional insights into common student difficulties. The majority of student participants were female (52/60) and male (8/60), aged between 20 and 23. Convenience sampling was used to recruit participants from courses taught at the university. Participation in the study was voluntary, and all respondents provided informed consent prior to completing the survey or participating in interviews.

Data were collected using two research instruments. First, an anonymous online questionnaire was distributed to students via Google Forms. The questionnaire consisted of fifteen questions designed to explore students' writing practices, motivation, emotional responses to writing tasks, and perceived linguistic difficulties. Most items were based on multiple-choice questions and Likert-scale responses. Second, semi-structured interviews were conducted with six English language teachers. The interviews included open-ended questions focusing on teachers' observations of student writing difficulties, instructional practices, and possible strategies for improving writing instruction. Each interview lasted approximately 30-40 minutes. Quantitative data from the survey were analysed using descriptive statistics, including frequencies and percentages, in order to identify the most common difficulties reported by students. Qualitative data obtained from the interviews were analysed using thematic analysis. Recurring themes related to linguistic, psychological, and pedagogical challenges were identified and interpreted in relation to existing research. All participants were assured that their responses would remain confidential and would be used exclusively for academic research purposes. No personal identifying information was collected. The study was conducted in accordance with ethical standards of the American Sociological Association's Code of Ethics (2018).

Results and Discussion

The results of the study revealed several key factors influencing students' difficulties in academic writing. Motivation: Survey data indicated relatively low levels of motivation among students when completing writing tasks (Fig. 1). A significant proportion of respondents reported difficulties maintaining concentration during writing activities. Teachers also confirmed that students often demonstrate limited engagement in writing assignments and tend to avoid tasks that require extended written production.

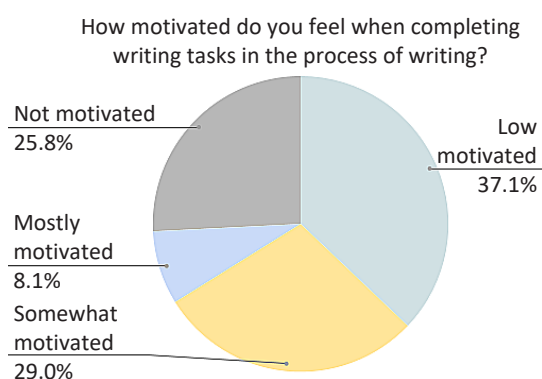


Figure 1. Motivation levels during writing tasks (n = 60)

Source: compiled by the author

Writing Practice and Curriculum: revealed limited opportunities for regular writing practice (Fig. 2). More than 90% of surveyed students reported that they practice writing in English only when it is assigned as coursework. This suggests that students have insufficient exposure to independent writing activities, which may hinder the development of writing fluency and confidence. Teachers emphasised that the lack of specialised writing courses and insufficient professional development opportunities hindered effective implementation of the process writing approach.

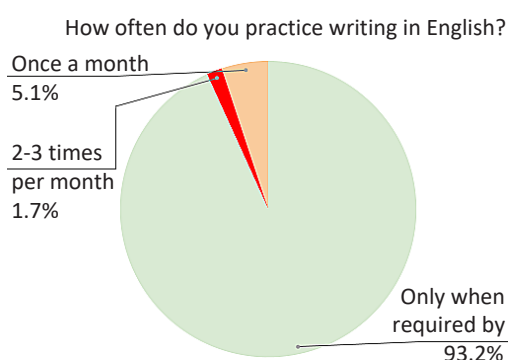


Figure 2. Frequency of English writing practice (n = 60)

Source: compiled by the author

Psychological Barriers were another important factor affecting students' writing performance. More than 70% of respondents reported experiencing anxiety, fear of making mistakes, or uncertainty while writing in English.

These emotional responses appear to negatively influence students' willingness to participate in writing tasks and collaborative revision activities. Self-assessment data indicated that most students rated their writing skills as low, reinforcing the link between lack of confidence and writing anxiety (Figs. 3-5).

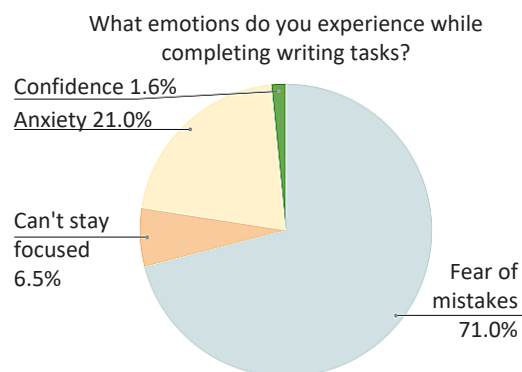


Figure 3. Self-assessment of writing skills (n = 60)

Source: compiled by the author

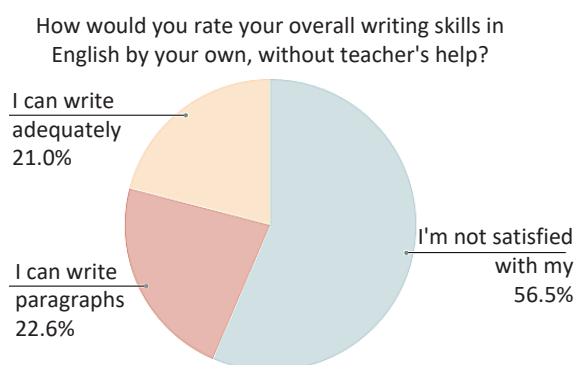


Figure 4. Students' self-perceived writing proficiency (n=60)

Source: compiled by the author

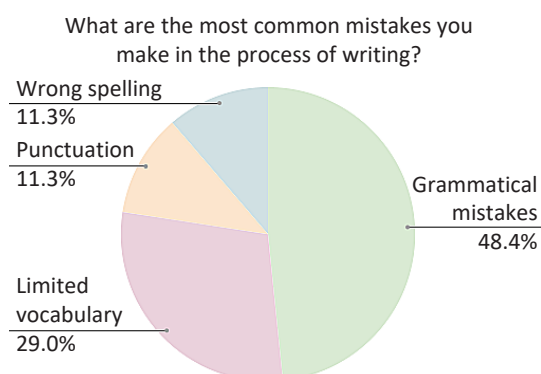


Figure 5. Common mistakes in English writing (n = 60)

Source: compiled by the author

Linguistic Difficulties: the most frequently mentioned problems included limited vocabulary, frequent grammatical errors, and difficulty organising ideas into coherent



paragraphs. Teacher interviews confirmed these observations, emphasising that students often struggle to express complex ideas due to insufficient lexical resources and limited control of English grammatical structures.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that students' writing difficulties are multifaceted and influenced by a combination of linguistic limitations, psychological barriers, and insufficient writing practice. The findings of this study reveal that academic writing difficulties among EFL students at Bishkek State University are shaped by a complex interplay of motivational, psychological, linguistic, and curricular factors. While similar challenges have been documented in diverse contexts worldwide, the present research contributes new insights by situating these issues within the underexplored Central Asian context (Asnas & Hidayanti, 2024; Mustafa & Shahab, 2024; Alzahrani, 2025). This regional perspective underscores the global nature of EFL writing difficulties while highlighting the need for context-specific pedagogical interventions.

Low motivation and limited engagement in writing tasks emerged as critical barriers. More than one-third of students reported no or low motivation, and over 90% practiced writing only when required by coursework. These findings resonate with B. Cahyono & T. Rahayu (2020), who emphasised the strong correlation between motivation and writing proficiency. However, the novelty of this study lies in demonstrating how insufficient curricular emphasis on independent writing practice in Kyrgyz higher education exacerbates motivational challenges. This suggests that integrating authentic, process-oriented writing tasks into the curriculum could foster greater learner autonomy and sustained engagement (Sulistio *et al.*, 2025; Feng, 2025). Psychological barriers such as writing anxiety and fear of making mistakes were reported by more than 70% of students, reinforcing earlier findings that low confidence and fear of negative evaluation hinder participation in writing activities (Nan, 2018; Tran, 2025). Importantly, self-assessment data revealed that over half of the students were dissatisfied with their writing abilities, which aligns with studies on writing self-efficacy (Sun & Wang, 2020; Zhou *et al.*, 2022). The practical implication is clear: targeted interventions to build self-efficacy through scaffolding, constructive feedback, and peer collaboration are essential for reducing anxiety and enhancing performance.

Linguistic difficulties, including limited vocabulary, frequent grammatical errors, and weak organisation of ideas, were consistent with global findings (Harmer, 2015; Alzahrani, 2025). Yet, the predominance of grammatical errors (49%) and lexical limitations (30%) in this study highlights the urgent need for explicit instruction in academic vocabulary and grammar within the Kyrgyz context. This aligns with K. Hyland (2010), who emphasised the importance of genre awareness and metacognitive engagement in overcoming linguistic barriers. Embedding strategy-based instruction and metacognitive training into writing pedagogy could therefore provide practical solutions. Overall, the study demonstrates that while Kyrgyz EFL learners face challenges similar to those

documented globally, the combination of low motivation, insufficient curricular support, and high psychological barriers represents a distinctive profile. The novelty of this research lies in its contribution to the limited body of Central Asian scholarship on EFL writing, offering empirical evidence that can inform both local curriculum design and broader comparative studies. Practically, the findings by K. Miller & C. Hulcup (2025) and R. Al-Jarf (2026) advocate for a shift from product-oriented approaches toward process-based, strategy-driven instruction, supported by teacher professional development and authentic writing opportunities. Such reforms would not only enhance linguistic competence but also empower students to participate more confidently in academic discourse.

