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# Commemorative Albums of the Higher Communist Schools of the GDR in the 1950s (Based on Materials from the Personal Fund of Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. I. Lepeshkin)<sup>1</sup>

Oksana F. Ezhova

Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences

**Abstract.** Historic artifacts speak to the fact that various cultural forms existed in different historical periods. The recently discovered works presented in this article are unique artifacts of the cultural history of post-war Europe. Alexey Lepeshkin, who was a Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union and a specialist in the field of Soviet public law, was presented with two commemorative albums of the higher communist schools of the GDR (1952). As of today, these albums are part of Lepeshkin's personal fund, and are stored in the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences (f. No.2004). This article gives the first scientific account of these items. The complex study of commemorative albums is relevant due to the lack of research in the area of handwritten commemorative albums of that period. A comprehensive analysis of the historical and cultural context of the interaction among the socialist countries after the end of the Second World War as exemplified by the relations between Russia and Germany in the example of two commemorative albums of German communist institutions of higher education gives researchers an opportunity to bring these manuscripts into a wider cultural and political context. The genre of hand-made folklore albums has a number of distinctive features in both form and content. This article is devoted to a formal and meaningful description and analysis of these memorial artifacts, both in terms of the texts contained in them, and in terms of visual anthropological analysis of photographs, drawings, and calligraphic features. On the basis of this material, we can draw conclusions about the preservation of folklore pragmatics and forms of existence by such albums, regardless of the change in the social structure in Russian and German culture.

**Keywords:** commemorative albums, written folklore, A. I. Lepeshkin, GDR, Higher Party School, pragmatics of folklore

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<sup>1</sup> English translation from the Russian text: Ezhova O. F. 2022. Commemorative Albums of Communist Schools of the GDR in the 1950s (Based on Materials from the Personal Collection of Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. I. Lepeshkin). *Concept: Philosophy, Religion, Culture*. 6(4). P. 94–104. (In Russian). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24833/2541-8831-2022-4-24-94-104>

The private collection of Soviet legal expert and corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union Alexey Lepeshkin that is now stored in the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences contains two commemorative albums compiled in 1952 by students of the party academies of the German Democratic Republic and later donated by Lepeshkin himself to the Archive<sup>2</sup>. Alexey Lepeshkin was a Soviet lawyer, a specialist in Soviet state-building, a Doctor of Law (1954), professor (1954), Colonel of Justice (1954), and Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union (1969). For the purposes of the present study, we will only mention the parts of Lepeshkin's eventful life that are important for the topic at hand. Specifically, we are interested in his official trip to East Germany in February–June 1952, sanctioned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where he delivered a series of lectures on Soviet state law for students of the Higher Party School under the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, as well as for students of other party educational institutions in the country (the Institute of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Walter Ulbricht Academy for State and Legal Science, and the School for Democratic Youth); as well as his tenure as a Professor of Law in the Department of State Law at the Moscow State University of International Relations under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union from 1972 until his death in 1977. Lepeshkin was buried in Moscow.

Let us note right away that discussions regarding the relationship between traditional and modern culture and the importance of preserving traditional elements and phenomena are constantly in the public consciousness. In this context, it would be wise to look at evidence of the spread of various traditional cultural forms and genres in different historical periods. The cultural phenomenon of handwritten albums that first appeared around the sixteenth century and continues to this day has a semantic diversity and a broad scope of application. This is why it is studied by researchers in various disciplines and from diverse perspectives – literary critics, folklorists, ethnographers, anthropologists and psychologists. In the present work, we will adhere to methods that allow us to consider commemorative albums in the totality of the materials contained in them as a cultural phenomenon and, at the same time, a special genre of written folklore that represents a traditional written communicative practice. In doing so, we will rely on the work of modern researchers: M. Alekseev (Alekseev 1960), V. Vaczuro (Vaczuro 1977), S. Borisov (Borisov 1996; 2000), N. Lebedeva (Lebedeva 2001; 2004), V. Lurie<sup>3</sup>, and others; as well on that of collectors and publishers of objects of material and non-material folk culture.

<sup>2</sup> Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Private Collection of Alexei Lepeshkin, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union. Case No. 50–51 (F. No. 2004, No. 1, Case No. 50–51).

<sup>3</sup> Lurie V. F. 2021. A Modern Songbook for Girls. Dvoetochie. URL: <https://dvoetochie.org/2021/02/28/lurie/> (accessed 15.11.2023); Mikhail Karasik et al. (compiled by). *The Dembel Album. Russian Art Brut between Subculture and Artist's Book: Collection of Materials and Exhibition Catalogue*. 2001. St. Petersburg: M.K & Kharmsizdat; Lurie M. L. (ed. and compiled by). *Poetry in the Barracks: Russian Soldier Folklore from the Boyan Collections by Andrey Broido, Dzhana Kutkina and Yakov Broido*. 2008. Moscow: OGI; *The Poetic Speech of Russians. Folk Songs and Modern Folklore Collected by Andrey Broido, Yana Kutkina and Yakov Broido*. URL: <https://daabooks.net/indexkoi.html> (accessed 17.11.2023).

The commemorative album appeared at around the same time as book culture and was originally an attribute exclusively of educated people. The first albums were a kind of diary, made by itinerant students. The Department of Manuscripts of the Literary Museum of the Institute of Russian Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Pushkin House) boasts a collection of albums that date back to the second half of the eighteenth century. These are so-called *Stammbuchs*. Similar albums were widespread in Germany in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. Looking at these albums, we can safely place them in the genre of “manuscripts”, as the samples from that time contain clear genre features that pop up time and again. These included an obligatory title page with a coloured coat of arms that sports a short motto, the owner’s name, and occasionally their class titles. The pages would also be presented in a specific way, containing a quote or saying, possibly in Latin, followed by poems composed by the owner in such a way that they take up the entire page. If one of the poems was written by a friend or acquaintance of the owner, then they too would add a brief motto and write the time and place the poem was written in the bottom left-hand corner of the paper, along with a dedication and an ornate signature, which may also indicate that person’s profession and social status. These *Stammbuchs* would accompany their owners whenever they travelled. In some cases, you can plot a map of the owner’s movements, and the signatures of influential people could, on occasion, serve as a kind of letter of recommendation (Vaczero 1977). The first such albums (sung by friends and/or acquaintances) in Russian high society belonged to men who brought the tradition home from Europe after completing their studies there. But before long, the album would become an element of female, as well as girlish salon culture too. Girls from noble families would later introduce the tradition of the commemorative album to grammar schools in big cities. From there, it would transcend class boundaries and become far more commonplace. The lofty style inevitably suffered – the texts and musical fragments that appeared in the albums of grammar school pupils in the nineteenth century featured poems by revered writers and excerpts of stories by true authors, as well as lines lifted from trashy romance novels and overly sentimental poems full of hackneyed epithets and literary clichés (Borisov 1996). We can thus conclude that the commemorative album as we know it today (compiled by children, teenagers and young people for consumption exclusively within their own familiar environment) started to take shape as a separate written folklore genre of children’s and youth culture in the late nineteenth century. There is almost no evidence to suggest that adults made these kinds of albums after this period<sup>4</sup>.

After the October Revolution, creating commemorative albums continued to exist as a fairly stable folklore genre, primarily among young girls<sup>5</sup>. Formal genre features, such as a specially designed title page, dedications, questionnaires, song lyrics, hand-

<sup>4</sup> Straten V. V. Art of the City Streets. 1927. *Artistic Folklore*. 1-3. P. 144–164.

<sup>5</sup> Zhanyutin A. 1989. Handwritten Album Songbooks among Schoolchildren: Newfound Success for an Old Genre. *Success on a Massive Scale* [Collected Essays]. Moscow: State Institute of Arts. P. 195–197.

drawn illustrations, and pictures glued to the pages, were kept. Certain messages of goodwill written in verse became standard, remaining unchanged from the pre-war period (1930s–1940s) right up until the early 1990s (Arkhipova 2005: 184–189; Arkhipova 2006: 26–32; Bazanov 1998: 72).

Now let us look at the commemorative albums compiled and decorated by German students and teachers and presented to Professor Alexey Lepeshkin during his visit to East Germany in 1952. The first was produced by students of the Party Academy Karl Marx, while the second was made by students of another higher party school named after Wilhelm Pieck.

The Party Academy Karl Marx album contains 18 sheets of thick ivory paper. It has a red binding made out of artificial leather. On the front cover are the images of four figures – Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin, and Joseph Stalin – embossed with gold. Only one side of the paper is used, with the reverse side of each page being left blank. The album is in A4 size. The first three pages are printed in blue ink using a stylized jerky font with characteristic thickening that is meant to give the impression that it has been written by hand. The first page contains a dedication to “Our esteemed Comrade Professor Lepeshkin”<sup>6</sup>. Further, in the centre of the page, we see the oval emblem of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the image of a handshake. Below this are the words “Party Academy Karl Marx under the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany”. The second page contains a lengthy dedication to Lepeshkin that reads: “Dear<sup>7</sup> Comrade, Professor Lepeshkin! We could not let you leave for home, the Soviet Union, without telling you how grateful we are for the invaluable assistance you have provided us in understanding Marxism–Leninism. This is the first time that we have had the honour and privilege of studying under a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the party of Lenin and Stalin. We are extremely happy and overcome with pride. Never before has our school been able to offer a full lecture course on the structure of the state in the Soviet Union and on Soviet state law. Your lectures helped us delve deeper into the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and to start approaching our studies with a greater sense of responsibility. The lectures on the State and law contributed significantly to a better understanding of the role and importance of our state in the struggle for peace and the reunification of Germany. It has become quite clear to us that a great power still lies ahead for our party if we are to defeat the enemies of the working class. And we will achieve this victory, guided by the spirit of love for the motherland and for proletarian internationalism. Comrade Lepeshkin, you have instilled in us the burning passion of this spirit. Working together helps build friendly relations, so that we can unite even further in the fight against our common enemy. We believe that we must do everything possible so that your cordial attitude towards students and our love for one another are felt throughout our Party

<sup>6</sup> All translations from the German here are by L. V. Kondrashkova (Ph.D), a Senior Research Fellow at the Andrey Rublev Museum of Ancient Russian Culture and Art.

<sup>7</sup> It actually contains the German equivalent of “Dearest” – the superlative form of “dear”.

and, moreover, by the working people of Germany. We hope, Comrade Lepeshkin, that you will enjoy the same success in your teaching that you have enjoyed with us wherever you go! We wish you the best of health! Your profound knowledge will always serve as a reference point for all of us. Your modesty is an inspiration, and your unity with the working people will forever guide us on the difficult road to victory”.

The dedication is signed: “From the teacher and students of Party Academy Karl Marx under the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. June 1952”.

On the one hand, what we have before us is a typical panegyric, written entirely in the spirit of praise for a Roman general or lifted directly from an encomium dedicated to a Christian saint. On the other hand, it reads like a tribute to an old friend, a comrade with whom warm relations were built as a result of working together – something that the authors of the note want to be “felt throughout the Party and by the working people”. It is at this point that the praise turns into a passionate confession, worded in much the same way as a love letter. Love poems are an important element for describing one’s feelings, hopes and expectations... and they are also a mark of the genre of commemorative albums produced by the younger generation. In the case of this text from the album, love for the young German builders of socialism and communism is a noble and heartfelt feeling for comrades in the party in the class struggle.

The second piece of text in the album on page three recounts the history of the establishment of Party Academy Karl Marx. It is not nearly as emotionally coloured as the dedication and is of a more formal nature. According to the text, the academy could not have been created without the help of the Soviet Union, and that the album talks about the life of the school.

Subsequent pages contain photographs pasted into the album. The pages with photographs have printed blue edges. At the top of the page, in the centre, the blue edging gives way to a printed circle that bears an emblem – two flags (East Germany and the Soviet Union) and the words “German–Soviet friendship”. The captions underneath the photographs are handwritten in block letters, using a thin pen. The photographs on the pages are of prominent East German political figures of the time – Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht, and Otto Grotewohl. One of the photos of Wilhelm Pieck contains the words written underneath: “Ernst Thälmann’s comrade-in-arms and our idol Wilhelm Pieck”. Note the vivid emotional (or imitation of such) words of respect and admiration for the leader. The word “idol” is informal. Another interesting detail is worthy of note here: in the photograph, Comrade Walter Ulbricht is giving a speech on stage in front of the students of the Party Academy Karl Marx. Above him is a large portrait of the German thinker, hanging from the back of the stage, with one of his quotes written in large letters.

The album also contains photographs of the leaders of the world communist movement: Elena Dmitrova speaking at a meeting in honour of the seventieth birthday of Georgy Dmitrov. Other photos depict students in the classroom, the school dormitory, students taking part in the May Day celebrations, and dancing to the music of an ac-

cordion in anticipation of the start of the procession. The last photo in the album is from a function held in the school's assembly hall in honour of Comrade Stalin's 71<sup>st</sup> birthday. A huge banner with a half-length portrait of the leader is stretched on the back of the stage, officials are at the presidium, while military officers are sitting near the stage. The last page does not have any photographs and instead contains a statement by Walter Ulbricht, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany at the time: "The starting point for improving the quality of our ideological work and the training offered at the party academy is to deepen the study of the history of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union". Seeing as though Lepeshkin taught Soviet law and the history of the Communist Party to German students, this quote can be seen as being addressed to him personally as a justification for the respect and gratitude of the audience.

The second album contains 19 pages. Just like in the first album, all text and images are on one side of the paper, with the reverse side remaining empty. The binding is made out of artificial leather. There is no embossing or inscription on the cover, which is fastened through two round holes with a red silk cord. The album is in A4 size. It was compiled by students at the Wilhelm Pieck School. Unlike the first album, this work is bright and colourful in its design. The first and sixth pages contain drawings coloured with paint or ink. They are of an extremely high quality, with many fine lines and ornamental features, in a style that is reminiscent of church manuscript miniatures. The first page is embellished with a floral design and two emblems – one of the Free German Youth (Freie Deutsche Jugend, FDJ) and the other of a similar organization in the Soviet Union, the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League (Komsomol). Meanwhile, page six boasts a medallion in the centre of the page, framed by images of red banners, doves, flowers and leaves, the rising sun beaming orange rays, ears of corn, and portraits of Joseph Stalin and Wilhelm Pieck.

The first page contains a dedication to Alexey Lepeshkin (which reads: "To Comrade Professor Lepeshkin, as a thank you and a reminder of the Wilhelm Pieck School. June 20, 1952, while the final page leaves us with a quote from Kim Il Sung ("The people liberated by the Soviet Army will not be enslaved by the imperialists again"), written in large Gothic font. The ornateness of the first letter of Kim Il Sung's statement is also reminiscent of the handwritten style, decorated as it is with a pattern consisting of guns, red banners and a laurel branch.

Unlike the first album we looked at, this one does not include a long dedication or encomium to Lepeshkin. Here, the gratitude of the students is primarily expressed through the visual structure of the images. In the previous album, for example, the majority of the photographs depict official events or ordinary school life with people captured in static poses. Here, the opposite is true, as most of the pictures depict heartfelt and touching moments from the lives of the students captured 'live' as they go about their day. All the captions are in large letters, written with a thick blue felt-tip pen. The photographs have been outlined using the same pen, one to two millimetres from the edge. The first photo, which depicts students looking at a stand with a picture of a

young Joseph Stalin, has the caption underneath: “Learning from Stalin means learning to win”. This is followed by photographs of the school building and a picture of Wilhelm Pieck with students. It is captioned: “Wilhelm Pieck is a great friend, helper, and mentor of the youth”. After a hand-drawn insert there is a group photograph featuring another guest from the Soviet Union, Vyacheslav Kochemasov, Chairman of the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth, who, as the person who wrote the captions notes, “sends his greetings from the glorious Komsomol”.

The next picture is of four smiling young men and a young lady on a sunny day, walking towards the photographer, suitcases in hand, against the backdrop of leafy trees. One of the young fellows is wearing a dark shirt, light shorts, and dark shoes and socks. The caption to the photo reads: “Most of the students at Wilhelm Pieck School are from families of workers and peasants”. Although, looking at them, there is no way of telling what class they come from – they are simply dressed neatly and modestly, in the fashion of the time. Then there are pictures of students listening to a lecture, students at stands learning about the history of the party, students at bookshelves, students with their backs to us listening intently to the lecturer with his pointer at the blackboard, who, as the caption tells us, “is immersed in the study of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with the students” (it is not Professor Lepeshkin in the photograph, although it evidently places a strong emphasis on the importance of his missions). As we can see, these are typical images for the party school’s commemorative album, showing off the main party tasks of the educational institution. Next is a photo of the school’s teaching staff. A poem by Vladimir Mayakovsky dedicated to the party and translated into German adorns the wall behind the presidium. The following picture metaphorically expresses aspiration, willpower and strength of mind: the photo is of a student athlete performing a long jump, snapped while he is in mid-air; more students are stood in the background, waiting for their turn and exchanging glances. The caption reads: “Training for the sports achievement badge “Ready to Work and Defend Peace”. Another photo depicting girls and boys performing a circle dance has the playful caption: “In cultural circles”.

The composition of the next photograph is particularly interesting. It depicts three lads wearing only shorts, digging a hole. The centre of the picture is shifted to the right relative to the axis of symmetry of the image, and the young man in the middle, in a half-turned pose, is looking at his comrade to the left. The lad on the far right is standing lower down than the others, in the hole. It is a fine sunny day, and everyone is smiling. The caption reads: “Helping build our new school as volunteers”. The theme of constructing a new building continues on the next page. Three smaller photographs depict a corner building under construction from different angles.

There is one more page following the one with the quote from Kim Il Sung, and it contains a photograph of two buglers wearing identical long-sleeved shirts with breast pockets tucked into their shorts. They are both wearing belts, black patent leather boots and white socks. The boys are standing on a small pedestal in front of some birch trees. Both have their left hand on their belt and are holding the bugle with their right,

pressing the horn to their lips, heads thrown back. Small items have been stuck onto the bugles – reddish-looking flags or pennants. The caption for this final photo reads: “The FDJ (Free German Youth) fights for the establishment of a united, democratic, independent and peace-loving Germany, and calls on the youth of both Germanies to engage in this struggle”. This is a direct reference to the political events of the time – the division of Germany and the delineation of zones of influence of the Soviet Union and the United States on the territories of the newly created states.

The “successors” of medieval albums of itinerant students are thus not only scrap-books created by pupils at girls’ schools, but also commemorative books of other communities and individuals. It is certainly worth studying the issue of attributing collections of photographs, drawings, texts, in whatever form they may appear, to the folklore genre through a comprehensive analysis of both the content and the formal aspects of the object of material culture that captures the interest of the researcher, as well as the context in which it was created and subsequently survived (Chistov 1995). Thus, a colourful title page, dedications and/or wishes, freehand drawings, handwritten captions for images with detailed comments – all of which appear in one or both of the commemorative albums we have looked at – are indicators of the preservation of the characteristic traditional elements of the written folklore genre. The very fact that young people made and compiled such albums places the object of material culture that corresponds to the conditions of the existence of the folklore genre (Shchepanskaya 1993).

As we have already noted, the two albums we have looked at here were compiled at the end of the 1951/52 academic year and presented to Alexey Lepeshkin by the students of the higher party schools in June 1952. The captions to the photographs tell us that the pupils of these educational establishments were most likely from worker or peasant backgrounds. East Germany had a national education system at the time, which was built on the model of the Soviet education system in accordance with the Law on the Democratisation of the German School that entered into force in 1946 and was only rescinded in 1959 following the adoption of a new Law on the Socialist Development of the School System in the German Democratic Republic. That is, we can assume that young people became familiar with the tradition of making commemorative albums with drawings and inscriptions when they were at school. The Gothic-style inscriptions and ornate illustrations could be a result of the religious upbringing and education of children in German families – while Christian church education was no longer part of the school curriculum, it was nevertheless preserved in East Germany. Many prominent German communists received a church education. Most notable of these was Wilhelm Pieck, who is mentioned above and depicted in the photographs of the albums we have described. The albums compiled for the Soviet professor have almost nothing in the way of a personal touch – there are no messages from individual students or teachers, all the lofty words written for Alexey Lepeshkin are collective, from the “average” pupil and instructor. We do not know the names of the people who put the album together, as such works are typically anonymous and

reflections of collective folk art and culture. The desire to express thoughts and feelings in writing, whether they are real or imaginary, is itself void of any cultural colouring, but the practice of framing them in a specific genre indicates the preservation within the community of traditional mechanisms for the functioning of the structure of the commemorative album, which is obvious when analysing the content of the albums compiled by the German students for Professor Alexey Lepeshkin. We have no way of knowing how often Lepeshkin actually leafed through these albums. Nor do we know if he made any albums or scrapbooks of his own – there is nothing in his private collection. We can assume that the commemorative albums brought to the Soviet Union from abroad as proof that the individual had the opportunity to live and work abroad could again acquire a functional meaning similar to that intended by the founders of the genre (itinerant students) and be seen as a kind of letter of recommendation, or evidence of one's social status.

These facts, in addition to the material we have presented here – the commemorative albums produced by students at the higher party schools in East Germany in 1952<sup>8</sup> – lead us to some general conclusions:

1. The albums we have looked at belong to the corpus of written folklore, more specifically, to a widely used genre within this category of handwritten scrapbooks.
2. The very fact that the practice of compiling such albums existed in the communist universities of East Germany testifies to the preservation of the genre among the youth in the country, which was under Soviet influence, following the war.
3. Such albums, regardless of their content, preserved folklore pragmatics and the features and forms that are typical of the genre.

The change in the social structure of East German society did not affect the preservation of the genre of commemorative albums; the structure of the form was kept. In some cases (the albums we have looked at serve as an example of such a cultural artefact), specifically, when the album was a collective effort intended to be presented to a specific person, the content of the album was an expression of the goal and was thus usually a propaganda piece. That said, the students were more or less free to write what they wanted in terms of dedications and comments in the albums, although they nevertheless turned out to be stylistically neutral statements that were socially acceptable in this particular cultural and historical context.

