

ISSN 1999-4214 (print)

ISSN 2957-5095 (online)

ЕУРАЗИЯ ГУМАНИТАРЛЫҚ ИНСТИТУТЫНЫҢ

ХАБАРШЫСЫ

ВЕСТНИК

ЕВРАЗИЙСКОГО
ГУМАНИТАРНОГО
ИНСТИТУТА

BULLETIN

OF THE EURASIAN
HUMANITIES
INSTITUTE

№3/2024

Жылына 4 рет шығады
2001 ж. шыға бастаған

Выходит 4 раза в год
Начал издаваться с 2001 г.

Published 4 times a year
Began to be published in 2001

Астана, 2024

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Телефон/факс: (7172) 561 933; e-mail: eagi.vestnik@gmail.com, сайт: ojs.egi.kz

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Меншіктенуші: «А.Қ. Құсайынов атындағы Еуразия гуманитарлық институты»
Қазақстан Республикасы Ақпарат және қоғамдық даму министрлігі Ақпарат комитетінде қайта есепке қойылды. Тіркеу № KZ92VPY00046970 17.03.2022
Басуға 24.09.2024 ж. қол қойылды. Пішімі 60*84 1\8. Қағаз офсеттік Көлемі. БТ.
Таралымы 200 дана. Бағасы келісім бойынша. Тапсырыс № 89
«Ақтаев У.Е.» баспасында басылып шықты

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Телефон/факс: (7172) 561 933: e-mail: eagi.vestnik@gmail.com, сайт: ojs.egi.kz

Вестник Евразийского гуманитарного института.

Собственник: «Евразийский гуманитарный институт имени А.К. Кусаинова».

Министерством информации и общественного развития Республики Казахстан Комитет информации постановлено на переучет № KZ92VPY00046970 17.03.2022

Подписано в печать 24.09.2024ж. Формат 60*84 1\8. Бум. Типопр.

Тираж 200. Цена согласовано. Заказ № 89

Напечатано в издательстве «У.Е. Актаева»

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Bulletin of the Eurasian Humanities Institute.

Owner: «A.K. Kussayinov Eurasian Humanities Institute».

The Ministry of Information and Public Development of the Republic of Kazakhstan Information Committee decided to re-register No. KZ92VPY00046970 17.03.2022

Signed for printing 24.09.2024 Format 60 * 84 1 \ 8. Paper. Printing house

Circulation 200. Price agreed. Order No. 89

Printed in the publishing house of «U.E. Aktaev»

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*K.K. KERIMBAYEVA¹



A.B. BEISENBAI²



L.N.Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan.^{1,2}

(e-mail: camila_81@mail.ru¹, beisenbai_ab@enu.kz²)

LANGUAGE SURROUNDING POVERTY IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

Annotation. The concept and experience of poverty in early modern England were multifaceted, shaped by societal perceptions, economic conditions, and prevailing attitudes towards the poor. This study explores the dynamics of poverty during this era through a comprehensive analysis of historical sources and scholarly literature. Drawing on a wide array of primary documents and secondary sources, the research seeks to illuminate how poverty was understood, experienced, and addressed in early modern English society.

Central to the investigation are the various factors contributing to poverty, including economic instability, demographic shifts, and the impact of legislation and policy. By examining these elements, the study reveals the complexities of poverty beyond mere economic deprivation, encompassing social stigma, legal repercussions, and cultural representations.

Moreover, the study investigates the language and terminology used to describe poverty and the poor, highlighting shifts in discourse and societal attitudes over time. Terms such as «pauper,» «vagrant,» «beggars,» and «rogues» are analyzed within their historical contexts to uncover the evolving perceptions and categorizations of the impoverished.

Through the lens of social history and cultural analysis, this research also explores the lived experiences of the poor, including their strategies for survival, interactions with institutions of relief, and their portrayal in contemporary literature and discourse. By synthesizing these insights, the study aims to offer a nuanced understanding of poverty in early modern England, emphasizing its complexities and the enduring impact on social structures and perceptions of inequality.