A limitation of this study is the relatively small sample size, which may not fully represent all university students in Kyrgyzstan with writing difficulties. In addition, data collection was based on self-perceived difficulties, which may introduce subjective bias. There were no lesson observations regarding implementing effective strategies with pre-/after effect. The survey results indicate that Bishkek State University should include a specialised writing course in its curricula to provide systematic writing instruction, increasing the number of EFL writing teachers and training them, it would facilitate the improvement of students' writing skills. However, since university resources are limited, teachers can participate in a variety of free online courses that focus on teaching writing, such as Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), Coursera, and Skillbox. So to address specific weaknesses, teachers at BSU could change the syllabus of the courses and dedicate more hours to implementing the process writing approach. In addition, they are encouraged to create a positive, collaborative atmosphere in their writing classes using personalised assignments, and feedback mechanisms and integrate some online tools such as Grammarly, AI Essay writer, Author Ai. Teachers also can support their students in writing essays in Google Documents. It would be easy for teachers to check students' works through Grammarly AI.

Conclusions

This study examined the challenges faced by Bishkek State University students in developing English writing skills through the process writing approach. The findings revealed four major obstacles: low motivation and lack of engagement with writing tasks; absence of specialised writing courses and insufficient teacher training in process writing methodology; psychological barriers, including fear of mistakes and low confidence; linguistic difficulties, such as limited vocabulary, grammar errors, and weak syntactic control. These results confirm that writing-related issues are systemic and multifaceted, combining curricular, pedagogical, and psychological dimensions. Additionally, the study suggests that students benefit from regular, structured writing practice and timely feedback, which can gradually reduce anxiety and improve linguistic accuracy. The results also indicate that teacher support and targeted instructional strategies play a crucial role in

fostering students' confidence and motivation. Overall, addressing these challenges requires coordinated efforts at both curriculum and instructional levels to create a supportive learning environment conducive to academic writing development. Importantly, the study highlights that the absence of structured writing instruction in the university curriculum exacerbates these problems, leaving students underprepared for academic and professional communication.

Future studies should investigate the effectiveness of specific pedagogical interventions (e.g., peer feedback, blended learning, creative writing workshops) in the Kyrgyz context; compare writing challenges across different universities in Kyrgyzstan to identify systemic versus institution-specific issues; explore longitudinal changes in students' writing skills when process writing is consistently integrated into curricula; examine the role of multilingualism (Kyrgyz, Russian, English) in shaping writing competence and confidence. By situating Kyrgyz students'

experiences within broader international scholarship, further research can contribute to developing context-sensitive strategies for improving EFL writing instruction in Central Asia.

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Conflict of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interest related to this study.

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Англис тилин чет тили катары үйрөнгөн студенттердин жазуу кыйынчылыктары

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Аннотация. Бул изилдөө англис тилин чет тили катары үйрөнүп жаткан университет студенттеринин академиялык жазуу көндүмдөрүн өнүктүрүүдө түш болгон кыйынчылыктарын изилдөөгө арналган. Жазуу тилдик көндүмдөрдүн ичинен эң татаалдарынын бири болуп саналат, айрыкча жазууну системалуу окутуу жетишсиз болгон шарттарда. Изилдөөнүн максаты – Бишкек мамлекеттик университетинин студенттеринин жазуу ишмердүүлүгүнө таасир эткен лингвистикалык, психологиялык жана педагогикалык тоскоолдуктарды аныктоо болду. Изилдөөдө аралаш ыкма колдонулду. Сандык маалыматтар 1- жана 2-курстун 60 студенти арасында жүргүзүлгөн сурамжылоо аркылуу чогултулса, сапаттык маалыматтар англис тилинин алты окутуучусу менен өткөрүлгөн жарым-жартылай структураланган маектердин негизинде алынган. Жыйынтыктар бир катар негизги көйгөйлөрдү көрсөттү. Студенттердин 70 %дан ашыгы жазууда ката кетирүүдөн коркуу жана тынчсыздануу сезимин баштан кечирерин белгилешкен. Ошондой эле чектелген сөз байлыгы жана грамматикалык каталар сыяктуу лингвистикалык кыйынчылыктар негизги тоскоолдуктар катары аныкталды. Мындан тышкары, респонденттердин 90 %дан ашыгы жазуу менен мугалим талап кылганда гана машыгышарын билдиришкен, бул үзгүлтүксүз жазуу практиканын жетишсиздигин көрсөтөт. Окутуучулар да жазуу боюнча атайын курстардын жоктугу жана процесске негизделген окутуу ыкмасы боюнча даярдыктын жетишсиздиги окутууну татаалдаштырганын тастыкташты. Изилдөө академиялык жазууну окутууну жакшыртуу үчүн структураланган кайтарым байланыш берүүнүн, жазуу практикасын көбөйтүүнүн жана окутуучулардын кесиптик деңгээлин жогорулатуунун зарылдыгын белгилейт. Алынган жыйынтыктар англис тилинин окутуучуларына жана окуу программаларын иштеп чыгуучуларга студенттердин жазуудагы кыйынчылыктарын жоюуда пайдалуу болушу мүмкүн. Ошондой эле бул изилдөө Борбордук Азияда англис тилин чет тили катары үйрөнүү шартындагы жазуу көйгөйлөрү боюнча изилдөөлөрдүн чектелүү санына салым кошуп, жогорку билим берүүдө жазууну окутуу методикасын жакшыртуу боюнча практикалык сунуштарды берет

Негизги сөздөр: академиялык жазуу педагогикасы; жазууну окутуунун процессуалдык ыкмасы; калыптандыруучу кайтарым байланыш; студенттердин өз ара кызматташуусу; редакциялоо стратегиялары; үйрөнүүчүлөрдүн мотивациясы; жогорку билим берүү

Трудности письма у студентов, изучающих английский язык как иностранный

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Аннотация. Данное исследование посвящено изучению трудностей, с которыми сталкиваются студенты университета, изучающие английский язык как иностранный, при формировании навыков академического письма. Письмо остается одним из наиболее сложных видов речевой деятельности для изучающих английский язык, особенно в условиях ограниченного системного обучения письму. Целью исследования было выявление лингвистических, психологических и педагогических барьеров, влияющих на письменную деятельность студентов в Бишкекском государственном университете. В исследовании использовался смешанный метод. Количественные данные были получены с помощью анкетирования 60 студентов первого и второго курсов, а качественные данные – в результате полуструктурированных интервью с шестью преподавателями английского языка. Результаты показали ряд ключевых проблем. Более 70 % студентов испытывают тревожность и страх допустить ошибки при письме. Существенными препятствиями также являются лингвистические трудности, такие как ограниченный словарный запас и частые грамматические ошибки. Кроме того, более 90 % респондентов отметили, что практикуют письмо только по требованию преподавателей, что свидетельствует о недостатке регулярной письменной практики. Преподаватели подтвердили, что отсутствие специализированных курсов по письму и недостаточная подготовка в области процессного подхода к обучению письму дополнительно усложняют эффективное преподавание. Исследование подчеркивает необходимость совершенствования обучения академическому письму за счет структурированной обратной связи, увеличения объема письменной практики и повышения квалификации преподавателей. Полученные результаты могут быть полезны преподавателям английского языка и разработчикам учебных программ для преодоления трудностей письма у студентов, а также вносят вклад в ограниченное количество исследований, посвященных проблемам письменной речи в условиях изучения английского языка как иностранного в Центральной Азии, и предлагают практические рекомендации по совершенствованию методики обучения письму в высшем образовании.

Ключевые слова: педагогика академического письма; процессный подход к обучению письму; формирующая обратная связь; взаимное сотрудничество студентов; стратегии редактирования; мотивация обучающихся; высшее образование



Adjective synonyms in fiction

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Abstract. The aim of this study was to identify the functional characteristics of adjective synonyms in literary texts. This qualitative, text-centric study was based on an analysis of representative material, including the works “Jamilia”, “The white ship” and “The place of the skull”, followed by a systematisation of adjective synonyms and an interpretation of the functions in the structure of literary expression. It was established that adjective synonyms in the analysed texts perform not only a defining but also a text-forming role, contributing to the formation of characterisation, spatial and landscape imagery, evaluative and symbolic perspective, motif-based coherence, and authorial modality. Seven stable groups of synonymously related adjectives were identified in the studied material: qualitative, evaluative, colour-denoting, emotionally marked, spatial-landscape, characterological, and symbolically loaded. It was established that the qualitative and evaluative groups are the most productive, while colour-denoting and symbolically loaded units are less numerous but distinguished by a higher semantic concentration. The analysis revealed that in “Jamilia”, the emotional-psychological line of functioning of adjective synonyms dominates, in “The white ship”, the spatial-landscape and symbolic lines, and in “The place of the skull”, the evaluative-philosophical and axiological lines. As a result of the material’s interpretation, three main functional models were reconstructed: character psychologisation, spatial-figurative saturation, and evaluative-symbolic interpretation. It was found that the same unit, depending on the context, can shift from a psychological function to a symbolic one, and from a spatial one to an evaluative one, demonstrating the functional fluidity of adjective synonyms in fiction. The practical significance of the study lies in its application in the linguastylistic and literary analysis of fiction, in the teaching of stylistics, textual linguistics, and idiostyle theory, as well as in further research into artistic language

Keywords: synonymous series; semantic differentiation; linguastylistic analysis; fiction; contextual function; authorial modality; idiostyle

Introduction

Adjective synonyms in literary texts are a significant object of linguastylistic analysis, as the choice between units of similar meaning ensures semantic differentiation of a feature, variability of evaluation, clarification of an emotional state, concretisation of a figurative detail, and organisation of authorial modality. In literary discourse, synonymous adjective relationships are not reduced to simple semantic proximity but are realised as a means of contextually distributing shades of meaning, enhancing characterisation, constructing gradations, and shaping the internal coherence of description. In this regard, it is increasingly important to consider not only the lexical composition of a literary text but also the synonymous mechanisms through which its figurative, psychological, and evaluative structure is formed. Adjectives occupy a special place in this analysis, as the synonymous variability contributes to the creation of portrait characterisation, spatial and landscape

imagery, emotional and evaluative tonality, and symbolically charged descriptive complexes. Using synonyms for adjectives makes it possible to consider a literary text as a system of linguistic decisions, in which the choice between semantically similar units is linked to the construction of imagery, characterisation, and narrative perspective.