#### ***About the Author:***

**Oksana F. Ezhova** – Ph.D. in Philology, Research Associate at the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 34 Novocheremushkinskaya str., Moscow, Russia, 117218. E-mail: oks-ezhova@yandex.ru

<sup>8</sup> Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, f. No. 2004.

**Conflicts of interest.**

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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# “A drink for the Soul”: the Coffee tree and Coffee as a Symbol of the Arab National Mentality<sup>1</sup>

E.V. Kukhareva

Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University)

**Abstract.** In the complex geopolitical situation of the beginning of the twenty-first century and with the change of the vector of interests towards the countries of the East, attention to all aspects of the life of the peoples of these states is increasing due to the urgent need to understand their cultures, lifestyle, and the world around them. These peoples are increasingly active in the international arena, their role in various fields is becoming more noticeable, and it is important to interact with them at various levels. To do this, it is necessary to know what this people live by, what their priorities are, what is important or secondary for them. The complexity of intercultural communication lies in the fact that the national character and mentality of representatives of different linguistic cultures is based on the existing realities of a particular people's life, its moral values and attitudes, through which various ethnic communities identify themselves and fix their place and purpose in this world. Symbols and images reflecting these ideas take either a material or verbal shell and convey an ethnic picture of the world of a particular people, which is completely different from the ideas of other ethnic groups about what surrounds them.

To understand a representative of another linguistic consciousness, it may not be enough to master the vocabulary and grammar of a foreign language. Significant elements of the language in their semantic part also contain an extra-linguistic component, so-called “background knowledge”, which can be gleaned from the history, mythology, literature, and folklore of the people with whom we are interacting. This extra-linguistic component, according to the author, is of great importance for understanding national mentality and national character. It helps to identify other driving forces of the actions of different peoples in the process of intercultural communication, along with their political and economic interests. In this article, the author considers one of the symbols of the national mentality of the Arabs – the coffee tree and its derivative – the coffee drink, which plays an important role in creating a national collective portrait of Arab society. She also attempts to show how and why they occupy such an important place in the Arab national consciousness.

**Keywords:** Arabs, Arabic language, mentality, customs and traditions, proverbs, sayings, symbol, ethics

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Living in a world surrounded by all manner of nature's creations, we only pay attention to those that have the biggest impact on our lives. We interact most with plants and animals, so it is no coincidence that they become spirit animals or symbols of the most significant character traits or moral norms for us.

In Arab-Muslim culture, palm, olive and coffee trees have earned the status of national symbols, while the cedar tree is the national symbol of a single country, namely Lebanon. These plants are represented in the traditions and customs of the Arab peoples – in their folklore, religious beliefs, myths, fairy tales, proverbs, sayings, and various other works.

The author of this article chose to write about the *coffee tree* – الشَّجَرَةُ [shadjarat al'bunni] – as a symbol of Yemen, and the *coffee drink* – قَهْوَةٌ [qahwa tun] – as a symbol of the Arab mentality as a whole. Using descriptive, cultural, historical and comparative methods to perform a linguistic analysis of various expressions and texts, the author seeks to highlight the connection of this plant with the mentality of the Arab peoples. The author is convinced that such a linguistic-cultural approach to the topic will help us move closer to understanding someone else's way of thinking, to developing the ability to quickly find common ground with representatives and natives of a different linguistic consciousness and mentality.

However, before proceeding to a consideration of the essence of the topic at hand – why coffee has become a symbol of the national mentality and character of the Arab peoples – we should, in our opinion, at least briefly touch upon the questions: What is a symbol? What is national mentality? What is national character? Further, how are they related and how do they correlate with the national characteristics of various Arab peoples?

The *Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary* describes a symbol as follows: “A symbol is an idea, image or object that has its own content and at the same time represents some other content in a generalized, non-expanded form”<sup>2</sup>. To become a symbol and part of social and cultural life, an object or phenomenon of the surrounding world must be used for a specific purpose in the knowledge and understanding of the surrounding reality or in the person's activities.

In his work *Essays on Ancient Symbolism and Mythology*, the Russian and Soviet philosopher and researcher of antiquity Alexey Losev, discussing various concepts of ancient symbolism of Western philosophers and writers, German idealists in particular, posited his own vision of the symbol: “... the symbol is the indistinguishable identity of the general and the particular, the ideal and the real, the infinite and the finite” (Losev 1993: 13).

We can thus say that a symbol is a real object or phenomenon of the surrounding world, the natural characteristics of which become an ideal reflection of social phenomenon, personal qualities, and forms of human behaviour in society – that is,

<sup>2</sup> *Filosofskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'* [Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary]. 2009. Moscow: INFRA-M.

it is imbued with “general and infinite other content” while remaining itself. Symbols emerge in the process of the historical development of a society, when clear ideas about the most important values and moral norms that reflect the main interests of this society are being formed. This is what underlies the formation of the national mentality and what is manifested in the national character.

The concept of “*national mentality*” has not yet been given a clear and unambiguous definition. Like the experts, dictionaries give close but not identical formulations. The *New Encyclopedic Dictionary* defined “*mentality*” as a “*way of thinking, a set of mental skills and spiritual attitudes inherent in an individual or social group*”<sup>3</sup>. Foreign dictionaries, for example the French explanatory dictionary *Le Petit Robert de la Langue Française*, describe mentality as “*a set of ideas and images that forms the basis of the way of thinking of a certain social group or individual associated with it*”<sup>4</sup>.

In his work *The National Mentality Phenomenon*, Jusup Balasagyn Kyrgyz National University professor A. A. Aytbayev offers his own definition of the phenomenon: “*National mentality is a form of national self-consciousness that has been conditioned by historical traditions, customs and social relations that corresponds to a certain level of material production and is an indicator of the viability and spiritual development of a nation, a combination of certain virtues and social and emotional qualities aimed at transforming reality*” (Ajtbaev 2022).

However, the definition of the phenomenon of mentality that most closely matches that of the author is the one given by E. A. Anufriev, who writes, “... developing, forming and evolving historically and genetically, mentality is a stable set of socio-psychological, spiritual and moral qualities and traits that are difficult to change, taken in their organic integrity [...] that determine all aspects of the life of a given community and the individuals that make it up” (Anufriev 1999: 450–451).

As for national character, this, according to the author, refers to the emotional and mental side (mental make-up) of the manifestation of national mentality, based, as we mentioned above, on the ideas, interests, feelings, and moral, religious and spiritual values of a particular people.

Vladimir Dal described character as “*a person’s disposition, his moral compass and qualities, the properties of his heart and soul*”<sup>5</sup>. Meanwhile, Russian Academy of Sciences member Dmitry Likhachev did not question the existence of national character, writing, “*National traits cannot be exaggerated or made exceptional. National features are nothing but characteristics that stand out, not qualities that others may lack [...] They become visible only when viewed from the outside and in comparison, and they must thus be understandable for other peoples, they must exist in some kind of arrange-*

<sup>3</sup> *Novy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'* [New Encyclopedic Dictionary]. 2002. Moscow: Bol'shaia Ros. Entsikl.: Ripol Klassik. P. 713.

<sup>4</sup> *Le petit Robert* (Dictionnaire alphabétique & analogique de la langue française). Sec. gén. de la rédaction Alan Rey/Paris: Société Du Nouveau Littre, 1972. P. 1070.

<sup>5</sup> Dal' V.I. (1801-1872). *Tolkovy slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo iazyka* [Tekst]: [v 4-h t.] [Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language]. 8<sup>th</sup> ed. Moscow: Russkiy iaz., 1981–1982. P. 542.

*ment among other peoples*” (Likhachev 1984: 19–20). In other words, evaluating these national traits necessarily involves comparing them with how a representative of a different nation perceives the same phenomena.

The link that exists between national mentality and national character on the one hand and various phenomena and objects of nature, including trees, on the other, is reflected in myths, legends, religious beliefs and folklore, and has been studied in detail by A. N. Afanasiev (Afanas'ev 1982) and B. A. Ryabkov (Rybakov 1987; 2013). Russian historian and social commentator Nikolai Kostomarov (Kostomarov 2019) wrote about the role of trees in the beliefs of the ancient Slavs, while V. V. Usacheva (Usachyova 2008) devoted an entire tome to the spiritual connection between the culture of the Slavs and their existence alongside plant life.

The question of how plants, including trees, became symbols that reflect the national mentality and character of the Arab peoples remains a little-studied area among experts. The author has broached the subject in a number of articles, for example, “The Meaning of Linguistic and Extra-Linguistic Components of Arabic Paremic Units and Speech Turns in the Process of Communication on the Example of “Coffee Traditions” (Kukhareva 2010), “Culture of Agriculture in Arabic Proverbs and Phrases” (Kukhareva 2016), and “Linguistic and Cultural Significance of the Concepts ‘Palm’ and ‘Dates’ in Arabic Proverbs and Sayings” (Kukhareva 2015).

Yet this is an extremely promising and interesting topic. There are numerous Arabic proverbs, sayings and parables about various kinds of trees and their meaning in people’s lives. On the other hand, however, while there are dozens of proverbs about certain symbolic trees, others barely appear at all in folklore.

### **Coffee. The Coffee Tree**

Having chosen the coffee tree as the symbolic tree for our research, we will draw attention to the fact that the tree itself is only depicted on the state flag and emblem of the Republic of Yemen in the form of a branch with berries growing from it. However, in Arabic folklore, including Yemeni folklore, we find passages that refer to a *drink* made from the beans of this tree – i.e. *coffee*. And while coffee trees grow in many countries that have a suitable climate, and some that are far from Yemen, such as Brazil, are far superior in terms of coffee bean production, the history of the cultivation and production of coffee will forever be inextricably linked with this Arab country.

The debate about where the coffee tree came from has not yet been fully resolved, although most researchers believe that Ethiopia is the birthplace of wild coffee. As for the coffee drink, legend has it that a shepherd in the town of Kaffa was the first to notice how his goats became playful and more active after chewing on the leaves of a certain tree. He told his fellow tribesman about what he had observed, and the priest of the local monastery then brewed the leaves and berries of this plant, after which he was

convinced of the invigorating effect of the resulting drink. The priest decided that the concoction would be useful for helping the monks get through long prayers. This story dates back to 850 AD, although there is no direct evidence to suggest it is actually true.

We do not know for sure, but some Arabic sources indicate that coffee trees were grown in Yemen as far back as 1100. Other sources state that the coffee beans were first brought from Ethiopia in the middle of the ninth century according to the Muslim calendar, which would make it the middle of the fifteenth century on the Christian calendar, by a certain Ali bin Omar al Shadhili. This is where the history of the drink on the Arabian Peninsula and in the Middle East begins. It would make sense that coffee first came to Yemen from Ethiopia as both a drink and a crop, since the ties between Ethiopia and South Arabia are known from biblical legends, as well as from Ethiopian and Arabic legends from the time of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon. Moreover, the first Muslims, who were persecuted by their opponents when Islam was in its infancy, found refuge in Christian Ethiopia. And it was primarily the Ethiopians to whom the Prophet Muhammad addressed messages and proposals to convert to Islam.

As for the cultivation of coffee trees in Yemen, the person who is credited with this, according to various sources, is the Sufi Yemeni monk Jamaldin al-Nabhani from Aden, who began growing the plant after returning from a trip to Ethiopia. The ancient city of Mocha was known more than any other for cultivating coffee plantations.

Coffee as a drink first became popular in the highest circles of Yemeni society, and then became a favourite drink of all Yemenis. Peasants started to cultivate the coffee tree in the country's mountainous areas, carefully guarding their monopoly on the coffee bean trade, as well as the secrets of growing the plant. The export of seedlings and fertile coffee beans was strictly prohibited. It was thanks to this that Yemen became the first exporter of coffee beans.

While we are on the subject of coffee the drink, it is worth paying attention to the etymology of this word. In Arabic, coffee is called قَهْوَة [qahwa]. It comes from the verb قَهِيَ [qahiia], which means “to not want, to turn away from something”, for example, from food, “to not have an appetite”. The great Arab poet Abu Nuwas, who lived in the eighth- ninth centuries AD, used the word qahwa in his poems, even rhapsodizing about it. This led to the misconception that Abu Nuwas liked coffee. But the poet died long before people supposedly knew about what exactly was in this drink, in 816 AD. Abu Nuwas was famous for his drinking poems, glorifying feasts and the obligatory companion of these get-togethers – wine. Living in the era of strict Sharia rules established by the Abbasid rulers, Abu Nuwas hid the true hero of many of his works – wine – behind the screen of the euphemism “qahwa”: “a distraction from the food, something that gives pleasure even without it”. It is for this reason that wine was for a long time called “Abu Nuwas coffee”.

But back to Yemen. The people of this country have developed certain rituals for how to make and drink coffee. For example, before drinking coffee, you should wash your hands and rinse your mouth in order to feel the full taste of this magnificent drink. In some other Arab countries, it is customary to drink a glass of water before

coffee, rather than rinsing your mouth. The process of making Yemeni coffee is not very different from the well-known traditional method: the beans are roasted directly in their shells on a baking pan, and then crushed in a mortar with a special beater. The ground coffee is then brewed in a coffee pot (إبريق [ibruk] or دَلَّة [dalla] in Arabic), being brought to the boil twice. This makes the drink thick and gives it a strong flavour. But what gives Yemeni coffee its extraordinary taste is the seasonings used. These may include salt, ginger, cloves, butter and other spices, which are added to the coffee after it has been brewed. But there is one special type of coffee that is believed to be the most delicious in Yemen. It is called *qishr* (from the common Arabic قَشْرَة, قَشْر [qishr, qishra] meaning “skin” or “peel”). It is brewed from the dried pulp of the coffee berry, which makes the drink more of a fruit compote than coffee, although it contains just as much caffeine, if not more, than a cup of traditional coffee<sup>6</sup>.

The coffee drink then made its way from Yemen to Mecca, Syria and Egypt, before spreading throughout the Middle East. It landed in Turkey in the middle of the fifteenth century, and two centuries later, it started its victorious march around the world. In 1645, the people of Venice got their first taste of the drink. In 1650, it appeared in England, and in 1652, a native of Turkey opened London's first ever coffee shop. It is generally accepted that Yemen lost its monopoly on coffee production when enterprising Dutch traders and missionaries stole a few coffee seedlings and took them to Java and Sumatra, which were dependent on Holland at the time. It was from that moment that coffee started to be grown all over the world, climate permitting<sup>7</sup>.

However, we should note that coffee's road to world domination was not always a smooth one. In 1511, a fatwa (a legal ruling on a point of Islamic law) was issued in Mecca condemning coffee and those who drank it, and outlawing the drink, which, according to religious figures, had a similar effect to alcohol on the human body. Coffee lovers protested, however, and other fatwas repealing this order were issued after it was proven that coffee does not adversely affect the mind or senses<sup>8</sup>.

The place where coffee has traditionally been drunk is called قَهْوَة [qahwa] in Arabic, meaning “coffee,” or مَقْهَى [mhan], which means a place where coffee is served, a coffee house. It was usually creative folk, as well as lawyers, teachers, newspaper editors, etc. who got together there. It is no coincidence, for example, that in Egypt, well-known names are associated with these establishments, and with coffee itself. These include the nineteenth century Muslim reformer and politician Al-Afghani, the world-renowned Egyptian novelist and winner of the 1988 Nobel Prize in Literature Naguib Mahfouz, the politician Saad Zaghloul, who served as Prime Minister of Egypt in 1924, and others. What is more, the pride of place that coffee houses occupy in Arab

<sup>6</sup> Chem znamenito proizvodstvo jemenskogo kofe? [What is the Yemeni Way of Making Coffee Famous For?]. URL: <http://cupstea.ru/vidy-kofe/jemenskij.html> (accessed 9.07.2022).

<sup>7</sup> Istoriia kofe. Legendy o proiskhozhdenii kofe [The History of Coffee. Legends about the Origin of Coffee]. URL: [http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istoriya\\_kofe](http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istoriya_kofe) (accessed 9.07.2022).

<sup>8</sup> Al'-kahva fi t-tariih [Coffee in History] (Arab.). URL: <http://hjeen.com/coffee-in-history/> (accessed 28.06.2022).

society is additionally marked by the fact that many of them have proper names: *Kat-kut*, *Alliva*, *Alibaba*, *Cairo*, and so on. It is here where heated debates or discussions of the latest news take place, where punters play backgammon with abandon, or simply watch TV. You can often find musicians playing live at coffee shops, with the regulars joining in, and listen to folk songs. In other words, coffee houses have always been an important element of social life in Arab countries<sup>9</sup>. As such, coffee becomes a symbol of creative inspiration, open social and political dialogue, and the embodiment of the national spirit.

After our short digression into the history of how coffee appeared in and spread throughout Arab and other countries, let us now return to the question of why the coffee tree became a symbol of Yemen, and the coffee drink a symbol of hospitality in almost every single Arab country without exception.

In order to do this, we will investigate how the linguistic and extralinguistic content of Arabic expressions that refer to long-standing traditions associated with the preparation, serving and drinking of coffee interact with and influence each other as elements of the national consciousness and mentality of the Arab people.

Coffee is of great significance to Arabs. It symbolizes hospitality, nobility, generosity, and the true Arab character. The camel milk had once served as such a symbol, but it gradually gave way to coffee. Coffee is served anytime, anywhere. It is offered to guests at parties, and to customers in a shop if they have to wait in a queue.

Earlier in this article, we intimated that coffee has become a kind of symbol of belonging to the intelligentsia, and it is thus no coincidence that many representatives of creative professions in Arab countries have dedicated countless profound lines to the drink. For example, the famous Syrian poet Nizar Qabbani is known to have said, *"When I drink coffee with you, I feel that the first coffee tree was planted especially for us"*. He also authored the lines: *"Coffee is an old grandmother whose good-natured grandchildren come to greet her in the morning and in the evening, and I am her biggest admirer"*<sup>10</sup>. The famous Palestinian poet and public figure Mahmoud Darwish similarly described what he felt when he drank coffee: *"This is why coffee is the only thing that gives you that reflective silence in the early morning, when you lazily sip some water alone, lost in a creative world with only your thoughts and the things around you"*; *"I want (to breathe in) the smell of coffee; I want nothing but the smell of coffee; I want (to smell) the aroma of coffee every day"*; *"words desecrate the first cup of coffee, for she is the virgin of the early morning"*<sup>11</sup>. It is clear from these statements that Arabs put coffee on the same level as a most cherished person, such as a grandmother or loved one. Coffee is an aura that surrounds a person who muses on both their inner world and

<sup>9</sup> Al'-makahi at-tarihija l'-misrija... Sirr s-savrat va saniat s-skafat ash-shaabija [Egyptian Historical Coffee Shops. The Secret of Revolutions and the Workshop of Folk Culture] (Arab.). URL: <http://raseef22.net/article/15195-historical-egyptian-cafes> (accessed 9.07.2022)

<sup>10</sup> Hikam ani l'-kahva va amsal' va akval' ani l'-kahva [Aphorisms, Proverbs and Sayings About Coffee] (Arab.). URL: <https://www.7srey.com//عن-الكهوه-امثال-واقوال-عن-الكهوه> (accessed 25.06.2022).

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

the world around them. Coffee is a fresh start to a new day. Arab people are never in a hurry when they are enjoying a good cup of coffee. All this is closely connected with such moral and behavioural norms of the Arab mentality as “*not breaking family ties*” and deliberateness, which, according to the Arab ideas of dignity and nobility, come *from the Almighty*, in contrast to *fussiness* and *haste*, which come *from Satan*. In folklore, this attitude to coffee found its expression in the proverb: لَوَجْهٌ بَنِيَّضٌ لِّكُنْ سَمْرًا، لَقَهْوَةٌ [‘al-qahwa samra wa lyakin btubayyid l’wadjh] – “Black coffee makes people happy” (literally: “Black coffee turns your face white”) (Lyubani 1999: 610). This expression contains the phrase “to make the face white”, or “to whiten the face”, which means “his/her face lit up; he/she brightened up”. This very much reflects the feelings described by Mahmoud Darwish, who takes great pleasure in breathing in the aroma of coffee, which he drinks while relaxing.

Coffee has become such an important part of the lives of Arab people that they cannot imagine a world without it. According to Nizar Qabbani, most Arabs start and end their day with a cup of coffee. This is reflected in a number of Arabic proverbs اَلْقَهْوَةُ عِمَّةٌ [‘al-qahwa za’ima] – “Coffee is the head of everything” (Lyubani 1999: 610); الْعَصْرُ قَهْوَةٌ تُفَوِّتُ وَلَا مَصْرٌ رَحْلَةً فَوِّتَ [Fawwit rihlyat masr wi la tfawwit l’-asr] – “Better to miss a trip to the capital than a morning cup of coffee”; عَزِيمَةُ الْقَهْوَةِ [‘Al-qahwa ‘azima] – “Coffee is a reason for getting together” (Lyubani 1999: 610). A linguistic analysis of the first proverb tells us that it contains the word *za’im*, which means “leader” or “head”. This could be understood as a morning cup of coffee giving you strength, “leading you”, throughout the day. In the second proverb, a cup of coffee is more important than a trip to the capital city. At the end of the working day, Arabs prefer to take their time over a cup of coffee, rather than rush for a train leaving for the capital. Here, we again see the attitude of Arab people to the rhythm and flow of life: deliberateness and self-respect are virtues. In the third proverb, coffee is denoted by the word *‘azima*, which translates as “intention”, “determination”, or “invitation”. In other words, coffee is a good reason to meet up, have a chat, get to know someone, or just spend quality time with a loved one.

However, it is interesting that, unlike the palm, olive and cedar trees, neither the coffee tree, much less coffee as a drink, is mentioned even once in the Bible or the Quran, or the Hadith, which gives reason to believe that the peoples of the Middle East were not familiar with this plant, at least in the capacity that we know it today, until at least the ninth century AD, when, as legend has it, the tonic properties of the plant were first discovered, or perhaps even later.