Keywords: Early modern English, poor, public discourses, seventeenth century, social history, lexical, English linguistic culture

Introduction. This research examines attitudes towards a specific segment of impoverished individuals in seventeenth-century England, referred to as the criminalized poor. Comparable to modern-day terms like beggars or homeless individuals, although these analogies are not exact, they were consistently treated as criminals throughout much of the seventeenth century. The severity of sanctions varied over time and by region.

Typically unemployed, many of them lived without a permanent residence, frequently resorting to begging and wandering. Illiterate and lacking political influence, these individuals were marginalized and thus, firsthand accounts of their perspectives are rare. Although we can certainly utilize existing literature that directly addresses the state of the lowest classes in early modern society to examine contemporary attitudes towards them, we aim to extend this study beyond that. Our goal is to investigate how the criminalized poor were discussed in public discourse, examining the general body of published works from that era.

Methodology and research methods. We value casual mentions in texts not primarily focused on poverty just as much as detailed studies specifically addressing the topic. The challenge lies

in collecting and analyzing all references to the criminalized poor. We have addressed this by employing computer-assisted analysis to examine a billion words of seventeenth-century writing compiled in the EEBO corpus (v. 3), accessed through CQPweb [1, 51].

This corpus currently provides access to over 39,212 seventeenth-century texts, totaling nearly one billion words. By analyzing this material, we aim to address the following questions and interpret them within their historical context in the public discourse of that era.

- I. who the criminalized poor were perceived to be;
- II. to what extent they were subjects of pity and compassion;
- III. to what extent they were targets of censure; and
- IV. what the relationship was between them and punishment.

To effectively explore such a vast collection of texts, we utilized corpus linguistics.

Discussion and observation. Our study is based on a review of literature on poverty, a close examination of relevant official documents from the century, and, crucially, the use of corpus linguistics techniques to guide our analysis of a large collection of texts from that period.

However, our engagement with a century's worth of data prompted us to reflect on the implications for corpus analysis, particularly concerning one of the primary techniques in corpus linguistics: collocation.

Collocation is a straightforward yet powerful technique for uncovering word meanings and the construction of groups. Although the concept of collocation existed before the advent of computer-based studies, the computational approach to collocation can be traced back to the work of John Sinclair in the early 1970s [2, 380]. Collocation is widely used in corpus linguistics and has demonstrated its value in research on representation and in examining various social groups, such as refugees and asylum seekers, armed rebels, and athletes. Collocation relies on the idea that words tend to associate with specific other words. This association imbues them with meaning; words that consistently appear together with another word to a statistically significant degree begin to shape its meaning. For example, common collocates of the word «love» include «I,» «you,» «songs,» «falling,» «affair,» and «unconditional.»

While some linguists depend on their intuition to identify co-occurrence patterns, we utilized analysis software that employs significance statistics to generate collocation displays. This study identified loose patterns of co-occurrence in the corpus between items that frequently appeared near each other, though not necessarily adjacent. Collocates were generated using a span of five words on both the left and right of the node, with a minimum frequency of ten. Various significance tests can be employed to automate collocation; in this study, we used the Log Ratio 'effect-size' statistic developed by Dr. Andrew Hardie. This statistic not only identifies collocates but also indicates the strength of the bond between the two words [3, 150].

Time introduces a new dimension of variation in collocation. Examining a snapshot corpus, such as the Brown family of corpora, might give the impression that collocations are static. By analyzing collocations at a single point in time, we effectively freeze the variation that could occur over time in that process. However, collocation should serve as a valuable indicator of meaning change. By examining collocates over time, we can assess whether a word or concept is evolving. To achieve this, we need to consider the fundamental range of variation that may occur. Our study depends on identifying types of collocate changes over time, a technique introduced by Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) and further developed by McEnery and Baker (2016). Collocates were categorized into four groups: consistent, terminating, initiating, and transient. If a collocate is consistently associated with a word, it strongly indicates a stable relationship between the word and its meaning. These are termed consistent collocates. Conversely, when words lose collocates as they shed meaning, we refer to these as terminating collocates. When words acquire new collocates as their meaning evolves, we call these initiating collocates. Additionally, some collocates appear with a word briefly and then disappear; these are termed transient collocates. We term these transient collocates, which typically indicate a period during which a specific debate influenced the development of a concept for a short time. Once the debate subsided, the collocate was discarded.

