

Margarita N. Kozhina's Way in Language Studies*

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This article presents a scholarly biography of Margarita Kozhina (1925–2012), the founder of the well-known Perm School of Stylistics and professor at Perm State University. She developed the theory of functional stylistics, which revealed and described the regularities of stylistic differentiation in literary Russian. In the early 1960s, Kozhina was one of the first researchers in Russian linguistics to study issues of language functioning and form a new scholarly direction, namely speech studies. Based on an interdisciplinary approach, she defined the main categories of functional stylistics. The latter was regarded as the most important component of speech studies. Kozhina's papers organically entered the episteme of the second half of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. They marked the turn of linguistics from the system-structural paradigm of studying language to the functional one. Kozhina developed the stylistic-statistical method of speech analysis. A statistical survey of the linguistic side of functional styles allowed her to make conclusions about the interaction of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in speech. Kozhina authored more than 200 scholarly publications, including 8 monographs and the first Russian textbook on Russian-language stylistics. She was a member of the International Committee of Slavists and the editorial boards of several scholarly journals, including *Stylistyka* (Poland) and *Styl* (Serbia). The article describes Kozhina both as a prominent theorist and a remarkable organiser of scholarship. She initiated 20 collections of academic works on stylistics, some international conferences, a three-volume collective monograph on the history of Russian scholarly style from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, and the first *Stylistic Encyclopaedic Dictionary of the Russian Language* (a compendium of knowledge on functional stylistics). The author describes Margarita Kozhina as a talented researcher and an unusually strong personality, who managed, having overcome dramatic circumstances, to make an important contribution to European studies of language.

Keywords: scholarly biography, Margarita Kozhina, functional stylistics, speech studies, functional style of speech, Perm School of Stylistics

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Представлена научная биография создателя Пермской стилистической школы, профессора Пермского государственного университета М. Н. Кожиной (1925–2012), разработавшей теорию функциональной стилистики, в рамках которой выявлены и описаны закономерности стилевой дифференциации литературного языка. В начале 60-х гг. XX в. М. Н. Кожина одной из первых в российском языкознании обратилась к изучению проблем функционирования языка и к формированию нового научного направления – речеведения. На базе междисциплинарного подхода она определила основные понятия и категории функциональной стилистики как важнейшей речеведческой науки. Труды М. Н. Кожиной органично вписались в эпистему второй половины XX – начала XXI в. и ознаменовали собой поворот лингвистики от системно-структурной парадигмы изучения языка к функциональной. Ею был разработан стилостатистический метод анализа речи. Статистическое обследование языковой стороны функциональных стилей привело к выводам о взаимодействии в речи лингвистических и экстралингвистических факторов. М. Н. Кожина – автор более 200 научных трудов, в том числе восьми монографий и первого в России учебника по стилистике русского языка. Профессор М. Н. Кожина входила в состав Международного комитета славистов и редколлегии ряда научных изданий, в том числе журналов *Stylistyka* (Польша) и *Стил* (Сербия). В предлагаемой статье М. Н. Кожина показана не только как крупный ученый-теоретик, но и как выдающийся организатор науки. По ее инициативе было подготовлено 20 сборников научных трудов по стилистике, проведено несколько масштабных конференций, опубликована трехтомная коллективная монография по истории русского научного стиля XVIII–XX вв., издан первый в России *Стилистический энциклопедический словарь русского языка*, ставший компендиумом знаний по функциональной стилистике. Маргарита Николаевна предстает талантливым исследователем и необыкновенно сильным человеком, которому удалось, преодолев драматические обстоятельства жизни, внести свой вклад в европейское языкознание.

Ключевые слова: научная биография, Маргарита Кожина, функциональная стилистика, речеведение, функциональный стиль речи, Пермская стилистическая школа

Margarita Nikolaiyevna Kozhina was born on 1 August 1925 in Kyshtym, a small town in Chelyabinsk region between the southern and central Urals. After graduating from the Moscow Forestry Academy, her father, Nikolai Ivanovich, brought his family (his wife and his two daughters, Margarita and Irina) to Perm. The choice of the young forestry specialist was determined by the fact that Perm region had always been famous for its woods.

The Kozhins were fond of music: in the evenings, the father often played the piano and the mother, who had a good voice, sang opera arias. The girls were taught music from an early age. First, their parents were their instructors, and then the girls attended a music school. During the Great Patriotic War, they were taught by the Leningrad organist Professor I. Braudo, evacuated to Perm.