The symbolism and significance of coffee formed the basis of traditions and customs that were entrenched in both speech and behaviour.

Such traditions include the obligatory triple serving of coffee to guests. There is a reason for this, and it is deeply symbolic. Coffee is an expensive product even today. And it was even more expensive in the past. It took a great deal of money and effort to cultivate, pick and transport the crop in ancient times. So, offering strong

black coffee to guests is a way to show respect for and deference to them. In ancient times, the serving of coffee carried a deep meaning, which is expressed in the proverb: *الْأَوَّلُ لِلْفَنَاجَانِ، وَالثَّانِي لِلضَّيْفِ، وَالثَّلَاثُ لِلْكَيْفِ* [Al'-finjan al'-awwal li-d-d eyf wa-s-sani li-l'-keyf wa-s-salis li-s-seyf] – “*The first cup of coffee is for the guest. The second is for pleasure, and the third is for the sword*”. It contains words that the Bedouins associated with each serving of coffee: “*For guests*” (li-d-d eyf); “*For pleasure*” (li-l'-keyf); and “*For the sword*” (li-s-seyf). The ceremony had its own unspoken, but extremely strict and symbolic rules that continue to this day. Refusing the first cup of coffee is seen as an insult to the host. It means that the guest is an enemy, someone who has not come with peaceful intentions<sup>12</sup>. This interpretation of the *first* cup of coffee is consistent with the ancient perception of coffee as a symbol of confrontation and victory over the enemy, considering the high cost and significance of the drink. There was a tradition in Bedouin society whereby the leaders of warring tribes would ask their warriors before battle: *فَنَجَانُهُ يَشْرَبُ مَنْ فَنَاجَانِ فُلَانٍ؟* [Man yashrabu finjana fulanin] – “*Who will drink the coffee of ...?*” And the name of one of the tribe's most famous and powerful opponents would be used as the final word. Then, the warrior who would take this duty upon himself would say: *أَنَا أَشْرَبُ* [Ana 'ashrabu finjanahu] – “*I will drink his coffee*”. The symbolism of this custom lies in the fact that victory or defeat for the warrior who took this oath meant victory or defeat, and thus shame, not only for himself, but also for his entire family or tribe<sup>13</sup>. And honour, whether personal or tribal/familial – its preservation and protection – is one of the enduring values of Arab, and especially Bedouin, society. It is not without reason that they have the proverb:

*أَلْتَارَ وَلَا الْعَارَ* [An-nar wa la l'-aar]. – “*Better to burn in the fire than live in shame*”<sup>14</sup>.

In addition, it is customary to take, but not drink, the first cup immediately if the guest has come to host with a request or on business. The most common reason is to arrange a marriage. The guest, typically representing the groom, put the cup of coffee down and wait for the host to give an answer. The words *إِشْرَبُوا قَهْوَتَكُمْ حَيَّاكُمْ اللَّهُ* [Ishrabw qahwatakum hayyakum Alla] – “*Drink the coffee. May God bless you with a long life*” symbolize agreement to the proposal. The guest then drinks the coffee, after which the ritual continues as usual. Such customs are common in Jordan and parts of Syria (Egyptian. 2022).

Before moving onto a discussion of the symbolism behind the second and third cups of coffee, we should note that there was a fourth cup in the United Arab Emirates, *لِلْهَيْبِ* [li-l'-heyf] – “*for the torrid wind*”, which was not offered to guests. This was the *very first* cup, drank by the owner, to reassure guests that the coffee had not been poisoned.

<sup>12</sup> Asma fanadzhili l'-kahva ind al'-arab [Names of Arab Coffee Cups] (Arab.) URL: ratti-bha.com/thread/1276121159071944704 (accessed 8.07.2022)

<sup>13</sup> Al'-kahva fi s-skafa l'-arabiya va sh-shaabija [Coffee in Arabic and Popular Culture] (Arab.). URL: www.folkculturebh.org/ar/index.php?issue=11&page=article&id=71 (accessed 10.07.2022)

<sup>14</sup> Kudryavtsev Y. N. 1987. *Uchebnoe posobie po alzhirskomu dialektu* [Textbook on the Algerian dialect]. Moscow: MGIMO. P. 138.

The word *heyf* comes from the verb هَافَ [hafa], which means “to escape, to run away”. The symbolic meaning of this cup of coffee was evidently that, drinking it, the host sought to “avoid” the shame, as it were, that would inevitably haunt not only him, but his entire family, if something happened to the guest during his visit to him. A preserving one’s honour, as we noted above, is one of the pillars of the Arab mentality, a moral principle. Today, this cup is drunk by the host to ensure the quality of the coffee being served (Proverbs..2022).

The second cup of coffee is offered as a way to maintain communication, for a pleasant conversation – that is, “for pleasure” (li-l’-keyf). Here, the guest can refuse the cup of coffee without offending the host. This cup is truly for symbolic reasons only, an established tradition that does not carry any deeper meaning.

The *third* cup of coffee, however, “for the sword”, is imbued with deep meaning and symbolizes a close – almost blood – union between the host and guest. This is typically the strongest coffee, especially among the Bedouins. Drinking this coffee symbolizes the guest entering into an alliance of sorts with the host, whereby he agrees to be his ally both in peacetime and in war. This cup can be refused, however. Drinking “for the sword” meant that the guest and the host now had the same enemies and the same friends – even if the guest had relatives who were among the enemies– while his former enemies would become his friends. Of course, in modern Arab society, the third serving of coffee is no longer considered a symbol of the conclusion of a pact with binding obligations. It is a way to honour tradition that continues to this day. At the same time, we should note that serving coffee three times is a mandatory minimum, and more cups can be offered, although this typically happens when in the company of family and close friends (Egyptian..2022).

Arabs usually serve a good cup of strong black coffee to guests: مُرَّة [murra] – *bitter*, or سَادَة [sada] – simple (without sugar). *Murra* coffee is the privilege of men only, as the Arabic proverb says: وَالْحَلْوَةُ لِلْسِتَاتِ وَالسَّادَاتُ لِلْسَّادَاتِ [‘As-sada li-s-sadat wa l’-hil’wa li-ssitat] – “*Black (coffee) for men, and sweet coffee for women*”<sup>15</sup>. This tradition is confirmed by the words of the Syrian writer and poet Nadir az-Zaabi, addressed to his beloved: “I implore you to not appear in my thoughts when I drink coffee, as I still love (to drink) it without sugar”<sup>16</sup>.

Serving *hilva* coffee (sweet, with sugar) among a group of men can be seen as a refusal to offer the guest coffee at all, or a manifestation of miserliness or disrespect towards a person, or a sign that the host was not raised properly. Only a person who does not respect tradition might say: لَاشْ بِالْمُرَّةِ قَهْوَةٌ جَلْوَةٌ وَلَا مُرَّةٌ وَلَا [Qahwi hilwa wila murra willa balash bil’marra] – “*If the coffee is weak, then what is the point?*” (Lyubani 1999:

<sup>15</sup> Chem znamenito proizvodstvo jemenskogo kofe? [What is the Yemeni Way of Making Coffee Famous For?]. URL: <http://cupstea.ru/vidy-kofe/jemenskij.html> (accessed 9.07.2022)

<sup>16</sup> Minha findzhal' l’-hejf va l’-kejf... Al’-kahva l’-arabija tahullu kadaja l’-madzhalis raiifija bi-Sina [The Cup of Avoidance and Pleasure. Arabic Coffee Solves Problems During Meetings in Sinai] (Arab.). URL: [www.elbalad.news/5224298](http://www.elbalad.news/5224298) (accessed 9.06.2022)

610). Why does the proverb symbolize miserliness and impoliteness? To begin with, as we have already said, coffee is not cheap. Offering black coffee (no milk or sugar) shows a respectful attitude towards the guest, as if to say that he has spared no expense welcoming him into his home. Conversely, offering coffee with milk and sugar shows that the host is somewhat dismissive of the visitor. Second, we explained that coffee with sugar is typically offered to women only. That is, a cup of weak, sweetened coffee can be seen as disrespectful and even an insult. However, Arabs do not tend to behave this way, as miserliness towards and neglect of guests are among the most deplorable human traits.

The Arab people believe that the only way to make a good-quality cup of coffee is to follow the traditional rules. Everything must be done by hand using time-honoured tools for roasting, grinding and brewing the drink. No matter how wealthy the household, the woman of the house must always have three necessary items for making coffee, which have retained their appearance, purpose and names for many centuries: a *pan* for roasting the coffee beans (مَحْمَصَة [mihmasa]); a *mortar* (طاحونة [tahwna]) and *mallet* (مِدْقَة [midaqqa]) for grinding them; and special *pot* for brewing the coffee (إبريق [ibruq] or دَلَّة [dallya]). Not for nothing do the Arabs have the proverb:

كَيْفَ الْقَهْوَةُ حَمَاصُهَا لَطِيفٌ وَدَقَاقُهَا خَفِيفٌ، وَشَرَابُهَا  
[Al'-qahwa hamasha latif, daqaqha hafif  
wa sharabha qeyif] – “*Good coffee is well-roasted, finely ground and drunk with pleasure*” (Lyubani 1999: 609). These days, of course, the pace of life means that people use modern coffee grinders and coffee machines, as well as pre-roasted beans.

Many proverbs and sayings about coffee reflect the different ways in which the drink can be prepared, and even the attitude of different social groups towards each other. For example, city dwellers look down their noses at how the Bedouins make their coffee, sardonically describing their method: الْقَهْوَةُ الْمُرَّةُ بِهَارِهَا نَارُهَا [Al'-qahwa l'murra bharha narha] – “*(For Bedouins) the strength of coffee depends on the flame*” (Lyubani 1999: 610). This is a reference to the fact that, as far as the Bedouin people are concerned, the longer that coffee is boiled over an open flame, the richer and stronger it becomes. However, most coffee lovers in Arab countries prefer a different approach: بِالرَّمِيشِ وَالنَّارِ بِالْحَرْفِيشِ الْقَهْوَةُ [Al'-qahwa bi-r-rmish wa-n-nar bi-l'harfish] – “*Ash for coffee, shavings for fire*” (Lyubani 1999: 609). That is, coffee should be prepared by placing a coffee pot or cezve on smoldering coals, rather than on an open flame, which gives too much heat.

In other words, the quality of the drink depends on the correctness of its preparation – from the choice of beans to the method of brewing. There is a saying in the United Arab Emirates that goes: الْقَهْوَةُ بِنْتُ حُمُّسَاتِهَا [Al'-qahwa bint hummusatiha] – “*Coffee (the drink) is the child of its grain*”<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Al'-kahva l'-imaratija. Mazak al'-karam va s-samr [Coffee in the Emirates. The Taste of Generosity and CONVERSATION]. URL: <https://www.alkhaleej.ae/> “مذاق-الكرم-والسمر/ملحق” (accessed 15.05.2022).

Coffee serving traditions have not changed over the centuries, no matter whether you live in the city, a village, or the desert. As a rule, the guest of honour sits to the right of the host. The process of serving the coffee follows clear and strict rules: first to the guest on the right side, and then going around left. Sometimes coffee is offered to the guest of honour straight away, wherever he is sitting, although the coffee is always served from right to left. Thus, in order not to violate this rule, and in order to ensure that everyone is served, the coffee is brought out by several people. When serving coffee, the cup is **always** held in the *right hand*. The guest similarly takes the cup with his or her *right hand*. Why such a rule?

In Arabic culture – and Islamic culture in general – the right side is the privileged side. It is considered *pure*. Arabs eat using their right hand, drink using their right hand, dress right arm and leg first, and the Prophet Muhammad recommended entering rooms right foot first. The left side is seen as *impure*. Muslims believe that Satan is left-handed, and that all unclean activities (undressing, blowing one's nose, washing up after going to the toilet, exiting a room) should also be done with the left hand or from the left-hand side. Interestingly, the word يَمِين [yamin] – *right*, comes from the verb يَمُن [yamuna], which means “*to be happy, blessed*”. This is also the origin of the name of the country Yemen, which the Romans called Arabia Felix – “Happy, or fertile Arabia”. The verb يَمُن [yammana] means “*to go right*”. The meaning may also come from the fact that if you stand facing the east, looking at the countries of the Arab Mashriq, then, in order to get to Yemen, you need to go right, that is, south. The word يَمِين [yamin] can also mean an *oath* or vow. In the past, Arabs would grasp their partner's right hand when concluding a business deal. This understanding of the significant of the right-hand side is expressed in the proverb: [Al'-qahwa 'ani l'-yamin wa law ' Abu Zeyd 'ala sh-shimal'] – “*Coffee with the right hand, even if Abu Zayd<sup>18</sup> is to the left*” (Lyubani 1999: 610). “Left” and “right” have similar connotations in the Russian tradition. For example, when someone is in a bad mood, a Russian might say “*He got out of bed left leg first*”. Any unseemly act can also be described using the word “left”: “*He went to the left*” (meaning he cheated on his wife); “*Drive the left*” (when talking about someone engaging in illegal activities), etc.

Not all the coffee traditions of Arab people are connected with how to prepare, serve and drink coffee. They are also connected with the activities one engages in whilst enjoying the drink. For example, in Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, people typically smoke when they drink coffee. More often than not, they smoke hookah, or الشيشة [shusha] in Arabic. This passion for smoking is reflected in Arab proverbs: صُبْيَانُ قَهْوَةٍ بِلَا دُحَانٍ مِثْلُ الْبَيْتِ بِلَا [Qahwa bila duhan misl' l'-beyt bi-la sibyaan] – “*Coffee without smoking is like a home without children*” or دُحَانُ بِلَا قَهْوَةٍ كَرَاعِي بِلَا فَرْوَةٍ [Suhan bila qahwa

<sup>18</sup> Abu Zayd Hilali is the hero of the epic of the Banu Hilal tribe, which moved to North Africa, finding a new home in the Maghreb. According to legend, Abu Zayd was a brave, generous and benevolent man. He was received warmly everywhere he went and treated as an honoured guest.

ka-ra'ii bi-la farwa] – “Smoking without coffee is like a shepherd without fur” (Lyubani 1999: 609). However, this tradition of drinking coffee and smoking is not observed everywhere. For example, in the Persian Gulf and Yemen, guests are typically offered dates instead of hookah to sweeten strong coffee. Yemenis drink *qahwa murra* (bitter coffee), for instance, with a date in their mouth. If the guest asks for some water to counter the bitter taste, then this will be seen as an insult to the host, a sign that his guest did not enjoy the offering. Water is typically served and drunk before coffee. This way, the guest can quench their thirst, and the water weakens the bitter taste of the coffee, making it more enjoyable, as we mentioned above.

The comparative analysis of the material presented here allows us to draw some conclusions:

- The coffee tree, unknown to the ancient Arabs of the pre-Islamic period until almost the fifteenth century AD, has become a symbol of Yemen, taking pride of place on the state flag and emblem of the Republic of Yemen in the form of a branch with berries growing from it. Yemen has become known as the birthplace of coffee as an agricultural crop, where humans first began to cultivate it, and as the place where it was first brewed as a drink – a drink that would go on to conquer the world, without which people could not imagine their lives, not only in Arab countries, but around the world.

- Coffee has become a symbol for Arabs in Yemen and other countries of the Middle East and North Africa of hospitality, generosity and benevolence, a way to establish and maintain relationships, and an excuse to have a good chat, which is reflected in numerous proverbs and sayings, as well as in quotes by famous people. However, neither the coffee tree itself, nor the process and methods of its cultivation are reflected in folklore.

- Proverbs and sayings about coffee usually span the entire Arabic world, although sometimes they have a regional colouring (for example, in Egypt or the Persian Gulf countries). However, most proverbs and sayings about coffee are found in Palestine and Syria.

- The main traditions associated with the preparation of coffee, from the selection and preparation of the beans to the brewing of the drink, serving it to guests, and the tools used for this, are present in all Arab countries. The most popular type of coffee drink in the Arab East is strong black, although each country has its own local variety (for example, *qishr* in Yemen), which gives coffee a national “flavour.” National character is manifested in the preferences that Arabs have when drinking coffee, such as smoking or eating dates.

\* \* \*

As a conclusion, I would like to say once again that people, as a part of nature, seek to find support in it in order to help them make sense of the surrounding reality, their ideas about moral standards, personal qualities, traditions and customs. And such support is often found in those objects of nature with which we constantly inter-

act, or which become an important attribute of their daily life, a symbol of the main features of the national character and national mentality. Such a creation of nature and a national symbol appears in the minds of the Arab peoples – the coffee tree and its progeny – coffee.

#### **About the Author:**

**Elena Kukhareva** – Ph.D. (Philology) is Docent, Associate Professor in the Department of Languages of the Near and Middle East at MGIMO University under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. Her research interests include teaching Arabic, Arabic folklore, and linguoculturology.  
E-mail: elena\_koukhareva@mail.ru

#### **Conflicts of interest.**

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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# The Splendour and Misery of the Anthropological Crisis: a Myth of Contemporary Russian Philosophy<sup>1</sup>

Anton O. Zakharov

Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences  
Moscow State University of Psychology and Education

**Abstract.** The concept of the anthropological crisis is very popular in contemporary Russian humanities: the Russian Scientific Electronic Library (Elibrary.ru) includes more than 10,000 publications with the keyword “anthropological crisis”. On the contrary, Google gives links to Russian publications only when searching “anthropological crisis”. This keyword has no reference in the famous online book catalogue Worldcat.org. Nowadays, English-speaking scientific communities still explore the crisis in anthropology as a discipline. The difference between the anthropological crisis and the crisis in anthropology seems essential. The crisis of a scientific discipline is not a crisis of human nature. Modern Russian scholars, including the late Vyacheslav Stepin, find many features of the anthropological crisis in the successes of genetic engineering and modern medicine, as well as in the growing psychological pressures that people face. Russian-language scholars find traits of the anthropological crisis in many fields, including studies of memory, bioethics, pedagogics, literature, and economics. Others, such as Vyacheslav Stepin and Boris Pruzhinin, point to the loss of a sense of meaning in life as a sign of the anthropological crisis. The problems of self-identity are also marked by Russian authors as a mark of that crisis. Sergey Averintsev felt that human beings lack human nature. Pruzhinin supposes humans cannot predict the consequences of genetic engineering for their nature as a species. But all these trends have nothing in common with the anthropological crisis. Genetic engineering helps to improve human health and self-realization. Certainly, we cannot envision all the possible consequences, but this is true of any scientific discovery or breakthrough. Cyborgs are an inevitable step towards healthier and smarter humans. Existential problems are universal since all humans are endowed with self-consciousness. Self-identities have been in constant flux since the birth of complex societies, especially since the industrial revolution strengthened alienation. The growth and volume of information flows are not threats to humans, as there is no need to memorize all the data in the world, and there are multiple network and personal filters which block garbage. The anthropological crisis seems a myth in contemporary Russian-language humanities in general and philosophy in particular.

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**Keywords:** mythology, science, anthropological crisis, contemporaneity, Russian philosophy, industrial society, technocratic civilization

In the third issue of the *Problems of Philosophy* journal in 2022, leading Russian and Belarusian researchers once again turned to the issue of the anthropological crisis (Kolyadko 2022; Prizhunin 2022; Sabancheev 2022; Teryokhin 2022), ever popular among the Russian-speaking scientific community: the Russian Science Citation Index lists a total of 10,435 publications relating to the search words “anthropological crisis” as of July 4, 2022. The words “anthropological crisis” appear in the titles of dissertations too<sup>2</sup>. However, typing “anthropological crisis” into a Google search only provides links to articles written in Russian. The largest library category in the world (Worldcat.org) has never heard of this crisis either. We can thus assume that the anthropological crisis is primarily (and perhaps exclusively) a Russian phenomenon, a scientific myth of sorts, a convenient label for reasoning on any topic – from memory (Sabancheev 2022) and bioethics (Kamalieva 2018) to pedagogy (Rybakov, Stepanov 2021), literature (Krokina 2020) and economics (Lomako 2019).

Features of the anthropological crisis, according to Vyacheslav Styopin, a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, include the “danger of changing the human gene pool”, “the increasing pressure of stress loads on the individual”, and “modern trends towards redesigning the biological basis of human beings” (Styopin 2011: 95–96). But can all these phenomena really be considered signs of a crisis? And what is this crisis anyway? A fracture? A revolution in human nature? And do we really need to worry so much over an extremely biologically flawed creature who is susceptible to disease and panic, as the COVID-19 pandemic proved (Sokolova 2021)? The change in the gene pool has been taking place for thousands of years and is a natural process, although modern genetic engineering will be able to radically change the very nature of human beings in the near future. Modern medicine has radically changed the demographic structure of society, almost eliminating infant mortality completely and eradicating many diseases that led to epidemics in the past. Styopin’s fears about the “post-human” are understandable, but if we look at how people behave today, it would seem that the transition to a machine type of existence – the transition to the “Matrix” so aptly expressed in the film of the same name – is already taking place: just look at how attached people are to their smartphones, virtual networks, and the plethora of voice assistants like “OK, Google” and Siri. Even now, people spend most of their time on “machines” (I am typing these very lines, rather than writing them on paper). The technogenic

<sup>2</sup> Shlyapnikova M. N. Environmental Consciousness in the Context of the Anthropological Crisis. Ph.D. diss. (09.00.11). Volgograd, 1997; Silnova E.I. The Philosophy of Education: Looking for a Way Out of the Anthropological Crisis. Ph.D. diss. (09.00.11). Saratov, 2002; Prokhovnik O.A. The Cultural and Anthropological Crisis and New Educational Tasks in the Post-modern Era. Ph.D. diss. (09.00.13). Rostov-on-Don, 2006.

civilization that has led to the supposed anthropological crisis has in fact provided us with unprecedented access to information, the fantastic possibilities of machine learning, and a never-before-seen level of comfort and security in general.

