Title:
Contiguity of the research work by Roman Jakobson and
Yury Rozhdestvensky in terms of method and material

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Abstract:

The goal of this paper is to compare R. Jakobson's and Yu. Rozhdestvensky's typological investigations in terms of material and method in selective thematic survey. The content of the selection is conditioned by the complimentary component of the themes developed in the texts of both the scholars. The survey of Jakobson's and Rozhdestvensky's research works demonstrate the complimentary character of arguments of both the scholars in formulating the principle on limitation of the material of research and range of application of this principle: the linguistic procedure on revealing specific correlations among systemic features of the language and their speech realization in terms of the language structure is applicable to all the objects of linguistics which are in the context of the concept of the unit of structural-functional divisibility. Investigation pathos of both the scholars is to reveal language forms that play the function of casual relations among studying cultural significance of linguistic systems and studying typology of texts. Folklore, poetical organization of speech, material of language sign, nomination of semiotic phenomena are prioritized spheres on revealing these language forms.

The subject of this presentation is contiguity of the research work by Roman Jakobson and Yury Rozhdestvensky in terms of method and material.

The material and method of research is the core of the linguistic procedure. The history of standard linguistic procedures is the history of linguistics and the portrait gallery of personalia (the catalogue of authors' attributions in the common data bank of procedure constituents. R.O. Jacobson's and Yu.V. Rozhdestvensky's research activities in linguistics are associated with structural typology and the Russian history.

According to one of Jakobson's favourite quotations by Albert Einstein (which he had uttered four weeks before he died), "the distinction between the past, present and future is only a stubbornly persistent illusion" (Jacobson [1972] p.80).

It is fair to say that both Jakobson's and Rozhdestvensky's worldview core was Eastern Orthodoxy: Jakobson was christened in 1938; Rozhdestvensky came from an ancient clerical lineage[1]; the family got its family name from the Church of the Nativity of the Most Holy Mother of God in the 17th century; and Yury Vladimirovich had always had a special feeling for the Great Feast of the Nativity.

The key to the worldview code of both the scholars is the Bible's interdiction against adding and taking away the words from the Book (Revelation 22:18,19).

The two scholars comply with this interdiction explain their integrity and detachment both in the scholarly endeavor and social life. Both Roman Jakobson and Yury Rozhdestvensky treated the Russian Revolution for the masses as the bridge into the world culture, the part of which is the Russian culture.

Typological investigation comes from the works by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767 – 1835) on substantial composition of the word (without considering the semantics).

The beginning of the second stage – the structural – is associated with the name of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857 – 1913), who manifested the importance of semantics in any linguistic analysis (Saussure F. de. [1977]).

The goal of this presentation is to compare R. Jakobson's and Yu. Rozhdestvensky's typological investigations in terms of material and method in selective thematic survey. The content of the selection is conditioned by the complimentary component of the themes developed in the texts of both the scholars.

The method of the author of the presentation is the context juxtaposition of the observations and evaluation of information statements Jakobson and Rozhdestvensky in their linguistic investigations; also the juxtaposition of biography facts of the two scholars: the professional life of a prominent figure is being structured into a persistent personal myth, converting the biography of a person and being converted itself.

Roman Jakobson (1896 – 1982) and Yury Rozhdestvensky (1926 – 1999) didn't know each other personally. With the fact of not knowing each other personally, the proximity and independence of these scholars in terms of the material and method of research are evident when studying their works and can be substantiated by the difference in the concepts "thought" and "thinking". Thought exists as a social institution. Whereas, thinking is a combinatory psychological activity of an individual, contributing to the orientation in a situation and including such components as emotion, will, estimation. The formation of the scholars' personalities took place in the same (literally handshakeable) cultural environment.