Margarita saw her first opera performance (Tchaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin*) when she was three years old. She never forgot the evening. Later, the Kozhin sisters tried not to miss the concerts of famous pianists and violinists on tour in Perm: D. Oistrakh, E. Ghilels, and L. Oborin. In her youth, Beethoven, Mozart, and Bach were Margarita's idols. In her mature years, she would listen to Chopin's music endlessly.

"Music is my soul," she used to say, "without music, I could not live" [Наш юбилей, с. 18].¹ Attending European congresses of Slavists, she always tried to go to concerts of chamber music, preferring the rarely performed works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

During the Great Patriotic War, many famous writers, opera singers, ballet dancers, and actors were evacuated, together with their theatres, to Perm. Margarita took part in the drama studio directed by T. Orlova, an actress of the Leningrad Theatre of Young Spectators. In addition to drama, Margarita was interested in the history of architecture. Having left school, she decided to enter the Leningrad Architectural Institute. But the war made her dream impossible.

In the autumn of 1943, following Orlova's advice, Margarita entered the Faculty History and Philology at Perm State University (PSU). She graduated from PSU cum laude in 1948 [Кожина, б. г.].

Perm University (founded in 1916) became Kozhina's second home for almost 70 years. "I owe everything to the university," she once said. "Its special atmosphere, its teachers, students, and postgraduate students... The university is my whole life: joys and sorrows, and my first love. It was no accident that I always rejected very tempting invitations from other universities. I was invited to the Institute of the Russian Language in Moscow by the director himself, Prof. F. P. Filin. One of the universities promised to give me a million dollars to study the connection between psychology and speech, to identify patterns of reflection in the text of different types of thinking. It was such a tempting offer! Yet I stayed in Perm" [Наш юбилей, с. 18]. Being an honourable professor of Perm State University, Margarita Nikolaiyevna named her *alma mater* "a great blessing" for her.

Her student years fell during the hard war and post-war periods. People lived half-starving, the university lecture halls were not heated in winter, and students and lecturers had to keep their coats on. Under her mother's coat, Margarita wore a blouse "without a back", making it useless. Nevertheless, there were brilliant Moscow and Leningrad lecturers (professors evacuated to Perm). Their erudition and enthusiasm stimulated the students to spend hours in the library after classes. Working 15–16 hours a day became a norm for Margarita Nikolaiyevna for the rest of her life.



M. N. Kozhina.
Photograph. 1970s

¹ This article contains interviews with Kozhina published in the anniversary book of the Department of Russian Language and Stylistics at the PSU [Наш юбилей] and the essay *Overcoming* by a Perm journalist [Журавлев].

Margarita Nikolaiyevna owed her enthusiasm for linguistics to I. M. Zakharov (1885–1958), head of the chair of linguistics and the supervisor of her thesis (on the style of Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don*). Afterwards, Zakharov drew Kozhina's attention to a discussion in a linguistic journal, thus playing a decisive role in her academic biography.

Paying tribute to Zakharov and other mentors who shaped her personality as a scholar, Margarita still regarded her father as her main preceptor. Indeed, Nikolai Ivanovich was a multitalented person, an excellent mathematician and a researcher by nature. "For me, my father is not just a parent," she said, "he is also a friend, an associate, and a person who supported me in my scholarly activities and stimulated the results of these activities. Mentally, my father was a real analyst" [Наш юбиляр, с. 15]. She defined her analytical principles and carried out mathematical calculations in a creative union with her father. Margarita Nikolaiyevna dedicated her first textbook on stylistics to the memory of her beloved father, teacher, and friend.

During her postgraduate course at the Institute of Linguistics of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Leningrad branch), she was given a topic related to dialectology. Kozhina's scholarly adviser was N. P. Grinkova (a follower of Academician A. A. Shakhmatov), a founder of the Leningrad School of Russian dialectology. But then a dramatic event happened. During an expedition to the northern Kama region, Margarita had to pull a boat with students inside, standing waist-deep in cold water. Then she had to spend the whole night on the cold ground. "Since that time, I fell ill" [Наш юбиляр, с. 21]. Her legs began to fail her. The diagnosis was *myopathy* (a disease resulting in muscle atrophy). As a result, expeditions had to be abandoned. And without folk speech written down in the field, it was impossible to become a real researcher in dialectology.

Kozhina's scholarly theme changed, and a new tutor was appointed for her: Professor S. G. Barkhudarov, an authoritative researcher on old Russian. In 1953, Kozhina became a PhD (*kandidat nauk*, the first advanced degree in Russia). The subject of her research was *Verb Morphology in the Vedomosti Newspaper in the Time of Tsar Peter the Great*. Barkhudarov appreciated the intellectual independence and exceptional responsibility of his postgraduate student. He did not interfere in her research; he approved the entire dissertation after having received only a dissertation abstract.

Among those who left an imprint on Kozhina's views were such scholars as V. V. Vinogradov, B. A. Larin, and F. P. Filin. She also considered quite a number of Russian and East European linguists to be outstanding researchers. Professor A. N. Vasilyeva (Pushkin Institute of Russian Language) was the first who appreciated the power of Kozhina's law of speech systematicity. She verified the law by referring to artistic, scholarly, journalistic, and colloquial speech. Professor V. G. Kostomarov (the founder of the institute mentioned above) revealed the "fusion of expression and standard" as a specific feature of newspaper texts by relying on Kozhina's notion of stylistic features [Костомаров, с. 47]. The works of Professor A. A. Leontiev (Moscow State University)

helped establish the connection of psycholinguistics with stylistics. Professor O. B. Sirotinina (head of the Saratov School of Stylistics) supported Kozhina in her polemics with professors E. A. Zemskaya and O. A. Lapteva about the status of colloquial speech. V. V. Odintsov (senior researcher of the Russian Language Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the author of one of the first books on text stylistics in Russia) was named by Kozhina "a paragon of scholarly enthusiasm" [Наш юбиляр, с. 17]. Professor T. V. Matveeva (Ural University) made a great contribution to the development of Kozhina's idea of the categorical-textual method.

Kozhina had a good relationship with the leading representatives of the Prague School: professors B. Gavranek, K. Hausenblas, and I. Kraus. The ideas of the Czech linguists served as a stimulus for her to determine the style-forming extra-linguistic factors of functional styles.

Intensive scholarly contacts connected Kozhina and Professor Stanislaw Gajda (University of Opole, academician of the Polish Academy of Sciences). Their friendly correspondence lasted for over 30 years. Margarita Nikolaiyevna admired Gajda's unique ability to find productive directions in style and to brilliantly implement innovative scholarly projects, attracting like-minded persons from various European countries. Margarita Nikolaiyevna recognised the merits of other researchers. There was no room for envy or intrigue in her personal discourse. Working on the programme *Synthesis of Slavic Stylistics* proposed by Gajda, Margarita Nikolaiyevna once said: "He works so hard!.. I also admire his incredible kindness" [Наш юбиляр, с. 16]. These words were not only high praise for a Polish colleague, but also sincere gratitude. The point is that in the many hard years (the 1990s, the years of *perestroika*) when Russian scholars had to take up any work to feed their families, Gajda paid Margarita Nikolaiyevna (in hard currency) for her articles in the international journal *Stylistyka*, his creation.

It was Gajda who defined Kozhina's place in the world of linguistics by awarding her the title of an honorary professor at the University of Opole and issuing a special 800-page issue of *Stylistyka* entitled *Kozhina and Stylistics* (*Stylistyka*, XIV): "...Few scholars are so honoured to have a huge book named after them. And not as an epitaph, but in their lifetime" [Журавлев, с. 109]. At the inauguration ceremony of the honorary professor in May 2010, Gajda introduced Kozhina as *the first lady of Russian and world linguistics, a star of the first magnitude*.²

Her illness did not break her will, even though it subdued her "physical" life. From her postgraduate days onwards, Margarita Nikolaiyevna struggled against the illness. It became increasingly difficult for her to come to university, then to move even around her flat. Later, the illness confined her to her bed. If you had to express what fate had predestined for her in a word, it would be *overcoming*.

Despite the illness that disabled Margarita Nikolaiyevna for nearly 20 years, she managed to follow the thorny path of a pioneer researcher, to

² From the personal notes of the author of the article, who was present at that ceremony.

realise her life programme, and to enjoy the recognition of her scholarly ideas by the academic community. To better understand the contribution to linguistics of this unique scholar, let us go back to the middle of the twentieth century.

Professor V. A. Salimovsky (PSU, Kozhina's postgraduate student; he developed the functional-stylistic conception of scholarly speech genres) analysed his teacher's scholarly heritage and described the situation in Slavic stylistics before 1950s in detail: "the 1920s and 1930s were the period that started the formation of the basic provisions of the new direction of stylistic research. From the mid-twentieth century, the situation in functional stylistics began to be perceived as critical: the coherent theory of functional styles remained undeveloped, and the general picture of scholarly ideas seemed to be eclectic. The disputes on stylistic problems in Soviet and Czechoslovak linguistics intensified scholars' efforts to elaborate the functional-stylistic theory. However, it took a new generation of linguists two and a half decades to formulate the theory: A. N. Vasilyeva, B. N. Golovin, Kozhina, V. G. Kostomarov, O. B. Sirotinina, K. Gausenblas, A. Yedlichka, M. Yelinek, I. Kraus, J. Mistrick, etc." [Салимовский, с. 574].

Zakharov advised the novice lecturer Kozhina to get acquainted with the discussion on language and speech issues in the journal *Topics in the Study of Language* (1954–1955). Margarita Nikolaiyevna wrote: "At that time it was not possible for me to look through the scholarly literature closely. My academic workload was 800 hours, all lecture courses were new to me. I had to carry out five different courses simultaneously! I lived from lecture to lecture, it was very hard for me... But when I. M. Zakharov drew my attention to the discussion on linguistics, I found it so interesting! I. M. Zakharov pushed me towards the topic that I continued to research for the rest of my life" [Журавлев, с. 117–118].

The conferences at the M. Torez Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages in the late 1960s and early 1970s were a powerful stimulus to her scholarly research. They were organised by Professor G. V. Kolshansky, one of the leading specialists in Germanic and general linguistics. "Each conference was a great scholarly event," Margarita Nikolaiyevna said, "I remember the discussion about the correlation between language and speech. It was this conference that determined my interest in speech studies" [Наш юбиляр, с. 12].

The scale of Kozhina's intentions can be seen in the titles of her first monographs: *On the Peculiarities of Artistic and Scholarly Speech in the Aspect of Functional Stylistics* [Кожина, 1966], *On the Bases of Functional Stylistics* [Кожина, 1968], and *About Speech Systematicity of the Scholarly Style in Comparison with Some Other Styles* [Кожина, 1972]. Very soon specialists will call these fundamental works *Kozhina's trilogy* and *the primary source of stylistic science*, along with the textbook *The Stylistics of the Russian Language*, which was awarded a bronze medal at the All-Union Exhibition of Achievements of the Soviet Economy [Кожина, 1977a]. These books became compulsory for philology students from China to Western Europe.

The newness of Kozhina's theory relates to revealing the extra-linguistic bases of functional styles. Polemising with Ferdinand de Saussure and his followers (structuralism still dominated in linguistics in the 1960s–70s), Kozhina defended new ideas about the subject of linguistics. In her opinion, speech in its extra-linguistic conditionality had to become such a subject. Relying on the ideas of her predecessors (V. V. Vinogradov, L. P. Yakubinsky, G. O. Vinokur, R. A. Budagov, and the scholars of the Prague school), Kozhina defined a complex of style-forming extralinguistic factors: the forms of social awareness (science, art, law, politics, etc.) and corresponding types of activity; they in their turn determine the scope of communication, type of thinking, and type of content.

The formation of a conceptual system of speech study (functional style, extra-linguistic factors, speech systematicity, stylistic meaning, functional-stylistic colouring, style feature, style norm, etc.) ensured the explanatory power of this theory. Each of the concepts represented Kozhina's viewpoint on the problems under discussion in 1954–55.

The fiercest polemics arose around functional style as the key notion, which at that time was used, as a rule, with the proviso *so-called*. Prof. Y. S. Sorokin, for example, defined style as a manifestation of the speaker's individual properties. V. V. Vinogradov stressed the correlation between style and social practice. While generally agreeing with Vinogradov, Kozhina contested his interpretation of style as an aggregate of language usage techniques. She accentuated the speech nature of a style. This idea is reflected in the following definition: "We define the functional style of speech as a quality of historically developed and socially conscious speech variety; functional style is determined by one or another sphere of social activity and correlative form of social consciousness. It is coloured due to the peculiarities of language means functioning in this field of communication and the speech organisation used in the field. Speech organisation has its norms of selection and combination of language units (of all levels) according to the specific tasks of communication" [Кожина, 1970, с. 10].

Kozhina's speech systematicity concept essentially refuted arguments of Russian stylistics dating back to Mikhail Lomonosov. According to the established tradition, the linguistic aspect of style was associated with a set of stylistically coloured signs: i.e., metaphors – in artistic style, terms – in scholarly style, officialese – in official business style, etc. Kozhina wrote: "We argue that the style of speech is created... by means of a special *speech* system (different from *linguistic* system), a special *organisation* of speech, peculiar to each field of communication..." [Кожина, 1970, с. 5]. In my opinion, the idea of speech systematicity can be put on a par with the outstanding scholarly discoveries of twentieth-century humanities.

More than any other thing, Kozhina was a theorist: "I always believed that theory must come first. I am convinced first there has to be a hypothesis, and then it must be either confirmed by analysis of the material or not... Of course, an idea is born on the basis of preliminary observations, and it requires the analysis of a large volume of concrete facts" [Наш юбиляр, с. 13].

Kozhina developed a special stylistical-statistical method to check her hypotheses. The method allowed her to confirm the validity of a theory. Working on the 1972 monograph, she carried out such an analysis on over two million (!) text fragments. Salimovsky writes, “the development of the stylistic concept of language use in real communication marked the exit of functional stylistics from its crisis and provided its subsequent intensive development on its own theoretical basis” [Салимовский, с. 576].

Kozhina’s monographs did not go unnoticed either in Russia or in Austria, Germany, China, the Netherlands, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Kozhina’s works started to be actively quoted and translated into other languages. A direct path to international recognition was opened by the Slavic congresses in Prague (1968) and Warsaw (1973). At one of the congresses, she entered into a heated debate with a Bulgarian linguist on the subject of speech varieties of language. It became evident to all the people present that the Slavic languages had acquired a theorist of great magnitude. Margarita Nikolaiyevna always defended her scholarly ideas uncompromisingly. At the same time, she was always serious about the argumentative analysis of her scholarly works by researchers abroad. She sustained constant correspondence with many of them and considered the invitation to the International Committee of Slavists the highest estimation of her foreign colleagues. Thanks to international congresses of Slavists, Kozhina’s fame and prestige were growing. Scholars from different countries began to seek meetings with her and send her their publications. Some curious incidents resulted from these international contacts.

From the beginning of the Great Patriotic War until the 1990s, Perm was a city closed to foreigners, as many defence enterprises were evacuated there from German-occupied Soviet territories. Every permissible contact with foreigners became a newsworthy case. Paradoxically, the cutting edge of Eurasian linguistics in the 1970s and 1980s arose in Perm thanks to Kozhina’s works. Immersed in scholarly research, Margarita Nikolaiyevna was far from politics. In *Zvezda*, a Perm local newspaper, there appeared an article entitled *Florence Answers Perm*. It informed the readers that Kozhina (an assistant professor at Perm University at the time) had received a parcel from Italy with a review of her scholarly publications on stylistics and a book presented by a Florentine professor. So unusual was this in those years that a commotion arose at the Department of the Russian Language and Stylistics. And here is another international-level case: one of Kozhina’s books was translated in China at a time when relations between the USSR and China had deteriorated drastically. One day, a Soviet Foreign Ministry official delivered her the translated book. “You are contributing to the diminution of tension between our two countries,” said the official [Журавлев, с. 122].

Margarita Nikolaiyevna was always aware of her aim in scholarship and never simplified the tasks she had set for herself. This was confirmed by an instructive and rather unusual fact connected with her doctoral thesis. In 1966, after the publication of Kozhina’s first monograph, N. A. Meshchersky, a well-known Leningrad linguist, visited Perm University as a Ministry

of Education representative. Estimating the monograph to be a finished doctoral thesis, he offered Kozhina his help in organising the defence of her doctoral thesis. Margarita Nikolaiyevna's answer was categorical: "I do not need it. My plan is to write three books and only then to defend my doctoral thesis" [Журавлев, с. 123]. The plan was fulfilled in five years; in December 1970, she successfully defended her dissertation *Issues of Specificity and Systematicity of Functional Speech Styles* [Кожина, 1970] at Moscow State University (Faculty of Journalism). Professors O. S. Akhmanova, A. P. Evgeniyeva, and A. A. Leontiyev were her official opponents. After the defence, Kozhina's reputation in Slavic stylistics was definitively asserted.

In the years to follow, intensive work was carried out on a textbook on stylistics. The textbook went through three editions [Кожина, 1977a]. The fourth edition was co-authored with her postgraduate students L. R. Duskaieva (now of St Petersburg State University) and Salimovsky mentioned above [Кожина, Дускаева, Салимовский].

From the 1970s to the 1990s, Kozhina extended the main points of her theory to diachronic and synchronic comparative studies of functional styles [Кожина, 1977b]; the stylistics of text was elaborated as one of the main linguistic subjects [Кожина, 1980]. Kozhina paid special attention to the dialogical nature of a written scholarly text [Кожина, 1986]. Rejecting the notions existing at the time, that dialogue is just one stylistic device, in her 1986 monograph Margarita Nikolaiyevna developed the ideas of Mikhail Bakhtin about the dialogical nature of formally monological text in academic writing.

In 1971, Kozhina's postgraduate school was officially opened at PSU: thus, her scholarly school started to be created. From that time onwards, the scholarly style of speech in its evolution became the main subject of Perm researchers of style. They explored the regularities of using language units and the semantic structure of a text as a whole. The kind of science, the text genre, and the speech individuality of the text author, etc., were taken into consideration. The results of this research were published [Очерки истории научного стиля русского литературного языка XVIII–XX вв.]. Professor K. E. Stein (Stavropol University) wrote, "this unique work was a true testimony to the significance of the Perm school of functional stylistics. Kozhina's programme was in itself an *extensive text* associated with the study of functional styles, and scholarly style in particular" [Штайн, с. 28, 31].

On Kozhina's initiative, 20 collections of papers on stylistics were published, and a few international conferences were held: 23 PhDs and 4 Drs. Hab. were trained. In 1999, Kozhina inspired her followers from some Russian universities to create an encyclopaedic stylistic dictionary of the Russian language, a kind of compendium on functional stylistics. In 2003, the dictionary was released [СЭС]. Reviews and feedback emphasised Kozhina's role in the realisation of this large-scale project: "The publication of the *Stylistic Dictionary* is an event not only in Russian stylistics... The paradigm of functional stylistics is the theoretical and methodological basis of the

dictionary. Starting in the 1960s, Kozhina made a huge contribution to the development of the paradigm” [Gajda, s. 397–398]. “Prof. Kozhina’s scholarly school is a unique phenomenon in Russian and even worldwide linguistics,” states a review by Professor L. A. Shkatova (Chelyabinsk State University).

Only an authoritative leader able to recruit pupils and like-minded people can create a genuine scholarly school. Margarita Nikolaiyevna’s leadership was determined by the power of her mind, multiplied by her strength of will, enthusiasm, efficiency, and purposefulness. Serving scholarship was Kozhina’s life mission. She can be called a model scholar.

In her last programmatic article *Stylistics is Alive* [Кожина, 2009], Kozhina firmly expressed her scholarly position and her ability to defend it, polemising with those who claimed that “in the 1990s, functional stylistics had actually ceased to exist” and “after more than thirty years of prosperity... gradually went off stage” [Долинин, с. 607, 619]. Margarita Nikolaiyevna showed the fallacy of the conclusion. Professor M. P. Kotyurova³ was perhaps the most precise in expressing the scale of Kozhina’s scholarly insight: “All my colleagues know Margarita Nikolaiyevna’s immensely broad thinking that let her foresee the horizons of the complex trend in scholarship – speech studies. And to prognosticate the emergence of scholarly directions within the framework of this cognitive field” [Котюрова, с. 508].

In the meantime, illness was ruining her muscles and joints. But the scholar’s mind kept its strength. Margarita Nikolaiyevna continued to work, maintaining the power of her intellect. Two days before her death, she predicted the date of her demise and wrote her last requests: to bury her next to her mother, put up a modest memorial using her own money, and publish a book of her papers which she had selected herself in Moscow. She also wanted Chopin’s *Funeral March* to be played at the civil memorial ceremony. All these requests were fulfilled.

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