In this study, we will use the concepts of consistent, terminating, initiating, and transient collocates to analyze the construction of the criminalized poor. This approach enables us to examine how attitudes towards this group evolved over the century. Typically, we will analyze data by decades, which are arbitrary divisions but necessary to ensure we have enough data for meaningful collocation estimates and to compare broad periods across the century.

Before discussing our initial work on identifying words of interest, it's important to note that we could easily navigate between collocations and the texts containing them using the system we employed to analyze the corpus. This was facilitated by another valuable tool in corpus linguistics: the concordance display. In this display, data is shown with one example of a word of interest per line, along with the context to the left and right of the word. Users can click on the word to view a larger chunk of text around the example, including information about the text such as the title, publication date, and author. Although we sometimes accessed the full text for reading, the concordance display generally provided quick and reliable access to numerous examples, significantly enhancing and speeding up the analysis process [4, 224].

Results. To start exploring the data, one might be tempted to rely solely on intuition when compiling a list of early modern English terms used to describe the criminalized poor. However, our intuition is an unreliable guide. Some terms we might consider reasonable to look for may not have been in use four hundred years ago or even forty years ago. For example, while the noun «tramp» is common today and believed to have emerged in the latter half of the seventeenth century, it does not appear in its modern sense in our seventeenth-century corpus. Similarly, although the word «migrant» appears in the corpus, it can be disregarded as it is only used in a few Latin texts.

A preliminary search of seventeenth-century parliamentary, administrative, and legal primary sources revealed that four words—beggar, vagabond, vagrant, and rogue—were repeatedly mentioned. These terms appeared not only in state legislation but also in sessions rolls, state papers, and county records. Additionally, these words were frequently used to describe the criminalized poor in our corpus, enabling us to analyze them across each decade throughout the century [5, 208].

We can now begin to address our questions about public discourse in the seventeenth century by examining the words beggar, vagabond, vagrant, and rogue. These four words frequently appear together in our corpus; for instance, the phrase «rogue, vagabond, or sturdy beggar» occurs 19 times, suggesting they might be synonyms. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, beggar, vagabond, and rogue are strong collocates of each other, and they also collocate with vagrant throughout the latter half of the century. However, textual evidence indicates that these are near-synonyms rather than true synonyms. By exploring the collocates of these words, we can not only reflect on vagrancy during the century but also reveal the subtle distinctions between these four seemingly similar terms.

Unsurprisingly, these individuals were associated with begging. «Beg» appears as a consistent collocate of «beggar» and begins collocating with «vagabond» in the 1640s, consistently thereafter. While «beg» does not directly collocate with «vagrant» or «rogue,» both are implied to beg through their strong association with «beggar»—»beggar» is a consistent collocate of «rogue» and becomes a consistent collocate of «vagrant» from 1650 onwards. Thus, whether directly or by association, this group is strongly linked to the act of begging.

The criminalized poor are also strongly characterized by their itinerant status. «Wandering» is a consistent collocate of «vagabond,» «vagrant,» and «rogue,» and it consistently attaches to «beggar» from the 1650s onwards. The mobile nature of the vagrant is evident in our data—»vagrant» collocates with «wander» in the 1650s, while «vagabond» strongly collocates with «wanderer» throughout the century. Public discourse suggests that, despite movement being illegal without a legitimate passport, the criminalized poor were highly mobile.

This brief analysis of strong collocates begins to answer our question—the criminalized poor are the wandering poor who beg. However, the identities of the individuals in this group are often obscured. In the EEBO corpus, «vagrants» and «vagabonds» consistently collocate with

«persons.» None of these words consistently collocate with any nouns or pronouns indicating gender or other individualizing features.

While not consistently, there is some evidence that rogues and, to a lesser extent, beggars were often referred to as male. In the 1650s, «beggar» collocates with «fellow,» usually referring to a man rather than an associate or person of equal status. In its singular form, «beggar» collocates with «he» and «him,» as well as «fellow.» «Rogue,» in both singular and plural forms, collocates with «whoreson» in the 1670s, «he» and «him» in the 1680s, and «fellow» in the 1680s and 90s. «Wife» collocates with «rogue» in the 1670s, with concordance lines typically featuring interactions between a male rogue and his female spouse, such as «Aye, you drunken Rogue, said his Wife, go, break your neck, do» (Lover of ha, ha, he 1674). «Rogue» also collocates with «she» in the 1670s, but this use is figurative, as men sometimes referred to their sweethearts as rogues, perhaps because they had «stolen» their hearts. Thievery, as will be shown, was closely associated with the criminalized poor.