Certain aspects of the functioning of artistic expression, the semantic organisation of a text, and the idiostylistic differentiation of linguistic means were the subject of scholarly examination. A.Sh. Abdyramanova (2025) examined Ch. Aitmatov’s legacy in the modern philological and digital environment, emphasising the comprehensiveness of approaches to the study. However, this work does not highlight a specific level of analysis of synonymous adjective relationships as an independent mechanism for the semantic and stylistic differentiation of a feature within the structure of a literary text. D. Bayalieva (2023),

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addressing the problem of morality in Ch. Aitmatov's novella, focused primarily on the work's ethical and semantic content and its ideological organisation. Against this background, linguistic mechanisms for expressing evaluation, including the role of synonymously related adjectives in constructing a morally marked characteristic, remained outside special consideration.

In a related linguostylistic approach, A.O. Orozbaeva (2025) examined colour adjectives in the modern novel and demonstrated the significance for constructing the work's figurative structure. This work is of methodological interest, as it confirms the productivity of studying adjectives and the semantic approximations as independent units of artistic text organisation. At a broader theoretical level, S. Statham (2021), summarising the development of modern stylistics, documented an increased interest in text-centric and interpretive models of analysis. This research perspective is important for the present work, as it focuses analysis not on the isolated description of a linguistic unit, but on its artistic function within the text as a whole, including within the system of synonymous relations. Contemporary stylistic research continues to focus on approaches that consider linguistic form in relation to context and the interpretation of artistic meaning. It is in this direction that H. Price (2022) documented the further development of analytical models oriented toward correlating linguistic means with the semantic organisation of the text. This formulation of the question makes it possible to consider adjectives not as a formal lexical-grammatical class, but as a component of a broader system of textual semantics and the stylistic organisation of a work, within which adjective synonyms ensure differentiation of a feature, variability of evaluation, and the contextual distribution of semantic nuances. Studies conducted outside the field of artistic and stylistic issues are also of additional significance for clarifying the semantic potential of adjectives. Thus, in the work of C. Davies *et al.* (2022), devoted to psycholinguistic and educational aspects, attention is focused on the mechanisms of adjective acquisition and the functioning in language development. Despite the difference in the research subject, the findings are important for the subsequent transition to the analysis of adjectives and the synonymous correlation as bearers of artistically significant meanings. A similar clarifying role is played by K. Syrett (2024) study, which examines the difficulties and strategies of adjective acquisition with an emphasis on the cognitive and linguistic characteristics of this part of speech.

In contrast to the psycholinguistic approach, this study analyses adjective synonyms not from the standpoint of acquisition, but as elements of a literary text that contribute to the author's worldview, semantic gradation, and stylistic differentiation of a feature. From a different research perspective, X. Sun (2024) summarised the current state of narrative stylistics and emphasised the importance of combining linguistic and literary approaches in the study of literary texts. This approach directly relates to the objectives of this article, in which the analysis of

adjective synonyms is based on the intersection of stylistics, textual linguistics, and literary interpretation.

Thus, existing studies reveal either individual aspects of adjective functioning in fiction or general and specific issues of textual semantics and the stylistic organisation of a work. However, adjective synonyms as a special means of semantic differentiation, figurative concretisation, and stylistic construction of a literary text did not receive independent and systematic treatment. The aim of the study was to identify the specific features of adjective synonyms in fiction and to determine the role in the semantic differentiation of a feature, the formation of a figurative structure, and the stylistic organisation of the text. In accordance with this goal, the following main objectives were defined in the study: to create a representative research corpus of literary works and define the boundaries of the analysis of synonymously related uses of adjectives; to identify, select, systematise, and functionally and stylistically encode adjective synonyms that have an artistic load in the structure of the text; to conduct a contextual-interpretive and comparative analysis of the functions of adjective synonyms and to establish typical models of the participation in the organisation of a literary text.

Materials and Methods

The study was qualitative, text-centric, and focused on the linguostylistic and literary analysis of adjective synonyms in fiction. Synonymously related adjectives were considered functionally significant components of the text's artistic organisation, contributing to the formation of imagery, emotional and evaluative tonality, psychological characterisation of characters, landscape detailing, authorial modality, and ethnocultural semantics. The unit of analysis was the contextual use of adjective synonyms within a functionally significant fragment, that is, a micro-context in which semantically similar units contributed to the creation of a characterisation, evaluation, figurative detail, symbolic sequence, or compositionally significant descriptive complex.

In the first stage, a research corpus was formed and the boundaries of the study were defined. The material base consisted of three works of fiction by Ch. Aitmatov (1958; 1972; 1986), selected based on the principle of functional representativeness to analyse the functioning of adjective synonyms in various types of literary text organisation. The corpus was formed not as an exhaustive coverage of the writer's entire prose, but as a representative array for targeted qualitative analysis, which ensured analytical depth while maintaining the comparability of the material.

The second stage involved identifying, selecting, systematising, and coding synonymously related adjectives. The material was selected using a continuous sampling method from fragments in which adjectives contributed to the creation of a portrait characterisation, description of space, the conveyance of emotional and psychological states, the expression of the author's assessment, or the formation of symbolically significant details. Uses in which

an adjective entered into a synonymous relationship with another unit, exhibited semantic proximity, contextual correlation, or functional complementarity within the literary fragment were considered analytically significant. Synonymous uses that performed a figurative, evaluative, emotionally expressive, psychologising, symbolic, or characterological function and were confirmed by context or the repetition of the pattern within the text were considered stylistic. Neutral-nominative and functional-clarifying uses without a pronounced artistic meaning were excluded. At this stage, the descriptive method, lexical-semantic analysis and functional-stylistic coding were applied. The identified units were distributed among qualitative, evaluative, colour-denoting, emotionally marked, spatial-landscape, characterological and symbolically loaded groups; simultaneously, the object being characterised, the type of context, the stylistic function and the participation of the adjective in the epithet construction, repetition, contrast, gradation or figurative parallelism were recorded. Additionally, the type of synonymous connection, the degree of semantic closeness, the contextual distinction between shades of meaning and the nature of the functional distribution of synonyms within one descriptive complex were established. The methodological basis of this stage was formed by the provisions of lexical semantics and the theory of language evaluation presented in the works by D. Cruse (1986), M.L. Murphy (2010), J.R. Martin & P.R.R. White (2005), as well as the categorical developments of modern stylistics set out in K. Wales (2011). These sources were selected based on the relevance to the tasks of semantically grouping adjectives, describing the evaluative potential, and refining the categorical apparatus of the study.

The third stage involved contextual-interpretive, linguostylistic, and comparative analysis, followed by intra-corpus generalisation of the results. The objective was to identify consistent stylistic patterns and reconstruct typical models of the use of adjective synonyms in the organisation of a literary text. The analysis identified the descriptive, emotional-expressive, evaluative, psychologising, figurative, and symbolic functions of synonymously related adjectives. It then determined how these functions were realised within the system of characterisation, spatial-landscape imagery, and the author's evaluative-symbolic perspective. Particular attention was paid to how synonymic choice ensured semantic differentiation of a feature, clarification of evaluative nuances, and redistribution of figurative load within the literary context. The interpretation was carried out taking into account the work's figurative system, motif-based organisation, compositional role of description, narrative perspective, and the author's worldview.

AntConc (Version 4.3.1) was used as an auxiliary analytical tool for concordance searching, context extraction, and recording adjective recurrence; Voyant Tools was used for additional review of frequency and contextual patterns; Microsoft Excel was used to construct a working coding matrix and systematise the material; and Zotero

was used to organise the bibliographical dataset. These tools were of an auxiliary nature and did not replace interpretive philological analysis. The study was conducted in compliance with the principles of academic integrity and scientific transparency enshrined in the European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity (2017). Only open literary and scholarly sources were used in the work, within the framework of correct scholarly citation.