The fears of the editor-in-chief of *Problems of Philosophy* Boris Pruzhinin (Pruzhinin 2022: 1986) about the threat to the “human in man”, first voiced by Sergei Averintsev, and the inability of society and the individual to foresee the possible consequences of changing the nature of human beings through genetic engineering are not as justified as they may appear at first glance. First of all, human beings are now merged with machines through intermediary tools – smartphones, computers, headphones, 3D glasses, and so on. The next stage is *cyborgification* – that is, placing some of these tools inside the human body, for example, in the form of microchips. The biological author of these lines has long been living with contact lenses and an artificial tendon in his arm, and I have no doubt that if we had the ability to “download” languages to our brains, this would be a very welcome development, if only because it would save us from having to memorize lists of words and phrases, not to mention foreign writing systems. *Cyborgification* could very well be followed by the complete transformation on man into machine. This is not a crisis, however. It is going beyond the limits of the human body, which needs to sleep, rest and eat – and there are not enough resources to feed everyone. It is clear that many people are conservative, and this kind of reasoning scares them. However, there is simply no alternative to *cyborgification*, and anyone who is prepared to improve their body by radically transforming their biological nature will receive enormous benefits in return: improved vision, increased endurance, a better memory, enhanced knowledge... Just look at wheelchair users, for example, who can easily overtake ordinary runners, as it is an objective fact that the wheel is faster than the legs. Those who call for preserving the traditional biological species and the human gene pool will simply lose out to the people-machines.

All the achievements of genetic engineering, as well as the development of a technogenic civilization in general, are the result of scientific research. In this sense, science has been the main productive force of society since at least the dawn of the scientific and technological revolution. Therefore, discussions about the crisis of scientific rationality, the refusal to recognize scientific knowledge as the dominant and fundamental means of a rational understanding of the world, turn out to be nothing more than an attempt to confuse the reader. The fact is that there is no serious alternative to scientific knowledge, because scientific knowledge is what provides the eight billion people living on this planet with food, the ability to communicate instantaneous with anyone anywhere, medicines, and knowledge about the processes that take place on Earth and beyond. The call to abandon science in favour of a different picture of the world, typically a religious understanding of it, essentially represents a return to caves.

The psychological problems of self-identification in a constantly changing world are not a harbinger of a special kind of crisis: existential problems have occupied people's thoughts throughout history. Just look at Gilgamesh's search for immortality, Shakespeare's immortal lines “to be or not to be”, Dostoevsky's “whether I am a trem-

bling creature or whether I have the right...” and the philosophy of Sartre and Camus. The breakneck speed at which changes take place in society is typically interpreted as a problem adapting to it. But this is not really the case: in the context of the almost complete disappearance of the biological factors of natural selection, people have started to become hypersensitive to the most significant changes in their situation. Hence all the talk about hurt feelings and the growing intolerance of opinions that do not align with one’s own, as they take them out of their “safe space” – the main value in modern society.

The increasing amount and speed of information flows, as an objective factor, does not mean an anthropological crisis (Boronoeva 2013; Zhelin 2015; Eriksen 2003). We know how to manage information flows effectively today. For example, we can change the settings on our favourite websites, particularly YouTube and Facebook (which is banned in Russia)<sup>3</sup>, so that we only get information that is necessary or interesting to us in our feeds. And Russian and international citation databases such as the Web of Science, Scopus and the Russian Science Citation Index allow us to search for the information we need using keywords. It is highly unlikely that the speed of information flow could pose a threat to human nature, especially if we see human nature as a creative transformational activity (and the playful nature of humans, as Johan Huizinga noted, only benefits from having a wide variety of games to play). Objections such as the inability to cope with the sheer volume of information are untenable at best due to the fact that no single person has ever been in possession of all the information available in a given era since the beginning of the social division of labour. And this is even truer in today’s industrial society. We use (super) computers to process large amounts of data. So, the information-based anthropological crisis is nothing more than a myth.

The attempt to connect the anthropological crisis with the “production of risks” in Ulrich Beck’s “risk society” and reduce it (the crisis) to the “disintegration of being” looks like mythmaking too, only on the part of science (Lomako 2019: 72; Beck 2015; 2016). First of all, being, by definition, cannot be broken: being is what it is. Second, economic risks have always existed – suffice it to recall the threat of famine in primitive and agrarian societies, or the crises of overproduction in the nineteenth century capitalist societies. There is no point singling out the production of risks as a special stage of social development after the industrial and post-industrial (which is, in fact industrial too, as all three sectors of production, including agriculture and the services sector, become industrial) stages, since it happens in violation of the rule of a single criterion for any classification.

The idea that the anthropological crisis is “reflected in the feeling that life has lost its meaning, a sense of harmony with nature, vague notions about one’s place in society, the world and the universe as a whole” (Zvonok 2021: 6; King 2021; Sugrobova, Karpova, Dorofei 2020) is equally spurious. Ecclesiastes spoke about how life had lost

<sup>3</sup> Facebook is banned in the Russian Federation.

its meaning, as did the ancient Greek and Chinese philosophers. Evidently, just about everyone at one time or another has wrestled with thoughts about their place in society, the world and the universe as a whole: Does the fact that we know the universe is infinite prevent an individual from seeing himself as its centre, especially if immense power is concentrated in his hands? Did peasants see themselves as part of the “peasant” class? Does the objective position of the proletariat, now hidden under the name “precariat”, change when individual representatives see themselves as part of the middle class? If the uncertainty about one’s place in the world and ideas about life losing all meaning are signs of an anthropological crisis, then we must be living in this crisis all the time, which would mean that we cannot learn anything about the specific features of this phenomenon. More than that, it turns out to be banal ignorance and stupidity the moment we cannot find something meaningful to fill our time.

Arguments about the crisis of culture in general<sup>4</sup>, and the unfolding of the anthropological crisis as a lag in the spiritual and moral development of humankind behind scientific and technological progress<sup>5</sup> noted by science fiction writers such as Stanisław Lem in *His Master’s Voice*, are built on excessively vague and ambiguous grounds. First of all, it is impossible to determine what precisely constitutes spiritual and moral development. A good moral character is fine as a concept, but what does it actually mean in practice? Not committing crimes out of fear and/or conviction? Saving the life of every single person is afforded the highest value today. However, the only thing that comes close to achieving this is modern medicine, which is responsible for eliminating the terrifyingly high child and female mortality rates of previous centuries. But it is the done thing these days to criticize modern civilization for its lack of spirituality. But the fact is that it is the most humane and spiritual that has ever existed. There are many grounds for us to make this conclusion. For example, information is now available to far more people than it was in the days when it was simply inaccessible for large strata of society. Freedom of conscience allows a variety of worldviews to coexist, which is in sharp contrast to the inequality of non-state religions in traditional societies, and even modern states that have an official religion.

Thus, the anthropological crisis would seem to be a fictitious, far-fetched concept that does not reflect the key features of modernity, and instead confuses its understanding. Science, like any other sphere of life, is not free from mythmaking, and the anthropological crisis is one of the myths of the Russian-language humanitarian discourse.

<sup>4</sup> For an overview of these concepts, see: Aleksina T. A. 2011. *The Anthropological Crisis and Environmental Ethics: Study Guide*. Moscow: Peoples’ Friendship University of Russia.; as well as a number of other works (Sugrobova, Karpova, Dorofei 2020).

<sup>5</sup> Inozemtsev V. L. 2000. *The Modern Post-Industrial Society: Nature, Contradictions, Prospects. Study Guide for Economics Students*. Moscow: Logos.

### About the Author:

**Anton O. Zakharov** – Doctor of History, Lead Research Fellow (Southeast Asia, Australia and Pacific), Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 12 Rozhdestvenka str., Moscow, Russia, 107031; Professor at the Department of Philosophy and the Humanities, Moscow State University of Psychology and Education, 29 Sretenka str., Moscow, Russia, 127051. E-mail: Zakharov\_anton@mail.ru

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The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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# Synonymy of Art History Terms: Synonyms, Variants or Competitors for a Place in the System<sup>1</sup>

Svetlana V. Ivanova\*, Polina E. Dovgopiat\*\*

\* Pushkin Leningrad State University

\*\* St. Petersburg University of Management Technologies and Economics

**Abstract.** The relevance of this study lies in its exploration of the problem of the development of the semantics of the term using the example of synonymy in the framework of the modern terminology of art history. The article is focused on three synonymous units: *astronomical art*, *cosmic art*, and *space art*. These lexical units arouse interest as, on the one hand, they claim the status of art history terms, and on the other hand, they are synonymous with each other, which contradicts the requirements for the term system. Revealing the features of the semantics and functioning of these units, and thus tracking the semantic processes that accompany their becoming terms, the authors aim to establish the features of synonymous lexical units in the phase of their formation as terms. The study was carried out according to the case study method, using techniques of definitional analysis, componential analysis, semasiological analysis and contextual analysis, as well as elements of chain and corpus analysis. The research material consists of specialized thematic dictionaries of art history terminology, as well as articles on art history. The concepts under consideration represent an interesting case of the formation of a term and the assignment of an appropriate semantic volume to it. Despite the fact that, initially, *astronomical art*, *cosmic art*, and *space art* entered professional communication as synonyms, they are already breaking out of the scope of synonymy, as evidenced by their functioning in special texts: the concept of *cosmic art* is wider in meaning than *space art*, while, according to some sources, *astronomical art* and *space art* are in a hyper-hyponymic relationship.

**Keywords:** term, terminology, art history terminological system, variability, synonymy, terminological status

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<sup>1</sup> English translation from the Russian text: Ivanova S.V., Dovgopiat P.E. 2023. Synonymy of Art History Terms: Synonyms, Variants or Competitors for a Place in the System. *Professional Discourse & Communication*. 5(1). P. 95–114. (In Russian). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24833/2687-0126-2023-5-1-95-114>

The significance of this work consists in the study of the semantic processes and trends that accompany the method of assigning terms to or naming lexical units. This is a wide-ranging problem within which it is also worth addressing the issue of the development of synonymy as a semantic phenomenon that is undesirable for the scientific terminological system. This study focuses on the terminology of art history. The case we are looking at consists of three correlating lexical units: *astronomical art*, *cosmic art* and *space art*, which lay claim to the status of terms used in art history. Solving problems that aim to identify the semantics and features of the functioning of the lexical units *astronomical art*, *cosmic art* and *space art* in art history texts, as well as to determine the degree to which these concepts correspond to their terminological status, will allow us to determine their place in the system of art history. The purpose of this is to establish the features of the existence of synonymous units within the terminological system in the process of assigning terms to or naming them.

The concept of the word “term” has been the focus of attention of terminologists for some time now (Vinokur 1939; Golovin 1987; Kobrin 1981; Leichik 2001; Leychik 2006; Lotte 1931; Superanskaya, Podolskaya, Vasilyeva 1985 and others), and not without good reason. Despite the current lack of a single generally accepted definition of this concept, most researchers limit the scope of its functioning to the scientific or professional sphere – that is, it is a language used for special purposes. At the same time, the absence of synonyms is listed among the basic criteria of terminology formulated by Dmitri Lotte and Sergey Grinev-Grinevich, which allows us to separate terms from non-terms (Grinev-Grinevich 2008; Lotte 1931). The relevance of the criterion “absence of synonyms” is down to the fact that the main function of a “term” is to serve as an accurate designation of a scientific concept.

However, looking at dictionaries of art history terminology points to a process that is in conflict with the above criterion (Ivanova, Gapienko 2021). We are referring to the synonymy that is quite evidently presented in it, as evidenced by the data contained in explanatory dictionaries. In the course of this study, a hypothesis was put forward that attempts to explain this state of affairs: the spontaneous emergence of neologisms based on the rapidly developing scientific language of art criticism leads to the formation of terminological units that have a common denotation. However, as they are adopted into the language, the terms become conceptually delimited in terms of their semantic meanings. At the same time, these changes are not reflected fast enough in explanatory dictionaries, as they cannot keep pace with the changes taking place in the language. However, contextual usage indicates a tendency to delineate the semantics of terminological units that were originally synonymous.

## Research methods and materials

Along with general scientific methods (observation of linguistic material, analysis, synthesis, comparison and correlation), we also employed relevant linguistic methods to solve the tasks at hand: definitional, semasiological, component and contextual analysis; as well as elements of chain and corpus analysis. Component analysis was used to establish a list of semes that describe the semantic structure of the lexical units *astronomical art*, *cosmic art* and *space art*. Definitional, semasiological and chain analysis allowed us to determine the semantic volumes of the lexical units under consideration, confirm or refute their synonymy, and delimit the scope of their application in special-purpose language. Corpus analysis helped us quantify the frequency with which the terms *astronomical art*, *cosmic art* and *space art* are used and identify the features of their use. The specificity of the functioning of these lexical units in special-purpose language was determined within the framework of contextual analysis. The present work is effectively a case study, since the case method allows you to analyse the entire situation in detail as a real communicative phenomenon in a natural environment (Leontovich 2011: 42–45).

For this study, we used a specialized dictionary of English art terminology, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms*, as well as modern explanatory dictionaries of the English language and articles on the concepts considered in this paper.

## Conceptual foundation of the study

As we know, the negative impact of synonymy in the field of terminology boils down to the return of a lexical unit to its pre-terminological status, which prevents it from being fixed in the terminological system of a given scientific discipline, violating the orderliness of its conceptual apparatus, since terminological synonymy contradicts the statement “one concept – one term” (Taranova, Bubyreva, Taranov 2012: 56). At the same time, the specific features of the content of the very concept of the word “term” and its difference from “non-terms” still gives rise to disputes within the expert community. It should be noted here that most experts in Russian terminology limit the scope of functioning of the word “term” to a certain scientific or professional field of knowledge. For example, Vladimir Leichik insists that the term “... is a lexical unit of a given language for special purposes, denoting a general – concrete or abstract – concept of the theory of a certain special field of knowledge or activity” (Leichik 2006: 96).

Elena Golovanova also defines the term as an integral part of specialized knowledge, a manifestation of professional thinking, and an element of professional communication: “the term implements the mechanisms of cognition of a special field of knowledge or activity, it represents the structures of special knowledge, which serve as a starting point in understanding the professional space and contribute to the optimal organization of expert activities” (Golovanova 2008: 51–52). “As a logical-linguistic

category, terms are an integral part of professional communication at any stage of its development” (Ibid: 52). Accordingly, the existence of professional knowledge as such is inconceivable without terms (Golovanova 2011).

As quanta of professional knowledge, terms must meet certain criteria. For example, defining terms as “special words limited to their special purpose; words that tend to be unambiguous, acting as an exact expression of concepts and a way to name things”, Alexander Reformatskiy emphasizes the need to comply with such semantic properties of the term as exactness and unambiguity (Reformatskiy 1967: 110). Additionally, they must satisfy such requirements as limited scope of use and systematic formation (Reformatskiy 1986: 165–166). At the same time, Dmitri Lotte highlights the correlation with the scientific discipline at hand, consistency, stylistic neutrality, contextual independence, the existence of a word-building function, the lack of synonyms, and brevity as essential properties of the term (Lotte 1931). Sergey Grinev-Grinevich’s list of requirements for the meaning of the term largely repeats that of Lotte, with some additions: unambiguity, meaningfulness, the lack of synonyms, and consistency of semantics.

From the point of view of form, terms must comply with the norms of the language, demonstrate elements of consistency, lexical and formal conciseness, invariance, motivation and derivational ability. The functional criteria of terminology include commonality, frequency of use, contemporaneity, level of adoption, internationality, as well as esotericism and harmony (Grinev-Grinevich 2008: 36). One of the arguments for why synonymy and terminology are incompatible is that the former is unnatural for the latter, since the language of science is devoid of any kind of emotionality. Accordingly, terminology only allows doublets (Tolikina 1971).

Despite the fact that a number of researchers consider synonymy undesirable for terms, or even deny that it exists in scientific language, this semantic property is indeed evident in terminology (Zubchenko 1982). At the same time, some experts recognize the positive impact of this semantic phenomenon on scientific language. Ekaterina Kortun defines synonymy as a special type of semantic relations, where terminological units denoting the same special concept are able to convey differences in emotional or stylistic colouring and compatibility with other terminological units, and express various additional features (Kobrin 1981: 36). L. N. Rusinova points to two factors that justify the existence of synonymy in special-purpose language: 1) synonymous terms can express different aspects of a single scientific concept, thus greatly simplifying their functioning in professional communication; and 2) synonymy is useful for counteracting the dullness and monotony of scientific language (Rusinova 1985). Even if we subject scientific terminology to ordering, eliminating synonymy, this would weaken the functioning of terms that do not have this semantic property, while the terminology itself will not become more perfect. At the same time, Valery Danilenko ascribes synonymy to a manifestation of the natural laws of language (Danilenko 1972: 76). Meanwhile, Viktor Tatarinov notes that the ability of synonymous terms to highlight individual features of the same special concept is necessary for the development of

scientific language (Tatarinov 2006: 172–173). Opining on the admissibility of the existence of synonymy in scientific terminology, researchers believe that synonymous terms undergo a process of natural selection in the course of their usage, which results in one of the options becoming the most preferable – and thus the only – term in professional communication (Taranova, Bubyreva, Taranov 2016).

Thus, in the field of terminology, synonymy is a natural result of the development of a special-purpose language, and a natural manifestation of one of the laws of dialectics about the unity and struggle of opposites. The terminology of art history is a clear example of the coexistence of lexical units that serve to designate a single concept. This article focuses on the lexical units astronomical art, cosmic art and space art, which are used interchangeably in the scientific literature. Based on the theoretical premises outlined above, it would seem that we need to consider the admissibility of these lexical units coexisting with one another, establishing the degree of their synonymy and the possible advantages of their simultaneous functioning.

### Research results

While, according to the British National Corpus (BNC), British English does not contain any mention of the terms *astronomical art*, *cosmic art* or *space art*, the term space art be found in American English, as the Corpus of Contemporary American English proves. Since 1993, the lexical unit *space art* has been used in publications on space: “Michael Carroll is a frequent contributor of space art and articles to *Astronomy*”<sup>2</sup>. Or: “Projects to launch cremated human remains in shiny cylinders, ‘space art’ large balloons to celebrate some “occasion”<sup>3</sup>; “... bestselling book *The Conquest of Space*, has been called the best-known work of space art ever created”<sup>4</sup>. The corpus also contains information about representatives of this contemporary artform: “I love this sort of imaginative space art and there’s a few people such as Lynette R. Cook and David Hardy and even a friend of mine named Gail Glasper whose artworks are absolutely inspirational and splendid”<sup>5</sup>. Thus, the first mention of space art is in relation to popular science literature. In the 2010s, the understanding of this term expanded to include artists working in this area of contemporary art.

These examples do not exhaust the semantic volume of the term *space art*, however. That said, the specifics of the concepts of *astronomical art* and *cosmic art* have not been fully revealed either. In order to determine the differences in the semantic volume of these synonymous concepts, a component analysis is required. The terms

<sup>2</sup> Carroll M. 1993. Mars: The Russians are Going! The Russians are Going! *Astronomy*. 21(10). P. 26–33.

<sup>3</sup> Andersen J. 2000. Discover the International Astronomical Union. Jan/Feb 2000. 29 (1). P. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Carroll M. 2014. *Living among giants: exploring and settling the outer solar system*. Springer.

<sup>5</sup> Plait P. 2012. Kepler Finds a Planet in a Binary Star’s Habitable Zone. *Discover*. 30.08.2012. URL: <https://www.discovermagazine.com/the-sciences/kepler-finds-a-planet-in-a-binary-stars-habitable-zone> (accessed 27.08.2022).

*astronomical art*, *cosmic art* и *space art* are formed by building the relevant lexemes. Presumably, the initial definitions of the semes *astronomical*, *cosmic* and *space* allow us to establish their ability to function in a special-purpose language.

Merriam-Webster's online dictionary lists two definitions for the word *astronomical*. The first definition is connected to the concept of *astronomy*: "of or relating to astronomy (astronomical observations)". The adjective is also used to describe an object: "enormously or inconceivably large or great (astronomical numbers, astronomical price)"<sup>6</sup>. For the purposes of this study, we will *astronomical* in the first meaning, to refer to the concept of *astronomy*. Merriam-Webster's defines astronomy as "the study of objects and matter outside the earth's atmosphere and of their physical and chemical properties"<sup>7</sup>. While it is not explicitly stated that this concept belongs to a scientific discipline, *astronomy* demonstrates properties that make it a specialized term, such as motivation, unambiguity, correlation with a scientific discipline, accuracy, and compliance with the norms of language.

The adjective *cosmic* has many meanings. Like the lexeme *astronomical*, in accordance with the first meaning listed by Merriam Webster's, *cosmic* corresponds to the single-root noun *cosmos*: "of or relating to the cosmos, the extraterrestrial vastness, or the universe in contrast to the earth alone (cosmic radiation)". A subtype of the first meaning of the adjective *cosmic* also includes the metaphysical component of this concept: "of, relating to, or concerned with abstract spiritual or metaphysical ideas (cosmic wisdom)". The second meaning is not directly related to the concept *cosmos*: "characterized by greatness especially in extent, intensity, or comprehensiveness (a cosmic thinker, a book of cosmic significance)"<sup>8</sup>. We should note here that the first and second meanings of the lexeme *cosmic* correlate with both meanings of *astronomical*. Thus, these adjectives demonstrate synonymy and ambiguity. However, unlike the noun *astronomy*, the concept of *cosmos* is polysemous: (1a) "universe", (1b1) "an orderly harmonious systematic universe", (1b2) "order, harmony"; (2) "a complex orderly self-inclusive system"; (3) "any of a genus (Cosmos) of tropical American composite herbs".

Notably, the lexeme *space* does not have an adjectival form. The noun *space* has more than ten meanings – from a limitless universe to "a blank area separating words or lines"<sup>9</sup>. Based on the interpretation of the lexical units under consideration, we can state that the lexical unit *space* is distinguished by a far greater number of semes (see Table 1).

<sup>6</sup> Merriam-Webster Dictionary. URL: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/astronomical> (accessed 27.08.2022).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

Table 1

**Results of the component analysis of the lexemes  
astronomy, cosmos and space**

| SEMANTIC COMPONENTS                                                        | LEXEMES   |        |       |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|--------|-------|
|                                                                            | astronomy | cosmos | space |
| scientific discipline                                                      | +         |        |       |
| universe                                                                   | +         | +      | +     |
| order, harmony                                                             |           | +      |       |
| an orderly system                                                          |           | +      |       |
| a genus name                                                               |           | +      |       |
| boundlessness                                                              | +         | +      | +     |
| a period of time                                                           |           |        | +     |
| an extent in three dimensions                                              |           |        | +     |
| personal space                                                             |           |        | +     |
| the distance between the lines of a musical staff                          |           |        | +     |
| a blank area separating words or lines                                     |           |        | +     |
| a set of mathematical elements and how they are applied to a line or plane |           |        | +     |
| the number of lines on a printed or written piece of paper                 |           |        | +     |
| broadcast time                                                             |           |        | +     |
| seats for passengers in a mode of transport                                |           |        | +     |
| asserting or experiencing one's identity or needs freely                   |           |        | +     |
| time to oneself                                                            |           |        | +     |

Thus, the lexeme space has the largest number of semes and the most developed semantic volume. At the same time, the concept of *space art* is not found in specialized thematic dictionaries of art history terminology, although it does crop up in other more generalized sources. For example, the “Alchetron, Free Social Encyclopedia for World” lists the lexical units *space art* and *astronomical art* as synonymous concepts for designating a new genre in contemporary art that are thematically focused on space and space exploration: “space art” (also “astronomical art”) is the term for a genre of modern artistic expression that strives to show the wonders of the Universe. Like other genres, space art has many facets and encompasses realism, impressionism, hardware art, sculpture, abstract imagery, even zoological art...”<sup>10</sup>. This fragment of the Alchetron definition notes both the thematic orientation of *space art* and its categorical belonging to a scientific discipline – a genre, which is important for the term as a designation of a specific and precise concept. The lexical unit also meets such

<sup>10</sup> Alchetron, Free Social Encyclopedia for World. Space art. URL: <https://alchetron.com/Space-art> (accessed 19.08.2022).

requirements of a term as consistency, compliance with the norms of the language, lexical and formal conciseness, derivational ability, harmony, esotericism, consistency of semantics, contextual independence, generally accepted meaning, commonality, euphony, acceptance into use, internationality and in particular contemporaneity and motivation. However, given the coexistence of *space art* and *astronomical art* (with a common denotation), compliance with such terminological criteria as invariance and the absence of synonyms may prevent them from becoming terms. However, taking into account the coexistence of space art and astronomical art (with a common denotation), compliance with such terminology criteria as invariance, the absence of synonyms may prevent their terminology.

The Sensagent Dictionary makes a distinction between *space art* and *astronomical art* in its definitions of these concepts. Its definition of *space art*, for example, points to its interdisciplinary nature: “space art is a general term for art emerging from knowledge and ideas associated with outer space, both as a source of inspiration and as a means for visualizing and promoting space travel. Whatever the stylistic path, the artist is generally attempting to communicate ideas somehow related to space, often including appreciation of the infinite variety and vastness which surrounds us. In some cases, artists who consider themselves space artists use more than illustration and painting to communicate scientific discoveries or works depicting space; a new breed of space artists work directly with space flight technology and scientists as an opportunity to expand the arts, humanities and cultural expression relative to space exploration”<sup>11</sup>. It should be noted that the concept of *space art*, despite its rather wordy definition, only corresponds to the definition of a “general term” as it appears in the dictionary. At the same time, there is nothing about what genre *space art* fits into. There is no indication of which category of art history as a scientific discipline this concept belongs in terms of style, direction, movement, wave, etc., which indicates that this lexical unit does not possess a property that is found in all terms – accuracy.

The Sensagent Dictionary (an online resource) thus defines the concept of *space art* not so much at the scientific level, but rather at the level of the layperson. It is possible that this lexeme only denotes a concept that is being formed in the respective special-purpose language, and which in time may obtain “official” status as a term and thus be included specialized thematic dictionaries of art history terminology. On the other hand, if the semantic volume of *space art* does not undergo any changes, and the concept remains overly abstract or too broad in its meaning, then it may never obtain the status of a term. Along with the concept of art, which *The Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms* (second edition) describes as “the most elusive of terms”<sup>12</sup>, *space art* may lose

<sup>11</sup> Sensagent – Dictionary. Astronomical art. URL: <http://dictionary.sensagent.com/Astronomical%20art/en-en/> (accessed 18.08.2022).

<sup>12</sup> Clarke M., Clarke D. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms* (2 ed.). 2010. URL: <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199569925.001.0001/acref-9780199569922> (accessed 15.08.2022).

the possibility of becoming a term because it lacks a clear definition, is excessively abstract and has too broad a meaning (the requirements of a term as described in (Gapienko 2020)).

The Sensagent Dictionary also contains a definition of *astronomical art*, which can be described as more capacious and voluminous (it is made up of 742 words). That said, *astronomical art* is not construed as a synonym for space art in this source, but rather as a facet of this wide-ranging concept: “astronomical art is the aspect of Space art devoted to visualizing the wonders of outer space”<sup>13</sup>. It even gives a timeline of the creation of *astronomical art* and important figures in its development. Moreover, the definition provided by the Sensagent Dictionary highlights the scope of topics that *astronomical art* covers as a category, and even school, of art history: “Astronomical Art is the most recent of several art movements which have explored the inspirational ideas emerging from ongoing exploration of Earth, (Hudson Riverschool, or Luminism) the distant past, (ancient history and prehistoric animal art) and finally the steadily revealed universe”. Defined as such, *astronomical art* is categorized as both an art movement and an art school, which indicates the development of polysemy and eurysemy of this lexical unit. The nominals International Association of Astronomical Artists and NASA Fine Arts are examples of this. Thus, *astronomical art* refers to an established scientific concept that gives rise to nominals and also has a developed semantic volume, which, it would seem, allows a real lexical unit to become a term over time. This assumption is supported by the fact that it complies with many of the criteria that would make it a term: contemporaneity, motivation, generally accepted meaning, usability, acceptance into use, consistency, accuracy, compliance with the norms of the language, derivational ability, meaningfulness, and consistency of semantics (Grinev-Grinevich 2008: 36).

Along with *space art* and *astronomical art*, the lexical unit *cosmic art* is also used in the field of art history. The website of the Cosmic Art Research Committee notes that no distinction is currently made between the concepts of *cosmic art* and *space art*, although cosmic art should be considered in a broader sense as the embodiment of the idea of universal harmony: “cosmic art and space art are still not specifically differentiated, and their meanings vary since the early twentieth century. Therefore, regarding the notion that the cosmos implies beauty and order in its original meaning in ancient Greek, we use the term ‘cosmic art’ to broaden the idea of ‘space art’, which refers to outer space in general”. At the same time, *cosmic art* cannot be attributed to a specific category of art history, since the concept should be interpreted in general terms as an idea for creativity: “cosmic art is not merely a classification of the arts, but is the idea to create an artistic way of life. It is the idea that will lead you to a cosmic sphere to find both universality and particularity in anything”<sup>14</sup>. Thus, *cosmic art* is based on philo-

<sup>13</sup> Sensagent – Dictionary. Astronomical art. URL: <http://dictionary.sensagent.com/Astronomical%20art/en-en/> (accessed 18.08.2022).

<sup>14</sup> Cosmic Art. URL: <http://cosmicart.org/cosmic-art/> (accessed 27.08.2022).

sophical, rather than art history, considerations. For this reason, the lexical unit can be characterized as far too wide-reaching an abstract in meaning, which also complicates the process of it hypothetically becoming a term in its own right.

As we can see from the above, our analysis of the various interpretations of *astronomical art*, *space art* and *cosmic art* in modern online dictionaries allows us to posit that these concepts are correlated in terms of their semantic volume and, depending on the context, can function as synonyms. That said, it is difficult to identify specific features of their synonymous relations, since the difference in their denotations is uneven across the various sources. At the same time, when it comes to functional use, these lexical units can be employed in a context that is different from the dictionary definitions (which may also affect the process of their becoming terms or, conversely, go beyond the special-purpose scope of the words). Studying the features of the use of these concepts in context will likely allow us to determine their development vector, which will affect their semantic volume.

For example, in the article “Space Artists Go Where the Cameras Can’t”<sup>15</sup>, the artist Ron Miller, who considers himself a *space artist*, believes that, in addition to relying on scientific developments in the field of space exploration, artists also use their own imaginations to create space art. This type of art is thus characterized as a “mixture of knowledge and imagination”, which is generally in line with the above interpretations of the concept of *space art*. Even so, we can point to at least two schools that have at least a passing connection to *space art*: Rock and Ball и Swirly. Based on this context of use, *space art* is a more specific and meaningful concept than long-winded description given in the Sensagent Dictionary, since it includes at least two schools. Other contexts for the use of *space art*<sup>16</sup> suggest that the question of its categorical affiliation (school or style) in the scientific language of art history remains open.

Another thing that we should note is that *space art* is also subject to politicization: “as the space race progressed, it was inevitable that space art became politicized”. At the same time, in an article entitled “Soviet Space Art. Posters of Propaganda and Progress” that appeared in *Daily Art Magazine*, Marta Wiktoria Bryll effectively separates Soviet Space Art into a category of its own<sup>17</sup>. In an issue of *The Guardian* online, Soviet space art functions as an independent unit of special-purpose language. The article “Behind the Iron Curtain, the Final Frontier: Soviet Space Art – In Pictures” also uses *Soviet Space Graphics and Soviet space illustrations*<sup>18</sup>. Thus, Soviet space art is

<sup>15</sup> Tedeschi D. 2015. Space Artists Go Where the Cameras Can't. *Smithsonian* magazine. 23.09.2015. URL: <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/air-space-magazine/astronomical-beauty-180956711/> (accessed 26.08.2022).

<sup>16</sup> Medrano K. 2017. The Art of Space Art. *The Paris Review*. 14.09.2017. URL: <https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2017/09/14/the-art-of-space-art/> (accessed 26.08.2022).

<sup>17</sup> Bryll M.W. 2023. Soviet Space Art. Posters of Propaganda and Progress. *The Daily Art Magazine*. 4.02.2023. URL: <https://www.dailyartmagazine.com/soviet-space-posters/> (accessed 20.10.2023).

<sup>18</sup> Morris K. 2020. Behind the iron curtain, the final frontier: Soviet space art – in pictures. *The Guardian*. 04.04.2020. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/gallery/2020/apr/04/behind-the-iron-curtain-the-final-frontier-soviet-space-art-in-pictures> (accessed 27.08.2022).

seen as a separate variety of *space art*. This definition also makes reference to NASA, which has been actively involved with art since 1962, when it commissioned a series of portraits of astronauts as part of the NASA Art Program run by a NASA research centre (the idea was to record the scientific discoveries of the past and predict future breakthroughs, as well as to capture the emotion of space exploration)<sup>19</sup>. In addition to the NASA Art Program, the official NASA website also includes lexical units related to special-purpose language used in art history, including *space craft*, the *Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum* (where, among other things, works of art are exhibited), *NASA Space Place Art Challenge* and *Space Place art challenge* (nominals for new art programmes that support NASA activities). Two lexical units of modern art history terminology emerged as a result of the politicization of space art: *Soviet space art* on the one hand, and *NASA Space Place Art Challenge* and *Space Place art challenge* on the other<sup>20</sup>. This process both reflects the usability and implementability of space art and proves its derivational ability.

Ron Miller, a writer and illustrator who serves as Acting Director for the National Air and Space Museum's Albert Einstein Planetarium, uses the lexical units *astronomical art* and *space art* as synonyms: "while not the first artist to specialize in astronomical art, Chesley Bonestell raised space art to the level of fine art"<sup>21</sup>. *Astronomical art* and *space art* are also used interchangeably in the book *The Beauty of Space Art: An Illustrated Journey Through the Cosmos*, where *space art* is referred to as the *space art genre*, which encompasses such styles and techniques as Rocks&Balls, Hardware Art, Swirly Art, and Three-Dimensional Space Art<sup>22</sup>. At the same time, the international community of artists working in the space art genre called themselves the "International Association of Astronomical Artists", or IAAA<sup>23</sup>. However, unlike *space art*, *astronomical art* does not have a pronounced potential to become a term.

In addition to *astronomical art* and *space art*, the words *cosmic art* can often be heard today. For example, in the article "Far Out! These 5 Cosmic Art Projects Prove That Outer Space Is the Next Avant-Garde Frontier", this concept functions as a synonym for *space art*. Notably, the lexical unit *space art* carries greater terminological potential in this article: the concepts of *space-centric art* and botanical art in outer space by the contemporary Japanese florist Makoto Azuma also serve a function in the text<sup>24</sup>. The lexeme cosmic is also mentioned as part of the two-syllable concept of *cosmic expressionism* as a subgenre of *space art* (Ramer, Miller 2021). We might dare to

<sup>19</sup> Hotovy H. 2017. NASA and Art: A Collaboration Colored with History. NASA. URL: <https://www.nasa.gov/feature/nasa-and-art-a-collaboration-colored-with-history> (accessed 28.08.2022).

<sup>20</sup> NASA Space Place Art Challenge. URL: <https://spaceplace.nasa.gov/art-challenge/en/> (accessed 28.08.2022).

<sup>21</sup> Miller R. Timeline: Early Space Art. Princeton University Art Museum. URL: <https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/transient-effects/painter-sun/northern-lights-and-worlds-beyond/imagining-un-seeable-early-space-artists%E2%80%9494-time-line/timeline-early-space-art> (accessed 27.08.2022).

<sup>22</sup> Ramer J., Miller R. (eds.). 2021. *The Beauty of Space Art: An Illustrated Journey Through the Cosmos*. Springer, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

<sup>23</sup> International Association of Astronomical Artists. URL: <https://iaaa.org/> (accessed 27.08.2022).

<sup>24</sup> Nunes A. 2019. Far Out! These 5 Cosmic Art Projects Prove that Outer Space is the Next Avant-Garde Frontier. *The Artnet News*. 12.02.2019. URL: <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/art-outer-space-1462288> (accessed 29.08.2022).

suggest that, since *cosmic expressionism* denotes an exact and specific concept within special-purpose language, it may eventually be included in specialized thematic dictionaries of art history terminology. The lexeme *cosmic* can be found in an article by *The Guardian* journalist Jonathan Jones entitled “Space invaders, cosmic exhibitions, and a show down with Amazon – the week in art” in the phrases *cosmic exhibitions* and *cosmic experience*<sup>25</sup>. Whether or not these concepts will become terms is up in the air right now, but the lexeme *cosmic* has enough lexical and creative potential on its own to continue to function in art history terminology.

In terms of the scientific terminology of art history, our analysis allows us to identify such semes as type of contemporary fine art, style, direction, school and concept (see Table 2).

Table 2

**The semes astronomical art, cosmic art and space art, isolated on the basis of the category of art history**

|                  | Type of contemporary fine art | Style | Direction | School | Concept |
|------------------|-------------------------------|-------|-----------|--------|---------|
| Astronomical art | +                             | +     | +         | +      |         |
| Cosmic art       | +                             |       |           |        | +       |
| Space art        | +                             | +     | +         |        |         |

Obviously, *astronomical art* and *space art* encompass a larger number of categories of art history (as a scientific discipline), which may explain how they quickly became adopted as terms.

Our analysis thus shows that the terminological unit *space art* most commonly appears as part of the special-purpose language. The concept is used more frequently and has derivational and terminological potential. *Cosmic art* does demonstrate similar qualities, but to a lesser extent. Meanwhile, *astronomical art* is usually equivalent to *space art*. At the same time, all of these concepts coexist harmoniously and complement each other as synonyms, enriching the terminology of art history as a whole.

### Conclusions and takeaways

The use of modern explanatory dictionaries has allowed us to posit that, among the synonymous lexical units *astronomical art*, *cosmic art* and *space art*, the concept of *astronomical art* currently has the most developed semantic volume. What makes the synonymous unit of *space art* unique is the eurysemism and greater abstractness of

<sup>25</sup> Jones J. 2022. Space Invaders, Cosmic Exhibitions, and a Showdown with Amazon – the Week in Art. *The Guardian*. 4.02.2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2022/feb/04/space-invaders-amazon-suzanne-jackson-black-ceramics-the-week-in-art> (accessed 27.08.2022).

its meaning. Meanwhile, *cosmic art* does not have a well-defined interpretation – the phrase came about as a separate creative association and is used in the broad sense to denote a sense of beauty and harmony on the scale of the universe (which is a departure from the original idea of *space art*). At the same time, in professional communications, astronomical art, cosmic art and space art are used synonymously. Each lexical unit satisfies such criteria as implementability and usability. In terms of functional use, all three concepts organically “coexist” with one another (including as synonyms within the same source text). What is more, *space art* and *cosmic art* demonstrate significant derivational ability and terminological potential. We can thus conclude from our study that *astronomical art*, *cosmic art* and *space art* have become fixed in a special-purpose language, but their semantics continue to form.

Accordingly, the case we have looked at, which encompasses three related concepts in art history, points to conflicting trends that describe the existence and functioning of synonymous terminological units in the phase of their formation. First, we can observe in this example how lexical units acquire and subsequently strengthen their terminological status when they are included in professional communication. At the same time, the lack of an unambiguous and universally recognized definition allows them to be used relatively freely within professional communication at the current stage. Second, despite this, the process of acquiring the status of a term is accompanied by a delimitation of the semantic volumes of these synonymous units. Third, the fact that they have not yet achieved the status of terms means that these units demonstrate a semantic volume in their functional use that is different from that indicated in specialized thematic dictionaries. Thus, even within the discipline itself, they can still manifest themselves quite unpredictably.

#### About the Authors:

**Svetlana V. Ivanova** – Dr Habil. in Philology, Professor, Head of the Department of Romance and Germanic Philology and Linguodidactics at Pushkin Leningrad State University, Saint Petersburg, Russia.  
E-mail: svet\_victoria@mail.ru

**Polina E. Dovgopiat** – a teacher of Chinese in the Department of linguistics and translation studies of the Institute of the Humanities and social sciences at Saint Petersburg university of management technologies and economics. Saint Petersburg, Russia. E-mail: polina.gapienko@mail.ru  
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#### Conflicts of interest.

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

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# Deanthroponymic Contaminants as Objects of the Language Game (Based on Material from Spanish-Language Media)<sup>1</sup>

Iurii P. Murzin

Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University)

**Abstract.** This article is devoted to the study of anthroponymic occasionalisms and contaminants – lexical innovations created on the basis of anthroponyms – used in the Spanish-language media as part of the communicative strategy and creative potential of the language game realized in the course of the dynamic process that is characteristic of modern Spanish socio-political discourse. The objectives of the article are: a) to identify models of this method of word formation, and b) to establish the types of relations that appear between the components of the abovementioned derived words. Anthroponyms selected by random sampling from internet publications were studied, considered as objects of the language game, on the basis of which, as a result of deliberate word making, occasionalisms– contaminated formations that express, in addition to nominative meaning, expressiveness and emotive colouring – are created. The following methods were used in our analysis of the material: component analysis of the word; the word-formation method of studying transformational techniques; contextual analysis, which allows us to identify the communicative parameters of the use of language units and the contextual features of the implementation of their meaning in the text; the descriptive-analytical method to identify the essential characteristics and features of the linguistic facts under consideration against the background of extralinguistic factors; and the classification method and the method of linguistic and stylistic analysis, focused on identifying the specifics of individual word usage due to the communicative and aesthetic tasks of the author of the text. The relevance of this study is due to the attention of linguists to axiological issues, the increasing regularity of the use of language play in the media space in particular, and contamination as one of the means of expression in the Spanish-language media at the present stage, using anthroponyms as an object. Anthroponymic contaminated formations are becoming more common and diverse, and there is a need to systematize their models and study their structure and semantics.

As a result of the examination carried out on a certain array of initial data, semantic-stylistic and axiological functions of contaminants – mainly defamatory, invective – are established in accordance with the pragmatic goals of the author of the text. The models of creating anthroponymic contaminants by both occasional and conventional means of word formation are identified and systematized.

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<sup>1</sup> English translation from the Russian text: Murzin I.P. 2022. Deanthroponymic contaminants as objects of language game (based on the material of Spanish-language media). *Linguistics & Polyglot Studies*. 8(4). P. 34–51. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24833/2410-2423-2022-4-33-34-51>

**Keywords:** media discourse, language game, anthroponymic contaminants, associative potential of contaminants, linguistic and cultural community

In modern linguistics, interest in the manifestations of the creative potential of language has increased dramatically. One of the ways to elicit such creative uses of language is through the language-game – a communicative strategy that is actively exploited in political discourse.

In philology, and in stylistics in particular, the term “language-game”, which was proposed by Ludwig Wittgenstein in his 1945 work *Philosophical Investigations*, denotes the specific use of language units that is realized by the speaker in a functional sense, that is, correlated with the sphere of communication. It is “a certain type of speech behaviour based on a deliberate (conscious, thought-out) violation of the systematic relations of the language, that is, on the destruction of the speech norm in order to create non-canonical linguistic forms and structures that, as a result of this destruction, acquire an expressive meaning and the ability to evoke in the listener/reader an aesthetic and, on the whole, stylistic effect”.

The language-game is always aimed at creating a new meaning in the language (speech) structure, something that the listener/reader did not know previously, and is associated with the activity of the linguistic persona and its ability to use linguistic knowledge creatively. A language-game cannot happen if the addressee does not understand it<sup>2</sup>, which means that he or she is an active participant in the game, according to the creator of this hybrid word. Understanding contaminants requires a specific contextual or situational anchor, and text often provides a direct motivation for them<sup>3</sup>.

One commonly used technique of the language-game is contamination, also called telescoping. The first is more widely used.

According to the generally accepted definition, contamination is an independent type of language-game that results in innovations of the contaminated structure and semantics<sup>4</sup>.

In this article, we adhere to the broad interpretation of contamination as presented by Vladimir Sannikov, who believes all cases of the language-game to be examples of contamination if: 1) both the original words are formally represented in the newly

<sup>2</sup> Iazykovaia igra. Stilisticheskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar' russkogo iazyka [Language Game. Stylistic Encyclopedic Dictionary of The Russian Language]. URL: <https://www.rus-stylistics-dict.slovaronline.com/271-Языковая%20игра> (accessed 12.06.2019).

<sup>3</sup> Likov A. G. Sovremennaiia russkaia leksikologiya. Russkoe okkazionalnoe slovo [Modern Russian Lexicology. The Russian Occasional Word]. URL: [http://www.studopedia.net/6\\_12882\\_slovoobrazovatel'naya-proizvodnost.html](http://www.studopedia.net/6_12882_slovoobrazovatel'naya-proizvodnost.html) (accessed 31.07.2022).

<sup>4</sup> Il'iasova S. V. 2001. Iazykovaya igra v gazetnom tekste [Language Game in Newspaper Text]. RELGA. 23(77). 12.12.2001. URL: <http://www.relga.ru/Environ/WebObjects/tgu-www.woa/wa/Main%3Ftextid%3D395%26level1%3Dman%26level2%3Darticles> (accessed 24.08.2022).

created word, even if it is by a single letter (or, more precisely, a single phoneme); and 2) the meanings of both original words are intertwined in a complex way in the meaning of the newly created word (Sannikov 2002: 164), while “the interaction of the language units that are in contact, either in an associative or a syntagmatic series” leads “to their semantic or formal change or to the formation of a new (third) language unit”<sup>5</sup>.

Contamination thus results in the formation of a compound word, the semantics of which contain the normative meanings of the combined units and their inherent allusive meanings (Nikolina 2011), and a new meaning may appear in the integral semantic structure of the resulting compound word.

Contaminated formations include *newspaperisms* and form an extensive and diverse thematic composition of words: socio-political, official, business, military and sports vocabulary, among others. The only thing that unites these words is their social and evaluative colouring. These are the kinds of words that newspapers typically use, even if sparingly, as they most clearly express their ideas and attitudes, and perform one of the most important functions of this medium – to influence the audience. In terms of style, this kind of vocabulary is journalistic, functional, aimed at forming a specific opinion. This is a feature of the style that has become a favourite tool among journalists for creating an image of a politician or other public person<sup>6</sup>. These techniques are used by journalists to convey their own views, attract attention, demonstrate their linguistic and stylistic skills, and as a way to hackneyed phrases.

According to M. V. Panov, a characteristic feature of contemporary language use is the tendency towards the “personal”, which is reflected in the individual’s choice of words. This involves actively using the people’s proper names as basic foundations, which reflects the close connection of the language with modern reality (Panov 1988: 27).

In the political *anthroponymicon* of the Spanish-language media, a significant group is made up of the names of statesmen, public figures and politicians (both Spanish and foreign) who are easily recognizable and whose actions are in the focus of public attention and thus subject to constant scrutiny. Anthroponyms, which have become a buzzword of our time thanks to the frequency with which they are used, are a key element of the word-formation process and represent one of the most *neogenic* classes of words at the current time. Newly formed language units unambiguously correlate with the real carriers of the corresponding proper names, and the formants added to them in whole or in part – from real or fictitious proper names or common nouns – carry an assessment motivated by certain personality qualities, activities or events related

<sup>5</sup> Akhmanova O. S. *Slovar’ lingvisticheskikh terminov* [Dictionary of linguistic terms]. 2007. Moscow: KomKniga. P. 206.

<sup>6</sup> Solganik G.I. 2022. *Gazetizmy* [Newspaperisms]. In *Stilisticheskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar’ russkogo iazyka* [Stylistic Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Russian Language]. URL: <https://www.rus-stylistics-dict.slovaronline.com/18-Газетизмы> (accessed 23.08.2022). P. 41, 143.

to it, manifestations of support for or disapproval of a person and/or their actions, and so on. Nonce words of this class are used extensively in today's Spanish-language media.

With respect to the semantic and stylistic dimension of nonce words (also known as occasionalisms), A. G. Lykov points out that, "occasionalisms are context-dependent, tied to it in a specific use of speech, which determines its functional disposability – a property expressed in the fact that an occasional word is created by the speaker to be used in speech a single time. The 'absolute freshness' of an occasional word conveys the uniqueness of the situation, its ultimate belonging to a single moment, something that the canonical word as a unit of language is powerless to express to such an extent"<sup>7</sup>.

### Analysis of the Material

Telescoping reached its peak in the twentieth-twenty-first centuries thanks to a combination of a number of stimulating factors, including the globalization of practically all areas of life, and language was no exception. During this period, we see the spread of borrowings (including international vocabulary) and certain foreign grammatical constructions, the growth of calques, and further convergence – that is, the interpenetration of languages (Leichik 2008: 150). Many occasionalisms that appear in once country easily penetrate into other linguistic cultures. Borrowing is a natural consequence of the establishment of economic, political and cultural ties with other peoples, when the words denoting them come with the associated realities and concepts<sup>8</sup>.

The Spanish-language media actively uses lexemes that contain the suffixes **-gate** and **-exit**, taken from English. These two formants, internationalisms, represent the word-formation model "proper name + common noun" (PN + CN), according to which new occasional contaminants are created in the Spanish-language socio-political discourse, forming derivational series.

Each of the **-gate** and **-exit** formants represent the corresponding cognitive scenario, that is, an abstract mental model representing the speaker's interpretation of a given extralinguistic situation as a typical dynamic process consisting of a sequence of episodes and involving a set of participants with different functions, strategies, goals, consequences and side effects<sup>9</sup>.

The actualization of this function through the lexeme **-gate** in the urbanonym Watergate is associated with an event that took place at the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate Office Building, where, on the eve of the 1972

<sup>7</sup> Likov A. G. *Sovremennaya russkaya leksikologiya. Russkoe okkazionalnoe slovo* [Modern Russian Lexicology. The Russian Occasional Word]. URL: [http://www.studopedia.net/6\\_12882\\_slovoobrazovatel'naya-proizvodnost.html](http://www.studopedia.net/6_12882_slovoobrazovatel'naya-proizvodnost.html) (accessed 31.07.2022).

<sup>8</sup> Rozental D. E., Telenkova M. A. *Slovar'-spravochnik lingvisticheskikh terminov* [Reference Book of Linguistic Terms]. URL: <http://www.rus-yaz.niv.ru/doc/linguistic-terms/fc/slovar-200.htm#zag-505> (accessed 7.09.2021).

<sup>9</sup> Kubriakova E. S. 1996. *Kratkii slovar' kognitivnykh terminov* [A Concise Dictionary of Cognitive Terms]. Moscow. P. 181.

presidential election, listening devices that had been illegally installed by supporters of the re-election of Republican President Richard Nixon were discovered. This marked the beginning of the so-called “Watergate scandal” in the United States, which culminated two years later with the resignation of the re-elected President, who had taken part in the cover-up of the wiretapping incident<sup>10</sup>.

This lexeme, being part of the name of the place in which the event took place, has, as a result of a metonymic transfer **locus** → **event** and a rethinking of its semantics due to the change in the features underlying the name of the object (Leichik: 37), changed its functionality (Nikolina 1996: 315) and acquired the meaning of “public scandal”. Thus, a falsely motivated language unit has acquired the properties of a word-formation element in the composition of the composites used in Spanish to name a number of public scandals, by analogy with Watergate, the people involved in which are, as a rule, politicians, government officials, relatives of high-ranking officials, representatives of the business community, and people within the orbit of these figures who are involved in corrupt schemes, financial fraud or illegal actions, or actions that are generally considered immoral or unethical<sup>11</sup>.

A number of famous scandals are named after the women with whom certain individuals – leaders of states – were in reprehensible relationships.

**Monicagate** refers to the Clinton–Lewinsky scandal, the biggest sex scandal in U.S. history<sup>12</sup>.

**Noemigate** is the scandal surrounding the 72-year-old Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who was dubbed *viejo calavera* (“old skull”) by the Italian press due to his relationship with the 18-year-old Noemi Letizia<sup>13</sup>.

Circumstances of a different kind served as the basis for the name of the 1991 **Yomagate** scandal – the woman in this case was Amalia Beatriz Yoma, sister-in-law of then President of Argentina, Carlos Menem, and holder of a government post, who was embroiled in a drug trafficking operation<sup>14</sup>.

**Delcygate** refers to the political scandal that erupted in Spain in January 2020 in connection with an informal meeting that took place at Madrid–Barajas Airport between Spanish government minister José Luis Ábalos, a member of the Spanish So-

<sup>10</sup> Gate. *Wikipedia*. URL: <https://www.es.wikipedia.org/wiki/-gate> (accessed 21.06.2020).

<sup>11</sup> Similar scandals are known in Spanish-speaking countries: **Petrogate** (a 2008 oil scandal in Peru); **Pemexgate** (the illegal use of funds from the Mexican state oil company Pemex's trade union to finance an election campaign in 2001); **Milicogate** (a corruption case involving high-ranking army officials in Chile in 2013; *milico* means “military” in the colloquial Spanish of Chile); **Valijagate**, **maletagate**, **maletinazo**, **escándalo del maletín** – the “suitcase scandal” (an attempt to smuggle undeclared funds into Argentina from Venezuela to finance the 2007 presidential campaign; the name comes from the nouns *valija* and *maletín*, meaning “suitcase” or “case”). Chto takoe “Uotergeitskii skandal”? [What is the “Watergate scandal”?]. 26.09.2019. URL: [https://www.zen.yandex.ru/media/id/5d78c51343fdc000c3a7c0e8/chto-takoe-uotergeitskii-skandal-5d8b5f23118d7f00b2726121?utm\\_source=serp](https://www.zen.yandex.ru/media/id/5d78c51343fdc000c3a7c0e8/chto-takoe-uotergeitskii-skandal-5d8b5f23118d7f00b2726121?utm_source=serp) (accessed 21.06.2020).

<sup>12</sup> Batalla C. 2018. Bill Clinton: a 20 años de su confesión en el ‘Monicagate’. *El Comercio*. 17.08.2018. URL: <https://www.elcomercio.pe/archivo-elcomercio/archivo/bill-clinton-20-anos-confesion-monicagate-noticia-547108> (accessed 28.01.2022).

<sup>13</sup> Mora M. 2009. Anatomía de Berlusconi. URL: [https://www.webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:wFTW95r3cRcJ:https://elpais.com/diario/2009/06/07/domingo/1244346753\\_850215.html+&cd=1&hl=ru&ct=clnk&gl=ru&client=opera](https://www.webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:wFTW95r3cRcJ:https://elpais.com/diario/2009/06/07/domingo/1244346753_850215.html+&cd=1&hl=ru&ct=clnk&gl=ru&client=opera) (accessed July 17, 2019).

<sup>14</sup> Yomagate. URL: <https://www.es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yomagate> (accessed 27.06.2020).

cialist Workers' Party, and Vice President of Venezuela Delcy Rodríguez (hence the name), who, like other senior Venezuelan officials, was banned from entering the European Union<sup>15</sup>.

The term **Clintongate**, which refers to the 2016 scandal involving U.S. presidential candidate Hillary Clinton, can be used to expose a political and legal context of a misdeed, while at the same time calling back to the person originally implicated: “Un ‘**Clintongate**’ a la germana: ¿decidirá un escándalo judicial al próximo canciller alemán? Los socialdemócratas acusan a los conservadores de instrumentalizar la Justicia en un caso similar al de los ‘e-mails’ de Hillary Clinton en 2016”<sup>16</sup> (“A German-style ‘**Clintongate**’: Will a legal scandal decide the next German chancellor? The Social Democrats have accused the conservatives of using the justice system in the same way that the Hillary Clinton’s ‘emails’ were used in 2016”).

In this case, the name of the scandal is seen as a complex sign, expressed by the precedent name **Clinton**, which is associated with a precedent situation – a scandal that received a great deal of coverage in the press. The name of the scandal that erupted around one politician is “duplicated,” and its connotations and differential features are projected onto a similar situation taking place in the present in relation to a different politician in another country, which serves as a basis for transferring the name. At the same time, the motivation for this transfer is revealed in the context.

The moral, ethical and criminal component of the scandal is revealed in the context of the **Sánchezgate** neologism in a publication about the hacking of the Prime Minister of Spain’s phone: “Los dos ‘qui prodest’ del **Sánchezgate**: El presidente del Gobierno y la ministra de Defensa fueron víctimas del afamado programa de espionaje Pegasus”<sup>17</sup> (“The two who benefit from **Sánchezgate**: The President and the Minister of Defence, victims of the infamous Pegasus espionage programme”).

The Social Democratic Party’s candidate for the post of Chancellor of Germany in the 2021 federal election Olaf Scholz was accused of financial fraud for his dealings during his time as Mayor of Hamburg. Searches were carried out in the financial bodies of the city administration. This led to the appearance of the contaminated unit **Scholzgate**<sup>18</sup> in the German press, and it was soon picked up by the Spanish media.

Obviously, scandals named after people can come in all shapes and sizes – they can be political sex scandals, moral (ethical) scandals, criminal scandals, purely political scandals, and so on.

<sup>15</sup> Muñoz R. Ábalos: el escudero que pierde su doble poder. URL: <https://www.webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:-BOo3dCjOV6MJ:https://elpais.com/espana/2021-07-10/abalos-el-ministro-quemado-por-el-delcygate-y-la-victoria-de-ayuso.html+&cd=4&hl=ru&ct=clnk&gl=ru&client=opera> (accessed 28.01.2022).

<sup>16</sup> Risco I. 2021. Un ‘Clintongate’ a la germana: ¿decidirá un escándalo judicial al próximo canciller alemán? *El Confidencial*. 20.09.2021. URL: [https://www.elconfidencial.com/mundo/2021-09-20/clinton-gate-alemana-decidira-escandalo-judicial-proximo-canciller\\_3291459](https://www.elconfidencial.com/mundo/2021-09-20/clinton-gate-alemana-decidira-escandalo-judicial-proximo-canciller_3291459) (accessed 17.08.2022).

<sup>17</sup> Los dos ‘qui prodest’ del Sánchezgate. 2022. *El Español*. 3.05.2022. URL: [https://www.elespanol.com/opinion/editoriales/20220503/qui-prodestsanchezgate/669573038\\_14.html](https://www.elespanol.com/opinion/editoriales/20220503/qui-prodestsanchezgate/669573038_14.html) (accessed 17.07.2022).

<sup>18</sup> Risco I. 2021. Un ‘Clintongate’ a la germana: ¿decidirá un escándalo judicial al próximo canciller alemán? *El Confidencial*.

A thinly veiled semantic affinity with the derivational element **-gate** can be noted in the lexeme **virus** in the wording **Corinna-virus**: “A los titulares del coronavirus se han unido los del ‘**Corinna-virus**’, quedando más difuminados que si estuviéramos en otra situación de normalidad. Todo se queda cerca de la corona y las cabezas coronadas, en cualquier caso”<sup>19</sup> (“In addition to headlines about the coronavirus, we are seeing headlines that contain the word ‘**Corinna-virus**’, which would not be particularly significant under normal circumstances. One way or another, all this concerns the institution of the monarchy and crowned heads”).

The language-game here is based on a deliberate speech error – a malapropism that plays on the similarity in pronunciation of the word *corona* (the name of the virus and the pandemic it caused) and the name *Corinna* Larsen, an entrepreneur and close friend of King Juan Carlos I of Spain, who was apparently directly involved in a corruption scandal that involved the former King, who was accused of tax evasion and money laundering.

In its direct (dictionary) meaning, the lexeme **gate** does not carry any stylistic colouring, and it only acquires a pejorative connotation as a corresponding word-forming component. Conversely, the lexeme **virus** (from the Latin meaning “poison”) in its modern use denotes an agent capable of causing an infectious disease, hence the negative connotation of the contaminant. The name of a pathogenic, a harmful virus than can infect people, is thus used to give a negative characterization of the individual and the scandal in which he is embroiled.

Semantic affinity with the formants **-gate** and **-virus** in the meaning of “scandal” is also found in the element **-Plag** (a “fragment” of the lexeme **plagio** – plagiarism, that is, the use of the legally protected results of someone else’s creative work without permission) as part of the nonce word **SánchezPlag**, used to discredit socialist Prime Minister of Spain Pedro Sánchez in connection with reports of his unfair use of another person’s intellectual property in violation of moral, ethical and legal norms: “**SánchezPlag**, el 52% de la tesis del presidente está plagado o tiene errores”<sup>20</sup> (“**SánchezPlag**: 52% of the Dissertation Written by the Prime Minister is Plagiarized and Contains Errors”).

Another formant – **-exit** appeared in 2012 in connection with the contaminant **Grexit**, a combination of the English words *Greece* and *exit* to denote the hypothetical exit of Greece from the European Union. Then, in the run-up to the referendum on the United Kingdom’s status in the European Union in 2016, the British press introduced the neologism **Brexit**, formed by analogy with **Grexit**, but this time with the words *Britain* and *exit*. It refers to the process of the United Kingdom leaving the European Union and the events associated with it<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Clavero Á. 2020. Entre coronavirus y ‘Corinna-virus’. *La Comarca*. 24.03.2020. URL: <https://www.lacomarca.net/opinion/entre-coronavirus-corinna-virus> (accessed 6.08.2020).

<sup>20</sup> Sanz S. 2019. SánchezPlag, el test final de los internautas: el 52% de la tesis del presidente está plagado o tiene errores. *OK Diario*. 31.01.2019. URL: <https://www.okdiario.com/espana/sanchezplag-prueba-final-52-tesis-del-presidente-esta-plagado-o-tiene-errores-3643490> (accessed 31.01.2022).

<sup>21</sup> Breksit [Brexit]. URL: <http://www.wikipedia.org> (accessed 18.03.2019).

This formant has also found an application in the meaning of a person “leaving” a place or institution. For example, in early 2020, a story appeared in the Spanish press claiming that Prince Harry and his wife Meghan Markle, who felt somewhat out of place in the prissy British establishment, were planning on leaving their royal posts. The resulting crisis was dubbed **Megxit** (*Meghan* + *exit*)<sup>22</sup>.

Another neologism that appeared was the contaminant **Borxit**, used to refer to a party held on Downing Street at the height of the coronavirus pandemic [*and thus in breach of lockdown rules*] hosted by Prime Minister Boris Johnson, which led to calls for his resignation: “*Desde que echaron a Trump, éste [Boris Johnson] debería haber caído también, Borxit is Borxit*”<sup>23</sup> (“*After Trump was driven out, he [Boris Johnson] had to fall, Borxit is Borxit*”).

Word-formation applications of the language-game also include the lexeme **ego**, in the meaning of *exceso de autoestima*<sup>24</sup> (excessively high self-esteem). It was used in the formation of the contaminant **Egosánchez**, from **ego**, **egoísta** + **Sánchez**, in connection with Pedro Sánchez’s unwillingness to form a coalition with the People’s Party, Podemos and the Citizens Party: “**Egosánchez** no pacta con Iglesias, ni con Casado, ni con Rivera”<sup>25</sup> (“**Egosánchez** refuses pacts with Iglesias, Casado and Rivera”).

The leader of the Podemos Party, Pablo Iglesias was eager to secure a position in the new government for himself. Iglesias is a rather polarizing figure among Spanish politicians and the Spanish people. This is expressed in the following statement about him, which contains an evaluation of his character using a telescoping formulation: “[Pablo Iglesias] *es comunista: o manda o es que ha muerto. Pero Pablenin es malo, no tonto, así que ha copiado de Vox la apelación a los votantes como índice de su propia dignidad*”<sup>26</sup> (“[Pablo Iglesias] is a communist: it’s lead or die for him. However, **Pablenin** is cunning, not stupid, so he has adopted from Vox [party] the habit of appealing to voters as a measure of his worth”).

What we see here is the contaminant name **Pablenin**, a portmanteau of **Pablo** + **Lenin**. In this case, the second element (the precedent name) serves as a definition of the person designated by the first element. This creates the image of a communist politician, something that the author of the article finds repugnant.

This PN + PN model is a common feature of the language used by the Spanish press to denote political tandems, formed from parts of the names of the current leaders of countries in which a) one component is defined by the other component, or b) both

<sup>22</sup> Galaz M. 2020. Meghan Markle regresa a Canadá mientras el príncipe se enfrenta a la crisis. *El País*. 10.01.2020. URL: [https://www.elpais.com/elpais/2020/01/10/gente/1578645819\\_584012.html](https://www.elpais.com/elpais/2020/01/10/gente/1578645819_584012.html) (accessed 16.06.2020).

<sup>23</sup> Fresneda C. 2022. Boris Johnson se tambalea cercado por el ‘Partygate’ con voces de dimisión de su propio Partido. *El Mundo*. 13.01.2022. URL: <https://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2022/01/12/61df1a0721efa00d5e8b45ad.html> (accessed 29.01.2022).

<sup>24</sup> Ego. URL: <https://www.dle.rae.es/ego?m=form> (accessed 23.08.2022).

<sup>25</sup> Jiménez L. F. 2019. Tanto ego, tanto desastre. *El Mundo*. 17.07.2019. URL: <https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2019/07/17/5d2e0fc1fdddf6bb18b45f0.html> (accessed 17.07.2019).

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

components play the same, nominative role, and the corresponding characteristic is given to them in context. Examples include the *Merkozy* (*Merkel* + *Sarkozy*) telescopic formation, created when journalists noticed the attempts by these leaders to recreate the Franco-German partnership, which was seen as an attempt by these EU powers to dominate the organization, and references to it were often accompanied by the word “dictate”: “*Durante varias décadas, la UE funcionó al paso del dictado franco-alemán*”<sup>27</sup> (“The EU has operated under the dictates of France and Germany for decades”).

The similar desire of Angela Merkel and François Hollande did not escape the eyes of the Spanish press either, which came up with the occasionalism *Merkolland* (*Merkel* + *Hollande*). However, these steps were welcomed, as the context in the following statement proves: “... *el optimismo que genera el acercamiento entre Merkel y Hollande (Merkolland)*”<sup>28</sup> (“... the optimism generated by the rapprochement between Merkel and Hollande”).

The joint efforts of the German and French leaders to strengthen the European Union were similarly applauded in another case: “*La sociedad Mercron [Merkel + Macron] tiene mejores oportunidades de generar buena voluntad en Europa que las que jamás tuvo la sociedad Merkozy [...]* Tanto Merkel como Macron necesitan que la sociedad *Mercron* funcione para poder crear una Europa más fuerte”<sup>29</sup> (“*Mercron* has greater opportunities to build goodwill in Europe than *Merkozy* ever had [...] Both Merkel and Macron need *Mercron* to work for a stronger Europe”).

The *Merkoron* (*Merkel* + *Cameron*) tandem was assessed less positively: “*Merkoron* ha impuesto su Ley: la canciller de Alemania, Angela Merkel, y el primer ministro del Reino Unido, David Cameron, están OK sobre el futuro presupuestario de Europa: austeridad, recorte del gasto público, intentos de saneamiento de las deudas soberanas y los déficits de Estado”<sup>30</sup> (“*Merkoron* imposes its own laws: German Chancellor Angela Merkel and British Prime Minister David Cameron agree on the future of Europe’s budget: austerity, government spending cuts, bail outs to try and tackle the sovereign debt crisis and cover budget deficits”).

The negative assessment here is expressed through the word combination “imposes its own laws”, as well as through the explanation of the essence of these “laws”.

<sup>27</sup> Ramírez P.J. Mejor ‘Billary’ en mano que ‘Obambi’ volando. URL: <https://www.reggio.wordpress.com/2008/02/10/mejor-billary-enmano-que-obambi-volando-de-pedro-j-ramirez-en-el-mundo/> (accessed 30.06.2019).

<sup>28</sup> Compass Group. Agárrense de las manos. URL: <https://www.webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:k7EJlQn9aAEJ:https://www.eleconomista.com.mx/opinion/Agarrence-de-las-manos-20120522-0009.html&cd=20&hl=ru&ct=-clnk&gl=ru&client=opera> (accessed 17.08.2022).

<sup>29</sup> Leonard M. 2017. Expectativas de la alianza ‘Mercron’. *El País*. 18.08.2017. [https://www.elpais.com/elpais/2017/07/24/opinion/1500888000\\_155700.html](https://www.elpais.com/elpais/2017/07/24/opinion/1500888000_155700.html) (accessed 24.06.2020).

<sup>30</sup> Quiñonero J.P. 2013. España, subvencionada por Europa, siempre. 9.02.2013. URL: <https://www.unatemporadaenelfierno.net/2013/02/09/merkoron-dicta-su-ley-a-europa-hollande-aliado-con-rajoy-espana-subvencionada> (accessed 12.06.2019).

At the same time, this nonce word is structurally different was the previous one – the “empty” affix “o”, which has no meaning of its own, is embedded between the two components<sup>31</sup>. However, the affix makes is graphically and phonetically different from the one we looked at before.

In the following example, the name of the political tandem **Busharra** (**Bush** + **Musharra**) would appear to be used in a neutral sense, since it does not include an assessment of any kind, but rather performs a nominative function. However, the words that come before it express a very definite assessment: “*El golpista aliado de EE. UU. al que llaman ‘Bush-arrar’*. Pavez Musharra era un aliado clave de Bush en su combate contra Al Qaida desde el 11-S... Era un valioso peón de Washington...”<sup>32</sup> (“A Putschist ally of the United States named **Busharra**. Pavez Musharra was a key ally of Bush in the fight against al-Qaeda after 9/11 [...] He was a valuable pawn of Washington [...]”).

Unlike the previous name, the occasionalism **Macroneón** (**Macron** + **Napoleón**) is expressive: “*El derrotado Macron o Macroneón, que imita al genocida corso en la técnica de publicitar campañas ruinosas como la de Egipto como grandes victorias de la civilización occidental, pretende borrar su derrota tras quedar como tercera fuerza en el Parlamento*”<sup>33</sup> (“The defeated Macron, or **Macroneón**, imitating the genocidal Corsican who had touted his numerous failed campaigns, such as the one to Egypt, as great victories for Western civilization, seeks to bounce back after his party became the third largest in Parliament”).

In this context, the author’s reference to Napoleon’s unsuccessful Egyptian campaign serves as a basis on which the **Macroneón** contaminant is built, and characterizes the politician as a loser.

In order to grasp the significance of the following contaminated formulations, we need to understand the political situation in Catalonia on the eve of the 2019 mayoral elections in Barcelona, in which the Catalonia native Manuel Valls, a former Prime Minister of France who sat in the French National Assembly, topped the list of the Citizens Party in Spain. As a member of the Barcelona City Council, Valls voted for Ada Colau, his rival in the elections, to be re-elected as mayor, which led to his break with the Citizens Party<sup>34</sup>.

In connection with this, an article appeared in the Spanish press that criticized the desire of the French politician to enter Catalan politics, its author suggesting that French President Emmanuel Macron was behind this, through the use of the **Macroneón** nonce word we have mentioned. A new “character” appeared in the story to complete a new occasionalism – **Microrrivera** (**Micro**- + **Rivera**) – Albert Rivera being

<sup>31</sup> Affiks [Affix]. URL: <https://www.bigenc.ru/linguistics/text/1842071> (accessed 10.08.2022).

<sup>32</sup> Clemente E. 2008. El golpista aliado de EE. UU. al que llaman ‘Bush-arrar’. La Vos de Galicia. 19.08.2008. URL: [https://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/noticia/internacional/2008/08/19/golpista-aliado-ee-uu-llaman-bush-arrar/0003\\_7071276.htm](https://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/noticia/internacional/2008/08/19/golpista-aliado-ee-uu-llaman-bush-arrar/0003_7071276.htm) (accessed 17.07.2019).

<sup>33</sup> Jiménez L. F. 2019. Macroneón y Microrrivera. *Libertad Digital*. 16.06.2019. URL: <https://www.libertaddigital.com/opinion/federico-jimenez-losantos/macroneon-y-microrrivera-88127/> (accessed 23.08.2022).

<sup>34</sup> Manuel Valls Galfetti. URL: [https://www.es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel\\_Valls\\_Galfetti](https://www.es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel_Valls_Galfetti) (accessed 29.08.2021).

the leader of the Citizens Party, the third largest political force in Spain, at the time: “*El genocida corso tuvo a dos reyes polichinelas, Fernando VII y Carlos IV, para humillar a España, pero los patriotas españoles acabaron humillándolo a él en el campo de batalla. Pero **Macroneón** no tiene el primer ejército del mundo, así que su muñeco no es rey de España y las Indias. Debe conformarse con el tercer partido de España, al que extravía un dirigente, que, ayuno de toda dignidad nacional e intelectual, nulificado en su cuna política barcelonesa por el maquereau político Valls y tras la jibarización de su partido, cabe llamar **Microrriversa***<sup>35</sup> (“The genocidal Corsican used two puppet kings – Ferdinand VII and Charles IV – to humiliate Spain. But the Spanish patriots ended up humiliating him on the battlefield. However, **Macroneón** does not have the strongest in the world, so his puppet is not the King of Spain. Instead, he has to settle for the third-largest party in Spain, which is being led along a dubious path by its leader – a man completely devoid of national and intellectual dignity who has been discredited in his political homeland by the political whoremonger Valls and should, along with his decimated party, be called **Microrriversa**”).

Here, the language-game is built on the meaning of the prefixes **micro** and **macro**, which are typically used to designate size – that is, to indicate the scale of an object or phenomenon. The logical and semantic opposition **micro-/macro-** serves as the basis for the “nickname” given to Albert Rivera, the chairman of the party that fell out of favour with voters and won just ten seats in the election to the Spanish parliament in November 2019, compared to 47 just six months earlier, and whom the author of the article calls a *muñeco* (“puppet”).

The contaminant **Macroneón** contains an allusion to Napoleon: the **-eon** part of his name is the definer and points to the ambitions to power of the person whose name, represented by the first part of the word, is the thing being defined. It thus follows from the context that the person referred to as **Macroneón** is not great in any sense of that word, even though the semantic component **Macro-** does give it some pseudo-significance.

The author of an article entitled “**Trumpistán**” (**Trump** + **-i-stán**, modern Farsi for “country”) sees Trump supporters as a kind of country: “... *Estados Unidos rurales, ignorantes hasta los tuétanos... No puede ser que la misoginia, la homofobia, transfobia, el fanatismo religioso y el atraso intelectual sigan imperando en buena parte de los Estados de la Unión. La mitad de ese país considera a Trump su ídolo porque ese es su modelo por seguir: el dinero por encima de la educación, mi bienestar por encima del bien común y mi religión por encima de las libertades de género y reproductivas de todos los habitantes*”<sup>36</sup> (“... [inhabitants of] backwater rural areas in the United States, ignorant to

<sup>35</sup> Jiménez L. F. 2019. Macroneón y Microrriversa. *Libertad Digital*. 16.06.2019. URL: <https://www.libertaddigital.com/opinion/federico-jimenez-losantos/macroneon-y-microrriversa-88127/> (accessed 23.08.2022).

<sup>36</sup> García de la Torre M.A. 2020. Trumpistan. *El Tiempo*. 4.11.2020. URL: <https://www.eltiempo.com/opinion/columnistas/maria-a-garcia-de-la-torre/columna-de-maria-garcia-de-la-torre-sobre-las-elecciones-en-ee-uu-547138> (accessed 5.11.2020).

the core [...] Misogyny, homophobia, transphobia, religious fanaticism and intellectual backwardness cannot be allowed to reign in so many states. Trump is an idol for half of the country, an inspiration: ‘money before education,’ ‘my wellbeing over the common good,’ and ‘my religion over gender and the reproductive freedom of Americans’”).

The citizens of the “country” of **Trumpistán** are described in a negative light from various points of view. And this, like the name itself, thanks to the second component of this occasionalism, evokes associations with certain countries today where such values are professed. This in itself shows the essence of the situation, which has arisen in a real country.

The expected failure and disastrous consequences of Trump’s policy are expressed using the contaminant **trumpírricas** (**trumpyrric**) a compound adjective invented by the author by adding the name Trump to the adjective **pírrico**, which is derived from the name of the ancient ruler **Pyrrhus**, meaning “an achievement that entailed disaster; a victory that came at the cost of too many lives; a success that led to failure; an acquisition that turned into a loss”<sup>37</sup>: “Trump, a quien sus defensores consideran el triunfo de la derecha gringa, podría ser lo peor que le hubiera podido pasar a ese movimiento. Quizá valga ensamblar un nuevo adjetivo para advertir a quienes quieran imitarlo: ojo con las victorias ‘trumpírricas’”<sup>38</sup> (“Trump, in whom his defenders see the triumph of the right in the United States, is perhaps the worst thing that could happen to this movement. Perhaps we should coin a new adjective to warn those who are inspired to act the way he does: beware of ‘trumpyrric’ victories”).

Thus, a pejorative modifier is added to the politician’s name in order to discredit him, to form a negative attitude towards him and his actions in the reader. The second word is used as a connotative, containing a pejorative assessment.

The phrase “**era Trumputin**” (**Trump** + **Putin**) describes the atmosphere in U.S.–Russia relations that developed during Donald Trump’s term in office as President of the United States: “¿Puede la era Trumputin convertir a la UE en una potencia militar? Europa impulsa iniciativas de integración en Defensa. Por un lado, la súbita frialdad con los Estados Unidos de Trump. La sensación de que Europa ya no puede contar con la protección de Washington como ha sucedido en los últimos 70 años. Por el otro, la creciente asertividad rusa y, como derivada, un panorama de desmorone de los acuerdos de control de armas que puede cambiar radicalmente la situación estratégica de Europa”<sup>39</sup> (“Will the EU become a military power in the **Trumputin era**? Europe is moving ahead with its defence integration initiative. On the one hand, there has been a sudden cooling of relations with the United States under Trump. One gets the impression that Europe cannot count on the protection of Washington the way it has been doing for seventy years.

<sup>37</sup> Pirrova pobeda [Pyrrhic Victory]. URL: <http://www.chtooznachaet.ru/znachenie-frazeologizma-pirrova-pobeda.html> (accessed 30.01.2022).

<sup>38</sup> Ways T. 2020. Una victoria trumpírrica. *El Tiempo*. 21.10.2020. URL: <https://www.eltiempo.com/opinion/columnistas/thierry-ways/una-victoria-trumpirrica-columna-de-thierry-ways-544563> (accessed 22.10.2020).

<sup>39</sup> Rizzi A. 2019. ¿Puede la era Trumputin convertir a la UE en una potencia militar? *El País*. 23.02.2019. URL: [https://www.elpais.com/internacional/2019/02/22/actualidad/1550844250\\_142644.html](https://www.elpais.com/internacional/2019/02/22/actualidad/1550844250_142644.html) (accessed 23.08.2022).

*On the other hand, we are seeing Russia becoming increasingly assertive, and the resulting destruction of arms control treaties could change the strategic environment in Europe radically”).*

In the contaminant **Trumputin**, both components are semantically equivalent in relation to each other and perform the same function – as a metonymic designation of the countries (the United States and Russia) through the names of their respective presidents. Meanwhile, the contaminant itself acts as a modifier of the noun **era** and describes the difficult situation in Europe, which is expressed explicitly: the lack of protection from the United States; the negative impact of Russia’s actions; the radical change in Europe’s position; and the expectation of a deterioration of the strategic situation on the continent.

The broad impact of the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States and the speeches of those who felt the 2020 elections in Belarus had been rigged was reason enough for some to draw an analogy between these two events, expressed in the contaminant **Trumpkashenko**, which served as the title of an article that argued the following: “El ‘#blacklivesmatter’ y las calles de Minsk nos vuelven a enseñar el extraordinario potencial democrático del ruido de los silenciados”<sup>40</sup> (“The Black Lives Matter movement and the streets of Minsk once again demonstrate the extraordinary democratic potential of those whose voices are not heard”).

In this neologism, both formants perform the same nominative function, and the relationship between them is one of comparison and juxtaposition: the occasionalism serves as a metonymic designation of countries where, according to the author, similar processes are taking place, and where the blame is placed squarely on the shoulders of the leaders of these countries and their actions.

The contamination also involves such customary word-formation elements as **-filo** and **-ífo** which, by virtue of their very semantics, express attitudes towards a given person: **Casadófilos** to refer to supporters of the leader of the People’s Party Pablo Casado and his sympathizers, and **SanchíFOBOS** to refer to opponents of the Prime Minister of Spain, Pedro Sánchez<sup>41</sup>.

Hilary Clinton’s nomination as the Democratic Party’s candidate in the 2016 presidential elections in the United States also led to the creation of new words: critics viewed her nomination as a manifestation of tireless ambition, nepotism in politics, careerism, and the desire to finally realize the “dynastic” dream of the Clintons – the joint “storming of the White House” they had planned years before, with each serving two presidential terms. The telescopic formation **Billary** appeared in the press as a playful name for the couple, accompanied by a negative assessment of the two

<sup>40</sup> Martínez-Bascuñán M. 2020. Trumpkashenko. *El País*. 30.08.2020. URL: [https://www.elpais.com/opinion/2020-08-29/trumpkashenko.html?event\\_log=oklogin&o=cerrado&prod=REGCRART](https://www.elpais.com/opinion/2020-08-29/trumpkashenko.html?event_log=oklogin&o=cerrado&prod=REGCRART) (accessed 30.08.2020).

<sup>41</sup> Rodríguez Teruel J. 2021. La nueva normalidad de Pedro Sánchez y Pablo Casado. *El País*. 08.09.2021. URL: <https://elpais.com/opinion/2021-09-08/la-nueva-normalidad-de-pedro-sanchez-y-pablo-casado.html> (accessed 10.11.2023).

in the comments: “...una especie de monstruo hermafrodita bautizado como **Billary** cuya avidez de poder termina siendo el compendio de todos los males imaginables<sup>42</sup>” (“... a kind of hermaphroditic monster called **Billary**, whose lust for power eventually became the manifestation of every conceivable evil”).

When used to describe a person, the English adjective **billary** is a derogative semantic and stylistic term that conveys a negative connotation, as it refers to bile. In the structure of this nonce word, the associative and figurative component acts as the basis for emotional evaluation and stylistic marking, linking the denotative and connotative content of the language unit<sup>43</sup>.

The election of the ultra-right politician Jair Bolsonaro as President of Brazil and his authoritarian style of government led to the creation of an entire family of occasionalisms in the Spanish press, formed on the same basis using the following models:

a) the first part of the surname + the formant **-gate**: “**Bolsogate**, el escándalo de corrupción que involucraría a Bolsonaro y su familia<sup>44</sup>” (“**Bolsogate** – The Corruption Scandal in which Bolsonaro and His Family May Be Involved”);

b) the first part of the surname + a significant word, the meaning of which is “duplicated” in the context: **Bolsocreyes**<sup>45</sup> (“people who believe in Bolsonaro”); **bolsojuniors**, referring to Jair Bolsonaro’s sons who, while not being members of the executive branch, frequently offer their takes on political events at the government level; **bolsogurú**, referring to the late ultra-conservative figure Olavo de Carvalho, who, from his home in the United States, criticized the presence of military personnel in Bolsonaro’s administration, opposed the U.S. military presence in Brazil and the country’s proposed scenario for resolving the crisis in Venezuela (by force), and warned that trade relations with Arab countries and China would worsen if Brazil continued to follow the United States’ lead in the political sphere; **bolsocanciller**, referring to Minister of Foreign Affairs Ernesto Araújo and indicating the ideological direction in which Bolsonaro’s government was leading the country; **bolsomonarquía** (“bolso-monarchy”); and **bolsopolémica** (“bolsopolemics”)<sup>46</sup>.

A derivational series is thus formed that performs a line function and organizes an entire fragment of the text of the article (Nikolina 1996: 310).

Additionally, contaminants can take the plural form where appropriate. Examples of this are the well-known anglicism **bolsojuniors** and the nonce word **voxonaros**, coined as a way of describing political opponents and made up of the name of the

<sup>42</sup> Ramírez P.J. 2008. Mejor ‘Billary’ en mano que ‘Obambi’ volando. *Revista de Prensa*. 10.02.2008. URL: <https://www.almendron.com/tribuna/mejor-billary-en-mano-que-obambi-volando/> (accessed 02.11.2023).

<sup>43</sup> Modalnost’ [Modality]. URL: <https://www.bigenc.ru/linguistics/text/2221549> (accessed 3.01.2022).

<sup>44</sup> ‘Bolsogate’, el escándalo de corrupción que involucraría a Bolsonaro y su familia. 2018. *El Desconcierto*. 29.12.2018. URL: <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/2018/12/29/bolsogate-el-escandalo-de-corrupcion-que-involucraria-a-bolsonaro-y-su-familia/> (accessed 24.08.2022).

<sup>45</sup> Brum E. 2019. Brasil, (des)governado por Twitter. *El País*. 6.03.2019. URL: [https://www.elpais.com/elpais/2019/03/05/opinion/1551794221\\_555348.html](https://www.elpais.com/elpais/2019/03/05/opinion/1551794221_555348.html) (accessed 27.01.2022).

<sup>46</sup> Brum E. 2019. Cien días bajo el dominio de los perversos. 11.04.2019. URL: [https://www.elpais.com/internacional/2019/04/11/america/1554996308\\_017043.html](https://www.elpais.com/internacional/2019/04/11/america/1554996308_017043.html) (accessed 4.08.2022).

Spanish party **VOX** and a part of the anthroponym (the surname of the person whose derogative characterization is given in the text): “**Voxsonaros**: *el presidente español Pedro Sánchez comparó a la oposición de derecha con Jair Bolsonaro, conocido por sus opiniones racistas, misóginas y homófobas*”<sup>47</sup> (“**Voxsonaros**: *Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez compares right-wing opposition to Jair Bolsonaro, who is known for his racist, misogynistic and homophobic remarks*”).

In the contaminant **voxsonaros**, the name of the party is definitive, to which the features of the person indicated by the final part of the surname are attributed.

In this context, the formant **-sonaros** (from the surname Bolsonaro) used in the plural retains the obvious connection with its denotation, and it is this connection that gives us an example of a “folded” metaphor (Gudkov 2020: 73) – (**Bol**)**sonaros** = politicians who are similar to Bolsonaro.

The modified part of the anthroponym is also represented the contaminant Pfizerico: “[Al periodista **Federico** Jiménez] *Losantos lo han bautizado como ‘Federico vacunas’ o ‘Pfizerico’, en alusión a la multinacional que patentó uno de los primeros antídotos contra el virus*”<sup>48</sup> (“[The journalist Federico Jiménez] *Losantos received the nicknames ‘Federico the Waxter’ and ‘Pfizerico’ after the name of the multinational corporation that registered one of the first coronavirus vaccines*”).

The reason behind the nickname was the journalist’s enthusiasm about the benefits of vaccination and is made up of the name of the company (which also bears the name of one of its founders) and the last part of the name of the person in question as the modifier. At the same time, the homonymic initial part of the final element is superimposed onto the last syllable of the first name: **Pfizer** + **Federico**.

Cases of cross-contamination can also be found in socio-political discourse. This involves combining two conjunctions that are semantically similar – that is, they belong to the same phraseosemantic group and are created using the same or similar syntactic models<sup>49</sup>.

These are combinations consisting of the name and surname of a person. Cross-contamination occurs according to the letter scheme **AB + CD = AD**. Combining the names and surnames of real people who have identical or similar political views serves to create a kind of “talking” complex image of active politicians.

<sup>47</sup> Guirado J. 2019. Sánchez equipara a PP, C’s y VOX con Bolsonaro: ‘Los voxsonaros son tres derechas que buscan la involución’. *OK Diario*. 12.01.2019. URL: <https://www.okdiario.com/espana/sanchez-equipara-pp-cs-vox-bolsonaro-voxsonaros-son-tres-derechas-que-buscan-involucion-356892> (accessed 4.08.2022).

