



Intertextuality in Kazakh, Russian, and English-language Media

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Abstract

Intertextuality, defined as the presence of one text within another, is a powerful tool in shaping media narratives and engaging audiences. This study explores intertextuality in Kazakh, Russian, and English-language media, examining how precedent expressions like quotes, allusions, proverbs, and aphorisms used as media texts interact across cultural and linguistic contexts, and how these three linguistic landscapes use these expressions to reinforce messages, establish authority, and foster a sense of cultural identity. The study used a mixed method research approach, wherein the quantitative phase determined how precedent expressions were perceived by young people, through a survey whose data was analyzed through a Python-based program utilizing artificial intelligence. The qualitative phase made use of linguacultural analysis of literary texts, contextual analysis, synthesis, by using a comparative method. The sampling of the media texts was made from leading Kazakh, Russian, and English-language media sources, including news articles, and social media posts published over the past two years. Purposeful sampling technique was adopted to ensure that the selection of texts was rich in intertextual references, including precedent phenomena and culturally significant expressions. The findings of the study revealed the semantic content of these precedent phenomena and demonstrated national and cultural characteristics. The study found common patterns in intertextual practices across all three media types, illustrating how intertextuality enhanced narrative depth and bridged cultural and historical contexts. Despite differences in cultural emphasis, intertextuality in each media landscape engages readers, added layers of meaning, and shapes public discourse. These findings have significant implications for cross-cultural media analysis, suggesting that understanding intertextuality can enhance translation practices, improve cultural adaptation in media, and contribute to the development of media literacy programs.

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Introduction

Intertextuality is a phenomenon which encompasses systems of textual references, quotations, and allusions; which allows media texts to build connections across texts; and which fosters a deep cultural and emotional resonance with the audience [Hempfer \(2024\)](#). In the era of globalization and intensive cultural exchange, media serves as a powerful tool for shaping and conveying cultural meanings. As media increasingly relies on cultural codes, several combinations of words or verbal expressions referring to historical or mythical events or folk tales are given shape of specific language units, commonly known as precedent phenomena ([Akhmetova, Akhmetzhanova, & Imambayeva, 2024](#)). Over the time, these language units come into public usage and get recognized as proverbs, aphorisms, and symbolic situations, and become an integral part of intertext. Precedent phenomena thus serve as the foundation for various types of intertextuality, enabling the construction of intertextual connections and the transmission of implicit meanings. These phenomena encompass elements of language and culture that possess a stable, easily recognizable form and hold significance within a specific community.

When intertextuality is associated with precedent phenomena, it may include citations from well-known works and references to historical events, or proverbs and aphorisms, that may vary depending on cultural and linguistic characteristics, influencing how media texts are perceived and understood by the audience ([Nurbaeva, 2022](#)). They may also include expressions, names, texts, and events embedded within collective memory, carrying distinct cultural, historical, or social meanings. These intertexts provide a concise and effective means of conveying complex meanings rooted in collective memory and widely accepted associations, making them essential for understanding media in a specific cultural context. Moreover, these proverbs, aphorisms, and sententiae are forms of expression that have historically evolved as means of conveying collective knowledge, values, and moral guidelines within societies. Being easily recognizable and containing fixed expressions, they are essential tools in creating intertext and enhancing meaning in media. These forms of speech often serve as cultural markers, indicating affiliation with a particular cultural and linguistic environment, which makes them powerful instruments for establishing a connection with the audience ([Kodiraliyevich, Saida, & Makhmudova, 2022](#)).

Authors often incorporate precedent phenomena in a text to foster intertextuality, or link the work to other texts and cultural contexts. Intertextuality in media is frequently achieved through the use of these recognizable forms, as proverbs, aphorisms, and sententiae contain layered and complex meanings that are readily perceived and interpreted by the audience. These elements add depth, rendering the text multi-layered and accessible to a wider audience, as such references are easily recognizable and interpretable through the audience's cultural framework. For instance, proverbs and aphorisms allow complex ideas to be expressed concisely, serving as guides for understanding the information presented. The inclusion of such elements aids media in creating an emotional and cultural link with the audience by embedding shared moral and social lessons within their texts.

Proverbs, aphorisms, and sententiae have become significant components of intertext in Kazakh, Russian, and English-language media, acting as cultural codes and carriers of meaning that resonate with audiences and strengthen the communicative impact of the text. However, not much attention is paid to the role of Kazakh, Russian, and English-language media in intertextual practices. Despite the extensive research on intertextuality, there is a clear gap in studies on how intertextual strategies are employed across different languages and cultures, especially in a comparative context involving Kazakh, Russian, and English. There is a notable lack of studies on precedent phenomena common to the trilingual cultural context. With the rise of national consciousness and the strengthening of the Kazakh language in Kazakhstan, analyzing Kazakh intertextual strategies has become particularly relevant. Hence there is a need to analyze media of these three languages from the perspective of intertextuality to understand how precedent phenomena function in each cultural context and highlight the specific features that characterize each media environment.

Precedent phenomena in literary works, particularly in modern Kazakh literature, are widely used in the headlines of periodicals and newspaper texts, where they encapsulate national information, culture, core values, and national consciousness. However, the issue of precedent phenomena in journalistic style requires further research. This study, therefore, aims to fill the existing gap in literature by offering a comparative analysis of intertextuality in Kazakh, Russian, and English-language media. This research will provide insights into the mechanisms by which cultural meanings are constructed across various media landscapes and reveal the role of precedent phenomena as carriers of cultural and historical significance in contemporary media discourse. This study delves into the cultural characteristics of each nation. The relevance of this study lies in examining the types of intertextual connections in Kazakh, Russian, and English-language media, as well as analyzing the methods of their verbalization. The aim of this article is to investigate intertextuality within a linguistic framework, with a focus on precedent phenomena that serve as a foundation for constructing intertextual links in the media. Additionally, the study seeks to identify prevalent precedent phenomena in the speech of Kazakh- and Russian-speaking youth and to collect statistical data on this topic. Moreover, a parallel examination of Russian and English-language media will allow for a more detailed

identification of similarities and differences in the use of precedent phenomena, contributing to a better understanding of how local cultural identities are formed within global media culture.

Literature Review

The coinage of the term 'intertextuality' was first introduced into academic discourse by Julia Kristeva (1980) in support of Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotics (Krampen, 1987). Kristeva (1980) opined that intertextuality must replace intersubjectivity in the text because often meaning of the text is not transferred directly from author to reader; instead, it is mediated or filtered by "codes". This dichotomy between intertextuality and intersubjectivity cover the modern textual network and are examined from both literary and linguistic perspectives. For instance, the issue of intertextuality has been viewed as a key element in understanding literature and culture. It has been studied within the frameworks of structuralism, poststructuralism, postcolonialism, Marxism, feminism, and psychoanalytic theory (Allen, 2011). Additionally, intertextuality has also been explored through folklore studies, leading to the development of new perspectives. Folklore studies have expanded the understanding of intertextuality by examining how traditional narratives, symbols, and cultural references are adapted and reinterpreted in contemporary media. This perspective reveals how intertextuality serves as a bridge between historical traditions and modern cultural expressions, creating continuity across time (Bauman, 2008). Studies have investigated intertextuality with reference to another term, hypertextuality, alongside intertextuality (de Castro, 2021; Hempfer, 2024; Rosenberg, 2016). Genette's concept of hyper-textuality or para-texts – where a text builds upon or transforms another text – provides a structured approach to understanding complex textual relationships, especially relevant to digital and hyperlinked environments (Genette & Maclean, 1991). This framework helps explain how hypertextual structures allow readers to navigate interconnected texts in non-linear ways, offering new modes of reader engagement (Genette, 1997).

Currently, researchers are also showing interest in the topic of intertextuality within advertising discourse. Recent studies on intertextuality in advertising examine how intertextual elements are used to appeal to audiences, build brand identity, and enhance message recall. Advertising frequently uses intertextuality to evoke shared cultural associations, which can create emotional connections and make ads more memorable. While valuable in illustrating intertextuality's practical applications, research on advertising may sometimes overlook how cultural or linguistic differences affect interpretation across diverse markets. Additionally, the fast-paced nature of advertising often requires simplification of intertextual references, which can reduce the depth of meaning (Baranova & Pavlina, 2024; Li, 2019a, 2019b; Nemčoková, 2014; Pavlina, 2024).

Intertextuality in media language, including English and Russian media, has been comprehensively studied. An example of such research is the work of Martish (2016), who conducted a comparative analysis of precedent names in Anglo-American and Russian online and print media, focusing on their connotative and denotative functions. The author examines how precedent names function in media texts, highlighting their denotative (literal) and connotative (figurative) functions. The author emphasizes that understanding and correctly using precedent names is important for effective communication and conveying cultural meanings in journalistic texts (Martish, 2016). Similarly, Zyryanova (2010) conducted a comparative study of precedent phenomena in the headlines of Russian and British press from 2005 to 2009. The study examined the differences in the choice of cultural symbols, references to well-known works, and historical events. This study helped to understand how each media space adapts intertexts for its audience. Researchers have also analyzed precedent phenomena of Russian-speaking culture and their translation into English. Lukinykh & Baranova (2021), for instance, explores the distinct challenges of translating culturally specific references and expressions for an English-speaking audience. The study delves into how Putin's speeches are rich with references to Russian history, ideology, and cultural values – elements that deeply resonate with Russian-speaking listeners. However, intertextuality in Russian, English, and Kazakh media texts remains underexplored.

In Russian linguistics, particularly, intertextuality and its functions in literary discourse have been well-defined. Fateeva (2007) established foundational concepts regarding intertextuality in Russian linguistics, focusing particularly on literary discourse. By defining the ways intertextual elements function in literature, this research highlights how texts engage with existing works to enrich meaning and evoke cultural or historical associations. In another study, Vasil'ev (2013) examines intertextuality and precedence in conjunction. This study provides valuable insight about intertextuality and precedent phenomena, and underlines how familiar references, cultural icons, and historical events enrich text and evoke shared cultural understanding within a specific audience. Issues of intertextuality in scientific, epistolary, and journalistic discourses have also been thoroughly studied.

Kuzmina (2004) and Kostygina (2003) extend intertextuality research beyond literature to scientific, epistolary, and journalistic contexts, analyzing how these discourses use intertextual references to convey authority, credibility, or familiarity. These studies are instrumental in understanding the unique role that

intertextuality plays across diverse forms of communication. In recent years, [Panasenko & Greguš \(2022\)](#) conducted a comprehensive study of the issue of the media text, considering the phenomenon of intertextuality as its key semantic category. This research identified intertextuality as a fundamental semantic category within media texts, suggesting that intertextual elements are essential for shaping meaning and engaging readers. This perspective moves beyond seeing intertextuality merely as a stylistic device, instead framing it as a core component in media communication. [Panasenko & Petrovičová \(2022\)](#) also highlighted how media texts rely on intertextual references to build context, convey authority, and connect with the cultural knowledge of audiences, thus playing a pivotal role in how media narratives are constructed and received.

In literary texts, the phenomenon of intertextuality manifests through quotations, parodies, allusions, reminiscences, and paraphrases. A quotation fully retains its meaning and complements the idea within the literary text, being used in its original form. An allusion in a literary text, despite some changes in form, preserves its original meaning. In the case of reminiscence, another literary work is recalled within the text. Such phenomena are frequently found in prose and poetry genres ([Panasenko, Stashko, & Zabuzhanska, 2023](#)). In linguistics, there are also issues related to precedent phenomena, linguistic identity, and intertext, which serve as the foundation for intertextual connections.

A precedent expression is a reproducible product of speech and cognitive activity; a complete and self-sufficient unit that may or may not be predicative; a complex sign, the sum of the meanings of which does not equal its sense; the precedent expression itself enters the cognitive base; and it is frequently reproduced in the speech of Kazakh and Russian speakers ([Kodiraliyevich & Qizi, 2023](#); [Nurbaeva, 2022](#); [Utebayeva & Sherova, 2018](#)). The concept of precedentness, introduced by [Karaulov & Ruzhitskiy \(2015\)](#), has been studied as a cognitive linguistic phenomenon by prominent linguists who played a significant role in the study of precedent expressions. Studies like [Trklja \(2024\)](#), [Tuklieva \(2022\)](#) and [Abdulkhaeva \(2024\)](#) have viewed precedentness as a subject of psycholinguistic analysis focusing on concepts like linguistic replication, specificity and functions of precedent phenomena in media and journalistic texts. Another group of linguists like ([Hostra, 2020](#); [Kodiraliyevich et al., 2022](#); [Utebayeva & Sherova, 2018](#); [Zhuravleva, de Bot, & Hilton, 2016](#); [Zhuravleva, Samsenova, & Chulakova, 2020](#)) have viewed precedentness as a value in linguocultural studies. In the context of education and teaching ESL, studies [Hostra \(2020\)](#) studied precedentness in linguo-didactic context; [Umirova \(2021\)](#) emphasized upon using precedent texts to form the linguo-cultural competence of ESL students; while [Akhmetova et al. \(2024\)](#) recommended the use of media and digital technologies in learning English as a foreign language. These studies have unitedly emphasized upon precedent phenomena as symbols of surface meaning, deep meaning, and systemic meaning, depending upon the purpose and context in which it is used.

From a structural-semantic perspective, precedent phenomena are divided into four groups: precedent statements, precedent names, precedent texts, and precedent situations. (1) Precedent statements are frequently incorporated as direct or indirect quotations, referring to a well-known source familiar to the audience. For instance, the phrase “to be or not to be” immediately recalls Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*. Although statements may be subtler, they similarly suggest a link to the original text or concept. Proverbs, sayings, and aphorisms are also precedent statements, deeply rooted in culture and conveying established moral or practical insights. They are often employed to reinforce arguments, lending credibility and clarity to the text for a broader audience. (2) Precedent names are names of notable figures, fictional characters, or cultural icons associated with specific qualities or historical events. For example, the term, “Napoleonic ambitions” invokes Emperor Napoleon, symbolizing aspirations for greatness and authority. Such references enrich the text, conveying meaning through succinct reference. (3) Precedent texts refer to renowned works in literature, cinema, music, and other domains, holding substantial cultural significance. For example, the novel *War and Peace* functions as a precedent text in Russian culture, frequently invoked to convey intricate associations. References to these texts elicit distinct emotions and cultural connotations within the audience. (4) Precedent situations involve well-known events or circumstances that have come to symbolize specific ideas or values. For instance, the ‘Great Patriotic War’ is a precedent situation in Russia, with references often used to evoke sentiments of patriotism, heroism, and national pride. Such situations facilitate the communication of complex historical and social meanings. These precedent phenomena are further categorized as social-precedent, national-precedent, and universal-precedent. They are widely known to society or a nation or the whole globe, remain relevant and evolve over time.

Methodology

Research Design

The study adopted a mixed method research design focusing on intertextuality of media texts to uncover patterns and themes related to the use of precedent phenomena across three language groups, English, Russian, and Kazakh. The methodological foundation of this research was based on the works of English, Russian, and Kazakh-speaking linguists, particularly those dedicated to the issues of text, including experts on the theory of intertextuality, intertextual connections, and precedent phenomena.