Research by Tim Hitchcock on the image of the literary beggar in the eighteenth century offers an alternative explanation for the absence of 'female' nouns and pronouns co-occurring with «beggar.» He argues that, despite street surveys at the time showing that most beggars were female and often married or widowed with children, eighteenth-century writers deliberately depicted professional male beggars. This was a throwback to the rogue literature genre, which peaked in the late sixteenth century and enjoyed detailing the activities and tricks of a menacing counter-culture of rogues and beggars (6, 208). It is likely that seventeenth-century writers were influenced by this earlier rogue literature or, at the very least, sought to capitalize on the public's existing interest in beggars, who were often believed to engage in dishonest practices.

What about the age of the criminalized poor? Historians have tried to reconstruct the ages of vagrants and beggars by studying parish records. In early modern England, there was no accepted retirement age; the elderly were expected to support themselves until they were physically unable to do so. However, once they became too infirm to work, parishes tended to view these resident indigents sympathetically. Poor law statistics show that elderly infirm residents comprised a significant proportion of those receiving poor relief. Many parish pensioners, those on poor relief, were still forced to beg to supplement their income because the amount they received was insufficient to live on. Many elderly people saw begging as the «last phase in a life-cycle of labour» [7, 70]. Thus, it is unsurprising that «old» collocates with «beggar» and «rogue» in two decades' worth of material (the 1650s and 1670s for beggar, and the 1670s and 1690s for rogue).

«Beggar» also consistently collocates with «proud.» According to Christian charitable tradition, beggars were expected to be self-effacing and grateful if their begging was to be tolerated. When writers depicted beggars as being proud, they inverted this popular expectation to evoke hostility towards the poor from their readers.

Consider the collocate «bold,» which appears with «beggar» in the 1660s and 1670s; «impudent,» which collocates with «rogue» from 1650 onwards and is a transient collocate of «beggar»; and the transient collocates of «beggar,» «shameless,» and «refuse.» All these terms support the notion of an ungrateful and disrespectful beggar. At first glance, one might assume that «refuse» referred to people who refused to give alms to beggars; however, closer inspection reveals that the beggars were portrayed as refusing to accept certain donations. Possibly due to such acts, «fools» becomes a collocate of «beggar» from the 1640s onwards, with our data showing examples of beggars being described as fools: «...he became a fool, and a beggar, and a laughing-stock to them...» [8, 256].

However, from the 1650s onwards, «merry» collocates with «beggar.» This collocate primarily originates from the Richard Broome comedy, first staged in the early 1640s, titled *A Jovial Crew, or the Merry Beggars*. As the century progressed, more playwrights showed interest in beggars and other minority groups such as gypsies. Their works tended to be light-hearted in tone—Christopher Hill, for instance, demonstrated how Broome idealized the beggar's lifestyle—but they nonetheless acknowledged the social reality of increasing numbers of beggars and vagrants wandering the country [9, 38].

For example, in the 1570s, «vagrant» tended to be used more frequently than the older term «vagabond» following statutes passed in 1572 and 1576 that used the word. Interestingly, Griffiths argues that «rogue» peaked in usage at Bridewell in the 1570s because it was first mentioned in legislation in 1572 and appeared in several rogue tracts that gave the term publicity and color. However, in the broader discourse of the seventeenth century, as contained in the EEBO corpus, there are no such clear links between the release of legislation mentioning our search terms and an increase in their frequencies. For instance, two vagrancy acts from the first decade of the seventeenth century [10, 27-53], and An Act against Vagrants and Wandering, Idle Dissolute Persons of 1657, which referred to rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, appear to have had no impact on the frequencies of these terms. We must seek other explanations for the growing popularity of the term «rogue» throughout the century [11, 280].