<sup>48</sup> Moraga C. 2021. La extrema derecha y sus medios afines chocan por las vacunas: ‘los Bebelejas’ contra ‘Pfizerico’. *El Diario*. 29.09.2021. URL: [https://www.eldiario.es/politica/extrema-derecha-medios-afines-chocan-vacunas-bebelejas-pfizerico\\_1\\_8342745.html](https://www.eldiario.es/politica/extrema-derecha-medios-afines-chocan-vacunas-bebelejas-pfizerico_1_8342745.html) (accessed 23.08.2022).

<sup>49</sup> Tret’iakova I. I. 2011. Okkazionalnaia frazeologiya (strukturno-semanticheskii y kommunikativno-pragmaticheskii aspect [Occasional phraseology (structural-semantic and communicative-pragmatic aspects)]. Ph.D. dissertation abstract diss. Yaroslavl. URL: <https://www.cheloveknauka.com/okkazionalnaya-frazeologiya-1#:~:text=Объединению%20подвергаются%20две%20ФЕ%2С%20образованные,относящиеся%20к%20одной%20фразеосемантической%20группе> (accessed 18.07.2022).

For example, an article entitled “El ocaso conservador” (“The Fall of Conservatism”)<sup>50</sup> draws an analogy between the United Kingdom and Catalonia based on the desire of certain politicians to leave the European Union (in the case of the United Kingdom) or become an independent country (in the case of Catalonia), and the current state of conservatism following their actions, resorting to cross-contamination to playfully name and describe the common position of representatives of the British and Catalanian establishment.

Specifically, the article is about former British Prime Minister Boris Johnson, an ardent Brexiteer, and former president of the Government of Catalonia Artur Mas, who actively pushed for Catalanian independence. The author of the article uses cross-contamination (in this case rearranging their names) to create occasionalisms with a negative tinge: “**Boris Mas** – o **Artur Johnson** –, uno en su región, el otro en su nación, han dinamitado el conservadurismo. El apocado y anodino parvenu catalán y el energético prócer cosmopolita han diluido su formación en el populismo rampante y dominante” (“**Boris Mas**, or **Artur Johnson** – one in his region, the other in his country – shook the position of the conservatives. A pathetic and insignificant Johnny-come-lately and a prominent, energetic and sophisticated man, have dissolved their ideology in the creeping populism that now dominates”).

The same technique is used to create a collective image of other political players – First Secretary of the Socialists’ Party of Catalonia, government minister and opponent of Catalanian independence Miquel Iceta, on the one hand, and the leader of the Labour Party in the United Kingdom Jeremy Corbyn, who called for the United Kingdom to remain the European Union, on the other: “**El camaleónico Miquel Corbyn** – o **Jeremy Iceta** –, acomodaticio superviviente del establishment que cree un poco en cada cosa. Artur Johnson se crece porque Jeremy Iceta nunca se lanzará del todo a pararle los pies” (“**The opportunist Miquel Corbin**, or **Jeremy Iceta**, the unsinkable establishment survivor who believes in everything just a little bit. Artur Johnson is growing in power because Jeremy Iceta will never do anything to stop him”).

In the same vein, the author of the article draws a parallel between the left-wing political and social activist and current Mayor of Barcelona Ada Colau, and Brexit Party leader Nigel Farage, a fierce critic of European integration within the European Union and the Eurozone: “**Nigel Colau** – o **Ada Farage** –, agitadores que pescan en las aguas que revuelven” (“**Nigel Colau**, or **Ada Farage**, troublemakers who catch fish in water that they have muddied themselves”). The author sees these figures as bearers of the political strategy of national populism condemned in the West, describing it as follows: “**El nacionalpopulismo es una sola cosa, un único monstruo de dos cabezas y la gran amenaza de Europa**” (“**National populism is a united front, a two-headed monster that poses a great danger to Europe**”).

<sup>50</sup> Redondo J. 2019. El ocaso conservador. *El Mundo*. 08.09.2019. URL: <https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2019/09/08/5d73e459fdddf238c8b4589.html> (accessed 15.07.2022).

The nonce words we have analysed thus correspond to the appropriate communicative operation: a) they perform a nominative function (i.e. they contain the name of a person or party); or b) they additionally carry expressiveness and emotionality, allowing the author to express his or her thoughts more accurately and succinctly and convey their attitude to the reader, who can evaluate the topic under discussion, with these words aimed at manipulating the recipient in order to create a specific attitude in him or her.

Occasionalisms serve to express an individual author's ideas and drop out of active use once the event under discussion is no longer interesting to the general public. They may also be forgotten when the style of behaviour changes, or when the figure with whom occasionalisms are associated retires from political life.

Meanwhile, certain formants may remain in the word-building arsenal for a long time. Examples of this include *-gate*, and later *-(e)xit*: the former is used as a descriptive and evaluative element in the composition of contaminants, typically referring to any official who has been involved in a public scandal, or a person who was directly involved in such a scandal.

### Research Findings

This study has allowed us to establish a number of structural models of two- and three-component contaminants by connecting their parts:

1. Two full PNs with a common sound element: *Trumputin*.
2. A full PN + a full anthroponymic adjective with a common sound element: *Trumpírrico*.
3. The first part of a PN + the full part of a second PN with a common sound element: *Pablenin*.
4. The first part of a PN + an “empty” affix + the final part of a second PN: *Mer-koron*.
5. A full PN + the final part of a second PN without a common sound element: *Pfizerico*, *voxonaros*.
6. A full PN + the final part of a second PN with a common sound element: *Bush-arraf*, *Billary*.
7. A full PN + the first part of a CN without a common sound element: *Sánchez-Plag*.
8. The first part of a PN + a full CN without a common sound element: *bol-sopolémica*.
9. A full PN + the final part of a second PN without a common sound element: *Trumpkashenko*.
10. The first part of a PN + the final part of a second PN with a common sound element: *Merkozy*.
11. The first part of a PN + the final part of a second PN without a common sound element: *Merkolland*.

12. A full PN + the formant **-gate**: *Scholzgate*.

13. The first part of a PN + the formant **-(e)xit** without a common sound element: *Megxit*, *Borxit*.

The first or final part of each initial anthroponym can be represented by any of its fragments in order to create the required combination. For example, different parts of the proper name Bolsonaro served to form the contaminants ***bolso*canciller** and ***vox*sonaros**.

The process of contamination word formation involves, in addition to anthroponyms, meaning-bearing lexical units of Spanish (***bolso*canciller**) or English (***bolso*juniors**), anthroponymic adjectives (***Trump*írrico**), and the usual derivational means: the element **-istan** to indicate location (***Trump*istán**), the affix **ego-** (***Ego*sánchez**), the affixes **micro-** and **macro-** (***Micror*rivera**, ***Macro*neón**), which form antonymic pairs, and the suffixes **-filo** and **-ífo** (***Casado*filos**, ***Sanchi*fobos**), which are attached to the name of a politician (the full name or a truncated form of it) and express cognitive and value significance,

In the right context, a precedent situation can be invoked to produce the name of a public scandal that also includes the name of the person involved, as in the case of ***Clintongate***.

In the structure of contaminants, there are theme-rheme relationships between the basic (defined) element and the defining element, which carries new, evaluative information that describes the basic element from a certain point of view.

The relative positions of the “defined” and “defining” elements can be different. That is, any of the formants of a nonce word can appear in the first or second position, although it is strictly fixed in each case: *Scholzgate*, *trampírrico*, *SánchezPlag*, *Pablenin*; or in the preposition: *Microrrivera*, *Egosánchez*, *Bolsogurú*

A precedent name can act as a defining element: *Pablenin*, *Macroneón*.

When there is no “defined” / “defining” relationship between the two parts of contaminants of the ***Merkozy*** type, their assessment is expressed in the context. For example, in one article, the author uses the ***Busharra*f** contaminant to describe the allied relations between the United States and Pakistan, painting them in a negative light with the words “putschist” and “pawn”.

Some formants of contaminated formations acquire the property of ordinary word-building means and are fixed in the language in this capacity. Of those we have looked at, **-gate** is the most commonly used. Occasionalisms that contain such elements are characterized by reproducibility in modern speech and form the ***Watergate*** family of words. The lexeme ***gate*** has entered the Spanish language as a formant with a new meaning (“public scandal”), while the lexeme ***exit***, as a formant, incorporates the basic dictionary meaning of “to exit / to leave”.

An assessment can be based on historical data associated with a person whose name is used to describe a modern politician through a contaminant, for example, ***Macroneón***.

It can be expressed through the actualization of the internal form of the nonce word (*Billary*), embedded in its semantic structure, or explicated in its cognitive-verbal environment, contextually.

Assessments can be positive or negative. The body of data we have analysed is primarily made up of negative assessments, in some cases expressed clearly through lexical means (*Trumpírrico*, the word-formative means of *Microrrivera*), or contextually. Only rarely are positive assessments unambiguously explicated in the context, specifically in relation to the word *Merkoron*.

The play on words in the form of the *Billary* occasionalism or as a *micro-/macro-*opposition to describe modern politicians, brings, in addition to a subjective evaluation, a touch of infotainment journalism. In this model, the PN acts as a defining word, helps to reconstruct the cognitive scenario and the reference situation, and, in combination with the background knowledge of the recipient, serves as an allusion to the names of other participants.

## Conclusions

In the Spanish-language socio-political discourse contamination is a common and productive way of forming nonce words based on anthroponyms. The entire corpus of neologisms of this kind can be seen as a type of macrosystem in the modern Spanish vocabulary, where families of words can be distinguished.

In the context of political confrontation, the evaluative attitude towards the opponent is evident. The abundance of contaminants based on anthroponyms emphasizes the anthropocentric nature of this occasional word formation.

The deanthroponymic contaminants of the “cascade” we have looked at perform a nominative function first and foremost, denoting a phenomenon, event, person or group, as well as a descriptive function that expresses one or more of their properties or qualities.

Contamination allows us to create vivid, multidimensional and capacious images built through the method of “comparison”, which involves comparing or likening certain individuals to one another, or their qualities according to a common (typically negative) attribute and expressing certain semantic relationships between the components of the new word.

### About the Author:

**Iurii Murzin** – Ph.D., Associate Professor of the Department of Spanish at MGIMO. Moscow, Russia. His research interests include cognitive linguistics, semantics, lexicology, phraseology, and media discourse research. E-mail: yu.p.murzin@inno.mgimo.ru.

### Conflicts of interest.

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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# Modern Technologies of Teaching Foreign Languages in the Context of Digitalization of Foreign Language Education<sup>1</sup>

Tatiana A. Dmitrenko

Moscow Pedagogical State University

**Abstract.** This article analyses the problem associated with improving the quality of professional training of foreign language teachers. The quality and level of foreign language training in higher education are determined by the teaching staff, who are the bearers of the ideology of education renewal. In the context of the digitalization of education, improving the quality of foreign language training involves the widespread use of digital learning technologies. The digitalization of education has brought the foreign language training of students to a new level in terms of quality, which makes it possible to raise the culture of teaching foreign languages, ensure the social adaptation of the student, and create an appropriate digital educational and developmental environment for the personal development of the student. This article examines the most significant trends in the higher education system that create the conditions for training competitive specialists, who become the main indicator of the quality of university education. The fluency in a given foreign language of educators trained using next-generation technologies is proof of the advantages that the new system of foreign language training through the use of digital learning technologies provides. The introduction of digital technologies in the process of teaching a foreign language substantially expands the possibilities of education, significantly enriching the educational process.

**Keywords:** foreign language training, competitive specialist, digitalization of language education, digital technologies, educational trends, quality improvement

Speaking at international research conferences and symposiums, Elena Solovova invariably emphasized the fact that the theory of foreign language acquisition today focuses on the active work of the student to master that language. This is fully in line with ideas about developing education. In this regard, new goals and objectives

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of foreign language training are set, new concepts, teaching methods and technologies appear, and more advanced training materials are published, including electronic learning tools (Solovova 2004; Solovova 2005).

Budding experts in intercultural contacts should have the tools to deal with professional and non-professional tasks in the context of the digitalization of education. They will need to be able to carry out research and pedagogic work in accordance with modern standards, which involves using digital education resources and digital learning technologies, and this, in turn, increases the overall quality of teachers of foreign languages and cultures.

Training students in intercultural communication involves developing their intercultural sensitivity, which implies the ability to conduct intercultural communication in compliance with the norms or rules of speech behaviour adopted in the country of the language being studied. New-generation learning technologies allow the student to gain experience in intercultural communication in the process of modelling cultural space in a foreign language class. Digital technologies for teaching foreign languages and cultures make it possible to enrich classes in terms of their content, while at the same time stimulating high levels of cognitive activity among students. This is made possible by ensuring an optimal combination of the educational material presented by the instructor and the independent work of the student, getting the class to complete creative tasks and assignments, implementing flexible methods of testing knowledge and skills using the educational and development environment that has been created, and indirectly assessing student progress during role-playing and business games (Dmitrenko 2021).

The problem of training young foreign languages teachers in the context of updated techniques of foreign language teaching was something that Elena Solovova struggled with at a deep level. One of the most important ideas that permeates her published works is that the foreign language training of language instructors today is of better quality than ever before, and not only because new teaching aids have appeared in the methodological arsenal of the foreign language teacher that allow us to construct the educational process more dynamically and productively, but, more importantly, because the foreign language training of language instructors involves teaching languages using next-generation technologies (Solovova 2004; 2010).

To be sure, digital technologies for teaching foreign languages using the internet, as well as active and interactive methods and forms of learning in the digital educational space have become widespread. These methods involve problem solving, role-playing and business games, conducting dialogues between cultures, completing projects, analysing business situations, etc.

## Research materials and methods

Research into the professional training of specialists in the system of higher language education and the analysis of educational practice indicates that the integration of Russian education into the global education space has helped produce new precepts for the training of professionals in intercultural communication:

- The increased competitiveness of modern specialists in the labour market.
- The professional fluency of experts in accordance with international standards.

This implies a reasonably high level of foreign language proficiency in the course of dealing with issues, work-related and otherwise, within the framework of international cooperation.

An analysis of educational practice has shown that a number of psychological and pedagogical conditions that make it possible to raise the quality of teaching culture as a whole need to be met in order to implement an effective system for the teaching of foreign languages and cultures. Chief among these are:

- improving the digital literacy of teachers, which implies having both the necessary digital resources and the willingness to work in a digital educational environment, as well as developing new electronic materials that are commensurate to the learning goals that have been set;
- organizing the learning process according to the personal characteristics of students and with due account of their level of foreign language proficiency;
- getting teachers to use modern digital educational tools and selecting the best ones in terms of the goals and objectives of the training;
- using digital tools both in the classroom and in the process of planning independent study;
- providing modern technological support for the process of teaching foreign languages and cultures, including the provision of the necessary software, access to the internet, etc.;
- increasing student motivation by creating the necessary psychological and pedagogical conditions for meeting their foreign language needs for both personal and professional purposes.

Student surveys and testing confirm that developing a curriculum for the teaching of foreign languages and cultures with due account of the psychological and pedagogical conditions listed above helps to not only increase motivation and cognitive activity among students, but also contributes to the development of their creative thinking, the development of skills that allow them to navigate the modern foreign language digital space and gain experience in intercultural communication.

Thus, in the context of the digitalization of foreign language education, the path has opened for the transition to a higher quality of teaching as a whole. As an analysis of educational practice shows, the teaching of foreign languages produces results when

an authentic language environment is created, one that reflects the real environment of the bearers of the language being studied. Foreign language teachers are thus forced to model foreign language teaching environments as close as possible to “natural”. This is where digital educational technologies come in, as they can immerse students in a virtual environment that is as close to the authentic language environment as possible.

### **Discussion of the results of various studies**

Studies carried out over the past decade show that virtual reality is a set of ordered and hierarchically built components of the educational process that is focused on creating the necessary conditions for expanding the communicative experience of students in their chosen foreign language and provides them with both an artificial foreign language environment and educational and developmental conditions that promote the assimilation of speech material in a foreign language. In this regard, digital technologies are also a source of untapped potential in terms of organizing the educational process – namely, the development of speed learning.

An analysis of studies carried out shows that those who belong to the “digital generation” – people born in the 2000s – have what we call “clip” or “mosaic” thinking. Educational practice tells us that “clip consciousness visualizes the world, rather than thinking about it”. The digital world influences these students immensely. Lengthy and complicated texts are quite difficult, sometimes even impossible, for people with clip consciousness to analyse and summarise. They are simply unable to apprehend large amounts of certain information at a time. They need educational information to be presented in a fun way and in manageable portions in order for their attention not to wander and to be able to better assimilate the material.

The digital generation of learners has grown up with smartphones firmly in hand. They have great difficulty taking in large amounts of educational information. This is their biggest weakness. However, this generation is good at multitasking and making decisions in stressful situations under tight deadlines. Thus, educational information should be presented differently for these learners to how it was done in the past.

Given all this, information should be introduced in small portions using digital technologies in order for it to be better assimilated. This, in addition to the necessary emotional environment, helps to create a comfortable atmosphere in the foreign language class. This is why the use of short videos is becoming increasingly widespread in education today as a way of presenting new material. Presenting information in a nonlinear, modular and multidimensional fashion using digital technologies helps to transition from a reproductive, verbal teaching paradigm to a visual and logical one, which in turn forces both hemispheres of the student’s brain to work at the same time, influencing the main channels of perception in an integrated manner (Dmitrenko 2021: 43).

Processing information in bite-size pieces facilitates the process of memorization, while the instructor is responsible for the emotional presentation of language material through short videos on the topic being studied, which give food for thought. Educational practice shows that the use of digital technologies in the teaching of foreign languages and cultures is a more effective way of processing and comprehending information. Involving each and every student in the educational process allows them to process the flow of information in their own way, filtering out whatever is not needed or useful, which leads to the final result – ready-to-use knowledge. The use of digital resources in the learning process optimizes the mastery of foreign language speech activity and fosters the development of the appropriate skills in students, such as: the ability to use the tools of the media environment, internet sites, web conferences, wiki libraries, blogs, video hosting and sharing services, audio podcasts, presentations, etc. (Voevoda 2020).

New-generation technologies allow us to successfully tackle a broader range of tasks, since digital technologies create conditions for solving problems that simply cannot be solved without them. For example, the internet can be used to communicate with colleagues in different cities and countries in order to exchange experience in dealing with a specific issue in the framework of intercultural cooperation.

The digitalization of education has given teachers an extensive set of various tools and computer programs that allow them to prepare more advanced educational materials, create a language environment that is tailored for learning and development, and organize the learning process in a creative way. All this significantly stimulates communicative activity in the foreign language, immersing students in a virtual, interactive foreign language environment and creating the illusion that they are actually in a country where the language they are studying is spoken natively.

The training of competent specialists using digital technologies (training simulators, virtual classes, etc.) involves communicating in the foreign language, with due account of the socio-cultural context, which implies the creation of a cultural space in the classroom. Digital learning technologies allow us to recreate the sociocultural context, meaning a different vision of the world, different mentalities, customs and lifestyles. This is all experience in intercultural communication, which takes place alongside the process of mastering the foreign language itself during lessons.

The didactic potential of the new generation of educational technologies is extremely wide, and it points to the adaptability and personalization of the education process, the high speed of information processing, the transparency of activities, and a comfortable learning environment (in terms of speed of delivery, content, psychological wellbeing, etc.). With the digitalization of education, teachers must be ready and able to use digital technologies, which provide unlimited opportunities for the student to realize his or her full potential. Digital technologies make it easier to model intercultural interaction, where speech behaviour is not identical for people of different

cultures. This helps students develop intercultural sensitivity, which is vital for mutual understanding and establishing fruitful communication between people (Dmitrenko, Kadilina 2020: 19).

## Conclusion

In summing up, we should note that the use of digital technologies makes it possible to not only diversify lessons and make them more interesting and meaningful for students, but also to teach the culture of speech behaviour that is typical of the people of the country where the language being studied is spoken. The use of digital technologies involves transitioning to interactive methods and forms of education, stimulating cognitive activity and independence in the student, contributing to the creative understanding of the educational material, and providing experience in applying the material learnt in real life by communicating at the intercultural level.

Today, digital technologies play a significant role in foreign language training, as they allow the student to better master knowledge related to the culture of the country in which the language he or she is studying is spoken, and form the ability and willingness to understand the mentality of native speakers, as well as the specifics of their communicative behaviour, since knowledge (or ignorance) of cultural characteristics plays a decisive role in achieving mutual understanding in intercultural communication (Vetrinskaya, Dmitrenko 2017: 38).

Mastering a foreign language is unthinkable today without the use of digital technologies, which are specially selected by the instructor according to certain criteria (the methodological value in terms of developing basic skills and abilities, according to the interests of the students, their age group, the subject of the material being taught, etc.). The emotional impact achieved through the use of digital technologies increases student motivation and how well they assimilate cultural information in the absence of a true language environment.

In terms of realizing the ultimate goal in the foreign language training of a competent specialist, digital technologies are extremely important, especially when it comes to developing intercultural communicative competence, which is about more than simply mastering the language itself and involves observing the social norms of speech communication and the rules of speech behaviour typical for native speakers of that language.

Thus, the words of Elena Solovova that “it is important for specialists in all fields to be able to work with a computer and use the internet...” (Solovova 2005: 38) have proven to be truly prophetic, especially for those who work in the field of intercultural communications. Foreign language training carried out using digital educational technologies helps form commercially viable and qualified professionals who boast a creative mindset and active life philosophy, and who have a high level of intercultural competence.

### About the Author:

**Tatiana A. Dmitrenko** – Dr. Sci. (Pedagogy), professor in the Department of Linguodidactics and Modern Technologies of Foreign Language Education at Moscow Pedagogical State University, Academician of the International Teachers' Training Academy of Science. Moscow, Russia. E-mail: dmit.t.a@mail.ru

### Conflicts of interest.

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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