

MGIMO
UNIVERSITY



RUSSIAN JOURNAL OF CULTURAL STUDIES AND COMMUNICATION

Volume 2, number 2

2023

Russian Journal of Cultural Studies and Communication

Peer-Reviewed Journal

<https://www.cultures.mgimo.ru/>

Editor-in-Chief

Kizima, Marina P. – Dr. Sci. (Philology), Professor, Department of World Literature and Culture, MGIMO University (ORCID) (Scopus)

Editorial Board:

Iovenko, Valerii A. – Dr. Sci. (Philology), Head of the Spanish Language Department, MGIMO-University

Khramchenko, Dmitry S. – Dr. Sci. (Philology), Professor, English Language Department №4, MGIMO University (ORCID) (Scopus)

Kudryavtsev, Oleg F. – Dr. Sci. (History), Professor, Department of World and Russian History, MGIMO University (ORCID)

Simonov (Viazemsky), Yury P. – Cand. Sci. (History), Professor, Head of the Department of World Literature and Culture, MGIMO University

Silantyeva, Margarita V. – Dr. Sci. (Philosophy), Professor, Head of the A. F. Shishkin Department of Philosophy, MGIMO University (ORCID) (Scopus)

Evteev, Sergei V. – Cand. Sci. (Philology), Professor, German Language Department, Director of Language training and Bologna process Directorate, MGIMO-University, (ORCID)

Table of Contents • 2(2) • 2023

RESEARCH ARTICLES

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2023

National and International Discourses

- 4 Grantseva E. O. – Fragile Ties: Spanish Themes in Soviet Porcelain
- 14 Kamalova S. D. – Functions of Stereotypes in Mass Culture in the Context of Critical Multiculturalism
- 23 Fedorova E. S. – The Diplomat, Strategist, Intelligence Officer, Historian — in the Service of Russia. Prince Alexey B. Lobanov-Rostovsky

Professional Discourses

- 52 Kashenkova I. S. – Linguistic Means of Speech Manipulation in the Discourse of Modern German-Language Media
- 70 Pleshkova D. S. – Unveiling the Language Techniques Behind the Pragmatic Meaning of Sarcasm in American Confrontational Film Discourse

Scientific Discourses

- 80 Chironov S.V. – Experience in Annotating Connectives in Japanese Text – Lessons and Prospects

Fragile Ties: Spanish Themes in Soviet Porcelain¹

Ekaterina O. Grantseva

Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Science

Abstract. This article is devoted to the study of the so-called “Spanish theme” in Soviet porcelain. The author analyses the reflection of the stereotypical perception of Spain in small porcelain sculptures of the Soviet period produced by a variety of manufactures. Among the components of the Spanish theme, the author highlights the images of flamenco (Spanish dance), bullfighting, the most recognizable heroes of Cervantes (Don Quixote and Sancho Panza), and the fiery Carmen who was created by Prosper Mérimée and has become the stereotypical image of a nineteenth-century Spanish woman in the popular imagination thanks to the musical and dance pieces of the same name. These traditional components of the perception of Spain in the twentieth century were supplemented by the interpretation of a turning point in Spanish history – the Civil War of 1936–1939 – in propaganda porcelain. This article proposes another perspective on the Spanish theme in Soviet porcelain and considers the formation of the images of Spaniards, men and women. Such images are reflected in all the plots presented in this paper. Most of the sculptural works by different generations of Soviet porcelain masters are devoted to dance. The author concludes that dance scenes, including the ones that refer to Carmen, are fundamental for the Spanish theme in Soviet porcelain.

Keywords: USSR, Spain, porcelain, small plastic arts, imagology, stereotypes, Soviet ballet, Spanish dance, Carmen, bullfighting, Don Quixote

Soviet porcelain is one of the most striking symbols of the twentieth century Russian culture. Its originality and superb quality are associated with the enduring tradition of porcelain production in the Russian Empire, while at the same time being a result of the conditions in which Soviet arts and crafts developed as a whole.

Numerous studies have dealt with the topic of images and ideas about Spain (Astakhova 2017; Bagno 2006; Grantseva 2017), one that can rightly be called among the most significant in modern Spanish studies (Grantseva 2018: 274). However, arts and crafts – and porcelain in particular – remain a more or less ignored area in studies

¹ English translation from the Russian text: Grantseva E. O. 2022. Fragile Ties: Spanish Themes in Soviet Porcelain. *Concept: Philosophy, Religion, Culture*. 6(4). P. 105–114. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24833/2541-8831-2022-4-24-105-114>

that are devoted to a discussion of images and ideas about Spain in various spheres of Russian culture. That being said, art critics who study Soviet porcelain do on occasion mention Spain in the context of other issues they are investigating (Sapanzha, Ivanova, Balandina 2021).

So, what do we mean when we talk about the “Spanish theme” in Soviet porcelain? One of its main features is that it conveys stereotypical ideas about Spain. As A. Koroleva notes, “in the context of the dialogue of cultures in the symbolic capital of national culture, heterostereotypes – stable generalized ideas about ‘others’ – come to the fore. Being incredibly stable over time, they primarily create a simplified, one-sided image, and sometimes distort it” (Koroleva 2018: 243).

The most popular stereotypes reflected in Soviet porcelain are flamenco dancing and bullfighting. Other key images of the Spanish cultural tradition such as Don Quixote and Sancho Panza also appeared on these works of art. And let us not forget the main female image associated with Spain, that of Carmen, created by the Frenchman Prosper Mérimée and firmly entrenched in music and dance. These traditional components of the perception of Spain in the twentieth century would be joined by propaganda images from a turning point in the country’s history – the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939 – in which the Soviet Union played a significant role.

There were thus four main elements of the “Spanish theme” in Soviet porcelain – dancing, the literary heroes created by Miguel de Cervantes, the Civil War, and bullfighting. At the same time, a research approach to determining the specifics of the endo- (external) images of the stereotypical *Spaniard* appears to be heuristically promising, which is reflected in all the elements we have mentioned.

In her discussion of the representation of the peoples of the world and the peoples of the Soviet Union in the works of master sculptors from the LFZ², E. Ivanova notes, “national porcelain images [...] in the artistic interpretation are laconic and stripped down, devoid of both anatomical and ethnographic accuracy in the creation of pieces. Most important for the sculptor was to create images that reflect the national characters, traditions and customs of the people in question”³.

Dancing has always been a popular theme for adorning small items made out of plastic. Naturally, Spanish dancing, in its various manifestations and interpretations, is the main hallmark of the “Spanish theme”. Most research articles on this subject focus on dance. And sculptors from different Soviet generations focused on this very aspect of Spanish culture. The first sculptor of Soviet porcelain to depict Spanish dancing in their works was the legendary Natalya Danko.

The period of civil war following the October Revolution was not a good time for the development of porcelain production. However, as A. Saltykov noted, “in 1918, a group of young artists came together [...] under the guidance of the talented graphic

² LFZ here means “Leningrad Lomonosov Porcelain Factory”.

³ Ivanova E. V. Works of the Leningrad Porcelain Factory in the 1950s–1960s in the Context of the History of Soviet Artistic Porcelain. Doctoral dissertation 17.00.04, St. Petersburg, 2020. P. 122.

artist Sergey Chekhonin at the former Imperial Porcelain Factory. These works depicted revolutionary images and slogans in various decorative forms: emblems, allegories, epigraphs, and ornaments [...] A short time later, the factory started producing decorative figurines. The main role here was played by sculptor Natalya Danko, who created numerous figurines on contemporary topics” (Saltykov 1959).

Natalya Danko was born in Tiflis (modern-day Tbilisi) in 1892. She studied at the Stroganov School for Technical Drawing and later honed her craft in various private studios. After moving to St. Petersburg in 1908, she studied under Leonid Sherwood and Vasily Kuznetsov, after which she embarked on her professional career, initially creating sculptures as decorations for buildings. In 1914, Natalya found work at the Imperial Porcelain Factory in Petrograd, which was renamed the State Porcelain Factory after the Revolution. One of her most iconic works of this period was the *Reds and Whites* chess set, which is now on display at the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow. In 1919, she was put in charge of the State Porcelain Factory’s sculpture workshop, where she remained until the Soviet Union entered the Second World War in 1941⁴. In 1928, the factory, spurred on by its achievements at various international exhibitions and fairs, started to produce replicas of the most commercially successful works of Soviet masters for export, including those by Natalya Danko. In 1931, Natalya was appointed the person responsible for the production of sculptures for export. Over the course of a quarter of a century, she produced more than three hundred works of porcelain art. She is recognized both at home and abroad as one of the most prominent and original porcelain sculptors of the Soviet period.

In the early 1920s, Natalya turned her creative hand to the subject of ballet, continuing “the tradition of the Imperial Porcelain Factory, which produced sculptures of ballet dancers in the early twentieth century” (Doronina 2015: 145). Her works depicted the most famous names in Russian ballet at the time: Vaslav Nijinsky, Anna Pavlova and Sofia Fedorova. It is no coincidence that ballet occupied a prime position in her artistic endeavours, as this was a time when many of the most popular pre-revolutionary productions were being restored on the stages of Moscow and Petrograd theatres, when “the predictions of sceptics and those of little faith – those who in the initial years following the Great October Socialist Revolution called for the elimination of classical ballet, insisting that the proletarian spectator would never like or accept it – never came to be”⁵.

We should also note how popular the Spanish “Panaderos” dance was with ballet aficionados after it was featured in Alexander Glazunov’s *Raymonda*. This is what Danko had in mind when she was creating her own version of what a Spanish woman should be⁶. The sculpture was named *Carmen, or Spanish Dance (Ballerina Sofia Fe-*

⁴ Sametskaya E. B. 2004. *Soviet Propaganda Porcelain*. Moscow: Collector’s Books. P. 133–134.

⁵ *Soviet Ballet in the Art of Helena Janson-Manizer: An Album*. 1965. Compiled by V. V. Strekalov. Leningrad: RSFSR Artist.

⁶ GFZ Report for 1922–1923. Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg. Rep. 2555. Inv. 1. S. 565.

dorova the Second in Alexander Glazunov's Ballet Raymonda). A replica of the model was produced in the early 1950s with the participation of Varvara Rukavishnikova (Nosovich 2005: 373). The figurine was notable for its ornateness and came in two versions: one with a black and purple dress, and another with a white and yellow dress. As L. Doronina notes, “the sculptor emphasized the dancer’s stormy temperament, leading, according to E. Goltsman, the audience into a state of ecstasy” (Doronina 2015: 147). The expressive pose of Sofia Fedorova reflects both the passion of the image and the fiery temperament of the of the ballerina herself. The figurine was exhibited at a trade show in Venice in 1922, sold at fairs in Lyon and Stockholm in 1923, and earned a spot “in the list of State Porcelain Factory products that are in greatest demand in the Soviet Union and abroad” (Nosovich 2005: 373).

In the late 1930s, another dimension of the “Spanish theme” in the form of Soviet propaganda porcelain made its way to the fore. The romantic images of ballet dancers captured by Soviet sculptors were replaced by dramatic scenes of Republican Spain fighting the rebels – an image of the country that, according to Ilya Ehrenburg, was “neither Carmen nor bullfighting”.

The first to address the tragic events of the Spanish Civil War was Kazimir Ryzhov, a sculptor originally from Kolpino who had studied at the Leningrad Art and Industrial College and the Academy of Arts. He worked at the State Porcelain Factory in the 1930s before being appointed artistic director of the Gzhel Porcelain Factory⁷.

Ryzhov’s 1936 work *Spanish Woman with Child* appeared in the State Porcelain Factory catalogue⁸. It is coloured in the minimalist style. The artist uses white, along with dark tones and shades of red. Both the woman and the girl clinging to her appear frozen, as if desperately trying to escape from the impending disaster, full of drama and crying out for help. The appeal is fully consonant with the hopes of the Republicans addressed to the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1936.

In 1938, Ryzhov returned to the Spanish theme and created the sculpture *Spanish Vigilante*: the figure of a vigilante holding a girl in his arms and brandishing a rifle in his right hand⁹. He used the bisque technique (unglazed porcelain) to make the figurine, and its laconic texture gives the impression that the sculpture was made out of marble. The figure of the soldier instils a sense of calm and self-confidence as he protects the child. It was important to convey this feeling of composure at a time when sad news was trickling in from Spain and a campaign had been launched in the Soviet Union to help Spanish children.

⁷ Sametskaya. P. 279.

⁸ Rodinyu I. T. 1938. (ed.). *A Catalogue of Decorative Porcelain*, foreword by E. Y. Danko. Leningrad: Narkomtiazhprom, State Office of Directories and Catalogues.

⁹ Sametskaya. P. 279.

Aleksey Zhiradkov was another Soviet sculptor who was inspired by the events of the Spanish Civil War, completing his *Spanish Warrior (Female Fighter of the Spanish Militia)* in 1936¹⁰. The sculpture is also made using the bisque technique, and it depicts a typical Spanish woman of the time, defiant and ready to fight alongside the men. Particularly interesting are the clothes she is wearing – a boiler suit (which were popular at the time), espadrilles on her feet and, of course, the obligatory “Spanish” cap with a tassel.

Ryzhov and Zhiradkov’s works are true rarities, and replicas of them are kept at the Kuskovo Estate Museum. The items produced by the Gorodnitsky Porcelian Factory on the theme of Spain were far more widespread.

Back in the late eighteenth century, the Czartoryski princes, who owned Gorodnitsa near Zhytomyr, opened a porcelain factory nearby, hiring French masters to run it. A second branch was opened in Gorodnitsa itself in the early nineteenth century. The factory operated until 1917, when revolutionary events forced it to close. It was reopened in 1923 under a new name – the Comintern Gorodnitsky Porcelian Factory. Its main activity during this time was the production of propaganda porcelain.

One of the most prominent Gorodnitsa artists of the pre-war period was Raisa Marchuk, who is noted for her sculpture *Spanish Soldier with a Child*. The work echoes the image created by Ryzhov, but is more sentimental. In it, the soldier (like Ryzhov’s) is clutching a rifle, but he is depicted sitting and holding the child tightly to his body. Additionally, Marchuk’s figurine is painted, with the artist imagining what a Republican soldier would typically wear, and here we see the “Spanish” cap once again.

Marchuk also tried her hand at creating an image of the female with her sculpture *Spanish Vigilante with a Wounded Soldier*. Unlike Zhiradkov, she produced a vision of the female as a warrior who was full of tragedy. In terms of composition, the work resembles the classic image of *La Pietà*: the heroine is holding a dying soldier in her arms, and now she, like the woman in Goya’s *What Courage!* must continue his work.

Marchuk’s works are relatively widespread today, and are mass produced. Although this does not answer the many questions about them. First is the question of exactly when they were created: their hallmarks typically date them to the first half of the 1930s, that is, before the Spanish Civil War had even begun. Most catalogues put “1930s”¹¹ but the history of Soviet–Spanish relations during that period (1936–1939) tells us that the sculptures were clearly made between 1936 and 1938, and the confusion with the hallmarks is a result of the large number of counterfeits that were produced.

As we know, the Spanish Civil War ended in the tragic defeat of the Republic in April 1939 and a break in diplomatic relations between Spain and the Soviet Union that lasted almost forty years. Informal ties and the development of intercultural

¹⁰ Ibid. P. 187.

¹¹ Pelinsky I., Safonova M. 2012. *Soviet Porcelain 1917–1991: Illustrated Catalogue with the Names of Porcelain Factories and Prices*. Moscow: Lyubimaya kniga.

dialogue in various fields thus acquired particular significance during this time. The arts and crafts, including porcelain production, were no exception. It was during this period that the theme of Spanish dance first depicted in the works of Natalya Danko lived on in the works of Helena Janson-Manizer, who in 1934–1937 set about creating “original compositions depicting famous dancers dancing” (Doronina 2015: 147).

As early as 1939, Elena turned to the image of *Ballerina Nina Stukolkina Performing the Spanish Flamenco Dance (Laurencia)*, and then created a series of images of incredibly refined and expressive Spanish girls portrayed by Soviet ballet dancers¹². These works included *O.M. Berg as the “Spanish Girl”* and *O.G. Iordan as Kitri from Don Quixote* in 1940, *Ballerina Nina Anisimova dancing the Panaderos (Raymonda)* in 1946, and *Ballerina Nina Fedorova Dancing a Spanish Dance (Andalusian Wedding)* in 1961. These works are incredibly expressive and give one the impression that they are filled with the energy of Spanish dance, the sound of castanets and the flight of fluffy skirt frills. Equally expressive are the images of men produced by Janson-Manizer, for example the image of *A.A. Lavrenyuk as the Andalusian (Capriccio espagnol)* in 1963.

Researchers note that the “period 1956 to 1966 was marked by major changes in the art industry. From the beginning of the 1950s, the idea of the Soviet residential interior started to take shape. An important role in this was played by works of industrial design – ceramics, porcelain, glass and metal. With the beginning of the construction of small-scale housing and the change in the aesthetics of home décor, the form of works of art starts to change, although the general principle, which is important for the mass interior, does not” (Sapanzha, Ivanova, Balandina 2020: 57). People should be able to decorate their homes with works that show off their own personal tastes. One of the best when it came to creating high-quality home décor items was Vladimir Sychev, who worked at the Leningrad Porcelain Factory.

Among his works, which generally embodied the early post-war aesthetics, “with its fascination with dynamic forms, expressive movements and extremely realistic approach to the image” (Sapanzha, Ivanova, Balandina 2020: 57), two in particular that are connected with the theme of Spain stand out, becoming an “important milestone in the history of interior porcelain” (Sapanzha, Ivanova, Balandina 2020: 61). These are his *Spanish Dance* and *Bolero*, both created in the 1950s. The first is inspired by the Spanish Dance in the ballet *Swan Lake* and depicts the ballerina Nina Stukolkina in a spectacular pose, hands raised holding a folded fan. A version of the statuette depicting a male dancer (a sculptural portrait of A. Andreev) was also produced in the same style (although no replicas of the work were ever made).

Male and female images were personified in Sychev’s second famous “Spanish” work – the sculpture *Bolero*, which reproduces a scene from the ballet *Don Quixote* as interpreted by the same Stukolkina and Andreev. The work stands out for its dyna-

¹² Soviet Ballet in the Art of Helena Janson-Manizer: An Album.

mism and expressiveness, and it is painted in such a way that it highlights the “abundant use of the chandelier, gold edging on the pedestal, white porcelain glaze and coloured drawing of the faces” (Sapanzha, Ivanova, Balandina 2020: 62).

In the post-war period, Soviet porcelain artists also turned to the heroes of Spanish literary classics. This happened at almost exactly the same time that Grigori Kozintsev’s legendary adaptation of *Don Quixote* hit the big screen.

In 1958, Konakovo Faience Factory master Elena Gurevich created the work *Don Quixote and Sancho Panza*, which was sent to the Brussels World’s Fair that year, winning a silver medal there¹³. The artist used underglaze and experimented with the technological possibilities of earthenware, conveying the fine details of the images.

Another sculptor who offered their own interpretation of Cervantes characters was Galina Ozolina, who plied her trade at the Dmitrov Porcelain Factory in Verbilki. Galina studied under the superb sculptor and teacher Aleksandr Matveyev, the father of the so-called “Matveyev tradition” in Soviet and Russian sculpture, which stands for artistic freedom. In the 1970s, Ozolina turned to the art world for inspiration, creating a series of sculptures based on the theatre, including *Don Quixote and Sancho Panza*. The work is inspired by the Mayakovsky Theatre’s production of *Man of La Mancha*. It depicts contrasting images of the “grounded” Sancho Panza and the tired knight who lives in his own world, leaning on his sword (Soviet Sculpture 1985).

Continuing the theme of the image of the Spaniard in Soviet porcelain in the figure of Don Quixote, we should mention two interpretations of the theme of bullfighting that date back to 1968. The first was embodied in the work *Corrida* by the sculptor Ivan Mozolevsky created at the Polonsky Plant of Artistic Ceramics. The second is represented by the series of sculptures *Toreador and the Bull* by Tamara Fedorova at the Leningrad Porcelain Factory¹⁴. Both works are miniatures, at 7.7cm and 10cm in height, respectively, and incredibly concise and expressive.

Fedorova also gifted the world one of the most expressive female images connected to the “Spanish theme” – *Gypsy* (some catalogues also refer to this work as *Spanish Dance*, and the name Carmen can also be found), which she created in the 1970s. In terms of the colours used, the work is very much in line with the *Toreador and the Bull*. Once again, Fedorova uses white, black and red, and the figurine is created in a similar style. Therefore, despite the title *Gypsy*, we can conclude that these two works are interconnected, both reflecting the “Spanish theme”. As E. Ivanova notes, “Tamara Fedorova, in her characteristic generalized manner, creates the sculpture *Gypsy*, which depicts a female figure in the throes of dance. An anatomically incorrect woman wearing a fluffy and unpainted skirt is placed on a stable base. Despite the laconism of the

¹³ Levchenko G. V. 2022. The Art of Elena Gurevich. Tver Regional Art Gallery. 7.02.2022. URL: <https://gallery.tverreg.ru/news/5833/> (accessed 10.11.2023).

¹⁴ Tamara A. Fedorova. St. Petersburg Central State Archive of Literature and Arts. Rep. P-78. Invt. 10-2. D. 747.

painting and form, the master, as in her previous works, manages to achieve dynamism through a plastic and colouristic elaboration of the open-work hem of the skirt, and fills the figure with a conditional diagonal of arms and a shawl” (Ivanova 2020: 121).

Returning to the image of Carmen, let us look once again at the theme of ballet and the most vivid embodiment of the image of this twentieth century dance tradition in the person of Maya Plisetskaya. The ballerina herself said, “I always wanted to dance as *Carmen* [...] The thought of my Carmen lived within me, smoldering somewhere in the depths, and then she just burst out of me. Whenever I spoke with anyone about my dreams, I would always mention Carmen first” (Baganova 2015). As M. Baganova notes, “Once, when she had a few moments to herself, Maya Plisetskaya counted that she must have danced the *Carmen Suite* around three hundred and fifty times. But, most of all, she was pleased with how warmly her performance was received by Spanish audiences. ‘When the Spanish public chanted ‘Ole!’ I knew I had made it”, she said (Baganova 2015).

Plisetskaya’s most iconic role is immortalized in Nina Malysheva’s 1967 *Portrait of Ballerina Maya Plisetskaya in the Role of Carmen*. The images created by the great Soviet ballerina have also been encapsulated by Dulevo Porcelain Works sculptor Galina Chechulina in such works as *Plisetskaya – Carmen* (1970), *Maya Plisetskaya as Carmen* (1972), and *Plisetskaya – Kitri* (late 1970s).

Carmen, a flamenco dancer, a gypsy, a ballerina performing a Spanish dance – all these are components of the interpretation of the image of the Spanish woman, and they are reflected differently in Soviet porcelain, both thematically and stylistically. And yet the image of the Spanish woman, passionate and beautiful, so unlike Soviet women and so beguiling, can be called the main embodiment of the “Spanish theme” in Soviet porcelain. One of its most expressive and popular expressions was made by the famous Soviet sculptor Oksana Zhnikrup (1931–1993), who worked at the Kiev Experimental Ceramic Factory and made models at the Polonsky Factory of Artistic Ceramics.

Oksana graduated from the Sculpture Department at Grekov Odesa Art School, and started working at the Kiev Experimental Ceramic Factory in 1955. Her works quickly became popular and would soon be mass produced, both inside the Soviet Union and abroad. In recent years, the name Oksana Zhnikrup has become known around the world thanks Jeff Koons, a renowned contemporary artist who used her 1974 sculpture *Ballerina Lena on an Ottoman* as inspiration for his work *Seated Ballerina*.¹⁵

There are three versions of the image of the Spanish woman in Oksana Zhnikrup’s works: two figurines with the name *Spanish Dance* (one is also known as *Carmen*) and one called *Bolero*. All three are practically the same size. Two (*Carmen* and *Bolero*)

¹⁵ Not Just Lena. The Exhibitions Featuring Ballerinas by Oksana Zhnikrup and Jeff Koons are Not Examples of Plagiarism, they are Collaborations. Artkhiv. 20.07.2017. URL: https://artkhiv.ru/news/2776~Ne_tol'ko_Lenochka_Vystavki_s_balerinami_Oksany_Zhnikrup_i_Dzheffa_Kunsa_ne_plagiat_a_sotrudnichestvo (accessed 10.11.2023).

are more decorative and resemble one another in terms of style and technique, while the third is more of a nod to Tamara Fedorova, demonstrating the same laconism and minimalism in the choice of colours – white, black and red. In contrast to the “flashier” depictions, the minimalist *Spanish Dance* was never mass produced and is much less common among collectors.

Both *Bolero* and *Carmen* (*Spanish Dance*) use luster paint, which is a kind of organic varnish. Firing items covered with this paint produces a thin metallic coating that gives them a shine and an unusual colour, similar to iridescent overflows. As Y. Wang notes, “it was thanks to this technology that the creator of *Carmen* was able to convey the brightness of the Spanish dress, which shimmers like a chrome or silver surface [...] the work is an example of an innovative technique for painting porcelain in colours that had never been seen before” (Wang 2021: 109–110).

It is precisely this iridescent colour and, of course, Oksana Zhnikrup’s stereotypical image of the Spanish woman in the figure of Carmen – a brunette with a red rose in her hair – that made its way into countless Soviet apartments, a piece of the Spanish sun, as it were, and the task of embodying the image of the Pyrenean country fell on her fragile shoulders. The figurine, like other representatives of the “Spanish theme” in Soviet porcelain, has much to say, and it has not yet exhausted its capabilities in terms of becoming a symbol of love for far-off and alluring cultures, conveying images and personifying fragile yet extremely meaningful ties.

About the Author:

Ekaterina O. Grantseva – Ph.D. in History, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Science, 32a Leninsky pr., Moscow, Russia. E-mail: kgrantseva@yandex.ru

Conflicts of interest.

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

The article was submitted on October 26, 2022, approved after review on November 24, 2022, and accepted for publication on December 2, 2022.

References:

- Astakhova E.V. 2017. *Ispaniia kak metafora*. [Spain as a Metaphor]. Moscow: MGIMO-Universitet Publ. (In Russian).
- Baganova M. 2015. *Maya Plisetskaya*. Moscow: AST Publ. (In Russian).
- Bagno V. E. 2006. *Rossiia i Ispaniya: obshchaya granitsa* [Russia and Spain: A Common Border]. Saint Petersburg: Nauka Publ. (In Russian).
- Doronina L. N. 2015. The Theme of Dance in the Works of Natalia Danko and Helena Janson-Manizer (from Miniature Sculpture to Monumental Compositions). *Space of Culture*. Burganov House, (1), P. 142–152. (In Russian).

Grantseva E. O. 2017. Rossiya i Ispaniya v KHKH veke: spetsifika kul'turnogo vzaimodeystviya [Russia and Spain in the 20th Century: The Specifics of Cultural Interaction]. in *Rossiya i Yevropa: istoricheskiy opyt vzaimodeystviya i vzaimoponimaniya. XVIII–XX vv.* [Russia and Europe: Historical Experience of Interaction and Mutual Understanding in the 18th–20th Centuries]. Moscow: Institut vseobshchey istorii RAN Publ. P. 298–312. (In Russian).

Grantseva E. O. 2018. Svetlana Petrovna Pozharskaya and Actual Problems of Spanish History of the Twentieth Century. *Latin-American Historical Almanac*. 20. P. 267–285. (In Russian). DOI: DOI: 10.32608/2305-8773-2018-20-1-267-285

Koroleva A. A. 2018. Gold and Jewels of the Spanish Crown. *Latin-American Historical Almanac*. 19. P. 242–251. (In Russian).

Nosovich T. N. 2005. *Gosudarstvennyy farforovyy zavod, 1904–1944* [State Porcelain Factory, 1904–1944]. Saint Petersburg: Sankt-Peterburg Orkestr Publ. (In Russian).

Saltykov A. B. 1959. Puti razvitiya sovetskoy keramiki [Ways of Development of Soviet Ceramics]. *Dekorativnoye iskusstvo SSSR*. 7. P. 1–9. (In Russian).

Sapanzha O. S., Ivanova E. V., Balandina N. A. 2020. Soviet Ballet in Vladimir Sychev's Works (Leningrad Porcelain Factory). *New Art Studies*. 1. P. 56–63. (In Russian). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24411/2658-3437-2020-11008>.

Sapanzha O. S., Ivanova E. V., Balandina N. A. 2021. *Iskusstvo — v byt. Inter'yernaya plastika Leningradskogo zavoda farforovykh izdeliy. 1956–1966* [Art is in Everyday Life. Interior Plastics of the Leningrad Porcelain Factory. 1956–1966]. Moscow: BuksMArt Publ. (In Russian).

Tikhonova V. A. (ed.) 1985. *Sovetskaya skul'ptura* [Soviet Sculpture]. Moscow: Sov. khudozhnik Publ. (In Russian).

Wang Y. 2021. Images of Dance in the Works of Interior Porcelain Plastics of the USSR and China in the 1950–1960s. *Humanities and Science University Journal*. 63. P. 105–111. (In Russian). DOI: https://doi.org/10.25807/22225064_2021_63_105

Functions of Stereotypes in Mass Culture in the Context of Critical Multiculturalism¹

Sofia D. Kamalova

Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University)

Abstract. This article offers a project-based English lesson with university students, which is aimed at studying the way that stereotypes function in mass culture. Critical multiculturalism is currently gaining more and more attention among researchers. Its rise is reflected in English language study books, which stands in stark contrast with the inexhaustible popularity of stereotypes in popular culture. Meanwhile, it is noteworthy that stereotypes are viewed not only as clichéd images of ethnic and socio-cultural groups, but they also participate in categorizing the flow of incoming information and thus act as an essential tool of cognition. During the preparation for the project-based lesson, students studied and analysed the functioning of stereotypes in various samples of popular culture, including commercials and memes, and then presented the results of their research in class. With the help of the teacher, the students identified the following functions of stereotypes in popular culture: cognitive, persuasive, integrative, reflexive, entertaining (including sarcastic), therapeutic, and the function of compression. Further research may continue this list and describe the hierarchical relations between the functions.

Keywords: critical multiculturalism, stereotype, functions of stereotypes, sexual objectification

The content of English textbooks today is increasingly informed by issues of cultural diversity and equivalence, that is, the promotion of respect for, and interest in, so-called peripheral cultures. One glaring example of this is the *Proficiency Masterclass* study guide², the first unit of which (entitled “People and Places”) contains an excerpt from the multicultural novel *The No. 1 Ladies’ Detective Agency* by the Zimbabwe-born British novelist Alexander McCall Smith. The multicultural trend can also be seen in the textbooks published by National Geographic Learning, whose motto – “bring the world to your classroom and your classroom to life” – highlights

¹ English translation from the Russian text: Kamalova S.D. 2022. Functions of Stereotypes in Mass Culture in the Context of Critical Multiculturalism. *Professional Discourse & Communication*. 4(4). P. 10–21. (In Russian). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24833/2687-0126-2022-4-4-10-21>

² Gude K., Duckworth M., Rogers L. 2013. *Cambridge English: Proficiency (CPE) Masterclass Student’s Book Plus Online Skills & Language Practice*. Oxford.

the need to proactively include these of cultural difference and diversity in the educational process. Specifically, we are referring to Unit 7 of the textbook *Keynote Proficient*³, called “Same but Different”, which contains parts of the TED talk given by the famous Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, “The Danger of a Single Story”, and Unit 3 of the textbook *Outcomes*⁴, which includes colour photos of a wedding in Ribnovo, Bulgaria, home to a large Muslim population.

Notably, these textbooks contain examples of the “latest” version of multiculturalism, known as “critical” or “polycentric” culturalism. The problem is that researchers distinguish various types of multiculturalism, which have significant shortcomings and have been repeatedly criticized. In an article entitled “White Terror and Oppositional Agency: Towards a Critical Multiculturalism”, the cultural researcher and leading architect of critical pedagogy Peter McLaren identifies three models of multiculturalism: conservative multiculturalism, liberal multiculturalism, and left-liberal multiculturalism (McLaren 1994). The conservative model is characterized by the gracious treatment of minorities by the dominant culture (both in the mother country and in colonies) in order to integrate the minority into the culture of the majority. Liberal multiculturalism is a utopian model of a comprehensive equality of cultures, which, unfortunately, is difficult to imagine in the real world. Left-liberal multiculturalism focuses on cultural differences, rather than on the similarities between ethnic groups, while the personal qualities of an individual are explained precisely by ethnicity, which, according to modern standards that deny national determinism, is not entirely correct. In the 1990s, McLaren and other researchers (representatives of the Chicago school of cultural studies) put forward the theory of critical multiculturalism, which posits that cultural identity is seen as a product of the social construction of meanings and signs. Critical (or polycentric) multiculturalism aims to transform the social, intercultural and intracultural institutional relationships that are responsible for the formation of meanings associated with culture and identity, as well as for how they function in society. In such a model of multiculturalism, “other” (or “marginal”) cultures are not the object of study, but rather an active participant in the dialogue. These ideas align with those encapsulated in the post-colonial theory developed by Edward Said (Said 1978) and Homi Bhabha (Bhabha 1994), as well as with Mikhail Bakhtin’s polyphony of cultures (Bakhtin 1986).

Methodology

The study of critical multiculturalism and its reflection in textbooks used in the classroom by a large number of teachers prompted to look deeper, along with our students, into what we understand as stereotypes, particularly ethnic stereotypes, as well

³ Dummett P., Stephenson H., Lansford L. 2016. *Keynote Proficient Student's Book*. Hampshire, United Kingdom: National Geographic Learning.

⁴ Dellar H., Walkley A. 2020. *Outcomes Advanced Student's Book*. National Geographic Learning.

as stereotyping in general and what function stereotypes serve, especially in popular culture. Exactly one hundred years have passed since the publication of Walter Lippmann's book *Public Opinion* (Lippmann 1922), which is usually referred to when talking about the concept of social stereotypes. Since then, the stereotype has become the subject of study of various scientific fields, even producing the entirely new scientific discipline of imagology, which explores images of other nationalities and, in particular, ethnic stereotypes (or ethnotypes).

We often use the term “stereotype” to describe an unkind, distorted, one-sided perception of a social, cultural or ethnic group, while cognitive science considers stereotypes within the framework of the concept of categorization, which plays a crucial role in the process of cognition. According to the predictive brain theory put forward by Andy Clark (Clark 2013), the human brain is a device, a prediction machine – that is, in the course of processing huge flows of information, our brain performs the processes of cognition, perception and mental alertness, while minimizing the need to predict errors is the driving force behind processes of recognition, learning and inference. It thus follows that the greater the number of stereotypes (in the cognitive sense of the word), the easier it is for us to structure and cognize the complex external world. As Henri Tajfel, one of the most prominent names in the field of research into stereotypes and prejudices, notes, the huge amount of sensory information that a person deals with cannot be processed if it is not divided into categories, and the categorization process itself inevitably involves a certain amount of distortion of information, because people invariably exaggerate both the similarities between members of the same group and the differences between members of different groups (Billig 2002). Hence the connection between stereotypes as exaggerated images and stereotypes as a means of cognition.

The connection between the two concepts can be traced to the study of the functioning of stereotypes in popular culture. We asked undergraduate and master's students of the School of International Journalism at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in their English classes to select examples of the use of stereotypes in various areas of popular culture (TV serials, commercials, memes, comedy shows, etc.). We then asked them to analyse the material and determine what function these stereotypes served before presenting their observations and conclusions in class. This project was timed to coincide with the teaching of this topic in Unit 7 of the *Keynote Proficient* textbook mentioned above⁵, where students are invited to discuss such issues as the dialogue of cultures, multiculturalism, and stereotypes of other cultures. The students were also encouraged to read Walter Lippmann's description of social stereotypes. When working on the project, the students had little trouble finding all kinds of examples of the use of stereotypes, including ethnic stereotypes, gender stereotypes,

⁵ Dummett P., Stephenson H., Lansford L. 2016. *Keynote Proficient Student's Book*. Hampshire, United Kingdom: National Geographic Learning.

religious stereotypes, and intergenerational stereotypes (in particular gerontological stereotypes, or stereotypes about older people). Determining what function these stereotypes served proved to be far more difficult in most cases.

Discussion and findings

After familiarizing themselves with some of the theoretical studies on stereotypes, students were immediately able to identify the cognitive and persuasive functions of stereotypes that now lie on the surface of our perception. The theoretical base also makes it possible to single out an integrative function when stereotypes are used to separate people into “us” and “them” and consolidate stereotypes about “strangers”, that is, about a “heterostereotype”, which in turn allows us to rally “our people”, because, as we well know, rallying typically occurs against someone else.

In popular culture, advertising, both in print and on TV, is typically replete with all kinds of stereotypes. Giving the students a solid theoretical base on this subject encouraged them to discover the compression function of stereotypes, which describes the need to fit a large amount of information or a rather complex idea into the limited space of a piece of text, a short video, or a soundbite. For example, in an advertisement for Aptamil baby formula⁶, the healthy and harmonious development of a child was reduced to scenes depicting a girl becoming a ballerina and boy becoming an engineer, for which it was roundly criticized.

Another clear illustration of the function of compression and its costs are the numerous examples of advertisements in which women are depicted as mere objects, which today is called the sexual objectification of women. In other words, “sexual objectification comes down to objectifying a woman, seeing her as a picture, an abstract image, artificially endowed with characteristics that are in line with the interests of men” (Grigoryan, Grigoryan 2021: 6). For example, advertisements for all kinds of consumer products, especially beverages, focus on a woman’s exposed body parts (Szymanski et al. 2011). Towards the end of the twentieth century, researchers developed a theory of objectification, which states that the female body is seen not only as a biological organism, but also, and primarily, in terms of the sociocultural aspect (Fredrickson, Roberts 1997). And while there is no denying that men are also objectified, as the creators of the aforementioned theory point out, the problems associated with the objectification of women are of a much larger scale. As for the objectification of women in advertising, a great deal of research has already been devoted to this topic. One study, for example, notes that in the 1960s, women were hypersexualized in 11% of the images appearing in the American *Rolling Stone* magazine, compared to 61% in the 2000s⁷.

⁶ Baby Milk Advert Shows Girls becoming Ballerinas and Boys Scientists. 2017. 14.12.2017. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xLfH70nm9VM> (accessed 18.11.2022).

⁷ Sementina V. Pochemu seksizm v reklame ne rabotaet – infografika [Why Sexism in Commercials is Not Effective]. 2020. *Mastera [Masters]*. 30.01.2020. URL: <https://mastera.academy/sex-does-not-sell/> (accessed 18.11.2022).

An example of the objectification of women can be found in the advertisement below (see Fig. 1):

Fig. 1. Advertisement for a Lexus GS 2013⁸

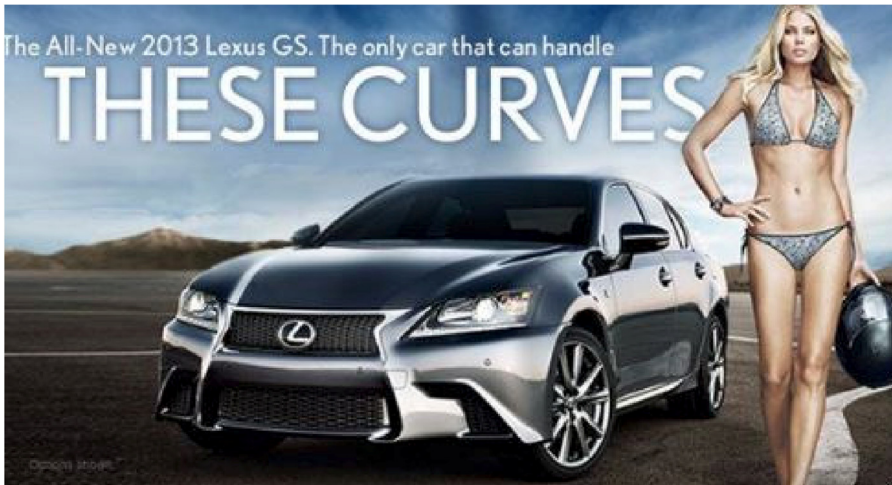
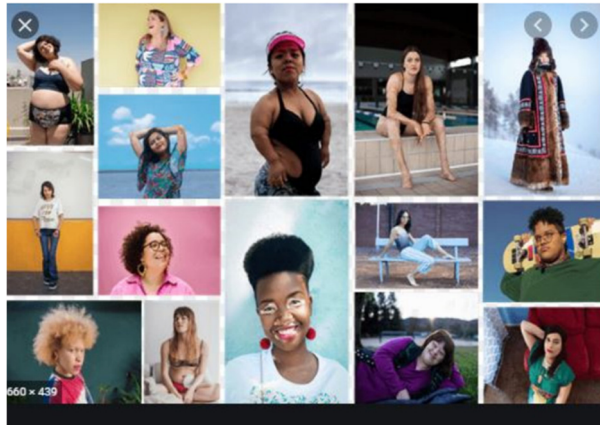


Figure 1 shows one of the images used as part of the advertising campaign for a new sports sedan from Lexus. The track on which the car appears was designed to match the contours of the body of the famous American supermodel Tori Praver.

During their work on the project, the students also found numerous examples of critical attitudes towards stereotypes in popular culture. In these examples, gender and beauty stereotypes that reflect the phenomenon of *lookism*, or discrimination based on external data, become the subject of serious rethinking and deep reflection. In this regard, the concept of the reflexive function of stereotypes, when stereotypical images are used as a way to discredit or the stereotypes themselves and demonstrate how they do not work, comes through. In popular culture, this function is implemented in numerous advertising campaigns. One example would be the #ShowUs campaign launched by the brand Dove. The campaign involves creating a collection of photographs on the Dove website that are not edited in any way and have not been processed in Photoshop or any other program. The photos show all kinds of different women, with the aim being to create a more realistic approach to the female appearance, and a more inclusive attitude to beauty as a whole (see Fig. 2).

⁸ Lexus Newsroom. 2013. Lexus GS – 2012 Tori 500 Campaign 002. 14.02.2012. URL: <https://pressroom.lexus.com/image/2013-lexus-gs-2012-tori-500-campaign-002/> (accessed 18.11.2022).

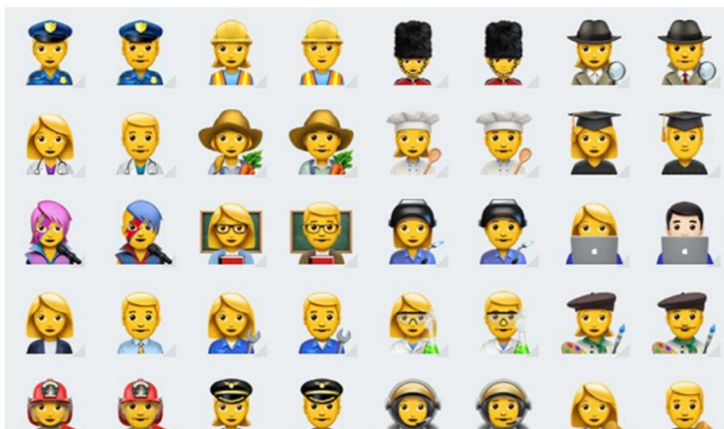
Fig. 2. Dove #ShowUs Ad Campaign⁹

Another example of the reflexive function of stereotypes in mass culture can be found in a commercial for NIKE Women Russia, which features a fresh take on the lyrics of Yakov Khaletsky's famous children's song "Out of what, out of what, out of what". In the original version, girls are made "out of flowers, out of bells, out of notepads and glances", whereas in the updated version, they are made "out of iron, out of aspirations, out of selflessness, out of struggle", as well as "out of bruises and slaps" and "a grace that makes the entire nation proud"¹⁰. The commercial features famous Russian athletes, and the message is to look beyond the stereotypical image of girls.

Turning to other areas of popular culture, we can see a clear example of the acknowledgement of the existence of stereotypes in the appearance of emojis on social media and smartphones depicting not only people of different skin colours, but also representatives of different professions, including women engaged in traditionally male occupations (for example, the female firefighter emoji), as well emojis featuring women taking part in various sports.

⁹ Dove. Project #ShowUs. URL: <https://www.dove.com/us/en/stories/campaigns/showus.html> (accessed 18.11.2022).

¹⁰ NikeWomen: What are Girls Made Of? 2017. 16.02.2017. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xifSHMbGSKI> (accessed 18.11.2022).

Fig. 3. Emojis Depicting Professions¹¹

Of course, stereotypes are also used in popular culture for *entertainment*, *humorous* and *sarcastic* purposes. This typically serves an integrative function – that is, it is used to make fun of “outsiders” and thus bring those in “our” group together. Examples of this are the numerous racist jokes based on ethnic egocentrism and the clash of ethnic stereotypes (Romanov 2013). Today, in the golden age of social media and instant messengers, the humorous function of stereotypes, including those relating to race and ethnicity, is used with incredibly frequency in the form of internet memes, which are seen as a “mechanism for the transmission and storage of cultural information” (Shchurina 2014: 86). An integral characteristic of the internet meme is its ability to accurately reflect “cultural stereotypes and phenomena of modern reality that are relevant and interesting for internet users” (Ibid.: 86) (see Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. An Internet Meme that Plays On the Humorous Function of Stereotypes¹²

¹¹ Peyser E. 2016. Tired of Sexist Emojis? Here's How Everything Might Change. 13.05. 2016. *Cosmopolitan*. URL: <https://www.cosmopolitan.com/lifestyle/news/a58365/professional-women-emojis/> (accessed 18.11.2022).

¹² Imgflip. Scared Spongebob and Boomer Spongebob. URL: <https://imgflip.com/i/406rub> (accessed 18.11.2022).

In the course of researching and writing their presentations, the students discovered that stereotypes can also serve a therapeutic function, when two perceptions of the term “stereotype” (one as a cognitive tool and the other as an overly simplified and hackneyed representation of members of a certain social group) converge as closely as possible. Modern psychoanalysts such as Julie Reshe (Yulia Reshetnikova) see stereotypes as a necessary means of survival which allow us to reduce the inevitable trauma of having to adapt to the conditions of life around us¹³.

A good of this function in action in popular culture is stand-up routines, which play on

difficult situations that the comedian and much of their audience have had to face in real life: they joke about depression, toxic relationships, stress at work, conflicts at home, etc. The audience can relate to the comedian’s unique take on something that has happened to them. They listen to the stereotypical situations described by comedians and recognize themselves or their friends in them, which causes them to identify themselves as a member of a large group, a representative of the “in” group that consists of people who have exactly the same problems as us, and this sense of belonging to a group creates a sense of security and stability. For example, the famous British comedian Michael McIntyre’s has a routine about how difficult it is to raise children, evoking a stereotype of young parents who do cannot keep up, or cope with their children and sometimes behave inappropriately¹⁴. This stereotypical image effectively serves as a kind of therapy for the target audience – young parents who are going through a similar situation.

Conclusions

Stereotypes play a crucial role in processing the surrounding reality. We use them to filter incoming information into different categories, which in turn leads to its inevitable distortion, and often to a stereotyped perception of the world around us. In this regard, we should not underestimate the merits of the most successful model of multiculturalism to date, namely critical, or polycentric, multiculturalism and its implementation in educational materials on the English language, which imparts a conscious attitude towards stereotypes to students. Students should be given the opportunity to see exactly how stereotypes are exploited in the media, in propagandistic materials and, more broadly, in popular culture.

The student project to identify the functions of stereotypes can be built with varying degrees of complexity: you can trust students to identify the functions themselves, or you can give them a ready-made list of functions and ask them to find examples of

¹³ Reshe J. *Terapevticheskaya funktsiya stereotipov ili iskusstvo kak anti-terapiya* [Therapeutic Function of Stereotypes, or Arts as Anti-Therapy]. 2018. Street Art Museum. 24.10.2018. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G46jvYazjWI> (accessed 18.11.2022).

¹⁴ McIntyre M. 2019. *People Without Children Have No Idea What It’s Like!* 29.05.2019. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eC6eHraeMes> (accessed 18.11.2022).

stereotypes in popular culture that perform these functions. In this study, we identified the following functions of stereotypes that exist in popular culture: cognitive, persuasive, integrative, compression, reflexive, entertaining (humorous and sarcastic) and, finally, therapeutic. It is important to note that this list of functions is open and can be expanded. There is also room to study the hyper-hyponymic relationships between the functions we have identified here.

About the Author:

Sofia D. Kamalova – Ph.D. (Philology), an Associate Professor in English Department No. 3 at MGIMO University, Moscow, Russia. E-mail: salyam19@mail.ru

Conflicts of interest.

The author declares no conflicts of interest

Received: November 18, 2022.

Accepted: December 16, 2022.

References:

- Bakhtin M. M. 1986. *Ehstetika slovesnogo tvorchestva [The Aesthetics of Verbal Art]*. Moscow: Iskusstvo. (In Russian).
- Bhabha H. K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Billig M. 2002. Henri Tajfel's "Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice" and the Psychology of Bigotry. *British Journal of Social Psychology*. 41. P. 171–188. DOI: doi:10.1348/014466602760060165.
- Clark A. 2013. Whatever Next? Predictive Brains, Situated Agents, and the Future of Cognitive Science. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*. 36. P. 181–253. DOI: doi:10.1017/S0140525X12000477.
- Fredrickson B. L., Roberts T. 1997. Objectification Theory: Toward Understanding Women's Lived Experiences and Mental Health Risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. 21. P. 173–206.
- Grigoryan A. A., Grigoryan A. Y. 2021. Ob'ektivatsiya zhenshchiny kak odin iz vidov seksizma [Objectification of Women as a Type of Sexism]. *Vestnik IVGU. Seriya: Gumanitarnye nauki [Ivanovo State University Bulletin]*. 2(5–10). (In Russian).
- Lippmann W. 1922. *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- McLaren P. 1994. White Terror and Oppositional Agency: Towards a Critical Multiculturalism. In D. T. Goldberg (ed.). *Multiculturalism. A Critical Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. P. 45–74.
- Romanov A. S. 2013. Ehtnicheskii anekdot kak sredstvo otrazheniya stereotipov ob amerikanskikh voennosluzhashchikh [Ethnic Jokes as a Means of Reflecting Stereotypes about American Military Men]. *Vestnik RUDN, seriya Lingvistika [Peoples' Friendship University of Russia Bulletin, Linguistics Series]*. 3. P. 113–124. (In Russian).
- Said E. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.
- Shchurina Y. V. 2014. Internet-memy: problema tipologii [Internet Memes: Classification]. *Vestnik Cherepovetskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta [Cherepovets State University Bulletin]*. 6. P. 85–89. (In Russian).
- Szymanski D. M., Moffitt L. B., Carr E. R. 2011. Sexual Objectification of Women: Advances to Theory and Research. *The Counseling Psychologist*. 39(1). P. 6–38.

The Diplomat, Strategist, Intelligence Officer, Historian – in the Service of Russia. Prince Alexey B. Lobanov-Rostovsky¹

Ekaterina S. Fedorova

Lomonosov Moscow State University

Abstract. This article is devoted to the life and various activities of the outstanding diplomat Prince Alexey B. Lobanov-Rostovsky (1824–1896). The name of Lobanov-Rostovsky was not mentioned in the academic literature until the first decade of the 21st century. Then Lobanov began to be remembered thanks to the efforts of his descendant Prince Nikita D. Lobanov-Rostovsky, who initiated a number of studies about the prominent diplomat. A fundamental monograph on Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky has now been prepared. His international activity as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary took place during some of the most difficult political periods of the time: in Constantinople (1859–1863 and 1878–1879), London (1879–1882) and Vienna (1882–1895). He always managed to solve the most pressing problems using skillful diplomatic tools. He was appointed Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Internal Affairs during the challenging period of restructuring of social and public institutions in Russia. It was the era of the so called Great Reforms of Emperor Alexander II. The position was offered to the Prince on account of his superior intellect, strategic foresight and tactical flexibility. During his 11 years in the post (1867–1878), Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky often performed the duties of a minister. During this time, the legal norms of the state and its relations with society significantly improved. In 1870, Alexey B. Lobanov-Rostovsky received the honorary position of State-Secretary of His Imperial Majesty, that is, the Emperor's personal speaker, a position he held until the end of his life. Both Emperor Alexander II and Nicholas II treated Lobanov-Rostovsky with a special warmth. Lobanov-Rostovsky managed to conclude the Russian-Turkish final Peace Treaty of 1879, which put an end to the war between the two countries. This agreement gave Russia significant moral and material results and marked the beginning of the autonomous Principality of Bulgaria, the first steps towards Bulgarian statehood. Lobanov-Rostovsky served as Foreign Minister for 18 months (1895–1896), during which time he brought Russia significant results on the world stage and was highly appreciated both in Russia and around the world. This article talks about the different sides of the prince's extraordinary personality. A true polymath, proficient in the Russian antiquity, he became a bibliophile, collector, genealogist and historian. He wrote carefully considered commentaries on the historical documents he discovered, and for 14 years (1871–1885) he systematically published his work in history journals. This article examines memoir entries of Lobanov-Rostovsky's contemporaries about the diplomat, as well as the latest research about him.

¹ English translation from the Russian text: Fedorova E. S. 2022. The Diplomat, Strategist, Intelligence Officer, Historian — in the Service of Russia. Prince Alexey B. Lobanov-Rostovsky. *Concept: Philosophy, Religion, Culture*. 6(3). P. 83–106. (In Russian). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24833/2541-8831-2022-3-23-83-106>

Keywords: Lobanov-Rostovsky, diplomat, Alexander II of Russia, Alexander III of Russia, Nicholas II of Russia, history of Russian diplomacy, diplomatic culture, philanthropy

For a century, the name of one of the most important diplomats in Russian history has hardly been mentioned. Now, one of his descendants, Prince Nikita Dmitrievich Lobanov-Rostovsky, has taken it upon himself to publish a series of works about his distant ancestor, including the seminal monograph *Foreign Policy-Smith Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky: Diplomat, Foreign Minister, Genealogist, Historian, Collector*, which the Moscow-based LRC Publishing House is expected to release in late 2022. Let us start with the description given in that work:

Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky served as Minister of Foreign Affairs for a year and a half. During this time, he received the highest praise from Tsar Nicholas II as the best foreign minister the Russian Empire had ever seen. What exactly was it that made him stand out among those who came before and after him? As an intellectual, Alexey was a state strategist, much like Tamerlane, who was able to combine the best features of military and diplomatic strategy.

He only took real steps once he had all the necessary criteria to implement them, with a good idea of the consequences the action may have.

His talents were many and varied. He worked as an intelligence officer, sent to Paris to conduct secret negotiations with Napoleon III under the pseudonym of Rubinstein, and was also behind the plot to kidnap the Bulgarian Archbishop Joseph Sokolsky and keep him in a monastery in Russia for his intention to convert Bulgaria into a Uniate state.

The Prince was also a genealogist and historian, a true “hero of intellectual labour”, as well as something of a ladies’ man, full of zest and passion.

One can learn a lot reading about the life and work of this exceptional statesman who served for the good of Russia!

This is where the present book comes in, which contains materials that, for the most part, are being published for the first time. These include:

- Reminiscences of Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky’s contemporaries about the various aspects of his life and work.
- Multifaceted research into the various periods of the Prince’s life carried out in recent years.
- A collection of publications by Lobanov-Rostovsky in the final third of the nineteenth century.²

[...]

² From the author’s private collection.

A World-Renowned Figure

On an August morning in 1896, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky stepped off the Tsar's train at the suggestion of Nicholas II to get some air at the station. He fell and would be dead less than an hour later.

"Condolences were offered from all corners of the globe, a fact that in itself indicates the magnitude of the loss suffered by our country" writes A. Umansky, a biographer of numerous great figures in Russian history and a regular contributor of entries for the most complete multi-volume collection of biographies in the Russian language – Alexander Polovtsov's *Russian Biographical Dictionary*.³ Section II of the planned publication will contain an "Obituary of A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky". The text goes far beyond what would be considered a typical obituary and is effectively a systematic review of how Lobanov-Rostovsky's death was felt across the world and how his activities were assessed in Russian and foreign periodicals, at the same time offering an overview of the general alignment of international forces and their relations with Russia. Evidently, Lobanov-Rostovsky was such a unique figure that one can judge the true alignment of forces at the time by the response of the international community to his untimely death. To illustrate:

"Lobanov [...] belonged to the school of old boyar diplomats whose numbers have dwindled significantly since the time of Catherine the Great. These were strong-willed people who knew their country inside and out, enriched by a multifaceted European education and, relying on their strong hereditary ties, they feared not what Europe might say about us, understanding that it was the inalienable right of great countries to perform great deeds and lead a great existence among other European nations".

[...] During Lobanov-Rostovsky's time as foreign minister, "relations between the powers" became less tense and even cordial. Russia's position on the Sino-Japanese War eliminated the danger of major clashes, and the restrained attitude towards the Armenian and Cretan issues, which threatened complications throughout Europe, would forever serve as a monument to the country's peace-loving policy during this time...

"Sovereign will" is the most important thing... And quite right too. At the end of the day, however, sovereign will is executed by different people, and, if those entrusted with carrying out this will are not up to the task, even the best intentions can lead ... in this case to the Berlin Treaty...

³ Umansky A. M. 1898. Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky. *Distinguished Figures*. St. Petersburg: Tipolitografiia; Moscow: Paikina. P. 7.

Diplomacy is, first and foremost, an art. And a very difficult one at that ... Prince Lobanov was master of this art. So deft was he with the diplomatic brush that old Otto von Bismarck, who kept a keen eye on all the goings-on in Europe, recognized him as a true master of his craft...

As for the Slavic question, Lobanov-Rostovsky consistently pursued the idea of fraternal rapprochement and complete solidarity between Russia and the tribes kindred to us in blood and spirit. In this sense, he was a big proponent of settling the Bulgarian issue and played a role in ensuring that the steps taken by Bulgaria towards reconciliation were appreciated by Russia, and fraternal ties were strengthened once again”⁴.

The Lobanov-Rostovsky Family Line

“Lobanov-Rostovsky came from a family of appanage princes of Rostov, the first of whom was Vasilko, son of the Grand Duke of Vladimir Konstantin Vsevolodovich (1185–1219). The eighth-generation descendant of Vasilko, Prince Ivan Alexandrovich of Rostov, was nicknamed ‘Loban’ and thus became known as Lobanov-Rostovsky, the first of the line of princes to bear this surname. His great-great-grandson, Prince Ivan Ivanovich (nicknamed ‘Goat Horn’), signed the charter on the election of Mikhail Feodorovich to the kingdom. His eldest son, also Prince Ivan Ivanovich, was a boyar, and his grandson, Yakov (d. May 23, 1732), was a room steward of Tsars Feodor III, Ivan V and Peter I, and later a major in the Semyonovsky Lifeguard Regiment.

By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Prince Yakov Ivanovich was effectively the last remaining representative of the Lobanov-Rostovsky family of princes⁵. He was married twice and fathered 28 children”. This is how Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky’s closest friend, First Secretary of the Russian Embassy in Turkey Vladimir Alexandrovich Teplov begins his story⁶.

Genealogical Ties

Alexey Borisovich was a descendant of the senior branch of the Lobanov-Rostovsky princes. His grandfather was Major General Alexander Ivanovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1754–1830). All of today’s Lobanov-Rostovskys are descendants of Alexander Ivanovich.

⁴ Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky. Obituary. 1896. *History Bulletin. Historical and Literary Journal*. LXVI. P. 308–311.

⁵ Yakov Ivanovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1660–1732).

⁶ Teplov V. A. 1897. *Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky. Biographical Sketch with an Appendix (a Portrait) and a Photogravure Picture of the Prince’s Ancestral Home in Moscow*. St. Petersburg: Tip A. Benke. P. 1–2.

Alexander Ivanovich was the eldest son of Lifeguard Regiment captain Ivan Ivanovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1731–1791) and Princess Ekaterina Alexandrovna Kurkina (1735–1802).

Alexander Ivanovich's grandfather was Prince Ivan Yakovlevich the Elder (1687–1840), meaning that he was the eldest son of Prince Yakov Ivanovich (1660–1732). To this day, this branch of the Lobanov-Rostovsky princes is considered the eldest.

The youngest brother of Alexander Ivanovich was Dmitry Ivanovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1758–1838), who was a prominent figure both on the battlefield, attaining the rank of General of the Infantry, just one rung below Field Marshal – a fact that afforded him the opportunity to head up major military associations – and as a statesman, securing the position of Minister of Justice and being a member of the State Council. Alexey Borisovich's great-uncle demonstrated such diplomatic talent that he was nicknamed the “Prince of Peace” and awarded the Order of Alexander Nevsky by Tsar Alexander I. In an odd kind of familial succession, Alexander I sent General Dmitry Ivanovich Lobanov-Rostovsky to Tilsit in 1807 to hold talks with Napoleon. The negotiations were a resounding success. Half a century later, Tsar Alexander II would send Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky to engage in peace talks with Napoleon III, and these secret negotiations were similarly successful (Fedorova 2020: 175–183).

Alexey Borisovich's father was Boris Alexandrovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1794–1863), a Staff Captain in His Majesty's Hussar Life Guards Regiment who fought in the Patriotic War of 1812 and numerous foreign campaigns. He would later be a chamberlain, State Councillor, and Chief Prosecutor of the 6th Department of the Governing Senate. He was married to Olimpiada Mikhailovna nee Borodin, who was from a poor but old noble family.

The elder brother of the hero of our book was Mikhail Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1819–1858), a military man who took part in the Caucasian and Crimean wars, as well as a philosopher, graduate of the Faculty of Philosophy at Moscow State University, and political writer who specialized in economics, politics and history. He was also a close friend of Mikhail Lermontov, who wrote about him in his memoirs [...] (Lobanov-Rostovsky 2010: 370–373).

“With a Youthful Fervour...”

Teplov writes: “With a youthful fervour, devoting himself with all his being to working for the good of the fatherland, Prince Lobanov gave everything he had to this task, both physical and spiritual”⁷ [...] He adopted an air of coldness and aloofness in front of strangers, but this deceived only the short-sighted. According to Teplov, Lobanov maintained “a constant restraint that was part of his character, and something

⁷ Ibid. P. 85.

he did not attempt to eschew straight away, but only after he had properly sized up the person approaching him. However, once he let his guard down, you could see just how cordial, kind and eternally loyal he was under that cold exterior”⁸.

Progeny: Nikita Dmitrievich Lobanov-Rostovsky

Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky ardently carried out his beloved diplomatic duties and his duties as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire during the “Great Reforms” of Tsar Alexander II, and was equally high spirited in his everyday life. I am compelled to note here that his relative, the geologist and philanthropist Nikita Dmitrievich Lobanov-Rostovsky, is almost exactly the same. Anyone who is close with him knows that he is bursting with energy, and this energy always leads to some kind of tangible result. Yet, profound emotions hide behind the cold-blooded exterior. One of the endeavours to which Nikita Dmitrievich has dedicated much time, effort and finances is this very publication.

A few words about this well-known Russian public figure. Nikita Dmitrievich Lobanov-Rostovsky is, like the diplomat Alexey Borisovich, a descendent of Alexander Ivanovich Lobanov-Rostovsky, that is, of the elder Lobanovs. Nikita Dmitrievich is six times removed from him.

Alexey Borisovich and Nikita Dmitrievich’s great-grandfather – Captain of the Guard Nikolai Alexeevich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1826–1887) – were cousins.

Nikita Dmitrievich was born in Sofia in 1935. His grandparents were forced to flee Russia after the Revolution, choosing to settle in Bulgaria in 1922, as it was an Orthodox Slavic country (his grandfather, I. N. Lobanov-Rostovsky served as the church warden of the St. Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Sofia). Nikita Dmitrievich’s father was shot during the repressions in 1948, and he and his mother were sent to prison (he was just 11 at the time). He experienced great hardships as a child and a teenager, but despite the harsh circumstances, Lobanov-Rostovsky did well at school and engaged in numerous extra-curricular activities: he was a pioneer and a Komsomol member, studied minerology and won the Bulgarian national championship in the breaststroke.

In 1953, his uncle on his mother’s side, N. V. Vyrubov (a volunteer in de Gaulle’s army and a personal friend of General de Gaulle himself; a war hero and the recipient of the Chevalier National Order of the Legion of Honour), who worked for the United Nations following the War, and the French writer and diplomat Romain Gary were instrumental, along with Nikita Dmitrievich’s mother, in sending the young man to Paris.

He studied geology at Oxford University in 1954–1958, and in 1960, he earned a Master’s degree in economic geology from Columbia University, where he would teach in the Faculty of Mineralogy and lead numerous geological expeditions. From 1961 to

⁸ Ibid. P. 88

1963, he studied at the New York University Graduate School of Business, while also working in a bank. He moved up the ladder at the bank before being hired as Assistant Vice-President of Prudential in 1967. In 1970, he was named Vice President and Head of Europe, Africa and the Middle East at Wells Fargo. And in 1987, he went to work for De Beers diamond company. Lobanov-Rostovsky was sure to help the USSR out whenever he could, assisting Soviet companies in obtaining loans from banks where he held senior positions.

In 1954, Lobanov-Rostovsky started collecting theatrical and decorative paintings created during the so-called Silver Age of Russian Art, preserving the names of 150 Russian émigré artists for posterity. It is believed that Nina and Nikita Lobanov-Rostovsky have the best private collection of theatrical and decorative painting in the world.

Starting in 1970, Lobanov-Rostovsky has regularly donated works of art and historical documents to his Fatherland. Exhibitions of works from his collection are frequently held in Russia. The first such exhibition took place at the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts in 1988, while the most recent major exhibitions were “Breakthrough”, held at the A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum in Moscow 2015–2016, and an exhibition held in honour of the 110th anniversary of the St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatrical and Musical Art in 2019.

Other initiatives of Nikita Dmitrievich Lobanov-Rostovsky include the Monument to the Heroes First World War in Victory Park on Poklonnaya Hill in Moscow, and the Monument to National Unity in Sevastopol.

Lobanov-Rostovsky has donated works to the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, the House for the Russian Diaspora, the Marina Tsvetaeva House-Museum, the Private Collections Museum, the A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum in Moscow, the St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatrical and Musical Art, the Residence of the Russian Ambassador in Paris, the Residence of the Russian Embassy in London, the Rostov Kremlin State Museum-Reserve, and other places. Outside Russia, Lobanov-Rostovsky is known at world auctions and in museums as a prominent promoter of Russian art. He is a life-long fellow of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In 2015, he was named an honorary member of the Russian Academy of Arts. In 2003, Lobanov-Rostovsky co-founded the International Council of Russian Compatriots and served as its first Deputy Chairman for several years. He is currently a member of the Council. Nikita Dmitrievich publishes stories about his amazing life, as well as memoirs, articles, and interviews in his “Rurikids” tales (Lobanov-Rostovsky 2015, 2017, 2020).

The Fate of the Ancestral Home of Alexey Borisovich

Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky was born in Moscow, in the “house of the Slavophile Khomyakov” – number 7 Sobachya Ploshchadka – which was bought by the diplomat’s father. Today, neither the house nor the street exists, much

to the chagrin of Muscovites. New Arbat Street now passes through where it once was. Alexey's childhood, his likes and interests, are described in an essay by his close friend and kindred spirit, the diplomat, historian and social commentator Vladimir A. Teplov⁹. The reader may also wish to read Section II of the forthcoming book *A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky in the Eyes of His Contemporaries*. We should add that, in the 1920s–1930s, Sobachya Ploshchadka housed the “Museum of Noble Life of the 1840s”. Apparently, the house itself and the private life of the nobility had been well preserved, so, in 1929, the Revision Commission decided that such vestiges of the highly cultured life of these people “suppress” the negative attitude of the common people towards the nobility. The museum was closed and its director arrested. But somehow, the building once again became a haven of high art, and was transferred to the ownership of the Gnessim Music School¹⁰.

Activities

The name Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1824–1896) was all but forgotten in the twentieth century, and was mentioned a scant few times in academic publications during that time. As the 2000s were coming to a close, works began to appear that dedicated several pages to the man's life (Romanyuk 2009).

In 2010, Nikita Dmitrievich Lobanov-Rostovsky published his book *Epoch. Fate. Collection*, the first work to include details about Alexey Borisovich's life and what he was like as a person. The book also included stories about other members of the Lobanov-Rostovsky family (Lobanov-Rostovsky 2010: 374–378).

Career Overview

Alexey Lobanov finished the Tsarskoye Selo Lyceum with a second [small] gold medal¹¹. We should note here that, as he was approaching the end of his studies, the lyceum moved from Tsarskoye Selo to St. Petersburg and was renamed the Alexandrovsky Lyceum, so, officially, Alexey was a graduate of that school.

There is no doubt that the Prince occupies an honourable place among the most remarkable Russian statesmen who headed up the country's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the age of just 35, he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Constantinople (1859–1863). And, as his biographers at the time claimed, he was invariably the one who was sent to deal with the most sensitive “diplomatic issues”.

⁹ Ibid. P. 3–4.

¹⁰ Khorvatova E. The Death of Sobachya Ploshchadka. Livejournal. 27.10.2013. URL: <https://eho-2013.livejournal.com/179334.html> (accessed 10.11.2023).

¹¹ Teplov. P. 5.

After taking a break from the civil service (which we will discuss below), Lobanov was appointed Governor of the City of Oryol (1866–1867). He then served as a comrade (deputy) of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, sometimes acting as minister (1867–1878). This was the era of the “Great Reforms” during the rule of Tsar Alexander II, which was very much one of those “sensitive diplomatic issues”, expanding the framework for the development of capitalism significantly, and changing the legal norms of the state and its relationship with society for the better. Alexey’s efforts were mostly directed at reforming the “investigative unit”, provincial institutions and the urban structure.

He then served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Constantinople (1878–1879), London (1879–1882) and Vienna (1882–1895). On February 26 (March 10), 1895, Tsar Nicholas II appointed Lobanov Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire.

Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky’s resume thus looks like this: Minister of Foreign Affairs (1895–1896), chamberlain, senator, Acting Privy Councillor, Secretary of State.

Secretary of State: A Special Relationship with the Royal Family

In 1870, long before serving as minister of foreign affairs, Alexey Borisovich was appointed to the honorary position of “Secretary of State to His Imperial Majesty”, that is, the personal reporter to the Tsar. Only a very select few ministers were granted such an honour. Appointment to the position was at the “highest discretion” of the sovereign himself, and it indicated a personal relationship with the Tsar and the royal family. Both Alexander II and Nicholas II were extremely fond of Alexey Borisovich. Despite the scheming of envious people, Tsar Alexander III valued Lobanov-Rostovsky’s talents, in no small part thanks to his flair for diplomacy, “contrary to what people may have said about him, he became close to Republican France, establishing friendly relations with the country”¹².

However, we can say with certainty that Tsar Nicholas II treated Lobanov-Rostovsky like a member of the family. And we have evidence of this. For example, according to the statesman, governor, senator and later emigrant Petr Stremoukhov, the Emperor considered Lobanov-Rostovsky’s untimely death one of his biggest failures: “... What do you want, Mr. Ambassador? We are Russians and, therefore, superstitious. But isn’t it obvious that the Sovereign brings nothing but disaster?”

He then goes on to list all the failures that had befallen him during his reign: the Khodynka Tragedy, the sinking of a steamship before his very eyes in Kyiv along with three hundred spectators, and the death of his beloved minister Lobanov-Ros-

¹² Ibid. P. 55.

ovsky on the royal train. The Tsar desperately wanted an heir, and after having four daughters, one finally appeared, but he turned out to be sick with an incurable disease (Stremukhov 2017: 315).

Minister of Finance Sergei Witte also wrote about the sadness felt by the royal family following Lobanov-Rostovsky's death, adding that the foreign minister would not have allowed many of the events in Russian politics that ended so badly to happen had he lived¹³. And this despite the fact that the relationship between Witte and Lobanov-Rostovsky was far from rosy.

St. Volodymyr's Cathedral in Kyiv was consecrated on August 20, 1896, two days after Lobanov-Rostovsky's sudden death on a train bound for the city. The artist Mikhail Nesterov writes:

"We went to the cathedral at 9 o'clock the next morning. By 10 o'clock, the Metropolitan bishop had arrived, as had grand princes, ministers, and so on. At ten on the dot, the ringing of bells announced the arrival of the emperor and empress. They led the procession. The Tsar was sombre and pallid, the Tsarina was also sad. Word has it they she shed many a tear after Princess Lobanova-Rost[ovskaya]'s death; and the emperor appeared to mouth the words "what rotten luck I have!"¹⁴

In this context, Nesterov appears to have made a typo: it should, of course, read "after Prince Lobanov-Rost[ovsky]'s death". Plus, no one with the surname Lobanova-Rostovskaya died in August 1896.

According to Teplov, the illuminations that had been planned for the Tsar's arrival in Kyiv were cancelled.¹⁵

Here is what Prince Dmitri Obolonsky, Marshal of Nobility and head of the court of Alexander II who published interesting works in exile about the time of Nicholas II, wrote:

"The Russian cabinet was by no means bad under Nicholas II, and the emperor was generally quite good at finding outstanding people to fill government posts. The government was no worse under him than it had been under his predecessors, and was often superior to those in Western European countries – both those that had parliaments and those that did not. Foreign ministers the likes of Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky, Alexander Izvolsky, Sergey Sazonov and Nikolai Pokrovsky do not come around every day, and they were envied in England, France and Germany. Their policies were successful, sometimes even brilliant..." (Obolonsky 2017: 119).

"Blame for the war with Japan is placed squarely on Nicholas II, who is seen as the sole culprit for the entire affair. This is how he has gone down in history. But it was not Russia that declared war on Japan, nor did it even issue a challenge to the country. As we all know, Japan turned its sights towards mainland Asia in 1894, some ten years before the war with Russia, attacking a defenceless China, capturing Korea and Kwan-

¹³ Witte S. Y. 2003. *From the Archive of S. Y. Witte. Recollections: In Three Volumes. Vol. 1*. St. Petersburg: Dmitry Bulanin.

¹⁴ Nesterov M. V. 1988. Letter to A. A. Turygin dated August 28, 1896. In M. V. Nesterov *Letters*. Moscow: Iskusstvo.

¹⁵ Teplov. P. 96

tung and then threatening the Russian Far East, which was extremely vulnerable at the time. Could Russia really be expected to do nothing about this? Russia stood up to Japan. And it did not do this alone, but rather in alliance with France and Germany (and against Great Britain). Nicholas II was the one who brokered this alliance. And he had a truly exceptional assistant by his side – Minister of Foreign Affairs Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky, who replaced the wishy-washy Nikolay de Girs. Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky was able to do the impossible – bring Germany and France together, and to steer this coalition for the benefit of Russia. The combined fleet (under the command of a Russian admiral) forced Japan (without a declaration of war, and without a single drop of blood being shed) to end the war with China and make concessions. As a result, Japan was banished from mainland Asia, and had to be satisfied with the Republic of Formosa and reparations (from China)” (Obolonsky 2017: 149).

The First Publication of Kushniarev’s Systematic Study

Until now, the only systematic study that covered every aspect of the Lobanov-Rostovsky’s work was a dissertation, a “manuscript”, completed back in 2008.¹⁶ The work reads like an academic CV. Drawing on the vast corpus of various documentary evidence, including the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the author convincingly lays out the achievements of the diplomat, filling in the “blank pages” with historical materials, presented for the first time, and pointing out which of his personality traits were key to the successful resolution of complicated issues. In this sense, the work can be called a textbook for modern diplomats.

The 1879 Peace of Constantinople. Designed and Developed by Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky

Until recently, little was known about Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky’s role in the conclusion of the 1879 Peace of Constantinople. The treaty represented a significant moral and material victory for Russia. It also laid the foundation for the creation of the autonomous principality of Bulgaria, that is, if gave life to Bulgarian statehood.

A special place in the publication (Section III) is devoted to the part played by Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky in the signing of Peace of Constantinople with Turkey and the resulting formation of an independent Bulgarian state.

In 1878, the magazine *Vsemirnaya Illyustratsiya* (*World Illustrated*) published an article on Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky, complete with a portrait of the diplomat:

¹⁶ Kushnarev I. S. 2008. *Life and Statesmanship of A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky: 1844–1896*. Doctoral dissertation, Saratov Chernyshevsky State University.

“During his first stay in Constantinople, Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky conducted himself in a conciliatory manner and knew how to curry favour with everyone in attendance. For this reason, those in diplomatic circles hope that his appointment as ambassador to Constantinople will contribute to rapprochement between Russia and the Sublime Porte”.¹⁷

In 2019, Nikita Lobanov-Rostovsky led a discussion about the role of the Peace of Constantinople in the House for the Russian Diaspora.¹⁸ Historians, public figures and journalists from Russia and Bulgaria (most notably Rumen Petkov, leader of the Alternative for Bulgarian Revival party) offered their thoughts on the issue. Section III of the upcoming book is devoted to this discussion, and will also include the full text of the peace agreement.

Nikita Lobanov-Rostovsky writes:

“The Russo–Turkish War of 1877–1878 is of great historical international significance. First of all, it was fought because of the Eastern question, one of the most explosive issues in global politics of the time. Second, it ended with the Congress of Berlin, which redrew the political map of what was perhaps the ‘hottest’ region in Europe – a “powder keg”, as diplomats referred to it.

The war was caused by the upsurge of the national liberation movement in the Balkans and the aggravation of international disputes in connection with this. The war ended with the liberation of the Balkan peoples from Ottoman rule, the independence of Serbia, Romania and Montenegro, and the formation of Bulgarian statehood.

Russia lost 140,000 people, with a further 60,000 wounded. Yet the foundations of modern Bulgaria were laid...

I remember singing this song at school in Bulgaria some eighty years or so ago:

From the Black Sea to Lake Ohrid

From the Danube to the Aegean

A single people live.

These words are from the text of the Treaty of San Stefano (February 13, 1878), which was signed three weeks after the ceasefire agreement of January 19, 1878. The agreement was unacceptable for Great Britain because it gave Russia influence on the banks of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles straits. England demanded a meeting in London on May 18, 1878 to discuss the treaty. The wording of the agreement was subsequently modified heavily, and Bulgaria lost two-thirds of the territory it had originally been promised.

The agreement between Russia and Great Britain was discussed at the Congress of Berlin (June–July 1878). Eight months later (on February 8, 1879), the Peace of Constantinople was signed. One of my ancestors, Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky, who

¹⁷ Prince Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky: Russian Ambassador at the Turkish Court. 1878. *Vsemirnaya Illyustratsiya*. 491. P. 1.

¹⁸ The 1879 Peace of Constantinople. Round Table in Honour of the 140th Anniversary of the Signing of the Peace of Constantinople. House for the Russian Diaspora. Moscow, February 8, 2019. N. D. Lobanov-Rostovsky Publications. London, April 2019.

served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Constantinople under Sultan Abdul Hamid II during 1878–1879, signed on behalf of Russia, while Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs Alexander Karatheodori Pasha and Ali Pasha, the Minister presiding over the Council of State of the Ottoman Empire, signed for the Turkish side

The Principality of Bulgaria was created on the basis of this treaty, and the first Bulgarian Constitution was adopted on April 16, 1879.

Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky deserves credit for successfully negotiating in favour of the Bulgarian side to develop the agreement. He managed to get clauses included in it that were not even considered at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. He was also able to get some parts of the Treaty of Berlin replaced with articles from the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) that had been taken out of the text at the Congress of Berlin. He was able to do all this because he enjoyed the trust and respect of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, a result of their close friendship, which was built in the days when Abdul Hamid was still the heir to the throne and Lobanov-Rostovsky was a young ambassador in Constantinople”.

Personalities and Pastimes

Art and the Fullness of Life

It is known that Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky demonstrated a flair for art from a young age, and that he took part in theatre productions at the lyceum (Kobeko 2008: 339). He once used his acting skills in secret negotiations with France, when he was able to organically become an “illegal negotiator”, penetrating the country’s inner circles disguised as a “philistine”:

“The outstanding abilities of the young diplomat did not go unnoticed, and such a favourable opinion was formed of him that when Emperor Napoleon²⁰ started to show signs after the Crimean campaign in 1856 that he wanted to reconcile with Russia, Prince Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky was sent on a secret mission to Paris, where he arrived as a tradesman named Rubinstein. There, he conducted secret preliminary negotiations with the Saxon Count von Seebach, which paved the way for a final agreement”.²¹

The Prince was into the history of extinct lineages and preserving the memory of ancient noble families, which led him to carry out numerous genealogical studies.

¹⁹ Lobanov-Rostovsky N. D. 2022. *Foreign Policy-Smith Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky: Diplomat, Foreign Minister, Genealogist, Historian, Collector*. Moscow: LRC Publishing House.

²⁰ Charled Louis Napoleon III (1808–1873) was a nephew of Napoleon 1, the first President of France and the last monarch of the French Second Empire.

²¹ Teplov. P. 6.

In addition to mastering his everyday activities, both official and academic, Lobanov-Rostovsky also “knew how to live”: he would go to art exhibitions, presentations of antique collections and private theatre performances; listen to Italian music and gypsy singing; and attend meetings on antiquity, leading group discussions on the topic and impressing everyone with his erudition and understanding of the essence of the issue at hand. He also loved to hunt bears and travel to the resorts of France for some R&R. He was a lover and a great friend. It is known that he would throw himself at the feet of his beloved, moving heaven and earth to try and win the affections of the wife of the French ambassador to Turkey, Juliette de Bourquene. But it turned out that Lobanov-Rostovsky was a man of dignity and was hardened enough to accept the hand that fate had dealt him – the affections of the object of his desires. His ability to protect and respect his personal life matched his willpower and professional honour that allowed him to successfully defend the interests of the Fatherland. The happy lovers spent three years in Lobanov-Rostovsky’s secluded villa in France before her premature death.

Having lost his Juliette, Lobanov-Rostovsky did not betray his feelings and would forever be grateful for this strange period of his life. From the moment he fled with his beloved in 1863, he would live “three plus thirty years” – three years breathing the joy of love, and thirty years in service to his country. He was a passionate man and entered into numerous romances, and, according to some reports, had a daughter from his French lover. But he never got married and lived out his life as a bachelor...

Lobanov-Rostovsky was on friendly terms not only with the insular diplomatic and aristocratic society, but also with bohemians. It is no surprise that he was friends with people from completely different circles – from the Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich to the writer and Secretary of the Russian Society for Encouraging Artists Dmitry Grigorovich, author of *Gutta-Percha Boy*, to the art historian, archivist and critic Vladimir Stasov, a man of very advanced vires on the art of that time. For example, Stasov once wrote to Vasily Vereshchagin:

“Your brother came to visit maybe two times during those days, then he left for Vologda. This morning, I did what he asked and sent, *poste restante*, a recommendation to both governors – of Vologda and Arkhangelsk – and a glowing recommendation at that, from my good friend, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky”.²²

The Prince was well versed in all kinds of areas. For example, as Deputy Minister of the Interior, he had to deal with the issue of sectarianism in Russia, which was very complex, dangerous for public sentiment, and deeply rooted in the worldview of different strata of society.

²² V. V. Stasov to V. V. Vereshchagin. St. Petersburg, Nadezhdinsk[aya], 9; July 3 [18]76. In Lebedeva A. K. (ed.). 1950. *Correspondence between V. V. Vereshchagin and V. V. Stasov. Vol. I. 1874–1878*. Moscow: Iskustvo.

His activities frequently brought him into contact with objects of art, which gave him a similarly impressive understanding of the structure, classification and features of art:

“In 1876, a special commission was set up under the Ministry of National Education to discuss and finalize the draft of the II Archeological Congress [on the Classification of Monuments]. It was chaired by Comrade Minister of Internal Affairs A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky and was made up of representatives of the imperial academies (of arts and sciences), the journal *Proceedings of the Imperial Archaeological Commission* and the Synod”.²³

In a word, the Prince knew how to live a full and varied life, no matter what he was involved in, and he was always highly active in his endeavours, the lessons of the past firmly in his mind.

What His Contemporaries Thought of Him. The Lobanov Formula

As we have already noted, Section II of our publication is a collection of recollections about Lobanov-Rostovsky – what he was like as a person, and what he liked to do. Secretary of State Alexander Polovtsov discovered a “formula” for how Lobanov-Rostovsky carried himself as a diplomat: “cheerful, hospitable, level-headed and firm in relations” (Polovtsov 2005a: 323). Polovtsov and Lobanov-Rostovsky were extremely close, completely at ease in each other’s company. Polovtsov had no problem at all letting his friend stay in his house if he had to go away on business: “March 24, 1887. Leaving for Paris. Lobanov will be staying at my place” (Polovtsov 2005b: 49).

Polovtsov was fascinated by the inner workings of Lobanov-Rostovsky’s mind. “May 24, 1883. Tuesday. I had a long conversation with Lobanov today about the sorry state of affairs in which our country’s internal and external affairs finds itself. The autocracy that everyone is talking about is nothing but a façade, an intensified expression of an inner content that isn’t there. When things are quiet, things are limping along, but God forbid a thunderstorm... who knows what will happen then...” (Polovtsov 2005a: 108).

These words can be used to describe the world today. There is no doubt that Lobanov-Rostovsky was a uniquely courageous man of conviction. But he would not share his sobering assessment of the situation at home and abroad with just anyone, only his most trusted confidants, and Polovtsov was surely one of them. For example: “March 16, 1886. Invited to breakfast at the Gagarins, along with Lobanov and Palen. We reminisced about the past and, of course, the present leaves much to be desired. Universal dislike for Pobedonostsev, who is accused of holding narrow views, as well as shallow priestly biased foibles...” (Polovtsov 2005a: 441).

²³ *Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments of Russia: 18th – Early 20th Centuries*. Moscow, 1978.

Lobanov-Rostovsky appears to have been a fiercely independent person, pursuing his own line, while at the same time being able to remain objective in the face of hostility. For example, (on March 18, 1888), the Prince was “extremely dissatisfied with the way things [were] going at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, saying that had we adopted the position we now hold on the Bulgarian issue (a year ago), then there would be no issue to speak of now. The problem is that Girs, due to his spinelessness, does not enjoy any authority in the eyes of the emperor. Lobanov, who has no love for Ambassador Shuvalov in Berlin, understands that his appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs would benefit the cause” (Polovtsov 2005b: 99).

Lobanov-Rostovsky saw the role of Empress Maria Fedorovna in politics as pernicious, and he would not hold back when revealing his true feelings about her to his closest and most trusted friends: “April 3, 1889. The concert ended at 8, and everyone went to the so-called arsenal hall, where a table had been laid for forty guests. As the senior-most official there, Lobanov sat to the right of the Empress, from whom he did not hear a single sensible word! What a stupid, vapid woman!” (Polovtsov 2005b: 194).

Lobanov-Rostovsky had no qualms about writing “unpleasant” reports: “November 29, 1891. They’re saying that my friend Lobanov has stooped to new lows, in uninterested and does not write anything serious. My response to that would be that Lobanov does not write to Girs because, as far as he is concerned, it is not worth it, because he’ll never get a sensible word out of him.

I asked Shishkin how the extracts from the foreign newspapers that are given to the emperor to read are chosen, and he tells me, ‘the person charged with this has orders from Girs not to include anything unpleasant in them, so as not to put the emperor in a bad mood whenever Girs has to give him a groveling report on something’ (Polovtsov 2005b: 194).

Polovtsov respected Lobanov primarily because he was not one of those officials, “who, under external pressure, have but one concern – covering their own behinds” (Polovtsov 2005b: 473). He also respected him for his good upbringing and his ability to carry himself in such a way that, no matter what country he was in, he was able to curry favour with the high-ranking statesmen and leaders: “April 8, 1892. Dinner at the Abaza’s in honour of Lobanov. These dinners are an annual affair, but the number of people who attend them dwindles with each passing year. This time around, there are Timashev, Ubri and Balashev. As for new faces, there is Durnovo, who was a terrible governor back when Lobanov was running the Ministry of Internal Affairs. But he may just be the most acceptable of those who haven’t been at one of these dinners before and now find themselves in power, because Filippov, Witte, Vyshnegradsky and Ostrovsky are barely fit for the janitor’s room” (Polovtsov 2005b: 474).

Teplov gives us an insider’s account of Lobanov-Rostovsky’s life, as he knew the man well, unlike Kartsov, who apparently was not part of Lobanov-Rostovsky’s inner circle and whose recollections, given below, are those of an onlooker. Teplov was the one who, in his role as First Secretary of the Embassy in Constantinople (1878–1879), brought the final draft of the peace treaty between Russia and Turkey signed by Prince

Lobanov-Rostovsky to St. Petersburg to be ratified. His recollections are thus of particular value. We should point out here that despite his obvious admiration for the prince, Teplov is objective in his assessment of his notes, drawing attention to the scrupulousness, dryness and rawness of the material. Bear in mind that we are publishing his memoirs about Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky for the first time – 125 years after they were written.

Why did we decide to put the memoirs of Lobanov's obvious detractor, Yuri Kartsov, among others, in Section II? Kartsov was an extreme conservative, and his views appear reprehensible to us. He did, after all, become a member of the Union of the Archangel Michael, a known Black Hundreds organization. He was mostly critical of Russia's flexible policy when it came to interacting with other countries and cultures, believing that it was Russia's calling to stand alone. This is why he could not have looked favourably on Lobanov-Rostovsky's diplomatic successes in terms of Russia's rapprochement with Bulgaria's. Lobanov-Rostovsky's close friend Vladimir Teplov explained why Kartsov's memoirs contain negative undertones:

"Prince Lobanov's appointment as a minister aroused the concern of the Slavophile party, whose members feared that the extended periods he had spent abroad had led him to him completely to Western European views on the Slavic question.

Prince Lobanov was not a Slavophile in the generally accepted sense of the word; Slavophiles were typically provocative and offensive, whereas Lobanov valued friendly relations with all Slavic peoples. But he was a true Russian, through and through, and always put the interests of Russia ahead of all else, never losing sight of the fact that if the Slavs matter to Russia, then Russia is a thousand times more important to the Slavs, if only for its role as a powerful shield and driver of the independent development of the Slavic peoples. A weakened Russia would inevitably have a detrimental effect on the political fate of the Slavs in general".²⁴

Kartsov subtly constructs his memories in such a way that he puts unflattering remarks about Lobanov-Rostovsky into the mouths of other people. He tries to describe all the shortcomings of the prince, and shines a light on these qualities only. He even criticizes Lobanov-Rostovsky for being attracted to ladies who were close to him in age, rather than to younger women. This is somewhat excessive and out of place for "diplomatic" memoirs. But even the title of Kartsov's book demonstrates his slyness – *Political and Personal Recollections*. Kartsov disliked everything about Lobanov-Rostovsky, from his penchant for art collecting to his love for historical detail and fact. He even reproaches him for pursuing what is the main goal of diplomacy – "maintain good relations with the powers of the West and, of course, primarily with Austria-Hungary and Germany",²⁵ as well as for the affinity he felt for the first prince of

²⁴ Teplov, P. 53

²⁵ Kartsov Y. 1906. *Seven Years in the Middle East. 1879–1886. Political and Personal Recollections*. St. Petersburg: Ekonomicheskaya tipolotografia. P. 12.

the Principality of Bulgaria, Alexander of Battenberg, and the fact that the latter spoke about Lobanov-Rostovsky with the same kind of warmth: "Prince Lobanov is a pearl of Russian diplomacy".²⁶ All this criticism of Lobanov-Rostovsky hints subtly towards what Kartsov evidently sees as an excessive commitment to the West, something that Vladimir Teplov laconically refutes:

"The time he spent in Moscow, during those years when the mind is most impressionable, with its monuments to antiquity and its truly Russian spirit, inspired in him a passion for our country's past, which laid a solid foundation for a conscious love for his fatherland. He was proud to be Russian, a feeling that did not grow weaker as he got older, either under the influence of his comprehensive European education, or the extended periods he spent living abroad".²⁷

In his memoirs, Kartsov even spins rumours as if they were true, putting them into the mouths of his interlocutors. For example: Lobanov-Rostovsky's mother was a merchant's wife, which is where his profound arrogance came from. In actual fact, his mother, O. M. Borodina was from a poor, but ancient noble family. Or the obvious lie that Alexander III did not trust Lobanov-Rostovsky and would not have been his minister if he had lived longer. This is contradicted by the fact that, according to Teplov, the Tsar told Lobanov-Rostovsky that his posting as ambassador would be his last stint abroad, as he was to be appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. Teplov goes on to say that Lobanov-Rostovsky himself "repeatedly called himself the only person to continue the policy of Alexander III".²⁸

And this is how Kartsov created a "negative" image of Lobanov-Rostovsky. But what came of it? Despite his efforts, even the detractor Kartsov failed to squeeze anything serious out of the tube of poison that could possibly discredit the reputation of the prince, except for the usual weaknesses inherent in any person, such as, "the man is a conceited snob, from head to toe".²⁹

Lobanov-Rostovsky knew how to be a social chameleon. As a diplomat, Kartsov had to understand that restraint, isolation and detachment are necessary qualities for such work – a mask of sorts. His coldness and unwillingness to let a single wanderer into the Russian embassy in Constantinople, even if they were from Russia, was a matter of caution more than anything else. For, as the First Secretary of the Embassy Vladimir Teplov writes, "Even in times of peace, the post of Russian Ambassador in Constantinople is an extremely challenging one, one of constant conflict. The city serves as the point where the intrigues of foreign officials intersect, as they direct all their efforts towards counteracting or even eliminating Russia's influence on the Sublime Porte, and towards the desire to pull Turkey into the orbit of Western Europe, having, of course, obtained the lion's share of the benefits... and the Russian repre-

²⁶ Ibid. P. 11.

²⁷ Teplov. P. 4.

²⁸ Ibid. P. 55.

²⁹ Kartsov. P. 175.

sentative is left to fight the onslaught alone, with no support whatsoever. At the same time, he has to navigate the machinations of the evasive and two-faced policies of the Sublime Porte, condemned by her very weakness to constant subterfuge, in the hope that the never-ending rivalry between the powers will give it an opportunity to somehow avoid fulfilling its obligations, which sound so good and look just as compelling on paper. In such conditions, protecting our interests in Turkey and pursuing our goals in the East, which involve the concerns that arise from our time-honoured patronage of fellow believers and fellow countrymen, impose a heavy burden on the Russian ambassador under the Sultan and require his complete and total attention”³⁰

The memoirs of detractors such as Kartsov do the opposite. Full of petty trifles, they expose the pettiness of the memoirist himself. And, as such, they actually serve to reinforce the generally positive assessment of the historical figure of Lobanov-Rostovsky. Although we have a living image of the prince, an opportunity to picture this truly unique person from among the faceless figures that make up the history of diplomacy.

But even Kartsov had to concede that Lobanov-Rostovsky had performed brilliantly in his role in developing and concluding Peace of Constantinople, subconsciously replicating the only correct policy that the prince could have pursued: “Unlike other ambassadors, he did not pester the Turks, nor did he try to introduce any new issues into the conversation. Rather, he kept to the main lines of the instructions he had received. He was thus able to curry the favour of Sultan Abdul Hamid like no ambassador before or after him”. However, note the peculiar way in which Kartsov describes how Lobanov-Rostovsky was able to achieve peace – not with his diplomatic skill or the experience of an ambassador, rather, “with his lazy and indifferent character, Lobanov-Rostovsky responded to the general need for reconciliation”³¹

Oh, envy, mixed with a feeling that he would never be as good as the prince! This can clearly be seen in a comment he made when seeing the order in which the royal family came out, and who followed them: “the closest relatives of the Tsar, followed by Prince Lobanov and other *dii minores*³²...”³³

Teplov would respond to Kartsov’s depiction, calling Lobanov-Rostovsky “a person who only knew how to organize his day, alternating between his work as a civil servant and his academic pursuits”³⁴. He further noted that, “nothing was so contrary to his temperament as to interfere in trifles: for the head of an embassy or government ministry, it is necessary, as he understands it, to retain general leadership only, to outline only the main strokes in order to give a clear understanding of the main idea,

³⁰ Teplov. P. 24–25.

³¹ Kartsov. P. 9–10

³² Latin for “minor deities.”

³³ Kartsov. P. 237.

³⁴ Teplov. P. 54.

which should always be kept in sight. It is not the minister's job to add colour or detail to the background, for, if he does, he will inevitably drown in a sea of minutiae, and his obsession with the latter will cause him to lose sight of the big picture..."³⁵

The shallow waters of Kartstov's thinking, seasoned with a dash of malevolence, only colours Teplov's version of the same events: "Once the Russo-Turkish War had ended and relations with the Sublime Porte had been restored, it was necessary to send an experienced diplomat to Constantinople, someone who was familiar with the East and the specifics of diplomatic activity there, someone who would be able to unravel the many knots that made up the legacy of the war that had altered relations both between Turkey and its neighbours, and between the peoples on the Balkan Peninsula, some of whom had finally achieved independence, some of whom gave rise to new political organisms with their own separate aspirations".³⁶

Looking at other unquestionably positive achievements of Lobanov-Rostovsky's diplomatic work, Kartsov somehow manages to turn positives into negatives, offering absolutely no evidence to support his conclusions. For all the hostility that seeps through the pages of his book, however, Kartsov nevertheless finds the fortitude to praise Lobanov-Rostovsky the minister, emphasizing his strength of character, the "calibre", as he puts it, of a man who is worthy of his position, and his incorruptibility, calling the prince a "star of the first order" in the diplomatic sky – although, as was often the case with Kartsov, these were not his words, but rather those of A. I. Nelidov. He also points out that the other embassy employees, who had led rather lavish lifestyles before Lobanov-Rostovsky arrived in Constantinople, were forced to "cut down" on their "spending" under the new ambassador.³⁷ Lobanov-Rostovsky's firmness was evidently in stark contrast to what had come before. Polovtsov noted in his diary:

"Spent the evening at Lobanov's, who was ill. Girs does not have the courage to show the emperor Lobanov's messages when they are expressed boldly" (Polovtsov 2005a: 98–99).

Historian

Genealogist, Bibliophile, Collector

Lobanov-Rostovsky grew up among Moscow aristocrats. He loved hearing stories about the old days, and started writing them down when he was a child. He was particularly interested in the era of Emperor Paul, as his ancestors played prominent roles at the royal court during that time. The uncle of his great-grandmother Princess Ekaterina Alexandrovna Lobanova-Rostovskaya, nee Kurakina, Count Nikita Panin, who was a mentor to Prince Pavel Petrovich, Ekaterina Alexandrovna's father, Prince Alex-

³⁵ Ibid. P. 53–54.

³⁶ Ibid. P. 23.

³⁷ Kartsov. P. 30.

ander Borisovich Kurakin, was in power under Tsarina Anna Ioannovna. Lobanov-Rostovsky started to take an interest in genealogy, plotting family linkages and the role of these families in national and global events. He devoted himself to “clarifying the familial relations of the higher Russian nobility” because it “played a leading role in the political and cultural life of Russia at the time”, as Vladimir Teplov writes.³⁸

Several articles by Lobanov-Rostovsky that appeared in the journals *Russky Arkhiv* and *Russkaia starina* and which we cite in an upcoming publication demonstrate the thoroughness of his genealogical studies. Lobanov-Rostovsky’s noble nature also shows through in his dedication to the study of noble births so as to remember those who are no longer with us. The desire to trace one’s family ties is a distinctive feature of the Russian nobility, especially the Moscow nobility, which has survived to this day, despite the fact that many of their forebears left the country. It would seem that Lobanov-Rostovsky did this for the sheer pleasure of it, that he felt a spiritual attachment to it – to the Byzantine bonds of endless family entwinements. This aspect of noble life was so ingrained in the psyche that the poet Aleksey Apukhtin dedicated a humorous, parodic but generally accurate poem that was quite well-known and popular at one time. The first and last quatrains were passed by word of mouth:

Ivan Ivanovich Fanderfleet,
Married to Vorontsov’s aunt.
Some of them were put to sleep
In the glorious Sleptsov’s detachment...

And in the end, the reference books
Give but one true fact
That Ivan Ivanovich Vorontsov
Is married to Fanderfleet’s aunt. (1902)

With the same love, Lobanov-Rostovsky collected information about old trade and industrial families, quite literally piece by little piece, as there was far less information about them than about noble families. And he could not restrain his giddiness as a researcher: “I am so grateful to the kind old woman for the genealogical information she gives us that I am ready to take her word for everything and not have to deal with all the formal nonsense...”³⁹

³⁸ Teplov. P. 16

³⁹ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. Zemsky and the Zatrapeznys, Members of Eminent Merchant Families in the 18th Century (letter to the editor of *Russkaia starina* M. I. Semevsky). In A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky’s Book of Letters. 1884. *Russkaia starina*. P. 217.

History and Contemporary Society

Last but not least, Lobanov-Rostovsky's interest in history, his ability to "live among the facts of antiquity", cultivated a profound vision of the events that unfolded during his lifetime. Foreseeing their consequences, he took a proactive stance on current events and sought to strengthen the position of the Russian nobility. In 1873, Lobanov-Rostovsky published the first book in a two-volume study called *Russian Genealogical Book*, with the second part coming two years later. Section V of the present publication offers an in-depth review of Lobanov-Rostovsky's genealogical studies by Anton Sergeev.

Lobanov-Rostovsky's love for history as a child made him an avid reader as an adult, engendering in him an interest in genealogy and heraldry, and eventually collecting not only printed publications, but also manuscripts, portraits and coins.

The Prince's Numismatic Collection

There is no way we could leave out the fact that Lobanov-Rostovsky was a coin connoisseur, and he amassed an impressive collection during his lifetime, especially on his stints in Constantinople. Experts have called his collection of "eastern" coins (some 2000 items) "one of the most significant numismatic collections" in this area. It was acquired from the minister's heirs by the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg a year after his passing. The collection includes extremely rare Russian and Byzantine coins. Wherever he served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, he demanded, in addition to the usual political, economic and trade reports, archaeological and ethnographic journals from those in his charge (Guruleva 2001).

New Documents Discovered by Lobanov-Rostovsky on the History of Russia

Between 1873 and 1888, the journals *Russkaia starina* and *Russky Arkhiv* published several documents on famous historical figures discovered by Lobanov-Rostovsky that were completely new to historians of the time, along with detailed comments by the Prince. We have dedicated Section VI of our work to Lobanov-Rostovsky's publications. Researchers at the time were impressed by the rigorousness of the Prince's academic work, which in no small part contributed to his election as an honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in 1876.

“A Man of Duty, Labour and Experience”

Lobanov-Rostovsky was, as he himself wrote in an essay about Prince Pavel Lopukhin, “an ardent lover of Russian antiquity”.⁴⁰ As an academic writer, Lobanov-Rostovsky was modest about his contributions: he did not always sign his correspondence in periodicals, often leaving his initials only, and sometimes just a single letter. He would gladly hand over the materials he had collected to other researchers so that they could publish works under their own names.

Kartsov writes: “Prince Lobanov [...] dabbled in historiography, worked on *The History of Emperor Paul I*, published letters from Ms. Coigny, read everything he could about the unfortunate fate of Mary Stuart at the British Museum. And for what? He would make a molehill out of a mountain: everything was reduced to a bibliography, to collecting, to a historical anecdote”.⁴¹

This is patently untrue. As one of Lobanov-Rostovsky’s classmates at the Lyceum testifies, the Prince was from a young age “oblivious to class prejudices, striving to recreate the past in its untarnished truth”.⁴² As a historian, approximation repulsed him. At the same time, “in his historical research, Prince Alexey Borisovich was most interested in those figures whose lives contained something mysterious, still unknown or unclear, or in people who suffered terribly at the hands of fate”, wrote Vladimir Teplov.⁴³ We can add that, judging by the documents he published, Lobanov-Rostovsky was interested in those moments in Russian history that can be seen as harbingers of the events that would eventually topple the monarchy: the case of the Lopukhins, Artemy Volynsky, the Gruzinov brothers, etc.

We can also see that Lobanov-Rostovsky stayed true to his convictions in his academic pursuits: just as in his diplomatic activities he would find himself in the throes of the most difficult situations in the present, unravelling them in his mysterious way, so too did he deal with the most “inconvenient” historical events and figures in the past for his publications. Teplov mostly lauds Lobanov-Rostovsky’s work as a historian.

Lobanov wrote historical essays. His psychologically insightful portrait of E. I. Nelidova and the period she lived in is thus presented here. Although, more often than not, the diplomat preferred to remain anonymous in his academic writings. Thus:

“The fate of the eminently talented Count N. P. Panin, whose misfortune as a statesman saw him live in disgrace for over thirty years, could not but interest Prince Lobanov [...] Prince Lobanov made every effort to find out the real reason why Count

⁴⁰ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. His Serene Highness, Prince Pavel Petrovich Lopukhin, 1788–1873. Compiled by Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. 1872. *Russkaia starina*. P. 729.

⁴¹ Kartsov. P. 12

⁴² Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (inscription to a portrait of Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky by K. Adt). *Russkaia starina*, 1896. P. 691.

⁴³ Teplov. P. 42.

Panin fell so far out of favour, and talking to people who were close to the events and searching high and low for letters from that time, he was able to uncover a long-kept secret. He compiled a monograph that he called *Count Nikita Petrovich Panin*, and it is of considerable interest. But, judging by the information contained in it, it could not be printed, and the Prince was limited to reading it to a circle of close friends and acquaintances. Clearly, the details somehow trickled down to Brikner, who used them in his work *Materials for the life of Count Nikita Petrovich Panin*. At times, Brikner disagrees completely with Prince Lobanov's opinions or conjectures, but he nevertheless quotes his story verbatim, neglecting to reference the source".⁴⁴

Lobanov-Rostovsky played a huge, albeit anonymous, role in the publication of a unique collection of letters written by historical figures of the late eighteenth century entitled *Private Correspondence of the Count of Vaudreuil and the Count of Artois*⁴⁵ *During the Emigration (1789–1815)*.⁴⁶ He practically gifted "all author's rights", as Teplov put it, to Leons Pingo. He also published, anonymously, the *Letters of the Marquise de Coigny*.⁴⁷ And he did not put his name to the obituary he wrote about the His Serene Highness, Prince Pavel Lopukhin, which was very personal in tone.

"In general, it should be noted that Prince Lobanov was not one of those people who jealously keep the information they collected under seven seals. Quite the contrary, when researchers and historians turned to him for advice, guidance or information, he was only too happy to share all his knowledge with them, give them the information he had obtained, or offer his conjectures and assumptions. In a word, he did not hoard the extremely valuable materials he had collected with such love and unmatched skill",⁴⁸ Teplov notes.

What is more, Lobanov-Rostovsky was unable to publish a true account of the life and times of Tsar Paul I, having uncovered secret information about the Romanov dynasty. All he could do was allow the reader to use their own judgement and rely on their intelligence and analytical skills to make sense of the documents he published. Polovtsov's diaries, fragments of which have been included in this article, contain hints at the mystery that hovered over the murder of Paul I – the Prince was particularly interested in the reign of this emperor. If we take a close look at the documents from the era of Paul I submitted to *Russkaia starina* for publication by Lobanov-Rostovsky, we can see how much he wanted to draw the attention of readers to the excessive severity, or occasional absurdity, of his rescripts...

⁴⁴ Teplov. P. 44.

⁴⁵ Count Francois Vaudreuil (1740–1817) was a nobleman who lived during the time of King Louis XVI and was part of the circle of close associates of Marie Antoinette and a personal friend of the Count of Artois – the future King Charles X. He left France during the French Revolution, returning after the fall of Napoleon's empire, playing a role in the restoration of the Bourbons. Charles d'Artois (1757–1830) served as King of France from 1824 until 1830.

⁴⁶ *Correspondence intime de comte de Vaudreuil et du Comte d'Artois pendant l'Émigration (1789–1815), publiée avec introduction, notes et appendices par Léonce Pingaud*. Paris, 1889.

⁴⁷ *Lettres de la Marquise de Coigny et de quelques autres personnes appartenant à la société française de la fin du XVIII siècle*. Paris, 1884.

⁴⁸ Teplov. P. 45.

The memoirist A. M. Umansky notes: Lobanov compiled “collections of material on the history of the reign of Paul I, which was a favourite subject of his. Two huge volumes of his *Diary of Emperor Paul I* remained in manuscript form only as a monument to this work, produced on the basis of information obtained from the Chamber Fourrier Journals,⁴⁹ Rostopchin’s handwritten diary,⁵⁰ and other materials. Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky’s books and manuscripts are sprinkled with his handwritten, sometimes very valuable, historical and bibliographic remarks. Given his extensive knowledge and sizable collections, Lobanov-Rostovsky published very little considering how long he lived. On the one hand, this can be explained by the fact that his official activities prevented him from properly processing the raw historical data he had obtained. On the other hand, the quality of the handwritten testimonies he managed to find often did not allow him to put them to print, for numerous reasons.”⁵¹

Lobanov-Rostovsky would also act as a translator if he needed to present interesting historical facts to the reader, for example “Prince Karl Ernst of Courland” for *Russkaia starina*,⁵² and August von Kotzebue’s manuscript about the assassination of Paul I. He confines his own opinion to a brief preface, which we include in this book. But it is obvious from the phrase: “There is no doubt that the murder was not justified, and no justification can be expected for the unfortunate Paul.”⁵³

Obviously, Lobanov-Rostovsky could not develop these views into a detailed study. We should note that Lobanov-Rostovsky had no desire to “mollycoddle” the reader. He merely presented facts that he himself found fascinating. For example, the rather “dry” story about Governor Krivtsov, who was known for mercilessly beating his servants and subordinates, was removed from his post, but then later reinstated after the investigation came up with nothing.⁵⁴ The diplomat kept a storm of emotions to himself, but an analysis of the selection of historical facts and documents that appear in Section VI suggests that he nevertheless did let some of his personal opinions be known.

Also, having uncovered the document “On the Enslavement of a Girl to a Priest”, written at a time when the secular clergy were not allowed to have serfs, Lobanov-Rostovsky published a simple text about how the unfortunate girl came to be in the possession of her new “spiritual” master, who had the full power to exact any kind of punishment he so desired here, and only expresses his protest and revulsion tangentially, below the text, mimicking the “high style” in which it is written: “This letter was uncovered on May 20, 1803 in the Tikhvin District Court, by the landowner Kachalov himself [...]”⁵⁵ It should be clear to the reader from this.

⁴⁹ The Chamber Fourrier Journal was a chronicle of the life of the royalty and the court kept by chamber fourriers.

⁵⁰ Count Fyodor Vasilyevich Rostopchin (1763–1826) was a favourite of Tsar Paul I and responsible for his foreign policy.

⁵¹ Umansky. P. 21–22

⁵² Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. Prince Karl Ernst of Courland in the Bastille: January 8 – April 24, 1768. *Russkaia starina*, 1888. P. 739–750.

⁵³ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. Preface. In August von Kotzebue, *August von Kotzebue’s Notes. An Unpublished Essay by August von Kotzebue on Emperor Paul I. Regicide, March 11, 1801. Notes of Participants and Contemporaries*, translated with comments by A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky. St. Petersburg: A. S. Suvorin, 1908. P. 319.

⁵⁴ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. N. I. Krivtsov: The Krivtsovs. A Biographical Sketch. *Russkaia starina*, 1888. P. 730.

⁵⁵ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. The Enslavement of a Girl to a Priest [Document] 1803. *Russkaia starina*, 1874. P. 178

A Man with an Eye for Detail, Admirer of Microhistory, Historian, Collector, Philologist, Textual Critic and Translator

In addition to censorship considerations, we should also note that, as a historian, Lobanov-Rostovsky naturally emanated towards the scientific method. There are two groups of historians that are important for the development of science. The first strives for interpretations, lengthy speculations and privileges ideas above all else, while the second prefers to present facts in a systematic manner, revealing the fulness of the context surrounding them. Lobanov-Rostovsky, of course, belonged to the second category.

He had a talent for reporting facts, and he was passionate about clarifying and verifying every little detail of a given historical event. For, as a professional, he understood that a lack of clarity on even one aspect could cast doubt on the entire work. And the notion, which sometimes escapes modern history publications, that, without comments, the historical text loses its import, may turn out to be incomprehensible, and thus uninteresting, to the reader. This is why, despite his hectic schedule, Lobanov-Rostovsky set about writing footnotes to the lengthy “Diary of Zinoviev’s Travels”, caring not one bit about the modesty of his role.⁵⁶

Lobanov-Rostovsky’s correspondence is also interesting, in that it shows a lively discussion between historians on the pages of *Russkaia starina* and *Russky Arkhiv*, who published their reflections, clarifications, and materials on topics that were popular at the time, as well as those that were of interest to publishers of other journals. Lobanov-Rostovsky, who was a regular reader of these journals, often sent corroborating materials he had found in the documents in his collection in response to certain articles. He was always quick to respond. For example, Lobanov-Rostovsky’s response to a question asked by a contributor from Dresden and printed in the October issue was published the very next month. Alternatively, Lobanov-Rostovsky would use *Russkaia starina* as a means to conduct a joint search for answers to micro-historical lacunae. For example, he had no qualms about showing his lack of knowledge about the case of Prince Shcherbatov, all he wanted was to find the answer. “In June 1802, a duel took place between Prince Zubov and the Chevalier de Saxe Joseph [...] Prince Shcherbatov was Prince Zubov’s second [...] But who was this Prince Shcherbatov? Perhaps it was Prince Alexander Feodorovich [...] I would be most indebted to the readers of *Russkaia starina* who would take the trouble to resolve this issue.”⁵⁷

Lobanov-Rostovsky was a talented editor and proof-reader of history texts. He was particularly fond of correcting inaccuracies, misprints, and typos, filling in gaps in information, checking every word in the texts he studied in history periodicals, and

⁵⁶ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. Diary of Zinoviev’s Travels around Germany, Italy, France and England, 1784–1790s. Correspondence between N. P. Baryshnikov and A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky. *Russkaia starina*, 1878. P. 207–240, 399–440, 593–630.

⁵⁷ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. A Question Concerning Prince Shcherbatov. *Russkaia starina*, 1886. P. 228.

keeping a close eye on the issues covered in the journals he read. And he would waste no time correcting them with publications of his own. To paraphrase the classics of the theatre, we could say that Lobanov-Rostovsky did not love himself in the science of history, but rather the science in himself. This explains why he undertook all kinds of undistinguished yet nevertheless vital historical activities – the “dirty work” of the historian, as it were.

Lobanov-Rostovsky was a collector of historical artefacts. He referred to historical facts obtained from ancient sources and unknown to his contemporaries and readers as finds that speak for themselves, admiring them and offering comments and clarifications in the proper context.

Every one of his factual notes contains a number of valuable aspects from the viewpoint of history, tidbits that other researchers may need or find useful – Lobanov-Rostovsky was always looking to the future of science. For example, the “List of Wives of the First Five Classes”⁵⁸ he published information about where prominent figures of that time resided, as well as the geography of churches of the late eighteenth century, and the secrets of the births of famous people. Elsewhere, he gives an accurate bibliographic description of the book, offering his opinion about the literary and historical quality of the work, and a theory about its true author. Everything fits on a single page, like a report, or a diplomatic communique: the prince taught his employees how to identify the main idea in a text.

We should note here that some rare documents, along with Lobanov-Rostovsky’s own explanations for them, continue to be the primary source material for researchers today.

Sometimes Lobanov-Rostovsky acts as a historian, philologist and textual critic all rolled into one. This was the case with his published comments to the *Notes of Princess Dashkova*, which give a perfect description of their distinguishing features, both external and linguistic, including typos, errors, and crossed-out fragments, reproduce the original texts, and then his translations of them. The material is organized the way that a professional textual critic would do today. He also gives his opinion on the principles of translation in connection with the English version of the *Notes of Princess Dashkova*, surprisingly anticipating the words of Vladimir Nabokov that the “worst degree of turpitude is achieved when [the original] is planished and patted” into shape: “I [...] cannot speak in defence of Ms. Bradford’s English translation”, Lobanov-Rostovsky writes. “She is constantly carried away by the desire to smooth out the roughness of the original and give a more palatable appearance to what she believes is excessively sharp or bold, caring little about preserving the accuracy and energy of Princess Dashkova’s turn of phrase. But she shares this shortcoming with almost all translators of her time,

58 Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. List of the First Five Classes of Female Persons in Moscow in 1775. Correspondence of A. L. [Prince A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky]. *Russkaia starina*, 1873. P. 94–97.

and it would, in my opinion, be extremely unfair to demand from this respectable lady those learned methods to which we are now accustomed and which we have the right to expect from any experienced translator or publisher”.⁵⁹

And Lobanov-Rostovsky's credo that we mentioned earlier – respect for the reader's intellect and acumen – is evident in the preface to the *Notes of Princess Dashkova*. That is, he published individual historical facts only, never offering his own opinion and “leaving the reader to either accept or reject what is written”.⁶⁰

About the Author:

Professor **Ekaterina S. Fedorova** – Ph.D. Philology, a doctor of Culture Studies; Professor at the Department of Theory in Teaching Foreign Languages, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Area Studies, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Bldg. 13–14, 1, Leninskie gory, Moscow, Russia, 119991. E-mail: ledentu@mail.ru

Conflicts of interest.

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

This article was submitted on July 8, 2022; approved after review on August 3, 2022; and accepted for publication on September 14, 2022.

References:

Fedorova E. S. 2020. Napoleon. Til'zit 1807 [Napoleon. Tilsit 1807]. In *Ryurikovich na perelome epokh: knyaz' Nikita Dm. Lobanov-Rostovskiy: zek, 'vor', chempion-plovets, geolog, bankir, metsenat* [Rurikovich at the turn of the era: Prince Nikita Dm. Lobanov-Rostovsky: convict, 'thief', champion swimmer, geologist, banker, philanthropist]. Moscow: Minuvsheye Publ. P. 175–183. (In Russian).

Guruleva V. V. 2001. Russkiye kollektsionery pamyatnikov numizmatiki (Vtoraya polovina XIX – nachalo XX veka) [Russian collectors of numismatic monuments (Second half of the 19th - early 20th century)]. In *Pilgrims: The Historical and Cultural Role of Pilgrimage*. St. Petersburg: Ermitazh Publ. P. 165–178. (In Russian).

Kobeko D. F. 2008. *Imperatorskiy Tsarskosel'skiy litsey: nastavniki i pitomtsy* [Imperial Lyceum in Tsarskoye Selo: mentors and pupils]. Moscow: Kuchkovo pole Publ. (In Russian).

Lobanov-Rostovsky N. D. 2010. Mikhail Borisovich – Voyennyy [Mikhail Borisovich: A Military Man]. In *Epokha. Sud'ba. Kolleksiya*. [Epoch. Fate. Collection]. Moscow: Russkij Put' Publ. P. 370–373. (In Russian).

Lobanov-Rostovsky N. D. 2015. *Ryurikovich v emigratsii. Knyaz' Nikita Lobanov-Rostovskiy: stat'i, interv'yū, retsenzii* [Rurikovich in Exile. Prince Nikita Lobanov-Rostovsky: Articles, Interviews, Reviews]. Moscow: Poligraf-Plus Publ. (In Russian).

Lobanov-Rostovsky N. D. 2017. *Ryurikovich v KHKHI veke: knyaz' Nikita Dm. Lobanov-Rostovskiy: stat'i, interv'yū, pis'ma, retsenzii* [Rurikovich in the XXI century: Prince Nikita D. Lobanov-Rostovsky: Articles, Interviews, Letters, Reviews]. Moscow: Minuvsheye Publ. (In Russian).

Lobanov-Rostovsky N. D. 2020. *Ryurikovich na perelome epokh: knyaz' Nikita Dm. Lobanov-Rostovskiy: zek, 'vor', chempion-plovets, geolog, bankir, metsenat* [Rurikovich at the Turn of the Era: Prince Nikita D. Lobanov-Rostovsky: Convict, 'Thief', Champion Swimmer, Geologist, Banker, Philanthropist]. Moscow: Minuvsheye Publ. (In Russian).

⁵⁹ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. Some More Words on the *Notes of Princess Dashkova*. By Prince A. B. Lobanov. *Russky Arkhiv*, 1–2. 1881 P. 379.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

Obolensky D. D. 2017. Imperator Nikolay II i yego tsarstvovaniye (1894–1917). In *Tsar' i Rossiya. Razmyshleniya o Gosudare imperatore Nikolaye II* [Tsar and Russia. Reflections on the Sovereign Emperor Nicholas II]. Moscow: Otchiy dom Publ. P. 116–164. (In Russian).

Polovtsov A. A. 2005a. *Dnevnik gosudarstvennogo sekretarya: v 2 t. T. 1: 1883–1886* [Diary of a Secretary of State: in 2 vols. Vol. 1: 1883–1886]. Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf: Moskovskaya tipografiya Publ. (In Russian).

Polovtsov A. A. 2005b. *Dnevnik gosudarstvennogo sekretarya: v 2 t. T. 2: 1887–1892* [Diary of a Secretary of State: in 2 vols. Vol. 2: 1887–1892]. Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf: Moskovskaya tipografiya Publ. (In Russian).

Romanyuk S. K. 2009. *Russkiy London: pervyy i yedinstvennyy putevoditel' po mestam, svyazannym s prebyvaniyem russkikh v britanskoy stolitse* [Russian London: The First and Only Guide to Places Associated with the Stay of Russians in the British Capital]. Moscow: AST: Astrel Publ. (In Russian).

Stremukhov P. P. 2017. Imperator Nikolay II i russkoye obshchestvo v kontse yego tsarstvovaniya v osveshchenii inostrantsev [Emperor Nicholas II and Russian Society at the End of his Reign as Covered by Foreigners]. In *Tsar' i Rossiya. Razmyshleniya o Gosudare imperatore Nikolaye II* [Tsar and Russia. Reflections on the Sovereign Emperor Nicholas II]. Moscow: Otchiy dom Publ. P. 288–409. (In Russian).

Linguistic Means of Speech Manipulation in the Discourse of Modern German-Language Media¹

I. S. Kashenkova

Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University)

Abstract. This article touches upon the problem of identifying and analysing speech manipulation in the texts of the German-speaking media. The media determines linguistic and cultural pictures of the world, so the analysis of media language will help to establish trends of influence on the cognitive consciousness of society. In today's geopolitical environment, the basic functions of the media transform, as it uses specific techniques of speech manipulation to achieve informational and emotive effectiveness, allowing for the distortion of the cognitive perception of information by the audience. The material for this study was German-language media texts, selected by means of a total sampling and semantic-syntactic analysis. The relevance of the study lies in its linguistic and extralinguistic factors. The author states that in the conditions of information pollution all the participants of communication should be able to identify speech manipulation in a text, qualify information in terms of its significance or reliability, and to the risks of exposure to manipulative actions. Taking the peculiarities of speech manipulation methods used in the modern German-language media texts into account, the recipient must have sufficient interpretational competence to allow him or her to overcome the barriers that prevent the identification and mental comprehension of the means of speech manipulation in the texts of foreign-language publications. The main purpose of this study is to remove some difficulties in the perception of information in German-language media text by presenting signs of indirect pressure and speech manipulation in them. To this end, the article classifies the basic techniques of speech manipulation in terms of linguistic analysis, and also justifies the expediency of forming interpretative competence in the sphere of epistemic vigilance. We argue that this competence is effective when it comes to levelling the negative impact of the discourse of German-language media on the cognitive consciousness of the audience.

Keywords: infodemic, involution, cognitive practices, German-language media, translation, discourse, linguistic means, speech manipulation, epistemological vigilance

¹ English translation from the Russian text: Kashenkova I. S. 2023. Linguistic Means of Speech Manipulation in the Discourse of Modern German-Language Media. *Linguistics & Polyglot Studies*. 9(1). P. 8–21. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24833/2410-2423-2023-1-34-8-21>.

The interactive nature of thought and communication generates a number of specific side effects. These include, in particular, the production of unreliable and/or distorted information – the spread of fake news and disinformation, the planting of conspiracy theories and destructive imperatives, the creation of prank culture and post-truth politics, and other methods of information pollution. The disorientating effect of this kind of communication and the lack of the necessary skills on the part of the consumer to critically interpret it and predict the psychological impact of such an interpretation have led to the emergence and popularization of the concept of “infodemic”. This phenomenon describes the “rapid and uncontrolled dissemination in new media of unfounded and false information about crises, which increases public anxiety” (Borhsenius 2021: 54). This term was introduced into wide use a few years ago by Director-General of the World Health Organization Tedros Ghebreyesus to describe the unprecedented spread of false information about the COVID-19 pandemic and calling on the world to fight it: “We’re not just fighting a pandemic, we’re fighting an infodemic”.² Today, the huge flow of this kind of information product has, as a result of certain events in recent decades related, among other things, to the open confrontation between Russia and the West, reached a critical point. The problematization of this phenomenon thus seems appropriate.

The change in the conceptual meaning of such concepts as “truth” and “fact”, as well as the manifestation in these concepts of the characteristic properties of the category of “relativity” has created the prerequisites for the emergence of a new type of communication in the socio-political and media space – namely, the provision of information through the “post-truth” mechanism, which modern researchers define as a “new mechanism for the formation of public opinion” (Garbuznyak 2019: 185). We used total sampling and semantic-syntactic analysis techniques to analyse more than two hundred texts that appeared in the German media. What we found was that the language is constructed in such a way that it may distort the cognitive perception of the information by the recipient. In the past, the German-language media was noted for its real and impartial analysis of political and economic events at home and abroad. Now, the media, including German-speaking news outlets, try to present information as quickly and sensationally as possible in order to make money out of it, and to make the “big capital” that controls the media holdings happy, which often involves fabricating circumstances in order to manipulate public consciousness and sway the opinions of their audience.

The main purpose of this study is to analyse the methods of speech manipulation and argue for the need to employ certain cognitive practices that remove some difficulties in the perception of information in German-language media texts. The theoretical and practical significance of this study lies in its potential in the context of the

² Wir kämpfen gegen eine Infodemie. 2020. *Science.ORF*. 18.02.2020. URL: <https://science.orf.at/stories/3200038/> (accessed 15.11.2023).

infodemic and post-truth politics of the new German-language media to identify the mechanisms of speech manipulation, increase awareness of the cognitive behaviour of recipients, and reduce the negative impact of unreliable and/or distorted information on cognitive consciousness and the formation of public opinion.

Research Methodology

For this study, we used publications that appeared in the German-language media between 2014 and 2022, specifically in the newspapers and magazines *Der Spiegel*, *Die Welt*, *Tageszeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Focus*, and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, and on the websites www.pi-news.net, www.br.de, www.zdf.de, www.spiegel.de, www.faz.net, www.welt.de, www.bild.de, www.ostsee-zeitung.de, www.rnd.de, among others. These publications were chosen primarily because they are national and the largest or most popular news sources in Germany. It is precisely the influence that these publications have on public consciousness that was of interest to us.

We used in-depth text analysis techniques, which involves a semantic and syntactic analysis of the structural units of speech fragments, to analyse more than two hundred texts that appeared in the German media. Total sampling was employed at the initial stage to identify publications in which information presented was incorrect, inaccurate, or incomplete. Next, for all the publications, we identified the main methods of speech organization employed at various levels (lexical, grammatical, etc.) to manipulate public consciousness and opinion. Additionally, we used the semantic-cognitive approach to carry out a linguistic analysis of the mechanisms of speech manipulation in new media. We also attempted to make sense of the reasons why certain barriers exist that prevent us from identifying and critically analysing the methods of speech manipulation used in foreign publications. Further, we formulated and substantiated a thesis about the need to develop sufficient interpretative competencies in the recipient so that they can evaluate information for its reliability (or lack thereof) and predict the psychological risks they may face when encountering material produced for unscrupulous purposes. Finally, we propose certain cognitive practices that facilitate the differentiation of speech manipulations in the German-language media.

Results and Analysis

We should note first of all that, in the past, German-speaking journalists adhered to the principles of journalistic ethics and professionalism. They never offered their own opinions or assessments of the events they were describing, nor did they speculate about how things might unfold; they merely informed their readers about what was happening. Germany adopted its Ethical Standards for Journalism in the second

half of the last century. It requires journalists to respect the truth, maintain objectivity, provide reliable information to the public and be attentive to issues that may cause excessive excitement and/or panic among readers³.

However, the modern geopolitical reality, the cognitive paradigm of the conceptualization of which is to some extent the information policy of post-truth, has led to the transformation of media discourse: it is quicker and easier than ever before to post a news item, a fact that has given journalists less time, or made them less inclined, to fact check what they are writing; and the fact that people spend less time reading newspapers, magazines and news sites means that journalists have greater freedom when it comes to using emotionally expressive language and providing their own opinion on events, and they thus offer subjective takes and deliberately distort words and meanings.

The functional nature of information communication implies the existence of unavoidable risks of encountering an unreliable and/or distorted information product, the formal features of which are a violation of the quality and completeness of information. The conscious degradation of the presentation of information may be a result of deliberate verbal manipulation of the consciousness and beliefs of the consumer of information. V. Z. Demyankov talks about “the contagiousness of ideas, sometimes not quite (and very often not at all) correctly understood in other people’s texts [...] use manipulation to try and achieve political or personal goals” (Dem’iankov 2018: 49). At the same time, according to G. A. Kopnina, “knowledge of the mechanisms and techniques of speech manipulation helps you interpret information in a more deliberate manner” and thus become a more active and responsible consumer of information⁴.

Linguists have long searched for an adequate reflection of the dialectic of relationship between language and thought, of how a statement can impact a person’s consciousness⁵ (Baranov 1986; Paducheva 2002; Chudinov 2003), Linguistic research dealt with such semantic categories as language (speech) demagoguery, language (speech) aggression, language (speech) violence, and language (speech) manipulation⁶ (Bykova 1999). Researchers often regard these phenomena as similar, recognizing them as related forms of linguistic influence. We will also treat these concepts as different variants of speech influence in this paper, studying *speech manipulation* as a special form of speech behaviour. While we accept the justification for the existence of alternative

³ Ethische Standards Für Den Journalismus [Ethical Standards for Journalism]. URL: www.presserat.de/pressekodex (accessed 30.07.2022).

⁴ Kopnina G. A. 2012. *Rechevoe manipulirovanie: uchebnoe posobie* [Speech Manipulation: A Textbook]. Moscow: Flinta. P. 6.

⁵ Leontev A. A. 2004. *Psikhologiya vozdeistviia v massovoi kommunikatsii* [Psychology of Influence in Mass Communication]. *Iazyk SMI kak ob`ekt mezhdisciplinarnogo issledovaniia: Ucheb. posobie*. Moscow. P. 97–107.

⁶ Zav`ialova O.N. 2003. *Rechevoe (iazykovoe) manipulirovanie* [Speech (Language) Manipulation]. In *Kul`tura russkoi rechi: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'-spravochnik*. Moscow: Flinta. Nauka; Ermakova T. A. 2000. *K voprosu o sposobakh manipulirovaniia obshchestvennym soznaniem (Iz nabludenii nad iazykom sovremennoi gazety)* [On the Methods of Manipulating Public Consciousness (From Observations on the Language of a Modern Newspaper)]. *Ritoricheskaja kul`tura v sovremennom obshchestve: Tezisy IV Mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii po ritorike, 26–28 ianvaria 2000 g.* Moscow. P. 62–63.

terminology, we give preference to this concept, since, like some researchers, we believe that it most accurately defines the phenomenon of hidden linguistic influence, since “it is obvious that language means are manipulated in speech. Manipulation is a speech phenomenon, and we ought to talk about speech manipulations as techniques employed by speakers when speaking”⁷ (Nefedova 1997: 8). In this study, we will adhere to the formulation of G. A. Kopnina, who defines speech manipulation as a form of “manipulative influence carried out through the skilful use of certain language resources in order to subtly influence the cognitive and behavioural activity of the addressee/listener/reader” (Kopnina 2012: 24). In mass media discourse, verbal manipulative actions are not typically aggressive in form, because the recipient is not supposed to notice the intended impact of the information (!), and are associated with the use of special methods of speech organization in the text. Using G. A. Kopnina’s definition, we will look consider “methods of selection, location of information or features of its presentation” as speech techniques (Kopnina 2012: 64).

These techniques are employed at various levels (lexical, grammatical, etc.), but special attention is paid to lexical means that contribute to the use of speech manipulation. Such techniques include “labelling” and the use of defamatory suppositions, keywords and political affectives, or “slogans” (Kashenkova 2020: 8): “*Kremelchef Wladimir Putin hat dem Diktator Alexander Lukaschenko das Raketensystem Iskander-M zugesagt*” (“Russian President Vladimir Putin has promised Iskander-M missile systems to Belarusian **dictator** Aleksandr Lukashenko”)⁸; “*Putins makabre Mathematik des Todes*” (“Putin’s **macabre** mathematics of **death**”)⁹; “*Schoßhunde von Putin’ – Kretschman greift die AfD an*” (“Putin’s **henchmen**’ – Winfried Kretschmann attacks representatives of the AfD”)¹⁰.

Euphemisms are another widely used technique of speech manipulation. These are words or phrases that veil and/or conceal the essence of what is being said. For example, in an attempt to justify the plans to significantly increase the number of NATO troops deployed in Eastern Europe, the weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* writes: “*Wir müssen die Verteidigung des Baltikums vorbereiten*” (“We must take it upon ourselves to **defend** the Baltic states”)¹¹. Or, expressing contempt for people of their country who are willing to sacrifice the principles of democracy for such “bourgeois benefits” as

⁷ Nefedova L. A. 1997. *Leksicheskie sredstva manipulativnogo vozdeistviia v povsednevnom obshchenii (na materiale sovremennogo nemetskogo iazyka): dissertatsiia na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk [Lexical Means of Manipulative Influence in Everyday Communication (Based on Material of the Modern German Language)]*. Moscow.

⁸ Kremelchef Wladimir Putin hat dem Diktator Alexander Lukaschenko das Raketensystem Iskander-M zugesagt. 2022. *Spiegel*. 25.06.2022. URL: <https://www.spiegel.de/ausland/wladimir-putin-ruestet-alexander-lukaschenko-aus-russland-will-belarus-atomwaffenfaehige-raketen-liefern-a-255d89d6-7ad8-433a-a820-9d1a29403dda> (accessed 10.11.2023).

⁹ Putins makabre Mathematik des Todes. 2022. *RND*. 8.06.2022. URL: <https://www.rnd.de/politik/ukraine-krieg-putins-makabre-mathematik-des-todes-VLVN6VPU5NFSTAHTLO7V4HKYM.html> (accessed 15.11.2023).

¹⁰ Schoßhunde von Putin’ – Kretschman greift die AfD an. 2022. *Zeit*. 20.07.2022. URL: <https://www.zeit.de/news/2022-07/20/kretschmann-greift-die-afd-an-schoßhunde-von-putin> (accessed 10.11.2023).

¹¹ Wir müssen die Verteidigung des Baltikums vorbereiten. 2022. *Spiegel*. 02.07.2022. URL: <https://www.spiegel.de/backstage/militaerhistoriker-soenke-neitzel-wir-muessen-die-verteidigung-des-baltikums-vorbereiten-a-ed930f05-4843-40c7-a706-71b75ffee485> (accessed 15.11.2023).

hot water, German-language news sites called them “weak-willed people”: “**Warmduscher**, zieht euch warm an!” (“**Weak-willed lovers of hot showers** had better dress warmly!”)¹². Quasi-antonyms can often be used as euphemisms as well, smoothing out the “ugly” word with its opposite meaning. For example, emphasizing the secretiveness and vapid character of the new German Federal Chancellor, the German-language media write: “Künftiger Kanzler Olaf Scholz: **Der Unauffällige**” (“The **unremarkable** future chancellor Olaf Scholz”¹³). Or, noting the persistently low level of economic development of Germany’s eastern *Länder* 30 years after reunification, new media soften the real state of affairs in the country: “Wirtschaft im Osten ist gut, aber **nicht genug gut**” (“The economy in the East is good, but **not good enough**”)¹⁴.

Other well-known methods of speech manipulation through the use of vocabulary are impersonalization and generalization. In these cases, statements are formed without a specific subject (the pronouns “they” or “someone” are used), yet they refer to multiple people or groups, or everyone. For example, Russophobic statements have started to appear with increasing frequency in the German-language media: “**Sie** sehen sich als Opfer: die Teilnahmslosigkeit der **Russen**” (“**They** see themselves as victims: the indifference of **Russians**”)¹⁵. Or: “**Schriftsteller** bitten: **Russen** sprechen Sie die Wahrheit aus!” (“**Writers** plead with **Russians** to tell the truth!”)¹⁶. According to O. N. Bykova, such “uncertainty performs linguo-demagogic functions and ‘creates’ phantom members of society” (Bykova 1999: 19).

One part of grammar that often acts as a manipulative technique is nominalization – turning verbs into abstract noun. This technique helps give additional weight to the “necessary” information in certain situations, while at the same time depersonalizing it, eliminating the subject – the person or people whose point of view is being represented in the statement: “**Helfershelfer eines Kriegsverbrechers – Kritik an Putin-Nähe der AfD**” (“**Aiding a War Criminal – Criticism of the AfD’s Closeness to Putin**”); “**Nord Stream 1: Kein Grund zur Erleichterung**”¹⁷ (“Nord Stream 1: No Reason to Relax” – this is in reference to the launch of the Nord Stream 1 gas pipeline – *editor’s note*)¹⁸.

¹² Warmduscher, zieht euch warm an! 2022. *PI-News*. 11.01.2022. URL: <https://www.pi-news.net/2022/01/warmduscher-zieht-euch-warm-an/> (accessed 10.11.2023).

¹³ Künftiger Kanzler Olaf Scholz: Der Unauffällige. 2021. *TAZ*. 4.12.2021. URL: <https://taz.de/Kuenftiger-Kanzler-Olaf-Scholz/!5816060/> (accessed 11.11.2023).

¹⁴ Wirtschaft im Osten ist gut, aber nicht genug gut. 2020. *Spiegel*. 16.09.2020. URL: <https://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/soziales/deutsche-einheit-wirtschaft-im-osten-ist-laut-jahresbericht-zur-wiedervereinigung-gut-aber-nicht-gut-genug-a-1baa2a05-966d-410e-9ff7-ad822880f62b> (accessed 10.11.2023).

¹⁵ Sie sehen sich als Opfer: die Teilnahmslosigkeit der Russen. 2022. *Faz.net*. 10.07.2022. URL: <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/ukraine-krieg-russen-sehen-sich-als-hauptopfer-von-putins-regimes-18157915.html> (accessed 10.11.2023).

¹⁶ Schriftsteller bitten: Russen sprechen Sie die Wahrheit aus! 2022. *BR*. 9.03.2022. URL: <https://www.br.de/index.html>

¹⁷ Helfershelfer eines Kriegsverbrechers – Kritik an Putin-Nähe der AfD. 2022. *Welt*. 2.05.2022. URL: <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article238498879/Helfershelfer-eines-Kriegsverbrechers-Kritik-an-Putin-Naehe-der-AfD.html> (accessed 10.11.2023).

¹⁸ Nord Stream 1: Kein Grund zur Erleichterung. 2022. *Tagesschau*. 21.07.2022. URL: <https://www.tagesschau.de/>

Another typical example of speech manipulation at the grammatical level is rhetorical questions, which are an example of the discrepancy between the purpose of the statement and its external implementation. For example, fuelling public dissatisfaction with the lack of changes in climate protection legislation that the German government promised to implement years ago, journalists write: “**Halten die G7 ihre Klimazusagen?**” (“Will the G7 **deliver** on its **climate promises**”¹⁹; “**Droht eine Grüne Armee Fraktion?**” (“Is there a **threat** of a green **fraction** being formed?”)²⁰ And, praising the decision of the Bundestag to introduce a subsidized travel card for 9 euros country-wide (which led to chaos, delays and overcrowded trains – *editor’s note*), while also drawing the reader’s attention to the story, the German media wrote: “**9-Euro-Ticket: Ab wann erhältlich? Wo kann ich es kaufen?**” (“When will the **9-Euro travel card** be available? Where can I buy one?”)²¹; “**9-Euro-Ticket: Warum der Rabatt für öffentlichen Nahverkehr dem Klima doch nützt?**” (“**9-Euro travel card**: How is the discount on public commuter transport good for the environment?”)²².

Speech manipulation can also be carried out using stylistic devices, the most common of which are metaphors, antithesis, and plays on proper names. By surreptitiously exerting subtle psychological pressure on the recipient, these stylistic devices build a certain picture of the world in his or her mind, offering them, in a veiled manner, a “special” view of the real state of affairs. According to A. P. Chudinov, “metaphor is a powerful means of transforming the political picture of the world that exists in the mind of the addressee, inducing him to certain actions and forming the emotional state necessary for them” (Chudinov 2003: 64). For example, while maintaining a positive attitude in society towards the policy of the new chancellor, whose approval rating has spiraled of late, journalists emphasize his decisiveness, steadfastness and reliability: “**Deutliche Kritik an Steinmeier-Ausladung: Scholz geht in die Offensive – und will erstmal nicht nach Kiew**” (“Clear criticism of Steinmeier’s refusal to make an official visit: Scholz **goes on the offensive**, and currently has no plans to go to Kyiv”)²³; “**Scholz und seine Panzer-Zurückhaltung**” (“Scholz’s **tank-like restraint**”)²⁴ (this is in refer-

¹⁹ Halten die G7 ihre Klimazusagen? 2022. *Tagesschau*. 18.07.2022. URL: <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/petersberger-dialog-klimakrise-101.html> (accessed 15.11.2023).

²⁰ Droht eine Grüne Armee Fraktion? 2022. *Faz.net*. 26.07.2022. URL: <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/radikale-klimaschuetzer-entsteht-eine-art-gruene-raf-18197973/polizisten-entfernen-18198526.html> (accessed 15.11.2023).

²¹ 9-Euro-Ticket: Ab wann erhältlich? Wo kann ich es kaufen? 2022. *RND*. 23.05.2022. URL: <https://www.rnd.de/politik/9-euro-ticket-ab-wann-erhaeltlich-wo-kann-ich-es-kaufen-die-wichtigsten-fragen-und-antworten-NA3GKNEIRFEJBAE-RT6l63VFFDQ.html> (accessed 15.11.2023).

²² 9-Euro-Ticket: Warum der Rabatt für öffentlichen Nahverkehr dem Klima doch nützt? 2022. *Spiegel*. 19.07.2022. URL: <https://www.spiegel.de/auto/9-euro-ticket-warum-der-rabatt-fuer-oeffentlichen-nahverkehr-dem-klima-doch-nuetzt-a-4eb106b7-7b73-4059-a16f-1cea3d246ccd> (accessed 17.11.2023).

²³ Deutliche Kritik an Steinmeier-Ausladung: Scholz geht in die Offensive – und will erstmal nicht nach Kiew. 2022. *Tagesspiegel*. 3.05.2022. URL: <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/scholz-geht-in-die-offensive--und-will-erstmal-nicht-nach-kiew-4327555.html> (accessed 17.11.2023).

²⁴ Scholz und seine Panzer-Zurückhaltung. 2022. *Spiegel*. 23.09.2022. URL: <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/olaf-scholz-und-seine-panzer-zurueckhaltung-der-weiter-so-kanzler-a-ecc3c98a-ba28-445d-9fa7-25f64da795f5> (accessed 10.11.2023).

ence to the German Chancellor's reluctance to send tanks to Ukraine – *editor's note*). Earlier, describing the latest round of televised debates between candidates for the post of Federal Chancellor of Germany, the German media had already created an image of Olaf Scholz as strong and self-assured in the minds of the audience, in contrast to his opponents, the “weak version of Angela Merkel” Armin Laschet and the loquacious Annalena Baerbock, who would often appear on various TV shows: “**Der Scholzomat siegte über das Merkel-Simulacrum und die Talkshow-Löwin**” (“Scholzomat triumphs over Merkel clone and talk show lioness”)²⁵.

In media discourse, the technique of ideological opposition in the form of “we-they” is often used as a way to show antithesis – when vocabulary with a positive connotation is used to create a positive image of “us”, and negative words are used to form a negative image of the “enemy”. One example of this can be found in the statement of former Secretary General of NATO Anders Fogh Rasmussen that made the rounds in the media when he demanded that the world community rally around Ukraine: “**Ihr Kampf ist unser Kampf: Ex-NATO Generalsekretär will Härte gegen Putin**” (“Their fight is our fight: former NATO General Secretary calls for a hardline response to Russia's actions”)²⁶.

Researchers also point out the most frequently used *verbal manipulation tactics* used by the media. From the point of view of linguistic analysis, Y.V. Shcherbatykh refers to these as “concealment” – hiding information from the recipient (*Verschweigen*); “selection” – only showing information to the victorious manipulator (*Selektion*); “distortion” – the substitution of concepts (*Entstellung*); “insinuation” – mean-spirited narratives (*Insinuation*); and “constructing” – inventing information that simply does not exist (*Konstruieren*) (Shcherbatykh 2002: 113–114). Authors of articles often follow that principle that all you have to do for a lie to become the truth is to make it convincing enough. People forget quickly anyway, so one way to control the cognitive perception of information by the audience and shape its opinion is to provide as little background information as possible, or none at all, thus making it difficult for the recipient to navigate a complex issue. One example concerns the critical assessment in the German-language media of the agreement signed by Moscow and Kyiv on the export of grain from Ukraine, urging Kyiv not to trust Moscow's commitment to any agreement it has signed, pointing to supposed violations of the deal by the Russian side: “**Hafen von Odessa mit Raketen beschossen**” (“Port of Odessa shelled with rockets”)²⁷; “**Putin führt die Weltgemeinschaft vor**” (“Putin is **mocking** the global community”)²⁸; “**Russland räumt Angriff auf den Hafen von Odessa ein**” (“Russia **owns up** to

²⁵ Der Scholzomat siegte über das Merkel-Simulacrum und die Talkshow-Löwin. 2021. *RT.de*. 13.09.2021. URL: <https://de.rt.com/inland/124021-scholzomat-siegte-ueber-merkel-simulacrum-und-talkshow-loewin/> (accessed 17.11.2023).

²⁶ Ihr Kampf ist unser Kampf: Ex-NATO Generalsekretär will Härte gegen Putin. 2022. *N-TV.de*. 10.06.2022. URL: <https://www.n-tv.de/politik/Ex-NATO-Generalsekretaer-will-Haerte-gegen-Putin-article23389804.html> (accessed 12.11.2023).

²⁷ Hafen von Odessa mit Raketen beschossen. 2022. *DW*. 24.07.2022. URL: <https://amp.dw.com/de/hafen-von-odessa-mit-raketen-beschossen/av-62579532> (accessed 10.11.2023).

²⁸ Putin führt die Weltgemeinschaft vor. 2022. *Sueddeutsche*. 24.07.2022. URL: <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/putin-ukraine-russland-odessa-getreide-1.5626836> (accessed 12.11.2023).

attack on Port of Odessa”)²⁹; “20 Stunden nach GetreideDeal – Putin **Raketenattake auf den Hafen von Odessa**” (“20 hours after the grain deal, Putin orders **rocket strike** on the Port of Odessa”)³⁰. Yet not one of these sources mentions the real targets of these strikes – military infrastructure facilities. Nor do they note that these attacks had nothing to do with Russia’s obligations to ensure the export of Ukrainian grain.

We should note here that the existence of numerous kinds of variations of speech manipulations and combinations can complicate their identification and analysis. Examples of these kinds of combinations can be found in German-language articles that attempt to prepare their readers for an energy confrontation with Russia and a gas shortage at home. Numerous articles have been published that drill the deliberately false idea into the minds of readers that Russia is responsible for the energy crisis in Germany, and that something has to be done about the country’s energy dependence on Russian supplies: “**Energiesparen gegen Putin**” (“**Fight Putin by conserving energy**”)³¹; “**Kälter duschen gegen Putin: Wie Haushalte durch die Energiekrise kommen**” (“Fight Putin by taking cold showers: how households will overcome the energy crisis”)³²; “**Wer Putin schaden will, spart Energie**” (“If you want to **hurt Putin, save energy**”)³³. Some writers have gone to absurd lengths to try to discredit gas supplies from Russia: “**Sprecher von Nord Stream 2 war bei der Stasi**” (“Nord Stream 2 representative was a Stasi employee”)³⁴; “**Erdgas: Warum Nord Stream-2 das Klima schädigt**” (“Natural gas: How Nord Stream 2 is **harming the environment**”)³⁵. Equally ridiculous and thoroughly hypocritical is the advice of the German-language media on how to get through the energy crisis: “**Klospülung und Co.: So sparen Sie unkompliziert Wasser im Haushalt**” (“**Flushing and other ways to save: How to conserve water at home**”)³⁶; “**Weniger duschen, Energiekosten senken, es genügt, DIESE vier Körperstellen zu waschen. Warum die Haut sich selbst reinigt, wenn man sie lässt**” (“**Shower less often, save on energy, and wash only THESE four body parts. How the skin self-**

²⁹ Russland räumt Angriff auf den Hafen von Odessa ein. 2022. *Zeit*. 24.07.2022. URL: <https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2022-07/odessa-angriff-russland-getreide> (accessed 15.11.2023).

³⁰ 20 Stunden nach GetreideDeal – Putin Raketenattake auf den Hafen von Odessa. 2022. *Bild*. 23.07.2022. URL: <https://www.bild.de/politik/ausland/politik-ausland/ukraine-krieg-putin-raketenattake-auf-den-hafen-von-odessa-am-tag-nach-getreide-80790140.bild.html> (accessed 15.11.2023).

³¹ Energiesparen gegen Putin. 2022. *Zeit*. 13.03.2022. URL: <https://www.zeit.de/wirtschaft/2022-03/gasversorgung-russland-ukraine-krieg-embargo-energiesparen> (accessed 15.11.2023).

³² Kälter duschen gegen Putin: Wie Haushalte durch die Energiekrise kommen. 2022. *Berliner-Zeitung*. 24.06.2022. URL: <https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/wirtschaft-verantwortung/kaelter-duschen-gegen-putin-wie-haushalte-durch-die-energiekrise-kommen-li.239838> (accessed 12.11.2023).

³³ Wer Putin schaden will, spart Energie. 2022. *Tagesschau*. 5.03.2022. URL: <https://www.tagesschau.de/>

³⁴ Sprecher von Nord Stream 2 war bei der Stasi. 2022. *Ostsee-Zeitung*. 18.06.2022. URL: <https://www.ostsee-zeitung.de/mecklenburg-vorpommern/sprecher-von-nord-stream-2-war-bei-der-stasi-das-sagt-steffen-ebert-65GUMPR72RH DU-POERFZ7RRAP34.html> (accessed 15.11.2023).

³⁵ Erdgas: Warum Nord Stream-2 das Klima schädigt. 2021. *Sueddeutsche*. 01.06.2021. URL: <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/meinung/nord-stream-2-ostseepipeline-klimaschutz-treibhaus-erdgas-russland-1.5309208> (accessed 12.11.2023).

³⁶ Klospülung und Co.: So sparen Sie unkompliziert Wasser im Haushalt. 2022. *RND*. 01.05.2022. URL: <https://www.rnd.de/geld-und-finanzen/wasser-sparen-das-kann-jeder-im-haushalt-ganz-einfach-umsetzen-QMCCET4KABE67MIIM7FFK3BU-VI.html> (accessed 10.11.2023).

cleanses when given the chance”)³⁷; “Griechenland lädt ein: So schön kann **die Winterflucht** sein” (“Greece beckons: Escaping the winter can be wonderful”)³⁸. These are clear distortions of facts and insinuations – knowing the real state of affairs, the authors of these articles deliberately create a false picture of the situation in the mind of the recipient.

Another example of a simple combination of various methods of speech manipulation, specifically, the selection and construction of information, can be found in the attempts to convince readers of Russia’s long-term international isolation. The use of photo-shopped images and doctored videos, along with hypocritical interpretations, is also common, as the examples of the 2014 G20 meeting in Brisbane, the 2017 meeting in Hamburg, and the 2022 meeting in Bali demonstrate. For example, in its coverage of the Brisbane meeting, a photo appeared in the German press of the Russian president sitting alone at a gala reception, with the following captions: “*Beim Barbecue am Mittag, wie symbolisch: **Putin einsam und verlassen***” (“A noon barbecue, Putin sits **alone and abandoned**. How symbolic”)³⁹; „*Zu beobachten des Mittags beim gemeinsamen Barbecue: der einsame Putin*“ (“At a joint noon barbecue: Putin sits alone”)⁴⁰; “Ein Bild, das Bände spricht: Putin allein zu Tisch!” (“A picture is worth a thousand words: Putin sits alone at the table!”)⁴¹. But, in reality, despite what the German-language media would have you believe, the Russian President was not sitting alone at the table, as the former President of Brazil Dilma Rousseff, as well as other heads of state, were sat next to him. But the photo was edited in such a way that they were not visible, and it thus looked like Putin was “isolated”. Coverage of the 2017 summit again involved the use of well-established methods of manipulating public consciousness: “*Putin und der große Bluff*” (“Putin’s big bluff”)⁴²; “*Russland: Etwas läuft hier schief*” (“Russia: **Something’s not right** here”)⁴³; “*Das sei 2014 in Australien mit Wladimir Putin schon einmal schief gegangen: Der musste dann auch seine Grillwurst **allein** am Tisch essen*” (“Putin had a **rough time** of it in Australia in 2014 and then had to eat his grilled sausage

³⁷Weniger duschen, Energiekosten senken, es genügt, diese vier Körperstellen zu waschen. Warum die Haut sich selbst reinigt, wenn man sie lässt. 2022. *Bild*. 16.04.2022. URL: https://www.bild.de/bild-plus/ratgeber/2021/ratgeber/dermatologin-erklart-es-genuegt-diese-vier-koerperstellen-zu-waschen-77430626.bild.html?t_ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F (accessed 14.11.2023).

³⁸ Griechenland lädt ein: So schön kann die Winterflucht sein. 2022. *Spiegel*. 14.06.2022. URL: <https://www.spiegel.de/reise/europa/griechenland-laedt-deutsche-ein-so-schoen-kann-die-winterflucht-sein-a-bf645ae0-d368-496d-a934-25d09f3091f3> (accessed 15.11.2023).

³⁹ Beim Barbecue am Mittag, wie symbolisch: Putin einsam und verlassen. 2014. *Tagesschau*. 17.11.2014. URL: <https://www.tagesschau.de/>

⁴⁰ Zu beobachten des Mittags beim gemeinsamen Barbecue: der einsame Putin. 2014. *Tagesschau*. 16.11.2014. URL: <https://www.tagesschau.de/multimedia/sendung/tagesthemen>

⁴¹ Ein Bild, das Bände spricht: Putin allein zu Tisch! 2014. WDR. 16.11.2014. URL: <https://www1.wdr.de/index.html>

⁴² Putin und der große Bluff. 2017. *Zeit*. 06.06.2017. URL: <https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2017-07/g20-wladimir-putin-russland-donald-trump-hamburg-macht> (accessed 15.11.2023).

⁴³ Russland: Etwas läuft hier schief. 2018. *Zeit*. 28.01.2018. URL: <https://www.zeit.de/2018/05/russland-deutschland-beziehung-krim-annexion-russlandpolitik> (accessed 10.01.2023).

alone”)⁴⁴. The 2022 summit, more photos, and fresh attempts by the German press to portray the representatives of the Russian delegation as “international pariahs”: “G20 auf Bali: Lawrow und *der Rest der Welt*” (“The Bali G20 meeting: Lavrov and **the rest of the world**”)⁴⁵; “G20-Treffen: Baerbock **setzt auf Isolierung Russlands**” (“G20 Meeting: Foreign Minister Baerbock **seeks to isolate** Russia”)⁴⁶; “Lawrow verlässt G20-Treffen: Baerbock sieht **19:1 gegen Russland**” (“Lavrov leaves G20 Summit: **19 to 1**”)⁴⁷. These statements by the German media are absolute fiction, since they have been refuted by countless other sources, in particular the statement of the Russian Ambassador in Indonesia Lyudmila Vorobyova and the photographs posted by her that confirm the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation Sergey Lavrov held a number of “productive meetings with colleagues from other countries”⁴⁸.

Coming back to the ability of recipients to differentiate verbal manipulative actions, we should note the existence of other *barriers* that impede the natural process of perception and the proper evaluation and interpretation of the incoming information flow. In addition to the truly massive amount of external information, we, as consumers of information, may feel a lack of objective knowledge and interpretative skills that would give us a deep understanding of incoming information and thus allow us to make out own value judgements about its reliability. But at the same time, the recipient may not even be aware that such cognitive activity is needed, since trusting experts to deliver knowledge is cognitively less taxing than having to critically evaluate knowledge oneself. For example, the people of Germany found themselves in a situation where several German-language publications deliberately tried to undermine public confidence in mass vaccination against COVID-19 by citing various pseudo-expert assessments of the ineffectiveness of the jab and referring to imaginary evidence of the allegedly high mortality rate among the vaccinated population: “*Massenimpfungen gegen COVID-19: Belgischer Impfexperte warnt vor “katastrophalen Auswirkungen*”

⁴⁴ Das sei 2014 in Australien mit Wladimir Putin schon einmal schief gegangen: Der musste dann auch seine Grillwurst allein am Tisch essen. 2017. *Tagesschau*. 01.07.2017. URL: <https://www.tagesschau.de/>

⁴⁵ G20 auf Bali: Lawrow und der Rest der Welt. 2022. *Sueddeutsche*. 07.07.2022. URL: <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/g20-gipfel-bali-aussenminister-lawrow-1.5616079?reduced=true> (accessed 15.11.2023).

⁴⁶ G20-Treffen: Baerbock setzt auf Isolierung Russlands. 2022. *Berliner Zeitung*. 07.07.2022. URL: <https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/g20-treffen-baerbock-setzt-auf-isolierung-russlands-li.244247> (accessed 17.11.2023).

⁴⁷ LawrowverlässtG20-Treffen:Baerbocksieht19:1gegenRussland.2022.*Faz.net*. 08.07.2022. URL: <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/g-20-gipfel-auf-bali-lawrow-verlaesst-treffen-vor-baerbock-rede-18158686.html#:~:text=Lawrow%20verl%C3%A4sst%20G%2D20%2DTreffen,sieht%2019%3A1%20gegen%20Russland&text=Beim%20Treffen%20der%20G20%20in,auf%20Dauer%20nicht%20sichern%20k%C3%B6nnen>. (accessed 17.11.2023).

⁴⁸ Posol Vorob'ova: vo vremia vstrechi G20 na Bali vznikla ochered' na peregovory s Lavrovym [Ambassador Vorobyov: There Was a Line for Talks with Lavrov During the G20 meeting in Bali]. 2022. *RIA Novosti*. 19.07.2022. URL: <https://ria.ru/20220719/peregovory-1803355797.html> (accessed 26.07.2022).

(“Mass vaccination against COVID-19: Belgian **expert warns** of “catastrophic consequences”)⁴⁹; “Corona-Impfung: 7 von 10 Ärzten gegen Impfpflicht” (“**Seven out of ten** doctors are against mandatory vaccination against the coronavirus”)⁵⁰.

Additionally, attempts to identify speech manipulation in the media and instantly qualify information as unreliable and/or inaccurate may be hindered by a combination of important nuances in the communication process itself, such as an insufficient amount of verbal/non-verbal information in the media text, the distortion and loss of important information through the respective communication channels (video and radio communications, the internet, etc.), the psychological fear of being deceived what this may entail, and other unfavourable conditions for the provision and perception of information.

For example, S. V. Evteev believes the maximal allowable length of headlines in the German-language media poses a significant translation difficulty, as it does not allow any kind of “comment or necessary background information” to be included (Evteev 2021: 115). Following the rules of how to write headlines, we notice that they typically contain the main idea of the text only, leaving much unsaid (understatement), which thus entices the recipient to read the material. This cannot but affect the completeness of the picture formed in the mind of the recipient, a fact that is of course exploited by unscrupulous journalists: “*Leuchtendes Beispiel?*” (“**A brilliant example?**”)⁵¹ (on government calls to save energy and whether they are a good example of this kind of saving); “*Schuld sind die anderen*” (“Others are to blame”)⁵² (on attempts by the Bavarian State Government to divert attention from the failures of its energy policy); “*Die Taliban im Kreml*” (“**The Taliban in the Kremlin**”)⁵³ (on the current political situation in Russia).

Another technique that is often used to create this sense of understatement is the inclusion of a hidden subtext in articles, specifically prepositions and postpositions, vague and fragmented information, half-hints and additional meanings: “*Milch-Mythos: Das irre Geschäft der Molkereien*” (“The milk myth: The Crazy Dairy Business”)⁵⁴; “*Es gibt keine Corona-Leugner, nur arrogante Minister!*” (“There are no Covid dissidents, **only arrogant ministers!**”)⁵⁵. Certain difficulties in the perception and interpretation of information can be caused by invectives placed in the text, hidden or open

⁴⁹ Massenimpfungen gegen COVID-19: Belgischer Impfexperte warnt vor “katastrophalen Auswirkungen”. 2021. *RT.de*. 23.03.2021. URL: <https://de.rt.com/gesellschaft/114547-massenimpfungen-gegen-covid-19-belgischer-impfexperte-warnt-vor-katastrophalen-auswirkungen/> (accessed 15.11.2023).

⁵⁰ Corona-Impfung: 7 von 10 Ärzten gegen Impfpflicht. 2020. *Epochtimes*. 24.11.2020. URL: <https://www.epochtimes.de/gesundheit/medizin/corona-impfung-7-von-10-aerzten-gegen-impfpflicht-a3387223.html> (accessed 10.11.2023).

⁵¹ Leuchtendes Beispiel? 2022. *Tagesschau*. 29.07.2022. URL: <https://www.tagesschau.de/>

⁵² Schuld sind die anderen. 2022. *Zeit*. 29.07.2022. URL: <https://www.zeit.de/index>

⁵³ Die Taliban im Kreml. 2022. *Faz.net*. 01.08.2022. URL: <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/kulturszene-in-russland-stellt-sich-gegen-den-ukraine-krieg-18211897.html> (accessed 10.01.2023).

⁵⁴ Milch-Mythos: Das irre Geschäft der Molkereien. 2021. *Focus.de*. 16.09.2021. URL: <https://www.focus.de/>

⁵⁵ Es gibt keine Corona-Leugner, nur arrogante Minister! 2022. *Reitschuster*. 11.06.2022. URL: <https://reitschuster.de/post/es-gibt-keine-corona-leugner-nur-arrogante-minister/> (accessed 15.11.2023).

mockery, caustic statements about political figures, and unexpected puns: “*Olaf Scholz: Alles aushalten!*” (“Olaf Scholz: **We all have to suffer him!**”)⁵⁶; “*Annalena Baerbock: ‘Wiedervereinigung Europas’ auf den Schultern ihres Wehrmacht-Großvaters?*” (“Annalena Baerbock: ‘Reunification of Europe’ on the shoulders of her grandfather, **who served in the Wehrmacht**”)⁵⁷. So-called discursive time pressure and information overload can also be used: “*Russlands Informationskrieg: Trolle, Fakes und Propaganda*” (“Russia’s information war: trolls, fakes and propaganda”)⁵⁸; “*Energiekrise: Eine Folge der grünen Energiewende?*” (“**The energy crisis: A consequence of the transition to ‘green’ energy?**”)⁵⁹. Receiving information in an unsystematized, allegorical or fragmented form, the recipient’s brain cannot connect everything to make up one whole, nor can it evaluate or analyse the information, much less grasp the sociopolitical or economic problem as such. Another barrier to differentiating various verbal manipulation techniques and evaluating information for its reliability and/or accuracy is deliberately giving the information the appearance of urgency, priority or immediacy or sensationalizing it in some way. Presenting the message in this way escalates tension and gives the recipient the false impression of its paramount importance and special value: “*Bloomberg: Deutschland hat drei Monate Zeit, um eine Gasmangel-Katastrophe im Winter abzuwenden*” (“Bloomberg: Germany has **three months** to avert catastrophe due to **winter gas shortage**”)⁶⁰; “*Warum Joe Biden schon wieder Corona hat*” (“Why Joe Biden has COVID again”)⁶¹.

Noteworthy is the fact that many consumers of information cannot resist the so-called magic of the media text. People tend to trust information they read or hear in the media. Manipulative writers are able to skilfully exploit this psychological feature of human consciousness, thus creating a high degree of trust in the audience in the information they are presenting, deftly managing their fears and anxieties in connection with events taking place in the country and around the world.

Unfortunately, speech manipulation is common in the German-language media, and it is often done through the post-truth mechanism. “We think that as long as we control the media language landscape and the news agenda, as we have done for a long time, we automatically control the truth [...] For many publications, the boundaries

⁵⁶ Olaf Scholz: Alles aushalten! 2018. *Zeit*. 20.05.2018. URL: <https://www.zeit.de/2018/21/olaf-scholz-spd-grosse-koalition-bundesfinanzminister> (accessed 10.11.2023).

⁵⁷ Annalena Baerbock: ‘Wiedervereinigung Europas’ auf den Schultern ihres Wehrmacht-Großvaters? 2021. *RT.de*. 25.05.2021. URL: <https://de.rt.com/meinung/117986-baerbock-auf-schultern-ihrer-wehrmacht-gro%C3%9Fvaters/> (accessed 09.11.2023).

⁵⁸ Russlands Informationskrieg: Trolle, Fakes und Propaganda. 2022. *Sueddeutsche*. 30.03.2022. URL: <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/>

⁵⁹ Energiekrise: Eine Folge der grünen Energiewende. 2021. *Agrarheute*. 22.10.2021. URL: <https://www.agrarheute.com/management/finanzen/energiekrise-folge-gruenen-energievende-fakten-586637> (accessed 15.11.2023).

⁶⁰ Bloomberg: Deutschland hat drei Monate Zeit, um eine Gasmangel-Katastrophe im Winter abzuwenden. 2022. *Newsfront*. 01.08.2022. URL: www.de.news-front.info

⁶¹ Warum Joe Biden schon wieder Corona hat. 2022. *ZDF*. 31.07.2022. URL: <https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/panorama/corona-joe-biden-positiv-paxlovid-rebound-100.html> (accessed 11.11.2023).

of society are the boundaries of their own newspapers”, writes German sociologist and publicist Stefan Schulz (Schulz 2016: 103). One pertinent example of the manipulative formation of public opinion, or, more precisely, the one-sided reporting of facts, is the depiction of certain events related to Russia’s special military operation in Ukraine: for all leading German media, Russia is the “embodiment of evil”: “*Ukraine-Krieg: Feindbild Russland*” (“Russia: The Image of the Enemy”)⁶²; “*Feindbild Russland: Strack-Zimmermann fordert eine Neuausrichtung der Bundeswehr*” (“**Russia is the enemy**: Strack-Zimmermann calls for reorganization of Bundeswehr”)⁶³. The reason for this approach is that the drawn-out geopolitical confrontation between Russia and the collective West has resulted in German journalists being “bound by the political mainstream” and forced to express a “united, Western, anti-Russian stance” (Andreev 2020: 17).

Of course, many German journalists are aware of what is happening. For instance, in an interview with a Russian publication, Wolfgang Bittner noted that “hysteria had increased in Germany” as a result of the escalation in tensions between Russia and the West that started in 2014, and that “a huge disinformation campaign is being carried out. Many people are hysterical, but they have no idea what is really going on”⁶⁴. The so-called fourth power in Germany is part of the transatlantic propaganda machine and functions as a means of pressure from outside to keep Germany in line with the European Union and NATO. The headlines of German media text are full of insinuations, distortions and manipulations of facts on this subject: “*Putsch in Moskau hat begonnen: Ukraine erwartet Wendepunkt im August – Krieg bis Jahresende vorbei*” (“**The coup in Moscow** has begun: Ukraine expects the **tides to turn** in August – the war will be over by the end of the year”)⁶⁵; “*Russische Propaganda: Kampf gegen die Lüge*” (“**Russian propaganda: Countering the lies**”)⁶⁶; “*Warum sagt eigentlich niemand in Deutschland, dass die Ukraine gewinnen muss?*” (“**Why is no one in Germany saying that Ukraine needs to win the war?**”)⁶⁷.

⁶² Ukraine-Krieg: Feindbild Russland. 2022. *Nd-Aktuell*. 01.04.2022. URL: <https://www.nd-aktuell.de/artikel/1162673.ukraine-krieg-feindbild-russland.html> (accessed 15.11.2023).

⁶³ Feindbild Russland: Strack-Zimmermann fordert eine Neuausrichtung der Bundeswehr. 2022. *Berliner Zeitung*. 31.05.2022. URL: <https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/news/marie-agnes-strack-zimmermann-bundeswehr-auf-feindbild-russland-fussend-umbauen-li.231698> (accessed 10.11.2023).

⁶⁴ Nemetskii zhurnalist zaiavil o zamalchivanii faktov po Ukraine v SMI FRG [German Journalist Lifts Lid on Suppression of Facts about Ukraine in the German Media]. 2022. *Ren.tv*. 9.03.2022. URL: <http://ren.tv/news/v-mire/948922-nemetskii-zhurnalist-zaiavil-o-zamalchivanii-faktov-poukraine-v-smi-frg> (accessed 8.04.2022).

⁶⁵ Putsch in Moskau hat begonnen: Ukraine erwartet Wendepunkt im August – Krieg bis Jahresende vorbei. 2022. *NTV*. 14.05.2022. URL: <https://www.n-tv.de/politik/Ukraine-erwartet-Wendepunkt-im-August-Krieg-bis-Jahresende-vorbei-article23331269.html> (accessed 14.11.2023).

⁶⁶ Russische Propaganda: Kampf gegen die Lüge. 2022. *Tagesschau*. 16.08.2022. URL: <https://www.tagesschau.de/investigativ/wdr/russland-propaganda-bundesregierung-101.html> (accessed 11.11.2023).

⁶⁷ Warum sagt eigentlich niemand in Deutschland, dass die Ukraine gewinnen muss. 2022. *Focus*. 29.04.2022. URL: https://www.focus.de/politik/ausland/ukraine-krise/warum-sagt-eigentlich-niemand-dass-die-ukraine-gewinnen-muss_id_91365051.html (accessed 15.11.2023).

Based on all this, we can say that, today, in a world of information pollution and the abundance of inaccurate and/or distorted information, the ability to identify verbal manipulative actions in the media, properly evaluate the reliability and/or accuracy of the information consumed, and reduce the negative impact of inaccurate and/or distorted information on one's consciousness is particularly valuable. The only way to develop this ability is through certain cognitive practices (recognition, critical reflection, linguistic analysis, contemplation) that serve as the foundation of so-called cognitive hygiene (to use the term coined by V. Z. Demnyankov). These practices are essential, as they neutralize the negative impact, as well as the direct or indirect pressure, of unreliable and/or false information on the formation of the recipient's judgements. The use of cognitive practices as heuristic methods for differentiating an information product and predicting the risks of encountering dishonest communication tactics, above all the dissemination of false information, makes it virtually impossible to distort the cognitive perception of information and helps the consumer of information develop psychological resistance to "cognitive infection" through media texts. After all, falsely representing information as "harmless" makes the recipient less vigilant and can lead to other delayed negative consequences. The interpretive competencies of the recipient in terms of identifying and comprehending manipulative speech actions, as well as in terms of counteracting attempts to imperceptibly correct the consumer's worldview, ultimately affect the information and language culture and information security of society.

According to linguists today, these interpretive competencies are formed against the background of so-called *epistemic vigilance*, which is a combination of various cognitive practices and is defined as a "regulatory algorithm that filters information that comes in the process of verbal communication" (Klepikova 2011: 390). The existence of this algorithm and the practicability of developing interpretive competencies in the field of epistemic vigilance are supported by the stable relationship between language as a way of interpreting reality and thinking as a form of cognitive consciousness of society. The use of certain linguistic means in the discourse of modern media, in particular linguistic means of speech manipulation, affects the evaluative perception and understanding of reality, and thus reformats the way the recipient thinks. In practice, this correlation of language as the most important carrier of information, consciousness as the central link of cognitive and perceptual human activity, and the mechanism of speech manipulation as a lever of influence on consciousness is manifested in the specific features of the human to increase concentration and focus attention on what is "represented again and again because repetition is what makes things stick in the human memory and what can turn a simple statement into truth" (Elsen 2008: 450).

It is typically these false truths – the alien reality "appropriated" by consciousness and skilfully presented by the authors and/or initiators of publications – that form the recipient's linguistic and cultural picture of the world. This is why, in relation to foreign-language discourse, and German-language media in particular, it is necessary

to study linguistic phenomena in the interconnection between (media) communication and cognition. Like any system, communication is based on the objective laws of communicative balance, according to which the media space must have a mechanism for decoding unreliable and/or distorted information and for protecting the psyche from it, as a reverse process of encoding, encrypting hidden meanings or intentionally hiding and distorting information. And from the point of view of the semantic-cognitive approach, critical abilities are required in order to evaluate the reliability of information, expose verbal manipulative actions in media texts, and consciously resist and predict the risks of encountering the manipulative influence of the media, hence the protective mechanism of epistemic vigilance.

Conclusions and Discussion

Obviously, the correlation between language, information and the cultural picture of the world we have described above, is a prerequisite for the successful use of various means of speech manipulation in modern media texts. The deliberate attempts of authors, in particular journalists working for German-language publications, to influence public consciousness and shape public opinion in a way that benefits the media holdings or commercial and industrial groups that control their activities are based on various psychological, linguistic and pragmatic features of communication that impede the natural processes of perception, mental comprehension and critical interpretation of incoming information.

From the point of view of the mental activity approach, interpretive competencies based on cognitive practices as a mechanism for counteracting verbal manipulative actions are a necessary component of human cognitive activity. Poorly formed interpretive competencies in epistemic vigilance mean that the recipient is ill-equipped to see through the tricks used to prevent them from identifying and critically analysing means of speech manipulation, and may also lead to violations in the presentation of their own linguistic and cultural picture of the world and the traditional system of social values. Epistemic vigilance is an effective means of cognitive hygiene in the context of the modern conditions of the development of information technologies and methods of information pollution, helping to increase the information security of the state.

Certain issues related to the types of media discourse, as well as the dynamics, patterns and genre specifics of the use of certain methods of speech manipulation by various German-language media remained outside the scope of this study. Our goal was not to highlight individual methods of media text manipulation at the level of morphology and punctuation. These issues may very well be the subject of a further study of the manipulative capabilities of language.

About the Author:

Irina S. Kashenkova – Ph.D. (Pedagogy) is Associate Professor in the Department of German Languages at MGIMO University (Moscow, Russia). Her research and professional interests include German language teaching methods, intercultural communication, political discourse, and socio-political translation. E-mail: ikashenkova@yandex.ru

Conflicts of interest.

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

References:

- Andreev N. I. 2020. Nemetskie rechevye manipulatsii v tekstakh o Rossii [German Speech Manipulation in Texts about Russia]. *Filologicheskie nauki v MGIMO*. 3(23). P. 16–24. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24833/2410-2423.2020.3-23-16-24> (In Russian).
- Baranov A. N. 1986. Iazykovye mekhanizmy variativnoi interpretatsii deistvitel'nosti kak sredstvo vozdeistviia na soznanie [Linguistic Mechanisms of Variative Interpretation of Reality as a Means of Influencing Consciousness]. In Baranov A. N., Parshin P. B (eds.). *Rol' iazyka v sredstvakh massovoi informatsii*. Moscow: INION. P. 100–143. (In Russian).
- Borhsenius A. V. 2021. Infodemiia: poniatie, sotsial'nye i politicheskie posledstviia, metody bor'by [Infodemic: Concept, Social and Political Consequences, Methods of Struggle]. *Vestnik Rossiiskogo universiteta družby narodov. Seriya: Gosudarstvennoe i munitsipal'noe upravlenie*. 8(1). P. 52–58. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2312-8313.2021.8-1-52-58> (In Russian).
- Bykova O. N. 1999. Rechevaia (iazykovaia, verbal'naia) agressiia [Speech (Linguistic, Verbal) Aggression]. *Teoreticheskie i prikladnye aspekty rechevogo obshcheniia: Vestnik Rossiiskoj ritoricheskoi assotsiatsii*. 1(8). P. 96–99. (In Russian).
- Chudinov A. P. 2003. *Metaforicheskaiia mozaika v sovremennoi politicheskoi kommunikatsii* [Metaphorical Mosaic in Modern Political Communication]. Yekaterinburg. (In Russian).
- Dem'iankov V. Z. 2018. Iazykovye sredstva kognitivnoi manipulatsii v gumanitarnykh naukakh [Linguistic Means of Cognitive Manipulation in the Humanities]. *Kognitivnye issledovaniia iazyka*. 33. P. 48–52. (In Russian).
- Elsen H. 2008. Manipulation aus sprachlicher Sicht – ein Überblick. [Manipulation from a Linguistic Point of View: An Overview]. *Wirkendes Wort: deutsche Sprache und Literatur in Forschung und Lehre*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag. P. 447–466.
- Evtsev S. V. 2021. Iazykovye osobennosti zagolovkov nemetskikh gazet i ikh uchet pri perevode [Language Features of German Newspaper Headlines and Their Consideration in Translation]. *Vestnik Voronezhskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya: Lingvistika i mezhkul'turnaia kommunikatsiia*. 4. P. 112–118. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17308/lic.2021.473818> (In Russian).
- Garbuznyak A. Y. 2019. Fenomen postpravdy: deval'vatsiia fakta v mediynom disкурse [The Phenomenon of Post-Truth: The Devaluation of Fact in Media Discourse]. *Znanie. Ponimanie. Umenie*. 1. P. 184–192. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17805/zpu.2019.1.14> (In Russian).
- Kashenkova I. S. 2020. Spetsifika sovremennoi politicheskoi kommunikatsii v Germanii: bor'ba za leksiku [The Specifics of Modern Political Communication in Germany: The Struggle for Vocabulary]. In Kashenkova I. S., Kashenkov R. Y. (eds.). *Filologicheskie nauki v MGIMO*. 1(21). P. 5–11. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24833/2410-2423-2020-1-21-5-11> (In Russian).
- Klepikova T. A. 2011. Kategorizatsiia interaktsional'nosti v iazyke: epistemicheskaiia bditel'nost [Categorization of interactionality in language: Epistemic vigilance]. *Kognitivnye issledovaniia iazyka*. 9. P. 386–393. (In Russian).
- Paducheva E. V. 2002. *Vyskazyvanie i ego sootnesennost' s deistvitel'nost'iu* [Speech and its Correlation with Reality]. Moscow: Editorial URSS. (In Russian).

Schulz S. 2016. *Redaktionsschluss*. [Editorial deadline] München: Carl Hanser Verlag.

Shcherbatykh Y. V. 2002. *Iskusstvo obmana. Populiarnaia entsiklopediia*. [*The Art of Deception. Popular Encyclopedia*]. Moscow: Izd-vo EKSMO-Press. (In Russian).

Unveiling the Language Techniques Behind the Pragmatic Meaning of Sarcasm in American Confrontational Film Discourse¹

Daria S. Pleshkova

Tula State Lev Tolstoy Pedagogical University

Abstract. This article delves into the concept of sarcasm in confrontational American film discourse, examining its primary functions and characteristics. Specifically, the study focuses on how sarcastic statements are used in American television series to heighten emotional engagement and aesthetic appeal. The defining features of sarcasm, namely implicitness and double meaning, are also discussed. The analysis is conducted through a case study of the modern American drama series *This Is Us*, which highlights the key mechanisms utilized to achieve the pragmatic effect of sarcasm, including intonation, metaphors, and repetitions. Additionally, the article examines the work of translators, their professional challenges, and the methods and techniques employed to convey the semantic content of sarcastic messages in the target language. The findings suggest that translational means such as literal translation, ellipses, and equivalent translation are effective in transferring the intended sarcasm across languages. Overall, this study provides insight into the language techniques and translational strategies involved in the implementation of sarcasm in confrontational American film discourse.

Keywords: sarcasm, film discourse, conflict interaction, pragmatic meaning, conflictual communication, metaphors, repetitions, implicitness.

In order to give a text meaning, heighten emotional engagement and aesthetic appeal, writers often resort to various tropes and figures of speech. Film discourse, which is a genre of art in its own right, is currently enjoying a surge in popularity, contains all kinds of confrontational situations, dialogues and conflict scenes, and they are full of various methods and techniques for achieving a pragmatic effect. The most

¹ English translation from the Russian text: Pleshkova D.S. 2023. Unveiling the Language Techniques Behind the Pragmatic Meaning of Sarcasm in American Confrontational Film Discourse. *Professional Discourse & Communication*. 5(1). P. 62–73. (In Russian). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24833/2687-0126-2023-5-1-62-73>

commonly used rhetorical device in confrontational scenes is sarcasm, which helps make the film more dramatic and colourful, and this, in turn, has a greater impact on the viewer.

The relevance of this study lies, first of all, in the current incomplete understanding of the difference between the concepts of sarcasm and irony, which are indeed close in meaning, as well as in the low level of awareness of the pragmatic meaning of sarcasm and how it is used in conflict discourse in films. It may also be useful in terms of exploring the various kinds of difficulties that a translator may encounter when attempting to convey the intentions of sarcasm. After all, sarcasm is destructive and damaging, and it can be expressed through an entire range of linguistic means, equivalents of which are often impossible to find. Sometimes, satire is conveyed using the realities of the source language, which may be incomprehensible to a native speaker of the target language.

With this in mind, the present article aims to identify the common linguistic means of achieving sarcasm in a script and ways to translate this rhetorical phenomenon into Russian.

In terms of source material, we have used conflict scenes from the American drama series *This Is Us* that contain examples of sarcastic turns of phrase, as well as their translations into Russian.

Sarcasm as a Subject of Linguistic Research. A Brief Theoretical Summary

The fast pace of modern life means that people are increasingly turning to cinema as a favourite pastime. In this medium, the artistic intention of the creator(s) is conveyed using the moving image. In this regard, film discourse is of great interest, not also for sociologists and psychologists, but also for linguists. Anna Zareckaya defines the concept of film discourse as “a coherent text that makes up the verbal component of a film and, together with nonverbal components and other extralinguistic factors that are significant for the semantic completeness of the film, the audio-visual range of that film” (Zareckaya 2010: 70).

Researchers from various fields have attempted to define the concept and essence of sarcasm, because sarcasm resides in the comedic realm and thus penetrates all spheres of human life. Philosophically speaking, researchers have offered such definitions as “a judgement containing an element of mockery”²; while, from the point of view of psychology and pedagogy, sarcasm is seen as “ironic, cruel mockery built on exaggerating the contrast between what is expressed and what is implied”³.

² Ilyichev L. F. 1983. *Filosofskij enciklopedicheskij slovar'* [Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary]. Nauka. Iskustvo. Velichie [Science. Art. Greatness]. URL: <http://philosophy.niv.ru/doc/dictionary/philosophical/index.htm> (accessed 22.10.2022).

³ Matyushkin A. M. 2012. *Enciklopedicheskij slovar' po psihologii i pedagogike* [Encyclopedic Dictionary of Psychology and Pedagogy]. Nauka. Iskustvo. Velichie [Science. Art. Greatness]. URL: <http://med.niv.ru/doc/dictionary/psychology-and-pedagogy/articles/1307/matyushkin.htm> (accessed 22.10.2022).

However, the most interesting studies of the nature of sarcastic statements are those by T. V. Vavilova, E. G. Nozhevnikova and A. S. Kostygova, who examine the phenomenon of sarcasm from the linguistic standpoint.

Vavilova, for instance, studies sarcasm within the paradigm of the comedic and comes to the conclusion that sarcastic comments are a less definite and more complex form of communication. She also argues that sarcasm always implies a certain conflict, since the dual nature of the phenomenon is aimed at hurting and humiliating the interlocutor, undermining his or her authority, etc. (Vavilova 2010: 149).

Sarcasm is a kind of malicious irony or caustic mockery, the main purpose of which is to imply something by contrasting the implicit with what is expressed. Sarcastic comments are made in a veiled manner, using such linguistic techniques as, for example, gradation, metaphor and intonation (Khrumchenko 2012; Kostygova 2013). In order to express the pragmatic meaning of sarcasm, authors often resort to rhetorical questions and special marker expressions that can be used to kick off a conflict situation, neutralize another person's negative rhetoric, protect oneself against attacks by an opponent, or discredit or place another participant in a conflict at a disadvantage. Repetition also plays an important role in achieving the main function of sarcasm in film discourse, conveying significant additional information to create emotionality, expressiveness and stylization (Arnold 1973: 244).

A distinctive feature of any sarcastic statement is that it is implicit, which implies that the target of the statement may have difficulty understanding and denouncing the essence of the message being conveyed. For example, the speaker can use words and expressions to convey his or her subjective point of view that in their direct meaning would carry a positive semantic meaning, be it approval, praise, admiration, etc. However, when used sarcastically, these words carry the opposite meaning.

When used in confrontational film discourse, sarcasm can perform a number of functions: to provoke a conflict; to express veiled disapproval; as a way of identifying with a group; and as a way of placing someone in opposition with a group:

- 1) The most commonly used function of sarcasm is to **provoke a conflict**. Here, sarcastic statements are intended to offend one's interlocutor, put them in an awkward position, ridicule them, or even cause negative emotions and anger.
- 2) Sarcasm can also be used to express negative judgement through **veiled disapproval**. In this case, the pragmatic effect of a sarcastic comment comes from the substitution of the denotative meaning of the phrase being said. The implicit nature of the statement allows the speaker to express dissatisfaction with the situation or the actions of the opponent, while "saving their face".
- 3) Another important function of sarcasm is the **function of identification**, that is, of belonging to a particular group. Often, the implicit nature of a sarcastic comment is hidden behind an extralinguistic context. Recognizing a humorous statement as such places the person in a particular group and enhances the feeling of connection within the group.

- 4) At the same time, sarcasm can perform the exact opposite function – the function of opposition. That is, a sarcastic comment can be used to exclude people who do not share the same views (Nozhevnikova 2018: 148).

Materials and Methodology

The following methods were used for this study: linguo-stylistic analysis, contextual analysis, continuous sampling, and quantitative analysis.

For the source material, we chose the popular U.S. drama series *This Is Us*, which is of great interest in terms of the practical study of achieving the pragmatic effect of sarcasm. *This Is Us* is an American drama television series created by Dan Fogelman. The story revolves around the trials and tribulations of the Pearson family, their relationships with each other, and problems that they face and are likely familiar to us all. In other words, the show is relatable, and it shows viewers ways that could help them overcome life's hardships.

The main reason we chose *This Is Us* is its practical significance, since it is full of all kinds of conflict situations, during which the protagonists often resort to the use of sarcastic comments. Moreover, the series is of social interest, as it depicts domestic fights, family relationships, disagreements at work, lovers' quarrels, etc. In short, the show touches on aspects of life that we all know well.

We analysed over 120 scenes depicting conflict situations to determine the language means that are used to achieve the main communicative function of sarcasm, as well as the techniques used by the translator to render sarcastic statements in the target language and assess how accurately they are able to preserve the meaning intended in the original.

Results and Discussion

Let us look at the most striking and illustrative cases of the use of sarcasm in conflict discourse selected as the empirical material of this study:

Kevin: **Why do you think your daughter was hiding in my car? Why do you think your daughter was hiding in my car?** Have you ever thought about that? She's **avoiding the Randal show**. Welcome to the Randal Show, ladies and gentlemen (Subslikescript)⁴.

In this example, the use of the repetitive syntactic construction ("Why do you think your daughter was hiding in my car?") leads to escalation and creates emotional tension. The words, spoken with rising intonation, show Kevin's mood and reveal his

⁴ Subslikescript. Huge database of movies and series' English scripts. URL: https://subslikescript.com/series/This_Is_Us-5555260 (accessed 22.10.2022).

attitude to the situation. The subsequent use of a metaphor (“Welcome to the Randal Show”) puts the opponent at a complete disadvantage, since it compares his life to a show in which everything is absurd, comical and implausible.

Translating this syntactic construction into Russian, the translator does not to change the question, rendering it verbatim (“Как думаешь, почему твоя дочь спряталась в моей машине?”), which preserves the pragmatic effect of the original text. The translation of the metaphor is also literal, because it does not carry any extralinguistic context – it simply implies an awareness of the events that happened to the main character. Moreover, the translator’s choice of the lexical unit “устала” (lit. “tired, tired of sth.”) is the best, as it directly shows the attitude of Randal’s daughter to what has happened.

Kevin: And cue Randal out the door and cue mum chasing her favorite son.
This is such a predictable movie. You are so **predictable** (Subslikescript).

Кевин: И Рэнделл хлопает дверью, а мама бежит за своим любимчиком.
Как все предсказуемо. Вы такие **предсказуемые**.

The metaphor (“This is such a predictable movie”), spoken in a sarcastic manner, pokes fun at the current situation, comparing it to a mushy film or TV show that breaks the fourth wall. The lexical repetition of the word “predictable” shows Kevin’s attitude to the actions and behaviour of his relatives and reflects his disappointment and annoyance with the person he is speaking with.

In the translation, the translator does not preserve the metaphor, evidently seeing its use unnecessary. However, the chosen mode of transmission retains the pragmatic effect of the original and is achieved through the use of the pronoun “все” (“everything”) and the word order, thus preserving the pragmatic meaning of sarcasm in the target language. The translator also preserves the lexical repetition of the original, placing the relevant words at the end of the sentence, which emphasizes the relation of the utterance to the subject.

Kevin: Tell everyone the truth, which is that you love Randal the most. He is your favorite, right?

Rebecca: **It’s not true, Kevin. That’s absolutely ridiculous!**

Kevin: **That’s not true? It’s ridiculous. Yeah? Okay, it’s ridiculous** (Subslikescript).

Кевин: Просто скажи правду: ты любишь Рэнделла больше нас.

Ребекка: **Это неправда, Кевин. Это просто смехотворно.**

Кевин: **Неправда? Смехотворно?**

Here, the excessive use of lexical repetition (“ridiculous”) and the rhetorical question (“That’s not true?”) is aimed at neutralizing the other person’s negative rhetoric and minimizing the existing conflict. However, the phrase, uttered with falling intonation, shows that Kevin disagrees with what his mother is saying.

The translator does not stray too far from the original, using nominative and impersonal sentences (“Неправда? Смехотворно?” – lit. “That’s not true? That’s laughable”) to convey these syntactic constructions, thus giving a sharpness and dynamism to the statement and drawing the listener’s attention to the absurdity of what the speaker is saying.

Rebecca: How long has it been going, Jack? The drinking.

Jack: Few weeks.

Rebecca: Wow, I had no idea.

Jack: Yeah, well, you haven’t really been around.

Rebecca: **Ah, got it, awesome, thank you** (Subslikescript).

Ребекка: Как давно это продолжается, Джек? Как давно ты снова начал пить?

Джек: Пару недель назад.

Ребекка: Ух-ты. Я и понятия не имела.

Джек: Да, тебя почти не было рядом.

Ребекка: **А, ясно, круто, спасибо.**

In this example, falling intonation is coupled with the stylistic device of gradation to achieve the pragmatic effect of sarcasm (“Ah, got it, awesome, thank you.”). Arranged in ascending order, lexical units allow you to bring a conversation to a kind of turning point, expose the subjectivity of the statement and thus protect yourself from negative words spoken by your interlocutor.

The gradation is also preserved in the translation: lexical units arranged in ascending order of pragmatic meaning (“А, ясно, круто, спасибо” – lit. “Ah, that’s clear, great, thanks”) allow the translator to achieve the communicative function of sarcasm.

Jack: What happened with Ben?

Rebecca: He tried to kiss me.

Jack: And?

Rebecca: **And...? I’m sorry, are you kidding me right now? Are you actually serious? Oh, wow.**

Jack: **Great conversation, Rebecca. Great way to have things out** [Subslikescript].

Джек: Что произошло у вас с Беном? Ребекка: Он пытался поцеловать меня.

Джек: И?

Ребекка: **И? Прости, ты сейчас издеваешься надо мной? Или ты серьезно? Ничего себе.**

Джек: Да уж, отлично поболтали, Ребекка. Во всем разобрались сразу.

In this example, rhetorical questions (“Are you kidding me right now? Are you actually serious?”) are used to draw attention to the information being communicated. Rebecca does not need an answer to these questions – she merely wants to get Jack’s attention, raise the emotional tone, and demonstrate the absurdity of his thoughts and words.

The use of opposition through the conjunction “или” and the translator’s refusal to utilize gradation and overuse the adverb “actually” have the greatest communicative effect in the target language. The colloquial expression “ничего себе” as a translation of the English interjection “wow”, which typically reflects a reaction to something good and unexpected, is used in this context to convey the exact opposite meaning, which reveals the essence of the sarcastic comment, its implicit nature.

Jack reacts to Rebecca’s words and actions (she leaves the room) with a sarcastic comment (“Great conversation, Rebecca. Great way to have things out”), thus veiledly expressing his opinion on what his wife has done.

To convey this remark in Russian, the translator departs from the literal translation and uses the exclamation “Да уж”, which is typical for expressing annoyance and irony. However, an important detail is omitted from the second sentence – “Great way” – that Jack uses to ridicule Rebecca’s way of dealing with the problem. In this regard, the Russian translation of this sentence (“Во всем разобрались сразу” – lit. “You dealt with everything at once”) does not fully reflect the pragmatic meaning of sarcasm intended by the speaker.

Kevin: You know, it sucks. You know it’s like you get all of the firsts, right? And then I’m supposed to what, uh, just cling desperately to my phone, just hoping for a text from you? (Subslikescript)

Кевин: Это отстой. Ты рядом во все моменты. **А я должен гипнотизировать телефон в надежде на твоё сообщение.**

Maddison: Look, I’m sorry **that you are feeling feelings or whatever you’re doing right now**, but this is not a picnic for me, okay? (Subslikescript) /

Мэддисон: Слушай, **мне жаль, что ты переживаешь или что ты там делаешь, но мне тоже нелегко**, ясно?

Here, Kevin uses the rhetorical construction “I’m supposed to what” to convey his sarcasm, thus demonstrating his disappointment in the current situation, and the subsequent arrangement of syntactic constructions in ascending order of semantic meaning puts his wife at a disadvantage, because the words reflect his despair and the fact that he is resigned to his fate.

In turn, Madison counters with the phrase “feeling feelings or whatever you’re doing right now” as a way of ridiculing Kevin while at the same time helping him “save face”. She then neutralizes her negative rhetoric with the expression “I’m sorry” and the idiomatic “this is not a picnic for me”, thus defending herself from Kevin’s attacks and letting him know that it is not easy for her either.

Here, the translator decided not to use a rhetorical construction, replacing it with a simple sentence: “А я должен гипнотизировать телефон в надежде на твое сообщение” (lit. “And I am supposed to hypnotize the telephone in the hope that you might call”). The thematic division of the sentence conveys the communicative intention of the speaker, thus showing that Kevin has nothing to do but sit and wait for his wife to call.

It is obvious why the translator decided not to use the Russian versions of the idiom “to be no picnic” (such as “не сахар” – lit. “not sugar”, or “не подарок” lit. “no present”) as they do not quite fit the context of a quarrel between husband and wife and are more suited to a conversation between friends or teenagers, for example. Instead, the translator goes for the more neutral expression “но мне тоже нелегко” (lit. “but it’s not easy for me either”), which has greater communicative effect by contrasting the lives of Kevin and Maddison.

Conclusion

By way of a conclusion, we can state that sarcasm is an effective satirical and stylistic tool that is typically aimed at a person or situation. The only way to achieve the maximum communicative effect is if the participants in the communicative act use linguistic and extralinguistic factors.

The examples we analysed in this article showed the most frequently used stylistic and semantic methods of expressing the pragmatic effect of sarcasm in confrontational discourse as portrayed in film. In most cases, prosodic and stylistic means of achieving a pragmatic effect prevail. More often than not, this is the use of intonation and repetition, which reflect the aggressive emotions of the participants in the communicative act and their attitude towards the object of aggression.

We also analysed translations of sarcastic comments into Russian. The most commonly used techniques are literal translation, omitting redundant words or constructions, and using equivalent expressions in the target language.

About the Author:

Daria S. Pleshkova – a Master’s degree student at the Department of Translation and Cross-Cultural Communication at Tula State Lev Tolstoy Pedagogical University, Tula, Russia. Her sphere of scientific interest includes the theory of translation, functional linguistics, cross-cultural communication, pragmatics, and film discourse. E-mail: darya.pleshkova.99@mail.ru

Conflicts of interest.

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

Received: October 22, 2022.

Accepted: January 11, 2023.

References:

- Arnold I. V. 1973. *Stilistika sovremennogo anglijskogo yazyka* [Stylistics of modern English]. Leningrad: Prosveshchenie (in Russian).
- Filippova M. M. 2005. *Ironiya i sarkazm v anglijskom yazyke i kul'ture* [Irony and Sarcasm in the English Language and Culture]. Moscow: MAKS Press. (In Russian).
- Filyasova Y. A. 2022. Perfection as a Concept of Hyperbolisation in English Promotional Discourse: A Multi-Dimensional Linguistic Analysis. *Training, Language and Culture*. 6(4). P. 50–61. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2521-442X-2022-6-4-50-61>
- Galperin I. R. 2014. *Stilistika anglijskogo yazyka* [English Stylistics]. Moscow: Librocom. (In Russian).
- Khramchenko D. S. 2012. K voprosu o formirovanii arsenalu leksicheskikh sredstv v anglijskom delovom diskurse (funktsionalno-sinergeticheskij podkhod) [On the Formation of the Arsenal of Lexical Means in English Business Discourse: Functional-Synergetic Approach]. *Issues of Applied linguistics*. 6. P. 72–75. (In Russian).
- Konyaeva Y. M. 2021. Sarkasticheskaya ocenka v massmedia kak instrument diskreditatsii lichnosti: rechevaya reprezentatsiya [Sarcastic evaluation in mass media as a tool for discrediting a person: speech representation]. *Znak: problemnoe pole mediaobrazovaniya* [Sign: The Problem Field of Media Education]. 4 (42). P. 122–132. (In Russian).
- Kostygova A. S. 2013. Lingvopragmaticheskie i stilisticheskie osobennosti vyskazyvanij s sarkasticheskim smyslom [The Linguistic, Pragmatic, and Stylistic Features of Sarcastic Utterances]. *Izvestija Rossijskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni A. I. Gerzena* [Bulletin of the Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia]. Series: Social and Humanitarian Sciences. 160. P. 101–107. (In Russian).
- Koziaykina A. V. 2014. Lingvisticheskie sposoby realizatsii ironii i sarkazma v angloyazychnom hudozhestvennom tekste [Linguistic Methods of Implementation of Irony and Sarcasm in the English Literary Text]. *Ogarev Online*. 20. P. 1–5. (In Russian).
- Nelyubina Y. A. 2013. Kinodiskurs kak ob'ekt lingvisticheskogo izucheniya [Film Discourse as an Object of Linguistic Study]. *Chelyabinskij Gumanitarij* [Chelyabinsk Humanitarian]. 3(24). P. 71–74. (In Russian).
- Nozhevnikova E. G., Guseva E. I. 2018. Kontrol' i protivostoyanie v kommunikatsii: sarkasticheskie vyskazyvaniya kak sredstvo identifikatsii/differentsiatsii chlenov kollektiva [Control and Confrontation in Communication: Sarcastic Remarks as a Means of Identification/Differentiation of Staff Members]. *Filologicheskie nauki. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov: Gramota* [Philological Sciences. Problems of Theory and Practice. Tambov: Gramota]. 11(89). P. 146–150. (In Russian).
- Pleshkova D. S. 2022. Yazykovye priemy realizatsii pragmaticheskogo efekta sarkazma v amerikanskom konfrontatsionnom kinodiskurse [Linguistic Techniques of Implementing the Pragmatic Effect of Sarcasm in American Confrontational Film Discourse]. *Aktual'nye voprosy perevodovedeniya i metodiki prepodavaniya inostrannykh yazykov: materialy mezhdunar. nauch.-metod. seminara. Tula: Tul. gos. ped. un-t im. L. N. Tolstogo* [Current problems of translation and interpretation studies and English teaching methodology: international scientific and methodological seminar. Tula State Lev Tolstoy Pedagogical University]. P. 156–159. (In Russian).
- Shemyakina A. A. 2019. Sposoby vyrazheniya sarkazma v sovremennom anglijskom yazyke [Ways of Expressing Sarcasm in Modern English]. In T. P. Kuranova (ed.). *Sbornik nauchnykh statej XVI Vserossijskoj s mezhdunarodnym uchastiem mezhdisciplinarnoj nauchno-prakticheskoy konferencii* [Collection of Scientific Articles of the XVI All-Russian Interdisciplinary Scientific and Practical Conference with International Participation]. P. 289–392. (In Russian).

Ulanovich O. I., Zmitrakovich S. V. 2017. Satira i sarkazm kak formy ostrokritichnoj ocenki dejstvitel'nosti v paradigme komicheskogo [Satire and Sarcasm as Forms of Acute Criticism of Reality in the Paradigm of the Comic]. In *Aktual'nye problemy germanistiki, romanistiki i rusistiki: materialy ezhegod. Mezhdunar. nauch. konf. Ekaterinburg* [Current problems of Germanic, Romance and Russian Studies: Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference. Ekaterinburg]. P. 77–82. (In Russian).

Vavilova T. V. 2010. O ponyatii sarkazma [On the Concept of Sarcasm]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo lingvisticheskogo universiteta* [Bulletin of Moscow State Linguistic University]. 17(596). P. 147–155. (In Russian).

Zareckaya A. N. 2010. Osobennosti realizacii podteksta v kinodiskurse [Specifics of the Implementation of Subtext in Film Discourse]. *Chelyabinsk State University Bulletin*. 16. P. 70–74. (In Russian).

An Essay on Annotating Connectives in a Japanese Text – Lessons and Prospects

Sergey V. Chironov

Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University)

Abstract. This paper offers an overview of an attempt to annotate a text in Japanese with the aim of pointing out all possible connections between elementary chunks of discourse, and the connective devices marking them. Being the first experience in Japanese, it asks for a certain adjustment of the annotation rules already used in the existing schools. This primarily touches upon what entities are connected and also upon the definition of a connective. Furthermore, semantic areas covered by connectives also need correction if reviewed through an in-depth analysis of the speaker's intentions. The obstacles met while carrying out the annotation focus around two linguistic factors, as do the pervasive patterns revealed. On the one hand, the structural specifics of the Japanese language cause the speaker to forego multiple transformations that warp the surface structure in order to attain linear development of his or her line of discourse. On the other hand, the genre of the linguistic material (a lecture in tourism marketing) is largely accountable for dominating Causality and Discourse Deployment areas of connectives. It is through those that a higher level of pragmatic motivation is achieved in the explicit markers of the text structure – which turns out crucial in making the speech more persuasive.

Keywords: Japanese language, discourse, connectives, field research, annotation

The study of text structure in modern linguistics is about more than expanding our knowledge about the individual, his or her inner world and natural languages as part of it. It is also about pursuing the practical goals of improving the effectiveness of teaching and translation, in particular improving the quality of machine translation. As we all know, one of the “generic” complexities of the latter (which we have all come across having used online machine translation services) is the presence of units with a complex semantic structure that establish links between elements of a speech product and/or fragments of the mental reality of the communicants, in-

¹ English translation from the Russian text: Chironov S.V. 2022. An Essay on Annotating Connectives in a Japanese Text – Lessons and Prospects. *Linguistics & Polyglot Studies*. 8(4). P. 64–88. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24833/2410-2423-2022-4-33-64-88>

cluding the components of speech situations. For example, one zone of this rather extensive layer of language units is connectors – types of discourse markers – that express semantic relations between segments of speech products of various lengths (Golubeva, Zueva 2019) (we have touched upon this topic before, including in the form of a brief introductory review (Chironov 2019). This category, which is defined on the basis of functional grounds and is consequently morphologically homogenous, has been the focus of numerous studies that based their results on various types of data, including corpus data (Kobozeva 2016). However, in the light of the many requests from experts in various fields for the results of the study noted above, linking data that is focused on translation tasks – and which often makes up the preparatory stage of translation itself – appears particularly promising. We are talking here about the continuous annotation of texts according to various selected criteria, which allows the researcher to both test existing theoretical constructs in practice and identify new difficulties. As for the issue of connectors, work in this area is being carried out at several research centres (Prasad, Webber 2014), (Reese, Hunter 2007), and the results of their activities have already been successfully integrated into Russian scholarly discourse (In'kova 2019). But we have no information about such work in relation to the study of Japanese. This is where the present paper comes in as a pilot study, so to speak.

The subject of this paper is the text of a speech given by a Japanese scholar at an online seminar intended for Russian listeners provided to the organizers for simultaneous interpretation in late 2021. The script has been reproduced with minor variations and, as such, it represents a sample of prepared oral speech. It is a relatively short text (approximately 14,000 Japanese characters, equivalent to roughly 35,000–40,000 characters in the Russian translation) about establishing practical bilateral relations between Japan and Russia, a hot topic at the current geopolitical juncture. The speech lasted a little over an hour, including slides, and was divided into 109 paragraphs containing a total of 289 sentences. The types of semantic connections between passages are extremely diverse and cover all those identified in various methods of classification. We should note here that many situations in which connectors are used turn out to be extremely instructive and provide a wealth of information for clarifying the semantic “portraits” of certain types of connectors, although we do not touch upon this aspect of the issue in the present paper, leaving it for future research. Our goal here is to identify problematic issues that arise in the process of annotating itself, as well as to offer, if not conclusive, then at least reasonably compelling ways to solve them.

An overview of the data obtained is presented in the table below. When choosing rubricifiers, we decided to try and build on the categories traditionally used in Japanese linguistics (Ichikawa 1978), (Sakuma 1990). They also turn out to be closer to the classification used in the Penn Discourse Treebank (PDTB) annotation project (Prasad, Webber 2014), which uses a three-tiered aggregation principle that states that all types of connectives fall into one of four categories: “temporal”; “contingency” (including “causal” and “conditional”); “comparison” (“concession”, “contrast” and “juxtaposition”); and “expansion” (including “adding” and various types of discursive develop-

ment). The general structure of the classifier used for the SDRT project (Reese, Hunter 2007) is less suitable for such work, as it focuses on pointing out the oppositions of (in) factivity, coordination, and subordination. That said, we use categorization elements from both systems, accompanying them with the appropriate abbreviation in order to help us track the meaning of labels that do not always allow for an unambiguous interpretation.

Table 1. Distribution of Connectives by Type of Logical Link

| Type of connective = levels: | propositional | illocutionary | meta |
|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------|
| temporal | 15 | | |
| logical contingency: | | | |
| cause | 63(+29) | (+7) | |
| goal | 25(+5) | | |
| contingency | 9 | 2 | |
| aposition: | | | |
| contrast | 9(+10) | | |
| concession | 35(+6) | 9 | |
| comparison | 6(+2) | | |
| addition | 27(+61) | 7(+11) | |
| accumulation | 6(+1) | 1 | |
| discourse development: | | | |
| topic shift | | 9(+12) | |
| equivalence | 15(+13) | | 11(+2) |
| detailing | 33(+16) | | 1 |
| generalization | 14(+6) | | |
| elaboration | 55(+11) | 1 | (+2) |
| level-of-detail | 2(+22) | (+1) | (+3) |
| authorization | 27(+3) | | |
| commentary | (+15) | (0) | |
| question and answer | 3(+12) | 1 | |

* note: the figures in parentheses denote cases where connectives were not observed

These figures are not final and are open to clarification as the relevant issues become clearer, which will be discussed later.

Determining the Boundaries of Relations

The very definition of a connective implies a relative freedom of expression for its arguments, which can be expressed both in complete sentences and in groups of sentences, as well as in clauses and even “convolutions” (to use the term coined by Vladimir Gak), most often through nominalization. What is more, the obligatory condition for the verbalization of the relation is not applied. This brings the connective closer to

the classical understanding of the discourse marker, although it turns out to be less applicable to the material at our disposal, overloading the interpreter with “clairvoyance” functions that we believe can at times be unnecessary in the array of knowledge and ideas of communicants to which it does not belong. Such cases are ignored in the present study. On the whole (with the exception of non-verbalized relatives), the text contains just such a variety of expressions for relations joined together by connectives, the smallest of which turns out to be quite close the concept of “elementary discourse units” (EDU) (Kibrik 2009). This contrasts somewhat with the practice of annotation, where, in general, it is customary to mark concordances between linearly and sequentially located clauses.

In addition to the connections between groups of EDUs, which thus become a single complex relation, we also recognize cases where the linear-sequential arrangement principle has been distorted. The latter include embedded, left-adjacent arrangements, as well as jumps in connections when non-contiguous relations are connected. The latter directly corresponds to the speaker building the logic of his or her narration, where stacks of segments with the same functionality, loops or even gaps can be provided. The PDTB uses the second case to the best effect, at least in part: without changing the nomenclature, it provides the right and left positions of the profiling argument, although not for all links, and only for the group that demonstrates logical contingency. We propose extending this scheme to include another type of connection, namely “(Discourse) Development”, which is also logically contingent, albeit from the point of view of the speaker in the construction of his or her reasoning. We will come back to the similarities between these two macrotypes of communication, but for now, in a more practical sense, we will note that, first and foremost, this allows us to remove the tension arising from the discrepancy between the text effects of “symmetrical” categories, for example, “detail on the left” and “generalization on the right”, and vice versa. For example, in Par. 54, ⑦ provides detail for ⑥, although it is located to the left, while ⑥ does not generalize ⑦:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| ⁶ これらは | ⁶ <i>All this</i> |
| ⁷ 私も含め、ウェブ制作チーム全員が | ⁷ <i>including myself and the entire website team</i> |
| ⁸ ボランティアで地道に行ってきたものです。 | ⁸ <i>on a voluntary basis gradually created</i> |

The semantic relationship between the individual parts is restored when translating into Russian (which in this case is structurally identical to English, for which the annotation rules were built): ⁶ *All this was gradually created by the entire website team*, ⁷ *including myself*, ⁸ *[and moreover] on a voluntary basis*.

Par. 13 contains an example connected with the PDTB definition of “clarification” (Expansion. Level-of-detail) for which bidirectionality is assumed:

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| ⁴ 過去最高の | ⁴ <i>An all-time record</i> |
| ⁵ 2000万人超で、 | ⁵ <i>of over 20 million people.</i> |

Evidently, Japanese discourse does not typically allow a developmental argument to be affixed to the left of a connective belonging to the “Development” category, which would be in keeping with the definition of Commentary given in SDRT, as is the case with ⑥ in Par. 67:

| | |
|---|---|
| ⁶ これは失礼な話ですが、 | ⁶ <i>I am embarrassed to say this, but</i> |
| ⁷ サハリンに新しいスキー場あるとは知らなかったのです。 | ⁷ <i>[people] did not even know that there are ski resorts in Sakhalin</i> |

Tellingly, this problem does not arise when interpreting links between elements that are more “equal” – as in the case of “Adding”, “Comparison” or “Concession”. There are typically no surprises here in the sense that the speaker arranges the arguments in exactly the same order in which the picture of reality he paints is revealed.

Closely linked to the reverse arrangement of relations is the “embedded” arrangement of relations – when one is inside the other. The most important factors here are the position of the predicate to the right periphery of the sentence, and the strong tendency towards thematization in Japanese.

A relatively simple case is the use of a single connective (see Par. 79). In and of itself, the link between ③ and ④ is reverse, because ③ clearly develops the content of ④, and it is in fact necessary to understand it. This kind of relationship is described in the SDRT as Commentary, and here it appears at the propositional, and not the illocutionary level, as long as the speaker is also the agent ④. In this case, the temporal connective *sono mae ni* does not, strictly speaking, belong to any EDU in the excerpt, linking complex relations <①-②> (inside the “theme-rheme” connection) and <④-③> (“level-of-detail”).

| | |
|--|--|
| ¹ これからお話しするのは | ¹ <i>What I would like to talk about further,</i> |
| ² 「サハリンの新しいイメージづくりのための戦略」です。 | ² <i>is a strategy for creating a new image of Sakhalin.</i> |
| ^(?) その前に、 | ^(?) <i>But first –</i> |
| ³ 少しだけ戦略的に、 | ³ <i>a little bit on the strategic side –</i> |
| ⁴ ウラジオストクでこれまで起きていることを参考にしましょう。 | ⁴ <i>let’s learn from what has taken place in Vladivostok so far.</i> |

If we were to use a simpler form of annotation (like previous versions of the annotation systems), then we would concentrate on two excerpts only, where ① and ② merge together and ④ absorbs ③. In the current version, introducing a connective that is not directly related to ③ only confirms the existence of a reverse link.

The task becomes more complicated if a segment that is not a connective is embedded in from of the EDU that is ‘running ahead’. Most often, this will be a topic or a section close to it, although this is not always the case. See, for example, the discontinuity ⑧ in Par. 13:

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| ⁷ 日本で初めてとなる | ⁷ <i>The first in Japan</i> |
| ⁸ ウラジオストクの旅行案内書 | ⁸ <i>travel guide to Vladivostok –</i> |
| ⁹ 「Platウラジオストク」 | ⁹ <i>Plat Vladivostok</i> |
| を2018年4月に刊行しました。 | ⁽⁸⁾ <i>[we] published in April 2018.</i> |

One method in such cases is to separate the topic and postulate a theme-rheme connection. On the whole, this connection is not as far-fetched for Japanese as it is in the descriptions of manuals for annotators, if you look at the difference in options. See Par. 108:

| | |
|---|--|
| ¹ 最後に、サハリンのみなさんをお願いしたいのは、 | ¹ <i>In conclusion, I would like to ask you all this:</i> |
| ² 私たちのコンテンツづくりや情報発信にご協力いただきたいことです。 | ² <i>Let's collaborate in creating and sharing content!</i> |

Here, the dualism of theme and rheme is additionally emphasized by the use of a “split” construction (*klepht*) with thematization. Without it, the sentence was one long expression of a request (the original version). The final version differs in that the speech product includes known (to the addressee) information (this is a well-known relativization effect). This obvious distortion is corrected by another even more radical technique: going further and cutting the sentence into two, where ② will detail the speech act indicated in ①.

However, the limitations of this approach to the phenomena of thematization in the text are obvious. If we take the text as an absolute, we will be forced to “split” all statements with a clearly expressed articulation. And given the acceptability of non-verbalized relation, the “chance” to pile up even more links arises. One way or another, no matter what decision is made, there will nevertheless be certain tension

In some cases, the temptation to ignore the syntactic structure is there – in order to preserve a linear sequence (Par. 3):

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| ⁶ 私のような | |
| ⁷ 【旅行メディアの仕事をしている】 | ⁷ <i>those working in tourism media</i> |
| 人間にとって、 | <i>for people + ⁶ Like me</i> |

Strictly speaking, ⑦ here is a “Level-of-detail” of the top element *ningen* (“people”) on the right side of the discontinuity ⑥. However, in the case of a minimal replacement of the adjectival form of the comparative phrase in the left part ⑥ with an adverbial one, another structure arises with the unit ⑦ which, according to the informants, is “heard” in the structure that is used:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| ⁶ 私のように | |
| ⁷ 【旅行メディアの仕事をしている】人間にとって | ⁷ For those people working in tourism media |
| | ⁶ Like me |

Here ⑥ is no longer a “Level-of-detail”. Rather, it provides “detail” about ⑦, as can be seen from the fact that it can be replaced with the introductory (meta)adversative phrase *watashi mo soo desu ga* (“I’m like that myself”). It is unsurprising that attention is not paid to this problem in the annotation technique developed for the English language, where such structural possibilities and variations do not exist.

Embedded structures are primarily associated with connections of the mereological type – specifically expansion/narrowing or detail/generalization. This is largely because they affect a more local fragment of discourse, which with minimal transformations can be postulated as an independent EDU.

And this is an example of a cross “jump” in discursive connections that decisively “peel off” here from syntactic connections:

| | |
|--|---|
| ¹ サハリンのみなさん、 | ¹ Dear people of Sakhalin, |
| ² こんにちは。 | ² Hello! |
| ³ そして、ごぶさたしています。 | ³ And – please excuse the [long] silence – |
| ⁴ ちょうど1年前、みなさんと オンライン上で会いました | ⁴ Exactly one year ago with you we met online |
| ⁵ です。 | ⁵ <insert name> [– before you]. |

The linear development includes an “Addition”, marked by the connector *soshite* (of the illocutionary type in this example, since two different speech acts are in contact) between ② and ③ and continues to the point between ③ and ④, where “Elaboration” is evident, supported by the word order (which serves to fit the relations together directly) (SDRT Expansion. Elaboration). In the second case, the adverb *choodo* should be recognized as the lexical implementation of the connective, as it is a characteristic way of expressing refinement with non-verbalized A1 (here, the level of connection is sub-lexical: “one year ago” clarifies the seme “a long time”, which arises at the pragmatic level in *go-bu-sata* = “no news [from you]”). However, from the point of view of developing the discourse, ⑤ is not connected with ④, which is its formal definition,

but rather with ②, since it is customary to give one's surname after a greeting. Thus, there is an "Attachment" type of connection between ② and ⑤, which differs from the similar connection between ② and ③ in that lexical marking is impossible here (for example, こんにちは。*そして中村です = *Hello {*AND - /??OR - allow me to introduce myself}*), *my name is Nakamura*), as such marking is evidently reserved for cases where an unexpected segment that would be more difficult for the addressee to interpret without an explicit connector is added. These links determine how the literary translation in Russian is restructured, where it would be difficult to place such a word between ② and ⑤, and ③ and ④ would have to be moved to the end of the paragraph:

Dear people of Sakhalin! Good afternoon! My name is Nakamura. It's been a while since we talked. The last time we saw each other was exactly a year ago, online.

The difference in the possible compositions of the paragraph here clearly arises under the influence (which can probably be explained at a higher theoretical level and in terms of the general inductive orientation of Japanese discourse) of the sequential left branching of the Japanese sentence. This condition allows for the creation of a structural cliché in the greeting formula, when the definition of the name (explicitly stated by the Japanese individual and presented in the third person): *My name's Petrov {whom you kindly sent / You kindly sent me} a letter*. This is precisely what the speaker does in the above example.

Closely related to the issue of the order in which the relations are presented is the issue of how they are formulated. How should they be subdivided in order to obtain a convincing conjugation of units?

The definitions and adverbials as described in the annotation manuals are emphasized to the extent and in the sense in which they contribute to the development of reasoning. This is most clearly manifested in the connection of the type "Reason" and "Inconsistency" (see the similarity with the principle of highlighting such phrases in Russian punctuation), see the adverb of time ③ in Par. 46:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| ³ コロナ禍で国を超えた人の移動が難しいま、 | ³ <i>Now, at a time when the pandemic prevents us from crossing borders</i> |
| ⁴ 自分にできることは何だろうか。 | ⁴ <i>What can we [nevertheless] do?</i> |

But it is not just adverbials that have this status, as definitions, acting as a "Clarification" (Expansion.Level-of-detail) do too. See, for example, ⑩ in Par. 27:

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| ¹⁰ そこには、 | ¹⁰ <i>In this ...</i> |
| ¹¹ アジア文化圏に囲まれた | ¹¹ <i>surrounded by the Asian cultural zone</i> |
| 極東ロシアの稀少性や優位性が浮上してくるのです。 | (¹⁰) <i>... is hidden the exoticism and advantage of the Russian Far East.</i> |

In the proposed interpretation, ⑩, which is wedged into the structure of ⑩, reveals the meaning of characterizing the Far East as “exotic”. A literary translation of the sentence would restore the split ⑩, thus making it easier to isolate (11).

Note that in Japanese such units typically come at the left side of the sentence, whereas in Russian and English the corresponding units appear at the right.

The example below (where the link between ① and the complex relation 2–3 can be defined as “Causal”) demonstrates correspondence at the constructive level between a preposition in the Japanese and a specific construction in Russian, saturated with the semantics of causality or opposition (Par. 80):

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| ¹ ロシアの都市文化の魅力を持つ | ¹ <i>With its wonderful Russian urbanism</i> |
| ² ウラジオストクは | ² <i>Vladivostok</i> |
| ³ 極東ロシアの中でも | ³ <i>even among other destinations in the Far East</i> |
| 特別な存在になっています。 | <i>is a truly special place.</i> |

Unlike adverbial clauses, which can be assigned special markings (Chironov 2017), definitions are never explicitly highlighted.

As the material shows, subordinate clauses are not the only parts of speech that are capable of entering into relations of “Equivalence”, as simple non-restrictive definitions can do this too, provided that they perform the required function – namely, to give the addressee additional information that clarifies the code element (see ⑤ in Par. 18):

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| ⁴ 2020年3月にはついに | ⁴ <i>In March 2020, flights between JAL and ANA were finally launched</i> |
| ⁵ 日系の | ⁵ <i>Japanese carriers.</i> |
| JALやANAも就航を開始しました。 | |

If formulated with a reasonable level of subtlety, it is difficult not to recognize the role of individual semantically rich adverbs (evaluative, rather than mode of action) and separate EDUs, forming the connection “Development” – “Clarification” with the main predication (Expansion.Level-of-detail). In the previous example, this is the adverb *tsui* (“family”), which refers to an as yet indefinite circle of participants that had long been waiting for the event being described. The dilemma of transferring the annotation technique created for texts written in English to Japanese material stems from the fact that, in the English version, such adverbial groups gravitate towards a postposition in which they are safely marked without violating the linear arrangement. But the same effect can be achieved in Japanese by placing the adverbial group in postposition, which commonly happens in oral communication:

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| ⁴ 2020年3月には | ⁴ <i>In March 2020, flights between JAL and ANA were launched</i> |
| ⁵ 日系の | ⁵ <i>Japanese carriers.</i> |
| JALやANAも就航を開始しました。 | |
| ⁶ ついにね。 | ⁶ <i>Finally.</i> |

It is clear that at the syntactical level, the variant with parcellation is by no means equivalent to the original. At the discursive level, however, the contrast is minimal. In this case, there is no reason to not mark the adverb of this category as a separate relation.

Requirement syntax affects more than just the order of the relatives. Occasionally, an informatively justified narrative order is sacrificed and a kind of “bulge” is formed in the surface structure, as can be seen in Par. 19:

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| ² すべては振り出しに戻り、 | ² <i>[The fact that] everything has gone back to the way it was before</i> |
| ³ 現在に至っていることは | ³ <i>and remains so to this day,</i> |
| ⁴ ご存知の通りです。 | ⁴ <i>you are well aware of.</i> |

As we can see, this technique compensates for the unacceptability of the well-known Japanese towards “pseudo-subordinate” constructs. In such cases, in the flow of speech, the thematic group is formed at the end of the segment or utterance – retroactively, so to speak. At the same time, the division at the superficial level does not correspond in any way to the actual information structure. That is, we are dealing with the same “pseudo-theme”, a rhetorical ploy that marks the connection between “Expansion” and “Elaboration”, which also allows for the “embedded equivalent” ④. See both versions of the literary translation:

² *Everything returned to the way it was before,* ³ *where it remains to this day,* ⁴ *of which you are well aware,* cf. ² *Everything returned to the way it was before* ³ *and (as you well know)* ⁽³⁾ *it remains so to this day.*

The final example shows that, even if the elements of the sentence are arranged in a strictly regulated manner (which in the case of Japanese is the most important factor in complicating the form of the “tree” of discursive relations), there are ways to overcome these restrictions. The speaker always has considerable freedom in terms of how to traverse the path of distorting the syntactic structure, or “diving under” it, dragging discursive patterns through formal patterns that do not coincide with them. Obviously, a second – and even more important – factor in the speaker’s choice, in addition to linguistic specificity at the structural level, will be the degree of preparedness of the speech. With a high degree of certainty, we can say that many of the problems we have looked at in this section would be mitigated by labelling them spontaneous discourse, and the reasoning would be closer to the formula “one EDU per logical step”.

Choosing Connectives

The practice of annotation pushes the researcher to depart from strict formal requirements for units that claim the status of connectives (for example, by virtue of the fact that they cannot be divided into mutually independent elements (Kobozeva 2016), as well as their location directly between the connected relations). Observing these units themselves reveals that this approach produces an even greater number of segments that are not connected with each other by any apparent means (and, as the summary table shows, the numbers are high as it is, but we will get to this later) – moreover, many units that do not receive a different pragmatic explanation and for which a certain sub-class of “quasi-connectors” need to be introduced, turn out to be outside this strictly limited category. A certain variability among connectives, which, by the way, follows the rather standard “flow-through” paradigm (Chironov 2019), can appear if we treat them as implementations of certain basic constants through speech (In’kova 2019). However, even for units that fall outside this system, the existing techniques suggest – and quite rightly, in our opinion – that we single out the connective role based on the actual function of the unit in the annotated segment. Here is an example to explain.

In Par. 87, the only pragmatic meaning of the expression *sono enchoosen-joo ni* is in the designation of “Causality” between the relations ③ and <④–⑤> (there is a reverse connection between the latter two, described as both “Goal” and “Level-of-detail”, which we will discuss later. An indirect confirmation of this approach is the partial *desemantization* of this phrase, which loses its original meaning of extrapolation here (we are talking about an event that has already taken place, after all!), although it remains formally built into the structure of the Japanese sentence as an adverbial of place:

| | |
|---|--|
| ³ 日本ではここ数年キャンプブームが盛り上がっていて、その延長線上に | ¹ <i>Camping has seen a boom in recent years in Japan, which is why</i> |
| ⁴ 自然の中で楽しむ | ⁵ <i>interest in Russian saunas is growing</i> |
| ⁵ 野外サウナへの関心が高まっているのです。 | ⁴ <i>where everything happens in the bosom of nature.</i> |

On the whole, we acknowledge the interpretation that the surface structure of a text can be the result of multi-stage transformations, especially in prepared speeches – where formal and stylistic goals cause the propositional “framework” of the phenomena being described can be obscured. On this basis, any trace at the surface level, such as base expressions, can be considered a verbal propositional link indicator of the “Goal” type. See the link between ④ and ③ in Par. 91, for example:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| ³ しかし、それらは | ³ <i>But they were selected</i> |
| ⁴ 「日本人観光客の実像やニーズ」に即して | ⁴ <i>in accordance with the needs of Japanese tourists</i> |
| 選んだもので、 | <i>Therefore...</i> |

Synonymous relationships, including temporal parameters, are seen between such indicators, for example in Par. 101:

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| ² アフターコロナに備えて | ² <i>Targeting the post-pandemic period</i> |
| ³ 私が始めたいこと | ³ <i>I am thinking about taking action,</i> |
| ⁴ 以下お話しします。 | ⁴ <i>which I will talk about later.</i> |

Expanding the circle of connectives on such fundamental grounds will, in our opinion, only enrich our understanding of both the variety of semantic links between text fragments and the ways in which finely nuanced intentions of the speaker are refracted.

In this sense, the functions of a connective can also be performed by a unit that is not only built into the structure of the sentence, but is also located in a position other than at the direct junction of the relations, for example the word *saranaru* in Par. 92:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| ¹ もちろん、サハリンにはさらなる魅力があります。 | ¹ <i>Of course, there are other things about Sakhalin that make it attractive.</i> |
|--------------------------------------|---|

Strictly speaking, the adverb *mochiron* (“of course”) already performs a function that is outwardly closer to that of a connective, and it acquires a secondary meaning here of opposition (that is, it recognizes the correctness of the point of view which goes against the inference suggested by the previous passage that Sakhalin has a limited number of charms). This trick uses the somewhat playful nature of this conflict of implications to capture the reader’s attention, as well as to block the appearance in the preposition of the transform of the adverbial transform of the same expression – *sarani*, which directly functions as an explicator of “Addition”.

Naturally this does not mean the uncontrolled expansion of the range of units that can be classified as connectives. For instance, the connectives that have been “shifted to the right” do not, as a whole, demonstrate more than a single distribution in the text we are looking at, yet they still turn out to be concentrated exclusively in a few semantic zones, of which “Addition” is clearly distinguished by frequency. As far as we can tell, this is partly due to the possibilities of syntactic transformations – primarily the operation known as “lifting” – where the “Addition” indicator is attached directly to the “anchor” word of the sentence, the semantics of which explain the connection of

the propositions. This is why most examples that demonstrate a similar phenomenon use the particle *mo*, cf. *and/as well* in Russian. See the relation between ③ and ⑥ in Par. 9:

| | |
|--|--|
| ³ 1990年代半ばからほとんど増えてい ませんでした。 | ³ <i>In the mid-90s, the number [of tourists] hardly increased at all [... but]</i> |
| ⁶ 復調の兆しも見られ、 | ⁶ <i>there were signs of recovery,</i> |

This method of linkage also functions successfully between more extended relations. For example, 1 in Par. 99 correlates directly via this method (and this method only) to 1 in Par. 98, and the remainder of the paragraph “Develops” it. In the same way, the relatively more “loose” connection of the type ⑩ – ① is always verbalized and specified:

| | |
|--|---|
| 98 ¹ ロシア文化に親しむことができる場 所があります。... | ¹ <i>There are places where you can learn about Russian culture in greater detail...</i> |
| 99 ¹ 日本にゆかりのあるスポットも残って います。 | ¹ <i>There are also points that are historically connected with Japan.</i> |

At the meta level, the connecting meaning acquires a non-trivial interpretation, meaning attachment to the positive value of the attribute and its negative value. Then we are dealing with concession, as in Par. 23, which, incidentally, does not find any other expression in the example:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| つまり、 | <i>That is,</i> |
| ¹ 地域の人にとって | ¹ <i>for residents of the region who represent</i> |
| ² 誇りある観光資源も、 | ² <i>pride recreational resources and those</i> |
| ³ 相手によって | ³ <i>for their guests</i> |
| ⁴ 見え方が違ってくることもあるのです。 | ⁴ <i>may look very different, <u>here</u>.</i> |

As we can see from the last example, Japanese is not the only language where this property consisting of verbalizers of concession relations is acquired by indicators of addition.

However, this approach requires a certain debugging of the semantic analysis tools and links, as well as of the role of the connectives themselves. For example, in a number of places, the question of assigning a unit to the class of connectives turns out to be a rather subtle matter. Specifically, in Par. 14, we initially attributed *jitsuwa* to the “Development” and “Elaboration” indicators between ① and ③-④:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| この本は | ¹ <i>To this book</i> |
| ² 時事通信や朝日新聞など、 | <i>the media paid much attention</i> |
| いくつかのメディアで注目されました。 | ² <i>specifically Jiji and Asahi.</i> |
| ³ 実は彼らはロシア担当の記者で | ³ <i>You see, it was specialists in Russian studies,</i> |
| ⁴ 私にこう言いました。 | ⁴ <i>who told me this.</i> |

However, another version appears in the second passage, where the “Elaboration – Detail” connection unfolds (starting from ③, the content already expressed in ① is specifically disclosed). In this case, the word *jitsuwa* does not act as a connective (a function it is nevertheless capable of performing, albeit in other contexts), but rather “simply” as a discourse marker that is intended to draw attention to material that the addressee is not aware of [8]:

¹ *A number of media outlets paid attention to this book,* ² *specifically Jiji and Asahi.* ³ *And, you know, it was specialists in Russian studies,* ⁴ *and this is what they told me.*

Another similar example can be found at the junction of paragraphs 17 and 18:

| | |
|---|---|
| ¹⁰ つまり、沿海地方への日本人旅行者数が5倍になったのです。 | ¹⁰ <i>That is, the number of Japanese tourists in Primorsky Krai has increased fivefold.</i> |
| ¹⁸ 1 当然、日本とウラジオストクを結ぶフライト数が急増しました。 | ¹ <i>Naturally, the number of flights to Vladivostok has increased significantly.</i> |

Here we can see that the adverb, while not itself an independent connective in the traditional sense, is included in the connector group, modifying the null vertex in it. The fact that this is the case is confirmed by the attempt to restore the syntactic environment of the adverb when its modification of the relation gives us a different meaning:

¹ 当然な{結果／こと}ですが、日本とウラジオストクを結ぶフライト数が急増しました。= *The natural result (from ⑩) was that the number of flights to Vladivostok increased dramatically. / The fact that the number of flights to Vladivostok increased was natural [by itself].*

To conclude our analysis of this example, it is important to say that there is another lexical expression that does more than reference an external evaluation premise and reflects the rejected version of our reading of ① – that is, one that performs a connective function. This is *shizen(na koto)*, which indicates an immanent property of an object, and not a consequence of another state of affairs.

Evidently, the “creeping mutation” of indicators between certain adjacent values is not limited to the specifics of a particular speaker. In many cases, the block-relation – the second in the pair of the “Expansion. Elaboration” type – begins with *mazu* (“first of all”). This is typically used as a discourse marker that points to the first in a series of

theses. However, in this case, it is not followed by other blocks, that is, it approaches the “Detail” indicator (Expansion. Instantiation) *naniyorimo* (“above all”). We should note here that the same thing happens in Russian.

In a number of cases, it is important to mention the ongoing process of attaching the connective function to a specific combination of units that occurs in a single context. For example, the combination of a restrictive particle and an instrumental indicator functions as an indicator of conditionality (this phenomenon is very common in Russian discourse, for example, with its developed functionality of adverbial participles, both with and without limiters). See Par. 103:

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| ⁹ この地図が1枚客室に置いてあるだけで、 | ⁹ <i>Placing a single leaflet with a map in the guest's room,</i> |
| ¹⁰ 日本の宿泊客はとても喜ぶと思います。 | ¹⁰ <i>we bring a great deal of joy to Japanese customers.</i> |

In cases where units located in different parts of the extract clearly perform duplicating functions, the question of “broken” connectives arises. And it is not that hierarchical relationships model cannot be spotted between them – for example, the well-known “anchor-modifier” model, which is widely used, particularly in expressions of modality (Chironov 2021). It is true, however, that the existing analytical apparatus needs to be built up and reconfigured somewhat in order to comprehend them. For example, the post-positional *noda* is used for several types of connection, which can perhaps be described through the semantic invariant “Substantiation” (either “Development” or “Cause” in this particular text), both paired with a prepositive connective and by itself, closing the marked relation (to some extent, this echoes the text function of “underlining” that has already been described for it (Bass 2004). *Noda* has already appeared in the example of Par. 23, sharing the function of marking the beginning and end of the “Paraphrase” with the word *tsunami*. In Par. 69, *noda* single-handedly marks the link between the complex relations ⑥–⑧ and ①–⑤. Moreover, without it, ⑥–⑧ would not be the speaker’s interpretation of ①–⑤, rather, it would be a passing remark that makes binding via *chinamini*, meaning “by the way” (“Level-of-detail”) possible:

| | |
|--|--|
| ¹ 「サハリンにコーカサス系や中央アジア系の人たちが暮らし ² レストランがある ³ ことを知らなかった」 ⁴ これは多くの日本人にとって驚きだった ようで、 ⁵ サハリンに対する関心と呼ぶテーマと なったようです。 | ¹ <i>“Caucasians and people from Central Asia live in Sakhalin, ² they have their own restaurants, ³ and we don't know.” ⁴ This appears to be a revelation for many Japanese people, ⁵ and seems to be a point of interest.</i> |
|--|--|

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>⁶ 多くの日本人が ⁷ ロシアの多民族国家としての特性に想像力を働かせることができたから ⁸ 注目したのだと思います。</p> | <p>⁸ <i>That is, I believe that many Japanese people are interested in what</i> ⁶ <i>creates the image of Russia in their minds</i> ⁷ <i>as a multi-ethnic nation.</i></p> |
|---|---|

It is known that broken, or frame, indicators are characteristic of a number of languages, including Chinese, for example, where they are, to varying degrees, mutually complementary and optional. For now, it is clear that the question of the role and correlation of their components (especially in terms of modifying connectives), partially developed in the conceptual apparatus (In'kova 2019; Cheremisina, Kolosova 2010; Bass 2004) requires additional analysis.

At the level of question formulation, I would like to point out a subclass of rhetorical devices that act as “virtual connectives”. First, this is a constructive parallelism for the addition and contrast types, when the attention of the addressee is fixed on the repetition of elements, as for example, in the “logical trapezoid” of “as for A, then B is C, and as for D, then B there is E”. Another “standard” means of introducing additional information (and thus a signal for the addressee of such!) is through a non-restrictive definition, which we discussed above. In terms of discursive significance, presenting additional information in this manner is intended to both develop the narrative and substantiate the communicative step. And the choice will partly depend on the context. For example, in the clichéd forms of greetings we mentioned earlier, only EDUs of the second type are allowed when the greeting itself appears in a subordinate (left) position (the illocutionary type of causality is loosely interpreted here as “I have taken the floor and wish to introduce myself to you because so-and-so has taken place between us in the past”), while transferring this part to the post-position would sound like a slight bloating of one’s own relevance. Note that this has practically the opposite effect in Russian, a fact that highlights the difference between the two languages in the “weight” of the subordinate clause: I am Petrov. *I wrote you the letter* / ?? *I am the Petrov who wrote you the letter*.

As we can see from the table, the degree of serviceability of the connective by link type is far from the same everywhere. The general pattern is rather predictable here: links that are not self-evident from the presentation of the two arguments require more explicit designation. The heightened need for a connective is produced by “Concession”, which is almost always marked (in this text) as “Authorization”. At the opposite pole we have a type of link that is generally defined in annotation manuals as “topic-rheme” and “question–answer”. Moreover, while the “question–answer” purpose is performed in Japanese by the fixed expression *ka to iu to* (“or rather”), the “topic-rheme” link is not marked in any way at the level of relatives, which are more common than parts of a single sentence. Generally speaking, existing annotation systems contain a section on links that are not expressed lexically, and their descriptions (quite cursorily) repeat certain models that are designated in the Japanese tradition of non-connective types of link. Although it is true that in the latter case, they are more

likely understood as not allowing lexical implementation (Ichikawa 1978), we are talking about those for which it is possible to choose a lexical expression. But, for whatever reason, the author does not do this.

The question of preferences in the verbalization of connectives is itself an interesting area of psycholinguistic research. It is clear from the text we are looking at that the speaker deliberately avoids overloading his speech with explicit connectives, which serves, on the one hand, to invite the listener to participate (more) actively in the development of the topic and, on the other hand, to recognize their autonomy in the speech act. In formal terms, some correlations that contain indicators of cohesion can be observed in the text. They are often used to compensate for non-connective links, as in Par. 2:

| | |
|--|---|
| ¹⁰ 私の場合、東京をほぼ離れることはありませんでした。 | ¹⁰ <i>I've been in Tokyo almost all this time.</i> |
| ¹¹ こんな1年を過ごしたのは高校生以来のことかもしれません。 | ¹¹ <i>I haven't had the opportunity to spend a year like this since I was at school.</i> |

The appearance of a cataphora essentially expresses a link of “theme-rheme” variety, which is not otherwise marked. See the end of Par. 47 (the second relation ④ and the whole of Par. 48):

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| ⁴ 次のようなことを地道に行っていました。 | ⁴ <i>I did a little of the following.</i> |
|----------------------------------|--|

This kind of cohesion as a literal repetition is needed where there is a transition to the next block of narration – as in the “Addition” link at the discursive level, cf. SDRT Narration (see Par. 104):

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| ⁴ 「旅アト」情報としては、 | ⁴ <i>From the information “after the trip”</i> |
| ⁵ SNSを活用し、 | ⁵ <i>I think we should use social media</i> |
| ⁶ サハリン旅行経験者の投稿を募り、 | ⁶ <i>to announce that we are collecting materials from people who have been to Sakhalin</i> |
| ⁷ 拡散したり、 | ⁷ <i>and maybe post them</i> |
| ⁸ コミュニティづくりを始めたいと考えています。 | ⁸ <i>to [thus] start building a community.</i> |

An antecedent relation appears in paragraphs 102 and 103 and the first half of paragraph 104, which refers to previous types of works (‘before’ and ‘during’). They are all initially listed in these terms in Par. 42, so that the mere mention of them automatically structures the narrative.

Other cases where the ‘overlapping’ of connectives occurs is with discourse marking devices that squeeze these typically trans-categorical indicators of linkages – typically out of positions where it is purely about clarifying the status of large sections of a text, but also relative to each other. Here, the nuanced relationship between the concepts of connective and discourse marker are clearly manifested: the first addresses the issue of explication for the addressee, how one segment is connected to another; while the second generally deals with what is happening in communication at the present moment. While we do not presume to project the tendencies we have spotted onto Japanese discourse as a whole without the relevant statistical data to hand, we can note that the text we are studying, in which the author seeks to convey complex constructions to a foreign audience with backgrounds that are very different from his own, is replete with marking devices that, for the most part, point directly to the links between various parts of speech. The connectives accompanying these devices serve secondary, illocutionary functions, which we will discuss below.

Rubrication of Links between Relations

Identifying and describing the contribution of specific connectives to the meaning of a statement on the one hand, and clarifying the types of links between units of discourse on the other, are interrelated and “looped” tasks, two sides of the same coin, if you will, and they can only be explained in relation to one another. The complexity of the second task, which we will focus on here, in terms of annotating a given text, is manifested in the appearance of competing interpretations of specific relationships, which can sometimes be expressed by different indicators at the same time. This is perhaps seen most clearly with the conjunction *ga* – an adversative that plays more or less clear functions in the Japanese sentence, connecting segments with a variety of semantic connections (we have already seen such examples, and more will come). In addition to duplication and ambiguity, syncretic units of the “broad spectrum of action”, as well as links that are not accompanied by a common connective, cause headaches for the annotator.

At the discursive level, the semantic syncretism of indicators noted in grammars is manifested in the simultaneous appearance of both meanings: for example, Par. 3 allows both “Addition” and “Causation”:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| ¹ コロナ禍が2年目に突入し、 | ¹ <i>The pandemic has entered its second year</i> |
| ² 海外からの旅行者が消えて久しいです。 | ² <i>and the flow of tourists from abroad has [thus/also] long since ceased.</i> |

The spread of paratactic links further exacerbates the situation. What is more, the relatively limited impact of such difficulties is undoubtedly due to the nature of the material being studied, which is a measured and well-built reproduction of a certain

business concept. The sudden increase in the vagueness of the designation of the logical and semantic links between the elements of discourse when switching to quotations from individual spontaneous statements (in this case, user comments) is quite striking. See Par. 57:

| | |
|---|--|
| ⁵ 「ロシア人の生活にダーチャの存在が大きいことがわかった。 | ⁵ <i>It turns out that the dacha occupies a prominent place in the lives of Russian people.</i> |
| ⁶ 多くの人が菜園を持っていることが | ⁶ <i>Many people have their own kitchen gardens, which</i> |
| ⁷ うらやましく、 | ⁷ <i>both cause envy,</i> |
| ⁸ 憧れる」 | ⁸ <i>and look very attractive.</i> |

The of the comment is not interested here in convincing the addressee of anything, altering their views and knowledge. He or she is driven exclusively by the desire to talk about their own experiences. This is why everything is lumped together in the thought process: causality/addition in ⑥–⑦, level-of-detail /addition in ⑤–⑥, and addition (accumulation) / concession in ⑦ – ⑧.

These links can only be seen in such instances of spontaneous speech, which are (quite rightly) excluded in the PDTB from hypophoric relations, although they are not attached to any group (of the type “Do you remember John? He’s had a son”) (Par. 59). They demonstrate features of the “Development’ type, as well as “Causality” in the illocutionary sense. Using such constructions in the main text of a presentation would probably be seen as excessive familiarity. The weakly concessive *ga*, which places the opposition at the level of differences in narrative plans, does not clarify this situation at all:

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| ² 「鉄道好きの日本人は多いが、 | ² <i>Many Japanese people are avid trainspotters</i> |
| ³ 日本との歴史的なつながりを強く感じさせる」 | ³ <i>And here you can sense the full force of the historical connection with Japan.</i> |

There are many ways to solve these problems. First is the consistent application of the concept of diverse connections between EDUs at the propositional, illocutionary and discursive levels. Formulated as a way to evaluate the meaning of connectives (In’kova 2019), it is, generally speaking, already included in the formulations of links in the PTDB as markers with the extensions -speech and -belief. Applied in the current system primarily to indicators of causal dependency, these ideas could well be extended to other categories of relationships, as shown in the table.

For instance, in the example below, at the propositional level between ② and ①, the “Development” – “Clarification” link (PDTB Expansion.Level-of-detail, which is different from Expansion.Elaboration “Detail” in that the relevant relation introduces information that does not lend itself to further reasoning; the SDRT annotates this

type as Commentary) remains unmarked, while the opposition at the illocutionary level (the transition from meta-comment to the main narrative) is verbalized, because the “weakly concessive” connective conjunction *ga* connects the relations (Par. 13):

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| ¹ 手前ミソな話をさせていただきますが、 | ¹ <i>Speaking of myself again,</i> |
| ² 私は | ² <i>I was counting on the introduction of e-visas,</i> |
| ³ 2015年頃より噂されていた | ³ <i>which was brought up in 2015.</i> |
| 極東ロシアにおける電子ビザ発給を見据え | |

Such examples confirm the nonlinear, “volumetric” nature of connections, even between juxtaposed EDUs.

Another criterion is the possibility of replacing or restoring the connective. The latter is especially significant given the trend towards their use as a means of disambiguation, if not in all, then in a significant part of the examples. To illustrate, the example below satisfies the understanding of “Addition” at the illocutionary level – when the connective becomes the recoverable indicator “and I also have to say A2” (Par. 7) (otherwise the speaker faces different tasks to the analyst, although this is not the case in this context):

| | |
|--|--|
| ² ロシアを訪れる日本人観光客はこの10年一進一退を繰り返しています。 | ² <i>In the past decade, the number of Japanese tourists in Russia has periodically risen and fallen.</i> |
| ³ [そして]2019年は80,313人でした。 | ³ [<i>a</i>] <i>a total of 80,313 Japanese tourists visited Russia in 2019.</i> |

Indirectly related to the difficulties of rubrication mentioned above are the numerical results shown in the table above. We are talking here about the uneven distribution of semantic categories of links between segments of the text we are looking at. Besides addition (which should perhaps be recognized as the basic formula for linking two statements – that is, in a sense, it is the indivisible remainder when any clearer pragmatic meaning cannot be singled out from their connection), two areas of meaning are obvious: causality and development. What is more, an in-depth analysis of contexts reveals that these meanings have expanded into adjacent areas. Causality thus “intrudes” into the zone of temporal indicators and “absorbs” their values (creating a difficulty that is common in rubrication). See Par. 36:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| ⁵ 何度も通ううちに、 | ⁵ <i>During your time there,</i> |
| ⁶ その土地の文化をだんだん理解してくるようになる。 | ⁶ <i>you gradually start to understand the culture of the place.</i> |

Generally speaking, a special indicator is used to express this syncretic meaning – *X ni tomonai*, although the author uses a more colloquial variant here, thus giving the listener the chance to restore the causal meaning more subtly and unobtrusively.

Another example where causality invades the zone of interaction between conditional and temporal relations (albeit in a secondary role) can be found in Par. 105:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| ⁴ あくまでコロナ明けが確認されない限り、 | ⁴ <i>Until it is clear that the pandemic is behind us,</i> |
| ⁵ 動き出せません。 | ⁵ <i>nothing can be put in motion.</i> |

Analysing the text at the level of the author’s intentions reveals that another causal meaning (“Goal”) manages to “drive out” Contingency, namely (“Goal”). See Par. 108:

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| ⁷ 情報を送っていただければ、 | ⁷ <i>Send your information</i> |
| ⁸ 記事化しますし、 | ⁸ <i>and I will use it in articles.</i> |

We are, of course, not talking about a condition here, the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of which would lead to an unknown result for the addressee that they should be informed about. Rather it is an appeal: *send information to me so that I can write articles*, not * *if you send me information, I will write articles, and if you don’t, I won’t*.

It is only when annotating the text that this attracts attention, as it forces you to think about the motivation for introducing a given piece of information. In this sense, the rubric of causality also includes link types (and groups of indicators) that do not typically appear in this rubric, such as *toshite* (“in the capacity of”). See, for example, Par. 5:

| | |
|---|---|
| ⁵ またインバウンドツーリズム評論家として、 | ⁵ <i>As well as being an observer of how foreign tourists are received,</i> |
| ⁶ 訪日外国人に関わるさまざまな問題を批評してきました。 | ⁶ <i>I analysed various aspects of the trips of foreign tourists to Japan.</i> |

In the above example, we are dealing with propositional causation. Look at the example with *toshite* illocutionary causation in Par. 85:

| | |
|--|--|
| ¹ 私の考える | ³ <i>It is easy to talk about Russian life and culture, and about a simple, measured life</i> |
| ² サハリンの魅力としての | ² <i>as factors that make Sakhalin an attractive tourist destination</i> |
| ³ 「ロシアの生活文化」と「スローライフ」を最もわかりやすく伝える | ¹ <i>As I see it,</i> |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| ⁴ 観光素材に、 | ⁴ <i>this includes such travel topics</i> |
| ⁵ ダーチャやバーニャがあると思っています。 | ⁵ <i>as “dacha” and “banya”</i> |

② – ③ supports the meaning of “Causality” in the sense that ② indicates the reason why the speaker is talking about the content of ③.

The intrinsically linear link that “Causality” demonstrates between adjacent segments at the deep level is also capable of expressing the “bend” in the sentence structure (discussed earlier), which nevertheless “flattens out” when a “two-storey” construction is reduced to “Causality” with a propositional actant, as in the case of ⑧–⑨ (Par. 84). In the translation column, we attempted to apply the technique used by a simultaneous interpreter, who resorts to a “naked” discursive structure not out of theoretical interest, but for the sake of saving time:

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| ⁶ 電子ビザ発給以降の | ⁶ <i>After e-visas were introduced</i> |
| ⁷ 旅行者は、団体ではなく | ⁷ <i>people have started to book fewer group package tours,</i> |
| ⁸ 個人旅行者が増えることを | ⁸ <i>and are choosing to travel independently,</i> |
| ⁹ 意識する必要があります。 | ⁹ <i>{and this/which} needs to be taken into account.</i> |

There are also completely unexpected examples where causality is “hidden”, even in a citation construction that does not fit the definition of “Authorization” (where it could be attributed to the most superficial analysis of the text), as in Par. 16:

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| ⁹ ...意味が大きいと | ⁹ <i>This is a significant result,</i> |
| ¹⁰ 自負しています。 | ⁹ <i>which was a reason for me to be proud.</i> |

Using the transformational explanatory technique, we can say that the “logical form” of this statement (“I am proud because the result is significant”) is subject to a number of pragmatic restrictions (constraints), in addition to lexical selection that in Japanese excludes even intermediate options such as “The result is significant, so I am proud” (in this case, instead of the quotation indicator – which, among other things, also cancels the factivity ⑨! – there would be a converb).

The causal saturation of the text is even clearer if we take the possibility of multidimensional connections (recognized by PDTB) into account. See, for example, Par. 16:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| ² 現地取材を通じて | ⁵ <i>It is a guidebook where</i> |
| ³ 「日本人観光客の実像やニーズ」に即した情報を | ³ <i>information that Japanese tourists actually want</i> |

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| ⁴ [しかも]コンパクトにまとめた | ⁴ [is additionally] collected in a compact form, собрана компактно, |
| ⁵ ガイド書であることです。 | ⁵ which is why the author himself went there. |

An even more active “intruder” of related semantic categories is the group of meanings categorized under the heading “Development”, the reason for which is likely the very nature of the presentation itself. In cases where doubts arose during the annotation process about the correctness of attributing a link to a given type, the “Development” category would typically be far ahead of all the rest. See the conclusion to Par. 93 (“Generalization” leads to this conclusion through the word *tsunami*), where “Expansion. Elaboration”, rather than “Addition” appears between ⑧ and ⑨:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| ⁸ つまり、観光PRにはふたつの段階があり、 | ⁴ That is, there are two stages to tourism publicity, |
| ⁹ そのときどきですべきことは違ってくるのです。 | ⁹ { and this means that } each of them has different tasks. |

There is some uncertainty here in the wording of annotation systems, where a number of categories under the heading “Development” – primarily “Expansion. Level-of-detail” – actually imply that circumstances (in the broad sense) that appear to be significant for the narrative are assigned greater value. And indeed these circumstances can initially be significant from the point of view of causal dependence or the violation of such dependence. That is, “Development” competes with, or even surpasses “Causality”! In a number of examples, this seems justified from the point of view of separating “uniquely causal” and “uniquely opposing” indicators with ambiguous, virtual (constructive) or zero meanings. And in several cases, it is rather difficult to deduce whether it is an explanation or a concession in the text, and what the intention of the author was when highlighting a given detail. See, for example, Par. 94:

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| ⁵ 廃墟美といってもいい、 | ⁴ The wonderful, one might say, ruins, |
| ⁶ アニワ灯台に惹かれる日本人は多いはずです。 | ⁶ of the Aniva Lighthouse are likely to be of great interest to many Japanese tourists. |

It would appear that “Clarification” is truly a convenient category in such cases, although, one way or another, a certain tension remains at the deep content level of analysis.

Sometimes this connection takes the form of rather cunning expressions, for example in Par. 83:

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| ³ サハリンのスローライフという | ⁴ <i>Our target audience should be Japanese people who appreciate</i> |
| ⁴ 価値に | <i>the value</i> |
| 敏感な日本人をターゲットに設定しましょう。 | ³ <i>of a quiet and slow-paced life on Sakhalin.</i> |

Here, *toiu*, which often expresses “Equivalence” (PDTB Expansion. Equivalence), both at the propositional level (paraphrase) and at the meta-level (definition), is used to express the idea that a slow-paced life is a value. This corresponds to another type of connection, namely, “Level-of-detail”. As we can see, the Russian construction serves to “drag” a new and informative proposition for the addressee under the “flat” syntactic structure [THE QUIET AND SLOW-PACED LIFE ON SAKHALIN IS VALUABLE], which certainly represents a separate relation here.

True, the question of the degree to which the content of a statement that is no longer an assessment, but is rather an existential presumption (even if it is substantive for the addressee) can be considered a separate EDU likely requires a more subtle analysis – see, for example, how it is “split” from ② in Par. 89 a few paragraphs later (where this option would in any case “flatten out” the non-linear form in which the segments are presented).

As we can see, the connections “Causality” and “Development” also compete in implicaturely saturation non-restrictive definitions (more precisely, they are closely intertwined). See Par. 62:

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| ¹ みんな海外旅行に行けないので、 | ¹ <i>No one is allowed to travel, and</i> |
| ² その悔しい思いを共有した | ² <i>sharing this frustration,</i> |
| ³ 多くの人たちが参加し... | ³ <i>many participants formed a group...</i> |

The very content of the definition in ② allows us to interpret it as an indirect indication of the reason for this particular action – which would not be the case if the definition was not as loaded with implications (for example, it was lonely people, or people with powerful computers, living in the north of Japan who got together – although, as we can see, logical connections are involuntarily established in all variants by the fact that the people met up, and if they had not, the passage would lose its relevance). In this reading, the parallel definition in ③ encourages us to consider these segments separately. An alternative interpretation would place it as a participant in the “Development” – “Expansion. Level-of-detail” relationship: ¹ *No one is allowed to travel, and* ² *those who shared this frustration got together in a large group* ³ ...

At the same time, the approach we mentioned earlier, which allows for the distribution of different levels of connections, consistently demonstrates the transition to more discourse-oriented categories (in other words, a shift down the table), where the analysis becomes deeper, moving away from the superficially expressed categories

that occupy the rows that are higher up in the table. See the borderline case between “Comparison” and “Level-of-detail” in Par. 107 (moreover, the indicator of the former in the surface structure is again duplicated by a “fictitious” construction with a predicate actant, which meets the need for the expression to be moved to the right):

| | |
|--|---|
| ¹ ニュースサイトでは、彼らが送ってくれた 地元の話題やイベントを撮影した写真や情報を編集して | ¹ <i>The news site edits the local news and videos of various events it receives</i> |
| ² 記事として公開している | ² <i>and publishes articles based on this information,</i> |
| ³ ことは先ほど述べたとおりです。 | ³ <i>as I mentioned earlier.</i> |

Naturally, the problem of unequivocal categorization and the competition of interpretations are also evident within the category of “Development”, that is, at the very bottom of the table. This can be illustrated using an example of “Authorization”, used here in accordance with the Attribution relationship as defined in the SDRT. All its representatives are without exception marked by verbal or reference citation constructions. The justification of this technique is evident from the polypredicative and polypositional nature of such examples. But the rather fuzzy transition between what are clearly separate quotation-like constructions (see *There is always a single truth. This is what the Pharoah said*: there are two separate discursive units, this is beyond doubt, although probably even at this stage it does not cause absolute rejection, and we can see this connection as one of “Development” – “Level-of-detail” or “Elaboration”), and, it turns out, all experiential constructions, where the observer is always “bracketed” by the perceived situation, raises questions. Closer to the opposite end of the spectrum are all constructions with predicate actants, which, as we know, are not automatically assigned the status of separate discursive units.

One way or another, “Authorization”, if introduced as a separate heading, is constantly trying to “pinch off” the borderline values from its neighbours in the “Development” category. For example, the connection between ④ and ⑤ in Par. 14 outwardly satisfies the first category, but at a higher level of generalization, it appears to be a kind of “Detailing”. This is clearly facilitated by the fact that, as a source of information, the link leads to the speaker him/herself, a fact that moves us away from the authorization prototype:

| | |
|---|--|
| ⁴ 私にこう言いました。[つまり] | ⁴ <i>I told them this [specifically]</i> |
| ⁵ 「このような極東ロシアの魅力的な観光や生活文化の明るい側面をまっすぐ紹介する旅行案内書はこれまでなかった。... | ⁵ <i>that, up until now, guidebooks have not talked specifically about the culture of the Russian Far East and its attractiveness as a tourist destination...</i> |

The use of a citation construction with the introduction of a distributor allows for a different interpretation, which we can subsequently attribute to the “Level-of detail” category (Par. 69):

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| ¹⁰ 私は | ¹¹ <i>The Far East</i> |
| ¹¹ 極東ロシアはユーラシアのゲートウェイだ | <i>is the gate to Eurasia</i> |
| といろんな人に言っています。 | ¹⁰ <i>and I have said this to all kinds of people.</i> |

The closer the situation is to “Development”, the blurrier the subject of speech looks in the citation construction. For example, in Par. 21, ③ and ④, in reverse order, represent an example of “Generalization”:

| | |
|--|---|
| ³ 具体的にいうと、 | ³ <i>To be specific,</i> |
| ⁴ 「いま日本人はロシアのどんなところに興味・関心があるのだろうか？」 | ⁵ <i>this is the main question:</i> |
| ⁵ について知ることが重要です。 | ⁴ <i>“What is it about Russia that is of interest to Japanese people today?”</i> |

As we can conclude from these examples, “Authorization” itself is, first and foremost, clearly a subspecies of “Development” (which “prescribes” the SDRT category in the PDTB). Second, we should clarify that not all citation constructions can be placed under this heading – only those whose informational contribution consists in indicating the source of information. This excludes all citation constructions where the author is the subject of speech (Par. 30):

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| ⁵ 同じことを極東ロシアでも採用すべきだ | ² <i>This experience should be applied to the Far East.</i> |
| ⁶ というのが、私の考えなのです。 | ⁶ <i>That is what I believe.</i> |

Here, ⑥ serves as “Expansion.Level-of-detail” for ⑤.

In accordance with this “agency”, sases that outwardly fall under the categories of “Concession” and “Comparison” should be carried out with an illocutionary verb with the subject in the first person (Par. 43):

| | |
|--|--|
| ¹⁰ これを考えるとときに重要なのは、 | ¹⁰ <i>what is important in this sense?</i> |
| ¹¹ 何度も言いますが、 | ¹¹ <i>– and I talk about this all the time –</i> |
| ¹² 相手の視点で情報を選ぶ必要があるということです。 | ¹² <i>it is to select information that will be interesting to others.</i> |

In the somewhat specific “script” genre (different from what would simply be read out), “Authorization” finds a nonconventional manifestation in the use of quotation marks, which serve a specific purpose in the sign system of the Japanese language (Zverev 2014). See Par. 36:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| ¹ なぜそれだけで満足なのだろうか？ | ¹ <i>What are they so happy about?</i> |
| ² と思う方もいるかもしれませんが、 | ² <i>someone might ask</i> |
| ³ 「近いから気軽に何度でも行ける」 | ³ <i>“It’s close by, you can go there again”</i> |
| ⁴ ので大丈夫なのです。 | ⁴ <i>hence the guaranteed success.</i> |

In fact, we can talk about the introduction of the non-verbalized relation – “Level-of-detail” to ③ [*this is what the tourists themselves think*]. Conversely, if this part is excluded, then we would think that this is what the author him(her)self believes, which contradicts the obvious interpretation. It turns out that in writing quotation marks form a kind of virtual “by the way”. In spontaneous oral speech, such ambiguity can be removed by using a specific marker of “foreign speech” – *ttende* (Maynard Senko 2005).

Using the example of the “Authorization” subcategory, we have shown the complexity, as well as the need for a finer rubrication, of those semantic zones that account for the main load of links between EDUs.

A separate topic is the distribution of connectives by the volume of linked relations. As we can see, some of them tend to use paragraphs, rather than sentences, in their arguments. This includes, in addition to *mazu* (which we have already mentioned), *jitsuwa*, which we have also discussed above. See, for example, the role the word plays in the “Digression/Excursion” from the main line throughout the whole of Par. 89, which then turns out to be an additional argument to the general conclusion presented in Par. 90 (which is in turn explicated by *desukara*):

| | |
|---|---|
| 88 ¹ 先ほど触れませんでした、 ² ハバロフスクのバーニャの記事が多く読まれています。 | ¹ <i>Like I said,</i> ² <i>people read a lot about Russian baths from Khabarovsk.</i> |
| 89 実は、 ¹ ウラジオストク出身の ² 私の友人が最近、(³ バーニャジャパンという) ^{2a} 会社を設立し、 ⁴ ロシアの移動式バーニャの販売を始めています。 ⁵ 自然の中でサウナを楽しむことに多くの日本人が憧れています。 | <i>In general,</i> ² <i>a friend of mine,</i> ¹ <i>who is from Vladivostok,</i> ^{2a} <i>set up a company,</i> ³ <i>Japan Banya,</i> ⁴ <i>selling mobile saunas in Japan.</i> ⁵ <i>Japanese people love the idea of bathing surrounded by nature.</i> |

90¹ ですから、多くの日本人がロシアでダーチャやサウナを体験したいと思っています。² 日本から最も近いサハリンこそ、³ その受け皿となることを考えてはどうでしょう。

¹ So, I think that many people in Japan would like to try out dachas and Russian bathhouses for themselves. ² Sakhalin, as the closest Russian region to Japan, ³ could become a point of application for this interest.

Level-of-detail, separating connectives on this basis, should be included as an obligatory item of the checklist used in their study.

Sometimes, as our observations show, it is at the junctions of relatively longer excerpts that the absence of a connective forces the listener to be more involved in what is being said – like it or not, they have to deeper into the words that are spoken in order to better grasp the author’s main point. So, after offering an intermediate conclusion following Par. 93 that lasts up until Par. 100, the author lists specific cases that back up his position, but he does not accompany this with any discourse marking. Detailed markings such as *tatoeba* (“for example”), *mata* (“also”), etc., would without a doubt make it easier to understand, but, at the same time, they would reduce the impact of the tension created by their absence for the listener, making the text excessively “spoon-fed”.

The process of identifying and refining semantic categories and placing them in one structure or another, including in terms of hierarchical relations, is ongoing, and here the data from various annotated texts would definitely help clear things up. That said, based on the limited amount of material we have studied, we can nevertheless say the following. To be sure, the difficulties that arise are partly related to the lack of clarity of the description language itself. But, in many ways, they exist due to objective proximity, even diffuseness, the interpenetrating nature of phenomena, and, not least, to the fact that, in a real communication situation, the speaker does not feel the need to do away with ambiguity, to dot all the I’s, if his or her speech intention is read by the addressee and the perlocutionary effects are achieved. This means that “spikes” and “overlaps” between adjacent types of logical and semantic links.

Conclusions

The observations we have made confirm the hypothesis about the complex, multifaceted structure of connectives in discourse (Webber, Joshi 2012). But this much is also suggested by the very lexical form of verbalized connectives, at least in their “two-storey” manifestation, where a more general element, not necessarily an initial element (see the case of *noda*), serves a pragmatic invariant, and its pair a logical and semantic variation.

This can be seen everywhere: “Addition” turns into “Development”, and is often identical to it; “Development” works hand in hand with “Cause” (see the example we discussed earlier, where level-of-detail is interchangeable – where cause comes after effect). In such cases, the development of A1 proceeds by reinforcing it with back-

ground facts, which corresponds to the understanding of causality in the illocutionary sense: (A1. I can say this because A2 is correct); this is labelled Contingency. Cause+SpeechAct.Reason in the PDTB, that is, it belongs (rather arbitrarily) to the upper category of “Conditions”, rather than “Development”. It turns out that “Causality” co-opts “Contingency”, and “Motivation” connects it with “Discourse Development” – provided that everything that is worth expressing explicitly must be motivated first and foremost. Perhaps a minimalist from the school of Universal Pragmatics would postulate the semantic substratum of all connectives: “Relation 2 is motivated by Relation 1”. However, we still likely need a somewhat more “granular” description, where clarification and reclassification of the category would be associated first of all with the selection, in addition to logical links, of their discursive “projections” (just like the perlocutionary level for illocutionary categories).

Of course, analysing links is not the only solution to the question of the complex ordering of “degrees of penetration” in the speaker’s intentions. This can be illustrated using the example of Par. 104, where, within the rather protracted appearance of connective indicators of the “Addition” type, *mo* and *sarani* demonstrate a certain pragmatic logic in segment ③ (relation – antecedent ① as the entire Par. 103 and the subsequent chain):

| | |
|---|--|
| ¹ 資金的なサポートがあれば、 | ¹ <i>If we get financial support</i> |
| ² サハリン観光のアプリを開発し、 | ² <i>[then], having developed Sakhalin’s tourist potential,</i> |
| ³ さらに現地で役立つ情報を配信することもできると思います。 | ³ <i>useful local information can then be sent out.</i> |

At the primary annotation level, 2 and 3 here are linked by an unlabelled “Addition” relationship, while 1 and the chain 2–3 is labelled with a conditional link. However, in the traditional sense, the conditional connection, which, as we know, is a kind of causal connection, where the propositions and relations have a non-positive value of the attribute of reality, still looks somewhat different and assumes that at least the first proposition is known to the addressee or at the very least can be deduced from the context. If we rephrase the entire paragraph so that it follows the step-by-step introduction of new information for the reader, we get:

³ *Useful local information can be sent out.* ² *In order to do this, Sakhalin’s tourist potential must be developed,* ¹ *which in turn requires financial support.*

Now, instead of indicators of addition and conditionality, we have two target relationships. The information could be presented in the same manner in Japanese, but the author decided not to do so. Why? Evidently, the point was to hide what otherwise could be considered a direct appeal for investment, which would violate the unspoken etiquette of such speeches. By moving the section that mentions money from the “Means” category to the “Condition” category, placing it at the very beginning of the

fragment, the author makes the issue “invisible”, so that the listener hears the information without yet knowing what it refers to, and when it can finally be put into context, the “ship”, as they say, had “long sailed”: money is no longer the focus of the speech act. The principle of left branching in the Japanese sentence can be considered to have nothing to do with it: after all, the same tactics can be used in Russian to achieve the same goals. It is thus all the more important to have a tool for clearly labelling deep and surface structures based on the analytical categories of links and the explicator-connectives.

On the whole, the experience of text annotation has proved to be an important way of verifying theoretical postulates, unambiguously enriching both ideas about the content-related parameters of the internal structure of the text and the language of its description. Of course, annotation does not allow you to “test” all the provisions about the functioning of connectives. Issues of the structure of individual subfields, semantic subfields, and the effects of the formal variability of connectives are beyond the scope of this paper. In this regard, a promising area for further study would be to expand this work to various types of speech products, which could lead to the creation of a more extensive database of (differently motivated!) examples. The possibilities of the methods of paraphrasing and substituting speech units that we have demonstrated testify to the relevance of such test methods, both in terms of the opinions of informants and the results of questionnaire studies.

About the Author:

Sergey Vladimirovich Chironov – Ph.D (Linguistics), an Assistant Professor and Head of the Department of Japanese, Korean, Indonesian and Mongolian Linguistics at MGIMO University.
E-mail: s.chironov@inno.mgimo.ru

Conflicts of interest.

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

References:

- Bass I. I. 2004. *Problemy sovremennogo iaponskogo iazykoznania. Lingvistika teksta* [Issues in contemporary Japanese linguistics. Text linguistics]. St. Petersburg: SPBGUKI. (In Russian).
- Cheremisina M. I., Kolosova T. A. 1987. *Ocherki po teorii slozhnogo predlozheniia* [Notes on Complex Sentence Structure]. URSS. Nauka. (In Russian).
- Chironov S. V. 2021. Narechie v iaponskoj rechi kak vyrazitel' modusnykh znacheniy: monografiia [Adverbs in Japanese Speech Expressing Modal Meanings]. (In Russian).
- Chironov S. V. 2019. Iaponskie konnektory s ustupitel'nym znacheniem [Concessive Connectors in Japanese]. *Linguistics & Polyglot Studies*. 17(1). P. 35–48. (In Russian).
- Chironov S. V. 2017. Japonskoe KATACHI: ot markera obstojatel'stva i dal'she [Japanese KATACHI – Circumstantial Marker and Beyond]. In S.S. Chernov (ed.) *Iazyk i kul'tura: sbornik materialov XXVIII Mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii* [Language and Culture – Papers of the 28th International Conference]. TsRNS. P. 90–98. (In Russian).

Golubeva N. A., Zueva E. V. 2017. K ponyatiiu konnektora v lingvistike [On the notion of connector in linguistics]. *Yazyk i kul'tura* [Language and Culture]. 40. (In Russian).

In'kova O. Y. 2019. *Struktura konnektorov i metody ee opisaniia* [The Structure of Connectors and Methods of Describing It]. Thorus Press. (In Russian).

Kibrik A. A., Podlesskaia V. I. (eds.). 2009. *Rasskazy o snovideniiakh: Korpusnoe issledovanie ustnogo russkogo diskursa* [Dreams Retold – Corpus Study of Colloquial Russian Discourse]. Iazyki slavyanskikh kultur. (In Russian).

Kobozeva I. M. 2016. Kognitivno-semanticheckiy podhod k opisaniuu sredstv svyazi predlozheniy (na primere konnektorov soznacheniem neposredstvennogo sledovaniia) [A Cognitive Semantics Approach to Sentence Connecting Devices – Exemplified by Connectors of Immediate Precedence]. Paper delivered for the Vinogradov Memorial Russian Language Institute. P. 120–134. (In Russian).

Prasad R., Webber B. et al. 2014. Reflections on the Penn Discourse Treebank, Comparable Corpora, and Complementary Annotation. *Computational Linguistics*. 40(4). P. 921–950.

Reese B., Hunter J. et al. 2007. *Reference Manual for the Analysis and Annotation of Rhetorical Structure (Version 1.0)*. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237563723_Reference_Manual_for_the_Analysis_and_Annotation_of_Rhetorical_Structure_Version_10.

Webber B., Joshi A. 2012. Discourse Structure and Computation: Past, Present and Future. In *Proceedings of the ACL-2012 Special Workshop on Rediscovering 50 Years of Discoveries*. P. 42–54.

Zverev A. S. 2014. Znaki prepiniia kontsa predlozheniia kak zakliuchitel'nye chastitsy pis'mennogo iaponskogo iazyka [Sentence-final punctuation as final particles in written Japanese]. *Voprosy iazykoznanii*. 6. P. 92–110. (In Russian).

市川孝『国語教育のための文章論概説』教育出版 (Ichikawa T. 1978. *General Sentence Structure – for the Purposes of Japanese Teaching*. Kyoiku shuppan)

佐久間まゆみ. “文段認定の一基準 (II): 接続表現の統括.” 文藝言語研究. 言語篇 (Sakuma M. 1990. *Paragraph Breakdown Criteria: General Note on the Connector Theory*. Bungei gengo). P. 35–66.

メイナード泉子 K. 談話表現ハンドブックー日本語教育の現場で使える (Maynard Senko K. 2005. *Handbook on Japanese Discourse Expressions – for Use in Japanese Teaching*. Kuroshio).