Results

Adjective synonyms in different types of literary text

A comparison of the works "Jamilia" (Aitmatov, 1958), "The white ship" (Aitmatov, 1972), and "The place of the skull" (Aitmatov, 1986) revealed that adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov's prose do not form a peripheral descriptive layer, but rather one of the stable mechanisms of the text's artistic organisation. These synonyms systematically contribute to the formation of psychological expressiveness, spatial and objective imagery, symbolic perspective, and the author's evaluation. An analysis of the research corpus revealed that in each work, synonymously related adjectives are included in a specific dominant system of meaning-formation; however, in all three cases, such adjectives go beyond the simple naming of a feature and become carriers of artistically significant meaning. In other words, the functioning of adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov's prose is determined not by the isolated dictionary meaning of a single unit, but by the nature of its correlation with semantically similar adjectives, its inclusion in the text, and its recurring functional role in the structure of the artistic utterance (Leech & Short, 2007; Simpson, 2025).

In "Jamilia", adjective synonyms are manifested most clearly as a means of emotional and psychological characterisation. Analysis revealed that here, qualitative, evaluative, and emotionally marked synonymous approximations are particularly active, accompanying the description of the characters' emotional mobility, the inner tension, and the changing perceptions of each other. In the corresponding fragments, attributes such as lively, bold, proud, quiet, gentle, thoughtful, dark, and intimate are consistently highlighted. The stylistic function is not limited to portraiture. Thus, the words "lively" and "bold" in Jamilia's characterisation denote not only the heroine's temperament but also the inner freedom, Jamilia's ability to transcend the prescribed social role. The adjectives "quiet", "thoughtful", and "dark" are embedded in contexts of silence, remembrance, evening space, and inner experience, and thus acquire a psychologising connotation. As a result, it was established that in "Jamilia", synonymously related adjectives most often function as a form of inner vision: the adjectives don't simply describe the character, but convey the perception through feeling, memory, and emotional impression. It is also significant that in "Jamilia", adjective synonyms often form not isolated characteristics but emotionally connected microcomplexes (Aitmatov, 1958). Combinations of features such as "quiet", "warm", "close", and "native" create a lyrical intonation and shift the description from the external to the internal



plane. Conversely, adjectives such as “foreign”, “harsh”, and “heavy” in the appropriate contexts denote alienation, anxiety, or hidden conflict. Thus, it was established that in this work, the functional load of synonymous adjectives is revealed primarily through the emotional-evaluative modulation of the text. These adjectives become means of lyricalising the narrative and simultaneously psychologically individualising the characters. Ch. Aitmatov’s idiosyncrasy in “Jamilia” is characterised by precisely this model, in which the synonymous choice of feature conveys a changing internal state, rather than merely capturing the stable quality of an object (Toolan, 2001; Carter & Stockwell, 2008).

A different picture was obtained in the analysis of “The white ship” (Aitmatov, 1972). Here, adjective synonyms revealed a particularly high stylistic activity in the zones of spatial-landscape and symbolically loaded description. The most productive synonymous series turned out to be colour-designating, spatial, qualitative and symbolically loaded. In text fragments associated with the image of mountains, forests, water, sky and distant space, features such as white, blue, high, distant, empty, large, cold, light, ancient, deaf are regularly actualised. The results of the analysis showed that such adjectives almost never perform only a visual-descriptive function. For example, white and light in the appropriate contexts acquire the meaning of purity, dream, inner aspiration or an unattainable ideal; distant, high, deaf organise not only spatial perspective, but also the experience of loneliness, remoteness, emotional insecurity; Ancient and grand enhance the mythopoetic scale of the depicted world.

Analysis revealed that in “The white ship”, synonymous adjectives particularly frequently form chains of homogeneous or semantically related features, creating the effect of condensed imagery. While in “Jamilia” a feature often psychologises the hero, in this work, the feature structures the artistic space. Adjectives such as “quiet forest”, “distant mountains”, “white steamship”, “blue water”, and “cold wind” function as recurring reference points of spatial imagination. The stylistic significance is determined not by single use, but by repetition and inclusion in a motif. It is particularly significant that the same feature often combines concreteness of an object and symbolic perspective. Thus, white in the title of the work and in related contexts becomes not simply a colour designation, but a bearer of the distance between the real and the desired, between the visible and the imaginary. This makes it possible to assert that in “The white ship”, synonymously related adjectives act as a means of transition from objective imagery to symbolic meaning. It is here that the ability of synonymous adjective series to perform an atmosphere-creating and mythopoetic function is most clearly demonstrated (Verdonk, 2002; Simpson, 2025).

In the novel “The place of the skull”, the functioning of adjective synonyms is most consistently revealed in axiological, characterological, and philosophically charged contexts. In the analysed fragments, adjectives with semantics of moral evaluation, internal breakdown, cruelty,

suffering, spiritual emptiness, and confrontation are particularly prominent. In the corresponding textual zones, attributes such as cruel, terrible, heavy, wild, dead, dark, alien, merciless, lonely, and sublime are actualised. The stylistic function is determined not only by direct evaluativeness but also by the involvement in situations of moral choice, violence, spiritual conflict, and philosophical understanding of destruction. Thus, cruel, merciless, and terrible function as means of shaping the overall ethical tension of the narrative. The adjectives dead, dark, and alien acquire the meaning of internal deformation, the loss of spiritual connection, and the disintegration of the natural order. In oppositional contexts, attributes such as “high” or “light” can, conversely, mark the remnants of a moral ideal or a point of spiritual resistance.

A comparative analysis of “The place of the skull” revealed that in this novel, adjective synonyms play a particularly active role in constructing semantic contrasts. Unlike “Jamilia”, where lyrical and psychological nuances dominate, and “The white ship”, where landscape and symbolic imagery play a leading role, in “The place of the skull”, synonymously related adjectives often express the author’s assessment, emphasise the moral contrasts between the characters, and heighten the narrative’s ideological tension. Contrasting pairs such as “alive” and “dead”, “human” and “bestial”, “light” and “dark”, and “free”, and “hunted” organise not only the description but also the ideological structure of the text. This suggests that in this work, adjective synonyms are systematically involved in shaping authorial modality and philosophical perspective. The function extends beyond local characterisation and becomes part of a general system of moral and semantic oppositions (Leech & Short, 2007; Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010).

A comparison of the three works revealed recurring patterns of functional actualisation of adjective synonyms. The first pattern is associated with psychologisation and an internal focus of the image; it is most fully represented in “Jamilia”, where attributes such as tender, quiet, close, pensive, and proud enhance the narrative’s subjective perspective. The second pattern is associated with spatial-figurative and symbolic condensation; it dominates in “The white ship”, where the adjectives white, distant, high, cold, and ancient become conduits for atmosphere and mythopoetic depth. The third model is associated with evaluative-philosophical polarisation and is particularly evident in “The place of the skull”, where the attributes cruel, terrible, dark, dead, and merciless mark the moral tension and conceptual opposition of the world. It is precisely the presence of these three models that made it possible to establish that the corpus is functionally representative for the analysis of adjective synonyms. Another result was that the same semantic types of adjectives in Ch. Aitmatov can perform different functions depending on the artistic context. Thus, “quiet” in one case psychologises the hero’s state, in another creates an atmosphere of space, and in a third becomes a sign of a tense pause. The adjective “dark” can describe an evening, a look, a state of mind, or a moral situation, and in each case, its

stylistic meaning shifts from visual to psychological or symbolic. The adjective “white” can denote colour, but in the context of a recurring image, it acquires the meaning of dream, purity, or distance. This result is particularly significant for understanding Ch. Aitmatov’s idiostyle, as

it demonstrates that the functional meaning of adjective synonyms is determined primarily by the contextual role, not just by the membership in a specific lexical-semantic group. A systematisation of the main characteristics of the research data is presented in a generalised form (Table 1).

Table 1. Main directions of functioning of adjective synonyms in a literary text

Work	Dominant zone of functioning of synonyms	Typical synonymously related adjectives	Basic functions of synonymic choice	Artistic role in the text	Role in idiostyle organisation
“Jamilia” (1958)	Emotional and psychological	lively, brave, proud, quiet, gentle, thoughtful, close, dear	Psychologisation, emotional nuance, lyricism, internal focus of perception	Conveying the emotional fluidity of the characters, clarifying emotional nuances, and enhancing the subjective perspective of the narrative	Forms a model of subtle psychological characterisation through synonymous variation of a feature
“The white ship” (1970)	Spatial-landscape and symbolic	white, light, blue, high, distant, empty, cold, ancient	Spatial concretisation, atmospheric condensation, symbolisation, semantic expansion of the image	Organisation of artistic space, transition from objective description to symbolic meaning, strengthening of motif coherence	Reinforces the model of figurative-spatial organisation of the text through synonymous series of features
“The place of the skull” (1986)	Evaluative-philosophical and axiological	cruel, terrible, merciless, dark, dead, alien, lonely, heavy	Moral differentiation, axiological polarisation, dramatisation, philosophical deepening of assessment	Formation of authorial modality, construction of semantic contrasts, expression of ethical tension	Reveals a model of conceptually loaded synonymic choice in the system of authorial evaluation

Source: compiled by the author based on Ch. Aitmatov (1958; 1972; 1986), M. Toolan (2001), P. Verdonk (2002), G. Leech & M. Short (2007), R. Carter & P. Stockwell (2008), L. Jeffries & D. McIntyre (2010), P. Simpson (2025)

Analysis of the data presented in Table 1 shows that the functioning of adjective synonyms in the works of Ch. Aitmatov is realised in different but interconnected functional zones of the literary text. In “Jamilia”, adjective synonyms primarily perform an emotional-psychological and characterological function, participating in the lyricism of the narrative and conveying the internal state of the characters. In “The white ship”, the spatial-landscape, visualising, and symbolic role dominates, lending atmospheric and mythopoetic depth to the description of nature and the material world. In “The place of the skull”, the evaluative, philosophical, and axiological potential of synonymously correlated adjectives is most clearly revealed, linked to the expression of moral tension, contrasts, and authorial modality. This confirms that adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov’s prose serve not only as a means of characterisation but also as an important carrier of artistic meaning.

Thus, the analysis revealed that adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov’s prose form a stable component of idiostyle and realise the functional and stylistic potential in psychological, spatial-figurative, and evaluative-symbolic dimensions. A comparison of the works revealed that the differences in artistic dominants do not undermine the integrity of the research body, but, on the contrary, reveal recurring ways of functionally actualising synonymously expressed

features within the text’s structure. This provides grounds for considering adjective synonyms as a significant element of the artistic organisation of Ch. Aitmatov’s works and as a promising object for further systematisation by lexical-semantic groups, types of synonymous correlation, and stylistic functions.

Systematisation of adjective synonyms in texts

The corpus material revealed that adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov’s works are distributed across several stable groups associated with different objects of characterisation and contextual contexts. The texts most regularly present qualitative, evaluative, colour-denoting, emotionally marked, spatial-landscape, characterological, and symbolically loaded synonymous series and affinities. Moreover, a single unit often combines several functions, so the boundaries between groups remain fluid. For example, the adjectives “quiet”, “warm”, “tall”, “heavy”, and “empty” can function as qualitative, but in a specific context, the adjectives shift to psychological, evaluative, or symbolic dimensions. This fluidity is particularly evident in cases where semantically similar adjectives form contextual series within which nuances of the attribute, degree of expression, and nature of the evaluative focus vary. This is evident in the fact that “quiet” in one case characterises



the character's voice or state, while in another, it characterises a forest, evening, or a pause. "Heavy" describes not only an object or movement but also an inner experience. This fluidity of function corresponds to the notion of the contextual expansion of a word's meaning and its stylistic re-actualisation in artistic speech (Wales, 2011).

The group of qualitative adjectives turned out to be the broadest. These adjectives regularly correlate with character, space, and inner state. In "Jamilia", attributes such as "quiet", "close", "warm", and "native" are most often included in descriptions that emphasise emotional tone and changes in inner perception. In "The white ship", the qualitative adjectives "tall", "large", "empty", and "deaf" are more often associated with space and help construct the image of a distant, tense, or closed world. In "The place of the skull", the same types of words often acquire an evaluative connotation, especially when included in contrasting passages. This demonstrates that the qualitative adjective in Ch. Aitmatov's prose serves as the initial form for further semantic complication, and its function is clarified in the specific communicative and stylistic environment of the text (Cruse, 1986; Murphy, 2010). Within this group, contextual convergence of features is particularly noticeable, in which synonymous adjectives form series with incomplete interchangeability and are distributed across different zones of artistic meaning.

Evaluative adjectives are concentrated primarily in those fragments that reveal moral characterisation, emotional rapprochement, or repulsion. The features cruel, terrible, alien, native, proud, bright and merciless regularly recurred in the corpus under study. In "The place of the skull", the adjectives cruel, terrible, and merciless are found in contexts of violence, internal breakdown, and moral conflict. In "Jamilia", the features native, close, and alien are associated with the emotional evaluation of a person or situation. In such contexts, the adjective not only expresses an evaluation but also guides the perception of a character, situation, or relationship between characters, which aligns with the understanding of evaluation as a linguistic mechanism for positioning the subject in relation to the depicted world (Martin & White, 2005; Murphy, 2010). Synonymous differentiation is particularly evident in the evaluative domain, as units of similar meaning distribute moral, emotional, and axiological nuances of a characteristic.

Colour-denoting adjectives are less widely represented, but the role is clearly evident in recurring images. The corpus includes white, dark, light, and blue. In "The White Ship", the adjective "white" is associated not only with colour but also with the image of distance, expectation, and unattainability. The adjective "svetly" (light) in several passages is associated with purity, clarity, and a positive value perspective. Dark can denote evening, a view, space, or an inner state, and therefore its meaning shifts from a visual characteristic to a psychological or symbolic one. Blue contributes to the creation of depth and distance in the landscape. Thus, the colour-denoting adjectives in the analysed texts are associated not only with visualisation

but also with recurring semantic lines, and the meaning is revealed through the interaction of lexical semantics and artistic context (Cruse, 1986; Wales, 2011). Within this group, synonymous relationships are manifested both in direct colour correlations and in the transition from a visual attribute to an evaluative and symbolic hue.

Emotionally marked adjectives are most prominent in descriptions of characters' internal states. In "Jamilia", the following attributes are particularly common: tender, close, dear, anxious, lonely, and alien. The attributes occur in contexts of memory, silence, gaze, and inner experience, and therefore form not a separate epithet but an emotional microcontext. For example, the combinations quiet, warm, close, and dear create a lyrical intonation, while alien, harsh, and heavy denote tension and internal rupture. In these cases, the adjective doesn't simply denote a characteristic but helps convey a state that isn't always directly named. This function of emotionally marked units is consistent with the understanding of evaluation and expression as a contextually organised effect, not just as a property of a single word (Martin & White, 2005). Moreover, emotionally marked adjective synonyms form particularly fluid series, in which the differences between units are determined by the intensity of experience, the degree of inner closeness or alienation, and the overall tonality of the fragment.

In "The white ship", spatial-landscape adjectives form one of the most prominent layers of description. Words such as distant, high, deaf, cold, empty, large, ancient, and quiet recur in descriptions of nature and remote spaces. Such words are associated with mountains, forests, wind, water, sky, roads, and silence. The adjectives distant and high denote not only spatial parameters but also inaccessibility, the gap between the desired and the real. Deaf and empty often reinforce the motif of isolation and loneliness. Cold, in a number of contexts, conveys not only the physical quality of the environment but also emotional alienation. Therefore, the spatial feature in these texts is regularly linked to the state of the hero and the overall meaning of the episode. This distribution demonstrates that the description of space in literary texts functions as a carrier of figurative and axiological meaning, rather than as a neutral backdrop (Wales, 2011). In this group, synonymous relationships allow for varying degrees of remoteness, isolation, tension, and figurative richness of space.

Characterological adjectives in the analysed corpus are primarily associated with character traits and form stable image traits. The study material repeatedly includes the attributes brave, proud, cruel, ruthless, pensive, lonely, and wild. In "Jamilia", the words brave and proud are associated with inner independence and personal strength. In "The place of the skull", the adjectives cruel and ruthless characterise not only a specific person but also the moral state of the depicted situation. The adjectives pensive and lonely accompany fragments of inner detachment. As a result, characterological adjectives in Ch. Aitmatov's prose combine the designation of a character trait with an indication of a broader psychological or moral context.

This aligns with the notion that the linguistic characterisation of personality in a literary text is formed at the intersection of the semantics of the attribute, its evaluation, and the context of its use. Characterological adjective synonyms thus serve to clarify the character's image, distinguishing between similar but distinct types of internal state and moral stance.

Symbolically charged adjectives are less common, but regularly form part of motif-based connections. The most illustrative examples are white, light, dark, dead, ancient, and alien. In repeated contexts, white is associated with a dream, distance, and the image of the unattainable; light with inner clarity or a positive value pole; dark with anxiety, destruction, and inner isolation; dead with the loss of a living connection; alien with alienation. Such adjectives are especially noticeable in "The White Ship" and "The place of the skull", where these adjectives form part of a system of semantic oppositions and repetitions. Here, the transition from direct meaning to secondary artistic meaning is particularly clear, reinforced through repetition and the contextual position of the feature (Wales, 2011). Synonymous correlation in this group is manifested in the ability of units with similar meanings to consistently redistribute the symbolic load depending on the motif surrounding these units.

The distribution of characteristics by object revealed that adjective synonyms most often relate to character, natural space, internal state, and the author's assessment. Character in the analysed material is described primarily by qualitative, evaluative, emotionally charged, and characterological adjectives. Space in the studied corpus is conveyed primarily through spatial-landscape, colour-denoting, and symbolically charged adjectives. Internal state gravitates toward emotionally charged and qualitative definitions. The author's assessment is especially noticeable where evaluative and symbolically charged features appear. This distribution demonstrates that the type of adjective is related to what is being characterised in the text, and its function is clarified through the combination of object and context (Martin & White, 2005; Murphy, 2010). At the same time, it was established that the object of characterisation also influences the nature of synonymous correlation: psychological and evaluative differentiation predominates in the character zone, figurative-symbolic differentiation in the spatial zone, and emotional differentiation in the internal state zone.

In the analysed corpus, adjective synonyms are recorded in portrait descriptions, landscape fragments, internal monologues, authorial narrative, and descriptive-symbolic episodes. In portrait fragments, these lexical units perform a characterological and psychologising function; in landscape fragments, a visualising and symbolic function; in internal monologues, an emotional-evaluative function; and in authorial narrative, an interpretative function. The same attribute changes its function depending on the context. For example, quiet in a portrait description psychologises the character, creates an atmosphere in a landscape fragment, and denotes a tense pause in an internal monologue. In the description of space, dark visualises the environment, in the characterisation of a gaze, it conveys an internal state, and in a symbolic episode, it participates in a more general semantic opposition. Such observations confirm that the function of a feature is determined not by its vocabulary, but by the textual context and the type of artistic task (Cruse, 1986; Wales, 2011). Consequently, the synonymous potential of an adjective is revealed not in an isolated unit, but in a system of textual correlations, where words with similar meanings are distributed among different artistic functions.

The most notable methods of textual organisation of adjective synonyms are epithet construction, repetition, contrast, gradation, and figurative parallelism. Epithet construction in the analysed material is associated with psychological or symbolic meaning. Repetition secures a stable meaning for individual features. Contrast is particularly pronounced in "The place of the skull", where pairs such as living-dead, light-dark, and human-animal contribute to the construction of semantic opposition. Gradation is found in emotionally charged and descriptive passages. Figurative parallelism appears where similar features link character and space, internal state and the natural environment. This demonstrates that the stylistic role of an adjective depends not only on its meaning but also on its place in the broader textual structure (Wales, 2011). These organisational methods are crucial for the analysis of adjective synonyms, as such methods most clearly demonstrate semantic affinity, functional differentiation, and contextual re-accentuation of units with similar meanings. Table 2 summarises recurring patterns in the artistic functioning of adjective synonyms, the typical lexical realisations, contextual zones, and predominant functions in the analysed works.

Table 2. Recurring patterns of artistic functioning of adjective synonyms

Work	Dominant zone of functioning of synonyms	Typical synonymously related adjectives	Basic functions of synonymic choice	Artistic role in the text	Role in idiosyle organisation
"Jamilia" (1958)	Emotional and psychological	lively, brave, proud, quiet, gentle, thoughtful, close, dear	Psychologisation, emotional nuance, lyricism, internal focus of perception	Conveying the emotional fluidity of the characters, clarifying emotional nuances, and enhancing the subjective perspective of the narrative	Forms a model of subtle psychological characterisation through synonymous variation of a feature



Table 2. Continued

Work	Dominant zone of functioning of synonyms	Typical synonymously related adjectives	Basic functions of synonymic choice	Artistic role in the text	Role in idiostyle organisation
"The white ship" (1970)	Spatial-landscape and symbolic	white, light, blue, high, distant, empty, cold, ancient	Spatial concretisation, atmospheric condensation, symbolisation, semantic expansion of the image	Organisation of artistic space, transition from objective description to symbolic meaning, strengthening of motif coherence	Reinforces the model of figurative-spatial organisation of the text through synonymous series of features
"The place of the skull" (1986)	Evaluative-philosophical and axiological	cruel, terrible, merciless, dark, dead, alien, lonely, heavy	Moral differentiation, axiological polarisation, dramatisation, philosophical deepening of assessment	Formation of authorial modality, construction of semantic contrasts, expression of ethical tension	Reveals a model of conceptually loaded synonymic choice in the system of authorial evaluation

Source: compiled by the author based on an analysis of Ch. Aitmatov (1958; 1972; 1986)

An analysis of the data presented in Table 2 reveals that adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov's works do not function in isolation, but rather as part of recurring artistic patterns associated with specific contexts and objects of characterisation. The most consistent patterns proved to be those of character psychologisation, emotional modulation, spatial-landscape visualisation, image symbolisation, and axiological characterisation. This confirms that adjective synonyms in the analysed texts perform not only a descriptive function but also participate in conveying internal states, creating atmosphere, expressing evaluation, and constructing semantic oppositions. Thus, the identified patterns demonstrate a consistent relationship between the type of synonymous correlation of a feature, the context of its use, and its artistic function.

Thus, systematisation of the material revealed that adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov's prose form an internally ordered array in which lexical-semantic groups, objects of characterisation, contextual zones, and artistic functions are in stable interaction. The recurrence of the identified patterns indicates that adjective synonyms act in these works as an important element in organising the psychological, figurative, and value levels of the text. This provides grounds for moving beyond the grouping and typology of the material to an analysis of how these patterns are realised within the writer's idiostyle and shape the stable artistic patterns.

Functional models of adjective synonyms in Chingiz Aitmatov's idiostyle

Functional models of adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov's prose are revealed as stable ways in which synonymously related features participate in the organisation of the character, spatial, and value levels of a literary text. At this level of analysis, it was established that adjective synonyms in the studied works are not limited to the role of attributing nouns, but systematically enter those sections of the text where the psychological depth of an image, the emotional atmosphere of an episode, the symbolic richness of space, and authorial modality are formed.

Therefore, the functional and stylistic significance is manifested not only in lexical semantics, but also in the way synonymously related units are incorporated into the narrative, correlated with specific objects, and assigned recurring functions within the artistic world of the work. This role of adjective synonyms corresponds to the concept of a literary text as a system of interconnected linguistic solutions, where a unit reveals its function through context, perceptual perspective, and the overall semantic organisation of the utterance (Leech & Short, 2007; Simpson, 2025).

The most consistent model proved to be one in which adjective synonyms participate in the character's psychologisation. In "Jamilia", this is evident in those fragments where attributes are associated with the hero's internal state, the emotional perception of another person, the intonation of memory, and the nature of spiritual movement. The adjectives quiet, gentle, close, dear, pensive, proud, and courageous form not so much an external portrait as an internal drawing of the image. Thus, quiet in the corresponding fragments denotes not only an acoustic quality but also inner concentration, restraint, emotional depth, or hidden tension; gentle and close transfer the description to the plane of subjective experience and set the tone for emotional intimacy; Proud and courageous transcend simple characterological fixations and begin to denote inner independence, resilience, and the capacity for internal resistance. As a result, it becomes clear that the psychological function of Ch. Aitmatov's adjective synonyms is associated not with the direct naming of a feeling, but with a more subtle conveyance of its nuances through the description of a voice, gaze, gesture, silence, pause, or inner impression. It is in such contexts that the synonymic choice of a trait begins to function as a means of internally focusing the image and as a form of subjective vision of the character (Toolan, 2001; Stockwell, 2020).

This model is also important because it demonstrates the dependence of the function of adjective synonyms on narrative perspective. In passages where description is closely linked to the inner perception of the character or narrator, synonymously related adjectives acquire

additional psychological weight. The same feature may denote an external quality, but from a certain perspective it begins to be perceived as a sign of an internal state. The adjective “dark” in Ch. Aitmatov’s description of a gaze or space loses its purely visual significance and conveys anxiety, emotional isolation, and inner ambiguity. Similarly, “quiet”, depending on the context, denotes either an acoustic quality, emotional restraint, or a tense internal pause. This makes it possible to assert that, in Ch. Aitmatov’s psychologising model, adjective synonyms are closely linked to the organisation of subjective perspective: these synonyms not only characterise a character, but also demonstrate the way in which the character is experienced within the narrative structure (Toolan, 2001; Leech & Short, 2007).

The second consistent pattern is the use of synonymous adjectives to shape spatial and landscape imagery and artistic atmosphere. In “The white ship”, the attributes distant, high, deaf, cold, white, light, dark, blue, and empty are associated with the depiction of mountains, water, sky, forest, air, and the distant world. However, within the work, these attributes serve more than just a visualising function. Distant and high denote not simply spatial parameters but also the experience of unattainability, aspiration, and an internal gap between the present and the desired; deaf and empty reinforce the motif of isolation, loneliness, and detachment; cold conveys not only the physical quality of the environment but also emotional alienation; white and light acquire additional meanings associated with hope, purity, inner expectation, and the image of the unattainable. As a result, it was established that spatial-landscape adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov’s idiosyncrasy function as a link between external description and internal meaning. These synonyms simultaneously construct a visible picture of the world and imbue it with emotional and symbolic content, thereby transforming space into a carrier of mood and meaning rather than remaining a compositional backdrop (Stockwell, 2020; Simpson, 2025).

It is in this model that the compositional role of description is particularly clearly manifested. In Ch. Aitmatov’s works, adjective synonyms are concentrated in those landscape and spatial fragments that slow the plot and shift the narrative to a deeper figurative plane. This slowdown is not decorative: it creates a semantic pause in which the synonymously expressed feature begins to contribute to the atmosphere, internal tension, and symbolic unfolding of the episode. In “The white ship”, this leads to spatial definitions no longer being neutral and forming a stable motif. The repetition of attributes – white, distant, high, cold, dark – links different sections of the text and creates a coherent image of the world, in which the external environment is constantly correlated with the protagonist’s internal experience. Thus, synonymous adjectives are included not only in the description of space but also in the compositional organisation of the work, since through such adjectives, landscape fragments acquire the role of semantic nodes in the text (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013; Simpson, 2025).

The third consistent model is the evaluative-symbolic functioning of adjective synonyms, most consistently presented in “The place of the skull”. Here, the attributes cruel, merciless, terrible, dark, dead, alien, and bright systematically enter into contexts of moral conflict, spiritual tension, and semantic opposition. Cruel and merciless function as carriers not only of a particular characteristic but also of the general ethical state of the depicted world; terrible heightens the sense of dramatic irreversibility; dead shifts the description from the objective to the symbolic, associating it with the loss of a living connection and internal devastation; alien denotes not simply the distance between people, but a deeper rift between the subject and the surrounding world; bright, in contrasting contexts, indicates the possibility of moral support, internal resistance, or residual spiritual perspective. As a result, it was established that in this model, adjective synonyms become one of the primary carriers of authorial modality. Through such synonyms, the text not only describes but also interprets; not only captures a characteristic but also distributes value accents within the artistic world (Leech & Short, 2007; Simpson, 2025).

Contrast also assumes an important role in this model. Ch. Aitmatov’s prose is characterised by a persistent gravitation toward oppositional combinations, in which synonymous adjectives intensify the text’s value and semantic tension. In “The place of the skull”, this is manifested through the pairs living-dead, light-dark, human-animal, and free-hunted. In “Jamilia” and “The white ship”, oppositions of native-alien, close-distant, and warm-cold are repeated, elevating specific characteristics to the level of a more general emotional or ideological structure. Through such oppositions, a synonymously related feature becomes an element not only of description but also of the text’s semantic architecture. This makes it possible to assert that contrast in the work by Ch. Aitmatov is one of the dominant forms of artistic activation of adjective synonyms: it is in this oppositional position that these synonyms attain maximum expressiveness and are linked to the work’s underlying semantic lines (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013).

The functional significance of adjective synonyms is also manifested at the level of motif-based structure. The repetition of individual features in different parts of the text forms stable semantic lines that connect distant episodes and create the work’s internal unity. Particularly indicative in this regard are white, dark, light, quiet, distant, familiar, and alien. Thus, white in “The white ship” is associated with the image of the unattainable and returns the text to the line of inner aspiration; in “Jamilia”, familiar and alien reinforce the line of emotional intimacy and alienation; in “The place of the skull”, dark and light participate in moral opposition and organise the work’s value framework. Analysis of the material revealed that Ch. Aitmatov’s adjective synonyms perform not only a local but also a text-forming function: these synonyms support recurring motifs, connect disparate episodes, and provide an overall direction for the artistic statement (Stockwell, 2020; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013). The results of



the analysis of functional models of adjective synonyms in the organisation of characterisation, artistic atmosphere,

authorial modality, and motif-based structure are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3. Functional models of adjective synonyms in fiction

Work	Dominant zone of functioning of synonyms	Typical synonymously related adjectives	Basic functions of synonymic choice	Artistic role in the text	Role in idiostyle organisation
"Jamilia" (1958)	Emotional and psychological	lively, brave, proud, quiet, gentle, thoughtful, close, dear	Psychologisation, emotional nuance, lyricism, internal focus of perception	Conveying the emotional fluidity of the characters, clarifying emotional nuances, and enhancing the subjective perspective of the narrative	Forms a model of subtle psychological characterisation through synonymous variation of a feature
"The white ship" (1970)	Spatial-landscape and symbolic	white, light, blue, high, distant, empty, cold, ancient	Spatial concretisation, atmospheric condensation, symbolisation, semantic expansion of the image	Organisation of artistic space, transition from objective description to symbolic meaning, strengthening of motif coherence	Reinforces the model of figurative-spatial organisation of the text through synonymous series of features
"The place of the skull" (1986)	Evaluative-philosophical and axiological	cruel, terrible, merciless, dark, dead, alien, lonely, heavy	Moral differentiation, axiological polarisation, dramatisation, philosophical deepening of assessment	Formation of authorial modality, construction of semantic contrasts, expression of ethical tension	Reveals a model of conceptually loaded synonymic choice in the system of authorial evaluation

Source: compiled by the author based on an analysis of Ch. Aitmatov (1958; 1972; 1986)

An analysis of Table 3 revealed that adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov's literary texts are integrated into several interrelated functional areas. The most significant of these are the role in characterisation, the formation of spatial-landscape imagery, and the expression of the author's evaluative-symbolic perspective. At the same time, adjective synonyms play a unifying role at the level of the text's motif-based and compositional organisation, linking individual episodes, emotional states, and semantic oppositions. This confirms that in Ch. Aitmatov's prose, a synonymously related feature functions not as a local definition, but as one element of the overall artistic structure.

Thus, the analysis revealed that adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov's idiostyle form a stable system of artistic functioning, in which character psychologisation, spatial-figurative saturation, and evaluative-symbolic interpretation serve as the main directions of the realisation. The recurrence across various works testifies to the systematic nature of the role of adjective synonyms in constructing the author's worldview, organising narrative perspective, and shaping the semantic integrity of the text. This provides grounds for considering adjective synonyms as a stable and significant component of the writer's idiostyle.

Discussion

The obtained results correlate with the current stage of development of functional stylistics, within which a linguistic unit is considered through its role in the organisation of meaning and discourse. This vector is recorded

in the review by G. Liu *et al.* (2024). This conclusion correlates with the results of the conducted study, since adjective synonyms in a literary text also demonstrated a functionally significant, rather than formally descriptive, role. At the same time, unlike in pedagogical discourse, in a literary text the function of a synonymously correlated feature is determined by the narrative perspective, motif-based organisation, and authorial modality. The revealed significance of evaluative and emotionally marked adjective synonyms correlates with the observations of Q.Y. Liu *et al.* (2022), who demonstrated the productivity of the axiological approach in the interpretation of linguistic units. The obtained results are similar to this approach; however, unlike translation studies, the evaluation in the analysed prose is formed not through interlingual transfer, but within the artistic structure of the text. The results of the study partially echo the work of C. Olalla-Soler *et al.* (2021), which emphasises the cognitive aspects of interpretation. This relationship is particularly noticeable in cases where adjective synonyms contribute to the character's psychologisation and the formation of a subjective point of view. However, in the present study, the cognitive effect is considered not as a result of translation reception, but as a consequence of the internal organisation of the literary text. The obtained results correlate with the findings of M.X. Pan & Y. Zhu (2022) in that modern analysis of linguistic material increasingly combines substantive and functional aspects. At the same time, in literary prose, adjective synonyms demonstrate greater semantic

fluidity, as these synonyms are connected not only to the text's theme but also to the work's figurative system. A certain correspondence is also observed with the corpus trends described by P. Crosthwaite *et al.* (2023). These authors document a steady increase in interest in recurring linguistic patterns, which is consistent with the systematisation of adjective synonyms by functional groups and models of artistic realisation. However, the obtained results indicate that for literary texts, recurrence is important primarily as a carrier of function, rather than as a quantitative indicator in itself.

The work of G. An (2024) is directly related to translation studies, but reflects a general interest in the functional shift in the meaning of a linguistic unit. This approach is partially consistent with the results of the study, since adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov also extend beyond direct semantics and acquire additional symbolic or evaluative load. However, while in translation studies such a shift is associated with interlingual adaptation, in fiction it is conditioned by the internal context of the work and the system of synonymous correlations of features. The results relate more indirectly to the review by M.Z. Sulaiman *et al.* (2024), which demonstrates the expansion of the functional approach in related fields of humanities. Against this background, the present study confirms that a similar approach is also productive for the analysis of idiostyle, where adjective synonyms act as an element of the artistic organisation of the text. The closest in general logic is the study by H. He & B. Xiong (2025), devoted to the translator's style as a system of recurring linguistic choices. This conclusion directly echoes the results of the present study, in which adjective synonyms were considered one of the stable components of Ch. Aitmatov's idiostyle. However, unlike translation style, here, the issue is the internal connection of a synonymously correlated feature with characterisation, spatial imagery, and the author's worldview. The results obtained relate to the study by K.O. Umeanowai & G. Hu (2024) more broadly, as it demonstrates the general expansion of the research field of translation studies and related fields. This confirms the relevance of an interdisciplinary approach, but the study demonstrates that the specific nature of literary texts requires contextual and interpretive analysis rather than bibliometric analysis, which allows for the identification of the role of adjective synonyms in organising the semantic structure of a work.

The findings, according to which adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov's prose participate not only in object characterisation but also in organising the text's semantic density, partially correlate with the observations of S. Wang *et al.* (2022), who demonstrated a decrease in readability in works on language and linguistics. However, in fiction, the increasing complexity of adjective synonyms is associated not with the text's information overload, but with an increase in its figurative and interpretative capacity. The identified role of adjective synonyms in shaping the emotional tone and perception of the text echoed the findings of J. Wen & L. Lei (2022), who analysed the significance of

adjectives and adverbs for the emotionality and readability of academic discourse. However, in the analysed works, adjective synonyms served a different purpose: these synonyms were associated not with the norms of scientific clarity, but with the psychologisation of character, the creation of atmosphere, and the symbolic condensation of meaning. The established need for a systematic distribution of material according to recurring patterns partially corresponded with the review by A. Hajar & M. Karakus (2024), which emphasised the importance of mapping the research field and identifying its dominant directions. However, whereas that work focused on the structure of a scientific field, in the present study, systematicity was manifested at the level of the internal organisation of the literary text and the functional distribution of synonymously related features.

The stable functional lines identified in the study also resonated with the work of D. Tao & L. Eng (2024), which traced the evolution of research topics and the thematic centres. However, in this case, the recurrence was not observed in the development of scientific problems, but in the artistic functions of adjective synonyms associated with the character, spatial, and evaluative organisation of the text. The established dependence of the stylistic role of adjective synonyms on context and the interpretive environment partially echoed the results of L.I. Omar & A.A. Salih (2024), who examined the influence of technological mediation on the linguistic processing of text. Against this background, the study revealed a different pattern: in fiction, the semantic load of adjective synonyms was revealed not through automated processing, but through the inclusion in the figurative, motif-based, and compositional structure of the work. The obtained results, related to authorial modality and the subjective organisation of description, correlated with the findings of X. Guo *et al.* (2023), who analysed the problem of translator's voice. However, while the voice of the mediator was at the centre of translation studies, in Ch. Aitmatov's prose, adjective synonyms made it possible to trace the internal forms of the author's presence, realised through evaluation, emotional attunement, and narrative perspective. The identified systematicity of lexical-semantic groups of adjective synonyms correlated with the growing interest in lexicographic studies, recorded in the works of F. Bozkurt & M. Mohammadi (2025), I. Topal (2025), S. Zhang *et al.* (2026). At the same time, in contrast to the lexicographic approach, where the word as a unit of description remained central, in the conducted study, adjective synonyms were considered units of artistic functioning, whose meaning was revealed only in the system of the text. The obtained results echoed the more general conclusion of Y. Xu *et al.* (2023) on the importance of systemic analytics in modern linguistics. But while in the aforementioned work, systematicity served as a tool for assessing the scientific field, in the analysis of Ch. Aitmatov's prose, it made it possible to identify consistent patterns in the participation of adjective synonyms in the organisation of the artistic world. The established functional



significance of adjective synonyms as a means of emotional, figurative, and semantic textual organisation partially correlated with the observations of M. Yan & J. Li (2024), who demonstrated a growing interest in linguistic aspects that had long remained less prominent in the general linguistic field. Against this background, the conducted analysis confirmed that adjective synonyms in fiction require consideration not as a secondary descriptive element, but as a significant component of idiosyncrasy.

Conclusions

The study established those adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov's works form a system of stable functional and stylistic relationships and are realised as a significant component of the artistic organisation of the text. Adjective synonyms in the studied prose not only perform a defining function but also contribute to the formation of characterisation, spatial and landscape imagery, evaluative and symbolic perspective, motif-based coherence, and authorial modality. This confirmed that in the writer's idiosyncrasy, synonymously related adjectives serve not as a peripheral descriptive device, but as one of the stable units of artistic meaning-making. Analysis of a representative corpus, including the works "Jamilia", "The white ship", and "The place of the skull", revealed that these texts encompass different, but comparable, areas of functioning of adjective synonyms. It was established that the emotional-psychological line of the use dominates in "Jamilia", while in "The white ship" it is spatial-landscape and symbolic, and in "The place of the skull" it is evaluative-philosophical and axiological. This made it possible to identify recurring methods of artistic actualisation of synonymously expressed features within the writer's idiosyncrasy and establish that the difference in artistic dominants does not disrupt the integrity of the research dataset, but, on the contrary, makes it possible to identify stable functional patterns.

At the same time, it was confirmed that the adjective synonyms in each work are included in a particular dominant system of meaning-making, but in all cases go beyond the simple nomination of the feature. Systematisation of the material confirmed the consistent presence of qualitative, evaluative, colour-denoting, emotionally

marked, spatial-landscape, characterological, and symbolically loaded synonymous series and affinities. It was established that qualitative and evaluative features were the most productive, while colour-denoting and symbolically loaded units were less numerous but distinguished by a high semantic concentration. A stable relationship was revealed between the lexical-semantic type of adjective synonyms, the object of characterisation, the type of context, and the artistic function. Furthermore, it was established that character in the studied corpus is associated with qualitative, evaluative, emotionally marked, and characterological features, while natural space is conveyed through spatial-landscape, colour-denoting, and symbolically loaded adjective synonyms.

As a result of the analysis, three main functional models of the participation of adjective synonyms in Ch. Aitmatov's literary text were reconstructed: character psychologisation, spatial-figurative saturation, and evaluative-symbolic interpretation. It was established that the same unit in different contexts can shift from a psychological function to a symbolic one, from a spatial one to an evaluative one, demonstrating the functional fluidity of adjective synonyms as a characteristic of the writer's idiosyncrasy. It was confirmed that the functional and stylistic significance of adjective synonyms is determined not only by the dictionary semantics but also by the position from the narrative perspective, compositional accents, and motif-based structure of the work. Prospects for further research include expanding the corpus of Ch. Aitmatov's works, comparing Russian-language and Kyrgyz-language texts, and a more detailed study of colour-denoting and symbolically loaded synonymous adjectives as elements of the author's worldview.

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Адабий тексттердеги сын атоолордун синонимдери

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Аннотация. Бул изилдөөнүн максаты – адабий тексттерде сын атоолордун синонимдеринин функциялануу өзгөчөлүктөрүн аныктоо болду. Изилдөө сапаттык жана текстке багытталган мүнөздө жүргүзүлүп, “Жамил”, “Ак паром” жана “Гильотина” чыгармаларынын өкүлчүлүк материалдарынын анализине негизделип, андан соң сындык аттардын синонимдерин системалаштыруу жана алардын адабий дискурстун структурасындагы функцияларын талдоо жүргүзүлдү. Анализделген тексттерде сын-аттардын синонимдери аныктоочу гана эмес, текстти түзүүчү ролду да аткарып, каармандын мүнөзүн, мейкиндиктик жана пейзаждык образдарды, баалоочу жана символикалык көз карашты, тематикалык биримдикти жана автордук маданиятты калыптандырууда салым кошот. Изилденип жаткан материал синонимдик байланыштагы сын атоолордун жети түрүктүү тобун аныктайт: сапаттык, баалоочу, түс атоочу, эмоционалдык мааниге ээ, мейкиндик-пейзаждык, характердик жана символикалык мааниге ээ. Сапаттык жана баалоочу топтор эң өндүрүмдүү экени аныкталды, ал эми түс билдирген жана символикалык жүктөлгөн бирдиктер саны жагынан азыраак болсо да, маанинин жогорку концентрациясы менен айырмаланат. Анализ көрсөткөндөй, “Жамила” чыгармасында синонимдик сын атоолордун эмоционалдык-психологиялык функциялык линиясы үстөмдүк кылат, “Ак паромдо” – мейкиндиктик-пейзаждык жана символикалык, ал эми “Асып коюучу жерде” – баалоо-философиялык жана аксиологиялык. Материалды талдоо үч негизги функционалдык моделдин кайра курулушуна алып келди: каармандын психологиялашуусу, мейкиндиктик элестетүүлөрдүн байытылышы жана баалоо-символикалык интерпретация. Контекстке жараша бир эле бирдик психологиялык функциядан символикалык функцияга, ошондой эле мейкиндиктик функциядан баалоо функциясына өтө аларын аныкталды, бул адабий тексттердеги сындырылган зат атоолордун функционалдык ийкемдүүлүгүн көрсөтөт. Изилдөөнүн практикалык маанилүүлүгү анын жыйынтыктарын көркөм адабияттын лингвостилистикалык жана адабий анализинде, стилистика, текст лингвистикасы жана идиостиль теориясын окутууда, ошондой эле адабий тилди мындан ары изилдөөдө колдонууда жатат.

Негизги сөздөр: синонимдик талаа; семантикалык айырмалануу; лингво-стилистикалык анализ; адабий текст; контексттик функция; автордук модальдуулук; идио-стиль

Синонимы имен прилагательных в художественном тексте

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Аннотация. Цель исследования заключалась в выявлении особенностей функционирования синонимов имен прилагательных в художественном тексте. Работа имела качественный текстоцентрический характер и основывалась на анализе репрезентативного материала, включающего произведения «Джамиля», «Белый пароход» и «Плаха», с последующей систематизацией синонимов имен прилагательных и интерпретацией их функций в структуре художественного высказывания. Установлено, что синонимы имен прилагательных в анализируемых текстах выполняют не только определительную, но и текстообразующую роль, участвуя в формировании персонажной характеристики, пространственно-пейзажной образности, оценочно-символической перспективы, мотивной связности и авторской модальности. В исследуемом материале выявлено 7 устойчивых групп синонимически соотнесенных прилагательных: качественные, оценочные, цветообозначающие, эмоционально маркированные, пространственно-пейзажные, характерологические и символически нагруженные. Установлено, что наиболее продуктивными являются качественные и оценочные группы, тогда как цветообозначающие и символически нагруженные единицы менее многочисленны, но отличаются более высокой смысловой концентрацией. Анализ показал, что в «Джамиле» доминирует эмоционально-психологическая линия функционирования синонимов имен прилагательных, в «Белом пароходе» – пространственно-пейзажная и символическая, в «Плахе» – оценочно-философская и аксиологическая. В результате интерпретации материала реконструированы три основные функциональные модели: психологизация персонажа, пространственно-образное насыщение и оценочно-символическая интерпретация. Выявлено, что одна и та же единица в зависимости от контекста может переходить из психологической функции в символическую, из пространственной – в оценочную, что свидетельствует о функциональной подвижности синонимов имен прилагательных в художественном тексте. Практическая значимость исследования состоит в использовании результатов в лингвостилистическом и литературоведческом анализе художественной прозы, в преподавании стилистики, лингвистики текста и теории идиостиля, а также в дальнейших исследованиях художественного языка

Ключевые слова: синонимический ряд; семантическая дифференциация; лингвостилистический анализ; художественный текст; контекстуальная функция; авторская модальность; идиостиль



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