Sampling

The media texts sampled for this study contained recognizable precedent phenomena, such as proverbs, literary references, and culturally significant events from authentic sources. These sampled revealed that the dataset was rich in intertextual references relevant to the study's objectives. The sampling of texts was made from leading Kazakh, Russian, and English-language media sources, including news articles, and social media posts published over the past two years. A survey was conducted of 234 students in Kazakh and Russian groups, aged 18 to 22 years who were identified through a purposive sampling technique. These participants were asked to list proverbs and sayings they use in their daily lives, those often used by their friends, and those frequently mentioned by their parents.

Data Collection

To assess the perception of precedent phenomena among young people, a survey was conducted using Google Forms. The survey questions were based on a few selections of media sources in Kazakh, Russian, and English, chosen to represent a diverse range of formats and genres, including news articles, opinion pieces, and social media posts. The sampling criteria emphasized relevance to cultural, historical, or social issues, as these are more likely to contain intertextual references. The Kazakh-language media comprised texts from online news portals, digital publications, and social media posts from prominent Kazakh sources (<https://www.lat.egemen.kz>; <https://zhasalash.kz>; <https://m.astanatv.kz>). The Russian-language media comprised texts retrieved from major Russian news websites, editorial pieces, and social media channels frequently utilized by a Russian-speaking audience (<https://www.forbes.ru>; <https://valozhin.by>; <https://vestnik-lesnoy.ru>). The English-language media was retrieved from international media platforms, English-language news sites, and widely recognized social media outlets (<https://www.forbes.com>).

Data Analysis

The primary methods of data analysis included the use of linguo-cultural techniques of analysis of literary texts, interpretation, contextual analysis, synthesis, and comparative method. To reveal the semantic content of these phenomena and demonstrate national and cultural characteristics through precedent phenomena, the descriptive method was also employed. The quantitative analysis used a Python-based program with artificial intelligence methods developed to process the responses, and statistical analysis was conducted as a result. The qualitative data analysis techniques comprised content and intertextual analysis to uncover patterns and themes related to the use of precedent phenomena across three language groups. The analysis process was completed through following three steps: (1) Coding and Categorization: First, all intertextual elements, including quotations, allusions, precedent names, and proverbs, were coded and categorized according to type and thematic relevance. This allowed for a systematic comparison of the frequency and context of intertextual references in each media environment. (2) Thematic Analysis: A thematic analysis was applied to identify the cultural, historical, or social meanings conveyed through intertextual elements. This involved examining how each media type used precedent phenomena to reinforce cultural values, address social issues, or evoke specific emotions in the audience. (3) Comparative Analysis: Finally, a cross-linguistic comparative analysis was conducted to identify similarities and differences in intertextual strategies across Kazakh, Russian, and English-language media. This step highlighted unique cultural codes and shared themes, providing insights into how each media landscape engages its audience through intertextuality.

Results and Discussion

Precedent phenomena are as diverse as the unique aspects of any culture and national language. The cultural and spiritual values of each nation are undoubtedly reflected in its folklore. Proverbs, sayings, epic tales, speeches, riddles, fairy tales, legends, and myths—these works of oral tradition convey a people's worldview, traditions, and upbringing. Scholars classify these expressions as one of the main genres of oral literature, as a type of precedent expression. Today, these expressions represent the quintessence of a language, and are often used as headlines in the press because they concisely and clearly convey the main idea. For a journalist, it is also important that the headline be short yet informative. In Kazakhstan's media landscape, Russian-language media are widely prevalent and familiar to many residents. This is explained by the fact that a significant number of people in the country speak both Russian and Kazakh. As a result, the precedent expressions characteristic of both nationalities are often similar and mutually comprehensible. In our article, we explore such proverbs to study their similarities and differences.

This section has two parts. The first part, *Precedent Expressions Reflecting National Culture*, examines the culturally embedded phrases and references characteristic of Kazakh, Russian, and English-speaking communities. These expressions carry the historical and social essence of each culture, preserving collective memory and shared values within a familiar linguistic framework. The second part, *Precedent Expressions in Youth Language: Survey and Statistics*, explores the contemporary relevance of these expressions within youth language. By surveying students in Kazakh and Russian groups, this section assesses how frequently and in what context these precedent expressions are used by young people today. Utilizing a Python-based

program with artificial intelligence for data processing, a statistical analysis was conducted, visually represented in graphs, to identify trends and patterns in the adoption and adaptation of these expressions among younger generations. These findings reveal both the enduring influence of precedent expressions that reflect national culture and the evolving ways in which young people interpret and use them. These findings also highlight the connection between cultural heritage and modern youth language and the dynamic role of precedent expressions in bridging traditional values with contemporary modes of expression.

Precedent Expressions Reflecting National Culture

One of the sacred concepts for the Kazakh people is the image of the wolf. In literary works of poets and writers, in proverbs, aphorisms, legends, and stories about this revered predator, there are numerous references. For example, M. Auezov, in his work *Kokserek* (Söylemez & Ateş, 2022), and the spiritual poet S. Aksunkaruly, in his poem “The Wolf’s Monologue” (Ouyang, 2020) have used aphorisms like “You cannot strip the wolf of its nobility, even if you strip it of its skin,” and “A dog has a master, but a wolf has Tengri”. At the same time, journalists often use the image of the wolf in a negative context in newspaper articles. For instance, in Abildakyz’s (2024) article “Tenders in Sheep’s Clothing”, the word ‘wolf’ is replaced with ‘tender’. In another media article, which discusses how the president’s proposal to introduce a moratorium on holding forums and conferences to save state budget funds is not being realized, phrases such as “Meetings at Kultobe every day” (Kultobe—a historical site) and “strike while the iron is hot” (proverb) are used. Moreover, one can encounter articles such as “Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing May Strive for Power” (<https://arasha.kz/>), and articles exposing terrorist groups and their deceptive actions, such as “Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing. (<https://ser-per.kz/>, 23.11.2021) and an article titled “A Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing... The Face of the Police” (<https://astanatv.kz/>), which discusses the modern image of police officers (Alimkul & Nurmakhan, 2024). In these texts, the sheep is portrayed positively, while the wolf is depicted negatively. All these examples hint at the fact that the journalists raise a political issue through proverbs that used wolf, the predator animal.

The proverb “Wolf in sheep’s clothing” is also found in the linguistic worldview of the Russian people. It can be considered a direct translation, as its meaning is the same: duplicity, cunning, and malice. In Russian-language social networks, one can find articles with titles such as “Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing”, “Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing” or “A Golden Mean is Needed”. For example, the article “Turkish Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing” was published on the website <https://manzal.livejournal.com/793114.html>, addresses the political issue of the World Congress of Crimean Tatars and the Turkish organization *Grey Wolves*, which is banned in Russia. In the article “Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing”, the focus is on people who fought in Syria and Iraq and are now stirring up unrest among the population. The journalist describes such individuals as “wolves in sheep’s clothing”. This idiom “Wolf in sheep’s clothing”, known from Aesop’s fable, is also a key and widely recognized precedent phenomenon in the English language. Just like in Kazakh and Russian media, English journalists often use this idiom to highlight political issues. This is evidenced by articles such as “A wolf in sheep’s clothing: citizen uncertainty and democratic backsliding”, and “A wolf in sheep’s clothing: settler voting rights and the elimination of the Indigenous demos in US Pacific territories» (Spitzer, 2019), and “A Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing?: Jovan Rašković, the Serbian Democratic Party, and the ‘Serbian Question’ in Croatia» (Hayball, 2017).

Some scholars believe that the origin of this idiom is linked to the Bible. In the Holy Scripture, Matthew 6, 7:15, it is stated: “Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep’s clothing but inwardly are ferocious wolves”. However, there are also sources that trace the origin of the proverb “a wolf in sheep’s clothing” to ancient Greek mythology, having ancient roots in Greece. In ancient Greek mythology, there is a story of a clever deception where the god Zeus took the form of a wolf to infiltrate a sheepfold and steal sheep (<https://yourknives.ru/polezno-znat/znacenie-vyrazeniya-volk-v-ovecei-skure>). This myth, which has spread among people, seems more plausible because the image of the wolf symbolizes not duplicity but strength, spirit, pride, and freedom; whereas cunning and deceit are represented by the image of the fox.

The most frequently used precedent phenomena in the mass media are proverbs and sayings, as they reflect popular wisdom. Previously, the use of proverbs, set expressions, and quotations in texts served to embellish speech and add expressiveness, but today they are regarded as sociocultural phenomena and are recognized as precedent texts that establish intertextual connections. Therefore, journalists strive to effectively use proverbs that are easily understood by the reader and quickly resonate with them. Kryachkov (2023), however, argues that quotations, proverbs and sayings, allusions, etc. violate the homogeneity of the textual fabric, as they appear as an alien element that breaks the smooth texture, and attract reader’s attention. In addition to proverbs and sayings, aphorisms and sententiae often appear as precedent texts in the press. First, it is necessary to distinguish between these two concepts and identify their similarities: an aphorism is a brief but complete statement expressing a generalized thought, which arises from reflection and analysis. As for sententiae, which are absent from Kazakh terminology dictionaries, they are a type of a short sentence, most commonly found in literary works, whose meaning is revealed in the context. They may be called an anonymous aphorism that can be extracted from a particular context, characterized by brevity, expressiveness, and intellectual and aesthetic conformity. Sententiae are most often found in philosophical and didactic poetry and represent a brief saying that leaves a profound impression on many. The central issue addressed in the poem “Toty kus tusti kobelek” or “The Peacock-Colored Butterfly” is also the doctrine of humanity.

For example, journalist [Korpebayev \(2022\)](#) published an article titled “Time rules man, and time changes him.” The precedent text in the headline is a sententia by the great Abai: “Time rules man, and time is cruel to him. Time changes him”. The meaning of this statement is profound. In the article, the author draws comparisons between the past and the present of the country, calling on the youth to participate in building a New Kazakhstan together. He encourages patriotism, education, and hard work. The text contains many precedent expressions. In the Kazakh-language text, the precedent phenomenon is Abai’s statement: “Time rules man, and time changes him”. We tried to find similar quotes in Russian-language sources, but, on the contrary, the idea that “man rules time” is more prevalent there. For example, the article “The Reading Man Rules the World!” on the website <https://vestnik-lesnoy.ru/> was written to encourage children to read. The title of the article is based on Winston Churchill’s famous quote: “He who controls information controls the world”, or on Napoleon Bonaparte’s quote: “Imagination rules the world”. Another article titled “He Who Rules The Data, Rules The World: A Brief History Of Data Governance” was published in *Forbes* (<https://www.forbes.com/>). In the article, the author poses questions: “Data rules the world, but who rules the data? The companies that collect it? The servers that store it? The cables and satellites that transmit it? Or the laws that guide it into the right hands—and keep it from falling into the wrong ones?” (<https://www.forbes.com/>). In addition, there are quotes in human consciousness such as “Love rules the world” and “Money rules the world”. Referring to such famous expressions requires the activation of the background knowledge of readers and journalists, demonstrating the level of their intellect and cultural awareness, and always serves as a tool for creating literary and figurative speech.

Journalists use proverbs and aphorisms as precedent texts, which have become widely known and recognized by the people, as they contain popular wisdom that enriches speech. When an author introduces modifications to well-known proverbs, they take into account the readers’ awareness, as recognizing and understanding these expressions poses no difficulty, allowing them to be easily and quickly recalled. For instance, one of the sayings that has remained preserved in the consciousness of both Kazakh and Russian peoples, without losing its historical significance, is: “A woman-mother rocks the cradle with one hand and rules the world with the other”. In journalist Samarkan’s (2020) article “Businesswomen Leading Important Causes”, published in the newspaper *Egemen Qazaqstan*, the following is stated: “There is a well-known proverb: a woman rocks the cradle with one hand and rules the world with the other. This phrase conveys the idea that a woman is capable of participating in large-scale endeavors and achieving great success. It is clear that women contribute significantly to achievements in various sectors of society”. The article describes heroic mothers who successfully run their businesses while managing household duties. Many newspaper texts contain similar precedent expressions. In another example, media texts like “The Woman Who Rocked the World”, highlights the image of the Eastern woman at a high level, and “Women Who Rocked the Cradle with One Hand and the World with the Other” by politician Z. Dauletkyzy, dedicated to women presidents, remind readers of the greatness and importance of the concepts of women and mothers. Through expressions like “rocking the cradle” (a metaphor for nurturing and child-rearing) and “ruling the world” (symbolizing leadership and influence), the article implicitly suggests that women can manage multiple, contrasting responsibilities. This is significant because it underscores a balance between personal and public life, subtly challenging the stereotype that women must choose between the two.

The national hero of Scotland, William Wallace, left behind the famous phrase: “The hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world”. This expression is quite similar in meaning to the previously mentioned quote from Eastern cultures. Regardless of the nation, respect for women and mothers is always exceptional. The Cambridge Dictionary provides the following interpretation of the phrase “The hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world.” This proverb emphasizes the importance of maternal upbringing in a child’s life. A mother shapes the child’s personality and helps develop strong character, thereby raising a new generation for society. In fact, in his poem, William Wallace touched upon a very important idea. In the Russian-speaking press, there are also many articles that convey this concept. For instance, the article titled “The World is Ruled by the Hand that Rocks the Cradle” was published on the website <https://valozhin.by/13102022/mirom-pravit-ruka-kachayushhaya-kolybel/>, where the author employs inversion. The article is dedicated to Anna Linkevich, who raises seven children, works in the medical field, and engages in public activities. The text includes the following: “The primary role in a woman’s life is that of a mother. In this role, she can fully realize her potential, which is embedded in her by nature, to love and be loved. It seems that with the birth of a child, she doubles her abilities, talents, and energy. She gains immense strength, which helps her cope with the most difficult situations. She becomes like a diamond, shining with countless facets” ([Nemkevich, 2022](#)). From this excerpt, it becomes clear that women, though possessing gentle souls, are at the same time strong, resilient, and multifaceted personalities. The text conveys the idea that a woman’s nature, given to her “by nature,” is revealed in motherhood. This reflects traditional cultural attitudes where a woman is primarily perceived through her capacity for nurturing and caring for others. In various cultures, motherhood is often considered the highest form of female self-realization, which is reflected in this passage. The idea of a woman gaining “tremendous strength” with the birth of a child is a persistent cultural archetype. This is a common feature of both Eastern and Western cultural traditions, where a mother is often portrayed as someone capable of sacrifices and heroic deeds for the sake of her family. The comparison of a mother to a diamond has cultural undertones associated with

ideas of purity, strength, and multifaceted nature. In various cultures, a diamond symbolizes something valuable and rare, as well as resilient and steadfast. Thus, this comparison linguistically and culturally reinforces the idea of the multifaceted and highly significant role of motherhood in a woman's life. History knows many women who have become precedent figures, such as the Iron Lady Margaret Thatcher, Joan of Arc, Tomiris, Aliya and Manshuk, Anna Karenina, and others. The famous phrase "Women who rock the cradle with one hand and rule the world with the other" is dedicated to these remarkable individuals.

All the proverbs and aphorisms mentioned above in media and newspaper articles are precedent expressions that clearly reflect the essence, lifestyle, and culture of a nation (Panassenko, Krajčovič, & Stashko, 2021). We can see that each text preserves national identity, culture, and memory, as precedent refers to an event that took place in the past, remembered by the people, and has become an example. All proverbs, aphorisms, legends, and historical stories that belong to precedent texts serve as evidence of this.

Precedent Expressions in Youth Language: Survey and Statistics

In the previous section, we examined precedent expressions characteristic of Kazakh, Russian, and English cultures. To determine the current extent of their usage, a survey was conducted among students in Kazakh and Russian groups. A Python-based program utilizing artificial intelligence was developed to process the responses. As a result, statistical analysis was performed, and the results were visualized in the form of a graph. The participants were asked to list proverbs and sayings they use in their daily lives, those often used by their friends, and those frequently mentioned by their parents. A total of 234 respondents aged 18 to 22 years participated in the survey. The responses were quite insightful. Based on the collected data, the precedent expressions were divided into nine categories: upbringing, education, family, friendship, labor, health, guidance, motivation, and others. A statistical analysis was conducted comparing the responses from the Kazakh and Russian groups across these categories.

Interestingly, the 'labor' and 'motivation' categories showed similar usage levels among both Russian and Kazakh groups. Proverbs about 'labor' were most frequently used by the youth themselves rather than their friends or parents. The responses from the Russian group showed 20%, while the Kazakh group showed 13%. In the 'motivation' category, the situation was reversed: the Kazakh group showed 20%, and the Russian group 14%. In the 'motivation' category, proverbs and sayings were most often used among friends. This demonstrates how modern young people perceive and transmit information. Since the survey was conducted among students aged 18-21 years, it is evident that their environment, particularly their friends, has a greater influence on them. Figure 1 graph depicts this finding.

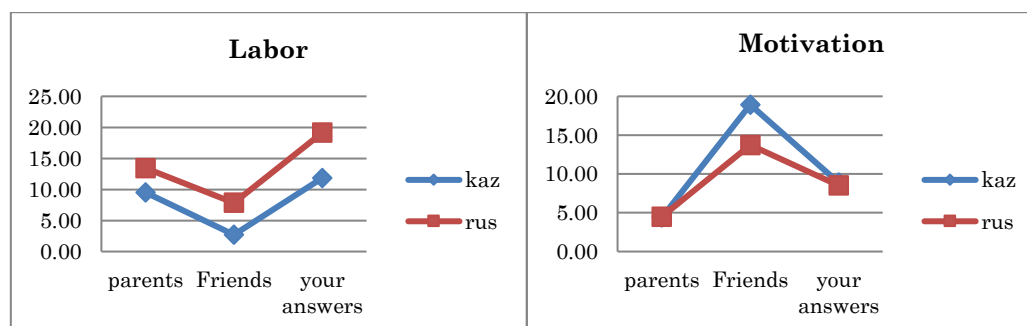


Figure 1: Usage of Proverbs in the Category of 'labor' and 'motivation' in Kazakh and Russian Culture.

When analyzing the categories of guidance and education, the special role of parents becomes evident. Parents often remind young people of the importance of knowledge through proverbs. They also frequently use guidance to offer advice or express wishes. The significance of guidance is particularly strong in Kazakh culture, as confirmed by the 9.3% indicator. This category can be considered precedent expressions that parents commonly say to their children, and which are often difficult to translate into another language. Figure 2 depicts these observations.

Among the responses in the 'upbringing' category, an interesting difference was observed. In the Kazakh group, proverbs about 'upbringing' were most frequently used by parents, accounting for 39%. In the Russian group, on the contrary, precedent expressions about 'upbringing' were more often spoken by friends, making up 49%. In the final category, 'health', it was noted that this category was used at a higher level in the Russian group. The Kazakh group showed 21%, while the Russian group had a significantly higher percentage at 43%. This can be explained by the greater emphasis placed on 'health' in the national mentality of the Russian people. Figure 3 depicts these observations.

As a result of the survey, a total of 111 precedent expressions were collected, and their manifestations at the national level were identified through student responses. Repeated precedent expressions were found in the answers from both the Kazakh and Russian groups. Furthermore, there were precedent phenomena that appeared

similarly in both groups, for example”: “Ok, ok, jane ok” (“Study, study, and study”), “Measure seven times, cut once”, “It’s better to have 100 friends than 100 rubles”, and so on. This indicates that both nations, having lived together for many years, are well acquainted with each other’s cultural and national characteristics.