The necessity of studying the concepts of «wealth» and «poverty» as units of a linguo-cultural framework is associated with the need to reveal the essence of national culture and the goal of optimizing intercultural communication. Examining the national-cultural dichotomy of «wealth – poverty» through the example of the English language, in our opinion, can help uncover the national character and mentality of the British ethnos, as well as identify the universal and differential features of these concepts within its linguistic worldview [12, 215].

Conclusion. This study has examined the terms seventeenth-century writers used to describe and identify the criminalized poor. Understanding the meaning and frequency of these terms can assist historians in closely reading primary source documents. By collaborating with corpus linguists, historians can not only utilize established corpus methods but also contribute to the development of future corpus software. For instance, as a result of this study, efforts are currently underway to categorize the texts within the EEBO corpus into literary genres, which would help uncover patterns of social attitudes in specific types of printed works.

To enhance our understanding of contemporary attitudes toward poor people who begged and roamed, the terms «beggar,» «vagrant,» «vagabond,» and «rogue» are most relevant. These words frequently appear alongside those indicating poverty, wandering, and homelessness. They were used extensively in our corpus of seventeenth-century texts, often referring to very poor individuals who lived by begging and had no fixed abode. Authorities imposed these identities on the poor to manage and control them through licenses, passports, penalties, and sometimes financial aid. These identities were neither objectively determined nor fixed—a self-sufficient person might become a beggar in old age, receive relief in one parish, and be whipped and expelled in another. Our corpus analysis has highlighted dominant discourses of the time, portraying members of these groups as stealing and lying, being idle and ungrateful, and facing apprehension and punishment.

Seventeenth-century writers constructed different images of beggars, rogues, vagrants, and vagabonds. «Vagrant» tended to denote a poor wanderer but was also frequently used as an adjective to present more abstract ideas. «Vagabond» was also associated with begging and wandering, but it was often used to refer to religious or historical groups. The usage frequency of both terms was relatively even, with dominant collocates describing wandering and idleness. However, from the 1630s onwards, terms related to punishment began to co-occur with «vagabond.»

Our study also demonstrates that words which may seem near synonymous are, in fact, subtly distinct. «Vagrant» and «vagabond» are more neutral terms for the criminalized poor, associated with poverty, idleness, and wandering, but only weakly linked to malefaction. «Rogue,» however, shares these associations but also strongly links to malefaction, increasingly so as the century progresses. «Beggar,» while sharing the associations with wandering, poverty, and idleness, also has some connections to malefaction like «rogue,» but crucially, it is also linked to charitable giving. Thus, while these words are similar, they are not identical.

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К.К. КЕРИМБАЕВА, А.Б. БЕЙСЕНБАЙ

Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразия ұлттық университеті, Астана, Қазақстан

ЕРТЕ ЗАМАНАУИ АНГЛИЯДАҒЫ КЕДЕЙЛІКТІ СИПАТТАУ ЛЕКСИКАСЫ

Аңдатпа. Ерте заманауи Англиядағы кедейлік тұжырымдамасы мен тәжірибесі көп қырлы болды, ол қоғамның қабылдауымен, экономикалық жағдайларымен және кедейлерге деген басым көзқараспен қалыптасты. Бұл зерттеу тарихи дереккөздер мен ғылыми әдебиеттерді жан-жақты талдау арқылы осы дәуірдегі кедейліктің динамикасын зерттейді. Бастапқы құжаттар мен қосымша дереккөздердің кең ауқымына сүйене отырып, зерттеу ерте заманауи ағылшын қоғамында кедейліктің қалай түсінілгенін, бастан кешкенін және шешілгенін көрсетуге тырысады.

Экономикалық тұрақсыздықты, демографиялық өзгерістерді және заңнама мен саясаттың әсерін қоса алғанда, кедейшілікке ықпал ететін әртүрлі факторлар зерттеуде орталық болып табылады. Осы элементтерді зерттей отырып, зерттеу әлеуметтік стигманы, құқықтық салдарларды және мәдени өкілдіктерді қамтитын экономикалық жетіспеушіліктен тыс кедейліктің күрделілігін ашады.