Diagram 1
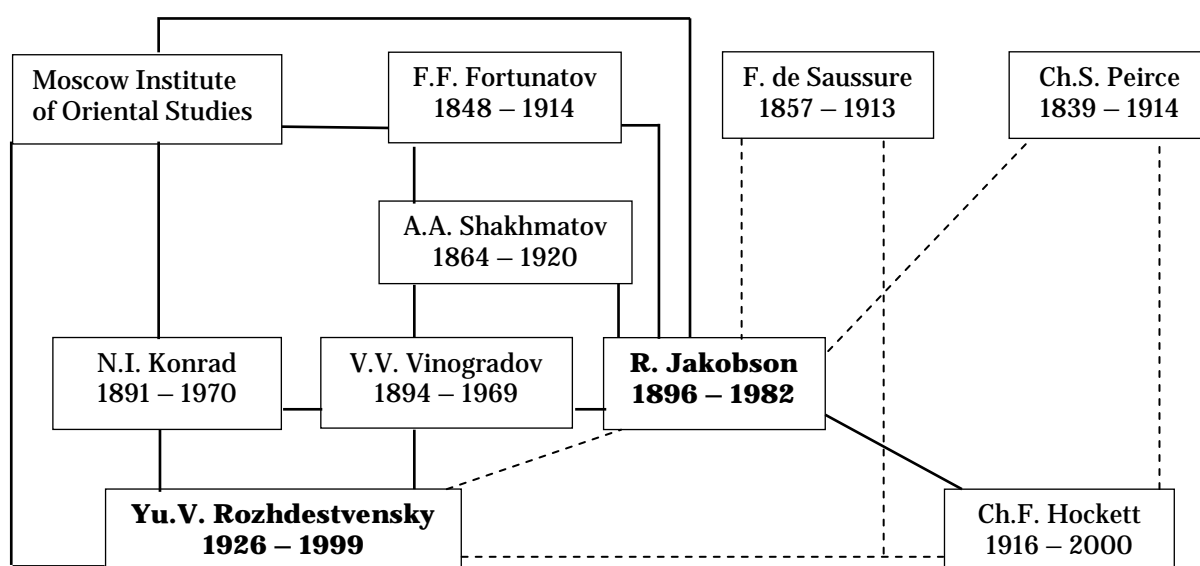
Full lines in the diagram represent the facts of immediate acquaintances; dashed lines represent the facts of literary references in the works of Jakobson and Rozhdestvensky. It is clear that the diagram does not present the whole circle of personal contacts of each of these scholars. It is ultimately reduced to the topic of the presentation.

The school of philology and culturology both for Jakobson and Rozhdestvensky began from Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies: between 1906 and 1914 Jakobson studied at the gymnasium at Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages (the former name of the educational institution); between 1947 and 1952 Rozhdestvensky studied at Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies at the department of Chinese Language. Oriental education stimulated and structured the interest of each of them in the study of folklore as a key to

historical system of verbal and cognitive communications and simultaneously – the key to the explanation of the modern discourse.

According to Rozhdestvensky, folklore contains the rules and precedents of the activity expressed literally and allegorically, – like reality or a game, like a subject or a model of the world or behaviour, or like a prognosis of the development of a situation beyond the speech. On the one hand, changeableness being a feature of folklore is caused by cultural influences of the folklore of neighbouring nations; on the other hand, it is caused by the inherent development of folklore of one and the same nation: folklore develops in the same direction as material and spiritual differentiation of the society; accordingly, in the folklore there appear economic, class, political fragments of the content. Changes in the theme cause changes in the character of texts, which contribute to changes in the structure of language (Rozhdestvensky [1970]).

The reason why Jakobson had so passionately collected the Moscow folklore of the beginning of the 20th century can be explained by semantically transformable utterance by V.V. Vinogradov, Rozhdestvensky's teacher and Jakobson's condisciple on Shakhmatov's "studies": a word, a phrase in folklore is being burdened both by its material meanings and by exfoliations of social history; mode of life and literature combine in material-semantic forms of the folklore word and, thus, they intensify its semantic prospects; the word not only attracts new social images, symbols, themes, plots, but also reflects them as in a system of mirrors; the folklore word absorbs social culture, being the source of new literary and artistic transformations at the same time the tool of destroying literary traditions (Vinogradov [1941] p.117). According to Rozhdestvensky, "the younger generation begins the world with their own "youth languages" and retains them through all their lives" (Rozhdestvensky [2000] p.6).

Besides Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies, another arch-important institution for both the scholars at different time was Moscow University, the department of General and Comparative-Historical Linguistics (as it is called now).

Between 1914 and 1918 Jakobson studied at Moscow University. Here, at F.F. Fortunatov's[2] school, he got the skills of strict discipline of linguistic thought which he had been improving later for all his life and for which the students of this department were named "the armoured Muscovites" in Saint Petersburg.

According to Louis Trolle Hjelmslev (1899 – 1965), the Danish linguist, author of glossemantics, the pathos of the research school (founded by Fortunatov) "is in the protest against interference grammar with psychology and logics"[3].

Between 1975 and 1997 Rozhdestvensky was the head of the department of Comparative-Historical Linguistics. During that time they kept the pathos of Fortunatov school which was about the strict demand for revealing their own linguistic "formal" criteria when investigating language in all the spheres of linguistics.

60 years before Rozhdestvensky, this pathos was stimulated by the activity of the scientific society. It was founded a year after F.F. Fortunatov's death by the students of Philology of Moscow University. The society was named Moscow Linguistic Circle (1915 – 1924)[4].

Jakobson was the first chairman of Moscow Circle (1915 – 1919). According to him, "in the cultural life of Russia it was the age of increasing interest in the art of poetry and in works and thoughts about its sources" (Jakobson [1985] p.241).
The members of the school were V. Mayakovsky, B. Pasternak, O. Mandelstam, N. Aseev. The goal of the society was "investigating the problems of linguistics, metrics and folklore" (Jakobson [1985] p.240).

According to Roman Jakobson, poetical form is a universal phenomenon of the human culture. Poetical form is important in realization of poetry. Poetry is the language in its most important function of all – esthetic (this function is particularly determining in the formation of style of speech and style of life). Unlike common language speakers, poets discover potentialities of the language concealed in it. The analysis of metrics is essential in the analysis of the poetical form. "Meter is not phonation, but linguistically significant elements which are the building material of the poem" (Jakobson [1985] p.244). In creation of the meter the necessary structural characteristics of the language are the following:
1) "phrasing is the result of grammatical relations uniting and/or demarcating syntactic groups" (Jakobson [1985] p.248); and
2) alternation of strong and weak prosodical elements in a binary opposition; for example,

stress/absence of stress,

length/shortness.

The analysis of a poem itself, according to Jakobson, "made it possible to reveal the basis on which the phonological system of the language is founded" (Jakobson [1985] p.242).

Operations conducted by Jakobson when analyzing a poem, called for new material of research. They started to involve systems of distinctive features extracted from texts and not an author's poetic text. The change of material of research got a complimentary theoretical substantiation in the thesis of Ferdinand de Saussure 'language is the form, not substance'. The constituent change of material of research predetermined the necessity in new methodological tools. Specifically textual facts characterized by the terms of the row: case, number, grammatical category, stress... – got to be systematized and explained be means of the terms of the row: variant, invariant, level, unit, paradigm, syntagma, class, syntagmatic-paradigmatic relations...

The description of the formal structure of functionally homogeneous systems of different languages, made by means of this language of metalinguistics, makes it possible to reveal both general principles of the common linguistic system as cultural education independently of national and cultural affiliation of language, and semantic variety of each language.

For instance, comparing the typical features of the Russian and English poetic models, Jakobson manifested: "The English iambic pentameter is, in the first place, an organized sequence of alternating syntactic groups, where the words of more or less grammatical independence, and, consequently, of accentual stress, alternate; whereas the Russian iambus (particularly iambic tetrameter) – this is, in the first instance, a row of necessarily unstressed syllables, alternating with arbitrarily stressed syllables at final ictuses...» [ictus is a rhythmic syllable in a poem] (Jakobson [1985] p.253). Thus, being alike as it may seem, the Russian and English iambuses are two different variants of iambic meter: the English iambus is based on grammatical oppositions, the Russian iambus is based on phonological oppositions. In the English iambus the basis for the meter is the grammatical level of the linguistic structure, and the phonological level is subordinated to it. In the Russian iambus it's on the contrary.

E.g. for comparison:

The English typical features:

"When in disgrace with Fortune and men's eyes,
I all alone beweep my outcast state…"
(Sonnet 29 by William Shakespeare)

when IN	disGRACE	with FOR-	-tune AND	men's EYES
i ALL	aLONE	beWEEP	my OUT-	-cast STATE

da DUM /	da DUM /	da DUM /	da DUM /	da DUM /
da DUM /	da DUM /	da DUM /	da DUM /	da DUM /

And the Russian typical features:

"The Latin vogue today is waning,
And yet I'll say on his behalf,
He had sufficient Latin training
To gloss a common epigraph…"
(*"Eugene Onegin"* by Alexander Pushkin
Translated from Russian into English by James E. Falen)

the LA-	-tin VOGUE	toDAY	is WAN-	-ing
and YET	i'll SAY	on HIS	beHALF	
he HAD	sufFI-	-cient LA-	-tin TRAIN-	-ing
to gloss	a COM-	-mon e-	-piGRAPH	

da DUM /	da DUM /	da DUM /	da DUM /	da
da DUM /	da DUM /	da DUM /	da DUM /	
da DUM /	da DUM /	da DUM /	da DUM /	da
da da /	da DUM /	da da /	da DUM /	

The survey of Jakobson's and Rozhdestvensky's research works demonstrate the complimentary character of arguments of both the scholars in formulating the principle on limitation of the material of research and range of application of this principle: the linguistic procedure on revealing specific correlations among systemic features of the language and their speech realization in terms of the language structure is applicable to

all the objects of linguistics which are in the context of the concept of the unit of structural-functional divisibility.

Language is treated by both the scholars as a specific part of culture: this is an activity organized according to specific rules (norms, precedents). From this point of view language is represented by two functionally structural components (two elements):

I) being nationally common integrated linguistic system, language is represented by dictionaries and grammars;

and at the same time

II) language is represented as creation of texts.

In its turn, language as nationally common system (I) include:

1) popular-colloquial element,
2) heterogeneous texts (including the texts from dictionaries and grammars),
3) oral speech connected with these texts.

Language as creation of texts (II) is always a new finding of balance among

1) historically developed и genre esthetics of text and
2) individuality of an author (who is also a result of linguistic culture).

The relation among all the parts of language is in the opposition of

* *active conscientious creation of a person* both on the creation of a system and on the creation of texts on the basis of this system,

and

* recorded in dictionaries, grammars, study guides on the state of language, *limiting artistic freedom.*

Diagram 2

Language as a part of culture

Linguistic system: dictionaries and grammars

Creation of texts

Popular-colloquial element

Heterogeneous texts

Esthetics of text

Individuality of an author

Oral speech connected with these texts
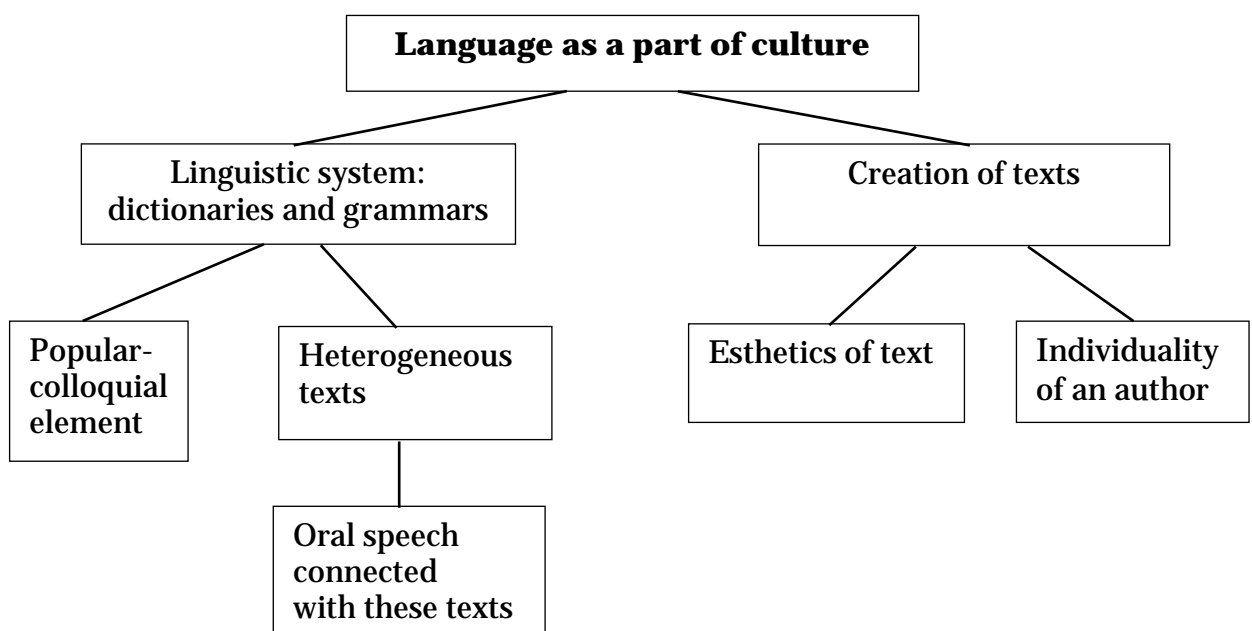
The diagram demonstrates the view on language as one of social architectonical systems where each system, subsystem, element are dependent on others and can exist only in total with the rest due to definite relations. The relations are arranged by specific rules; rules form relations (explicate relations). Form can be observed, system cannot be.

Both in Jakobson's and Rozhdestvensky's understanding the necessity in whole vision of a situation conditioned by systemic features of language is substantiated by personal professional experience: in 1957 in Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Jakobson together with N. Bohr were giving th seminar on language interpretation of indices of devices; Rozhdestvensky, before going into philology, in 1944 went to Military School of Officers of Railroads, after finishing it, he was assigned into military operations control centre of Moscow Department of Oktyabrskaya Railway.

The relations under consideration in total field of language as a part of culture is always grouped according to a definite feature depending on the objective of the research. Every feature is a binary opposition of presence or absence of some characteristic. The stock of distinctive features, compatibility and interaction of features are limited by common implication laws which is the inherent logics of language, where each system is allotted with properties of self-regulation and self-government.

In typological investigation a linguist reveals:
  * which systems are possible and which are not,
  * which combinations of subsystems in systems are possible and which are not,
  * which groups of elements in subsystems and systems are possible and which are not.

As for the choice of material of research and organization of this material according to variant and invariant relations, linguistic modeling, according to Jakobson and Rozhdestvensky, is a phenomenon of procedure interrative: as for typology of the text and typology of the system, an author's attributions are methodologically distinguished by
  1) oppositional feature and
  2) accentuation of the studied spheres of language.

Jakobson prioritized semantic feature and in spheres of language – phonology and poetics; Rozhdestvensky prioritized material feature and in spheres of language – system of texts and creation of texts.

Materiality of a language sign manifested by Ferdinand de Saussure, Rozhdestvensky was invarianted by means of activation of the term "facture of speech" (Rozhdestvensky [1996]).

Facture of speech is both material – from which a text (a work of slovesnost) – and way or instrument used for processing this material.

In the history of linguistics there are four factures of speech: oral, written, printed, electronic. Each facture is represented by the corresponding type of slovesnost. The types of slovesnost according to their facture are shown in the following table:

Table 1

Type of slovesnost	Facture of speech
1. Oral speech	Material is air; instrument is speech apparatus.
2. Written speech	Material is writing/ non-writing; way of processing is by means of a die or letter by letter.
3. Printed speech	Material is writing; instrument is printing machine.
4. Mass communication	Electronic facture: interaction of electrons with electromagnetic fields for the transformation of electromagnetic energy for receiving, transmitting, processing and storing information.

Semantics of language texts is predetermined by facture in which these texts are created. Every facture type of slovesnost differs from the rest by the way of production and the way of obtaining speech, type of audience, rules of treating texts. That's why every facture type of speech is characterized by definite rules and composition of texts, and in such a way by its character of sense. Facture types of speech appear in history in mentioned sequence, but in the way the next type of speech does not abolish the

previous one. In culture nothing dies once being born, but it keeps co-existing with new achievements.

Speech made in each facture divides into semiotic types and subtypes (according to the rules of reproducing a language sign):

Table 2

Types of slovesnost	Subtypes of slovesnost		
1. Oral speech	1.1. Pre-written oral speech	1.1.1. Folklore	
		1.1.2. Rumour	
		1.1.3. Dialogue	
	1.2. Literary oral speech	1.2.1. Oratory	Judicial speech
			1.2.1.2. Advisory speech
			1.2.1.3. Demonstrative speech
		1.2.2. Homiletics	1.2.2.1. Sermon
			1.2.2.2. Propaganda
			1.2.2.3. Academic speech
		1.2.3. Scenic Speech	
2. Written speech	2.1. Paleography and neography	2.1.1. Personal correspondence	
		2.1.2. Documents	
		2.1.3. Essays	
	2.2. Sphragistics		
	2.3. Numismatology		
	2.4. Epigraphy		
3. Printed speech	3.1. Belles-lettres		
	3.2. Scientific literature		
	3.3. Journalistic literature		
4. Mass communication	4.1. Mass information	4.1.1. Newspapers	
		4.1.2. Radio	
		4.1.3. Television	
		4.1.4. Cinema	

	4.2. Advertising		
	4.3. Informatics	4.3.1 Information systems	

Considering language according to facture criterion, one can see the development of society in terms of 1) invention of material of language sign, 2) accumulation of experience and the practice of creative decision making of a person, which allows to judge the culture of society and which is impossible to do, according to Jakobson, by means of morphological analysis of language: "… neither the ancient nor the contemporary languages of the world which are known to a linguist show any difference whatever in their phonological and grammatical structure between more primitive and more progressive stages" (Jakobson [1971] p.664).

The research works by Jakobson and Rozhdestvensky prove there are common methodological axioms at both the scholars' linguistic investigations. These axioms are,

* firstly, about sufficing significance of material substance with the help of which the language form is rendered;
* secondly, about language's administrating role in terms of extralinguistic reality by means of nomination.

These methodological statements explain the place of linguistic investigations among the complimentary concepts:

* *autonomy* (as it was conditioned by Moscow Formal School treating language as an instrument of thinking) and
* *integration* with the sciences about the human (in the connection with the development of language semiotics and, consequently, of interrelation of language with other semiotic systems).

In semiotics the views of Jakobson and Rozhdestvensky are similar at most in the list of denotats that are to be included in material of investigation. To such denotats Jakobson refers

* "communicative symbolism of gestures",
* structures determined by a predominant fixation upon the message (artistic function) – different kinds of art, literature, music, painting, ballet, theater, and cinema;

he also includes here

* rites and omens

which Ferdinand de Saussure treated as semiotics systems (Jakobson [1971] p.662).

"The classification of human semiotic systems", according to Jakobson, "must resort to several criteria as, for instance:

* the relation between the signans and signatum (in accordance with Peirce's triadic division of signs into indices, icons, and symbols with the transitional varieties);
* discrimination between sign production and mere semiotic display of ready-made objects;
* difference between merely bodily and instrumental production of signs;
* distinction between pure and applied semiotic structures;
* visual or auditory, spatial or temporal semiosis;
* homogeneous and syncretic formations;
* various relations between the addresser and addressee, in particular intrapersonal, interpersonal or polypersonal communication.

Each of these divisions must obviously be taken into account diverse intermediate and hybrid forms" (Jakobson [1971] p.663).

To reveal universal invariants of social semiosis, according to Jakobson, the excursus into the dictionary of natural language is necessary.

Rozhdestvensky and his school pragmatically solved the problem of the statement of the number and character of semiotic systems (Rozhdestvensky [2003]).

For this, at the beginning, there was chosen the type of dictionary which can be considered exemplary in the context of the world dictionary culture. As such Webster English dictionaries were chosen. Firstly, they carry on the tradition of well-developed English lexicography; secondly, they manifest the genre of defining and encyclopedic dictionaries to a great extent: the definition of a word according to the context is complemented by its definition according to the content, description of ideas and objects which this particular word implies.

Some 10,000 words, which more or less identify the basic symbolic range of the English-American culture, were selected from Webster dictionaries. They included the

words denoting classes of signs (e.g. *dance*), parts of these classes (e.g. *ceremonial dance*), units of the classes (e.g. *pavane*[5]), and parts of units/signs (e.g. *forward* and *backward steps*).
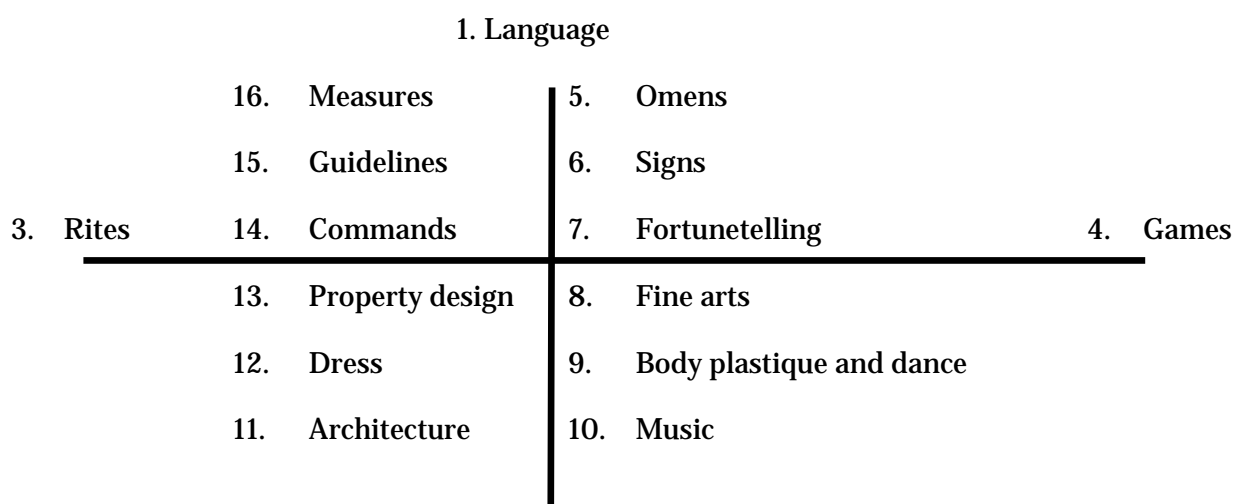
All the words with their definitions were redistributed from alphabetic order into thesaurus order: the words were arranged according to the genus-species relations of their meanings. The pattern of semiotic systems was developed in such a manner. All the occasional words (non-systemic signs) were excluded from this pattern. The constitutive feature of systemacity is sign being composed of "figures" (in terms of L. Hjelmslev). For instance, every step in *'pavane' ('majestic processional dance of the 16th- and 17th-century European aristocracy')* – forward or backward – is a figure. Figure is a part of a sign which denotes none of the meaning of the whole sign, but is used for composition in other signs. Backward steps occur in Russian folk dance. Individual articles are devoted to these figures in dictionaries.

The analysis of Webster dictionaries was continued by analyzing the dictionaries in other languages, which are also characterized by well-developed lexicography: Russian (academical tradition), German (Duden tradition), French (Larousse tradition), Chinese (academical tradition).

The analysis revealed the common for all the cultures is that
* the specificity of each semiotic system is determined by the facture of signs and the ability of signs to be divided into figures;
* the general scheme of the thesaurus of semiotic activity comes up to sixteen semiotic systems which make up a social context.

Diagram 3

1. Language

3. Rites	16. Measures	5. Omens	
	15. Guidelines	6. Signs	
3. Rites	14. Commands	7. Fortunetelling	4. Games
	13. Property design	8. Fine arts	
	12. Dress	9. Body plastique and dance	
	11. Architecture	10. Music	

2. Means of counting

All these semiotic systems make up social intelligence. Social thinking goes from prognosis (systems 5, 6, 7) through images of arts and technology (systems 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13) to management of labour differentiation (systems 14, 15, 16); at the same time the knowledge transfer takes place by means of training and education (systems 1, 2, 3, 4).

Non-linguistic semiotic systems provide social activities and also provide the pattern for its going: prognosis → developing images → developing schemes of synthetic environment → project implementation. This reflects the cycles of activity that encourage the development of society and human-beings.

Semiotic features of language in terms of non-linguistic semiotic systems manifest in language determining the content for all other signs (including its own), defining and mediating all the signs. Language conditions the existence of all the semiotic systems, mediates them and carries secondary information on the on-going contents in other semiotic systems.

Etymology of theories of social semiosis of Jakobson and Rozhdestvensky after Saussure and all the history of development of the theory of sign goes up to

1) the problem of nomination as it is represented in the Greek Antiquities: in the nomination there are two types of relations conditioning generative operations in language, - metonymy and metaphor;
2) syntagmatic-paradigmatic principle of distinguishing units of language since Antiquity.

Visually compelling matrix presentation of language in the form of chessboard with vertical columns and horizontal lines, suggested by Ferdinand de Saussure, was methodologically correlated both by Jakobson and Rozhdesvensky. These correlates have become methodological brands of each of these scholars.
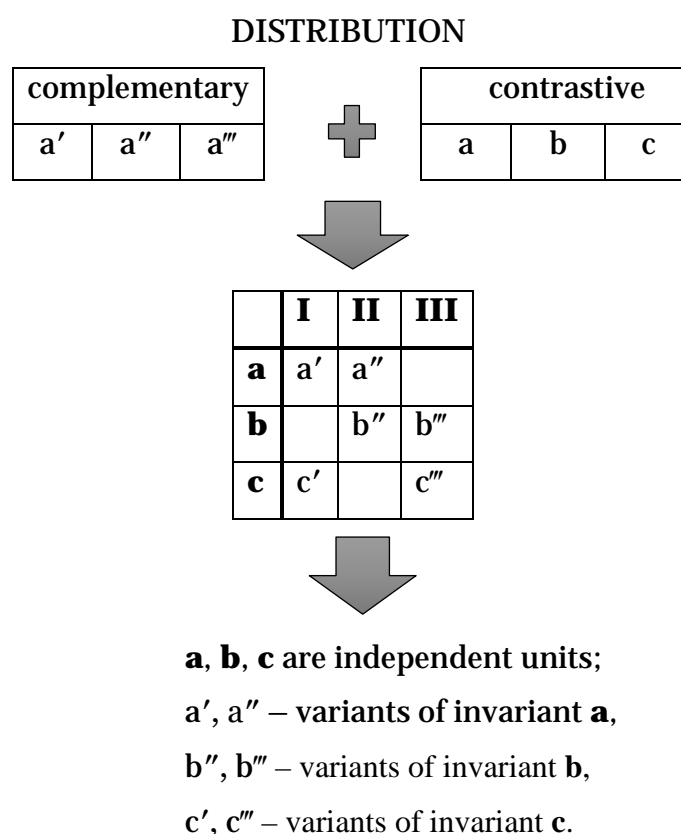
To reveal semiotic systems and their correlations, Jakobson modified the image of chessboard into binary axial construction: the axis of paradigms is considered as the axis of simultaneity (synchronism)/ axis of selection (metonymy), and the axis of syntagmas – as the axis of sequence (diachrony)/ the axis of combination (metaphor).

Paradigmatic axis is designated by means of set of features (like, for example, "(in accordance with Peirce's triadic division of signs into indices, icons, and symbols" and so on). The projection of a feature onto the syntagmatic axis is represented by a relevant lexicographic lexeme. The names on the axis of combinations are metaphorically related.

Binary axial construction is based on complementary distribution and does not take into account contrastive distribution. This decreases the degree of reliability in facts of nominated elements of semiotic systems as independent units: rule of structural typology – independent units are those which resulted due to complete distribution (contrastive + complementary) (Rozhdestvensky [2001]).

To make a complete and convincing distributive analysis on selection of semiotic units, Rozhdestvensky retained Saussure's matrix principle, having ultimately reduced it to nine-place matrix and having changed the application of the matrix: not semiotic facts from a dictionary are set into the matrix, but the matrix is being applied to the facts of the primary dictionary selection.

Diagram 5

DISTRIBUTION

complementary				contrastive		
a′	a″	a‴		a	b	c

	I	II	III
a	a′	a″	
b		b″	b‴
c	c′		c‴

a, **b**, **c** are independent units;

a′, a″ – **variants of invariant a**,

b″, b‴ – variants of invariant **b**,

c′, c‴ – variants of invariant **c**.

Thus synchrony and diachrony are substituted by panchrony:

the integrity of the property of semiotic systems remains throughout the whole extent of society development; no mix is possible among the classes of semiotic systems; e.g. dance as semiotic system doesn't associate with other kinds of semiotic systems and can interact with other systems only in terms of synthesis in rite, game or theatre (like in a game of a specific type).

Panchronistic approach explicates cultural architectonics of semiotic systems; for example, folk dance as a kind of dance co-exists with city, court, functional, stage dance.

In conclusion:

The comparison of typological investigations of R. Jakobson and of Yu. Rozhdestvensky in terms of material and method demonstrated: investigation pathos of both the scholars is to reveal language forms that play the function of casual relations among studying cultural significance of linguistic systems and studying typology of texts.

* Folklore,
* poetical organization of speech,
* material of language sign,
* nomination of semiotic phenomena

are prioritized spheres on revealing these language forms.

The necessity of revealing these language forms is conditioned by modern requirements of pedagogics and practice of communication.

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[1] The name *Rozhdestvensky* ←
the Russian word *'Rozhdestvo'* = English *'Nativity'*:
Nativity of the Most Holy Mother of God (September 21)

[2] *F.F. Fortunatov* is
Full Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (1902),
Full Member of the Finno-Ugric Society, Helsingfors (1911),
Doctor Honoris Causa of Norwegian University, Christiania (1911);
Specialist in General and Indo-European Linguistics,
graduated from Moscow University,
did fieldwork in Germany at Curtius's and Leskin's laborotaries and in France at Breal's laboratory;
in 1876 – 1902 he worked as Associate Professor, Founder and Head of the Department of Comparative Linguistics;
Founder of the Moscow Formal School of Linguistics.

[3] Moskovskaya fortunatovskaya shkola In: LINGVISTICHESKIJ EHNCIKLOPEDICHESKIJ SLOVAR Resource document. http://tapemark.narod.ru/les/317a.html Access 21.11.17

[4] Consequently, due to the fact that the main members of Moscow Linguistic Circle moving to Czech Republic, this society reincarnated into Paris linguistic school (1926 – 1953).

[5] *Pavane* – a stately court dance by couples that was introduced from southern Europe into England in the 16th century. Resource document. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pavane Access 26.11.17