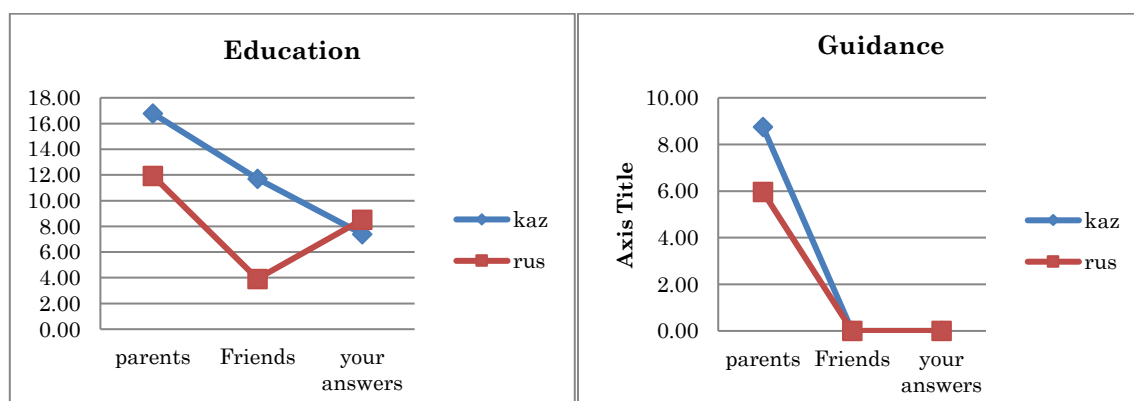


Figure 2: Usage of Proverbs in the Category of ‘education’ and ‘guidance’ in Kazakh and Russian Culture.

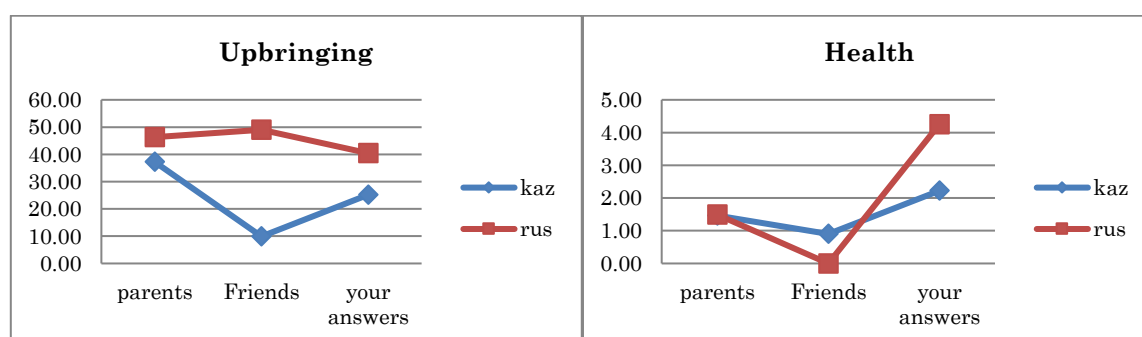


Figure 3: Usage of Proverbs in the Category of ‘upbringing’ and ‘health’ in Kazakh and Russian Culture.

Conclusion

The study reveals that proverbs, aphorisms, sententiae, and precedent texts derived from the works of poets and writers, which belong to precedent expressions and have emerged at different historical periods, form a group of precedent phenomena. These precedent phenomena are widely used in media materials and social networks for pragmatic purposes. Journalists skillfully apply these fixed expressions in the headlines of their articles, sometimes altering them and sometimes using them in their original form. By doing so, they effectively utilize the primary feature of precedent texts—conciseness and the ability to convey information economically—when creating headlines and texts. The content of the articles sometimes fully corresponds to the semantics of precedent phenomena, while at other times, they are interpreted in the opposite direction.

The study of intertextuality in Kazakh, Russian, and English-language media reveals how intertextual references play a pivotal role in shaping media narratives, fostering audience engagement, and reinforcing cultural identity. Across these three linguistic landscapes, media texts use intertextual elements such as quotes, allusions, proverbs, and culturally significant references to create resonance and establish authority, connecting readers with shared cultural knowledge and values. As we have observed, Kazakh and Russian media generally tend to reference national-precedent phenomena and historical allusions more frequently, while English-language media adapts these elements for a global audience, sometimes losing cultural specificity in the process. However, this study specifically sought out precedent phenomena that are equally present in Kazakh, Russian, and English media. It was concluded that intertextuality in all three contexts deepens the narrative, bridges cultural gaps, and enriches media discourse.

The study of precedent expressions in youth language, based on survey data and statistical analysis, reveals the dynamic role these expressions play in shaping identity, fostering social bonds, and establishing group norms among young people. Precedent expressions, which include widely recognized quotes, cultural references, and popular phrases, are integral to youth communication, allowing individuals to convey shared experiences, humor, and cultural knowledge quickly and effectively. Survey findings indicate that young people use these expressions not only to express personal identity but also to navigate social interactions and establish a sense of belonging within peer groups. The statistical analysis further shows that the popularity and recognition of specific expressions vary based on cultural exposure, media influence, and social trends, suggesting that youth language is both adaptive and highly responsive to cultural shifts. Limitations include

a focus on textual content only, excluding other media formats, and the relatively small sample size of surveyed participants, which may not fully represent audience perceptions across all demographics. The study recommends further research on the role of intertextuality in shaping public opinion across diverse audiences and encourages expanding the scope to include audiovisual media.

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