Сонымен қатар, зерттеу кедейлік пен кедейлерді сипаттау үшін қолданылатын тіл мен терминологияны зерттеп, дискурс пен қоғамның көзқарастарының уақыт бойынша өзгеруін көрсетеді. «Кедей», «қаңғыбас», «қайыршылар» және «алаяқтар» сияқты терминдер өздерінің тарихи контексттері аясында талданып, кедейленгендердің дамып келе жатқан түсініктері мен санаттарын ашуға мүмкіндік береді.

Әлеуметтік тарих пен мәдени талдау объективтері арқылы бұл зерттеу кедейлердің өмір сүру тәжірибесін, соның ішінде олардың өмір сүру стратегияларын, көмек институттарымен өзара әрекеттесуін және олардың қазіргі әдебиет пен дискурста бейнеленуін зерттейді. Осы түсініктерді синтездеу арқылы зерттеу ерте заманауи Англиядағы кедейлік туралы нақты түсінік беруді, оның күрделілігін және әлеуметтік құрылымдарға және теңсіздікті қабылдауға тұрақты әсерін баса көрсетуге бағытталған.

Түйін сөздер: Ерте заманауи ағылшын тілі, кедей, қоғамдық дискурстар, XVII ғасыр, әлеуметтік тарих, лексика, ағылшын лингвомәдениеті

К.К. КЕРИМБАЕВА, А.Б. БЕЙСЕНБАЙ

Евразийский национальный университет имени Л.Н.Гумилева, Астана, Казахстан

ЯЗЫКОВАЯ КОНЦЕПЦИЯ НИЩЕТЫ В АНГЛИИ НАЧАЛА НОВОГО ВРЕМЕНИ

Аннотация. Концепция бедности в Англии начала Нового времени была многогранной и определялась общественными представлениями, экономическими условиями и отношением к бедным. В этом исследовании рассматривается динамика бедности в ту эпоху на основе всестороннего анализа исторических источников и научной литературы. Опираясь на широкий спектр первичных документов и вторичных источников, было выявлено как бедность понималась, переживалась и решалась в английском обществе начала Нового времени.

Центральное место в исследовании занимают различные факторы, способствующие бедности, включая экономическую нестабильность, демографические сдвиги и влияние законодательства и политики. Анализируя эти элементы, исследование раскрывает сложности бедности, выходящие за рамки простых экономических лишений, включая социальную стигматизацию, правовые последствия и культурные представления.

Кроме того, в исследовании исследуются язык и терминология, используемые для описания бедности и малоимущих, что подчеркивает изменения в дискурсе и общественных установках с течением времени. Такие термины, как «нищий», «бродяга», «попрошайки» и «жулики», анализируются в их историческом контексте, чтобы раскрыть эволюцию восприятия и классификации обнищавших людей.

Через призму социальной истории и культурного анализа в этом исследовании также рассматривается жизненный опыт бедных, включая их стратегии выживания, взаимодействие с учреждениями по оказанию помощи и их отражение в современной литературе и дискурсе. Обобщая эти данные, авторы исследования стремятся дать более детальное представление о бедности в Англии начала эпохи Нового времени, подчеркивая ее сложность и длительное влияние на социальные структуры и восприятие неравенства.

Ключевые слова: ранний современный английский, бедные, публичные выступления, семнадцатый век, социальная история, лексика, английская лингвокультура

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Авторлар туралы мәлімет:

Керимбаева Камила Керимкуловна – педагогикалық ғылымдар магистрі, Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразия ұлттық университетінің аға оқытушысы, Астана, Қазақстан.

Керимбаева Камила Керимкуловна – магистр педагогических наук, старший преподаватель Евразийского национального университета имени Л.Н. Гумилева, Астана, Казахстан.

Kerimbayeva Kamila Kerimkulovna – Master of Pedagogical Sciences, Senior lecturer at the L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan.

Бейсенбай Ардақ Бақытұлы – филология ғылымдарының кандидаты, Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразия ұлттық университетінің қауымдастырылған профессоры, Астана, Қазақстан.

Бейсенбай Ардақ Бахытович – кандидат филологических наук, ассоциированный профессор Евразийского национального университета имени Л.Н. Гумилева, Астана, Казахстан.

Beisenbai Ardak Bakytuly – Candidate of Philological Science, Associate Professor of L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan